Ethnomusicology and Audiovisual Communication

Selected Papers from the MusiCam 2014 Symposium

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Introductory Notes

Enrique Cámara de Landa and Terada Yoshitaka

In 2010, *Aula de Música* and the research group *Miradas Sonoras* at the University of Valladolid organized MusiCam, a series of commented screenings of documentary films and audiovisual materials related to ethnomusicological research, on the initiative of three PhD students (Salvatore Rossano, Matías Isolabella and Raquel Jiménez). The goal was to encourage reflection on the use of video as a research and dissemination tool, as well as to engage our students in a discussion on the potential for knowledge afforded by the new technologies and the ways in which the several audiovisual languages can be used (and sometimes manipulated) in order to convey specific conceptions of music and musicians from diverse cultures.

Through the critical viewing of relevant documents, we attempted to acquaint course attendees with science-based ethnomusicological documentation work, as well as to develop specific contents in the field of visual ethnomusicology by arranging the participation of some researchers who have produced films in their respective areas of study. In this way, students were given the opportunity to take part in discussions with outstanding practitioners of ethnomusicological documentation around issues concerning aesthetics, documentation itself, conceptual tools and technical aspects. The first edition of this event featured the participation -in the form of lectures and screenings- of scholars Jaume Ayats, Enrique Cámara de Landa, Leonardo D'Amico, Mónica de la Fuente, Giovanni Giuriati, Rubén López Cano, Bernard Lortat-Jacob, Susana Moreno Fernández and Grazia Tuzi.

The initiative's success led its promoters to organize in 2011 a second edition of the event which featured contributions by Mário Correia, Leonardo D'Amico, Héctor Goyena and Marco Lutzu. In 2012, lectures (again illustrated with audiovisual materials and films) were delivered by Fabio Calzia, Leonardo D'Amico, Marco Lutzu, Ignazio Macchiarella, Nicola Scaldaferri and Manuel Velasco (a member of the Samaki Wanne Collective). The organizers (Enrique Cámara de Landa, Matías Isolabella, Raquel Jiménez, Salvatore Rossano and Grazia Tuzi) also took part in this edition, although their contributions did not include film screenings.

The 2013 edition featured audiovisual and film screenings as well as commentaries by Ivan Días, Matías Isolabella, Emiliano Migliorini and Paolo Vinati. During this edition, the participants decided to submit a proposal to the ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music) for the creation of a Study Group dedicated to Audiovisual Ethnomusicology and to organize the fifth edition in 2014 as an international conference on which the present book is based. Thanks to the enthusiastic and generous support given to this proposal by the ICTM's Executive Board, the above-mentioned Study Group has already been set up and will be holding its first meeting in Ljubljana (Slovenia) from 25 to 27 August 2016, hosted by the City Museum of Ljubljana.

Themes and issues

This book contains fourteen articles based on the presentations during the MusiCam 2014 symposium, where scholars and filmmakers from eleven countries presented nineteen papers. They deal with a wide range of themes and methodological issues in diverse geographical settings. We have identified six categories of themes and issues according to which the contributions are grouped: *1. Theory and Methodology; 2. Ethics and Representation; 3. Analysis; 4. Education; 5. Fieldwork Footage and 6. TV Documentaries*.

1. Theory and methodology

The first chapter of this volume written by Domenico Staiti, develops a number of reflections, principles and guidelines regarding the ethnomusicological documentary. It aims to elicit a discussion that will inform the research lines and the exchange of ideas within the newly-formed Study Group. The goals and conditioning factors of audiovisual documentation in the field of ethnomusicology and the proposal to prioritize the subject of study over the filmic medium and the features of cinematic language, as well as the relevant use of technology, the critical consideration of the concept of canon in visual anthropology, the relation between authorship and documentation in research teams or the pros and cons of including the director's voice-over, are some of the issues raised by the author from a critical perspective.

Visual anthropology has certainly been a continual source of inspiration for those ethnomusicologists who have a special interest in audiovisual media. Visual anthropology and ethnomusicology are seen to have a lot in common, and in fact many issues hotly debated in the former have direct relevance for the latter. Charlotte Vignau assesses two such issues in visual anthropology in order to gauge their relevance for ethnomusicology. The first issue concerns the notion of bodily knowledge and embodied knowledge which can be conveyed, represented and studied so much more effectively with audiovisual media than with text-based media. The second issue concerns ethnographic authority in connection with the "feedback" or "elicitation" method in visual anthropology. By resorting to her own experience of showing a film on the alphorn to various individuals as an illustration, Vignau advocates the notion of "multivocal editing" after Bakhtin's celebrated concept of multivocality. While she argues that showing the film to a variety of individuals (from the source community, the TV industry and the academia) is a step toward decentralizing the ethnographic authority in film, which tends to be dominated by the single voice of the director/producer, Vignau also reminds us of the fact that s/he retains the authority by selecting the voices that are relevant.

The function of video recording as a research tool is discussed by Fulvia Caruso in a paper concerning her direct involvement in the creation of three different types of video documents on the violinmakers' craft in Cremona (which were produced in the context of the nomination of traditional violin making in this Italian city for the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage). While the aim of this endeavor was clear, the author had to face a series of difficulties characteristically involved in fieldwork within the domain of audiovisual ethnomusicology, such as conveying in a nomination video fairly complex aspects of the experience being presented (verbalizing and showing certain traits in the violinmakers' craft

that involve all of their senses, or highlighting the incidence of the social context -even the architectural setting- on the several stages of their work). The awarding of public funding enabled her to approach a number of elusive aspects in a second and distinctly different video. In her paper, the author also discusses several exciting outcomes derived from the practice of reflexivity which she shared with the filmmaker in a dialogue of professional skills that led them to jointly design documentation and edition strategies and even to experience a doubly reflexive situation that also involved a violinmaker.

2. Ethics and representation

While it is true that the issue of the ethical implications of research has been widely debated in ethnomusicology, it constitutes today a growing area for reflection and discussion as a result of both the increased awareness of scholars regarding these matters and the critique from anthropological disciplines as well as from several social sectors. The authors of the papers included in this book section deal with the challenges faced by ethnomusicologists who intend to use audiovisual resources in order to document, study and represent topics, people and objects whose marginal status requires a specially careful approach. Terada Yoshitaka draws upon his experience while making a film on diasporic communities in Japan in order to reflect on the potential of audiovisual media for observing and disseminating significant cultural practices developed by marginalized sectors in society. Semantic transformations taking place as a result of the intergenerational passage, the use of musical practices in order to project positive images of the original culture before the host community or the ethnomusicologist's role in setting up collaborations between institutions and the people responsible for organizing intercultural events are some of the issues dealt with by Terada, who analyzes the strategies proposed by himself and implemented by the participants in the making of a film reflecting such practices. While an attitude of respect towards the feelings experienced by the subjects whose activities are being documented becomes an indispensable element in the implementation of this audiovisual project, it also requires that the filmmaker should take certain decisions in order to achieve his aim of enacting before the film's target audience the explicit and implicit meanings that the above-mentioned cultural practices embody for their protagonists. The use of silence (contextualized so as to acquire communicative efficacy) in order to express emotion is one of the strategies discussed by the author of this paper, and so is his choice to produce an English-language version of the film in order to increase its exposure and its power to convey cultural contents. In this way, the film becomes a tool in the service of intercultural understanding and tolerance of ethnic minorities: a critical issue in applied ethnomusicology that considers the use of audiovisual documentation technologies as a powerful ally to achieve the goals pursued by its practitioners. Another topic concerning the links between research and ethics (and one which has been discussed in anthropological disciplines ever since their consolidation in the framework of science) is the respect for the right to privacy of the people whose practices are being studied.

While in the earliest stages of this kind of anthropological work scholars questioned themselves as to when it is legitimate to document the sounds, words or pictures of their informants,

the same questioning was later applied to audiovisual recordings and continues to justify specific caveats during fieldwork. Matías Isolabella probes into these ethical principles apropos one case where the question is raised in a particularly self-evident and indisputable way: the recording of an event that takes place in a prison and involves the inmates' participation. The author focuses on a phenomenon that involves a lot more than simply describing the literary-musical objects produced by poets-improvisers in the South American region of Rio de la Plata: the so-called *payadores*. In their capacity as spokesmen for the people, the latter form in the course of their performances a special relationship with their audiences, whose empathic response they try to elicit by sharing with them a number of values. Starting from a deliberate attempt (which he explicitly states) to prioritize the understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny over the zeal for collecting data, Isolabella recounts the difficulties involved in the decision-making process when editing audiovisual recordings conducted in the prison during a performance by *payadores* attended by the convicts (particularly with regard to blurring their faces in the frames). The recounting of this experience (together with the narrative style employed) enables the author to share with his readers some ideas concerning the use of audiovisual media as resources which, in combination with the written text, allow him to evoke the human experience under consideration and provide an interpretation of the latter.

3. Analysis

In his seminal text "Filmmaking as Musical Ethnography", John Baily (1989) pointed at three goals that ethnomusicologists may pursue by means of audiovisual documentation and edition: pure research (i.e., in order to provide the transcription or the documentation of rituals and ceremonies), demonstration for teaching purposes (i.e., using films as illustrations in lectures, discussions, seminars, etc.) and production of audiovisual "texts" (from a lesson illustrated by an invisible narrator to an observational documentary made in an artistic style). Dedicated to the first of these goals (the analysis of music and dance performances), Giorgio Adamo's paper consists in the critical presentation of three case studies: 1) patterns of synchronization between movement and rhythm in an Italian *tarantella*; 2) the relationship between drums, handclapping and dance steps in the performance of a female dance in Malawi; and 3) playing techniques in the performances of a musical bow in the same African country. Apart from detailing the documentary strategies employed and the specifications of the technology used in each case, the author resorts to graphic aids -frames from the film, sonograms, alternative musical notation- as well as to numero-alphabetical schemes in order to foreground, in the several performance excerpts that are analyzed, coordination patterns involving the head movements of a diatonic accordion performer (or the hand movements of a musical bow performer), the several components of musical rhythm, dance steps or handclapping patterns in female groups. Such a combination of resources provides a clear example of the possibilities afforded by digital video technology in the analysis of complex music-related performances for the purposes of ethnomusicological research.

An illustration of the epistemological effectiveness of using audiovisual materials recorded during fieldwork in research is provided by María Eugenia Domínguez in her chapter on abo-

riginal and creole rituals conducted by the Chané people in Northern Argentina. In this sense, the kind of dialogue editing proposed by scholars like Steven Feld ([1982] 1990) with regard to written texts is here extended into audiovisual production, which thus becomes a tool for intercultural dialogue in the analysis of the several components of musical practices. The analyst's etic perceptions are corrected by the emic observations of the event's participants, which enhances the matter-of-factness of the ethnography resulting from this dialogue (the inalienable goal of any anthropological-musical study).

Yet another aspect of intercultural dialogue involved in musical practices underpins cultural images projected by a given society about itself or, conversely, recreated by agents external to that society. Daniel Vilela and João Egashira analyze a segment of a Disney animation movie in order to discuss the ideological and political factors that influenced the construction of an image of Brazil's cultural identity in a specific period in history. This goal, which extends the list proposed by Baily in his above-mentioned paper from 1989 (unless we place it under two categories in his classification), is reached through the hermeneutics of a sequence from a commercial film that, while alien to the scientific sphere, is nevertheless susceptible to critical analysis (one of the many activities that may be conducted by the ethnomusicologist in his capacity as observer of cultural phenomena and student of their meanings -explicit or hidden, individual or shared). Theoretical references drawn from the scientific literature go hand in hand with the scrutiny of diverse cultural products (musical genres and their ideological connotations, for example) and the literary and musicological analysis in the delivery of a narrative put together by the paper's authors in order to interpret the meanings of such messages as underpin the audiovisual fragment that becomes de object of analysis, including the overlap between Brazilian and American social actors.

4. Education

Education has been cited as one of the three primary purposes of audiovisual media in ethnomusicology along with research ("scientific") and dissemination ("informative") (D'Amico 2012). Enrique Cámara de Landa focuses on education ("didactic") by delineating his experiences with three concrete projects carried out for this particular purpose at his home institution, the University of Valladolid: *Música tradicional en Extremadura a través de sus protagonistas (Traditional Music of Extremadura through its Key Practitioners); Música y artes escénicas de la India (Music and Performing Arts of India); and Non morirà mai: El tango italiano en cuatro movimientos (It Will Never Die: Italian Tango in Four Movements)*. The contexts in which these programs are intended to be used and the targeted audiences are vastly different from each other. Cámara stresses that the manner of filmmaking varies substantially depending upon the intended context and audiences. The list of seven principles he provides at the end of his article covers a wide range of issues (flexibility, versatility, compatibility, quality, distribution, security, and care and upkeep), all of which are important themes for in-depth reflections in the field of audiovisual ethnomusicology. Finally, he reminds us of the need to continually question our epistemological and methodological assumptions.

Nick Poulakis, in turn, analyzes a few case studies concerned with music-related audio-

visual documents used in teaching in order to emphasize the perfomative nature of musical practices. Starting from the assumption that ethnographic film does not only communicate knowledge about its protagonists, but also about its makers, the author reflects on the genre's distinctive traits, the products that characterized the major stages of its evolution ("salvage ethnography", docufiction or docudrama, *kino-pravda*, *cinéma vérité* and its contemporary *direct cinema*, intersubjective dialogue) and his own experiences with students while coordinating a course on "Ethnographic film and documentary" at a Greek university (which incidentally illustrates a growing trend among higher education institutions in the West, including the University of Valladolid, which has published the present volume). Poulakis draws upon the well-known distinction by Alan Merriam in order to probe into both, films of the "musicological-ethnomusicological" type and those belonging to the category "anthropological-ethnomusicological" (for which purpose he uses two well-known productions which he first screens and then analyses with his students). He likewise uses other materials as didactic resources in order to discuss several key issues regarding the complex interaction between film as an audiovisual tool and music as an aural experience.

5. Fieldwork footage

One of the most urgent issues we face today concerns the enormous amount of audiovisual materials that ethnomusicologists have collected over the years as part of their fieldwork and the methods used to save those materials from deterioration and oblivion. Reflecting this widening concern, two authors in this volume explore this important issue from different academic engagements and in diverse locations. Claudio Mercado describes his continuous research activities in rural Central Chile for the past twenty years, focusing in particular on two genres: *chino* dances performed at the local religious festivals, and *canto a lo poeta*, a form of musical poetry to the accompaniment of string instruments. He has collected an enormous amount of fieldwork video footage (1,300 hours) and it is inspiring to read his accounts of how he established the Intangible Heritage Archive at the *Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* in his effort to make his fieldwork footage accessible to researchers, students and the source community.

A great deal of fieldwork footage has been donated to archives but because of the frequent changes in media format, budgetary limitations, and perhaps even a lack of vision, the vast majority has simply been stored away. A specialist in communication, Rui Oliveira first analyzes the reasons why the use of archived fieldwork footage has been limited and then delineates his two projects, each in collaboration with an ethnomusicologist and a source community. The earlier fieldwork footage deposited at the Aveiro University's archives was first digitized, and then combined with interview footage and edited into documentaries in collaboration with the ethnomusicologists who shot those images in the 1990s. His equation of the loss of audiovisual materials with the loss of human knowledge is insightful and his projects have given a new life to the archived materials. His detailed description of the editing process will undoubtedly be helpful for those who wish to embark on similar projects. In order to make this type of project successful, he stresses the importance of close collaboration between eth-

nomusicologists, media specialists, and the source community. The essay also encourages us to rethink the roles of ethnomusicological archives.

6. TV Documentaries

Ethnomusicologists tend to be critical of TV documentaries on performing arts and have largely stayed away from participating in such productions. Given television's far-reaching impact and its effect on the general public, however, we should not ignore this format altogether, but rather start delving seriously into the potential of collaboration for the dissemination of ethnomusicological perspectives on music making. Leonardo D'Amico's timely essay describes his involvement as a scholarly advisor and a crew member in a TV documentary series, *Pasos de cumbia (Cumbia Steps)*, produced in 2012. It provides rare glimpses into the backstage of filmmaking for TV documentaries. In the most engaging section of the article titled "Critical relationship," D'Amico describes in detail how negotiations over remuneration issues created a schism and a lot of mistrust between the local community and the film crew. Other challenges of his involvement, such as negotiating ideas with the film's producers, the program host and the local ethnomusicologists, are treated with less detail, presumably due to his sensitive position as an insider in the project. The essay nevertheless is a valuable contribution as it points to the importance of this unexplored topic in audiovisual ethnomusicology.

Raúl Romero describes his work over three decades at and around the Institute of Ethnomusicology, which he founded at the Catholic University of Peru in 1985. Two major projects are described: the production of ethnographic films based on archived materials *(Ethnographic Videos* produced in 1993) and *TV documentaries* (for TV Peru, 2013). Two issues discussed by Mercado, Oliveira and D'Amico in this volume are also highlighted in Romero's essay, indicating the existence of a widespread concern over the preservation and utilization of the accumulated fieldwork footage (Mercado and Oliveira) and the collaboration with TV and other popular media (D'Amico). Romero contrasts the two projects by analyzing their differences regarding many aspects of film production such as the equipment used, the character of the scripts, and the editing approach, and describes with candor the various decisions he and his team have made in the process in relation to the changes of their perspectives and the Institute's financial limitations. Romero concludes that ethnographic films and TV documentaries are meant for different audiences but both present "ethnographic truths."

* * *

The essays included in this volume represent only some of the many issues that deserve consideration in audiovisual ethnomusicology. Other issues will no doubt be raised in successive editions of MusiCam and in the scientific discussions to be held within the Study Group on Audiovisual Ethnomusicology. We would like to thank the following institutions whose support has made this publication possible: the Music History and Science Section at the University of Valladolid, the *Aula de Música* (under the auspices of the latter's Deputy Vice-Chancellorship for International Relations and Extension), the associations *Mirada So-*

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1 Participants in the several editions are mentioned in alphabetical order by surname.

2 As from this year, the University of Valladolid will include MusiCam among the academic activities eligible for one-credit recognition within the European Higher Education Area.

3 On that occasion, the ensemble *Su Cuncordu 'e Sette Dolores* performed a concert featuring a polyphonic repertoire from Sardinia.

4 The Symposium will be integrated into the yearly festival *Nights in Ljubljana's Old Town*.

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1. Theory and Methodology

The Ethnomusicological Documentary: Some Principles and Guidelines

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Abstract

As well as other tools used to disseminate research (such as books, articles, CDs and their booklets, etc.), ethnomusicological documentary films are texts that involve the authorial responsibility -both ethical and academic-of their makers. If on the one hand ethnographic and more particularly ethnomusicological writing has established specific techniques and rules for its language, with tools that allow for source verification, addition of bibliographical references, etc., on the other hand this has not happened with documentary cinema, where the application of such conventions is much more difficult. This article intends to provide some reflections around the basic grammars involved and to introduce a discussion about their principles and guidelines.

Keywords: ethnomusicological documentary, methodology, Rom, Morocco, gender.

Filming, editing and watching ethnomusicological footage (or parts of it) with its protagonists are, to me, useful actions to better understand not only the observed events and musical repertoires, or the technique that allows a shared analysis of such research materials. Furthermore, these operations are useful in the context of the ethics of the relationships involved: actions that enable us to make explicit the different roles of the observer and the observed. They are useful in determining the distance between those behind the shooting device and those who act in front of it, and in making explicit the different skills and roles of researchers and actors. This becomes a guarantee for a correct and explicit relationship in which indiscriminate mixtures, improper mimicries and postmodern allusions to generic empathies are avoided. On the contrary, it helps create a reciprocal respect based on the diverse competences at work and build a relationship guided by the explicit intention to understand and document the cultures under scrutiny, which in this way become available to the ethnologist's work of translation. In general, I find it appropriate to film entirely all observed events.

An approach based on fragments, that involves picking up the camera only to shoot the material strictly necessary for the footage to be used in the editing process and then putting it down again, only works when recording a reconstruction of events or, in other words, for the purposes of fictional cinema. In fictional works, the proceedings have no overall plot of their own or if there is one such plot, it only relevant for putting together the final film. It is my opinion, however, that things work differently in documentary cinema and especially in eth-

nographic documentaries — even more so in the case of ethnomusicological cinema[1]. Events such as feasts, rites, musical performances or even simple conversations are created through a logical progression of occurrences and thus cannot be repeated. In particular, any film that documents a musical performance must submit to the timing of the music. The staging is guided first and foremost by music and its performative modes, which include the relationship between the performers and the audience (Briefly addressed in Zemp 1988).

For ethnographic recordings of ritual events, there is a tendency to privilege overall continuity. Later, in the editing phase, it is possible to create a synthesis that compresses the timing of the action and underlines the phases that were most relevant in relation to the kind of analysis and interpretation applied to the events.

The point I seek to make here is that, in making an ethnographic documentary, the subject in question must be privileged over the film and its language. In other words, the nature of the events being documented and the way they are staged is what guides the language of the documentary, and thus the choice of microphones, lenses and cameras as well as how they are positioned in relation to the arrangement of the musical instruments and the dancers and in relation to the specific features of the environment. The film must be tailored to the character of the events; the film's expressive codes must be modeled after the expressive codes of the object it seeks to recount. The film is thus the product of a relationship and a mediating process between the expressive codes of the action being recorded on one hand and the codes of the cinematographic tradition and anthropological research on the other hand.

Furthermore, while an ethnographic documentary has a number of specific characteristics (in that its expressive codes must take into account the expressive codes of the action or rite being staged and documented), an ethnomusicological documentary has certain restrictions and additional peculiarities based on the fact that the musical content unfolds through its own temporal progression, a progression that has a powerful effect on the editing process. It is not possible in the editing phase to re-assemble scenes taken from different moments -or, at least, not with the same freedom enjoyed in other contexts- because doing so would interrupt the musical flow as it unfolds over time. The timing would no longer be in synch, the musicians' and dancers' movements would no longer match the audio track, and the singer's lips would no longer go with the song. I thus consider it necessary to use at least two cameras and preferably three[2]. For example, when filming the women's dance in a wedding feast, one camera must continuously record the players while another records the dancers. The third camera, if there is one, can more around with a bit more freedom, recording the movements of the bride who sits off to the side, the guests who come to greet her, detailed shots of hand and foot movements, the facial expressions of players and dancers, and events that occur off to the sides: a child moving in time to the music or imitating the players' movements, beating on a tin drum or cardboard box or playing a recorder; a woman breastfeeding; the men of the family standing around outside. When recording a chain dance accompanied by an orchestra, the camera on the tripod is positioned at the center of the chain dance while the shoulder-carried cameras use long, uninterrupted shots to capture the musicians' movements, details and events taking place at the margins. In the editing phase, this approach makes it possible to narrate si-

multaneous events without distorting them. With multiple operators, the cameras may sometimes overlap and one may enter into the frame of the other. However, I do not consider this to be a serious problem: the cameras, microphones and operators are present, and they do in some ways affect the progression of events (at least in terms of how they are positioned) and gestures (which move toward and away from the lens). This is true even when it is ethnologists filming the event rather than local video-makers. By choosing not to systematically and deliberately hide this equipment, the filmmaker deliberately reveals a relevant component of the staging and thus avoids running the risk of creating a pre-constructed set and a slick fictional product[3].

By using multiple cameras, it is possible to obtain four different products, all of which are the inevitable outcome of the shooting work: archival documentary material (all the footage that is shot using all the cameras and audio recorders), material to be used in editing the planned film or films (likewise, all the footage that is shot using all the cameras and audio recorders), an edited film of the individual event being documented for the archive or research, and an edited film of the individual event made to be given to the participants (who, in the examples mentioned above, would be the host family or families and the players).

I believe each of these products to be equally important[4]. It is clear that the film or films under construction, as well as the raw footage that can be used at a later time for other editing purposes or research, is very important. However, I think it is equally important to produce a film -actually, two films, one for internal use and the other for the participants- of every event that is documented. In my opinion, it does not make sense to shoot a fragment of the action, which is witnessed only partially; this would be tantamount to importing the techniques of investigative journalism (as frequently occurs) into an ethnographic investigation, an investigation for which the shooting and editing are both tool and product. Rather, editing the entire footage of an event (whether it be a three-day-long feast or a brief conversation) and giving it the completed form of a film helps the researcher to reflect on the event in filmic terms. Furthermore, this process of reflection also ensures that any time an individual part of a larger event is used (a part of a dance or musical performance or a fragment of interview in a film about this music or wedding feasts), it will be used in a more conscious, pertinent and effective way. It also entails the creation of a documentary archive that provides evidence for (or makes it possible to evaluate) the argument presented by the main film. Indeed, if the final edited film offers a synthetic summary of the way a certain repertoire is performed or the techniques that go into the construction of a certain rite, the film's sources and archival material make it possible to verify, critically evaluate and potentially revise this summary. This is important because an ethnographic film is still a scientific publication whether or not it is intended for broader circulation, and as such it must conform to certain criteria of meticulousness[5]. A film made for the participants may be different than the archived version because it adapts more closely to the informants' perspectives and needs, which are quite distinct in some cases and consequently interesting in their own right. Editing a film for the participants also helps a researcher to gain familiarity with and understanding of the participants' ritual, representational and filmic languages. The documentary film thus resembles a river that slows from time to

time, forming pools of varying sizes. At some moments, the images and voice-over flow quickly through tightly edited sequences characterized by a more or less direct correspondence between the images and audio. At other moments, the tight narrative gives way to scenes that are more descriptive and purely filmic, chunks of footage of individual events that have been independently edited beforehand.

Furthermore, ethnomusicological work has certain specific characteristics in relation to the pertinence and significance of documentary material and its editing. Like any ethnological investigation of ritual and representative actions, ethnomusicology essentially deals with actions that have been deliberately staged in more or less conscious and explicit ways: obviously, there is a distinct difference between singing a lullaby to put one's child to sleep and performing dance music for and with dancers as part of a feast. In both cases, however, the actions are formalized and performed more or less publicly. Any documentation of an event involving the production of organized sound is necessarily a representation once removed that essentially stages a staging. It thus involves methodological and ethical implications that are quite different than those arising from efforts to observe and document non-performative actions.

Since 1877, when Thomas Edison publicly presented his phonograph, ethnomusicologists have been able to use and produce sources documenting their specific research object (music) to a much greater extent than the scholars who study other aspects of human behavior[6]. The fact that documentary evidence is so pertinent and significant in ethnomusicology does not make it radically different from other fields of ethnographic inquiry (in fact, ethnomusicological research does not study sonic objects abstracted from their contexts; rather, it investigates behaviors with a specific focus on organized sound), but it certainly helps. Of course, documentary evidence does not tell us how the informants were selected or provide information about the context or about the researcher's position and methodological choices. (Audio recordings do say a great deal about who is holding the microphone, although not as much as photographs say about the photographer and footage about the filmmaker). However, it does at least provide a reliable image of the sonic object that is the object of analysis and investigation (video footage of musical performances has a very relative degree of objectivity, but it remains more objective than video recordings of other events in that a musical performance takes place in a circumscribed time and space and the video recording is linked to the audio recording and, to a certain extent, tailored to its specific requirements)[7]. It provides a more reliable image than can be produced for other research objects that cannot be documented so directly and completely, such as kinship relations, funeral rites or sexual behavior, for example. Clifford Geertz writes that "the crucial peculiarities of ethnographic writing are, like the purloined letter, so fully in view as to escape notice: the fact, for example, that so much of it consists in incorrigible assertion"[8]. When accompanied by audio recordings, however, the ethnomusicologist's publication (or at least the component describing, transcribing and analyzing the sonic object) can be subjected to verification and correction. Ethnomusicological investigation uses and generates documentary evidence that can be used to reconstruct an historical account. Indeed, someone like myself who has been conducting research in southern Italy and the Balkans can compare recordings made in 2012 with those made in previous years

by Bartók, Parry, Lomax, Leydi, Carpitella or other scholars, comprising over a century of documented tradition. I can also draw on audio and video recordings made by other kinds of operators, from radio and television stations to travelers and film enthusiasts as well as the singers and players themselves and their audiences. Moreover, audio and video recording equipment is no longer as invasive and incongruous as it once was; in many cases, this equipment has actually become part of the rites themselves and the cultures under investigation produce more and more of their own audio and visual documentation of the events researchers are interested in, for commercial purposes or for use by the families or community.

I have never understood what constitute the canons of "visual anthropology," at least when it is simply understood as a tool for describing and distributing various kinds of research or for understanding events by making visual recordings of them (through either photography or film) and mounting, editing and publishing these recordings[9]: in other words, when it does not take into account native strategies of visualization or the function and structure of images within the culture being investigated[10]. There certainly is a tradition of ethnographic film, but this is not enough in itself to define a specific disciplinary field or method of inquiry. As Jay Ruby writes,

> I have argued that ethnographic film is most productively regarded as filmed ethnography, distinct from other filmic attempts to represent culture. It is to be critiqued in terms of how well it pictorially satisfies the requirements of ethnography. If anthropologists wish to move ethnographic film into the critical discourses within anthropology, they will have to gain control of its production and dissemination. None of these conditions currently exists. The future of ethnographic film as a significant contributor to anthropological discourse about the human condition lies in the development of critical expectations about how ethnographic knowledge can be transmitted pictorially. To explore this possibility, anthropologists must understand current thinking about the visible and pictorial world -both inside and outside of anthropology- and examine, critique, and borrow elements deemed usable in the creation of a theory and practice of film as ethnography (Ruby 2000: 37).

Contemporary "visual anthropology" (or a specific field of "musical iconography") might tailor its own codes in relation to the techniques and objects it investigates, at least in contexts where photographic and filmic recording tools are widely used[11]. It seems to me that Jean Rouch was nearly the only scholar who sought through his writings and films to develop a specific set of codes for visual anthropology, at least in terms of using a camera and footage and evaluating them in the articulation of the relationship between observer[12] and observed. Thanks to the contemporary diffusion of audio-visual recording and reproduction equipment, however, there are now more opportunities to understand this relationship because of the fact that both parties in the researcher-researched relationship use cameras, monitors and audio-visual recording tools that allow researchers to take into account the representational codes of the cultures they are investigating. Researchers can thus convey these codes by interpreting and describing phenomena in a way that is much closer to the language originally used to formulate and codify them.

Ethnographic films do not have screenplays; their only direction is provided by the ope-

rators/authors during the course of recording. It is not possible to plan ahead of time how to document events when these events develop regardless of the filmmaker's intentions, nor can the filmmaker predict the character, quality and quantity of footage before completing the work of shooting. Indeed, "life very rarely coincides with your imagined script" (Barbash and Taylor 1997: 36). Of course a work plan is developed beforehand because the filmmaker must reflect on the research and on the filmmaking job, plan the shooting and decide which materials will be needed to create the narrative. However, ethnographic films are essentially the product of a relationship between the filmmaker and the film's subject matter: this relationship is not pre-determined and cannot be described until it has already taken form[13]. Any screenplay would either represent a piece of artifice or indicate that the film in question is not a documentary, that it does not "document" but rather intervenes on the events being filmed by organizing and shaping them[14].

When there are multiple operators involved, I believe that one of them must be the author of the film and in charge of the research. The others must have a good understanding of the research aims and methods so that they can adapt to them. At any rate, it is fundamental that all the operators and sound technicians be ethnologists and have a good understanding of the material they are recording so that they can react spontaneously as events unfold[15]. It is important that everyone be able to recognize important elements and quickly and confidently select the most relevant subject matter and point of view precisely because the directing happens right there on the ground. Even when actions and sounds occur at the margins of the main scene, the operators should recognize which ones are important, which ones constitute a part of the tradition or a variation on the tradition and will therefore be useful in understanding and analyzing the event. This kind of foresight can give the impression that the camera and the microphone anticipate the action, that they are pointed at the place where something is about to happen an instant before it occurs. This foresight is the product of the experience and confidence that the operator has developed in relation to the medium, the environment and the events being documented, a form of experience and confidence that is so deep it works in an almost unconscious way.

When shooting a dance scene, the camera operators must move in time with the dance; they must follow the flow of the rhythm with their legs, arms and bodies -and therefore with the camera they hold as well. Indeed, operators necessarily enter into the rhythm of events because this is the only way to follow them fully.

> [I]t is matter of training, mastering reflexes as would a gymnast. Thus instead of using the zoom, the cameraman-director can really get into the subject. Leading or following a dancer, priest, or craftsman, he is no longer himself, but a mechanical eye accompanied by an electronic ear. It is this strange state of transformation that takes place in the filmmaker that I have called, analogously to possession phenomena, "cine-trance" (Rouch 1975: 8).

One of the fundamental problems of ethnographic cinema is that every single shot and edited sequence necessarily references the specific events that were observed and recorded or, in other words, the specific and contingent manifestations of the practices being documen-

ted, staged by one or more participants. And yet, an important part of the ethnologist's work consists of assessing the relationship between individual contributions and shared practices, between the contingent and the general. We are called on to evaluate how individual events form part of a larger flow of communication and/or represent a divergence from the flow, be it random and momentary or indicative of a future modification in the flow. On both methodological and practical levels, I believe that the relationship between the things being observed and documented and the systems they belong to, or between contingent elements and the traditions they relate to -and thus, on a general level, the relationship between rite and myth- is a key nerve center of ethnographic cinema and its representational techniques[16]. In the specific case of musical languages, this interplay also impacts the relationship between each performance of a given piece or collection of pieces and the tradition to which they belong.

The film could be guided by the director's voice reading a descriptive text. In my opinion, this is usually an essential element of an ethnographic documentary, or at least an ethnographic documentary that seeks to convey a certain tradition that has been evaluated and analyzed by observing multiple events from various points of view. For instance, wedding feasts in Kosovo (or sheep shearing in Barbagia, the feast of St. Calogero in Agrigento, the carnival in Basel, the Holy Week rituals in Umbria, and so on) are interpreted by observing a set number of instances. Although this number might be large, it never includes all the instances or possible stagings as observed from every possible point of view. Through the voice over, however, the documentary's author explicitly assumes responsibility for having selected, edited and produced a discourse that is part of his or her own work, not the events under observation. Through his or her voice, the author takes over responsibility for directing this discourse. As Ilisa Barbash and Lucien Taylor observe,

> although many observational filmmakers dispense with voice-over, claiming that they want a more democratic style in which the images speak for themselves, even images are shot, selected, and set in a sequence by the film maker. While sync images may seem to be objective or transparent to their object, they, too, display the invisible hand and authorial perspective of the film maker: they are not automatically elevated to some higher ethical ground (Barbash and Taylor 1997: 30)[17].

Of course there are other approaches and options that have also given rise to high-quality results. One example is constituted by the films of Vittorio De Seta, produced in Italy before similar efforts were made elsewhere[18]. This is part of a narrative genre that developed from the dawn of documentary cinema, beginning with the work of Robert Flaherty *(Nanook of the North,* 1922; *Moana*, 1926; *Man of Aran*, 1934; *Louisiana Story*, 1948). For the most part, this genre consists of films that give impressionistic accounts of well-defined topics and subjects such as the life of a fishing family on an island near the Irish coast or swordfish fishing in the strait of Messina. At least in the case of Robert Flaherty and Vittorio De Seta, these are aesthetically pleasing and extremely ethnographically interesting products; however, although the topics are ethnographically pertinent, the films are not all or not always examples of ethnography. They are to ethnography what some literature focused on describing reality is to the ethnologist's account: what Giovanni Verga is to the demographic literature of his time,

or what the novels of Carlo Levi, Nuto Revelli, Danilo Dolci or Pier Paolo Pasolini are to the writings of Ernesto De Martino. Indeed, Flaherty was only marginally interested in understanding and recounting the culture of the Inuit people or the Aran fishermen. Rather, the shared thread linking all his work (including *Louisiana Story*, which is without doubt a fictional film) is an interest in man's struggle against a hostile and challenging manifestation of nature[19]. As scholars have noted, in *Nanook of the North* and *Man of Aran* as well as in *Louisiana Story,* Flaherty created fictional families by selecting actors who could fill the roles he had envisaged. He also deliberately avoided representing the more modern elements of existence[20]. It is true that *Nanook of the North,* his first documentary, is based on an extensive knowledge of the local people and their activities. He and the locals shared choices, tools and narrative code[21]. In this film, which was shot before new technologies made it possible to record sound in the shooting or editing phases, the voice-over function is partly filled by written texts that were inserted into the film. These are missing from *Man of Aran*, which is not based on such extensive knowledge and familiarity and has a more rhapsodic and less systematic style, thus rendering it more obviously non-ethnographic.

Today, the use of voice-over seems old and outdated. Films that contain voice-over are often harshly criticized, excluded from ethnographic film festivals, disregarded when giving out awards and acknowledgements and rarely included in TV programming or shown in cinemas[22]. Perhaps in this era where TV in particular privileges pre-packaged products requiring no interpretive work on the part of viewers, the effort of following the voice-over narration is too much for most audiences; there might also be other reasons for this stubborn ostracism. Whatever the reason, this exclusion has been accompanied by a tendency toward subjectivity in terms of both the point of view and the events chosen for representation, a tendency which is clearly consistent with the disappearance of voice-over. On the rare occasions when it is used, voice-over[23] serves to introduce a first-person narrative register that depicts the author, his or her impressions and personal aims for the project in a subjective and impressionistic style.

> One should avoid a situation where an impersonal and authoritative voice tells the audience what is really happening, which may be at odds with what it sees. If narration has to be employed it is best to use the voice of the filmmaker, speaking in the first person as a participant in the action presented[24].

And furthermore:

> In contrast to mainstream television practice, voice-over was out of favor between the 1960s and the 1980s in independent documentary. Emile de Antonio went so far as to call it fascistic! However, voice-over has enjoined a resurgence in documentary since the 1980s: it is often diaristic rather than essayistic; first and second person rather than third; incongruous and ironic rather than sober and straightforward; multiple and contrary rather than singular and monolithic; and personal, questioning, and interpretative rather than impersonal, didactic, and dogmatic (Barbash and Taylor 1997: 410).

In other words, voice-over is only considered acceptable if it undermines the ethnological approach and the insights generated by ethnological inquiry rather than affirming them. This process might very well have begun in the sphere of documentary cinema before "mainstream

television practice," and it is certainly consistent with the systematic destabilization of the disciplinary canons of anthropology that has been proceeding in recent decades; however, this process can doubtless be seen throughout contemporary TV programming, from cooking shows to nature or other "documentaries", all of which now tend to privilege an extremely subjective approach to any given topic. The prevailing idea today is that a film, even an ethnographic documentary, must "tell a story": the story of the relationship between the author and the subjects, or the story of an individual, group of people or the series of events the narrative is focused on[25]. A film is not permitted to give an account of a tradition, kinship system, construction technique, work activity or musical repertoire. The subject cannot be "weddings feasts", "women's music" or "trance rituals" in a given area. It appears to be more acceptable for a film to be about the wedding of Giacomino and Susanna or the lives of the musicians Stefania and Filippo. This tendency appears to restore concreteness to the narrative. It does certainly make the film easier to follow, as it can be watched like a story without the effort that would be involved in understanding a scientific presentation. However, an ethnographic film is properly both things at once, and its success lies in its ability to address a wider, non-expert audience without relinquishing the meticulousness required of an academic text.

Just like the absence of voice-over, a subjective style offers the appearance of objectivity in that the description and interpretation of events is entrusted exclusively to the images and informants' voices. I would argue, however, that there is nothing neutral or objective about this, because it is the selection of images and voices, specific framing shots and editing techniques that actually guide and shape the narrative[26]. Indeed, authors shrug off their responsibility when they pretend to disappear behind this form of false objectivity produced by the apparent refusal to engage in interpretation and assume an authorial point of view. In order to make a film about wedding feasts in general rather than the wedding of Giacomino and Susanna in particular, filmmakers must have observed hundreds and documented dozens of wedding feasts and chosen (from among countless hours of footage) the elements they considered most relevant for describing wedding feasts. Authors must also know what constitutes the norm, what constitutes a deviation from the norm and how such a deviation might become the norm. They should also be familiar with the rites and their underlying myths; they must take a stand and assume responsibility for having made certain choices. This is certainly a challenging process and it takes years or sometimes decades of work to make a film like this; a film about Giacomino and Susanna, in contrast, could be shot in three days[27]. If Giacomino, Susanna and their relatives agree, the filmmaker could inspect the set beforehand, plan the lighting and maybe even re-stage certain scenes. After all, the essence of the documentary has already been compromised by the underlying choices and subjectivizing approach -it already has little or no ethnographic value.

A documentary is not a documentary simply because it captures events that were not staged specifically for the film itself; rather, it is a documentary because it rigorously documents, because it uses filmic language to describe events. An ethnographic documentary does so specifically using ethnographic hermeneutic tools and focusing on ethnographic objects[28]. The author subjectively assumes responsibility for his or her choices and interpretation. Authorial subjectivity lies not in expressing rhapsodic insights or offering poetic interpretations, but

rather in rendering explicit this authorial responsibility: the way I describe and interpret the actions of others is mine, not theirs and, through the voice over, I explicitly assume responsibility for this work of interpretation. Images (and recorded sound) are not an aid to the work of ethnography or a tool of circulation. Rather, they are a specific way of describing things, of talking about gestures, gazes and actions and the way events unfold in space and time. Film always interrogates reality in that the things being observed and recorded are always real, but the essential feature of ethnography is that it relates specific observed behavior to cultural norms. Many documentary films devote much time to the portrayal of an individual person or event but fall short of the cultural step, putting those data into a cultural context (Heider 2006: 5).

In other words, voice-over serves to make the author's role explicit and unavoidable and implies that he or she is part of the process and has assumed responsibility. It might be argued that a significant part of the ethnological approach to documentary cinema or the "ethnologic-ness" of the research methodology lies in this subjective responsibility, whether it be assumed through voice-over or other means[29]. The use of voice-over is also part of an extensive French tradition (which, however, appears to have lost much of its popularity even in France). However, in Jean Rouch's documentaries, the voice-over sometimes (and especially in *Les maîtres fous*, 1955) occupies all of the available sonic space, leaving no space to the participants or to the audience's vision or interpretation[30]. Besides the powerful critiques leveled at this strong interpretive approach, ethnomusicological films cannot make extensive use of vocal commentary because the music must be audible and it imposes its own timing.

Voice-over is used not only in Jean Rouch's documentaries; it is used in the initial part of Henri-Georges Clouzot's *Le mystère Picasso* as well. In my opinion, Clouzot's film is more similar to Rouch's documentaries than it might seem (and certainly more similar than the two filmmakers would have thought). The films feature a similar relationship between the events, with their dialogue and sounds, and a narrating voice. In addition, Clouzot's voice is characterized by the same rhetorical style as Rouch's, the style of an epic narrative. The style is modern, European and cultured, but nonetheless epic; it functions to transform history into myth[31] and seeks to celebrate the characters (be they Picasso or the possessed participants of a *hauka* ceremony), thus turning them into heroes. In the film about Picasso, the editing process clearly and explicitly compresses time and this capacity of cinematographic language is a fundamental element in its process of meaning construction. Furthermore, in *Jaguar* the informants become actors (a process that also explicitly occurs in Jean Rouch's film *Cocorico Monsieur Poulet,* but that is another story).What is even more important, however, is the way that the characters construct the narrative in collaboration with the director. Little by little, Picasso takes over the film, playing more and more with the transparency of the medium on which he draws and paints and with the camera itself: he builds overlapping representations that differ from the work he produced outside of the film in that they render explicit certain processes of memory and imagination that in his paintings remain merely implicit. To extend this comparison even further, Clouzot's film about Beethoven's Fifth (conducted by Karajan in 1966) is even more similar to *Les maîtres fous* in that they both document events that take place in a defined and circumscribed period of time rather than behaviors, techniques or broader events. Both depict

events whose cinematographic representation is constrained by the musical timing. In the latter film, the compression of time, modular character of the edited scenes, cuts and interpolations are less explicit; they represent a laboratory tool rather than a narrative code. While in the film about Picasso the rhetorical use of lighting plays the same role as the narrative voice (it is epic, it aids in delimiting space and granting temporal coherence), in the film about Karajan (which does not use voice over, for obvious reasons), it seems to me that the lighting becomes more powerfully Flemish (though it should be noted that this quality is also present in the film about Picasso). In so doing, it references a figurative tradition that, from its inception through to Joseph Koudelka's photographs of Slovak Roma or the Prague Spring, has used light and especially backlighting to grant volume and play with plasticity (a broad and blurry concept in photography that could be defined as soldering the subject to the background and transitioning between what is in focus and what is out of focus), to freeze time and transform history into myth (the flow of time in space within the timeless space of eternity, a process that is obviously more difficult in cinema than it is in painting, photography or sculpture). However, it seems to me that Clouzot uses this approach of sculpting with light precisely to this end, in order to freeze the music and transpose it into a mythical dimension. Furthermore, his "Nordic" approach works well for the specific cultural context. Like Picasso, Karajan also takes an active role in this process through the timeless and mythical character of his hand movements and the theatrical quality of his gestures. Just as in ethnographic cinema, the techniques of staging were present in the event itself even before shooting began.

In the case of my film about the rituals and music of Kosovarian Roma, this mythical quality lies in the participants' actions and their way of interpreting time and freezing it through actions imbued with a timeless and eternal air. The film merely sought to convey this particular quality of the events, the way that they might paradoxically be described as "occurrences that do not occur". To do so, we simply followed their direction and their representational and narrative codes which, as described above, are based on reiteration, formal precision and long camera shots.

When cinematography develops through close collaboration between the observer and the observed, it opens broader possibilities for reflecting on the nature, method and function of ethnological research. It also seeks to create a specific cinematographic language generated by the interaction between participants and researchers. The method develops around the object itself, even going so far as to touch on the psycho-physical behavior of the operators: these long takes and hours or days spent behind the camera filming endlessly repeating cycles of dance chains require the cameraperson to relax, almost surrendering his or her body and gaze in the same way that the lengthy performances force the musicians to assume a soft, almost careless attitude that grants their gestures (both musical and filmic) a sort of ahistorical air. All this lends itself admirably to the intentions of the ritual participants, that is, to use their feast and images to cast themselves into the realm of myth.

1 The literature on ethnomusicological cinema is relatively limited and there are even fewer publications that specifically address the issues of sound recording and editing techniques specifically oriented toward music. See Rouget 1965; Kubik 1965; Dauer 1971; Kubik 1972; Feld and Williams 1975; Feld 1976; Carpitella 1977; Carpitella 1978; Carpitella 1979; Zemp 1984; Carpitella 1986; Zemp 1988 and the articles published in the

theme issue of *The World of Music* dedicated to "Film and video in Ethnomusicology", specifically Baily 1989; Elschek 1989; Simon 1989; Zemp 1989; and Takahashi 1989. Brief comments on the specificity of ethnomusicological documentary can be found in Rouch 2009: 108-109, "L'ethnomusicologie". Very little has been published (Ricci 2007; Adamo 2010) following the technological developments that permit lengthy and high-quality audiovisual recordings, thus changing the techniques and methods of fieldwork and editing especially in relation to musical recordings.

2 Economic and logistical considerations usually prevent ethnographic documentaries from using multiple cameras. Indeed, it could be invasive and problematic to use multiple operators to shoot domestic life scenes or events that might be significantly distorted by the presence of equipment and operators. In these cases, it is preferable to work as lightly as possible and preferably alone. We used this approach during the shooting of this film *Kajda* whenever it was judged appropriate. The recording sessions documenting the repertoire and conversations about music between the researcher and musicians, in contrast, were held specifically in front of camera operator. Here, the fictional element consisted of hiding this fact behind supposed "spontaneity" rather than vice versa. On public occasions, there are usually a large number of people taking part in the rites -even the neighbors and passersby pause just outside the dance circle to watch the performance. Furthermore, the cameras and operators are an essential component of the rite. There are also other reasons to avoid using multiple cameras, such as the fact that editing multiple points of view is quite different from direct observation and therefore not very natural; these reasons also involve framing and editing cuts that diverge from that of direct observation (see MacDougall 1998: 199-208, "Unprivileged camera style"). However, cinema and television have accustomed both ritual participants and documentary viewers to changes in framing, which are part of the audio-visual technical and representational tradition (besides, the footage of the rites recorded by community filmmakers are sometimes filmed with multiple cameras). Every frame is subjective and "artificial" by nature, even those that might seem to be more "neutral," in that the viewer's eye is guided by the compositional choices of the filmmaker and editor. Some of these choices were developed in photography and later imported into cinema. Even before photography, they derived from the codes and rhetoric of figurative art and painting in particular. While we must acknowledge point of view, representational canons and the ritual requirement of participants, in the end a film belongs to its maker and is nourished by his or her culture. A documentary film expresses the standpoint of its maker, underlining the statements, actions and relationships that the filmmaker judges to be most relevant. This process (like the use of voice over, as will be discussed below) cannot evade authorial responsibility or the product risks becoming an imposture, something that claims to display only the codes of the participants themselves while hiding its own choices behind a façade of neutrality. The problem with using multiple cameras is that each operator has his or her own perspective and criteria for selecting what to focus on.

3 See Heider 2006: 67-70, "Reflexivity: The Ethnographer's Presence" for a brief mention of the appearance of researchers and recording equipment in films.

4 Jay Ruby (Ruby 2000: 115-135, "Out of Sync: The Cinema of Tim Asch") makes similar observations about the relationship between footage and the edited product, between archival material and the film itself. Asch and Asch 2003 also discusses the creation of archives and the relationship between video material and film. Furthermore, one problem with the filmic representation of Kosovarian tambourine repertoire performances is that, as mentioned earlier, each piece lasts from 20 minutes to over an hour, making it impossible to display the pieces in their entirety. For this reason, I opted to include additional footage in the DVD that accompanies the book to show some pieces performed from beginning to end. Ethnomusicological films face a more serious version of the same problem encountered in documenting any other event. In relation to this, it is useful to cite the comments of David MacDougall (1998: 209): "There is a hidden problem in documentary film -the problem of the long camera take and what to do with it. With the exception of interview material, most of the shots in contemporary documentary films and television programs are only a few seconds long. This is in marked contrast to fiction films and television dramas in which whole scenes are sometimes played out in a single shot." In relation to a film he shot in northern India, he also writes: "I began to shoot a kind of 'shadow' film alongside the main film. This notional film -notional because it remains unmade- consists of long camera takes which quite clearly could never have been used in the main film. My justification for shooting these long takes was that we could at least extract and use pieces of them. But in the back of my mind they actually constituted an alternative film, a counter-film to the one we were making. They formed a necessary antidote, a way of holding on to the qualities that are so often lost when a film is structured for its likely audiences." I would add that this represents not merely an "antidote," but rather an element of scientific professionalism that is necessary if one hopes to keep up with the events being documented. This is especially true of rites and absolutely crucial in relation to music.

5 See Ruby 1975 and the chapter "Toward a definition: the nature of the category 'ethnographic film'" in Heider

2006: 3-5 regarding the problem of defining an "ethnographic documentary" (or rather, judging the relative "degree of ethnographic-ness" displayed by a particular documentary or documentary film genre). As Heider notes in the following pages ("The nature of ethnography": 5-7), in order to define ethnographic documentary one must define ethnography itself and locate the blurry boundaries between ethnography, ethnology and cultural anthropology, a task which, at least for the purposes of this book, is neither useful nor reasonable. Rather, I limit myself to quoting the definition developed by Clifford Geertz, which is so all-encompassing as to perhaps appear encyclopedic but is actually quite useful: "The essential vocation of interpretive anthropology is not to answer our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus to include them in the consultable record of what man has said."(Geertz 1973: 30). See also Jay Ruby (1975:109) for a comprehensive and stimulating discussion of the nature of ethnography and its objects in relation to the methodology, language and objects of ethnographic cinema. As Ruby writes, "Ethnographic filmmakers appear to be primarily concerned with satisfying the conventions of documentary film, and only secondarily, if at all, concerned with meeting the scientific requirements of ethnography. Thus they have not been involved with what I would consider to be the most crucial issues of ethnographic film, or for that matter, of ethnography: 1. the translation of anthropological theories of culture into theories of film which would provide the filmmaker with rationales for the articulation and organization of image/sound structures; 2. the description of the methodology which would logically follow once such a translation occurred."

