

Ethnography of Recording Studios: an Introduction

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This edited volume stems from the International Seminar that the Intercultural Institute for Comparative Music Studies of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini ('Musiche e Musicologie del XXI Secolo') devoted to the topic of 'Ethnography of Recording Studios'. The Seminar took place between January 24-26, 2019 and it was then decided to publish an on-line volume with a revised version of some of the papers presented, incorporating the lively discussion that occurred over the three days. In this Introduction we take up the main points of the debate and reflect upon the outcome of the Seminar that went beyond all expectations, adding the themes, case-studies, and theoretical reflections that were put forward during the seminar.

It is important to point out that the chosen theme did not emerge from our personal direct involvement in such research or from familiarity with recording studio practices; we have not specifically dealt with this issue in our studies. However, we came to realise, mainly through teaching the students on our Master's and PhD courses, that carrying out ethnographic research in a recording studio is an issue that is becoming increasingly relevant in their research and, more in general, in the field of ethnomusicology. This has happened because our object of study is consistently shifting to encompass issues that relate to music and technology, music and the record industry, and new forms of sociality that are shaped through the mediatization of music. A specific aim of the Seminars we organise at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, which have been ongoing for twenty-five years (the first twenty editions curated by Francesco Giannattasio), is to address issues that are at the core of international debate in our field and to take up themes that are of interest to our students. Ethnography of recording studios gives centre stage to the idea that a recording studio can be a perfect place to conduct proper ethnography, as it can be done in a village or in a given community anywhere in the world. It seemed a perfect theme, as this topic has become central in our field due to the increasing mediatization of the so-called music traditions through the use of technology and music reproduction. A perfect theme that also lies at the intersection between ethnomusicology and popular music studies and which is of great interest for most of our students (this publication is also intended for university students).

While emphasising the relevance of these issues for contemporary research, we also realised that such topics were already very important at the time when we were starting our research in the 1970s and 1980s. Technology and music reproduction were already widely used in the contexts where we performed our research, be it on Italian folk music or on the musical cultures of Asia and Africa. However, we are aware that, according to the main trends of our discipline at that time, we tended to discard them as 'non authentic' and not at the core of our research. With regard to this, let us relate an anecdote taken from the experience of Giovanni

Giuriati in the 1980s when he was in Washington D.C. for his doctoral studies. At that time, he was doing research on the Khmer music played by a group of refugees with whom he spent a great deal of time. There was one musician in particular, Van Pok, who loved recording and was constantly documenting the repertoires and his musical performances (solo and in ensemble) with the rudimentary means at his disposal. For example, he used a home-made system of a multi-track recorder to tape pieces on which he played all the instruments, one after the other, overdubbing. And it was striking to see the amazement and delight of the Khmer musicians when they were taken to the University of Maryland Baltimore County recording studio to make some recordings for research purposes (transcription) and of which they were then given a copy. Compared to our ethnography of 'live' performances we considered these instances as accessory elements which were totally overlooked, but they could very easily have been considered research priorities.

This anecdote serves merely to stress the fact that in this volume we are dealing with questions that a 'classical' ethnomusicology concentrating on 'traditional' contexts in an essentialistic perspective neglected for a long time, even in contexts that were hybrid from the start. However, they were already present from the very moment when tape recorders and the record industries started being used to document and to promote musical traditions all over the world.

The reluctance to face the question for some of us did not however prevent this field of studies from becoming a fertile research ground in the past.

As we were preparing the seminar, we realised just how many colleagues - from both ethnomusicology and popular music studies - had looked in past decades and in different ways at the same set of issues we discussed in Venice. And as often happens, studies were carried out in an interdisciplinary sphere - fully justified by the topic - that ranges from ethnomusicology to popular music studies and media studies. Three important names may be cited here, by way of example, starting with Georgina Born and her seminal research on IRCAM (Born 1995), and her more recent research incursions into the world of multimedia production from a perspective that combines methods of anthropology, sociology, and media studies (Born 2009). Another important essay that was one of the first to deal with methodological issues is *Ethnography and popular music studies* by Sara Cohen (1993) a paper that, although not focused on recording studios, addresses the issue of ethnography as applied to popular music studies. Finally, Thomas Turino, who in his *Music as Social Life* (Turino 2008), drew up a typology of music making in which live and recorded performances are both taken into consideration in the same coherent model that can be considered as a fundamental reference for the debate that we intended to stir in the Seminar. The 21st Century has seen the publication of seminal work more specifically addressing the issue of ethnography of recording studios - to which the chapters in this volume also repeatedly refer. Among others, let us just mention Taylor (2001), Zak (2001), Green and Pocello, eds. (2005), Wallach (2008), Scales (2012), Zagorski-Thomas (2014) and Bates (2016). Significant contributions in a more strictly ethnomusicological field come from the work by Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (Turino 2000) or *Sound of Africa!* (Meintjes 2003). Such studies have become essential references for anyone intending to work in this field of research.

