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ALBERTO M. CIRESE

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PRELIMINARY NOTES

I am well aware that these notes on folklore studies in Italy, designed for non-Italian readers, are both too detailed to be a quick source of information and not extensive enough to provide in-depth knowledge. In justification I can only state my personal theoretical conviction and consequent intention: a discipline such as folklore, concerned with sociocultural phenomena, has a definite obligation to place itself *within its own socio-cultural context*. In other words, I maintain that thematic and methodological choices, the course of directions, their convergences and conflicts, cannot assume any meaning *even on a strictly technical plane* unless they

are related to the situation in which they emerge, and of which they form a basic element. In presenting the results of folklore research in Italy, I have thus felt compelled to place them within the Italian situation that produced them and that conditioned their relationships with other directions in folklore studies already developed outside Italy. My intention is to provide a *contextually motivated* picture of the state of folklore studies in Italy.

With regards to the insufficiency of information, the gaps, the omissions – in other words, the incompleteness of the picture herein provided – I feel myself justified only in the section dealing with music. This I have almost completely omitted since my ethnomusicologist friend Diego Carpitella has been entrusted here with parallel informative work for Italy. For the rest, the most developed fields of inquiry in Italy have received the largest space and I have tried to make up for lacks through cross-references and a balanced distribution of the material.

The treatment of the subject has been divided into three parts: an *Historical Profile*, a recapitulation by *Areas of Research*, and brief information on the *Organization of the Studies*. To this is added a *Bibliography*, reference to which is made by means of abbreviations and initials; in mentioning nonfundamental works, preference is given to those most easily accessible even outside Italy because they are recently published or reprinted, or newly edited works. Finally it seemed desirable to preface the work with a list of terms frequently employed and to conclude it with a *Brief Alphabetical Inventory of the Topics* considered.

PREFACE ON TERMINOLOGY

In order to avoid misunderstandings that could easily arise, given the distance between our respective cultural traditions, it is advisable to provide the American reader with some preliminary indications concerning the use of terms prevalent in Italy within the field of folklore studies. These indications are not presented as definitions, and the author of this study neither intends nor accepts them as such.

In Italian studies the term *folclore* (folklore) is habitually used as the exact equivalent of the expression *tradizioni popolari* (popular traditions), which in turn generically designates the complex of cultural traits that are, or are thought to be, typical of the uneducated masses of civilized peoples.

Thematically, therefore, the term *folklore* is used in its broadest sense, since it is not limited to designating *oral literature* or *spiritual matters*, but also includes the so-called *material culture*; from the historical-geographical point of view, however, the term is restricted to those people called “civilized,” and to the exclusion of those habitually called “primitive.” As a consequence, the various specific sectors of folklore are often distinguished by means of adjectives, so that, for example, one speaks of *literary* folklore, *religious* folklore, *figurative* folklore, *musical* folklore, *juridical* folklore, and so on.

The term *folklore* is used also in the sense of *the study of folklore*, but the official title in university teaching today is *Storia delle tradizioni popolari* (History of popular traditions). In order to minimize the too direct methodological obligations implied by the noun *history* and by the adjective *popular*, today one tends to use the term *demologia* (demology) to indicate the discipline, and the expression *fatti demologici* (demological elements) to mean those phenomena that are the objects of such study. This usage also tends to lessen the use of the word *folklore*; in extra-scientific discourse, *folklore* is largely employed to designate a minor area of music or theater (with a character that is for the most part touristic or associated with radio and television), aligning itself with other types that have been more or less codified (e.g., “light” music, modern dance). Completely different (and clearly anti-tourist and anti-television), has been the best direction of the folk music movement, characterized by lively ethnopolitical efforts and research in the field.

In place of (*study of*) *folklore*, often and repeatedly used is the term *ethnography*, which however generally tends to designate the study of the so-called *material culture*. In such a case, *ethnography* is placed in opposition to *folklore*, which then is restrictively understood as meaning elements (and the study of the elements) of *literary folklore*. The phrase *European ethnology*, recently adopted emblematically as the title of a periodical founded by Sigurd Erixon, has not yet been used extensively here, though sufficiently well-known.

The term *demopsicologia* (demopsychology) has been excluded for a long time from scientific usage. It was coined by Vittorio Imbriani toward the end of the nineteenth century as a counterpart for the German *Völkerpsychologie* and, for purely contingent reasons, was adopted as the official name of the discipline taught by Giuseppe Pitre at the University of Palermo from 1911 to 1915.

A. HISTORICAL PROFILE

The development of Italian demological studies substantially follows lines common to a large part of Europe. However, it also presents certain peculiar characteristics that, above all, arose out of rather strict ties established at various moments between the study of folklore and general political-cultural events in Italy. In the notes that follow, the author subdivides the essential questions to take into account both those ties and the phases of development (international as well) of the discipline itself.

A.1. *Interests in antiquities and the Romanticists' idea of popular culture up to 1848*

During the first phase of the nineteenth century, two attitudes were present in Italy that had already produced a real interest in the cultural expressions of the populace elsewhere: the interest in antiquities, and a romantic idea of popular culture. To understand better the characteristics that these two European attitudes assumed in the Italian context, it will serve to remember the following historical events. Until 1815 Italy was entirely under Napoleon's influence; in 1815 she fell once more under the direct or indirect domination of Austria, remaining divided into seven states until 1860. In 1848 she was shaken by a vital "revolutionary" movement, rich in republican and federalist thoughts, which forced both the anti-Austrian Piedmont and pro-Austrian governments elsewhere into the first war of independence; after the failure of this war, the monarchical and rigidly centralized concept of state typical of the Piedmontese government prevailed decisively in the country. In Italy, the first "modern" interests in the popular world are closely bound to these events. A period of more clearly democratic inspiration reached a peak and ended in 1848.

A.1.1. *Descriptions of practices and customs and the first attempts at a comparative method*

Concerning the interest in antiquities in Italy, particularly notable were the inquiries sponsored by the public administration during the period of Napoleon's domination. One of the most important investigations was carried out in 1811 in the twenty-four districts of the Kingdom of Italy

to ascertain the existence and nature of practices, customs, beliefs, and superstitions. A goodly number of responses were received, a large portion of which have now been brought to light.

These inquiries were not an Italian initiative: many of the questions distributed were an adaptation of an ethnographic questionnaire prepared for France by the Académie Celtique. The fall of Napoleon and the Restoration brought to a close the development of this type of research. Of the researches carried on under Napoleon (remaining unpublished for a long time), only a portion was brought to light by an obscure Forlivese employee named Michele Placucci, who stole or plagiarized from the archives of his town in 1818. His *Usi e pregiudizi dei contadini della Romagna* (Practices and prejudices of the peasants of Romagna) which the author defined as "a serious-facetious little work," and which remained forgotten until the end of the century, was for a number of years the only Italian work directly and exclusively dedicated to the folkways of the peasant world.

Of quite diverse scientific quality on the other hand, are the chapters on ethnography which Alberto La Marmora included in the two editions (1826 and 1839) of the first volume of his *Voyage en Sardaigne* (Voyage to Sardinia). La Marmora brought to the study of traditions the same scientific spirit of investigation he employed in the geographic and topographic reliefs he made in Sardinia for the Piedmontese army. His work constitutes the first qualified Italian example of comparative-ethnographic research; indeed, La Marmora sought to establish connections between Sardinian customs and those of classical or pre-classical antiquity.

The work of the Jesuit father Antonio Bresciani, *Dei costumi dell'isola di Sardegna comparati cogli antichissimi popoli orientali* (Some customs of the island of Sardinia compared to the ancient oriental peoples), published in 1850, depends considerably on La Marmora, even though it introduces new documents. In turn, it was used by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. Bresciani, who gave a literary quality to his observations and who aimed at "beautiful writing," enjoyed far greater popularity than did the much more rigid and precise La Marmora. Even today the Piedmontese official's work, so historically and documentarily important, has not yet found its rightful place in the history of Italian demological studies.

The same thing happened to the collection of ethnographic data done by the compilers of historical-geographical dictionaries during the first

half of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, however, they often represented systematic undertakings very significant both because of the period dealt with and for the value of the documentation; good examples are the contributions of Vittorio Angius to Casalis' *Dizionario* (1834-1856), and, even later on, the monumental work of Francesco Cirelli, *Regno delle Due Sicilie* (1853-1860: The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies).

A.1.2. *Popular culture of the Risorgimento and Niccolò Tommaseo*

The interest in antiquities in the writings we have mentioned up to this point concentrates on practices and customs, different patterns of costumes, and the life-style of the peasant; popular songs are left in the shadows. On the contrary, Italian scholars following the trend of romanticized popular culture directed all of their attention toward these songs.

Even if less "mythical" than elsewhere, the general concepts of Italian popular culture are the same that inspired Romanticism throughout Europe: the existence of a "people" representing the "spirit of the nation," the complete authenticity of popular culture as opposed to the falsity of "foreign" political institutions, the absolute "spontaneity" of the products of the "popular spirit" and above all of the popular poems and songs, and the "artificiality" of literary artistic poetry. On her own side, Italy added a particular accentuation of political intentions (formally concealed in order to escape the rigors of Austrian censorship), and a marked interest in the "purity" of the language of which the Tuscan peasants were thought to be the custodians. (Let it not be forgotten that the presence of numerous dialects made the "question of a language" important in Italy.)

In this first phase, but with consequences that lasted for a long time, the interest in popular poetry devoted itself exclusively to the monostrophic-lyrical form, that is, to those short songs of love and hate peculiar to the Italian tradition: *strambotti*, *rispetti*, *stornelli*. The key region was Tuscany, because the majority of the collections were obtained from there, and because the Tuscan dialect was considered the "language of Italy." The scarcity of documentation in other dialects or from other regions (or better, "states") precluded a true comparative work, even if the signs were not lacking. An aesthetic interest predominated over the whole work that resulted in a continuous comparison between songs deriving from oral tradition and the works of famous authors. Also very pro-

nounced was the ethical component that led to an exaltation of the claim of moral purity in popular poetry. Interventions by editors for the purpose of eliminating supposed linguistic or moral "impurities" within the texts were not rare.

These attitudes are so determining that one finds them even in the study of proverbs. The *Raccolta di proverbi toscani* (Collection of Tuscan proverbs), by the poet Giuseppe Giusti, published posthumously in 1853, is based completely on the intention to document the treasure of "living language" and "moral purity" preserved by the Tuscan populace.

Notwithstanding its thematic, historical-geographical, and methodological limitations, the phase of Italian popular culture most closely related to the *Risorgimento* helped break down the cultural exclusiveness of the ruling classes by evoking an awareness of cultural forms diverse from those that were official and academic, and a realization that even these were worthy of consideration. Moreover, the impetus, politically risky, with which those first students dedicated themselves to the study of popular poetry succeeded in durably implanting this kind of interest in the Italian cultural scene.

The important personality, in this pre-'48 phase, is without doubt the poet, novelist, and lexicographer Niccolò Tommaseo. His important edition, *Canti toscani* (Tuscan songs), constitutes the first of four volumes of his *Canti popolari toscani, corsi, illirici e greci* (Popular Tuscan, Corsican, Illyrian and Greek songs) which reveal the political preferences of the *Risorgimento* for the poetry of "oppressed peoples," specifically those of Corsica, Serbia, and Greece. The collection of *Canti del popolo veneziano* (Songs of the Venetian people) by Angelo Dalmedico, which appeared in 1848, right during the days of the anti-Austrian insurrection by Venetian dockmen, constitutes the first example of a publication of "political" songs.

A.2. *The predominance of popular poetry and the great works of the seventies: Rubieri, D'Ancona, Nigra*

The thirty years that followed the defeat of the war of independence of 1848 had a decisive importance in the development of Italian demological studies. On the political scene this period saw the birth of the reign of Savoy (1861), the conquest of Rome (1870), and a rise to the surface of the first social contradictions. Within this period the important participation

of scholars such as Rubieri, D'Ancona, and Nigra took place. Their works of synthesis, although dedicated exclusively to popular poetry, constitute the most concrete results of Italian demological studies in the nineteenth century, and determined in a decisive manner subsequent developments of more qualified research. Furthermore, the directions of methods employed began to differentiate; even though the popular culture of the *Risorgimento* remained substantially the cultural matrix, there arose a progressively clearer distinction between the idyllic students of Tommaseo and scholars who approached popular songs with more modern and rigorous historical-philological criteria, and with decisively European overtones. Research was no longer limited to lyrical songs alone (*strambotti*, *rispetti*, and *stornelli*) but encompassed narrative songs and the ballad. There also appeared, but without follow-up, the first indications of students considering popular poetry in terms of its social relationships.

Studies regarding popular poetry continued to dominate. As European pressures gathered force, with the beginning of the seventies interest spread also to folktales and to customs, and thus drew closer to the work Pitre realized in succeeding years. Unconsciously, the romantic conception of the "creativity" of the "people" began to contradict itself under the impulse of socioeconomic reality. In the face of social contrasts, creative ability became attributed to the "original" people of the country and was denied to modern Italians.

A.2.1. *The idyllic followers of Tommaseo*

Students are numerous in this and the following period who remained closely bound to Tommaseo's conceptions, which they followed with servile devotion. The example of the Tuscan priest Giuseppe Tigri will suffice. He was the author of a collection of *Canti popolari toscani* (Popular Tuscan songs) that had great success (three editions between 1856 and 1869), but that was limited to lyrical songs to the exclusion of every other form, and that ignored completely the work other scholars (above all Costantino Nigra) were carrying on with narrative songs and ballads. Furthermore, Tigri was completely taken in by the myth of the Tuscan language and the myth of the moral purity of popular songs, so much so that he did not hesitate to polish the texts he published by removing what he considered moral and linguistic impurities: in his work the "people" become continuously more and more mythical and false. The generous

illusions of Risorgimental popular culture were transformed into an idyllic and conservative vision; while exalting the beauty of the songs, Tigri rejected disdainfully other popular beliefs, and finally reached the point where he condemned the use of machinery because it threatened to ruin the purity of the language and customs of the inhabitants of the Tuscan hills. These idyllic conceptions, even though clearly insufficient from every point of view, and scientifically worthless, had a broad effect for a fairly long period of time (in some cases even to our day), and often prejudiced the concepts of much more important scholars, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè.