6 One of the first ethnomusicological studies to take advantage of Edison's phonograph was Benjamin Gilman's investigation of the melodies of the Zuñi (Gilman 1891). Felix von Luschan, director of Berlin's Folk Art Museum, began experimenting with applications for the phonograph in 1885 (see Luschan 1908); in 1900 in Berlin, Carl Stumpf recorded the royal orchestra of Siam onto six wax cylinders (Stumpf 1901), thus initiating the collection that in 1905 was designated the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. See Leydi [1991] 2008: 40-43.

7 See Feld and Williams 1975 and Zemp 1988 for discussions of the relativity of "objective" recordings of musical scenes.

8 Geertz 1988:5; see this source for a more extensive and very shrewd discussion of this issue.

9 Moreover, "[w]ith the exception of Jean Rouch (in *Chronicle of a Summer*), Don and Ron Rundstrom (in *The Path*), and Tim Asch (in *The Ax Fight*), the majority of ethnographic filmmakers have apparently assumed that if they satisfied the demands of documentary style they somehow would automatically be using the most scientific means of articulating and organizing images and sound. In many significant ways, the field of ethnographic film/visual anthropology has seen little progress since the 1930s when Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead raised the question of the relationship between image-producing technologies and anthropology" (Ruby 1975: 110). And "[g]iven the fragmentary nature of contemporary theorizing, it seems unlikely that such a grand theory will ever become commonly accepted. The field may be conceptually wide-ranging, but in practice visual anthropology is dominated primarily by an interest in pictorial media as a means of communicating anthropological knowledge, that is, ethnographic films and photographs and, secondarily, the study of pictorial manifestations of culture" (Ruby 1996: 1345). "Visual anthropology" is often defined in contrast to "written anthropology" without, however, defining and delimiting its objects and methods: "visual anthropology may need to define itself not at all in the terms of written anthropology but as an alternative to it, as a quite different way of knowing related phenomena" (MacDougall 1998: 63). This is surely also related to the strong tendency for US-based scholarship (increasingly exported in Europe and elsewhere as well) to meticulously and sometimes obsessively label its methods, objects, and research approaches (this ethnomusicological investigation into the music of effeminate male and female Kosovarian Romani musicians would be labeled as "gender studies," "visual anthropology" and probably also "historical anthropology," seeing as it links current practices to female and homosexual male music documented in the past -and probably other labels as well.) In Italy, we tend rather to cross softly over blurry border lines, a tendency which in my case has probably been strengthened by an emic perspective: just like the people we study, we ethnologists are specialized border-crossers.

10 See Ruby 2000: 212-218: "Films by 'the Other'" for a discussion of these issues. In many fields of anthropological scholarship, there appears to be a tendency to privilege a focus on techniques of analysis and communication at the expense of a focus on the research objects themselves with the result that these objects end up being treated as mere pretexts for enacting internal disciplinary rituals. "Visual anthropological" research clearly focuses on authors, their methods and points of view; the relationships between these and the languages, techniques and representational arts of the cultures under investigation are very seldom taken into account and almost never fully explored. It is true that an investigation into the "visual" (and sonic) representational techniques of "others" tends to undermine efforts to construct a uniform and coherent methodological approach, because each research object requires the researcher to forge new tools of analysis and visualization tailored to it. I believe there is a fundamental difference between someone who deeply investigates certain objects and develops skills in writing, photography, cinema or any other communicative technique in order to convey the

things he or she studies in an appropriate and pertinent way, and someone who writes, takes pictures or makes films for a living and, inversely, goes looking for objects on which to focus his or her skills and gaze. In general, it is ethnologists who have developed the necessary skills who produce ethnological writings, photographs and films, rather than writers, photographers and filmmakers seeking a great story to tell ("my only real interest in things pictorial is if they will transform anthropology"; and "[i]f the term ethnographic is to retain any of its original meaning, it is most profitably applied only to those films produced by competent ethnographers and explicitly designed to be ethnographies": Ruby 2000: 6 and 28). Jean Rouch, who was a filmmaking ethnologist rather than a filmmaker with an interest in ethnological themes, shot all of his films in Paris and a delimited area of Sub-Saharan Africa, the area in relation to which he had developed extensive, solid ethnological expertise. Fadwa El Guindi dedicated a chapter of her book *Visual Anthropology* to "Filming Selves" (El Guindi 2004: 121-152), but here the self-reflexive gaze is only addressed as an aspect of producing ethnographic films, films "in which members of the local population being studied participate in the filming of or directly film themselves" (El Guindi 2004: 121). El Guindi's interest is exclusively focused on natives' participation in documentary films and does not extend to the visual production of the cultures being investigated. Therefore, the focus is on films as tools of investigation and circulation rather than products generated by the cultures being investigated (be they investigated by natives or external scholars). This tendency is the equivalent of an ethnomusicology that addresses mainly techniques for recording and publishing audio recordings and transcriptions, leaving the music in question slide into the background, reducing the discipline's aims and methods to a smug, narcissistic gaze at its own navel. The general impression one gets is that "visual anthropology" is only slightly and rarely interested in objects, the things that are shown in ethnologists' films, or in the way in which "others" use images as part of their own communicative codes. Jay Ruby's *Picturing Culture*, which was published in 2000, is the only source to have outlined the disciplinary canons of "visual anthropology," and I agree with the definition of scope and perspectives outlined in Ruby's preface (Ruby 2000: ix-xiii). The first lines read "I have been exploring the possibility of an anthropology of the visible for over thirty years. It is an inquiry into all that humans make for the others to see -their facial expressions, costumes, symbolic uses of space, their abodes and the design of their living spaces, as well as the full range of the pictorial artifacts they produce, from rock engravings to holographs." Ruby thus proposes an investigation of representation and the gaze, both internal and external, as well as how the gaze directed inward and that directed outward can reciprocally influence each other. This is rather different than claiming to use ethnographic documentaries to establish an exclusively filmic approach to knowledge that is alternative or even oppositional to the written analysis of phenomena. Indeed, Jean Rouch (2009:86) himself noted that "caméra set magnétophones […] ne remplaceront jamais les modes classiques de l'enquête ethnographique".

11 Such as among the Roma of Kosovo: see Staiti 2015, in particular part 3: "Research methods: images and music", chapters 3.1 ("Ethnology, iconography and photography: the musicologist like Orpheus") and 3.2 ("Notes on ethnomusicological documentary"). Most of the considerations expressed here are theoretical generalizations taken from this book section, which focuses on a documentary about female music in Kosovo included in the same book.

12 See Barbash and Taylor 1997: "Cinematic Conventions", 337-341 for insights into the different ways action shots function and are structured in different cultures. For a more complete theoretical exploration of the relationship between anthropology and documentary cinema, see Ruby 1975, Ruby 1980 and Ruby 2000.

13 As noted in Rouch 1988: 87-88 (interview recorded on December 22, 1986), "I think that 'direct cinema', even though technical problems have been resolved, even if you are completely familiar with the filming and sound recording equipment, is quite an unpredictable adventure. This is because, although it seems a very simple form of cinema, it is based on improvising with the camera viewfinder. This requires the director to be, at the same time, his own cameraman. Directing someone is impossible in 'direct cinema', because it is a form of film in which the shots are constantly changing, you film something and then you are forced to look for a different position: there is always motion. Very often this form of film begins to tell a story without knowing how it will end, [...] it is a form of film in which the story is told as you shoot." Also on page 90,"in a documentary film, I do not have to do any staging. [...] my job is to record what is going on as precisely as possible. It is therefore a work of filmed observation. The staging is already determined by the ritual". And furthermore (from the Italian translation of Rouch 1979: 60), "fieldwork itself determines the specifics of how the filmmaker-ethnographer proceeds because, instead of preparing his notes after fieldwork, he must, at the risk of failing, attempt to synthesize them at the moment of observation, that is to say, guide his cinematic tale, enlarging or halting as the event occurs. There is no longer a pre-written plan for the editing or for cameras that establish a progressive sequences; rather, it is a far riskier game where every plan is determined by the previous plan and in turn determines the following one." And also, from Rouch 1975:9: "It is this aspect of fieldwork that marks the uniqueness of the ethnographic filmmaker: instead of elaborating and editing his notes after returning from the

field, he must, under penalty of failure, make his synthesis at the exact moment of observation. In other words, he must create his cinematic report, bending it or stopping it, at the time of the event itself. There is no such thing here as writing cuts in advance, or fixing the order of sequences. Rather, it is a risky game where each shot is determined by the one preceding and determines the one to follow."

14 However, the majority of both public and private funding sources available to finance the making of a documentary film nonetheless require a written screenplay, which speaks volumes about the ideological and systemic degeneration of this field of investigation and communication.

15 As noted in Rouch 1975:7: "The director can only be the cameraman. It is the ethnographer alone, to my mind, who really knows when, where, and how to film, in other words, to "direct". Finally, and this is without a doubt the decisive factor, the ethnographer must spend a long time in the field before beginning to shoot." To shoot our film, we did not use a sound technician dedicated to audio recordings -not only for economic reasons, but also to ensure the group's low impact and ease of movement. This responsibility was instead covered by the operator/director or by all the members of the group when there were only two or three of us.

16 I address this issue with a specific focus on photography in Staiti 2015, chapter 3.1 "Ethnology, iconography and photography: the musicologist like Orpheus". See Heider 2006: 4-7 and 102-103, "The Nature of Ethnography" and "Particularizing and generalizing" for references to the relationship between the contingent and the systemic.

17 See also Heider 2006: 54-57, "The Narration".

18 Regarding the work of De Seta, see Fofi and Volpi 1999, and Marano 2011: 68-72; for an assessment of audio sources and their relationship with ethnomusicological research in his films, see Giannini 2006.

19 Regarding the exoticizing sensationalism of Flaherty's work, see Rony 1996: 102 as well as further discussion in Gaines 1999: 9 and Pink 2006: 23-24.

20 See Barnouw 1983: 45; Gross, Katz and Ruby1988: 21; Barbash and Taylor 1997: 24-26 and 40; Ruby 2000: 144-145, and Balikci 2003. For an examination of the relationship between Robert Flaherty's work and the tradition of ethnographic scholarship, see Ruby 2000:67-94, "The Aggie Must Come First: Robert Flaherty's Place in Ethnographic Film History." See Marano 2007 for a reconstruction of the history of ethnographic cinema in Italy. See Loizos 1993 regarding the history of ethnographic cinema in Anglophone countries and France. See Gallini 1981 and Marano 2007: 29-67 for a discussion of Ernesto De Martino and documentary cinema. Diego Carpitella has repeatedly written (Carpitella 1979 and Carpitella 1986; see also Carpitella 1977 and Carpitella 1978) about the use of cinema in the study of kinesics with a particular focus on music and drawing on an approach inspired by the position Franz Boas takes regarding the function of cinema in ethnology (as well as the positions developed by Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, the elements of which are fully outlined in Bateson and Mead 1942; regarding their work, see Heider 2006: 28-31: "Bateson and Mead in Bali and New Guinea"). Carpitella also made several films: *Meloterapia del tarantismo* (riprese del 1960, edited under the supervision of the *Museo Nazionale per le Arti e le Tradizioni popolari di Roma* in 1996); *Cinesica culturale 1: Napoli* (Istituto Luce, 1973), *Cinesica culturale 2: Barbagia* (Istituto Luce, 1974) and *Cinesica culturale 4: Materiali sul Palio* (Centro Flog-Regione Toscana, 1979-80); *Sardegna: Is Launeddas* (RAI 3, 1981), *Calabria: Zampogna e chitarra battente* (RAI 3, 1982), *Emilia: Brass band della Padania* (RAI 3, 1983). See Ricci 2007 and Marano 2007: 97-110. Other documentaries by Renato Morelli and Giorgio Adamo on ethnomusicological themes are referenced in the following notes. Sergio Bonanzinga also produced multiple ethnomusicological documentaries: *Riti della Pasqua in Sicilia*, DVD, Dipartimento di Beni Culturali Storico-Archeologici Socio-Antropologici e Geografici, Palermo 2002; *La zampogna a chiave in Sicilia,* VHS, Dipartimento di Beni Culturali Storico-Archeologici Socio-Antropologici e Geografici, Palermo 2003; *Cantastorie a Paternò,* VHS, Dipartimento di Beni Culturali Storico-Archeologici Socio-Antropologici e Geografici, Palermo 2003). Little has been written about ethnomusicology and documentary cinema, but do see Feld 1976. About the use of voice-over, see also Heider 1976.

21 See Ruby 2000: 67-114, "The Aggie Must Come First: Robert Flaherty's Place in Ethnographic Film History". See also Heider 2006: 20-24, "Robert Flaherty".

22 See Rouch 2003/2: 226-227 as well as the films of Jean-Dominique Laioux (a very famous ethnologist and filmmaker whose documentary films investigated mainly European cases, sometimes together with Hugo Zemp), which represent an exception within the French tradition. Although the majority of his films do not employ voice-over, they have never been shown on TV networks because they are judged too specific and strictly documentary to be appealing to a broad TV audience. Regarding voice-over, see Hugo Zemp's comments in Zemp 1988: 405-408 "Commentary, Verbal Explanations" and Giorgio Adamo's position, radically opposed to my own, as expressed in Adamo 2010: 18 (the position held by Zemp and Adamo has important precedents: André Leroi-Gouran expressed a similar position [Leroi-Gouran 1948] and Jean-Dominique Lajoux [Lajoux 1988] positions himself fully within the approach established by Leroi-Gouran). However, it should be noted

that the written text of Giorgio Adamo's book significantly complements the documentaries collected in the included DVD and functions as a sort of voice-over, completing the film with a detailed written analysis of the events being documented. Besides Jean Rouch, Timothy Asch and Robert Gardner made the most frequent use of voice-over in their ethnographic documentaries.

23 And "it would be surprising for cinema, even 16mm. film, to remain outside of the great evil that is our post-war period: cretinization"(Rouch 1955, in the 1988 Italian volume). Digital cameras, with their memory cards, continue along the trajectory established by 16 mm film: they are easy to carry and move, inexpensive, enable long shots and facilitate the creation of archives, thus making it possible to stay in the field for extended periods.

24 Baily 1989: 12, "Use of Voice-Over Commentary."

25 To observe this trend, one needs only browse the list of films selected to be shown over the last few years at Paris' "Festival International Jean Rouch: Bilan du film étnographique." The majority of them present individual stories and, even when they do address more general events, they do so by depicting the experiences of a specific character. I submitted my film *Kajda* (on musical female traditions among the Roma in Kosovo) to several film distribution companies, especially in France, but none of them accepted it in the form it was presented. They were concerned that the focus was too specialized to engage the interest of a wide population of viewers and would thus be difficult to market. They proposed that we transform the film into the story of a poor Gypsy player from Kosovo who escapes her ramshackle neighborhood to play in a beautiful concert hall in Italy: in other words, a Romani Cinderella. I am not convinced, however, that specialized works (or even niche ones) are necessarily difficult to market. Renato Morelli is the author of numerous ethnographic documentaries with ethnomusicological elements (see his website at www.renatomorelli.it ; regarding the ethnographic films of Renato Morelli, see Rossitti 2001; Morelli 2008; Marano 2011: 109-110). He produced a film in 1988 in consultation with Pietro Sassu for the RAI public TV network (Dipartimento Scuola-Educazione and the Trento-based headquarters) about the Holy Week festivities in Santu Lussurgiu (entitled *Su concordu*), but the network heads were not satisfied with it and chose not to show it. However, it was later shown in two different parts to fill two half-hour-long blank spots in the schedule, but without any press releases, advertising or mention in the list of programs scheduled to be shown. Nonetheless, the audience shares surprisingly doubled during those two half-hour periods. Unfortunately, this did not persuade the RAI network to produce or schedule other similar documentaries (for a more extensive account of this issue, see Rossitti 2001: 78-81). A brief extract of the first footage shot for *Kajda*, my film on Roma female music and rituals in Kosovo (Staiti [2012] 2015) was made available to YouTube users for a period of time, and it registered more than 40,000 views from all continents over the course of three or four months. I believe that this is due to the fact that the subject matter is not only interesting for ethnologists, ethnomusicologists, Balkan music lovers and certain Leftist intellectuals, but also for the Romani, Albanian and Kosovarian communities in diaspora, homosexual people and anyone interested in gender issues, musicians interested in complex rhythmic structures and world music fans. Similarly, Renato Morelli's work most likely catalyzed the interest of Sardinians, people from Val Caffaro, anyone living in places where the carnival or Holy Week traditions remain active and vital, etc. A generalist approach might attract the superficial attention of a few viewers willing to suffer through the story of a Kosovarian musician told like the tale of a taxi driver from Beijing or three Romanian teenagers traveling abroad, all flattened by the use of the same narrative register. However, the meticulous presentation of a very well-defined topic can, in contrast, capture the attention of an audience that is equally restricted but might nonetheless comprise a large percentage of viewers. Regarding the TV scheduling of ethnographic documentaries, see the section dedicated to "The Presentation of Anthropological Information" (Hockgins 2003: 361-477) and, in particular, Ginzburg 2003 and Jell-Bahlsen 2003.

26 This false neutrality is even subject to theorization: it is recommended that the presence of the interviewer be concealed through a careful editing process in which the questions -which obviously guide the conversation and determine the nature and quality of the answers -are removed so that viewers cannot judge them. In Baily 1989:13 "Search for Native Explanations and Conversations", the author writes that: "One should use native explanations as far is possible: get the people themselves to explain, a strategy that accords with a principal tenet of anthropology, which is to reveal the social construction of reality. Conversation is seen as the ideal, and the interview as the second best, though it can be edited to cut out much or all of the questioner, so it does not seem like an interview." On the contrary, I claim for the necessity of always explaining the setting and distinguishing, on the level of the filmic language, between what happens regardless of the researcher's presence and what is determined or influenced by his presence (for example: in the interviews, showing who poses the questions and making his/her voice audible). This is essential both ethically and methodologically in order to create a rigorous documentation.

27 "It has been a long time since Flaherty stayed for a year with the Samoans before shooting the first frame of *Moana*: filmmakers today do not have the time, they prefer to know nothing in order to avoid disrupting their sacred plans" (Rouch 1988: 20, Italian translation by Rouch 1955).

28 See Ruby 1975 and Ruby 2000. It is easy to understand what is not an ethnographic (and specifically ethnomusicological) documentary by viewing for example the well-known film *Latcho Drom* (1993), directed by Tony Gatlif with musical consultation by Alain Weber. The film seeks to represent the diaspora of Gypsies living all over the world, from India to Turkey, including Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, France, Spain and Egypt. Their trajectory is described through music and the film features a large number of festive and ritual musical performances as well as scenes of private and domestic entertainment. Carol Silverman justly noted that this reconstruction is wholly inaccurate on both historical and ethnographic levels (Silverman 2000). However, I believe that the most significant criticism to be addressed at this film is that it does not document anything, but only re-presents a reformulation of various traditions that have been produced by the music and entertainment industries. One is given the impression that the people called on to represent Rajasthan – just like the people representing every other country along this musical voyage -actually play for their communities, but in reality they are enacting a fictional and oleographic reconstruction of their own traditions, restaged by the director for the smug and exoticizing gaze of world music concert goers. It thus accomplishes a difficult task, given that the musicians acting in the film are members of internationally famous groups (including *Les Musiciens du Nil* and *Tarafd'Haidouks*, musicians who are organized and trained to perform by world music entrepreneurs, concert organizers and record producers). After having distorted and re-constructed their musical traditions, harnessing them to aims, contexts and representational techniques that have little to do with the originals, these players were taught to represent themselves on a supposedly natural, spontaneous and "authentic" set. The success of world music has certainly contributed to undermining perceptions of the distinction between documentation and staging, as well as between observation and reconstruction. This undermining has in turn conditioned the latest trends in ethnographic filmmaking and even the perspectives and investigative methods of a portion of contemporary ethnology and ethnomusicology.

29 In recent years, even ethnographic filmmakers and theorists have tended to view the use of voice-over as an effort to impose scientific objectivity on "visual anthropology" as well. For those engaged in the postmodern deconstruction of any and all disciplinary canons, this objectivity is seen as "authoritarian." "Written anthropology" is seen as linked to this supposed objectivity, while filmic anthropology can more easily liberate itself from this imposition, leaving the work of interpretation to the audience instead. See in particular MacDougall 1998 and especially the chapter "Visual Anthropology and the Ways of Knowing" (61-92). Referencing a definition by Clifford Geertz (1973: 30) quoted earlier in previous pages, the work of an anthropologist essentially consists in "[making] available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given." "Others" guarding "other" sheep in "other" valleys: no matter how distant these others, their valleys and sheep might be (and, for Italians, who frequently work within Italy, they are often quite near), the task remains one of assessing and measuring the distances, a work of translating and re-interpreting phenomena using methods that have been developed within anthropological disciplines. Whether carried out on the pages of a book or in the frames of a film, this operation remains the same -it only utilizes different languages and techniques. "Visual anthropology," however, often seeks to bring back in through the window something that had gone out through the door, as the Italian saying goes: the now-obsolete idea that filmic documentation is objective is resuscitated in the idea that filmic anthropology must exclude any subjective (and therefore "authoritarian") form of interpretation on the part of the author, leaving space for a native point of view and narrative voice (see Ruby 2000: 195-220,"Speaking for, Speaking about, Speaking with, or Speaking Alongside" for an overview of bibliographic references and various positions on this issue). I find this position to be uselessly ideological. It would be more useful, I believe, to take into account the perspectives of participants and explore them deeply, just as ethnology seeks to do, without concealing one's own responsibility or being ashamed of one's own position. It should also be noted that the perspective of any one participant might very well be (and often is) different from those held by other participants, and that his or her intentions or aims might conflict with others' (for instance, each of the musicians might consider him or herself to be more competent or skilled than the others and may try to use the researcher and the research product to substantiate such claims, a problem that will be familiar to any ethnomusicologist). Supposedly giving up one's own interpretation does not constitute an act of justice or restitution, in part because there is no abstract point of view that exists independent of the individual's position and intentions no matter which side of the recording equipment he or she stands on.

30 As Heider notes (2006: 32), "There is a heavy narration, but it directly complements the visuals. That is, it does not just fill in vaguely relevant or background information, but it explains the wild behavior of the ceremony and also gives an interpretation of the ceremony as a mocking reenactment of the attitudes and rituals of the British colonial officers." And, "[m]ore than in most ethnographic films, its visual and its sounds focus rather than dissipate, the viewer's attention." Any text regarding ethnographic cinema must include a reference to the work of Jean Rouch, but scholars rarely consider the purely ethnographic piece *Les maîtres fous* (regarding this film, see Stoller 1992: 145-160, "Les Maîtres Fous "). Scholars usually prefer to reference *Chronique d'un*

été (1961, by Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin), *Moi, un noir* (1958) or perhaps *Jaguar* (1954), films which more clearly display the impact of surrealism (a movement which shaped the origins and activities of the *Musée de l'Homme*. See Clifford 1981: 539-564, "On ethnographic surrealism") and in which sociological elements are privileged over ethnographic ones and the staging of individual life experiences is emphasized. Around the middle of the 1900s, this trend represented a fairly useful stimulus triggering the development of new methods of inquiry and reflection but it has since given rise to an apparently unstoppable tendency toward degeneration.

31 Regarding Jean Rouch's epic narrative style, see De Heusch 2006 and Colleyn 2009: 21-24, "La voix".

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Approaches from Visual Anthropology Applied to Ethnomusicology: "Multivocal Editing" and Musical Action as a Form of Knowledge

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Abstract

In this article, two themes discussed in visual anthropology and in the field of ethnographic film are presented. These might be of appeal to ethnomusicologists with an interest in, or working with, audiovisual media. The first one concerns bodily knowledge and embodied knowledge, which come to the fore in action: for example, through the practice of playing music, making a musical instrument, or music and dance performance. The component of symbolic meaning and the technical component ("set of rules") of an action can both be described in written text. The component of practice, "the doing itself" of an action, and along with it, the dimension of time and the unfolding of processes, however, cannot be represented in this way and remain understudied. By means of audiovisual media, the component of practice can finally be represented, which might contribute to new ethnomusicological research topics and insights. The second theme focuses on feedback sessions with participants of the film, and on responses to the film from other audiences, such as academics or TV professionals. It becomes apparent that when considering the comments and re-editing the video or film accordingly, "multivocal editing" can evolve. The question however still remains as to how the filmmaker, by including or excluding the voices, 'controls' these very voices.

Keywords: Performance, practical knowledge, feedback method, embodiment, "multivocal editing".

Several approaches to the discourse that takes place in visual anthropology have aroused the interest of ethnomusicologists, especially of those already involved in working with audiovisual media. Regarding visual anthropology as a field of study, Durington and Ruby claim (2011: 190):

> For some, visual anthropology is simply a fancy term for ethnographic film. Indeed, writers from Hockings (1975/2003) to Fadwa El Guindi (2004) hold that position. […] [W]e regard visual anthropology as an umbrella concept that encompasses all aspects of visible and pictorial culture, with ethnographic film as merely one part of a larger whole.

Two points become evident here. The first one is that "ethnographic film" is, in any case, a substantial part of visual anthropology, on which I intend to focus in this article. The second point is that, according to these scholars, visual anthropology and therefore ethnographic film is about pictorial culture. As we ethnomusicologists know particularly well, there also exists an "audible culture", and even more, a culture which unfolds both by visible and audible as-

pects, for example in a musical performance. Since in visual anthropology the focus is on "pictorial" culture, the field of music is usually understudied there, or only limited to the visual aspects of a musical performance, such as the (moving) images of musicians playing musical instruments, or of dancers featuring dance postures. Nowadays, video and film, however, usually contain a sound track, which technically sets the precondition to represent synchronically both the audible and the visible components of musical practice.

"Ethnographic film" has been understood in various ways in visual anthropology. Durington and Ruby write (2001: 192):

> There is a continuum of opinion, from the arguments of scholars like Heider (1976/2006) that all films can be considered ethnographic to Ruby's contention that only films made by professional anthropologists about their field research should be called ethnographic (2000b). While the former relies on content as the defining characteristic, the latter uses production, intention, or method to define a film as ethnographic.

In this article, I intend to use the term "ethnographic film" as characterized by Jay Ruby, who sees it as "anthropologically intended" (Ruby 2000: 28), and accordingly, I understand "ethnomusicological film" as "film to convey ethnomusicological knowledge".

In the following pages, two topics often discussed in visual anthropology and in the field of ethnographic film are presented which might appeal to ethnomusicologists. The theoretical culture-related knowledge that evolves from the visual anthropologists' discourse might in this way be applied by ethnomusicologists who film. As a consequence, an enhanced discussion of theoretical approaches to ethnomusicological film, which is still a marginal issue, might unfold.

Knowledge laid down in action

According to Dirk Nijland, knowledge laid down in action or 'embodied knowledge' is "Bourdieu's domain of study, which has later been elaborated by, for example, Kersenboom and Postma…" (Nijland 2006a: 26). Therefore, I would subsequently like to discuss the approaches to embodied knowledge by Metje Postma and Saskia Kersenboom. There is also a further, personal motivation for this discussion: both Dirk Nijland and Metje Postma were my teachers of 'Visual Ethnography' at the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology in the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, where Saskia Kersenboom also worked. Later on in this paper, I will also refer to the research work by Erik de Maaker (who has initially worked with Dirk Nijland) at the same university. Therefore, I intend to introduce and present the works of these scholars, who have, on the one hand, been so influential on visual anthropology, in particular in relation to the theme of embodied knowledge, and who have, on the other hand, had an impact on my work as an ethnomusicologist interested and trained in visual anthropology.

Saskia Kersenboom's book *Word, Sound, Image: The Life of the Tamil Text (*1995) includes an interactive CD-i. Her research is especially telling since it is anchored in a non-Western society, namely that of Southern India, where basic Western concepts are challenged. According to her book, the Tamil perform their cultural texts rather than reading them, and as such

the knowledge is laid down in action. Kersenboom focused on *bharata natyam*, dances that originated in the temples, which are briefly noted in written form. However, these notes serve as a memorization aid and are prolonged and elaborated substantially in performance. The performers have undergone a several year-long training to fulfill the task of dancing with the proper "habitus" (as coined by Bourdieu 1977) of the region[1]. From my point of view, it might be the case that this kind of performance, understood as knowledge-transmission, is ultimately related to what was -at least centuries ago- a generally illiterate society. According to Saskia Kersenboom (1995: 21-22), the performance of *bharata natyam* can be seen as a way to convey knowledge, including, amongst other things, cultural values. Kersenboom, who is trained as a *bharata natyam* dancer herself, points out that

> the late Western sign is static in nature, manifesting its reality as a document; the Tamil sign is organic, manifesting itself as an event. […] [T]hus, the book holds and safeguards the essence of meaning for future generations, while the performance brings alive past, present and future in a shared commemoration of presence.

Again about this performance, Kersenboom (1995: 149) states that "[t]he two-dimensional character of writing cannot process the four-dimensional information, nor can it synthesize the various activities of word, sound and image." To put it in a nutshell, practical knowledge has the advantage of "the retrieval of the dimension *time*, which was lost, according to Bourdieu, in science" (Kersenboom 1995: 145). About her CD-i, Kersenboom (1995: 206) explains: "Not unlike the performing artist, it creates a secondary Presence of Being and allows us to capture part of its flux. During this moment we can enter Being again; its accessible Presence allows us to gradually become acquainted with it".

This statement can also be applied to ethnographic video and film; naturally a CD-i has a greater flexibility and interactivity with the users. Given the scope of this article, I would like to limit the discussion here to video and film. A performance takes place in time and space and is four-dimensional; yet on film, it is scaled down to a three-dimensional plane, reducing the dimension of depth to the viewer's imagination. As a result of the camera-angle and the rectangular framing, further reductions of the performance are effected. Still, in many cases, the audiovisual mediation can convey an impression of the performance, an understanding of it, and also an impression of the atmosphere, of 'how it feels' for the audience or the spectator-listener. However, what the performance feels like for the performer herself or himself (or for the audience), the actual bodily and sensory perception, cannot be represented in this way.

Metje Postma's article in Dutch, which has been translated as *Action as a form of knowledge: illustrated with the practice of Japanese archery (kyudo)* (translation of the present author), focuses on a bodily action without music, but mentions that an action could also be playing a musical instrument. According to Postma, three components can be distinguished in an action. Firstly, there is a component featuring the "set of rules" necessary to carry out an action (Postma 1997: 216). For example, in order to play a note on a horn, a specific lip position is required of the player, a controlled way of breathing in and out, and a correct playing position of the musical instrument. A considerable body of literature can be found on

the "set-of-rules"-component, here regarding the action of horn-playing. These would be horn methods and instruction books on "how to play the horn". Secondly, according to Postma, very often a "symbolic" communicative component, a "component of meaning", is present in an action (Postma 1997: 216). For example, playing an *Alphorn* might be seen as a carrier for national-Swiss meanings, or bagpipes might be seen as a carrier for Scottish ones. Also here, literature about the component of meaning regarding the action of playing a musical instrument is manifold, including for example studies of musical practice as a national, or regional, symbol (e.g. Stokes 1994; Bohlman 2004).

In addition to these two components, Postma puts forward a third component, the bodily component, which she also describes as "action as a form of knowledge". She states "while the set of rules and the component of meaning can be represented in language, this is impossible with the bodily component" (Postma 1997: 216, translation by the present author)[2]. It is noteworthy that with the notion of 'bodily component' Postma furthermore intends to emphasize the difference between the set of rules as a model, and the actual and factual performance of these rules, brought to action via bodily knowledge (see Postma 1997: 216). For example, when playing the horn, the bodily component would be "the doing itself", the practice of horn-playing, the bodily knowledge obtained in order to be able to play the horn. Here, Postma refers to the influential work of French visual anthropologist Claudine de France and to her way of thinking in order to make a clear point: "In the end, the only way 'action as a form of knowledge' can manifest itself is by the very action. From this point of view, audiovisual media are the only media through which action as a form of knowledge can be represented" (Postma 1997: 232, translation by the present author)[3].

In ethnomusicology we are concerned with "action as a form of knowledge", which is the bodily component, when it comes to playing a musical instrument, making instruments, or producing music and dance performance. Therefore, the theoretical approaches laid out by Kersenboom and Postma, both reflecting Bourdieu, might be applied and made usable for various kinds of ethnomusicological subjects, using audiovisual media as forms of representation. The embodied knowledge, the practical knowledge, the bodily component, which cannot be represented in written text, is of substantial value. Kersenboom (1995: 145) states: "In this vein, Wittgenstein perceives a concept as a *set of activities that follow a rule*, in contrast to regarding the concept as a rule. […] The focusing on strategies of practice, instead of on universal rules brings back values that were lost in the intellectual focus on the universal alone".

As has been mentioned in the beginning, and as Kersenboom pointed out, the performance "brings alive past, present and future in a shared commemoration of presence" (Kersenboom 1995: 22). This holds true in the case of the Tamil text, which is performed rather than read from written text. However, performances in Western cultures might serve similar ends. In my experience as field researcher, the *Alphorn* practice in Switzerland commonly represents the Alpine space as well as the past, in other words, another time and (most commonly) another place than those in which the current performance is carried out. This goes together with communicating the longing for that other time and place. As Casey writes (quoted in Solomon 1997), "the past becomes 'our true present'; it loses its identity as a separate past (as past of

another time and place) through its precipitation into the present of bodily behavior." (Solomon 1997: 561). In this way, the past can be made present through body performance. In the case of Alphorn-playing, the profession of the Alpine herdsmen, to whom the *Alphorn* was attributed, refers to the past, since the profession is nowadays almost extinct. By means of an *Alphorn* performance, a past time and a different space are made visible and audible in the here and now and therefore it functions as a *chronotope*, a term coined by Bakhtin (1981) "as the primary means for materializing time in space, [which] emerges as a center for concretizing representation, as a force giving body" (Solomon 1997: 556). The musical action of performance, which communicates cultural values and knowledge, can then be recorded and represented by video and film.

As has also been mentioned in the beginning, practical knowledge has the advantage of "the retrieval of the dimension *time*, which was lost, according to Bourdieu, in science." (Kersenboom 1995: 145). This is a crucial aspect, since a musical performance is also a time-based experience. Furthermore, this brings attention to the consideration of processes in music research more generally. Examples of this are various (see Vignau 2013): in a jam session, a musical piece might evolve from several creative contributions of the musicians taking part, which are repeated and varied. Music lessons feature the learning processes of the music pupils and students. In the practice of Japanese traditional music, the instruments have to be prepared before playing, a process which leads to, foreshadows and organically surrounds musical performance (for example, before playing the *shamisen*, the strings have to be put up, and the *sho* has to be warmed up over a heater). By means of audiovisual media such as video and film, which have a time-dimension as well, music performance as it occurs in time and processes relating to music can be represented and undergo further study. Kersenboom states about cultures generally that "[t]heir essential quality is one of process; even though this can be grasped on an analytical level, it cannot be inscribed on paper." (Kersenboom 1995: 197). Naturally, music as a cultural action is included in this as well. A greater use of audiovisual media in ethnomusicological research could shift the research interests more towards processes (see Vignau 2013: 153). At the same time, the "habitus" of the musical action can be communicated and further studied. The specific tempo and rhythm of work can be conveyed, and so can details about the participants in action. Furthermore, the communication taking place during the processes, for example between the musicians in a jam session, can be featured. Is there a hierarchy between musicians? Has everybody the same say? This again brings ethnographic information to the fore, and makes it available for further scrutiny.

There is also a difference between written representations and audiovisual ones in the sense that the written text generalizes, whereas video and film can always show only one variant, one concrete example, of a particular action. Therefore, the audiovisual representation should be selected carefully. Kersenboom quotes Wittgenstein in this regard: "if a person has not yet got the concepts, I should teach him to use the words by means of examples and by practice" (Kersenboom 1995: 148). She then continues, "[m]uch depends upon the quality of the example, its adequacy and expressivity, and on the quality of the practice." (Kersenboom 1995: 148). A solution could also be to feature two variants of an action. Nijland (2006a: 41)

states this and additionally emphasizes the possible gain of knowledge brought about by audiovisual representations: "Besides the interpretation of background information on ideas and values (texts), the phenomena themselves (albeit in one or two variants) can thus be observed again and again. This stimulates further interpretation, which, in turn, increases perception".

Moreover, by using video and film as representation for a musical action, the phenomenon itself can be conveyed. The audience may experience the shown phenomenon and possibly understand it. For example, not everybody is acquainted or familiar with *Alphorn* performance or with the sound of this instrument. Here, hundreds of pages of written text cannot replace a minute of *Alphorn* performance, be it live or on video (also see Vignau 2013). Vice versa, understanding the phenomenon through audiovisual representation contributes to the insights gained from the accompanying written text, the ethnomusicological article or book chapter. Nijland (2006a: 42) states that the combination of audiovisual recordings with written texts "also strengthen[s] the imaginative powers of those anthropologists who never saw or studied the society in question *in situ*. Hence audiovisual images contribute with more clarity to a given discourse, and thus lead to a better founded formulation of anthropological theory".

The experience of a musical performance, both for the performers and the audience, can also be conveyed by audiovisual media. A suitable manner of representing it is the use of a *plan-séquence*, a scene consisting of a single shot, usually a long take. Such a shot does not interfere with the musical performance and features it in real time. In this way, the performance, how it was experienced by the field researcher, can be made accessible for the film's audience. As an example from my field research I have included the *plan-séquence* which features the Canadian *Alphorn*-player William Hopson (Video Example 1). In the video example, Hopson performs the well-known *Alphorn*-piece *Luzärner Hinterländer* with a self-composed cadenza-part near Zurich, Switzerland. Renowned Swiss *alphorn*-players suggested to him that he communicated the ideals they had about Swiss *alphorn*-playing in the best way - even though he is an American professional horn player living in Canada. Feedback like this opens up the question, extensively discussed in visual anthropology, of how to integrate these voices in the 'text', which has implications for the production of videos and films, as will be discussed below.

On "multivocal editing"

When showing a version of the edited video or film to (some of) the persons who appear in the film, they can react to it and give feedback. This is relevant as it regards both the validation of the audiovisual representation and the disclosure of mistakes. Using the video or film as a stimulus in this way may encourage the individuals filmed to further provide new insights for the researchers through commenting on what is being featured, which can be documented on audio and video recordings or written texts. In visual anthropology, this is called "feedback" or "elicitation" method. Whereas most researchers find these terms interchangeable (e.g. Nijland 2006b: 53; El Guindi 2004: 15; 155), El Guindi (2004: 180) emphasizes elsewhere in her monograph that "[f]eedback is more appropriately a desirable (even ethical) quality of a field filming project. It is about obligation, a countergift, a sharing of anthropology.

[…] Feedback is closer to the 'participant'part. Elicitation, however, belongs to the other part -observation. It is about data gathering and data cross-checking". Probably needless to say, the "sharing of anthropology" El Guindi mentions was coined by Jean Rouch as early as 1973 (see the English translation by Steven Feld in Rouch 2003: 46).

When screening the video or film to the persons filmed, these are able to get a sense of how the filmmaker-researcher understood their activities and cultural practices. The film's protagonists can communicate improvements, and the video can be re-edited and adjusted accordingly. Not only can changes be made in the way of, for example, re-including a part of an action omitted before, such as the applause of the audience after a performance, which may have been edited out; moreover, the subjects filmed might suggest completely new topics, which, according to them, should be included in the film, because 'they belong'. The newly-edited video would then feature more than the voice of the filmmaker-researcher alone, as is conveyed by the term "multivocal editing" here. One might be reminded of the concept of "dialogic editing" as put forward by Steven Feld (1990: 244) in his "Postscript, 1989" to the *Sound and Sentiment's* second edition, in which he describes how the Kaluli reacted to his book[4]. In addition to this "dialogic editing", however, is the fact that with "multivocal editing" it is a necessity that the original work be actually revised and re-edited (which is different from merely adding a postscript and leaving the main work for the most part unrevised). Even more, the process involves responses to the film by audiences beyond the participants themselves, such as academics, film and TV professionals, or even others, which once again sets it apart from the "feedback" method. Additionally, whereas "dialogic editing" mainly concerns the written text, "multivocal editing" involves the audiovisual media, video and film (for "multivocality" in relation to editing, also see Vignau 2013: 15 and 113)[5].

As a practical example, which features in the chapter "On video and film in ethnomusicology" of my book *Modernity, Complex Societies and the Alphorn* (Vignau 2013), when reporting on my field research about *Alphorn*-practice, I showed a preliminary version of the videofilm *The Alphorn* to two protagonists/*Alphorn*-players who appear in the film, and additionally to three more *Alphorn*-players. This took place in Switzerland, a main location of my research (other research locations were the Netherlands, the Bavarian Allgäu region in Germany, and Japan)[6]. During the feedback session, the Swiss *Alphor*n-players approved all parts of the film which specifically dealt with *Alphorn*-practice. These sections were all considered good. However, from their Swiss viewpoint, they did not understand why I showed so much context of *Alphorn*-playing, especially regarding Japan. In Japan, a ceremony of the Japanese *Shinto* belief called *yama-biraki*, a "mountain-opening" ceremony, takes place each spring to open the hiking season with blessings. This ceremony includes *kagura*, dance and music for the gods, which is currently also carried out with an *Alphorn* performance. In the film I introduced this ceremony to the audience, the majority of whom might not be familiar with it. The Swiss *Alphorn*-players, however, asked me whether the film was "about *Alphorn*", or "about Japanese ceremonies", and they found it was actually two films in one. They suggested shortening the part about the Japanese ceremonies and including instead yodeling, a yodel-festival, and a *Büchel*-performance, all of which take place in Switzerland (in Switzer-

land, the *Büchel* designates a wooden trumpet in looped form with close ties to the Alphorn). After this feedback session I shortened parts of the Japanese ceremonies and included a performance at a yodel-festival. I did not include yodeling and *Büchel*-playing. I intended to apply the feedback method which was introduced to me very lively by, amongst others, the works of Dirk Nijland (1989 and 2006b) and Erik de Maaker (1997 and 2006) of "the Dutch tradition" (not so "Dutch" actually, as Dirk Nijland followed a training in ethnographic filmmaking in Paris in 1967-68 under Jean Rouch). Nijland's and de Maaker's fieldwork concerned one location each, in Indonesia and India respectively, whereas my approach included more than one site as well as their transnational interconnectedness. As I found out through practice, a feedback session works differently for a multi-sited videofilm recorded in different countries. It is, as a whole, already an abstraction, which can serve as a stimulus in a feedback session, but the comments by the practitioners can only be used for the practice of their site, and not for the practice of the other sites, for which they are outsiders. Also, they might be more interested in the representation of their "own" site, which they are familiar with, than in that of the other sites. Therefore, in the case of the film *The Alphorn*, I followed the suggestions of the Swiss *Alphorn*-players only in part. I did want to include their "voices", but was aware that in a multi-sited film, the voices from one site were not the only ones to follow, so a compromise was necessary in this case.

It is clear that I, as the filmmaker-researcher, took the final decision as to which of the protagonists' voices, in line with the concept of "multivocal editing", was to be included in the videofilm. As David MacDougall writes in his chapter "Whose story is it?" (1998: 155-156):

> If ethnographies now incorporate other voices, what textual independence do these voices actually have? In one sense, all texts used in this way are subordinated to the text of the author. This may be more true of written ethnography than film, in which more unencoded information can be said to 'leak' from the images, but in both cases the author makes certain decisions about what texts to include or exclude.

Feedback as a method is an ideal to strive for, but in practice, as I found out, it is not so easily applicable, depending on the film's content, especially when it concerns a multi-sited research representation.

To remain with the example of my film *The Alphorn*, which can be found via www.alphornworldwide.net, I showed a preliminary version also to a filmmaker working for European TV stations in the field of documentaries of performance practices (theater and dance), and an anthropologist with a great interest in visual anthropology. Both commented on the film and made suggestions for improvements, such as introducing the places and main protagonists with titles and shortening the Japanese ceremonies. The latter recommendation was particularly emphasized by the filmmaker, who moreover brought up the idea of creating suspense in the beginning of the film by editing back and forth short fragments of *Alphorn*-practice from the several sites in order to get the interest of the viewer. He was also in favor of more cutaway-shots, and shorter takes in general. While I was certainly aware that this advice came from a professional who was acquainted with the way film as a medium worked

for a common, general audience in the Western hemisphere, I was also informed from the discourse on ethnographic film in visual anthropology that cutaway-shots and shorter takes did not serve the ends an ethnographic film aimed at: cutaway-shots would interrupt the depicted action, whereas the sound would continue, and so would the musical piece performed (additionally, the question remains as to how a cutaway-shot affects the listening experience of the viewer-listener). Shorter takes, on the other hand, would cut off the action being displayed, including the sound and any music being performed. Both strategies may well be more entertaining for the eye, and therefore suitable for TV productions, but they also involve a loss of information from the point of view of the anthropological and ethnomusicological knowledge conveyed, which is the prior aim of an ethnographic, here ethnomusicological, film. The same holds true for editing back and forth short fragments of the various localities of *Alphorn*-practice: this disorients the viewer-listener. Whereas 'suspense' in a film is a narrative-stylistic device that works well and makes the viewing experience amenable, here again the priority of the film as ethnography is to convey knowledge clearly, to which the disorientation and confusion caused by editing back and forth are alien, even if this ultimately means that the film's beginning is more strenuous to watch. This brings to the fore once again that it is I, as the filmmaker-researcher, who had to decide which suggestions to follow and which others to merely consider (at best). In visual anthropology, the above situation cannot be properly named "feedback method", because the feedback did not come from the participants, but rather from a professional and an academic. Still, it had an influence on the finished film.

After re-editing the film so as to incorporate some of the suggestions by the Swiss *Alphorn*-players, the TV filmmaker and the visual anthropologist, I sent it to Switzerland. An *Alphorn*-player who was absent at the feedback screening session, but who happened to hold the position of Chairman *Alphorn*-playing in the Eidgenössischer Jodlerverband (Swiss Federal Yodel Association), replied to me by email saying that he found the DVD very interesting, although he found it a bit extraordinary to be featured in the same film with Japanese *Alphorn*-players, one from Canada, and two [renowned] Swiss ones, since all played the music somewhat differently (personal communication with Gilbert Kolly, December 7, 2006). Furthermore, one of the renowned Swiss *Alphorn*-players, who had also attended the feedback session and had given suggestions for re-editing, now replied to my new version with a "BRAVO!!!" and added that my original purpose, to show *Alphorn*-practice on a worldwide scale, had now been successfully attained (personal communication with Hans-Jürg Sommer, April 8, 2007). His written feedback also included a discussion of details.

In summary, therefore, the voices in "multivocal editing" of an ethnographic film can belong to the participants (as evolved in feedback screening sessions), professionals working in the film and TV sector, or academics acquainted with the field (notwithstanding the fact that other kinds of voices, which fall beyond the scope of this paper, could be likewise considered, such as the ones of the general audience). Whereas these voices can come to the fore in the process of editing, in the end, as we have seen, it is the author of the film who ultimately "controls" the voices and decides which ones to include. Erik de Maaker (2006: 115) puts this firmly: "In my opinion an ethnographic film should not, and cannot, be limited to expres-

sing the visions of the participants. It is the role of the anthropologist to interpret the phenomena that are studied, rather than just to observe".

As a final statement I would like to mention that the process of feedback and re-editing the videofilm should be documented and reflected upon in an accompanying written text. This also holds for ethnographic film in visual anthropology in general: the film needs a written text, which is complementary to the film text, in order to become particularly valuable for research.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, film and video could be particularly useful tools for the purpose of research on the bodily component of musical actions. This might open up new, or yet understudied, topics for ethnomusicological research, for example those concerning the experience of a musical performance, both for the musicians and the audience (if there is any): what are the complex (re)actions and emotions involved in the experience and expressed through the body? What is the interaction between the musicians themselves, or between the musicians and the audience? And which purpose do they serve? In anthropology, moreover, the emphasis on 'action' is becoming more and more evident. Postma (1997: 234-235) states that

> for anthropology […] it is important to recognize that for the participant, meaning consists in a process of knowledge consolidation which takes place through the repetition of action(s). This insight is in contrast with the anthropological approach that aims at describing culture as a static system of meaning (translation of the present author)[7].

From the perspective of visual anthropology in particular, there are a handful of researchers who focus on the body and action, one of them being Brenda Farnell. About her, Marcus Banks and Jay Ruby write that she rejects the "studies of the body as a site of representation in favor of the study of embodied, acting persons. Through this, as she notes, invisible cultural knowledge becomes meaningfully visible." (Banks and Ruby 2011: 7). To conclude, Farnell (2011: 155) herself states:

> Indeed, one of the lessons to be learned from the phenomenological turn to the senses [in the discourse of (visual) anthropology] and the critique of visualism is that a multisensory semiosis is at work in human lives, and for that reason many investigators of human movement do not consider themselves visual anthropologists as such.

To judge by the emphasis on "multisensory semiosis" and on "embodied, acting persons", this research field opening up in (visual) anthropology seems to coincide, at least partially, with the field of audiovisual ethnomusicology. What if audiovisual ethnomusicologists were to consider themselves as some of these "investigators of human movement"?

1 According to Postma, "habitus" is the embodiment of cultural values and norms (Bourdieu 1977: 23 in Postma 1997: 223).

2 *"terwijl het protocol en de betekenis-component in taal kunnen worden gerepresenteerd is dit niet mogelijk met de lichamelijke component"*.

3 "*Tenslotte is de enige wijze waarop 'het handelen als kennisvorm' zich kan manifesteren, via het handelen. Vanuit dat standpunt zijn audiovisuele middelen de enige media waarmee het handelen als kennisvorm kan worden gerepresenteerd"*.

4 Many thanks go to Enrique Cámara de Landa for the suggestion of Feld's "dialogic editing".

5 "Multivocal editing" is derived from Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of "multivocality". I have "applied" Bakhtin's term to coin an expression indicating a new perspective on editing. A multivocal work is, as Bakhtin states, a work "constructed not as the whole of a single consciousness, absorbing other consciousnesses as objects into itself, but as a whole formed by the interaction of several consciousnesses, none of which entirely becomes an object for the other" (Bakhtin 1984: 18).

6 My field research had a multi-sited approach close to, yet not completely, George Marcus's "multi-sited ethnography". Therefore the research, and also the fieldwork and the videofilm as audiovisual representation thereof, included not only the Alphorn-practice of Switzerland, but also the practices of the other research sites in the Netherlands, the Bavarian Allgäu region in Germany, and Japan.

7 "*Voor de antropologie […] is van belang om te erkennen dat betekenis voor de participant een proces van verdieping van kennis inhoudt dat plaatsvindt door de herhaling van handeling(en). Dit inzicht staat in tegenstelling tot de opvattting binnen de antropologie die cultuur wil beschrijven als een vaststaand betekenis-systeem"*.

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A Regola d'Arte, an Experience in Reflexive Visual Anthropology

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Abstract

Thanks to the initiative by the Cremona's Municipality to nominate traditional violin making in Cremona for the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, between 2010 and 2012 I had the opportunity to put together three different kind of video documents on violin-making craftmanship in Cremona. The first one was mostly research footage; the second one was the UNESCO nomination video; the last piece consisted in an articulated documentation of the Cremona violinmakers' skills and knowledge. It was a real challenge, since the dimension of violin making is completely intangible and deeply rooted in a thick net of relations and organizations. As a first step in my fieldwork, I did my own shooting, whereas I worked in collaboration with Lorenzo Pizzi (Terra d'ombra s.r.l.) in the other two projects. This collaboration has been essential. We shared our intentions and integrated our competences in every step of the job: from documentation to editing. In order for the skills and knowledge of this craftsmen and the deep involvement of their mind and body to fully emerge, we developed a reflexive format, using delayed observation and sharing our video research as much as possible with violinmakers themselves. In this way, video recording was not a medium of objectification but rather became a tool of investigation.

