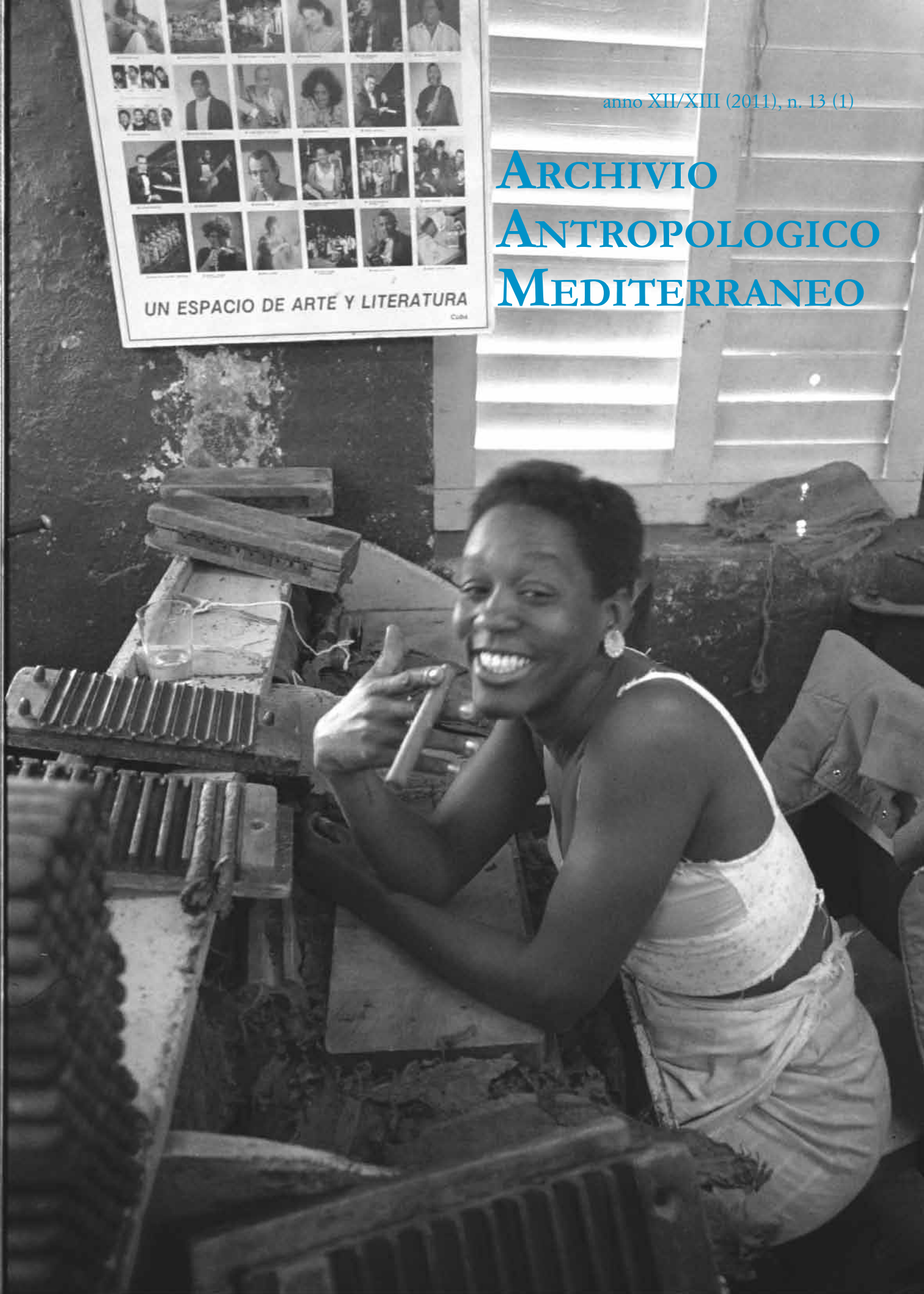


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In copertina: Foto di Nino Russo (Vinales Cuba, 1993)

Helena Wulff

Cultural Journalism and Anthropology: A Tale of two Translations

«So you're a writer – why don't you write about us in the paper?», one dancer after another kept asking me when I was doing fieldwork in the transnational ballet world in Stockholm, London, Frankfurt and New York. The people I was studying seemed to suggest that I should make myself useful by writing about them in the newspaper, and also, they told me, in dance magazines, international and national ones. In order to give something back to the people that had allowed me access to the closed world of ballet, I thus set out on my first piece of cultural journalism (Wulff 1994) for *Svenska Dagbladet*, a Swedish daily that features a daily section of submitted essays on culture, history and politics by academics, freelance writers and journalists.

This entailed a different type of translation than the academic one I was trained for. As anthropologists we can be said to translate our fields into academic conceptualizations. In order to write journalistically I had to make my anthropological findings not only accessible, but also attractive to a wider readership familiar with the arts, but not necessarily with anthropology. In this presentation, I will begin by exploring the process of writing cultural journalism drawing on my anthropological research. This leads over to my ongoing study of contemporary fiction writers in Ireland and the fact that they also write cultural journalism, sometimes in the form of travel writing. A number of these writers started out as journalists, and now write fiction as well, in many cases to great acclaim. They enjoy writing both fiction and journalism. Their journalism is also a way to make a living, to support their fiction writing which is far less lucrative.

