Music of the Twenty-First Century Diasporas: Research and Methods

Edited by Serena Facci and Giovanni Giuriati

Istituto Interculturale di Studi Musicali Comparati

fondazione Giorgio Cini onlus

Istituto Interculturale di Studi Musicali Comparati
ISBN 9788896445259

Editorial staff: Costantino Vecchi

Cover image: Women of the Eritrean Catholic community of Rome in procession perform Marian songs for the celebrations of the Kidane Mehret (Pact of Mercy), February 19th 2017, Rome. Photo by Vanna Viola Crupi.

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Introduction
Serena Facci

This book is about Italy and Italian ethnomusicological scholars in the light of the academic debate on music and diasporas in the twenty-first century. The project started in connection with the 2019 Ethnomusicology Seminar at the Cini Foundation in Venice, an annual conference attended by Italian ethnomusicologists and international experts for constructive discussion and comparison of recent research.[1]

When Giovanni Giuriati suggested that we should dedicate the Seminar to the theme of diasporas, I immediately accepted the idea, partly because of the importance of the subject in itself and the exponential increase in the number of theoretical and monographic publications, as well as the films, songs and political discourses in the media and in the streets.[2] However, the main reason for my supporting Giuriati's idea was that since the 2010s an increasing number of ethnomusicology students and post-doctoral researchers have focused on music related in various ways to diasporas. This has been the subject of their dissertations and some have also published articles and presented papers at international conferences.

The Seminar was definitely the best environment where these young Italian PhD students and post-doctoral researchers could present and discuss the results of their research - together and with the help of 'masters' and 'experts'. After three days of discussion, we concluded the Seminar with the promise to continue this collaboration as an Italian observatory focused on music and diaspora. The present book is the first step in that direction. It is divided into three parts: the first part contains two main contributions by distinguished scholars such as the anthropologist Francesco Remotti and the ethnomusicologist Adelaida Reyes, who in-

1 *Music of the twenty-first century diasporas: research and methods*, Venice 23-25 January 2020, https://www.cini.it/eventi/la-musica-delle-diaspore-nel-xxi-secolo-ricerche-e-metodi. Last access April 15th, 2021. The Venice seminars, founded by Francesco Giannattasio in 1995 and now directed by Giovanni Giuriati, have always been a sort of melting pot of ideas submitted to open and constructive discussion and comparison between Italian ethnomusicologists and international 'masters' and experts.

2 An excellent outline of the ethnomusicological debate on migration is available in a recent article published by Martin Stokes (2020). Let me also mention the most cited collective books or monographic review issues entirely dedicated to ethnomusicological studies of migration: *Music and forced Migration*, Issue of *The World of Music,* with 'Introduction' by Adelaida Reyes (1990); *Identity and the arts in diaspora communities*, edited by Thomas Turino and James Lea (2004); *Music and Migration*, special Issue of *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, with the 'Introduction' by John Baily and Michael Collyer (2006); *Diaspora, Postcolonialism and Performance,* Issue of Ethnomusicological Forum with the 'Introduction' by Tina Ramnarine (2007); *Music and Migration: A Transnational Approach*, special Issue of *Music and Art in Action*, with the 'Introduction' by Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike H. Meinhof (2011); *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, edited by Erik Levi and Florian Scheding (2011); *Migrating Music,* edited by Jason Toynbee and Byron Dueck (2012); *Music and Minorities from Around the World: Research, Documentation and Interdisciplinary Study,* edited by Ursula Hemetek, Essica Marks and Adelaida Reyes (2014); *The Globalisation of Music in transit: Music Migration and Tourism* edited by Simone Krüger and Ruxandra Trandafoiu (2014).

troduce us to theoretical and methodological issues; in the second part, eight young scholars present a rich range of contexts, themes and musical repertoires emerging from their ethnographic research; in the third part, the Italian ethnomusicologists Fulvia Caruso and Nico Staiti, who have closely studied music and diaspora over the recent years, contribute with some comments on these research projects carried out in Italy. Giovanni Giuriati concludes the book with his afterword.

In Italy, ethnomusicology started a little later than in other countries with an analysis of the massive diasporas at the turn of the twentieth century which involved Italy in particular (Caruso 2019a,b, 2020, Facci 2017, 2018, Facci, Tuzi 2021, Ciucci 2022, Staiti 2018). However, I would like to point out that Giuriati—with his PhD dissertation on Cambodian refugees in Washington DC in the 1980s—had already introduced us to to a number of significant issues which we continue to tackle in this book—although those waves of migration took place in a world which was very different from the one we live in today (Giuriati, 1988, 1993). My own interest in migration goes back to the 1990s, when I described the first process of inclusion of migrant children in Italian schools in connection with my research on intercultural music education (Facci 1997, 2002).

Like other countries in the world, Italy has a significant history of migration due to various factors such as: 1. the Italian emigration that also provided pivotal examples of music making in migratory contexts, including creativity, sense of belonging and commercial music routes linked to the mother country, etc. (Frasca 2010; Tuzi 2018, Mazzola 2017); 2. twentieth century immigration flows are a relatively recent phenomenon in Italy (from the 1980s), but in past centuries the country received immigrants from Greece and Albany resulting in permanent settlements of minorities (Scaldaferri 2006, Staiti 2016, Garofalo, Giordano 2016); 3. Italy's Mediterranean Coast which is the first point of arrival for numerous migrants directed towards other European countries; 4. the transnationalism of the Roman Catholic church and its Welcome Policy; and, of course, 5. a specific local and national cultural, linguistic and musical heritage influencing the new trends of post-immigration music.

Who are we talking about?

First of all, let us clarify the terms used to define the people and the phenomena we are talking about.

Those who go

In the title, the word diaspora has the broad meaning it acquired in the late twentieth century in common discourses and in socio-political publications (Safran 1991, Cohen 1996, 2008). In her article included in this book, Fulvia Caruso also quotes the more recent debate on this term, and Ortensia Giovannini explains its semantic horizon and history related to the Armenians. For them, just like the first victims of a diaspora (the Jewish people in the sixth century BC), the term was associated with the constrictive motivations behind the displacement. As Cohen says, for several reasons 'the notion of diaspora comes to be more widely applied' transcending the association with the idea of being a 'victim' (Cohen 1996: 514). Quoting in part Safran (1991), his list of the 'common features' of a diaspora counts nine points. He describes different typologies and also talks about the migrants' feelings: group consciousness and sense of distinctiveness, troubled relationships with host countries or, quite the contrary, enriching life 'with a tolerance for pluralism' (Ivi: 515). In many cases the term diaspora is today synonymous with migration, and diaspora is now used to describe disseminated groups of migrants around the world. Martin Stokes observes that 'The prefixes *im-* and *em-* [migration] once, even if only minimally, signified directions of travel, histories, and futures but have by now largely disappeared from newspaper articles and television news reports' (Stokes 2020: 2). Moreover, Italian emigrants also live in different countries, and recent studies thus refer to them as the Italian diaspora (Parati 2005; Janni, McLean 2003).

The term migration requires a definition. It is a general term applied to very different situations. In her article in this book, Reyes suggests that we should not be satisfied with the general definition 'foreign-born' used by the United States Census Bureau, because it does not consider all the 'nuances' essential to a full understanding of migration experiences.

The first distinction is between migrants and refugees. After the Second World War, the Italian Constitution guaranteed right of asylum: 'A foreigner who, in his home country, is denied the actual exercise of the democratic freedoms guaranteed by the Italian constitution shall be entitled to the right of asylum under the conditions established by law'.[3] In 1951 an international Convention established an articulated definition of the status of refugee.[4] On the contrary, in very recent documents we can also read that 'there is no universally accepted definition of the term 'migrant'. Migrants may be granted a different legal status in the country of their stay'.[5]

We are now familiar with legal terms such as 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker', sociological definitions such as 'economic migrant' and administrative documents such as a 'residence permit' which distinguish between 'regular and resident migrants' and 'irregular migrants' who are undocumented and elude the statistics.

In her previous publication (Reyes 1990, 1999) and in this book too, Adelaida Reyes distinguishes between 'voluntary migrants' and 'involuntary migrants'. Voluntary or economic migrants are those who by necessity, but at times not so compellingly, set off to try somewhere else. They have what is defined as a 'migration plan' to give themselves another chance in life. Almost all Italians have some voluntary migrants in their family. My father, for example, was born in the United States in 1917 and was the son of a migrant. Involuntary migrants or those forced to flee—those we call displaced persons and asylum seekers who claim the status of refugees—are different, as clearly stated by Reyes. Moreover, new categories of migrants have been defined as 'environmental'; they flee from the damage caused by climate changes and are forced to leave their countries. 'Seasonal migrants' are a different group. Numerous Senegalese *vu cumprà* (unlicensed hawkers) come to Italy only in summer to sell their goods on the beaches, living in Senegal for the rest of the year.

The arrival system also plays a significant role: refugees arriving through humanitarian corridors are at least spared the brutal experience of the journey that others, travelling autonomously, share with several economic migrants. Indeed, due to the restrictive legislation in force in recent years in Italy and other European countries, several voluntary economic migrants face extremely precarious travelling conditions and situations of rejection not so different from those experienced by asylum seekers.[6]

When migrants go to establish themselves in a new country, they become protagonists of global history. Some may feel 'integrated' and wish to obtain citizenship, others may prefer to continue belonging to their mother country to which they plan to return someday. In Italy we have a number of 'new Italians', ex-migrants who have managed to obtain Italian citizenship.[7] Here, the second generation of immigrants generally define themselves as 'new

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3 Italian Constitution ART.10, 1948, official English version, https://www.senato.it/documenti/repository/istituzione/costituzione_inglese.pdf. Last access January 6th, 2021.

4 1951 Refugees Convention, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (United Nations General Assembly), Art. 1, https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10. Last access April 4th, 2021.

5 World Health Organisation, 2020, *Apart Together Survey. Preliminary Overview of Refugees and Migrant Self-Reported impact of COVID-19*, p. 1, https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/337931. Last access April 4th, 2021. In this document 'the term migrant is used as an overarching category'.

6 In 2020, the Italian Government changed part of the restrictive policies against migration, in particular promoting the regularisation of irregular workers. More than 200,000 migrants, mostly employed in rural and homecare occupations, applied through their employers.

7 Italian law provides that citizenship can be acquired in the presence of various conditions, such as marriage to an Italian citizen, residence in Italy for a certain number of years and a certain degree of knowledge of the Italian language. Extension to other systems such as *ius soli* and *ius culturae*, which mainly affect the youngest born or raised in Italy, is still under discussion. Over the last eight years, 100,000-200,000 foreigners per year have obtained Italian citizenship.

Italians'[8] or use compound proper nouns like Afroitalians if they come from African countries.[9]

All these distinctions (migrants or refugees, voluntary or involuntary, economic or environmental, regular or irregular, displaced persons in diaspora, new Italians, etc.) are part of our theoretical classification, and the authors of this book have taken them into account. In the cited articles, the various definitions will be used as preferred by the authors. We thought it was our duty to respect their choices, also because they matured through dialogue with the interlocutors taking part in their research.

In the 'host' country: who 'stay'

The 'non-migrants', the people who 'stay', the 'native-born' have different names, too. Appellations of origin (Italians, Americans, etc.) have acquired a divisive meaning due to the policy of obstruction and the sovereigntist parties in Europe and the United States (for example in slogans like 'Italians first'). On the contrary, the term 'host' combined with people, nation, society and culture is among the politest expressions used by people who express the acceptance of immigrants. Terms used to indicate migrants, such as 'residents' or 'citizens' are apparently neutral, but in some cases not so useful, because they also include migrants who have acquired citizenship or are officially residing in Italy. As previously mentioned, the term new Italians is used for migrants who obtain Italian citizenship, or those who have been residents for a long time. Likewise, the native-born Italians are sometimes called 'old Italians'. 'Old Italians' are also a complex reality. Italy is the result of different local experiences joined together. Several internal migrations have taken place and profoundly impacted the history of the country. Mobility is an important part of the Italian history and aptitude. In recent years, the number of Italians who emigrate (particularly young people with a higher education) has started to increase and it now exceeds that of immigrants. However, the debate about immigration seems to force 'old Italians' to identify themselves.

The term 'identity', 'old' and 'new' is recurrent in writings on music linked to migration, often combined with the concept of 'authenticity', i.e. strict adherence to repertoires of specific local traditions. However, in reality, those who go through a migratory experience, such as those who 'stay' and 'host' them, start a mediation between their past and their present that involves overcoming any rigid conservatism. Moreover, both concepts (which are used in ethnomusicological studies) have been questioned in the debate on cultural anthropology and ethnomusicology itself.

Since the 1990s, several discourses on hosting and including immigrants have addressed the need to teach them the language and also to help them to understand the culture of the host country, in our case the Italian ways and language. It is a well-known fact that the cultural concept of 'Italianness' is problematic in various senses. This word has been associated with a number of negative stereotypes (Patriarca 2010) but also with our world-famous artistic and industrial production, including music. It was in fact quite a task for me to define Italy's general historical and cultural context in connection with an anthology of folk songs intended for French school students (Facci, Santini 2014). The different levels of local, national and transnational dimensions of the Italians' cultural identity are the focus of their music (opera, sacred music, several folk traditions, songwriters and other kinds of popular music performed in the Italian language, etc.).

Francesco Remotti has focused on the difficult definition of 'us' and our relationship with the 'others' in his critiques of the concept of identity. Since the 1990s he has eloquently argued against identity threats and anti-pluralist closure, effectively also distancing himself from the policies of the Lega Nord (Remotti 2011).

In a more recent publication, Remotti suggests alternative definitions for describing the sense of belonging; more 'elastic' definitions like recognition, roots etc. As to cultur-

8 Being born in Italy, they have been asking for the right to obtain Italian citizenship for years. http://www.retisolidali.it/i-nuovi-italiani-siamo-parte-di-questa-italia-che-amiamo/.

9 *Afroitaliano* is also a song by the rapper Tommy Kuti . https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C-WhDMUmYMc. Last access April 5th, 2021.

al reciprocal knowledge, he emphasises not only the diversities but also the 'similarities' (Remotti 2019).

Therefore, the debate on migrants' access to citizenship and their participation in Italian public life is crucial (Mantovan 2007). The specific concept of cultural (or musical) communities and cultural (or musical) citizenship (Silverman, Eliot 2018) is furthermore close to the topic of 'us' and how to create a 'new us'.

Sharing the same place

Remotti's and Reyes's articles in this book aim more at discussing the complexity following the migrations than the act of migrating itself.

After describing the migratory process in the different phases of Movement, Landfall, Refoulement or Reception, Remotti argues about the importance of examining the situation only from the moment people begin to live in and share a space. He carefully analyses the terms *coesistenza* (coexistence, to live in the same place without sharing life experiences) and *convivenza* (an Italian term for living together) by also distinguishing between different kinds of *convivenza*: '*in'* (which he calls 'we-centrism') or '*between'* (which he calls 'othering'). He points out the crux of building new societies all together (those who arrive, the 'new' inhabitants of the place, and the 'old' inhabitants, those who stay and host). Remotti does not talk about music, but he offers a general model for conceptualisation which will be useful for us to relate to.

Multicultural *coexistence* is common in the contemporary mosaic, i.e. in the various components of superdiversity in our cities (Vertovec 2007), thanks also to the migrant communities. When they tend to isolate themselves, these communities can also create what Remotti calls *convivenza-in* both in a single place and in a transnational dimension as a result of the link between the various communities of the diaspora. If you visit a Sikh or Philippine diaspora community you will be amazed by the transnationality of certain behaviours that are recognisable in Italian and/or foreign cities but also in various small towns in Italy, as documented by Thea Tiramani (2021).

The present book also proposes a certain number of multi-situated research projects (Serratore, Lacoste, Giovannini, Tiramani). This is an important method for gaining a better understanding of the background of immigrant cultures. Francesco Serratore started his research in the Chinese community in Milan, but after visiting their place of origin in China, in the province of Zhejiang, he had a clearer idea of the reasons for their approach to music in the diaspora, for example the lack of funeral rituals and the emphasis on national rather than local musical genres. This background enriched his knowledge not only of the Italian-Chinese, but also of Chinese from the county of Wencheng who had lived in other countries such as the Netherlands before coming to Italy and whose story was thus quite different.

As regards Remotti's *convivenza between,* ethnomusicologists should pay particular attention to the role of music. Marco Martiniello and Philip Kasinitz write: 'And the question of identity—what sort of North Americans and Europeans today's immigrants and their children will become [...] what sort of Europe and North America will be created in the process—will shape these societies for years to come. As such we believe popular music and other forms of artistic expression are areas that merit serious and critical scholarly attention' (Kasinitz, Martiniello 2019: 862).

Migration involves relational processes, willingly or not. Those who deal with the diasporas are no doubt aware of the conflict between the sentimental wish to conserve memories on the one hand and the comparison with and/or absorption of the host culture on the other. All the studies describe reactions in those who host, ranging from enthusiasm to refusal, from curiosity to fear. This also occurs in other forms closer to everyday life, such as ridiculing foreign cuisine (years ago I had an Albanian student who suffered enormously because her companions called her 'onion') and music preferences. Music is a powerful, though double-edged sword, capable of building intercultural bridges and also of creating insuperable barriers, especially in the younger generations.

On the other hand, the historical peculiarity of 'host' contexts is also relevant. In recent years, I have been studying the music performed in Rome's Christian communities. I am convinced that this 'superdiverse' city, full of musical worlds that are both 'micro' (Slobin 1993) and transnational (Capone 2010, Capone, Salzbrunn 2018) has its own powerful *genius loci* that makes it unique. Just think of the large number of Christians who choose Rome over other cities, because they are convinced that they will find greater respect here than elsewhere. Going into Piazza San Pietro to join a community of immigrants and attend a mass officiated by the Pope especially for them is one of the many experiences I have had. Certainly, a unique one.

Furthermore, the fact that immigrants are repopulating small centres or even rural areas depopulated by emigration must not be underrated. In the past century, Italian ethnomusicological scholars privileged studies of rural environments, thanks to the flourishing folk music. We must not neglect this tradition of studies in order to monitor the changes. Several migrant workers living in the Italian countryside dive into a rural soundscape that is in a certain sense familiar to them and they add new input (Tiramani, Staiti in this book). Moroccan migrants living in Umbria continue to attune their ears and their listening practices to a particular notion of countryside in Morocco that, although not fixed, does not include the Italian rural (Ciucci 2022).

Terms such as 'multiculturalism', 'interculturalism', 'integration' and 'inclusion' are also recurrent in the debate on how to share places and life experiences. Music is often the protagonist in these discourses. I can offer an example I am familiar with regarding the intercultural role of music in schools. The pedagogic ideas (especially in the field of behaviourism influenced by John Dewey) about the use of music of various geographical origins in schools attended by immigrant children date from the early twentieth century in the very midst of the Americanisation process (i.e. the construction of the very idea of America through the mixing of various cultures).[10]

In the United States, the educational proposal has moved from the idea of the *melting pot* to that of the *cultural salad* taken up by Patricia Shehan Campbell (1991) regarding music, thus guiding reflections on the cultural acceptance of diversity, which from the concept of enculturation has moved to that of integration. In the last decade, we have been shifting to softer definitions and procedures like inclusion and embodiment along with the metaphor of the *cultural diversity tree,* also used by UNESCO.

The examples concluding the article by Remotti show that complete insularity may never have existed in human cultures. His choice to draw on the repertoire of Africanist ethnography seems to help us take our eyes off the present and understand the perspective of migration in a more universal scenario that concerns the history of humanity.

Ethnomusicology and migration studies

In her article in this book, *Migration: Ethnomusicological Terra (in)cognita?* Adelaida Reyes focuses attention on ethnomusicology. The *terra (in)cognita* in her title refers to 'migration in an ethnomusicological context, a terrain so full of ambiguities and unknown', even if it is apparently familiar. The part of humanity involved in the mobility and in the hosting is so large and the consequences so significant that ethnomusicology has had to deal with migration and at the same time change the method and object of study. Reyes goes through the history of ethnomusicology. She explains the limits of the original European (and Eucentric) setting: for a discipline considering 'insularity' as 'guardians of a music's authenticity' migration was

10 A visionary Italian ethnomusicologist, Gavino Gabriel, drew inspiration from this to advocate 'Italianisation' or an identity construction of Italians that would include all of the country's various musical spirits, starting with opera and going on to the fragmentary regional cultures.

problematic, an 'intrusive force'.[11] In the light of 'the transformative power of migration' she also interprets the troubled path of adaptation of our discipline to the globalised and increasingly technological world. The urban studies focused on the 'contaminated' (as well as cosmopolitan) musical repertoires included in ethnomusicological research in the second half of the twentieth century are eminent fields in migration studies. And she describes the shift from a 'principal focus' based on 'music as an acoustic act' to another focus based on music as a 'social act, as expressive culture' originated by crucial historical changes like migration.

What Reyes says touches me in a particular way because the history of ethnomusicology is part of my life and I remember all too well the events and the discussions that changed our paradigms. It is not by chance that several colleagues including myself—sometimes after ethnographic 'insular' research—went on to study the musical consequences of migration in our multicultural countries. The contexts created by migration, Reyes also says, generate new creative energies in migrants, as strategies of survival in difficult contingencies: old and new materials and skills concur to enliven and enhance cultural and individual expressivity. Creativity has also been underlined by Martin Stokes (2020) as one of the emerging topics in recent studies of music and migration. The term is questionable, and he specifies that his 'usage reflects the anthropological use with an emphasis less on creation ex-nihilo and more on translation, resignification, bricolage, the latencies inherent in transmission systems, and *distributed creativities*, implying a focus on collectivises and sociability rather than isolated individuals' (Ivi:18). Stokes questions our task as music scholars: is it 'to engage with (in the sense of interpret, critique, celebrate, contextualize) the exemplary work of migrants who have created and innovated, however these two terms are to be defined? Or is our task to focus on music's work in scenes of everyday survival?' (Ivi: 9). The context of this question in his article is a more general problematisation of the consequences of the 2015 crisis in Europe. Stokes asks if they 'mark some kind of tipping point, with ethical and epistemological consequences that are now inescapable and irreversible' (Ibidem). The terrible events that have followed one another (at the time of writing there is a cold-related emergency affecting the refugees stranded in Bosnia on the EU border) lead those who are working on music and migration to ask themselves a lot of questions about what kind of research they can do. Several ethnomusicologists turn to concepts of 'action research' or 'applied research' derived from the psychological, social and anthropological sciences in their activities among migrant people in situations ranging from not particularly critical ones (e.g. Sweers 2015 about three projects in Germany and Switzerland, one of which also involved Italian migrants) to those that are more critical and dangerous. Rachel Beckles Willson describes her experience as a volunteer in a reception centre for migrants in Sicily where she applied her knowledge and sensibility as a musician and musicologist to help Modu, a young Senegalese musician in a context of difficult survival (Beckles Willson 2019). Of course, doing music (we could maybe also use the term *musiking* in the large sense that Christofer Small attributes to his definition) is to include positive energies in many senses and fields and carrying out research doing or producing music is a double activity that is generally also well accepted in the communities (Sechehaye, Martiniello 2019). In Italy, as elsewhere, it is a tradition to use music for inclusive educational purposes at school (Santini 2017) or in centres for asylum seekers (Caruso 2019a). Another well-known occasion is the collaborative musical production of events (such as feasts or concerts) or musical projects (CDs, Videos, etc.) both in amateur and professional groups, sometimes funded by public institutions with the help of Italian musicians (Dari 2017).

In any case, as ethnomusicologists, we are involved in the construction of new identities in the place where we too are also living. In our traditional job (that is studying the features of the music and how the sounds function as privileged ways to interpret 'social acts') we are often in an ambiguous but positive position, too. Italian anthropologist, Pietro Vereni, men-

11 Similarly, Martin Stokes affirms that: 'Starting points inevitably have an arbitrary nature and one might argue that musicology has never *not* been interested in migration' (2020: 3). His article is also a contribution to the history of ethnomusicology and its relationship with migration in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

tioned the concept of *cura*[12] referring to the social function of the anthropological discipline which is outward-looking and takes care of the surrounding world: 'A social analysis is good, first of all because it is true, i.e., it corresponds to the state of things it is supposed to be an analysis of (it is a 'model of'), but also because it can be handled by those who are the object of reflection, the people spoken of, and it allows them to take care of themselves, to understand their condition and, as far as possible, it offers them the rough comfort of awareness (in short, it is a 'model for')' (Vereni 2020: 130).[13] His article is about anthropology during the COVID-19 pandemic, but I think it can be extended to our issue. Studying migration forces us to share places, times, sounds and even anxieties and diseases with our interlocutors. Many of the ethnomusicologists who contributed to this book have had to respond to obvious requests for musical collaboration and to mix their skills with those of musicians, choristers and conductors of choirs in search of new solutions for their musical creativity and also for a shared existence.

Music: from migrants to the new 'us'

Bolhman (2011) speaks of 'aesthetic autonomy' regarding the migrants' musical background, something that can be unpacked as required without necessarily waiting for existential stability (work permit, home, job).

The individual case studies addressing music and dance in diasporas over the last 30 years show that there are typical themes combined in different ways in the various musical genres. Feelings like courage—needed for their departure—fear and/or nostalgia are described in the songs (many migrants are songwriters) (among others Shelemay 2006, Pistrick 2017). Professional immigrant musicians have adjusted and taught their hosts their traditional homeland dances thereby generating schematic patterns and stereotypes (Cimardi in this book). Chávez's publication in the *Huapango Arribeño* (2017) introduced impromptu poetry suited to contexts and subjects related to migration. The *pret-à-porter* knowledge of song formulas which are easily adaptable to the most varied contents and situations is particularly convenient for migrant communities (see also the case described by Webster-Kogen (2013) of the *Tezeta*/Love songs on the nostalgia of Ethiopian women in the diaspora). In the case studies discussed by Stokes (2020), musical creativity is a sort of entrepreneurial activity and strategy for political aims (e.g. hip hop among the young migrants of the second/third-generations in Liege (Kasinitz, Martiniello 2019) and a solution for survival (e.g. micro-performances sustaining 'the collective lives and solidarity' with Korean women subject to sexual slavery in Japan (Pilzer 2012).

When people live in a situation of diaspora, musical solicitations multiply in different ways if they are at school or in church or spending an afternoon with friends. As mentioned above, they therefore have to find their standpoint between two extremes: one is to maintain the old habits they had at home, thus cultivating repertoires which help them keep the memory alive and find comfort in nostalgia, another is to open up to the new, looking for points of contact with the new reality.

In strictly musical terms, what I have just said brings into question a vast number of genres, languages and musical styles both to listen to and to practise. Wherever they go, people in diaspora introduce 'their' music that is only in part 'homeland music' with a clear geo-cultural character. In general, it is a mix of local music and transnational repertoires, like the religious (Capone 2010) or cosmopolitan mainstream repertoires, such as pop, hip hop and world music (Stokes 2012, Crupi 2019). As Reyes exemplifies, this music is often local examples of North or South American-inspired pop genres that spread through-

12 I left here the term in Italian because its meaning combines the concept of 'cure' and of 'care'.

13 'Un'analisi sociale è buona intanto perché è vera, cioè corrisponde allo stato di cose di cui vorrebbe essere analisi (ne è un "modello di"), ma anche perché si lascia maneggiare da quelli che ne sono l'oggetto di riflessione, le persone di cui si parla e consente a loro di prendersi cura di sé, di comprendere la loro condizione e, per quanto possibile, offre il ruvido conforto della consapevolezza (è insomma, un "modello per")'.

out the world in the twentieth century. Or maybe the 'traditional' repertoires are rediscovered during the diaspora. This happened in Rome (like elsewhere) in the 1990s. Some Senegalese musicians were incited to play Trans-African music such as Malinke and the more local Wolof music which are both particularly appreciated by part of the Italian audience. Conversely, the music offered in the new homeland is extremely complex and, as shown by some studies included in this book, it is the consequence of both the multicultural music resulting from the encounter between musicians of various origins and the variants of the many genres of transnational popular music also played by migrants. In the late twentieth century, in coincidence with the increasing migration flux, the mobility and collaboration between Italian and foreign professional musicians[14] gave voice to a specific world music sound (such as the Italian 'Mediterranean' sound) and to Italian Ethno-jazz. Conductors, organisers and musicians create compatible mixtures of languages, vocality, instruments and musical grammars, sometimes with excellent results.[15] This musical language had an impact on the activity of subsequent groups. Multi-ethnic choirs and orchestras—there are now more than 30 in Italy—have developed new compositional techniques and creative processes giving space to collaboration among the various musicians.[16]

A separate repertoire is that of songs dealing with migration addressing the themes of travelling and the migrants' living conditions. Italian examples are the CDs produced by Alessandro Portelli and the Circolo Gianni Bosio with recordings giving voice to the many migrant musicians who work in Rome, sometimes in the street.[17]

However, the performance of the choirs and orchestras founded in the diaspora is influenced by factors that are external to the musical project. For example, it depends on the sporadic composition of the musical groups and equipment, which is often unprecedented and calls for new creative solutions. In the study of the Christian chorales in Rome, various researchers—including myself—have often found that the musicians would extemporise creative solutions to ensure musical performances for the service. We chose the definition 'liturgical jam session' for the Congolese church (Cosentino 2019). In other situations, we have witnessed the limbo of uncertainty in which newly arrived illegal migrants or asylum seekers, Syrians, Eritrean or Egyptians were living. They improvised reconstructions of memories in ritual procedures and musical repertoires. We use the definition of 'uncertain but necessary music' for such performances which are not entirely satisfactory, even to the immigrants themselves, but at the same time 'necessary' for the ritual and their emotional status.

Many ethnomusicologists focus their research on music-making, others concentrate on listening practices, as the choice of music reveals the relationship with tradition and the desire to absorb the new (Caruso et al. 2021). The sense of belonging is clearly expressed in discourses and ideas about sound anchored in a sense of place that turns away from the new (Ciucci 2022). Migrant music is also an obvious marker of many contemporary socio-anthropological issues, like the dynamics of gender. See for example Jasmine Hornabrook's publication on female creativity among second-generation Tamils in diaspora (Hornabrook 2019) and in the present book Blanche Lacoste.

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14 Some of them arrived as economic migrants (as was the case of Nur Eddine Fatty and others), but as Nico Staiti mentions in his article in this book, mobility is part of the musicians' professional aptitude.

15 An Italian example is the album *Transmigrazioni. Voci di popoli migranti*, Il manifesto-Officina TM001 1996, produced by Canio Loguercio in collaboration with Italian and immigrant musicians. In 2002, the well-known Orchestra di piazza Vittorio came into being in the multicultural neighbourhood of Esquilino in Rome, https://www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it/orchestra/. Last access April 5th, 2021. See also Staiti in this book.

16 The journey, diffusion and mixing of musical languages is not new to professional musicians. The Cini Foundation for example, with its Intercultural Institute of Comparative Studies, has been working for many years to promote mainly music from the world in Italy thanks to the collaboration with high-level professionals. The activities started in 1969 with master classes, concerts and publications: https://www.cini.it/istituti-e-centri/studi-musicali-comparati. Last access April 5th, 2021. For a census of Italian multiethnic groups see Francesco Fiore's book (2013) and the more recent map created by a network of multicultural choirs: https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1KmC0X5hhArgAXpCHXTVNSzF_2IOQrLkv&ll=44.027978132560592C8.052355510355785&z=5. Last access April 5th, 2021.

17 Cf. the Circolo Gianni Bosio's website, http://www.circologiannibosio.it/pubblicazioni.php. Last access April 7th, 2021. Another interesting experience is the CD Yayla. Musiche ospitali, Appaloosa rec. AP 217-2, produced by Andrea Parodi and Claudio Zonta from the Centro Astalli.

With regard to this plurality of experiences, as Reyes states, all the skills and methods of musical ethnography are required to understand not only in what way living musical genres are changing, but also why some choices are made. The more complex a kind of music is, the more we have to know about its history and features. The result is a construction of multiple musical identities in a process that Timothy Rice defines 'life routes', more important than 'roots' (Rice 2017: 20). If we are free from ideological and aesthetic attachment to concepts such as 'authenticity', our aptitude for perceiving and analysing the different musical roots is an essential instrument enabling us to reconstruct their routes, all contained in new shared contexts that are continuously under construction.

Cases included in this book

In the end, all aspects of contemporary music and musicology in the world have been influenced by migration topics, as Reyes argues, and as is also demonstrated in the articles by Linda Cimardi, Vanna Viola Crupi, Ortensia Giovannini, Blanche Lacoste, Francesco Serratore, Thea Tiramani, Maria Rizzuto, in the second part of this book. They have the migration context in common, but the topics and musical repertoires are different. The interlocutors are citizens from different parts of the world (Indians, Chinese, Armenians, Eritreans, Ethiopians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Poles, Egyptians, etc. and of course 'old Italians' who sometimes appear), but we will see that with their pluri-identities they have become 'Ukrainian-Italians' or Sikh 'Punjabi-Indian-Italians', etc.

The topics also vary, and I have chosen to put some of them on a list, albeit not an exhaustive one, as the contents of each article are rich and the aim here is to present the specific contexts in their entirety. Right now, it is useful for me to give you an idea of the transversal and multiple character of the theoretical issues. I therefore hope to have created a bridge between the included texts which are linked to the situation in Italy, and the wider international debate on migration studies and the music presented in this 'Introduction'. All the topics are important, linked to each other in various ways and listed in alphabetical order.

- *Glocalisation and new creativity in multiethnic bands*. This is the topic of Cimardi's article about 'African influences' in Croatia.
- *Host people*. 'Old Italians' are considered in some articles as being involved in the migrants' musical activities (Serratore, Lacoste, Rizzuto) or, on the contrary, as being a problematic neighbourhood (Crupi).
- *Learning traditions in second-generations.* Tiramani shows how second-generation Sikhs in Italy learn to perform *kirtan*. The focus is on the relationship between teachers and pupils, particularly on the discussion about going back to ancient musical styles of chant. Some gender issues are also included.
- *Migrant musicians and social redemption*. Lacoste explains how East European Christian women working in Italy as caregivers acquire self-esteem through singing in church chorales. Particularly the conductors who are also active in Italian choirs.
- *Migrants as holders and supporters of musical traditions*. Several migrant musicians promote the knowledge of specific musical traditions in Italy. In the context of Italian research into Byzantine music, Rizzuto presents two personal cases of collaboration with migrant musicians from east Europe and Syria in Palermo and Rome.
- *Motherlands (real or imagined) in music and songs*. Giovannini addresses the complex sense of belonging among Armenian communities starting from the foundation of musical bands in the diaspora.
- *Music in the flowing status of asylum seekers*. In recent years, many Eritreans have arrived in Italy after difficult journeys crossing the Sahara Desert and then the Mediterranean Sea after a period of detention in the Libyan lagers. Their plan is often to proceed to northern Europe. Crupi describes how *mezmur* and liturgical music in the Tewahedo orthodox church is a source of support in their unstable lives.

- *Multiple and crosscultural-looks*. Serratore and Crupi report that both migrants and Italians produce documentation during some community events. They offer different and/or collaborative points of view.
- *Multisituated research*. As previously mentioned, Serratore, Lacoste and Giovannini were also able to carry out research in the motherland, and Tiramani studied different Sikh communities in Italy and Paris.
- *Role of musicians in diaspora and motherland*. This is the main topic of Serratore's article about Chinese migrants in Milan. His multi-situated research highlights how they perform their national repertoires in a public event on stage, whereas they perform local rituals only in the motherland where expert musicians are still active.
- *Ritual and religious contexts*. Several migration studies bring these contexts into focus due to the importance of transnational religions connecting people in diaspora, but also because they are often the reason for musical performances. In this book they are present in almost all the articles.
- *Technology and music mobility (mobile phones, instant messages, social network, platforms for communication, audiovisual software)*. Before the pandemic, Internet and low-cost flights had completely changed the face of immigration (Tirabassi, del Prà 2020), and all the articles take into account the fact that the new technologies are important for connecting people in diaspora. In particular Tiramani and Rizzuto write about distance learning among young Coptic and Sikhs, and Crupi about self-representation and documentation produced by refugees using audiovisual devices.

In their concluding articles, Fulvia Caruso and Nico Staiti offer some general considerations and present some basic issues that are also linked to their own research experience which is different and complementary. Caruso clearly expresses her considerations about the main issues in migration studies taking into account the multitude of publications as well as the research projects she personally carried out with groups of students. She addresses the complexity of the musical activities (also the listening habits of students or migrants living in CAS) particularly in urban contexts of Northern Italy. Staiti focuses on the music in the context of Southern Italy, particularly in small villages repopulated by migrants. His point of view relates more to the migrant communities' relationship with their traditions and with the musicians' role, both in the motherland and in diaspora. With a particular focus on the relationship between Italy and the Balkan area, Staiti analyses the mediation reached by professional musicians and their local or transnational musical instruments.

Conclusion in pandemic times: recreating music

Migrations have not stopped during the pandemic. In 2020, more than 30,000 people arrived in Italy by sea.[18] Another problem added to the Covid problem? Yes, and no. Migrants live in precarious conditions, and the newly-arrived are therefore particularly exposed to infection.[19] At the same time, they are mainly young people with important health needs but who are less exposed to the worst effects of SARS-Covid 2. The lawful resident immigrants are often employed in the hospitals and in the home care sector and are an important resource in the health care system in Italy and in other European countries.

It is interesting to see that both 'old' and 'new' Italians are experiencing the complex mix of emotional reactions to the pandemic. Several scholars have documented how past epidemics

18 Precisely 34,154 compared to 11,471 in 2019. Ministry of the Interior, *Cruscotto statistico Immigrazione*, https://www.interno.gov.it/it/stampa-e-comunicazione/dati-e-statistiche/sbarchi-e-accoglienza-dei-migranti-tutti-i-dati. Last access January 15th, 2021.

19 Cf. *Refugee and migrant health in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic: assessment tool for response at municipal level in the WHO European Region (2020)* https://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/health-determinants/migration-and-health/publications/2020/refugee-and-migrant-health-in-the-context-of-the-covid-19-pandemic-assessment-tool-for-response-at-municipal-level-in-the-who-european-region-2020-produced-by-whoeurope. Last access April 6th, 2021.

have always had a significant influence on history. At present, we can only try to guess what the consequences of the pandemic will be from a socio-economic and cultural point of view. In their book *Il mondo che avrete. 'Virus', antropocene, rivoluzione* (Aime, Favole, Remotti 2020) (The world you will have, 'Virus', Anthropocene, Revolution), three Italian anthropologists analyse the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic in the light of more complex discourses on contemporaneity. They mention the crisis of capitalism with its promise of infinite economic growth and unstoppable activity, a sort of 'fury' that does not tolerate suspension.[20] The Italians were among the first in the world to order a lockdown to defend the population against the virus. Suddenly we had to stop, to suspend our 'normal' activities. Dialectics at a standstill and confinement are also key issues in migration studies. Adriano Favole wrote: 'The sense of helplessness we all felt after the sudden lockdown—which we have to remember in the future—is the same that many human beings felt well before the coronavirus pandemic, mainly linked to politics, when facing the numerous real and symbolic boundaries that separated them from their desired goals. Border control posts, identification, sometimes expulsion; ships guarding the maritime borders, forces denying them entry and pushing them back' (Aime, Favole, Remotti, 2020: 78).[21]

For the first time, the wealthy people of the Western world, completely immersed in the rhetoric of being 'citizens of the world' have realised that this is not true forever. They have experienced the existence of normative border walls some countries have erected against them. The borders have multiplied: in Italy, there are borders between regions and between municipalities, and their houses have become comfortable shelters. Moreover, many Italians have become poorer, forced to ask for food and a place to sleep in charity centres alongside poor migrants.

In their life, migrants have had to suffer uncertainty, suspension of their normal life, hindrance and difficulties. In some activities and in their music, they seem more experienced than 'old' Italians. In remote musical practice, they are experts at using smartphones and global networks to communicate and exchange musical contents with musicians in the motherland or in other contexts of diaspora and also to rehearse in musical groups and church choirs or for didactic purposes (as explained by Tiramani).

The musical collaboration between old and new Italians can indicate a way for *convivere-between*, also in pandemic times. Ekaterine Kacharava, my choir's Georgian-Italian conductor, did not abandon us; she continued rehearsing with online individual or small group sessions. Raymond Bahati, the Congolese-Italian conductor of the multicultural choir Elikya, did likewise to prepare an important Christmas concert (2020) to be performed in Lombardy. During an interview[22] he explained how he organises the online rehearsals. He also gave a friendly account of the way he helps the Italians to perceive the contrametric rhythm of Central African music. The enduring amazement of the Europeans when listening to the confident African playing this fundamental beat was included in his expressive story, which also transmitted a joyful desire to use creative processes to obtain *convivenza-between*.

Music can recreate in all the meanings of this verb. The migrants know this when they recreate the soundscapes of their motherland wherever they are in the world; the musicians know this when they recreate their musical repertoires using new hybrid solutions and, last but not least, we all know that 'recreation', the positive reconstitution of the self in a more relaxing situation, makes us 'feel at home' living all together in a hospitable place.[23]

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20 In his contribution Remotti reflects on some examples, such as the *shabbat* in the Bible, and the concept of *ekyusi* among the Banande in Nord Kivu (RDC) (Aime, Favole, Remotti 2020: 25-35).

21 'Il senso di impotenza che abbiamo provato dopo le improvvise chiusure – occorrerà ricordarsene in futuro – è lo stesso che, per altri motivi principalmente di natura politica, tanti esseri umani provavano ben prima della nascita del coronavirus, davanti ai mille confini reali e simbolici che li separano da mete desiderate. Confini fatti di punti di controllo, di identificazione, a volte di espulsione; di navi che sorvegliano le frontiere marine, di forze che "respingono"'

22 The interview was conducted online by Luciana Manca, a PhD student, and me, in January 2021.

23 Phelan (2012) has coined the definition of 'sound hospitality', inspired by Jacques Derrida, referring to the positive influence of music in the process of inclusion in a new context (Derrida, Dufourmantelle 1997).