Keywords: intangible cultural heritage, violin making, delayed observation, frame effect, UNESCO.

As part of the procedure involved in the nomination of violin craftsmanship in Cremona for the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Representative List[1], I had the opportunity to produce, in collaboration with Lorenzo Pizzi (Terra d'Ombra s.r.l.), the mandatory video for the nomination and a project of video-based documentation and valorisation of this proposal[2].

The first step for a nomination is to fulfil the R5 criterion: the inclusion of the eligible item in an official national inventory. This is why I had to fill the mandatory BDI[3] cards, the official form the Italian Ministry of Culture's Central Institute for Cataloguing and Documenting (ICCD) has drawn up for the cataloguing of intangible cultural heritage.

For two months I worked to individuate at least the most representative aspects of this element and did my own shooting to collect enough documentation for the BDI registration. I mostly videotaped at the International School of Violinmakers, interacting with teachers during their classes. In this way I could fix on video the processes involved in violin making but also in the transmission of skills and knowledge. It was only research shooting and there was no intention to edit it in a post-production phase. That is why I made it by myself, trying

to be as accurate as possible in documentation. I used a Canon XM2 PAL digital camera fixed on a tripod, chose a standing framing and used only location lighting[4]. The results were not exciting in terms of image quality, but I gained in-depth insights into this craft and, since it was only me with a small camera, I had the opportunity to build good relationships with violinmakers and apprentices at the School.

This fieldwork helped me understand the complexity of the proposal and the difficulties involved in documenting and highlighting the intangible by means of words and video images. While it is true that traditional craftsmanship is perhaps the most tangible manifestation of intangible cultural heritage, the 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage[5] was mainly concerned with safeguarding living heritage as embodied in people. The focus, therefore, does not lie on preserving craft objects, but on the work of the artisans and their skills and knowledge. What I had to understand was what is meant by "skills and knowledge" in the specific case of violin making.

In the course of my fieldwork I realized that the violinmakers possessed a kind of "practical awareness" (Herzfeld 2006: xv) that consists of all those things which social actors, following some sort of tacit agreement, know how to do in their social interactions, without being able to explain them through discourse. This kind of "local knowledge" is a minute net of practical micro-knowledge, shared and routinized, incredibly complex, even if, to those who are immersed in it, it seems to be totally obvious. This means that it is very difficult for violinmakers to verbalize all this knowledge.

In order to better understand the challenge Lorenzo Pizzi and I had to capture in our filmmaking, it may be interesting to describe in the first place the intangible aspects of this cultural asset. Violin making in Cremona is an intangible piece of cultural heritage because it is a traditional craft. Its knowledge and skills are truly artisan: only hand-making is permitted; training in this craft is based on the relation master-apprentice; there are many associations of violinmakers. The skills needed to make a violin are many and complex. More than 70 pieces, made of several types of wood, have to be assembled, all with specific shapes and dimensions. Violinmakers have to be acquainted with essences and substances that they need in order to make their own glue and varnish. Thence the primary importance of skills and knowledge in order to perform the operational gestures that are needed, but also the complexity of the building steps and the mental processes involved.

The violinmaker's mind has likewise to learn to evaluate every one of those steps, the wood's response, and so on. The craftsman has to effect many modifications during the building process in order to produce, as it were, the same instrument once and again -one which possesses all needed features and qualities. Step by step he has to know exactly which direction his work must take so as to deliver a fine product, even if the final result will only become apparent at the very end of the process. Only when the last step has been reached, the assembling of strings and bridge on the violin will the artisan be able to hear the instrument's voice: after about 250 hours of work.

Knowledge and skills are hardly ever learned through words, but mostly through practical experience. It is all about watching and imitating, copying the master first in the school and

later in the shop. Competences are not in books; they are built through years of experience in violin making, closely observing the instruments and their makers, exchanging information with colleagues.

All the senses participate in the process: sight mainly (to control meticulously every gesture, every step of the work, even the dimension of the leftover curl and its escape velocity), but also the senses of touch (testing with fingers the surface of the instrument), hearing (the sound of the tool on the wood) and smell (in preparing and using glues and varnishes).

When at work, every craftsman uses his[6] body in a mostly automatic way, since he has learnt not only what to do but also how to do it. During the apprenticeship phase, his body learns how to manage tools, how to position the body at the bench, how to hold the parts of the instrument he is creating, how to move the arms and the body in the operational gestures… Every tool needs specific gestures, strength and a highly-qualified technique (Claudot-Hawad 1985).

The violinmaker has to memorize all these things both with mind and body. Skills are deeply internalized, like the thousands of "expert" micro-actions we perform efficiently in our every day life, which we regard as automatic and are based on a deep comprehension of reality. To use Minsky's words:

> We all know we can put one thing in our pocket as long as it is not too big, or too fragile, it is ours and it does not bite. A characteristic aspect of common sense is that although it seems apparently made by rules, every rule has so many exceptions that it is scarcely useful to know only the general rules. (Minsky 1987: 9 in Ligi 2007: 8).

Moreover, according to Mauss (1991), technique does not only lie in the simple gesture and in the tools' shape; it involves a really close intertwining of culturally moulded functions and psychosomatic attitudes.

During my fieldwork I realized that the high quality standards of the Cremona artisans was partly determined by the thick and rich net of violinmakers and realities that orbit around them. In Cremona we find more than 140 shops, and violinmakers are represented by at least six confederations or associations (Chamber of Commerce, CNA – National Craftmanship Confederation, Confartigianato, ALI – Italian Luthiers Association, ANLAI – National Association of Artistic Violinmaking, Stradivari Consortium, Stradivariazioni); Cremona is also home to the International School of Violinmaking, while there are many other organizations that promote this artistic craft, directly or indirectly, like the Fondazione Stauffer (Stauffer Foundation) and the Fondazione Arvedi-Bruschini (Arvedi-Bruschini Foundation). The existence of the Museo del Violino (Museum of the Violin), with an extraordinary instrument exhibit and the additional highlight provided by the Stradivari tools collection (the museum hosts the activities by a group named Friends of Stradivari responsible for bringing to Cremona Stradivari instruments from all over the world) is of cardinal importance for the protagonism of violinmakers[7]. Their knowledge and skills can be further appreciated by handling and observing many instruments, old and new, and listening to the latter's voices[8]. Violins speak their own language, but you have to know it to understand it and learn from it.

In a small town like Cremona, violin-related events shape the cultural reality of the city. At the same time, as many violinmakers told me, the practitioners of this craft themselves are permeated by the cultural history of Cremona, with its wonderful ancient buildings and historical masterpieces preserved in churches, public buildings and museums. As Mauss stressed, what we call "technology" is a demanding theoretical category because we cannot conceive it as separated from the sphere of social relations. Technical relations are embedded in social relations and can be understood only within this relational matrix. Techniques, abilities, technical gestures and procedures should be studied inside the culture that produces them (Mauss 1991; Ligi 2007).

How could we translate the whole of this complex reality into the nomination video?

A really hard task, made even harder by UNESCO's strict rules regarding the making of the nomination video: the latter has to be strictly related to the nomination dossier and last 10 minutes. The shooting and editing conception and methods had to be driven by this end use. This time I knew I needed the help of a very good professional. That is why I strongly wanted to engage Lorenzo Pizzi in the project, a man with whom I had worked in the past while producing ethnographic video documentation for museum exhibits[9].

Lorenzo and I studied the nomination videos of many assets included in the UNESCO ICH Representative List and realized that many different kinds of formats were used, yet with some elements in common. Like the use of voice-over narration, these elements were justified by the short time available and the need to be very clear and simple, since the UNESCO examination board was very heterogeneous and included people from all over the world -also non experts on the submissions to be judged.

To cut a long story short, we decided to follow these "unwritten" rules and use the voice-over narrative in order to convey whatever was needed so as to explain our entry in the terms of the nomination dossier. We tried to tell as much as possible with the images, thus supplementing the information communicated by the voice-over script. We also used some clips from interviews, which we subtitled in English (the mandatory language for the video).

In order to enhance the intangible values of our proposal, we had to highlight certain elements by means of a "thick description" (Geerz 1973) that did not focus exclusively on the violinmaking, but also on the cultural outcomes it produces and on the ways in which this is achieved.

In the nomination video, rather than showing the intangibility of the technique or its gestures, we needed to explain why Cremona deserved the UNESCO reward. That is why the video only includes a couple of takes in the shops, showing violinmakers at work, while the majority of its images are instead devoted to underscoring the invisible net that sustains this local knowledge, the cultural aspects involved in this craft.

The video starts and ends with images of musicians playing the violin which are likewise used to make transitions between the several sections. More particularly a Guarneri violin is played during one of the regular auditions scheduled in the museum and we witness the performance of a quartet which took place during the event called *Cremona Mondomusica* (the International Exhibition of Handcrafted Musical Instruments organised by the exhibition centre *Cremonafiere*).

The video's soundtrack uses only these two recordings, which we ourselves taped[10].

The video has a narrative thread: both images and words (voice-overs and interviews) foreground all the intangible aspects of violinmaking, from the sound of the instruments to the cultural context that surrounds this activity and the protagonists involved. From museum exhibitions and activities to the violin-shaped wedding *bonbonnière*: nothing was left out. Safeguarding measures and identity issues are likewise considered[11].

Our plan to highlight the specificity of Cremona was successful. After watching the video no one would ask anymore: why violinmaking in Cremona and not in another part of the world?

Despite the success of the video, I was aware that violinmaking was underrepresented in the video. The main safeguarding measures recommended by UNESCO are the growth of awareness as to the importance of intangible heritage and the documentation of the eligible asset itself, and in this regard a lot of work had still to be done.

Luckily, thanks to the financial backing of the Lombardy Region and the collaboration of the Cremona Municipality, in 2012 I was able to carry on with my work on intangible violinmaking with the project *A regola d'arte* (*Well done*!)[12]. In this work I really wanted to show the complexity of this experience. The main topics where: who are the practitioners of this craftsmanship; how they practice it; how they learn it; how they became professionals. In particular I wanted to document how violinmaking in Cremona was able to flourish over the last 60 years and above all the intangible aspects of this craft. I didn't want to "objectify" the intangible; I wanted to highlight its aspects and elements, through a new "thick" fieldwork and filmmaking.

Since the beginning I wanted to do it directly with video documentation. I wanted to conduct sound research and a fine video production because the core of my fieldwork consisted of both the production of a specialized audio-visual archive and the editing of video clips for the Stradivari museum visitors. I did not simply want to go on with my earlier fieldwork; I wanted to produce useful materials for safeguarding this artistic craft, as requested by the 2003 Convention. The creation of an archive could provide apprentices and masters with another way to study gestures and skills; the production of a number of clips for the museum could spread the awareness of the intangible aspects of this craft and expand on the issue of intangible cultural heritage worth safeguarding.

Since the 1990s the importance of using video documentation in museums in order to provide deep insights into particular crafts has been the subject of considerable emphasis (Tosi 1984 in Galati 1993)[13].

For our material to be efficient in the context of a museum exhibition, it had to be of high quality both in terms of contents and in terms of shooting and editing[14]. For this reason I thought the best thing was to maintain the collaboration with Lorenzo Pizzi.

The footage has been catalogued[15], cleaned up from all the un-useful shots and from excerpts which the interviewees did not want to be public, and is now accessible to researchers and violinmakers both at the Municipality of Cremona and at the AEESS – Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale della Regione Lombardia (Lombardy Region Archive for Ethnography

and Social History in Milan[16].

The edited part consists of 47 short clips from 5 to 8 minutes each in which we tried to concentrate the maximum possible knowledge. This experience can be set against the wider backdrop of the role of documentation in ethnomusicological research and in the dissemination of our studies. There is no doubt about the importance of video documentation in many research approaches (as for example in Rouget's slow-motion analysis or in Kubik's frame by frame analysis). I was uncertain about the efficacy of working with someone else in video documentation.

Is it mandatory for the ethnomusicologist to make its own shooting and editing? Can s/he share authorship and how much? The subject of the shooting was too complex for me to do the whole work alone. I faced both the problem of letting emerge as distinctly as possible the intangible aspects of violinmaking and of pulling off a final editing that could fit perfectly in a high level museum. It was not about producing a documentary. It was about producing effective video clips for a museum exhibit.

The history of ethnographic documentation is nearly as old as that of film itself (starting with Règnault, who, at the 1895 Paris Ethnographic Exposition of West Africa, presented a chrono-photographic sequence of a Wolof woman making pots). While aware that the main purpose of this activity is to make knowledge and skills explicit, I decided that I could not avoid the social context. I wanted to underline the tradition's contemporary dimension and its evolution since the craft's revival, as well as the several views by the violinmakers themselves and the occasional power plays among them. To put it in a nutshell, I wanted to escape from rhetorical representation, while also showing what is normally excluded and what we indeed had to exclude in the nomination video[17]. I wanted to give back their voice to the violinmakers, who had had a very small presence in the nomination video.

I was interested in putting together a reflexive product, which I had not been able to do in the nomination video. Whereas the latter demanded that we should build a convincing truth, for the new videos I wanted to let the various truths involved come to the fore. I was not interested in creating fiction, but in highlighting the single truths of the interviewees. Also in the technical choices, like for example the presence in the editing of off-air, sullied sounds and off-stage images.

I had to share the task with someone who had an in-depth knowledge of the potentialities of shooting and editing. I knew exactly what I wanted to show in the clips; Lorenzo Pizzi had the skills needed to do it. He knew Cremona and the violin-making craft thanks to the previous experience, and shared my passion for doing something different. It has been a real pleasure to work with Lorenzo Pizzi. We were aware of our competences and limitations -both in filmmaking and in fieldwork- and we tried to integrate them without dictating rules to one another. We had different perspectives on the Cremona reality and this certainly enriched our work.

After careful consideration, Lorenzo and I decided to make three different types of clips: "Apprentices" would provide an overview of the International School of violinmaking students; "Masters", would probe in depth into the master-apprentice relationship and partly reconstruct the history of the last sixty years of flourishing violin making; "Know how", would

document the high standards of craftsmanship and expertise expected from a violinmaker. For each one of these three programs, we chose different formats: short interviews with a few identical questions for the "Apprentices" series; life stories for the "Masters" series; comments by the violinmakers while viewing shots of themselves at work for the "Know how" series.

For "Apprentices" and "Masters" the technique was that of direct evidence by the interviewed subjects, but with a totally different atmosphere and intensity in each case.

For the shooting with the apprentices we chose a short interview format consisting of a few short questions: name, background, why you are here, how do you evaluate your experience at the School. We made the interviews with one camera and a steady framing, during the interval in the School playground. The editing is fast, with many interruptions and flashes, sudden transitions (also added during editing), to reflect the vivacity and dynamicity of the young people and their fresh experience.

For the interviews with the masters, we chose to make neutral shots with only two cameras (one for the close-up, one for the narrative space), a black background and no fictional elements like gazing at the camera. The viewer realizes that the master is talking to me, near the camera, but from time to time he looks also at Lorenzo or at my assistant, Alessandra Corna, not at the camera. We posed few questions to the violinmakers, asking them to tell us their experience as apprentices and to discuss their masters. This would provide us with information about the apprenticeship experience with some degree of historical depth, while at the same time facilitating an anecdotic style of narration. We tried to ask as little as we could, giving space to the makers' memory to organize its own narrative.

To use the concept by Claudine de France (1982), the *mise-en-scène* was shared with the violinmakers. We prepared the backdrop -austere, consisting in a black cloth- and asked the apprentices to talk about their masters; they filled up the scenery. The set's essentiality intended to focus the attention exclusively on the stories they told us. The editing is pared down, cuts are almost inexistent, and we tried to leave the micro-stories intact. We also attached a lot of value to very private anecdotes, which testify to the intimacy and humanity inherent in the master-apprentice relationship, since we were also interested in how this relationship was built. In some cases we used the close-up shots, but in no case did we resort to the zoom. The filming is not an intrusion in their life on our part; it is an offering these artists gave us (that is why we involved only the violinmakers who demonstrated an interest in the project, which we presented publicly at the beginning of our research).

Our intention, to give a voice to the violinmakers, was further achieved in the "Know how" sequences, for which we chose a model -to quote the words of Francesco Marano- "centred in the rupture of the subject-object dualism and interested in the relationship and in the co-implication of the world in the representation" (Marano 2006: 41, my translation)[18].

If you go on YouTube, you will find hundreds of videos on violin making. Many are self-made videos by violinmakers themselves who wanted to promote their craft. Many artisans use this tool to enhance their work's worth; some to demonstrate their ability and the value of their method. These videos are promotional statements of competence and authority and at the same time demonstrations of a process of heritisation of the craft (both in terms of com-

modification and of enrichment of the symbolic dimension).

Lorenzo and I wanted to do something completely different. Not a didactical show of the procedures, which would have been too long and inefficient.

My intention was not to document the technical, operational gesture, but to let emerge the complexity of every operation, their concatenation and also the symbolic dimension. The real challenge was to capture the procedural mind; to make explicit both the quantity and the quality of skills internalized by the violinmaker and to reflect and document how the body is central to the materialization of ideas. All of which had to be done in a format compatible with the museum setting.

For this part of the project we decided to use delayed observation: by minimally interacting with the actors, we taped a series of shots in the shops and then selected micro-phases of their works and asked the violinmakers to watch them with us at the editing desk. Accompanied by Lorenzo and me, the violinmaker could observe his own actions again and again on the control monitor, at normal speed or in slow motion. He could analyse and comment on them and explain to us what he was doing and why. We filmed this second interaction with two cameras: the first camera was directed to the violinmaker in a close-up shot (in Chroma key), while the second camera framed the entire situation. In postproduction we mixed the three shooting contexts (shooting in the shop; the close-up of the violinmakers; the interaction between the violinmakers, Lorenzo and I; and also the superposition of the close-up on the shots filmed at the shops).

The result is a doubly reflexive situation experienced by the violinmaker and by ourselves. This is not a new method. Just to quote a few predecessors, Claudine De France used the "sketch method" to outline practical actions made up of repetitive gestures in the French countryside (*La Charpagne*, 1969 and *Laveuses*, 1970); Ruth Stone used the delayed observation technique to analyse the musical events of the Kpelle people in Liberia (1982). Titon and Dornfeld also used the same method in *Powerhouse for God* (1989) in order to learn the point of view of the interviewees. Zemp shows in his *La joie de la jeunesse* (2002) the xylophone player Nahoua Silue looking at the footage of the funeral ritual on a DVD player while being interviewed by his assistant. Also in Italy we have some examples of this typology of video research[19]. In these films, as Francesco Marano writes, "the telling of the informers builds the film's narrative continuity, generally following the real chronology of the events and fitting into the most objectivist tradition of observational film" (Marano 2011: 125).

In my opinion, our work is neither a purely technical expedient in order to obtain some feedback interviews, nor a simple objectification of the events. We have objectified the gesture in order to let the mental process involved and the complexity of the body movements become apparent in the words of the maker. Ours is not an emic point of view, like the one we see in the hundreds of videos available on YouTube, but a mixture of both emic and etic approaches. Our goal is to show what is not evident under normal circumstances and make things evident for the sake of those who have no idea of the craft.

Violinmakers are used to producing their own videos to illustrate the diverse stages of the building procedure. Most of them are also familiar with the questions posed by tourists and

with journalistic interviews. We wanted to take a step further. As I wrote before, most of the time the violinmakers are not completely aware of the "expert" micro-actions they perform and the complexity of the mental and physical procedures involved. Or if they know it, they do not know how to verbalize it.

That is why our intrusion is strong: we made a selection of some very short operational procedures performed by the violinmaker, identifying a few aspects of his work: not necessarily the most important ones, but reflecting some of the tens of micro-procedures involved in this craft. We explained our intentions to the violinmakers and then we let them organize their discourse freely. In editing, we avoided cutting the words of the violinmakers who were looking at the images in order to expose their discourse organization.

In this respect narration does not completely belong to the interviewees, but is rather the sum of all this interaction and careful consideration. We made this explicit by filming and editing the comments' building process, using what Vincenzo Padiglione calls "frame effect: a principle of recognisability of mediation, that makes it possible for description and comment to converge in the same text" (Padiglione, 1997: 150, my translation)[20]. This format makes explicit the relation between the observer and observed and allows viewers to see the gesture in detail as contemporary while they listen to the comments by the master and to our interventions (both gesture and voice).

In my opinion this is the only way to make explicit the link between the knowledge of the body and the knowledge of the mind, as well as to highlight the enormous skills involved in violinmaking. Only after viewing their own image at work as recorded in high definition and identifying specific procedures made visible in a macro perspective, are the violinmakers able to make explicit and verbalize their craft.

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1 For the whole list refer to http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00011 (June 12, 2015).

2 I use the term "element" following UNESCO's adoption of the term to indicate a cultural heritage.

3 BDI is the acronym for *Beni Demologici Immateriali* (Intangible Folk Heritage).

4 With MiniDv Sony DVM60 ME Premium tapes. The only real technical challenge was the light, since the violinmakers are used to working in the dark, lighting up only the specific part they are working at.

5 Henceforth 2003 Convention. For the full text of the Convention see the UNESCO site at webpage http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention (June 12, 2015).

6 I use the masculine because, although there are few highly skilled female violinmakers, most violinmakers are males.

7 Opened in September 2014, the Museo del Violino (Museum of Violin) assembles in one single space collections previously held at Municipality and the *Fondazione A. Stradivari - Ente La Triennale*.

8 The Museo del Violino (Museum of Violin) is one of the few museums that organize at least once a month an audition of the historical instruments extant in its collection or of others displayed in temporary exhibitions.

9 Mostly for the Museo del Brigantaggio (Brigandage Museum) in Cellere (VT).

10 For the audio recording we used a Tascam DP004 with a microphone Sennheiser MKH 40. For the video Lorenzo used a Panasonic AG-HVX200 with the addition of a wide-angle optical and a Sony EX1 for the main shooting; a zoom Q3HD was used for the shooting of the entire set. All the shooting was conducted in 1080 progressive 25 fps and the audio was recorded in 48 kHz, 16 bit. Editing, mixing, colour correction, Chroma key and finalisation where made with Avid Liquid Chrome Xe 7.2; Avid Media Composer 5.5; Avid Pinnacle Studio 15; Steinberg WaveLab and related plugin VST.

11 The nomination dossier, additional images and the video are published at the UNESCO webpage http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00719 (June 12, 2015).

12 That year the Lombardy Region promoted the setting up of the R.E.I.L. (*Rete delle Eredità Immateriali Lombarde*): an on-line archive of the intangible heritage in the region.

13 It is not my intention to discuss the use of ICH here. For a treatment of the topic see Fulvia Caruso, ed., 2011, *Visioni e oltre. Multisensorialità, accessibilità e nuove tecnologie al museo*; Effigi, Grosseto and Fulvia Caruso 2013, "Suono e museo. Per una acustemologia dell'allestimento museale", in *L'etnomusicologia italiana a sessanta anni dalla nascita del CNSMP (1948-2008*), ed. by Giannattasio, Francesco and Giorgio Adamo, 225-243, Atti del Convegno (Roma, 13-15 Novembre 2008), Roma, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia.

14 We used the same devices as for the nomination video.

15 Alessandra Corna collaborated with me in the interviews and in the cataloguing work; Maurizio Corda helped Lorenzo Pizzi in the shooting process.

16 The archival footage consists of: 32 interviews conducted with students at the International School of Violinmaking in the course of 3 days (with a total running time of 2h11'); 11 interviews with violinmakers on their masters (of about 1h/1h30' each) and 4 interviews with violinmakers on their techniques (respectively running for 45', 35', 44' and 35'). Some of the editing can be seen on-line on the AESS Lombardy Region's site devoted to R.E.I.L. (www.aess.regione.lombardia.it/reil/). Click on the "*A regola d'arte*" in the crafts section.

17 In this regard, Lorenzo Ferrarini has produced interesting documentation: six videos done for the Lombardy Region's exhibition *Cultures in Motion*. They can be watched at the AESS Lombardy Region's website: http://www.aess.regione.lombardia.it/cim/ (June 12, 2015).

18 "*centrato sulla rottura del dualismo soggetto-oggetto e interessato alla relazione e alla co-implicazione nel mondo e nella rappresentazione*".

19 Tiragallo-Da Re *Ordire*, 1999, Imbriani-Marano-Mirizzi, *Il canestro di Canio Benedetto*. See Marano 2011: 124.

20 "*Effetto cornice: un principio di riconoscibilità della mediazione, che rende possibile far convergere in uno stesso testo la descrizione e il commento*".

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2. Ethics and Representation

On Making *Drumming out a Message:* Filmmaking and Marginalized Communities

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Abstract

*Drumming out a Message: Eisā and the Okinawan Diaspora in Japan (*2003) is a documentary film about the experience of displacement and the construction of identity in the marginalized Okinawan community in mainland Japan. The *eisā*, a form of dance performed in Okinawa during the summer Obon festival, was given new meanings when a tradition of performing *eisā* was newly established in Osaka in 1975. The film tries to capture the voices of the young migrant workers from Okinawa and second-generation Okinawans who, through the process of performing *eisā*, act on the derogatory images in mainstream culture, and at the same time transform themselves into individuals more resistant to the adversity of such images. In this paper, I describe the process, experiences and challenges of making this film, and analyze some of the critical issues that emerged in the course of filmmaking. I conclude by arguing for the potential ability of audiovisual media in studying and documenting the performing arts of marginalized communities.

Keywords: drumming, marginalization, Okinawa, diaspora.

This short essay discusses the process, experiences and challenges of making a documentary film on the role of performing arts within one particular marginalized community in Japan. In doing so, my primary aim is not so much to provide the background or additional information of the film's content, as to discuss some of the critical issues that emerged in the filmmaking process. Although the film is mostly a portrayal of a group of young Okinawans in Osaka and their activities, I believe the issues it raises have a substantially wider application. In particular, I will focus on the potentials of audiovisual media in studying and documenting the performing arts of marginalized minority groups.

Drumming out a Message: Eisā and the Okinawan Diaspora in Japan (2003) is an ethnographic film about the relationship between the experience of displacement and the construction of identity for Okinawans living in mainland Japan. The *eisā* is a form of dance performed in Okinawa during the summer Obon festival when the spirits of the deceased are believed to return to the world of the living. The spirits are welcomed, entertained with food, drink, music and dance, then sent off until their next visit. However, when a tradition of performing *eisā* was newly established in Osaka in 1975, its purpose was significantly different. Young Okinawan workers were struggling to construct a positive identity in their geographical and cul-

tural displacement, and found in *eisā* a much needed outlet for self-expression that was suppressed in the presence of the mainland Japanese (Terada 2011). Focusing on the activities of the Banyan Association (*Gajimaru-no-kai*) which they established for mutual support and solidarity, the film tries to capture the sentiments and emotions of these migrant workers from Okinawa and second-generation Okinawans who, by performing *eisā*, act on the derogatory images in mainstream culture, and at the same time transform themselves into individuals more resistant to the adversity of such images.

Selecting the topic

My interest in diasporic Okinawan culture in Osaka began in 1994 when I was asked by the University of Washington's music department to find two competent Okinawan musicians for its visiting artist program. In the course of locating musicians, I was introduced to Machida Munetaka, an Osaka-based performer and teacher of Okinawan classical music (*Ryūkyū koten ongaku*)[1]. Conversations with Machida and others informed me of the existence of an active music scene in the Okinawan community of Osaka. My move back to Osaka in 1996 after many years of sojourn in North America opened up a long-awaited opportunity to study Okinawan music in person. I began attending Machida's classes where I met many other students of Okinawan music, and soon was involved in rehearsals with other teachers and their students, social gatherings, and a network of non-musician supporters and patrons of Okinawan performing arts.

In 1997 I went to the annual Eisā Festival in Osaka for the first time and was fascinated by the energy of drumming and dancing. While the exuberance of the festival excited me, I was also ashamed by my ignorance over the very existence of such a festival and the Okinawan community that had organized it since 1975. I soon discovered that my lack of familiarity was not an exception, and that the activities of *eisā* groups were known primarily within the Okinawan community and in the areas where Okinawans live in large numbers such as Taisho Ward in Osaka.

With a growing interest in the Okinawan community in Osaka, I attended in 1998 a public talk by Kinjo Kaoru, one of the original members of the Banyan Association. An outspoken community leader, Kinjo is also a founder and manager of the *Kansai Okinawa Bunko* (KOB, Okinawa Library of Kansai)[2], which also functions as a community center that organizes a wide range of social, cultural and educational activities. In his talk to a largely non-Okinawan audience, Kinjo presented a critical overview of the history and experiences of the Okinawan community in Osaka. After the lecture, I introduced myself to Kinjo and explained my interest in the history of *eisā* in Osaka and its implications for the identity of Okinawans living in the area. It was evident from Kinjo's talk and the audience responses that the communication between Okinawans and Japanese is inevitably framed (preconditioned and contextualized) by their historical relationship and current identity politics (Fig. 1).

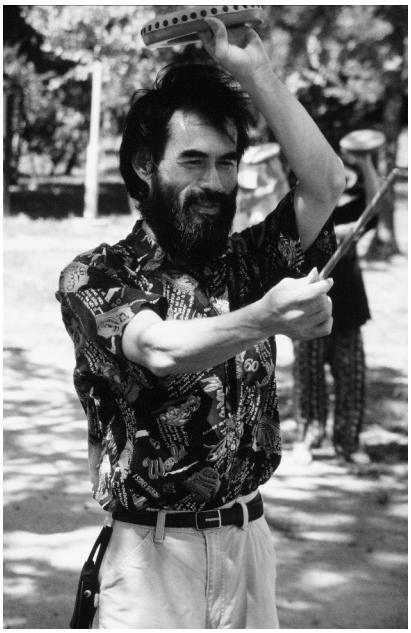

Fig. 1. Kinjo Kaoru teaching *eisā* (1999)

Exhibition as a beginning

The idea of making this film was conceived as part of an exhibition at the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku, its Japanese abbreviation, hereafter) where I work since 1996. As the film is an extension of the exhibition's themes and objectives, I will first describe below the process of organizing the exhibition on performing arts in the Okinawan community in Osaka and the nature of the collaboration between the museum and the community during this process.

Minpaku holds two temporary exhibitions per year on subjects dealing with various topics that are not covered in its permanent exhibition. In 1999, an exhibition named *Ethnic Cultures Crossing Boundaries* was held to showcase the process of cultural practices crossing national and regional boundaries, complementing the geographically divided permanent exhibition. Eleven members of the museum's research departments were recruited to form a curatorial team.

When I was asked to be part of the curatorial team of this exhibition, I decided that this would be an excellent opportunity to share some aspects of the culture of Okinawans in Osaka with a larger audience[3]. I also felt that the public museum located in Osaka has a responsibility to introduce the city's cultural diversity to local residents. I went to meet Kinjo and sought his advice regarding the idea of focusing on *eisā* in Osaka as part of an exhibition at our museum. He directed me to Tamaki Toshinori who had been the leader of the Banyan Association. Tamaki is from Hamahiga Island of Okinawa where he was immersed in *eisā* performance before moving to Osaka in 1973. Through his teaching, the *eisā* practiced on this island be-

came the initial style of performance of the Banyan Association. It was my good fortune that both Kinjo and Tamaki were willing to cooperate with me for the exhibition project.

The dearth of physical objects made it difficult to build an exhibition primarily around them[4]. It was also clear that displaying objects alone would by no means suffice to convey the subtlety and complexity inherent to the topic. Consequently, the exhibition consisted of physical objects and audiovisual presentations. The case of *eisā* in Osaka was selected to provide a contrast with *taiko* music in North America, where a new performance tradition was created to combat social stereotypes and reaffirm ethnic identity. My aim in designing the exhibition was to draw attention to parallels between the two cases. Both cases show how music can make social and political differences, and how various identities are performed in music.

As an event to publicize the exhibition, I also organized a concert at Minpaku featuring the Banyan Association[5]. Tamaki and Kinjo participated as performers and they joined Nakama to form a roundtable between the two sets of performance to discuss their experiences of starting *eisā* in Osaka. Similarly, in order to allow visitors to hear the voices of people involved in *eisā*, I produced a short (18 minutes) video program featuring interviews with Tamaki and Kinjo and scenes from the 1999 Eisā Festival. The program was shown continuously on a video monitor placed on the exhibition floor. The interviews dealt with the history of the *eisā* in Osaka in general and Tamaki's and Kinjo's roles in it.

Filming *Drumming out a Message*

The video program made in 1999 was designed specifically for the exhibition and needed to be short to best serve this purpose. Editing the interview footage with Tamaki and Kinjo, however, I was moved by the profound emotions behind their activities and inspired to produce a comprehensive and in-depth documentary to convey the complexity of Okinawan experiences in Osaka. Incidentally, the Banyan Association were interested in documenting the history of their own activities but had no adequate resources for such a project[6]. Learning their aspiration, I suggested that the museum and a group of individuals from the Okinawan community collaborate for a multiyear filmmaking project on the subject. I proposed that the museum would provide technical staff and facilities to film and edit the program, while community members and I would oversee the filmmaking together. I stressed that an important objective of the project would be to produce a program that was meaningful and useful to the community. After a few meetings, Kinjo, Tamaki and Nakama Keiko agreed to collaborate on the project[7].

The major portion of shooting was conducted for the period of three years between 2000 and 2002, which is much longer than the normal procedure at Minpaku: one year of filming followed by another year for editing. I was aware of the existence of exploitative research in ethnomusicology in the past in which the researcher from wealthier countries/areas conducted (and benefited from) research on the music culture of the less fortunate places on the pretext of academic advancement and pursuit of the truth. Blatant exploitation as such was rare by the time I began filming, but I knew I should not take lightly the burden of the discipline's checkered history and my own uncomfortable positionality as a member of the majority ethnic

Japanese. When I proposed the project, I stressed that I would need more time than it is usually allowed by Minpaku to establish a good rapport with the community[8].

We filmed the annual Eisā Festival in September, which is the most important event for the Banyan Association, for three consecutive years with the professional camera crew from the museum (Fig. 2). The interviews with six participants were also documented on site. Apart from the hosting Banyan Association, a number of *eisā* groups from other diasporic locations such as Tokyo, Kyoto, and Nagoya also participated in the festival to celebrate the Okinawan culture in mainland Japan together, and Kinjo was instrumental in acquiring permission from them to be documented for the film.

Fig. 2. Flyer of the 25th Eisa Festival in Osaka (2000)

Apart from the festival, I have also filmed the extended interviews with three key individuals on my own. In order to capture the most candid narratives and unforced expressions, I tried to simulate a situation in which two friends are deep into conversation in private without the presence of the film crew. I sat down on the floor with an interviewee, set up a video camera on a tripod, and let it run with no manipulation (punning, zooming in and out etc.) excepting to change the tapes. These interviews were conducted at the KOB, the headquarters of the Banyan Association, toward the end of the project when I had already met and interacted with them many times (Fig. 3).

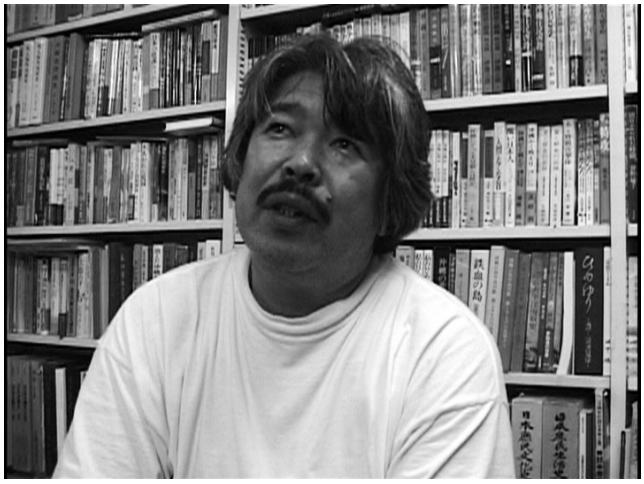

Fig. 3. Interview with Tamaki Toshinori

Editing

In retrospect, the time I spent with them in such interviews was the most intimate and memorable moments of the entire project, and although I was not clearly aware of it then, I wanted to recreate a sense of the intimacy and intensity of those moments throughout the film. For this reason, I decided to produce an interview-oriented program, focusing on the voices and expressions of the interviewees, although we had accumulated a good deal of footage of the *eisā* performance and practice sessions.

Their narratives were so powerful and expressive that I thought it would be more revealing to present them "as they are" instead of having narration or subtitles guide viewers through the story. I opted to connect interview footage to create a narrative flow, which is not strictly structured but serves as a guidepost. The story was not predetermined so that the narratives in the film are not seamless, but have occasional ruptures and subtle differences in nuances. But this was closer to how I learned about the complex emotions of the Okinawans in Osaka from multifarious stories unfolded in all hues.

I divided the film into five sections: (1) In the Beginning; (2) In the Eyes of the Japanese; (3) The Second Generation; (4) *Yamatonchu* (The Japanese); and (5) *Umui* (Emotions and Desires), each consisting of selected interview shots interspersed with scenes from the Eisā Festivals and practice sessions. Old archival photos are occasionally inserted between interview scenes. The group let me use the 8mm video footage of the very first Eisā Festival in 1975 when Kinjo describes the early years of eisā activities.

Narrative texture

The thoughts and emotions of Okinawans in Osaka regarding *eisā* are highly diverse, and an individual may also bear complex and multi-layered feelings, which are difficult to describe in words. How can we communicate or portray such thoughts and emotions? A spoken narrative

involves much more than just the text being spoken, and frequently how it is delivered is just as important as what is delivered. Slight changes in voice, facial expression and bodily gesture may speak more eloquently about the emotions behind them than the text being spoken. I employ the term "texture" in this essay to refer to such extra-textual aspects of narratives.

For example, a Banyan Association member describes in one of the filmed interviews his experiences of coming to and living in Osaka. Throughout the interview, I sensed some tension between the text (his words) and texture (his facial expressions and bodily message): He had a smile which I did not know how to interpret exactly. Possibly, he was trying to neutralize the critical edge of his views about Japanese, but it also seemed that his smile derived from the frustration over his inability to fully express himself. In written texts, the situation such as this may be either ignored or described (fixed) in words as I do here. In the latter case, however, it simply records my interpretation of the narrative texture, covering up the "raw materials" from which many other interpretations could be drawn. In order not to direct viewers' perceptions in a fixed manner, I decided to present interviews as closely as possible to the way they were given so that viewers have an access to the narrative texture.

Stating so, I do not take the position to argue that this approach ensures the film's neutrality. Contrarily, I am aware that my view of the subject is inevitably reflected in the film as I designed its overall structure and selected and sequenced shots taken from hours of interview footage. Moreover, because the narrative was directed to me as an interviewer, the rapport I had established with the Okinawan community constitutes an indelible part of its content and texture. Even so, my intention was to minimize my presence, within this limitation, as a filter of information.

For the same reason, I decided not to use narration, a departure from the common practice in documentary filmmaking. From the outset, I wanted to present various views of *eisā* in Osaka, but the narration is capable only of representing a single story, often delivered in the standardized and authoritative voice of a professional narrator. Obviously, the existence of multiple views can be explained in narration but they are not presented in their own voices, but only summarized and therefore frequently oversimplified. As I focused on the depth and width of emotions embedded in the narrative texture, the film may come across too redundant to those who prioritize the textual content of the interviews. In fact, after the screening at an academic conference in 2005, an American film maker criticized the film for being too long and suggested that it be shortened by some 15 minutes by eliminating what appeared to him as overlapping narratives[9], and a Japanese anthropologist felt that film is an inappropriate medium for recording long interview scenes and that they should be transcribed and recorded in a written medium (a booklet, for example)[10]. The typical documentary films, especially those produced by TV stations, are based on economy of time, realized by "sharp" editing and a seamless flow of scripted narration, and such a format is so dominant and prevalent that it may make watching and listening to interviews boring or painful, even for scholars and film makers. I consider the methods suggested above representing an approach that is stubbornly text-centered and needs critical intervention.

Silence and unspeakable emotions

The first generation (*issei*) Okinawans were silent supporters of the *eisā* in Osaka. The Banyan Association faced not only discrimination by Japanese but also stiff resistance from their own community. Many community leaders who had managed to obtain economic stability and social status by suppressing their ethnic identity and assimilating into Japanese culture, complained that the group's public performance of *eisā* would be nothing short of "exposing Okinawa's shame" (Nakama 1999; Tamaki 2001). In this environment, it was those silent elders who gave much-needed moral support to the Banyan Association. Despite their importance, however, they do not appear in the film.

The Banyan Association members had told me moving anecdotes that these elders quietly watched from a distance the entire preparation process of the festival on a day of scorching heat, or awaited the festival eagerly, counting the days with the invitation flyer at their bedsides[11]. When I began shooting, I wanted to ask some of those elders to speak about their thoughts and emotions, but learning more about them I gradually realized that it would be neither possible nor desirable. They tend to shy away from speaking of their experience directly. A long history of discrimination against Okinawans by the Japanese is at the backdrop of their silence, and I felt that to have them talk in front of camera is an act of violence and indicates the lack of imagination over the meaning of their silence.

One of my American colleagues in ethnomusicology has suggested that silence can be incorporated in the film as it is because it eloquently points to the presence of unspeakable emotions. A person captured silent in film is the reversed image of the typical interview shot as there is no sound or movement to which viewers can direct their attention. Strong tension or anxiety is created between the shot and viewers as they are led to wonder what will happen next. This tension can invite them effectively to imagine over the emotions that cannot be easily expressed in words. However, for this tension to be effective in activating such power of imagination, the silence needs to be contextualized. While viewers have no clues if no contextualization is provided, too much direction will lead them to simplistic conclusions. In the end, I decided not to film the elders and the emotions behind their silence are only represented by the narrative of Banyan Association members.

Seen from a different angle, the issue of silence has brought me to the existential question about the interview-based program. As far as I can tell, silence is not limited to the first generation elders, and the members of the Banyan Association have also faced the situations in which they had no option but to be silent. If minority individuals find a possibility in performing arts for expressing emotions that cannot be expressed in other media, a focus on interviews can be construed as contradictory. In other words, interview-based programs rely too much on the textual narrative even when the narrative texture can be expressive.

Film screenings

As I tackled the issues arising from the production of *Drumming out a Message*, I wanted to show the film to people of various cultural backgrounds and expertise. I made an English language version of the film in 2005, and since then, the film has been screened 18 times at di-

verse locations around the world[12]. Although my original intention was to learn the viewers' reaction so that their feedback could be incorporated into my future projects, I began to sense that it also has a great potential as a site of face-to-face interactions and for connecting people.

In spring of 2007, I had a chance to show the film to a group of Okinawans living in the USA[13]. The reasons and conditions of relocation in Osaka and the USA are vastly different from one another, but they both live away from Okinawa as a minority in their respective areas. At the screenings, the participants watched the film with great enthusiasm as the commonality made them empathize with Okinawans in Osaka closely. One of the organizers of the screening took enough personal interest to visit Kinjo in Osaka in 2008, strengthening the connection initiated by the screening.

In the summer of 2007, the film was shown in Okinawa where members of a local *eisā* group were present[14]. The film was at least partially instrumental in creating interest among them in the activities of Okinawans in Osaka. They began to correspond with Kinjo, which led to the group's participation in the Eisā Festival in Osaka from 2007 onwards. It gives me the greatest pleasure if the film created a site, though minute in scale, for the Okinawans living in various places of the world to converge and share the respective situations and experiences.

In 2015, I coordinated with Sunagawa Hideki, an anthropologist based in Okinawa, the scheduling of a film screening in Naha, the largest city in Okinawa[15]. Sunagawa is a leader of Pink Dot Okinawa, an organization that helps create a tolerant and inclusive society for sexual minorities and the audience consisted mainly of its members and their friends. My interest in showing the film in this setup was to see how the film may be viewed by those dealing with different types of marginalization. Sunagawa has published an article on a gay *eisā* group and has already analyzed how different types of marginalization intersect with each other (Sunagawa 2010). Most participants, who were scholars of performing arts and/or social activists, made informative comments on such issues as what can be potentially added to broaden the scope of the film, the possible future applications of the film, and the technical details of *eisā* as presented in the film and their implications.

Similarly, I wanted to open up a venue in which the Okinawan experiences in Osaka can be a useful resource for analytical comparison for marginalized communities in completely different cultural settings. Ravindran Gopalan, a respected South Indian scholar in journalism and communication who is seriously committed to social activism, collaborated with me to organize a screening and discussion session at the University of Madras in 2008[16]. The audience, including many students and faculty members from marginalized communities, watched the film attentively. Many comments were analytical, indicating the level of their interest in the film -such as the critical comparison of the case of *eisā* in Osaka with the newly constructed performing arts among *dalits*, and the efficacy of performing arts in strengthening the identity of marginalized communities-, while general questions about the political status of marginalized groups and the state of multiculturalism in Japan were also asked. Encouraged by the high level of engagement, I plan to organize more events of this nature in the future.

An opportunity to show the film in UK emerged in 2014 when I was invited to attend a symposium in London. Seizing the opportunity, I asked David Hughes, an ethnomusicologist

specializing in Japanese music who also attended the symposium, to organize a film screening at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), from which he had retired in 2008 to serve as research associate[17]. He had previously written a review of the film for an academic journal (Hughes 2009) and we discussed the possibility of showing the film in the UK. An accomplished performer of Okinawan *sanshin* (plucked lute), Hughes leads an *eisā* group in London and arranged his group to give a short performance by the lobby of the auditorium where the film was shown to create an exciting festive atmosphere. Okinawan migrants in UK and temporary visitors from Okinawa were in the audience.

Cross-topical and cross-cultural film screenings are important for the academic disciplines and marginalized communities alike. I strongly felt that the research findings about marginalized communities are gathered and archived by academicians who tend to have a global view based on the comparative analysis of various case studies, while marginalized communities themselves do not have a channel of interaction with each other, and are consequently left uninformed about the experiences and activities of other communities. Audiovisual media can play a certain role to rectify the situation.

Concluding remarks

The music making of the minority populations has been the topic of my interest for some time, and my primary concern therein is to assess the extent to which music serves as a venue for minority individuals and groups to deal with their marginalization, to express and create their sense of being, and to empower themselves (Terada 2001, 2008, 2012). To understand the uniqueness of performing arts among various means of expression such as visual art, sport, and literature is important for academic discourse, but this endeavor needs to be practiced as part of, or along with, the action-oriented collaboration with the minority community in their effort to publicize and disseminate their activities.

In making *Drumming out a Message*, I realized the power of filmmaking to connect people and to assist interaction between marginalized communities which may not have a venue for interaction so that they themselves can engage in critical comparison, regarding their cultural work. I wish to envision a film as a continual process in which people can interact throughout the course of filmmaking that includes planning, pre-shooting research, shooting, editing, screenings and other post-production activities. Cast this way, a film is not a finished and fixed product of the producer/director, but it becomes a living and organic site that is open to commentaries and critiques, with possibilities for making necessary changes[18].

Finally, I have mentioned earlier that marginalized groups engage in performing arts as one of the very few viable options for "expressing" themselves. However, this wording should be treated with caution as it assumes the *a priori* existence of thoughts and emotions, which only need to be expressed through performing arts. It might be closer to reality to regard performing arts as a place in which a sense of anxiety, rage, isolation and self-image which are not easily spoken or described by practitioners themselves, are solidified or crystallized into thoughts and emotions through its practice. If practicing performing arts (including watching

and talking about it) is an important and complex process related to the identity of marginalized communities, how can filmmaking contribute to the study of the process?

As I have argued above, film has an immeasurable advantage over written texts as a medium in which to appreciate and understand the diversity and multiplicity of spoken narratives. Its potential is even greater for projects to document the marginalized communities as written texts have had a limited success in describing and representing their deep-rooted emotions and thoughts that are severely and often negatively affected by the dominant culture. Yet, this potentiality has to be further explored with more concrete filmmaking projects. Only after the accumulation of such explorations may we begin to formulate a methodology that finds a due place in humanistic sciences and at the same time is meaningful to marginalized communities.

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1 Machida, originally from Yomitan, Okinawa, was well-known in the Okinawan community in Osaka. He was a senior member of the Kansai Chapter of the Preservation Society of Nomura-school Okinawan Classical Music when I first contacted him, and later became its president.

2 Kinjo's lecture "Okinawa in Osaka" was given at the Asian Library in Yodogawa Ward, Osaka on May 23, 1998.

3 The exhibition was divided into nine thematic areas, each of which presented case studies on the general theme. As a member of the team, I was in charge of a section on music along with Fukuoka Shota, my colleague in ethnomusicology. Three case studies were presented in the music section, including the topic of the present essay. Another concerned *taiko* music in North America which, though initially based on and inspired by the Japanese drumming music known as *wadaiko*, has served as a means of cultural expressions for Japanese and other Asian Americans (Terada 2001). The third concerned the performance and reception of Indonesian *gamelan* music in Japan, and the trajectory of its stylistic and social development since it was first introduced in the 1970s. With these three examples, we aimed to show how a musical tradition might be adopted and adapted as a form of expression for people who find meanings vastly different from those that traditionally sustained it.

4 The displayed objects included the following items: (1) a flyer containing the 1974 declaration for the establishment of the Banyan Association; (2) a photo of its inaugural meeting; (3) several photographs of its activities (picnic and *eisā* practice at Osaka Castle Park); (4) posters from *eisā* festivals during the 1970s and 1980s; and (5) a *pārankū* drum used by the Banyan Association in its early years. All the items mentioned above were on loan from Kinjo Kaoru and the Banyan Association. They were placed in a large glass case. At that time, Kinjo and Banyan Association members were preparing for the upcoming Eisa Festival in September, and they had started to gather items relating to the history of the group, and their significance to the community. Items (2) and (3) were later incorporated into *Drumming out a Message*.

5 Titled *Eisā: Okinawan Performing Art Rooted in Kansai*, the concert was held on November 7, 1999.

6 The Banyan Association was facing an identity crisis of sorts as many of its original members had returned to Okinawa or left the group for various reasons while new members were not always informed of the reasons behind establishing the group. Kinjo and other senior members felt the urgent need to document the trajectory of the group's activities.

7 Nakama was a curator at the Osaka Human Rights Museum, a unique institution devoted to research on marginalized groups in Japan and education about them. Though not a performer of *eisā* or a native of Osaka herself, she is a second-generation Okinawan deeply involved in community activism and has written about the history of Okinawan community in Osaka (Nakama 1999).

8 The relationship between Okinawans and exhibitions also had a scandalous beginning. When the government sponsored the Fifth National Industrial Exhibition (*Naikoku Kangyo Hankurankai*) in Osaka in 1903, an exhibition hall was built by a private entrepreneur adjacent to the exhibition site. In this hall, the people were displayed as living specimens of ethnic groups. In the Human Race Pavilion (*Jinruikan*), two courtesans from Okinawa were "displayed" as noble Okinawan women along with other examples from ethnic minorities in the Japanese territory at that time, including Ainu, Koreans, and Taiwanese aborigines. Okinawan politicians and journalists protested against the equation of courtesans and Okinawan people as a gross misrepresentation of Okinawans, and also criticized the organizers for displaying Okinawans alongside other minority groups, thus revealing their own prejudices against them (Maehira 1999). Although this occurred over a century ago, the 1903 exhibition remains infamous among Okinawan residents in Osaka and the grotesque imagery of the Human Race Pavilion haunts any attempt to exhibit Okinawa in Japan (Engeki 'Jinruikan' Joen o Jitsugensasetai Kai 2005).

9 The comment was given to me after the film screening, at the Annual Conference of the Society for Ethnomusicology, held in Atlanta, USA on November 18, 2005.

10 The statement was made during the research meeting sponsored by the Folklore Society of Okinawa at the Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts in Naha on December 22, 2007.

11 Interview with Shimajiri Hiroki (August 26, 2000). Also Kinjo Kaoru (quoted in Ota 1996:97).

12 The film has been shown in Japan (Osaka and Okinawa), USA, UK, India, Indonesia, the Czech Republic, and South Africa. The venues of the film screening were diverse such as academic conferences, film festivals, local cultural festivals, universities, and community gatherings. A discussion session was organized at 16 out of 18 screenings, and I was present and participated in such discussions at all but one session.

