

political, print, cultural, and transnational networks of anarchist migrants in Canada and the United States. Scholars of labor and radical movements, as well as scholars of trans-Atlantic and migration studies, will find Tomchuk's and Zimmer's works to be finely argued and comprehensive additions to anarchist history.

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*Italian Birds of Passage: The Diaspora of Neapolitan Musicians in New York.*

By Simona Frasca.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

263 pages.

*Ethnic Italian Records: Analisi, conservazione e restauro del repertorio dell'emigrazione italo-americana su dischi a 78 giri.*

By Giuliana Fugazzotto.

Cargeghe: Editoriale Documenta, 2015.

249 pages.

*Andarsene sognando: L'emigrazione nella canzone italiana.*

By Eugenio Marino.

Isernia: Cosmo Iannone Editore, 2014.

389 pages.

According to Max Horkheimer ([1937] 1976), “The facts which our senses present to us are socially preformed in two ways: through the historical character of the object perceived and through the historical character of the perceiving organ. Both are not simply natural; they are shaped by human activity” (237). And as Jacques Le Goff (1978) said of cultural products some fifty years later, “No document is innocent.” Le Goff charged historians and other scholars to “de-structure” the “montage, conscious or unconscious of the history” and to “analyse the conditions in which these documents-monuments were produced” (46).

The authors of the three studies discussed here of Italian popular music in the diaspora have taken up this charge, examining documents-monuments produced through complex social and cultural processes. These three books all attempt to deepen the understanding of the place of Italian song in a system of production, distribution, and reception shaped by and shaping cultural communities and culture industries. In these cases, the dynamics of production and distribution represent only a part of the matter. The process of consumption is the most substantial part. The majority of productive processes are hidden in collective and individual examples of interpretive cooperation and in constant activities (e.g., spreading, talking about, community building, content sharing and production) that consumers—listeners, fans, collectors—carry out historically and geographically in social life and in social relationships. These elements affect the conditions under which we approach these materials of culture in archives, collections, libraries, digital archives, and social media. They also affect the ways in which we recognize, decode, and interpret these artefacts as significant documents.

The books under review share a broad theme: the place of popular music in Italian migrations to the United States in particular and in the larger Italian diaspora more generally. The studies are different in approach, structure, intent, and result.

In *Italian Birds of Passage: The Diaspora of Neapolitan Musicians in New York*, Simona Frasca explores the context of a particular kind of migration: that of the commuting of Neapolitan singers—the “birds of passage” of the title—who crossed the Atlantic Ocean at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the subsequent hybridization of Neapolitan songs and American commercial music. Frasca illustrates different Neapolitan music systems in the two poles of these oscillations between Naples and New York, where she also looks at relationships connecting the creation, production, performance, and recording and distribution of songs set against other forms of expression and/or representation of the Italian diaspora in New York, such as the press, cinema, theater, and radio. Drawing on many sources, including recordings and personal accounts of Italian American record collectors, she illuminates the ways in which recording, as an inescapably collective endeavor of artists, instrumentalists, technicians, composers, and arrangers, many or all of whom crossed musical boundaries, was an important agent in the formation of new musical styles in America. Frasca also retraces the growing musical divide between Southern Italy and the United States. Until they were made unavailable by the advent of World War I, the masters of Neapolitan songs in the first decades of the twentieth century were produced in Naples and sent to the United States (Pesce 1999). At the same time, however, a growing immigrant population in the United States created a stronger demand for ethnic records of all sorts. Starting in 1916, the

Victor and Columbia companies programmed regular recording sessions for ethnic artists. After the Great Depression, the flow of music, musicians, and recordings from Italy to the United States was restored. And during the rising of international tensions before World War II, connections between American popular culture and Italian music were shaping a new ethnic prototype.

In its mainly descriptive form, the book effectively depicts several related factors in the history of Neapolitan song in the United States: supply and demand and the role of publishing industries and show business, for example. However, the theoretical assumptions and methodological tools of this very informative book are not fully adequate to the complexity of its subject and to the vastness of its data, sources, and materials. Frasca acknowledges that the study of this field is only partially completed and the research methodology is still under construction (180–181).

The period from 1919 to 1931 saw the growth of indigenous Italian American recordings. During much of this time, a Sicilian immigrant in New York City, Antonio Fugazzotto, born in 1888, was building a collection of Italian music and songs. Enriched by additions from his children and grandchildren, the collection eventually grew to be an important archive of recordings, sheet music, and other documents from the Italian migration. In *Ethnic Italian Records*, Giuliana Fugazzotto explores some three thousand 78-rpm records in the collection started by her grandfather Antonio. Ethnic records compose 70 percent of this corpus. They were produced not only in the studios of Columbia, Victor, and Okeh but also by little companies, such as Etna or Nofrio, gathering together examples of regional vocal traditions, such as *stornelli*, *fronne*, *serenate*, and Neapolitan songs; the set pieces *scene dal vero* from musical theater; and music for such traditional instruments as *zampogna*, *ciaramella*, and *friscalettu*. The author carefully identifies works by genre, theme, and other categories.