A.2.2. *The social realism of Carlo Tenca and a protest from the South by Vincenzo Padula*

Completely different was the attitude of other students who were not strictly folklorists but who were concerned with songs and proverbs within the framework of their battle for a democratic transformation of Italian culture. The Milanese Carlo Tenca explicitly opposed the concepts of Tigri and of those who “loved to create a populace completely out of fantasy that has little to do with reality,” and who imagine popular life as a “kind of domestic idyll warmed with religious sentiment.” Tenca underlined the harshness of peasant life, the bitterness of many peasant songs, and preferred that the study of popular poetry, removed from idyllic and false aesthetic enthusiasm, would serve above all to write the “history of peasantry,” and of “the poor city dwellers.” Cesare Correnti, also in Milan, expressed analogous ideas.

In southern Italy (which with the recent unification witnessed the growth of her social ills), Vincenzo Padula dedicated himself instead to present the daily life of the Calabrian peasant. In 1864 he collected and published popular songs of suffering and protest that had remained ignored by folklore specialists for a long time. Padula was ignored in the same way as Tenca and Correnti: it was necessary to wait for the years immediately following World War II for these precocious attitudes of social realism and southern protest to be discovered and adequately evaluated.

A.2.3. *The conclusive work of the romantic phase: the Storia (History) of Ermolao Rubieri*

Also clearly removed from the idyllic productions of the followers of

Tommaseo, which continued to constitute the cultural underbrush of that period, is the *Storia della poesia popolare italiana* (History of Italian popular poetry) that the Tuscan, Ermolao Rubieri, conceived in 1857 but wrote and published twenty years later. Availing himself of regional publications of popular songs, which by now were numerous, and guided by a lively historical and critical sense, Rubieri attempted an historical, morphological, and psychological picture of the various forms of Italian popular song. In this process, he carried the *Risorgimento*'s aesthetic-moral interests in popular culture to an even higher level, and exhausted, in a manner of speaking, its very vitality. On the other hand, Rubieri also managed to anticipate certain criteria of formal study today brought forth from structural analysis. This work, however, was without success; it came to light at a time dominated by the historical-philological interests of the positivistic school.

A.2.4. *The philology of Alessandro D'Ancona: monostrophic-lyrical songs and popular theater*

Almost contemporary with Rubieri's *History*, in 1878 there appeared a work that was radically different: *La poesia popolare italiana* (Italian popular poetry) by Alessandro D'Ancona; a second edition came out in 1906. Even though he was still tied to many romantic presuppositions (e.g., popular poetry preceded popular art and is a spontaneous creation of a people without better identification), D'Ancona abandoned the psychological-aesthetic intentions of Romanticism and turned to a historical-philological study of strophic forms and their developments in time and space. He concentrated exclusively on monostrophic-lyrical songs (*strambotti*, *rispetti*, *stornelli*, and *villotta friulana* and similar types), which do not include the ballad. The theory he formulated (but which had already been developed by Costantino Nigra) then became famous and was discussed many times and from various points of view. D'Ancona maintained that the lyrical songs present throughout the peninsula originated in Sicily in more or less recent times, and that the variety of their metrical forms went back to an original four-line stanza variously modified within different regions. The most consistent part of D'Ancona's work, valid still today, is, however, the identification of frequent contacts between the poetry of oral tradition and the printed fly-sheets of a literary or semi-literary nature. His great merit lies also in

having promoted (simultaneously with Giosuè Carducci, but with greater intensity and continuity) studies on popular poetry from the early centuries of Italian literature. His useful interest in medieval popular poetry was accompanied in the end by a contradictory negation of the “poetic capability” of modern “people,” a point already mentioned, which will be discussed again.

Another extensive work by D’Ancona in the area of popular tradition is the two volumes he dedicated in 1877 (a second edition was issued in 1891) to the *Origini del teatro italiano* (Origins of Italian theater), in which he made use of folk drama forms, such as May festivals. In 1870 D’Ancona along with Domenico Comparetti initiated the publication of an important anthology, *Canti e racconti del popolo italiano* (CRPI: Songs and tales of the Italian people).

A.2.5. *The theory of an ethnic substratum: Costantino Nigra and the European ballad*

The publications of popular Piedmontese songs that Costantino Nigra edited between 1854 and 1865, and the essay “La poesia popolare italiana” that he published in 1876 in *Romania*, constitute without a doubt the most advanced Italian scientific contribution to European demological studies in the nineteenth century. The merit of his work (included with modifications and additions in the volume *Canti popolari del Piemonte* [Popular songs of Piedmont] in 1888) rests on the conceptual rigor with which Nigra (a) recognized and documented the existence in northern Italy of long narrative popular songs, profoundly diverse from the short monostrophic-lyrical songs prevalent throughout south central Italy and Sicily to which other scholars had exclusively directed their attention; (b) identified the major differences of form and content that separate the narrative songs of northern Italy from the monostrophic-lyrical songs of the rest of the peninsula; (c) revealed the relationship Italian narrative songs have with the great mass of ballads throughout Europe, especially the neo-Latin branch; (d) collated these differences and affinities, bearing in mind the geographic distribution of different kinds of poetry, and proposed an explanatory theory giving a unified sense to all of this complex phenomena.

The basic theory with which Nigra explained the empirical phenomena is that of an *ethnic substratum* he derived more or less directly from the

linguistic concepts of Carlo Cattaneo, which would influence the work of the greatest Italian linguist, Graziadio Isaia Ascoli. For Nigra, therefore, the division of Italian popular poetry into two large groups morphologically and contextually diverse, derived from the same theory that distinguished Italian dialects into two large groups: the Italian of the South and Sicily, and the Celtic Italian of the North. A common substratum could also explain the diffusion of individual ballads and analogous metrical types in northern Italy, northern France, Provence, and Spain.

Nigra's theory is obviously based on the conviction that not only the language but also the poetry is an "ethnic fact." Today such a conviction cannot be accepted, at least not in the positivistic terms in which Nigra formulated it. However, precisely on the strength of this unifying theory, for the first time in Italy rigorous comparative criteria were applied in compiling editions of popular texts having European connections. Nigra, for example, immediately availed himself of Francis James Child's edition of the English and Scottish ballads. It is to the historical-philological model of Nigra that one traces the more rigorous studies on popular Italian poetry during the first half of the nineteenth century.

A.2.6. *Medieval popular poetry and the conservative developments of the romantic myth of popular culture*

Within the framework of predominant historical-philological directions in the second half of the nineteenth century, what was notably consistent was the study of so-called "medieval popular poetry," which entailed the research of texts and metrical forms used during the first centuries of Italian literature that later disappeared from cultured literature, but were preserved in the oral tradition of the 1880s. Giosuè Carducci was one who dedicated his efforts to the exploration and editing of ancient codices. Here we mention only his 1871 collection of *Cantilene e ballate, strambotti e madrigali nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Ballads and rhymes, *strambotti* and madrigals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries).

Carducci's research was enlarged upon by his followers, notably by Severino Ferrari, who in 1882 published the important *Biblioteca di letteratura popolare italiana* (Library of popular Italian literature). Accompanying this useful work of historical research, however, is a very precise ideological attitude: one praises the "beauty" of medieval popular

poetry, and rejects contemporary oral tradition; one appreciates such poetry only if it corresponds to the medieval models. Thus Carducci and his followers explicitly declared that “modern people” do not sing, and when they do, they sing “foolishness.” This idea was also shared by D’Ancona and, to a certain extent, by Pitri. The romantic myth of a “creative people” thus contradicts itself: how can it be that the idolized “people” were creative in the past but are no longer in the present? At the root of such an attitude was undoubtedly the social crisis in Italy at that time. The people’s rebellions were frightening, so one fled into the past; one identified the “people” of the past with the rising bourgeoisie, and refused to recognize them within the modern peasant class.

A.2.7. *Comparative mythography and collections of folktales and customs after 1860*

The work of Rubieri, D’Ancona, and Nigra constitute without a doubt, the best of Italian nineteenth-century studies of folklore material, but they remain substantially limited to popular poetry. Within the same period however, between 1860 and 1870, Italian demological interests began to direct themselves toward other sectors – practices, customs, beliefs — previously considered only sporadically, or else, as with tales, legends, and similar genres, completely ignored.

Influencing this expansion of interests was both the diffusion of Max Müller’s theories of comparative mythology and the activity of foreign collectors and scholars of folk narrative in Italy. In 1864, upon the request of Domenico Comparetti, Max Müller’s *Lectures on the Science of Language* was translated into Italian and at once Angelo De Gubernatis took it upon himself to make known Müller’s theories. Furthermore, between 1866 and 1870, Widter and Wolf, Knust, Scheller, and Gonzenbach published various collections of Venetian, Livornese, Tirolean, and Sicilian tales. In some cases these collections were accompanied by comments and comparative verifications by Reinhold Köhler who thus established the first direct contact between the oral tradition of Italian folktales and the European study of the diffusion of narrative motifs. To these broader European contacts (which then were enlarged by the works of Grimm, Benfey, Mannhardt, Tylor, et al.) were added more or less directly the first Italian researches of a “modern” type on folktales and customs.

Particularly diligent and prolific in this field, though often only a compiler, was the Sanskritist and poligrapher Angelo De Gubernatis. In 1866 he furnished a small collection of Tuscan fables, meanwhile attempting the first comparative statement, interregional and Indo-European, of wedding practices in Italy. In the following years, De Gubernatis added analogous publications on funeral practices (1873) and on wedding practices (1878), on Indo-European animal mythology (1872) and on plants (1878). His demological activity culminated in 1893 with the foundation of a national society for Italian popular tradition and above all with the publication of two years of the *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane* (RTPI: Journal of Italian popular tradition) that gave considerable space to folktales, short stories, and legends.

Other scholars also turned to popular narrative independently of De Gubernatis and also of Pitre, whose work was introduced during these years. Among the most significant of these scholars were Domenico Comparetti and Vittorio Imbriani. Comparetti, above all a classical philologist, initiated in 1870 an anthology, *Canti e racconti del popolo italiano* (CRPI: Songs and tales of the Italian people), which lasted until 1891; 1869-1882 he was concerned with the *Libro di Sindibad* (Book of Sindibad); in 1872 he studied the legend of Virgil in the Middle Ages; the same year he published an interregional collection of Italian folktales, but stopped, however, with the first volume (the unpublished material is in the process of being published, or at least that part concerning Sardinia). Vittorio Imbriani, critic and literary historian, beginning in 1871 collected "stenographically" and published numerous Milanese, Florentine, and Campani tales. In 1875 he rediscovered for Italian studies Giambattista Basile's *Pentamerone*, extensively used by European scholars beginning with the Grimms, and later on to be examined with decidedly anti-comparativistic concepts by Benedetto Croce. Also deserving mention is Francesco Corazzini, who in 1877 attempted his first work *Letteratura dialettale comparata* (Comparative dialectal literature) adding a certain number of tales and stories to songs of diverse regions.

A.3. *From the end of the nineteenth century to World War I*

A.3.1. *The birth (and crisis) of demopsychology: Giuseppe Pitre*

The scholars mentioned thus far concerned themselves with folklore only

insofar as it had been related to their primary academic interests (literary history, philology, linguistics). The physician Giuseppe Pitrè is the first scholar to make demological research his own, perhaps absolutely exclusive, scientific work. As did other scholars at the same time in Italy, and others in Great Britain and France even more so, Pitrè wanted to conceive and realize the study of popular traditions as a discipline complete unto itself, united in objective and method. Actually, even Pitrè began his activity by dedicating himself to the area of folklore already receiving preferred treatment in Italian studies, that is, popular poetry. In addition, throughout his work he dealt with popular poetry by following the romantic criteria from the beginning of the century. He remained substantially removed from and insensible to the more mature romanticism of Rubieri, and to the new and more rigorous prospects opened by philology and the measured comparativism of D'Ancona and Nigra. The second edition of Pitrè's *Canti popolari siciliani* (Popular Sicilian songs), published in 1891, repeated without change the position of unsophisticated romanticism assumed in the 1870 edition, almost as if in the meantime the work done in 1876-1878 and Nigra's 1888 publication had not existed.

In time Pitrè removed his attention from popular poetry and directed it toward other areas of folklore. Introducing himself into the movement initiated by Imbriani and De Gubernatis (which involved Sicily through the publication of the Gonzenbach-Reinhold text), the Sicilian scholar directed his efforts to the collection and publication of folktales (1875) and proverbs (1880), then moved to plays, festivals, games, beliefs and prejudices, folk medicine, and riddles, as can be clearly seen by the chronology of the twenty-five volumes of his *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* (BTPS: Library of Sicilian popular traditions), published between 1870 and 1913.

Pitrè thus came to embrace documentarily the whole complex of manifestations of traditional folklife, carrying forward the tendency to exceed the boundaries of popular poetry already made manifest by De Gubernatis. Along this line progressed all of the fundamental works to which, historically, Pitrè's importance is due. Besides the *Biblioteca*, also tending to embrace the complex of popular traditions are the anthology *Curiosità popolari tradizionali* (CPT, 1885-1899: Traditional folk curiosities), his invaluable and unparalleled *Bibliografia delle tradizioni popolari d'Italia* (1894: Bibliography of Italian folk traditions), and the twenty-four annals of the *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*

(ASTP, 1882-1909: Archives for the study of popular traditions). Pitrè founded and directed along with Salvatore Salomone-Marino the *Archivio*, which chronologically constitutes in Europe the third great undertaking in the field of demological periodicals after *Mélusine* and *Folk-lore Record*, which began in 1877-1879. Pitrè also dedicated himself to the collection and museographic preservation of objects and artifacts (clothing, musical instruments, utensils, amulets, votive objects), evidenced by, among other things, his *Catalogo illustrato della Mostra Etnografica Siciliana* (Sicilian ethnographic exhibition) of 1891-1892 from which was born the Museo Etnografico Siciliano (Sicilian ethnographic museum) that bears his name today.

This decisive broadening of interests did not operate solely on the terrain of the pure and simple collecting of documents. In fact, Pitrè was in contact more or less directly and tempestuously with several of the major European and worldwide scholarly investigators of his time (Benfey, Müller, Mannhardt, Tylor, et al.), and spread knowledge about them throughout Italy with his extensive introductions to collections of folktales, proverbs, and riddles. Thus, alongside his original romanticism which he never abandoned, Pitrè placed the concepts of nineteenth-century comparativism; and to the national and local history of his studies on songs he added an anthropological vision in his observations on the origin and diffusion of legend types and motifs.