13 The screening was held twice. The first one, organized by Okinawakai of Washington D.C., was held on May 19 at Tyson-Pimmit Regional Library (Falls Church, Virginia) and the second, sponsored by Florida Okinawa Kenjinkai, took place at the residence of one of its members on July 1. Both events were reported in prominent Okinawan daily newspapers (*Okinawa Times*, July 7 issue; *Ryukyu Simpo*, June 10 issue).

14 The film was shown at *Motobu Tezukuriichi* (Motobu Hand Made Market), in Motobu, Okinawa on August 19, 2007.

15 The event was held at Ameku Hilltop on January 17, 2015.

16 I was greatly honored when he offered to organize a screening session to inaugurate the *Media and Society Seminar Series* that he directs.

17 The screening was held at Khalili Lecture Theatre of SOAS on February 22, 2014.

18 Similarly, the Minpaku, my home institution, has attempted to discard a conventional image of the museum that unilaterally provides information to visitors through exhibitions and related activities such as gallery talks and lectures, and transform itself into a forum-type museum where information and ideas flow in multiple directions. The role of such a museum then is to provide a site, both literally and figuratively, for interaction where those involved in museum activities learn from each other.

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Payada, Empathy and Social Commitment: A Filming Experience in an Argentinian Prison

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Abstract

The use of video as a research tool has been growing in the last decades. Many of the topics currently debated about its usage are common to diverse disciplines and represent the development of long time discussions: dualities like objective/subjective, fiction/non-fiction, art/science or reflections around the representation of reality, dialogic editing, ethics, etc., are constantly engaged. These debates involve epistemological issues that make it difficult to reach a wide consensus. Therefore, they are interpreted in different ways, depending on many variables: specific dialogic relationships, field of studies, methodological and theoretical frames, personal sensibility, etc. In the following chapter I present some reflections about my research with *payadores rioplatenses*, specifically the audiovisual documentation of a performance that took place in Dolores' penitentiary, in the Province of Buenos Aires. In doing so, I will address some of the main topics currently debated in the discipline, with particular focus on the relationship between the performers and the public, the ethical implications of filming in a prison and the audiovisual representation of human experience.

Keywords: Improvised poetry, performance, audiovisual representation, experience, ethics.

In this essay I will address some theoretical and ethical issues related to the use of audiovisual techniques as a research tool. Particularly, I will present my reflections on the ethnographic representation of human experience and its ethical implications. As it has been highlighted several times in the specific bibliography, fieldwork is -to a certain extent- a subjective and dialogic experience that is based on specific human relations. Hence, to fully understand the ethnographic use of audiovisual techniques as a research tool it is necessary to ground the discourse on the ethnographic experience. To do so, I will briefly introduce my research topic stressing those aspects that are important to support my point; I present some of my concerns regarding fieldwork and audiovisual research and, finally, I describe the filming context explaining step by step my choices and reflections.

Singing opinions

Payada rioplatense is a genre of sung and improvised poetry from Argentina and Uruguay that can be included in a category of practices common to various cultures and societies, such

as the so-called verbal duels or traditions of improvised poetry (Foley 1985; Zumthor [1983] 1990; Finnegan 1992; Pagliai 2009). One of the main analogies between these genres is that they are often performed in the form of challenges between two or more improvisers. Furthermore, *payada rioplatense* is specially related to other Ibero-American improvisational traditions (Armistead 1994; Díaz Pimienta 2013; Trapero 2014); the Iberian influence over these genres, both Spanish and Portuguese, is the linchpin that connects them and relates them back to Europe. The language[1] and the poetic structures are Iberian, while the music and content of the improvisation are the result of the many contingencies involved in the different hybridization processes that are particular to each area. Contemporary *payadores* are also involved in a wide network of international festivals that promote cross-cultural challenges, mostly between Spanish speaking traditions[2]. This helped the creation of strong ties of friendship and brotherhood between improvisers who, until recently, were convinced that they were the last representatives of such traditions (Trapero 1996). Nevertheless, these genres must be considered in a wider context that goes beyond the Hispanic influence and includes, at least, native American and Mediterranean traditions (Armistead 1996; Díaz Pimienta 2013; Scarnecchia 2014).

Among the diverse peculiarities of the *payada rioplatense*, one of the most representative is the improvisers' commitment to a shared set of values. Being a *payador*, as they themselves declare, is something that goes beyond the technical ability to improvise complex poetic structures. Being a *payador* means assuming certain values and commitments that affect many different aspects of an individual's life. Among these values it is particularly important to represent the voice of the people, of the *pueblo*. This is an element that has been historically existent in the tradition and that *payadores* try to preserve. This is not the place to deeply analyse the historical elements that influenced contemporary *payada*, which are partly grounded in the *gauchesca* poetry and the Argentine independence and civil wars (19th century). To be short, *payadores* and *cantores* were present in the forefront of the battles, sometimes improvising verses, sometimes interpreting patriotic *cielitos* written by intellectuals of that time and disseminated in *cordel* literature[3]. What has been recognized as a complex process of appropriation of the gaucho's voice (Ludmer [1988] 2000) reached a climax with José Hernández' epic poem called *Martín Fierro* (1872). In this book, Hernández does a critique of the society of the time describing the misadventures of the gaucho Martin Fierro, who narrates his story in improvised verses (Hernández [1872] 1967). At that time the gaucho was treated as a barbarian in a society that was trying to build an identity based on "civilized" European models (Sarmiento [1845] 1961; Altamirano and Sarlo 1983; Ludmer [1988] 2000).

This concept changed at the turn of the 20th century, when a huge number of immigrants coming from Europe were weakening the on-going construction of the Argentine national identity. As a response, some intellectuals elected the gaucho as the symbol of the "truly" creole Argentine identity (see for example Lugones [1916] 1944). Nevertheless, this commitment with social issues has been perpetuated during the 20th century, as some *payadores* assumed anarchist ideals and included social criticism in their improvisations (Martín Castro, Carlos Molina and Marta Suint among others). Another famous example of appropriation of

the *payadores*' voice from outside the tradition can be found in the poem *El payador perseguido*, by the Argentine songwriter Atahualpa Yupanqui (1972). Once again, the *gauchesca* style is chosen to denounce the injustice suffered by the pueblo, incarnated by a "persecuted *payador*".

As mentioned before, contemporary *payadores* continue on this line; in fact, they assume as an identity symbol a verse from Martín Fierro that says (Hernández [1872] 1967: vv. 61-66):

Yo he conocido cantores	I have known singers
que era un gusto el escuchar;	it was a pleasure to listen to;
mas no quieren opinar	they amuse themselves singing
y se divierten cantando;	and don't care to give opinions;
pero yo canto opinando	but I sing giving opinions
que es mi modo de cantar.	and that's my kind of song.

To sing giving opinions and to be the "voice of the *pueblo*" implies a particular connection between performers and their audience. When the *payadores* arrive to a new place, they start to talk with people and try to find out what is meaningful to them: mayor injustices recently perpetuated, successful endeavours achieved by members of a particular village, historical anniversaries, etc. Furthermore, they usually comment on recent chronicle episodes occurred at a national or international scale, like political issues or natural tragedies. In doing so, they present values and perspectives pertaining to their culture and use expressions that may be familiar to their *pueblo*: mostly people from the countryside, gauchos and *paisanos* (peasants). Sometimes, they even defy the *pueblo's* conservative established assumptions, accomplishing a function that could be recognized as educative (Moreno Cha 2005). In general, *payadores* seek to express the voice of those that cannot speak for themselves, the misfortunates. This aspect could be easily misunderstood: sometimes the line that separates demagogy from social commitment can be thin, but I am confident that the videos I am presenting here will highlight the importance of empathy both in the *payadores*' values and in the mechanisms of improvisation. To do so I will use as a case study the audiovisual recordings I made at a solidarity event that took place inside Dolores' prison (Province of Buenos Aires) in 2010.

Audiovisual and research: some personal considerations

Since the beginning of my research I decided to use audiovisual recordings following the ethical guidelines common to the discipline. At first, I used the camera to record only the performances: the *payadores* were happy to receive a copy of their improvisations and were already used to being recorded by enthusiast followers. Performances are often held on stages with lights and amplification, and the public is usually numerous, from fifty to a thousand or more, depending on the venue; recording every performance was not an issue. I did it following the discipline's recommendations: full recordings of the performance in a fixed frame and, occasionally, panning between performers in a long uninterrupted sequence. The audio was recorded both in camera (from the second trip with an external stereo microphone) and directly from the mixer.

Apart from that, I consciously avoided the use of audio, video or photographic recordings in order to be fully concentrated in constructing relationships with and participating in my informants'[4] lives; at first as a host and sometimes, gradually, as a friend. As a methodological choice, after a few encounters I started to record in audio informal one-to-one conversations with some *payadores*, usually about general topics like their life story, how they started to improvise, etc. I did it in order to have a record of the *payadores*' mechanisms of representation at the first stages of the research, when I still was an outsider, the new guy "from Spain" who was following them everywhere[5]. This was also useful in order to make explicit my intentions as a researcher even though, during these years, I had to explain many times -and frequently to the same persons- what my final goal was. As many ethnomusicologists had experienced before, it can be hard to explain our job to people from outside the academia; and I am consciously not differentiating between informants and, for example, my family[6]. After a few months (and mostly in my second research trip), I started to do audiovisual recordings during other casual situations, following a process that I perceived as non-invasive[7].

As a personal attitude towards research, I am rarely obsessed with data gathering. I usually try to focus on getting the whole picture, on understanding the processes involved in the traditions I am studying. Of course I do record and, at times, I can be highly systematic, but I prefer to prioritize fieldwork as an experience. At present, no technology can represent exactly what another person is experiencing. We can only translate these experiences intellectually and/or through empathy, which means relating others' experiences to our theoretical and emotional background and attempting to understand how others think and feel. Before representing the *payadores*' experiences to a third party through any media, I needed to understand them; empathize with them so as to be able to translate their experiences into something meaningful to me. Therefore, I was usually relaxed when recording: technically I tried to be as accurate as possible but, until now, my priority has always been the fieldwork as an encounter between human beings, each one playing a different role.

Nevertheless, as many researchers before me, I consider audiovisual recording an essential part of any ethnomusicological research (Feld 1976; Zemp 1988; Baily 1989; Elescheck 1989; D'Amico 2012; etc.). In this project, I am especially concerned with the documentation and representation of the contingencies that determine each improvisation. *Payadores*, as well as improvisers from other traditions, are always attentive to what is happening around them and try to incorporate it into their improvisations. This is explained by several reasons that are related to the performers' motivations: demonstrating to the audience that they are truly improvising; receiving external inputs so as to enrich their verses; expressing ideas that are meaningful to the public they are singing for; getting the feedback from the audience's facial expressions and body language; etc. In fact, when improvising in theatres they usually ask for at least the front rows of seats to be lit. The consideration of the context is relevant for any performance, but it is particularly easy to be observed in traditions in which this is verbalized on the spot. As an inexperienced filmmaker, the technical challenge was to evoke this 'celebration of the fleeting moment' in video using one camera.

To film or not to film?

As part of their tradition, *payadores* frequently collaborate in solidarity events with different purposes: to raise money for schools, to help solve problems caused by natural calamities, to help a colleague with health issues or too old to work, etc. The performance held in Dolores' prison is part of this tradition. In this case the *payadores*' purpose was not to raise funds but to entertain a group of good conduct convicts. For the group of *payadores* who participated in this event it was their first improvisation in a prison. It is important to highlight this in order to relativize the intensity of the footage: despite it being usual to have a strong connection between the *payadores* and the audience, in this case the connection was amplified both by the context of the performance and by the *payadores*' own expectations.

During the days before the show, I was staying at the house of Luis Genaro, a young *payador* and a good friend of mine. David Tokar, one of the *payadores* who participated in the event, lives in the same town and the three of us were spending a lot of time hanging around together. Many of the conversations we had in those days were about David Tokar's expectations about the improvisation: "who knows what I will be able to say once there, in front of them…" he repeated many times. Conversations about the emotions and expectations of improvising in a prison were of main importance also during the journey to Dolores. *Payador* Alberto Smith, who organized the event, came to pick us up at Luis' house, in San Vicente (Province of Buenos Aires). In the 200 km that separated us from Dolores, all of us, including me, were particularly excited. How would the experience go? How would the *payadores* be received? Would the Director of the prison allow me to shoot inside the premises? The prison's staff was not informed about my presence that day, but the *payadores* considered it better: once there the Director could not refuse.

I am telling all this in a written text because I have not filmed any of the conversations I am recalling. At that moment it just felt wrong, I wanted to be part of the experience and share in the *payadores*' sensibility. I wanted to allow myself to be excited as well, not rationally detached while documenting everything. In the end, also for me this was the first time inside a prison, I could not put my feelings aside. It could be argued that a participatory camera in Jean Rouch's style would have been appropriate, but I believe there is a meaningful difference between a participatory camera and an experience: to a certain degree, a technically accurate audiovisual recording implies a rational detachment from what is being observed. If it is truly possible to reach a cine-trance without detachment, I must confess I am still unable to reach it[8].

Nevertheless, I do not regret not filming those conversations, because the way I shared the experience with my informants was crucial to enhance the quality of our human relationship and, therefore, the accuracy of my interpretation. But every choice comes with its downsides: in this case, for example, it prevented me from editing an ethnographic film about it. The heading of this section (To film or not to film?) is not only a question regarding whether it is appropriate to shoot in certain situations. It is also a question about the role of audiovisual recordings in the divulgation of research. Do audiovisual materials need to become narrative films and be shown publicly in "mainstream" ethnographic festivals to earn consideration? What could be valid alternatives (e.g. hypertext, web-documentary, etc.)? What is the role to

be played by this new-born Study Group in shaping the formats and styles of Audiovisual Ethnomusicology regarding representation and divulgation?

Improvised shootings

The emotions we felt were increasing as we approached Dolores. Once there, I started to film the outside of the prison until the guards suddenly interrupted me. Fortunately, the director allowed me to shoot on condition that I should solely film in the room where the performance would take place and that I should avoid interviewing the convicts. I was also asked not to bring a tripod inside. Clip 1 is a short introductory video that shows how the *payadores* prepared their instruments and explored the surrounding space. At times they look engrossed, perhaps trying to find ideas for the improvisation; at times they are joking together or talking with the convicts, trying to release the tension.

As an external element to the performance, my presence had to be explained. Alberto Smith, the organizer of the event, took care of it during the presentation of the show: what he said was not previously arranged between us. His words are also a good example of the *payadores*' values I introduced at the beginning of this text (Clip 2). As you can see, he explicitly mentions that the footage was not intended to be published. This is the reason why, in spite of being allowed by the director of the prison to publish the footage, I decided to blur many sequences: in the end, convicts never had the chance to refuse being filmed[9]. This also responds to my ethical concern over the persons who might have been affected by their actions; although it is highly improbable that they will ever see this footage, I feel more comfortable this way. I do show the "uncensored" images during conferences or lessons because the face expressions are extremely communicative, but I prefer to keep control over the circulation of these images.

Blurring the frames was an ethical choice, but not an easy one to make. In fact, at first I decided not to send my contribution to this book: if the videos are meant to explore the connection between performers and audience and its implications for improvisation, what is the point of publishing them without showing the convicts' faces? Would the images keep their power? Furthermore, the poor quality of the footage, the concentration of faces in a single frame and the need to create tracking animations for the blurs transformed my first tries into a nightmare. In the end, I occasionally opted for blurring the whole frame just enough to make faces not easily recognisable and to allow a comprehension of the main action. The result, aesthetically, is unfortunate (partly because of my technical limitations in post production) but hopefully good enough to be comprehensible.

As I did not know the shooting conditions in advance, my technical set up was improvised: I connected the Zoom H4n to the mixer but, unfortunately, after a few minutes, it stopped recording without me being aware of it. The only audio I have is the one from the camera's internal microphone, which provides a really poor quality[10]. The performance began with songs, jokes and short narrative stories in verses, as usual in the *payadores*' shows (due to time restrictions I do not include examples of it in this publication). Halfway through the show, the *payadores* ran a raffle. The raffle is an element that has always been present in the tradition,

and I use the term "always" from an emic perspective, in connection with the *payadores*' oral memory. According to this tradition, *payadores* organize raffles when performing in small bars (*boliches*) or folklore associations (*peñas*) and offer a show that is similar to the one depicted here. The raffle represents a relevant part of their earnings for the job. Like in any raffle, numbers are sold to the audience, with the prizes being usually tools or objects related to the life of the countryside: *ponchos*, traditional clothes, knives, etc. On this occasion, the raffle pursued a different end and numbers were distributed for free: prizes were gifts to entertain the lives of convicts behind bars (Clip 3). What is interesting here is the elimination of the physical distance between performers and audience: the *payadores* enter the audience's space annulling all symbolic distances between them. They always do it during the raffle, but on this occasion their emotions were different, as were mine while filming among them.

In the other's shoes

The emotional conflicts we were all experiencing were extremely important and assumed a determinant role during the improvisation. On the one hand, we all felt sorry for those young men deprived of their freedom and forced to live in difficult conditions. Their faults are not always the result of a personal choice, but are in part determined by social structures and misfortunate living conditions, as pointed out by *payador* Gustavo Avello while recounting his impressions after the performance (Clip 6). On the other hand, we were also sorry for their victims: many of the convicts were serving sentences related to sexual abuse and domestic violence; among them, there were even murderers. This conflict had also consequences on the structure of the show: at first the number of *payadores* meant to participate was four, in order to have two *payadas*; but finally, one of them decided not to go for personal reasons. I had the chance to talk with him afterwards, and he confessed to me that for him it was impossible to appease his emotions for the improvisation, he could not mediate his internal conflict. As anticipated above, being the voice of the people is not just a sentence in their discourse; it responds to a certain set of values that *payadores* take quite seriously.

It is impossible to show the full improvisation here, therefore I have selected the *décimas* improvised by two of them, Alberto Smith (left) and David Tokar (middle; on the right, Gustavo Avello). The beginning of the recording coincides with the beginning of the *payada*, the order of the interventions was as follows: Gustavo, Alberto and David. All transitions to black indicate a jump in time to another moment of the improvisation, while a visual representation of the poetic structure has been embedded into the video (Clip 4). As you can see, almost all *décimas* addressed the topic of being deprived of personal freedom: while David Tokar focused on the expression of the inmates' feelings, Alberto Smith prompted them to reflect on their mistakes so as not to repeat them again. The context of the improvisation was of central importance in the determination of the topics to be addressed, and the response of the audience was one of the most powerful I have ever experienced in *payadores*' performances.

At the beginning of the *payada*, I moved from the side of the "stage" to sit on the floor in the central corridor of the room, embracing my knees to stabilize my shooting as much as possible. After David's first *décima*, in which he cleverly plays with the polysemy involved

in the place name Dolores, the roar of the audience was shuddering. At that moment I regretted my conservative choice of filming the whole improvisation in a fixed shot: I really wanted to see the convicts' faces! I could have done it at that time, but I did not want to be too much intrusive standing between the *payadores* and the audience. Fortunately I was quick enough to stand up at the end of the improvisation and reach the side from where I was recording before. The audience invaded the *payadores*' space for an interaction that left us all breathless (Clip 5). Suddenly surrounded by a lot of people, I was unable to move. All I could do was to film this unexpected moment as best I could. In spite of not being allowed to interview the prison inmates, these few minutes of action are an invaluable evidence in showing that the connection between performers and audience was successful.

Clip 6 is an edited version of the *payadores*' first impressions. The three of them expressed the importance of the *payadores*' values, but I would like to stress David's words. He was remarkably moved, nevertheless he was able to clearly verbalize the importance of empathy in the *payadores*' creative process:

> A beautiful experience. It has both sad and emotional aspects. When you improvise you try to put yourself in the other's shoes. For that reason, one becomes... becomes sad, but tries to find what they really feel being in here. It is tough.

This empathy, which David expressed in such an excellent way, is what enables them to become the voice of the people, to be 'the other' in the liminality of the improvisation. His words are also meaningful in stressing the importance of filming after consolidating a human relationship. David is one of the *payadores* I have been spending more time with; I could easily say that we are good friends. This is quite evident in the way he communicates with me: I don't even need to ask him a question; he just talks to me as he had been doing during our conversations previous to the show. I also have a good relationship with Alberto and Gustavo, but I have spent less time with them and their approach to the camera was more formal: both of them, at one point, felt the need to praise my research, as if it was a television interview (I have not included this part for time restrictions).

Concluding Remarks

Many of the issues regarding the use of audiovisual materials as a research tool have a long tradition in the academic discourse; here I addressed some of them directly and others more subtly. Presenting a chapter in this style is also a statement of how I consider audiovisual techniques could be used as a scientific tool. Explaining the relationship between researcher and informants and the way the shooting has been made is of primary importance. I believe the excerpts presented here are also a good example of how audiovisual media can help to evoke human experience. As stated above, there is no way to fully represent it; each medium has both advantages and disadvantages. That is why I find it extremely useful to use as many tools as possible in order to provide a record of my research without being constrained by an arbitrary set of rules. Every choice should be valid if scientifically informed. In this case, the combination of written text and audiovisual recordings allowed me to present my interpretation in a way which would have been impossible using only written or audiovisual language.

1 Excluding local expressions and vocabulary.

2 In these festivals it is common the presence of improvisers from Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, Cuba, Puerto Rico, México, the Canary Islands, Andalusia, etc.

3 Popular literature printed on inexpensive chapbooks, usually sold at local fairs or by street vendors who sing or recite aloud its content.

4 I am fully aware of the problematic use of this term, whose critique has been extremely important for the development of the discipline. Nevertheless, I am not confortable with the alternatives that have been proposed until now (e.g. friend, teacher, collaborator, interlocutor, etc.). They do not account for the complexity of the relationships that are built on the field and, above all, they do not represent the intentionality that underlies the encounter, dialogue and construction of meanings: that of a researcher who seeks to respond to academic questions (Cámara de Landa 2012; Isolabella 2012).

5 In fact, I am from Argentina but I grew up in Italy since I was five years old, travelling often to Buenos Aires to meet my relatives. I am doing my PhD in Spain, where I moved just a few years before the commencement of this research. Nevertheless, *payadores* usually introduced me not only as an outsider, but also as a Spanish foreigner.

6 "I have to confess I still don't get what are you really doing with us…" told me once a *payador* and good friend at the end of my second research trip (2011), when I had not published anything yet. The publication of a short article for a non-academic encyclopaedia of Argentine heritage in 2013 helped them to have a material and practical reference to what I was doing. On that occasion, that same *payador* contacted me through Facebook and asked me to tune in to his live streaming radio program: he wanted to greet me publicly and thank me for my contribution to the divulgation and valorisation of their tradition (Isolabella 2013).

7 But, as we all know, personal perceptions can occasionally be wrong. At the end of my first fieldwork experience, which lasted four months, I was invited to an *asado* (the typical Argentine barbecue) to celebrate the birthday of a famous *payador*. Many of the *payadores* I was working with were there, so it was also an opportunity for the farewell. On that occasion I was asked not to bring the audiovisual equipment. Their main concern was to enjoy some free time together, with me fully participating in jokes and conversations and not being distracted by technical matters. I eventually brought my camera along with me, but I simply recorded the informal *payada* they did at the end of the lunch, which I consider a very illustrative document to show the differences between formal and informal improvisations.

8 I am not suggesting that a filmic ethnography is not possible. Probably, a participant camera style would have allowed me to build a different dialogic knowledge. What I am saying is that at that time I was more interested in exploring a different type of knowledge, in which audiovisual recording was not always essential. In future fieldwork experiences with *payadores*, I will probably change my approach to audiovisual recording: after a few years our relationship is well established and my understanding of the tradition is more mature.

9 When I went back to Argentina in 2011 I met the Director of the prison again to show him an edited version of the performance. He was satisfied and gave me permission to make it public.

10 I used a Full HD Panasonic compact video camera. However, the quality of the sound in these recordings was particularly bad.

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3. Analysis

Using Video as a Tool for the Analysis of Music and Dance Performances

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Abstract

The paper presents three case studies as examples of the possibilities offered by digital video technology and editing software in the analysis of music and dance performances. In one case, slow motion and frame-by-frame analysis allowed the discovery and description of a peculiar synchronization pattern between body movement and musical rhythm in the *tarantella* music-dance of Southern Calabria (South Italy). These findings led to an original interpretation of the relation between beat and accent on one side and muscular tension and effort on the other. The second case study shows how the same analytical method and technique have been used in order to understand and describe the complex relationship between drums, handclapping and dance steps in the performance of a female dance in a Sena village of Malawi. In the third case study video technology allowed the identification of individual and original playing techniques in the performances of the *nkangala* musical bow in Malawi.
Since decades the term "visual ethnomusicology" has been intended mainly in connection with the use of film and video as a way to *represent* significant and complex aspects of a musical culture, taking advantage of the richness of the cinematographic language. The present paper is a reminder that film and video documentation still remains a tremendous and incredibly powerful research tool in order to analyse, understand and reveal musical behaviour.

Keywords: Music and dance analysis, video technology, Italy, Malawi.

In this paper I intend to present some examples of the possibilities offered by digital video technology and editing software in the analysis of music and dance performances.

Case study 1: Analysis of synchronization patterns: *tarantella* music-dance in Southern Italy (Adamo 2008)

I used slow motion and frame-by-frame analysis for the first time about ten years ago to analyze the synchronization pattern between musical rhythm and body movement in a series of performances of the *tarantella* of the Calabria Region, in Southern Italy. While attending and filming the music-dance events, I had noticed how the musical beat corresponded to an "up" position of the whole body, or of some of its parts, while jumping and/or moving. The "down" position, instead, was reached mainly in correspondence of an "upbeat". My docu-

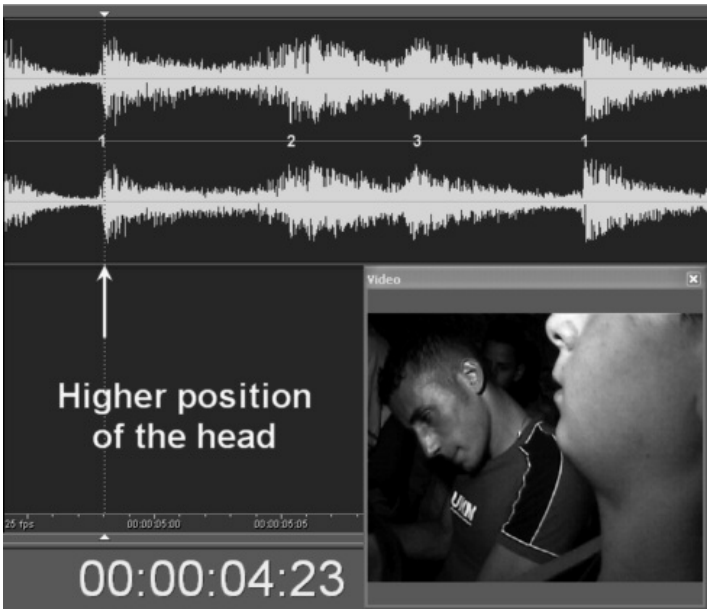
mentation, at that time, consisted in miniDV using PAL system, which means 25 frames per second with 720x576 pixel resolution, transferred to .avi or .mov files. In order to proceed from a personal impression towards a more accurate and reliable analysis of the synchronization pattern, I made use of the possibilities offered by some editing software available at that time:

- slow motion; a reduction of the speed while playing the video allows already an improvement of the subjective perception of the relationship between sound and movement. I have mainly been using a 50% reduction, which has been a kind of standard tool in our discipline to help musical transcription of audio documents since many years. This operation produces a lowering of musical tones of one octave. In my opinion this method represents a good way to formulate hypotheses and isolate specific sequences, which can be used for an objective analysis;
- frame-by-frame analysis; this is the only way to achieve an objective representation of the relationship between sound and movement. Such a possibility arises from specific features of most video editing software in the digital domain, which provide a graphic representation of the sound as waveform and allow a connection between the single video frames and specific points on the waveform.

I will show two examples of this analytical procedure.

1. *Movement of a young* organetto *(diatonic accordion) player while performing typical* tarantella *patterns accompanied by a* tamburello *(frame drum).*

Video example 1 shows a short sequence where the player is moving up and down while playing. The slow motion establishes more clearly how the upper position of the head is reached right on, or very near to the beat and how the lower position occurs between two beats. This pattern can be analyzed in Fig. 1.



1a

1b

Fig. 1a-b. The arrow indicates the point of the waveform corresponding respectively to the higher (1a) and the lower (1b) position of the head during the up and down movement. The numbers 1-2-3-1 on the waveform indicate the sequence of the *tamburello* strokes, where 1 represents the beat.

2. *Movement of a male dancer while jumping*.

On Video example 2 (including once again both real time and slow motion sequences) it is possible to observe three choreographic moments of the dance: 1) vertical jumping, alternating legs; 2) jumping forward alternating a double step; 3) jumping backwards with a lateral "kick". All three motional patterns show a clear tendency, consistent with what we have found in video example 1: the upper position -in this case the end of the jumping motion- is reached around the beat, whereas the lower one -with the body resting on the ground- is reached between the beats. Fig. 2-4 provide an analytical and objective evidence of this pattern.

Based on the above mentioned analysis, as well as further analyses of *tarantella* sequences, for this specific case, I have advanced an interpretation of rhythm as a movement, which implies that, it is the muscular effort -in correspondence with the beginning of a body movement instead of to its end- which is synchronized with the upbeat, while the beat coincides with the end of the movement. In the case of a jump, for instance, on the upbeat we would find the greatest muscular tension, which should occur when the dancer is resting on the ground, to start a jump, while the beat would coincide with the relaxation that occurs at the end of the jump, when the dancer is suspended in the air. The relation upbeat-beat is translated in the body as a relation between tension and relaxation. This pattern contrasts with the common Western convention which conceptualizes the beat as "down" and the upbeat as "up".

2a

2b

Fig. 2a-b. The arrow indicates the point of the waveform corresponding respectively to the end of the upward movement, while jumping alternating legs (Fig. 2a: both feet of the male dancer are lifted) and the end of the downward movement (Fig. 2b: the left foot of the male dancer is rested on the ground).

3a

3b

Fig. 3a-b. The arrow indicates the point of the waveform corresponding respectively to the end of the upward movement while jumping forward (Fig. 3a: both feet of the male dancer are lifted) and the end of the downward movement (Fig. 3b: the right foot of the male dancer is rested on the ground).

4a

4b

Fig. 4a-b. In Fig. 4a the arrow indicates the point in the waveform when the male dancer starts the lateral "kick" with the left foot, while the right one is lifted (the lady has both feet lifted), in Fig. 4b the arrow indicates the point on the waveform when the male dancer has the right foot rested on the ground and the left one lifted outwards (end of the lateral "kick" – the lady has the right foot rested on the ground).

As stated above, from the technical point of view, for the analysis I had available 25 fps videos and, in analysing the data, I found out that in some software packages the slow motion is obtained through a separation of the two "fields" which form the frame in the PAL video standard; actually, each frame is produced by overlapping two consecutive "levels" of pixels. In slow motion the fields are separated and each of them produces a single frame by means of interpolation. But, since in this case we are working in slow motion, we will obtain again 25 frames per second and these frames will actually correspond to half a second in realtime, therefore reaching an actual time resolution of 1/50 of a second, such as 20 ms. Thus, in the graphic interface shown in Fig. 1-4 it is possible to observe the correspondence between a specific point in a movement and the related position in the sound timeline every 20 ms, which is a good resolution from a musical perspective.

Case study 2: Analysis of a complex performance: *likhuba* dance (Adamo 2012)

Likhuba is a dance performed by women of different ages, including little girls, in a village of the Chikwawa District, in Southern Malawi. It is a dance for entertainment where several women alternate as solo performers or as a couple. The music-dance performance is very complex and the following elements are related to each other:

- women singing in a call and response form;
- hand clapping;
- drumming (two male players);
- dance steps and body movements;

In this case the frame-by-frame analysis has proved to be the only way to understand, step by step, the structure of the performance (Video example 3) in its fundamental components:

1. The beat. The basic clapping by the women at the beginning of each song is on the beat and coincides with a stroke of the left hand of the *mbandambanda* drummer (the smaller drum which keeps on performing a regular rhythmic pattern), see Table 1 and Fig. 5.

2. The first complex rhythmic pattern played by the clapping women (called likhuba, as the dance itself). The crucial point is that the first clap in the pattern is not on the beat but coincides with the right hand's after-beat stroke of the *mbandambanda* drummer. See Table 2 and Fig. 6a-c. This kind of synchronization, and the whole structure of the clapping rhythmic pattern, became clear only thanks to the frame-by-frame analysis.

Table 1

Basic rhythmic structure: cycle of 48 elementary pulses, 16 x 3 pulses

↓ = handclapping (beat)

X = stroke by the left hand of the *mbandambanda* drummer

X = stroke by the right hand of the *mbandambanda* drummer

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x . X x .

Fig. 5. The basic clapping on the beat by the women coincides with a stroke of the left hand of the *mbandambanda* drummer seen on the left.

Table 2

First rhythmic pattern

↓ = beat

X = stroke and clap on the beat

X = stroke and clap after the beat

O = soft clap (just keeping the beat)

above = *mbandambanda* drum

below = handclapping

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X . X .

. x . . x . x . . x . . x . . . x . x . . x . . . x . x . . x . . o . . o . . o . . o . . o . .

6a

6b

6c

Fig. 6a-c. Frames corresponding to the first three claps in the pattern. The first two claps (Fig. 6a and 6b) coincide with an after-beat stroke of the right hand of the *mbandambanda* drummer (on the left), while the third clap (Fig. 6c) coincides with a stroke of the left hand on the beat.

3. The synchronization pattern between the dance steps and the handclapping:

> One of the dance patterns […] translating the hand's pattern into body motion, is shown in Table 3, where we can see in which point the left (L) and right (R) foot stamp the ground while jumping, sometimes together (LR), sometimes one after the other (L or R). In this case the legs of the dancers are behaving exactly as the arms of the clapping ladies or the hands of the drummer, that is the muscular tension is "anticipated" in order to arrive to the end of the movement in sync with the strokes and the claps. (Adamo 2010: 181)

Table 3

First rhythmic pattern

Relationship between handclapping and dance steps (example)

↓ = beat

X = clap on the beat

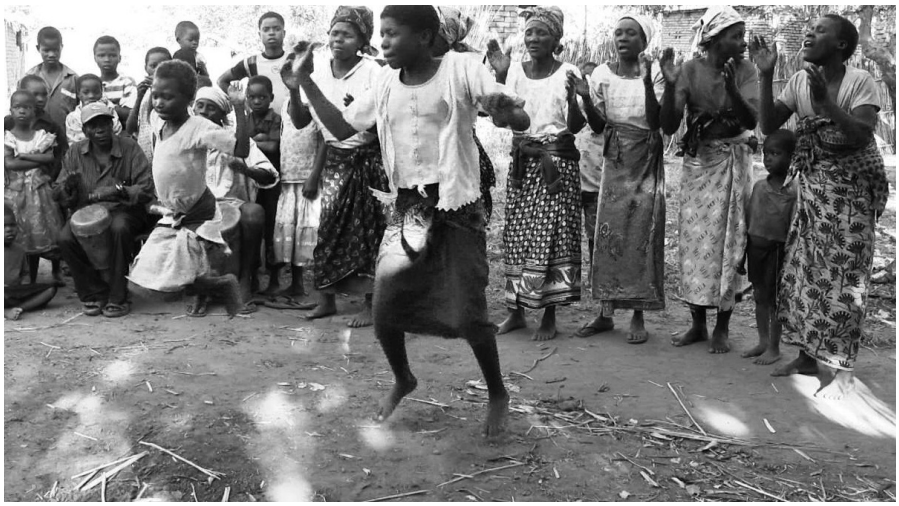
X = clap after the beat

O = soft clap (just keeping the beat)

L = left foot's stamp

R = right foot's stamp

↓		↓	↓	↓		↓	↓		↓		↓	↓		↓	↓	↓		↓		↓		↓
.	X	.	X	X	.	X	.	X	.	.	X	X	.	X	.	.	X	X	.	X	.	.	O	.	O	.	O	.	O	.	O	.
	L		L			L		L		L			L			L			L													
	R				R		R		R				R				R				R											



7a

7b

Fig. 7a-b. Relationship between jumping, hand clapping and *mbandambanda* drum. Fig. 7a shows the two young dancers off the ground, while the two hands of the clapping ladies are starting a clap and the right hand of the drummer is also lifted up getting ready to start a stroke. In Fig. 7b, ca. 160ms later, the dancers are back to the ground in sync with the clap and the drummers' stroke.

In the case of *likhuba* I filmed the performances with an AVCHD camera, with a resolution of 1920x1080 pixels at a frame rate of 50p, that is 50 fps progressive (instead of 25 interlaced), which provided a native time resolution of 20ms in the frame-by-frame analysis. The analytical methodology is slightly different from the one shown above in the case of the *tarantella*: in the previous case, the issue was to establish a relationship between determined points of a

movement and moments of the sound timeline represented through the waveform; in this case, instead, it becomes essential to find out, frame-by-frame, the synchronization between different motional patterns -drumming, handclapping, dancing-.

Case study 3: Analysis of individual playing techniques: *nkangala* musical bow performances (Adamo 2015)

In a recent study (Adamo 2015) I used slow motion and frame-by-frame analysis to discover and show peculiar performance techniques of a mouth-resonated musical bow -better described as a musical stick, to be consistent with its form- played in Malawi only by women. The analysis was based on the video documentation collected in 2013 and 2014 recording two sisters, Elena and Sisiliya Kachepa, both experienced *nkangala* players. For this specific purpose, I will consider only one aspect of a more extensive study which includes musical transcriptions, remarks on the relationship between vocal and instrumental performances of the same songs, anthropological and psychological issues etc. The issue in question is the identification of two peculiar individual playing techniques through the video analysis.

Sisilya, the younger sister, while stopping the strings (Fig. 8a-b), uses often a kind of hammer-on -a term borrowed from guitar techniques- i.e. pressing the strings with the fingers of her left hand she produces a vibration in the string before plucking it (Video example 4). The result becomes clearly audible in slow motion and visible in a sound spectrogram (Table 4).

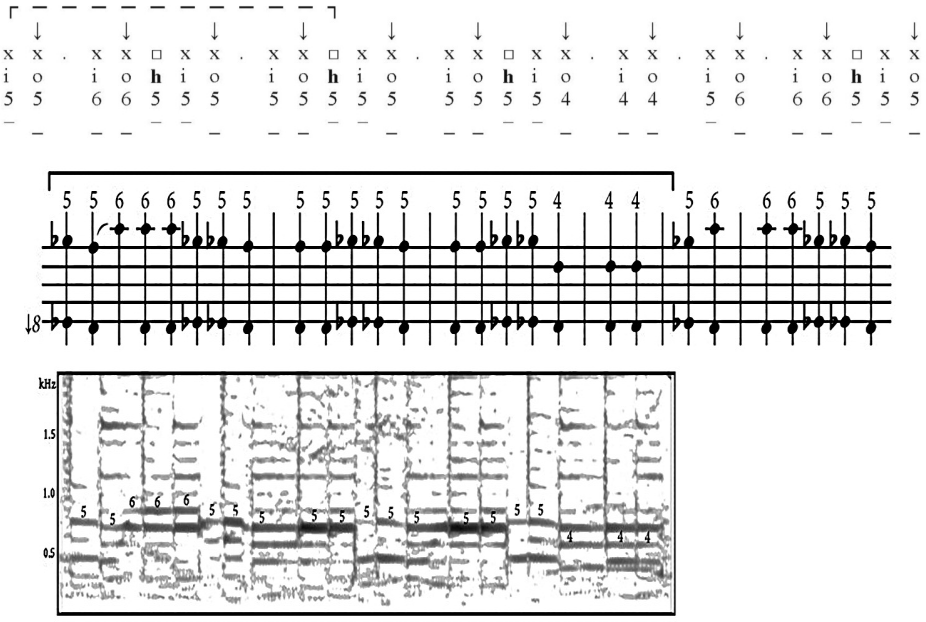
Fig. 8a-b. Sisiliya's left hand: on the left open string, on the right stopped string

> In analyzing the performance we notice, as highlighted in the parallel transcriptions and graphs, how the specific occurrence of plucking and hammering, organized in a kind of repeated playing pattern and combined with the reinforcing of certain harmonics, produces a musical phrase repeated more or less identically throughout the performance. When we watch the video example for the first time we probably do not perceive this "third" sound, but if we come back to normal speed after watching the slow motion video, this particular sequence of sounds on the *nkangala* and the consequent rhythmic-melodic patterns become quite evident. The performer, on the other hand, uses this technique with great consistency in all the recordings (Adamo 2015: 60).

Table 4

Explanation of the signs:
(12) = cycle number, i.e., number of elementary pulses contained in the cycle (Kubik 2010, II, 41ff.)
↓ = beat
x = plucked sound
. = no sound
□ = hammered sound
i = inward pluck
o = outward pluck
h = left hand hammer-on (obtained by pressing the string before plucking it)
f = left hand finger plucking
– = higher fundamental frequency (string pressed by the middle finger)
_ = lower fundamental frequency (string free to vibrate)
┌ – – ┐ = cycle
5, 6 etc. = number of partials in the harmonic series

Sisiliya: *Kukhala wamasiye* (12); recurrent phrase: 12+12



Elena, the older sister, in some songs uses a more evident personal technique: while opening the hand, moving from the position with the middle finger stopping the string (obtaining the higher fundamental) to the position where the string is free to vibrate at its own frequency (Fig. 10), Elena actually "plucks" the string with the middle finger of the left hand (Video example 5). This produces a clear sound, notated as /f/ in the transcription (Table 5), which significantly contributes to the construction of rhythmic-melodic patterns. Moreover, as it becomes clear in the sonogram, she sometimes uses even a kind of hammer-on, similar to the one of her sister, with the effect of a legato attack.

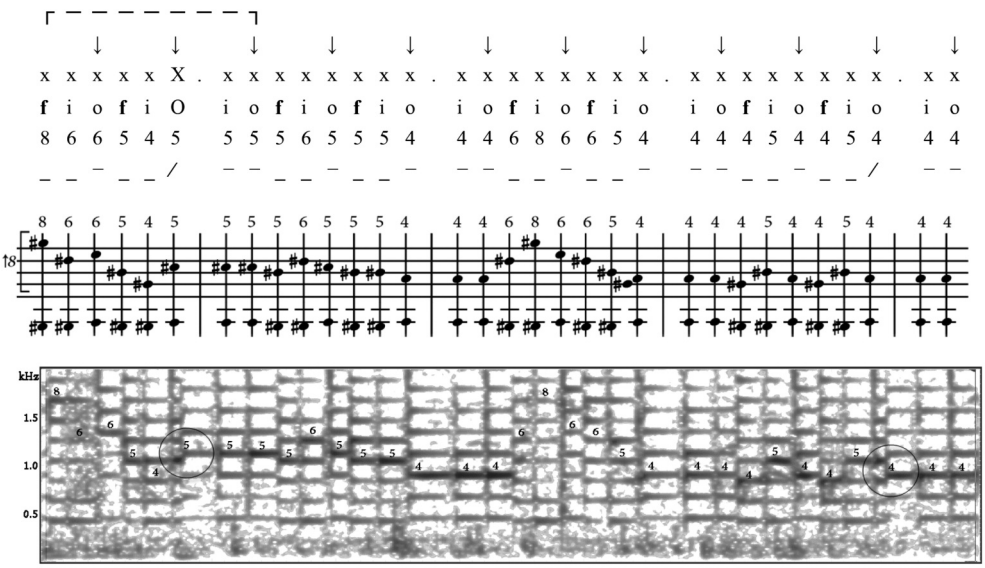
From my point of view, it seems worthwhile to emphasize how, to my knowledge, this

has been the first time that peculiar individual techniques of using the left hand in musical bow's performances have been identified and described. This achievement, that contributes to the recognition of the role played by individual creativity within shared musical practices, has been possible only thanks to the analytical use of video documentation.

Fig. 9a-b. Elena's left hand: as in Fig 8a-b.

Table 5

Elena: *Chisesele* (9), 2014 recording:



The circle in the sonogram highlights the delayed *hammered* legato attack (/).

Final remarks

I have tried to report here three examples of using digital video technology as an analytical tool. Since decades the term "visual ethnomusicology" has been intended mainly in connection with the use of film and video as a way to *represent* significant and complex aspects of a musical culture, taking advantage of the richness of the cinematographic language. Great attention has been paid to the different styles of "ethnomusicological films" and film festivals proliferated in several countries. The issue here presented is to remind that film and video documentation still remains a tremendous and incredibly powerful research tool in order to analyse, understand and reveal musical behaviour.

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Western Chaco Flutes and Flute Players Revisited

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Abstract

This paper explores Chané flutes and their music in the western Chaco region. Audiovisual material recorded and edited as part of fieldwork allows us to analyze some aspects of flute playing among Chané people, such as the sequential organization of flute music in the ritual context of the *arete guasu* (big feast). Through this research medium we were able to observe the centrality of flute music in conducting the ritual through its different phases, or even its efficacy in inducing certain movements among dancers and other participants. The text also examines some possibilities for creative manipulation based on the stylistic standardization of the flute playing tradition among Chané people. We focus our description on the appropriation of old and new materials for making the flutes according to traditional patterns, and on the performance of old and new repertoires that are adapted to match with the established ritual structure.

Keywords: Flutes, Western Chaco, audiovisual.

During the summer months the landscape in Western Chaco[1] is invaded by the sound of flutes and drums. Chiriguano and Chané feasts and music have always, and for different reasons, called the attention of missionaries, chronists and the first ethnographers working in the region (Sánchez 1998). Most of them, however, emphasize the loss or abandonment process of traditional indigenous music they were supposedly witnessing. Though contexts of performance have changed drastically during the last century, and though in the 1970s anthropologists studying the Chané people of western Chaco already announced the imminent disappearance of the symbolic complex of the *arete* -the traditional ritual celebrated in the summer months[2]-, flute music, essential for this celebration, is far from being abandoned. Based on an on-going ethnographic study, here I present a description of the ways in which flute music is performed among Chané people in Argentinian Western Chaco, basically seeking to understand the reasons for this permanence and the forms that it adopts. The research that supports these notes includes the study of ethnological and historic literature about the region, as well as fieldwork with the Chané people that reside there[3]. The ethnographic study is being conducted mainly in the Chané community of Tuyunti, in Salta state, in Northwestern Argentina, the Western area of Argentinian Chaco. Fieldwork carried out in this region since 2013 has also included visits, observations and dialogs with flute players who live in other communities such as Campo Durán, Capiazuti, Piquirenda Viejo, Tranquitas, Cherenta and Peña Morada.

Fig. 1. Map of South America, indicating the Western Chaco region. Taken from http://www.zonu.com/images/0X0/2009-11-04-10814/Mapa-de-America-del-Sur-satelital.jpg (accessed 23August 2015). Area highlighted by the author.

In the region under study, various communities annually conduct the *arete guasu* (big feast) in the locations where they live or visit and participate in the feasts of other communities. The *arete* is an event held in the first months of the year (coinciding with the corn harvest), in which people gather to dance and share drinks to the sound of groups that play musical instruments. By condensing and revealing fundamental aspects of the cosmology and sociology of the groups that reside there, the *arete* guasu appears as a privileged social institution, and as such has been the object of much literature in the anthropology about the western Chaco (Villar and Bossert 2011).

There is no *arete guasu* without the playing of musical instruments. Wind and percussion instruments are used in the musical group of the *arete guasu*: *angúa* and *angúa guasu* (similar in size to snare and bass drums respectively), drums of deeper and higher pitched sound, made locally and included in variable numbers; and *temïmbï* or *pinguyo* (two different types of flutes), which are also made locally. Although the instruments used in the different communities of the area are formally similar, and although there are clear continuities in the sounds produced for the summer celebrations in different contexts, when examined carefully, the music executed is found to differ from one community to another and from one type of execution to another. These objective contrasts are often indicated as diacritical in the discourses with which different people refer to the continuities and differences between the communities of the region. In addition, since the 1980s, indigenous communities in this region participate with presentations of their ritual in *criollos* celebrations, particularly at the Carnival parades organized each year in urban centers or state capitals. In these contexts indigenous communities present a mimetic performance of the indigenous ritual, which is generically called *pim pim*. It is worth noting that *pim pim* is also a generic term used locally to refer to the group of

musicians as well as to the music genre that they play. Anyway, in one or another context -in the local communities, at festivals that attract groups of people from different communities or at the urban Carnivals of the *criollos*- flute and drum music is vital to the performance. Nevertheless, there are relatively few anthropological studies that contemplate this dimension. By giving attention to this field, I seek to contribute to the knowledge of musical practices in this region, with a focus on the flute playing tradition.

The ethnographic materials prepared during fieldwork and for analyses include filmings of the *arete guasu* in February and March of 2014 and 2015 in the communities of Chané in Tuyunti and Campo Durán, Salta, Argentina, and at the festival, also called *Arete Guasu* held in Aguayrenda, Bolivia, in 2015. The Aguayrenda celebration is held annually and organized by the local government in partnership with the APG (Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní), an indigenous organization. I also prepared audiovisual recordings of the participation of a group of people from Tuyunti with their *pim pim* (called *Taperïgua*) in the *criollo* Carnival in Aguaray, a small city located approximately 2 kilometers from the indigenous community. Based on the audiovisual material prepared in February 2014 with the flute players, I edited a video of a performance of the repertoire that they use to play during the *arete guasu* in their community. This video, entitled *Flauteros de Tuyunti*, is accompanied by a booklet with photos of the flute players. It was used as material that would allow a dialog about the repertoire, the flutes and their music with the people who participate in the recording, and with other people in the community I visited in August 2014 and February, March and April 2015. In April 2015 I also shared with flute players from Piquirenda Viejo, Tranquitas and Cherenta the edited material produced during their participation at the Aguayrenda Feast (in Bolivia) in February 2015.

These ethnographic documents, rather than products of research (although they can be considered as records or documents) function as a means to give continuity to the dialogs about the musical practices recorded in them. Watching the videos with the people who appear in them, or even with flute players from other communities, creates opportunities to hear explanations and commentaries that are fundamental to the effort to understand the forms and reasons for the flute music in the region. Thus, we conceive them, and seek their efficacy, as an open work (Eco [1962] 1976) and not just as a finished record. It is worth mentioning that, during fieldwork, my understanding of the events registered was challenged by the differences in the forms in which these materials were received and commented on by the flute players with whom I spoke about them, stimulating narratives that in many cases are quite distant from the aspects that my project initially contemplated. In this process, the videos themselves become cultural artifacts that come to be part of the context that they sought to describe. In any case, and this is the point that I want to reach, what is at stake here is their value as a research medium, simultaneously a product and a producer of the ethnography, a vehicle for concepts and a route to their understanding, an object that records a tradition and contributes to its transformation.

It would not be wrong to affirm that musicalities have been a marginal aspect in the ethnographic and historic studies about Western Chaco. Few studies about the region focused on

this path of inquiry in order to consider the indigenous sociabilities and history. Some exceptions to this situation are the works of Wálter Sánchez (1998), about the musical practices of the Chiriguano in Bolivia, and the work of Rubén Pérez Bugallo (1982) about the organology of the Chiriguano and Chané from Argentina. The latter work, which concerns the instruments used in the same region in which we conducted this study, has a particular appeal because it allows the possibility of making a temporal contrast regarding the region's musical practices within the interval of thirty years that has elapsed since this author's field trips and our own. The study presents very rich information about the musical instruments and the occasions on which they were used, and records some interesting myths about the symbolic complex that associates flute poetics to the songs of birds. Nevertheless, the description has the common limitation of most works of the time, which seek to evoke the musicalities that are described through the transcriptions of a single measure of the themes, which makes it difficult to know if the themes have remained the same. In addition, this prevents us from examining the sequential organization of that music.