The second part of the book considers aspects of the conservation, restoration, digitalization, and use of documents derived from sound recording. This part builds on the POFADEAM project (Preservation and On-Line Fruition of the Audio Documents from the European Archives of Ethnic Music), supported by the European Commission, that has developed a protocol for the preservation, restoration, digitalization, and online use of analog audio documents. In this context Fugazzotto's book represents a step forward in the heritagization of such audio materials through a process of social recognition that identifies their value as a cultural heritage. Still, the author does not take into full account the different aspects and kinds of mediation tied to the complexity of culture industries or to remediation by digitalization (Bolter and Grusin 1999). For example, in the first, descriptive part of the book, Fugazzotto affirms that those recordings of the collection that "document" traditional and folk music are "the only direct documentary sources" (28) on traditional musical heritage before

the beginning of ethnomusicological research in Italy. This statement does not take in account that the circumstances of recording—most evidently the case in U.S. studios—were radically different from the context in which traditional music had been coproduced by singers and listeners in a common manner of memories, occasions, and behaviors. The musical documents created by these industrial processes of reproduction retained strong relationships with oral traditions, even if those styles and genres were often inevitably “retuned” in the United States. Investigating these recordings today yields much information on traditional repertoire and the related ways of singing and playing in the early twentieth century. But we must “not act naïve” (Le Goff 1978, 46) and take into account these “tunings” that the music underwent in the social, political, technical, cultural, and commercial contexts of recording.

In *Andarsene sognando*, Eugenio Marino takes a very broad look at the songs related to Italian mobility: from internal flows (south/north, country/city) to the classic migrations to other parts of Europe and the Americas, from the colonial actions in Africa to the contemporary “brain drain” and its songs self-produced on social media. Historically organizing the narrative—from Italy’s unification until today—he unevenly surveys very different genres and styles, analyzing mostly textual referents in the music to a wide range of territorial mobility. Moving from “A Cartulina ‘e Napule” to “Bella ciao,” from “Tango delle Capinere” to “Faccetta nera,” and from the pop songs of the Sanremo Music Festival to “The Ballad of Nick & Bart (Here’s to you),” Marino explores examples of what Lomax (1959) termed “music plus speech,” about any kind of travel abroad for whatever purpose or in response to whatever challenge.

Marino’s coverage is wide and suggestive—popular music, commercial music, folk music, the work of singer-songwriters, political and protest songs, and film scores, to name a few—but scope comes at the expense of depth. He fails to make useful distinctions between the singing *expressions* and the singing *representations* of migrants. He scarcely takes into critical account the different values of musical forms and song styles, neglecting to consider how the same song can be different based on arrangement, style, contexts, and the ways in which it is performed. He mixes linguistic and communicative registers and disregards specific social and productive contexts in which the musical documents were produced and consumed in their different fields, countries, and eras. All in all, he does not employ any kind of useful theoretical or conceptual frame, let alone a clearly articulated methodological approach. Nevertheless, the book has elements of interest and novelty, especially as it takes into account the innovations connecting digitized musical materials, supported by social media and mobile technologies. QR codes allow us to listen to, as well as to watch, a lot of musical clips, adding one more piece to the puzzle of *refashioning* musical forms and of the shared roles of artists, collectors, fans, consumers, amateurs,

and other users of culture in creating them, what Bruns called *produsage* (Bruns 2008). While the book brings together a wealth of materials and provides many suggestions for further study, it nevertheless leaves to others the task of making full critical sense of an extensive body of musical creation.

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### *Memories of Belonging: Descendants of Italian Migrants to the United States, 1884–Present.*

By Christa Wirth.

Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015.

406 pages.

Christa Wirth has written an ambitious book about Italian Americans; her aim is to write a "history of memory of migration, everyday life, and ethnicity" (17). Her book is a case study of eighteen descendants of Giovanni and Elvira Soloperto, who left Sava (Taranto province), Apulia, for the United States in 1913. Wirth herself is a fourth-generation descendant of this migratory couple and developed a sample that took advantage of her "insider/outsider status" (48). The research project focused on thirty-four interviews of the American and Italian progeny of Giovanni and Elvira over a nine-year span.

The core of the book is an exploration of "how memories within families were created, contested, and altered, and recreated across several generations" from "around 1900" into the new millennium (8). Drawing on the pioneering memory work of Maurice Halbwachs, the study "demonstrates *empirically* how