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Migration: Ethnomusicological Terra (In)cognita?

Adelaida Reyes

Browsing through publications arranged on a library shelf one day, I saw an issue of a magazine called *Air and Space* published by the National Air and Space Museum,[1] an important research centre and part of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The first two words of the magazine's lead article—'Terra Cognita'—caught my attention.[2] What, I wondered, would qualify as terra cognita to researchers and writers on matters of air and space? Might this article offer a clarifying contrast to the subject of the present paper—migration in an ethnomusicological context, a terrain so full of ambiguities and unknowns that I had to qualify the label I use for it with a parenthetical prefix?

The expectations raised by those first two words, however, were quickly tempered by the words that completed the title: 'A new generation of satellites zooms in on a familiar planet.' Was the 'familiar planet' what 'terra cognita' was referring to? If it were, would that suggest that the cognita or the known on the one hand, and the familiar on the other might be equivalent or interchangeable? Or was the ambiguity intentional, injected into the full title to call attention to the theoretical and methodological implications of taking the familiar for the known?

Because of the emphasis that the seminar placed on methods in the context of research on diasporas and migration in general, a brief look at the article to gain access to those implications might help lay the groundwork for an exploration of migration as an ethnomusicological concern.

On the *explicit* level, on the level at which the article deals with its subject in the most concrete terms, the article is an account of a large-scale, long-term, elaborate research project that would subject our 'familiar planet', the earth, to continuous and intense observation from the vantage point of outer space using the most sophisticated satellite technology.

What is *implicit*, however, is the assumption that familiarity with the planet is *not* the same as knowledge of the planet. For absent that assumption, or alternatively, were it assumed instead that the familiar earth were the same as the known earth there would have been little if any grounds for undertaking the project.

It was thus the assumption of difference between the familiar and the known that proved theoretically and methodologically significant. Recognition of that difference was necessary ground for seriously considering and then bringing the research project to existence.

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1 Air and Space, https://www.airspacemag.com/about/. Last access January 1st, 2020.
2 Reichardt (2001).

The scope and complexity of the undertaking would clearly require a systematicity that the merely familiar cannot provide. The familiar can result from random observation or 'from constant association'; it can come from having been 'frequently seen or experienced.'[3] It does not require—although it may involve—an active, carefully planned search. Unlike the known, understood in the context of knowledge the pursuit of which is endlessly challenging, the familiar serves the relatively short-term purpose of what is commonly described as a comfort zone. It offers relief from the discomfort of not knowing what one is supposed or expected or would find useful to know.

In contrast, the known, taken in the above sense—the sense relevant to methodology—tends to reveal its own inherent incompleteness and thus to provoke what has sometimes been referred to as divine discontent, a creative discomfort that is potentially productive because it goads one to an active pursuit of the knowable. The known that is sought by discrete research efforts is thus more a way station than a destination. It offers a degree of satisfaction in achieving a specified objective, but it also points to the potentially knowable and in so doing serves as lodestar in the exploration of what as yet remains terra incognita.

In that exploration, what we feel is familiar and what we feel we know, what we assume and take for granted and what we acknowledge as deserving of note can be methodologically significant because they inevitably inhabit our research efforts. They play an important role in formulating the questions we ask, which, in turn, direct the creation of a research design that makes coherent and purposive the research activity that is its enactment.

Ethnomusicology and Migration

Brought to constant public attention by media reportage on geo-political events such as armed conflicts, local and national events,[4] natural disasters and globalisation in general, migration has become a familiar term on various levels of language use, from the academic, the legal and the technical to the vernacular. Made to seem easily intelligible through broad generalisations, migration and related terms have come to serve a variety of purposes. The United States Census Bureau, for example, places all migrants under the category, 'foreign born.' And while the Bureau acknowledges important distinctions among the foreign-born,[5] it nevertheless uses 'foreign-born' as the primary if not sole criterion for identifying migrants. The rationale comes from the use of 'native-born' as contrastive category. Together, 'foreign-born' and 'native-born' account for the population of the country.

But the simplification and generalisation that make migration seem familiar and easily accessible cannot but obscure, conceal, or lead people to ignore details and nuances that are essential to an understanding of migration as human experience. Migration initiates a chain of life-altering events and evokes powerful emotional, psychological reactions that leave their mark on migrants and the life they reconstruct or create in resettlement. From relocation and the loss of a way of life to the trauma of a life-threatening departure that brings with it statelessness, and the uncertainty of resettlement somewhere, migration encompasses a range of

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3 '[F]rom constant association' comes from the entry, 'Familiar' in *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (ediction 1981). '[F]requently seen or experienced' comes from the entry, 'Familiar' in *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* (ediction1983). Both list 'familiar' or 'familiarity' among the meanings associated with 'Knowledge'. But the usage in the *Air and Space* article indicates that the boundaries of the known *(cognita)* and the familiar, while overlapping in the information they contain, do not coincide perfectly. There is a discrepancy between them that, unacknowledged and not provided for, can have serious methodological consequences. Perhaps that discrepancy can be foregrounded by associating the familiar with what is frequently referred to as 'common knowledge,' 'knowledge that is known by everyone or nearly everyone, usually with reference to the community in which the term is used.' (en.wikipedia.org).

4 In the United States, for example, the passage of the Hart-Celler act in 1965 brought an influx of formerly restricted populations—Africans, Asians and some Europeans—into the country. By the 1970s, studies of these new groups began to proliferate in the social and health sciences.

5 The Bureau acknowledges distinctions between the 'naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents (immigrants), temporary migrants (such as foreign students), humanitarian migrants (such as refugees and asylees, and unauthorized migrants' www.census.gov/topics/population/foreign-born/about.htm. Last access June 28th, 2020.

experiences that inevitably seek and eventually find expression in forms such as literature, music, the arts.

From this perspective, migration becomes an essential ethnomusicological concern if the discipline is to meet the challenges posed by a world where the number of international migrants continues to grow 'outpac[ing] the growth of the world's population,'[6] and where 'forced displacement has almost doubled since 2010 (41 million then vs. 79.5 million now).'[7] The musical life and the musical output of this huge and growing population cannot be ignored, nor can they be properly explained without reference to migration which, in a very real sense, creates the contexts within which that life and that music can come into existence. These contexts in turn generate both opportunities and, more urgently, contingencies in response to which migrants often discover new creative energies. Old materials and skills are re-purposed, new materials are devised and new skills learned not only as strategies for survival but to enliven expressive culture and enhance individual expression.

For studies of migration, therefore, variables such as culture of origin, circumstances of departure from place of habitual residence, legal status, and attitudes toward migrants within the receiving society must be given their due significance if migrant life, musical and more broadly social, is to be understood and accounted for.

Figure 1 below is illustrative. The general category (migration) and its human population (migrants) become members of separate groups or subcategories (Forced migrants/migration and Voluntary migrants/migration) when circumstances of departure—in this case, the voluntary or forced nature of that departure—are taken into consideration. Under each subcategory are listed the consequent conditions experienced by each subcategory of migrants. The contingencies to which each group must respond and the experiences that come out of living under each set of those circumstances cannot but have a meaningful if not a powerful and profound impact on the life rebuilt and lived as a consequence. Just as important, the migrant experience leaves its mark not only on the migrants themselves, but also on the society among which they eventually live and within which they re-create their lives.

MIGRANTS	MIGRATION
Forced migrants/migration; the forcibly displaced/ forcible displacement (refugees, asylees, displaced persons)	Voluntary migrants/migration
For those who cross a geo-political border, statelessness, loss of protection from any nation-state	Citizenship from either country of origin or country of immigration or both
Asylum uncertain[8]	Migrant control over choice of destination country; pre-arrangements prior to resettlement
Resettlement country uncertain of average time to be resettled: 17 years (Milliband 2016:24).	Schedule of departure from country of origin to resettlement in host country - largely in migrant's control
Return to country of origin: uncertain	Free to return

Figure 1. Subcategories of migration and migrants.

6 'Between 2010 and 2017 the number of refugees and asylum seekers increased by a quarter of the increase in the number of all international migrants.' From: 'The number of international migrants reaches 272 million, continuing an upward trend in all world regions, says UN.' https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/international-migrant-stock-2019.html. Last access September 17th, 2019.

7 UNHCR, https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/press/2020/6/5ee9db2e4/1-cent. Last access June 28th, 2020.

8 The implications of this and the rest of the items on the list are profound. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi, 'We are witnessing a changed reality in that forced displacement nowadays...is simply no longer a short term and temporary phenomenon...People cannot be expected to live a state of upheaval for years on end, without a chance of going home, nor building a future where they are.' From 'UNHCR Global Trends report' https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/press/2020/6/Sec9db2e-4/1-cent. Last access June 18th, 2020.

The methodological questions raised by treating migrants as though they were an undifferentiated population become evident. The above figure shows how one significant variable—the forcible or voluntary nature of migrants' departure—can so alter the circumstances of each group's life that each group's experience of migration cannot but differ in significant ways. Will the same questions and/or problems emerge from the migration experience of each group? Can the same methodology apply and be equally effective in explaining or at least adequately accounting for the musical life of either group each forged under radically different circumstances in radically different contexts?

These are issues that confront ethnomusicology as the discipline's interest in migration grows. They are methodological issues that migration is compelling ethnomusicology to confront because the music that migration brings to our attention, the music that migrants are making and using *as migrants,* make sense as ethnomusicological subject for investigation only if it is assumed that the *experience* of migration plays an essential role in the choices migrants make as they create a musical life in resettlement. This is a challenge to ethnomusicology that calls for insights from history.

A historical perspective

Inevitably, ethnomusicology's response to migration as terra (in)cognita—partially known with much yet to be known—bears the marks of ethnomusicology's history as a discipline.

Born into the lineage of Western European musicology, ethnomusicology initially known as *vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* or comparative musicology, inherited much from its forebears. Its primary object of investigation was music as sound and its visual representation, the music score, in the form of transcriptions using, in most cases, Western notation. These provided the units of analysis upon which were applied concepts and theoretical frameworks borrowed from Western musicology.

The role of ethnography or of ethnographic information in ethnomusicological work was problematic from the start. At the time comparative musicology was born, Western European musicology was dedicated to the study of European music and most, if not all of the discipline's practitioners were Europeans. It was therefore reasonable to assume that musicologists were approaching the music under study from an insider's perspective, rendering a deliberate and systematic study of the music's cultural context presumably non-essential even if it should prove desirable, and allowing for a focus on music as acoustic phenomenon.[9]

The situation in comparative musicology, however, was the exact opposite. Non-Western music was its designated subject of study.[10] Until the middle of the twentieth century, ethnomusicologists were expected to be investigating musics other than their own. What ethnomusicologists bring to those musics was supposed to be an outsider's perspective. Hence, the need for ethnography or at least ethnographic information in order to gain access to the cultural context from which music draws its meaning. But the integration of the ethnographic into a discipline that had different assumptions about its subject of study was a problem. The term 'extra-musical' was symptomatic. 'Extra' stood for something outside of or extraneous to music, complementary, probably of interest but of little if any essential explanatory value and hence, expendable. In time, the question of the role ethnography and, more broadly, anthropology, in ethnomusicological explanation became a highly debatable one, giving rise

9 Edward Said, professor of literature at Columbia University, an accomplished pianist, a former music critic and author of books on music offers insightful remarks that shed light on ethnomusicological practices that so focus on music as sound that other dimensions tend to be neglected or ignored if not devalued: '...music's autonomy from the social world has been taken for granted for at least a century and because the technical requirements imposed by musical analysis are so separate and severe, there is a putative, or ascribed, fullness to self-sufficient musicological work that is now much less justified than ever before' (1991: xvi).

10 While Merriam noted that Guido Adler in his landmark article, 'Umfang Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft ' (1885) saw the task of comparative musicology as ''the comparison of works—especially folk songs—of the various people of the earth...,'' the 'non-European' aspect of the definition received the greatest play' (1977:192).

to what came to be referred to as a 'bifurcation' of ethnomusicology into the anthropologically-oriented and ethnomusicologically-oriented.[11]

These historical factors,[12] namely: a view of music as acoustic phenomenon that called for explanation as such; a dominantly Western European musicology approach to its representation, analysis and explanation; a presumably insular and homogeneous culture as the subject music's source and wellspring; and a difficult relationship with the 'extra-musical', added up to an intellectual environment that had little interest in, if it was not in fact hostile to migration. To a discipline that had long valued insularity and self-containment as guardians of a music's authenticity, migration was a problematic phenomenon if not an intrusive force.

The present in light of the past

This view of migration obtained until well into the second half of the twentieth century when the impact of major population movements worldwide began to be felt in ethnomusicological research on topics such as acculturation, ethnicity, rural-urban migration and urbanisation.

Ethnomusicology now confronts a world where the existence of insular societies is endangered by the reach of modern transportation, technology and the media. It is a world where complex societies with borders that are porous and movable are growing in number and in influence if they have not in fact become the norm. That the number of international migrants continues to grow and that a sizable part of this population will end up in cities where population growth owes less to birth rate than to migration ensures that migration will be a major force in shaping musical life.[13] Ethnomusicology's growth and progress as a discipline requires acknowledging—and acting on—the transformative power of migration and the substantive changes that it has already wrought and promises to effect in the character of the discipline's subject of study, the questions it asks, and the issues it addresses.

The current and growing interest in migration thus underscores not only what ethnomusicology has shifted away *from:* a discipline focused on the study of so-called simple, bounded societies whose members share a common culture. The current and growing interest in migration underscores more notably, what the discipline has shifted *toward*: the study of complex, culturally diverse societies the boundaries of which are not givens but constructs. Signalled by its interest in migration, ethnomusicology's shift has thus been not just from one kind of subject of investigation to another but more significantly, from one subject of investigation to its *polar opposite*. (See Figure 2).

The theoretical and methodological implications are difficult to miss. Boundaries presumed to define and contain the subject of study, now 'do not really contain, but are more often, interestingly, crossed' (Hannerz, 1997: 2). Cultural identity no longer relies primarily if not exclusively on what the anthropologist Anthony Wallace has called the 'replication of uniformity;' what complex societies now call for is the 'organization of diversity."[14] Ethnographic data are thus no longer *extra*-musical; they have become indispensable to the explanation of subjects for study that are not only acoustic phenomena but social phenomena as well, responsive to the contingencies of the changing environments that come with migration.

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11 See, for example, Wade (2006).

12 For more detail, please see Reyes 2019, pages 40-42.

13 In 2016, Milliband reported that 'fifty-nine percent of refugees are currently found in urban areas' (2016:24). The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs reports that 'today, 55% of the world's population lives in urban areas, a proportion that is expected to increase to 68% by 2050', https://www.unorg/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-rev. Last access June 2nd, 2020.

14 Quoted from *Culture and Personality* (Wallace 1970: 158).

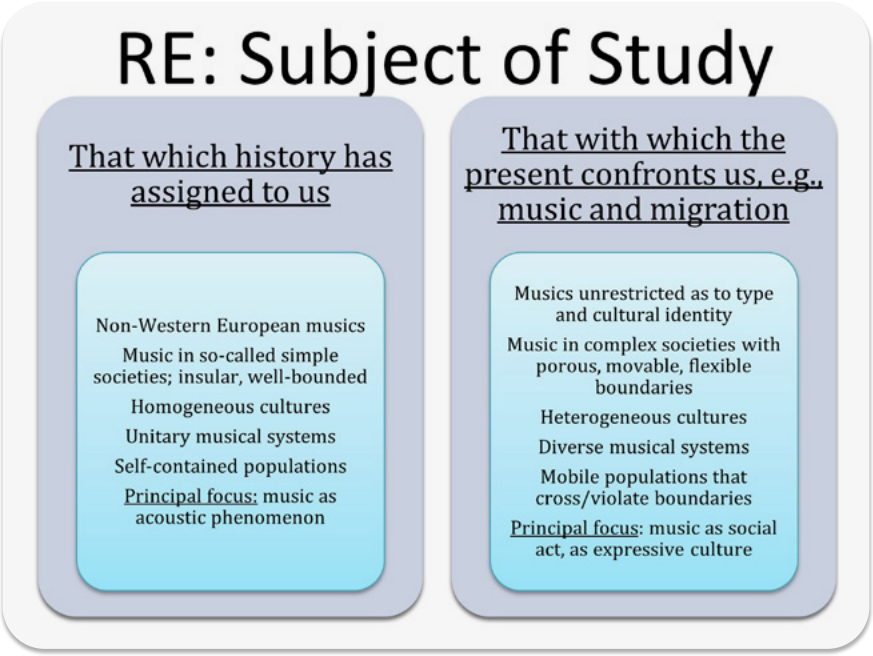

Figure 2. Ethnomusicology's shift from one subject of investigation to its *polar opposite*, because its interest in migration.

The distance that now separates what had been ethnomusicology's original subject of study and what it now studies or what the world challenges the discipline to study translates to differences not just in degree but in kind. They are differences that call for a re-assessment of theoretical frameworks and methods to ensure that means will be equal to what the ends require. The fundamental question is whether ethnomusicological method has kept pace with the radical change in the character of the subject that now calls for the discipline's attention.

Addressing that question of course requires far more study and space than this paper can offer, but two musical samples, both drawn from fieldwork among two migrant groups might give a small indication of the complex issues that are familiar to today's ethnomusicologists but were ignored probably as of no interest or as irrelevant to the discipline until the middle of the twentieth century.

First sample is *The Godfather* (Video Example 1). This item was performed by Vietnamese migrants/musicians resettled in Orange County, California.[15] One plays a traditional monochord called *dan bau,* the other a hammered dulcimer called *dan tham thap luc* at a concert organised by Lac Hong, a Vietnamese organisation dedicated to the promotion and conservation of Vietnamese culture and founded by two former teachers at the Saigon Conservatory of Music in what is now Ho Chi Minh City. The concert took place in 1992, almost two decades after the end of the Vietnam War when Vietnamese who fled or were transported out of Vietnam as asylees or refugees had become residents in Orange County.

The piece is an arrangement of the main theme from the film, *The Godfather*, directed by the American filmmaker, Francis Ford Coppola, and produced in Hollywood. The film score was written by the Italian composer Nino Rota.

Second sample is 'Lord have mercy' (Audio Example 1). The text of this song, a translation from the Greek 'Kyrie Eleison' to the English, 'Lord, have mercy', is part of the Roman Catholic mass and is well-known in many parts of the world where Christianity has a presence. In its translations into many languages, the text has been set to music in different musical idioms and styles. This particular performance was by a group of Christian Sudanese refugees[16] in Kampala, Uganda during a celebration of the Roman Catholic mass.

15 It is an arrangement by Chau Nguyen of the theme from Nino Rota's soundtrack for the Frank Coppola film *The Godfather*.
16 The item was recorded by me in 1998 before South Sudan became an independent nation-state in 2011.

Methodological considerations

From the perspective of ethnomusicology's subject of investigation as conceived early in its history (see the section 'A historical perspective' above), cultural identity and the ascription of cultural identity to the music under study was a fundamental concern. Of particular interest to musical analysis were attributes of sound that are taken to be distinctive features, markers of cultural identity. Until well into the second half of the twentieth century ethnomusicological method remained rooted in what the subject matter was assumed to be: a music of the non-Western world by makers and users from the culture of origin.

From this perspective, the two samples are of dubious value. Their cultural identity is ambiguous from the standpoint of their acoustic attributes as well as from the standpoint of the human agency involved—their creators, performers and listeners, their culture of origin and their cultural orientation. Yet as part of a human group's musical life, as part of a musical body that a society recognises and acknowledges as performing a function within it, might those samples benefit from ethnomusicological attention, and can ethnomusicology in turn benefit from taking a closer look at what musical items such as these might signify?

The Godfather

Embedded in this sample are complex issues of migrant identity and the powerful emotions that they evoke particularly in the case of forced migrants. In the stark simplicity of her words, Ngoan Le, former president of the Executive Board of the Association for the Education and Advancement of Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese Americans, stated the problem: 'When we were in Vietnam, we knew that we were Vietnamese...and we just took that for granted. But now that we are here [in the United States], the condition has changed...who are we?' This is a *cri de coeur* particularly for the forcibly displaced who become stateless the moment they cross the borders of their nation-state, who take an average of 17 years to find resettlement (see Figure 1), in the course of which they are, more often than not, among strangers, getting along with whom can be a matter of survival.

Link » Video Example 1

The Godfather, Main Theme (Nino Rota). Arrangement by Chau Nguyen.
Lac Hong (Vietnam), 1992. Video by Chau Nguyen.

The ambiguity of this sample's cultural identity echoes Ngoan Le's question. The sample is recognisably Vietnamese in some features and identifiably Hollywood film music at the same time. The setting for the performance was Vietnamese, the performers wore traditional Vietnamese costumes and the whole was accepted as Vietnamese by the Vietnamese in Orange County while the non-Vietnamese listeners were at best ambivalent in their ascription of cultural identity to the music. The ambiguity of the music's identity based both on its acoustic properties and on the ambivalence in the non-Vietnamese's response to the music indicate the cultural distance between the Vietnamese migrants and the host society of which both groups, members of the same community, are aware. Regardless, therefore, of how one chooses to look at the piece—as a work of musical craftsmanship, as an aesthetic object, as commercial product, etc.—its performance must also be understood as a social act. It responds to social stimuli; it has social consequences. *The Godfather* as a social act is a response to an environment within which the Vietnamese must interact with diverse Others to create and communicate what Vietnamese can call Vietnamese and what others can acknowledge as such if all are to be parts of one community.

Might '*The Godfather* have been an anomaly from the perspective of Vietnamese musical life as a whole in Orange County? Might it be an exception in a musical life that is more clearly identifiable as Vietnamese through acoustic features that are historically Vietnamese?

The Godfather joined a big repertory of American popular music that Vietnamese consider to be Vietnamese on the grounds that they are sung to Vietnamese texts. They dance to a rich trove of Latin American dance music that enlivened Vietnamese musical life in Orange

County. *The Godfather* was part of a musical milieu that includes an arrangement of Irving Berlin's *God Bless America*, considered the 'unofficial second national anthem of the United States'(Coleman 2019). Created to celebrate American Independence Day and the 20th anniversary of the Vietnamese arrival in the United States (1995), it featured traditional Vietnamese instruments—the *dan bau* (a monochord), *dan nguyet* (two-string moon-shaped guitar), *dan ty ba* (four-string pear-shaped lute), *dan tranh* (sixteen-stringed zither) and *dan tam thap luc* (a hammered dulcimer), battle drums and chorus. Benjamin Epstein of the *Los Angeles Times* described it as 'every bit as heartfelt as any offered on the Fourth of July' while noting at the same time, the vast difference of its sound 'from the standard...renditions.'

These musical instances echo sentiments, norms and behaviour that characterise the life Vietnamese have created for themselves in Orange County. For the first few decades of their American residency, in ways musical and non-musical, Vietnamese articulated not only who they were and what they represented but also who they were not and what they opposed. They had, for example, refused to perform items of Vietnamese traditional music if these had been used for Communist propaganda. They had insisted and obtained official permission to fly the flag of pre-Communist Vietnam[17] alongside the American flag on civic occasions to signify their identification not with the present-day Socialist Republic of Vietnam but with the Vietnam from which they felt they had been forcibly displaced. They had opposed normalisation of U.S.—Vietnam relations. These are among the elements that lend coherence to their cultural and communal identity, an identity as Vietnamese in their culture of origin and as members of a larger American society at the same time—an identity, therefore, that can appear ambiguous in its external manifestations.

It is important to keep these elements and their effects in mind particularly in light of: 1) the internally diverse Vietnamese society that migration brought to Orange County and the rest of the United States; 2) a host society that is itself culturally diverse. In the resulting environment where such diversity represents both challenge and opportunity, where the continual negotiation that enables living with cultural differences makes cultural heterogeneity systemic, treating *The Godfather* as an anomaly in a study of Vietnamese musical life in Orange County, California finds little justification.

Lord, have mercy

Lord, have mercy contrasts with *The Godfather* in almost all respects. It is sung a capella by Sudanese refugees not as an autonomous musical item in a concert setting but as part of the celebration of a Roman Catholic mass for Christian Sudanese. There is no marker, musical or linguistic, that points to a distinctively southern Sudanese musical or cultural identity. In this case, however, that very absence of expected cultural markers leads to insights on identity construction in the context of migration in general and on identity construction specific to a group of Sudanese refugees in Kampala in particular.

Link » Audio Example 1

Lord, have mercy. Mass for Sudanese refugees. Kampala, Uganda, 1998.
Recorded by the author.

Moro (2004) points to three factors that are of particular importance to the Sudanese case but which may apply beyond it to other cases: 1) the internal ethnic heterogeneity of the Sudanese both in Sudan as well as in Uganda, host country to the Sudanese; 2) the closeness of Sudan to Uganda culturally and geographically, and the porousness of their shared borders; 3) the receptive attitude of Uganda toward the Sudanese who received Ugandan refugees during the time of Idi Amin and who, at the time of Moro's writing, were 'given *prima facie* refugee status and humanitarian aid' the moment they set foot in Uganda. The first has to do with intragroup relations among co-nationals, with internal frictions that may spill over and

17 This served as the national flag of the Republic of Vietnam from 1949-1975. It is now banned in Vietnam.

complicate intergroup relations. The second allows Sudanese to walk to Uganda and back with relative ease. This means that not all Sudanese in Uganda are asylees, refugees or migrants; some Sudanese may be transients with specific tasks to undertake in Uganda. The third factor can spare asylees the protracted agony of looking for a country that would take them in, with all the risks and uncertainties that that implies.

Sudanese refugees in Kampala are described as urban refugees or as 'self-settled'[18] a status that theoretically gives them greater freedom in the use of their time and in their choice of who to associate with. The reality, however, is that constraints imposed by making not only a living but a life beyond what might be a temporary arrangement in Kampala are the price for that 'freedom'. The communal life they are able to create for themselves is marked by those constraints.

On land owned by a Ugandan, Sudanese refugees were given permission to build a one-room structure where some 50 to 70 Ugandans met to socialise, worship, hold classes or sleep when, as recent arrivals, they had not yet found a place to stay. Most of those who came were men. There were some women and a few children. All were Christian although of different denominations. All belonged to one of the two of the largest ethnic groups in southern Sudan: the Dinka and the Nuer whose long history of competitive and subsequently adversarial relations were sometimes acted out even outside Sudan. In refugee camps in Cairo, for example, Dinka and Nuer 'fought running battles on the streets' (Moro 2004: 433). In Kampala, however, and specifically among the group under discussion, there was no evidence of ethnic conflict. What was notable was the subsumption of their ethnic identity under the broader category, Christian, underscored by a musical life that was dominated by Christian hymns with English texts and a smattering of secular songs also with English texts such as 'Auld Lang Syne' and Stephen Foster's 'Home on the Range.' Non-musical activities leaned heavily toward worship and bible study classes. It was in this setting that 'Lord, have mercy' was performed.

Francis M. Deng, former Sudanese ambassador to Canada, the Scandinavian countries and the United States, may have the key to why in the case of these Sudanese refugees, Christianity supersedes ethnicity as identity marker. Deng notes that'religion is the pivotal factor in the conflict [between the North and the South]. ...The Northern identity is an inseparable amalgamation of Islam and the Arabic language. ...[The identity of the South] is indigenously African with Christian influences and a Western orientation' (Deng 2001: 1).

Threatened by Arabization and Islamization, and heavily burdened by a civil war that Deng describes as 'possibly the longest civil conflict in the world,' many Southerners sought asylum outside Sudan. The Southerners, Deng observed, 'now see Christianity as the most effective means of counteracting the imposition of Islam... (ibid.: 1). [19]

The choice of Christianity as the primary marker of identity was thus an adaptive and socially effective choice. In a situation where survival and quality of life for the Sudanese refugees in Kampala depend on intergroup relations, self-identification *as* Christian was also identification *with* the Christian, and African Ugandans with whom they also shared English as official language.

Historical relationships between Sudan and Egypt on the one hand and between Sudan and the British on the other will undoubtedly add more depth to the narrative. But the contemporary events cited provide sufficient grounds to entertain the validity of arguing that the communal musical life the Sudanese refugees had created for themselves in that corner of Kampala is consistent with who they see themselves as and how they wish others to see them: Christians. In that sense, 'Lord, have mercy' as it functions in the given Sudanese context serves as a marker for a Christian Sudanese identity that, in the binary nature of identity construction, marks them also as non-Arab non-Islamic Sudanese.

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18 Called 'urban' or 'self-settled' in contrast to the 'encamped', these were responsible for themselves, for finding their own living quarters, for their own sustenance with work they sought themselves with some help from charitable organisations. More detail on this group and their activities may be found in Reyes (2010: 126-138).

19 The consolidation of an African and Christian identity among the southern Sudanese has historical roots that go back to the efforts of British missionaries who came in 1898. It was enhanced by the protection afforded by the British from Arab slave raids and Britain's eventual abolition of slavery (Deng 2001: 2ff).

Taken together, the two samples just discussed could not seem more dissimilar—in their acoustic features, the contexts of their performance, the cultural identity of their makers and users. Yet those samples can well be members of the same category or class of musical items. Migration gives them common ground. The same dynamic processes that brought together such disparate elements as the sound of traditional Vietnamese instruments playing Hollywood film music written for Western instruments by an Italian composer were at work when Christian hymns with English texts became markers of Sudanese identity. Migration, as these two samples indicate, is a phenomenon that has far more depth and breadth than the familiar term leads its users to believe. Migration is a terrain that invites systematic exploration and promises valuable knowledge. It harbours forces that can account for musical behaviour—potential explanatory factors that ethnomusicology cannot afford to ignore.

Concluding Thoughts

This paper has endeavoured to offer a glimpse of migration's impact—actual and potential—on ethnomusicology's subject of investigation. Along with other challenges to the discipline, migration contributed and continues to contribute to the transformation of that subject which has now expanded beyond or replaced the music of insular societies, welcoming the music of complex, cosmopolitan societies that used to be unwelcome strangers in ethnomusicology's domain. Migrants now join indigenes as human agents of interest to ethnomusicology. It is largely owing to the discipline's encounter with and acceptance of migration that musical border-crossers, hybrids, fusions and forms such as rai, and reggae have been given a place at ethnomusicology's table. It thus becomes reasonable to ask: what has the discipline learned from the changes in its subject of investigation that migration has helped instigate? What can it learn about music and musical life from migration?

Perhaps the answer to both questions is contingent on the answer to another question: *how* has ethnomusicology learned and how can it learn from migration? The burden of a reply thus shifts to methodology for it encapsulates the means that leads to ends; the road followed determines whether or not one arrives at the intended destination.

This is obviously an issue that calls for far more discussion and space. But there is an important fundamental step too often ignored that can be highlighted here—one that is essential to laying the groundwork of a good research design and the methods for its execution. This step calls for bringing assumptions to consciousness so that they may be given the critical appraisal that is requisite for elements that can exert an influence on the researcher and his/her work.

Ethnomusicology's involvement with migration has helped disabuse ethnomusicologists of certain assumptions. It can no longer be assumed that a single musical system can account for the music of the entire society under study. Nor can it be assumed that the world ethnomusicology studies can be 'described usefully as a discontinuous array of entities called societies, each with its internally shared culture' (Barth 1998: 5). Social cohesion and the musical life that manifests it are products of dynamic processes that forge relations between interacting groups which proliferate in urban environments and complex societies.

More realistic assumptions must now admit the probability of influences from other systems. This follows from the admission of migrants into the ethnomusicological universe. Migrants are not only marked but defined by their having left their culture of origin or their place of habitual residence. Not infrequently they are marked by their adeptness with cultural practices not their own, acquired as they sought to fit into and, in time, gain acceptance and a sense of belonging in new social and cultural milieux. In the transformations effected by their experience of migration, migrants underscore the role played by changed and changing contexts in the creation and/or reconstruction of life, musical and more broadly social, away—and probably distant geographically and culturally—from where it began.

Assumptions can help research along; they can also hold the researcher captive and constrain or mislead research. Having been released from constricting assumptions that kept migration at a distance, ethnomusicology can now look beyond the familiar that migrants and

migration had appeared to be. Ethnomusicology now has the freedom if not the obligation to study the complexity and the richness of migration phenomena in order to get to *know* what migrants bring to the world of music. This is a long-term endeavour, for migration is a vast and growing terrain that, for some time to come, will challenge us to discover and benefit from what we can know about it.[20]

20 For more than a century now, migration and the migrant have been given central roles on the world stage. Curt Sachs (1957) has reminded us of how migration has enriched music cultures over the ages. Robert Park, sociologist and pioneer of the Chicago School of Urban Studies saw migration as 'one of the most decisive forces in history' (1928: 131). The novelist Salman Rushdie saw the migrant as 'perhaps the central or defining figure of the twentieth century' (quoted in Towers 1992) and the philosopher Leszek Kolakowski takes it as 'fact that we live in an age of refugees, of migrants, vagrants, nomads' (1990). Alexander Betts, professor of Forced migration and International Affairs at the University of Oxford predicts that 'We will see displacement and mobility as defining issues of the 21st century' (quoted in Yardley 2016). Statistics show its growing presence and influence (see footnote 6) making it likely that the role of migrants and migration in the world as a whole and in the world of music will only become more prominent and more important for the foreseeable future.

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Coexist and *Convivere*. Between Similarities and Differences

Francesco Remotti

Premise

First clarification: this chapter does not discuss matters of a musicological nature. It concerns the 'diasporas', which Serena Facci and Giovanni Giuriati proposed as the general theme of the conference. But not the diasporas in their initial motivations, nor in their development, but rather (second clarification) in their final moment, or the ways in which they may end and the outcomes they may give rise to, depending obviously on the reactions of the societies where the migratory movements find a permanent or temporary landfall.

A third clarification consists in noting that all the ethnographic cases referred to in this paper are strictly 'outdated'. Indeed, they are cases made the object of study by some anthropologists and here adopted for their paradigmatic significance. The challenge is that, although being outdated situations and events, they have the capacity to suggest subjects, points of view, especially models, more or less applicable to the diasporas of our times (the 'diasporas of the twenty-first century'), and of which the authors of many of the talks presented at the conference may have had direct experience (in life, as well as in research).

A fourth clarification concerns the appropriateness of distinguishing two successive stages in the concluding moment of the diaspora: the first is that of the impact, the encounter, the ways in which a possible reception takes place or, vice versa, rejection, repulsion (Agier [2020] for current societies; Platenkamp and Schneider [2019] for traditional societies); the second is rather the settlement stage. In the case in which the impact-encounter does not give rise to repulsion (or, worse still, extermination—an outcome of radicalised repulsion, taken to its extreme consequences), the problem immediately arises of how to understand and organise the settlement of relations between the approached society on the one hand and the diaspora groups on the other.

In this paper we intend to claim that, in the settlement stage, reception may take two different forms, or take on one of two relational modes, which in Italian we express with the terms *'coesistenza'* and *'convivenza'*, understood not as synonyms and therefore interchangeable, but as terms indicating two alternative models.

The main stages of our analytical system may therefore be summarised as follows:

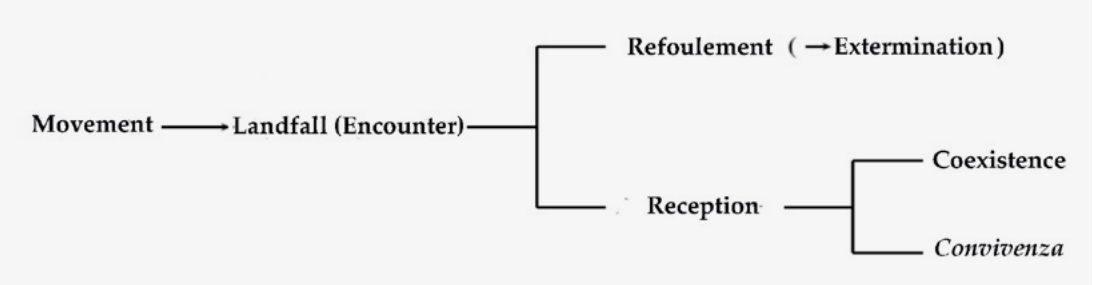

Figure 1. Different relational modes of migration reception

A final caveat is of a linguistic nature. The Italian language shares this possibility of lexical distinction with Spanish: It. *coesistenza / convivenza*; Sp. *coexistencia / convivencia*. In German—as we shall see—the distinction is marked by more clearly diversified terms and expressions. In French and English there is rather the sole term *coexistence* (obviously with different pronunciation), in which the two modes are merged, or mixed. We therefore propose maintaining in these languages the generic *coexistence* and adding—when wishing to explicitly emphasise the distinction—the Italian term *convivenza* (or Spanish *convivencia*), as a kind of temporary loan, as occurs in Italian or Spanish when various English (or in any case foreign) terms are borrowed by these languages because of their international use, their conceptual intensity or their untranslatable nature.

Coexistence and *convivenza*

The possibility of proposing a formal distinction between coexistence and *convivenza* is demonstrated by a significant overlap noted in three authors (one Spanish and two Italian) who came to this outcome at different times and quite independently: the Spanish anthropologist and sociologist Carlos Gimenez Romero (2005); the Italian constitutionalist Gustavo Zagrebelsky (2007); and the author of this chapter (Remotti 2019a). Beyond the agreement of a formal and lexical nature, the convergence of a semantic one is still more significant, in the sense that all three authors intend 'coexistence' as a model of society based on the 'separation' of groups or communities, while '*convivenza*' appears as a model of social interaction based on 'relationship', on mutual 'involvement'.

There is a common assumption between coexistence and *convivenza*: the existence of a common space. It does not matter whether the groups considered coexist or *convivono*: in both cases they inhabit a shared territory. Both coexistence and *convivenza* imply that different groups (of different origin, culture and orientation) together inhabit a single territory. In other words, in order to decide whether two or more different groups coexist or *convivono*, the territory of cohabitation must first of all be specified; that is, the portion of space in which the groups develop forms of coexistence or *convivenza*. Coexistence and *convivenza* always refer to a territory common to several groups, or to parts of a common territory, regardless of its size and characteristics. The territory may be subdivided, in compliance with the principle of the separation of groups, especially in the case of coexistence. But the parts into which the territory is divided will at least be contiguous, such as to be parts of a shared territory (neighbourhood, city, region, national territory).

We could add that coexistence is typical of the inorganic world (where distinct objects and entities occupy different parts of the territory, one beside the other), while *convivenza* finds its full manifestation in the organic world (where vegetable and animal beings give rise to an indescribable diversity of forms of symbiosis and mutual involvement).

If we now return to the human world, we can see that 'coexistence' and '*convivenza*'—although being two distinct and alternative models of social interaction—are not mutually

exclusive, or at least not entirely. We mean that, even in a regime of coexistence (separation), more or less intense moments of *convivenza* (involvement) may emerge, just as spells of coexistence (distinction, separation) undoubtedly emerge in a very close and engaging regime of *convivenza*. Let us take conjugal relations as an example. What is more engaging than these relations? They represent the utmost or the prototype of *convivenza*. However, it is easy to note that in these relations, too, there is no lack of coexistence: intense involvement in different spheres is necessarily accompanied by moments of separation in others.

These considerations then result in a lesson, that 'coexistence' and '*convivenza*' are certainly two different and even opposing social and relational models, one based on separation and the other on involvement, and yet it seems possible to say that one cannot do entirely without the other. Even in a regime of strict coexistence, it will be possible to note some factors of *convivenza*, or of sharing, communication, exchange: one also 'communicates' a desire to maintain the 'separation'. Even separation is essentially based on an agreement, on a kind of mediation and compromise, on the sharing of a perspective, an aim, a language by means of which aims, perspectives and compromises can be formulated. Indeed, even the coexistence of human groups is not an obvious, natural, spontaneous given: it demands work and effort, a basic agreement, a project, which is reasserted and repeated. It requires attention to be paid to the contexts and circumstances of the coexistence, likewise to the procedures and rules that allow it to be accomplished.

In turn, *convivenza*—whatever the involvement project may be—requires that the groups involved maintain factors and elements of separation: not a separation that denies the possibility of involvement, but a separation that, while maintaining some significant differences between the groups, makes involvement desirable and repeatable. It is worth reflecting on this point: total involvement, involvement that cancels differences, would result in a fusion, a kind of black hole in which the reasons for *convivenza* would end up disappearing. In order that *convivenza* should make sense and be proposed as a project able to be extended over time, a certain *quantum* of differences between the participants must be maintained, conserved and recreated.

To conclude on this point, we regard coexistence and *convivenza* as alternative social models, which regulate the relations between different communities or groups, starting with the cohabitation of a common territory. So they are first of all different ways of organising the cohabitation of given territories. They are alternative models, though not in the sense that they entirely exclude one another, but in the sense that they give precedence either to 'separation' (coexistence) or 'involvement' (*convivenza*). Coexistence is separation, but in order for the coexisting separation to be maintained, there is a need for a minimum of agreement and sharing (a little *convivenza*). *Convivenza*, on the other hand, is involvement, but in order for this to continue to function, the participating groups must create or recreate some of their differences: even *convivenza* requires a little coexistence.

Base operations

Beyond the dichotomy, and the typology that would stem from it, it thus seems that coexistence and *convivenza* must be regarded as a knot, or as two possibilities that—at least on a certain level—intertwine. Dichotomy and consequent typology are not diminished, in the sense that 'coexistence' and '*convivenza*' still represent two different models of territorial cohabitation, two different ways of regulating the co-presence of groups in a single territory. Coexistence and *convivenza* continue to be the object of a political choice (with profound social and human implications), which cannot be eluded when—repulsion having been avoided—one is concerned with organising and settling the type of acceptance intended to be offered (see the initial figure).

To implement the dichotomous typology of coexistence and *convivenza*, it is particularly useful to consider the work published by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies in 1887 with the title *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tönnies 1963). In all the main European languages

into which the book has been translated, *Gemeinschaft* is always interpreted as 'community' (*comunità*, *communauté*, *comunidad*), while *Gesellschaft* is given as 'society' (*società*, *société*, *sociedad*).