Anthony Seeger (2013) discusses the possible causes of this tendency to analyze a single musical phrase or isolated themes, instead of paying attention to the sequences in which phrases and variations are organized or even to the relationship between themes in rituals and events. According to Seeger's hypothesis, this approach to descriptions responds to the technical limitations that until recently constrained recordings. If, as already noted, recordings were essential to the development of ethnomusicology because they allowed repeated listenings, as well as successive listening over time, thus establishing new analytical possibilities, the audiovisual record, in turn, broadened the horizons of our questioning because it allows us to identify the relations between different expressive languages (Seeger 2003). While in the past recordings were restricted and focused on individual pieces, videotaping allows longer recordings of events that could last for hours, days or weeks, and along with that more complete registers by enabling a translation that is closer to the multisensoriality of the performance. The video recordings, in turn, help understand what was often perceived as repetition, yet in reality was a sequential organization of subtle variations. As already established, sequentiality and variation are fundamental organizational principles in the ritual music of Lowland South America. (Menezes Bastos 2007; 2013) These can be identified through close and repeated listening, and by transcription and analysis. Thus, there are some aspects like that of the sequential organization of themes in an event[4], the concepts that are associated to them or the performative function of certain themes and soundings, whose understanding can be greatly facilitated when audiovisual material is available for repeated watching and analysis as well as for watching together and discussing with our collaborators.

If in general terms it can be said that the flute music in this area is conservative in the sense of recreating the conventions at the heart of this music genre as such, the ability to transform the known standards is quite valued by the flute players. For many, this is what guides how they make music, which explains the evident pride in the statement by a 77-year-old flute player who explained to me: "I am a *pim pim* author." The comments that the flute players make upon watching the videos of the performances of others indicate the high esteem they

have for the ability to innovate. Nevertheless, the audiovisual records enable us to observe that there are established repertoires -and sequences of themes that guide the *arete* ritual- which cannot be disregarded because they are essential at the time of establishing the structure of the performance. The stability of these sequences encompasses, in a hierarchical relation of opposition, the variability that can be introduced individually. This does not prevent the sequences of the themes established as indicators of the structure of the ritual from having repercussions on a multiplicity of individual styles for their execution. But, despite the variations introduced individually, those sequences are not abandoned. I understand that it is exactly this creative appropriation of the skills and repertoire considered to be traditional that allows us to gauge the vitality of these practices.

There are many flute players-and from different age groups- in each one of the communities of this area who commonly travel through the region to participate in the feasts of the *paisanos* (*tumaka*, who are also indigenous) -giving continuity to the flute genre during the *arete*. This circulation also allows flute players to become aware of the variability both in the forms and materials with which the instruments are made and in the interpretations of the known repertoire. The flute players reveal the value placed on the ability to make the flutes "*un poquito diferentes*" (a little different) based on the known prototypes, the performance of the traditional themes according to arrangements that are more "*modernitos*" (modern), or the incorporation of themes from the realm of popular music, especially cumbias, in the repertoire executed with the traditional flutes and in the dancing events during the celebration of the *arete* in the summer. As already mentioned, our basic aim is to understand the forms and reasons for the continuity of flute music in the region. For this purpose, audiovisual recordings made it possible to examine the formal aspects carefully and to focus on structural stability, mainly regarding the sequential organization of different themes. On the other hand, some of the reasons for this continuity were made clearer by the comments the Chané made when they watched the edited recordings. Such comments often led to conversations involving their conceptual world which, undoubtedly, is a fundamental aspect of the materiality of their music.

The feast that the different communities of the region conduct in the summer months has a structure in which the flute music is central to defining the different phases of the ritual. Some flute players can begin to make their flutes some months in advance, while others have their flutes stored from the previous year; in January the first melodies played can already be heard. This is the period devoted to preparations for feast until the moment comes to "*sacar el Carnaval*" (kick off the Carnival), the *atiko* being the musical theme for this opening.

After this opening of the feast, the music groups play *pim pim* during several weeks for the people to dance. There are many different themes and each flute player knows how to play a certain repertoire. The competence to play (and remember) a large number of themes is highly valued. Many flute players state that they learned by listening closely to the playing of others and by trying to imitate them. Some players, and certainly this cannot be generalized, claim to have visited the spiritual world and chosen a spirit to accompany them while they play during the feast. As explained to me by one flute player, who is also known for his powers as a shaman, the spirits express themselves through the flute: "*te pide, te pide, y le tenés que*

dar alcohol. Te pide que vos lo atiendas. Es una persona que va con vos y te pide 'dame esto, dame aquello'" (he asks, he asks, and you have to give him alcohol. You have to serve him. It is a person who will go with you and asks you 'give me this, give me that'). Others claim that they were taught by spirits during their dreams or that the spirits "*te mueven los dedos cuando estás tocando, ellos tocan. Yo sé más de veinte melodías, pero cada año es como que me salen tres más*." (they move your fingers when you are playing, they play. I know more than twenty melodies, but each year it's as if three more come out of me.).

This segment in the ritual structure –which, in the Argentinian Chané communities, lasts approximately from six to eight weeks between the beginning and end of the feast- is where the existence of individual styles of flute playing, where each flute player performs his repertoire in unique ways, is most clearly observed. This phase provides a testing ground for practice that favors the elaboration of new themes and of new sequences in the variations.

During this period the group of musicians, accompanied by people who dance, visits different houses in the communities, remaining in each one of them for some time -which may be one hour or a few days- and dancing there. The time they stay in each house will depend, among other factors, on the availability of drinks such as *chicha* (fermented corn) or wine. This movement from one house to another is guided by a specific tune which the people recognize as such (*oguata*). There are, however, variations within this same tune depending on whether it is to be executed in the initial phase of the *arete*, during the intermediate phase or towards the end of the ritual. This music that allows going from one place to another is the sound of movement, of not being in one place. It is also the music that guides the walk of the people who go from the indigenous community to the next city to participate in the Carnival parades of the *criollos*. Interestingly, however, it is this music itself that guides the group's entire participation in this non-indigenous Carnival. Musically, it is as if the *pim pim* (including musicians and dancers) traverses the *criollo* Carnival without stopping there to dance.

Another tune that induces specific movements is the *uruyere* (which literally means "the chicken spins"), which indicates that the pairs of dancers should change the direction in which they are rotating around the musicians. It can be executed in the middle of any theme and functions as a kind of call through a prolonged execution of a tone in a sharp register from among those that the flute players -and depending on the instrument- can play. Other themes that induce movements and signal the entrance of specific people in the ritual's arena are the *kuchi kuchi* (announcing the participation of pigs covered in mud who run among the people and smear them), the *koya koy*a, or the *palo palo* (which accompanies certain games of skill that are less common today).

In the final phase of the feast the musical theme of *El toro y el tigre* (*The Bull and the Tiger*) is played to announce the arrival of these two animals in the ritual arena, where they fight each other while the theme goes on. At the close of the struggle the theme of the tiger can be heard announcing his victory. To *botar* (toss out) or end the feast the flute player leads the drum players and the people who follows them through the houses of the community, complimenting the elders encountered there. This departure is a sad moment when many cry. Some people may deliver speeches where dead relatives are commonly remembered. The

flute music plays its part by announcing and prescribing the emotions of this final phase of the ritual. In the community of Tuyunti, where in 2015 the flutes had begun to play in January, the *arete* was *botado* (thrown out) in March 22 , while in the community of Campo Durán, this happened on April 5, Easter Sunday.

The theme of *El toro y el tigre* (*The Bull and the Tiger*) is one of the great standards of the flute tradition in Western Chaco and it is performed in a way that closely resembles that used in the Chiriguano and Chané communities of Southern Bolivia[5]. Because the theme performs the distinctive function of organizing the ritual, it does not appear to leave much margin for the introduction of individual variations. Its own internal organization appears to relate to fixity, because each phrase of the theme is followed by its repetition, thus forming a symmetrical sequence of the type: 1-1; 2-2; 3-3[6]. The stabilizing power of this resource was identified long ago in Franz Boas' analysis of primitive art, in which he highlights symmetry as one of the elementary forms of this art (1955: 17-63). According to Boas' classification, this quality is more easily recognizable in the visual or graphic arts, given that in music the temporal organization of the phrases can make it difficult to trace the symmetrical sequences. In this case, the repetition of certain phrases in a consecutive or alternate manner with certain variations or phrases contributes to the generation of rhythm and regularity in many pieces (Boas 1955: 310-311; 320), even if they include variations. In Boas' words, "The repetitions discussed so far are rhythmic in form, varied in contents. They may be compared to an orderly succession of decorative motives that agree in the plan of the unit but vary in details." (1955: 314) The order or succession to which the author refers clearly brings us to the concept of sequentiality that we adopted above to understand the forms in which certain elements are organized to form part of larger wholes.

On the opposite pole of this fixity we can locate the performance of themes such as *Antahuara*, a piece incorporated to the flute music repertoire of the *arete*. *Antahuara* is a cumbia theme quite popular in the region. The local flute players refer to the version by *Los Mirlos* (a Peruvian cumbia group), although the same theme has already been recorded by Betzabé Iturralde in Bolivia and by the *Grupo Maravilla* from Perú in the 1980s[7]. The youngest flute players incorporate it to the local flute tradition through different arrangements created individually[8]. The theme does not appear to have great prescriptive power -in part because it does not have a clear role in structuring the ritual, since it may be played at any moment just for dancing-, and is developed in quite flexible forms in the particular performances. In contrast to *The Bull and the Tiger* here repetition is far less symmetrical[9], allowing for a multiplicity of individual styles in the elaboration of variations and sequences.

Different ways of appropriation of the flute tradition can also be observed in the forms and materials with which the instruments are made. Visits to different communities during fieldwork following the flute players movements made it possible to perceive the multiplicity of forms and materials in which the flutes are made. It is common that the *temïmbï*, a flute that in the past used to be made of wood from the *Pereskia sacharosa* plant, is nowadays also made of ¾ inch bronze, steel, aluminum, copper or PVC pipe.

Fig. 2. Enrique Ponce playing a *Pereskia sacharosa temïmbï*. Aguayrenda, Bolivia, February 2015.

Fig. 3. Juan Ibañez playing a PVC *temïmbï*. Aguayrenda, Bolivia, February 2015.

The *temïmbï* is a vertical open flute with cylindrical bore (called *ýmboi* or *puku*) approximately 50 cm long with a semicircular or square notch that cuts the blown air and without airduct. The *temïmbï* has four fingerholes on the upper portion of the distal side of the pipe, aligned with the notch and a fifth hole, that is slightly shifted to the right, normally a venthole because is rarely closed (at an angle of approximately 40° in relation to the previous hole). The *temïmbï* is played by men, and nearly all the flute players who play this kind of flute are older than 40. The younger ones usually play other types of flutes, as we will describe below.

Fig. 4. Martín Segundo playing an aluminium *temïmbï* and Paloma playing *angúa*.
Tuyunti, Argentina, February 2015.

Fig. 5. Francisco García -Panchincu- playing a bronze *temïmbï*. Tuyunti, Argentina, February 2014.

Fig. 6. *Temïmbï's* windway.

Pérez Bugallo (1982: 242) refers to the *temïmbï* as a type of flute associated to playing alone "suitable for the expression of intimate feelings and various states of mood associated to selecting a spouse. In this context the tunes of each musician are the fruit of a personal inspiration and improvisation is common" (my translation)[10].

According to Pérez Bugallo, the function of animating the feast and calling people to dance was in the past exclusively that of the *pinguyo* (1982: 285). Although there are some flute players -usually the older ones- who play the *temïmbï* in ways that are not apparently associated with the traditional repertoire of the *arete*, the *temïmbï* has a significant presence in the feast. What is observed is an alternation between the two types of flute -*temïmbï* and *pinguyo*- which is at times undertaken by different flute players or by a single person who can play both. Usually, someone who plays more than one type of flute carries a number of them (in a bag or secured to the body by his pant's belt) and can, at different moments during the feast, play one or the other. According to some flute players, it is the flutes themselves that decide which of them should be played at different times. Nevertheless, a young flute player is unlikely to begin to play if there is an older player doing so, although at certain times he may "ask permission" and the switching between the two occurs.

Fig. 7. Máximo Vaca playing a bamboo *pinguyo* with a plastic "*ayudante*" (helper). Tuyunti, Argentina, February 2014.

The *pinguyo*, which in the past was exclusively made of bamboo, is now made by combining different materials like bamboo, metal and plastic. It is a vertical partially-stopped flute with cylindrical bore with six fingerholes on the upper side. The *pinguyo* has a main pipe to which -in nearly all cases- is tied a thinner and shorter stopped pipe without fingerholes that emits a sharp tone -called by some the "ayudante" (helper). In both tubes a windway is cut and a wooden block is placed in the mouthpiece; the main pipe is partially open on the distal end -the bamboo knot is perforated in the middle without making a complete cut- while the smaller one is closed with wood or rubber. The main pipe is usually bamboo and the smaller lateral pipe is made of bamboo, metal or plastic -tubes from plastic pens are often used. Another possible combination is to have a main pipe of bamboo and the lateral pipe of bronze or copper. There are *pinguyos* made from ½-inch metal pipes (bronze or copper), with windways and blocks, with or without the smaller lateral pipe. This type of flute is played by men of all ages. During the summer it is common to see groups of children playing and performing pim pim. The boys can play *pinguyo* or an adapted recorder; it is very rare to see a child with a *temïmbï*.

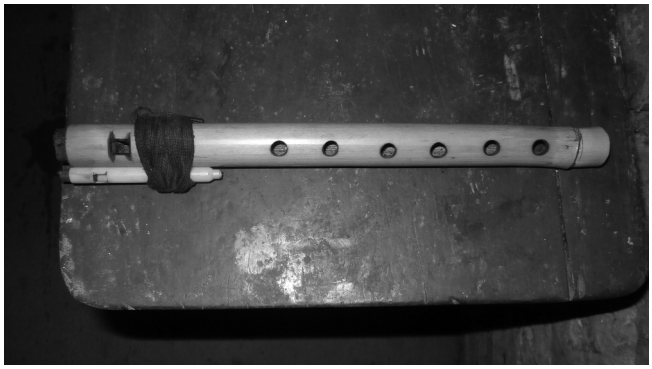

Fig. 8. Bamboo *pinguyo* with plastic "*ayudante*" (helper). Tuyunti, Argentina, February 2014.

A third type of flute often seen in the region is an adaptation of the industrial soprano recorder. In this case, the flute players remove the foot joint and the last two fingerholes of the flute -which would be used to play C in the lowest octave by closing all the fingerholes- and they may cover the last three fingerholes of the middle joint with tape- which would be used to play D or E in the lowest octave by closing all the fingerholes on the flute. What we observe in this case is a transformation of the industrial recorder in order to imitate the *temïmbï's* sound and fingering techniques. Here the new instrument is being appropriated so as to, through its transformation, make it play tunes that are expected to remain the same.

Fig. 9. Gustavo Cuellar showing the adapted plastic recorder. Tuyunti, Argentina, February 2015.

The *temïmbï ïepïasa* (a side blown flute, similar to the fife) which in the past was used to play the "chiquitano" music during the Easter celebrations, is rarely heard today, though many people remember the Easter feasts of 20 years ago, their dances and games.

Each flute player can develop a different fingering for the three types of flutes described. There are no rigid rules in relation to the ways to hold the instrument or to place the fingers, which depends on the ways in which the skills in this art are developed. Evidently, learning depends on an attentive and creative process on the part of the student and not on some type of transmission of knowledge on the part of a master who teaches. The attention of the student, in turn, is concentrated much more on the sound qualities of the music played than on the physical aspects of fingering. While in this sphere there is great diversity and nearly as many forms of fingering as there are flute players, on the level of interpretation we see recurrence to certain themes that, depending on the flute player, will present a greater or lesser number of variations. The descriptions of the learning processes always refer to experiences of careful listening, imitation and much repetition. And while some flute players may acknowledge that someone taught them a bit of what they know, it is also common to hear references to jealousies that some flute players have regarding the themes they play and reluctance to show others how to play them. This characteristic of the learning process partly explains why many flute players express great interest in having access to the videos that I made, indicating the contrast between their experiences of listening and mine. In their opinion, it would be much easier to learn to play if they had these recordings. In any case, it is very difficult to know the actual effects that listening to and watching these recordings may have on flute players. One could be tempted to think that watching and listening to the audiovisual recordings may affect the ways in which playing skills are developed or even that the music played by these flute players would be different. Despite those possibilities, the experience of joining others while they are

playing in order to play along with them, dance around them, share drinks with everybody there, or just seat close by them, seems to provide the most suitable arena to develop the skills necessary for playing effective tunes. If audiovisual recordings, as a translation of performance, allow us to perceive the relations between different expressive languages as composing an intersemiotic chain (Menezes Bastos 2007; 2013) in a way that musical transcriptions or sound recordings alone would not allow, the multisensorial experience of the feast is not thoroughly captured by the video. Part of this experience is still lost in translation.

Still, recording and editing the ethnographic videos enabled us to observe aspects of the flute playing tradition among the Chané people that had remained unrevealed for us while we simply witnessed their performances. One of them is the sequential organization of flute music in this context, as well as the centrality of flute music in conducting the ritual through its different phases, or even its efficacy in inducing certain movements among dancers and other participants. Secondly, we realized that although repetition is an important resource, the analyses that our interlocutors offered, based on the audiovisual material shared with them, reveal a fine perception of the subtleties that make up the sequential organization within and between single themes in the ritual structure. In addition, some contrasts between themes that appear to maintain traditional standards and others introduced more recently by young flute players showed us some ways in which innovation in performance is matched with historical structures.

Figure 10. The bull and the tiger [1]

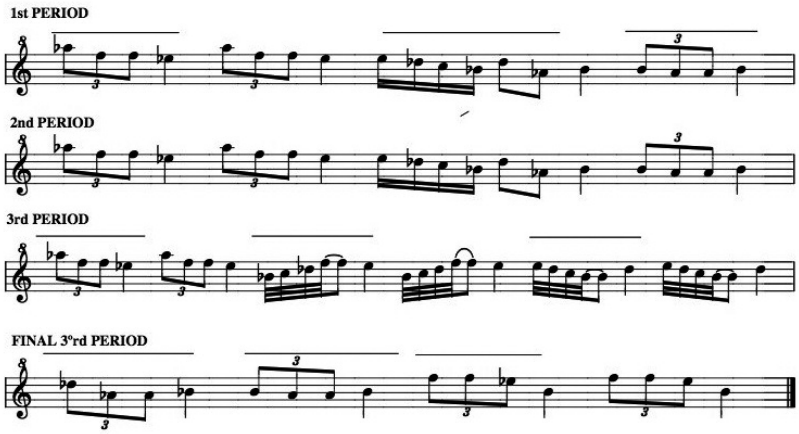

Figure 10- "The bull and the tiger". Based on audiovisual recording of Martín Segundo flute playing (temïmbï), Tuyunti, February 28, 2014. (In the video attached to this text this theme begins at 2'05.) The repetition of motifs and of the whole period in which theses motifs are structured brings stability to the piece. (Transcription by Eduardo Ferraro)

Thus, this paper has sought to examine ethnographic videos as both products and producers of ethnography, leading us to a better understanding of the creative manipulation based on the stylistic standardization of the flute playing tradition among the Chané people in Western Chaco. The skillfull appropriation of old and new materials for the purpose of making the flutes themselves, as well as of old and new repertoires, appear as ways of shaping tradition through the transformations of such musical practices as have been historically established in the region.

Fig. 11. Antahuara

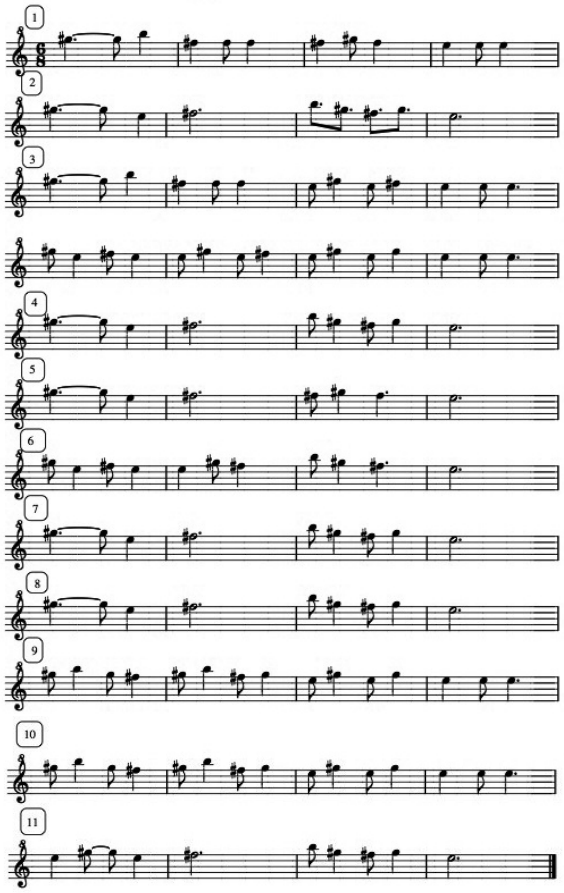

Figure 11- "Antahuara". Based on audiovisual recording of Gustavo Cuellar flute playing (pinguyo), Tuyunti, february 21, 2015.
Here some phrases are repeated but this seems to attend and aleatory principle instead of a regular simmetry. During the first phrase flute and drums are adjusting the tempo. Phrase 1 and 2 are single. Phrase number 3's sequence will be repeated in phrase number 6. Phrase 4 will be repeated in 7, 8 and 11. Phrase number 5 is single. 6 repeats 3. 7 and 8 are both repetition of 4. Phrase 10 is a repetition of 9. 11 is a repetition of 4. The scheme remains as folows: 1;2; 3=6; 4=7=8=11;9=10.
In the video attached to this text the theme played by Cuellar begins at 4'21. The next version, played by Paloma, is an even more varied performance of the same theme. (Transcription by Eduardo Ferraro)

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I am specially grateful to Diego Villar for his reading and comments on an earlier version of this paper.

1 Gran Chaco is a semi-arid central South American plain, approximately one million square kilometers in size, encompassing portions of eastern Bolivia, western Paraguay and northern Argentina (See Fig. 1). As described by Combès, Villar and Lowrey (2009: 69) some 250,000 indigenous people belonging to more than twenty ethnic groups live in the Chaco. Traditional ethno-linguistic categorization classifies them into six main linguistic groups: Guaycurú (Toba, Toba-Pilagá, Pilagá, Mocoví, Mbayá-Caduveo), Zamuco (Chamacoco-Ishir, Ayoreo), Mataco-maká (Wichí-Mataco, Chorote, Nivaclé-Chulupí, Maká), Lule-Vilela (Chunupí), Lengua-Maskoi (Lengua, Sanapaná, Angaité, Enenlhet), Tupí-Guaraní (Ava-Chiriguano, Tapiete, Isoseño-Guaraní, Chané). See Combès, Villar and Lowrey (2009) for a review of the historical, ethno-historical and ethnological literature on the area. I identify the region under study as "Western Chaco" in order to better situate the reader, for ethnology has traditionally differentiated between Eastern and Western Chaco indigenous sociabilities. (Nordenskiöld 2002; Métraux 1996; Villar 2006).

2 See, for example, Rocca and Newbery (1972: 59-60). The authors describe some aspects of the "chiriguano-chané Carnival", including some references to music and dance. Their description, however, ends with some notes about the loss of traditional traits due to "transculturation", labour migrations and the increasing contact with white and *criollo* people in urban centres.

3 The indigenous Chané are descendants of ancient groups of the Arawak linguistic family who settled in the Eastern Andes in what is now Bolivia. Authors such as Erland Nordenskiöld and Alfred Métraux claim that since the 16th century the Chané were conquered and dominated by Tupi-Guarani groups that migrated from the East towards the Andes. According to both authors, this migration began after contact with Europeans and was even influenced by contact with the whites on the Atlantic Coast. (Combès 2005: 69) From this meeting grew the societies that the ethnology and historic anthropology of the Gran Chaco usually refer to as Chiriguanos (Combès 2005: 68-75). It is thus possible to affirm that the Chané were "guaranized" because they now speak a Guarani language and share cultural characteristics with the Guarani communities in the region. Nevertheless, the Chané communities of the Saltenho Chaco (in the Northeastern Argentina) have a clear awareness and high regard for their Arawak singularity and make a point of emphasizing their contrasts with the Guarani groups of the region (Bossert and Villar 2006: 59; Combès 2007: 268). An analysis of Chiriguano-Chané cultural continuities and differences can be consulted in Villar (2006).

4 "Sequences [are] the ways by which smaller musical units are joined to create a larger whole and thus, stimulate a certain type of musical experience." (Seeger 2013: 11).

5 See the attached video *Flute Players in Western Chaco. On Movements and Variations*. Two versions of *The Bull and the Tiger* are played from 2'05" to 4'18". The first one is performed by Martín Segundo, a flute player from Tuyunti, Salta, Argentina, recorded in February 2014 (attached transcription, Fig. 10). The second one is the performance by flute player from Iyambae Macharetí (Chaco, Bolivia) at the Aguayrenda Feast in Bolivia in February 2015.

6 See the attached trascription (Fig. 10). *The Bull and the Tiger.* Based on the audiovisual recording of Martín Segundo's flute playing (*temïmbï*), Tuyunti, February 28, 2014. The repetition of motifs within a period and of the whole period within the theme brings stability to the piece.

7 Thanks to Julio Mendívil for these data.

8 See the attached video *Flute Players in Western Chaco. On Movements and Variations*. Two versions of *Antahuara* are played from 4'21" to 5'38". The first one is by Gustavo Cuellar (Calandria), the second one was performed by Julián Gomes (Paloma) in February 2015. Both performers are young flute players from Tuyunti, Salta, Argentina.

9 See the attached transcription (Fig. 11). *Antahuara*. Based on audiovisual recording of Gustavo Cuellar's flute playing (*pinguyo*), Tuyunti, February 2015. Here some phrases are repeated, but this seems to result from an aleatory principle rather than from regular simmetry.

10 "*apta para la expresión de sentimientos íntimos y diversos estados de ánimo relacionados con la elección de pareja. En ese contexto, los toques de cada músico son fruto de la inspiración personal, siendo habitual la improvisación*".

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Saludos Amigos: Reflections about Brazilian's Cultural Identity

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Abstract

Throughout this essay, we will raise a number of questions regarding Brazilian cultural identity through the analysis of the fourth segment in the movie *Saludos Amigos* (*Hello Friends*), released in 1942. In this section of the film, the irreverent Donald Duck is introduced to Brazil, represented in this instance by samba, cachaça and Rio de Janeiro. His cicerone, Zé Carioca, is the Brazilian stereotype created by Walt Disney in the wake of the so-called "Good Neighbor Policy" driven by American expansionism. There are, however, specific reasons that explain the representation of Brazilian identity promoted in this animated movie by the renowned Hollywood producer. During the 1940's, Brazil was going through a period when nationalism was strongly encouraged and 'political roof' decisions fuelled the feeling of a "united" nation. Endorsed and urged by the State, artists and intellectuals pursued the "authentic" Brazilian expression in folklore. With regard to music, samba was seen as the popular urban chansonnier's bulwark. On the basis of these arguments, we will reflect on the reasons for the presence of this artificial image in the film and for a portrayal of national identity which ultimately reduced the folkways of a multicultural nation to just a few features of a particular locality. In parallel to this analysis, the examination of feature-length animated film *Rio* (2011) will help us demonstrate how the imaginary created around a "fabricated tradition" has been strengthened all the way up until today.

Keywords: Hello Friends, Brazilian's cultural identity, Saludos Amigos, Brazilian music.

Introduction

There are several ways to use audiovisual material within ethnomusicological research. The creation and analysis of documentaries have proven effective in studies of certain cultural and ethnic backgrounds, since they allow the researcher to review and re-evaluate the data collected in fieldwork, often decrease the number of research trips and facilitate access to and the exchange of these materials between professionals from different sectors. In addition, contemporary records of rituals, celebrations and other similar manifestations can be compared with previous ones made in other historical, contextual and political settings or by scholars from other areas.

However, in this chapter we would like to call attention to the possibility of using other kinds of audiovisual material: commercial films that involve a production scale suited to the purpose of worldwide distribution. Let us begin by undertaking a critical reflection on the fourth segment of animated movie *Saludos Amigos* (*Hello friends*) created by Walt Disney in the wake of the American expansionist project known as the "Good Neighbor Policy": an

initiative aimed at promoting the interaction of the United States of America with Latin American countries like Argentina, Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Brazil.

In the first segment, Donald Duck has problems with a llama when visiting Lake Titicaca, located in the Andes and on the border between Peru and Bolivia. In the second section, the main character is a plane named Pedro, who leaves Chile to pick up air mail from Mendoza, Argentina. In the third section, Goofy, a bumbler dog created by Walt Disney, poses as a cowboy in the Argentine pampas, where he learns some local mores. Finally, the fourth part -the main subject of this essay- tells the adventures of Donald Duck in Brazil (for copyright reasons we will not provide the film excerpts, even though we encourage the reader to watch them on the Internet where the film is readily available)[1].

Donald Duck is introduced to Brazil by cicerone Zé Carioca, a trickster parrot who has *samba* feet, *ginga* hips and rhythm at his fingertips, besides the taste for cigars, the revelry and the *cachaça*. The meeting between the characters occurs in Rio de Janeiro, specifically in Urca, a typical Carioca upscale neighborhood where some of the most famous sights of the city are located. All the urban atmosphere of the Brazilian capital at the time gets a new look, the environment is filled with an exotic scenery of colorful plants and wild animals. This is in fact a stereotypical representation of Brazil, as if the country could be easily reduced to the mores and characteristics of particular localities or cultural niches, in this case the natural beauty that constitutes the backdrop to the trickster *samba* performer who comes down the hill to be "a vagabond" in the city.

While the above lines only provide a brief enough introduction to the film, a more accurate analysis will now follow. Before that, however, it becomes necessary to account for the reasons why Walt Disney decided to portray Brazil in this particular way. The film is not just a naively reproduced picture of the country, but is rather grounded on perceptions provided to the Hollywood producer by the intellectual elite of the time. In order to understand this, we need to expatiate on some important landmarks in the construction of Brazilian identity that were very much at the heart of discussions in those days.

Brazilian identity and samba as its main musical expression

The philosophical question underlying the issue of 'identity' has been repeatedly approached by intellectuals throughout Brazilian history, especially since the second half of the nineteenth century. While it is not our intention to engage in an in-depth discussion of the several contextual moments that generated different ideas about what being Brazilian is and what Brazilian culture represents, we would like to focus on the construction of certain national values that are still with us today. Renato Ortiz (2003) in his book *Cultura brasileira e identidade nacional* (*Brazilian Culture and National Identity*) begins the discussion of this subject by interpreting nineteenth-century thinkers. The author draws attention to the "implausibility"and "malaise" that causes the reading of works that unveil our origins and attempt to explain the Brazilian "delay".

Thus, guided by Comte's positivism, social Darwinism and the evolutionism of Spencer, intellectuals such as Sílvio Romero, Euclides da Cunha and Nina Rodrigues relied on two ar-

guments to support the Brazilian lag behind European countries: the race and the environment. In other words, the "ills" of the Brazilian people could be largely attributed to geographic factors. The Northeastern backlands, for example, would justify the "listlessness" and the"savagery" of their inhabitants, as well as the reasons why the Iberian peoples had found it difficult to settle in the region. Additionally, racial diversity represented another problem to be overcome, this time through the "whitening of Brazilian society". Thus, the national ideal became something still awaiting to be concretized in the future.

On the other hand, Manuel Bonfim provided in 1903 another perspective on the issue. According to his interpretation, the national problems were solely due to Brazil's inclusion in a broader framework called "America-Latina". Furthermore, the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized could be characterized in this context as one between the parasite and the parasitized: a relationship which had hindered the development of Brazilian society. According to the biological and social reasoning underlying the theory of Bomfim, the parasitic system regresses while transmitting its degeneration to the parasitized, which is applicable to the case of Portugal and Spain, but not to the rest of the European nations that have succeeded in colonial ventures. However, it is noteworthy that the "means" are no longer seen as an obstacle as long as they are deemed conducive to development. Be it as it may, the main thrust of the above arguments was that the sociologist should go back to the past in search for answers.

Notwithstanding the inherent flaws in the ideologies of the thinkers at the turn of the twentieth century, they made it possible to develop new theories that aimed at a reflection on the question of national identity. With the rapid urbanization in the early twentieth century and the emergence of the *Brasil-cadinho* myth (the concept of Brazil as a crucible was an ideology that translated diversity as a fundamental characteristic of the country and relied on the "friendly" syncretism of the three races -black, indian and white-), the theories hitherto formulated were superseded by a culturalist thinking that engaged and integrated the different regions. The new framework involved a political bias, since it was precisely this view of things that the State deliberately sought from the 1930s onwards. In the words of Renato Ortiz (2003: 40):

> With the Revolution of 1930 the changes that took place were politically oriented, since the State seeking to consolidate their own social development. Within this framework, the racialistic theories became obsolete and it was necessary to overcome them, because the social reality imposed another kind of interpretation of Brazil [our translation][2].

At that point the cultural policies were directed to the appreciation of miscegenation and regionalism. In other words, Brazil's cultural plurality became celebrated and encouraged, since it represented the ideal of national unity, a nationalist symbol. Therefore, the peculiarities of local customs came to be seen as prestigious, and so was the notion of belonging to a large multicultural framework marked by the characteristically Brazilian miscegenation. It was in this context, for example, that composer Heitor Villa-Lobos increased his public stature and was able to release his music education project[3], while Brazil's Northeastern music gained

greater national projection and reached its peak in the figure of Luiz Gonzaga, the "King of *Baião*".

The country's growing industrial and economic expansion also attracted international interest, especially from the United States, which was keenly interested in the new market that was emerging in the Brazilian territory. It therefore became necessary to create a national image that could be commercialized or easily identified by natives and foreigners alike as the nation's identity: "what we believe, and what others believe us to be, is a decisive factor of how we relate to others" (Barros Filho 2013: 88) [our translation]. In this way, and perhaps because of its strong connection with the then national capital, Rio de Janeiro, *samba* underwent a process of co-optation that ignored its primordial meanings in order to endow it with the status of national music. Renato Ortiz (2003: 43) is categorical in stating that "Building a mestizo national identity makes it even more difficult to discern color borders. When samba was promoted to the category of national music, which effectively it is today, it became emptied of its specific origins as a black music [our translation]"[4].

In a maneuver that is very similar to what Stuart Hall (2011) calls "political roof"[5], *samba* was widely promoted throughout Brazil as the main representative of the national popular music. During his trip to Brazil, for example, Walt Disney and his crew gathered inspiration for the fourth episode in "Hello Friends", featuring the character of Zé Carioca -an imaginary construction shrouded in trickery, cachaça, samba and, in short, what was supposed to represent the "typically Brazilian" nature. This was a stereotype agreed upon for commercial reasons, but also as a result of the Good Neighbor Policy[6].

It is true that a significant variety of musical genres circulated in Rio de Janeiro in the 1920s. The *maxixe* and *sertanejo* (Brazilian country music), or even American rhythms like foxtrot, charleston and shimmy, were already part of the country's national musical universe. However, the "trickster" *samba* emerged and propagated itself simultaneously and together with the popular theatre (*Teatro de revista*) at a time when the urban culture of the hills and *favelas* was seen as a valuable asset and praised as a *sui generis* representation of the national popular culture. Taking advantage of the popularity of the *samba*, the New State (Estado Novo) government, marked by populist and labor ideals, would later encourage the spread of *samba* "exaltation" as a vehicle for the promotion of natural beauty, government, family and work[7]. Immersed, therefore, in a context marked by the construction of national symbols (Vianna 1995), *samba* climbed amid government efforts, media amplification and the initiatives of some of its representatives to the central position it holds in the Brazilian music scene.

The genre's genuine origins in black culture, its rural roots and strong associations with the houses of *Baianas* women (i.e., from Bahia, Brazil's Northeastern state) were being gradually forgotten in favor of building a national music, with no specific links to race, religion or a delimited geographical area.

This was the situation encountered by Walt Disney when he landed in Brazil in the early 1940s. It is very likely that the American producer assimilated the cultural atmosphere that enveloped the country at the time and had as its main soundtrack two major types of *samba*: one that extolled the country's natural beauty and the urban development encouraged by the

government of Getúlio Vargas; and another that sang the pride of tricksters/*samba* performers who drank and lived in the *botecos* (taverns) with a knife in their pockets and little or no desire to work. Walt Disney must have imbibed these influences as he created the character of Zé Carioca and surrounded him in an exotic environment, even though the latter is actually an upscale neighborhood of the then capital of the country. Let us scrutinize the film in some detail so as to highlight the ambiguity of the choices made by Walt Disney, which, while reflecting stereotypical generalizations about Brazil, also hint (in a less obvious way and to more attentive observers) at other features of the country that exceed the construct of national identity unequivocally desired by the *intelligentsia* of the time.

Saludos Amigos

The fourth segment of the film *Saludos Amigos* (*Hello friends*) begins by adopting the documentary format. The camera wanders through some sights on the beaches, in cafes and on the sidewalks of Rio de Janeiro while the narrator briefly comments on these places. Next, a hodgepodge of drawings are shown one by one, some depicting wild environments and others representing urban and beachy spots. It is then that the newest Disney character appears. Zé Carioca is a parrot -an animal that is presented as the protagonist in several popular comic stories.

The movie continues, this time showing a lounge where people have fun and dance to the sound of Brazilian music: "a *samba*", according to the narrator. However, what is heard is *Escravos* de Jó (*Slaves of Job*), a *ciranda*, a dance usually performed in a circle by people who join hands. Instruments such as the *reco-reco* and the *cabaça* are presented as primordials to rhythmic *samba* construction, even though the latter is more often found in the African-Brazilian folklore, for example in the *candomblé* rituals. It is true that these instruments can be played in various musical genres, but it would be more plausible to present the *cuíca* or the *tamborim* as typical of samba (the invention of the *tamborim* is attributed to a *samba* performer of the old guard, the musician called Bide).

After a few steps of "*samba*" and while the narrator claims that the spirit of Mardi Gras has invaded the streets of Rio de Janeiro for three days and three nights, the Carnival becomes the focus of the scene. Instead of the music commonly played in Carnivals (*marchinha* or Samba), what is heard is still the *ciranda Escravos de Jó*. The first *samba* to be executed in the film, Ary Barroso's *Aquarela do Brasil* (*Watercolor of Brazil*), accompanies the next scene.

An "exaltation samba" composed in 1939, *Aquarela do Brasil* plays at the same time as Brazilian natural beauties are being painted on a sheet of paper. From then on, a journey through the wild begins to unfold: plants, waterfalls and animals that can only be seen in tropical forests like the Amazon region. Leaving aside the film's artistic and musical elements, which are extremely well crafted, our essay intends to focus on the way in which Brazil was portrayed in this animated feature. And that, incredible though it may seem, still resonates around the world today.

During his visit, Walt Disney must have come into contact with the Brazilian discourse that extoled the country's natural wealth. As if in response to the intellectuals of the nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries, the period was prone to glorifying the geographical features of the country. The dry land in the Northeast and the wilderness (*sertão*) were replaced by the beach and other scenic beauties which were now disclosed as landmarks scattered throughout the territory. Nature and imagination joined hands in this construction of Brazilian identity and to this day it is possible to recognize this discourse in the language of advertising and in the statements by political authorities. The song *Aquarela do Brasil* puts it this way:

This coconut tree that provides coconuts	Oh! Esse coqueiro que dá coco
where I tie my hammock	Onde eu amarro minha rede
in the clear moonligth nights	Nas noites claras de luar
Oh! hear these murmuring fountains	Oh! Ouve essas fontes murmurantes
Where I quench my thirst	Onde eu mato a minha sede
And where the moon comes to play	E onde a lua vem brincar

While the volume of the music lowers down, Zé Carioca appears on screen and hands Donald Duck his presentation card. The parrot immediately gives a hug to the Hollywood character and welcomes him warmly before inviting him to visit Rio de Janeiro. Zé Carioca, taking his new friend by the arm, says: "Let me show you the land of the *samba*". A new song starts playing: it is *Tico-Tico no Fubá*, composed by Zequinha de Abreu, actually a *choro*, an essentially instrumental genre which blends the dances of European lounge with African-Brazilian rhythmic compositions.

Zé Carioca uses his umbrella as a flute and a ukulele and Donald Duck's beret morphs into an accordion (an instrument seldom used in *samba*), while his visitor becomes enthusiastically filled with the rhythm he is creating. They then stop at a bar for *cachaça*. Zé Carioca is a trickster who smokes cigars, plays *samba* on a matchbox and intoxicates Donald Duck, who begins to bounce on his chair every second beat of the bar. Trickery has always been a recurring and much discussed theme characteristically associated with *samba*. Throughout the history of this musical genre it has been both the target of criticism and a source of acceptance, eliciting shame as well as pride. According to ethnomusicologist and expert on *samba* Carlos Sandroni (2001: 7):

> The earliest published allusions to trickery that I know are already related to popular music: they can be found in the compilation album of *modinhas and lundus* collected by Eduardo das Neves and published in 1904 under the title *O Trovador da Malandragem*. But it is in the late 1920s when it appears as a recurring theme in samba lyrics, popularizing the character of the trickster and making it almost synonymous with the samba performer [our translation][8].

Finally, the silhouette of Carmen Miranda (the most Brazilian Portuguese figure ever known) appears dancing among several neon signs, one of them reading *Copacabana*. The singer Carmen Miranda became famous by spreading Brazilian music in the USA, but she was also highly criticized for assuming an outlandish persona best remembered by her exotic headdresses made of fruit.

Interestingly, Walt Disney did not build his characters and his story on the sole basis of his personal insights, but also relied on the voice and contribution of a number of Brazilians. Indeed several important musicians from Brazil appear in the film, like Heitor Villa-Lobos, Aloysio Oliveira or José de Oliveira. And yet, unlike what happens in an academic documentary, he was not concerned with conducting any in-depth research on Brazil's vast cultural context, since his overall aim was simply to market the film as a commercial product. The image that the latter aired is still perpetuated in the present time, which goes to show the long-lasting influence of nationalist politics during the 30s and of the international promotion of the Brazilian stereotype that ensued.

Released in 2011 (and followed by a 2014 sequel), the movie titled *Rio* was directed by Brazilian filmmaker Carlos Saldanha. The Brazilian musicians Carlinhos Brown, Sergio Mendes and Bebel Gilberto, as well as the British rapper Taio Cruz, also collaborated in the soundtrack. The stereotypical image of the country can still be seen here, but the symbols of nationality have undergone a number of changes. In this case, the main national traits are embodied by the beautiful natural scenery, the city of Rio de Janeiro (no longer the capital of Brazil), the Carnival and football. In addition, *samba* still appears as the bulwark of Brazilian popular music, nonwithstanding the presence of Carlinhos Brown, one of the key players in the film's musical setting and a well-known promoter of Bahian music in the framework of the *Olodum* project.

The replacement of *cachaça* and trickery with football can be explained by certain legal developments and by the changing social values that currently inhibit the commercial advertising of some products that are harmful to health. Already the conservation of *samba* as a national music is due to the need to support an internationally recognizable national identity. Much as local cultural expressions can presently rely on a series of public policies that stimulate their preservation, there is also the need to perpetuate a univocal, more solid identity that suits the capitalist laws that aim to "according to which it should be ideally sell as much as possible of as little as possible to as many as possible" (Tagg 1982: 41) [our translation].

Samba musical changes

We already saw some reasons why samba was promoted to the position of Brazilian main musical expression during the 1930s. We also problematized the stereotypical view of Brazil that is disseminated through *Saludos Amigos* and other film productions that have reached wide audiences up to the present day. However, we would like to reflect now on some aspects of this musical genre that have changed in the course of the period under scrutiny.

The first modification, temporally located between the 1920s and the 1930s, concerns the very practice of *samba* within their social space. With the advent of intellectual property protection and its assimilation by popular musicians, compositions began to be sold on an individual basis, so that the collective authorship of earlier songs gradually waned. In addition, the documentary role of sound recordings eventually established the musical standards by which the *samba* became known. Certain communities and artists, for various reasons, were prioritized over others by being more profusely recorded, as is illustrated by the case of the

neighborhood called *Estácio* and its *samba* school (Sandroni: 2001).

The "*Estácio* paradigm", as Carlos Sandroni (2001) designates it, is characterized by a more syncopated rhythm, with notes that also extend from one bar to another. The *tamborim* (tambourine) is one of the most frequently mentioned instruments in academic papers to exemplify this paradigm. Let's look at the rhythmic line typically produced by this instrument:

Tamborim rhythmic pattern

With the commercialization of *samba* and the growing influence of cinema and American music, most markedly in the 1940s and 1950s, this musical genre has undergone other changes, mainly resulting from the called "*samba* exaltation". While the intellectuals and the government saw in this kind of artistic and popular expressions the potential for building a national identity, they also identified the need to make them more erudite, scholarly and lettered.

The cinema leveraged this process of erudition as well as samba's full orchestration, as is illustrated for example by Ari Barroso's *Aquarela do Brasil*. As a result, the door was opened to less syncopated interpretations, with beautiful arrangements -that is true-, but with much less of a swing to them. During this period, radio stations engaged whole orchestras in their artistic casts and there were quite a number of *samba* versions that fitted into this instrumental approach.

It was later discovered that students of Brazilian popular music were faced with difficulties as they attempted to perform with the single support of the musical score, since the great performers of *samba* came mostly from informal music training and had learnt to play during the most varied experiences in bars and nightclubs. While such experiences still remain extremely important, in order to contribute to academic scholarship, a new non-traditional Western type of notation has been used: the "time-line-pattern".

A concept coined by Joseph Nketia in 1970, the "time-line-pattern" has been used by ethnomusicologists such as Tiago de Oliveira Pinto (2001), Kazadiwa Mukuna (2000), Carlos Didier (1996) and Samuel Araújo (1999) in their studies of *samba*. From this perspective, and by the use of "X" to signal pulsations that sound and ". " to indicate pulsations that do not sound, the assimilation of the genre's rhythmic patterns is greatly facilitated, as is generally agreed. Thus, the *tamborim's* score shown above is replaced by 16 pulses grouped in sets of '7 + 9' and notated as follows:

(16) X .X . X X .X .X .X . X X .

In the context of the above remarks, Disney's *Saludos Amigos* can be seen against the backdrop of a peculiar moment in the history of samba, where the genre's orchestration allowed for a different treatment of its musical patterns. A close observation of these orchestrated and erudite performances helps us understand that truly popular music is built in a more 'intentional' way -i.e., "through intensive modulation of the rhythmic frequencies and inflections of [its] units" (Neder 2010: 189) [our translation][9]-, by contrast with classical music, which according to ethnomusicologist Andrew Chester (1970), develops rather in a extensional way, with synchronic and diachronic combinations of basic musical particles into the whole complex.

To conclude

The *Estado Novo* (New State) policy and the intellectuals of the 1930s defined the cultural symbols that from then on integrated the Brazilian imaginary identity. The image constructed under the auspices of nationalism was propagated in Brazil and internationally, thus contributing to its perpetuation and solidification. The film *Saludos Amigos* (*Hello friends*) aimed at the dissemination of this stereotype in the USA and Brazil, and, as we have seen, Walt Disney based his interpretation on the discourse provided by the autochthonous Brazilians themselves.

The consolidation of *samba* as the principal representative of Brazilian music had a number of effects, beginning by the strongly conservative discourse that has emerged around the genre. The focus on traditional or "authentic" *samba* meant that, with the exception of recent efforts, its metamorphoses were little studied: a cultural phenomenon which is otherwise pretty common. In the words of Néstor Garcia Canclini (2013:211), there is often

> More interest in cultural goods -objects, sales, music- than in the agents that generate and consume them. This fascination with products, and the neglect of the processes and social agents that generate them or with the uses that modify them, leads to valuing the objects' repetition rather than their transformation [our translation][10].

The marginalization of local cultural expressions that have been relegated to the background and receive little incentive is another effect that can be noticed. Some, such as the *quicumbis* and *moçambiques*, or the *folias* and *catiras*, have seen a considerable reduction in the number of people involved in their rituals and celebrations. Currently, and especially since the 1990s, various public policies have been directed at stimulating and preserving these cultural practices: a goal that requires the engagement of professionals such as anthropologists or ethnomusicologists among others, so that there is no co-opting or stagnation of these expressions.

A film like *Saludos Amigos* makes it possible to reflect on the way in which Brazilian symbolic goods that make up the country's social and cultural imagination even today have been constructed and indeed sold both at home and abroad. And it may provide us with further insights into the role of documentaries in ethnomusicological research and make us aware that the professionals committed to portraying certain rituals, celebrations, tribal customs, ar-

tistic expressions etc., should keep in mind the methods needed to collect more accurate samples. In other words, the academic material cannot simply be the result of the subject-matter's journalistic or even commercial appeal. We hope that this essay can contribute to a better understanding of Brazilian culture, beyond simplistic stereotypes. It was also our desire to encourage readers to have a critical view of the materials that document and disseminate features of regional, local, tribal or even national cultures.

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1 The movie can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SbOe1Gquw_0. Last visited on May 5, 2015. The fourth part starts at 34'30''.

2 "*Com a Revolução de 30 as mudanças que vinham ocorrendo são orientadas politicamente, o Estado procurando consolidar o próprio desenvolvimento social. Dentro deste quadro, as teorias raciológicas tornam-se obsoletas, era necessário superá-las, pois a realidade social impunha um outro tipo de interpretação do Brasil*".

3 The maestro Heitor Villa-Lobos was responsible for engendering the teaching of music in Brazilian elementary schools. His educational method was based on folkloric expressions and orpheonic singing designed by German composer Carl Orff.

4 "*A construção de uma identidade nacional mestiça deixa ainda mais difícil o discernimento entre as fronteiras de cor. Ao se promover o samba ao título de nacional, o que efetivamente ele é hoje, esvazia-se sua especificidade de origem, que era ser uma música negra*".

5 Stuart Hall (2011) elaborates on the idea of Ernest Gellner about what he termed "political roof", i.e., the transformation of "loyalty" -regional, religious, tribal or ethnic- into a modern cultural identity. In other words, political maneuvering made it possible for the government to effect an equation whereby multiple cultures were subsumed under a single nation or "imagined community" (Anderson 2010), thus creating a generalized identity and fostering a sense of belonging.

6 The Good Neighbor Policy was an initiative of the US government that aimed at improving its relations with Latin American countries.

7 *Aquarela do Brasil* (1939), composed by Ary Barroso (which includes the soundtrack of *Saludos Amigos*) and *É negócio casar* (1942), composed by Ataulfo Alves and Felisberto Martins, are examples of the *samba* exaltation phenomenon.

8 "*A mais antiga alusão à malandragem que conheço já tem relação com a música popular: trata-se da coletânea de modinhas e lundus de Eduardo das Neves, publicada em 1904, que se intitulava O trovador da Malandragem. Mas é no final dos anos 1920 que ela aparece como um tema recorrente nas letras de samba, popularizando o personagem do malandro e tornando-o quase um sinônimo de sambista*".

9 *"através da modulação intensiva das frequências e inflexões rítmicas destas unidades"*.

10 *"Interessam mais os bens culturais - objetos, lendas, músicas - que os agentes que os geram e consomem. Essa fascinação pelos produtos, o descaso pelos processos e agentes sociais que os geram, pelos usos que os modificam, leva a valorizar nos objetos mais sua repetição que sua transformação*".