Within the framework of his activity Pitrè also wanted to create a theory about the delimitation and the unity of the *purpose* of the science of folklore. With simplification, we can say that two distinct possibilities presented themselves to him. The first, expressed in the *Handbook of Folklore* by George Laurence Gomme, used the Tylorian concept of *survival* as a basis and assigned to folklore the task of studying surviving elements wherever they are encountered, without distinction between *primitive* peoples and *civilized* peoples, and tended to identify folklore with *oral tradition*. The second possibility, which, for example, was advanced by Paul Sébillot, restricted the field of study to groups of civilized peoples but extended it to the most recent cultural manifestations (for example, to lyrical or narrative songs) and to cultural phenomena other than superstitions and prejudices (for example, habitations, clothing, tools). Of these two possibilities Pitrè chose the second, indicated by his explicit criticism of Gomme's theories. Nevertheless, he sought to hold together the anthropological aspirations that came to him from the

British school, and the local-historical concept that was a carryover from his romantic leanings, his love for popular songs and for Sicily, and the prevailing research in Italy.

It is useless to underline the conceptual difficulties of this juxtaposition of discrepant interests; the problem concerns not only Pitрэ but the entire epoch in which he worked. However, for Pitрэ (and to those later Italian investigations which recalled his theories) at least two considerations must be added. The first consideration is that Pitрэ (a better documentalist than theorist) decisively based this concept on that of the romantic notion of a "folk," at one time understood as the *people-nation* and at another as the *people-social* concept. The misunderstanding, while not resolved conceptually, nevertheless was resolved effectively in practice: the legendary idea of a *native-people* prevailed, though denied effectiveness by the cruel reality of profound social conflicts Pitрэ witnessed in Sicily. Like Carducci and D'Ancona before him, Pitрэ often turned to restricting the "authentic" folk to the past, and for the contemporary present, singularly ignored the social problem of the relationship between the North and the South that erupted after the unification. Indeed, it should be pointed out that within Pitрэ's work there was lacking any real connection between the folklore research he carried on among the Sicilian peasants and the "question of the South," at that time becoming ever more serious, especially with regards to Sicily and the Mafia. The second consideration is that only much later did Pitрэ formulate to an extensive degree his attempt to reconcile substantially diverse scientific attitudes. Repeating what he had already indicated before, he expressed his concepts in an introductory lecture for the first university course of demopsychology held at Palermo in 1911. But in the meantime, the Italian cultural situation had changed profoundly, due to the intervention (conceptually much stronger) of Benedetto Croce's idealistic historicism, which attacked at their very roots the romantic and positivistic concepts that Pitрэ supported. Subsequently therefore, Pitрэ's position did not endure elaborations nor thorough searchings; either it was refuted in its entirety by idealistic historicism, or it was accepted in its entirety, by many of Pitрэ's more or less immediate followers.

The consequences of this state of things – the excessiveness of idealistic concepts, however strong theoretically; the conceptual weakness of Pitрэ's heritage, which nevertheless contained some valid arguments worthy of study – were especially notable in the period between the two

world wars. To recapitulate to this point: (a) demological studies were becoming rapidly marginal and peripheral with respect to the major developments of Italian cultural events; (b) contacts with theoretical and technical developments taking place outside of Italy remained limited and ineffective; (c) notwithstanding the theoretical extension of demopsychology to all manifestations of the folk world, the distinction (also methodological) between the study of popular song and investigations into other areas of folklore remained substantially unchanged; (d) the proclamation regarding the conceptual crisis of Pitрэ's demopsychology came very late and through the efforts of scholars who sympathized with folklore but who were not exclusively folklorists; and (e) important methodological and cognitive progress occurred in the realm of popular poetry, traditionally the more cultivated and conceptually the more advanced subject matter in Italy, due to the work of scholars who did not call themselves "folklorists" and, moreover, who clearly refuted the romantic notion of a "people" and of "popular poetry."

A.3.2. *Periodicals, regional collections, literary treatments*

Although various signs were visible, the crisis indicated remained essentially unrevealed from the last years of the nineteenth century to the First World War. In effect, in this period the great scientific hopes opened by positivistic comparativism and the vivacity of new endeavors and investigations succeeded in concealing the basic weakness of certain attitudes although furnishing some significant results. Among the positive results of this phase, first are the national or regional demological periodicals that followed the *Archivio* of Pitрэ and Salomone-Marino. Besides De Gubernatis' *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane* (RTPI, 1893-1895), there were issued at Naples the eleven annuals of *Giambattista Basile* (GbB, 1883-1910), at Bruzzano Calabro the twelve annuals of *La Calabria* (Cal, 1888-1902), at Rome the three small volumes of *Il Volgo di Roma* (The Roman people) (VdR, 1890-1901), at Arezzo the two annuals of *Niccolò Tommaseo* (NT, 1904-1905), at La Spezia the issues of the *Archivio per la etnografia e la psicologia della Lunigiana*, which reappeared sporadically after World War I (ALun, 1911-1925), and finally, at Rome, having a national character and serving as an organ of the Italian Ethnography Society, the four volumes of the first series of *Lares* (Lar₁, 1912-1915).

Within the framework of useful activity in the period, the multiplica-

tion of regional collections of songs, tales, customs, and beliefs should be mentioned. In Sicily, energetic collectors were Salvatore Salomone-Marino, close collaborator of Pitre's but endowed with an independent and positive spirit often superior to that of his more famous companion, and Serafino Amabile Guastella whose work in folklore bore a sensibility for social problems almost wholly lacking in Pitre and his circle. In Abruzzo, Antonio De Nino and Gennaro Finamore carried on considerable work, while Giuseppe Ferraro, Egidio Bellorini, Vittorio Cian, and Pietro Nurra were active in Sardinia, Valentino Ostermann in Friuli, and Gigi Zanazzo at Rome. Also participating in the general fervor was the young Benedetto Croce, who devoted his energies to *Giambattista Basile* and other projects concerned with songs, legends, and Neapolitan plays; in 1892 he began the publication, later interrupted, of the text in dialect of the *Pentamerone*. Related to this regional demological activity, but extending decisively beyond its borders, is the work of various realist or immediately post-realistic novelists. Here, of many, suffice the names of Giovanni Verga and Luigi Capuana for Sicily, Grazia Deledda for Sardinia, Matilde Serao for Naples and of Gabriele D'Annunzio for Abruzzo. Although with different tones and beyond realist regionalism, an analogous use of the form and style of popular poetry was made by the poets Giosuè Carducci, Giovanni Pascoli, and Severino Ferrari.

A.3.3. *Linguistics, dialectology, and folklore; the ethnic enclaves*

The work of discovering and publishing folklore documents carried on within various regions was often tied in with linguistic and dialectological studies that by now had developed into an advanced discipline, thanks to the work of Graziadio I. Ascoli. Conversely, linguists and dialectologists were also concerned with songs, folktales, proverbs, and beliefs, especially in studying ethnic enclaves existing within various regions of Italy as well as along the borders. An example of such linguistic-ethnographic research on these foreign colonies is Ascoli's notes in 1867 on the Albanians and the Slavs of Molise. Subsequent works are those of P. E. Guarnerio on songs and tales in the Catalan dialect of Alghero, of Morosi on songs, legends, proverbs, and riddles in the Greek dialects of the Otranto region, and finally the important study that appeared in 1911 by Milan Rešetar on the Serbo-Croatian colonies of Molise. Among linguists' contributions to Italian demological studies, it was precisely in these years that

Max Leopold Wagner began his activity in Sardinia on songs and magic beliefs, published between 1906 and 1914. In 1921 he produced his fundamental work on Sardinian country life, based on the linguistic approach of *Wörter und Sachen*, already pointed out to Italian folklorists by Hugo Schuchardt in 1911, which was to have other effects on the future of Italian folklore studies.

A.3.4. *Beyond the horizon of Pitrè: the scientific, thematic and social endeavors of the Congress of 1911*

Within the realm of science, one of the most noteworthy results of the period we are considering was the brief but intense activity of the Italian Ethnographic Society. The First Congress of Italian Ethnography and the Exhibition of Italian Ethnography were held at Rome in 1911. The periodical *Lares* began publication in the same year. These events happened for the most part outside of Pitrè's influence and scientific position. In fact, the Italian Ethnographic Society established completely new relationships with scholars in physical anthropology, geography, paleo-ethnology, ethnography, and criminal anthropology, even though it referred to the name and authority of the Sicilian scholar and maintained contact with mythologists, philologists, and literary historians such as De Gubernatis and Novati. The nucleus of the 1911 Exhibition was formed by the Italian Museum of Ethnography, established at Florence in 1906 through the work of the ethnographer and explorer Lamberto Loria. Paolo Montegazza held the first Italian chair of anthropology from 1889 to 1890, and realized various original ideas in the field of ethnography (museum, society, periodical). Thus was introduced a program of much broader proportions than that of Pitrè, with respect to general bases and method, and specific themes of research.

Particularly significant for the objective of the Society is the volume of *Atti* (Acts) of the Congress of 1911. Well-known, as well as modern, European concepts that had remained substantially foreign to Pitrè were presented with much excitement in reports and in discussions. These concepts dealt with such matters as Darwinism and the aspiration toward a general anthropology that would include within it both the "physical" and the "cultural," introduced by the psychiatrist and anthropologist Enrico Morselli, who was director of the *Rivista di filosofia scientifica* (Journal of scientific philosophy), official organ of Italian positivism

that also dealt with ethnography and folklore; the distinction between races and cultures, and therefore between physical anthropology and ethnography, supported by the anthropologist, ethnographer, and paleoethnologist Aldobrandino Mochi; the most direct and conscious relationship with the attitudes of Anglo-Saxon anthropology (Tylor, Frazer, Marett, Hartland, et al.), with those of the school of historical culture (Schmidt), and with those of the German science of religion (Otto), supporter of which was Raffaele Pettazzoni (who later continued along this path in his historical study of advanced primitive religions); the most recent linguistic trends of *Wörter und Sachen* disclosed at the Congress by Hugo Schuchardt; and the contacts with the sociological approach of Arnold Van Gennep, realized by Raffaele Corso (who then pursued eclectically other directions as well).

Therefore, it is not by accident that the theme of popular poetry was for the most part excluded, and vice versa, that methods of studying wedding and funeral practices (Corso, Puini), the relationship between Christianity and paganism in religious folk festivals (denied by some and supported by others), the concept of superstition (Pettazzoni), amulets (Bellucci who dedicated various other studies to the argument), slang and surviving magical linguistic elements (Niceforo), and then rustic architecture, the local Albanian Greek colonies, the gypsies, came forward and attracted primary interest. Within this extended framework of interests a tenuous relationship was established between demological studies and the political-social problems that erupted after the unification: the "question of the South," emigrants, delinquency, the political position of the peasant class. It is not by chance that the names of Pasquale Villari, a student of southern problems, and other anthropologists specifically concerned with the South and the islands – Cesare Lombroso, Giuseppe Sergi, and, with declared racist ideas, Alfredo Niceforo – are included in the activity of the Ethnographic Society.

This connection of demology with social questions was actually very limited, and reduced itself to indications only (e.g., those of Francesco Baldasseroni). In other words, we are a considerable distance away from a real bond with the socioeconomic research that was developing in the south of Italy (Stefano Jacini, Leopoldo Franchetti, Sidney Sonnino, et al.). However, it is already progress if one considers Pitre's substantial indifference (or romantic evasion of the issue), or else the attitude of reactionary remoteness assumed by De Gubernatis in his article "Le

sommosse italiane e il folklore" (Italian rebellions and folklore), of 1894 in relation to social agitations. Finally, from a more technical and organizational point of view, research questionnaires, the styles of forms, and museum classification schemes predisposed or programmed by Lamberto Loria and Francesco Baldasseroni should be mentioned.

The war and the loss of several of the Society's major activists are only the visible cause of its end and the failure to continue so many of its areas of study. The most basic reason rests in the fact that by this time the opposition of "idealistic historicism" had triumphed over "positivistic naturalism" and in general over socioanthropological and comparative research, while in the demological field, save for a few exceptions, cultural inquiries and conceptual elaborations on a level with the task were not proposed.

A.4. *Old and new directions between the two wars and afterwards*

A.4.1. *Major problems and personalities*

The most significant progress demological investigations realized in Italy during the period between the two world wars took place in the work of scholars who (a) most clearly rejected the romantic implications of Pitre's formulations; (b) accepted and advanced the demological philology of D'Ancona and Nigra, freeing it from positivistic limitations; (c) refuted folkloristic encyclopedism and undertook specific and homogeneous areas of research, making use of the scientific methods and techniques acquired from philology and linguistics; and finally (d) replied to the aesthetic and idealistic historicism of Benedetto Croce that constituted an essential and obligatory point of reference for Italian culture between the two wars and afterwards. The pertinent works of Michele Barbi, Giuseppe Vidossi, and Vittorio Santoli either were completed or already clearly formulated during this period.

Within this phase, Paolo Toschi passed from the aesthetic intentions of his 1922 anthology of popular religious songs to the 1935 historical-philological study of those same songs, which had previously remained in the shadows. Proceeding in this direction Toschi later offered his greatest contributions to the study of poetry, theater, and folk art: *Fenomenologia del canto popolare* (The phenomenology of folksong) in 1947-1948, *Rappresaglia di studi di letteratura popolare* (Reprisal of studies of folk

literature) in 1957, *Le origini del teatro italiano* (The origins of Italian theater) in 1955, the volume *Arte popolare italiana* (Italian folk art) in 1960, and his work on popular prints in 1964. Nor should one forget the writings by Toschi in the periodical *Lares* (Lar₂, begun in 1930 and still ongoing), his didactic activity in the organization of congresses and exhibitions, and finally in the enthusiasm with which he believed in his own endeavors.

Although in general terms, the rigorous work of Raffaele Pettazzoni played an important function between the two wars and afterwards. Pettazzoni continued the obligations implicitly assumed at the Congress of Ethnography of 1911. This scholar of the history of religion, particularly primitive religion, maintained the cultural contacts, between the two wars, of Italy with the great European ethnoanthropological and religious-historical debates of the first half of the century. The fruit of Pettazzoni's labors, helped by the activity of his important periodical *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* (SMSR: Studies and materials on the history of religions), is particularly evident after the Second World War, both in his own conclusive works and in the publications of that generation of ethnologists and folklorists he helped to form.