Writing my essay for *Svenska Dagbladet*, I was aware that dancers and other people in the ballet world I was still studying and thus depended on my continued research, would read it. They were likely to read this relatively short essay rather than my forthcoming book (Wulff 1998), I figured, which eventually turned out to be the case as most dancers are not readers. But it was not difficult to keep their trust. They knew I was not a critic, and that is why they had allowed me back stage for so long,

even into intimate situations. I could have been critical in my essay about certain conditions in the ballet world such as the lack of long-term contracts in some companies, the use of drugs to enhance dancing capacity, the prevalence of anorexia, or wealthy fathers paying for their daughters to get leading roles at the expense of better dancers, but this was not the place for that. Writing my essay, I also had to organize the text differently than I normally did when I wrote academically as we have more space which allows for an introduction, perhaps in the form of an ethnographic vignette, an articulated aim, followed by ethnographic evidence related to a theoretical discussion, and a conclusion which shows how this ethnography has contributed to theoretical development. This is, of course, a standard academic format. Writing my journalistic essay, I had to stick to no more than 1800 words, which is much shorter than academic articles in journals and volumes tend to be. I also had to start with the essence of the essay, rather than building up an argument towards it as in academic texts. And just like in the theatre, on stage, the entrance is key. In order to capture the general reader of a newspaper – remember I was writing about ballet which most people think of as elitist, old-fashioned and artificial - the entrance of an essay has to be striking. Slightly provocative or seemingly contradictory beginnings often work, something that gets the attention of even the reluctant reader. Then I had to make my sentences short and clear. There is no time for complicated arguments or intentions to impress colleagues with theoretical ideas – they will be impressed anyway which I will come back to. Captivating ethnographic cases are useful in journalism as a way to indicate a wider circumstance. This is the same technique as in poetry where a few lines can crystallize a long life or a country's contested history.

And just like in the theatre, again, exits are important for how and if a piece is remembered afterwards. Exits of essays should also be carefully crafted. Contrary to writing academically, when writing journalistically it is important to stop in

time – otherwise the editor will stop, which often means cutting from the end, and a risk that concluding points disappear. With newspapers there is no possibility to negotiate about word count. Journalistic essays can in fact end on the climax, or with a question. It is common that essays end by connecting to the opening thereby forming a circle. The end can also be used as a contrast, to turn everything around that has been said previously without warning, which can be one way of making an argument. In my experience, more often than not, endings appear during the writing process, they do not always turn out to be what I have planned. My preference is ingenious endings.

When I posted my essay in a yellow mailbox, which you did in those days, this was in 1994, I knew that if the essay was accepted, the editor would do the headline as this is common practice in journalism, and I would not have any influence over that. He would also write a short introduction summarizing the essay. It was thus not until the very morning the essay appeared in the newspaper, that I learnt that the title of it was “Ballet – a language everyone can understand”. I would never have come up with a title that general had I been allowed to do my title, but it was fine. The editor obviously knew what he was doing, and I was still learning to relate to a wider readership outside not only academia but also outside the ballet world. The essay was a success. I was suddenly surfing on fame – as long as it lasted – which was for about a week. After all there is a new essay everyday in this newspaper. But friends and family, of course, also colleagues, acquaintances and people I did not know such as a ballet fan who wrote a fan letter to me, praised my essay. I even heard from my primary school teacher whom I had not seen in about thirty years. I got a sense that “everyone” had read my essay, also from the knowledge that this newspaper is printed in hundreds of thousands of copies. This quick major impact is quite different from the academic world where publications not only take much longer to write, but also reach a considerably smaller readership. Academic publications may also last much longer, though, while newspaper essays are in most cases forgotten after a while. Even today and in the age of Internet publication, books and journals are still cherished and kept in collections. Newspapers are thrown away or used for packing things.

What I had not expected with my first essay, was that it would become a part of my fieldwork in two ways. Firstly, the dancers did read it, and to my great relief they liked it. And I realized that part of the reason that they liked it, was that I had managed to verbalize what mattered the most to them about their dancing life. Contrary to many

media reports of the ballet world, my essay was a positive portrait. Dancers are vulnerable, they often feel misrepresented in media, and see themselves as different from other people. They are trained to express themselves through their dance, not through words. Secondly, by using materials in the form of field notes, for a general readership, I discovered new data, circumstances and connections in my materials that I later was able to take back to academic writing.

I promised to say a few words about my colleagues and their reaction to my essay. Mostly they appreciated it, but I also encountered some envy from colleagues who had tried to publish journalistic essays, but failed. Since then I have continued to write cultural journalism about once a year or so, and kept meeting colleagues who have an interest in writing in this genre, but do not know how to get into a newspaper. It seems to me as if there is an assumption that as an academic you can also write popularly without any coaching. To write anthropological journalism requires training, this has to be taken seriously and should be provided for students and young scholars. Certain anthropologists who would like to write journalism now and then make the mistake of not adhering to the rules and conditions of journalism. This is surprising in light of the fact that getting into the “native’s point of view” is our expertise. We have to learn to switch into a less academic tone meaning more straightforward, and of course to adjust to the very short time frames, at least with newspapers, which again is different from what we are used to in academia.

Cultural journalism can be included in outreach activities at many universities. In the framework of Swedish university life, activities of communicating and collaborating with groups and audiences outside the university is summed up by the term “*tredje uppgiften*”, the third task, besides research and teaching. A concern with developing effective writing in public anthropology obviously fits in here.

My cultural journalism has consisted of essays on my ongoing research, review articles on books relating to my research, and interviews with choreographers, and one composer. I occasionally write for the Swedish daily, the Swedish dance magazine, and British or European dance magazines. Like any writer, I have had rejections, but after one or more attempts I have found another publication for rejected articles. With time, I have learned that cultural journalism, not least dance journalism, has to be hinged on current events such as upcoming tours or opening nights. Timing is a central. So is relating to the politics in the relatively small Euro-American dance world where everyone knows, or knows about, everyone. When I recently wrote

about a choreographer who is a private person, and does not care to hang out with critics just to get good reviews, which makes them dislike him and his work, I had to choose the magazine carefully as dance magazines are edited by dance critics.

I have had two commissions for dance journalism. One was for a German art magazine *Parallax*, where I was asked to write in English about the fact that dancers have two careers as they stop dancing early, and then move on to a second career. This essay was translated into German which meant that I could read it but with effort. The other commission was for a Swedish magazine, *Axess*, which publishes popular scholarship. I wrote about a dance photographer and his work. Even though I had submitted images, the editor had found even more and made the essay into what he referred to as a “photo essay”, it was like a gallery illustrating my text. Unsurprisingly, my early essays were more edited by the editors than the more recent ones. I also get higher fees now than I did in the beginning. I do not think this is only because fees are higher for all freelance writers, but it does matter that I am known in some circles as a scholar who sometimes does cultural journalism. With time and articles published you acquire a reputation in your field of journalism. This also applies to fellow anthropologists Andre Gingrich in Vienna, Thomas Hylland Eriksen in Oslo, and Dan Rabinowitz in Tel Aviv among others who write anthropological journalism now and then.