Summing up the aspects examined by Tönnies very succinctly, we may say that the *Gemeinschaft*, the community, is based on *zusammenleben*, on 'living together', which implies mutual trust, a sense of belonging to a single social body, solidarity, intimacy. All these feelings connote the inner life of the *Gemeinschaft*. Towards the outside the community presents attitudes of diffidence, separation and exclusion. Indeed, the greater the sense of intimacy of the *Gemeinschaft*, the deeper the 'we's' sense of belonging and the exclusion of the 'other'.

In Tönnies' view, *Gemeinschaft* is the typical traditional community, while *Gesellschaft* is the modern, urbanised society, the society that has loosened the inner bonds of solidarity and intimacy of the 'we', such as to make the role of individuals emerge. Although *Gemeinschaft* is characterised by 'living together', *Gesellschaft* is distinguished rather by *nebeneinander*, being 'side by side', one beside the other, that is, 'coexisting'. This social space, marked by distinction and separation, is the typical terrain of individualism.

Tönnies had a historic process in mind with his typology; that is, the transition from traditional, pre-modern societies, where the sense of 'we', of the community, of 'living together' predominates, to modern societies in which individualism prevails, in which individuals find themselves living, working and residing alongside and separated, in a regime of coexistence. Tönnies' schema is obviously not entirely applicable to our argument, mainly because to him *convivenza* occurs only within the community, while we shall try to ask whether *convivenza* is also a valid option outside, or in the space between different societies.

So then why dwell on Tönnies? The answer lies in not underestimating the German sociologist's contribution to defining the two fundamental options, that of 'living together' (*convivenza*) on the one hand and that of 'being beside each other' (coexistence) on the other. Furthermore, Tönnies himself, no longer content with a simple dichotomy, comes to a similar conclusion to that which we have called the 'knot'; that is, the idea that there are as many links as there are separations in every society: moments and operations that unite alongside moments and operations that divide. There is thus a *Gemeinschaft* if ties and intimacy prevail; and a *Gesellschaft* if on the contrary separations become apparent.

These considerations give rise to the idea of retracing some elementary operations, to be set as the basis of social living. The sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel thinks there are basically two elementary operations: *lumping* (uniting, assembling, putting together) and *splitting* (dividing, separating, detaching) (1996: 421). On closer analysis, it seems possible to say that *lumping* and *splitting* are two sides of a single operation, that with which social 'categories' are constructed. A third operation is missing, though, that with which social 'relations' are constructed. This is the operation of 'connecting', from the Latin *connectere* (*cum* + *nectere*), in the sense of 'weaving', 'tying together'. There would thus be three rather than two elementary operations: *lumping*, *splitting* and *connecting*. With an additional note (to which we shall return): all three are elementary operations, indispensable for the organisation of social life, but while the first and second (putting together and separating) are relatively easy operations, on hand, the third (weaving) requires considerable mastery.

We-centrism: '*convivenza*-in'

We have said that it is easier to put together (lump) on the one hand and to separate (cut) on the other, than to connect (tie, weave). This will be why the first two operations predominate in sociological and anthropological literature: more obvious, easier to describe, imagine and consider, easier also to put into practice. Proof of this, to go back to some classics of social thinking, is given by the convergence of Tönnies' approach (which appears in his work of 1887) with that of the American sociologist William Graham Sumner, whose most well-known work, *Folkways* of 1906, had a huge influence on the sociology and anthropology of the subsequent decades (Sumner 1962). The convergence lies in the fact that in both cases *convivenza* is conceived solely as a quality inside the 'we': only inside the 'we' is there *convivenza*. Both au-

thors regard *convivenza* as always and only a *convivenza-in*. Here it is not a question of territory (as noted at the outset), where different 'we' groups could cohabit—and therefore coexist or *convivere*. The 'in', on which to reflect, refers not to a territory, but to a social reality, to a 'we', and the *convivenza* is thus always and only a *convivenza-in-us*.

As noted, Sumner provided expressions that then had considerable success in the language of the social sciences, starting with the term 'ethnocentrism'. On closer inspection, the expression 'we-centrism' would be more fundamental than ethnocentrism, given that Sumner insists on the unavoidable nature of the 'we-group', which immediately determines an inside and an outside: on the one hand, the in-group, the 'we' sphere where *convivenza* is formed, and on the other the *out-group*, the open space beyond the 'we' sphere. The 'not-we' groups, the others-groups, whose main characteristic is precisely that of 'not' being us, of being irremediably and totally 'other', are situated in this external space. While the inside of the we-group is entirely dominated by feelings of intimacy and *convivenza*, the outside space is inevitably marked rather by attitudes of hatred, contempt, diffidence and hostility.

It is surprising to note that this formulation had a following even among the most critically judicious anthropologists of the second half of the twentieth century. In an essay on ethnocentrism, Edmund Leach reproduces Sumner's formulation exactly, thinking it inevitable that every 'we' puts itself at the centre of the world and claims for itself the highest level of humanity, while attributing to others the most aberrant and threatening forms of inhumanity. In this way, 'the "we" are always 'ready to destroy the 'others', under the pretext of their inhumanity' (Leach 1978: 964).

This formulation continues when anthropologists persist in always and everywhere gathering into every 'we' the search for its essence, the claim of its identity: as if every 'we' could do nothing but assert or construct its own identifying nucleus. As known, the problem of identity in anthropology—and in the social sciences more generally—has been regenerated on the basis of the idea of constructing, of doing: identity is not something given; it is the product rather of a social construction. On the basis of this idea, identitarianism is presented as being sharper and more tempered in theoretical terms, and nevertheless the idea persists that every 'we' is deemed to endow itself with an identity: the demand for identity thus becomes a universal feature. On this basis, Sumner's somewhat crude ethnocentrism (something to be attributed largely to 'primitive' societies and mentalities) is in some ways incorporated into and surpassed by identitarianism, an undoubtedly broader, more comprehensive and pliable prospect.

Identitarianism though is always a way of placing the 'we' in the centre, whose essence would consist precisely of the constant assertion and construction of an identity, which is necessarily accompanied by the construction of the other, of otherness. A sign of this move from an essentially static view of identity to a more dynamic one is the assertion of the term 'othering' or the expression 'the othering process'. At the very moment the identity of a 'we' or a 'self' is constructed or claimed, construction of the 'other' proceeds, which by definition is clearly distinguished from, or even opposed to, the individual or collective subject whose identity is being asserted. Identity is exactly—and by definition—that which is *not* shared with the other. Indeed, identity is the place *par excellence* of *convivenza-in*, and identitarianism—even the most updated and discerning, dynamic rather than static, constructivist rather than essentialist—is basically a form of 'we-centrism'.

Othering and coexistence-between

If we now go back to the table of elementary operations proposed above, we can mainly gather the operation of cutting and separating into 'othering'. What does construction of the other by us consist of if not cutting that which associates, or could associate us and others? 'Othering' is thus, primarily, an elimination or reduction of (actual and potential) similarities between us and them, because similarities are exactly what associates. One may proceed—or try to proceed—with a total and definitive cut (as the Nazis intended to do to the Jews, or the Hutu

to the Tutsi and so on): if this road is taken, the outcome is the extermination of the other, as suggested in the initial schema.

It is right though to realise that the 'othering' processes cannot always, and in any case hardly ever, be total. There is always something of that which associates that escapes the cutting: the similarities are always more numerous than the cuts to which they are subject and moreover they have the characteristic of resilience (Remotti 2019a: Chapter 5). This means that in every 'othering' process carried out by us it is important to observe what similarities are cut (denied on the mental level, eliminated on the material and practical level), what similarities are maintained and what similarities remain or reappear despite all attempts to cut. There is therefore always a grading in the 'othering' processes and it is in this spectrum of possibilities between much 'othering' and little 'othering' that the modes of interaction we are in search of (coexistence on the one hand and *convivenza* on the other) lie. In other words, either the 'othering' process presses on towards rejection and then extermination, or somehow stops, opening the way to the two modes of coexistence and *convivenza*.

In particular, coexistence is undoubtedly based on an 'othering' process, in which the differences between us and others prevail over the similarities. But this is not a process of total 'othering' (casting the other into a total otherness, to the point of extermination), it is a process of partial and so to say blocked 'othering', in the sense that certain similarities between the 'coexisting' us and others remain or are asserted despite all the differences. In a regime of coexistence, that which makes us and others similar is above all the recognition of certain rights: the right, for example, to occupy a given territory, or part of it, the right to have one's own religion, one's own culture, rituals, lifestyles, food preferences and so on. It is interesting to note that in coexistence the 'cultural' differences between us and the others tend not to be too overcharged, which would make the others even more other, and incompatible with us. Cultural differences—though present and recognised—strangely become elements or factors of similarity: we too, *like* the others, have our rituals; the others too, *like* us, have the right to practise their own customs and traditions.

The anthropological concept of culture and its attribution to the various co-present 'we' are undoubtedly factors that stop the 'othering' process, preventing it continuing further in the cutting of similarities: the others are others compared to us, but only up to a certain point; they are not entirely others. The others are others, such as to prevent *convivenza* among us. But the others are also somewhat similar to us, such as to allow a regime between us and them of 'coexistence-between': we and the others do not intend *con-vivere* in the strict sense of the word, we lead our lives fundamentally separated, one beside the other, one alongside the others, but survival is in any case guaranteed similarly to us and them.

While in coexistence the anthropological concept of culture emerges as a factor of recognition of similarities (we and the others are similarly cultural), the principle of tolerance, equally fundamental, is that which mitigates or cancels the harsh nature of differences: the differences are admitted and recognised, but if also tolerated, the possibility of their becoming a reason for contrast, conflict or reciprocal elimination is removed. Tolerance is the factor that opens the way not only to recognisability, but also to the compatibility of the differences between us and them, and this is a fundamental feature of coexistence.

However, it is necessary to be aware of the limits of tolerance (which are then the limits of coexistence). Johann Wolfgang Goethe brought these to light when he stated at the beginning of the nineteenth century that: 'Tolerating means offending', insulting, so that 'tolerance should actually be only a temporary feeling', a feeling that must be overcome, a feeling that 'must lead to recognition' (Goethe 2013: 166). Indeed, tolerating means placing oneself in a position of authority: those who tolerate consider themselves superior and from the height of their position dispense their gestures of magnanimity and enlightened tolerance. Being tolerated means rather, literally, being 'put up with'. The implicit meaning of these positions is twofold: on the one hand a hierarchical and asymmetrical relationship (superiority on the part of those who tolerate, inferiority on the part of those who are tolerated) and on the other the potentially temporary nature of tolerance (precisely in being superior, those who tolerate hold or claim significant power, that of putting an end to tolerance, and therefore to coexistence itself).

Convivenza-between

Anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientists have long been dominated by the we-centrism paradigm, according to which *convivenza* is always and only a *convivenza-in* (an internal 'we' *convivenza*). But a strong assertion of the idea of a *convivenza*-between was made right at the start of cultural and social anthropology. We owe Edward Burnett Tylor—as everyone knows—the first formal definition of culture in the anthropological field (1871). But we also owe him an equally clear argument in favour of the practicability of *convivenza* as a mode of relations between different groups or societies. It is worth quoting the piece by Tylor in full (1889: 267): 'Again and again in the world's history, savage tribes must have had plainly before their minds the simple practical alternative between marrying-out and being killed out'. In the pages we refer to, Tylor dwells on the marital relations that 'savage' or 'primitive tribes' (as known at the time) established with others, with strangers, even with their enemies. Tylor rightly suggests calling this type of marriage 'exogamy', and then adds that exogamy is what allows the 'living together in peace' (1889: 268) of savage tribes. Tylor does not speak of coexistence: he uses the expression 'living together' to indicate exactly '*convivenza*', something more than simple coexistence. These are certainly savage tribes, but also tribes that, according to Tylor, perfectly and lucidly grasp the horns of the dilemma they face and make a precise calculation of the costs and benefits.

To understand Tylor's major theoretical contribution, it is worth comparing his reasoning with Sumner's view, already taken into consideration. To Sumner and to the long list of thinkers we could define as 'identitarists' (one thinks of Carl Schmitt, among the many), the space outside the 'we' is always and in any case a hostile and threatening one, to be confronted and passed through only with weapons of defence or attack, of mutual distancing (repulsion) or extermination. In that space the 'we' always and only perform operations of 'othering', of constructing 'otherness': the real or potential similarities to 'us' are cut away from the others, such that the others remain solely others. To the identitarists the space outside the 'we' is the space in which a potentially total 'othering' process is practised: around 'us' there is nothing but otherness.

To Tylor the space outside 'us' though contains various possibilities. Despite the difficulties, misunderstandings and risks of failure, the 'we' can try to propose 'living together' with the 'others'. This is possible by making the others (Sumner's 'others-groups') a little less other, mitigating their otherness, preventing a total 'othering' taking place. There is only one way to mitigate the otherness of others: by uncovering, finding, inventing and producing elements or factors of similarity in the midst of differences. We could therefore say that operations of 'similaring' (in Italian 'assomigliamento', not *assimilazione*) are opposed to, or rather may be opposed to 'othering'.

In reality, what is Tylor's 'marrying-out' if not a risky and courageous operation of inventing, and even of producing similarities ('similaring') between groups that would otherwise remain alien to one another? Marrying-out means structurally (not episodically) connecting the 'we' to the others, and so turning the others into '*affini*' (in-laws). In Italian '*affini*' also means 'similars'. But if we go back to the Latin etymology, we find that the similarity of *affini* has to do with the approach to the border, or confine ('*affine*' comes from *ad finem*), nearing the others to the point of sharing the confine with them. In-laws are in this particularly loaded sense our '*con-finanti*', groups with which we have a confine in common, such that the confine is no longer an insuperable barrier, which inexorably separates, but on the contrary a kind of bridge, a passage that can be crossed in both directions. *Affini*, the relatives acquired by marriage, are in English *relatives in-law*, groups or people with whom a relation is established that lasts over time, and who in French, precisely for this reason, become 'allies', *alliés*.

It is important to grasp this aspect of inter-marriage as 'similaring', in order to realise that in the space outside us there is not only 'othering' (construction of otherness): there may also be processes of 'similaring' (construction of similarities). And what is 'similaring', which we see taking place especially in marriages between us and others, if not the third elementary operation we suggested, that is, connecting, weaving, tying? John A. Powell, professor of law and ethnic studies, and also director of the Othering and Belonging Institute at the University

of California, is right when he asserts—on numerous websites—that 'that which is opposed to 'othering' is not 'saming'' (identity): it is rather 'belonging', so sharing (and similarity is at the same time the foundation and result of the operations of belonging and sharing). We quote Powell's sentence in full (2017): 'The opposite of Othering is not 'saming', it is belonging. And belonging does not insist that we are all the same. It means we recognize and celebrate our differences, in a society where 'we the people' includes all the people'. Powell (2019) also asserts that 'only bridging can heal a world of breaking'. The 'bridging' of which Powell speaks obviously coincides with connecting and weaving, which we have pointed out as the third fundamental and unavoidable operation of social life.

We had already said that connecting, weaving, and now building bridges, is much more difficult than cutting, separating and lumping. But Tylor's thesis is that this is precisely what 'savage tribes' did in order to avoid mutual extermination, the *bellum omnium contra omnes* of Hobbesian memory. As may perhaps be remembered, Tylor claimed that anthropology is a science of reformers. It is so precisely because its ethnological knowledge is able to find thematic cues, or even models, which even today can claim a significant level of admissibility. In the following paragraph we will refer to ethnographic cases and contexts in which it is possible to observe groups that work scrupulously and courageously on similarities and differences to ensure different types and ways of '*convivenza*-between'.

Ethnographic cases

In the 1930s the Austrian anthropologist Siegfried Nadel—to be also remembered in this context for his musical background and interests in ethno-musicology—devoted himself to the study of a genuine form of social symbiosis in Kutigi, a locality in the Nupe territory of northern Nigeria (Nadel 1938; 1949). We will be extremely succinct. The 'symbiosis' or '*convivenza*' involves four distinct groups: 1) Nupe farmers, originally from the area and considered the owners of the land; 2) hunters, also of Nupe origin, but from a different area; 3) Benú, Islamicised traders; 4) Konú, freed slaves of Yoruba origin, artisans specialising in weaving techniques.

Their model of *convivenza* dates back several centuries and is substantially based on three levels. Outside the economic sphere, where exchanges of goods and services take place between groups marked by fairly different economies, the definition of clearly shared marriage and descent rules is striking. In particular, all the groups accept the exogamic rule—by which the search for a spouse takes place outside the individual's own group. The rule of patrilineal descent is then added to this, on the basis of which the children born from these inter-marriages become part of the father's group. It is easy to guess that the exogamic rule leads to close involvement of all the groups in the procreative processes: Tylor's 'living together' involves the future, in that it is a communal generation, a communal making of new life. At the same time, the rule of unilineal descent (in this case patrilineal) ensures that procreative involvement does not turn into fusion: on the contrary, it is a guarantee that the groups and their distinctive characteristics are maintained. Finally (third level), each of the four groups puts its religious and ritual skills at the disposal of all the others, so that all may benefit from them.

We could continue with other examples in which the functional definition of a cooperative rationale, typical of social symbioses, would be seen very clearly. It is based on the principle of maintaining cultural differences, seen not as insuperable barriers but as resources for the benefit of all. The work on the similarities and differences between the groups involved thus concerns not only their compatibility and complementarity, but also their harmonisation at several levels.

We would prefer instead to end with a mention of some cases in which *convivenza*-between different groups takes a much more problematic form. Tylor's alternative ('marrying-out or being killed out') remains valid, but in the cases we now mention the *convivenza*-between takes on strange and even disturbing aspects. One wonders what Tylor would have said if he had been able to read the monographs by the Australian anthropologist Mervyn Meggitt (1965a)

on the Walbiri of Northern Territory in Australia. These manifest a strange mix of behaviours before the 'other-groups': on the one hand contempt and rejection, and on the other ritual and matrimonial openness and collaboration. Meggitt is the same person who brought to light a similar ambiguity of the 'we' towards 'others' among the Mae Enga of New Guinea: 'we (Mae Enga) marry our enemies' (Meggitt 1965b). Even when it is decided to take the road of inter-matrimonial collaboration, the others do not necessarily become entirely the same as us.

Here we fairly clearly see a kind of dialectical competition—we could even say of weaving, of *symplokê* (Plato)—between the logic of 'similaring' (exogamic inter-marriage) and that of 'othering' (contempt and distancing). It is as if the space outside us cannot be entirely pacified, as if the reasons that make the others 'others' compared to 'us' cannot be entirely eliminated. 'Similaring' and 'othering' contest the space between us and others and it is crossed both by matrimonial relations and by relations of hostility, almost as if to show on the one hand that 'similaring' and 'marrying-out' can overcome the barriers erected by 'othering' and hostility, and, on the other, that the exogamic practices are not entirely peaceful or pacifying. The 'living together' of which Tylor spoke does not necessarily result in peace: it is possible to 'live together' even in war.

We end with a fairly complex case, to show that *convivenza*-between is not foolish 'do-goodery' (as the detractors of *convivenza* usually say): often it is a complicated affair, requiring courage, initiative, imagination and application. Having already discussed the case in question more analytically (Remotti 2000: 59-79; 2019b), we will here restrict ourselves to some of its essential elements. The American anthropologist Roy Grinker (1994; 1997) has very clearly shown the ambiguous relationship between the Lese farmers of the Ituri forest (Democratic Republic of Congo) and the Efe hunters. The Lese show profound contempt for the Efe: their 'othering' towards the Efe pushes considerably towards de-humanisation, to the point of considering the Efe as being more similar to monkeys than to human beings.

Despite this, Grinker's analysis highlights increasingly intense levels of involvement (and so of 'similaring'): these range from exchanges and cooperation on an economic level to close and continuous ties between Lese and Efe families that are renewed from generation to generation, bonds of friendship that are closer than kinship itself. Despite all the denigration mentioned above, Efe women are often midwives for Lese women and Efe children are often raised in Lese villages. How is it possible that on one level there is de-humanising denigration and, on other levels, the sexual attraction of Efe women to Lese men, such that they are taken as wives, and the idealisation of Efe men, considered strong, faithful and capable of protecting their Lese partners?

Despite all the racial 'othering' of the Lese towards the Efe, extraordinary forms of 'living together' are seen: the Efe live in the forest, but nevertheless there is an intense participation, a 'living together', that reaches its peak at times of mourning. When someone dies, the Lese entrust the Efe with the task of coming into their villages, of living the intimate life of the village, with the aim of finding the *kunda*, the evil present in some inhabitant of the village that would have provoked the death of one of them. How is it possible that the so denigrated Efe—so different from the Lese—are asked to enter into the most secret life of the Lese 'we'?

The answer is that their difference, their being 'forest people', is exactly what justifies their being able to enter into the most intimate part of the Lese's social life, where the *kunda*, the evil, resides: there is in this way, on a spiritual, psychological and inter-personal level, a kind of 'endo-symbiosis', of 'intra-cellular symbiosis'. In order to periodically eradicate the '*kunda* from the innermost part of the 'we' (on the occasion of doleful events), the Lese allow representatives of the extreme otherness, the Efe, forest inhabitants, to enter their realm, almost as if to admit that alone, enclosed in their villages, in their culture, in their 'identity' (as the anthropologists would love to say), they are completely powerless.

To the Lese the *kunda* is an evil that is produced in the deepest intimacy of the 'we'. The Lese, as described by Grinker, are builders of a firmly closed 'we', as shown by the '*convivenza*-in' of their villages. However, at odds with the theorists of the 'we-groups' and their '*convivenza*-in' consisting entirely of trust, solidarity, sense of community, intimacy and participation (Tönnies 1963, Sumner 1962), the Lese develop a clear awareness of the evil that is inevitably formed in the deepest layers of the 'we': jealousy, envy and resentment are the

feelings that contaminate the internal social relations of the 'we' and from which evil (misfortune, illness, death) springs.

The thinking of the Lese, according to which in order to free themselves from the evil inherent in the '*convivenza*-in-us' it is necessary to turn to the 'others', to the representatives of the extreme otherness of the Lese world, is notable and courageous. The deeper the evil in 'us', the more 'we' are powerless to find it and free ourselves of it. It is the 'others' who must enter into 'us' to find out where it lies and eradicate it with investigations, confessions, social and personal adjustments and, if necessary, expulsions from the village.

Grinker asked an elderly Lese woman what the life of the Lese would be like without the Efe, these so different and much denigrated beings. The reply could not be clearer and, to us, conclusive: 'Life without Efe? Life without Efe is bad. For a long time we have been with them' (Grinker 1997: 119). We now know why life without the Efe is bad, is evil: because the Efe, thanks to their being so profoundly other, such as to be denigrated, thanks to their 'difference-resource', are the only ones able to periodically uproot the evil in the Lese 'we', and this is why the Lese and Efe have 'lived together' for such a long time.

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Wencheng-Milan Return. Transnational Musical Practices in the Chinese Diaspora to Italy

Francesco Serratore

This article presents a study on the musical practices of the Chinese community in Milan, the oldest and largest settlement in Italy. In fact, the first group of Chinese arrived in Milan after the end of the First World War. However, it must be remembered that until the end of the 1970s, the number of members of the community was limited to a few hundred. Only later did the community begin its rapid development, today (2019) reaching about 20,000 members. The latest and most numerous groups is in fact the result of chain migration from some rural areas in the province of Zhejiang, more specifically from certain counties bordering the city-prefecture of Wenzhou. Amongst these, Wencheng is the county from which most of the members of the Chinese community in Milan hail.[1]

Wencheng is located in southeast China in the province of Zhejiang and belongs administratively to the prefecture of Wenzhou. It is a geographical area that includes a territory of about 1,300 square kilometres and has just over 300,000 inhabitants. (See Figure 1)

Figure 1. In the image on the left side we can see the Zhejiang region in red. While on the right we can see the detail of the prefecture of Wenzhou where Wencheng county is located.

1 For more information on the history and composition of the Chinese community in Milan, see Lynn (1998) and Cologna (2002; 2004; 2005; 2020).

The work, supported by long term multi-sited[2] research between Italy and China, intends to highlight how musical practices can be a privileged observation point for studying migration processes and the peculiar transnational dynamics of this community. It also proposes to suggest new study methodologies which could find application in the most recent musical diasporas, especially trade ones.[3]

Starting from two of the peculiar characteristics of the Chinese community in Milan, that is having been established almost entirely at the start of globalisation and the fact that most migrants came from only one Chinese county, the county of Wencheng, this paper intends to highlight the 'disjointed flows' (Appadurai 1994) of people and musical practices between the place of origin and the destination of migrants, and analyses the role of music in identity formation and identity representation.

Thanks to multi-sited fieldwork research, several similar elements emerged in the use of music in Milan and Wencheng, along with particular differences. In the following text, I will try to explain the reasons for these 'similarities and differences' (Remotti 2019) that mainly concern the relationships between places, music and people, and the ways in which they use music to represent their cultural identity within a space that can in fact be defined as transnational, i.e. an identity model where 'networks, activities and life models of migrants include both the society of origin and that of arrival, and their lives cross in various ways national borders, bringing both societies within a single social field' (Ambrosini 2008: 1).

In order to give the reader the clearest possible representation of the cultural phenomenologies produced by the transnational life of migrants, I will present an overview of the different types and levels of musical practices that I have encountered. I will make particular reference to both the local musical practices (especially rituals) that I found in Wencheng, and their diffusion—or not—within the global diasporic panorama. I will also propose a comparison with the more institutionalised musical practices that are often produced and considered at a national level (Chinese) to specifically be symbolic bearers of group identity and values in diasporic communities.

The study of these musical practices and the cultural processes that determine them raises a series of questions to which I will try to give an initial answer: how has globalisation and its consequences in terms of speed and ease of movement between the place of origin and the place of arrival, as well as in terms of the ever faster flows of music and information, influenced the relationship between migrants and music? What are the differences in terms of the use of musical practices between the relatively recent Chinese community in Milan and the Chinese diasporic communities in older settlements in other countries? What music do the Chinese migrants in Milan use today to represent themselves in the cultural context of their arrival destination and in that of their origin? What differences are detectable between the Chinese diaspora in Milan (trade type) and the forced diasporas?

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2 'Multi-sited' terminology referring to fieldwork has become part of the anthropological and ethnomusicological vocabulary starting from the text of Marcus (1995). In fact, some ethnomusicologists were pioneers in what is today defined as the field of multi-sited research: at the beginning of the 1970s, an article by Regula Qureshi (1972) on Indian immigrants in Canada proposed, among the various research strategies, to identify a certain musical repertoire of migrants both in the place of origin and in their place of arrival. In 1993, Giovanni Giuriati (1993) compared the musical practices of Cambodian refugees in Washington D.C. with those of the places of origin in Cambodia.

3 In recent decades, the term diaspora has acquired a new position and new meanings within the anthropological and ethnomusicological debate (Cohen 1997; Clifford 1997; Zheng 2010; Carter 2010). This term, which was previously used only to refer to Jews or Armenians, is often used to mean any 'dispersion' of a people in many other areas of the planet. An important contribution to the history of the concept of diaspora and the theories that accompanied it was presented by Cohen (1997), who distinguished diasporas in various typologies on the basis of the reasons that determined the phenomenon: 1) The diasporas of the victims (African and Armenian) 2) Imperial diasporas (the best example of which is the British case); 3) The labour diasporas (exemplified by Indian contract workers in plantations, and in some respects also by Italians in America); 4) The deterritoralized diasporas (amongst which Cohen places the Caribbean migrations); 5) Trade diasporas (Chinese and Lebanese).

Implementation and results of multi-sited research

In the initial phase of the research, after having learned of the common place of origin of most of the Chinese migrants in Milan, and having noticed through interviews and personal conversations the strong bond that still exists between migrants and their place of origin, I decided to analyse the cultural and musical aspects of the community, starting from Wencheng.[4] For this reason, I initially limited the investigation to each of the two locations (Milan and Wencheng) and then analysed the flow of people and cultural practices between the two places.

I lived in Wencheng for about a year in 2016, and have often returned to it in subsequent years for shorter periods of time. Fieldwork in Wencheng began with a journey, following the 'routes' (Geertz 1999) that migrants travel. The first time I went to Wencheng, I was guided by a migrant, Andrea Lin. On the flight from Milan to Wenzhou, most of the passengers were migrants who were temporarily returning to their homeland.

When I arrived at my destination, I noticed the strong bond that exists between Wencheng and Italy. It is very easy to meet people who speak Italian in this Chinese county and, at the same time, to have the opportunity to drink coffee in one of the many Italian-style cafes. The Italian habit of drinking espresso is also common in Wencheng. There are also a lot of grocery and household product stores that sell Italian products which are normally difficult to find in China.

In Milan, I had never had the opportunity to learn about Wencheng's local musical traditions and seeing that such traditions were noticeably absent in both practice and in conversations with the migrants in Italy,[5] I was not sure that they even existed in Wencheng.

From the first days of research in China, however, I found myself faced with a broad spectrum of local musical traditions. They were musical practices related to religious rituals. These included puppet theatre, storytelling and, above all, funeral musical practices, all practices related to the ritual sphere.

To study the relationship between migrants and music, I therefore decided to focus for a period on the music and the local musicians, and not directly on the migrants themselves.

As a result of this work, the framework of musical practices in Wencheng County was, in my opinion, structured in this way:

1. Musical practices and activities that affect China as a nation, and which are quite similar in various areas of China. These are musical activities which use a popular repertoire, such as ktv (Chinese karaoke) and various musical performances held in local auditoriums, as well as musical practices related to traditional Chinese music as understood in a broader way, such as small musical groups that perform the arias of the Peking opera as well as famous musical pieces from the best-known instrumental repertoires at a national level (practices which are also present in Milan).
2. Musical practices closely related to the territory, generally related to the ritual sphere, such as funeral music and local opera performances, particularly with puppets and storytellers (practices absent in Milan).
3. The 'patrimonialized' and 'spectacularized' version of some of the ritual practices such as puppeteering and storytelling which, in addition to a change in the performing style, also entails a decontextualization from the ritual world (practices that thanks to a greater level of institutionalisation began to arrive in Milan and Italy through events specifically organised by the Chinese government).

   It is the ritual musical traditions that constitute the most interesting example, given that

4 In Milan, I had mainly encountered musical practices regarding the Chinese popular music sphere, which were very similar to those presented daily by CCTV (China Central Television) or by Chinese MTV (Serratore 2016).

5 Bibliographic research on the subject had not produced many results either. To date, Western language publications on the musical traditions of Wencheng or more generally of the Wenzhou prefecture, are very limited. In Chinese, however, reference can be made to some scientific articles such as Wang (2010) on funerals and Chen Jie (2015) on storytellers. There are also volumes published by the local department of culture in which there is a general overview of the traditional musical practices of the whole prefecture (*Heritage* 2012).

they are more in contrast with the music found in Milan and at the same time are closely connected with the life of migrants. The clearest example concerns funeral music,[6] which is absent in Milan but very much present in Wencheng. Other emblematic examples are the puppet theatre and storytelling performances. Next, I will briefly highlight the characteristics of these practices by focusing on the links they have with Chinese migrants in Italy.

Ritual music in Wencheng

During the fieldwork I did in Wencheng, musical practices related to funeral rituals were the first types of musical performances I noticed. This is due to the average advanced age of the resident population, the visual and sound appearance of the rituals, and the concurrence of multiple events scattered around the villages on the same day. This is because the dates of the ritual are chosen by the *fenshui* master geomancers through consultation with the *huangli* calendar. When a date is designated as particularly lucky, there is a large concentration of events. It is a type of event that requires the presence of multiple ritual specialists and musicians. As confirmed by Wang (2010), who has studied the music of funeral rituals in Wencheng, the rituals are entirely accompanied by music and musicians who can be both lay Taoists celebrating and playing at the same time and musicians who are not celebrants.[7]

The strong link between Wencheng and migrants has contributed to keeping these practices alive. As stated by several performers and ritual specialists whom I interviewed and, as I have seen personally, about 30% of the funeral rituals performed in a year concern the families of migrants returning from Italy. For them, holding the funeral of a family member in a rich and sumptuous manner is a way to highlight the success of their migratory journey and to showcase their new status within the community of origin.

The importance of social and economic status competitiveness has led some scholars to say that, in Chinese funeral rituals, the procedure has become more important than the religious aspects and beliefs. And that it has in fact exceeded the importance of orthodoxy. In this regard, it is worth noting what Watson said in 1988:

> When considering Chinese funerary ritual the question of audience becomes very complex. Who judges, and thereby validates, the performance? the deceased? The community? the gods, ancestors, and guardians of hell? or the performers of the rites themselves? [...] [Most villagers make it clear by their actions that the general community, represented by neighbours and kin, constitutes the most important audience. [...] It is the proper performance of the rites-by specialists, mourners, and community members-that matters most to everyone concerned [...] The internal state of the participants, their personal beliefs and predispositions, are largely irrelevant. (Watson 1988: 6)

In fact, the funeral ritual consists of a performance, with a predefined tripartite structure, a set of rites that involve family members and specialists of the ritual (musicians), and a series of fun and entertaining activities. The relatives of the deceased, often migrants who have returned specifically to participate in the ritual, take part in this performance, carrying out special movements, prayers and songs accompanied by music. This means that these sonorous and gestural elements are actually part of the life and the musical culture of the migrants. At the same time, during these complex events where performance tends to have more importance than the actual emotional state of participation, music plays an important role. This

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6 For more information on funeral rituals in Wencheng, see Serratore (2018a).

7 Christian or Buddhist funerals are rarely celebrated by the monks of the Wencheng *Anfu* temple (Wang 2010). The term lay Taoists refers to lay ritual specialists, not associated with temples but who mainly use Taoist symbols and texts. The most widespread religious practice is the Chinese Folk religion, a set of religious and ritual practices which, although not belonging specifically to institutionalised religions such as Buddhism and Taoism, often refer to both in their use of symbols, icons and texts. It is difficult to give a precise definition to what is called Chinese Folk Religion in English. If many scholars only consider it as a set of non-institutionalised beliefs and practices of worship, recently Wai Yip Wong in the article *Defining Chinese Folk Religion: A Methodological Interpretation* (2011), highlighted how Chinese Folk Religion can be considered an independent albeit non-institutionalised religion.

allows dozens of traditional musicians to make music their profession and to therefore continue to perform other ritual practices that require the use of the same musical ensembles.[8]

Therefore, traditional musicians enjoy a good economic situation in Wencheng, and in fact do not have the need to emigrate abroad. Based on some interviews that I carried out, one of the reasons that pushes young Wenchennese to choose the path of migration is the need to attain an economic status that would allow them to marry, or be able to pay the *pingli*[9] (bride price) to the family of the bride. In these terms, a funeral musician manages to have a sufficient income for this purpose and therefore does not need to emigrate.

On the one hand, this has meant that some musical traditions have remained alive in Wencheng more than in other places in the same province, and that they also involve the younger generations. On the other, it has meant that there is an absence of such professionals among Wenchennese migrants in Italy. In addition to the funeral rituals per se, which represent the majority of the performance activities, there are various requests for ritual specialists for celebrations occurring on the 30th day after death and on the death anniversary, as well as propitiatory rituals dedicated to the search for luck or even, for example, for fertility.[10]

The absence of ritual music in Milan

The investigation into funerals, which could also be extended to the other ritual musical traditions of Wencheng such as puppet theatre and storytelling which are also not found in Milan,[11] pushed us to investigate the reasons for these absences. Observing the celebrations of some of the main events that the Chinese community organises in Milan, such as the moon festival and, above all, Chinese New Year we can see that they never refer to Wencheng's musical traditions, but try instead to create an event that best corresponds to the 'diasporic imagery' of Chinese New Year. The latter is often influenced by what is broadcast by Chinese mass media, so they tend to present (national) traditional music and popular music rather than local traditional music.

What happens in Milan is that, employing the human and economic resources of the community, a series of shows are put on. These normally include dances to Chinese 'popular' music, and songs related to the same musical sphere both performed by amateur performers. Short references are added to instrumental songs and songs related to Chinese (national) musical tradition, such as Peking opera or short *guzheng* cetera performances.[12]

There are also musical activities, usually simple to perform, which involve the participation of both Chinese citizens and members of the 'host' society.

Last but not least is an example of musical practice carried out during the celebrations of the Chinese New Year in Milan, which is represented by the dragon dance. This practice, from what I was able to observe during the Chinese New Year 2015, represents an emblematic element to highlight the results of this research. It is in fact a practice that exists both in China

8 Within the traditional music scene of Wencheng, the instrumentalists who perform at the funeral (see Figure 5) represent a large portion of the total of traditional musicians present in the area. The same ensembles are used to accompany the performances of *ouju* opera, *muouxi* marionettes (see Figure 6) and the dragon parade during the New Year's festival (see Figure 7), always with ritual purposes.

9 The *pingli* is a sum of money necessary to pay the bride's family who will have one less member of the family following the wedding. In fact, according to Chinese tradition, the bride becomes a member of her husband's family. Considering that *pingli* is very expensive in Wencheng, and that in addition to *pingli*, the families of the brides ask for guarantees such as a home and a luxury car for the groom, getting married involves the achievement of an important goal in the life of a young man from an economically disadvantaged background.

10 These rituals are often performed by specialists without the presence of those directly involved. It is sufficient for a migrant to transfer the amount of money due to them, generally through an application included in the WeChat system, the social network most used by Chinese.

11 I investigated these musical practices more thoroughly in my doctoral thesis (Serratore 2018b) and it emerged that, even with the presence of potential performers in Milan, there were no circumstances in which they could have performed.

12 I mean that these practices are recognised nationally as a musical tradition and therefore do not refer to individual areas or particular minorities in China.

at a national level and in Wencheng at a local level. In Wencheng, however, this practice has a mainly ritual role, accompanied by prayers and propitiatory rites and is closely related to local temple activities. In Milan the ritual/religious function almost totally disappears, to the point that it is carried out by a group made up of Italian athletes and musicians (see Figures 2, 3 and 4).[13]

Figure 2. The music ensemble of the Italy Lion and Dragon Dance during the Chinese New Year parade in Milan (2015).

Figure 3. A member of Italy Lion and Dance during the Chinese New Year parade in Milan (2015)

13 In 2015 a group of young Chinese wanted to bring a second dragon (in addition to the one brought by the Italians) to the parade but the dragon itself broke in two parts immediately after the start of the parade. In the following years (2016 and 2017) this group brought the dragon again but there were no suitable musicians to accompany the dance.

Figure 4. A musical group made up of both Italians and Chinese during the Chinese New Year celebrations in Milan (2015).

In Figure 2, you can in fact see a group of percussionists[14] accompanying the dragon parade during Chinese New Year in Milan, in which a group of Italians play Chinese percussion instruments, instruments that, as stated by the performers themselves, belong to the musical tradition of Hong Kong. Making a comparison with what happens musically in Wencheng during the same event, it is obvious that the dragon dance is accompanied by a musical ensemble different from that of the group of Italians in Milan This is the musical ensemble called Chuida. *Chui* means to blow, *Da* means to strike. The Wenzhou *chuida* is in fact mainly composed of wind instruments and percussion instruments. Generally, there is a set of gongs (*daluo* and *xiaoluo*) and a drum *gu*, to which the oboe *suona* is added. This kind of ensemble is used in Wencheng to accompany funerals (see Figure 5), *muouxi* marionette performances (see Figure 6) and the dragon parade during the New Year's festival (see Figure 7), always with ritual purposes.

14 These are the members of the *Italy Lion and Dragon Dance Association* who are all Italian. The Association was founded in Perugia by Pierpaolo Monaco, in 2004. Today, the company participates in dozens of oriental culture festivals, and periodically collaborates with the various Chinese communities in Italy. The group is made up of real athletes who follow a specific training regarding both martial arts and the dragon and lion dance.

Figure 5. The musical ensemble *chuida* during a funeral celebration in Wencheng.
We can see the Chinese oboe *suona* (2016).

Figure 6. The musical ensemble *chuida* during a *muouxi* marionette performance in Wencheng (2016).

Figure 7 The musical ensemble *chuida* during the Chinese New Year parade in Wencheng (2016).

The difference lies in the type of percussion instruments used, and above all, in the addition of the Chinese Oboe *suona* which plays with the percussion set, a double-reed instrument that is absent in Milan. *Suona* represents one of the main ritual music instruments in Wencheng, where there are no funerals, ritual puppet shows or ritual opera performances without *suona*. So, the musical group that accompanies the dragon in Wencheng is basically made up of the same musical ensembles and actors who normally play during the funeral rituals and Taoist propitiatory rituals in Wencheng. Even during the most important event organised by the Chinese community in Milan, there is a total absence of this musical ensemble, which also coincides with the absence of funeral rituals in Milan.

Some possible reasons for these differences and for the lack of music belonging to the local traditions of Wencheng during Chinese New Year in Milan could derive from the fact that many Chinese migrants in Italy today believe that the traditional music of their place of origin is 'old' music which is representative of 'backwardness' and 'poverty', and therefore not suitable for self-representation in Milan. On the other hand, the opportunity for Milan's migrants to easily return to Wencheng whenever they need to, to carry out the rituals that require the use of this music, has meant that they were not forced to bring this music to Italy.

This is also confirmed by the noticeable absence (even in the presence of potential performers) of Wencheng's other main ritual musical practices. For example, during my PhD research (Serratore 2018b), I got to know some Wencheng storytellers[15] who live or have lived in Italy, and who have never had the opportunity to perform in Milan but who instead perform as professionals when they return to Wencheng.

Differences between the Chinese community of Milan and other older Chinese communities in the use of music

What I found in Milan is different in comparison with other Chinese diasporic communities around the world. Analysing studies on the Chinese immigrant communities in South East Asia (Tan 2016) or those in the United States (Zheng 2010), we can see that they have in fact recreated in their land of arrival musical situations suitable for rituals very similar to those that they left at home, and at the same time, they use funeral rituals to represent their identity in the diaspora.