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4. Education

Producing Ethnomusicological Audiovisuals in Current Educational Contexts*

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Abstract

This text is an updated English version of an article published in Spanish on the relationship between ethnomusicology, educational, and audiovisual communications (Cámara de Landa 2012), including a discussion of relevant documentaries. The purpose of this study is to address the following questions (which were also proposed to conference participants): Is it possible to bring together, in an AV ethnomusicological project, aspects of the three types of work classified by D'Amico (2012) according to their respective purposes (scientific, didactic, or informative)? Is it possible to achieve this goal while respecting principles of flexibility, versatility, compatibility with written materials, quality of content and format, capacity for distribution, trouble-shooting for errors and security weaknesses, and epistemological issues? Which of the principles specified by Baily in his seminal text of 1989 are suitable, which are necessary and which are essential? Is there a correspondence between objectives, target audiences, and audiovisual formats in ethnomusicological production? Have current conditions of creation and reception brought about the obsolescence of certain formats? What are the most appropriate formats for fulfilling current audiovisual production objectives in ethnomusicological fields? The answer to all these questions would require a much larger space than this paper. My point is simply to emphasize the importance of keeping in mind some general principles (mentioned in the second question above) with regard to some materials recently produced.

Keywords: Extremadura, India, Italian tango, principles.

Introduction: Learning to "see" the music

The importance of audiovisual documents in ethnomusicological research is a frequently recurring subject. In Italy, Giorgio Adamo and Leonardo D'Amico wrote important books (published in 2010 and 2012, respectively) on this interdisciplinary field located at the intersection between visual anthropology and ethnomusicology. D'Amico classifies ethnomusicological audiovisual production according to three potential purposes: scientific, educational, or informative. I would like to address here the second of these categories in order to examine some AV materials developed in the Department of Music History and Science at the University of Valladolid. My intent is to propose future improvements based on an assessment of these materials' strengths and weaknesses.

*This text is a translation and revised version of the article "Etnomusicología, didáctica y comunicación audiovisual: experiencias recientes en la Universidad de Valladolid", published in *Música e Investigación* 20 (Buenos Aires, 2012), pp. 335-355.

My theoretical framework includes concepts taken from an article in which John Baily (1989: 4-5) identifies three possible targets for such materials (pure research, demonstration/teaching, and the making of audio-visual "texts") and from Steven Feld's study (1976) on ethnomusicology and visual communications, with some additional references to the works of Adamo (2010) and D'Amico (2012).

Key practitioners of traditional music in Extremadura

The research project entitled *Música tradicional en Extremadura a través de sus protagonistas (Traditional Music of Extremadura through its Key Practitioners*) was conducted by Victoria Eli, Marita Fornaro, Antonio Diaz, and myself. This project produced, among other results, four audiovisual documents dedicated to "showing" certain musical phenomena in the region and promoting theoretical reflections related to the following issues:

- the centrality assumed by the activity of certain persons recognized by the community as custodians of local, traditional, musical memory.

- the dialogical dimension of fieldwork, considered to be the backbone of this type of research (as it is geared toward the intercultural exchange of knowledge, practices, and critical assessment).

- the participation of insiders and outsiders in the transmission of knowledge from an intersubjective dimension.

- the adoption of an epistemological approach that prioritizes life stories in order to understand social histories while incorporating methods recently proposed by anthropological disciplines (such as autobiography, participatory text, or ethno-text).

- the inclusion of music-related discourse among the sources under study in order to enhance research prospects and achieve a satisfactory degree of control over the knowledge acquired during the documentation process.

- working with insiders of different ages to observe, from a perspective sensitive to gender and cultural change, musical repertoires, practices associated with their use and function, and modes of communication and interaction at intra- and inter-cultural levels.

- the detection of the chief mechanisms by which musical tradition is transmitted (for example, the establishment of music schools supported by local councils, the creation and support of folk dance groups, or the organization of competitive festivals).

- the use of audiovisual technology when documenting the practitioners of the tradition in ways that best reflect the expression of their axiological world view and their ways of thinking and acting in relation to musical activity, taking into account aesthetic and functional concepts, repertoire, techniques of vocal and instrumental performance, instrument-making processes, training systems, kinetics as applied to music production, dance choreography, interaction during the performance, and relationships vis-à-vis different social spheres.

- respect for the ethnographic authority of the key figures; whose voices should guide the narrative developed in the audiovisuals (Cámara de Landa and Eli Rodríguez 2006).

- three relevant issues addressed in *La tradición y sus transformaciones: Dos casos extremeños* (Eli Rodríguez et al. [2005] 2015): (1) the influence of Spanish ethnomusicologists

like Manuel García Matos on current interpretations of local repertoires (e.g., songbooks as "fixers" and distributors of collected music, from which insights and reinterpretations of their content are generated); (2) the work of the Women's Section ("Sección Femenina") during the Francoist period in collecting, handling and reprocessing traditional music materials and practices; and (3) the interaction and shared heritage between the parts of the region which are separated by the Spanish-Portuguese border (factoring in the constraints posed by the different political and social circumstances which have evolved separately on either side of the border over the last half century).

The second work of the series -*Contextos festivos y protagonistas grupales: Nuestra Señora de la Salud en Fregenal de la Sierra* (Díaz Rodríguez et al. [2005] 2015)- was structured differently. In the course of the 16-minutes running time, just about half of the nearly 32 minutes of the previous work, we witness salient moments of the successive phases of a celebration whose key practitioners are a group of dancing children accompanied by the sound of the castanets, as well as the flute and tambourine, which they themselves play. The obsessive repetition of the rhythmic formula that characterizes the music of this dance provides the *leitmotiv* of the film. Further sounds -such as the ringing of bells or drums- are superimposed onto this rhythm, without any verbal explanation from the "observed" or the "observers". This absence of spoken explanations facilitates a state of introspection to allow video viewers to connect with the sensibilities of those involved in the events.

The key practioners profiled in the third documentary also make up a distinct group. In *Contextos festivos y protagonistas grupales: Los Negritos de Montehermoso* (Cámara de Landa et al. [2005] 2015), pairs of male dancers with blackened faces perform a series of dances accompanied by the music of flute and drum as played by a group leader. Here again there are no voiceovers, but verbal explanations filmed in the group leader's home are alternated with performances of the dances filmed in the town square during the festival.

This thematic core of the film is complemented by other scenes (such as the group's rehearsals, the smudging of each other's face, and performances in the temple during Mass and in the village streets during visits to different households). The two narrative principles underlying this film (which was submitted to the villagers for critical approval) are: the successive stages of the event itself and an alternation between commentary and performance.

Another thematic and formal slant can be seen in the fourth documentary, entitled *Del taller a la fiesta: Instrumentos tradicionales de Extremadura* (Fornaro Bordolli et al. [2005] 2015). Here, the process of making two musical instruments paradigmatic to the local identity is documented. The instrument-makers filmed show the phases of the process of crafting three-holed flutes and drums. The documentary was made with an approach grounded in comparative ethnography (since features that vary from one manufacturer to another are also documented).

Music from India

The series dedicated to key practitioners of traditional music in Extremadura was targeted to a broad audience representing people from various backgrounds, and the main goal of the

editing process was to submit to critical reflection the results of a research project. By contrast, in the audiovisual series *Música y artes escénicas de la India* (*Music and the Performing Arts of India*) the goal was to provide documentary support to undergraduates and conservatory students enrolled in courses which address the musical and theatrical culture of India, as well as anyone interested in exploring these practices from both a theoretical and a practical perspective (not far from the principles of bi-musicality).

This objective determined the format for the videos in the series, which took the form of an interactive CD-ROM to be used by students as a primer for relevant principles and practices. Moreover, in the case of the volumes devoted to the *sitār* and the *mṛdaṅgam*, Antonio Diaz's editing process allowed for a dual use: as films viewed without interruption or as a CD-ROM in which it is possible to select specific chapters or parts thereof.

In addition to the constraints placed on the production of other videos discussed here (use of non-professional technologies, low budgets, challenges in documenting intercultural communications of musical practices and their associated discourses, etc.), the instalments of the series faced other limitations inherent in the nature of fieldwork. In some cases, for example, the recordings were filmed in very small spaces where it was almost impossible to move, or, even worse, to include certain subjects (a musical group or two people working together, for example) in the camera's field of view. At other times, the venues were too large to be easily filmed (e.g., at some concerts I was at too great a distance from the musicians) or they were poorly lit and I was not allowed to use additional lighting equipment.

Since this is not the place to speak at length about each of the six instalments of the series, I will limit myself to commenting on the underlying structural elements common to each of them (such as a general introduction to the series, an introduction to each volume in the series, the credits, the inclusion of texts to provide additional information, and a final section with performances filmed at concerts and in theatrical settings), as well as the traits specific to each video that differentiate it from the others in the series.

Live and studio recordings were edited. Captions and subtitles in Spanish were used. Voiceovers were not employed, although in specific cases the interviewer is heard off-camera asking questions which the practitioners of the tradition then expound on. It is always left up to these practitioners to provide explanations on etymology, the historical processes for crafting the instruments, techniques for playing them, musical forms and their constituent parts, and aesthetic and pedagogical principles, among other issues[1].

In most cases, only one video camera was used. Static and tracking shots were alternated. The zoom was used in specific cases for easy viewing of such things as the technical execution of an instrument.

Some sections of a given instalment were recorded during a single session, while others were edited over the course of a week, depending on differences in venues and circumstances.

The documented artefacts and musical practices were not specifically limited to the realm of the traditional, but also included the experimental (such as the conscious blending of different musical genres or the use of instruments with electric or electronic built-in amplification).

Intercultural dialogue was increased through the participation of three Spanish authors - Mónica De la Fuente in *Bharata Natyam* [2006b] 2015b and *Kathakali* [2006a] 2015a, Nacho

Corral in *Vīṇā* [2006] 2015, María González Legido in *Canto carnático* [2006] 2015- who have become interpreters of the observed traditions to the point that they can be considered its exponents as well as researchers.

Captions are particularly useful when labelling sections of musical forms or, in videos on the performing arts, special gestures, steps, or movements.

In these cases, it is useful to alternate the use of a still camera trained on the dancer with tracking shots zooming in on sites of the body where the expression of specific content occurs (the hands in *mudrā/s*, the eyes in *abhinaya*, and so on).

In some cases no diegetic music was added (for example, when the movements are learned by imitation without the aid of a particular sound sequence); in other cases, diegetic music, corresponding to certain steps, gestures, or movements, was employed.

The video entitled *Kathakali* uses recordings of other genres directly related to this theatrical style or which gave rise to it (e.g., the *kuttiyattam* of Sanskrit theater, the martial art known as *kalaripayyattu*, and the *teyyam* ritual dance). Other examples of filmed sequences belonging within a specific instalment are those involving the physical transformation and make-up of *kathakali* actors and the cutting of tree trunks to build veenas. All these strategies respond to the dual purpose behind this documentary series: to disseminate content and provide guidance for learning.

Accompanying exhibition: Italian tango in four movements

The video *Non morirà mai: El tango italiano en cuatro movimientos* (*It Will Never Die: Italian Tango in Four Movements*, Cámara de Landa 2010) also uses different structural devices, derived from the function for which it was created (its continuous projection in the context of an exhibition). Some of its features are:

- extensive use of voiceover, which makes it a kind of visual lesson;
- avoidance of analytical and musical terminology;
- organization of content in a chronological sequence;
- narrative strategies conditioned by the type of sources from each period covered in the film.

A kind of anachronistic flash-forward is used on three occasions: the first is a 1999 recording to accompany a text from the 1930s in relation to an event that occurred shortly before the First World War. The second is the insertion of two feature film extracts: *La comare secca,* directed by Bernardo Bertolucci (1962), and *Colpire al cuore*, directed by Gianni Amelio (1982). Although both were produced after the period broached in that section of the documentary, they are employed in relation to the use of Italian tango pieces by filmmakers throughout film history. The third is the interpretation of the famous tango *Chitarra romana* by a child during a song contest held in San Remo during the 1980s (as an alternative to the well-known, homonymous festival), although the song itself was written several decades earlier.

Concluding remarks

Our university department at Valladolid has issued other materials of various kinds with didactic intent. Marita Fornaro published students' fieldwork materials on the web; Fernando Guaza, Mikel Díaz Emparanza, and I produced a CD-ROM; Susana Moreno has an interactive blog; Salvatore Rossano, Matías Isolabella, and Leonardo D'Amico created some micro-videos during a research project.

Beyond the detectable differences in the aforementioned audiovisual documents, they share a common aim: to communicate results of specific investigations. Even so, critical observation of results allows us to highlight certain weaknesses that should be guarded against in future projects. Moreover, it is appropriate to continue to make informed choices, after balancing the pros and cons of each possible solution, when considering crucial filmmaking elements such as the mobility of the camera, the use of various complementary functions, the type of lighting employed, etc. It is not just a question of technology or editing, but of respect for principles of fieldwork. The researcher who wants to be worthy to document the cultural content of others must develop empathy for them, earn their confidence, and respect their needs before intercultural dialogue can occur. All these aspects influence the type and quality of documentation obtained.

I shall conclude by mentioning some principles that it should be convenient to follow in producing audiovisuals with ethnomusicological objectives:

- flexibility. Footage should not be produced by limiting oneself to just one format or approach in audiovisual production, but filmmaking choices should be made by taking into account the demands and conveniences of available sources;

- versatility with regard to target audiences, uses, and applications of the materials and the type of output to be produced (whether standard-length videos with physical supports to be distributed through traditional channels, micro-videos to be uploaded to the Internet, or other potential solutions that may become feasible in the future);

- compatibility with written or audio materials. Written, visual, and, of course, sound production each have unique advantages, making it very desirable to take advantage of all of them in order to give target audiences as rich and wide a range of knowledge possibilities as possible;

- quality of content and support. This requires an ongoing effort to upgrade technology, evaluating the relationship between the costs of the equipment and the possibilities it offers on a case-by-case basis;

- distribution capability. At the risk of stating the obvious, it is useful to remember that, even though sharing published materials in the context of academic conferences and presentations is a desirable activity for researchers and professors, it is also necessary to find distribution channels that reach various sectors of society;

- security. This fundamental aspect of any documentary project should be well-heeded, especially in the case of the use of audiovisual technology, since obsolescence of outdated media is a problem not yet taken into sufficient account by technological developments. It is necessary to implement measures to ensure an adequate level of security in the collection and

preservation/conservation of documentary materials, either by using different media formats to avoid unpleasant surprises or by conforming to international standards in this area;

- care and continuous upkeep. This principle must be respected at all stages of the development of audiovisual documents and must start from the moment when general premises or detailed proposals are first revised to the development of consistent correction and troubleshooting protocols.

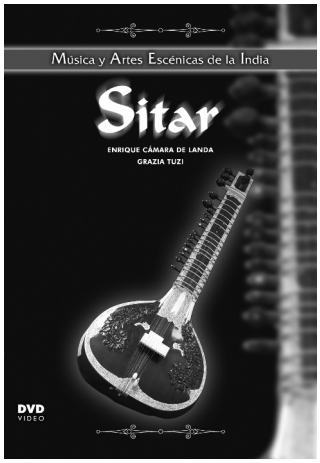
Finally, it is advisable to constantly and diligently question our epistemological and methodological assumptions by asking ourselves: For what purpose do we film, edit, distribute and use audiovisual materials? Should the researcher / documentarist / filmmaker appear in the final AV product? If so, why, in what way, and to what extent?

These and other questions, on issues as diverse as the types of resources and editorial interventions necessary or desirable to increase production values and strike the right balance to keep certain sources from dominating others, will lead to the discovery of the most appropriate solutions to the problems raised by this fascinating and growing field of study.

The proposal of these principles stems from my experiences while producing the abovementioned audiovisual materials. Undoubtedly, new initiatives will result in the formulation of other issues. For example, right now we are preparing a series of documentaries that are the result of interviews and recordings made during our fieldwork. Our intention is to provide access to the materials in a way not unlike that used in some sound anthologies produced by institutes of ethnomusicological research, i.e., providing for the knowledge of repertoires, music genres, experiences and valuations by the insiders (narrated and expressed directly by them).

Consequently, the editing work is distinctly different from that required by an audiovisual product guided by a sequential unit close to a film narrative. However, the general principles I have outlined here are also applicable to this case. My intention has been to present them in a skeletal way to allow for their critical consideration and their eventual application with such modifications as are required by each context and purpose.

Cover of the video *Non morirà mai*



Cover of the video *Sitar*

1 An exception to this principle is the section of the video about Carnatic singing, in which I explain the *mēḷakarta* system off-screen while my hands are shown on the keyboard on-screen.

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Ethnomusicology in the Audiovisual World: Theoretical and Educational Applications

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Abstract

During the 70s, Sol Worth introduced the "anthropology of visual communication" as a main theoretical and methodological tool for systematic research on culture in symbolic and semiotic terms and for anthropological analysis through audiovisual (especially filmic) representations. However, while cinema is based mainly on visual and virtual metaphors, music is a distinctive aural phenomenon which at first sight does not have representational but rather performative qualities. The study of music art and music culture and the formation of an appropriate theoretical and methodological discourse are placed at the center of dialogue within contemporary ethnomusicological and anthropological debates. On the basis of examples from specific music cultures which are used in the academic classroom, this chapter emphasizes various issues concerning filmic representations of music as a non-representational art, providing at the same time a brief outline of an already implemented syllabus for ethnomusicological and anthropological film education.

Keywords: Ethnomusicology, visual anthropology, filmic representation, music performance, critical education.

The emergence of new mass communication media and the corresponding interest of the public in various ground-breaking types of audiovisual art and technology over the whole of the 20th century led to the inauguration of inexperienced cultural forms that articulated the innovations of western modernity and had an immense effect on contemporary societies. The audiovisual world constitutes a major mediator in contemporary art, culture and science, expressing at the same time the conventions and the ambiguities of modernity (Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002). This is typically shaped as a mixture of opposing concepts such as realistic depiction and narrative fiction, mass mediated community and technological instrumentality, cultural industry and avant-garde allegory. Inside the reference system of western modernity, a popular and, soon after its appearance, highly praised novelty came into sight. It was the filmic representation which, in the end, pursued an intricate passageway, surrounded by the earlier discourse of the scientific objectification of reality and the emergence of individual perspectives -a point of view that clearly demonstrates modern western philosophy[1].

Both the humanities and the social sciences have been exploiting film ever since the initiation of the cinematic medium, even though the photographic representation of reality

through still images was a scientific pattern previous to the emergence of "moving pictures". There are two main branches of study linked with ethnomusicology and anthropology of music that are fundamentally rooted in audiovisual practice, namely "visual anthropology" and "ethnographic film". These two fields are frequently considered to be indistinguishable. Basically, visual anthropology is regarded as a subdiscipline of cultural anthropology that is closely interested in diverse visual accounts of culture, using two discrete but interrelated routes, that is to say the study and the interpretation of preceding or proceeding visual phenomena with reference to a particular culture, in addition to the exploitation of image tools for creating fresh visualizations of the culture in question[2]. At the same time, when alluding to ethnographic films, we -first and foremost- refer to movies that conform to the scientific principles of an equivalent written ethnography, yet they elaborate anthropological knowledge by resorting to cinema. Although at an earlier time the main attitude "has been to place the use of film on the periphery of anthropology" (Ruby 1975: 104), in the present days, ethnographic film could be seen as an audiovisual scholarly treatise which is comparable to an anthropological monograph, since they are both employed to study, describe and disseminate particular ethnographic experiences in which structure and agency overlap and the "insider" and "outsider" perspectives are -more or less- evenly shared. Given that every film may be seen as a cultural artifact, ethnographic cinema communicates knowledge not only about cultures being audiovisually portrayed in films but also about the groups and individuals that produce them.

There is no generally accepted definition of ethnographic film; therefore, identifying a film as ethnographic is an issue still under consideration within the field of visual anthropology. Some experts suggest a ground-breaking methodology, a "semiotic and symbolic" approach, in relation to ethnographic films which allows for the performative and communicative qualities of both film and ethnography. They usually point out that there is no reason to try to find which film is ethnographic, since this could be a potential attribute for every film. Most important, therefore, is to establish the criterion for "ethnographicness" in films, which could probably be discovered in: a) the director's purpose in making the film; b) the filmmaking procedure, and c) the viewers' response to the film, that is to say the reception and perception of the film (Banks 1992: 117). Jay Ruby (1975: 107-109), in particular, suggests four standards for a film to be characterized as ethnographic: a) it should be referred to a whole culture, or definable portions of a culture; b) it must be derived from explicit or implicit cultural theories; c) it is supposed to be unambiguous concerning its research and filming process; and d) it has to be inspired by a definitely anthropological style. Although ethnographic films and documentaries are strongly associated, both being categories within the so-called "non-fiction cinema", they have also fundamental dissimilarities. An essential aspect of creating an ethnographic film is the contribution of an anthropologist with a deep knowledge of the film's topic -a procedure which is not employed in regular documentaries. In addition, a documentary is usually produced, circulated and perceived as a subgenre of (either art or commercial) informative film; conversely, an ethnographic film typically exists as an academic audiovisual working example (i.e. a filmic ethnography), which serves special systematic, conservational, examinational as well as didactic objectives in the anthropological area.

The majority of the earliest ethnographic films have been affected by the modernist anth-

ropological and museological conventions of "salvage ethnography", which focused on observing, gathering and providing scientific evidence on foreign, far-away cultures. These audiovisual representations were generally originated in particular colonial stereotypes about the so-called "primitive Other" (Griffiths 2002). Robert Flaherty, for instance, especially through his movie *Nanook of the North* (1922)[3], launched a new filming style, namely the cinematic synthesis of documentary and fiction genres. This was later labeled as "docufiction" or "docudrama", in reference to a film which, at the same time, utilizes actual and fictional representations of reality to strengthen both its narrative and its artistic impression[4]. In Russia, on the other hand, Dziga Vertov -with his experimental documentary masterpiece *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*Man with a Movie Camera*) (1929)[5] and his *kino-glaz* (film eye) theory of montage- established the notion of *kino-pravda* (film truth), a concept which emphasized the preeminence of the camera over the human perceptiveness and has significantly affected all following filmic records of actuality.

Later on, during the 60s, ethnographic film practice underwent major renovations. The technical improvement of cameras and sound-recorders operated in the direction of a more flexible and interactive cinema. The well-known filmmaker and anthropologist Jean Rouch introduced *cinéma vérité*, inspired by Flaherty's exotic films, Vertov's ground-breaking filmography as well as Italian neo-realism. *Cinéma vérité* was established in Europe in parallel with the American *direct cinema*, both making use of rather analogous observational and participatory methods[6]. Besides that, Jean Rouch considered the camera as interfering with the real action or even, sometimes, provoking it. He also thought that the process of editing plays an essential role in the creation of original filmic ethnographies -Rouch's intercultural *ciné-ethnographies* or *ethno-fictions* (Rouch 2003). As Edgar Morin once said: "There are two ways to conceive of the cinema of the real: the first is to pretend that you can present reality to be seen; the second is to pose the problem of reality. In the same way, there were two ways to conceive *cinéma vérité*. The first was to pretend that you brought truth. The second was to pose the problem of truth" (Lee-Wright 2010: 93). In the same spirit, Sol Worth (1981) introduced soon afterwards an important theoretical and methodological tool for systematic research on culture in linguistic and interpretive terms -an alternative anthropological recounting and study of audiovisual (filmic, in particular) inscriptions, both those that have been made by the natives and those that have been produced with the specific culture as an object of representation. Worth defines this analytical approach as "the anthropology of visual communication", which signals a major shift from the earlier puristic and authoritative interaction inside the audiovisual globe towards a symbolic and semiotic one[7].

Equally implemented for the inscribed text in written ethnographies, cameras (or, generally, the devices for ethnographic representation) are not only supplementary instruments of documentation but also alter the interrelations in the field, given that the presence of the anthropologist, his team and their equipment practically mediates the reality filmed. Obviously, a comprehensive process of fieldwork and participant observation could possibly help in overcoming the existence of both the film crew and the camera. In this manner, as subjects are becoming familiarized with being filmed constantly over a period of time, in many cases the filming procedure itself may go quite "unnoticed" and eventually give the impression of a

completely natural footage. Questioning the concept of "objectivity" in audiovisual representation, through experimental editing and reflexive production practices, has been more and more justifiable, especially due to the latest uses of digital interactive technology in up-to-date multimedia or hypermedia environments (Pink 2006). By dialogically incorporating the "crisis of the representation" (Lutkehaus and Cool 1999), as well as the critique of the hegemonic modes of capturing, recounting and interpreting social and cultural reality (Russell 1999), contemporary ethnographic filmmakers quite often imply experimentation, reflection and intersubjectiveness into their cinematic accounts, taking into account that no illustrative description can ever seize actually lived experience[8].

The relation between ethnomusicology -as the study of "music in/as culture" (Merriam 1977: 202, 204) or "people making music" (Titon 1996: xxii)- and the visual world is an ambivalent one. Despite the fact that the technological development of documentation based on the recording of sound was of large significance for the demarcation of ethnomusicology as a distinct area of study, and although researchers fostered the widespread idea that (moving) pictures ensure greater validity, employing visual methods (like photography, film and multimedia) in ethnomusicology is still questioned by some scholars. Up till now, one could acquire academic recognition among human and social scientists usually through written books, chapters in edited volumes, articles and other printed texts on ethnomusicological topics -a convention that goes a long way back to cultural and musical anthropology's and ethnomusicology's literary and positivistic history. As Steven Feld (1976) has clearly expressed in his brilliant article on ethnomusicology and visual communication, it is a necessity to immediately initiate the cinematic medium in the field of ethnomusicology, both as a novel tool for research and as a procedure for teaching in the classroom.

* * *

For the last five years, I have been teaching an undergraduate course called "Ethnographic film and documentary" in the Faculty of Music at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (Greece). Most of the students attending this class have been enrolled in the Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology pathway of the correlative Department and they have a moderate ethnomusicological background. The structure of the course corresponds to the main educational objectives, which can be summarized as the establishment of a basic theoretical and methodological background on visual anthropology, visual ethnomusicology and visual ethnography, in parallel with a framework of critical discourse and narrative analysis of various films[9]. The thrust of the course derives from Robert Kolker's (1999) hypothesis which indicates that, since film formulates audience perception and reception via processes connected with specific historical and social contexts and worldviews, filmic culture is the politics of creation and response to film. It is about the interpretation of films as textual entities that enclose morphologically traditional internal policies and historically defined (spatial and temporal) cultural variables. Both the director and the spectator of a film do not simply identify themselves, respectively, with the producer and the consumer of the film; however, they jointly shape the whole culture of cinematic experience in all its phases -the creation, the projection

and the reception[10]. In other words, seeing that a movie incorporates certain conventions, symbols and meanings, these formations should be detected by the students when they decode the ethnographic filmic (con)text according to the literature scrutinized, as well as to their particular social and cultural perspectives and experiences.

In this course, students examine specific audiovisual texts in order to become familiar with, understand and communicate essential ethnomusicological and wide-ranging anthropological terminology, such as authenticity, acculturation, orientalism, exoticism, migration, diasporas, authority, folklorism, globalization and hybridity[11]. Film analysis in the classroom may prove an extremely useful process. In this case, ethnographic films are treated as discrete audiovisual texts with specific consistency and exploitable dynamics, accompanied by implicit (intratextual) and explicit (intertextual) contexts. Additionally, the classic film analysis divide between "content" and "context" is needless and it is overtaken by the use of the anthropological concepts of "practice" and "performance"[12]. The main objective of the course -and the largest benefit for students- is to come into contact with and seize the opportunity for a selective historical overview of a concentrated groundwork in ethnographic and ethnomusicological cinema, in order to -subsequently- be able to apply critical analysis on various topics during the film screenings and discussions[13].

This undergraduate course comprises five distinct, yet closely interrelated sections. The first part of the course (the first two lectures) is an introduction to the theoretical axes of documentary and ethnographic film, mainly through the writings of Sol Worth (1981), Jay Ruby (1975; 1982), Marcus Banks (1992; 1995) and Sarah Pink (2006). The second part (the next three tutorials) brings together three key filmmakers who -as I have previously mentioned- shaped the sphere of "reality cinema" in the 20th century: Robert Flaherty, Dziga Vertov and Jean Rouch. Respectively, we watch the films *Nanook of the North* (Robert Flaherty, 1922), *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (Dziga Vertov, 1929), *Les maîtres fous (The Mad Masters*) (Jean Rouch, 1955)[14] and *La chasse au lion à l' arc* (*The Lion Hunters*) (Jean Rouch, 1967)[15]. The third part (the next two meetings) focuses on specific ethnomusicological trends (which mirror the main epistemological orientations) in the ethnographic filmmaking of music cultures, namely the "musicological" and the "anthropological" one. The fourth part (the 8th, 9th and 10th sessions) is a comparative approach to three Greek films (that is, a fiction film, a classic documentary and a documentary with an advanced ethnographic style) as cinematic representations of a specific music culture -the *rebetiko*, the Greek urban underworld popular music during the first half of the 20th century[16]. During the final part of the course (the last four classes), students present their projects (written and oral presentations) on a non-fiction film with a music-related subject.

Ethnographic filmmaking as a research tool for recording live music performances and interviews is directly connected with face-to-face ethnomusicological fieldwork, as well as with the participant observation techniques that provide supporting audiovisual evidence and scientifically transmit ethnomusicologists' actually lived experiences of cultures and their musical practices (Kruger 2009; Killick 2013). Ethnomusicological films tend to share two different types of ethomusicological discourse, as has been established in academic and research work of the 20th century: a) the "musicological-ethnomusicological" and b) the "anthropolo-

gical-ethnomusicological" (Merriam 1969). For example, the film '*Are'are Music* (1979)[17] by Hugo Zemp is a detailed audiovisual documentation of the traditional musical culture of the 'Are'are people of the Solomon Islands in the South-Western Pacific. Zemp methodically demonstrates all genres, forms, theoretical constructions and playing/singing techniques of 'Are'are music in the form of an overall account, organized according to a local musical classification and explained by an indigenous master musician. This resulted in the production of a "visual encyclopedia" of 'Are'are music that attempts to instruct western audiences in the "musicological" complexity of this unique culture[18]. In contrast, John Baily's film *Amir*: *An Afghan Refugee Musician's Life in Peshawar, Pakistan* (1985)[19] follows the anthropological tradition, but within a musical context. The film is a cinematic portrait of a professional performer from Herat that pictures episodes of his daily routine in Peshawar, with a special focus on his family affairs, his relationship with other members of the local music community, his life memories and his spiritual anxieties. It is about Amir's existence as both a refugee and a musician and it is derived from Baily's prior extensive ethnomusicological fieldwork and apprenticeship in the urban music scene of Afghanistan during the 70s and 80s. As stated by Baily himself in the film's study guide (1990: 4), the camera "follows the same person in many different situations, allows the audience to build up an acquaintanceship and creates an empathy". Pursuing Jean Rouch's conceptions of shared anthropology, *ciné-ethnography* and *ethno-fiction*, Baily constructs a deeply inspired and clearly contextualized ethnomusicological film[20]. Today, more and more ethnomusicologists adopt visual methodologies in their fieldwork and incorporate ethnographic films into their pedagogical agendas, yearning for a visual ethnomusicology as an equivalent to the earlier disciplines of visual anthropology and ethnography (Vignau 2013). To put it briefly, the above-mentioned films -'*Are'are Music* and *Amir: An Afghan Refugee Musician's Life in Peshawar, Pakistan*- constitute a perspicuous terrain for presenting the essential ethnomusicological, ethnographic and cinematic tendencies to the students of the course.

Generally speaking, while cinema is based mainly on visual metaphors, music is a distinctive aural phenomenon, which -at first glance- does not have inscribed representational consistency but rather live performative qualities. Is it possible to transfer the context of live music performance through inscribed filmic audiovisual apparatus? Does the cinematic lens have the ability to capture music as human experience, expression and communication? How could a film become a vehicle for understanding musical culture? In which way can fiction and non-fiction films be used in critical teaching? Which are the modes and the procedures of reception and perception in filmic representations of music? These questions are crucial to the fourth part of the course I am responsible for. In order to tackle all the above issues, we examine three Greek movies: a) *Rebétiko* (*Rembetiko*) (Kóstas Férris, 1983)[21], b) *Mou arésoun i kardiés san ti dikí mou - Márkos Vamvakáris* (*I Like Hearts Like Mine - Markos Vamvakaris*) (Giórgos Zérvas, 2000)[22] and c) *Miá eónia zoí* (*An Eternal Life*) (Panagiótis Kravvás, 1999)[23].

The above films share a common theme: the *rebetiko* music and its people. The first one is the story of a songstress of *rebetiko* through which the viewers can watch a brief account of the *rebetiko* culture. Filmed in the context of cinematic magic realism, this feature film is an ideal example of how to introduce the students to a central tight spot, in this case the cons-

truction of the audiovisual reality through the camera lens. Even though this film was never meant to be an ethnomusicological one, it could be allegorically interpreted as such to challenge the "truth vs. fiction" epistemological debate. The film is an ideologically marked story about the *rebetiko* music and has been cinematically shaped as a stimulating, romantic fairytale from the folk tradition with notions of historical validation. The soundtrack of the film is filled up with the "original" neo-*rebetiko* compositions of popular Greek composer Stávros Xarchákos. Since the *rebetiko* is part of the Greek music culture and most students are familiar with it, they can easily distinguish between and empathize with the various musical styles, as well as concentrate on and understand the film's content. Hence, we try to pay attention to the inside organization of the plot and the development of the screenplay's characters, especially as regards the process of both historical and cultural mystification.

The second film is a documentary on the person of the legendary Márkos Vamvakáris, the so-called "patriarch of *rebetiko*" and composer of the famous song *Frangosyrianí*. Based on a pre-arranged assortment of personal narratives, testimonies, interviews and archived documents, the film follows a linear approach to Vamvakáris' life as it has been previously presented in his well-known auto-biographical volume edited by Angeliki Vellou Keil; in fact, it is like a visualization of the earlier book. The underlying intention of the documentary is to present a rather unmediated statement; therefore, the director systematically utilizes several inscribed examples of Vamvakáris' "actual presence", such as texts, photos, audio recordings, videos and other objects connected with his "material reality". In addition, the film portrays highly-stylized versions of Vamvakáris' music and singing performances (sometimes presented diegetically and sometimes non-diegetically)[24], as well as a post-traditional composition by his son Doménicos to signalize the continuity of *rebetiko* as a genre of world music hybridized with western art music.

Finally, the third film moves closely towards an anthropological/ethnomusicological approach in terms of its methodology and its filmmaking style. It is an ethnographic interview and a presentation of the uncelebrated *rebetis* (i.e. the *rebetiko* music culture agent/performer; plural: *rebetes*) Athanássios (Thanássis) Athanassíou. Without relying on previous metaphysical, beautified conceptions on the *rebetes* and their music, the film juxtaposes -both ethnographically and cinematically- diverse instances of the *rebetis*' response to being filmed and talking about his life and his music. These short episodes of Athanassíou's unbiased narration create a dialogically contextualized filmic discourse. Through a comparative view of the three above films, we manage to touch upon topics that illustrate the contemporary discussions not only on ethnomusicology and cultural anthropology, but also on the humanities and the social sciences in general, such as biographies, life-stories and life-histories of musicians, informative, performative and dialogical audiovisual representations of the actually experienced music culture, authenticity and the process of authentication, aesthetics and the practice of aestheticization, in conjunction with the rhetorical, poetical and political aspects of western image-centred modernism.

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Back in the 70s, Steven Feld (1976: 299) underlined -quoting Paul Byers- that "cameras don't take pictures. […] People take pictures", stressing an audiovisual communicative paradigm that takes into consideration both the entertaining and the documenting features of the cinematic phenomenon. At the present moment, ethnomusicology has the chance to draw a straight line on the groundwork generated by the anthropology of visual communication. This paper is a proposal for a visual ethnomusicology that deals not only with the audiovisual media as tools for recording music performance but also as a channel for critically understanding both music and film, given that the cinematic representations reveal much more about the "One" that represents than about the "Other" that is being represented. As Sol Worth (1977) already mentioned in his famous paper about the ethnographic semiotics of motion pictures:

> [T]here is no specific set of films we can call "ethnographic cinema", […] instead there is only cinema and the way we use it. There is cinema and the various ways people deal with it. Some people treat cinema as a way of understanding culture. I am also suggesting that we can treat culture as a way of understanding cinema.

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1 Cinema first developed as a common mass medium and, afterwards, it was recognized as a fine art form (Bodwell 1997). Additionally, the evolution of cinema made it extremely difficult to distinguish between the purely artistic, the communicative and the political-economic dimensions of the phenomenon. As a result of having a double status as both an art and a craft, the medium of film provides one of the most distinctive embodiments of the shift from modernity to the post-modern era.

2 More particularly, Banks (1995) focuses on different issues of documentation, representation and collaboration concerning visual anthropology and visual sociology.

3 The film can be watched online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrgRUITgVi0 (April 25, 2015).

4 See Rhodes and Springer 2005.

5 The film can be watched online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WZuBQPIcpQo (April 25, 2015).

6 For a comparative view of *cinéma vérité* in Europe and *direct cinema* in the USA, see Barsam 1992: 300-303.

7 Ruby (1982: 123) states that for Worth and Gross (1974) "films are interpreted either as natural sign events that are assumed to exist with meanings assigned on the basis of attribution, or as symbolic articulations created so that meaning can be inferred from them".

8 See, for example, the critical, post-colonial, autobiographical works of Vietnamese filmmaker Trinh T. Minhha.

9 I usually consider critical discourse and narrative analysis of films as being a multi-faceted cultural semiotic process with socio-political and ideological connotations, as it is generally practised in various books on audiovisual media analysis (see, for instance, Gillespie and Toynbee 2006).

10 Ruby (1980) suggests an outlook which applies earlier semiotic, linguistic and textual approaches to film and culture. Respectively, he refers to the succession of "producer-process-product" as determinative of which films may be considered and evaluated as ethnographic. Banks (1992) transforms Ruby's sequence into "intention-event-reaction" or into the wider one "writing-text-reading", which is a conception not far from Kolker's (1999).

11 We do not always need to explain all these expressions in class, as they have already been mentioned in other core courses that students have attended in the Department, such as "Ethnomusicology I", "Ethnomusicology II", "Musical Anthropology I" and "Musical Anthropology II".

12 According to Ron Burnett (1995), who investigates different aspects of cinema in relation to cultural and communication studies, film practices presuppose a framework that could be perceived as performative, as they are produced and displayed as part of a show, an exhibition or a stage presentation which is determined by the conditions of modern and post-modern spectacle.
13 This is a thoroughly theoretical module that is founded on a bibliographic and filmographic curriculum, having -as a matter of fact- no practical applications for the students enrolled. This means that no technical training, organizing, shooting and editing processes are involved.
14 The film can be watched online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZIi1BTK-c-0 (April 25, 2015).
15 The film can be watched online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1oOdx1-ZtI (April 25, 2015).
16 For an overview of the *rebetiko* music tradition, see Chorbajoglou 2012.
17 The film can be previewed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QOTe4S_leSE (April 25, 2015).
18 For a brief review of the film, see Garfias 1996.
19 The film can be previewed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=in_MRNnbAwY (April 25, 2015).
20 For a concise appraisal of the film, see Slobin 1988.
21 The film can be watched online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gM370Ho4-yI (April 25, 2015).
22 The film can be watched online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UXZL6cSSp0w&list=PLB0A725AE85F5CE8C (April 25, 2015).
23 The film can be previewed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mv6cFJ7HtxQ (April 25, 2015).
24 For the distinction between "diegetic" and "nondiegetic" sound and music concerning film theory and terminology, see Neumeyer 2009.

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5. Fieldwork Footage

The Birth of an Intangible Heritage Archive: Guitarrón Music and Chino Dances in Central Chile

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Abstract

An ethnomusicological investigation covering more than 20 years in Central Chile, focused on two ritual traditions -*bailes chinos* and *canto a lo poeta* (*chino dances* and *poet singing*)- resulted, among other things, in more than 1000 hours of audiovisual recordings. The material has been the subject of academic articles, books and documentary films, and has now been used to initiate the Intangible Heritage Archive of the *Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino*. This archive is housed in a digital platform that allows users to quickly access and view any part of the collection, scene by scene and track by track. The archive is intended as an endowment for researchers, students and cultural producers.

Keywords: Chino dances, *canto a lo poeta*, *guitarrón* music, cultural archive, memory, oral tradition, archive dissemination.

For more than 20 years I have been conducting ethnomusicological research in the rural farming and fishing villages of Central Chile. In this part of the country the process of "Westernization" occurred quickly and intensely when the Spaniards arrived in the 16th century. Before European contact, the area was inhabited by a local indigenous people that archeologists have called Aconcagua, but it was home to a much more ethnically diverse population based linguistically on Mapudungún (the Mapuche language) and including Aconcaguas, Mapochoes, Maipochoes, Picones, Cachapoales and Promaucaes. The Inca Empire's occupation of the territory brought even more ethnic groups to the region, including the Diaguita and Huarpe peoples (Mercado 2014).

With the arrival of the Spaniards, ethnic diversity in the area changed yet again as the invaders imposed the *encomienda* labor tribute regime, bringing groups of natives from distant regions to Central Chile and enslaving them as forced labor for their New World estates. While this system further increased ethnic diversity in the region, over the years it led to the "disappearance" of natives in Central Chile, since the different groups were assimilated into the *mestizo* population as they intermarried with each other and the colonists. They changed their family names, moved into towns, became part of the new labor model, and lost their languages and beliefs. Far removed from their place of origin, their kinship structures were dismantled

as well. Indeed, the process of biological and cultural *mestizaje* was very effective, and as official histories ignored these groups, people in Central Chile began to believe that native people had simply vanished from the area.

After many years of investigation, we have begun to find traces, mere vestiges of that pre-Hispanic American world -a world that was supposed to have been completely vanquished and eliminated in Central Chile, but in fact is still present, invisible, hidden in certain beliefs, rituals, knowledge and customs. It can also be found in the memories of some old people who still remember the stories their grandparents told them of "Bolivian indians" coming to this part of Chile along the Inca Trail -a route that still exists today, albeit as a highway.

A popular cultural expression that attests to the survival of these ancient cultures in the modern era are the Chino Dances that are performed in the countryside of this region. Chino Dances are fraternities of musicians and dancers that perform at popular religious festivals-called *Fiestas de Chinos* -held in the rural towns of Central Chile. These festivities are held throughout the year on the feast days of the Catholic ritual calendar, and include the May Cross and the festivities in honor of the Virgin Mary, Saint Peter, the Child Jesus, and the like.

Chino dances have nothing to do with China; *chino* is a Quechua (Inca) word that means servant. It was also a pejorative term used to denote indigenous peoples in colonial times (Godoy 2007).

Several different *chino* dances (troupes) participate in each celebration. Each town has its own group, which has the very important function of affirming local identity, and those troupes are organized by a single family with the support of neighbors, or by several families together. Belonging to a *chino* dance forges strong ties among family members, friends, and co-dancers who are involved in this collective tradition.

A *chino* celebration is also a musical competition, and the experienced performers all pay attention to the quality of sound created by the different dance troupes, noticing which group has the best sound, who plays the flute best in each troupe, which flute pairs sound best, which drummers or singers are best, and so on. This tacit rivalry continues throughout each celebration as the troupes compete with each other to deliver the best and most powerful sound, measured by the intensity of the playing and dancing, in the skill of the performers, their spirit, their power. In other words, the *chino* dances contend to give their all, playing and dancing at the same time without stopping (Mercado 2005).

The pride in being a *chino* dancer is intimately linked to one's local identity. "I am *Pucalanino*", says Guillermo proudly; "I'm *Caicaíno*", Charlo responds more proudly[1]. The two are proud of being good chino performers, proud of knowing that their dances have been and still are very good dances, that they have been admired by both older and newer *chino* dancers.

I began to investigate the *chino* dances in 1991, focusing on the emotional ritual, the trance that the dancers supposedly fell into when they played their flutes for hours during their rituals[2]. As I filmed the celebrations that first year, one of the dancers, getting rather bored with all my questions about what went on in a dancer's mind while he danced and played, invited me to try it for myself. I accepted the invitation and became a *chino*, and 23 years later I am

still dancing. Once I began dancing, the way the other dancers treated me changed completely. So for the past 20 years I have been making video recordings of festivals, conversations, interviews and other Chino activities.

I've made many friends over the years dancing and playing with the troupe. Playing in a Chino dance is a very powerful experience, and you develop a very special relationship with your troupe members when you dance. That attitude is reflected in the videos in the spontaneity of the recordings I've made with Gerardo Silva, my companion on this adventure. Without a doubt, the ritual emotion shared by the flautists in a Chino dance is extremely powerful; indeed, that bone-crushing sound emerges only when the dancers are absorbed in their flute playing and caught up in the overall sound of the dance at the same time. At certain moments a connection is forged among all of the dancers and gains force, humming with a unique vibration. And that's when the energy explodes and one gets the impression that the dance has moved beyond the threshold of the mundane. A power takes hold of the group, and it's all about the playing and the dancing, and you hope it never stops, and you make eye contact with your companion, caught up in the music and at the same time daring him to play his flute more forcefully, to keep going, and he does the same to you, which forges a very intense connection among the players.

I've been filming these experiences for the past 23 years and the result is an archive of 600 hours of intimate, spontaneous, heart-lifting, authentic footage that would have been inaccessible to any researcher who had not experienced it for him or herself. To obtain these recordings, since 1991 I've attended hundreds of rituals and recorded dances as well as conversations, get togethers, screening sessions, parties, celebrations, and meetings.

Among that footage, for example, are about 40 hours of Luis Galdames, one of the best *chino* singers in the region and a man who has adamantly refused to be filmed by any other filmmaker. I've filmed rituals in Olmué, Caycay, Pachacamita, Petorquita, Pocochay, Puchuncaví, Ventanas, Loncura, Maitencillo, Zapallar, Pucalán, Los Maquis, La Canela, La Quebrada, La Laguna, Valle Alegre, Horcón, Los Maitenes and La Ligua.

Today, this material is part of our cultural heritage, a beautiful if fragmented record of the tradition of *chino* dancing in the early 21th century.

Another cultural tradition from Central Chile is the *canto a lo poeta* (poet singing), a form of musical poetry in which verses are sung to the accompaniment of the *guitarra traspuesta* (transposed guitar) or the *guitarrón* (a 25-string "large" guitar). Fundamental to this kind of singing is the link between the structure and the verses, which are constructed in 8-syllable 10-line stanzas called *décimas* that must follow a set rhythmic pattern. Four *décimas* combine to form a poem, called a *verso*. These *versos* can be sung to any number of different melodies, as both the *versos* and the melodies have the same structure, which makes them completely interchangeable (Mercado 2014).

Cantos come in two kinds -*canto a lo divino* (sacred songs) and *canto a lo humano* (human songs). Sacred cantos often recount Bible stories, primarily from the Old Testament, although there are some New Testament songs of the birth and death of Jesus. These stories have been authored by the *campesinos*, most of whom cannot read or write, and they are part of a deep-

rooted oral tradition in which hundreds of verses are learned from memory and sung at certain events and/or times of the year. The singers sing of the creation of the world, of the patriarchs Noah, Salomon, Joshua and Moses, of the Apocalypse, of Saint John, and so on. These melodic stories transmit the sacred history, tell the sacred stories. They are oral tradition at its fullest, the collective memory, the remembrance of thousands of lines of poetry, the incessant unspoken recital of *versos* to keep them fresh, viewing and experiencing the world in verse. The obsession with *versos*, with expressing the world in *décimas*.

Up until the last century, these cantos were sung at the v*elorio del angelito*, a funerary rite held upon the death of a child. There, the singers gathered to sing all night, singing verses on different themes. They formed a semi-circle around the coffin and the first singer on the left, who also held the instrument, began to sing, choosing the theme of the verse and the melody that would accompany it. He had to continue playing for all the singers, without stopping.

If he began by singing of the Final Judgment, each singer would have to sing a *verso* on that theme. Any singer who could not remember a verse on that theme would have to pass. The first singer would sing only the first stanza of his theme (recalling that the verse had four of these plus the final one), and then the second singer would sing his first stanza, followed by the third with his first stanza, and so on until everyone had sung their first stanza, or *décima*. The singing then came back around to the first singer, who would sing the second stanza of his chosen verse, and so on around the circle, with the verses interwoven. Everyone sings different *versos* (songs) on the same theme, creating one overarching super-*verso* amongst them.

Scientific advances and the arrival of rural medical clinics reduced infant mortality considerably, and so today the *cantores* (singers) sometimes gather to sing at adult funerals, at the request of the family or one of their own members, though they no longer sing all night. The *cantores* also continue to sing at *novenas* or vigils, when a family gathers to worship the Holy Virgin or a patron saint, and on the last of those nine nights of prayer the singers are invited to spend the night singing. *Cantores* also sing at the threshing celebrations and communal work days, when community members come together to perform a collective task during the day and then come together to sing at night, in competition with each other as we saw with the *chino* dancers.

Singing rivalry also extends to determining who is the most knowledgeable singer -who knows the most verses, who can sing all night without repeating a verse on a broad range of themes, who knows the most melodies, and so on (Uribe Echeverría 1969a).

The other type of verse deals with "human" themes, focusing on history, mischievous deeds, love, current events, gossip and a range of other themes. These verses are sung in the countryside and increasingly in cities, too. A popular expression of this form today is the *paya*, a competition based on improvised stanzas that has become popular in urban settings.

The instruments that accompany verses include the transposed guitar, so-called because the strings are transposed to produce a special tuning. More than 40 of these special guitar tunings can be found in the Chilean countryside today, used for different songs.

And then there is that 25-stringed instrument found nowhere else in the world, called the *guitarrón* or formerly (about 50 years ago) the *guitarra grande* or "big guitar." This instrument

has a smaller sound box than a guitar and an enveloping sound that is ideal for singing these traditional verses and inspiring a connection with the infinite. No one knows for sure where the *guitarrón* originated, but we do know that it was already in use in 1870 (Lizana 1912).

My friend and colleague José Pérez de Arce believes that indigenous music has an underlying aesthetic concept that is based upon the "sound mass" created by the flutes that were played in ancient times, similar to those used in present-day *chino* dances. These ancient peoples were accustomed to this sound quality -it was the sound they desired and enjoyed. Without a doubt, the arrival of the guitar created a revolution within indigenous music; an instrument that could be used to play delicate melodies as well as intense rhythms enthralled local musicians at first. Soon, however, they realized something was missing, that the sound could be improved upon, be more expansive, with richer harmonics.

So they began adding more strings to the guitar and grouped them into sets of three, four, five and six strings, adding as well four short strings called *diablitos* (little devils). They invented a way of playing that involved plucking with the thumb and index finger in counterpoint, with the hand cupped above and below. As this music developed the players realized that singing in rounds was the best accompaniment, since the sound of the *guitarrón* formed a harmonic continuum over which the different voices were layered one after another to create a brilliant tapestry. The same melody, the same theme, a single player, many voices. With ten singers in a round, the *verso* could last an hour, with the *guitarrón* player strumming the melody over and over, without stopping.

The first mention of the *guitarrón* occurs in the second half of the 19th century, in a description of its use at traditional festivities (*fondas* and *chinganas*) in Region VI of Chile. We know that it was used in cities and the countryside by popular 'poets' (singers), who began writing verses down and selling them at kiosks in the working class districts of urban Chile, from where they eventually found their way to the countryside in the hands of traveling salesmen. Around 1850 the so-called *Liras Populares* emerged -block-printed illustrated newsletters that included two or three verses on current events-, grisly news stories and/or sacred themes (Navarrete and Cornejo 2006).

We also know that *guitarrón* players gathered on Calle Vieja in Santiago in the early 1900s, where they competed with each other in playing and singing, but mainly came to listen and learn from the old *guitarrón* players of Pirque.

After this we have the opening address delivered by Don Juan Uribe Echeverría at the third singing competition, *Concurso de Canto en Décimas a lo Divino y Humano*, held in Puente Alto in 1969, where the speaker claims that Puente Alto (which includes Pirque) is the only place in Chile where the 25-string *guitarrón* is still a popular instrument. (Uribe Echeverría 1969b). With Pirque as the hub, *guitarrón* playing expanded in the 1980s and in the next few decades and today there are more than 100 players across Chile.