I have discussed cultural journalism as one genre, one anthropological writing style. There are, of course, many other genres of anthropological writing that often blend into each other, blurring the genres. Drawing on ethnography, there are anthropologists who write fiction. Paul Stoller's *Jaguar: A Story of Africans in America* (1999) is one example of an anthropological novel which is based on the author's research. Some anthropologists take an interest in writing detective stories from their ethnographic experiences (White 2007). Ruth Behar identifies the significance of literature in anthropology in the article “Believing in Anthropology as Literature” (2009). All this is creative writing by anthropologists. A sister genre to creative writing, which has expanded enormously recently among anthropologists (mainly in the United States), is creative non-fiction (Cheney 2001). With roots in New Journalism in the late 1960s, this literary style presents real events in a fictional form. Kirin Narayan (2007) points out that:

attention to the craft of creative nonfiction is potentially useful to ethnography. I present a few practical tools that may help ethnographers seeking to shape

the materials of fieldwork: story, situation, persona, character, scene, and summary (Narayan 2007: 130).

To this suggestion it can be added the fact that suspense and surprise are key in keeping the reader reading. Clearly a lucid style is important when it comes to conveying anthropology on many different topics.

Before moving on to my ongoing research on Irish writers and their journalism, let me come back to the issue of translation. Already Evans-Pritchard (1965) identified anthropology in terms of cultural translation, a notion which has been influential in the discipline, as well as debated. For what is it exactly that is translated? Cultural conceptualization can obviously get lost, at least partly, in translation, or misunderstood. There is a risk that we look for cultural units that actually are incomparable. What does a dance anthropologist, for example, study in a culture where there is no word for dance? Anthropologists are acutely aware of this problem. Yet things might also be found in translation, call it understanding, interest in a different way of life. The classical insight in anthropology is, of course, that learning about difference is a way to learn about yourself. The debate on cultural translation in anthropology has generated insights into the relationships between interpretation, understanding and authenticity. As Ulf Hannerz points out, there seems to be

two main ideas of the translator's role, when we think of translation in its ordinary sense: the first type of translator is expected to convey the meaning of a language in an exact, literal way, “impartial”, while the second type is allowed more creativity as this translation is “to be responded to” in aesthetic and intellectual terms both as a reflection of the original work and as a work in its own right (Hannerz 1993: 45).

It is obviously the latter type of translation that anthropologists are aiming for.

So are Irish writers as their writing is in fact yet another act of translation. How do Irish writers translate Irish concern, or other historical and political events on one hand for an Irish and a European readership, on the other hand for an American, even a global readership? And how do they translate events in Europe and elsewhere back to Ireland? These questions are addressed, but not yet quite answered, in my study which focuses on work practice, prestige and career patterns, and the local versus the global in a postcolonial age.

Methodologically, I engage in participant observation at writers' festivals and retreats, literary conferences, book launches, prize ceremonies, rea-

dings, and creative writing workshops. I also spend time with the writers informally, such as at dinners. I do in-depth interviews with them, and their publishers, and I read their literary and journalistic texts, as well as reviews.

Today I will consider Colm Tóibín who is based in Dublin and lives in Spain and the United States every year¹. He started out as a journalist and parallel to writing fiction, he still writes essays and review articles for *The New Yorker* and *New York Times Book Review* in the United States, *London Review of Books* in Britain, and *The Irish Times* in Ireland.

Like many Irish writers, Colm Tóibín is a true traveller. Tóibín has been travelling since he finished his BA degree in History and English at the University College Dublin. In 1975, the day after he had his final exams, he left for Barcelona where he lived for three years, taking an active interest in Catalan culture and politics after Franco's death. Back in Dublin, he took up journalism, and became editor of the current affairs magazine *Magill*, and started writing literary essays. In the mid-1980s, Tóibín left Ireland again, this time heading for South America. He travelled around until he reached Buenos Aires, in Argentina, where he witnessed the trial of the generals after the return of civilian rule. Experiences from this trip went into his journalism, as did observations from subsequent travels in Sudan and Egypt. Tóibín's first book, which is a travel book, *Walking Along the Border*, that is the Irish border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, was published in 1987. It has been reissued a couple of times, most recently as *Bad Blood* in 2001 by Picador in London. To date, Tóibín has written seven novels, one play, and numerous literary essays, reviews and articles on art and politics. Many of the essays have been reissued in collected anthologies. Among seven non-fiction books are three travel books: *Bad Blood* (2001), *Homage to Barcelona* (2002) and *The Sign of the Cross: Travels in Catholic Europe* (2001). Scrutinizing the literary journalism of Colm Tóibín as travel writer, I especially note that these travel accounts discuss contested situations of religion and politics.

In Spain, Barcelona offers Tóibín an opera season, while a Pyrenees village, he maintains, is a setting where he can write undisturbed: "It's not about travelling", he explains:

it's about settling. I have a house in this village. I'm there for two-three months every summer. There are no bars or restaurants. I suppose I could dig or do gardening, but I write. I work every day, in the morning, all day. It's Catalonia, it gets into your system. I read a Spanish newspaper. I listen to the radio.

In the United States, Tóibín regularly teaches creative writing and Irish literature as a visiting professor and writer-in-residence at universities such as Stanford, Texas, Princeton, and the New School for Social Research. Ireland features frequently in Tóibín's writings, and so do Spain and the United States, often as nodes in networks of travel.