> Funerals offer a family the opportunity to demonstrate duty, devotion, and honor to the deceased and to enhance the status of the family. In this respect the impression made by the funeral and the opinions of the observers become consequential. In San Francisco, this duty is often demonstrated in Chinatown's public areas, where peers from clan and regional associations, neighbours, and visitors can visually assess the level of funeral tribute. [...] Chinese band playing Chinese funeral music with traditional instruments will be in the procession. (Crowder 2001: 259)

Amongst the reasons for the difference between the community in Milan and those in the oldest settlements, I believe that the main one concerns the current development of the phenomenon of transnationalism. Considering the rather recent establishment of the Chinese community in Milan, we can say that it has developed in the midst of the globalisation process. What is clear is that the transnational approach that the community has assumed since its origins has acquired greater elasticity and dynamism over time. Distances, times and costs have been reduced to the point that migrants have been allowed to delegate some aspects of their life to their native country and others to their place of immigration. Certainly, one of the most evident aspects of this transnationality is represented by the choice of the place and the methods for carrying out funeral rituals and the musical practices connected to them.

Taking as reference the two analytical categories proposed by Giovanni Giuriati (1996), namely music as 'needs' and music as 'identity representation', we can affirm that music as a 'necessity' (that of rituals) has been assigned to the place of origin while other music has

15 Wencheng's storytellers perform what is called Wenzhou *guci*, a ritual musical practice in which only one performer sings, recites and plays (Chinese zither *niujinqin* and *biangu* and *paiban* percussion).

been chosen as a form of 'cultural identity' of the community in the land of diaspora. In fact, Wencheng's ritual musical traditions represent a necessity for the Chinese in Italy, and at the same time, they are part of their 'cultural intimacy' (Herzfeld 1997) which they do not intend to show off in Italy, as they do not consider it suitable as a form of identity representation.

To fully understand the situation of the Chinese community in Milan we should also consider another aspect: when the Wenchennese community arrived in Milan, it did not find a previous and structured Chinese community. In fact, until the early 1980s the number of Chinese in Italy was limited to a few hundred people. A different situation, which I am investigating for the post-doctoral research that I am doing for the Shanghai Conservatory of Music and currently as Professor in Ethnomusicology at the Zhejiang Coservatory of Music can be found in the Netherlands. For example, since the early 1980s, numerous groups of migrants from Wencheng have also made their way to Amsterdam. However, in this circumstance, the Wenchennese found a different situation compared to the Milanese one. This was because Chinatowns had already been established in the Netherlands at the beginning of the twentieth century and had undergone great development throughout its course. These groups of Chinese consisted of citizens mainly from the Chinese southern region of Guandong, Hongkong, Fujian. When the Wenchennese arrived in Holland (1980s) they therefore found a social structure and a cultural environment (Chinese) which, although not identical to that of their place of origin, was suitable to satisfy some of their primary needs.

From a first analysis, it emerged that unlike those in Milan, they have chosen to carry out funeral rituals in Holland, creating special structures. For example, in Utrecht, there is a Buddhist temple, built and financed entirely by the Wenchennese community in Holland, home to ten Buddhist nuns, who all come directly from China and to whom the community refers for the development of ritual and religious life. This, together with other characteristics (political, cultural, social) in the Dutch context, leads to a lower return flow of Wenchennese migrants from Holland compared to those from Milan.

Conclusions

The results emerging from my research highlight, on the one hand, a line of continuity between the Chinese community in Milan and a large part of the Chinese diasporic communities around the world, as the musical aspects concerning the more institutionalised practices carried out in Milan are very similar to those found by various Chinese music diasporas scholars around the world.[16]

On the other hand, elements of discontinuity between Milan and Wencheng have come to light, especially regarding the fact that the local musical traditions of Wencheng do not go beyond Chinese national borders.

These elements of discontinuity represent a characteristic of the Chinese community in Milan when compared to other Chinese communities that have been studied. In fact, both in the Chinese diasporas of the oldest settlement and in Chinese settlements that developed parallel to the context of the Wenchennese in Italy, different situations have emerged in comparison with the specific case of the Chinese community in Milan.

1. As for the diasporas of more ancient settlements such as those in South East Asia and the United States, i.e. communities that developed prior to globalisation when it was not possible to return often and easily to the homeland, migrants attempted to perform ritual music at the place of arrival, in some cases adapting it to the local human and musical resources. They therefore committed themselves to recreating their local musical traditions in their new place of settlement.

16 Above all, these are more institutionalised musical practices broadcast by the mass media. The title of the fourth chapter of *Claiming Diaspora* (Zheng 2010): *Our goal is to stay connect with the world* may be indicative.

2. With regard to the settlements that developed in a time period similar to that of the Chinese in Milan, we have the example of the Chinese community in the Netherlands, where the Wenchennese, upon their arrival, found a structured Chinese community. For this reason, they had the opportunity or perhaps the need to make different choices from those made by the Chinese community in Milan.

This second point is in need of further investigation and at the same time highlights the complexity of analysing the flow of cultural and musical practices between certain diasporic communities. The analysis requires a careful and long-lasting multi-sited field survey that takes into consideration the political and cultural contexts of the arrival destinations which must then be compared with those of origin.

As regards the results of the multi-sited survey between Milan and Wencheng, it highlighted the effective transnationality of migrants who in fact try, often successfully, to remain connected to the social and cultural realities of their place of origin and that of their destination. What Sayad (1999) called a 'double absence' in reference to the Algerian migrants of France, for the Chinese migrants in Milan becomes more and more a double presence, where migrants decide to emphasise some aspects of their identity rather than others according to the place where they are located.

In each of the two places (origin and destination), migrants know all too well that they are in distinct cultural and social fields, and in living in a particular space they put different forms of identity representation in place. The opportunity to move freely and quickly between Wencheng and Milan has meant that they have created two different cultural and musical realities with which to represent themselves. In one, 'the local' is maintained and preserved, both as an identity foothold,[17] and as a 'necessity' for the realisation of funeral and propitiatory rituals, whose music is not considered by the Chinese migrants in Milan to be suitable for the Italian context. In the other, the 'national' (Chinese) is considered more modern and more suitable for cultural interaction in the arrival destination, and is represented in Italy, often with the intervention of the Chinese government.[18]

This opportunity to choose the place (Milan or Wencheng) where certain ritual practices are performed is in fact the result of a transnationalism which has become more and more 'real' rather than virtual, thanks to the achievement of a comfortable economic status—a working condition that allows a certain freedom of movement and the opportunity of crossing borders in an increasingly free, fast and cheap way. A transnationalism that travels with people by plane rather than on the Internet or on television.

It is on the analysis of this effective transnationalism and on the repercussions it has on musical practices in diasporas that this work wants to propose its contribution to the bibliography already in existence on the subject by highlighting that the presence of certain characteristics in a diasporic community, such as wealthy economic status, development during the period of globalisation, and favourable political and economic conditions in the countries of origin and of arrival, can create an increasingly effective transnational existential continuity today. On the contrary, in the absence of these assumptions, there is a tendency to readjust or create what Anderson (1991) defines as 'imagined communities'. This is shown by studies on the most ancient Chinese diasporas (Zheng 2010, Tan 2016, Kiong 2004) where traditional musical practices were exported to the place of emigration in a way very similar to the homeland, and also more generally on diasporas which are not commercial in nature but forced ones where those who emigrate do not always have any chance of returning to their homeland.

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17 The Wenchennese of Milan, especially the earlier generations, know full well that their strength and their greatest support is given by their *guanxi*. The term guanxi defines a network of social relationships and often of mutual aid that goes beyond family ties, and which is the fulcrum of the social system of present-day rural China. This network is particularly important in Wencheng County where the same chain of migration is the result of these networks that today have become de facto transnational. *Guanxi* binds migrants from the identity, moral and physical points of view to the land of origin. Many texts that analyse Chinese economic and entrepreneurial models refer precisely to the Wenzhou model, which is based on family business extended to the *guanxi*. It becomes evident that such a model, in diaspora, can lose efficiency if there are no strong roots. In my opinion, for many Wenchennese, the musical and ritual practices that are maintained in Wencheng are one of the elements that nourish these roots on a daily basis.

18 There is a special government office for overseas Chinese affairs, the *Zhongguoyuan Qiaowu Bangongshi*.

If this aspect of effective transnationalism has clearly emerged, what requires immediate further investigation is the community's reaction to the revival and patrimonialisation process (which increasingly involves some of the musical practices that until recently mainly had a ritual role in Wencheng, such as marionettes and storytelling *guci)*. This will make it possible to see whether and how these practices, thanks to processes of patrimonialisation and therefore to a greater level of institutionalisation, can become part of the musical panorama of the Chinese community in Milan. An initial presentation of these practices in Italy took place during the 'Embrace China 2015' event, and I am aware of the intention of the Wenzhou government to invest more in the dissemination of these practices in the diaspora. This would allow the flow of institutionalised (local) musical practices and the Milan community's reaction to a possible revival to be observed and analysed. It would then remain to be seen whether and for how long these ritual musical practices, which still completely fulfil an essential and identity-making function for the Chinese Community in Milan, could survive in Wencheng. All of this will continue to require the use of multi-sited research methodology, which could represent, in some specific cases, an efficient method for studying 'the music of the twenty-first century diasporas'.

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‘Notre patrie c’est la meilleure colonie de vacances’. Music of the Armenian Diaspora to Understand the Homeland

Ortensia Giovannini

‘Notre patrie, de LA à Paris, on y pense.’

In 2015, Collectif Medz Bazar, a Paris-based world music band who specialises in re-inventing the folk sounds of Armenia and Anatolia mixing them with neighbouring traditions, published the original song *Notre Patrie* [Our Homeland] on YouTube.[1] The song sounds like a charming ballad, and it has an ‘alluring, folksy arrangement with piercing French lyrics’ (Vann 2019) that are about the complex diaspora relationship with the homeland and between the diasporas themselves.

> Notre patrie, de LA à Paris, on y pense
> Chaque été on s’y rend par milliers à la même cadence
> Boîte de nuit, monument, piscine et bonne ambiance
> Notre patrie c’est la meilleure colonie de vacances
> Juillet-août c’est blindé, ambiance cosmopolite
> Quand l’alcool rend polisson, c’est la police qui s’agite
> Même sans connaître la langue, on s’y sent comme chez soi
> Malheureusement fin de l’été on quitte not’ patrie c’est comme ça.[2]

The lyrics partly satirise and partly criticise political issues in Armenia and point out the tendency of diasporans visiting the Caucasian homeland each summer to view it as a place for parties, cocktails and barbecues, turning a blind eye to the corruption, injustice, and the overall liveability of the country.

I was struck by the apparent honesty, openness and rawness of the critique in the song. The song’s assessment is in opposition and very different to the typical propaganda about the Ar-

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1 *Notre Patrie*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-u8xvw_hN28, last access April 28th, 2020.

2 This is the first stanza of the song, as published on the YouTube page. Here a rough translation:
From LA to Paris, we think of our homeland
Every summer we go there by the thousands at the same time of year
Nightclubs, monuments, swimming pools and great atmosphere
Our homeland is the best holiday resort!
July-August are packed, a cosmopolitan scene
When alcohol makes us crazy, the police intervene
Without even knowing the language, we feel like we’re at home
Sadly, at summer’s end, we leave our homeland for home. That’s how it goes.

menian homeland, which often describes the Republic of Armenia as the ancient land of Noah still true to its Christian origins with 'the majestic beauty of its towering mountains, beautiful topography, rich heritage and culture, delicious food, historical sites dating back thousands of years, adventures.'[3] I therefore decided to reflect on the varied conceptions and symbolisation of a homeland (and of the diaspora) created by musical practices in the Armenian *milieu*.

Figure 1. Group of young Armenians from Los Angeles (USA) and me at the Calumet Pub in Yerevan, summer 2015. No one in the picture could speak the Armenian language (we used English) and they only seemed interested in enjoying themselves in pubs and nightclubs, as reported in the song. The Calumet Pub is one of the favorite haunts of young diasporic tourists in Yerevan. The staff are friendly and open-minded and can all speak English. Photo by Ortensia Giovannini.

Medz Bazar describe themselves as an 'urban diaspora band'. The band's members come from a variety of backgrounds, including French, Armenian, Turkish and American, and they all either grew up in France or moved there to study (Matiossian 2016). In 2012, the musicians met each other during Middle Eastern music jam sessions at Péniche Anako, a cultural centre in Paris, and they started to play together mixing songs that everyone liked, working collaboratively.

Although many people think that a group that includes both Turks and Armenians is a sort of 'consolation group,' this is not Medz Bazar's point of view. The members think of themselves as friends that share a common musical heritage and similar dreams or principles about the future without expressly becoming a political group or openly giving political messages. They express themselves in the realm of music with words of peace, fraternity and as well as common ancestry and celebration of diversity in multicultural environments.

Several of Collectif Medz Bazar's original songs tackle social and economic issues and challenge political and cultural boundaries. The perfect examples are the songs *'Ariur Ar 'Ariur* [100% Armenian],[4] and *Notre Patrie*, the focus of this paper. Both songs criticise the diasporans' attitudes, the latter focusing on their angle on the Republic. It starts with the verse 'Our homeland is the best holiday resort!' but ends with a call for a peaceful revolution 'Diaspora, Armenia, together we can advance. Our homeland is worth much more than a holiday resort.'

These few lines show how Armenian musical stories express the complex relationships between diasporas and homeland, between diasporic communities and the countries in which they live, and between and within the diasporic communities themselves. The con-

3 I just searched some sites that promote tourism in Armenia, to report the way they talk about the Republic. The quote above is from https://armenia.travel/en/at-a-glance. Last access May 5th, 2020.

4 Part of the song is included on Video n.3, with subtitles to understand the lyrics that ironise the cornerstones of Armenian diasporic identity.

temporary Armenian 'diasporic imaginary' (Mishra 1996) leads to various Armenian musical cultures. This variety speaks of the so many 'little homelands' (Leydi 1996: 1), both physical and spiritual that constitute the Armenian transnation. In this view, diaspora is a product of fantasy that constructs narratives of the homeland.

Figure 2. Medz Bazar's concert at Péniche Anako, June 2015. Photo uploaded on the Facebook events page by a fan who wrote: 'Et la péniche trembla sous les applaudissements' [And the cheers rock the péniche].

Diaspora(s) & Homeland(s)

Armenians have been familiar with dispersion and colonies since antiquity and for nearly two thousand years. Nonetheless, it is in the twentieth century, during the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the formation of the Republic of Turkey (1881 - 1923), that the ample scattering of survivors of the atrocities carried out by the Young Turks created the contemporary Armenian diaspora, *spiwrk'*: a dispersion, dissemination, without possibilities of return (Uluhogian 2009: 196).

Perhaps half of the 7,000,000 Armenians in the world live in the diaspora. The communities' core is composed of genocide survivors and their descendants. Accordingly, much of this established diaspora hails from what was once Western Armenia and now Eastern Anatolia in Turkey. More recently, old diaspora communities experienced the newest wave of Armenian economic and cultural migrants, who came from parts of historical Eastern Armenia that became independent after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Nowadays, taking advantage of the Armenian transnational networks and international cultural projects, many young Armenians travel and move between nations to study and work, taking their knowledge and ideas to the diaspora communities that they meet along with their movements.

The Armenian diaspora, intended as Armenians or other social formations that do not live in their homeland, is something theoretically or conceptually real, but it has had many definitions and applications throughout its history. Due to a stratification that I will explain thoroughly later, in quotidian practices, the diaspora consists of deeply fragmented and diverse communities linked only by a small number of élites who provide infrastructure and a public face connecting Armenians on a formal level (Pattie 1999). Despite the institutions' efforts, the communities and the individuals differ in many registers: in terms of social behaviour, language, culture; in demography and economic prosperity; in terms of internal institutionalisation and ideology.

The same fragmentation exists in musical practices. Since the early twentieth century, amid changing political climates and relationships with various host communities, the

path of Armenian music has been irregular. Following the 'collective amnesia'[5] experienced through death, negationism and exile and the subsequent imagination of home, the musical practices once existing in Anatolia suffered considerably in the aftermath of the genocide. The survivors scattered across the globe. They had to find new homes, adapt to new lifestyles and new ways of cultural and artistic expressions. In the scarcity of what was left, they had to repair the bridge of cultural and musical transmission between generations. Both in diaspora and in the Republic, the ever-persistent need to fit Armenian music into a line of continuity, and to construct a post-genocide nationalist consciousness, has led to boundaries that shift and adapt to whatever circumstances a particular time and place demand.

In recent decades, due to the independence of the Republic of Armenia from the USSR (1991), the subsequent greater freedom to visit or exit the country, the search for a united Armenian identity between diaspora and homeland and the advent of the Internet, Armenian music has enjoyed new vitality, both in diaspora and in the Republic. Today polemics rage between purists and innovators. Traditionalists rant against the effects of commercialisation, but there is no doubt that nowadays Armenian music is flourishing, both in traditional and new ways. Armenian performers inevitably interact with other music creating new mixed repertoires that destabilise the analytical literacy associated with the concepts of Armenian music.

The variety of communities and music in the Armenian diaspora is one of the many reasons why today it is challenging to even coordinate research, let alone use a unified methodology and approach in collecting and analysing the musical products. The other issue is that nowadays, diaspora is a vague term with a broad semantic domain. Armenians are often considered the 'archetypal diaspora' (Safran 1991). The ancient communities can also be considered 'victim diasporas,' whose members are survivors displaced by a catastrophe and whose memories continue to bind them together on some level (Cohen 1997).

Today the Armenian diaspora is sustained by the continuous arrival of new and considerably different migrants from the Republic of Armenia. These 'new' community members, as well as the younger generations, sustain the diaspora via fresh inflows of ideas and ideals. Nowadays the Armenian diaspora is the settlement of people, be it permanent or not, in countries other than where they were born. In some cases, their presence is massive, in others quite small, but their refusal to be completely assimilated into the host land society is a standard feature. Another feature includes the feeling, maintaining, inventing, or reviving of a connection with a homeland. On account of this, I have chosen here to interpret the Armenian diasporic condition as a relationship between a group of people and a homeland perceived, imagined or real. Through the lens of musical practices, I can focus on how relationships between the diaspora and its homelands are seen, established and maintained.

I will start with a reflection on three diverse conceptualisations of homeland made through music: the mythical homeland, tied to the memory and nostalgia of historical *Haysdan*; the cosmopolitan Armenia of the fragmented traditions brought from the towns or villages of origin in Anatolia, and the actual Republic of Armenia.

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5 It is commonplace in Genocide Studies to say that 'Turkey denies the Armenian genocide.' The Turkish state's official policy towards the Armenian Genocide was and is indeed characterised by misrepresentation, mystification and manipulation. Most direct eyewitnesses to the crime have passed away on both the Armenian and Turkish sides. What remains is in popular social memory, passed to children and grandchildren. In the Turkish case, recent works on oral history have permitted new insights into the Armenian Genocide to be gained. In the Armenian case, as I witnessed myself, the first generation who survived the Genocide, especially in Turkey, never talked to their children about it to avoid the risk of being recognised. At the same time, the people who started anew in diaspora tried to build a new life. Although the Genocide was widely acknowledged while it was taking place, by the 1940s/, 1950s, it had been forgotten by much of the world becoming 'the forgotten genocide.' Only around 1965 did something change and a collective wake-up call got underway, with massive demonstrations around the world. The year marked the 50th anniversary, a round number and in the diaspora, the survivors' children who were leading those demonstrations, had economic and personal security, something that their parents never had after the Genocide. For more information: Michael Bobelian's first book, *Children of Armenia: A Forgotten Genocide and the Century-Long Struggle for Justice* (2009), which focuses on the aftermath of the Armenian Genocide.

The mythical homeland. The Armenian diaspora's musical 'frontstage.'

In the song *Notre Patrie*, Medz Bazar speaks to those Armenians in the diaspora who, in their opinion, do not care for the actual Republic of Armenia. People who would only fight for recognition of the genocide and go (or in future who would go) to Armenia just on holiday to party and not to be engaged in the so-called homeland. The diasporans criticised in the Medz Bazar's song are those Armenians who remain bound to a perception of 'homeland' as something spiritual, a 'homing desire' (Brah 1996:179) tied to an imagined past created in one's memory.

The idea of this *mythical* homeland is sustained mostly by older generations who have never lived in the Republic of Armenia. They tend to be very nationalistic and rely on symbols that connected them to an imagined *Hayasdan*, a fictional territory beyond retrieval, rather than memories of a real place. This mythical place continues to exist thanks to Armenian institutions and political or cultural élites who nurture and sustain the public sphere of debate and cultural production.

At the beginning of my research in 2012, I took part in the rituals, interactions, and events of the Armenians living in Milan. I attended and documented cultural and musical activities. I had access to the institutionalised imagined community practices (Anderson 1983) without having a real insight into the functioning, relationships, rules and peculiarities of the people. What I was able to discover, at first, were only the explicit aspects of the Armenian diaspora, what informants present to strangers and the musical 'ways of being' (Glick Schiller, Levitt 2004) Armenian that are often criticised by younger generations. In Milan, the intimate acquaintance with the codes of conduct of the majority in the host country, leads to practices of Western culture and music that are already identity elements for the higher social strata of the Armenian pre-genocide society in Constantinople. This choice represents the struggle to be good, loyal citizens of the host state and present or express a communitarian style of life that is very bourgeoisie.

For these Armenians, music provides a means by which people imagine identities and places, creating a perception of a homeland to supplant the diasporic condition of *placeness*. In the front-stage performances, the members of the diasporic community reunite to feel their re-created Armenianness based on the memory of the genocide, the struggle to gain its recognition and the nostalgia of an illustrious past and homeland. To maintain their own collective identity, chosen myths (especially about Komitas, the so-called 'father of Armenian music,' victim and symbol of the genocide), are still shown, reused and adapted to promulgate a monolithic Armenian identity, always performed in presentational performances (Turino 2008) and Western classical music style.

Link » Video Example 1

Casa Armena - Hay Dun, the Armenian cultural centre, in Milan. The video is a selection of some presentational performances. Video by Ortensia Giovannini.

Beyond the 'Imagined community.' The cosmopolitan Armenia of fragmented traditions.

During my research, I dismantled the rhetorical use of music made by the Armenian élites practising a multi-sited approach. I was engaged in a 'polymorphous engagement' (Gusterson 1997), following peoples, histories, biographies or diverse *ethnoscapes* (Appadurai 1990). From Milan, I went to Paris. I returned to Milan. I stayed in Armenia. I visited people all over Italy and France following the diasporans' trans-state networks. I conducted fieldwork by phone, through regular mail and on the web. The more and more closed relationships with the communities and individuals permitted me to observe the backstage of Armenian lives or the 'ways to belong' (Glick Schiller, Levitt 2004) to Armenianness.

I assimilated and introduced in my attitude the norms and rules of behaviour that are accepted in the diverse diasporic Armenian communities, partly learning them through im-

mersion in Armenian culture and partly through a horizontal cultural transmission between the communities' members and me, becoming in many cases, a functioning member of these societies. This approach permitted me to witness and to participate in private moments, in gatherings not tied to the institutional agenda, and to understand how the musical practices of these situations were often very different from the so-called Armenian music that is easy to find in advertising, films, books and the like.

The first question in a conversation between Armenian strangers is always 'Oor deghatsi ek?' or 'where are you native?' (Pattie 1999: 6). Due to my knowledge of the Armenian language, I was also asked this question many times. It demonstrates the need to identify a real place of provenance. The second homeland in my theorisation is therefore related to a more intimate vision. It is, or at least it includes, an Armenian's town or village of origin. In many cases, nowadays, that usually means the town where their ancestors were born, places that people wonder and care about and long to see.

'Orphans of the nation' (Mandel 2003: 21-22) Anatolian Armenians, refugees that suffered a double loss of home and the homeland as they knew it before 1915, were, meanwhile, 'threatened by assimilation' by the policies of the host states. This condition led to an engagement in a struggle to 'preserve their originality.' The Armenianness of these *apatrides*, far from the institutional policies, is bound to a mixture of sites and cultures and is expressed by maintaining strong relationships with the traditional customs and values that reveal the life of the villages in Anatolia. An Armenia where Armenians lived alongside Greeks, Turks, Arabs and Jews.

The music that expresses this cosmopolitan Armenia, the past and physical home in the Ottoman Empire or in places of Armenian life after the genocide, is characterised by the practices of traditional and urban music and folk dances during feasts and events that are not institutionalised. Folk songs, as well as Armenian urban repertoires from Turkey and Greece and musical styles that inevitably surrounded and permeated the communities there, confirm the multi-provenances of the performers and speak to all the Armenians who feel diasporic, plural and always in movement.

In Paris, I met a group whose repertoire and attitude towards audiences well express this mixture: The Papiers d'Arménies. Their web site states: 'Where the tradition sees the light, it will grow, mature, decline, and maybe see the light again, following a life process.' The group is inspired by the traditional music of Armenia, Greece and Turkey, and they try to reconstruct the paths of the people who travelled between East and West. The Papiers d'Arménies' performances are 'participatory' (Turino 2008) in the sense that the audience's responses and actions often become part of the fabric of the show, also thanks to the concert locations which are not 'institutional' but more free sites such as clubs, folk festivals and parties. I met the group several times. On every occasion, the audience asked for songs or started to dance along, showing the interpersonal relationship between the performers and the audience and between the participants themselves.

Link » Video Example 2

BeyondPapiers. The video is a selection of some moments from Papiers d'Armenies' concerts. Video by Ortensia Giovannini.

The Republic of Armenia. New Armenian 'cosmopolitan grooves'

The Republic of Armenia, the third home in the Armenian imaginary, is a landlocked Christian nation of 2.9 million people. It declared brief independence between 1918 and 1920 and then became part of the Soviet Union. Since 1991, with the collapse of the USSR, it has been independent. Because the modern-day nation is located on land that was not under Ottoman rule, most of the diaspora never thought it would feel like 'their' Armenia. Many diasporans always thought Eastern Armenians would be more culturally Russian than those in diaspora, who were influenced more by the Greek, Armenian, Jewish and Ottoman cultures that had

coexisted for centuries under Ottoman rule. The Republic inhabitants, their different-ness, their surprising other-ness, are often still a shock to many diaspora Armenians.

In the twenty-first century, the Republic has come to occupy a more prominent place in the picture. Its independence, as well as dual citizenship legislation (2007) and the turning point after the centenary of the genocide in 2015, 'has created a new focus for diaspora Armenians' imagination, dreams, hopes' (Pattie 1999: 11), shaping the idea of one concrete homeland. In the diaspora, new economic and cultural migrants come from the ex-Soviet Republic and participate in the life of the communities. Furthermore, for young Armenians now living in the diaspora, the prominent role of the Armenian state in collective consciousness is an accepted permanent feature. The 'new' homeland, by its mere existence, changes the dynamics of the diaspora and influences how diasporans think about themselves, communities, homeland and host states.

Following global trends, the Armenian state reaches out to diasporas across the globe for social, political and economic participation in contributing to the development of the country. Some Western Armenians donate to, volunteer for or cooperate with the state or institutions. Others practice 'diaspora tourism', and different organisations (in Armenia and within the diaspora) connect members of the 'old' Armenian diaspora with the 'homeland.' Several diaspora organisations, such as Birthright or Repat Armenia,[6] try to get diaspora Armenians acquainted with the homeland, instigating a sense of belonging.

Just as happens in the diaspora, the practice of music in the Republic is also characterised by mixed cultural and musical languages that blend ancient culture with a contemporary one. The Soviet period marked an increased interest in Armenia's historical past, but the Armenian monodic and peasant music of the Caucasus suffered a 'folklorisation,' or 'sovietisation,' process that reflected the doctrine of communism. The primary goal was to create a comprehensive 'national' culture, a nativisation (*korenizatsiia*) of customs, culture and music. Furthermore, due to the development of Soviet art, the attention of Armenian musical historians mainly turned to problems connected with classical compositional art. They concentrated on the Armenian musicians who had successfully acquired and reflected in creative practice the ideas, aesthetics and compositional methods of progressive Western European and Russian harmonic and polyphonic music.

Due to this procedure of musical modernisation, it is now possible in the Republic to listen to European, Russian and Armenian repertories performed with opera or classical techniques, to urban and patriotic songs and traditional music, discovered, documented but sometimes 'perfected', and also redisplayed and transfigured into folklore by ensembles of musicians that will indeed have a duduk player, which serves to enhance the traditional imaginary of 'Armenia.'

The changing patterns of music production and consumption within generations, due to the development of social media, also challenge conventional Armenian thinking in the Republic and describe the 'spaces in-between' of life (Ahmed, Veronis 2019) characterised by mixed cultural and musical languages that blend ancient culture with a contemporary one. At the same time, the globalisation of music blurs the borders between genres, creating style mixing and crossovers. As a result, younger generations of musicians mix folk, rock and pop music. These multicultural, and pluralistic performances permit younger musicians to articulate multiple identities and temporalities that go beyond nationalist discourses that also addressed to both Armenians and diasporan Armenians who visit the country or follow them on the media.

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6 Birthright Armenia was founded in 2003 by Edele Hovnanian with the belief that it is every Armenian's birthright to not only see Armenia, but also experience their homeland via an enriching, hands-on, life-changing experience. The mission is to strengthen ties between the homeland and diasporan youth, by affording them an opportunity to be a part of Armenia's daily life and to contribute to Armenia's development through work, study and volunteer experiences, while developing life-long personal ties and a renewed sense of Armenian identity (for further information see https://www.birthrightarmenia.org/). The RepatArmenia Foundation, a non-governmental, non-profit institution, was established in August 2012 to take the concept of active repatriation promotion to the next level, with a full time, dedicated staff based in Yerevan and a network of supporters worldwide (for further information see https://repatarmenia.org/).

The draw of internationalism, the flexibility of diaspora, particularly in this moment of increased mobility, the continuing relationships, both real and imagined, between something that is 'home' and an 'away', between 'here' and 'there,' 'homeland' and 'diaspora,' form a substrate that gives space to new musical productions that both criticise and sanction the so-called homeland. I suggest that the song 'Notre Patrie' exemplifies the twenty-first-century diasporans' ongoing interpretation of homeland and their position as simultaneously local and trans-local (Turino 2000: 7). Far from nationalist ideology, Medz Bazar recognises the multistranded relationships across borders and the variety within the Armenian diaspora. The song expresses the 'backstage' spaces of diasporans' life. In an increasingly globalised society, groups such as Medz Bazar promote more empathy for others, a necessary ingredient to avoid war, genocide, famine, and ecological disasters.

The hybridity and syncretism of the younger Armenian generations and musicians, such as Medz Bazar or *Lavach'* ('a trans-folk Armenian & cosmopolitan band'), can be associated with a heterogeneity of identities. They created a new music genre that 'gives voice to the youth of the Armenian Diaspora, and not just Armenians but others as well!' (Kezelian 2016). Medz Bazar, and other young musicians, mix music genres and waive to play 'traditional music as it should'. What unfolds is a combination of Armenian melodies and instruments with jazz, rock, folk, classical or world music. These choices demonstrate a new way of being an Armenian and create a gradual distance from traditional Armenian diasporic institutions, organisations and identities who, based on 'invisible loyalties', are still paying their debt to the past.

These new Armenian' cosmopolitan grooves,' whose hybridities are not only musical but also spatial and temporal, rather than resisting either new or old culture, shape new sounds that do not speak of exile but create a place between cultural assimilation and preservation. This 'space in-between,' in which people physically or ideally move back and forth across borders, produces new opportunities for a new cosmopolitan vision where music gives understanding to the 'other,' a new sense of Armenianness that is more 'multiethnic,' 'multicultural,' and pluralistic.

Link » Video Example 3

Medz Bazar. The video is a selection of some live concerts, filmed by the author, of Armenian cosmopolitan groups intertwined with parts of videoclips published on YouTube.

Communities of practices

At the end of the past century, Armenian music seemed to revolve around some, relatively stable, though overlapping signifiers. Komitas' music and classical repertoires created the impression of being the only vital aspects in representing a strong worldwide institutional Armenianness. Exotic folk and spiritual music were the *fulcra* in promoting Armenia as the welcoming land for both diasporans and tourists. However, even if these typologies, with severe limitations, were useful in the later twentieth century neither Komitas' music or classical and folk repertoires could adequately represent the increasingly multi-ethnic, globalised diaspora of the twenty-first century.

Nowadays, what unites Armenian people is not a specific set of 'objective' cultural markers, but a 'sense of being Armenian,' and a connection to a perception of the homeland that in the twenty-first century is changing, especially for the ever young, mobile and globalised diaspora. The Armenian diasporas are becoming agents of change and progress, gaining material, and emotional commitment to the Republic of Armenia. This process derives from the negotiations between older and new generations, Western and Eastern Armenian customs and traditions that create 'communities of practices,' groups of people who interact, learn together, build relationships and in the process, develop a sense of belonging and mutual commitment (Wenger 1998).

The Republic of Armenia is much closer than before. For all the Armenians that consider themselves part of the collective but 'different,' returning to the homeland or tourism provide

opportunities to narrate collective identities that allow participants to remain diasporic yet interact with the country. In this case, Armenia is intended not as a place where one can only re-establish ethnic roots through exilic nationalistic ideas but as part of a broader cosmopolitan movement that not only revitalises their ties to the Republic, but also links them to a transnational movement that promotes diversity, democracy, environmental sustainability and tolerance.

During my research, I engaged with the multiphonic musical voices of this transnational Armenianness, and I explored the increased cosmopolitan commodification and hybridisation of music. I used an approach oriented towards achieving an active space of mutual confrontation between me, the music-makers and the listeners, participating in the activities of the communities of practices. I gave more space to coproduction in ethnographic processes, creating a 'research that shifts the ordering of research dialogue, involving participants in deciding what/how methods are to be used to address research objectives' (Sinha, Back 2013: 478).

The embedded participation and the dialogic approach allowed a shared sense of understanding. It created multiple points of commonality, giving me the possibility to understand and to acquire the knowledge that is usually only available to insiders, the inner aspects of Armenian identity. I became informed by the principles of diaspora. I incorporated the diaspora (Wacquant 2006). At some point, I could represent the phenomenon on a fruitful path toward disclosing the complexity of Armenianness and going on in understanding the mutable and transient life of the people who live a 'homing desire' but who nowadays negotiate a gap between a mythical homeland and an actual 'step-homeland' (Kasbarian 2016: 359), in the shape of the present Republic of Armenia.

Figure 3. A shared moment among the 'community of practice' in Milan during the rehearsals for the *Surp Sarkis* event. In preparing the dances and the song there were Armenians from Milan, from Belarus and from the Republic. I was part of the event and I had to sing. Photo by Ortensia Giovannini.

The changing patterns of music production and consumption within generations challenge the linear narrative of exile and return that has dominated conventional diasporic thinking and describe the 'spaces in-between' of diasporic life. These spaces are composed of persons who are 'in circuit' between diaspora and homeland, or between several diaspora communities. Their spaces, characterised by mixed cultural and musical languages that blend ancient culture with a contemporary one, are infused with the practical and symbolic features of both 'home' and 'away.' The new musical creations communicate and achieve a sense of belonging and, at the same time, using multiple languages and 'multimodal competence,' create something new.

In the twenty-first century, the relationship with music in the Armenian diaspora is no longer contributing just to the construction of an imaginary homeland and is shaping new

forms of consent or criticism of the present Republic of Armenia. I propose that a long-term reading of the changes in music production and consumption and an observation of the generational differences in the intensity of transnationalism will allow for a far more profound understanding of diaspora and its relationship to Armenia as the homeland.

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Transmitting Music in a Diasporic Context. How Young Sikhs Learn to Chant and Play *Kirtan* in Italy

Thea Tiramani

Introduction

The 2020 ethnomusicology seminar entitled *Music of the Twenty-First Century Diasporas: Research and Methods* was about music, musical behaviours, repertoires and listening habits.

Scholars discussed how music is performed, transmitted, employed and re-invented by the communities in diaspora. Serena Facci, in her introduction to the seminar, spoke about the need, as ethnomusicologists, to investigate the meaning of sounds and to interpret them, with the aim of understanding what they have to tell us about twenty-first century migration. This statement seemed to me completely appropriate as regards the Sikh communities in Italy that I have been studying, where sounds and music are not only present, but also absolutely necessary and linked to community life.

This paper can be contextualised in more extensive research that I have been carrying out for my PhD thesis, which focuses on the various expressions that religious music assumes in Sikh communities in Italy. This paper aims to be a preliminary analysis of one important topic about Sikh music: how young Sikhs learn to chant and play religious music in Italy. This topic is extensively discussed in my PhD thesis. The paper also contains some non-exhaustive examples, useful to provide the reader with context.

ISTAT[1] data from January 2019 reveals 5,255,503 foreigners resident in Italy, representing 8.7% of the resident population. The largest community in Italy is Romanian, making up 22.97% of all foreigners resident in the territory, followed by the Albanian (8.39%) and the Moroccan (8.05%) communities. Indians occupy the seventh place, with a total presence of 3.01% of all foreign residents.

1 ISTAT, Demografia in rete http://demo.istat.it. Last access September 4th, 2020.

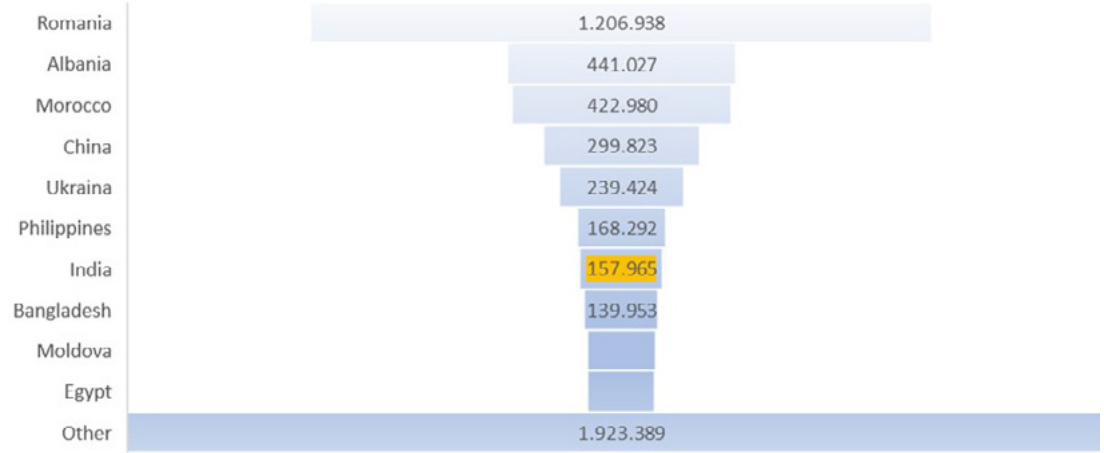

Figure 1. Foreign residents – January 1st, 2019 (source: ISTAT)

It is particularly difficult to deduce the number of Indians in Italy professing Sikhism. The most recent data confirms that the Sikh community in Italy is the second largest in Europe, after Great Britain (Bertolani 2020).

The number of Indians professing Sikhism is quantified differently, ranging from 40,000[2] to 150,000[3] people, while according to the most recent elaborations carried out by the ISMU Foundation[4] on ISTAT and Regional Observatory for Integration and Multiethnicity (ORIM) data, foreigners resident in Italy professing Sikhism amount to a total of about 49,000 (0.9%). Italian converts to Sikhism are few in number, amounting to around 100 members, most of whom belong to the 3HO organisation.[5]

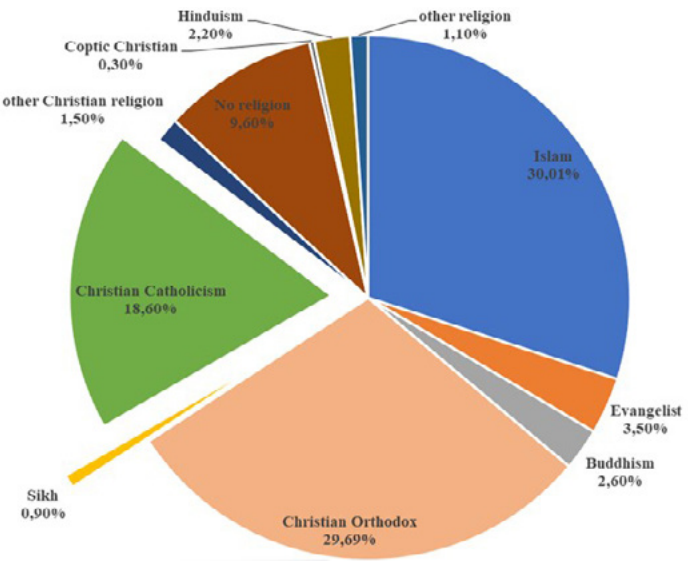

Figure 2. Religions in Italy –January 1st 2019 (source: ISTAT)

2 Sikhismo in Italia, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikhismo_in_Italia. Last access September 5th, 2020.
3 Corriere.it, https://www.corriere.it/cronache/17_maggio_17/nulla-sikh-culto-preghiera-adcfa0ae-3a74-11e7-acbd-5fa0e1e5ad68.html. Last access September 4th, 2020.
4 Fondazione ISMU, https://www.ismu.org/comunicato-stampa-immigrati-e-religioni-in-italia/ . Last access September 4, 2020.
5 In the late 1960s Harbhajan Singh Puri, who later came to be called yogi Bhajan or Siri Singh Sahib by his disciples, founded a spiritual movement in Southern California called 3HO (Happy, Holy, Healthy Organization).

The protagonists of the first migration flows were almost exclusively male, oriented towards temporary migration. With increasing work stability in the Italian territory, migration becomes a family project, oriented towards a medium to long-term stay. Itinerant work characterised the first phases of the migratory movement; the main channel of work was, initially, employment as manual labourers in circuses and amusement parks. Many Sikhs who originally arrived in Central and Southern Italy eventually moved to the North, working in the agricultural or zootechnical sectors either as milkers or as tractor drivers.