The relevance of this subject is also attested by a number of other recent European and American studies. Alessandro Bratus makes partial reference to them in his article, especially in relation to popular music studies. However, even in this wealth of literature, we realised that perhaps there was still need for some specific research on this topic from an ethnographic point of view that stands at the core of the relationship between music and technology. The significant work done by Bates in Istanbul (2016) is certainly a reference point, but we thought that this volume could provide a further refined ethnographic approach adding case-studies and new perspectives.

In order to find a working definition of ethnography to be used as a reference point during our work, we referred to the anthropologists Remotti and Fabietti, editors of a *Dizionario di Antropologia* (1997). For Roberto Malighetti, author of the entry, ethnography consists of: «prolonged periods in direct contact with the object of study» with studies that involve participant-observation and the holistic study of the culture, more and more through a perspective

of dialogical, collaborative and reflexive anthropology. Over the last decades the tendencies of ethnographic research have problematised fieldwork, noting how the experience is always «more complex than its representation» and reflecting on the «asymmetry and political-economic disparity implicit in the meeting in the field» (Malighetti 1997: 274-276).

In line with this definition, recording studios and the record industry have often been considered – in ethnographies – as places where a certain asymmetry of power is manifested, as places of the packaging of ‘inauthentic’ mainstream music, of control of the means of production and of the prevalence of capitalist and profit logics. Even if this aspect is undoubtedly important, what we are more interested in, on the contrary, is the interpersonal, human, creative, and culturally specific dimension of these processes to be observed by means of more or less prolonged participant-observation. Processes that led to music creation in a specific way that we intended to explore.

Furthermore, as regards the value of ethnography, let us cite a text dating from 1981, which could be useful in elucidating what we intended to discuss in this volume, also because it is by John Blacking, a scholar dear to us and a great authority in the field of anthropology of music. Blacking writes:

Ethnography is a scientific description, and what appears to be its major weakness, namely its inclusion of variously perceived data that may seem too vague and fuzzy to a musicologist, is in fact its greatest strength and its prior claim to scientific validity. The scientific potential of ethnography is not always appreciated, and it can seem particularly confusing and irrelevant when set beside apparently rigorous analyses, in which the logic of musical structures is exposed for all to see, like the structure of a crystal or a protein. The scientific rigour of many musical analyses is, in fact, illusory. The chief difference between a musicological analysis and a chemical analysis is that, like any other analysis in the human sciences, it may be there for all to see, but it is not necessary there for all to feel: and if the analytical ‘experiment’ cannot be replicated, it cannot be regarded as scientific. Until a musical analysis can be validated by the corroborative experience of performers and listeners, it remains as it began: an ethnic view of a musical structure which does not necessarily have any more validity than other ethnic views (Blacking 1981: 384).

Blacking reminds us of the subtlety of the interpersonal, relational nature of ethnography, of the not always measurable nature of feeling and perception. But he also stresses that it is to be considered ‘scientific’ to all effects and part of an analytical methodology that may be illusory if it strays from this aspect and, if not validated by the experience of relation and interaction, substantially (and paradoxically) ‘ethnic’ and therefore partial. We think that this is an important reference for reflections in a perspective of interdisciplinary comparison.

Another aspect that concerned the seminar is the analysis of the recording studio as a specific place of music creation and production, with all its peculiarities, including the roles of the agents working there and the interactions that are created at personal, relational, cultural, and social levels. The recording studio, therefore, is in some ways an ideal place to conduct ethnographic research, a circumscribed and more or less spatially defined place of social interaction, cultural production, exchange of skills, and relationships with technologies. The chapters in this volume each investigate in their own way this place for sound production by developing specific research methodologies and presenting different perspectives through the consideration of very diverse case studies.