Anthropology tends to imply travel, not least for the anthropologist who goes to another place to do fieldwork, whether commuting to the other side of town or moving temporarily to another country far away. Increasingly, anthropologists find themselves going to two, even three places for one multi-local study, as the people we study are themselves on the move. Staying in one place risks missing out on an important aspect of the social life we are searching to grasp. It is clear that transnational connections through travel keep growing in number and frequency in many professions, as well as in family life and leisure such as in tourism. Yet it was not until the 1990s that James Clifford (1997: 25, 19) encouraged anthropologists to look for "traveling cultures" while not forgetting a culture's "centres, its villages, its intense fieldsites". As Clifford says, «the people studied by anthropologists have seldom been homebodies. Some of them, at least, have been travellers: workers, pilgrims, explorers, religious converts». Clifford, too, argues that travel implies translation. Such cultural translation from one place to another is, of course, what travel writing is all about. It is Clifford's description of Victorian bourgeois travellers and their entourage of guides, servants, translators and carriers that makes us aware of the contrast of Colm Tóibín when he is exploring the world as a lone traveller, with an interest in the world from the people's point of view. There is nothing of the imperial eyes of travel writing as identified by Mary Louise Pratt (1992) in Tóibín's observations. He was raised in the aftermath of British colonialism, in a family that was actively involved in the nationalist struggle, the 1916 rebellion against the English colonizers. Being a gay atheist Catholic, travelling was also a way for Tóibín to escape a still deeply religious society where homosexuality was illegal until as late as 1993.

In the book *Walking Along the Border* (1982: 53-54) which is a literary reportage, Tóibín can be said to be on home ground, more so than in his following travel books that mostly deal with foreign places. The point is, of course, that he encounters political and religious difference along the Irish border as he journeys back and forth between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The night before the Twelfth of July (the Protestant celebration involving marches which has a well-known

violent past), Tóibín spends in the small village, Ballinamallard, in Fermanagh in Northern Ireland where preparations were underway for its (Orange) parade, including a meal of sausage and bread for many people. Tóibín checks into a hotel, and puts himself to bed, but: «It wasn't long after midnight when I was awakened by sounds beneath the window». He could hear a voice desecrating the Pope. Tóibín notes with quiet amusement that: «The man below the window had been drinking». Exhausted from his walking, Tóibín was resting and had been:

drinking in Blake's, swimming in the public baths, and exerting myself as little as possible. I hadn't walked an inch, let alone a mile. Soon I would start walking again, but not yet, O Lord, not yet. Now I was in bed wondering if the man below the window had any idea that up above him was a papist from Wexford.

This book stands out from the other two travel books in that even though the individual chapters tell their own tales, they are organized into one long story, reporting on Tóibín's walk from Derry to Newry in the summer of 1986. This was in the aftermath of the Anglo-Irish Agreement between the United Kingdom and Ireland, made in order to bring a conclusion to the troubles in Northern Ireland. But tension and fear remained. This was a complex situation, as Tóibín kept being told when he listened to people from both sides of the community, and observed rituals such as marches and funerals.

In one chapter entitled "Dark Night of the Soul", Tóibín goes on an austere pilgrimage to an island (Lough Derg), and the theme here leads over to his next travel book, *The Sign of the Cross*. These travelogues depict a number of journeys he made across Europe in the early 1990s, experiencing various expressions of Catholicism in Poland, Seville, Rome, Bavaria and the Balkans, with excursions into post-Communist Lithuania and Estonia, as well as to Scotland and in Ireland. This elapsed Catholic writer is fascinated with faith, pilgrimages, and shrines. When he gets on a flight to Lourdes on his way to Barcelona, he finds himself mistaken for a priest. The hotel in Lourdes is overbooked, and the pilgrims have to share rooms. Not so Tóibín – without a word he is shown to a room of his own. The proprietress, he marvels to himself: «She, too, thought that I was a priest. This worked well and it struck me as I lay in my comfortable bed that it was something I must try again». In the chapter that gave the book its title, "The Sign of the Cross", the tone is totally different, serious and haunting, as it details how Tóibín, to his own surprise, is moved to make the sign of the cross in memory of his father.

Barcelona is mentioned in *The Sign of the Cross*, but it is in *Homage to Barcelona* which has been identified as an "homage to George Orwell" and his *Homage to Catalonia*, that Tóibín captures the grandeur of the city through his affectionate account. Just like Orwell who commented on the Spanish Civil War, Tóibín first came to Barcelona during political unrest, in the 1970s: the public protests against Franco and his subsequent death. As Tóibín told me in an interview: "Spain has been exemplary in the way it has allowed change to recur". This book builds on his long-term stay in Barcelona in the 1970s, but it was written during a return year in 1988. Through portraits of people, artists such as Gaudí, Míro, Picasso and Dalí, Tóibín tells the political and cultural history of Barcelona. He provides delightful descriptions of its art and architecture, churches and museums, cafés and restaurants, markets and trendy night clubs. As Barcelona became a new world centre for cosmopolitan culture in the 1990s, there was a renewed interest in the revised and expanded edition of Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*. «In Barcelona the poets and the professors, the designers and the rest of the generation of 1992 have taken champagne to their hearts» (Tóibín 2002: 163).

When Tóibín travels abroad as a journalist and reports back, he can be said to do the work of a cultural foreign correspondent. He moves with ease in both journalistic and literary styles. Yet he does come home to Dublin, now and then. Coming home from Barcelona, Tóibín wrote the following which indicates how poetic prose can translate a political situation:

I went back to my own country, and returned to Barcelona on holidays a few times over the years. Every so often in Ireland I would come across someone who spoke Catalan. Hearing the language again would bring it all back: the beautiful old city, the graffiti in red on the Cathedral walls, the political ferment, the smell of garlic, the faces in a demonstration defiant against the police, the slogans, the sexual freedom and the heat (Tóibín 2002: 3).

Travellers have a fresh eye. They notice what those who stay put take for granted, and they make new combinations.

In conclusion now, there is a growing concern in anthropology with making its reporting and its social and cultural understandings reach a wider public (Eriksen 2006). The particular task of anthropological writing naturally has much to do with the emphasis on understanding social and cultural diversity, in local and national society but not least globally. Some of the discussion over the

forms and techniques of writing relate to parallels and contrasts with journalism and other reportage as shown by Gottlieb and Graham (1994), and Boyer and Hannerz (2006). The point of departure in this presentation was a tale of two translations: the first one taking place when the ethnographer translates a field into academic conceptualization, the second one when an anthropologist translates academic findings into cultural journalism. With the account of the Irish fiction writers' journalism, this presentation turned out to deal with three translations, after all, as the writers translate Irish circumstances to a national or a transnational readership depending on topics and how Irish local knowledge is phrased. Irish writers also translate what is happening abroad back to Ireland. We have seen how travel writing by Colm Tóibín translates political, religious and historical events and circumstances such as the Troubles with tensions between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, protests against Franco in Barcelona as well as its new cosmopolitan culture. And finally, as much read as Colm Tóibín is a fiction writer, writing as a journalist does give him – as it does anthropologists – an even wider readership. For anthropological journalism such as cultural journalism, is one effective way of sharing academic findings with a general readership, and an opportunity to make an impact in the world.