On the other hand, the lengthy work of Raffaele Corso, meritorious in many respects, has remained essentially marginal with regards to the more important developments in Italian studies. Corso was damaged by his uncritical acceptance of the heritage of Pitrè, which he mixed eclectically with other positions. Something quite different was necessary in order to meet the cultural problems facing Italian demological studies. It was certainly not from Corso's periodical (FIIt: founded in 1925, continuing until 1941, and renewed from 1946 to 1957 with a completely unchanged spirit), nor from his manual (written in 1923 and reprinted until 1953 without substantial modification), that adequate replies were forthcoming to the idealistic attitudes of Croce or to the methodological criticisms made in 1928 by a classical philologist of Giorgio Pasquali's stature. Thus Corso's work, more valid for monographic treatments on wedding practices or sexual concepts, but conceptually weak in method, has found followers mostly among minor and amateur students of folklore, and has suffered a very rapid decline and a devaluation that is perhaps excessive.

At the extreme end of the chronological period we are considering, immediately after the war, Giuseppe Cocchiara published the titles that gave him his reputation. The central issues of the period between the two

wars were Croce's idealism and the historical-philological positions of Barbi, Vidossi, and Santoli.

A.4.2. *Michele Barbi and his collection of folksongs*

Michele Barbi was one of the major Italian philologists of this century. His Dante studies are basic. To his credit he critically pursued the results of Nigra's and D'Ancona's nineteenth-century demological philology, and applied to the study of popular poetry the same rigorous philological methods he applied to literary texts. The details of Barbi's work with popular poetry are too technical to consider here, except to say that (a) his precise textual philology initiated the specification of standards for a critical edition of the texts of oral tradition later to be realized by Vittorio Santoli; (b) his metrical analyses of lyrical songs and ballads initiated a process of investigation still in use; and (c) his repeated affirmation of the importance of collecting and of studying variants resulted in an impressive manuscript collection of popular Italian songs known by the title *Raccolta Barbi*, the present edition of which constitutes one of the central points of Italian demological activity.

On the whole, Barbi's investigations of popular poetry constitute an implicit alternative (and at some points explicit as well) to the idealistic aesthetic position held by Benedetto Croce. But in this area, as well as in the actual study of popular texts and in the theoretical formulation of textual criticism of folk poetry, Barbi's work was carried on by Vittorio Santoli.

A.4.3. *Popular poetry and folktales in relation to Benedetto Croce's idealism*

Benedetto Croce's idealistic historicism and aesthetic theory had a determining cultural importance in Italy for the study of folklore, ethnology, the history of religion, and so forth. It is not possible to understand fully the directions these disciplines assumed in Italy, if one does not take into account the relationship they necessarily had to establish with Croce's position. This point applies to all of the most important scholars working between the two wars and in the succeeding period: Barbi, Santoli, Vidossi, Pettazzoni, De Martino, Toschi, and Cocchiara. Croce's idealistic historicism considered "individualizing history" the one true

science, because it is the only one that brings to light the unrepeatable peculiarity of phenomena. Hence all comparative research (and in a special way sociological, ethnoanthropological, psychological research) falls under the condemnation of “positivistic naturalism” and comes to be considered a pseudoscience. To Croce, the fault lay in the fact that abstract categories of the intellect were substituted for concrete categories of reason. He saw categories of the intellect as at the most an heuristic instrument that serves as long as it functions, and must therefore be employed as such. In other words, to use a term foreign to Croce but at times used in ethnoanthropological studies (e.g., by Radcliffe-Brown), Croce opted decisively for the ideographic sciences and distinctly condemned the nomothetic sciences. The Crocian position implicitly condemned all directions in folklore originating in the nineteenth century. But his condemnation became explicit and evident in the field of folk narrative and popular poetry.

After interrupting work on the dialectal text begun in 1892, Croce began the translation into Italian of Giambattista Basile's *Pentamerone*, which had constituted outside of Italy one of the points of reference for comparative folktale studies throughout the nineteenth century. Croce, however, refuted those studies. The real task, he said, was to present the concrete historical and artistic individuality of the *Pentamerone* and not to find the presence of narrative motifs that were in themselves abstractions saying nothing. For Croce, in other words, “the question of the origin of folktales is to be replaced with the history of each folktale.”

Substantially analogous was Croce's position on the subject of popular poetry. Poetry, when it is truly poetry, does not bear adjectivization, affirmed Croce; either it is poetry, or it is not. Hence the romantic contrapositioning of popular poetry (“real” poetry) with artistic poetry (“artificial” and “false”) proves invalid. “Extrinsic” distinctions also seem inadequate to him: improvisation and nonimprovisation, oral tradition and written tradition, transformation in time or the inalterability of the text, are characteristics that say nothing about the poetical quality of the texts, and can be found in the so-called “popular” poetry as well as in the “cultured.” Therefore for Croce the distinction between popular poetry and artistic poetry is only a difference of quantity, more precisely of “psychological tone.” The first is simple and elementary (“it expresses simple sentiments in a correspondingly simple form”), and the second is complex and arouses numerous sentiments and thoughts. The evident

conclusion is that poetry of a popular “tone” has nothing to do with the so-called “folk”; it arises from cultured authors as well (and it is not necessary that it be spread) each time that a poet finds himself in the psychological state of “simplicity” and “elementary ideas.” Hence Croce feels that every historical-philological, morphological, and sociocultural study of popular songs or folktales is irrelevant. Still more insignificant in the light of his criticism appears the method Pitrè used to formulate his concept of folklore as a study of all aspects of folklife.

Croce’s criticisms hit the mark with regard to some romantic and positivistic concepts, such as the claim of spontaneity of the folk spirit, and the method of conceiving the “collective creativity.” An effective response to his attitudes could only come from positions that were free of romantic and positivistic remnants, and furthermore, it had to originate outside the aesthetic field in which Croce placed himself. Santoli and Vidossi, working in the areas of the history of culture and of philology and linguistics, contributed to these positions. Antonio Gramsci, in 1929-1930, while in prison, formulated his notion of folklore that validly opposed Croce’s, but it did not operate within Italian culture until 1950.

A.4.4. *Linguistics, philology, and demological geography: Giuseppe Vidossi and Vittorio Santoli*

Giuseppe Vidossi as much as Vittorio Santoli (the former a Germanist and dialectologist, the latter a Germanist and literary historian) did not hesitate to recognize the importance of Croce’s intervention. They at once warned that his intervention justly destroyed the many useless romantic-positivistic notions which still dominated, and continued to dominate, a certain type of demology. Precisely because of this awareness they were able to argue persuasively against the Crocian “liquidation.” Without going into too many details, the position they assumed (each in his own way and with specific reasons) is that of distinguishing between the aesthetic plane on which Croce worked and that of history and cultural morphology upon which they worked. The criteria Croce used to distinguish between popular poetry and artistic poetry were not sufficient to investigate the patterns and causes for the diffusion of the vast historical body of songs that make up oral tradition. Other criteria were needed: Santoli suggested the continuous *folk elaboration* to which texts of oral tradition are subject; Vidossi proposed to pass from the identification of

the psychological tone to the identification of patterns of folksong diffusion in space, time, and social strata.

Fully evident is the connection of these positions with major contemporary research in linguistics and folklore. This connection, conscious and active, not limited to the expression of principle, was displayed in concrete studies which are among the best results of Italian demological research.

Giuseppe Vidossi, who began his work as folklorist and dialectologist at the beginning of the century, made essential contributions in the area of linguistic atlases. Particularly noteworthy is his application to folkloric facts of the method of geographical linguistics constructed by Matteo Bartoli, with whom he collaborated for some time. Also important is his critical reexamination of the direction taken by the English school of anthropology, of the principles of the Finnish school of Julius and Kaarle Krohn, and above all of the positions held in 1929 by Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatyrev regarding folklore and the liaison they established with the linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure, specifically his distinction between *langage* and *parole*.

Of Vittorio Santoli's work, which greatly influenced Italian studies of popular poetry, we mention only two essential titles. The first is a critical edition of five ballads from the *Raccolta Barbi* (1935). Santoli's thorough theoretical and methodological examination of the criteria of geographical folklore, with specific attention to the problems concerning popular poetry, and in direct collaboration with Menéndez Pidal, is here transformed into a model study reconstructing the respective developments of the five texts, which are thereby illuminated and explained. In this book, Santoli took up and advanced Nigra's most precise methodological principle, that the history of a song is the history of its *text* and not that of its *theme* or abstract motif. The second work, *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* (1961), constitutes a conceptual systematization of the norms for textual criticism when the text is from oral tradition. It is not a mere list of extrinsic criteria, but a concrete application of the basic distinctions that, in spite of the Crocian unifications, obtain between literary and oral variants. The critical edition of popular texts therefore should reject the search for an archetype and identify itself with the history of the given tradition.

One could maintain perhaps that these theoretical and methodological attitudes are confined to the important but limited ambient of philology.

Besides emphasizing the importance of methodological rigor *in every case*, Santoli presented one of the most precise formulations in folklore research ever concluded in Italy (*La duplice genealogia e l'unità istituzionale del folclore*, 1958 [The two-fold genealogy and the institutional unity of folklore]), and he came to grips with Antonio Gramsci's position, in a way transcending their ideological diversities ("Tre osservazioni su Gramsci e il folclore," 1951 [Three observations on Gramsci and folklore]).

A.5. *The past twenty-five years*

Along wholly schematic and provisional lines the essential characteristic of this last phase rests in the fact that the continuation of "classical" research, established in the preceding period, is set aside. Immediately following the war it is shaken by the influx of radically new themes and perspectives directly bound to sociocultural problems. The two areas of the "classical" and the "modern" have not remained reciprocally isolated; rather they have joined through a series of encounters and conflicts that over the years changed their characteristics and nature. In the past decade the situation has been complicated both by the introduction of new technical research outlooks, and by renewed sociocultural fires.

The continuation of classical research has been mentioned in preceding paragraphs. A large part of Toschi's work takes place in the postwar period. Vidossi pursued his diligent and meticulous studies right up to extreme old age. In this period Pettazzoni enjoyed a renewed and satisfying scholarly fervor. His efforts brought about the first and only school for the perfection of ethnological sciences in Italy. In 1968, Santoli published a new edition of his 1940 book on Italian popular songs, doubled in size and enriched with recent essays that are among his most important: "Critica dei testi popolari" (Critical edition of folklore texts) in 1961, "Geografia linguistica e geografia demologica" (Geographic linguistics and geographic folklore) in 1967, and especially the essay on Gramsci of 1951. In addition, in the postwar period, Giuseppe Cocchiara produced his most important publications, in the field of legendary and popular poetry, in his periodical *Annali del Museo Pitre* (AnMP: Annals of the Pitre Museum), and on the history of demological and ethnological studies: *Storia del folklore in Europa* (History of folklore in Europe) in 1952, *Popolo e letteratura in Italia* (People and folk literature in Italy) in

1959, *L'eterno selvaggio* (The eternal savage) in 1961. Also at this time Carmelina Naselli was pursuing demological studies in Sicily.

The picture of the new themes that literally exploded on the scene right after the war is still more complex. Demologists sought more direct contact with the reality of social phenomena and with the vast sociocultural problems this reality presented. The end of the war in Italy not only signified the end of an authoritarian rule, or the passage from a monarchy to a republic, but it also signified (to use a happy and much talked-about expression of Ernesto De Martino's) the "inroad into history" of subordinate classes, and especially of the southern peasantry involved in the battle of land occupation. The "question of the South," long foreign to previous demological considerations, could no longer be ignored, and the image of the passive peasant "bearers of folklore" changed completely. The existence of another Italy was "discovered," for example, in a book written in 1945 by a former political exile in the South, not an ethnographer, as a profile of its folkways; a book that signalled a turning point for the new generation of folklorists: *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli* (Christ stopped at Eboli) by Carlo Levi.

These sudden interests stimulated by the situation itself became rapidly intertwined with theoretical pressures. Of particular pertinence is the introduction, by Ernesto De Martino in 1941, into the Italian cultural picture, of ethnological concerns in a book of strict idealistic-Crocian observations, *Naturalismo e storicismo nell' etnologia* (Naturalism and historicism in ethnology), and then in 1948 in a much more incisive and fruitful work, *Il mondo magico* (The magic world). This book gave a strong revisionist impulse, even beyond the author's own intentions, to Italian cultural studies, traditionally directed toward Italian-centered historical and literary problems, and presented the fundamental theme of "cultural pluralism" that formed a reference point in subsequent debates.

But the determining moment for theory is without doubt represented by the publication, in 1950, of "Osservazioni sul folklore" (Observations on folklore) that Antonio Gramsci had written twenty years earlier in prison. In these observations, Gramsci pictured folklore in general as a "concept of the world" held by certain social strata (more precisely, by a "people" conceived as "the complex of subordinate and instrumental classes of every society that ever existed"), and that deviates from the "official" concepts of the world held by the dominant classes. Gramsci's Marxist historicism opposed idealistic historicism by reestablishing a bond between

cultural facts and social facts that Croce had so decidedly negated. In a definitive manner Gramsci liquidated the romantic idea of a “people as spirit” and “people as nation,” and introduced a precise historical-social determination: the “people of subaltern classes,” understood as a “historical variable.” Thus he definitely excluded every possibility of conceiving folklore idyllically or harmonistically; instead he considered folklore as a manifestation of the profound contradictions typical of a European society based on the division of classes.

The industry of Gramsci's investigations, and the precise analytical criteria that he derived from them, were immediately evident to other than Marxist eyes, proof of which is Santoli's essay, already cited, relating classical research to the new directions. Generally speaking, between the '50s and the '60s all folklore research conducted with a minimum of scholarly awareness paid homage to Gramsci's position, and many were directly inspired by him.

From the accumulation of all these practical and theoretical, internal and external, stimuli there arose between 1948 and 1955 a series of inquiries and debates not possible to take into account here. These were rich and tumultuous years, which saw expeditions to collect data in the field (De Martino, Carpitella, Cagnetta, Scotillaro, Dolci, et al.); the creation of periodicals for the purpose of theoretical and technical debate (*La Lapa* by Eugenio Cirese); discussions having national echoes, within and without specialist limits, not only between orthodox Marxist and Crocian scholars but also among Marxist and Crocian revisionists. To give an idea of the magnitude of the phenomenon it is worth pointing out that on the one hand these are, at least in the beginning, the years of the great period of neorealistic Italian films, and on the other, of participation by major poets and novelists, though certainly with notable diversity of intent and result, in folkloristic activity. Cesare Pavese made his mark as “cultural entrepreneur” with the series *Collezione di studi religiosi, etnologici e psicologici* (Collection of religious, ethnological, and psychological studies) better known in Italy by the nickname *Collana viola* (Purple collection). This series started in 1948 with *Il mondo magico* by De Martino, and contained translations of Lévy-Bruhl, Durkheim, and Eliade, and works by Pettazzoni, Toschi, and Cocchiara. Pier Paolo Pasolini and Italo Calvino instead made themselves “anthologists”; the first edited a collection of songs, *Canzoniere italiano* (1955) and the second a collection of folktales, *Fiabe italiane* (1956). These works were

discussed and discussable from the point of view of technique and method; both opened with introductions conceptually significant for the period.