This volume also suggests the idea that a recording studio could be ‘deconstructed’ into specific places, each with its own peculiarities, its own architectural and space distribution concepts, its own technologies, the result of investment capacities and constantly changing production philosophies. And it is also made up of different musical and cultural settings that include the production and reproduction of musical objects which are also very different from each other: records, film soundtracks, original creations of composers. In other words, one can consider the recording studio as a multiple and complex place at the centre of contemporary music production, including specific social relations. A recording studio can be considered, as Louise Meintjes claims: «a microcosm of the society within which it exists» (Meintjes 2003: 9), that is, with the characteristic social dynamics, power imbalances included, which can be found in the societies where such recording studios are located.

It is somewhat paradoxical but also very interesting to note however that in some of the

chapters and during the seminar discussion, it clearly appears that the object commonly defined as a 'recording studio' cannot be taken for granted. Rather, it is a product of a given historical moment, which is somehow already being surpassed, with the development of increasing flexible technologies that allow even more focused and place-bound productions. Such new modes of production are often needed to access the global mediatized music market, as Cosentino's article highlights. In a sense, we have focused our attention on a phenomenon that is already partly superseded by new modes of music production, although for us ethnomusicologists it might, on the contrary, have seemed 'new'. Bratus, Meandri, and especially Wallach have drawn attention to the fact that the recording studio should be considered as part of an ethnographic work that can be much broader, and that the recording studio, while remaining almost a fetish and a coagulating place of creative energies and technologies, should be considered as one of the places where contemporary musics are conceived and produced in continuous interaction with other contexts. Highly fragmented production in different places has long been the order of the day, as Bates well describes in his essay. This plurality of places also corresponds to a heterogeneous plurality of professional figures (musicians or technicians) who have each developed their skills and sensibilities in different ways. There is thus an increasingly cogent need to consider our ethnography as multi-sited, borrowing the concept expressed by George Marcus a few decades ago (Marcus 1995). However, as Wallach points out in his chapter, a virtual circulation of music now increasingly prevails that takes us beyond the concept of a specific place of music production. The music that is now being shared on the Web, precisely because of technology, constitutes a new field of ethnographic inquiry that can fruitfully be applied to virtual contexts in which sounds are produced and shared.

It should also be pointed out that this book stems from a conference preceding the COVID 2019 pandemic. The latter pushed the accelerator on new and different forms of music making. It particularly impacted live performances (Agamennone, Palma and Sarno eds. 2023). At the same time, such new forms helped to bring to the fore of the media scene many of the unseen practices that are usual in recording studios (e.g., musicians in an informal attitude, presence of technical equipment for capturing rather than amplifying sounds, etc.). Technical solutions for the remote interaction of musicians with each other and with technicians were also implemented and will be increasingly used from now on in music production.

Another issue developed by the authors, especially in the chapters written by Meandri and Vecchiarelli, is that of the relationship between aesthetics and technology, given that we are now well aware of how a given sound is the product of a confluence of technology and professional figures - some still to be 'discovered' from the point of view of our research - who are not just musicians.

Particularly significant in this regard is the parable of the Foley artists Meandri reports on in his essay. Professional figures who coming from the theatre found their own space primarily in recording studios during the 20th century, only to then experience a profound and probably irreversible crisis with the advent of sampling and digital technologies. Furthermore, a common element in many chapters is the investigation into the nature of a specific sound that originates in the recording studio and develops in that specific context by establishing relationships with 'live' sounds. Such relationships vary from procedures that attempt to mimic live sounds, including the virtual reconstruction of the acoustics of certain locations, to others that deliberately ignore mimesis and aim to create sounds that were once called 'artificial', entirely new and 'un-heard of'.