I began my investigation in 1999 with the *guitarrón* players of Pirque, a farming valley situated South of Santiago. Fascinated by Don Chosto Ulloa, the oldest living *guitarrón* player at the time, I became his disciple for ten years. I went to live in Pirque and often spent one day each week with Don Chosto, talking, playing, learning the *guitarrón*, listening to stories

of the *guitarrón* players, the genealogies, the songs, the ways of playing, etc. I eventually became secretary of the *Guitarrón* Heritage Group (*Agrupación Herederos del Guitarrón*), a position I held for eight years and that brought me into constant contact with the *guitarrón* players of Pirque, especially Santos Rubio, one of the grand master of this instrument and of *canto a lo poeta*.

These two men were the mainstays of the oral tradition, and of the *canto a lo poeta* in the valley of Pirque in the late 20th century, and they held in their memories the melodies, verses, the history of the valley and the beliefs of the country folk. (Mercado 2014).

An interesting thing occurred as I did my ethnomusicological investigation with the audiovisual medium as my main tool. Attempting to capture situations, I recorded whenever possible, ultimately accumulating 1,300 hours of footage of *chino* dances in Central and Northern Chile, *canto a lo poeta*, the Aymara and Atacameño peoples, etc. And one day I thought: what would happen if I got run over by a bus? All those recordings are disorganized, unclassified, no one knows what's in there, and so on. So I began to think that I should create a place to house these documents -a documentation center within the *Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino*, where I've worked for the past 25 years. This would be a Center for Intangible Heritage focused on documenting, investigating and disseminating rural culture. This would make available to society an archive that preserves and disseminates local oral knowledge, memory, art, ritual, history and identity.

The material foundation of this archive would be the 1,300 hours of recordings already mentioned recordings that reflect an in-depth anthropological investigation through reflexive, personal, spontaneous audiovisual work that focuses on oral tradition, memory, verses, dance, rituals, popular religious practices, daily life. It's a treasure trove of intangible heritage that needs to be systematized, catalogued, digitized, archived, conserved, and made use of.

More than 20 years filming the same people I've danced with and more than ten with the *guitarrón* players make these records particularly personal and authentic, which lend them special value.

But making all of this material public is difficult to do in a single step. As researchers we usually show only a limited selection of material by making a film or writing an article. Making 300 hours of unedited footage available is a great leap beyond that, however, and involves handing over to the public the kind of material that researchers tend to guard jealously for their future use and publication. I feel quite the opposite, however. I believe that this material is part of the collective heritage (Don Chosto and Santos have both passed on, we have no further opportunity to make new recordings of them) and can't in good conscience store this material for my own exclusive use knowing that I have a treasure house on my hands. My thinking is that I was fortunate enough to live with these men and record them in word and deed, and that material should be available to everyone.

Of course, I also expect that the archive will continue growing as new recordings are added from new investigations and from the collections of other researchers interested in housing their material here. A heritage archive with its own annual budget to maintain and disseminate it and promote research to accumulate ever more content will be attractive not only for students

but also for the researchers who want to house their materials here. Such an archive would have the following objectives:

1. make the materials available to researchers, graduate and undergraduate students, cultural producers and the general public;
2. conduct research among rural populations in the fields of anthropology, history, ethnomusicology, art, aesthetics, audiovisual arts; research materials will expand the archive;
3. publication, based on material from the archive and from investigations, documentary films, books and audio CDs will be produced;
4. dissemination of the archives by
    - library, multimedia digital platform, 10,000 archives online;
    - website;
    - public talks, documentary screenings;
5. local heritage documentation centers; this involves duplicating the digital platform in places contributing to the records so the local population can have access to them (Pirque, Puchuncaví, Olmué).

As I was thinking of all this, I spoke to Carlos Aldunate, Director of the *Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino*, and he agreed that we had to do something. At this time the Museum was in the process of presenting its annual projects to the National Arts and Culture Council and this, the creation of the Heritage Archive, was adopted as one of them.

The archive project envisioned working on the 300 hours of footage about the *guitarrón* players of Pirque, recorded between 1999 and 2014. The most valuable part of this material, without a doubt, is the abundant footage of Chosto Ulloa and Santos Rubio, not only playing and singing, but in a wide variety of other contexts. Thus, in addition to the job of organizing the collection we included in the project the production of a 60-minute video documentary using material from the archive.

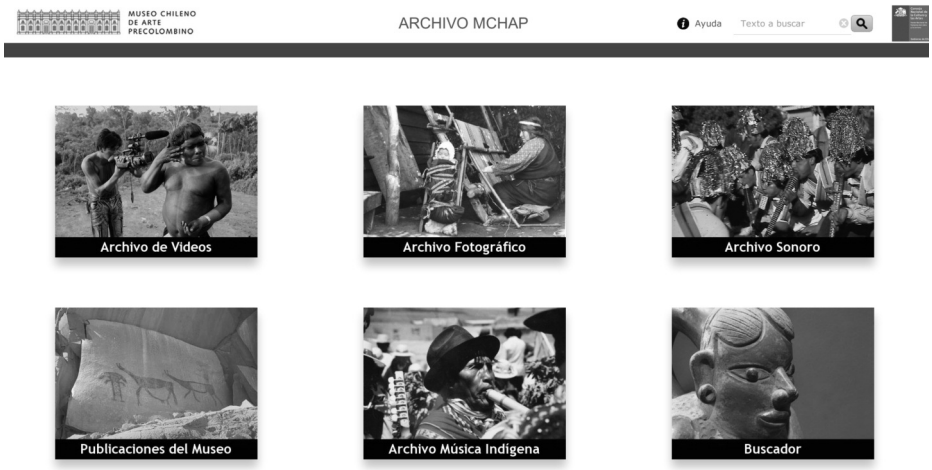
It's important to mention that I've worked intensively with those 300 hours of footage over the past three years in the course of writing the book *Chosto Ulloa y Santos Rubio. Dos cantores nombrados*. In fact, I was finishing the book while we prepared this new project. Around 120 hours of footage had already been transcribed, and the book -which ended up being more than 500 pages long- was based on those transcriptions and the video images. As I was writing the book, I had very often said to myself "but I should be making a film with this material, not a book," and I imagined scenes and situations that would definitely have to be included. What I mean to say is that I was completely immersed in the topic, as I had been filming for ten years and writing the book for three.

And the natural result of this process is that the project received funding. So I formed a 7-member team to digitalize, edit and document the material, on the one hand, and to codirect, produce and edit the documentary on the other. Of course, we all worked together as a single team, and to do so we had to work out many problems related to the flow of files and work on the two projects.

Additionally, we had to make it possible for users to search for and view the files and metadata quickly through the Museum library's own digital platform. To accomplish this we

hired the firm Adaptus to design a system that would house the more than 10,000 digital files and link them to a server and a local network of 6 touch-screen computers that enabled users to access material in the library. This system gave users quick access not only to the recordings in our archive but also to the Museum's own video archives, (including more than 500 documentaries on the indigenous peoples of the Americas), a music archive (450 CDs of ethnic music from the Americas and beyond), the sound archive (2,800 audio tracks of unedited recordings of indigenous and *campesino* music of Chile, from Arica to Tierra del Fuego), and the Photographic Archive (3,000 photographs of indigenous peoples of the Americas).

To this system, which had been operating in the Museum library for a year already, we had to add the material on the *guitarrón* players of Pirque, which would become the inaugural collection of this Heritage Archive. What I had in mind was a system that enabled users to quickly search for and view any part of the material and to select material scene by scene or according to keywords (Fig. 1).



Home page of the Audiovisual Archive of the Museum library.

As mentioned, I put together a 7-member team to work on the archive and make the documentary, and we hired Adaptus to design the software that would enable users to quickly search and view any part of the entire collection and to interface with the Museum library's existing digital platform.

We defined the work flows for the different teams, the digitalization formats for the material and the programs[3], hardware and systems that we would use. The original material was organized into 270 miniDV tapes, as the foundational material for the database.

All of the tapes were digitalized into .mov format, each one thereby becoming a file. This archive was "cleaned," rough-edited to eliminate time during which the camera was filming on its own, family scenes before or after the field work and scenes that were deemed too private. This work yielded an original file for each tape.

The digitalization was quite complicated as, owing to their age, several of the miniDV tapes had digital imperfections that desynchronized the audio from the images, and thus we had to resynchronize the footage, which was a time consuming job. Each original file was copied to .mp4 format so the originals could be left unused. The mp4 files then were sent to the documenter, who viewed and described all of the material scene by scene and indexed them by keyword. A descriptive summary of each scene was also included.

This long, intensive process is described in one of the project annexes. Our materials documenter, sociologist Pablo Villalobos, wrote an article in which he reflects on the material he had viewed in regard to the oral tradition, memory and the verses. Pablo also recounts how he became entranced by the material and especially with the old players, learning the verses in the files as he listened to them again and again. Near the end of his article, Pablo recounts how in January 2015, after working for a year on the project and learning 20 of the verses by heart, he participated in the *canto* to the Child Jesus that I organize each year in my home with the Pirque singers.

Another thread of the article examines the process of capturing the oral tradition in modern media and organizing it into a collection, in other words, what we are doing and how we are doing it (Villalobos 2015, manuscript).

And so the information obtained from those viewings was entered gradually into the database. First, however, we defined the entries and characteristics of the database, according to international library standards and the specific needs of the archive. It is important to mention that, as part of the project, Museum librarian Marcela Enríquez took a diploma on Archiving offered jointly by the Faculty of Business and Economics and the Information, Library and Archive Management Program at the Universidad Alberto Hurtado. This enabled her to obtain up-to-date knowledge of new technologies and their use in library applications, which was highly useful in integrating the new database with the library's existing database.

In parallel to the archival work, Adaptus designed improvements and updates needed for the software already in use by the library's digital platform to enable quick indexing, searching and viewing of the 300 hours of footage, tape by tape, scene by scene, and topic by topic.

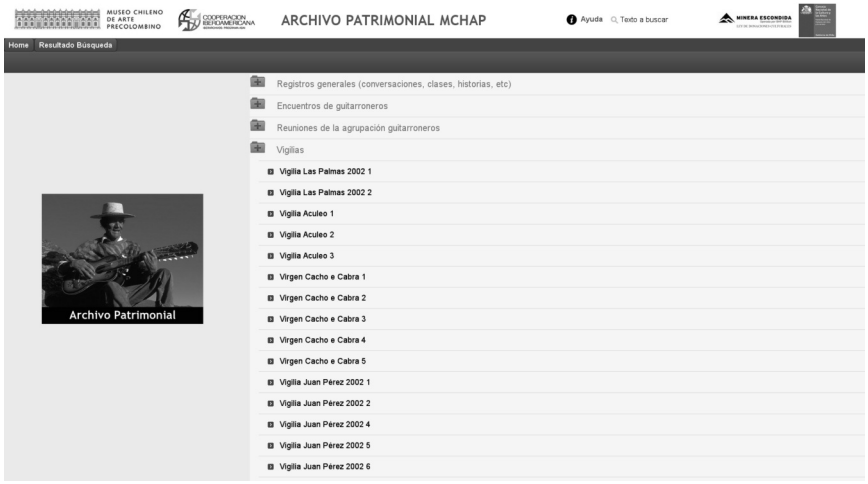
We also had to decide on which systems to use and which hardware to purchase, including two servers that offered continuous backup to reduce the possibility of information loss and/or system crashes. The informatics architecture for the new section was designed as well as access for the system administrator. The user viewing platform was then designed and implemented. We also worked on the search engine that would enable efficient scene-specific searches. Everything was uploaded en masse, including the material, the mp4 files and the database.

As a result of this collective effort, in January 2015 we inaugurated the Museum's Intangible Heritage Archive with the Collection of *guitarrón* players of Pirque. After two months in start-up mode (January/February 2015), the Intangible Heritage Archive is now accessible to the public, operating efficiently and effectively, and the 300 hours of footage can be viewed on the library's digital platform, with a photo of Don Chosto playing his *guitarrón* in the hills around Pirque inviting users to enter the site (Fig. 2).

Home page of the Museum library's Audiovisual Archive incorporating the new Heritage Archive.

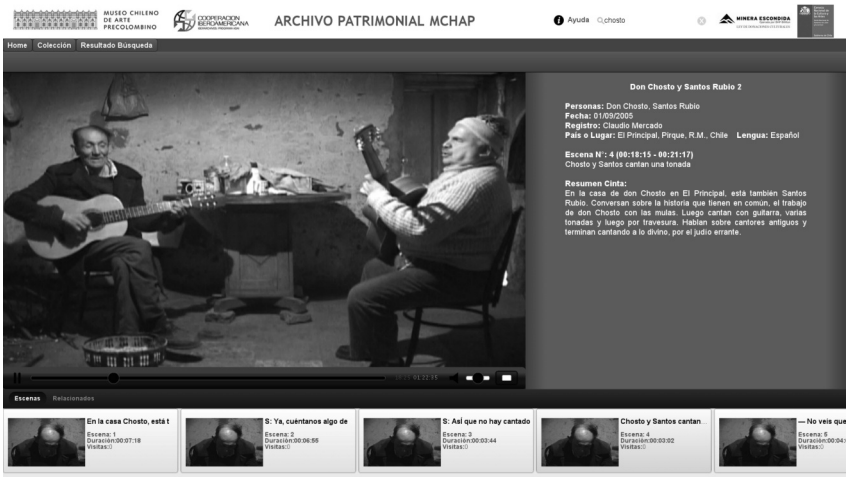
From the start page, users can choose from among four broad categories:

1. general, containing the bulk of the collection, including conversations, outings, classes, melodies, etc.;
2. meetings of the *Guitarrón* Heritage Group, created by the *guitarrón* players of Pirque in 2002 to foster the appreciation of and disseminate *guitarrón* culture. I was group secretary for 8 years and had an insider's access to the meetings, many of which were taped;
3. national encounters of *guitarrón* players: from 2002 to 2009 the *Guitarrón* Heritage Group held national *guitarrón* encounters that brought together players from many parts of Chile. The archive contains complete footage of these encounters;
4. vigils, in which the players gathered for ritual singing sessions on feast days of the Catholic calendar -Christmas, Holy Week, May Cross, Our Lady of Carmen, and others. On these occasions the singers sang all night. The footage includes recordings of entire *canto* rounds (Fig. 3).



Homepage of the guitarrón players of Pirque Collection in the Heritage Archive.

Each of the above entries offers users a variety of information. With a single click on any one, the corresponding tape begins to play, while on the right of the video player an information panel pops up that includes the title, keywords, a summary and, where available, a transcription of the recording. All tapes begin at the beginning, but underneath the viewer is a scene-selector that allows users to jump from scene to scene with a single click, enabling them to change the scene and its description in just a few seconds (Fig. 4).



Screen shot of a file from the guitarrón players of Pirque Collection.

Users can navigate scene by scene, return to the main menu or simply click on the "Salomón" button to see all of the recordings in which Don Chosto -or any reference to him- appears. The viewer is fast and user-friendly.

Up to now, the only dissemination of the archive has been through a single article published in the newspaper, and on our webpage. That may be just as well, as we could be inundated with people wanting to use the material for their research and other projects, and we presently have no staff member whose job it is to manage the editing and copying of those materials. We have begun with a very limited budget and must compete for new grants to keep the project going each year.

Our intention is for the archive to become a documentation center for researchers, students, cultural producers and the general public. In particular, thesis writers and students in many different fields of study -music, anthropology, musicology, audiovisual, heritage, dance, art, theology, sociology, and so on- can use these materials in the Museum's library. It's a treasure trove for researchers and cultural producers alike.

In addition to the archival and documentation work, we took advantage of the viewing and indexing of topics found in the material to produce the documentary *La caña con choclo. Historias pircanas* (Corn on the Stalk. Stories of Pirque). With a running time of 76 minutes, the film is based primarily on ten years of footage of Chosto Ulloa and Santos Rubio in hundreds of different contexts. It's amazing what you can achieve with ten years of footage.

La caña con choclo premiered to a large audience at the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino on January 7, 2015. The event also included the launch of the Intangible Heritage Archive with the Collection of *guitarrón* players of Pirque and of the extended project as well.

The documentary was translated into English and subtitled so it can be shown at local and international festivals.

It's now April, and next week we've scheduled a screening of *La caña con choclo*. The film is now being promoted on social networks and can be viewed online at http://www.precolombino.cl/archivo-audiovisual/la-cana-con-choclo-historias-pircanas/ or, subtitled in English, at http://www.precolombino.cl/en/archivo-audiovisual/videos/corn-on-the-stalk-stories-of-pirque/

We made 200 DVD copies of the film, most of them for distribution to the "poet singers" and to schools and libraries in Pirque (Fig. 5).

DVD of La caña con choclo. Historias pircanas/Corn on the Stalk. Stories from Pirque.

The Audiovisual Archive section of the Museum website has a link to the Collection of *guitarrón* players of Pirque, which brings together a series of micro-audiovisual recordings entitled *Fragmentos de archivo* (Short clips) filmed over a ten-year period. These clips show the *guitarrón* players in different situations -Santos Rubio and Chosto Ulloa stringing a *guitarrón*, Santos telling a story about the *guitarrón* at the 2nd National *Guitarrón* Player encounter, Doña Tila Morales singing a *vals* and a *cueca*, Don Chosto explaining melodies, and so on. The section was intended to introduce viewers to the *guitarrón* players of Pirque Collection and invite them to come to the museum to explore them further, and can be accessed at:

http://www.precolombino.cl/archivo/archivo-audiovisual/videos/antropologia-chilena/coleccion-guitarróneros-de-pirque/ (Fig. 6).

Short clips section guitarrón players of Pirque Collection, on the website of the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino.

We have many plans for the continuation of the project. For the immediate future, we have applied for a government grant to create a community documentation center that will house a copy of the *guitarrón* players archive in a local school in Pirque. This center will be open to the community at large, not only to students, and would employ the same system used in the Museum library. The proposal also includes a workshop on audiovisual heritage to foster children's appreciation for the value of their own traditions and of the archive itself and enable them not only to use the footage but to expand it with their own film projects. We see this project as a way of strengthening local identity, the collective memory and the appreciation of one's own heritage.

We are presently seeking funding for the second stage of this project and for working on the first 300 hours of footage of *chino* dances of Aconcagua, in Central Chile. We have around 600 hours of footage in all, filmed between 1991 and 2015. Recently, at the IX Session of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee held in Paris in November 2014, *chino* dances were recognized as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This designation is the first ever for a Chilean cultural tradition and it clearly establishes the importance of this cultural expression.

Looking towards the long term, the project envisions the creation of community documentation centers to preserve filmed materials specific to each locality, so that local residents can have easy access to their own traditions and come to appreciate their local intangible heritage. I dream of a documentation center to house the material on the *chino* dancers of Puchuncaví and another for Olmué, both hubs for *chino* dancing in the Aconcagua region.

Our work team:

Claudio Mercado (project director, documentary film director)
Pablo Villalobos (documentation, archive organization)
Christian Pino (digitalization and editing of archival material)
Gerardo Silva (co-director of the documentary film)
Benjamín Gelcich (documentary editing)
Eduardo Espinosa (documentary producer)
Marcela Enríquez (Museum librarian)

1 Guillermo Díaz, *chino* dancer of Pucalán. Charlo Reyes, *chino* dancer of Cai cai.
2 The flutes played during *chino* dances are of pre-Hispanic origin, as their features -the sound, the interior form of the pipe, and playing techniques- all illustrate (Mercado 2005 and Pérez de Arce 2000).
3 I wish to thank Jean Varra, IT director at INA (Institut National de L'audiovisuel) for help in suggesting formats to follow.

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Life Beyond the Archive: Converting Archived Fieldwork Footage into a Documentary

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Abstract

Through the history of anthropology and ethnomusicology many researchers have turned to audiovisual recording as a research support tool. However, once the recordings have been analysed to aid the production of knowledge, often published in written form, what should be the destination of this footage? Arguably, a technologically developed and "stagnant" archive, whether in private or in institutional facilities, often seems to be the option, many times in a definitive way (EVIA - Digital Archive Project[1] 2014).

The constant development of recording, playing and storage technologies can make it difficult to play older footage, as the equipment tends to become obsolete. Since the archived images contain considerable knowledge, how can an audiovisual archive be enhanced as a nucleus of documentation for the construction of new knowledge? These images enclose considerable potential insight that can be reanalysed and republished, possibly by different researchers, in different formats, like for example a documentary.

The aim of this paper is to reflect upon these issues on the basis of two case studies -the documentaries *Sons de Goa* and *Kola San Jon*. These documentaries were based on fieldwork footage collected by ethnomusicologists and were partially archived at the University of Aveiro branch of INET-md (Institute of Ethnomusicology - Center for Music and Dance Studies). This paper also aims to provide alternative forms and discuss the role of archival footage, the ultimate goal being to transform the knowledge that the latter holds into knowledge accessible to a greater public, whether or not enrolled in the academy.

Keywords: Archive, fieldwork footage, documentary, preservation.

Introduction

Ethnographic film has a long history of over a century, arguably dating back to the time of the invention of cinema itself. In 1895 at the *Exposition Ethnographique de l'Afrique Occidentale*, Félix-Louis Regnault filmed a Wolof woman making pottery (Brigard 1975: 15). In the same year the Lumière brothers screened their first films, including *La sortie de l'usine Lumière à Lyon* (Manly 2011: 1).

After the initiatives in visual ethnography by pioneer Regnault, many other endeavours took place throughout the 20th century, namely in the fields of anthropology and ethnomusi-

cology, through the likes of Robert Flaherty, Margaret Mead, Jean Rouch, Hugo Zemp or John Baily to name a few. However, these initiatives were mainly individual and isolated efforts, and the theoretical principles of audiovisual ethnomusicology needed to be consolidated. This paper aims to reflect upon some aspects of ethnomusicological film through the presentation of two projects in the field of visual ethnomusicology in which I was involved, as well as the kind of questioning that the creation of such films raised.

The use of film in ethnomusicology can be loosely interpreted as divided into two categories, depending on the objectives pursued by this resource. On the one hand we may consider those ethnomusicologists who take advantage of video recording mainly as a fieldwork support tool. Its capacity to aid the memory and to enable a more detailed observation in relatively lasting media make this tool a valuable contribution to fieldwork analysis (Brigard 1975; Barbash and Taylor 1997; Ruby 2008). In addition, the constant and accelerated development of recording equipment, responsible for cheaper and easier to use gear, has greatly contributed to increasing the use of audiovisual resources in the fields of social sciences. Beyond the increasing technological accessibility, audiovisual resources have a particular language suited for specific types of content and interaction (Henley 1996).

On the other hand we may consider a different approach in which the use of film is thought of as integral to the ethnomusicologist's undertaking and where the publication of the filmed materials becomes an end in itself. In this case film surpasses its status as fieldwork support tool and comes to be seen as a legitimate means of disseminating research, namely through the documentary format. In such cases the film can be an ethnomusicological project in itself, regardless of the existence of supplementary written materials. One could include in this category some of the works by filmmakers like Jean Rouch, Hugo Zemp, or John Baily, for whom film was at times the main tool for the dissemination of academic knowledge. Usually this type of filmic output will be circumscribed mostly to the academic or specialized festival circuit.

But to those who resort to film mainly as a fieldwork aid and eventually use only some small sections of footage to illustrate their work, the destination of the many hours of filming involved is usually a stagnant archive. These archives assume the most varied forms, often far from ideal conditions. EVIADA -*Ethnographic Video for Instruction and Analysis- Digital Archive Project,* alerts that today millions of hours of footage are archived under suboptimal conditions. Based on the research carried out within the *TAPE project*, Dietrich Schüller estimated that around 80% of audiovisual research documents were held in suboptimal conditions (Schüller 2008: 4), even though he also acknowledged that obtaining more precise statistical data in this area was admittedly difficult.

A number of factors can contribute to the limited use of archived fieldwork footage. Firstly, the recordings may have only had the objective of facilitating fieldwork analysis, making it easier to subsequently identify some details, or to safeguard the testimony of some musical practices. The possibility of editing a documentary may have never been contemplated. This attitude towards film and recording may result in a more relaxed approach to aesthetic concerns. Long static shots, poor lighting conditions, sudden zooming in or out, failing to properly

frame an object, or poor sound quality may be sometimes overlooked. However, to some extent, these defects may be averted through editing, and the scientific value and didactic potential of the footage remains. Therefore its insertion in a documentary is in many cases still possible.

Secondly, despite the increasing ease of use of filming equipment and the growing proliferation of video, many ethnomusicologists are still not used to communicating through image, a medium that resorts to a specific language and that requires some technical preparation.

Thirdly, ethnomusicology, as the majority of social sciences, is still mostly a "written" science, where photography or film are frequently relegated to an "illustrative" role or presented as a mere confirmation of what is written. On top of that, written production still constitutes the academic canon of production whereas film is many times irrelevant for the evaluation of an academic curriculum.

Possibly these factors have contributed to the limited use of film in ethnomusicology and have eventually led to steadily postponing the establishment of visual ethnomusicology and the digitization of archived fieldwork footage as more theoretically-grounded, better-organized and consolidated practices. Some of these issues can be identified, at least to some extent, in visual anthropology -a discipline that has certainly undergone a more profound discussion regarding the use of audiovisual resources (Pink 2006, Ruby 2008, for example) and one which can constitute a reference for ethnomusicological audiovisual practice.

If to the communicational properties of audiovisual resources we add the ease of integration with the new media, and the new horizons for communication that they entail, we may be facing an important potential to avail ourselves of.

Case studies

1. Sons de Goa (*Sounds of Goa*)

In December 2011, and in the context of the University of Aveiro's Master's Degree in Multimedia Communication (Digital Audiovisual branch), I presented a dissertation titled *The Documentary in Ethnomusicology: The Creation of a Documentary Based on Fieldwork Footage* (Oliveira 2011). This project included a study of the documentary *Sons de Goa* (Sounds of Goa), and although it was framed within the field of audiovisual communication, it was produced in collaboration with an ethnomusicologist. INET-md's ethnomusicology researcher and Professor Susana Sardo had, in 2011, a collection of fieldwork video footage that had not been digitized. This footage was recorded as part of an ethnomusicological research project that aimed at analysing the postcolonial Goan society through music, and more particularly the influence of the Portuguese colonial period in today's cultural practices in the Indian state of Goa. This collection, which consisted of Hi8 and VHS tapes, was recorded between 1987 and 1992, and most of the tapes had been stored for more than twenty years, becoming obsolete and ever more in need of a digitization that was becoming increasingly difficult.

Fig. 1. Some of the original VHS and Hi8 tapes from the fieldwork in Goa.

(See video example 1)

This archive consisted of twenty-two hours of video (seventeen hours in Hi8 format and five hours in VHS) and all of them were digitized (except in cases where the fragility of the tape itself made it impossible). In the case of the Hi8 tapes the digitization was made possible by playing the tapes on an early 1990's Hi8 handycam (that was also archived in the University) connected via firewire to a computer with video digitization hardware and software. For the VHS tapes, a 1990's VCR player was connected to a DVD recorder in order to digitize the footage. Later on, these DVDs were "ripped" in order to store the digital files in an external storage unit.

The long-term archiving of the tapes in suboptimal conditions (basically a personal cabinet functioning as tape storage space) during a long period of time was responsible, as could be expected, for considerable adverse effects. The exposure to non-ideal temperature and humidity conditions deteriorated the tapes, which were, in some cases, affected by mildew and became increasingly fragile. This situation lead to the frequent tearing of some tapes, making it impossible to digitize part of the archive. In some cases the tapes could be manually patched with adhesive tape preventing major damage. In other cases, the rupture and the consequent entanglement of the tape were too severe to make any recovery of the tape possible. As a result, part of the archive was irretrievably lost along with the ethnographic information contained in the video. It can be deceiving to think that a stored tape will retrieve its contents for decades. Sometimes the deterioration of the tape over time can only be detected too late. Tape recordings must be seen as having an inherent "countdown" of only a few years, a time span that can be increased under optimal archive conditions (Edmondson 2004: 45).

The aforementioned long-term archiving also took its toll on the video image quality, where visual noise emerged on some sections. Adding to these undesirable visual artefacts, some defects typical of older video formats were also detected, like flickering, colour noise, deformities on the edge of the frame, or the overlap of a date stamp, for example.

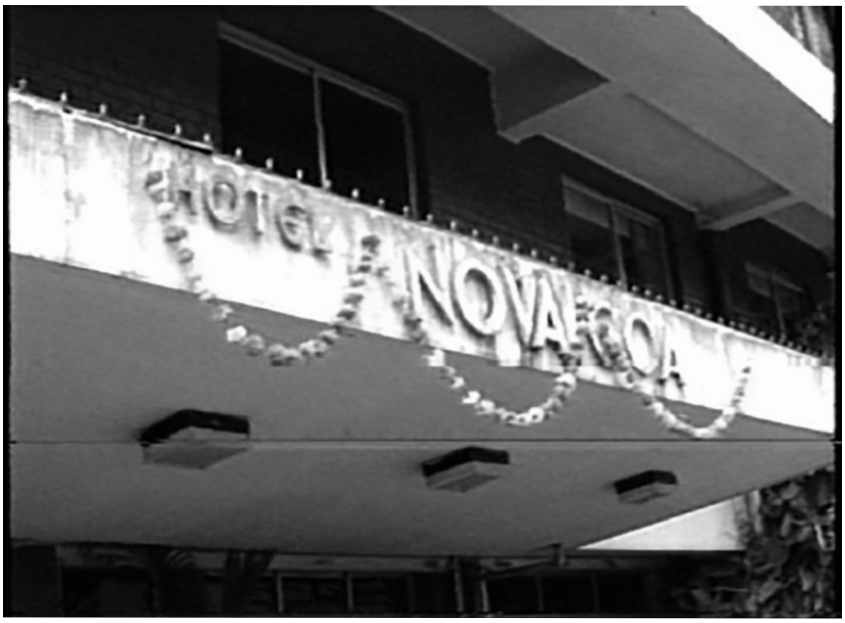

Fig. 2. Example of visual noise in the raw Hi8 footage (color noise and a strip along the frame).

Fig. 3. Example of unwanted titles and date stamp on the Hi8 footage.

On the aesthetical side, the type of shots comprised in the archival footage were filmed mainly as an aid to fieldwork, and so they reflected a relatively relaxed approach to what one could call the cinematography aspects of the film. For this reason, matters as proper framing, camera movement or lighting were not a top priority at the time of filming and had to be circumvented, when possible, by resorting to a more thorough editing and post production.

With a relatively large archive such as this one, which the editor, myself, was not familiar with, the analysis and organization of the footage were fundamental steps in the editing process. The observation and analysis of all the footage and the identification of the most relevant shots made it possible to begin a selection process aimed at creating a structured narrative. Thus it was possible to gradually associate some of the most relevant scenes to the main narrative categories of the documentary. In order to better understand the footage's symbolic content and to be able to create the above-mentioned categories, considerable bibliographical research and a continuous dialogue with the creator of the footage ensued. Therefore, some research papers and historical documents regarding Goan musical practices were consulted. The archive's footage was part of a research job that also produced book by the same author, *Guerras de Jasmim e Mogarim* (Jasmine and Mogarim Wars), written by Susana Sardo (2011). This work, particularly its fourth chapter, was closely related with the subject intended for the documentary and could be used as a guide to write the documentary script. The analysis of the written materials and a close interdisciplinary collaboration with the ethnomusicologist that conducted the original research made it possible to structure the documentary narrative and to guide the editing process. Thus the documentary was edited as a result of a dialogue where I presented some editing options based on bibliography and explanations from the researcher that subsequently indicated, if needed, some alternative ways to communicate the research conclusions. This theoretical background was fundamental in order to prioritize and select footage, i.e., in order to choose which excerpts should be included in the documentary and which other should be simply preserved in the resulting digital archive. In this particular case, the criteria to select footage, although mostly subjective, usually responded to matters of: a) suitability of shots to the narration or the narrative structure; b) ethnographic relevance of the footage (shots that provided a good overall description of specific processes-arrangement of performers in space; specific playing or dancing techniques); and c) aesthetical concerns -although the ethnographic content should prevail, the aesthetics and the audiovisual viability of the shots could not be ignored.

As a means to convey the message in a documentary, interviews usually constitute an important resource. However, the interviews available in the footage could hardly be used due to a limited sound quality, so that most of the conversations were quite difficult to understand. For this reason, in this documentary the interviews were left out and the information contained in them was transferred to the narrative part. Although this option may at times be considered as somehow imposing on the viewer's perception, it was regarded at the time as the most appropriate way to convey the documentary's message, particularly its more complex aspects, in the absence of acceptable sound quality interviews. To minimize the effects of this voice-over on the viewers' continuous comprehension effort, some more freely edited excerpts were

included, where some of the more striking images of the collection were juxtaposed with a soundtrack characterized by Indian influences. The selected shots and voice-over were complemented by the insertion of motion graphics to communicate specific elements such as geographic information or introduce each of the documentary's chapters. The result is a documentary that can serve mostly for specific academic or educational purposes. The documentary focuses on the results of the partnership between the researcher and her collaborators on the ground -all of which served the purpose of contributing towards the understanding of Goa's postcoloniality through musical practices. If the possibility arose to obtain new footage, some complementary interviews could be added that would allow easing comprehension effort demanded by the narration. Even so, at the time of editing the principal objective of this documentary was to explore an approach to requalification of archival footage from an audiovisual communication perspective and find a way to value footage and information that otherwise would have vanished. This endpoint likewise provides an interesting reference point in order to study similar questions regarding this territory in the future and analyse the development of the process of articulation of musical practices in Goa.

This project sought to test a process for the creation of a documentary film resulting from ethnomusicological fieldwork footage. Its stages consisted of digitization, analysis of the footage, subject-related bibliographical research, script writing, editing and postproduction.

This initiative also served to motivate the digitization of a collection that was in decay, allowing the preservation of the information contained in the footage itself. It also made it possible to realize that in such an interdisciplinary project collaboration is paramount. The cooperation between an editor and an ethnomusicologist aimed to ensure a correct orientation of the documentary in the audiovisual aspects and also in its ethnographic and ethnomusicological dimension.

As a result, knowledge that previously could only be found in academic publications was adapted didactically and made available to different types of media and audiences, thereby contributing to a greater accessibility of knowledge that was once archived.

2. *Kola San Jon*

Kola San Jon is a music and dance practice of Cape Verdean origin that is held every year around the time of St. John's festivities (the 24th of June). It is composed of numerous different activities which take place over several days. One of the most significant of these events is the *Kola San Jon* procession. In *Kola San Jon*, dance is the key element as almost every participant along the procession route practises it. This dance is not very formally structured and is constantly accompanied by whistles and a set of six to ten drums, performed by men playing repetitive polyrhythmic structures. In addition to music and dance, *Kola San Jon* features other relevant elements, such as: the existence of a large number of artefacts related to Christianity, like rosaries, crosses or figurines of St. John the Baptist or St. Anthony; the presence of a model of a ship that is steered by a "captain"; and the sharing of food between participants and those who watch the procession.

Fig. 4. *Kola San Jon* in Cova da Moura. Photo by Teresa Santos.

This practice was brought to Portugal by Cape Verdean migrants who settled mainly in the suburbs of Lisbon after the 1974 Portuguese revolution (Miguel 2010). One of the most representative neighbourhoods of this migration, the one named Cova da Moura, is unofficially estimated to have a population of about 6,000 residents (figures differ depending on the several authors) -most of them of Cape Verdean descent. In this neighbourhood, *Kola*, as the locals usually call it, has been claimed by its performers, since the early 1990's, as one of the most prominent expressions of Cape Verdean culture in Portugal.

In recent years an initiative has gained momentum to apply for these festivities' inclusion in the National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage, an inventory endorsed by the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage that aims at promoting the visibility and preservation of notable cultural practices in Portugal. This application was regarded by some organizations in the neighbourhood (particularly the *Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude* (Youth Mill Cultural Association) as a way to promote *Kola San Jon* and, indirectly, to uphold the Cova da Moura neighbourhood as associated heritage. This neighbourhood has been often regarded by the media as "problematic", and has an outside reputation for being dangerous and violent, a situation mostly disseminated by sensationalistic media. Moreover, this neighbourhood is located in a very desirable real estate area, which can cause competing interests for it in the future, as it has happened in the past. The application was submitted in 2013 and later accepted

by the Portuguese Directorate General for Cultural Heritage, thus integrating Kola San Jon in the national inventory (Miguel and Sardo 2014).

Any application must be accompanied by a written dossier constituted mostly by ethnographic detail and the specification of the elements that are to be recognized as cultural heritage. An academic researcher closely related to the relevant field of expertise, usually an anthropologist or an ethnomusicologist, must write this detailed document, according to the Directorate General's rules concerning the application procedure. In this case, support was provided by the ethnomusicologist Ana Flávia Miguel, from INET-md, who has extensive knowledge about this practice having spent large periods of fieldwork in this neighbourhood while writing her master degree's thesis on *Kola San Jon* (Miguel 2010). Additionally to the written dossier, and also according to the Directorate General's requirements, a short film portraying the eligible practice must complement the file. The requirement is worth considering. Why is it, in this context, that the inclusion of a film is mandatory? What are the advantages of submitting a film for evaluation by the jury and the public? The film seems to assume a status that legitimizes the practices that are applying for inventory inclusion, and becomes a means of portraying authentically and clearly the competing practice beyond the written materials.

The development of this application was led on the ground by the Moinho da Juventude Association, which is based in the neighbourhood and provides important services to its residents and to the community in general -such as day care, canteen, support in documentation processes, cultural activities, and many others. Working closely with this association, the University of Aveiro's ethnomusicologist Ana Flávia Miguel became involved as one of the academic representatives in the application process. Within the latter, I was invited to participate in the creation of the corresponding film.

As a starting point for this film work, we asked several local residents to provide any home movies of *Kola San Jon* that they may have as a way to obtain footage that could be used as evidence for the existence of this performance in Portugal since about 1990. This search retrieved five VHS tapes from the early 1990s. Once again, as in the *Sons de Goa* case, digitization was fundamental. Some of the tapes were not in the best condition, as expected, and in some cases the playback became technically difficult. In one of the cases, the formation of mildew on the tape, due to poor temperature and humidity storage conditions, glued the tape together, so that it became stuck and impossible to play back. Storage conditions also caused some detectable visual defects such as low image quality, with some visual noise areas.

Still, in the tapes where playback and digitization were possible, the type of footage that was expected could be obtained, namely footage of the earlier editions of *Kola San Jon* in Cova da Moura. Considering the subject of the film that we needed to produce, this constituted a very important contribution.

Although the image quality of these recordings is not the same as in today's television, it is typical of VHS formats from that time. Nevertheless, and more important than the quality of taped images, this footage supported the chronological recounting of the history of *Kola San Jon* in Portugal.

Fig. 5. 1990 *Kola San Jon* VHS footage.

The editing process began by merging the earlier recordings with more recent footage of the neighbourhood and the festivities, mostly gathered and recorded by Ana Flávia Miguel during her fieldwork in Cova da Moura and Cape Verde. Bearing in mind the objective of this particular film -the candidacy to the National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage-, a mainly didactic structure was opted for. This decision, like any other major decisions in the development of the film, was taken in dialogue with Ana Flávia Miguel, the academic representative in the application initiative.

The film begins with the narration of the coming of *Kola San Jon* to Portugal brought by Cape Verdean migrants, and a brief introduction to the place where the festivities take place -the Cova da Moura neighbourhood.

Subsequently, the film seeks to analyse the performance of the *Kola San Jon* festival and the elements that it comprises: music, dance, whistle, ship, drums and artefacts.

The film ends with excerpts of recent trips by the *Kola* group, to Spain and Italy, and the "return" to Cape Verde. These testify in some way to the growing relevance that these festivities have conquered.

During the fieldwork for her master's degree thesis on the *Kola San Jon* festival, Ana Flávia Miguel (2010) conducted a thorough video-recording work that resulted in dozens of hours of footage. Amongst this footage some interviews, which provided a "first hand" account of what *Kola San Jon* is, were added to later interviews done specifically for this film. The interviews were a key element in providing the documentary with a structure and explaining these festivities in greater detail. In the interviews the interlocutors who agreed to participate in the project explain some of the techniques and constitutive elements of *Kola*

San Jon, while some also comment on their profound and personal relationship with a practice in which they have been involved, in many cases, since childhood. Regarding these interviews, and given the impossibility of including them all due to the film's maximum running time as stipulated in the Directorate General's dispositions, it was decided to include a comprehensive number of short contributions -a difficult compromise given the significant information provided by the interviews and the desire not to leave anyone out of the film. Even so, in the fifteen minutes that were available to us it was impossible to include everyone and we were forced to select only part of some interviews. For this reason the introduction of voice over commentary was not considered a priority, and was only used when absolutely necessary -to convey more directly some particularly complex ideas that were not summarized as much as intended in the interviews.

Within the context of the development of this film, it is important to highlight the dynamics of collaboration that were generated. Firstly, the collaboration between a researcher from the field of multimedia communication and an ethnomusicologist aimed to ensure a correct adaptation of the visual contents to the objective of submitting an application for the Cultural Heritage inventory. Thus, the editing process was conducted in close cooperation with Ana Flávia Miguel, and together we negotiated the relevant information to be included in the film while at the same time trying to make it work in terms of the viewers' comprehension.

In addition to this collaboration, the participation of the members of the *Kola* group in the editing process was also very important. They made it possible for us to gain a deeper knowledge of this practice and contributed with additional, more personal views on the *Kola* event, thus providing the documentary with a more personal touch. They also contributed with the insider's perspective in the selection of footage, indicating which shots would be more adequate. After the early phase of collaboration and the first rough cuts, the film was presented to the *Kola* group so we could obtain the members' feedback. Although the result was generally satisfactory, some minor suggestions were made and included in the final editing, usually relating to the substitution of some shot for another that was more suitable given its symbolic value to the members of the group and the history of this practice[2].

In sum, this work allowed us to collect and preserve, through digitization, old footage that is a testimony to the history of *Kola San Jon* in Cova da Moura and in Portugal.

The fact that we were telling a feasible story about a musical practice by means of a documentary film was additionally valued by the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage, since it constituted an important asset in terms of communication with the public.

In addition to this, this documentary can also convey a message addressed at the neighbourhood itself, thus providing a relevant tool for analysis and discussion in connection with this practice.

Final considerations

Many ethnomusicologists have recognized the importance of film in assisting fieldwork, namely its capacity to enhance human memory, to provide a greater detail of visualization, and an easy to store format. However, the methods used to process and preserve footage do not always seem clear.

EVIA – Digital Archive Project has issued an alert about the millions of hours of footage that are archived in non-professional conditions. This footage encapsulates knowledge that is becoming increasingly inaccessible, as the equipment required for its visualization is becoming obsolete (EVIA – Digital Archive Project 2014). On the basis of this potential, the development of a consolidated and relatively standardized practice to reuse and reanalyse archived films could contribute to the preservation of audiovisual material, and more specifically to the dissemination of knowledge. Such initiatives can raise awareness for audiovisual and cultural heritage and contribute to the consolidation of a greater number of digitization projects.

The two projects presented here follow a set of regular stages: digitization, analysis and organization of footage, bibliographical research about the subject of the film (if needed), creation of a narrative, editing, and post-production. Given that these projects are usually interdisciplinary, all of these phases must be done in collaboration with the required specialists to ensure the correct adaptation of pertinent and adequate ethnographic insight to the specific audiovisual media language. Thus, these projects can well be based upon a dialogue between the editing team and different sorts of academics and community representatives that may contribute to the film within their specific fields of expertise.

The proposal inherent to the two projects presented here suggests the search for archived footage on particular subjects as a complementary way to better understand them. A digitization process, if necessary, should follow this search, in order to safeguard the information enclosed in the footage. The researcher can thus operate as a safeguard agent and recover older recordings, bringing to light relevant ethnographic representations that can be reanalysed. Given the specific knowledge necessary for the analysis and reuse of archival footage, initiatives that relate to these can benefit from an interdisciplinary approach, and bring together experts in the theoretical and technical aspects and eventually community representatives. This interdisciplinary effort will ensure that the creation of a documentary will take place according to the orientations of each group, whether academic or not.

On the web the tools for the dissemination of video are multiplying -Youtube, Vimeo, social networks, etc. All of these can create a link between the contents and the audiences who, through these tools, also have a greater control over content discussion. For this exposure to take place, copyright issues should be fundamentally addressed, so that researchers must always guarantee the provision of informed consent by all participants and obtain the respective authorizations, preferably in written form. Thanks to technological advances, the ethnographic film, including the archived film, has found a path to a global audience, and a possibility to disseminate its didactic value beyond the academy.

In sum, this disclosure also creates an open space where community members and those who appear in the footage can further discuss its implications and conclusions. In the current technological scene, the ethnomusicologist has at his/her disposal unprecedented communication tools. Ethnomusicology can take advantage of technology in order to establish new ways of relating.

1 Ethnographic Video for Instruction and Analysis - Digital Archive Project

2 To see the full fifteen-minute documentary included in the candidature click on the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KMmXnDBu85E

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6. TV Documentaries

An Ethnomusicological Perspective for a Television Documentary Film Shot in Calabar (Nigeria)

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Abstract

In August 2012 a television documentary about traditional music was shot in Calabar, Nigeria. The main focus of the documentary was to find the roots of *cumbia* music, originated by the Afro-descendents in the Atlantic coast of Colombia and widespread in all Latin American countries. I was involved in this project as scientific advisor and cameraman along with two Nigerian ethnomusicologists.
This experience reveals some theoretical, methodological and ethical issues related to filming music in traditional cultures: is it possible to convey an ethnomusicological content through a television format directed to a wide audience? What kind of contribution can a team of ethnomusicologists make to a research project whose ultimate goal is the production of a documentary for TV broadcasting? What are the dynamics that take place between the stakeholders involved (insiders/outsiders, academics/musicians, cultural mediators/village chiefs) inside the dialectical tension between culture and entertainment?

Keywords: Television documentary film, cumbia.

The documentary project

In August 2012 I had the opportunity to participate in the dual role of scientific advisor and cameraman for the production of a TV format entitled *Pasos de cumbia* (*Cumbia Steps*), a series of 11 video documentaries about the origin and spread of *cumbia* from Africa to Latin America. The television series was shot in three months in seven countries: Nigeria, Cameroon, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Argentina and Chile[1].

The project intended to outline the history of *cumbia*. *Cumbia* is a traditional music and dance born in the Caribbean coast of Colombia and then spread in different forms in all Latin America countries from Mexico to Chile. The Colombian *cumbia*, in its original form, has strong African musical traits (especially evident in the use of drums related to the cultural traditions of the Gulf of Guinea) and is widespread among the Afro-descendents of the Caribbean coast of Colombia.

The co-producer Vincenzo Cavallo, who is also the series' author and director, is an Italian videomaker with a PhD in new media, resident for six years in Kenya, where he founded the production company Cultural Video Foundation. During the pre-production, the videomaker's

first "step of cumbia" was to find an advisor who would provide some guidelines and tips to help him draw up the work plan and screenplay for what was supposed to be a "docu-musical", following the footsteps of *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* (2005) by Fatih Akin. After reading my book *Cumbia. La musica afro-colombiana* (D'Amico 2002)[2], Vincenzo contacted me and came to my studio in Florence for an interview.

According to a theory expressed in my book, which crosses historical, linguistic, anthropological and ethnomusicological data, the origin of *cumbia* is to be found among the populations of Calabar, an inland port in South-East Nigeria with access to the Atlantic Ocean. The trans-Atlantic slave trade transferred many thousands of people (mainly Ekoi, Efik, Igbo and Ibibio) from Southeastern Nigeria and Southwestern Cameroon throughout the Americas, where they were known as "Calabarí" or "Carabalí" (reversing the l and r), after the port city of Calabar from which many departed. The destination of countless slaves embarked in this port was Cartagena de Indias, in Colombia. According to some ethno-linguistic studies (Del Castillo Mathieu 1982), in the last period of trafficking (1740-1811) the slaves who landed in Cartagena were mostly Igbo and Efik from Calabar. During the colonial era, moreover, in Cartagena de Indias, the main port of disembarkation of African slaves in South America, the African slaves were gathered in mutual-aid societies or brotherhoods (*cabildos de negros*) which were named according to their ethnic or geographical origin: *Congo*, *Mandinga*, *Carabali*, *Mina* and *Arará* (Escalante 1954). The *cabildos* were allowed by colonial authorities to express their devotion through music and dance in a sort of carnival held during the celebration of the Virgen de la Candelaria in the Cerro de la Popa (near Cartagena).

Influenced by this theory, according to which the musical-cultural component of the populations from Calabar had been prevalent in the conformation of the Afro-Colombian music and *cumbia* in particular, the film director decided to shoot the first few episodes of the documentary in Calabar, thus adopting a deductive approach. He invited me to be part of this "ethnographic-television mission" which would involve the participation of some local ethnomusicologists who could guide us and act as intermediaries on the field[3].

TV format

This TV format was inspired by the road movie or *travelogue* genres in which the presenter addresses the audience directly and in front of the camera expresses comments and reflections on the events that are observed or those that occurred during the day, thus adopting a subjective perspective. The format may be described as was a sort of a travel diary where the presenter's voice-over provides some historical and ethnographic explanations to the audience with the support of graphic animation.

Crew

The team[4] included myself in the role of scientific advisor and cameraman, Cuti Aste, a Chilean musician-songwriter who acted as the film's presenter, and photographer Marco Lapenna. Apart from directing the documentary, Vincenzo took on responsibilities as the film's producer in charge of organizational and financial matters. The "multitasking" of the team

members made it possible to work with a small staff and therefore limit the cost of production: Cuti Aste held the dual function of television presenter and sound engineer.

The fact that the presenter was also a musician was an added value, since he could interact musically with local musicians. Concerning my role, apart from being a scientific advisor, I was in charge of filming and arranging the lights. Moreover, my field notes served the same purpose as those of a production secretary i.e. taking note of the date and place of the performances, the names of the ensemble and/or the musicians and their instruments, the title of the songs or the names of the dances or the musical genres, detailing everything that was happening around us, and integrating ethnographic observation and production notes.

Fig. 1. Vincenzo Cavallo (filmmaker), Marco Lapenna (photographer) and Leonardo D'Amico (ethnomusicologist).

Equipment

The high standard quality of the sound recordings and video shooting were guaranteed by the advanced professional technical equipment and the skills of the operators. In addition, the multi-cameras offered the chance to have different "perspectives" of the same performance (and thus more materials that could be analyzed). To record the different performances we used three cameras: a video camera SONY FS100U and two cameras DSRL Canon 5D and Canon 7D. All the cameras shot non-stop from the beginning to the end of the performances; however, due to their technical limitations, the DSLR Canon cameras could not shoot for more than 14 minutes. This proved quite problematic during the shooting in the village of Esuk Mba, in Calabar, where most of the performances lasted for more than 14 minutes, and this is why we used the video camera as a fixed camera for full shots. This video camera was positioned on a tripod while the other two DSLR cameras were used as moving cameras to shoot medium shots and close ups of the dancers and musicians playing during the performances.

Fig. 2. Marco Lapenna (moving camera) and Vincenzo Cavallo (steady camera).

Script

In pre-production phase, the director wrote a script with a dialogue list in which the protagonist (the presenter of the documentary) acts in the first person and interacts with both the "academics" and the "informants". During the production, however, the script simply became a track to follow with reference points concerning the musicians, the performances and their locations. The documentary, therefore, was a sort of road movie, with a narrative language based on a story and a protagonist travelling in Africa searching for the roots of the *cumbia*. The subjectivity of the protagonist was evident through his comments expressed in front of the camera, but at the same time it was balanced with the intention of providing "correct" information from the ethnomusicological point of view guaranteed by the indications and suggestions provided by the team of ethnomusicologists.