Notes

¹ The following sections are republished with kind permission from *Nordic Irish Studies*. They first appeared in Wulff, Helena (2010). "Colm Tóibín as Travel Writer". *Nordic Irish Studies*, 9: 109-116. Some of these themes have been presented in Palermo, 2010, December the 3rd, at the seminary "Elogio dell'Antropologia, o il mestiere dell'antropologo/Apology for Anthropology, or the anthropologist's craft", organised by Fondazione Buttitta and directed by Gabriella D'Agostino and Vincenzo Matera.

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Abstracts

TZVETAN TODOROV
CNRS, Paris

Le scienze umane e sociali. Uno sguardo retrospettivo

L'autore ripercorre il proprio rapporto con le scienze umane e sociali durante un cinquantennio (1960-2010). Richiamando il lavoro di Claude Lévi-Strauss e il suo modello teorico che assimila le scienze umane alle scienze esatte, eliminando ogni traccia di soggettività, l'articolo pone a confronto il contributo di Germaine Tillion che, negli stessi anni, affermava l'impossibilità di eliminare l'esperienza personale dello studioso dai risultati del proprio lavoro. Un approccio pluralista alle discipline umanistiche è la raccomandazione che l'Autore ci consegna nelle conclusioni.

Parole chiave: Oggettività; Soggettività; Conoscenza letteraria; Scienze Umane/Scienze naturali; Pluralismo metodologico

Human and Social Sciences. A retrospection

The author describes his contacts with the social and human sciences during the last 50 years (1960-2010). His first major encounter is with the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who recommended the assimilation of the humanities to the exact sciences and the elimination of all traces of subjectivity. This attitude is compared with the contribution of Germaine Tillion who defends the impossibility to eliminate the personal experience of the scholar from the results of his work. In conclusion, the author recommends a pluralistic approach to the humanities and the social sciences.

Key words: Objectivity; Subjectivity; Literary knowledge; Human and Natural Sciences; Methodological Pluralism

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Operation Outreach: Anthropology and the Public in a World of Information Crowding

Fairly recently there was a story in newsmedia in Sweden about some young *nouveaux riches* who displayed their wealth by ostentatiously pouring out champagne in the sink. At about the same time, another item described a public occasion where a feminist politician, well-known since her past as leader of the country's main postcommunist party, had set fire to 100000 kronor (some 10000 euro) in bills, to make some point dramatically. This drew widespread comment, although it may be that while few could remember exactly what the point was, the suspicion was confirmed that this was not a person to be trusted with public funds.

Anyway, both the champagne pouring and the money on fire undoubtedly drew some added attention in the media because they occurred during the summer, when good stories tend to be hard to come by. One journalist contacted me after he had heard from someone that there were North American Indians who also had public rituals of destruction, something called "potlatch". And so he asked if I would care to offer an anthropological perspective on their new occurrence in Sweden. I suggested that if he wanted to know more about potlatch he could take a look at the Wikipedia article, but apart from that I declined the invitation to comment on the Swedish politician going Kwakiutl.

If we wonder about the part of anthropology in contemporary public life and public knowledge, we may find that it is sometimes, in fact rather frequently, like that. People who have no close acquaintance with the discipline expect the anthropologists to be in control of exotic tidbits from around the world, and thus able to offer possibly entertaining, although otherwise probably rather useless, parallels, comparisons, or overviews. Perhaps some of us will then indeed try to search the global ethnographic inventory for something to say, out of a sense of public duty or seduced by the possibility of fifteen seconds of fame. Again, in this instance, I was not tempted.

Key words: Branding; Commentary; Journalism; Politics; Multilingualism

Eccessi di azione: il ruolo pubblico dell'antropologia in un mondo sommerso dalle notizie

Di recente è circolata nei media svedesi la storia di alcuni giovani arricchiti che fanno mostra della loro ricchezza gettando champagne nel lavandino. Più o meno nello stesso periodo un'altra voce descriveva un'occasione pubblica durante la quale una femminista, nota per il suo passato come leader del principale partito postcomunista della nazione, aveva dato fuoco a 100.000 corone (circa 10.000 euro) in contanti, per rendere spettacolari alcuni punti del suo discorso. Ciò ha prodotto una vasta eco, sebbene alla fine abbia trovato comunque conferma il sospetto che non si trattasse di una persona affidabile per la gestione di fondi pubblici.

In ogni caso, sia lo spreco di champagne sia il denaro bruciato, senza dubbio ottennero una particolare attenzione da parte dei media perché entrambi i fatti capitano in estate, quando le buone storie da raccontare scarseggiano. Un giornalista mi contattò dopo che aveva sentito da qualcuno che c'erano degli Indiani nordamericani che praticavano anch'essi dei rituali pubblici di distruzione, qualcosa chiamato "potlach". E quindi mi chiese se mi interessasse fornire una prospettiva antropologica sulla nuova comparsa di questi rituali in Svezia. Suggerii che avrebbe potuto sapere qualcosa in più sul potlach, nel caso avesse questo desiderio, dando una semplice occhiata all'articolo di Wikipedia, e a parte questo declinai l'invito a commentare i politici svedesi mutanti Kwakiutl.

Se ci interrogassimo sul ruolo dell'antropologia nella vita pubblica contemporanea, potremmo scoprire che consiste a volte, di fatto direi piuttosto frequentemente, in qualcosa del genere. Gente che non ha familiarità con la disciplina si aspetta che gli antropologi padroneggino "bocconcini" esotici un po' di tutto il mondo, e per questo siano in grado di offrire una possibilità di intrattenimento, probabilmente non molto utile, magari qualche parallelismo, qualche confronto, o una visione d'insieme. Forse alcuni di noi tenteranno allora di esplorare l'inventario etnografico globale per avere qualcosa da dire, in risposta a un senso del dovere pubblico o sedotti dalla possibilità di quindici secondi di gloria. Per quanto mi riguarda, almeno in quel caso, non mi venne la tentazione.