The second half of the 1950s saw, after all, the development of Ernesto De Martino's activity both in actual research in the field and in conceptual elaborations of the results, as well as in debates on theory and method. Departing from the strictly Crocian position of "naturalism and historicism," passing on to a decisive enlargement of the historiographic horizon with *Il mondo magico*, and abandoning the early research of the "folklore of protest," De Martino now faced three specific themes of inquiry: funeral lamentations in *Morte e pianto rituale* (Death and ritual weeping) in 1958, magical concepts and practices in *Sud e magia* (The South and magic) in 1959, and the phenomenon of *tarantismo*, the bite of the tarantula in *La terra del rimorso* (The land of remorse) in 1961. These very personal works go beyond every traditional division of academic discipline and are based on research conducted in *équipe* with the participation of psychology, musicology, and sociology. The interpretative key De Martino constantly employed is singled out in *Mondo magico*: magical behavior, the ritualistic desperation of the funeral lamentation, and the musical-dance cure of the "mythical" bite of the tarantula are all procedures by which one redeems and saves the personality from the risk of disintegration to which the crises of individual and collective existence expose it. In De Martino this general explication is integrated with the historical reconstruction of each single ritual pattern, within a well-determined area (southern Italy) and with a very exact history of the connections between folk practices, official Catholicism, and the southern intellectual class. Thus, the whole becomes a part of the theoretical picture De Martino has called "historical ethnology." The duty of the ethnological historian consists neither in recording extrinsic historical successions nor in the more or less comparative research of "surviving" phenomena, but rests instead in a "broadening of the historiographic horizon," in an increase of the "self-consciousness of our civilization," in "a more ample humanism" that succeeds in understanding other situations in order to understand better its own.

In the conceptual picture that seeks to unite Croce and Gramsci, the essential methodological point is that of "identification": the task of "true science" (coincident with historiography) would be that of identifying the irreducible peculiarity of phenomena in as much as they are unrepeatable. Also for De Martino, at least in his theoretical formulations,

every generalization, every investigation of systems and invariables would be either irrelevant or illusory. However, to the present author, it seems that a strong methodological restlessness existed in De Martino, and that generalization has occupied a much more important place in his work than he himself acknowledged.

In every case it has seemed to the author of these pages that one could realize from the experience of 1950-1960 a possible systematization of folklore as a study of the "different levels of culture." In the general climate of the '50s the experiences in concept and research that caused the rediscovery of Propp's morphological approach did not find favorable repercussions. The situation, however, more or less rapidly modified itself, and the past ten years seem characterized by a crisis of the type of historicism mentioned above, or at least by a necessity for that historicism to confront new adversaries, who are no longer the old and easy ones of nineteenth-century positivistic naturalism.

But we will say no more about the last decade: whoever may be interested in the course of research in those years will find indication of it in the various paragraphs of part B. The principal signs of innovation seem to be the following: demological research tends to assume the character of team work, that is, to be more collective and less personal. Meanwhile some of these groups concentrate on the development of basic instruments of research, using the most modern techniques. In the North the bond between political-cultural commitment and demological research has recently reappeared. A clean separation between documentary undertakings and more extensive scientific and sociocultural inquiries no longer exists (or at least not to the earlier rigid extent). Finally it remains to underline a radical change in the objective situation: the twenty-five year period which began with the occupation of the South closes with the depopulation of the Mezzogiorno in the South and with the migration en masse of its people toward the industrial activity of the North and beyond the borders of Italy.

Notes to the Historical Profile

A. For a general picture of the history of demological studies in Italy see VIDOSSÌ (1939), COCCHIARA (1947, 1959), SANTOLI (1950), CIRESE (1958).

A.1. For other information regarding antiquarian and popularistic interests in Italy see CIRESE (1962-1963, pp. 33-63; 1967a, pp. 17-19).

A.1.1. For the research of 1811 in the Kingdom of Italy see in particular NICODEMI (1957) and TASSONI (1964); in addition there is the publication in progress of all archive documents found to date, edited by TASSONI. For other research in Italy during Napoleon's time see TOSCHI (1955b), and CIRESE (1955b, pp. 23 ff.).

On Placucci see TOSCHI (1952, pp. xxii ff.) and CIRESE (1957-1959, pp. 113-120).

On La Marmora and Bresciani see CIRESE (1959, pp. 65-68, pp. 35-40) and COCCHIARA (1959, pp. 278-289).

On Angius see DELITALA (1964, 1967). On Cirelli see CIRESE (1955b, pp. 38 ff.); for some Abruzzesi and Molisani documents, see GALANTI (1961).

A.1.2. For the romantic myth of popular poetry see CROCE (1929-1933). For Italian and foreign research on Italian popular poetry up to 1848 see the new edition of texts in SL/AdMP (nos. 4-12); see also CIRESE (1958, pp. 7-31) and BRONZINI (1960).

On Giusti see TOSCHI (1958, pp. 1-13) and COCCHIARA (1959, pp. 208-215). On Tommaseo see CIRESE (1958, pp. 25 ff.) and COCCHIARA (1959). On Dalmedico see DALMEDICO (1848-1857: SL/AdMP, no. 11).

A.2.1. On Tigrì see information and cross-references in DI IORIO (1967: SL/AdMP, no. 19); for the partially analogous approaches of Marcoaldi see MARCOALDI (1855: SL/AdMP, no. 18).

A.2.2. On Tenca and Correnti see CIRESE (1958, pp. 40-44). On Padula, beside the material by Muscetta in PADULA (1864-1950), see also LO NIGRO (1952). For other connections between folklore and social questions see A.3.1, A.3.4, A.5.

A.2.3. On Rubieri see SANTOLI (1940-1968: 1968 ed., pp. 183-191) and CIRESE (1969a, pp. 246-257, with bibliography).

A.2.4. On D'Ancona see SANTOLI (1940-1968: 1968 ed., pp. 195-197) and CIRESE (1958, pp. 38-40, pp. 53-54); for the discussion of the theory of Sicilian origin of the peninsular *strambotto* see BARBI (1939, pp. 20 ff.), TOSCHI (1947-1948, pp. 119 ff.) and CIRESE (1967b). Please note that before D'Ancona (and Nigra) SCHUCHARDT (1874) dedicated an important study to the *stornello*. For the anthology by D'Ancona and Comparetti see CRPI (1870-1891).

A.2.5. On Nigra see CIRESE (1969a, pp. 257-277, with bibliography). For

the linguistic concepts of Cattaneo and Ascoli see TIMPANARO (1969a, 1969b).

A.2.6. An analytical examination of Carducci's technical and ideological positions regarding popular poetry does not exist; see however CIRESE (1967) for the former, and CIRESE (1958, pp. 56-57) for the latter. For the use that Carducci and Ferrari made of popular poetry in their own poetry see paragraph A.3.2.

A.2.7. In-depth studies on the demological directions of the period and of the personalities considered do not exist. For bibliographical information, however, see PITRÈ (1894); in addition, for Comparetti see TIMPANARO (1969c); for Imbriani see PALADINO (1969); for Corazzini see CORAZZINI (1877: SL/AdMP, no. 17); for De Gubernatis' *Rivista* see RTPI (1893-1895).

A.3.1. For a modern and critical view of Pitre's work (and for complete bibliographical information) see PSM (1968) and CIRESE (1969b). For his infrequent association with the real problems of his time, see in particular GANCI (1968) and BUTTITTA (1968). For activity in the area of folk arts and crafts, and for the birth of the Sicilian Ethnographic Museum "G. Pitre" of Palermo, see PITRÈ (1891-1892) and BONOMO (1968). For Pitre's reservations on Gomme's formulations see PITRÈ (1911-1965, p. 20).

A.3.2. A history of Italian demological periodicals does not exist, nor are particular studies on any of these available. An index of all Italian demological periodicals no longer in existence is in preparation for the series SL/AdMP.

For some information regarding regional collections see paragraphs B.1.3, B.2.2, B.3.1, B.5.2, of this study.

For the personality of Salomone-Marino see PSM, and for Guastella see CALVINO (1969).

On Croce and popular traditions see paragraph A.4.3.

For the association of Verga with Sicilian folklife see CIRESE (1951); for Capuana, Serao, and Deledda see COCCHIARA (1959); for Pascoli see SANTOLI (1940-1968: 1968 ed., pp. 171 ff.).

A.3.3. For Ascoli see paragraph A.2.5. A comprehensive picture of the studies on internal foreign colonies does not exist. This area has been somewhat neglected by subsequent Italian folklorists (but see, nevertheless, paragraphs A.3.4, B.1.3, and B.2.2).

A.3.4. For the Ethnographic Society and its Congress see C/1911; for the Exhibition and its museographic criteria see LORIA/BALDASSERONI (1910); for the Catalog see M/1911. Also resulting from the 1911 exhibition is the 1913 edition of STUDIO. Regarding Italian museography see also paragraph C.2. On Baldasseroni see TOSCHI (1945, p. 95, n. 4). For *Lares*, see Lar₁. The periodical founded by Montegazza was also concerned with folk tradition; its title is *Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Etnologia* (see C/1911, p. 136).

On Pettazzoni and Corso see A.4.1. For Schuchardt see the bibliography of Schuchardt's writings (1928).

On the "question of the South" refer to VILLARI (1961); for the concern folklore had with it see DE MARTINO (1961, pp. 27-28).

Studies on Italian gypsies have not been pursued; also rare is research on emigrants (but now see the constructive work of BIANCO 1967).

A.4.1. On Toschi's work see the comprehensive essay (with bibliography) by BRONZINI (1969); for his periodical *Lares* and the *Biblioteca* that accompanies it see Lar₂ and BLar; for museographic activity see TOSCHI (1945, pp. 93 ff.); for the ethnographic society that he presided over, and for related congresses see TOSCHI (1962).

On Pettazzoni see primarily SABBATUCCI (1963) and GANDINI (1969, with bibliography and writings by Donini and De Martino). Besides the periodical *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* (SMSR), PETTAZZONI founded and directed until his death (1959) the international periodical on the history of religion, *Numen*.

For the periodicals by CORSO (*Il Folklore Italiano* and *Il Folklore*) see FIIt and FIRTP. The periodical *Folklore Calabrese* (FIcCal: 1915-1934) by LOMBARDI-SATRIANI anticipates that of Corso, and is connected to his activity: in a similar vein follows the *Folklore della Calabria* (FIcC: 1956-1963) by BASILE.

The important remarks made by Pasquali are included in the notes "Congresso e crisi del folklore," dedicated to the first congress of folk tradition held at Florence in 1928 under the presidency of Pettazzoni and with the participation of Barbi, Santoli, Van Gennep, et al.; cf. PASQUALI (1928-1968).

For Giuseppe Cocchiara see A.5.

A.4.2. On Barbi see Lit/Cr (pp. 1655-1690, with bibliography). For the

Raccolta Barbi see SANTOLI (1940-1968: 1968 ed., pp. 65ff.); for the edition presently in progress see CoRB and CISD.

A.4.3. On Croce and popular poetry see information and references in CIRESE (1958, pp. 59ff.). Croce's positions on the comparative study of folktales are expressed in BASILE (1925-1957), in PENZER (1932), and in CROCE (1949) and PROPP (1949). Regarding the activity of the young scholar Croce and his collections of Neapolitan songs and tales (already mentioned in paragraph A.3.2), see GbB 12 (1910, pp. 9-11, bibliography).

For Gramsci see A.5.

A.4.4. On Vidossi see the obituary by SANTOLI (1969); for a bibliography of his writings see VIDOSSÌ (1960) that contains also a large section of his demological writings. For Vidossi's position with regards to Croce see especially his 1931 essay "Poesia 'popolare' e poesia d'arte" (1960, pp. 71ff.); for his ideas regarding Bartoli's norms on regional areas, the demological atlases and geographical folklore, see the references that are given in paragraphs B.1.5 and B.5.4; for his reexamination of European demological directions (Krohn, Bogatyrev, Jakobson, et al.) see especially "Nuovi orientamenti nello studio delle tradizioni popolari" (1934) in the volume cited (1960, pp. 194-209); see, in addition, JAKOBSON (1929-1967).

On Santoli see CIRESE (1969c, with bibliography); his demological works are in large part included in the 1968 edition of SANTOLI (1940-1968); edited separately on the other hand is "Cinque canti," see SANTOLI (1938). For the efforts he dedicated to the *Raccolta Barbi* and to other demological studies see CoRB and CISD.

A.5. A total picture of the period in question does not exist. Regarding the scholarship of the last decade there is however a very informative work by SCHENDA (1969); consult also KARLINGER (1962). For the years 1946-1956 see the information regarding "classical" and "new" activity included in CIRESE (1956, pp. 66-67); in particular, here are bibliographical notes relative to the main trends of the time: the peasant world and class struggle (De Martino and Luporini), folklore studies and national culture (De Martino, Toschi, et al.), Crocianism and folklore (Cirese, Giarrizzo, Toschi, De Martino, Lanternari, et al.), the question of the South, "peasant culture," political struggles and research in the field (*Nord e Sud*, *Cronache meridionali*, etc.), folk music (Carpitella and Mila). For many of these discussions see the three years of the periodical *La Lapa* (L/L of these discussions see the three years of the periodical *La Lapa* (L/L: 1953-1955).

For Toschi, Vidossi, Pettazzoni, and Santoli, see the information already provided in paragraphs A.4.1 and A.4.4. On Cocchiara see BONOMO (1970, pp. 71-94) and BONOMO/BUTTITTA (1969, with bibliography); for his periodical, see AnMP (1950-1965). A bibliography of Naselli's work is in SCN (vol. 1, pp. xv-xxviii).

For Gramsci's "Osservazioni sul folclore" and for several discussions that immediately followed this publication see Lar₂ 17 (1951, pp. 153-154); SANTOLI (1951) is essential for this purpose. For a semantic reexamination of Gramsci's work see CIRESE (1970). For a very recent discussion on the argument (and more generally regarding Marxism and folklore) see BINAZZI (1968), LOMBARDI-SATRIANI (1968), and ANGIONI (1970).