Today the situation has partially changed, especially in Northern Italy. The children of the first generation of migrants, after attending school in Italy, have access to university or employment in different sectors. If this is true for northern Italy, the situation in the south remains complex, especially in the areas of Agro Pontino, where labour exploitation, crimes and mafia infiltration reduce the lives of many Sikh migrants to the limit of basic survival.[6]

As of January 2019, migration was mainly oriented towards Lombardy (30% of all the Sikhs in Italy), followed by Lazio (19.2%), Emilia Romagna (11.1%) and Veneto (9.9%).[7] These data confirm the migration trend of recent years, which has seen a strong Indian migration to these regions. These regions contain the largest number of Gurdwaras (Sikh temples), whose total number in Italy is about 40.[8]

Figure 3. Sikhs in Italy –January 1st 2019 (source: Tuttitalia)

6 Marco Omizzolo, a sociologist engaged in the fight for the rights of immigrant workers in the Agro Pontino area, has written a large number of academic papers and books. I quote here, among others, his latest work *Sotto Padrone. Uomini, donne e caporali nell'agromafia italiana* (2019) and the book *La quinta mafia* (2016).

7 Tuttitalia, Cittadini stranieri, https://www.tuttitalia.it/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri/india/. Last access September 4th, 2020.

8 The first Gurdwara was built in 1991 in Rio Saliceto, near Reggio Emilia.

Music performance associated with spiritual practice started at the beginning of Sikh history with Guru Nanak (1469-1539) who used to sing *shabads* (lyrical hymns) set to *ragas*, accompanied by a Muslim musician, Bhai Mardana, on the *rabab*. The *shabads* of the Sikh Gurus and medieval mystics from the *Sufi* and *Bhakti* traditions are now collected in a book, the *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*.

The practice of *kirtan* is the musical performance of the *shabads* contained in that book, according to correct *ragas*.

In the contemporary Sikh music scene not many descendants of *kirtanias* have transmitted the repertoire[9] from the pre-colonial era to this day. This repertoire is now in danger of disappearing, as a result of the homologation that scholars (Cassio 2019, Singh 2011) have attributed to both colonialism and nationalism, combined with the creation of a national music system that has flattened the characteristics of Hindustani classical music. Modern-day Sikh *kirtan* performances mainly consist of recently composed melodies that sometimes do not respect the *raga* system and are influenced by contemporary music that follows the market logic. Now the trend is to play *kirtan* with *harmonium* and *tabla*—replacing *tanti saz* (stringed instruments)—and setting the book's words to new melodies or to pre-composed ones, often borrowed from other repertoires.

Musical transmission has also changed, both in India and in diaspora, with the standardisation of training systems.

The *kirtan* practice still requires a specific musical training, a correct approach to musical instruments and some practical and theoretical skills. *Kirtan* is not only necessary for the religious ceremony, but also has an identity value. In fact, for many young Sikhs, music is one of the ways for them to culturally identify as Sikhs, to build their religious identity outside of India. Aninder, an employee who arrived in Bergamo in 2008 at the age of 14, told me: 'When I came to Italy, I knew nothing about Sikhism. One day I went to the Gurdwara. At the Gurdwara you learn something about your past and you understand who you are. I went to a summer camp and I wasn't interested in religion, culture or music, because I didn't know much. But I tried to play *kirtan* and at that time I decided to become a real Sikh'.[10]

Gurdwaras in Italy can in part count on the presence of professional musicians on tour from India or from other diaspora countries, but they also need their own musicians to provide *kirtan* performances every Sunday and for the main festivities. For this reason, some Gurdwaras in Italy organise their own music courses with either regular or guest teachers to ensure the involvement and transmission of skills to as many children and adolescents as possible, some of whom will become future musicians. These musical courses can be very different from each other, depending on the teachers available, on their methods and on the specific needs of the students.

How young Sikhs learn to play *kirtan* in Italy

Sikh music, combined with a series of practical and theoretical musical skills and with specific behaviours, is transmitted in various ways to the younger generations.

Some prayers, chants and behaviours are directly incorporated through imitation in daily community life in the Gurdwaras, making the temples a fundamental part of cultural transmission.

The *kirtan* practice instead requires a specific musical training.

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9 In academic debate, the term *Gurbani Sangit* is generally employed to define the medieval and early modern Sikh tradition and its musical idiom. The word *Gurbani* has been in use since the time of Guru Nanak and is distinguished from *Gurmat Sangit*, an expression introduced in the early twentieth century that refers to the Sikh doctrine, not to the musical practice. Today, *Gurmat Sangit* is an expression better applied to contemporary *kirtan* performances that are not based on the medieval idiom (Cassio 2015).

10 Interview with Aninder Singh conducted by the author, September 5th, 2015, Grumello del Monte (BG).

For this reason, musical learning is a central and problematic subject in Sikhism that touches on different issues: how to teach? Which *kirtan*? Which musical instruments? Which teaching methods?

During my field research in Italy,[11] I was able to observe different learning situations:

- Weekly lessons or occasional lessons at the Gurdwara,
- Summer and Winter camp lasting from two weeks to one month,
- Short lessons offered by musicians before or after the Saturday or Sunday performances,
- Online lessons or online courses,
- Self-taught learning, watching educational videos on *YouTube* or musical videos on TV.

Different teaching methods lead to the transmission of different contents.

In this paragraph I will briefly mention some of these methods, with examples from my filed research.

Regular weekly lessons at Gurdwara are the preferred option for most students, who recognise the effectiveness of an ongoing method of learning, with stable teachers and a long-term schedule to follow. However, this option is the most difficult to document,[12] because weekly lessons require teachers who live in Italy and today many teachers try to move to Great Britain or to Canada, where there are better work opportunities.

For this reason, shorter summer or winter courses are more common, organised in *Sikh camps* with teachers from India or European countries. The day camps promote an all-encompassing immersion in Sikhism, with *gurmukhi, santhya,*[13] *sakhia,*[14] religion, *gatka*[15] and music lessons, in addition to group trips and recreational activities. The camps are geared towards school-age children up through adolescents, who attend the temple every day for about a month. Music teachers are often contacted in advance and live in the Gurdwara for the duration of the course.

This was the case of the music courses I attended at the Cortenuova (BG) Gurdwara between July and August 2019. Baldev Singh, who currently lives in Great Britain, organised and taught the first course (Video Example 1).

The course included two phases: a first, longer phase where children were taught using notes and alterations sung and played on the harmonium, and a second phase where children were taught applying simple melodies in *raga*, such as *raga bhero*, on which to sing the lyrics from the sacred book. The concept of *raga* is certainly one of the central and recurrent themes in these learning situations. While the performances in the Gurdwara in Italy are mostly based on melodies not in *raga*, it is interesting to observe that the masters continue to teach starting from the concept of *raga* as fundamental.

Link » Video Example 1

Music courses at the Cortenuova (BG) Gurdwara between July and August 2019.
Video by Thea Tiramani.

11 This paper is focused on the music courses I attended at the Gurdwara of Cortenuova (BG). However, I documented educational situations in the Gurdwaras of Bolzano, Covo (BG), Leno (BS), Borgo San Giacomo (BS), Parma, Fiorenzuola (PC), Novellara (RE), Correggio (RE), Terranuova Bracciolini (AR).

12 One of the few cases: in Arezzo, the presence of Gurwinder Singh, a 25-year-old musician trained in India, has guaranteed the preparation of several students for several years.

13 The correct pronunciation of sacred texts.

14 Sikh narrations.

15 Sikh martial art.

Figure 4. Baldev Singh teaching at the Cortenuova Gurdwara (BG). July 2019.
Photograph by Thea Tramani.

Masters teach fixed and simple compositions, sometimes ones they have composed themselves in a specific *raga,* fixed in writing. Children therefore do not really know how *ragas* work, and they do not recognise the melodies belonging to the tradition, but only some melodies composed in specific *raga* that become a collective and shared heritage.

The result of these short group lessons can only be hesitant 'but necessary music'[16] which is strongly attractive to children. Issues such as precise fingering, fine musical expressions, correct pronunciation and vocal intonation, complex rhythm, can only be mentioned; the focus is on the need to make music and transmit the basic repertoires.

Nowadays, online lessons are becoming increasingly popular; an Internet connection and a smartphone allow every student to choose his teacher in India, challenging the traditional *guru-shishya* (teacher-student) relationship based on the *sina-bi-sina* (heart to heart) method.[17] Kamaldeep Kaur, an 18-year-old girl, had been interested in the *dilruba*, and for some months she received online lessons from Gursharam Singh (Video Example 2), a master who lives in India. Despite the technological medium, Gursharam's course was really focused on intonation, fingering, master-student transmission and on the transmission of traditional repertoire. Kamaldeep told me how she has been able to greatly benefit from online weekly classes and has not experienced any difficulties caused by the technological medium. She said: 'the online lessons are more intimate, and more focused on my specific learning. We stay for hours together. I learn a lot more in my online classes than in a short Sikh *camp*'.[18]

Link » Video Example 2

Sina-bi-sina (heart to heart) method. Online lessons given by Gursharam Singh to Kamaldeep Kaur. Video by Thea Tiramani.

16 See Facci in this book.

17 This is the *Gurbani kirtan Parampara* method, which has developed since the Gurus time. The expression *Gurbani kirtan Parampara* means the legacy of the Sikh pedagogical model, practices and music production. 'The parampara promotes focus, dedication, repetition, practice and memorization to learn how to render all of the nuances of a raag, to evoke its 'psycho-emotive' nature (Protopapas 2011), and then to merge it with the bani, all the while staying faithful to the composition that has been transmitted generation after generation to modern day' (Kaur Khalsa 2014: 93). See also Cassio, Kaur Khalsa-Baker (2020).

18 Interview with Kamaldeep Kaur conducted by the author, December 9th, 2019, Trescore Balneario (BG).

Moving away from this pedagogical model, today many students receive 'lessons' through vocal message exchanges on *WhatsApp* or by following online tutorials. This method does not actually help develop specific musical skills.

These are actually tutorials made by musicians to transmit their compositions, often based on catchy melodies, to their students and allow their circulation in the Gurdwaras. As explained by Harjot Kaur, a 14-year-old student: 'The lesson works like this: my master sends me a video where he plays the notes of the *shabad* slowly. The first time I listen to it, if I don't understand it, I listen to it again, then I try to play it. When I am able to play it, I send him a *WhatsApp* audio and he tells me if it's ok or if I made some mistakes in the notes'.[19]

Conclusion: 'What is our music?'

In the title of my paper, *How young Sikh learn to play kirtan in Italy*, that *how* contains two important issues:

1. a question about the resources and methods that young Sikhs in Italy have to know to be able to play and sing religious music;
2. a question regarding which music and *kirtan* young Sikhs in Italy learn and feel as their own.

The complex scenario of resources available for music learning makes each experience personal and different.

The traditional repertoire appears strange to young generations. As Jasmin Kaur, a 13-year-old musician, says: 'I don't recognise this music [an ancient composition sung accompanied by a *rabab*]. It's weird, I don't think it's *kirtan*. The way he sings... it's weird'.[20] This repertoire is not taught and learned by the new generations in Italy.

The learning process in Italy seems to always begin from *raga* theory and is based on some shared educational melodies in *raga*. Music courses define a fixed repertoire, made up of 'simple' melodies that now constitute the basic musical background of young generations. The knowledge of these melodies performed mostly on the *harmonium* but also with instruments such as the *dilruba*, make it possible to move to commercial *kirtan,* not in *raga.* This is the *kirtan* broadcast on television channels, consisting of catchy melodies that every young Sikh musician can make their own and reproduce in Italian Gurdwaras.

The internal confusion about the different expressions of the term *kirtan*—as Aninder Singh well explained with the statement 'but so, what is our music?'[21]—makes it possible to refer to a mixed and transnational music.

In this scenario, I think that it will be appropriate to carry out research on the functions of the transnational practice of *kirtan*, which becomes a means of negotiating notions of home(s), of identities, and of shaping new representations of self and new constructions of identity that reflect multiple belongings, which will perhaps be better defined in the future.

Learning *kirtan* allows young people to truly feel part of the global Sikh community and also becomes an instrument of social redemption, which is reflected in the words of the nine-year-old musician Sheagdeep Kaur: 'I want to be a good musician. And I'll play at the Golden Temple, until now forbidden to women. I want to be the first woman to play *kirtan* at the Golden Temple! I need a master to teach me how to become a very good musician. I also want to compose my *shabad* and became famous. I'll do it'.[22]

19 Interview with Harjot Kaur conducted by the author, July 11th, 2019, Besenzone (PC).
20 Interview with Jasmine Kaur conducted by the author, July 7th, 2019, *Gurdwara* of Fiorenzuola (PC).
21 Interview with Aninder Singh conducted by the author, December 21st, 2019, Grumello del monte (BG).
22 Interview with Sheagdeep Kaur conducted by the author (a nine-year-old musician), August 20th, 2019, Cortenuova (BG).

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Continuity of Chant for a Fluid Community. The Case of the Eritrean Christian Migrants in Rome

Vanna Viola Crupi

Mezmur of salvation

On January 20th, 2018, the Italian newspaper La Repubblica published a short video on its official website titled: 'Migrants, the sound of salvation, the women singing after a rescue in January.[1]

Watching this video, I immediately recognised the singing melodies as familiar. They were very similar to Christian hymns, *mezmur,*[2] which I had heard and recorded on several occasions in the churches of Rome, during my field research among the Eritrean and Ethiopian Christian communities (Video Example 1).[3]

Link » Video Example 1

Mezmur, chants of salvation. Video by Vanna Viola Crupi (Archive Roma Sacra, University of 'Tor Vergata'). Video chapters: a) *Kidhane Meret* Procession, Eritrean Catholic Community of Rome, February 28th, 2016, Rome; b) Santo Stefano degli Abissini Celebrations (clergy choir), Eritrean and Ethiopian Catholic Communities of Rome, January 13th, 2018, Vatican City; c) *Fasika* (Easter), Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo community of Rome, April 11th, 2015, Rome.

A few days later, I showed the newspaper video to a deacon and other members of the Eritrean Orthodox community in Rome.[4] Everyone recognised the singing as *mezmur* and the women as Eritrean. The spatial decontextualisation of my usual field of research had made their listening

1 Cf. https://video.repubblica.it/edizione/palermo/migranti-il-suono-della-salvezza-il-canto-delle-donne-dopo-un-salvataggio-a-gennaio/294985/295602 . Last access January 20th, 2020.

2 In the *Ge'ez-English/English-Ge'ez dictionary* of Wolf Leslau the word *mezmur* is translated as 'psalm, hymn, song, psaltery, music, chorus' (Leslau 2006: 639) and generally related to sacred music. For an etymological and sociological analysis of the term cf. Steinhovden 2016.

3 The research was part of the Italian Project (PRIN 2010-11): *Processi di trasformazione nelle musiche di tradizione orale dal 1900 a oggi. Ricerche storiche e indagini sulle pratiche contemporanee* (led by Giovanni Giuriati Sapienza University of Rome), Tor Vergata University unit, *Musica, festa, rito. Dinamiche di trasmissione e trasformazione di forma e comportamenti musicali in contesti di socializzazione e rapporto con il sacro* (led by Giorgio Adamo). The research group on liturgical music and migrant communities in Rome established on this occasion is led by Serena Facci.

4 My thanks go to the Eritrean Orthodox community and in particular to Mr. Yemane, for his helpfulness and kind cooperation shown on this occasion and during my whole research period. I also thank the Eritrean Catholic community and the parish priest, Father Amahari, for their support and constant willingness to help.

unexpected, but I was able to realise that, while the lyrics could change, the role of the hymns was always the same: they were sung prayers, devotional chants 'in function'.[5]

The chanting has thus become for me a peculiar identity card, a sound imprint tracing a sort of map of those women's paths. I realised the rarity of being aware of it. The common perception was clearly different. The original link between signifier (singing) and meaning (praying) had become very thin in the media communication. The 'women singing' was presented as a 'sound of salvation'. However, it was separated from its prayer status, its history, its places of origin and a faith, unexpectedly for Italian listeners, so close to that of the landing country.

Music, even sacred music, is generally considered peripheral in the anthropological or sociological analysis of migratory contexts, although it seems to be pervasive on many occasions. An example is the one presented here in which the sound, full of sense, meaning and information on the people chanting, powerfully reached the attention of the media. This event confirms the role of the ethnomusicological research in migratory contexts, showing to what extent the spread of ethnographic knowledge in society could improve cultural mediation processes.

I have looked for similar videos and audio recording on the web over time and several other documents on 'migrants' singing' were available. Many of these were devotional songs that came from different religions and different countries of the African continent. I also gathered some oral evidence from Eritrean faithful living in Italy on the power of collective (sung) prayers as a means of salvation at times of risk during the migratory experience. For instance, in one of these stories, the stormy sea would have miraculously calmed down, thanks to the collective prayers of the migrants who were travelling across the Mediterranean Sea.

It is therefore clear that singing prayers, as a form of communication with the divine, can represent a powerful remedy for the sense of danger, uprooting and displacement that occurs during the migratory experience. They become a tool to deal with 'one's own crisis of presence' (De Martino 1948) and an instrument for sharing, narration and self-representation.

The destination of many Eritreans, who risk their lives crossing the Mediterranean Sea, is generally Northern Europe or Switzerland. Thus, Italy for many of them is merely a stage in their journey (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Migration Routes to Europe used by Eritrean Asylum seekers. Source data: United Nations High Commission for Refugees. Image credits: Evnica Casale.

5 The same melodies are often used on different occasions in the liturgical calendar, but the text of the stanzas can vary according to the celebration.

Some start attending the Church once they have settled abroad, finding comfort in faith and even a response to their 'quest for community' (Nisbet 1953) in a transnational context. During an interview in 2015, T. and B.,[6] two men who at the time were members of Rome's Orthodox community, told me how, once they were safe, the pain and danger faced during the journey had brought them closer to the Church and God. 'It's a promise', a vow, T. explains at the end of the interview.[7] The mutual respect and gratitude between the two friends also showed how the shared experience of salvation had greatly strengthened the bonds of solidarity in the community. When B. approached the Eritrean church in Rome for the first time, it was T. who introduced him to the liturgical practice. The faithful have weekly meetings where they prepare for Sunday Mass by learning the hymns and the rudiments of kabaro (drum) playing techniques. The musical practices are orally transmitted, becoming a shared knowledge among the congregation. In the diaspora context, the frequent mobility of people, on the one hand, has an impact on the stability of liturgical and paraliturgical chant, on the other, together with the use of Internet resources, it may determine the interchange and flow of musical knowledge throughout the various communities in diaspora.

The *Ge'etz* rite in Rome

The presence of 'Abyssinian' priests and pilgrims has been attested and documented in Rome since at least the end of the fifteenth century. Within the Vatican walls, the church of S. Stefano Protomartire, known as Santo Stefano degli Abissini, dates back to the pontificate of Pope Sisto IV. The annexed Pontifical Ethiopian college has hosted Ethiopian and Eritrean monks over the centuries. Today it hosts a small number of priests who regularly officiate the *Ge'ez*[8] rite and the sacred dance *Aqwaqwam*[9] in the college chapel. Mr. Abrahame is an Ethiopian *dabtarā*, an expert in liturgical music and chanting, who operates in the College. He has been in Rome for more than 40 years.

The church of Santo Stefano Protomartire today aggregates the Ethiopian and Eritrean Catholic communities, mainly during the celebrations for Saint Stephen. In the mid 1970s, the Eritrean and Ethiopian faithful attended the liturgy in this church on Sunday. Since the 1980s the progressive growth of a stable, secular community has led to the assignment of a new place of worship outside the Vatican Walls. In those years the small baroque-church of San Tommaso in Parione started to host Catholic and Orthodox, Ethiopian and Eritrean faithful. This 'community of faith', which aggregated different creeds and two conflicting nations, has undergone a process of fragmentation since the 1990s. In 1993, the same year in which the Eritrean Orthodox Church became autocephalous following national independence, a new church in Rome was assigned for the celebrations of the Orthodox Tewahedo rite: San Gioacchino e Anna ai Monti (renamed Santa Maria di Monte Zion). In 1998 the Orthodox Eritreans of Rome obtained the church of San Salvatore in Campo, then renamed San Michael.

The Eritrean and Ethiopian Catholics, on the other hand, remain linked to the small church of San Tommaso in Parione, currently attended mostly by Eritreans. Indeed, since 2006 the Ethiopian Catholics have celebrated mass in other places of worship and today they are hosted in the church of Santa Maria in Monticelli. Nowadays the relationship between all

6 Personal data have been omitted for privacy reasons.

7 Interview with T. and B., S. Michael Ortodox Tewahedo Church, December 20th, 2015, Rome.

8 The term *Ge'ez* rite refers to the Ethiopian and Eritrean Christian rite which is celebrated by Orthodox and Catholics alike. Christianity in Ethiopia was already attested in the 4th century. The beginning of the evangelisation of the kingdom of Axum is attributed to the Syrian missionary Frumentius of Tyre, who was nominated the first bishop of Axum by the patriarch of Alexandria, Athanasius I. From its origins to the twentieth century, the Church of Ethiopia was under the direct influence of the Coptic Church of Egypt. It became autocephalous in 1959. From a theological point of view, the Church of Ethiopia defines itself as Miaphysite or Pre-Chalcedonian, believing in the one nature of Christ, both divine and human. The term Tawahedo used for the Orthodox rite indicates precisely 'the unity', 'the unification' of the nature of Christ and at the same time the unity of the Orthodox Church of Ethiopia. The Eritrean Church became autocephalous in 1993.

9 For an analytical description of *Aqwaqwam,* cf. Damon-Guillot (2005 and 2006).

the communities (especially between the two Eritrean churches) appears cordial and there is frequent mutual participation in their respective patronal feasts.

With the assignment of new places of worship for each community (Catholic and Orthodox, Ethiopian and Eritrean), there has been a differentiation in the *Ge'ez* liturgy. First of all, in every church, the national language has started to be used more frequently alongside the liturgical *Ge'ez* language. If we compare the Eritrean Catholic and Orthodox churches, the repertoire has also undergone a gradual differentiation, especially in the choice of musical instruments. This phenomenon concerns both the liturgical chants entrusted to the congregation and the paraliturgical *mezmur*, performed during the main festivities. In the Orthodox churches only the sacred traditional instruments are played during the liturgy: *kabaro* (drum), *sänasel* (sistrum), *maqwāmeyā* (prayer stick). In the Catholic church San Tommaso in Parione, in addition to the *kabaro*, keyboards and frame drums are also played for the liturgical animation, as an accompaniment for the modern *mezmur*. The success of the new compositions at home and abroad is a phenomenon linked to the so-called 'Sunday schools', where the faithful learn modern liturgical and devotional chants (Shelemay 2009; 2011: 372). Father Amahari, the parish priest of San Tommaso in Parione, has explained on more than one occasion that 'modern' music attracts young people, while the elderly is more tied to tradition. Even in the Orthodox community of Rome, young people prefer the modern *mezmur*. However, for their musical accompaniment they only play the *kabaro* and the *sänasel*. On closer inspection, the use of the keyboard also seems to be allowed in the Tewahedo Church, but in Rome this is not the case.

Priests, deacons and especially *dabtarā* have the duty and the required knowledge to choose the suitable chants for every festive occasion. In their absence, the choir directors make the decisions, teaching the chosen hymns to the faithful during rehearsals. In any case, the participation of the congregation in the singing is extremely high in both the communities, which also appear to be permeable to each other. The variety of the liturgical repertoires and styles reflects the heterogeneous geographical origin of the congregation and the clergy and the different formation of the latter.

Fluidity: chants and rites in transit

Musicological studies on the Ethiopian and Eritrean liturgy have mainly focused on the Orthodox Tawahedo Church and highlighted the fact that many of the differences in the repertories and styles of the *Zēmā* liturgical chant are connected to the large number of monasteries and ecclesiastical schools (Shelemay, Jeffery 1993, v. 1: 10). Even Catholics have their own monasteries and training places. Moreover, as Kay Kaufman Shelemay underlines, a crucial element of change in the liturgical performance took place during the late twentieth century in Ethiopia (and in Eritrea, A/N): the introduction of congregational hymns, which 'has fractured long-standing boundaries between clergy and congregation, enabling entry of congregants, most particularly women, into aspects of liturgical musical performance previously closed to them' (Shelemay 2012: 379).

In the diaspora contexts, the constant mobility of the clergy and the continuous flow of new faithful into the church contribute to the variety, and sometimes the instability, of liturgical musical performance. The same celebration indeed can change significantly in the presence or absence of experienced cantors and players.

An emblematic case in Rome is the Meskel Festival[10] celebrated by the Eritrean Orthodox community. This Feast, deeply felt and experienced by the faithful, marks the finding of the

10 The Meskel festival is celebrated every year at the end of September in Ethiopia, Eritrea and in diaspora contexts. The Meskel coincides with the end of the rainy season and the beginning of the harvest season in the Horn of Africa. After the liturgy, the celebrations involve the lightning of a bonfire called *damera*. This rite is characterised by predictions and apotropaic ritual gestures, such as jumping three times over the embers, as a sign of good luck. The direction of the smoke and the one in which the burnt wood falls are instead harbingers of good or bad times. The Meskel was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2013.

Holy Cross by Queen Helena. The 2016 edition in Rome was very suggestive for the quality of the performances during the Divine Liturgy and the street celebrations (Video Example 2).

Link » Video Example 2

Damera. Meskel Celebrations, Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo community of Rome, September 25th. 2016, Piazza San Salvatore in Campo, Rome. Video by Vanna Viola Crupi (Archive Roma Sacra, University of 'Tor Vergata').

The 2017 celebrations were much simpler. The fact that a large group of experts and people active in the Church, including deacons, singers, but also faithful able to play the *kabaro,* had moved on to northern Europe left a gap that the newcomers tried to fill with their scarce experience.[11] In 2017, the aforementioned T., who together with other emigrants had been a point of reference for the community and an expert in congregational chants, also left. However, I had the opportunity to meet him in the following years and to see him playing the *kabaro* again, especially during the feast of St. Michael. He came back for devotion and in order to support the community in organising the celebrations.

The 2017 celebrations gave the impression that the knowledge and customs of the community had been temporarily dispersed, following the departure of many of its members. In response to the lack of expert cantors and players, the congregation had also started from scratch in the liturgical musical performance, introducing the newcomers to the various liturgical moments and letting them familiarise themselves with the hymns and sacred dances. In the performance of *Aqwaqwam* the priest, who was always the same, involved the new arrivals and guided them in real time in the dance movements and in the use of sticks and sistrum. The *damera*, ritual lighting of a bonfire, continued to be a very heartfelt moment of the celebration involving elderly and young people. In this part of the festival there were not many differences even in the musical performances compared to the past years (Figure 2). This is probably because this ritual, which marks the end of the main rainy season in Eritrea and Ethiopia, is particularly felt by all people and not only by practicing Christians. The *mezmur* played during the *damera* are therefore better known and widespread. On the contrary, *Aqwaqwam* repertoires, chanting style and sacred dance techniques require specific and in-depth training.

Figure 2. Woman playing the *kabaro* drum during the *Damera* rite after the Meskel celebration, Piazza San Salvatore in Campo, 2017. Photo by Vanna Viola Crupi.

11 The Eritrean immigration we are witnessing today in Italy has seen a strong increase in young Eritrean Christian asylum seekers.

Chanting flow in the city alleys

The main festivities in both the Catholic and Orthodox communities of Rome are dedicated to the respective patron Saints of each church. The Virgin Mary is celebrated during the *Kidane Mehret* [12] (Covenant of Mercy) in the Catholic church, while the Eritrean Orthodox community holds an annual celebration for the Archangel Michael (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Women of the Eritrean Catholic community of Rome in procession perform Marian songs for the celebrations of the Kidane Mehret (Pact of Mercy), February 19th 2017, Rome. Photo by Vanna Viola Crupi.

Devotional processions take place after the mass. On these occasions the chanting of the faithful flows through the alleys, filling the sound space of the city of Rome (Video Example 3 – part 1).

Link » Video Example 3

Chanting flow in the city alleys. Video by Vanna Viola Crupi. (Archive Roma Sacra, University of 'Tor Vergata'). Video chapters: a) *Kidhane Meret* Procession Eritrean Catholic Community of Rome, February 28th, 2015, Rome; b) Saint Michael Procession, Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo community of Rome, December 20th, 2016, Rome.

During the *Kidane Meret* procession, three distinct choirs can be heard simultaneously: the young people who perform the modern *mezmur* accompanied by *kabaro* and frame drums; the elderly and adult women who sing litanies and devotional song in a responsorial form, clapping their hands; the clergy who perform chants and play the *kabaro, sänasel* and *mäqwameya* accompanying the sacred dance *Aqwaqwam*.

The Orthodox community celebrates Saint Michael with a very well-attended procession which moves around the church perimeter walls, flowing around the entire block, close to Campo dei Fiori, one of the most touristic areas in the city (Figure 5).

12 In the Covenant of Mercy, Jesus promises His mother to forgive the sins of those who ask for Her intercession.

Figure 4. The Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo community of Rome, Feast of Saint Michael, 2017. Photo by Vanna Crupi.

In this case, the young people sing *mezmur* accompanied by one or more *kabaro* drums, while the clergy perform the sacred dance in the alleys, playing the traditional musical instruments (Video Example 3 – part b). Adult women participate in the procession carrying holy pictures. They can each join in the songs that echo in the alleys, but they generally do not perform litanies in a separate group as in the Catholic procession. However, when the Saint Michael procession reaches the church of San Salvatore in Campo, the women often start to perform wonderful *a cappella* devotional hymns, mostly dedicated to Saint Michael or the Virgin Mary (Video Example 4).

Link » Video Example 4

Saint Michael's devotional hymns. Eritrean Women singing devotional hymns, Saint Michael celebrations, Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo community of Rome, October 1st, 2017, Piazza San Salvatore in Campo, Rome. Video by Vanna Viola Crupi.

Processions generally represent a ritual and symbolic appropriation—or re-appropriation—of the social and physical space. For Rome's two Eritrean Christian congregations, they are above all a means to introduce themselves to Rome and its residents and a way to gain the recognition of their own presence and their own belonging to the city. Sometimes elements of contrast emerge between the Orthodox community and the neighbourhood, often due to the extensive use during these festivities of microphones, amplifiers and loudspeakers that generally saturate the sound space for several hours, annoying some residents. It is not uncommon for the latter to interrupt or hinder the celebrations. For these reasons, combined with the need to have larger and more accessible spaces, the community is looking for a place of worship located outside the historic centre, following a centripetal movement towards the periphery that has affected various Christian migrant communities of Rome.

Internal looks and perspectives

Today, the use of smartphones to document the celebrations and processions is a widespread practice among the faithful, both in the Eritrean Catholic community and in the Orthodox one (Figure 5).

Figure 5. The Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo community of Rome, Feast of Saint Michael 2017: video and photo shooting. Photo by Vanna Viola Crupi.

When smartphones began to enter the ethnographic field—just as had happened previously with the first amateur cameras—they were mostly seen as a sort of 'disturbing element' that stood between the observed event and the researcher's gaze, often mediated by a camcorder. They were considered as something to be kept out of the frame, whenever possible.

Over time, mobile phones—and amateur photo and video shooting—have inevitably started to be seen as part of the environment in which the performance takes shape and as an alternative tool of fruition and re-mediation of the performance itself. The creation of a video, regardless of the quality of the product, represents a digital construction of memories. Moreover, it is part of a new way of affirming one's own presence, which today appears to be constantly mediated by technology. It therefore responds to the desire for self-representation on the part of individuals and communities.

The recorded sounds and images are moreover surrounded by a Benjaminian 'aura', made up of personal perceptions and emotions experienced during their capturing. They can re-emerge at any time and everywhere thanks to their reproduction, which then becomes an activator of memories. However, this intimate aspect of performance fruition is not imprinted on the video recordings, but seems to be preserved in the gaze and mind of the observer.

Alongside amateur filming, the Eritrean Orthodox community of Rome provides official documentation of their main religious celebration: the feast of Saint Michael, documented every year through professional and semi-professional videos. The cameraman Simon, an active community member, moves freely in the sacred space, without disturbing the celebrations. While providing accurate documentation of the liturgy and the feast, he pays particular attention to the social and community dimensions. He is just as immersed in the procession as the participants themselves (mobile phones at the ready), having the opportunity to capture the event from the inside. These self-produced audio-visual recordings are evidence of the transformations of the rite and the community over time. Furthermore, they give visibility to the fluidity of the community; many young Eritreans filmed on these occasions will soon leave for other destinations. Video products will be sold in DVD format to the community members and visitors in the following years. The faithful appear to assimilate the actual DVD to printed holy cards since an effigy of the Archangel Michael is printed on the cover, and

this can be held up and shown by the faithful during the Celebrations (Figure 6). The image of St. Michael printed on the DVD cover, and probably on the video product itself, is thus no longer a simple souvenir, but a symbol of devotion, displayed to obtain the Archangel's blessing. This gesture recalls, among many others, what the Catholic faithful do during the Angelus: they hold up rosaries, holy cards and other religious souvenirs, often bought on the stands in Piazza San Pietro, to be blessed by the Pope. The benediction converts them from a religious object to a sacred one. Like holy cards, the self-produced digital videos and the DVDs become a modern pocket-sized religious souvenir, which the faithful can easily take home or carry with them on the next stage of their migratory experience.

Figure 6. Faithful showing the Saint Michael Effigy on the DVD cover (2017 ed.) as a devotional sign, during the Feast of Saint Michael, 2018, Piazza San Salvatore in Campo. Photo by Vanna Viola Crupi.

Conclusions

With the progressive relocation of religious practices connected to the migration phenomenon, Rome has seen the construction of different new Christian communities within its many churches.[13] These are fluid and ever-changing realities that, however, have long-lasting histories in some cases. For the Ethiopian and Eritrean Christian communities, the progressive attribution of new places of worship began at the end of the twentieth century, in response to the growth of the community and to the needs for autonomy advanced by the national and creed groups.

If we consider the musical specificities of the two Eritrean churches, Catholic and Orthodox, apart from the various similarities, a differentiation emerges in the liturgical repertoires, in the styles of singing and in the use of musical instruments. In the latter cases, this is due not only to the different traditions, but also to the distinctive strategies of attracting and welcoming young people. The Catholic community is more inclined to use non-traditional instruments to accompany the 'new *mezmur*', which are more appreciated by new generations. However, the Eritrean Orthodox Church, more closely linked to the old tradition, attracts the greater influx of young refugees in transit, reflecting the highest percentage of Orthodox faithful in the motherland.[14] The patronal feast of the Orthodox church, which the same community documents year after year in video recordings, shows this flow of Eritreans in transit. The mobility of the faithful and clergy has an evident impact on the degree of stability of the celebrations, determined by the availability of experienced singers and musicians.

The concept of fluidity of the chanting proposed in this article also refers to the mobility of the hymns themselves. The *mezmur*, the tradition of singing prayers, seems to constitute a light piece of cultural baggage and a remedy to the 'crisis of presence' (De Martino 1956) that characterises the migratory experience. The same hymns will resound in the churches of the diaspora, places of landing or passage that are always considered by the Eritrean Christian faithful as material and spiritual safe places of refuge. They will also be performed in processions in the squares and alleys of Rome, making their presence and their extraordinary beauty audible to the city and its inhabitants.

13 Cf. Facci (2017a; 2017b).

14 Moreover, the action of the Eritrean Orthodox community of Rome in welcoming refugees appears to be more widespread also due to the presence of a very strong and large internal organisational structure.

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Taking Care of Yourself, Taking Care of Others. Music as a Self-representation of the Caregivers in Rome

Blanche Lacoste

The present reflection takes place within the broader research for my PhD thesis entitled *The musical role of women in the liturgy and ritual of Eastern Europe migrant's communities in Rome today* (Lacoste 2021). This research is focused on the music of a 91%-female migration group in Italy[1]: a group of caregivers. These women mainly come from Eastern European countries such as Romania, Moldovia, Ukraine, Poland but also from the Philippines and South America and have migrated to Italy in the last 30 years to work as care workers for the elderly. Naturally this process, which was originally marginal and trouble-free, had stepped out into the light of the media and the political scene by the turn of the new century. In fact, when Berlusconi's government decided to face the undeniable fact that the Italian population was aging, the solution to avoid involving public welfare money was to regularise the foreign women who had already settled in Italy. Thus, it was in 2002, with the first specific amnesty[2], that Italy fully came to terms with the dimensions of the phenomenon and began to understand how the *badanti* had quietly become a fundamental element in Italian society and the country's labour market. In less than ten years, the number of foreign workers in the caregivers sector passed from 50,000 to 500,000 out of a total of 600,000 care-workers, which corresponds to an increase from 25 to 80%.[3] In 2019, several different institutions[4] agreed on the fact that were 2,000,000 domestic workers present in Italy, around 77% of whom were non-citizens. It is estimated that more than the half of them are still unregistered.

This work focuses on three Eastern-European communities present in the Italian capital: the Polish, the Ukrainian and the Georgian communities, with women making up 73.8, 77.6 and 81% of the population respectively. Many of these women arrived in Italy more than 15 years ago. Some of them work as babysitters or hired helps in the rich neighbourhoods of the city but the majority of them are *badanti*. *Badanti* usually take care of elderly people 6 days a week, 24 hours a day, often living with them in their homes. They always migrate alone, leaving their husbands and children behind in their country of origin. They rarely apply for family reunification since they believe that their migration is destined to only be a short-medium term residency.

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1 According to the *Rapporto dell'Osservatorio Nazionale DOMINA* (2019).

2 The Bossi-Fini amnesty was essentially aimed at the domestic worker sector. Other amnesties followed in 2006, 2009, 2012 and 2020.

3 According to the *Rapporto dell'Osservatorio Nazionale DOMINA* (2019)

4 The institutions are the INPS, ISTAT, *Associazione Nazionale Famiglie Datori di Lavoro Domestico* – DOMINA and the Fondazione Leone Moressa in the *Osservatorio Nazionale DOMINA*'s (2019) report.

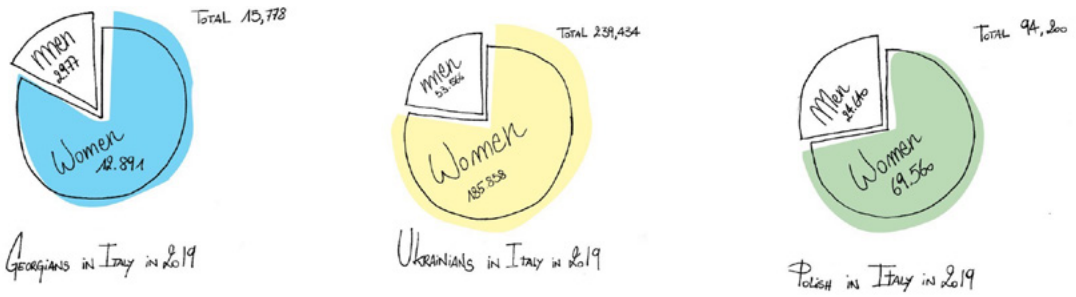

Figure 1. Number of women and men in three observed communities according to the *rapporto 2019 dell'Osservatorio Nazionale DOMINA.*

At this point, it is important to specify that the main fieldwork for this PhD research was carried out inside the churches of these communities in Rome, but that I was also able to follow the women I met in their own countries during their holidays. These one-month trips to each of the three Eastern nations were essential to understand the complexity of the relation between politics, religions, people and music. In addition, I am not exactly sure what came first: whether I had already gained their trust during my fieldwork in Rome which naturally led them to invite me to join them on their holidays to 'discover' their own country or whether it was the curiosity I showed about going to their 'home' that encouraged them to give me that trust and friendship. Whatever the answer, Halena Hromek the director of the Ukrainian female choir, Ekaterina Kacharava the director of the Georgian choir and Zenobia Ksiazek one of the choristers in the Polish choir, welcomed me and acted as my guide in their own countries. It goes without saying that the three of them were also helped by numerous choristers from each of the choirs.

It is precisely this fieldwork in each country that helped me to better understand the religio-political dynamics of these Eastern European states. These countries are united by the fact that, regardless of the Credo of their belief, they had all undergone hard times for many decades due to the Soviet Union's anti-religious policies. This played a role in making each country's religion come to be considered as a marker of strong national identity after the fall of the Soviet system in 1991.[5] Religion is thus a way to mark a strong separation and opposition to the soviet past and establish a nation based on democracy and freedom of expression.

Poland is still known as one of the most Catholic countries in the world with a strong Catholic view in the governance of the country.[6] Ukraine struggled until 2018 to have the autocephalous Orthodox national church[7] and in the western part of the country, the Byzantine-Catholic church is an important reference for the pro-independence national movement whose wish is to see the Russians out of Crimea and the Donbass area. Furthermore, the peculiar music of the Georgian Orthodox Church is a determinant aspect of national identity. Since religious freedom was only restored 30 years ago, most of the women that I met during my investigation had to pass through a kind of 'rediscovery' of religion and faith, which leads them to have a special relationship with their faith, regardless of their confession. Besides, when they first arrive in Italy, it is often the church community that helps the women find their jobs. It is seen as a safe-place and the circulation of information is important and valid.

Moreover, whether the liturgy is Orthodox, Roman Catholic or Byzantine Catholic, music is an essential part of it. Back in the Eastern European countries, male choirs are more common and more valued than the female choirs: in Georgia, for example, when the liturgy is sung by a male choir, the components of the choir are paid, they are professionals. Whereas when it is their female counterparts who are members of the choir, you can be sure that they are all volunteers. However, in Italy, because of the lack of men, women must take charge of the music part of the liturgy. All these choirs are, therefore, totally female.

5 See, among others, Daucé, (2003) or Rousselet and Serrano (2011), and Pollack (2003).
6 See, among others, Pomian, (1986) or Gilmont (1982) and Borowik (2002a).
7 See, among others, Borowik (2002b).

Music as social redemption

As can be seen in the ISTAT statistics, it is mostly women who migrate from Eastern European countries to support the family economy. In Italy, these women, usually take on positions as carers, jobs, which are not highly-rewarded by Western society, but which are actually far better paid than the work they were carrying out in their country. In fact, back home, they usually had a high-level of education and worked in socially-valued professions as teachers, pharmacists, musicians, engineers, school heads, university professors, and so on. When they arrive in Italy, they are automatically associated with the stereotypes and stigma of being women, migrants and care workers[8]. For example, once, Halena, the Ukrainian choir master, told me: 'I ask for nothing more than respect. Even if I'm a graduate, I'm OK doing a humble job, but unfortunately, we sometimes don't even have respect' [9].