Parole chiave: marchio; commento; giornalismo; politica; multilinguismo

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Cultural Journalism and Anthropology: A Tale of two Translations

Already Evans-Pritchard identified anthropology in terms of cultural translation, a notion which has been influential in the discipline, as well as debated. The debate has generated insights into issues of interpretation, understanding and authenticity. When I study the transnational dance world, or the world of contemporary Irish writers, I translate these settings with their concerns into academic conceptualizations. This is what I was trained to do. But during my fieldwork in the dance world, one dancer after another kept asking me "So you're a writer – why don't you write about us in the paper?" The people I was studying seemed to suggest that I should make myself useful by writing about them in the newspaper, and also, they told me, in dance magazines, international and Swedish ones. In order to give something back to the people that had allowed me access to the closed world of ballet, I thus set out on my first piece of cultural journalism for Svenska Dagbladet, a Swedish daily. This entailed a different type of translation. Now I had to make my anthropological findings not only accessible but also attractive to a wider readership familiar with the arts, but not necessarily with anthropology. The purpose of this article is to explore the process of writing cultural journalism drawing on anthropological research.

Keywords: Cultural journalism; Cultural translation; Creative writing; Travel; Transnational

Antropologia e giornalismo culturale. Storia di due traduzioni

Già Evans-Pritchard intese l'antropologia in termini di traduzione culturale, una nozione che ha esercitato molta influenza sulla disciplina e anche molto discussa. Il dibattito ha prodotto una particolare sensibilità per i temi dell'interpretazione, della comprensione e dell'autenticità. Nello studiare il mondo transnazionale della danza, o quello degli scrittori irlandesi contemporanei, traduco questi ambiti e le loro problematiche nei termini delle concettualizzazioni accademiche. È ciò che la mia formazione mi spinge a fare. Tuttavia, nel corso del mio lavoro di campo sul mondo della danza, molti iniziarono a chiedermi "dunque sei una scrittrice – perché allora non scrivi un bell'articolo su di noi?" Le persone che studiavo sembravano suggerirmi che avrei potuto rendermi utile scrivendo di loro sul giornale e anche, mi dissero, su riviste specializzate, internazionali e svedesi. Allora, per ricambiare le persone che mi avevano permesso di

entrare nel mondo chiuso del balletto, mi accinsi a scrivere il mio primo pezzo di “giornalismo culturale” per la *Svenska Dagbladet*, un quotidiano svedese. Questo mi impegnò in un tipo diverso di traduzione. Avevo il compito di rendere le mie scoperte antropologiche non solo accessibili ma anche attraenti per un più ampio pubblico di lettori dotato di una certa familiarità con l’arte, ma non necessariamente con l’antropologia. In questo articolo esamino il processo che a partire da una ricerca antropologica porta a fare del “giornalismo culturale”.

Parole chiave: Giornalismo culturale; Traduzione culturale; Scrittura creativa; Viaggio; Transnazionale

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Cultural Exclusion: Migrant Minorities and the Law in the UK

Study of the discrimination which affects migrants and their descendants in contemporary Europe has focused principally on social and economic exclusion and its consequences for integration. The concept of ‘cultural exclusion’, which refers to the way in which institutions and their personnel may fail to take into account the religion and ‘culture’ (in the anthropological sense) of migrants and their descendants when resources and rights are accessed and allocated, broadens the notion of social exclusion in a manner that speaks directly to the work of anthropologists. Building on the UNDP’s concept of ‘cultural liberty’, the paper explores immigrant and ethnic minority cultural and religious exclusion specifically in the context of encounters with the law and legal processes in the UK, and examines how far the law and those operating in its shadow could or should make room for, ‘other’ values, meanings and practices.

Key words: Cultural exclusion; Ethnic minorities; Religion; Law; UK

L’esclusione culturale: minoranze migratorie e Diritto nel Regno Unito

Lo studio della discriminazione che colpisce i migranti e i loro discendenti nell’Europa contemporanea si è concentrato soprattutto sull’esclusione economica e sociale e sulle sue conseguenze per l’integrazione. Il concetto di ‘esclusione culturale’, che si riferisce al modo in cui le istituzioni, e il loro personale, nel garantire accesso e nell’allocare risorse e diritti, possono non tenere in conto la religione e la ‘cultura’ (in senso antropologico) dei migranti e dei loro discendenti, allarga la nozione di esclusione sociale in una maniera che si rivolge direttamente al lavoro degli antropologi. Basandosi sul concetto di ‘libertà culturale’ adottato dall’UNDP, lo scritto esplora l’esclusione culturale e religiosa delle minoranze etniche costituite dagli immigrati nel contesto specifico dei rapporti con la legge e i procedimenti legali nel Regno Unito, ed esamina fino a che punto la legge e i funzionari pubblici incaricati di applicarla potrebbero o dovrebbero lasciar spazio a valori, significati e pratiche ‘altre’.

Parole chiave: esclusione culturale, minoranze etniche, religione, diritto, UK.

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Il desiderio del selvatico. La Wilderness come categoria antropologica dell'immaginario

Nel quadro della riflessione contemporanea sul paesaggio il concetto di *Wilderness* si configura come categoria antropologica originaria, come paradigma primario di pensiero che interseca gli strati biologici e culturali nella percezione e nella rappresentazione del rapporto uomo/ambiente. Il moderno interesse per il selvatico che trasversalmente coinvolge le nuove istanze dell'ecologia umana, dell'etnoecologia, dell'ecocritica, della letteratura e dell'arte, mette in discussione le dialettiche consolidate del modello culturale antropocentrico, esplorando il legame con l'alterità dell'elemento naturale nella costruzione della strategie di sopravvivenza ambientale, delle competenze ecologiche e della definizione sociale.

Parole chiave: *Wilderness*; Antropologia del paesaggio; Scrittura della natura; Ecologia umana; Anarchismo verde.