Regarding research in the period between 1948-1955 see information furnished in the second part of this work and especially paragraph B.6. On Scotellaro and his collection of peasant autobiographies see CIRESE (1955a); for Eugenio Cirese see TOSCHI (1958, pp. 157-159), PASOLINI (1960, pp. 308-310), and L/L 3 (1955, nos. 1-2).

For De Martino see the bibliography by GANDINI (1966), for a recent essay that seeks to reassociate him completely with Crocianism see GALASSO (1969, pp. 222-235); for other points of view see BINAZZI (1969, 1968: the latter work also in reference to the "different levels of culture," for which see CIRESE 1962-1963, 1967a).

For some early openings into new perspectives different from the type of historicism popular at that time, see *La Lapa* (L/L: 1953-1955), in which among others appeared writings by Lévi-Strauss, Maget, and Redfield.

For recent "group" initiatives, the preparation of basic tools, the extension of research in the field to northern Italy, the new bonds with social phenomena, etc., see NCI, IEDM, CISD, and the information on demographical atlases, studies of repertoires, electronic elaborations, etc., presented in paragraphs B.1. and following.

B. THE PRINCIPAL AREAS OF RESEARCH

The following material provides some information and bibliographical references that repeat by area (and integrate to some extent) the information contained in the *Historical Profile*. Despite repetition, it seemed that it would be useful to furnish an outline more readily serviceable to the

reader, which could give an idea of the questions and documentation in diverse fields of research.

Considering the impossibility of adequately covering here all areas, preference has been given to the more developed ones: oral tradition in general, and popular poetry in particular. The latter obviously enjoys now the same priority that it enjoyed during the development of Italian studies. Wherever possible, methodological bases have been underlined: geographical folklore, structural analysis, systems of repertorialization, etc. Notwithstanding every good intention, there is much that is missing from the outline; the non-Italian reader interested in our folklore should take this into consideration and avail himself of the bibliographical notes to find what is necessary to him and what these notes are not in a position to provide.

B.1. *Popular poetry*

B.1.1. *Delimitation of the field*

As elsewhere, in Italy the classification of the types of popular poetry is still done unscientifically, that is, by following nonuniform criteria. Some types are identified on the basis of criteria that concern the texts themselves, that is, by considering the metrical form and the content, whereas some are identified on the basis of the occasion or function of the text. To give a few examples, narrative songs and monostrophic-lyrical songs are identified primarily on the basis of metrical form and content; for lullabies, begging songs, and funeral laments, which only occasionally have a specific form and content, identification is based for the most part on the occasion in which the text is used. The distinction between sung poetry and unsung poetry (monotonous refrain or recited) that goes back to Nigra, is, however, clear enough. Here we will limit our observations to folksongs; a brief and complex summary of folksongs is available in SANTOLI (1940-1968: 1968 ed., pp. 9-20). In Italy, when one speaks of *popular poetry* or *folksong* one is mostly referring to profane narrative songs, monostrophic-lyrical songs, and religious narratives, not excluding other groups that in general have been studied to a lesser extent.

B.1.2. *Principal types*

The most important types of popular poetry are:

a) *Ballads* (or, as they are more generally spoken of in Italy, *narrative songs* or *lyrical epics*): basic for the study of these are the works by NIGRA, BARBI, and SANTOLI. Of the latter see in particular the critical edition, based on the methods of geographical folklore, of five songs from the *Raccolta Barbi* (SANTOLI 1938). For narrative songs of southern Italy see BRONZINI (1956-1961). Among the most recent editions of texts collected in the field one notes RAICICH-TABET (1967). Numerous field recordings have been made by the group Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano and by the Ernesto De Martino Institute; a part of the material thus collected is already available on records: particularly noteworthy is the volume of the *Archivi sonori* concerning the song *Donna Lombarda* (SL/AS, no. 3: see COGGIOLA 1969). Presently in progress is the automatic edition with electronic repertorial elaborations (first lines, rhyming dictionary, etc.) of the 2,500 versions (relative to sixty-nine prototypes) of ballad manuscripts contained in the *Raccolta Barbi* (cf. El/RB and CISD).

b) *Monostrophic-lyrical songs*: this general term (still largely used, even if partially in crisis) usually designates various brief metrical forms of lyrical content, specifically *strambotti*, *rispetti*, *stornelli*, Sardinian *mutos* and *mutettus*, the *villotte* from Friuli, and similar types. The nineteenth-century theories regarding the origin of the *strambotto* and of the *rispetto* by NIGRA and D'ANCONA, and the extensive European discussions that followed, directly concerning the whole Romance area (Paris, Novati, Lang, Brück, Pagliaro, Toschi, Corominas, et al.), are critically reexamined in CIRESE (1967b), in which the author also attempts a structural analysis of the metrical form. Less extensive is the discussion of the *stornello*, also introduced in the nineteenth century (SCHUCHARDT 1874, NIGRA, D'ANCONA) for an analysis of metrical forms and for a consequent revision of the concept, see CIRESE (1968). The structure and origin of *mutos* and *mutettus* typical of Sardinia have been studied in consideration of all preceding research, in CIRESE (1964). Recent and in-depth studies on the *villotta friulana* are lacking; however, regarding them see SANTOLI (1940-1968: 1968 ed.). Under the direction of the CISD, electronic repertorial elaborations of about 50,000 verses of *strambotti*, *rispetti*, and *stornelli* selected from more than twenty regional collections (cf. InvCP) are presently in progress.

c) *Orations* and *passions* (religious songs of a narrative character): in this area see MAGNANELLI (1909) and TOSCHI (1922, 1935). Texts and music recently collected in the field are edited in SL/AdMP, no. 1.

d) Worthy of special note is the recent research on *political* and *social songs* and on *protest songs*, to which (besides De Martino, cf. B.6) the groups of the Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano and the Ernesto De Martino Institute of Milan (IEDM) have dedicated intense collecting and recording activity in the field, with record editions (cf. DS/EdG) and with active development of a widespread movement of “folk” songs and shows. Here let suffice reference to LEYDI (1963), to the issues of the periodical *Il Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano* (NCI), and to the series *Archivi delle comunicazioni di massa e di classe* (SL/ACoMaC).

B.1.3. *Regional collections and general anthologies of texts*

For a list of the principal regional collections of popular songs see TOSCHI (1962, pp. 141-145). Also there are three interregional anthologies extending throughout the entire Italian territory: CORAZZINI (1877) with distribution by types, LEVI (1894-1926) with distribution by dialects, and PASOLINI (1955) with a regional distribution determined by prevalent aesthetic interests, sensitive and up-to-date, at least for the period in which it was published. Anthologies also exist that are more or less systematic and contain songs from the Albanian, Slavic, Catalan, etc., colonies within Italy, for example, the writings of ASCOLI, MOROSI, GUARNERIO, and REŠETAR, cited in paragraph A.3.3, and for more recent times, CIRESE (Albanian and Slavic songs of Molise, 1957).

B.1.4. *Theoretical directions*

The principal theoretical positions assumed in Italy regarding popular poetry material up to the fifties are summed up in CIRESE (1958) (which also contains a listing of the key pages of each author). Here should be underlined the historical or methodological importance that the following assumed in the last century: TOMMASEO (1841-1842), TENCA (1857-1888), RUBIERI (1877), D'ANCONA (1878-1906), NIGRA (1888). The essential points of reference for the most recent period are CROCE (1929-1933), GRAMSCI (1929-1930), BARBI (1939), SANTOLI (1940-1968), PAGLIARO (1958), and TOSCHI (1947-1948, 1957).

B.1.5. *Critical editions of texts and methods of geographical folklore*

For the critical edition of texts of oral tradition, the standards formulated

by SANTOLI (1961) are basic. For a general discussion of methods of geographical folklore see B.5.4; for specific application to the texts of popular poetry see in particular SANTOLI (1967). SANTOLI (1938) remains an exemplary model of a critical edition and the utilization of geographical folklore with regards to the ballad.

B.1.6. *Investigations in the field*

Since 1948 the Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare (CNSMP) in Rome, directed by Giorgio Nataletti, has dedicated itself to tape-recording the folksongs of all regions, paying particular attention to the music (cf. CNSMP). A considerable archive of tape recordings has also been built up by the Ernesto De Martino Institute of Milan (IEDM), with editions of records (SL/AS), publication of texts (SL/AdMP), and indexes of the material collected (SL/AIEDM). Also promoting taping of songs in the field is the Discoteca di Stato (DiST), for whose archives see paragraphs B.2.3 and B.3.2. The recordings made in Sicily by the Associazione per la Conservazione delle Tradizioni Popolari are listed in the first issue of its bulletin (cf. AssCTP). Among the other numerous researches and investigations of songs, at least the Tuscan one by CARPITELLA (1967) should be mentioned.

B.1.7. *Inventories, repertorial tools, electronic elaborations*

Still very scarce is the availability of inventories and repertorial tools (indexes, lists of opening lines, rhymes, etc.); the only consistent attempt available up to now in this area is the one made by DI IORIO (1967). As had already been mentioned (cf. B.1.2.b, B.1.2.c) the electronic elaborations of the program *Corpo sistematico delle tradizioni popolari italiane* (CoSisTI: Systematic material of Italian popular tradition) are now in progress. They are edited by the Comitato Italiano Studi Demologici (CISD: Italian committee of demological studies), and consist of the *Inventario dei canti popolari italiani* (InvCP) and the *Edizione automatica della Raccolta Barbi* (cf. CoRB). The Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare (CNSMP) is preparing a “kwik index” of the recordings of songs in its archive.

B.1.8. *Structural analyses*

These are still scarcely developed either from the theoretical point of view or that of effective application. Concerning the area of metrical forms (*mutos*, *muttettus*, *strambotti*, *rispetti*, *stornelli*), see CIRESE (1964, 1967b, 1968).

B.2. *Folk narrative*

B.2.1. *General observations*

The study of folk narrative in prose is much less developed in Italy than is that of folksong. Moreover, the presence of a conspicuous number of literary works more or less directly connected with oral tradition (e.g. Straparola, Basile, et al.) has turned attention somewhat toward cultured literature and aesthetic evaluation rather than toward oral tradition and comparison; CROCE's general position and that specifically assumed by him in the area of folktales with the edition of the *Pentamerone* (cf. A.4.3) has played a decisive role in this. From the demological point of view, on the other hand, particularly profound theories have not yet been developed, and in general, research has been limited to the collection of texts and to their publication with more or less extensive comparative apparatus (at times wholly lacking). The scarce presence of Italian documentation in the international inventories of types and motifs (Aarne-Thompson and Thompson) seems to derive from that. For a history of Italian studies of folk narrative see the very good introduction by CALVINO (1956).

B.2.2. *Regional and national collections, indexes of types and motifs*

Among the regional collections (a sufficiently complete list of which may be found in TOSCHI 1962, pp. 120-125, also in CALVINO 1956, pp. 1033-1037) we will note here GONZENBACH (1870) and PITRÈ (1875) for Sicily, DI FRANCIA (1929-1934) and LOMBARDI-SATRIANI (1953) for Calabria, DE NINO (1883) and FINAMORE (1882-1883) for Abruzzo, PITRÈ (1885-1941) for Tuscany, and MANGO (1890) and BOTTIGLIONI (1922) for Sardinia. ANDERSON (1927-1933), for San Marino, deserves a place to himself, because of his scientific precision. For folktales of the Albanians in Italy see IstAlb (1959). Of an interregional character but containing a rather limited number of texts, are the collections of COMPARETTI (1875) and CORAZZINI (1877, pp. 404-489). Extending to all regions is the

translation into Italian of two hundred folktales edited with excellent style (but not without historical and bibliographical usefulness) by CALVINO (1956) (concerning whom cf. the comparative remarks by ANDERSON 1958).

A national index of types and motifs does not exist. However, we have: a) concerning the literary tradition of folktales, the index of stories from the earliest centuries by ROTUNDA (1942), the index of motifs of the *Pentamerone* included in the English edition edited by PENZER (1932), the table of motifs identified by MALATO (1962, 1963) in *Viaggio di Parnaso* by CORTESE and also in *Posillicheata* by SARNELLI; b) concerning oral tradition, the indexes related to Sicily (LO NIGRO 1958), to Tuscany (D'ARONCO 1953), and to Sardinia (DELITALA 1970a). The Discoteca di Stato is in the process of arranging an index of the folktales in its archive, cf. B.2.3.

B.2.3. *Recordings in the field*

A broad program of the tape recordings of oral narration (and also of proverbs, Wellerisms, and riddles) has been organized and realized for almost all regions by the Discoteca di Stato, directed by Anna Barone. For part of the regions, responsibility for which had been entrusted to Professor Parlange (unfortunately deceased before the conclusion of the undertaking), the recordings have had a prevalent dialectological purpose; whereas, for the twelve regions assigned to the writer (Abruzzo, Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Lazio, Lombardia, Molise, Sardinia, Sicily, Tuscany, Umbria, Veneto) a strict folklore standard has been adopted based on a unified outline in association with international classifications. Preliminary lists and indexes of the recordings made are being published in the *Bollettino* and *Catalogo* put out by the Discoteca di Stato (cf. DiSt). Dr. Barone is preparing a systematic index (types, motifs, etc.) of the material recorded.

B.2.4. *Formal and structural analyses*

Formal and structural analyses of the Italian heritage in traditional narrative have not yet been greatly developed. It should be noted, however, that the functional (Propp) and the structural (Greimas) analysis that PASQUALINO has carried out on the *Reali di Francia* (French royalty) by Andrea da Barberino (1370-1431) is in the process of being published.

B.3. *Proverbs, Wellerisms, blasoni (blason populaire), riddles*

B.3.1. *Regional and national collections*

The collections of proverbs are somewhat old (since the sixteenth century) and became quite numerous in the nineteenth century. Among the most famous is the Tuscan collection by GIUSTI (1853) that has been reedited a number of times; the 1956 edition is important for its alphabetical index that remedies at least in part the difficulties of use deriving from the thematic arrangement of the collection. Lists of regional collections are easily found in PITRÈ (1880), STRAFFORELLO (1883), TOSCHI (1962, p. 163). There also exist compilations with international comparisons, for example, STRAFFORELLO (1883) and ARTHABER (1929). Standards of arrangement have always been uncertain, nor have they been the object of analysis of study (however, for proverbial phrases, see AGENO 1960). Instead, some studies of the content of proverbs have been conducted, but without strict continuity, for example, CORSO (1956, pp. 71 ff., with bibliography) on judicial proverbs, and LOMBARDI-SATRIANI (1968a) on the attitudes of social protest.