Advisors

The basic idea of the videomaker was to involve ethnomusicologists not only as "invisible" scientific advisors, but to make them co-protagonists of the documentary by putting them as "pro-filmic" presences in front of the camera and making them interact with the presenter and with other people involved, in this way highlighting their different points of view. His intention was to find a right balance between two purposes: ethnomusicological research and film production and, ultimately, between cultural and commercial purposes. In fact, it is unusual for the director of a low budget television production to involve a team of ethnomusicologists.

The presence of the ethnomusicologists as academic authorities could provide a sort of scientific legitimacy to traditional cultural expressions considered a legacy of the past which in some cases had lost their value and the function with which they were originally associated. The relationship with Nigerian public institutions (such as the Centre for Black and African Arts Civilizations in Lagos, the Cultural Center of Calabar, etc.) has been facilitated by the presence of representatives of the two universities involved (University of Pretoria, South

Africa, and University of Ferrara, Italy), and this has endowed the mission with an official status as well as enabling effective collaboration of these institutions. In addition, in this particular case the subject of the African cultural heritage in the Americas and the safeguard of historical memory is an issue still very much felt by the African authorities with whom we came in contact.

In the pre-production phase, a research team was set up including, apart from myself, two Nigerian ethnomusicologists: Prof. Meki Nzewi and his former pupil, Dr. Grace Ekong. The team members also served the function of cultural mediation, since they were experts in the territory with a knowledge of the local language and the local musicians belonging to the Calabar area, so that they acted as intermediaries between "us" and "them." The researchers and cultural mediators offered information of ethnographic and ethnomusicological interest, but in fact they also had the role of "intermediaries" for the economic agreements and conducted negotiations with local musicians, the chiefs of the villages, and representatives of public institutions.

A presenter-musician

The musical interaction with local musicians was another strong element that has enabled the establishment of a collaborative relationship. Cuti Aste, presenter of the television series, has played the diatonic accordion and drums on several occasions with African musicians, and even Meki Nzewi and myself, both percussionists, have played in some cases with local musicians. The musical competence of the presenter and the researchers engaged in the film production allowed an "interplay" or musical interaction with local musicians. To a certain extent, this capacity has facilitated the understanding of the musical structures, but it mainly helped us to open a "non-verbal" channel of communication.

Fig. 3. Cuti Aste (accordion) and Sina Peters (guitar) during a performance held at Peters' house in Lagos.

When we visited the village of Esuk Mba, I found three Efik drums, called *ekomo* ("drum" in Efik language). *Ekomo* drums, used to support dances such as *Ikpaya*, *Abinsi* and *Ekombi*, are of different types and dimensions: *ekpiri ekomo* ("small drum"), *ayara ekomo* ("male

drum"), and *uman ekomo* ("female drum"). The drum ensemble is completed by *nkon* (bell) and *nsak* (rattle). These drums had a strong resemblance to the Afro-Colombian drums, such as the *llamador* and *tambor alegre*, used in the Caribbean coast, and the *cununo*, used in the Pacific coast.

Fig. 4. *Ekomo* drums: *ekpiri ekomo*, *ayara ekomo*, and *uman ekomo*.

On one particular occasion, as Cuti and I began to play the drums, a circle of onlookers around us was formed and suddenly an old woman broke into the arena dancing in front of us. Later, Prof. Meki told us that what had happened had opened a channel of communication between "us" and "them" and that the fact that the old woman spontaneously decided to dance meant that we had been accepted by the community (this moment was immortalized by the cameras). The interaction with local musicians and elders in order to establish a more direct and friendly connection with them through music facilitated (apparently) the process of communication between "insiders" and "outsiders".

Fig. 5. *Ekomo* drum (Calabar, Nigeria).

Fig. 6. *Cununo* drum (Pacific coast, Colombia).

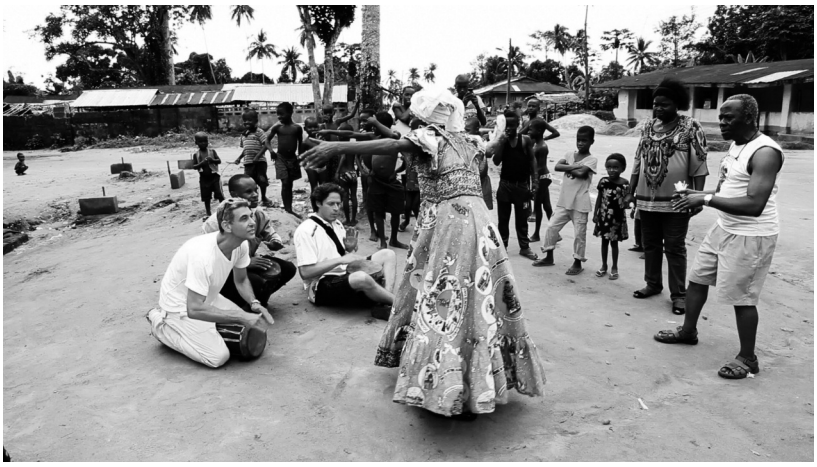

Fig. 7. Leonardo D'Amico and Cuti Aste playing *ekomo* drums while an old woman breaks into the arena dancing in front of them (Esuk Mba, Nigeria).

Safety

For safety reasons, during our trips in the area we were accompanied by two young soldiers. The threats of terrorists of Boko Haram (which in Hausa means "Western education is evil") made unsafe for Westerners to travel in Nigeria and for this reason the production decided to contact two soldiers for our safety. During our stay in Calabar, two young unarmed conscripts followed us as some sort of bodyguards, but in fact they had the control of our transfers across the territory.

Location

The choice of shooting locations was done primarily on the basis of a filmic/television perspective, focusing on the aesthetic dimension of images. That happened in the cases in which urban music groups were recorded in urban environments. But in representing music and dance associated with ceremonial or ritual practices in the villages, the locations was established by the director in accordance with the guidelines and recommendations provided by the leader of the musicians and dancers of the village. This was the case in the village of Esuk Mba, formerly the site of a slave market and one of the main ports of embarkation for slaves. During the survey, Etim Okon Inyang, the head of the group of musicians and dancers, who acted as an intermediary between us and the village chiefs, provided some guidance on where it was allowed to shoot and where it was not, according to the ritual obligations. The solutions adopted in this case had to meet on the one hand the esthetic needs of the film narrative, while on the other hand avoiding any departure from the rules and taboos imposed by the local communities. One of the locations chosen was the port of embarkation from which ships loaded with slaves left for the New World.

Ethics

From the ethical point of view, before shooting all the musicians received explanations about the purposes of the initiative (making a documentary for TV) and the motivations behind it (highlighting the musical ties / cultural links between Africa and Latin America through the slave trade), as well as the authority of the people involved in this project (largely related to universities). The filmmaking was presented as a cultural project that would evaluate the traditional musical heritage through the amplification of the media, but at the same time the commercial nature of the film production was at no time hidden. For this reason, it was not requested to perform for free, but a form of payment in cash or in goods, which was variable and negotiable, were given to all musicians recorded and filmed. Once the economic conditions were agreed upon, the leader or representative of the musicians had to sign a contract that would enable the use of images and music for television broadcasting.

Timing

Regarding methodological aspects, the production timing of a documentary for television broadcasting is generally very short compared to the time required by exhaustive fieldwork for ethnomusicological research. In our case we had only 30 days to complete three episodes in the series (which eventually were cut down to two in the post-production phase). Within this limited period of time, I had to reconcile the needs of a piece of ethnomusicological research with the requirements and technical demands of shooting of a docu-musical addressed to a wide and young audience.

For each performance it was necessary to locate a place "relevant" from both the point of view of philological (i.e. ethnographic) "correctness" and from the aesthetic (i.e. cinematographic) point of view; once identified, it required a period of time (at least a couple of hours or more) necessary to set microphones for singers and instrumentalists, positioning cameras and lighting (in the case of shooting indoors or at night). Moreover, the short daylight time forced the crew to work only for a few hours in the afternoon, till around 6:00 p.m. when sunset began. I was aware of the fact that a prolonged stay in the village would be necessary for an in-depth research, but it was incompatible with the production timing of the documentary (in our case, it was restricted to a couple of weeks for the Calabar episode).

Interviews

The fieldwork was not limited to audiovisual recording of music and dance, but also included interviews with musicians, village chiefs and all those members of the community suggested by the cultural mediators as custodians of traditional knowledge. After or before filming the performances, interviews took place which provided a description or an interpretation of the ritual dances. The ethnomusicologists participating in the team could offer their input during the interviews by asking questions to the "informants" or giving suggestions to the director concerning certain topics of ethnological or ethnomusicological interest. Be it as it may, access to the knowledge possessed by the secret/initiatory society of the Cross River basin, known as *Ekpé* (lit. "leopard") in Efik language, was off-limits to us (being not initiated)[5].

In this case, the "authority" of the academics was completely useless to "open the doors" of a secret knowledge: for example, when Meki Nzewi asked the *obong* Bassey Bassey Umoh for further information about the meaning of the use of the ritual drums, he refused firmly to answer his question (this moment was filmed and included in the final editing). Indeed, interviewing requires building relationships for which a long stay in the village is necessary, as well as mutual trust with the local community representatives. This was one of the limits of our research due to the short time of film production.r

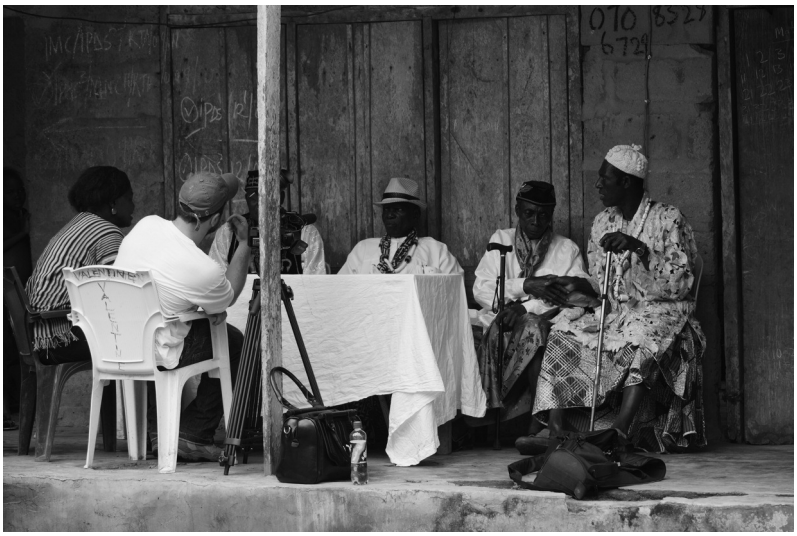

Fig. 8. Grace Ekong with Vincenzo Cavallo interviewing the village chiefs of Esuk Mba (Cross River State, Nigeria).

Staging

Concerning filming music and dance associated to specific social occasions in the rural communities, the question that arises is whether the staging may affect its reliability in terms of ethnographic "re-presentation". Yet our main purpose was not to conduct an ethnographic research, but to make a docu-musical that could communicate "correct" information from the ethnomusicological point of view. For this reason, we filmed the ritual performance in the same places where they are usually held according to the local tradition. The "settings" in the village were agreed upon along with the community leaders (the council of elders and/or village heads, and the leader of the music and dance ensemble). This allowed us to minimize the risk of de-contextualization, even if the performances were unrelated to specific community needs, however induced by external factors (like being "commissioned" for the purposes of a television production). The aesthetic aspects of the film language were, insofar as possible, calibrated according to functional requirements and contextual settings.

Filming music and dance in Esuk Mba

Esuk Mba is a small village located in the district of Akpaboyo in Cross River State, Southeastern Nigeria, a few kilometers from the city of Calabar, inhabited by the Efik ethnic group. It is a rural village nestled in the forest on an inlet of the sea, which still retains the old slave market, now turned into a farmers' market. From here starts a path that leads directly to the sea where slaves were shipped to the Americas.

Four traditional dances have been planned following the suggestions by Etim Okon Inyang, a local traditional musician and leader of the village musicians, initiated to the *Ekpé* secret society. The dances were ekombi (a female dance in honor of the spirit of water or mermaid *Ekombi*), *abinsi* (a courtship dance in the form of a pantomime), *ekpa* (a funeral rite of the elderly) and the *ekpé* masquerade (and initiatory dance involving the use of masks).

Fig. 9. Port of Esuk Mba (Cross River State, Nigeria).

For the *ekombi* dance, we selected together with Etim the location respecting the rules (such as the fact that the dance in honor of the spirit of the waters should not be done facing the sea but turning the dancers' back on it) and that propitiatory libations should be made before the performance took place.) The meaning of this female dance was explained by one of the village chiefs, Joseph Edet Bassey:

> *Ekombi* is an Efik dance, a kind of dance performed when a maiden is to be taken out of the confinement room. It is Efik culture that a female child of 18 years and above is kept in the fattening room by the parents for a period of 3 months. At the completion of this period the parents celebrate the success of the *nkuhö* with *ekombi* dance. This dance is performed to bring out the fattened [girl] to the public. On such occasions the girl is showered with gifts. When there is a traditional marriage, *ekombi* is performed. Any marriage without the *ekombi* performance is not considered a proper marriage. *Ekombi* is regarded as a cult/social ritual for the traditional worship of the deity of the water spirit or Mermaid[6].

The dancers are young girls whose arm and leg movement imitate the waves of the sea. The ensemble consists of a chorus of male singers and drummers. The instrumental ensemble includes: *ekpiri ekomo* (small drum), *ayara ekomo* (male drum), *uman ekomo* (female drum), *nkon* (bell) and *nsak* (rattles).

Fig. 10. Young girls in traditional costumes dancing *ekombi* dance.

Fig. 11. Ensemble of singers and drummers accompanying the *ekombi* dance.

Abinsi, in contrast, is not a ritual dance, but a recreational dance for entertainment: "The *abinsi* dance is a dance of our village that we perform whenever we are done with our daily chores, tasks, engagements, whether government work, farming, fishing, etc. The *abinsi* dance is a dance performed for relaxation and recreation after a hard day's work"[7]. *Abinsi* could be described as a "courtship" dance in which the man shows his dancing skills to his woman with sexually allusive movements (the movements of the dancers involve the lowering and the vibration of theirs shoulders). *Abinsi* has no restriction; everybody can take part at the dance and there is no specific place or occasion in which it is held. It could be performed anytime and anywhere, so we chose one of the largest courtyards in the village. Usually, it is performed after a working day and traditionally during the full moon night, but for safety problems and technical reason, the director decided to shoot in daylight.

The so-called "mise-en-scene" has also played a decisive role in revitalizing nearly extinct traditional practices. In this regard, it's appropriate to mention the case of the *ekpa*. The *ekpa* is an Efik funeral rite performed with drums and danced in the village of Esuk Mba by the elder women's initiatory society in honor of a deceased man or woman over the age of 60. After the propitiatory libations, the dance begins and is performed around and above the tomb, while earth is thrown into the pit. Only when the burial is completed do the men come to dance with the women around the tomb. In the traditional percussion ensemble, used for all the dances in the village, an *ekpa* or big drum (*ibid*[8] *ekpa*) joins in, only and exclusively in its role as a "feminine" drum. The *ekpa music* is performed only by initiates, generally those whose mother or grandmother were part of the *ekpa* female initiatory society. The songs may have a moral significance or they may deal with the life of the deceased. It was indeed amazing to find some similarities between this ritual and the Afro-Colombian *lumbalu*, a funeral rite performed in the past by the older women in Palenque de San Basilio (a Colombian village inhabited by descendants of runaway slaves) for a member of the *cabildo* (council of the elders), where a very similar big drum was used called *pechiche* (D'Amico 2002).

Fig. 12. Women of the Ekpe female society performing *ekpa* dance around the tomb while a percussionist plays the *ibid ekpa* drum.

At the end of the *ekpa* funeral rite, an old woman came to thank us for having revitalized the *ekpa*, because it was almost extinct. It had not been held for over thirty years in the village and many young people of the village had never had an opportunity to see it. The "motivation film", thus, played a determinant role in the process of revitalization of a ritual that was to be almost extinct although it was still alive in the memory of the village elders of Esuk Mba.

Fig. 13. *Ekpé* masquerade performed by two masks: *Ekon Ekpé* and *Atemtem*.

The *ekpé* masquerade is performed only and exclusively by men initiated into the *Ekpé* secret/initiatory society. As Okon Etim Nkanda (one of the heads of the village) said during an interview,

> the reason for playing *ekpé* is that our forefathers used *ekpé* to maintain law and order in the village. Any stubborn person was disciplined through the *Ekpé* cult […] *Ekpé* would be used to enforce discipline where people behaved lawlessly and insolently. Then we used this [*Ekpé* society] to govern society totally[9].

Members of the *Ekpé* society act as messengers of the ancestors (*ikan*) and during the performances they wear masks. The ritual dance we attended was performed by two masks: *Ekon Ekpé* (mother of the *Ekpé*) recognizable by a costume made with dried plaintain leaves, and *Atemtem* (male man). This dance was also filmed in its own context, the village and the surrounding forest. A procession parades through the streets of the village and some paths in the surrounding forest with the mask shaking a stick (*ikpa*) to strike the uninitiated attending to the ceremony (non initiates and women are not allowed to come in contact with the masked

dancers). The masks then disappear in a secret place in the forest (to which we have no access). Meanwhile, the council of elders presides over propitiatory libations. Suddenly, the masks reappear delivering the stick to the elderly. Etim stops singing and bursts into the arena where dancing starts. He takes the stick delivered by the elders and his movements become more aggressive, reaching a state of trance. He gives back then the stick to the elderly who offer him a kola nut. At this point Etim regains consciousness. Drummers stop beating the drums and the ceremony ends.

It's important to point out that the ritual performances of the musicians and dancers of the Esuk Mba village were not "shows" for tourists (this small village in the forest is not a touristic attraction at all). Leaving aside the *Ekpa* mourning rite, the other social and ritual dances performed during our stay are still practiced and preserve their function in the community's life. Although a ritual performance such as the *ekpé* masquerade was "inducted" by external factors, it was "truly" celebrated in the village with the participation of most of the villagers and it is significant that Etim, the chief of the musicians and dancers, fell into a trance during the ritual dance.

Previously, we had recorded two Efik mask dances (*idèm ikwo* and *murua* or *mburua*), both associated to the *ekpé* masquerade or *idèm*, which were "re-proposed" by a company of professional dancers and musicians of the Cultural Center of Calabar (a Cross River State institution). But those performances, held in the gardens in front of the cultural center in the city of Calabar, seemed "cold" and "empty" of their original meaning, being totally de-functionalized and out of their original context. Even so, these performances represented for us a sort of "sampling" which enabled us to know better the symbolism associated to the masked dancer's gestures and movements explained by the *obong*, (paramount ruler of the Efik) Bassey[10] Bassey Umoh, during an interview held after the performances.

Critical relationships

The experience of an "ethnomusicological-television mission" has raised not only methodological issues but also ethical ones that concern all the actors or "stakeholders" involved: the team of production, the cultural mediators and the "informants". In this regard, our experience in Esuk Mba was an interesting *case study*.

We agreed for four performances for which a fee was established: 30,000 naira for each performance, amounting to a total of 120,000 naira. We took some pictures and some video footage around the village to find the right places to film the performances. Before we left, we saw Grace Ekong having a discussion with a young man on a motorbike who had followed our movements in the village at a distance. She said that he was the chief of the "youth council" of the village and he had not been informed about our presence. Returning from the village, Grace Ekong told us that there was a problem that jeopardized the operation: the problem was the intrusiveness of the crew who took photos and shot videos throughout the village without permission: an invasion that was creating unease and suspicion regarding the exploitation of the image of the place. We supposed that clearly the village chiefs were claiming a sort of "copy-right" on the village. Meki and Grace told us that an African village is

not a "public" place where you can go around everywhere freely, and that there are some restrictions that must be respected.

The film director pointed out that the survey was previously agreed when Meki Nzewi and Grace Ekong had gone to the village to plan all the arrangements the day before our arrival. Grace replied that, according to Etim, the survey should not include the use of camcorders and still cameras, and that our behavior had created suspicion and distrust toward us. We wanted to talk to the village chief but the problem is that currently in the village there are several factions in conflict with four seniors who claim to be the village chief, so that we should negotiate with all of them. Vincenzo decided to offer 150,000 naira (instead of 120,000) as the ultimate proposal. The next day, the two Nigerian musicologists went back to Esuk Mba to conduct negotiations, and Meki Nzewi decided to buy some kola nuts for the village chiefs (a traditional symbolic offering meaning peace) before the discussion got started. But it was all to not avail: they came back with a further request by the village heads: 100,000 naira plus drinks, in addition to the 12,000 already agreed with the leader of the musicians Etim.

At this point the critical situation threatened to compromise a part of the project if not the entire episode dedicated to music in Calabar. Vincenzo, the film's director refused to pay what he considered an "extortion" by the chiefs and the so-called "youth council", which were regarded as a criminal gang. The European working group suspected that the two African musicologists were unable to manage the situation and the relationship with local referents (the leader of the group of music and dance, the village chiefs, the young council), while the two Nigerian musicologists accused us of being arrogant and presumptuous, unable to get into the mentality of a people historically exploited by everybody. According to Vincenzo, the misunderstanding was due to a wrong approach, since the two cultural mediators introduced us as a team of researchers interested in filming some traditional dances and not as a television troupe whose aim was to make a documentary. This situation threatened to create an unjustified and dangerous gap into the working group: a gap between us (Europeans) and them (Africans). At the end of the discussion, through my mediation, the director and the producer of the documentary recognized that the village could benefit from the operation and, instead of money, they offered to purchase food and drinks for the musicians and dancers taking part in the four performances already planned.

The offer was rejected, however, and the chiefs insisted on their economic demands. Vincenzo raised the biddings, offering 50,000 naira in kind (beverages and food) for each of the four performances to be distributed among the musicians and dancers by Etim in his role of representative of the musicians and dancers of the village. Here came the positive response, although we would later discover that, in order to save the project, Grace Ekong has satisfied their economic requests (80,000 naira) with her own resources without telling us. Grace belongs to an Ibibio royal family and, according to Vincenzo, Etim took advantage of the situation and asked her for more money. The fact of the matter is that after the performances took place, we realized that no food or drinks have been purchased for the musicians and the dancers as agreed, and when the shooting ended some girls who had participated in the dances came to us asking for food and beverages. Evidently, the money paid to the Etim was not redistributed as agreed.

In summary, the "exploitation of image" claimed by the leaders of the village was a pretext to obtain economic benefit for some power groups within the village. Indeed, the exploited part turned out to be both us, who had to pay out more money than we had agreed upon, and all those people who took part in the performances without drawing any benefit in either cash or kind.

The ethical question of "exploitation" within the dynamics of the interaction between "observer" and "observed", researcher and informant, insider and outsider, must be repositioned in the logic of the market, which embraces not only the urban context but also traditional societies. This is an issue that must be addressed not simply in relation to an asymmetrical system of power and post-colonialist attitudes, but rather in the light of new dynamics in which the interests of a few prevail over the interests of a whole community.

In conclusion, to reconcile an ethnomusicological piece of research with the demands posed by a television production was not an easy matter for many reasons. In the first place, the short time imposed by the production company did not allow a long enough stay in order to conduct in-depth research work on traditional music, especially in rural villages such as Esuk Mba. Secondly, the relationship of the stakeholders involved in this project (production team, ethnomusicologists and mediators, musicians and their representatives, village chiefs, authorities, etc.) was complicated by the business affairs. Most of the difficulties we had to face during our experience in Nigeria occurred when our interlocutors saw professional equipment, immediately associating it to a big budget; therefore they saw in this project an opportunity for personal economic benefit. The prestige of the scholars and their affiliation with leading academic institutions facilitated the collaboration with national and regional public institutions involved in this project and should smoothen the relationship with village chiefs and local musicians, but indeed it did not help to generate a mutual trust and to allay suspicions that both their image and their knowledge were being exploited for commercial purposes. The two main problems mentioned above (time and business) are strictly correlated because we spent most of the time in exhausting negotiations, stopping the production for hours and sometimes for a whole day.

And yet, on the other hand, the economic motivation of the musicians was a decisive factor in achieving our goals. In our case, the availability of a budget for production allowed the payment of a fee or a "refund" for musicians and dancers that made possible the "re-creation" of performances which, without an incentive (in cash or in kind), would not have been possible. Perhaps in this type of small rural communities, the scientific or cultural aims and the prospect of mass media amplification of local cultural traditions does not constitute a particularly strong motivation for locals to show their cultural heritage. A simple reason for this is that the staging of performances involving many people always involves a series of unavoidable costs (pocket money for musicians and dancers, transport expenditures for artists and instruments, food and beverages for all the participants, etc.). Arguably, in this kind of sociocultural context, where the relationship with Westerners is often linked to profit, a single ethnomusicologist with a small budget would have few chances, in such a short time, of collecting audiovisual recordings of rituals, ceremonies or festivals moreover disconnected from the specific occasions in which they normally take place.

Additionally, it must be pointed out that originally the production planning contemplated a whole episode dedicated entirely to the traditional music and dance of the Calabar region. But during post-production, the production company decided for a different editing in which one single episode would include the section on the Calabar music and the portion devoted to exploring the music in Cameroon. This entailed the cutting of some scenes showing performances and the omission of further information of ethnomusicological interest.

Finally, the documentary series was broadcast in Chile in 2014 and in Colombia in 2015 (thanks to a co-production arrangement with *Señal Colombia*), and in 2016 it has received a nomination for the prestigious award India Catalina (*Festival Internacional de Cine de Cartagena, Colombia*) in the category "best cultural and entertainment documentary". A web platform (www.pasosdecumbia.tv) was likewise developed integrating television and the internet on which some excerpts from the live performances have been uploaded.

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1 The television series was co-financed by CNTV (Consejo Nacional Chileno de Televisión) and co-produced by the Chilean CBRA FILM and the Kenyan Cultural Video Foundation.

2 This book was a compendium of styles, repertoires, genres and musical instruments of the African descent populations of Colombia. The core of the publication was my thesis "Rhythmic and polyrhythmic patterns of Afro-Colombian music", enriched by contributions from further studies and research conducted on the two Colombian coasts.

3 Actually, this theory met the director's need to find a link between Africa and Latin America in order to validate a cooperation initiative between an African company and a Latin American. The idea was to develop a format consisting of a series of documentaries to be shot both in West Africa and in South America.

4 To form a team, Vincenzo decided not to go through "institutional" channels (such as embassies or government institutions) but surf the web instead. In this way he contacted Prof. Meki Nzewi, a Nigerian musicologist and novelist resident in South Africa (where he teaches theory and philosophy of African music at the University of Pretoria) for many years, who agreed to be part of the team. Through his academic contacts, Prof. Nzewi engaged the collaboration of two of his former pupils: Ade Okunade, a researcher at the Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Badagary (Lagos) who worked in the episode on modern African music shot in Lagos iyself; and Grace Ekong, a researcher of the University of Uyo, who joijed the crew for the episode on the traditional music of Calabar. Additionally, he also contacted Cameroonian historian Richard Enoh, a professor at the University of Buea, for the episode to be shot in the north-west of Cameroon.

5 Cross River Africans, enslaved and forcibly brought to colonial Cuba, reorganized their Ekpè society covertly in Havana and Matanzas into a mutual-aid society called *Abakuá* (Miller 2009).

6 Translated by Grace Ekong.

7 Interview with Joseph Edet Bassey, one of the heads of the village of Esuk Mba (translated by Grace Ekong)

8 The term *ibid* means "drum" in the Ibibio language.

9 Translated by Grace Ekong.

10 Bassey is the lineage of the Efik royal family.

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Researching and Producing Visual Ethnomusicology in Peru: On Ethnographic Videos and Television Documentaries

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Abstract

This article describes an experience in creating two different kinds of ethnographic products in the realm of visual ethnomusicology in Peru. The first one was a set of short programs for educational purposes edited by a team of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists using ethnographic archival recordings from the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Catholic University of Peru. The second one was a made-for-television set of documentaries produced jointly with the national television channel and its team of professional filmmakers. Here we explain the similarities and differences of both types of production processes, attempting to answer a main question: What are the differences between making ethnographic videos and made-for-TV documentaries? This article addresses the issue of audiences, filming techniques, the practice of anthropological methods in recording visual data, the use of the camera, and the final editing process. Despite the contrasts between both types of visual products, we conclude that both of them share the attempt to communicate an "ethnographic truth," which we here define as a sequence of events that is designed to be conveyed as found in its original context. In video production, this means using neither recreations of ritual performances, nor any technique of fictional filmmaking.

Keywords: Ethnographic video, documentary, archival recordings, filming techniques, ethnographic truth.

In this article I will attempt to describe my experience while producing two kinds of ethnographic products in the realm of visual ethnomusicology in Peru. The first of these productions dealt with ethnographic archival recordings obtained by researchers in the field with a handheld camera, which were later edited into short documentaries for easier consultation and screening (*Ethnographic Videos*, Lima, 1993). The second one was a made-for-television set of programs produced by a team of professionals following a script and edited as documentaries (*Musics of Peru-Documentaries*, Lima, 2013). Each of them was created in a different historical context: the first videos were filmed in the 1990s, and the second set in the period 2010-2012, using different video formats and, as we shall see, contrasting methodologies. Both of these endeavors took place in the framework of my institutional duties at the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Catholic University of Peru. In this article we will explain the similarities and differences between the two types of production processes involved, even though both projects focus on the history of Peruvian traditional and popular music.

The producers: The Institute of Ethnomusicology and video formats

The Institute of Ethnomusicology in Lima, Peru, the institutional producer of these works, is a 30-year-old unit within the Catholic University of Peru (1985-2015). This institute is one of the very few institutions in South America that promote the discipline of ethnomusicology. As the first director and founder of the Institute I want to explain some aspects regarding its institutional origins, because it is relevant to one of the issues I want to establish here: the use of technology and its rapid development in recent times. I had just returned from the USA, where I had studied ethnomusicology, and I was eager to find a place for the otherwise unknown discipline of ethnomusicology in the Peruvian university system. This was not an easy task, since in Peru, the degree in music was non-existent until 5 years ago, when the first faculty of music was founded in a private university. Fortunately, the Ford Foundation had given us initial support to conduct fieldwork in the Peruvian Andes, and to implement an archive of Peruvian traditional music. That initial support was extended to a 17-year period that allowed us to consolidate the Institute as our institutional base, making it one of the most efficient units dedicated to performing ethnomusicological research and releasing ethnographic multimedia products.

The first technological means that we had at hand were the aural recording machines. In the mid 1980s, in Peru we had two options: to buy a NAGRA recorder, the state-of-the-art recorder at the time, or a Sony TC-D5M professional cassette recorder. Our dream was to buy the NAGRA, but it was completely out of our budget. The Sony equipment, on the other hand, was quite affordable. We opted for Sony, and to this day I must confess that the quality of the recordings we made with this machine, even when it was a cassette format, one that had never been considered to be of a professional quality, was extremely good. I still remember when I went to the biggest record factory in Peru, with my cassette tapes (this was in the year 1986), because I wanted to produce an LP record with our first field recordings. The chief technician laughed at me when he saw me coming with those cassette tapes in hand, and told me blatantly that it was impossible to produce an LP from a domestic format like the cassette. However, when he played them, his facial expression began to change. When he finished listening, he said to me very eagerly that we had to make an LP recording of those cassette recordings. The result was our first ethnographic LP record, based on field recordings of the traditional music of the Central Andes of Peru (Lima, 1986).

I was there throughout the entire process of production. When they manufactured the master copy of the record they marked a code number on the original master vinyl, hand-made, so they could later identify it. I also witnessed the actual pressing of the record, in huge machines that they used to press each vinyl. Previously we had to order the printed material that had to be pressed on the face of the record, and especially difficult was to order those circular labels with a miniature hole in the middle that would be glued later on to the center of the LP. Those were also the times when an LP release always had a cassette version as well, as we did.

I wanted to tell this story because it is important to remember that 30 years ago, the distance between professional and domestic formats was unsurmountable -not only in audio formats, but also in the video formats. In 1985, when our Institute was founded, it was impossible

for us, a small institution with limited funding, to even dream of purchasing a professional video camera -which at the time would probably have a U-Matic format. Once again, we had to choose the low-cost solution: to film in VHS, which at the time was considered to be a domestic format. It was better than nothing. Even so, this technology was available for us only in the late 1980s, and the cost of a VHS recording camera was not exactly low. The problem with filming in VHS was that the quality was clearly not as good as that of the professional U-Matic format. I rapidly found out that the difference between domestic and professional formats in video was much more evident than in audio formats. But there was no alternative: the choice was between not filming at all, or doing it on VHS. As an ethnomusicologist working with anthropologists, I decided that it was much better to end up with historical and archive material, than to have nothing. Also, that it was not a problem if, by choosing the VHS system, we had to forsake our possibilities of making professional documentaries, because the quality of our recordings would never reach he same standards as the U-Matic professional format, required by television stations around the world. VHS could not be broadcasted, our master technicians told us, and hence we settled with the idea of having research videos that eventually could be used in the classroom for educational purposes. It did not matter whether we could broadcast them or not in a hypothetical future.

Of course, we could never have anticipated how fast video technology would change in the coming years. VHS would kill the BETAMAX format after a fierce battle (Cusumano et al. 1992). Then a Super-VHS format appeared which promised a higher resolution than the natural VHS. I remember that when this happened, professional S-VHS tapes and decks were released, promising more durability for archival purposes as well. Shortly afterwards another format was introduced when HI-8 entered the arena. It was a smaller tape, and it was supposed to be comparable, if not better than S-VHS. Still to this day, in our archive, we have both kind of types and several other ones.

Then the digital technology took over -a revolutionary time began, especially in terms of affordability. Before the digital age, small academic institutions like ours could never afford broadcast quality, until the advent of digital formats, such as the Mini-DV and, later on, the simple computer memory card. Nowadays any academic institution in the world can afford to make documentaries with broadcast quality. This would have been impossible for us a decade ago. Today, it is finally a reality.

As a result of all this process, our Institute of Ethnomusicology has a 30-year-old audio visual archive that comprises all of these formats that have appeared throughout these years: VHS, S-VHS, Betamax, Super-Betamax, Hi-8, Mini DV, and the plain and simple, although insecure, Hard Drive. It goes without saying that in order to play these formats, as well as for digitizing purposes, you have to have the original equipment. It is very hard, in South America at least, to find the replacement parts needed to maintain "old" equipment running, unless of course you dismantle one machine to obtain replacements for another one.

Why have I told this story? Because the first documentaries we produced in our Institute were based on our original archival ethnographic VHS recordings. Notwithstanding this, when we released them, they were an instant success both in Peru and abroad. In the 1990s no one was making this kind of documentaries on Peruvian traditional music and ours were the only

ones that were available. Who was our audience? The world of academics and professors, who wanted to illustrate their classes with our videos, and the people from the regions depicted in the videos, who wanted to "see themselves", so to speak, in a video, to see their festivals, their rituals, their own culture.

I must confess that we were indeed worried about the quality of the videos themselves. As you know, VHS quality is far away from the current HD standards that sometimes look better than reality itself. And at that time, the difference between VHS quality and U-Matic quality was immense. However, this was research footage, and the academic community of our university, finding out that we had a large archive of field recordings on traditional music and its main cultural contexts, such as fiestas, rituals and dances, was eager to see them, consult them, and we were having a huge demand from our colleagues and students alike. Research footage, as everyone knows, is not entirely suitable for second hand research, that is, research by scholars who have not collected the material themselves. Why is this? Because we are talking of hours and hours of footage, and if the material is not cataloged in a special sheet including a description of contents indicating their location along the tape in hours/minutes, the time it would require viewing it would discourage most researchers. The raw recordings were also not entirely suitable for educational purposes. It was impossible for professors to screen fragments of the recordings without the investment of many hours of content editing for the purposes of their classes. We therefore decided to use that research footage to make ourselves what we called "ethnographic videos" in order to make our resources available to the students in the classroom, since we knew that broadcasting was impossible due to the low quality of our VHS recordings.

The making of Ethnographic Videos

Our VHS recordings had been obtained in the field by a team of anthropologists from our university. We had been visiting Andean towns which held numerous fiestas during the year, and our research team recorded the music and images as they were occurring in their actual ritual contexts, with the specific mission not to interfere (or if inevitable, minimizing our presence as much as possible) with the ceremony. In other words, our handheld cameras recorded footage of the actual ritual while it was being performed. We never asked for a ceremony or ritual to be recreated, because we never arrived at a locality on a date in which there were no fiestas. Instead, we traveled to these regions on the specific dates in which the festivals were to take place and went there to perform "participant observation", yet camera in hand. The original project consisted in visiting all the 24 regions of Peru, and our long-term objective was to make a musical inventory of the whole traditional music of Peru through audio and video field recordings as well as photographs. Once obtained, those recordings were to be housed in our archives in Lima, Peru, properly stored and cataloged. Therefore, these recordings were made for archival purposes only. There was no intention to make a documentary based on them, nor short visual pieces for promotional purposes.

Given the fact that we were collecting footage for archival purposes alone, and not in order to make documentaries, at that time we did not become immersed in discussions about the

recent advances of visual anthropology, or in theoretical readings about the making of ethnographic films. We were not considering the dilemmas between reality and fiction, the subjective vs. objective manipulation of images. Nor had we been debating the concepts of observational cinema, or *cinéma vérité* and we certainly had not seen or discussed in-depth the films of Jean Rouch or Robert Flaherty's Nanouk of the North[1]. Hugo Zemp's ethnomusicological films were important references, but as examples to follow they were very far from our possibilities, and so were the works of other ethnomusicologists, like Lomax, doing ethnographic filmmaking (see Feld 1976 and Zemp 1988).

Why had we completely ignored the theory of documentary filmmaking? Because we were extremely conscious of the very specific scope of our mission and were above all aware of the fact that our research footage had been taken for a very specific purpose: cultural preservation. That is to say, our aim was to make sure that musical traditions, together with fiestas, rituals and other related arts, would endure at least on video, for future generations to see, and possibly to be used in projects of cultural revival.

To this aim, we used certain methods, techniques, and principles, among them:

1. our single handheld camera would have to limit itself to follow the ethnographic action, trying to be as invisible as possible (at that time we still believed that that was viable);
2. the shot sequences had to be long in order to present the action as realistically as possible; the cameraman should not cut scenes in the middle, or change the angle before a musical or dance rendition, or any ritual scene, was finished;
3. a fixed camera taking long shots was the goal, in order to capture as complete an action as possible, without any interruptions. In this sense, close-up shots were sacrificed in the benefit of wider angles;
4. panning camera movements were allowed only to change the shooting objective, for example, from one dancer to another;
5. zoom effects were to be used sparingly, only to focus on a very significant element of the music or ritual. But if used at all, the zoom should not interrupt an ethnographic scene. Once again, these restrictions on zooming and panning effects left us with little close-ups shots of scenes and details.

In simple terms, a fixed camera and the preference for long shots were the main recommendations to the cameraman/researcher. He (or she) had to act as a human tripod, so to speak, in order to capture a cultural representation that could later be seen by any person, as it had been performed in its original context. Our aim: to respect the original context, to change nothing, to employ the camera as a hidden object that would just register an action with the minimum of human intervention[2].

The day came when we finally realized that few people were able to come to our audiovisual archives to consult hours and hours of footage. Most of our public were students and academic professors who, even if they were strongly interested in a particular ritual or fiesta, could not afford to spend an entire day navigating throughout our numerous recordings. Very soon the strong demand for those materials to be used in the classroom suggested to us that we had to produce documentaries based on our archival footage. As we have said, this footage had not been originally obtained for that purpose; the methods that we used in the field were

not directed towards obtaining images and sound that would fit into a previously planned documentary format. That notwithstanding, and accepting the fact that the material had to be adapted to the short documentary format in order to provide a wider access to our materials, we proceeded to take our footage into the editing room.

Once in the editing room, we followed the same ideas that guided the field shooting. If the cutting of scenes seemed necessary (they always were), they had to be clean cuts, quick and softly driven by the voice of the narrator. Editing should not be in the way of the continuity of the ethnographic action, and if it was inevitable, the editor had to be very careful to minimize it as much as possible so as to avoid changes in camera angles, interruptions of the ritual action, and so on.

We took a risky and arguable decision. Any sign of modernization was to be eliminated from the final cut. For example, a bus that had brought neighboring villagers to the fiesta or ritual; a tape recorder that one of the musicians had brought to be able to listen to his own music afterwards; a car; or a person with a T-Shirt with the *Real Madrid* logo on it. Any piece that would suggest that the people that we were filming were part of a larger, globalized world would be dealt with in the same way. Of course, we did not do this with the purpose of deceiving the viewers. We wanted to tell the truth, but only the part of the "ethnographic truth" that interested us: the traditional one. We wanted to show the traditional and rural aspects of Andean society, and to that end, we were willing to delete any sign of modernity that would distract the viewer, taking him/her far away from the traditional world we wanted to visually construct and give priority to. At that time we still believed that this was a justified procedure -we do not believe in this "selective editing" anymore.

The release of these video documentaries had an unexpected success. It did not matter that they were VHS quality, people wanted to see them anyway. Many professors at our university were struggling in the Library to check out a copy of one of these VHS tapes in order to show and discuss them in their classes or seminars. Visiting professors were eager to acquire a copy of our 9-item ethnographic video series, because it was the only set of videos available on Peruvian music, fiestas and rituals. Around the early 1990s in Peru, no academic institution whatsoever was releasing recordings, visual or aural, of traditional Andean culture. Hence, the fact that the Catholic University of Peru, the biggest private institution of higher learning in Peru, was releasing such a set meant that it was paying due attention to traditional Andean culture, and that was exceptional in those days. We were even more surprised when we witnessed that as time went by, the video set continued to be in demand -until today in fact. By the late 1990s, Insight Media, an international distributor based in New York City, took our videos for worldwide distribution, and the fact that they were VHS quality was not an obstacle since this company was specialized in educational videos. One of the reasons why the VHS quality was not an impediment to international distribution was that, at the time, when in a classroom one enlarged a video onto a big screen, even the best formats would lose quality substantially. This phenomenon worked as an "equalizer" for professional and amateur formats, which looked more or less the same on a big screen. That is, they significantly lost visual quality.

After 23 years of their original release, we can now present the videos as historical recordings, and the quality is not even an issue. Even if we had originally recorded in the professional U-Matic format, after 20 years or more, due to the natural deterioration of color in video tapes that occurs with the mere passage of time, they would have probably looked "historical", that is, having an inferior quality compared to the contemporary HD recordings.

The making of Television Documentaries

Now let me explain the second case, when in 2010 I started to make television documentaries for *TV Peru*, the only State-owned station in Peru (*TV Peru* is the only TV frequency that covers the entire Peruvian territory). This was a very different endeavor, a completely different project. These were made-for-TV documentaries on Peruvian music, designed to be broadcasted three times a week at a national level; directed to an audience that could change the channel at any time if they got tired or felt suddenly uninterested in the topic; and the entire production was different as well.

In the previous set of Ethnographic Videos, the editor found the recordings in an archive. A single camera had shot the film. Even though the research team consisted of several members, only one of them held the single camera we were able to afford–usually a trained anthropologist, or sometimes a professional camera operator with training in anthropology. The camera was handheld, and only rarely did we use a tripod, since when you record a fiesta or a ritual, you have to follow people around, and is difficult to do it with a tripod. At that time, the now famous Steadicam was unaffordable, at least for us.

A made-for-TV documentary was a very different story. First of all, what is a documentary? The common understanding is that it is a film made to document a real and historical occurrence that will reveal to us an "ethnographic truth." I define this concept here as a sequence of events that is designed to be conveyed as it is found in its original context, which in video production means no recreations of ritual performances enacted and not using any technique of fictional film-making. The terminology we employ here is very similar to the one used by Elisenda Ardèvol Piera when she states that she will "call ethnographic documentary to the product directed to communicate or expose results." And she continues stating that "However by 'film ethnography' we will understand the audiovisual material generated from an anthropological research and generally produced directly by the researchers during their fieldwork" (Ardèvol Piera 1996: 80-81). Notice that following the same argumentation, our first video set was called *Ethnographic videos* and our second one *Musics of Peru-Documentaries*, which were, evidently, made for television.

In the first case explained here (*Ethnographic videos*), we constructed a video presentation based on true ethnographic recordings. In other cases, say, in the case of a conventional documentary, first you write a script, and then you film following that script. You also design the cinematography, your camera angles and movements. In our ethnographic videos we did not write, nor did we have a script, and our cinematography was limited to the slightest strategies. What we did was to follow the ethnographic action, and we completely subjected ourselves to the events we were trying to document: the fiesta, the ritual, the music, the dance,

the drama. Therefore, we constructed our final product based on "real takes", on the true facts of popular drama. Our footage was, in this sense, impeccable.

The problem occurred during the editing process. Here our view would prevail over the real thing. The way in which you select and present the scenes, and in order in which you arrange them, predisposes the viewer to one side or the other. Another huge factor was that our documentaries had voice-over commentary, guiding the viewer throughout the process of experiencing, understanding and believing the entire viewing process. However, we could say that the original images were obtained in ethnographic contexts, and in ethnographic settings, and in this sense, reality was considered to be our first priority.

The made-for-TV programs were produced so as to look like documentaries, but they were not documentaries *strictu sensu*, at least if we follow the definition we have stated earlier. The methodology was completely different. The program was based on interviews with musicians, and the conductor would provide the narrator´s voice in front of the camera, while also acting as the interviewer. Live music scenes were introduced in between interviews to demonstrate the skills of the performers, and pick-up shots would be inserted during the actual interview to avoid this being dull. This time, the camera was not trying to be invisible: on the contrary, the camera was meant to be the main protagonist of the filming process, following the producer, his orders and cues. There was nothing to be trailed either, as happens in the real ethnographic videos shot in the field which capture a ritual or a dance-drama. In these cases, the previously written script would guide the shooting, and the real people had to follow the script –not the other way around.

The final edited one-hour documentary was divided into four sections, allowing time for commercials after each section, but also turning each one into a self-contained unit, so they could stand alone should the need arise. Each program presented a different type of music and music making: creole, Andean, Peruvian rock, Peruvian jazz, Peruvian cumbia, Peruvian electronic music, Afro-Peruvian music, among others. Was there anything ethnographic about them? I would argue that yes, there was. The programs were based on what the musicians said by themselves, on their music making and the music that they played in front of the camera, and the script, based on my personal research, told an honest ethnographic and historical truth. It is true that full objectivity cannot be obtained, because one is always in the way, but honesty, in the sense of seeking to be truthful, was indeed our goal.

What makes these made-for-TV programs different from our earlier ethnographic documentaries? Numerous factors for sure. First of all they were based on after-the-fact testimonies by musical performers. It is true that live performances were captured on camera, but they were used mostly for secondary takes, rather than in order to narrate a story. Secondly, there was a previously written script, something that we did not have in our earlier project, when we were discovering the "ethnographic truth" (exploring in the field), walking with the handheld camera in pursuit of the musicians, the dancers, the organizers of the fiesta.

The technical aspects featured the greatest differences between both types of production. Instead of a handheld camera, the TV production team included a lighting crew, a narrator, and single camera, but it would gather pick-up takes after each interview to provide the editor with material that would later allow him to produce the impression that two cameras had been used instead of only one.

The editing process also involved a huge difference. In TV production, the editing has to go for a fast-paced rhythm. TV programs have to compete with one another and you generally cannot afford to deliver a slow, dense intellectual program, let alone if it is relies on the documentary format. The final product, as can be seen, is entertaining, alluring, yet still educational. In this sense the editing process played a much more important role in the TV production than in the ethnographic videos. We may say that in the latter "the camera talked", while in the former "the editing talked" to the viewers.

Ultimately the TV product "constructed" an ethnographic truth, instead of attempting to shoot it from a distance, or from the point of view of a participant observer. And it constructed it via a previously written script, and via the recreation of the ritual. It did not matter whether or not this recreation was drama. Most of the time it was verbal, based on the memories of the musicians themselves, and on the images that they brought to mind in their frequently brilliant remembrances.

Conclusions

What are the differences between making ethnographic videos and made-for-TV documentaries? First of all we have to consider their respective target audiences. Our ethnographic videos were aimed at an academic audience, whilst the TV documentaries were addressed to a wide public, that is, anyone who switched on the TV set. This latter category, however, included the first one, since members of academia sometimes watch TV as well.

However, the techniques and methods employed were very different, as we have explained. The ethnographic videos were shot in the field, in context, while researching, using the anthropological method of participant observation. The TV production team had a high-tech paraphernalia that has already been described. On the basis of the ethnographic videos, moreover, ethnographic documentaries were made, which means that the sources had been preserved in an ethnographic archive. The editor did not have to move away from the archive in order to deliver a final product. Camera movements were very different as well. In the first case, we had a fixed camera with very little movement. On TV the camera moves considerably and it rests on a tripod whenever it is necessary (in the field the use of a tripod is very rare, unless you are recreating rituals or ceremonies), whereas the handheld camera is used when they want to achieve special effects and provide a simple interview with action and movement. Finally, the editing, which in TV is supposed to be noticeable, is expected to be invisible to the eye, or at least unsuspected in ethnographic documentaries.

But then, why are we proud of these two very different products made at our Institute? I would suggest that it is because both of these productions aimed at depicting an "ethnographic truth," and that in the process of so doing they did not use fictional events or recreated rituals and ceremonies as a means to attain some form of compensation. What was finally shown to the audience was what was actually going on, with no recreations staged by the filmmaker, with no fictional stories inserted to make a "documentary" more shocking or dramatic. While employing different methods and techniques, both of these products strove toward a common goal: to convey an actual state of cultural affairs. In doing so, they called due attention to tra-

ditional music and popular culture and contributed in this way to the search for local, regional and national identities, and, therefore, to nation building.

Photo 1: Interview with the orchestral director Miguel Harth-Bedoya about Peruvian Music

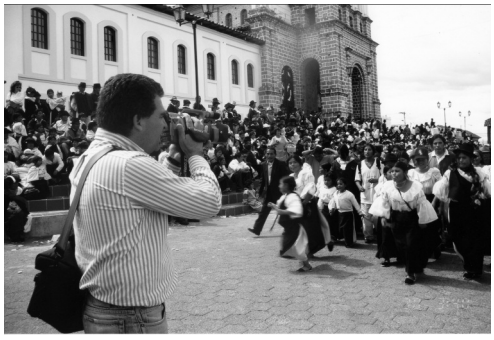

Photo 2: Ethnographic shooting of a *fiesta* in Ecuador

Photo 3: Interview with guitar player of *criollo* music Oscar Avilés

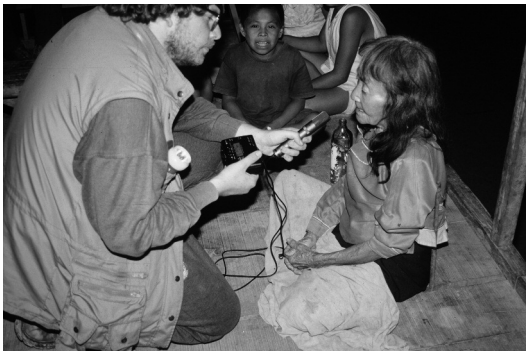

Photo 4: Interview with a singer in the Peruvian Amazon.

1 For a more in-depth reflection on ethnographic filmmaking, see Hockings 1975; Heider 1977; Ardèvol Piera 1996.
2 For more information about the use of camera movements in ethnographic film see MacDougall 1978, in the chapters "Unprivileged Camera Style" and "When Less Is Less."

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Filmography

Institute of Ethnomusicology (Pontifical Catholic University of Peru)
1993 *Series of Ethnographic Videos* (Video Set: 9 DVDs). Produced by Raul R. Romero. Directed by Gisela Cánepa Koch, Luis Figueroa and Manuel Ráez. Lima, Peru.

Institute of Ethnomusicology (Pontifical Catholic University of Peru)
2013 *Musics of Peru-Documentaries* (Video Set: 10 DVDs). Lima, Peru. Conducted and supervised by Raul R. Romero. Directed by Manuel Rodriguez.

Contributors

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