The Desire for the Wild. Wilderness as an Anthropological Category of Imagination

In the context of contemporary reflection on the landscape, the Wilderness concept takes the form of original anthropological category, as the primary paradigm of thought that crosses cultural and biological layers in the perception and representation of the relationship between man and environment. The modern interest for the wild what involve crosswise new instances of human ecology, etnoecology, ecocriticism, literature and art, to rise a questions the consolidated dilectic of anthropocentric cultural model, exploring the connection with the otherness of the natural element in the construction of environmental survival strategies, ecological competences and social definition.

Key words: *Wilderness*; *Landscapes Anthropology*; *Nature writing*; *Human Ecology*; *Green Anarchy*.

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Blessed be the Good Soldier: Cinema, Media and the Manufacturing of Nationhood in Post 9/11 Italy

This article addresses the contemporary wave of nationalism in Italy looking upon one of its pivotal figures, i.e. the soldier. Focussing primarily on post-war cinema and contemporary media reports regarding Italian soldiers in foreign missions of war (but offering also glimpses on schoolbooks from the fascist era) the article will offer an exploration of the continuities and discontinuities in the representation of the Italian soldier across history in Italian popular culture suggesting how, in line with the self-representation of the Good Italian, the soldier has always been presented as a good human being, one inevitably detached from historical responsibilities.

Key words: *Cinema*; *Representation*; *Nationalism*; *Soldiers*; *Contemporary Italy*.

"I nostri (bravi) ragazzi". Cinema, media e costruzione del senso di appartenenza nazionale nell'Italia del 'dopo 11 settembre'.

Questo articolo analizza la rappresentazione del soldato nella cultura popolare italiana. Mettendone a fuoco la centralità nella costruzione contemporanea del senso di appartenenza nazionale, l'articolo evidenzia continuità e discontinuità nella rappresentazione del soldato in contesti diversi, con particolare attenzione al cinema del Dopoguerra e ai dibattiti mediatici a proposito del coinvolgimento italiano nelle missioni di "pace" all'estero. Attraverso l'analisi di alcuni passi tratti da libri scolastici dell'epoca fascista, l'articolo suggerisce inoltre come la cultura popolare italiana sia stata capace di tenere in vita un'immagine coerente del soldato italiano, rappresentandolo principalmente come un "soldato buono". Nonostante sia generalmente dipinto come un individuo mosso da amore e altruismo, talvolta gli si riconoscono tratti di egoismo, opportunismo e pigrizia. L'insieme di tutte queste caratteristiche, per quanto apparentemente incoerenti tra di loro, ottiene l'effetto di attenuare ogni forma di responsabilità storica.

Parole chiave: *Cinema*; *Rappresentazione*; *Nazionalismo*; *Soldati*; *Italia contemporanea*.

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Turismo e immaginari migratori. Esperienze dell'Altrove nel Senegal urbano

Le rappresentazioni dell'Altrove sono un'angolazione peculiare per capire le aspirazioni al viaggiare di molti africani; questo fattore assume un ruolo centrale nelle esperienze individuali e collettive, diventando un elemento significativo che apre spazi di definizione del sé. Finora, un interesse minore è stato rivolto verso le varie forme e gli ambiti, non solo geografici, in cui l'Altrove è rappresentato, assunto di solito come l'espressione di un universalismo occidentale, nutrito da immagini e modelli culturalmente globalizzati. Al contrario, questo contributo sottolinea come l'idea di Altrove si costruisce storicamente in un contesto locale, facendo luce su come alcuni aspetti culturali locali producono uno specifico senso di spazialità, favorendo la formazione della frontiera tra 'qui' e 'là'. Volgendo lo sguardo alle aree urbane di *M'bour-Saly*, si osserva il ruolo svolto dai processi turistici e in quale misura essi diano significato alle immagini, alle narrazioni e alle pratiche attraverso cui gli individui esprimono il loro 'desiderio dell'Altrove'. Si problematizza l'idea *naïf* di un'Europa collettivamente percepita come uno stereotipato ed omogeneo El Dorado: la sua percezione sembra piuttosto legata alle esperienze soggettive e locali dei singoli.

Parole chiave: Senegal; Turismo; Migrazione; Altrove; Immaginario.

Tourism and Migratory imaginaries. Experiences of Elsewhere in Urban Senegal

Representations of the 'Elsewhere' is as peculiar field to understand the aspirations to travel of many African people; this factor assumes a pivotal role in individual and collective experiences, becoming a meaningful device that opens up spaces of self-definition. So far, a minor interest is devoted to styles and arenas where the Elsewhere is represented, often assumed as the expression of culturally globalised images and models of a Western universalism. Conversely, this contribute underlines how the 'idea of Elsewhere' is constructed historically within a local context, shedding light on how some cultural local aspects produce a specific sense of spatiality, fostering the formation of the frontier between 'here' and 'there'. Looking at the urban areas of M'bour-Saly, I show the role played by the touristic processes and to what extent they give meaning to images, narrations and practices through which people express their 'desire of Elsewhere'. The work aims to problematise the naïf idea of Europe, collectively perceived as a stereotypical and homogeneous El Dorado: its perception seems rather to be linked to the subjective local experiences of individuals.

Key words: Senegal; Tourism; Migration; Elsewhere; Imaginary

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La cura dell'uchimvi. Nota sulla medicina tradizionale tra i Wabebe della Tanzania

In questo articolo collego i concetti dell'eziologia e della cura delle malattie tra i Wabehe, una popolazione della Tanzania centro-meridionale, alla loro cosmologia. In questo sistema medico tradizionale, il ruolo di terapeuta è svolto dai *waganga wa kienyeji* (letteralmente: "dottori del villaggio"). Dopo aver analizzato il rito di cura dell'*uchimvi* (lett. "malocchio"), nell'ultima parte descrivo come, negli ultimi anni, i sintomi dell'HIV/AIDS siano stati assimilati e trattati dai *waganga* come casi di *uchimvi*. Essi, con il rito di cura del *uchimvi*, aiutano i loro pazienti ad averne una prima conoscenza e, infine, a 'com-prendere' l'HIV/AIDS.