Within collections of proverbs there are usually included popular sayings, and often stereotypes (*blason populaire*) and Wellerisms. But Wellerisms have also been the object of specific collections: besides SPERONI (1953), see CORSO (1947-1948), and TUCCI (1966) for Campania. Rather rare are studies on riddles, although regional collections are not lacking (see, for instance, the volume by PITRÈ 1897).

B.3.2. *Recordings in the field*

Proverbs, Wellerisms, and riddles have been included in the research and collecting plan carried out by the Discoteca di Stato, concerning which see the information provided in paragraph B.2.3.

B.3.3. *Formal and structural analyses*

These studies are just beginning, and a bibliography can only consist in CIRESE (1968-1969) for proverbs, and CIRESE (1969d) for Wellerisms.

B.4. *Theater and shows; street singers*

B.4.1. *General works*

Though in part surpassed by others, D'ANCONA's work (1891) remains essential. A full examination of the subject, with emphasis on the connections between theater and ritual, and with an extensive bibliography, is in TOSCHI (1955a).

B.4.2. *Specific research and recordings in the field*

Among the various forms of folk theater, the relics of the religious plays and pageants continue to survive in interesting forms (concerning their origins, besides the works cited, see TOSCHI 1940 and the texts published in BONFANTINI 1942). Still vital are the profane May plays (Tuscany and neighboring zones): live recordings by BOSIO and COGGIOLA have been recently released on record (1968: SL/AS, nos. 1 and 2; cf. SL/ACoMaC, no. 6). Direct recordings of the repertory of the Sicilian *opera dei pupi* (puppet theater) have been made for the Discoteca di Stato (DiSt) by PASQUALINO; see also his study on such a repertory published in U&C 11 (1969). For the puppet theater, LEYDI/LEYDI (1958) has studies and published texts of the classical Italian repertory. For street singers, besides the periodical by VEZZANI (1964-), see also PANDOLFI (1958) which contains various texts, LEYDI (1959) who also deals with jokesters, charlatans, et al., and BUTTITTA (1960; 1966, with numerous Sicilian texts). For *circus*, see CERVELLATI (1961).

B.5. *Practices and beliefs*

B.5.1. *Preliminary observations*

Given the impossibility of analytically dealing with the complex material that in Italy is usually grouped together under the title "habits, customs, beliefs, prejudices," here we provide only some very summary indications of several aspects of phenomena that are more relevant or that should be studied. Along general lines the study of this area of phenomena has taken place in Italy with less systematization than has been the case for folk narrative. This research started during the first years of the nine-

teenth century with the Napoleonic investigations and remained almost without being pursued (cf. A.1.1); one must go back to the works, by now largely surpassed, of DE GUBERNATIS (1869-1878, 1873-1890: wedding, funeral, and birth customs), and to the large mass of documents collected by PITRÈ in the twenty-five volumes of his *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* (BTPS 1870-1913: Library of Sicilian traditions) which has served for a long time as a model for analogous documentary collections from other regions. In the absence of a conceptual framework and precise classifications, and due to the individual and spontaneous character of the research, the documentary material is scattered throughout numerous publications of differing substance and importance. Often it has been put together with regional standards (*all* the practices of *one* area) instead of with thematic standards (*all* interregional documents about *one single* folklore phenomenon). In more recent times because of the influence Van Gennep's classifying systems have had in Italy, regional collections have been organized according to more uniform schemes (year cycle, life cycle, etc.). Also, the tendency to study regionally one single phenomenon has developed (e.g., exorcisms of the life cycle); comparisons extend nationally and beyond. Finally, the most complex and conscious sociocultural problematic, which developed after the Second World War, has brought out investigations in the field and studies concentrating on specific phenomena and themes. In the following paragraphs we will provide summaries and incomplete indications regarding these various research perspectives.

B.5.2. *Geographically based documentary collections*

Italy is not equipped with a systematic recapitulation of the folklore documents brought to light by the research carried on up to this point. There exist only brief panoramas having a more or less popular character and hence useful only as generic and preliminary information (see, for example, CORSO 1954, KARLINGER 1963, TOSCHI 1967). A kind of national picture (but obviously incomplete and uneven) has been provided by the paragraphs dedicated to the folklore of specific regions in *TuttiItalia: Enciclopedia dell'Italia antica e moderna* (TtIt: The whole of Italy: Encyclopedia of ancient and modern Italy). However, the works indicated (along with PITRÈ 1894, and TOSCHI 1962, pp. 104-107) provide a good number of bibliographical references on the principal regional collections

of "practices, customs, beliefs, and prejudices." Some regions have enjoyed more research activity than others, for example, Sicily with PITRÈ and SALOMONE-MARINO, or Abruzzo with DE NINO, FINAMORE, PANSA. From the point of view of method, as has been pointed out, greater organization, more precise use of means of comparison, and greater utilization of older sources have been substituted for disparity and casualness in standards of selection and arrangement of material that characterized many regional collections made up to the Second World War. The work done on Basilicata by BRONZINI (1961) was dedicated to the comparative study of the *life cycle*, and that on Romagna by TOSCHI (1952) is based largely on the reproduction and systematization of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documentary sources. For information on several other regional collections see A.3.2, and also the collection by MARAGLIANO (1962) reorganized by Vidossi.

B.5.3. *Research on specific phenomena*

Obviously it is not possible to provide in brief a picture of such research that is, I will not say complete, but at least organized. The variety of themes and perspectives, the scarceness of specific bibliographies (cf. C.1), and the lack of concentration of studies on common and arising problems, which vice versa have occurred in the field of popular poetry, prohibit it. Comparative research on specific themes or phenomena was already realized in the nineteenth century; beside the work already noted by DE GUBERNATIS, see, for example, those works on May festivals by REZASCO (1886) and PAULUCCI DE CALBOLI (1894), followed by GAUDENZI (1911): see also investigations of *impronte meravigliose* (wondrous markings) or *usanze dell'agricoltura* (farming practices) carried on in *Archivio* by PITRÈ and SALOMONE-MARINO (ASTP). Dedicated to the examination of precise and well-restricted phenomena are also the demological essays by VIDOSI that are extremely careful, rigorous, and open to a very competent European comparison, whether he deals with imaginary beings or folklore of war, or whether he examines calendar traditions or the traces of the *couvade*. With lesser penetration, CORSO has carried on, in general, analogous thematic research of a comparative nature, concerning himself in particular with sexual practices and prejudices (1914), wedding practices (1925, 1927), legal traditions and festive celebrations (1956). Also to be noted in this area is TOSCHI (1955a) for his extensive studies of

ceremonies, rites, and demons, especially in connection with the *carnevale*. For the *Christmas cycle* and the *cult of trees* see NASELLI (1953). BONOMO has primarily dedicated his efforts to superstitious and magical concepts, concerning himself with two extensive works on *conjurings* (1953) and *witches' trials* (1959); subsequently GINZBURG (1966) has also been concerned with trials for witchcraft. DE MARTINO has also dealt with the magical world of southern Italy, besides funeral lamentations and the musical-dance cure of the bite of the tarantula (cf. B.6).

B.5.4. *Demological atlases, documentary repertoires, questionnaires*

Though not yet developed as much as is desirable, efforts at a geographical systematization of demological documents are not lacking. A good number of ethnographic data appears in a linguistic and ethnographic atlas of Italy and southern Switzerland edited by JABERG and JUD (cf. AIS) and in one on Corsica edited by BOTTIGLIONI (cf. ALEIC). Discussions on the method of demological geography have been carried on in relation to *norme areali* (areal norms) that have been dealt with linguistically by BARTOLI and that tend to permit the transformation of spatial data to indications of relative chronology (BARTOLI/BERTONI 1925; BARTOLI 1933, 1953; VIDOSSÌ 1960; SANTOLI 1940-1968: 1968 ed., pp. 229 ff.). Ethnographic documents reappear to a varying extent in the more detailed work (in progress) of an Italian linguistic atlas (ALI: cf. VIDOSSÌ 1960, pp. 410 ff.; TERRACINI 1964). Also in progress is an ethnographic-historical-linguistic atlas of Friuli (ASLEF, cf. PELLEGRINI 1969), and for some years now there have been in progress recordings in the field, and bibliographical selections of a Sardinian demological repertory and atlas (with the publication of a bulletin, cf. BRADS). For concrete application of geographical folklore to oral tradition see paragraph B.1.5. For the more general problems of linguistic atlases which often include ethnographic ones, see AtL (1969). For the approach of *Wörter und Sachen* see A.3.3, A.3.4, and B.7.d.

The compiling of repertoires is still in its initial stages, especially regarding standards and methods. Some good contributions of repertorial material and attitudes toward method have been recently furnished by DELITALA (1964, 1967, 1970); see also ANGIONI (1967).

For some general questionnaires on the life cycle and year cycle compiled by BRONZINI, see TOSCHI (1962, pp. 64-76). For specific and analytical questionnaires on processions, styles of costumes, ceremonies,

fantastic beings, ritual bread and sweets, see PAQUES (1953), ROUSSEL (1955), DELITALA (1966), LOSENGO (1966, 1967), and ITDPS.

B.5.5. *Investigations in the field*

Besides those connected with the preparation of atlases and repertories, other research is more or less directly related to the activity of societies and institutes (CNSMP, DiSt, IEDM), or is carried on by individual researchers and still in the process of being developed or published (e.g., RAICICH-TABET on Tuscan foods and on relations in Calabria, BIANCO on the place of origin of several Italian communities in the United States, LOMBARDI-SATRIANI on the cultural behavior of several groups in Calabria).

B.6. *Social conditions and cultural behavior*

Hardly attempted in the nineteenth century (cf. TENCA 1857-1888, PADULA 1864-1950, LOMBROSO 1898), and for the most part ignored by Pitrè and the scholars who followed his trend (cf. A.2.2, A.3.1, A.3.4), the efforts directed toward identifying in the folklore evidence and elements that reflect the conditions and sociocultural behavior of the rural and, in general, subordinate classes, actually developed only after the Second World War (cf. A.5). *Christ Stopped at Eboli* by LEVI (1945), not research in the technical sense of the term, had a research value in many respects, also for the historic moment in which it appeared. Of the period '48-'55 we will point out here the work by DE MARTINO (1950-1962, 1951) in Lucania and Emilia on the folklore of protest and on progressive folklore, by CAGNETTA on *vendetta* in Sardinia (see also PIGLIARU 1959), by SCOTELLARO (autobiography of a southern peasant), by DOLCI on bandits and on those without work in Sicily. Of particular importance is the work by DE MARTINO in which specific themes singled out from time to time — funeral laments, magic practices, the tarantella — expand into a study of the existential condition (a study of the tarantula rites in Sardinia, begun by De Martino, was completed and published by GALLINI 1967).

In the most recent period, of particular note is research in the field by the Nuovo Canzoniere (cf. NCI) and by the Ernesto De Martino Institute (IEDM) mainly dedicated, but not exclusively, to social-political songs (cf. B.1.2.a, B.1.2.d). Among recent research, though in a different direction, one notes the study by SCHENDA (1965) on the life on a Sicilian

street, and the work of ROSSI (1970) on the pilgrimages from south central Italy. The research in progress by LOMBARDI-SATRIANI noted in paragraph B.5.5 also bears the intentions of sociocultural investigations.

B.7. *Others areas of research*

Considering the absolute impossibility of providing more detailed information regarding the other areas in which demological research has been carried on in Italy, here we mention only:

a) for *figurative* and *decorative arts* (besides TOSCHI 1945, 1959, 1964; and BUTTITTA 1961), see the bibliography by BUTTITTA (1959) and the information already furnished concerning museums in paragraphs C.2, and A.3.4;

b) for *architecture*, besides studies of an artistic-historical nature, for example that by PAGANO/DANIEL (1936) there exists a collection of a geographical character established by BIASUTTI, *Ricerche sulle dimore rurali in Italia* (RsDRI: Research on rural habitats in Italy) that also includes a volume of bibliography on the subject (cf. STORAI DE ROCCHI 1950);

c) for *styles of clothing*, there are various descriptive studies on a regional level (a list is in TOSCHI 1967, p. 94), and one on a national level, but not very satisfactory, by CALDERINI (1953);

d) for *utensils, household goods*, and other related items more or less directly connected to *work techniques* or *styles of living*, considerable information can be found especially in the linguistic or linguistic-ethnographic atlases (cf. paragraph B.5.4) or in works related to them (cf. e.g., SCHEUERMEIER), and in the studies of *Wörter und Sachen* (cf. WAGNER 1921, and paragraphs A.3.3 and A.3.4);

e) for *juridical folkways*, the basic reference is in *Archivio Vittorio Scialoja per le consuetudini giuridiche agrarie e le tradizioni popolari italiane* (ArVS 1934-1943: Vittorio Scialoja archive on agrarian legal practices and Italian folk tradition), while a bibliographical listing of various studies is easily found in PERUSINI (1961, pp. x-xi, n. 2), and of particular interest is the previously mentioned volume by PIGLIARU (1959) (cf. B.6);

f) for *special sociocultural groups*, there are studies of primarily linguistic interest (not too numerous) on the Albanian, Slavic, and Catalan colonies (cf. A.3.3, A.3.4, B.1.3, B.2.2), while those on *gypsies* are rare

(cf. A.3.4), as are those on *minority religious groups* (notable is LEYDI 1966, on the *giurisdavidica* brotherhood of Mount Amiata), on *emigrants* (cf. A.3.4), on *vagabonds* and *tramps* (but see the singular autobiographical document by FRIZZI 1902-1953), on the *mafia*, the *camorra*, *brigandage* (for nineteenth-century research see PITRÈ 1894, pp. 569 ff. and also under *bandits*, *prison and criminal songs*, *life of the dangerous classes*, etc.; among the most recent works see CAGNETTA 1953, 1954, DOLCI 1955, UCCELLO 1965), and there are volumes of comparative-historic documentation somewhat thrown together by POLA FALLETTI dedicated to the *youth associations*;

g) for *slang*, besides compilations or specific studies (e.g. BIONDELLI 1846; FRIZZI 1902-1953; NICEFORO 1897, 1911) there is a bibliographic essay (BACCETTI-POLI), while the language of gestures has scarcely been studied (the work by COCCHIARA 1931, theoretically out of date, contains only sporadic reference to Italian documents).