In the light of the venue of the Seminar, that is an Institute of Comparative Music Studies, another consideration can be made about our role as researchers with an ethnomusicological background,

On the one hand, any one of us who pursues the 'traditional' profession of the ethnomusicologist has always found that the musicians who are our interlocutors (now even more so) are interested in the applications of technology to the music of oral tradition as in the case of the research carried out by Arom and his team on the intonations of the African scales (Arom, Fernando, and Marandola 2005). Such an interest, however, for some time did not actually

lead many of us to take the next step; that is, to confront ourselves directly with the question of the technology of mediated and reproduced sound. While this is certainly a weakness, the merit of such a stance may likely have been that of ensuring that we have continued to explore a ground: that of traditional oral music which is still in use in its originary contexts, the music which has always pertained to us ethnomusicologists, along with the task of comparison. In this sense, what Turino writes in his article is most significant, renewing his seminal considerations (Turino 2008) on his field research on non-mainstream contexts, and on his comparative perspective, which keeps live and studio performances together.

On the other hand, let us note that, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, ethnomusicology has developed in recent years taking for granted the shift to a media driven technological world in which research should by now have abandoned orality and live musical performances as a relic of the past and concentrating, rather, on contemporary music detached from the 'classical' discourse of ethnomusicology.

What we are aiming to achieve with this edited volume, in line with an Italian approach to the field, is an attempt to keep together and reconnect the two moments: the live performances of music of oral tradition in its context (that still exist and function) with the contemporary global world of recorded music, driven by technology. And we are also trying to combine two kinds of skills: our skills as 'classical' ethnomusicologists with those of scholars of contemporary music.

What could our most original and most specific contribution as ethnomusicologists be in relation to specialists of popular music studies in exploring the fast and dramatic changes of our object of study? It would be a pity to throw the baby out with the bath water, that is to say all that we know of the oral tradition and music in its traditional context, along with change and modernity. And, in increasingly outmoded disciplinary terms, to discard the contribution that the 'old' ethnomusicology may give to renewed studies of popular music that take into account the anthropological and transcultural perspective.

In this volume, the interdisciplinary dialogue between colleagues from different parts of the world and from diversified disciplinary backgrounds within the general field of musicology can contribute to clarifying some issues. It may also be able to help us, since it seems to us that their way of seeing the question is based on premises in which the ethnomusicological or anthropological-musical perspective is closely linked to a reflection on the contemporary global music scene, specifically on sound in its cultural and social dimension.

Ethnomusicologists, who have always been concerned with living music, must contend with the continuous redefinition of the places and practices of musical production. In this perspective this volume shows how the recording studio itself may be considered a privileged place of research for building interpretive models of contemporary music that combine 'classical' questions of ethnomusicological research (creative and performance processes, status of the musician) with new questions raised by the changed context in which it takes place (lack of a direct audience, relationship with increasingly sophisticated technology, delocalisation and fragmentation of the work group, the creative role of professional figures other than the musician). Furthermore, an ethnographic study of a recording studio may contribute to the identification of the role of such iconic spaces in a post-colonial era of the dispersal and propagation of technologies, starting from the very definition of what a recording studio is today and what the privileged places of contemporary popular music production are in various parts of the world (Bates, Lutz and Cosentino contribute to this topic with their case-studies).

Another underlying issue that is common to most of the chapters in this book is a diachronic perspective, both in long time scales that span over nearly a century, but also in fast changing short-term ones, in view of the dramatic changes that have taken place in several aspects that have affected recording studio practices and technologies in the space of just a few years. To add another personal anecdote here, let us recall the fact that in 2005 Serena Facci organised a conference in Cremona together with Gianmario Borio entitled *Composition and Experimentation in British Rock, from 1966 to 1976* (Borio, Facci 2007). One of the conference sessions was obviously dedicated specifically to technology. Indeed, many innovations were decisive for that important period of rock music, now recognised as part of the musical canon of the 20th

century. One only needs to think of stereo, multitrack recording and the development of many electric and electronic instruments. But papers delivered in other sessions also focused on the role of recording studios, which, thanks also to major investments, became places not only where sounds are engraved, but also of collective musical research and creation.

Nearly two decades have passed from that extraordinary season of popular music. The spheres of production and enjoyment of music have not only changed thanks to the development of information technology and the Internet, but have ‘exploded’ and, as Simon Reynolds (2011) would say, are infected with retromania. Even the very concept of the ‘record label’, with its commercial aspects, has changed. The possibilities of self-productions have increased incredibly along with those of self-promotion through the social web. We scholars can now count on a considerable amount of research, books and articles, and today’s studies are no longer those of the 1970s and not even those of 2005.