Giving-up their professional career and personal life for the good of their family's life does have an impact on the way they are seen—by Italians or by the people in their country of origin—and how they see themselves. In this regard, some scholars talk about these women in terms of 'mother-heroines' who sacrifice themselves by going away, coping with fatigue and stress, becoming the family breadwinner to ensure their children get the education they deserve. [10] We can easily hear this in their words: 'I made a sacrifice, I was crying day and night, I miss them constantly [...] but they knew I was away for them'[11], or '[...] after having made the sacrifice of being 20 years far away from my children! '[12]. We could continue, but the purpose of these examples is to show the contrasting emotions these women have to face: the feelings of guilt of being away from their family, the pride of being indispensable and the anguish of being misunderstood and overlooked in the new country. It soon becomes a matter of self-esteem.

Link » Video Example 1

Rehearsal of the Ukrainian Choir in the church of San Sergio e Bacco, January 19th, 2019. Video by Blanche Lacoste (Archive 'Roma Sacra', University of 'Tor Vergata')

8 Which puts this research at the centre of the intersectional approach. Without describing concept in detail, it is important to recall that this approach underlines the importance of setting a strong relationship between the studies of class, race and gender to allow a complete vision of our society. For example, both white women and racialised women have to experience the effects of patriarchy, but the former have privileges that the latter lack for reasons of racism and its subsequent effects.

9 'Non chiedo nient'altro che il rispetto. Anche se sono diplomata, non ho problemi a fare un lavoro umile, ma purtroppo ogni tanto non abbiamo neanche questo' Halena, interviewed by the author on November 11th, 2017.

10 For more on the concept of « mother-heroine », see Morokvasic (2007), and Vianello (2009). More generally, about the presence and absence of migrant mothers see Schmalzbauer (2005) and Silvey (2006).

11 'Ho fatto un sacrificio, piangevo giorno e notte, mi mancavano di continuo [...] ma sapevano che ero fuori per loro' Hanna interviewed by the author on November 12th, 2017.

12 '[...] dopo aver fatto il sacrificio di essere 20 anni lontane da loro!' Lyuba interviewed by the author on November 26th, 2017.

Figure 2. The Ukrainian's Choir in the church of San Sergio e Bacco, January 19th, 2019.
Photo by Blanche Lacoste.

In my fieldwork research, I noticed that the national churches of the communities have a crucial role in providing them with professional and personal support. But something is even more powerful: the choir.

Due to the above-mentioned percentages, the choirs of the Ukrainian and the Georgian communities in Rome are entirely made up of female voices. Singing and making music together creates a strong sorority through music. And this strong sisterhood undoubtedly improves their self-esteem and the way they see themselves in the Italian context: 'That was a big thing. My dream of singing and dancing was coming true. Ever since I arrived in Italy everything was over. I felt as if I were dead inside. I was born again'[13], and 'Singing in churches was just my work in Georgia. Being able to continue here in Rome, even if I'm not paid for it, cheered me up'[14], or 'I did the rehearsals with the girls. They gave me a great welcome. I deeply felt the love from them. Even that is important. When people ignore you, it is difficult, instead they gave me a great welcome'[15], or 'However, for us, singing in three voice parts transmits... brings in your heart... makes you feel so good!'[16]. All the suffering expressed in the interviews was balanced by a strong attachment to music and faith, which was clearly fundamental in helping them to revalue themselves, their own communities and even more. Indeed, it usually improves their relationship with Italians.

Link » Video Example 2

Rehearsal of the Georgian Choir before the Divine Liturgy for the night before Easter, April 11th, 2015. Room adjacent to the church of Sant'Andrea Apostolo.
Video by Alessandro Cosentino (Archive 'Roma Sacra', University of 'Tor Vergata').

13 'Era una grande cosa. Si realizzava il mio sogno, cantare, ballare. Da quando ero venuta in Italia tutto era finito. Io ero come morta. Sono nata di nuovo.' Kathuna interviewed by Serena Facci and myself on March 10th, 2019.

14 'Cantare in chiesa era proprio il mio lavoro in Georgia. Poter continuare anche qui a Roma mi ha tirato su moralmente.' Sofia interviewed by Serena Facci and me on March 10th, 2019.

15 'Facevamo le prove con le ragazze. Mi hanno accolto molto bene. Sentivo proprio l'amore da loro. Pure questo è importante. Quando ti ignorano è difficile, invece loro mi hanno accolto molto bene' Sofia interviewed by Serena Facci and me on March 10th, 2019.

16 'Comunque da noi cantare con tre voci trasmette... fa entrare nel cuore... ti fa sentire così bene!' Madonna interviewed by Serena Facci and me on March 10th, 2019.

Figure 3. The Georgian Choir at the end of the liturgy, October 23rd, 2016 at the church of Sant'Andrea Apostolo. Photo by Blanche Lacoste (Archive 'Roma Sacra', University of 'Tor Vergata').

As regards the last matter, I have heard them say that telling Italian people that they are musicians improves their social context, as they are more admired and respected in a country where music is seen as a privilege. In this way, these women are no longer seen as just *badanti* but finally as fulfilled persons. Halena and Ekaterina are two specific examples of such a reflection. The two of them were professional musicians back in their countries and became *badanti* once they got to Italy. After a few years—perhaps they were lucky enough to meet the right Italian people?—they started earning money for teaching and doing music, which led them to think differently about their own migration. They both feel useful and meaningful, and their *agency* can be fully fulfilled.

On the one hand, Halena, the Ukrainian choir master, teaches pianoforte at a high school in a little town about 45 km south of Rome. She has also been asked by the priest of the Latin-Catholic Italian parish near her home to run the parish choir because no one in the church had enough musical training to be able to lead the choir. She does not get paid for this work but teaching piano at school makes her feel professional. Although she still works two days a week as a caregiver, most of her monthly income comes from being a musician, a teacher, which is what she studied for back in the Ukraine. Furthermore, her soviet-style of teaching impresses the students and makes her teaching unique and valuable.

Link » Video Example 3

Halena's piano lesson at the High School in Aprilia, March 15th, 2017.
Video by Blanche Lacoste (Archive 'Roma Sacra', University of 'Tor Vergata').

On the other hand, Ekaterina is the Georgian choir master. She is also in charge of the Sant'Egidio community choir in Rome. Furthermore, she decided to set up a choir with both Italian and Georgian women. Just like Halena, she does not get paid for this, but it is 'her' choir, and it allows her to fully express her artistic way of thinking music by choosing both repertoire and singers, and also by working on the sound and the musical identity of the choir during rehearsals. As regards her main job: Sant'Egidio is an important community—in terms of number and its political influence—established by laics in 1968 and committed to the fight against poverty and to working for the wellbeing of migrants. They have an important church in the centre of Rome and liturgies are held daily. Ekaterina's role is to take care of all the liturgical music repertoire and the choir. Every day, she must prepare a small choir for vespers and mass, singing with them, and on Sundays she does the same with a bigger choir.

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‘In a Foreign Land’. Two Significant Case Studies of the Dialogical Way to Discover Oriental Christian Liturgical Chant

Maria Rizzuto

The interest in the liturgical chant of Eastern Christianity started to be a topic of research and reflection in Italy in the 1960s. Today, retrospectively speaking, two dates assume a particular emblematic value in relation to the development of studies on Christian-Eastern musical practices in our national territory in the twenty-first century.

The first date is 25th-26th May 1963 when the *Convegno di Studi di Musica Tradizionale Liturgica* [Conference of Traditional Liturgical Music] took place in Rome and in Grottaferrata. The idea for the conference had come from Leo Levi and Giorgio Nataletti[1] and it was organised with the Centro Nazionale per gli Studi di Musica Popolare—Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia [National Centre for Folk Music Studies—National Academy of Santa Cecilia] and the RAI [Italian national public broadcasting company]. During this conference, the International Centre for Traditional Liturgical Music was founded, and its headquarters was established in the capital.[2] Father Bartolomeo di Salvo also took part in the conference.[3] Despite the very short life of this research centre and the lack of any significant activities, its creation still bears an important symbolic value. The second date is 6th-11th May 1968 when Father Bartolomeo di Salvo organised a *Congresso Internazionale di Studi di Musica Bizantina e Orientale Liturgica* [International Conference of Studies in Byzantine and Oriental Liturgical Music] in Grottaferrata. The most eminent scholars in the field from Western and Eastern Europe, the United States, Israel, Lebanon and Turkey took part (see Garofalo 2022 forthcoming). These initiatives are significant because they have metaphorically planted seeds which, after remaining for many decades without a concrete following, have recently begun to germinate in Italy.[4]

In fact, with the eve of the new millennium, a new line of research finally started to devel-

1 Leo Levi (1912-1982) was an Italian Jewish scholar born in Casale Monferrato (Brunetto 2006).

2 Leo Levi’s paper entitled À la recherche du chant perdu and presented on the occasion of the foundation of the Research Centre was distributed in a mimeographed form during the conference. As Leydi writes, the «almost identical» text with the title *The International Centre for Traditional Liturgical Music* was published in the Summary Catalogue of the Recording (1948-62) of the National Centre for Popular Music Studies, Rome, National Academy of Santa Cecilia - RAI - Italian national public broadcasting company (see Levi 2002b: 135-168).

3 Father Bartolomeo Di Salvo (Piana degli Albanesi 1916 – Grottaferrata 1986) was a monk in the Abbazia Greca of San Nilo in Grottaferrata in 1937, where he was ordained as a priest in 1940. Guided by Father Lorenzo Tardo (1883-1967), the founder of the renowned chant school in the monastery (*Schola Melurgica di Grottaferrata*), he engaged in the study of medieval Byzantine manuscripts and began at the same time to conduct the Monastery choir.

4 Roberto Leydi was one of the first to explain the reasons behind Italian ethnomusicology’s delayed interest in the liturgical and paraliturgical musical tradition (notable progress only started to be made from the 1980s) in the introductory paper to the Ethnomusicological Section at the International Conference *Music and liturgy in Mediterranean culture*, held in Venice in October 1985 on the occasion of the European Year of Music, see Arcangeli (1988).

op in Italy, even though it was not a direct and continuous result of the work cited before, but mainly due to the increasing migration of people coming from countries where the majority of churches are Oriental Christian. This study perspective focusing on Oriental Christian liturgical music observed from an ethnomusicological point of view was institutionalised in Italy from the first decades of the 2000s onwards, with the teaching of 'Byzantine Music' led by Professor Girolamo Garofalo at the University of Palermo. This teaching related Sicilian-Albanian liturgical musical practices[5] with the Byzantine music of Greece. Afterwards, the scholar's interest also embraced other Eastern Christian musical traditions, addressing them according to a double directive: on the one hand, by carrying out research on and audiovisual documentation of the Holy Week rites at the Armenian Catholic church and the Ethiopian Catholic church (2010), in Rome; at the Pontifical Greek College (2011), at the Melkite Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (2012) and, together with the author of this paper, at the Coptic Orthodox Church of St. George Great Martyr (2013);[6] on the other hand, through the organisation of international study days entitled *Voce e Suono della Preghiera* [Voice and Sound of Prayer] for the Intercultural Institute of Comparative Music Studies (I.I.S.M.C.) at the Giorgio Cini Foundation in Venice.[7] The result of this research was the expansion of the disciplinary content of Garofalo's course at the University of Palermo whose name he changed by adding the expression 'and of the Christian East' to 'Byzantine music' which was the original name of the course.

Since the second decade of the 2000s, this line of research on Eastern Christian practices in Italy has been intertwined in a dialogical way with the increasingly widespread and progressively established interest in Italy in the musical traditions of migrant communities that have settled in Italy since the 1980s. Indeed, from the mid-1980s of the twentieth century, the musical practice of the immigrant communities has become more and more relevant for the Italian soundscape. Immigrants recognise the place of worship as a privileged space in which to meet. In the Eastern Churches, even in diaspora, liturgical chant rhythmises each service, giving shape to the rite through the sung word, and fulfilling many functions in the migrant communities, whose chanting guarantees their second generations the transmission of an identity that has been handed down for centuries. At the same time, musical practices are very important as a catechetical tool.[8]

My personal research has taken an institutional form since 2013 when I started my PhD about Coptic music in Egyptian communities in Rome. It also coincided with a PRIN project (Projects of Relevant National Interest) entitled 'Transformation processes in traditional oral music from 1900 to today. Historical research and surveys on contemporary traditional practices' that started up a new specific area of ethnomusicological interest articulated in multiple directions, including liturgical musical repertoires.[9]

On the basis of my research experience in Rome, Professor Sergio Bonanzinga of the

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5 In Sicily the *Arbëreshe* communities were formed after Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks in 1453. Since 1937, the communities have had an autonomous Eparchy with an ordained Bishop. The Eparchy of Piana degli Albanesi, the Eparchy of Lungro in Calabria, the Greek Abbey of St. Nilo in Grottaferrata and the Greek College of St. Athanasius in Rome have all been the beating hearts of the Greek-Catholic tradition of the Byzantine rite in Italy ever since then. As regards ethnomusicological studies on the Greek-Catholic liturgical and paraliturgical musical traditions see Garofalo (2006, 2012, 2015), Garofalo and Giordano (2016).

6 This first project guided the direction of my research, which was initially developed during my PhD on 'Musica e Spettacolo' at Rome's 'Sapienza' University (tutor Professor Girolamo Garofalo, co-tutor Professor Serena Facci), and which has continued systematically until today.

7 See the Intercultural Institute of Comparative Music Studies, Voce e suono della preghiera [Voice and Sound of Prayer 1] 1 https://www.cini.it/eventi/voce-e-suono-della-preghiera-1-it; Voce e suono della preghiera 2 https://www.cini.it/eventi/voce-e-suono-della-preghiera-2-it; Voce e suono della preghiera 3 https://www.cini.it/eventi/giornata-di-studi-e-concerto-voce-e-suono-della-preghiera-3; Voce e suono della preghiera 4 https://www.cini.it/eventi/voce-e-suono-della-preghiera-4-il-canto-liturgico-copto. Last access April 20th, 2021.

8 For an overview of the multiform mosaic present in Italy today, thanks to musical practices in immigrant communities, see the other essays in this book. Also see the many writings by Serena Facci and Fulvia Caruso (as examples see Facci 2017a and Caruso 2020). For a monographic study see Cosentino (2019) and Rizzuto (2020a, 2020b).

9 The project was coordinated by Professor Giovanni Giuriati, 'Sapienza' University of Rome and included a research group working on the Christian chant in a number of communities of immigrants in Rome led by Professor Serena Facci from 'Tor Vergata University'. As a co-tutor of my PhD project, she was aware of my research topic and asked me to cooperate with her research group.

University of Palermo suggested that I extend this research perspective to Sicily, with the particular aim of developing synchronic research on the liturgical-musical practices of the contemporary Orthodox communities in Sicily, including my research within the abovementioned PRIN.[10]

This innovative line of research appears to be grafted into the fertile field that Garofalo had prepared, extending on the one hand the perspective of investigation to the contemporary Byzantine and Alexandrian Orthodox liturgical musical practices of the Island and, on the other, coherently inserting the research within the studies on the musical practices of migrant communities. This brief reconstruction of the recent history of these studies is aimed at showing the context that guided me to choose the two case studies examined in this paper. Both of them concern the contribution I intended to give to the knowledge and valorisation of some Byzantine musical traditions in Italy, outside strictly liturgical contexts, also thanks to the collaboration between some chanters and skilled exponents in the liturgical chant of the communities and myself. The chanters are also committed to supporting their own culture in a foreign land. This makes it possible to involve as wide an audience as possible, thus contributing to the dissemination of the knowledge of the ritual-musical practices of traditions other than Western ones.

The first case study concerns the gradual process of re-appropriation of an ideal ancient Byzantine Orthodox identity through the chant that gives shape to the rite in the Italian orthodox community of Palermo. The interchange between the services and new performances makes these repertoires available to a larger audience.[11]

The second case study presents the Melkite liturgical musical tradition and the dialogical relationship with cantor and priest *papàs* Elias Raji Bdeiwi, starting from the reconstruction of two important moments of study and research in Italy: 1) the 'Voice and Sound of Prayer' Study Day, third edition (2012); 2) the cataloguing of registrations made by Leo Levi stored in Collection 84 of the Ethnomusicological Archives of the National Academy of Santa Cecilia in Rome.

Renewal of Orthodox liturgical chant in Palermo

Italians founded the Church of St. Mark of Ephesus in Palermo in 1985 (Figure 1). This church was the first Orthodox church in twentieth-century Sicily and is ideally connected to the ancient Byzantine Orthodox church in Sicily. Until 1998 it was the seat of the Moscow Deanery for Italy, after which it passed to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Rizzuto 2015).

The church of St. Mark has two main features: 1) the church is characterised by Italian-speaking faithful, that is Italians who have chosen orthodoxy as their profession of faith. This choice has led to a paradigm shift in relation to the sense of identity: they perceive themselves as members of a transnational community that is minoritarian in Italy. Despite their being Italian, these people made an ontological choice when they embraced Orthodoxy; 2) the community is multicultural. Until the early 2000s it was the only Orthodox church in the city and for this reason it welcomed faithful of various origins and different rites: therefore, the parishioners were Italians, Georgians, Russians, Romanians, Eritreans and Copts. Such multiculturalism determined the fact that several languages (Italian, Slavonic and Greek) were used in the church.

10 My contribution to the PRIN research also had an editorial outcome, see Rizzuto (2015).

11 Musical expression for the Orthodox community of Palermo symbolises a sort of indirect recovery of the original Christianity which, for contemporary Orthodox Sicilians, was perpetuated in medieval Sicily, a period to which they link their own identity. For information on Byzantine and Sicilian-Greek history, spirituality and culture see Antonio Monaco (2005) and Alessio Ieromonaco (2008).

Figure 1. Church of St. Mark of Ephesus (Patriarchate of Constantinople), Palermo.
Photo by Teresa Amari.

The musical practice of the community of St. Mark is particularly significant. The well-ordered elaboration of elements coming from different Byzantine musical traditions (mainly Greek and Russian), the translation into Italian of the texts of the chants, their adaptation to the musical synthesis operated exclusively according to an oral tradition and the use of several languages (Greek, Slavonic, Romanian and Italian) has been coded in such a way as to be perfectly coherent because it is functional to the rite and to the needs of the community. During the rite, ritual multilingualism confers a particular ease of use to the services which would be difficult for those who are not familiar with the Byzantine tradition. This has allowed more and more people to discover the musical richness of the Christian East that is not very well known in Italy, thus promoting a greater circulation of these chants.

Since 2015, due to the absence of a priest, a large number of the faithful and many chanters of this church have started to attend the church of St. Alexander of Comana (Patriarchate of Moscow). The chanters became members of the choir that was formed in 2013, the year when the Russian church was consecrated. Thanks to the choir director, Irina Nedoshivkina Nicotra, a professional musician trained in St. Petersburg, the musical practice of this church reached a good level.

The choir that chants during the liturgical Services is multi-ethnic, composed of Serbian, Russian, Georgian and Italian singers (Figure 2).

The repertoire showed the different voices of the musical cultures of the chanters, coherently adapted to the Slavic atmosphere. During a liturgy, in fact, chants in several languages (Slavonic, Greek and Italian), and melodies belonging to the different Orthodox traditions, could be heard.

Thanks to the choir's expertise, Irina gradually started to organise small concerts within the church, outside the services (Figure 3).

Figure 2. Multi-ethnic choir, Divine Liturgy, church of St. Alexander of Comana (Patriarchate of Moscow), Palermo, July 11th , 2016. Photo by Maria Rizzuto.

Figure 3. Concert for Christmas, church of St. Alexander of Comana (Patriarchate of Moscow), Palermo, December 2016. Photo by Maria Rizzuto.

The choir's skill and the high level of the performances meant that the audience grew and singers and musicians interested in sacred chants were drawn to the church. Thus, new people chose to approach the new repertoire and started singing in the choir. This led to the formation of a second choir which began a regular concert activity. The new choir is called Svete Tikhij. Its name derives from the incipit of the Vespers Hymn in the Slavonic language and means 'Joyful Light'. The Svete Tikhij Choir is mainly composed of Italian and Slavic members, who are both amateur and professional singers (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Sound check before the concert at the ARCI club Fontarò, Palermo, November 14th, 2019. Photo by Maria Rizzuto.

The dynamics of the relationship between the members of the choir are clearly defined. Three groups can be identified: the first is made up of Slavic Orthodox members, represented by Irina, who directs and also sings in the choir. The second group is composed of Orthodox Italians who are also part of the liturgical choir. They live in mixed families, respect fasting and the rhythms of the liturgical calendar. The third group consists of non-Orthodox citizens from Palermo who are culturally and intellectually curious and passionate about sacred chant. The three groups of the choir interact through music and chanting.

One of the ways in which the choir performs is that of 'narrated concerts'. This type of concert came into being thanks to the interaction between Irina the choir director and the author of this paper. A narrated concert is a type of performance in which narration and chant alternate, mutually reinforcing each other, within the broader liturgical context evoked and re-enacted by the chants performed according to the ritual action process (Rizzuto 2020a). The performance is characteristic because it has Orthodox liturgical repertoires as its object. Rehearsals to prepare a narrated concert allow the development of a path characterised by musical, hymnographic and symbolic dialectics between the Western and Oriental categories among the members of the choir; each hymn is studied from a musical, symbolic and ritual point of view, inserting it into the broader cultural framework of Eastern Christians. During a narrated concert these reflections are made available to the public, accompanied by the recitation of the poetic text of the chants in an Italian translation. A selection of chants belonging to the various Byzantine musical-ritual traditions (i.e. Greek, Georgian, Slavic and Znamenny) is performed with the support of a narration that places them within a frame of meaning by exploring their musical, linguistic and ritual aspects. Listeners are given some tools that allow them to appreciate the chants not just from an aesthetic point of view. The narrated concert allows the enjoyment and discovery of a musical heritage that marks the identity of the Oriental Christian world that finds its space during the services and which is thus made available to a much wider audience.[12] This kind of performance is also presented during festivals.

12 Narrated concert 'Luce d'Oriente', TVM Facebook page https://fb.watch/4HRGhXIGx2/. Last access April 20th, 2021.

Figure 5. Narrated concert, *Luce d'Oriente* as part of the events organized during the Christmas period by the Municipality of Palermo entitled *Accendiamo una luce*, church of St. Alexander of Comana (Patriarchate of Moscow), January 6th, 2021. Photo by Salvatore La Rocca.

There are positive effects not only from a communicative point of view, but also in the ritual field. The bidirectional relationship between concert and ritual areas is mainly revealed in two ways: 1) during some feasts of the Julian calendar some members of the Svete Tikhij choir often provide support to the liturgical choir, thus strengthening the musical performance during the rite and giving greater solemnity to the celebrations. This is possible thanks to the study that is carried out during rehearsals; 2) the various versions of the same hymn, performed according to the different musical traditions (for example, the 'Christòs Anesti' in Greek, Slavonic and Georgian according to their culturally determined melodies), or in the ancient Slavic musical tradition (for example the 'Znamenny Cherubic Hymn') are analysed from the textual and musical point of view for the concert. These same chants are then performed during the rite, thus giving the liturgy a musical richness and a dynamic repertoire rarely found in the communities of the diaspora. The musical repertoire appears vibrant in the fluid osmotic movement between concert and ritual.

The liturgical chant is configured both as a tool of interaction between members of the Orthodox culture and Italian citizens, as regards the integration of these members with different Orthodox traditions who can recognise their identity in the musical-liturgical practices. The liturgical chant performed during narrated concerts is also important for the direct relationship with the local cultural and political bodies, in a wider process of mutual cultural inclusion.

The birth of a recent interest in the Melkite liturgical chant in Italy

No interest in Melkite liturgical chant in Italy had ever been shown prior to 2012, except for some brief information in the main encyclopaedic dictionaries of music. Neither Levi in 1963 nor Di Salvo in 1968 invited scholars of Melkite liturgical chant to the aforementioned conferences.[13]

The first major initiative in Italy entirely dedicated to Melkite liturgical chant was the Study Day entitled 'Voice and Sound of Prayer', primarily addressed to ethnomusicologists and their students but also open to the public. This event was held in Venice on December 5th, 2012 and

13 The recordings made by Leo Levi, will be explained in the following paragraph. Let us just note here that Levi, in reference to Melkite chant, records and comments on what he heard.

was organised by Girolamo Garofalo for the Intercultural Institute of Comparative Music Studies (I.I.S.M.C) of the Giorgio Cini Foundation.[14] Furthermore, this initiative provided Italian ethnomusicologists with information and stimuli that would then partly converge in the wider field of research on the music of migrants.[15]

This initiative was very important especially because it was a means of disseminating some cultural information, as both illustrious scholars and prestigious chanters were invited to Venice. This Study Day also provided the audience with some historical-cultural coordinates that helped them to follow the musical liturgical practice exemplified by the final concert performed by the choir 'St. Stephen the Melodist', directed by Bachir Al Osta.[16]

The name 'Melkite' derives from the Syriac 'malkô' (Dick 1994: 9). It can also be reconnected to the Arabic linguistic root /MLK/ from which the word *malik*, meaning 'king', derives. The term was defined in the fifth century and refers to those churches that gave support to the Basileus, i.e. to the Emperor of Constantinople, during the theological disputes within the context of the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD). In particular, the word indicates that part of Christianity which belonged to the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem and which supported the theological decisions emerging from the Council. These decisions created divisions within two of the five patriarchal seats: the Alexandrian one and the Antiochian one. In Alexandria those who supported the decisions of the Council were called 'Melkites' that is 'supporters of the Emperor' (they are part of the Chalcedonian Churches) in a derogatory way, and those who did not accept the results of the Council were identified with the Copts-Orthodox (Pre-Chalcedonian);[17] the same kind of separation also took place in Antioch. The Chalcedonians were called Melkites and the Pre-Chalcedonians identified with the Eastern Syrian Church. The Melkites live in Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria (cf. *ivi*: 10-11) and in the countries of the diaspora, such as Italy.[18] Today the term 'Melkite' has a specific connotation, as explained by Girolamo Garofalo in the Study Day programme:

> *Stricto sensu*, the term Melkite designates a Catholic church *sui iuris* of the Byzantine rite and Arabic language led by the Patriarch of Antioch, based in Damascus (Syria). In the context of the Study Day, however, the expression Melkite liturgical chant will also indicate the liturgical musical heritage of the Orthodox Christians of the Byzantine rite and the Arabic language of the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. In fact, the historical roots of all these churches are common, the area of geographic diffusion is common, just as the characteristics of the respective liturgical-musical traditions are common. Today the Melkites (also called 'Eastern Catholics', 'Byzantine Catholics' or 'Greek Catholics'), as well as the Orthodox Arabs belonging to the Patriarchate of Antioch, follow the Greek variants of the Byzantine rite as regards guidance, theology and spirituality, and both communities are distinguished from other Eastern Christians since they use Arabic as their liturgical language, alongside Greek (until the seventeenth century Syriac was also used in the liturgy).[19]

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14 *EM Music and Religion* (2006) is the expression of the renewed interest and awareness of the complexity of these themes from the Christian East. The publication of this issue can be considered the antecedent of the Study Day 'Voice and Sound of Prayer'.

15 See footnote 7.

16 Bashir al Osta is a musicologist and teacher of Greek language and Byzantine music at the Sant'Anna seminary in Rabwe in Lebanon and Professor of Byzantine music at the Higher Conservatory of Music in Beirut, as well as *protospaltis* of the Holy See of Antioch of the Greek-Melkite Church and director of the Patriarchal School of Byzantine music and the 'St. Stephen the Melodist' choir of Antelias-Rabwe (Lebanon). See Cini Foundation, Final Concert of the Study Day 'Voice and Sound of Prayer 3', 'St. Stephen the Melodist' choir: Psalm 134 of the *Polièleos* of the Service of the *Orthros* for Sundays and Feasts https://youtu.be/QGWUxKdK4qU and *Axion estìn*: *Megalynârion* of the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom https://youtu.be/AEcohmqKDTY, Last access April 20th, 2021.

17 For further clarification on the distinction between Chalcedonian and Pre-Chalcedonian, see Rizzuto 2015; for an in-depth study on the liturgical repertoire of the Coptic Orthodox in Italy see Rizzuto (2020b and 2020c).

18 See the websites: Santa Maria in Cosmedin website https://www.cosmedin.org/about and Catholic Dioceses of the Greek-Melkite Church in the world http://www.gcatholic.org/dioceses/data/rite-GM.htm. Last access April 20th, 2021.

19 'In senso stretto il termine melchita designa una chiesa cattolica *sui iuris* di rito bizantino e di lingua araba guidata dal Patriarca d'Antiochia, con sede a Damasco (Siria). Nell'ambito della giornata di studi, tuttavia, con l'espressione canto liturgico melchita si indicherà anche il patrimonio musicale liturgico dei cristiani ortodossi di rito bizantino e di lingua araba dei Patriarcati di Alessandria, di Antiochia e di Gerusalemme. Comuni, infatti, sono le radici storiche di tutte queste chiese, comune è l'area di diffusione geografica, così come comuni sono i caratteri delle rispettive tradizioni liturgico-musicali. Oggi i melchiti (detti anche 'cattolici orientali', 'cattolici bizantini' o 'greco cattolici'), così come gli arabi ortodossi facenti capo al Patriarcato di Antiochia, seguono le varianti greche del rito bizantino circa la guida, la teologia e la spiritualità, ed entrambe le comunità si distinguono da altri cristiani d'Oriente poiché usano come lingua liturgica, accanto al greco, anche l'arabo (fino al XVII secolo era usato nella liturgia anche il siriaco)' (*Il canto liturgico melchita,* Voce e suono della preghiera 3, https://www.cini.it/eventi/giornata-di-studi-e-concerto-voce-e-suono-della-preghiera-3. Last access April 20th, 2021).

As we can learn from the quote, one of the features that characterises this Church today is the use of the Arabic language together with the Greek one. From a musical point of view, Bachir Al Osta wrote in the programme:

> The Melkite liturgical musical tradition basically has a common root with the Byzantine-Greek chant. Ancient handwritten and printed sources clearly show that liturgical chant in the Middle East was practised in the past not only in Greek but also in the Syriac language. In the nineteenth century, the Melkite Church began to introduce the Arabic language as well, reserving it only for the liturgical parts declaimed or sung, while Greek continued to be used for the actual chant. The twentieth century marks the beginning of a sort of 'new revolution' of Middle Eastern Christianity with the rebirth of monasticism' [...].[20]

In 2012, Girolamo Garofalo invited me to attend the Study Day. He was aware of my knowledge of the Arabic language and the Greek Orthodox musical tradition, and thus thought that the Study Day dedicated to a tradition that summarised my interests would be particularly fruitful for me.

All the information gleaned during the conference and above all the final concert were enlightening: listening for the first time, to the Greek texts and melodies that were so familiar and fascinating to me being chanted in Arabic, was a sort of discovery of the contribution I could give to the discipline.

This opportunity was important for me and had several consequences since it directed my research to a topic that would later become one of my main research areas. In particular, the event provided me with stimulating musicological and ethnomusicological knowledge, which gave me much food for thought. It also allowed me to start intellectual and friendly relations with many people who, for various reasons, refer to the Melkite church in Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin.[21] One of these was the Syrian chanter Raji Al Bdeiwi,[22] who performed during the concert as a member of the 'St. Stephen the Melodist' choir and who was living in Rome for his theological studies, and with whom, as I will explain later, I struck up a fundamental relationship.

Another very fruitful meeting that took place during the Study Day was the one with the Archimandrite Mtanious Haddad, the then Rector of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Cosmedin and the most important referent for the Melkite faithful in Rome.[23] Our friendship got off to such a good start that he invited me to the concert of the choirs of the Colleges of the Oriental Churches of Rome which was to take place a few days later in the capital.

As a matter of fact, Father Haddad had already been inviting the choirs of the Eastern Christian Catholic colleges to take part in public concerts for several years. For the citizens of Rome, who connect the church to the Mouth of Truth, it was an important chance to cross a threshold that gave access to an unexpected and unknown Oriental cultural reality and to the discovery of often unknown musical and linguistic sounds.

The concert held at the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome gave the public the opportunity not only to discover the Melkite musical repertoire in Greek and Arabic accord-

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20 'La tradizione musicale liturgica melchita ha sostanzialmente una radice comune con quella del canto bizantino-greco. Le fonti antiche, manoscritte e a stampa, mostrano con tutta evidenza che nel Medio Oriente il canto liturgico in passato era praticato non solo in greco ma anche in lingua siriaca.
Nel XIX secolo la Chiesa melchita, incominciò a introdurre anche la lingua araba, riservandola però solo per le parti liturgiche declamate o cantillate, mentre per il canto vero e proprio continuò a essere impiegato il greco. Il secolo XX segna l'avvio di una sorta di 'nuova rivoluzione' del cristianesimo medio-orientale con la nascita del monachesimo [...]' (Ivi).

21 In Italy, in fact, there is no Melkite diocese, as we learn by consulting the website of the Catholic Dioceses of the Greek-Melkite Church in the world (Website of the Catholic Dioceses of the Greek-Melkite Church in the world http://www.gcatholic.org/dioceses/data/rite-GM.htm. Last access April 20th, 2021). Since 1965, the reference church on our national territory has been the Basilica of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (Rectorate for the care of the faithful of the Greek - Melkite rite) in Rome. This church has ancient links with the East: in the eighth century it was entrusted to Greek monks who took refuge in Italy during the difficult iconoclastic period. At first, the church was called Santa Maria in Schola Greca because of the presence of these monks, acquiring the nickname 'in Cosmedin' later, in honour of Anàrgiri Saints Cosma and Damiano.

22 Raji Bdeiwi is a PhD in Eastern Canon Law (*Summa cum Laude*) at the Pontifical Oriental Institute. In Italy he is actively engaged in the cultural field in making his liturgical-musical tradition known, both as editorial director of Radio Mariam in Rome (Arabic section of Radio Maria), and as author of the texts of the editorial project '*Nūr al-nās* - Light of the humanity' international services and communication of the Christian East in the world, which saw the publication of the CD *Nūr al-nās - Light of the humanity* - Byzantine liturgical music of the Greek-Melkite tradition. He is *Protopsaltis* of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome. In 2019 he was ordained as a priest with the name of papàs Elìas Raji Bdeiwi.

23 Santa Maria in Cosmedin website https://www.cosmedin.org/about. Last access April 20th, 2021.

ing to the Byzantine musical tradition, but also to take an ideal journey to many places of the Christian East through chants performed according to the Greek, Maronite, Armenian, Ethiopian and Slavic liturgical-musical traditions. This was the first important step, which opened up new unimaginable scenarios to me, where I discovered the existence of a Melkite community in Rome also characterised by a great openness to a dialogical encounter with the other Eastern Churches, as well as with the Western one. This feature is due perhaps to the multi-territorial (from the beginning Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria) and multicultural history (coexistence of Orthodox and Catholic Christianity with Islam) of the Melkite tradition.[24]

During the concert by the Oriental choirs in 2012, the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin became a shared sacred space in which the chant-prayer was raised with as many voices as the *sui iuris* churches present in Rome. Each performance contributed to the intensity of the vibrant chant, which may be considered the voice of some immigrant communities and which at the same time becomes the tool to reaffirm their belonging as members of the Catholic Church. This is possible beyond their liturgical-musical specificities, as underlined by the hosts in the presentation of the concert in which they declared that one of the objectives of the event was to go beyond the diversity of Eastern churches. This occasion was also important for me because I met Raji Bdeiwi for the second time, since he was, and still is, an active member of the Melkite Church, as well as being a chanter.

My relationship with Raji developed between 2014 and 2015, during the year I spent in Rome for my doctoral research. This gave rise to a fraternal friendship, mainly for the following reasons:

1. Both of us were studying at the Pontifical Oriental Institute. This fact gave us the constant opportunity to discuss and compare our ideas about the musical liturgical traditions of the Christians of Orient.
2. I was particularly interested in better understanding the Melkite musical tradition, as I was inspired by the stimuli I had received as a member of Serena Facci's research group on migrant music in Rome. Thus on the various occasions when I met Raji, it was quite natural for us to start talking about musical practice according to his tradition, until the conversations took on a more systematic and in-depth aspect. One of these conversations was really relevant for me. I asked Raji to explain, also with musical examples, the *octoichos* system of the Greek-Melkite church. This interview was precisely what gave me proof that the 'Enkòmia' sung on the afternoon of Good Friday but part of the Saturday celebrations, are performed in the fifth tone, which is the tone of triumph. The conversations with Raji were fundamental in allowing me to deepen the dialectic between the semantic value and the music of the rites I had been observing and recording at the Church of St. Mark of Ephesus in Palermo since 2006. Moreover, our conversations also helped me to understand the theological differences between the Greek Orthodox church and the *sui iuris* Sicilian Albanian in Piana degli Albanesi that are communicated by the musical expression of the chants of the 'Enkòmia'. Furthermore, discussing the Byzantine rite with Raji gave me new stimuli for the development of my musical-ritual reflections linked to the practice of the Coptic church (Alexandrian rite) that I was studying (see Rizzuto 2020b and 2020c).

The process that began in 2012 played a decisive role in my starting a line of research on the Arabic-speaking liturgical-musical traditions of the Christian East. The research on the Melkite musical tradition took shape in 2019, when I wrote a research project explicitly focused on the figure of Leo Levi and his Melkite recordings. The research entitled 'Il lascito di Leo Levi: figura-ponte tra Europa e Asia' funded by the Grazia Marchianò scholarship, promoted by the Officina di Studi Medievali of Palermo, allowed me to catalogue the National Academy of Santa Cecilia's Collection 84 [25] as will be seen in the following paragraph.

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24 In the following years I found out that the Imam of the Great Mosque was also among the guests present at the same concert in 2015. On that occasion, I attended the event with Serena Facci.

25 The research was carried out in collaboration with the National Archives of Santa Cecilia in Rome. My heartfelt thanks to Renato Meucci as Director of Scientific Activities, Bibliomediateca and Museum of the National Academy of Santa Cecilia and Walter Brunetto as curator of the Archives of Ethnomusicology of the same Academy. To carry out the research, I also consulted the Historical Archive of the Giorgio Cini Foundation thanks to the President of the I.I.S.M.C., Giovanni Giuriati.

The heritage of Leo Levi

In the field of studies on ritual traditional chant, Leo Levi played an important role that is still in need of further investigation. Between 1952 and 1971, the scholar crossed Italy and Asia carrying out various research campaigns, initially focused on the liturgical-musical practice of synagogues in Italy, and then, from 1963 onwards, focused on the recording of Eastern Christian liturgical chants. Levi also recorded the music of Shinto rites, Zen Buddhism and the cult of Zarathustra (Brunetto 2006).

In the Eastern-Christian musical field in particular, Levi recorded many audio-documents of liturgical-musical practices of several rites such as Alexandrian Coptic, Alexandrian Ethiopian, Armenian, Catholic Byzantine Greek, Orthodox Byzantine Greek, Byzantine Romanian, Chaldean, Maronite, Melkite, Syriac, Syro-Jacobite, Syro-Eastern Malabarian, and Syrian Eastern Nestorian. These recordings were made both in Italy (for example in Palermo, in Piana degli Albanesi; in Rome at some Eastern Pontifical Colleges, in Grottaferrata; in Venice on the Island of San Lazzaro also called 'degli Armeni') and in Asia, for example in Israel (Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Ilabun, Kafr Kanna, Nazareth, Sakhnin, Shefa'Amr), Lebanon (Beirut, Saida), India (unspecified locations in Kerala, Kottayam, Trichur), Iran (Rezayeh, Isfahan, No-Julfa, Tehran) and in Iraq (Baghdad, Mossul) (Nataletti 1963 and Biagiola 1986).[26]

In this paper on the liturgical chant of the Christians of the East in Italy it is important to take into account the 'ideal' and 'intellectual' heritage that Leo Levi has left us. It is 'ideal' because even if there is no continuity between his work and the one carried out by Garofalo from the 2000s onwards, his idea has been reformulated and updated within the effective research and analysis; it is 'intellectual' because he left us a heritage of recordings that is accessible today to both scholars and people whose musical heritages are an expression of cultural and religious identity.

Most of the recordings made by Leo Levi are stored in two important national sound archives in Italy: the Archivi di Etnomusicologia dell'AccademiaNazionale di Santa Cecilia and Istituto Centrale per i Beni Sonori ed Audiovisivi, both of which are located in Rome.[27] Some of these audio-documents have been catalogued and digitised since the 1990s. Some collections are still being catalogued or have yet to be catalogued.

An example of the recent cataloguing is related to Collection no. 84. I catalogued the 114 tracks contained on the six reels, already digitised by Walter Brunetto, in 2020 and these will soon be available on the Bibliomediateca website.[28] The delay is due to the problems in identifying and understanding the musical, ritual and linguistic nature of the chants. This collection regards some audio documents personally recorded by the scholar in Jerusalem in December 1963 and in Nazareth in January 1964. It is dedicated to the Byzantine Melkite ritual tradition, linguistically characterised, as said before, by the use of Greek and Arabic.[29] From a liturgical-musical point of view this tradition was defined by Leo Levi '[...] that intrigued but admirable double graft (of Arab melismatic taste on the Byzantine trunk and of Greek-Byzantine style on the Syro Antiochian stock) which is the Melkite rite" (Levi 2002b: 144).[30]

Once again the chance to hold discussions with Raji was invaluable. During the cataloguing, I was uncertain about the content of the sixth reel recorded by Leo Levi in the Melkite Ortho-

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26 The catalogue is also available online: 'Etnomusica', http://www.icbsa.it/index.php?it/862/catalogo-della-musica-di-tradizione-orale. Last access April 20th, 2021.