Parole chiave: Wabehe; Antropologia medica; Rituali terapeutici; Curatori tradizionali; HIV/AIDS e medicina tradizionale

The cure of uchimvi. A note on traditional medical system among Wabebe (Tanzania)

In this article I link concepts of health disorder's etiology and therapy among the Wabebe's, a people living in the south and central part of Tanzania, to their cosmology. In their traditional medical system, people affected by health disorder's are treated by the waganga wa kienyeji, "the village doctors". After focusing on the rite of treatment of uchimvi ("evil eye"), in the last pages I describe the way HIV/AIDS is conceived and treated by the waganga as occurrences of uchimvi. By this way of interpreting this disease, waganga so help their patients to have a former knowledge of it and, finally, to 'understand' the HIV/AIDS.

Key words: Wabebe; Medical anthropology; Therapeutic rituals; Traditional curers; HIV/AIDS and traditional medical systems.

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Concezioni dei luoghi e figure dell'alterità: il mare tra i Wayuu. Seconda parte.

Tra i Wayuu, una popolazione indigena sudamericana che ha adottato l'allevamento di bestiame nel secolo XVII, il mare ha valenze simboliche differenti, che oscillano tra due poli opposti. Nel primo, esso è rappresentato come un luogo destinato a restare sotto il dominio del 'mondo altro', associato con la morte e le malattie; nel secondo esso diventa un luogo addomesticabile e appropriabile. In questa seconda parte, esamino dapprima i modi in cui il mare compare nei miti cosmogonici, e del suo rapporto con l'immagine dei Bianchi; successivamente analizzo il legame tra la credenza secondo cui gli animali marini sono gli animali domestici di Pulowi, la signora del 'mondo altro', e quella che il bestiame abbia un'origine marina.

Parole chiave: Wayuu; indigeni sudamericani; dicotomia selvaggio/domestico; alterità; sistemi di classificazione.

Images of places and figures of Alterity: the sea among the Wayuu. Second part.

Among the Wayuu, a South-American indigenous people which adopted cattle-rearing since the XVIIth Century, the sea can assume different symbolic values, which sway between two opposite polarities. According to the first one, it is a place which will always be under the mastery of the 'otherworld', linked with death and sickness; according to the second one, it can become a place to be domesticated and appropriated. In the second part of this paper, I first describe the ways the sea appears in the cosmogonical myths and its relationship with the image of the Whitemen; afterwards, I study the link between the belief that sea animals are the cattle of Pulowi, the Master of the 'Otherworld', and the belief that cattle come from the sea.

Key words: Wayuu; South American Indians; wild/domesticated dichotomy; alterity; systems of classification.

Don Chisciotte innamorato

Il significato dell'opera di Cervantes non è ancora stato inteso nella sua pienezza. Non è la vicenda di un cavaliere ideale, come ha letto la critica romantica, neppure il rifiuto del mondo della cavalleria né una sua parodia. Il suo senso ultimo si sostanzia e si esprime nell'amore per Dulcinea che, sebbene figura centrale della narrazione, nella realtà non esiste. In questo suo non esserci, infatti, si occulta quanto Cervantes ha voluto dirci. Il disagio di Don Chisciotte non consiste nell'impossibilità di vivere come un vero cavaliere, ma nel fatto che la realtà nella quale si riconosce non esiste. Non diversamente da Dulcinea, è un parto della sua fantasia, del suo bisogno di inventarsi un mondo altro rispetto a quello che ha sperimentato e patito.

Parole chiave: Cervantes; Don Chisciotte; Cavaliere; Realtà/Fantasia; Follia

Don Quixote in love

The meaning of Cervantes' work has not been completely assessed in all its complexity. It is neither the story of an ideal knight, as the romantic critics would say, nor the denial of the cavalry world, nor even his parody. Its ultimate meaning is expressed in Don Quixote's love for Dulcinea. Although she is the central character of the narration, she does not exist in reality. The non-existence of Dulcinea points at Cervantes' hidden message. Don Quixote's unease does not consist in the impossibility to live as a real knight, but in the fact that his reality does not exist. Like Dulcinea, his reality is a product of his fantasy, of his need to invent another dimension different from that he has experimented and suffered.

Key words: Cervantes; Don Quixote; Knight; Reality/Fantasy; madness

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Stabat Mater di tradizione orale in Sicilia

I comportamenti musicali svolgono tuttora un ruolo fondamentale entro i contesti celebrativi della Settimana Santa in Sicilia. Suoni strumentali (inni e marce dei complessi bandistici, segnali prodotti con trombe, tamburi, crepitacoli ecc.) e soprattutto canti tradizionali – in siciliano, latino e italiano – marcano le azioni rituali connesse alla rievocazione della passione e morte del Cristo, con stili e modalità esecutive ampiamente variabili. Lo *Stabat Mater* è uno tra i canti che più frequentemente ricorre nei riti pasquali di numerosi centri dell'Isola. A causa della sua nota origine "letteraria", questo testo assume un valore emblematico come attestazione del legame tra ambienti popolari e ambienti colti nella formazione dei repertori musicali cosiddetti paraliturgici. Questo contributo offre una panoramica generale sulla presenza dello *Stabat Mater* nella tradizione etnomusicale siciliana, analizzando alcune esecuzioni del canto e delineando i contesti socio-culturali in cui da secoli se ne tramanda la pratica, spesso a opera di cantori associati a confraternite laicali o ad ambienti parrocchiali.

Parole chiave: Stabat Mater; Oralità; Settimana Santa; Paraliturgia; Sicilia

Stabat Mater of oral tradition in Sicily

Musical behaviours still provide an important role during Holy-Week Sicilian celebrations. Instrumental sounds (hymns and marches of band ensembles, signals performed by trumpets, drums, crepitacols, etc.) and traditional song – in the Sicilian dialect or in Latin and Italian – mark the ritual actions that traditionally evoke the passion and death of Jesus Christ. The Stabat Mater is often sung in Easter rites of several Sicilian villages. For its "literary" origin this text has an emblematic value to show the connection between "high" and folk contexts in the creation of paraliturgic repertoire. This contribution offers a general view of the presence of Stabat Mater in ethnomusical Sicilian tradition, analyzing some of the musical performances, and delineating the socio-cultural contexts in which for several centuries the practice has been transmitted, often by singers associated with laical Confraternities or with parishes.

Key words: Stabat Mater; Oral tradition; Holy-week; Paraliturgy; Sicily