But the presence in this volume of ethnomusicologists with multiple experiences of field research (the case of Turino being exemplary) leads us to further considerations. For example, the phenomenon will be observed in a very wide spectrum and without exceptions. Extremely professional experiences (like that of the Italian sound engineer, producer, and musician Pasquale Minieri who participated in the Seminar) and others taking place in small studios, like those of Botswana and Sardinia presented by Alessandro Cosentino, and by Marco Lutz, or in other parts of the world, as in the case proposed by Eliot Bates, will be looked at with their own peculiarities, but on the same level. Furthermore, particular emphasis will come from our familiarity with the ethnography of places (here one might mention the seminal work carried out by Steven Feld – 1996), as essential for the contextualisation of the music-making. The studios in the Seminar and in this book have not been considered as ‘non places’. Over the course of the 20th century (and the experiences drawn from history like those described by Ilario Meandri and Marco Lutz are prime examples) they have become one of the possible places in which musicians express their music making. And also, a place where they spend a part of their life.

In concluding this brief introduction, it might be useful to go back to the origins of recording studios and present two brief descriptions of how singers and musicians worked in these studios at the turn of the 19th century. The great physical effort required on the part of the performers who had to shout into the funnels in those small spaces becomes tangible in the colourful diaries of two comedian-singers.

The first extract is by the famous French comedian-singer Charlus, one of the ‘forced’ music labourers of late nineteenth-century recording:

[...] Quand je commençai mon “travail” au phonographe, en 1896, on enregistrait trois cylindres d’un coup. Il y avait pour cela trois appareils fonctionnant ensemble dans la salle d’enregistrement, reliés par des tubes en caoutchouc à un seul pavillon devant lequel chantait l’interprète)

[...] j’ai été enregistré chez PATHÉ plus de quatre-vingt mille fois, répétant jusqu’à deux mille fois la même chanson. C’était le temps où les cylindres vendus dans le commerce étaient gravés à raison de quatre à la fois. On ne les multipliait pas encore par le procédé de montage qui ne fut employé chez nous qu’en 1900 (Charlus 1950).

The second is by the songwriter Rodolfo De Angelis, so dear to Italian ethnomusicologists for having set up the first sound archive in our country, the Discoteca di Stato (Italian National Sound Archive):

In that period [...] I also had the chance to record gramophone records. At “Pathé Freres”, under the guidance of Virgilio Ranzato, the whole new repertoire was recorded on cylindrical discs. You had to learn each song and record it in ten minutes. There was so much noise from the orchestra in that little room, that whoever made the most noise got the attention. The microphones then were not very sensitive. Luckily the Pathé patent allowed what had been blared out to be heard immediately. But nothing was very subtle. A few days after the recording, by buying a token for twenty cents, you could listen in the gallery to your own record in the listening room, always full of busy people, by way of two telephone receivers. You sat in front of the apparatus, dialled the number requested and below, in the basements, the young ladies played the record on gramophones with enormous horns. When the number requested was no longer in the catalogue, they played you whatever they wanted (De Angelis 1940: 200).

From the very beginning, a studio recording activity was a very particular life experience for the musicians. It could be exciting but also very stressful. It is during the long (or far too short) time spent there, that their ‘embodied’ music is recorded for an unpredictable audience. It is an important and delicate part of their job and in the dialogue with composers, singers, instrumentalists and musical engineers, an ethnomusicologist must also consider these personal aspects.

All the authors offer an important theoretical contribution to the scientific debate about the ethnographic approach to recording studios. A significant part of all the contributions is devoted to methodology, including observation, interviews and dialogues, auto-ethnography and multi-sited research. The cases presented show a variety of situations in terms of places, times and musical genres.

Turino’s chapter revisits his four fields of music making (participatory, presentational, high fidelity, studio audio art) in the light of his ethnographic experience of recordings made both in the field and in recording studios. It provides a framework and important cues for an ethnomusicological approach to the research on recording studios by highlighting the specific ontology of recorded music and the importance of an ethnographic approach that aims to untangle the variables at stake in understanding people’s relations to different kinds of music making.

In his chapter, Bratus presents a broad overview of scholarly approaches that have focused on the recording studio, both in the field of ethnomusicology and popular music studies. The chapter focuses on how ethnography has proved to be a crucial tool for assessing the way the issues of the cultural and social valence of sound and the modes of production of the physical artefacts used to preserve it are addressed in a recording studio.