27 'The Archives of Ethnomusicology of the National Academy of Santa Cecilia in Rome (formerly the Nastrographic Archive of the National Centre for Popular Music Studies)' and at the 'Central Institute for Heritage Sound and Audiovisual', until 2008, 'State Records Library'. It is also important to remember the RAI 1977 Documentation and Studies. Other sound documents are kept at the Centro Bibliografico dell'Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche di Roma (Bibliographic Centre of the Union of Jewish Communities in Rome); and, in the Fonoteca Nazionale Svizzera (Swiss National Sound Archives) Lugano. Others can still be found, as originals or as copies, at the National Sound Archives of Jerusalem, and, finally, other far smaller collections or parts of them can be found as copies in some Jewish communities or other institutions.

28 The cataloguing was carried out within an already cited research on Leo Levi. Bibliomediateca of the National Academy of Santa Cecilia in Rome, http://bibliomediateca.santacecilia.it/bibliomediateca/. Last access April 20th, 2021.

29 For a historical summary of the history of the Melkite Church, see Dick (1994) and Morini (2015).

30 '[...] quell'intrigato ma pur mirabile doppio innesto (di gusto melismatico arabo sul tronco bizantino e di stile greco-bizantino sul ceppo siro-antiocheno) che è il rito *melkita*'.

dox Church of Nazareth on January 6th, 1964. After the first listening, I immediately realised that the indications given on the outside of the reel container (*Keruvikòn* only) were incorrect. Although I was able to identify it as a specific chant of the Theophany, thanks to some key words in Arabic that I had clearly recognised, I was unable to identify the text. Then I asked Raji to help me; Raji proved himself to be a most willing friend by sending me the text of the chant, adding that it was an 'ancient song'. Thanks to the text and his advice I identified it as the 'Doxastikòn' for the Great Blessing of the Waters which characterises one of the Great feasts of the Byzantine liturgical calendar: the Theophany (a feast when the baptism of Jesus is celebrated in Jordan). The chant, lasting 6.08 minutes, begins with 'Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit' in Greek and then continues in Arabic; it is performed by a solo singer supported by the *ison* executed by male and children's voices and ends with a melismatic cadence.

This example shows the effectiveness of the collaboration that has developed over the years between Raji Bdeiwi and myself, while I have been carrying out my research in Italy. This is important because it has given me the chance to have an expert as a referent on both a musical and ritual level, to clear up any doubts or uncertainties

Furthermore, the cataloguing of Collection 84 is an example and a piece in the mosaic of ethnomusicological research in Italy; it also highlights how ethnomusicologists are paying greater and greater attention to the liturgical-musical dimension of the Eastern Churches. Moreover, this example underlines the scholars' need to acquire multidisciplinary skills to make complex repertoires more accessible and understandable so that they can be appreciated.

The diachronic ethnomusicological approach that allows repertoires that have fallen into disuse to be recovered and made newly available for use is also useful to confirm a stability over time in the ritual field.[31] The double diachronic and synchronic approach for the study of the chants used in the rites and the dynamics they bring about in the communities is made possible thanks to our contemporary ethnomusicological cultural context, within the broader field of investigation on the musical practice of migrant communities. The archives of documents preserved in Italy can provide important information for both scholars and the diaspora communities. This is especially relevant when such documents can testify to some textual and executive differences in a repertoire often perceived as crystallised or forgotten, as having disappeared or fallen into oblivion, or profoundly transformed.

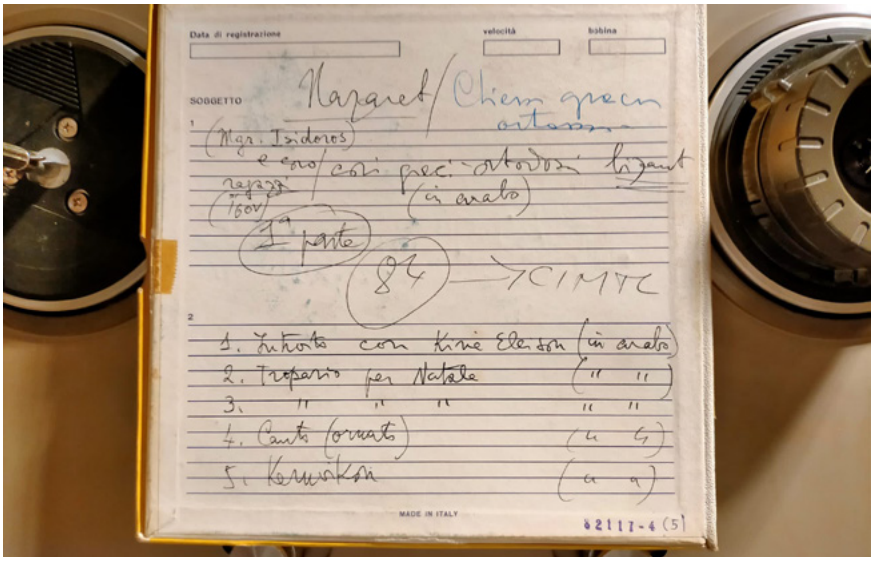

Figure 6. Leo Levi's collection. Ethnomusicology Archives at the National Academy of Santa Cecilia, Rome. Photo by Walter Brunetto.

31 A comprehensive bibliography exists on the extremely current and much-debated question of diachronic ethnomusicology. As regards Italian musical traditions, let us recall the re-editions of historical documents thanks to the initiative of the Academy of Santa Cecilia in collaboration with Squilibri Editions.

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The African Music Scene in Croatia. From Global Influences to Local Elaborations

Linda Cimardi

Outside the realm of Western classical music, the focus on musics in Croatia by scholars, institutions, performers and audiences has mainly been directed towards traditional local music, its folklore articulations, fusions with other traditional repertoires of the region and popular outcomes. Only in the last two decades, have 'other' musics in the country started to attract a modest amount of attention from scholars,[1] together with practice and fruition. My interest in the presence and forms of African musics in Croatia started shortly after I moved to Zagreb in 2014. At that time, I was carrying out research on the music and dance of the people from Bosnian Posavina in the Croatian capital city. However, I missed my main research area, African music, and I decided to find out whether anyone was performing any music related to Africa in the country. To my surprise, I discovered that only Croatian musicians were playing African musics and that the first professional *jembe* player and dancer had only moved that very year to Croatia from Senegal. Indeed, unlike most contexts where repertoires and genres follow the migration of the individuals and communities that carry them, the current presence and performance of African musics in Croatia preceded the arrival of African performers.

I use the locution 'African musics' to refer to the broad complex of repertoires and musical practices that have an African origin. The fluidity of such a definition allows me to include the variety of genres and performative expressions connected to Africa that I found being performed in Croatia.[2] During my fieldwork in Zagreb (2014-2017), I interviewed various performers, documented several concerts and African Week (*Tjedan Afrike*) events, and I took part in *jembe* and Western African dance classes and workshops in Zagreb organised by Croatian as well as Senegalese performers. I take this complex of concerts, shows, courses, and workshops that involve the participation of performers, students, and audiences as defining a 'music scene', following Andy Bennett (2004), and in this case one that is specifically focused on African or Africa-derived music.

As I was getting to know and interacting with the local African music scene actors, a number of questions arose. How and when did African genres and repertoires reach Croatia and who disseminated them in the country? Who has been performing them? How do African musics relate to the presence of African individuals or an African community? In order to navigate these questions, my research has been oriented in two main directions. On the one

1 Notably by Mojca Piškor (2006 and 2007).
2 For a critical discussion of the controversial notion of 'African music', see Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2012.

hand, through archival work and interviews I tried to historically reconstruct the African presence and African music dissemination in Croatia. On the other, I focused on the current situation through fieldwork and active involvement in the African music scene in Zagreb and, after 2017, by following the work of the African music performers through the Internet and social media.

In this article, I discuss the practice of African musics in Croatia and interrogate the multiform relations of African or Africa-inspired genres with African and non-African performers, mostly focusing on the timeframe between the 1990s and late 2010s.

From Yugoslav relations with Africa to early Croatian contacts with world music

The African presence in Croatia can be traced back to (at least) its Yugoslav days and has taken different forms over the decades, from study stays to permanent settlement usually connected to family reasons, from individual (mostly temporary) migration to the current refugee crisis (Baker 2018). From the 1960s till the 1990s, connections between former Yugoslavia and some African countries developed within the frame of NAM, the Non-Aligned Movement in which Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia from 1953 to 1980, was one of the driving personalities. In that context, relations with Africa took the shape of cooperation projects and professional and student exchange programmes in both directions. On the one hand, African students moved to Yugoslavia and some chose to stay there for some years or permanently.[3] Conversely, some Yugoslavs worked and trained as professionals in Africa and then returned to their home country.[4] In Yugoslavia, the presence and performance of African musics mainly rotated around university students based in the capital city Belgrade, but some initiatives also developed in Zagreb both as events featuring popular genres and also as record releases.[5] Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, most African students had left by the late 1990s.

During the Yugoslav decades marked by 'soft' socialism, Croatian people were relatively exposed to the market economy and foreign influences. However, it was after independence (1991) that the country became more actively involved in global trends in both economic and cultural life. At the same time, music was very important in the process of building a Croatian national identity. This was articulated, on the one hand, as a gaze towards the West, especially to pop music, trying to overcome part of its image as a Balkan country (Baker 2018), and, on the other, as a focus on its local tradition (Ceribašić 2014). One of the first experiences in independent Croatia featuring a musical collaboration with an African artist is the song 'Mirakul' (2001) by the Dalmatian singer Gibonni and the Ugandan musician Geoffrey Oreyma (Piškor 2007).

Around the same time, a new scene of African music was developing in Zagreb thanks to the personal interest of some Croats, while the musical events organised by the African university students had ceased since they had left Croatia. Krešimir Oreški and Nenad Kovačić were the first Croats to get interested in the *jembe* and to play in bands and teach the instrument in Croatia. They learned to play it either from European teachers or on their own and then in workshops held by West African masters.

Krešimir Oreški's path in getting to know non-European percussions had already started in the 1990s in Zagreb and developed in the UK and Guinea. In the early 1990s, he played the drum set in Zagreb and it was there, thanks to Indian percussionists, as well as the European performers who gave concerts in Croatia, that he discovered Indian percussions such as the *dholak*, *tabla*, and *mridangam*. When he moved for work reasons to the UK in 1998, he

3 For instance, Lawrence Kiiru, a film, theatre, and TV director from Kenya, moved to Zagreb through a Yugoslav exchange programme and then settled there after his university studies.

4 Some of them, like Drago Muvrin and Katarina Carić, brought collections of local handicrafts including musical instruments to Croatia. Their collections are now housed at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb.

5 For instance, in 1965 the Ugandan student Ahmed Taib released an EP with the Zagreb-based record label Jugoton.

learned to play the *jembe* at the workshops held by Julian Franks and deepened his interest in the sound and playing technique of the instrument by listening to cassettes.[6] After his stay in the UK, he moved back to Zagreb in the early 2000s and introduced the *jembe* in his percussion workshops, where some of the first Croatian *jembe* players were trained. In the same period, he attended workshops by Tonton Sylla in Guinea, and later workshops held by other *jembefolas* who came to perform at festivals in Croatia. Apart from his didactic activity, Oreški also formed one of the first world music bands in Croatia, Rhythm Tribe, which was active from 2002 to 2008. The band followed a sort of 'world rhythms concept', as Oreški defined it, where rhythmical patterns from various styles (*bossanova*, *samba*, *afro*) were elaborated by the musicians on a variety of percussion instruments (*bongos*, *tarabuka*, *tabla*, and *jembe*).[7]

Nenad Kovačić first encountered the *jembe* in Zagreb as a teenager in the late 1990s, through one of his older sister's friends who owned one. Kovačić talked about the fact that at that time the instrument was almost unknown in Croatia, one could occasionally come across it being played on the streets and it was mostly referred to as a 'bongo'. In 1997, he founded and started to sing with his own rock fusion band, Antenat, which is still active today. At the same time, he got interested in the *jembe* and managed to buy a small one in Zagreb. He taught himself to play it following his 'feeling for rhythm' and introduced it in his band. Of those first experiences, Kovačić remembers: 'At that point, I didn't realise that it's an instrument that really has a tradition and that I would be learning a lot'.[8] The first *jembe* workshop he attended was led by a German percussionist in Dubrovnik in 2001, which was also where he met Oreški for the first time. Back in Zagreb, he later took *jembe* lessons from Oreški and joined his band Rhythm Tribe. Kovačić's interest in this instrument led him to travel to Augsburg, Germany, to attend a workshop by Mamady Keita. Indeed, it was only years later, in the mid-2000s, that *jembe* workshops by African masters started to be held in Croatia. Željko Erjavec, a *jembe* enthusiast, invited several *jembefolas*, such as Mamady Keita, Famoudou Konaté, Adama Dramé, Seydou Dao and Sega Sibide to hold workshops in Zagreb. Kovačić remembers that it was extraordinary to have those great masters teaching in a small country like Croatia and that by then there was a developing interest in *jembe* and the workshops attracted several students. Around the same period, Kovačić realised that he wanted to deepen his skills and knowledge of the *jembe* by learning at the source. He recalls: 'I realised that I needed to go to Africa if I wanted to develop further on that instrument [...] and then it was 2006 when I first visited Mamady Keita at his camp in Conakry [Guinea][...] when I came back from Mamady's workshop, I decided to start my own school, which I ran for the next 8 years'.

Besides teaching, Kovačić continued to play, also in the *etno bend* Afion, a band performing Balkan (Croatian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Serbian) music (Figure 1).

The group made arrangements of the traditional repertoires of the region and Kovačić experimented by joining in with the *jembe* as in *Ptica vuga*.[9]

Link » Video Example 1

Afion, Ptica vuga, from the album 'Čudni Svati', 2008.
Last access November 5th, 2021

6 Interview with Krešimir Oreški, June 20th, 2017, Zagreb.
7 Interview with Krešimir Oreški, June 20th, 2017, Zagreb.
8 Interview with Nenad Kovačić, May 28th, 2018, Zagreb.
9 Later, Kovačić played the *jembe*, as well as the drum set, in the band Antenat, whose music is rich in Afrobeat influences.

Figure 1. The *etno bend* Afion. The percussionist and jembe player Nenad Kovačić is second from the left. Photo by Teklic.hr.

Afion played a genre that is generally referred to as *etno-glazba*. Ceribašić (2014) translates it as 'ethnomusic' and describes it as the revitalisation of old Croatian tunes or repertoires from the Balkan Peninsula in modern arrangements. Baker (2018) considers it a broader category, as a local label internalising the Western category of world music applied to regional repertoires, and she stresses its primary devotion to a foreign audience.[10] Whatever the emphasis on the genre of *etno-glazba*, its connections with the international phenomenon of world music are undeniable. It was within these glocalised trends in world music, interpreted by some Croatian percussionists, that the *jembe* started to be used in Croatia. During the 2000s, the *jembe* and its percussion style (but not the repertoires connected to it) penetrated into the practice of local bands, either as one of the other non-Western drums (in the world music band Rhythm Tribe) or as the only non-European instrument (in the ethno band Afion).

The dissemination of and interest in world music in Croatia since the early 2000s is reflected in the creation of the music festivals dedicated to it. This can be read as the influence of the international success of Macedonian and Serbian world music in those years, as well as within the framework of Croatia opening to the West which entailed a major exposure to international music trends. Indeed, unlike other established festivals, the new ones did not concentrate only on regional folk music but adopted the model of international world music festivals (Piškor 2006).[11] Some were held in Zagreb, like the World Music Festival NEBO and Multikultura, while others took place on the Croatian coast in the summer, attracting tourists both from abroad and from continental Croatia. The Ethnoambient Festival in Solin hosted African artists and especially famous *jembefolas* who gave concerts and held workshops. Throughout the 2000s, these events were the main occasions when African musicians performed in Croatia.

10 There is no unambiguous definition of *etno-glazba*, since the way it is used to describe musical styles and experiences and their audiences has been constantly changing since the 1990s, implying complex nuances and intersections with 'world music' and *tradicionalna glazba* (traditional music).

11 The programmes of these two festivals included some African artists. The Zagreb International Folklore Festival, the acknowledged main stage for folklore performances, also occasionally hosted African troupes of dancers and musicians, especially during the 1990s and 2000s.

Afro bendovi and the fascination of *jembe*

As in other Western countries (Florian 2011; Polak 2000; Zanetti 1996), in Croatia too, the *jembe* has become the musical symbol of Africa, captivating European performers and audiences with its powerful sound, its variety of timbres and rich improvisations, as well as with its exotic aura. The fascination of the general audience for the *jembe* followed the imagining of the instrument as depicted by world music trends: as authentic, rooted in African tradition and embedded in cultural and ritual life. The progressive dissemination of African music in Croatia followed the increased interest in this instrument. In this general trend, some Croatian *jembe* players, who had deepened their knowledge of the instrument and its repertoires by attending workshops with African masters in both Europe and West Africa, decided to play the instrument in bands moulded on the model of West African ensembles. So, after penetration through world music in the 2000s, the *jembe* was the fulcrum around which *Afro bendovi* (Afro bands), i.e. bands performing West African traditional music, emerged, thus marking a different approach from earlier experiences. In 2010, Oreški formed a new group, Iroko, dedicated to West African music, who performed famous Mande[12] pieces with *jembes*, *dunduns*, and the *balafon* (Video Example 2).

Figure 2. Performance of the band Iroko. Krešimir Oreški plays the leading *jembe* in the center. Used by permission of Iroko.

Link » Video Example 2

Iroko, *Djamana Djembe Djamana*, 2012.
Last access November 5th, 2021

A similar group, Naš mali Afro Bend, was created soon afterwards by other Croatian percussionists, including Nenad Kovačić. Iroko and the Naš mali Afro Bend could be considered as representing the second phase of *jembe* dissemination, characterised by the focus on West African repertoires through *jembe*-led ensembles. The concerts of these groups contributed to enlarging the Croatian audience interested in world and West African music and helped to create an African music scene. However, performers and audiences were almost exclusively Croats. As far as I was able to reconstruct through interviews, no African musicians or dancers ever participated in this scene during the 2000s and early 2010s. So, besides the

12 I use the term Mande here as a broad category to refer to Mandinka and Maninka people from Mali, Guinea, the Gambia and Senegal.

concerts and workshops with African musicians organised within world music festivals, there was no continuous presence of African performers in Croatia.

Figure 3. Naš mali Afro Bend performing on stage.
Used by permission of Naš mali Afro Bend.

Today, the *jembe* remains at the core of both Kovačić's and Oreški's work as professional percussionists. While their Afro bands are not active anymore, they still feel that the West African drum is an important source of inspiration and tool of expression in their artistic work. Kovačić used the *jembe* in his compositions for the theatre as well as in film soundtracks and he plays it, among others in the renowned band Damir Imamović's Sevdah Takht.[13] Oreški has also integrated the *jembe* into other musical genres: sometimes he plays it, in addition to the Macedonian *tapan*, in Kries, a folk or ethno-rock band (Video Example 3).

Link » Video Example 3

Kries, Ivo se šeće, from the album 'Selo Na Okuke', 2017.
Last access November 5th, 2021

Like Oreški and Kovačić, other Croatian *jembe* players organise workshops and courses. Along with the concerts they give, this has contributed to the development of the local African music scene. However, in Oreški's view, West African music in Croatia is still today in a 'grey zone', not widely known and appreciated enough. According to Kovačić, interest in African music has decreased since the mid-2010s as a consequence of the 2008 financial crisis that reduced the economic possibilities of potential students, as well as the rentability of courses for *jembe* teachers. This notwithstanding, the main interest in African musics (and its world music hybridisations) in Croatia continues to be articulated through the *jembe*. The centrality of the West-African drum is shown by the band Vibrica, which emerged in 2014 from a *jembe* workshop. Most of Vibrica's members learned to play the *jembe* in Zagreb from Croatian *jembe* players and never had a West African teacher. The band initially developed as a free space for *jembe* learners to practice after the class and, for this reason, its main characteristic is to have several *jembe* playing, usually in a semi-circular layout. Especially at the beginning, this kind of formation appeared similar to drum circles, on account of the great presence of

13 Nenad Kovačić's personal website, https://www.nenadkovacic.com/en; Biography, https://www.nenadkovacic.com/en/s/bio/33/Biography. Last access January 7th, 2021. See also Damir Imamović's Sevdah Takht, *Dvojka* https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=K1fF6j5SiE4&ab_channel=GlitterbeatTV

jembes, an openness to new performers, and the jamming that sometimes took place. Then, Vibrica progressively developed its own repertoire, included other instruments such as the guitar, *quena* flute and *dijeridoo* and most performers became regular members who play for audiences. However, the *jembe*, or rather its multiplication in the hands of several performers, remains at the core of the band. According to Marko Šturman, one of the band leaders, massive *jembe* use is something 'we are kind of special about. We take what should be of one *jembe*, the solo of one *jembe* master, and we all play it and you get this intensive energy from a lot of drummers playing'.[14]

Vibrica is different from earlier experiences of Afro bands because it only employs African instruments and it is also unlike contemporary ethno bands since its pieces do not elaborate regional traditional musics but rather are part of the stream of world music. Indeed, the band has developed a fusion of African drumming and xylophone playing with other instruments, like the guitar, *quena* and *dijeridoo* (Video Example 4).[15]

Figure 4. The band Vibrica in one of its early formations. Used by permission of Vibrica.

Their pieces are mostly two-fold: a slower first part combining most instruments used melodically (guitar, flute, cello) and a second faster part, where percussions dominate and stimulate dance. The combination of musical influences in Vibrica is a sort of condensation of the different musics from the world that one can experience in Zagreb.

Link » Video Example 4

Vibrica, Djansa, Kuku, Soko, 2016
Last access November 5th, 2021

14 Interview with Marko Šturman, June 9th, 2017. Zagreb.

15 This experience is not so different from experimentations carried out in other countries by amateur groups, where *jembes* performing the same patterns are played by several percussionists and mingled with other instruments. An example of this kind is the group Tamburi del Crostolo, based in Gualtieri, near Reggio Emilia (Italy), which performs pieces of African inspiration (*musica afro*) mainly on *jembes*, but also with *tarabuka* goblet drums, a percussion box, a drum set and rattles, in a semicircular setting.

Glocalised African musics meet African performers

Until the mid-2010s, African musics and *etno-glazba* inspired by African rhythms and instruments, as well as courses and workshops, were only performed by Croatian musicians. Ismaila 'Commi' Balde, a Senegalese *jembe* player, and Abdoulaye 'Abi' Seydi, a dancer also from Senegal, moved to Zagreb in 2013 and 2014 and were welcomed by the Croatian African music players. Notwithstanding Commi and Abi's previous work in music and dance in Senegal, opportunities for them to hold workshops and concerts of West African music and dance in Croatia were initially quite limited.[16] Indeed, they had to integrate into the already existing African music scene, that 'grey zone' described by Oreški which was still not well developed and appreciated by Croats. It is in fact a small scene and defined by the personal connections and networks of the Croatian performers, whose bands have a loyal audience. Furthermore, *jembe* students were bound to their Croatian trainers by friendship and trusted their knowledge and didactic methods. For instance, during his *jembe* and percussion classes, besides keeping the main beat with an ankle rattle and counting the sections of the piece for beginners, Oreški uses the inner drumming technique, a method elaborated by George Marsch as an approach to drumming based on Asian disciplines (*tai chi*, *yoga* and meditation), aimed at reaching the highest degree of technical precision and expression. Kovačić sometimes employs a method of percussion syllabication derived from Indian *tabla*, which he calls *TaKaDiMizacija* in Croatian. These didactic procedures show a glocalisation of *jembe* teaching and learning in Croatia, where Mande repertoires are approached through exogenous methods that are re-elaborated to suit the instructor's approach to drumming as well as the pool of local learners. These techniques were not used by Commi, who adopted a limited syllabication common to Senegalese *jembe* playing and a more imitative approach that was at first not easy for new students.

Figure 5. Ismaila "Commi" Balde with *jembe* and Abdoulaye "Abi" Seydi with *sabar*. Photo: Tina Štambuk. Used by permission of Info zone.

Commi's and Abi's arrival partially transformed this local scene as they interacted in various ways with the other groups and with the students in the classes and workshops they organised. They played in existing bands, cooperated in African music and dance workshops and in the annual African Week. These collaborations are ongoing and the integration of Commi and Abi into the existing African and world music scene is developing. Furthermore, Commi also created two bands with Abi. The first one, Silaba, initially included two guitars, saxophone and *balafon*, besides *jembe* and *dunduns*. Commi's idea was not only to play African instruments, but 'to mix

16 Interview with Commi; June 16th, 2015, Zagreb, and with Abi, June 30th, 2017, Zagreb.

different instruments that can be put together, with *dunduns* and drums together, like piano, saxophone, trumpet, even violin. That was my vision: to put it together, not to put only this drum [the *jembe* he was holding] and *dundun*. To put some melody inside'.[17] At the beginning it was not easy to join different instruments and performers who had various musical backgrounds. It was especially challenging for the guitar and saxophone players to fit into the rhythmic texture of the *jembe* and the *dunduns*. Commi explained that it took several rehearsals before they got into the 'feeling' of the music. Starting with pieces that most of the band members already knew, Silaba had to work on its own way to play together, usually with results close to Afro jazz. For new songs, Commi recorded new ideas and sent them to the band for them to learn and, when they met, they attempted to adapt the parts of the various instruments playing together. Although short-lived, Silaba was the first band in Croatia composed of African and local musicians trying to blend different instruments and styles together. As an experimental experience, it was the occasion for the musicians involved to explore new ways of combining different styles.

After Silaba, Commi founded the band Kaira Kela, whose other members are from Croatia, Israel and Kosovo.[18] Similarly to Silaba, the band performs a fusion of different genres. Kaira Kela's pieces are inspired by African music but reveal blues, pop and reggae influences (Video Example 5), a mix that Commi calls 'Afro groove'. The group has changed both line-up and style in recent years and has achieved some success outside the audience interested in African music. Indeed, Commi's vision is not to propagate an idea of 'authenticity' of African music as narrated in world music discourses, nor to re-create a Senegalese ensemble in Croatia. His aim is rather to work on the integration and merging of different styles, techniques and genres in music, by combining their background and experience with those of the other band members and with broader musical influences. The sonic integration that goes on within the band is aimed at making a music that can be appreciated outside the African music scene, by a larger Croatian audience (Video Example 5).

Link » Video Example 5

Kaira Kela, live concert at the Erdhlezeti Fest in Kosovo, 2018.
Last access November 5th, 2021

Figure 6. Kaira Kela in one of its early formations: Dror Orgad (guitar), Jelena Galić (bass), Commi (vocals, guitar, and jembe), and Abi (congas and jembe). Photo: Marko Plečko. Used by permission.

17 Interview with Commi, June 16th, 2015, Zagreb.
18 Since 2018, the band has completely changed its line-up and Commi is the only original member left.

In 2015, the migrant crisis hit South-Eastern Europe and thousands of refugees and asylum seekers travelled along the so-called Balkan route to reach Central and North European countries. Although the route was blocked later that year, several migrants from the Middle East and also from some African countries remained in Croatia in settlement camps or other institutions, or requested asylum.[19] In response to the migrant crisis and its consequences, the Association of Africans in Croatia (DAH: *Društvo Afrikanaca u Hrvatskoj*)[20] was formed in 2015 with the aim of raising understanding of African culture amongst the Croatian population and promoting integration in a delicate social climate. The founder of the association is Prince Wale Soniyiki, who came to Croatia as an asylum seeker from Nigeria in 2011. Soniyiki had studied business in his country and decided to flee his hometown, Jos, after losing his two brothers in local conflicts.[21] Through DAH and in collaboration with the Centre for Peace Studies (CMS: *Centar za mirovne studjie*), Soniyiki also tried to raise awareness and build a sense of community among the Africans and people of African origin in Croatia. At the same time, Soniyiki collaborated with Commi and Abi running workshops in schools and other institutions, where they also performed together—Soniyiki himself started to play the drums in Croatia to help convey his message of integration. In their practice, African musics have been re-appropriated according to global dynamics, and local interpretations have marked previous (and still present) articulations in Croatia. In this perspective, the Western discourses connoting African music as represented by the exotic African drum have been co-opted to build a localised sense of African community and re-signified to discuss issues important to the African persons in the country. In their collaboration, re-interpreting the local imaginary of African musics allows Soniyiki, Commi and Abi to advocate for reducing the social and cultural distance between Europe and Africa.

Since he is acutely aware of the scattered African presence in Croatia and the need to connect and gather together with other African persons, Soniyiki has recently changed the name of his organisation to 'diaspora' (*Dijaspora Afrikanaca u Hrvatskoj*). This has also allowed him to forge connections with European NGO networks, linking the people of African origin in Croatia to the wider African communities in Europe. Commi and Abi have also used their networks within the Senegalese diaspora in Europe to organise collaborations, concerts and workshops with fellow performers in Croatia or other European countries. In this context, music appears to play an essential role. As noted by Thomas Solomon (2015: 327), music seems to 'provide frameworks for organizing the diasporic experience, including the historical consciousness of having come from somewhere else, and identifying with other people who also share the same origin'. But, perhaps more importantly, African musics provide Soniyiki, Commi and Abi with the instrument to present themselves to the local society and the voice to share their perspectives. Their agency thus emerges clearly in their re-appropriation of African instruments to be both visible and vocal in Croatian society.

19 I was unable to trace the actual number of migrants from African countries in Croatia. Statistics about migration normally focus on the most numerous national groups, who come from former Yugoslav countries and broader Eastern Europe, grouping all the other nationalities together without clarifying precise numbers for each country. Statistics on refugees and asylum seekers also consider the main countries of origin (Afghanistan, Syria, Pakistan, Turkey and Iraq) and index all the other countries in one group ('other countries').

20 See Konjikušić (2016).

21 See Jolaoso (2017), Milekic (2015).

Conclusions

Considering the controversial notion of 'African musics' in a broad sense, in this paper I have discussed a variety of musical experiences where African-connoted elements are integrated into diverse genres, as well as the different actors (Africans and otherwise) involved in the developing music scenes. During the Yugoslav period, it was mainly African popular genres that were performed at events by exchange students based in Zagreb, some of whom also ventured into record releases. At the end of the 1990s, when most African students had left, the circulation of African musics in the country was inspired by global world music trends, which focused on the traditional repertoires showcased by the *jembe*. As the early experiences of Oreški and Kovačić show, it took determination and passion to pursue their interest in this instrument, which at that time was virtually unknown in Croatia. What was initially just a spark of world music trends led to the development of their skill in playing the *jembe* through workshops in Croatia, as well as in other European and West African countries. By playing in the first Afro bands as well as by teaching *jembe* courses, they created the base for the sprouting of an African music scene focused on the *jembe*, which attracted new audiences, amateur performers and aficionados. While the members of this African music scene still seem to envisage Africa according to the narrations of authenticity and exoticism promoted by world music, the *jembe* for professional percussionists has become a fundamental instrument for artistic inspiration and expression. Building on their knowledge of the instrument and its repertoires developed through international training and two-decades of playing experience, Oreški and Kovačić have a personal and creative approach to the instrument. While appreciating and respecting the origins of the instrument, they elaborate its timbric and rhythmic resources in their musical productions and performances in a variety of contexts, from theatre compositions to local elaborations of the traditional regional repertoires in ethno bands.

When Commi and Abi moved to Zagreb from Senegal in the mid-2010s, they had to integrate into the existing African music scene, where musicians and audiences, teachers and students were Croatian. Besides teaching *jembe* and West African dance, Commi's approach to playing was different from other local experiences that focused on African repertoires and the *jembe* or used this instrument in ethnomusic bands. Commi and Abi played in fusion bands, where African instruments join European ones not by elaborating traditional repertoires of the region, but rather by combining broader musical influences. The integration of different musical backgrounds and styles proposed by these bands is fundamental in Commi's vision of his work, suggesting an Africa that is imagined differently in a dynamic dialogue and cultural interaction with Europe and the world. In a similar way, the central role of drums—and, once again, especially that of the *jembe*—returns in Commi and Abi's musical and cultural activities together with Soniyiki. In these collaborations, the unique representativeness of the instrument as an image of Africa is used as a means to open discussions, foster cultural exchanges and build understanding between Africans and Croats.

Global influences, personal interests, and glocal elaborations have allowed African musics to find a tiny but specific space and vitality in Croatia. The African music scene has been transformed through multiform relations between performers with different backgrounds, aficionados, and the changing dynamics of immigration. These various experiences delineate a glocalisation process peculiar to Croatia, where the *jembe* and West African repertoires have been disseminated for more than a decade mostly by Croatian performers. African musics are imagined and experienced within the frame of world music especially among a part of the audience, but personally and artistically elaborated by professional percussionists in a variety of musical experiences and compositions and re-appropriated in a dialogue with Western music and society by African performers.

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Emerging Thoughts from Fieldwork about Music and Migration in Cremona and its Surroundings

Fulvia Caruso

As an invited discussant at the IISMC Seminar *Music of the Twenty-First Century Diasporas: Research and Methods*, I will try to answer the questions posed from the floor by the organisers, and my answers are based on my own experience of fieldwork in Cremona and its surroundings which started in 2014, involving several students and former students.[1]

1. Do the new geo-political conditions and policies of strong contrast to immigration, including the erection of real walls (concrete and symbolic) create new conditions for research as well?
2. Do the different refugee or migrant communities need specific ethnographies? How much space can or must be given to the comparative approaches that have characterised ethnomusicology right from the start?
3. What influences has the increased ease of connection—mobile telephony, Internet, low-cost flights—which has changed the quality of migratory projects, had on musical production and circulation and the meaning of music in diaspora contexts?
4. Does the fact that migrant musicians carry musical histories marked by multiple cultural contacts lead to the need to develop new tools for the analysis of repertoires and related musical practices?

Before starting, I would like to spend a few words about some of the labels we use and to clarify my position in using some words. The first is the term 'diaspora', which is so present in the questions posed. A huge amount of literature (see Tölölyan, 1991, Clifford 1994, Brubacker 2005, Ranmarine 2007, Levi and Scheding 2010, Slobin 2012, Glick Schiller 2014 and Solomon 2015) is devoted to this topic and we are told that nowadays the word is no longer a label just used for a dispersed community: 'We use diaspora provisionally to indicate our belief that the term that once described Jewish, Greek, Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guestworker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community' (Tölöyan, 1991:4). 'The meaning of the term has been broadened so that now it is applied to any minority who experience and respond to ethnicised, racialized, ethno-religious or other forms of stigmatization of differ-

1 One part of the project was about documenting religious and secular rituals of foreign residents; another part was about organising musical workshops in schools to collect data about the musical listening and practices of young generations; the last one was about organising musical workshops in reception centres to gather data about the musical skills and listenings of asylum seekers.

ence by embracing that difference, whether or not they claim a homeland elsewhere'. (Glick Schiller 2014: 7). In this perspective, I agree with Slobin that 'It may be more fruitful, and certainly more precise, to speak of diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices, and so on, all of which allow music to step forward and take its rightful role in diasporic studies' (Slobin, 2012: p. 99).

The second is the term 'migrant' and the third the term 'refugee'. We should not address people in movement as if they were all the same. There is a great distinction between the situation of regular and irregular migrants. Between asylees' and asylum seekers' conditions. These different conditions impact differently on their citizenship, musical or not. In my experience if the label 'asylum seeker' is accepted by the irregular migrants I met; the regular migrants instead, are not happy with being defined as migrants. They feel that the word contains a precariousness they do not live. A diminishing or at least a simplification of their status. That is why I prefer to use the definition 'foreign residents', because it stresses that they are foreigners but at the same time that they are somehow rooted in the place of resettlement. If we have to label those we work with, it is better to decide with them how they want to be defined.

1. Do new conditions need a new research approach?

As regards the first question, as to whether the new geopolitical conditions and policies about migration have or do not have an impact on our research, I have to answer yes. The European reception system challenges the previous literature: it keeps irregular migrants in reception centres for years, waiting for documents. In Italy, most of the asylum seekers live in Extraordinary Reception Centres (henceforth CAS)[2] which force people from different countries, from different ethnic groups and religions to live together, for a few months up to several years. And often moving them from one centre to another. This situation often produces a loss of faith in oneself and in others, an inability to think about the future, living in a suspended eternal present made of small things. Their identities or belonging can weaken or get stronger. In this scenario we cannot simply adopt traditional ethnography. It is not easy to have access to these CAS, it is not easy to be accepted by the irregular migrants. They live in such critical conditions that it is impossible to just go and ask about their musical practices, attitudes, listenings. Even in cases where musical groups do exist, as in the Caritas CAS in Cremona, where the *Oghene Damba Cremona Boys* musical project was born, it took us months to be accepted. And only through participatory action research could we engage in a fruitful relationship and gather data (see Caruso 2019a and 2020).

2. Do the different refugee or migrant communities need specific ethnographies? Can we use a comparative approach?

If it is true, as Marco Martiniello stated in his presentation during the Seminar[3], that groups exist while communities are created, and that we have to investigate how they are created through processes of belonging and organisation, we cannot be entangled in community or group studies. We lose the fluidity of the reality. What has happened in more recent irregular migrations in the Mediterranean is the fragmentation of people in movement, so that we can barely speak about communities or even groups. The great flux of people arriving in Europe involves different forms of travel, flowing in a more piecemeal way, and the processing period impedes any re-creation of significant groups of people from the same cultural background. We have learned not to take ethnic features for granted (Reyes 1979; Baumann 1999) and to underline transculturality (Giannattasio and Giuriati 2017). Nevertheless, the

2 The creation of these centres works through procedures of competitive bidding managed by the Prefectures. Since no strict rules regarding these facilities have ever been indicated, the competitive bids can differ significantly from one province to another and, consequently, the effectiveness of the CAS can vary from places that simply offer assistance with no integration services, ill-equipped to offer asylum seekers the necessary tools to gain autonomy, dignity and legal status (60% of the centres) to well-organised ones. Asylum seekers are hosted till the screening of their application has been completed, a process that normally takes from one to two years. Half of these structures host more than 50 people while two-thirds accommodate around 300 people.

3 Marco Martiniello, *Music, Ethnicity and Migration: Complex Relationships to be elucidated,* Fondazione Cini, Venice 24/01/2020.

fragmentation that the reception system in Italy generates has no precedents and its musical dimensions need to be explored at the individual level.

As regards the possibility of making comparisons, I think that this can only happen at the level of strategies of reaction to a same condition that every kind of migrant experiences. To use Nail's words (2015), 'even if the end result of migration is a relative increase in money, power, or enjoyment, the process of migration itself almost always involves an insecurity of some kind and duration: the removal of territorial ownership or access, the loss of the political right to vote or to receive social welfare, the loss of legal status to work or drive, or the financial loss associated with transportation or change in residence. The gains of migration are always a risk, while the process itself is always some kind of loss.' (Nail 2015: 2)

This means that there are behaviours that are common to any kind of migration, that the cornerstones on which the music of both regular and irregular migrants is articulated (which is of universal validity) are the same: memory - belonging - emotions - intimacy.

However, this does not necessarily mean that if similar functions or behaviours move us to make or listen to music, that those musics can be easily compared. It can only be done downstream of a rigorous ethnography and taking into account specificities, avoiding any kind of essentialisation.

Exercising belonging through music, for example, can mean both uniting and separating. In the research conducted in Cremona and its surroundings, the ways of enjoying music by asylum seekers demonstrated how music is a tool for division rather than sharing. In both CAS where my students held several musical workshops[4], most of the asylum seekers used to listen to music from their smartphones with headphones, everyone listening to his own music. In that phase of travel, which is not travel, because they are stuck in the reception centres in a phase of limbo or of transition, everyone tries to cling desperately to what he[5] has on his cell phone, to what he has in his head to connect with their past lives and get away from the situation of extreme discomfort, of extreme precariousness, of extreme competition to which they are witness.

3. What influences has the increased ease of connection had on the meaning of music in diaspora contexts?

Adelaida Reyes has stressed that in the context of forced migration, asylum seekers are exposed to diverse cultural others, so that we have to shift from a 'bi-cultural perspective from which migrant musics are commonly viewed today, to a multi-cultural one' (Reyes 1990, 7).[6] Her idea of a multi-cultural setting, however, lies in the diverse cultures that asylum seekers could be exposed to during the period of travel and processing. What the Cremona fieldwork demonstrates is that there is a musical constellation of reference for each person we meet, which needs to be identified. In the musical lives of people today, at least for the African people who were the main focus of our investigation, it is normal to have access to many different genres and languages, listening by choice to musics produced far away from the place where they live and lived. There exists a multilingual and multimusical situation of urban [popular] music in Africa, which is shaped partly by elements of genre and partly by the messages that

4 The project *Musical belongings* held in the CAS of Vigolzone (PC) started in October 2015 and was interrupted in March 2017 when the centre was closed by the Prosecutor's Office. It involved 4 students (Rossella Calvia, Clara Fanelli, Mattia Singaroldi and Francesco Brianzi) coordinated by Elisa Tartaglia, a clarinet player and ethnomusicologist, and 20 men aged between 18 and 31, coming from Western francophone Africa (Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, Togo). The project in the Diocese CAS in Cremona started in 2015 with 5 students (Gaiané Kevorkian, Massimiliano Caruso, Alba Cacchiani, Federica La Rocca, Simone Rude) participating in the activities of the *Oghene Damba Cremona Boys* musical group, and was followed in 2016 by Gaiané Kevorkian's project, with the help of Patrizia Vaccari and Martina Drigo, *RadioMusic-he?* 6 sub-Saharan Africans were chosen with the help of the Italian teachers and July marked the start of the pilot experience of a radio broadcast during which asylum seekers had to present the music they listened to and to explain the reasons for their choices, saying when and where they had learnt those songs. For an account of these experiences Kevorkian (2016 and 2019); Singaroldi (2017) and Fanelli (2018).

5 I will always use the masculine when referring to asylum seekers, because we have only interacted with men. Women are not hosted in the same CAS and live in more dispersed situations, which are difficult to access.

6 For a definition of asylum seeker, see also Reyes (1986).

the musicians wish to convey.[7] Asylum seekers and foreign residents have brought these practices of strategic multilingualism and musical border-crossing into their lives in Italy. Let me give two examples:

While analysing the chants of the Ivorian *Chorale Saint Michel Archanges* in Cremona (Caruso 2019b), I realised that there is a strong circulation of scores both through people (manuscripts by the choir directors) and through the Internet (for example on freescores.com or the Facebook page Forum des maîtres de choeur ivoirien). This circulation is really strong, and crosses borders of nationality, language and ethnicity. A perfect example is the song *Asempapa Oye*: a chant in Ashanti composed by James Varrick Armaah in 2009 in Atlanta, USA; it then gained great success all over Africa and for many years now has been sang by the Chorale, who learnt it from the Ghanaian Choir.

A second example comes from the participatory listening sessions (Pilzer 2015) my students and collaborators carried out as part of several workshops held in the CAS in Vigolzone and Cremona.[8]

During the first session held in the Vigolzone CAS these are the songs the asylum seekers chose to represent their way of thinking about the experience of migration:

- Mamoudou Konare, from Mali, chose *Viens Voir*, by Tiken Jah Fakoly, who is from Ivory Coast. Tiken Jah Fakoly sings in French. His music speaks about the many injustices wrought on the people of his country and Africans in general, as well as inciting calls for pan-Africanism and an African economic, political and cultural resurgence. Mamoudou is proud to be African and would like Italians to understand the cultural capital migrants bring with them.
- Fode Noba, from Senegal, chose *Bul may firé (Don't be jealous),* by Titi, a famous Senegalese singer who sings mostly *mbalax* songs in Wolof. According to Fode, the song symbolises the jealousy that comes from being away from the people you love.
- Mohamed Konate, from Ivory Coast, chose *Je reste*, by Ismaël Isaac, also from Ivory Coast and who speaks Mandingo, but can also use other Malinké languages like Bambara and Dyula in his songs. In this song Isaac invites Africans not to migrate. Mohamed regretted leaving.
- Malan Danfan, from Guinea Bissau, chose *Bulma tanal*, by Titi. The song is against arranged marriages by parents. One of the reasons that pushes young people to migrate.
- Mohamed Bagna, from Senegal, chose *Dada*, by King Mensah, a musician born into a family of Togolese traditional musicians, who soon started to create his own language fusing elements of traditional Ewe music (Agbadza and Akpessé), and Kabye dance-drum music, with funk, reggae and West African Afropop. King Mensah's lyrical themes are steeped in religion and offer hopeful encouragement for the orphaned, oppressed and downtrodden.
- Diaby Lacine, from Ivory Coast, chose *Brigadier*, by Alpha Blondy, a very famous reggae musician from Ivory Coast who sings in Dyula and French.

This is not the place to go deeper into analysing the songs the musicians quoted and the reasons why the asylum seekers chose those songs, but we can at least stress the complexity of the frame: it is not taken for granted that to speak about themselves they choose songs from

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7 As well documented in the literature, African popular music can be broadly divided into French-speaking and English-speaking, but in both areas, musicians can compose in these European languages or use national local languages or both, depending partly on the hegemonic relationships established during the colonial period and by the music industry. Nevertheless, the role of local languages in the creation and diffusion of African popular music has yet to be thoroughly investigated. For example, John Collins in his *West African Pop Roots* writes: 'With the steadily growing interest in the world music of the 1990s, the West African music scene today seems totally dominated by artists from the French-speaking countries, especially the Mandingo-speaking areas of Senegal, Mali, Gambia, and Guinea' (Collins 1992, 215), but he does not investigate if and how the language connection has a role in this diffusion. Hip-hop is a different case as it has been deeply investigated in its glocal configuration, both musically and linguistically (see Olusegun 2012).

8 To create an equal environment and allow deep communication in a safe context, we made extensive use of the technique of participatory listening. During these sessions each participant, including my students, had to share a song. After each single listening, we first asked the person who had proposed it, then all the others, to comment on it. In some cases we chose specific themes that we were interested in exploring, in others we used this method simply to share thoughts and emotions through music.

their places of origin; languages are not linked with a specific nation; they have all chosen songs communicating important messages, be they social, political or religious.

Apart from the song by Amerigo Gomes, heard on YouTube, the other songs were already present on the migrants' smartphones. The media of life forms (Hannerz 1992) are more flexible and leave people more space for interaction in comparison to media such as radio and television.

4. Does the fact that migrant musicians carry musical histories marked by multiple cultural contacts lead to the need to develop new tools for the analysis of repertoires and related musical practices?

Stored in personal memory and media, they carry to Europe musics from their countries of origin and sometimes from the places they transit are carried to Europe. As a result, they hold a transversal musical knowledge that interacts with their self-representations and current emotional/psychological conditions. This means a countless diversity of genres of music, especially nowadays, when concepts of traditional music, musics linked to a place and/or an ethnic group are challenged by globalisation and mobility (Slobin 2007). The individual builds his/her individuality through a kaleidoscopic constellation of references.

Scholars once considered migration as a phenomenon that had to be studied in terms of community, ethnicity and nationality, but they have now become increasingly aware that it has to be interpreted in terms of cultural capital, concentrating on the behaviour of single individuals and the multiple interconnections in which they are involved. Strongly reducing the role of Nation in the everyday life of people, Glick Schiller and Mainhof (2011) insist on a transnational approach to migration, based on plural identity and multi-sited belonging. It is a continuous process of definition of self and group in which many factors are involved. A process in which the conditions of life and the relationship with Italians and how Italian policies impact on their lives have to be taken into account.

To really understand the musical practices and musical lives of migrants (both regular and irregular), we then need to start not only from their status (or not) of musicians, but also from an understanding of their personal jukeboxes.

In the experience we had in Cremona, the participatory listening was a wonderful tool not only to create those jukeboxes but also to understand where, when, how and why every song had been added to the jukebox. Knowledge of musical competences and learning processes are crucial to providing a real understanding of the musical products

What follows is an accurate ethnography of the musical practices and an analysis that takes global connections into account. In my opinion what Serena Facci theorised in her 2007 article perfectly applies also outside Africa: an accurate, thick ethnography and an analysis that unites Ethnomusicological classical tools with those of Popular Music studies.

If we can bring these two perspectives together, we have all the tools we need.

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On the Relative and Partial Attitude to the Migration of Professional Musicians. Immigrants and Music in Rural Areas in Italy

Nico Staiti

Research on migrants' music involves extremely wide-ranging themes and competencies that require in-depth investigations carried out over a long period of time. The things we see happening with apparent extreme rapidity thicken very slowly.

It is necessary to turn to history and historiographical categories to observe and analyse phenomena that are otherwise poorly comprehensible if merely examined on a level of event history. Or at risk of being flattened by broad and inconsistent categories ('contact', 'hybridization', 'sharing' are some of the umbrella terms frequently used for these phenomena).

Shepherds hang bells around the neck of their goats, tuned in a system organised according to intervals of second and fifth: the herd recognises the sound and follows it. This system was carefully studied in Greece by Fivos Anoyanakis (1991: 60-80) and, albeit with significant variations, it is also to be found in Calabria, extending eastwards at least as far as Afghanistan.

This musical expertise is shared by shepherds throughout Eurasia, from Calabria to Afghanistan, passing through Greece. A Calabrian shepherd shares an element of musical language (and thus ideas about soundscapes, skills and even segments of worldviews) with an Afghan shepherd more than with a compatriot who does something else for a livelihood (e.g. doctor, car mechanic, cook). Starting from specific working skills related to sound objects there is something that unites people who belong to distant environments and have different religions, languages and customs.

This brief example may orient some issues on the impact that the arrivals of new migrants has on Italy's small rural towns, and on the way cultural relationships and exchanges take place in marginal areas of our country.

Relationships in these areas involve different and more concrete competencies than those at stake in large urban centres (in social and economic terms, as well as in terms of

urbanisation).[1] What has made a marginal place, like Locride (South of Calabria), partly forsaken even by the State and other institutions, become a European model of relationships between long-standing inhabitants and newcomers? Why hasn't the same thing happened in other places, including Emilia Romagna or other highly developed regions, where social and political commitment to integration is longer lasting and more intense?[2] And yet, this model was born in the Locride area (and then stifled there, with an impressive array of judicial, political and media actions). The things one hears about this issue (sometimes even from the social actors involved in the events investigated) seem to be of little help in providing a full description; instead, they often seem trivial and mortifying. For example, people who are poor and used to poverty are more willing to accept other poor people. On the contrary, what happens in the outskirts of major urban areas often suggests the opposite: the trend towards rejection is generally more marked and more visible in poor and degraded areas. Those who struggle to provide for themselves find it difficult to accept those who come from outside and are loathe to pay attention to the problems and needs of others. They usually put their own rights and demands before the wants of others. It seems to me that what happened in the small rural areas, and especially in the south of Calabria, calls for further explanation. Firstly, of course, it is due to the imaginative and far-sighted initiative of a single individual: Mimmo Lucano, the former mayor of Riace. Secondly, because of Lucano's undertaking and the ensuing activities, both the refugees (not economic migrants, as they are commonly called, since they are mainly people fleeing wars or driven by overwhelming needs) and the inhabitants of the Locride villages have become aware of the existence of the State and the institutions.

The resulting reception system, and with it a small economy (employment opportunities, rents, cooperation activities), is an unusual and surprising example of a functioning relationship between public structures and citizens. The SPRAR (renamed SIPROIMI) and the Re.Co.Sol Association[3] are structures supported by public funds in which people, officials and operators work effectively and concretely together. They act in parallel (and sometimes in conflict) with other systems marked by corruption and relations between the mafia and political power. Both inhabitants and newcomers, who themselves come from places where public affairs are often an abstract concept, first started to notice this difference in 2018. They all find themselves sharing a system of references and relations based on a functioning relationship with public structures. This seems to me to be a relevant fact.

Another relevant fact is what was said at the beginning: the refugees share cultural references with the people from villages in southern Calabria, basic skills like those used to tune the bells of a flock of animals, which do not find the same space and application in the city. The refugees come with the skills of artisans, farmers, shepherds: they know how to build a dry-stone wall, slaughter a goat, grow a vegetable garden. This means that from this expertise, possible and perhaps new spaces are opened for dialogue and sharing, for the exchange of

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1 This essay is based on a research experience undertaken in my Laboratory of Methodology of Field Research (Master's Degree in Music and Theatre, University of Bologna), which then involved Prof. Cristiana Natali and students in Methodologies of Ethnographic Research (Master's Degree in Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, University of Bologna). The research was carried out in Riace and Locride and extended to several small towns and rural areas in different regions of Italy. The places visited during 2019 are listed below. Calabria: Riace (RC); Gioiosa Jonica (RC); Caulonia (RC); Camini (RC); Stignano (RC); Sant'Alessio in Aspromonte (RC); Laganadi (RC). Campania: Petruro Irpino (AV). Apulia: Diso (LE). Marche: Arcevia (AN). Tuscany: Fabbriche di Vergemoli (LU). Veneto: Santorso (VI); Montorso Vicentino (VI). Piedmont: Val Pellice (CN); Frabosa Soprano (CN); Pettinengo (BI); Valle Mosso (BI); Valle Elvo (BI); Chiesanuova (TO); Cavoretto (TO). The project, named RiSorse, produced a study day and an exhibition of paintings by refugees from the SPRAR (now SIPROIMI) in Gioiosa Ionica (DamsLab, *Exhibition! I rifugiati dello Sprar di Gioiosa Ionica raccontano stessi per immagini*, 1-7 February 2020: https://site.unibo.it/damslab/it/eventi/mostra). Fieldwork which is still ongoing stopped in 2020 due to restrictions imposed by the pandemic. This investigation intersects with long-term research on Roma immigrants from Kosovo in an urban context (Berengo Gardin, Staiti 1997a); see also Staiti (1997b; 2000; 2008; 2010; 2012; 2018).

2 There are several bibliographical references to Riace and the reception of immigrants and refugees in rural and peripheral places. For Riace see, for example, Sasso (2012); Rinaldi (2016); Barillà (2017). For the repopulation of smaller towns and rural places see: Membretti, Kofler, Viazzo (2017), De Matteis, Di Gioia, Membretti (2018); Perlik, Galera, Machold, Membretti (2019).

3 SPRAR, System of Protection for Refugees and Asylum Seekers (*Sistema di protezione per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati*); SIPROIMI, System of Protection for Beneficiaries of Protection and Unaccompanied Minors (*Sistema di protezione per titolari di protezione internazionale e minori stranieri non accompagnati*). The network of municipalities that have adopted this system throughout Italy has constituted an association, named Re.Co.Sol. See Solidarity Network of Commons: https://comunisolidali.org/wp-content/uploads/recosol-2017-who-are.pdf and https://comunisolidali.org/. Last access January 5th, 2022.

experiences and knowledge. The complicated interweaving of similarities and differences compared on solid, concrete ground creates relationship paths, which flow very slowly and must be evaluated and analysed over a long period of time.

This level of slow and relative sharing is particularly important for us ethnomusicologists because among the skills at stake are also those involving the construction and use of musical instruments and, more generally, forms of communication and sharing implemented through musical practices.

Refugees are individuals or small groups of people struggling with the relatively homogeneous community of their host place. Those who experience this condition of relative cultural isolation do not make music except rarely and marginally. They only make it, if at all, when they are within their community, not for and with others. It may seem paradoxical, but there is more music in a prostitute's shack in a shantytown of seasonal workers than there is in a village where locals and newcomers together lovingly contribute to the life of the community. This is an idyllic picture, in some ways not far from reality, but which only sporadically and marginally involves deep levels of sharing, such as music. The absence of music tells of deep and submerged solitude: of the slowness required for the construction and stratification of deeply shared cultural plots.

It should also be noted that—as emerges from research experiences related to music in religious rituals[4]—professional musicians (or people with specific and established musical skills recognised and required in their native countries) generally emigrate less than other categories of people. However, there are some notable exceptions. These include certain Roma groups, who are characterised by a particular willingness to move and whose traditional trades include professional music-making. Most of the Balkan Roma musicians perform for the wedding and circumcision celebrations of diasporic communities (Staiti 2018). Musicians often move to places in the diaspora, but they are also quite willing to travel for work even far from home. There is an international network of musicians now in Macedonia, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Serbia, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, France, Italy and Spain who kaleidoscopically gather to perform at festive events, thereby renewing musical languages and emphasising the transnational nature of their identity building. However, this attitude only involves certain categories of professional musicians, such as male *calgia* orchestras, who nowadays mainly use relatively modern instruments (synthesizers, drums—often electronic ones—, saxophones and clarinets, whose sound is processed and amplified by electronic means). It does not concern *surne* and *tupan* players or women's groups playing *dajre*,[5] at least not with the same frequency and intensity.

Even an oboe *suona* player from China, a *kraar* player from the Horn of Africa or a Hungarian or Romanian *taragot* player, for example, do not migrate frequently. These musical instruments require professional skills on the part of their players, who are rooted in the local traditions of their places of origin where they are guaranteed a wider audience than they would find in the places of immigration. These musicians tend to travel only when diaspora communities are sufficiently large and well established in their places of arrival to provide them with more opportunities to practice their craft than those they have at home.

Sometimes host contexts provide opportunities for immigrants to take part in cultural inclusion and mediation projects involving musical activities. In such cases, the musical skills of migrants are enacted and coordinated by local professional musicians. An example of this are the so-called multiethnic groups, which have developed on the margins of and thanks to a wide range of social and cultural mediation activities, enabling many musicians to build a new professional career outside their communities of origin. However, it should be noted that in high-level professional music contexts, the attempt to recruit musicians 'from below' and from within the resident immigrant communities has proved to be utopian, even in a

4 A great deal of research has been carried out on this topic in Italy, also by scholars included in this volume: Serena Facci, Alessandro Cosentino, Fulvia Caruso, Maria Rizzuto, Francesco Serratore, Vanna Viola Crupi, Thea Tiramani, Blanche Lacoste.

5 *Surne* and *tupan* are shawms and drums used by the Roma musicians throughout the area of Ottoman culture; those in use in Kosovo and North-Western Macedonia have distinctive characteristics. *Dajre* (or *defi*) are frame drums used for female repertoires. See Staiti (2012).

large city. The multi-ethnic Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio was formed in Rome in 2002 by Italian professional musicians. After several unsuccessful attempts to find musicians among the immigrants of the Esquilino neighborhood, the Orchestra decided to recruit professional musicians (mainly from India, Cuba, Romania, Egypt, and Tunisia) already active in the international marketplace. They sometimes hired them to travel from their home country to Italy only for rehearsals and concerts. For some of the musicians, the fame achieved through the Orchestra and its artistic productions has enabled them to live permanently in Italy and to sustain themselves with their professional expertise.[6]

A different case is that of people with specific musical skills who move because their musical practice is secondary to other activities linked to the religious and ritual sphere, and requested by organised communities with an official structure. One example is some of the Egyptian Coptic singers who emigrated to Rome (Rizzuto 2020). The displacement of musicians is a consequence of the movement of structured segments of communities that have had enough time to rebuild official places of worship in the diaspora locations. The musicians in this context have the esteem of the whole diaspora community and are paid for their work. In a place like Rome where so many priests are trained, talented players sometimes get involved in the musical activities of the community while they are studying there.[7]

More often, especially in the early diaspora phase, communities have to reorganise the musical ensembles and find suitable musical languages for their ritual and entertainment activities, making use of what is available. This concerns the use of basic musical instruments —which are easy to play and do not need either local specialised instrument makers or long periods of training with distinguished masters, but also musicians with less musical skills or skills acquired outside their community. Only gradually do they find their music: this process implies, in the long term, a dialogue with other musical techniques, professional musicians and new needs.

The analysis of what musicians leave at home and what they take abroad with them is an essential part of ethnomusicological research on migration. What remains at home is not forgotten, nor is it residual, but it is enacted during the regular returns to the places of origin. During the summer season the *surle* and *tupan* players in Kosovo, for example, work every day for the family celebrations of the migrants who return home for the holidays and also for local and traditional feasts.

After Mimmo Lucano's period as mayor in Riace, an archway bore the inscription 'global village'. That 'global village' is in some ways the opposite of what McLuhan predicted: not the world becoming a village, but a village becoming the world because of an emergency. People of different origins live together there. There, as in many other places, the silences of the immigrant communities seek out voices and ways of expressing themselves in music that is influenced by Calabrian traditions and mixed with them marginally and timidly (just as the participation of African drums in the St. Rocco procession in Gioiosa ionica, or the cymbals or bass drum played by young immigrants in the *bandella* in Riace are limited. But the shantytowns where seasonal migrant farm workers live apart from the local population must cease being isolated ghettos for this timid process to take hold.

Newcomers need to form communities which can collectively engage with local communities: otherwise, dialogues on a musical level only involve the relative and partial integration of individuals into local musical languages and practices. What happens in Riace, Gioiosa Jonica and other places where relatively small groups of refugees are hosted is still quite

6 It is noteworthy that the Piazza Vittorio Orchestra has achieved international fame by involving musicians from different musical backgrounds in confronting European musical texts and written traditions (Mozart's *Zauberflöte* and the *Don Giovanni*, Bizet's *Carmen*). The success and originality of the Piazza Vittorio Orchestra are, in short, due to a process opposite to that of world music, in which American and European professional musicians (mostly trained in jazz) create their own musical constructs on the basis offered by musicians belonging to various local traditions. Often in the context of world music, 'ethnic' musicians are called upon to represent themselves in a context that does not belong to them. And they play what they already know how to play. They usually do not change their musical languages and repertoires: the 'collaboration' mainly consists in providing compositional or improvisational grounds for those who call them to play with (or for) themselves. This tends to turn the 'dialogue' into an appropriation or, if you wish, musical colonisation (Staiti 2013).

7 See the musician-priests active in the Congolese Church in Rome (Cosentino 2019).

rare and marginal compared to the silent living side-by-side—at least in terms of musical communication—of the large shantytowns in Calabria or Puglia. As Adelaida Reyes has already pointed out, this observation calls for a careful rethinking of our tools and techniques of investigation in this field.[8] Ethnomusicological research on contacts between immigrants and local inhabitants in these places can only concern phenomena that are still uncertain, in their gradual and hesitant shaping.

As mentioned above, musicians move in contexts in which communities are reconstituted, especially in relation to institutions: it is easier for this to happen in places of worship. The Romanian community in Palermo brings in musicians, with skills in sacred music, even though officiants and the worshippers have a certain level of musical expertise. The Oratory of Saint Vito, where the rites of the Romanian Orthodox Church are celebrated, contains a painted scene of the Nativity. However, unlike traditional Italian nativity scenes, the shepherd who welcomes the God-Man to the earth is not playing the bagpipe, but a *taragot* (or *tárogató*): an instrument similar to a clarinet with a conical bore, found in Hungary and Romania and thought to be invented by the manufacturer Vencel József Schunda. The *taragot* is not a pastoral instrument, but a professional urban instrument invented in the late nineteenth century;[9] however it has such a strong connotation of identity that is has become, in this picture, an emblem of the hic et nunc of the sacred event (just like the ancient tradition of Christmas pastoral scenes, Staiti 1997a): for the Romanians who have emigrated to Sicily, Christ is born here and today and among them, in the oratory of Saint Vito, depicted alongside an instrument that identifies their land of origin. However, none of the Romanians who emigrated to Palermo play the *taragot* shown in the Nativity scene. That kind of musical expertise (semi-professional or professional, and urban) does not need to travel, and *taragot* players find more and better work in Romania or Hungary than the modest group of clients they would find in the immigrant community in Palermo.

This kind of traditional musical instrument players do not need to emigrate to earn money. The same holds true for the *surle* players living in the mountains between Albania and Kosovo: they play in those border villages and earn more than they could expect to earn if they moved to Germany or Italy; their colleagues (and often relatives) who play the saxophone or synthesizer for wedding parties are more interested in moving. Musical objects are concrete instruments of cultural mediation. Let us not forget that most of the musical instruments that immigrants bring with them or take up in their places of arrival are industrially-produced, designed and made for a wide market, and therefore suitable for different musical languages (and it is no coincidence that synthesizers are particularly appreciated). Handcrafted artifacts linked to the production of scales, timbres, and circumscribed rhythmic-melodic patterns that are strongly linked to the musical cultures of which they are the expression, tend to be left behind (although one can imagine that after a period of adjustment and wider assimilation in the place of arrival they could be recovered as emblems of identity to be recovered and safeguarded). In this implicit tendency of sharing music objects between immigrants of various origins and local populations we can read a hidden sign of potential sharing between people of different origins. But the ethnomusicological research in the field of immigration in Italy can only concern the documentation and analysis of the present and its historical implications; it does not aspire to going beyond the foreshadowing of possible future scenarios.

8 See the essays by Adelaida Reyes (1979; 1986; 1990; 1999 and in this book).

9 The instrument was invented by adapting the mouthpiece and mechanisms of the modern German clarinet to a conical tube, probably derived from the *surle* or *zurne*, i.e. the conical oboes found in the Ottoman area (*taragot* or *tarogato* in Hungarian and Romanian means 'Turkish pipe'). This invention is attributed to the Schunda family (musical instrument makers), active in Budapest from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The instrument, which is still used in traditional music in Hungary and parts of Romania, was later also manufactured with small variations by other craftsmen and small companies in both countries.

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Afterword

Giovanni Giuriati

While preparing for this seminar and subsequently editing this volume in collaboration with Serena Facci, I considered myself somewhat of an outsider to the research into musical diasporas. I saw myself more in the role of a supporter of the cause, someone who was not so deeply involved since, although I have conducted studies into the music of Cambodian refugees (see below), I am not currently dealing directly with this topic. On the other hand, Serena has for many years directed a solid team which is based in Rome (Facci 2019) and which has carried out research into the music of the diasporas, achieving important results by developing a methodological reflection that is clearly evident in her Introduction to this volume.[1]

However, I never had any doubts about taking part in this publication project as I believe that it is most important for our discipline to reflect on the issue of musical diasporas. I also think that this topic was highly appropriate for one of the International Seminars of Ethnomusicology organised by the Intercultural Institute for Comparative Music Studies of the Giorgio Cini Foundation, due to its relevance in the contemporary world, and to the interdisciplinary perspectives it implies. A relevance that must also address fast change in contexts and music, which forces us to come to terms with constantly evolving situations of an unstable nature. It is an intrinsically transversal research theme reflecting the global, transcultural, hybrid, connected and mediatised contemporary musical world. A sort of heap of issues at the heart of the current debate of our discipline emphasising topics which we have been reflecting on in recent years.

In addition to dealing with musical outputs, this topic also implies an analysis of the relationship between music and sounds on the one hand, and deep social conflicts, economic inequality, national and international political processes involving contact with minorities, lack of freedom and human rights as well as environmental disasters on the other.

Thus, a wide crossroads of musical and contextual issues, as Adelaida Reyes writes so well in her contribution to this volume: "Ethnomusicology's growth and progress as a discipline requires acknowledging—and acting on—the transformative power of migration and the substantive changes that it has already wrought and promises to effect in the character of the discipline's subject of study, the questions it asks, and the issues it addresses [...] The current and growing interest in migration underscores more notably, what the discipline has shifted *toward*: the study of complex, culturally diverse societies the boundaries of which are not givens but constructs».[2]

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1 Serena Facci is also curating a series of books for the NeoClassica publishing house; the title of the series is *Musichemigranti* of which two volumes have been published so far, while others are already in an advanced stage of drafting.

2 See Reyes, in this volume.

The transformative power of migrations is thus giving rise to a mutation in research interests in the field of ethnomusicology towards the study of complex, transnational societies, whose limits and connections are cultural constructs to be studied and interpreted one by one.

The issue of musical diasporas is widely present in the current international ethnomusicological debate, which is well evidenced by the comprehensive introduction by Serena Facci and supported by a number of bibliographical references. However, the bibliography is constantly increasing, and significant writings have been added even during the short period in which this volume was being edited. Immediately after our seminar, Martin Stokes published a long essay in which he presents a wide-ranging overview of the theme of Music and Migrations (Stokes 2020). Moreover, various monographs have appeared including Alessandra Ciucci's on Moroccan male communities in Italy (Ciucci 2022) and one should also mention the publication of a new journal, *Music and Minorities*, which dedicated the first issue (2021) to the topic of *Music and Forced Migrations*.[3] This theme has become particularly popular in Italian ethnomusicology, and various research projects are being carried out that involve a number of young scholars. I do not think this is a coincidence, or just an ephemeral trend. On the contrary, I believe that there are profound reasons which have made the new generations of Italian researchers, guided by some exponents of the "old guard", take an interest in this theme. One of these reasons may coincide with the social and historical processes that led our country to become a hosting nation, especially from the 1980s onwards, after having been a country of emigration for so long.

For us Italians who were used to internal migrations, especially from the southern to the northern regions, the arrival of refugee communities, particularly after the fall of the Berlin Wall and other planetary upheavals, was indeed a novelty, not only from a sound and musical point of view, but also socially and culturally. Communities of Filipinos, Bengalis, Peruvians, Chinese, Eritreans, Congolese, Nigerians, Moroccans, Senegalese, Romanians, Ukrainians and Indians are now widely settled in Italian urban and rural contexts, thereby joining other earlier arrivals such as, for example, the Armenians and the Albanians.

This has inspired even greater interest in students and scholars, since they now have "on their doorstep" the opportunity to document live musical traditions which they could previously only access through research recordings. It is also a great opportunity for them to directly face the problematic social contexts which must be dealt with. Just to give an example, one might consider the significant issue of creating inclusive schools in which musical activities might play a crucial role.

The sudden arrival in Italy of a large amount of diasporic community music also coincides with a period, the beginning of the twenty-first century, in which the object of study of Italian ethnomusicology was undergoing a profound change. While the post-war period concentrated on the study of the music deriving from our own local oral tradition, the last decades have seen numerous and quite profound changes take place, and one might be led to think that the repertoires and contexts studied by the researchers of previous generations are fast vanishing. The generation of our Masters, such as Carpitella and Leydi, "discovered" peasant and pastoral music and brought it to the attention of the Italian cultural debate of the 1950s and 1960s. Such folk music was subsequently studied and documented in living contexts by our younger generation in the 1970s and 1980s. This music, which was functional and central to a community life, is gradually disappearing and being replaced by heritagisation, spectacularisation and revivalism. Carpitella and Leydi themselves already pointed out the gradual disappearance and intense changes in the performing practices and repertoires of the music that was born into the tradition and oral mentality of the 1960s, under the pressure of the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, internal migration and the wide diffusion of the mass media. Our generation has studied these phenomena while they were still alive and functional—also documenting their inevitable transformation (and perhaps even contributing to this process).

3 https://doi.org/10.52411/mm.2021.

An ethnomusicology student or a young researcher wishing to resume this research path in Italy today would find a profoundly different context in which the heritagisation process, the diffusion of reproduced music and the profound transformation of rural contexts have almost eliminated those musical practices which were functional to a community life, including ceremonies, rituals and work, all so typical of that oral mentality our professors taught us about so well. However, it is not only a question of the object of study. In addition to focusing on the music of the oral tradition in Italy, Italian ethnomusicologists have, since the post war period, developed a research methodology which is strongly characterised by social and political commitment, solidarity and sympathy towards the peasant world, particularly that of Southern Italy. This commitment has walked hand in hand with documentation and research and has also partly determined our object of study and the ways of approaching it. I believe that the disappearance of the traditionally investigated contexts and repertoires, combined with the intention to maintain a certain attentive look at social issues, has created the conditions for a natural shift of interest. In these first decades of the twenty-first century, researchers have started to focus on the music played by the people who were arriving in our country, often in very precarious and disadvantaged conditions. For the migrant communities, music—whether liturgical or performed at festivals and celebrations—continues to play a role which is similar to the one it used to have for the peasant societies studied by our Masters, i.e., live and living music functional to their religious and community life. This trend did not develop with the intention to revive an essentialist attitude that was excluded from Italian studies, an essentialism that the diasporic music is undermining at its roots, as Reyes also reminds us. On the contrary, this approach has spread in order to continue with research projects that can deal with more than just the stages, mediatisation and recognition of an intangible cultural heritage. Rather, with fieldwork that can tell us how music continues to play a role in the life of small and close-knit communities. In this way, it has replaced the interest in the music of peasant Italy, as there are no longer so many contexts to investigate using this research setting.

I can see the contradiction between research into music which is by its very nature global and a method still referring to the ethnographies of small groups. However, I believe that the interest in an investigation at the heart of this contradiction characterises a particular Italian approach and constitutes one of the reasons for the wide interest shown by young researchers in the music of immigrant communities, thus continuing a line of studies and methods applied by previous generations.

One of the goals that we had set ourselves for the Seminar and this volume was precisely that of sharing with an international audience what we have been doing in our country in recent years, promoting a reflection that has its own peculiarities (I quote, for example, the research on the confluence of different Catholic and Christian musical liturgies in Rome, or an European dimension deriving from the relation between Western and Eastern Europe during the second part of the twentieth century) and, at the same time, participates in the international debate of which the authors of the essays published in this book are fully aware. Furthermore, the purpose of this volume is also to try to 'take stock' of a situation which is constantly evolving. It is an attempt to obtain a picture, as far as possible taken with a wide-angle lens, of the specific ways in which the musical diasporas in our country have been developing in recent years, fully aware that the picture will have profoundly changed in only a few years. We also wanted to highlight different ways in which these phenomena can be studied: from multi-site research to research based on historiography, from ethnographic participation to musical analysis.

After having participated in the seminar and on reading the contributions published in this volume, many of which derive from it, I must say that the premises have been fully confirmed and also further articulated and examined in depth, with the addition of ideas indicating numerous possible paths of investigation. In particular, the volume provides us with a significant and varied mosaic of research.

This mosaic, which constitutes the central body of the work, is then supplemented with important methodological contributions both as a premise and as a reaction to ethnographic presentations. I believe that all this collective reflection emerging from the volume can objectively provide a significant addition to the international debate on contemporary mu-

sical diasporas. The transversal themes that can be identified are many. In her Introduction, Serena Facci presents a broad spectrum. I would like to mention some of the most significant ones, both in terms of content and method, in order to add some of my own considerations.

A first methodological issue concerns the extreme diversity of the nature of migration. Beyond the definitions (forced migration, voluntary migration, economic migration, environmental migration, seasonal migration, asylum seekers, irregular migration, etc.), this volume contributes to the survey and investigation of several specific cases, each with its own quite particular needs and circumstances in making music.

In addressing this great diversity, one also realises that each community requires a specific approach, including the development of a particular ethnographic method, e.g., the investigation of the musical practices of the cosmopolitan Armenian community which settled in Italy decades ago and has become an integral part of the Italian and European musical culture is quite different from a study that approaches the Indian communities of the Sikh religion who have recently arrived and are facing significant settlement issues.

It is also difficult to identify the approach required to deal with predominantly female communities, such as the Ukrainians and Georgians who have come to Italy mainly to take care of people, as compared to almost exclusively male seasonal workers, e.g. West African communities.

The gaze must be even more different when one enters into relationships with refugee communities whose return to their homeland is currently precluded or very difficult, such as for example Somalis or Syrians, compared to communities of migrants who frequently and repeatedly visit their country of origin, like the Chinese.

The cases are highly complex, a fact that makes a classification of these intertwined experiences even more problematic, also because they are shaped by the particular configuration of the society and culture that hosts them.

In this regard, it should be noted that ethnographic research reveals that a strong dialectic is established within each community, and we are therefore well aware that the labels 'Chinese', 'Indians', 'Armenians' etc. should be evaluated in a much more subtle way than usual. In this way, we can see that among the Indian immigrants in Italy the Sikh communities prevail with their religious influence, while the Egyptian Coptic community and Lebanese Melkite Christians constitute a minority that often suffers hardship for their religious beliefs. Furthermore, as regards the Chinese, it is rarely emphasised that most of them come from a single region of this immense country, that is mainly from the area concentrated around the city of Wencheng, in Zhejang.

As the research projects presented here have shown, what seems most interesting to me is that we have gained an insight into a specific place (Italy) and a specific time span (the first decades of the twenty-first century) which allows us to make considerations regarding the place of origin of the different communities, but also and above all, on how their presence in the host country is shaped—also through sounds.

The question of identity is controversial and now largely outdated in the debate among scholars.

Francesco Remotti has given much thought to this issue and discusses it with great insight and careful consideration. He uses the term *convivenza* (living together) to refer to the processes of encounter, underlining from his point of view all the reasons that push us to investigate the moments and dynamics of exchange, involvement, even conflict, by using a term that stresses the network of relationships that is established when different social and cultural groups share the same places. Indeed, if we observe the contributions to this volume using his inclusive and dialectical perspective, we can see how the concept of multiple and fluid musical identities is widely present and constitutes one of the points of strength of a shared research method, even if it is carried out in different contexts.

Another peculiar aspect of the reflection in this book revolves around the centrality of the religious sphere, which is addressed in almost all the ethnographic contributions. It emerges that music and sounds are always present in religious practices and that they contribute in a fundamental way to the marking of the life of the diasporic communities in Italy, to defining their cultural belonging, and creating a network of relationships.

The religious sphere has always been a central theme in ethnomusicological research. Filtered through the lenses of the research into the diasporas, it takes on new meanings. Music seems to be essential for defining a way of expressing the religiousness that is brought along on the journey, which really is a crucial part of one's cultural background. The same (relative) absence as in the case of the Chinese reveals something about how the communities are structured in their diasporic context and in the relationship with the motherland through a particular relationship with music belonging to the religious sphere.

This is linked to another central aspect of the reflection on musical diasporas, which can once again be seen as a cluster of major issues. This is underlined by Serena Facci in her introduction, also with reference to Martin Stokes' essay. I am referring to the new creativity dictated by the living conditions in which the musicians of the diasporas find themselves, including the musical encounters made possible or even favoured by such diasporas. In the various chapters of this book there is often an evaluation of the musical results of the observed practices which is different from what could have been observed in the motherland due to the particular conditions in which the musicians are operating.

These conditions include the frequent changes in the composition of the ensembles due to continuous arrivals and departures, in addition to the fact that there is often a lack of musicians who play crucial roles in the group, a gap that is much more difficult to fill than it would have been in the motherland. These conditions determine the resulting sound and music and are closely intertwined with the social issue. In this connection, see the chapters dealing with the ways of rooting African music in Croatia, or the frequent changes in the musical groups of the Eritrean community in Rome.

However, a close reading of this volume also reveals a highly diversified picture which is quite different from what was once claimed, i.e. that the music of the emigrant communities was more conservative than that of the motherland. Far from being seen only as a shortcoming or a flaw, it allows us to observe the process of transformation of musical repertoires and understand which essential elements are required in musical practices—if any—, to detect new creativity such as strategies implemented to replace any lack of musicians or skills, but also resulting from meetings and exchanges that would hardly have occurred in the mother country.

As regards the method, there is increasing evidence of the vital role played by the network of relationships that have developed over the Internet and through social networks, connecting diasporic communities with each other and with the motherland in ways unheard of a few years ago. Creativity develops through virtual relationships. These processes can be observed, e.g. in the case of the *kirtan* performed by Sikhs, or the way in which the Orthodox communities in Palermo adapt their practices; however, this phenomenon is present in all the ethnographic contributions.

This pervasiveness of social networks and the virtual dimension of relationships also poses the question of multi-site research as an important methodological tool in the research on migration carried out by some of the researchers (China, Armenia, Ukraine). Among other things, the multi-site perspective allows us to understand these new processes of creation and adaptation by also referring to similar processes that are already present in the motherland, often put into practice some time ago and further developed by the diasporic communities.

Moreover, the multi-site perspective grows and is transformed as it is also extended from the places of departure and arrival to virtual places where the network of relationships is enriched sometimes in unexpected ways. This includes the mobility of the researcher who, in various contexts, also adds the so-called virtual fieldwork to on-site research.

During the conference I gradually recalled that I too had already dealt with this topic in the 1980s and 1990s and that I was not entirely unfamiliar with it, even though in the meantime I had set it aside. I became directly involved while I was working on my PhD research topic in the 1980s and early 1990s, when a study of Cambodian music was bound to involve research into the music of refugee communities because of the dramatic political situation in the country (Giuriati 1988).

Therefore, in thinking about this again, I also realised the extent to which these contexts have profoundly changed in these forty years, forcing us to rethink a new theoretical framework including renewed methodological tools.

In those days, diasporas were nearly always a definitive, drastic step which were both forced but also economic migrations. When I went to Cambodia in the 1980s, means of communication were almost non-existent: it was hard to make phone calls and communication between the diasporic communities and the motherland was quite difficult. I remember that many Cambodian friends entrusted me with letters to be sent by mail to their refugee relatives living abroad once I got home to Italy.

The situation in Cambodia, fresh from the Khmer Rouge regime and in the midst of a civil war, was somewhat extreme, but it reflected general conditions. Today, on the contrary, people come and go with great ease and if this is not physically possible, virtual communication can easily take place thanks to the Internet, social networks, the digital platforms that we all discovered during the pandemic (which has also created new and unprecedented obstacles that hinder people from moving from place to place), easy communications and the continuous circulation of images so that one can be present or co-present and interact daily even at a great distance.

The ways music is circulated are also different. Previously, the presence and transfer of musical traditions could take place almost in their original form thus preserving the repertories and performing practices. Today it is a rarity to find this form of transmission in which the tendency to preserve and protect prevails.

When I was a student, it was rightly assumed that immigrant communities were even more conservative, also thanks to their relative cultural isolation from the motherland, thus continuing to maintain practices that had been lost in the meantime in their country of origin. Studies such as those by Carla Bianco and Anna Chairetakis Lomax, and more recently Giuliana Fugazzotto have observed such differences also in the communities of Italians who emigrated to the United States.[4]

Today I think it is hard to find similar studies, both because the essentialist perspective occupies less and less space in our research, but also because the diasporic communities can no longer be considered isolated from the communities that have remained in the motherland where profound transformations are already taking place. At the time (in the 1980s) I personally wrote about a model which distinguished one type of music played by immigrant/refugee communities with the intention to continue the customs and traditions of their country of origin, where music was necessary and functional to the development of a series of rites and ceremonies, from another type of music that was more linked to global models and popular music or to processes of heritagisation. Traditional music thus became a sort of 'identity emblem' characterising a specific community to promote internal closeness and for self-definition in relation to other communities or the people of the host country (Giuriati 1996; 2005). This dichotomy, which even then was partly forced and useful above all for analytical purposes, must now be completely redefined in the light of the profound changes that have taken place both in musical models and in the models of migration and mobility of people, as the research presented in this volume clearly illustrates.

Much remains to be investigated regarding this fascinating and ever-changing topic, subject to the dynamics as well as the cultural and global processes of today's world, but also to the complex, contradictory, changing relationships between nations, societies, cultures and the increasingly worrying environmental conditions of the planet. Nevertheless, I believe that this book can provide a useful contribution to the debate by presenting a particular point of view adopted by Italian research which is in continuous interdisciplinary dialogue with the international context.

4 I refer particularly to the LP, *Italian Folk Songs*, edited by Alan Lomax and Carla Bianco, Folkways Records FE 4010 (1965); *In Mezz'una Strada Trovai una Pianta di Rosa*, Recorded and Edited by Anna L. Chairetakis, Ethnic Folkways Library, FES 34041 (1979) and *Calabria Bella Dove T'Hai Lasciate?* Ethnic Folkways Library, FES 34042 (1979) and the volume with CD-audio *Sta terra nun fa pi mia* by Giuliana Fugazzotto (2010).

While this book was being prepared, Adelaida Reyes passed away, a loss that is deeply felt by all of us. She was a good friend and always participated in our Venetian initiatives with passion and grace. We wish to remember her clarity of thought, her competence and contagious enthusiasm for our common ethnomusicological discipline and particularly for the issues concerning music, minorities and migration.

Adelaida was a point of reference for many of us and her insight into the methods and literature of our discipline that she was always willing to share was always of great support for our research. Her contribution to this volume also confirms her broad vision, her profound competence and her great ability and generosity in indicating research paths. This volume is gratefully dedicated to her memory.

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