In relation to this, we may also observe that this topic, notwithstanding the ethnographic approach that seems to suggest the opposite, has a strong historiographic dimension, since recording studios and recording practices have a history that goes back almost 150 years. In his chapter Jeremy Wallach puts forward the idea that the recording studio was the most historically significant musical instrument of the 20th century, a place where original creation occurs through social encounters, but also where technology is used to create a simulacrum of social encounter for the listener/consumer to be able to identify with, thus producing emphatic reactions. Wallach focuses mostly on the (actual and virtual) sociality and empathy that are a vital part of recording studios and the driving force behind the frictional interaction from which great art is made.

Furthermore, Wallach rightly reminds us that nowadays recording studios are somehow becoming an obsolete object of study, since technology is fast improving.

The cases presented by Marco Lutz all deal with Sardinia. The impressive heritage of local music recordings, which began to be made as early as the beginning of the 20th century, has allowed Lutz to develop an articulate case history and to reflect on the methodologies necessary to deal with the different examples examined. From the earliest 78rpm recordings made by Efisio Melis with his *launeddas*, and by Gavino Gabriel with Dorgali’s tenor singing group, to more recent recordings of confraternal singing in Bosa, Sardinian musicians have tried to faithfully reproduce their repertoire and their sound by adapting to the limitations of the new medium while exploiting its gradually increasing sophisticated potential. The case of the Aggius group is a clear example of the nonchalant use of traditional compositional practices to meet the various commercial demands of record production.

Ilario Meandri shifts the focus to sound creation in film production. He takes a diachronic and reflective approach to the possibilities of applying the ethnographic method in such a context. Powdermaker’s (1950) and Faulkner’s (1971; 1983) studies on Hollywood then become an opportunity to understand which sources (including controversial but significant

anecdotes) and approaches are effective for ethnographic research in the sub-community of professionals working on soundtracks. The second case he analyses concerns the Foley artists who worked at the 'International Recording' Studio in Rome for the post-production of major films from the 1950s onward. Meandri has analysed the topic at length in the past. In his chapter in this book, he provides a detailed description of the mixture of technology and ingenious empirical solutions that lay behind the creation of sound effects, which only a thorough combination of archival investigation and oral sources could bring to light.

The work in the recording studio by one of Italy's most important singer/songwriters, Fabrizio De André, is the subject of Vera Vecchiarelli's chapter. Through an analysis of the materials contained in the Archivio Fabrizio De André in Siena and the crucial testimony of sound engineers Maurizio Camagna and Paolo Iafelice, Vecchiarelli describes the recording sessions for De André's last album, 'Anime Salve', dwelling especially on the meticulous production of the vocal track.

When Bates writes that *Yıldızlar Kuşandık* came not from *a studio* but was rather the result of *distributed production* and *heterogeneous assemblage*, he was also referring to the fast-changing concept of what a recording studio actually is. His ethnography does not limit itself to Istanbul's Kalan Stüdyo, which is nevertheless a source of stimulating observations regarding the relationship between the needs of local musics and certain technological fetishes of international provenance. His chapter well describes and outlines the complex processing of the album that was partly produced in Germany. More broadly, Bates questions how ethnomusicology can develop tools and methods to elaborate an ethnography that is attentive to both the lived experience of materiality and digital materiality, that is the always different and culturally specific interaction between humans working in different capacities within the sphere of a recording studio, and technologies that are specific to each recording place.

Finally, in his chapter on guitarists in Botswana and Malawi, Alessandro Cosentino presents the production scene in Southern Africa from the 1960s onwards. This ranges from radio stations to the famous Downtown Studio in Johannesburg (Meintjes 2003), from the smaller studios that sprung up locally and were used for self-productions, up to festivals and competitions during which musicians also used studio-recorded tracks. Through analysis and interviews, Cosentino applies the categories proposed by Turino (2008) to his case-studies to present the experience and the reflexive considerations of these musicians who alternate between hi-fidelity intimate solos either sung or performed on an acoustic guitar and more complex versions of their songs produced in the studio for an international scene.

As is customary in this online series, both video and audio sound exemplifications are an integral part of several chapters. The various links enable the reader to better understand the authors' argumentation and take full advantage of the multimedia potential of the computer medium.

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