C. INFORMATION ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDIES

C.1. *Bibliographies, manuals, periodicals, series*

Bibliographies. — Basic for the 1800s is PITRÈ (1894); still unedited is its continuation up to 1916, also prepared by PITRÈ. A partial continuation 1916-1940 is provided by TOSCHI (1946). At present, a bibliography sponsored by the CISD and begun by B. M. GALANTI has been interrupted. For the years 1925-1926 see SORRENTO (1927-1929). There are also bibliographies concerning specific subjects, for example, those mentioned in paragraphs B.7.a (art), B.7.b (architecture), B.7.g (slang), and in PAZZINI (1935) for folk medicine. Bibliographies of a regional character are more numerous: a list may be found in TOSCHI (1962, pp. 50-51), by now incomplete which obviously must be brought up-to-date. Naturally, the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie* (IVkB) is also useful for Italy.

Manuals. — Manuals written with scientific and adequate criteria do not exist.* Completely out-of-date are the various editions of CORSO (1923-1953). Useful for bibliographic and other information is TOSCHI (1962).

* The publication of Alberto M. Cirese's *Cultura egemonica e culture subalterne: Rassegna degli studi sul mondo popolare e tradizionale* (Palermo, 1973), since this article was written, largely fills this previous lack. (Ed.)

Periodicals. — Here suffice a chronological list of abbreviations that have been used to indicate the principal Italian demological periodicals in the Bibliography: RLP (1877-1879), ASTP (1882-1909), GbB (1883-1910), Cal (1888-1902), VdR (1890, 1901), RTPI (1893-1895), NT (1904-1905), ALun (1911-1925), Lar₁ (1912-1915), FICal (1915-1934), Ethn/A (1919), Ethn/B (1922-1923), FIIt (1925-1941), Lar₂ (1930-1943, 1949—), ArVS (1934-1943), FIRTP (1946-1957), RvEtn (1947—), Tes (1949-1963), L/L (1953-1955), AnMP (1950—), FldC (1956-1963), NCI (1962-1968), TrV (1961—), BRADS (1966—), U&C (1968—).

For some more particular information on the listed periodicals and for other periodicals concerning that area, see paragraphs A.3.1, A.3.2, A.3.4, A.4.1, A.5, B.1.2.d, B.7.e. As has already been mentioned, for the series SL/AdMP there is in preparation an index of all those Italian demological periodicals no longer in existence.

Series. — The most important series of folklore publications are those indicated in the Bibliography under the abbreviations CRPI (1870-1891), BTPS (1870-1913), CPT (1885-1899), Pall (1929-1932), RsDRI (1938—), BLar (1955—), SL/AdMP (1965—).

C.2. *University institutions and other organs of research, congresses, museums*

There exist in Italy three university chairs for the Storia delle Tradizioni Popolari: the Department of Letters of Palermo (Giuseppe Bonomo, succeeding Giuseppe Cocchiara who died in 1965), the Department of Letters of Bari (Giovanni B. Bronzini), and the Department of Letters of Cagliari (Alberto M. Cirese, recently replaced by Enrica Delitala). For the moment, temporary teaching positions are entrusted annually by the Departments of Letters of Rome and Catania, once permanent university chairs held by Paolo Toschi and Carmelina Naselli, now pensioned. For a picture of teaching positions held by appointment in Italian universities see *Ethnologia Europaea* 1 (1967): 288-289 (to be updated concerning the Department of Letters of Messina, where Aurelio Rigoli now holds an appointment; add to the list of regular assistants Chiarella Rapallo Addari, Cagliari).

For other organs of research that are actually functioning see the information furnished by the Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare (CNSMP), the Discoteca di Stato (DiSt), the Istituto Ernesto De Martino

(IEDM), and the Comitato Italiano Studi Demologici (CISD).

A society does not exist that assures enduring and institutionalized contacts among scholars in this field, and thus regular congresses do not yet exist. For the Society of Italian Ethnography see paragraph A.3.4. For other associations existing at the time of its publication or previously, and for congresses held up to that date, see Toschi (1962). For the following period, one notes the activity of the Associazione per la Conservazione delle Tradizioni Popolari di Palermo (AssCTP), to which is owed credit for a congress celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Pitre and Salomone-Marino (cf. PSM), a symposium on museography and folklore (MusFl), a convention of demological studies at Messina (C/Me), and an international symposium on genre and structures of ethnic literature (S/Pa, 1970). Also to be mentioned is the series of conventions on the study of folklore of the Po valley that have taken place under the auspices of the ENAL of Modena (the third took place in March, 1970).

The two largest museums of folklore in existence are the Museo Nazionale di Arti e Tradizioni Popolari di Roma (MNATP) and the Museo Etnografico Siciliano "Giuseppe Pitre" di Palermo (MEtnGP). For information on other regional or local museums see the notes provided by Toschi (1962) and the entry *Folk-Art* in the American edition (McGraw-Hill) of the *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte*. For information on adopted or proposed museographic criteria see LORIA/BALDASSERONI (1910), Toschi (1945, pp. 93 ff.), MusFl; see also paragraphs A.3.1 and A.3.4.

D. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS

D.1. *Abbreviations*

AGI: *Archivio glottologico italiano*.

Agrumi: *Volkstümliche Poesien aus allen Mundarten Italien und seiner Inseln*. Edited by A. Kopisch. Berlin, 1838. Reissued in photoprint. SL/AdMP, no. 8. Milano, 1966.

AI: *Sprach- und Sach-atlas Italiens und der Südschweiz*, by K. Jäger and J. Jud. 8 vols. Zurich, 1928-1960. Introduction, indexes, and atlas. P. Scheuermeier's works (1943-1956) are connected with the AI.

ALIC: *Atlante linguistico etnografico italiano della Corsica*, by Gino Bottiglioni. Pisa, 1933-1952.

ALI: *Atlante linguistico italiano*. Cf. Vidossi (1960) and Terracini and Franceschi (1964).

ALun: *Archivio per la etnografia e la psicologia della Lunigiana*. Directed by G. Sittoni and G. Podenzia. La Spezia, 1911-1912, 1912-1914, 1914, 1925. Reissued in photoprint. Bologna: Forni, 1968.

- AnMP: *Annali del Museo Pitrè*. Edited by Giuseppe Cocchiara from 1950 to 1965. Published by the Istituto di Storia delle Tradizioni Popolari dell'Università di Palermo.
- ArVS: *Archivio Vittorio Scialoja per le consuetudini giuridiche agrarie e le tradizioni popolari italiane*. Directed by G. G. Bolla. 10 vols. 1934-1943.
- ASLEF: *Atlante storico linguistico ethnografico del Friuli*. Directed by G. B. Pellegrini. Cf. Pellegrini (1969).
- AssCTP: Associazione per la Conservazione delle Tradizioni Popolari di Palermo. Directed by Antonio Pasqualino. Publication: *Notizie* (Palermo, 1970-). Cf. MusFI, PSM, C/Me, S/Pa.
- ASTP: *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*. Founded and directed by Giuseppe Pitrè and Salvatore Salomone-Marino. 24 vols. Palermo, 1882-1909. Reissued in photoprint. Bologna: Forni, 1968.
- AtL: *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: Gli atlanti linguistici, problemi e risultati, Roma, 20-24 ottobre 1967*. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1969.
- BLar: *Biblioteca di Lares*. A folklore series edited by Paolo Toschi since 1955. So far it has issued thirty-two books. Firenze: Olschki.
- BRADS: *Bollettino del repertorio e dell'atlante demologico sardo*. A folklore bulletin directed by Alberto M. Cirese since 1966. Published by the Chair of Folklore at the University of Cagliari, Cagliari.
- BTPS: *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane*. A folklore collection by Giuseppe Pitrè. 25 vols. Palermo, 1870-1913. Reissued in photoprint. Bologna: Forni, 1969.
- C/1911: *Atti del primo Congresso di Etnografia Italiana, Roma, 19-24 ottobre 1911*. Perugia: Società di Etnografia Italiana, 1912.
- Cal: *La Calabria: Rivista di letteratura popolare*. Directed by L. Bruzzano. 14 vols. Monteleone Calabro, 1888-1902.
- CISD: Comitato Italiano Studi Demologici. President: Vittorio Santoli. Secretary: Alberto M. Cirese. The committee is now working at a computerized publication of the Barbi National Collection of Italian Folksongs, in cooperation with the CoRB.
- C/Me: *Convegno di Studi Demologici, Messina, 19-21 gennaio 1970*. The subject of the congress was aspects and perspectives of folklore research in Italy. The proceedings are in the course of publication by the University of Palermo.
- CNSMP: Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare. Directed by Giorgio Nataletti. Sponsored by the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Roma, via Vittoria, 7. Publications: *Studi e ricerche del CNSMP dal 1948 al 1960* (Roma, 1960); *Catalogo sommario delle registrazioni 1948-1969* (Roma, 1963).
- CNTRI: *Canti, novelle, tradizioni delle regioni italiane*. A collection directed by L. Sorrento. 14 vols., relative to fourteen Italian regions. 1925-—. For more details see section A.4.2 of the present article.
- CoRB: Comitato per la Raccolta Barbi. President: Vittorio Santoli. Its task is to publish the computerized edition of the Barbi National Collection of Italian Folksongs.
- CoSisTI: *Corpo sistematico delle tradizioni popolari italiane*. Directed by Alberto M. Cirese. A computerized program of Italian folklore studies published so far.
- CPT: *Curiosità popolari tradizionali*. Edited by Giuseppe Pitrè. 16 vols. Palermo, 1885-1899. Reissued in photoprint. Bologna: Forni, 1966.
- CRPI: *Canti e racconti del popolo italiano*. Published by Domenico Comparetti and Alessandro D'Ancona. 9 vols. Torino-Firenze, 1870-1891. Reissued in photoprint. Bologna: Forni, 1966-1968.
- DiSt: Discoteca di Stato. Roma, via dei Funari 31. An archive of music, linguistics, and folklore. Publications: *Bollettino di informazioni* (Roma, 1969-); *Catalogo delle registrazioni* (Roma, 1970).

- DS/EdG: *I dischi del sole*. A series of folklore records sponsored by the Istituto Ernesto De Martino and the Edizioni del Gallo of Milan.
- Egeria: SL/AdMP no. 6. See Müller and Wolff (1829).
- El/RB: *Esperimento di elaborazione elettronica di cento testi manoscritti della Raccolta Barbi*. Pisa, 1967.
- Ethn/A: *Ethnos: Bollettino della Società di Etnografia e Tradizioni Popolari nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*. One issue. Bari, 1919.
- Ethn/B: *Ethnos: Bollettino dell'Istituto Nazionale di Demopsicologia*. Edited by I. Borrelli. 2 vols. Napoli, 1922-1923.
- FlCal: *Folklore Calabrese*. A folklore journal directed by Raffaele Lombardi-Satriani. Santo Costantino Briatico, 1915-1920. Subsequent titles: *Folklore: Rivista trimestrale di tradizioni popolari* (1921-1932); *Retaggio* (1932-1934).
- FldC: *Folklore della Calabria: Rivista di tradizioni popolari*. A folklore journal directed by Antonio Basile for the Società Calabrese di Etnografia e Folklore. 8 vols. Palmi, 1956-1963.
- FlIt: *Folklore Italiano: Archivio per la raccolta e lo studio delle tradizioni popolari italiane*. Directed by Raffaele Corso. Napoli, 1925-1936. Subsequently, with a shorter title: *Archivio per la raccolta e lo studio delle tradizioni popolari italiane*. Napoli, 1937-1941. It may be considered continued by FIRTP.
- FIRTP: *Folklore: Rivista trimestrale di tradizioni popolari*. Directed by Raffaele Corso. Napoli, 1946-1957. Continuation of FlIt.
- GbB: *Il Giambattista Basile: Archivio di letteratura popolare*. A folklore journal directed by L. Molinaro Del Chiaro. 10 vols. Napoli, 1883-1910.
- GSLI: *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*.
- IEDM: Istituto Ernesto De Martino. Milano, via Sansovino 13. Publications and research activities: DS/EdG, NCI,SL/ACoMaC, SL/AdMP, SL/AIEDM, SL/AMO, SL/AS.
- InvCP: *Inventario dei canti popolari italiani*. Its activity is promoted by the CISD.
- IstAlb: Istituto di Studi Albanesi. Università di Roma. Folklore traditions of the Albanian enclaves in Italy. Publications: *Tradizioni popolari degli Albanesi d'Italia* (Roma, 1959).
- ITDPS: *Inchiesta sui tipi e le denominazioni del pane in Sardegna*. Promoted by the Cattedra di Storia delle Tradizioni Popolari. Cagliari: Università di Cagliari. Cf. BRADS 1 (1966).
- IVkB: *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*.
- Lar₁: *Lares: Bollettino della Società di Etnografia Italiana*. Directed by Lamberto Loria and subsequently by F. Novati. 4 vols. Roma, 1912-1915.
- Lar₂: *Lares: Organo del Comitato Nazionale per le Tradizioni Popolare*. 14 vols. Firenze, 1930-1931. Roma, 1932-1943. After the war: *Lares: Organo della Società di Etnografia Italiana e dell'Istituto di Storia delle Tradizioni Popolari dell'Università di Roma*. Directed by Paolo Toschi. Firenze, 1949—.
- Lit/Cr: *Letteratura Italiana: I Critici*. Edited by G. Grana. 5 vols. Milano: Marzorati, 1969.
- L/L: *La Lapa: Argomenti di storia e letteratura popolare*. Founded and directed by Eugenio Cirese and Alberto M. Cirese. Rieti, 1953-1955.
- M/1911: *Catalogo della Mostra di Etnografia Italiana in Piazza d'Armi: Esposizione internazionale di Roma, 1911*. Bergamo, 1911.
- MEtnGP: Museo Etnografico Siciliano "Giuseppe Pitrè". Palermo, Parco della Favorita.
- MNATP: Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari. Roma, Piazza Marconi. Directed by Tullio Tentori.

- MusFl: *Museografia e folklore*. A special issue of *Architetti di Sicilia*, nos. 17-18, written for the seminar on "Folklore museums," sponsored by the AssCTP and held in Palermo, 21-24 November 1967. Palermo, 1968.
- NCI: *Il Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano*. Edited by Roberto Leydi and others. 10 issues. IEDM publication. Milano, 1962-1968.
- NT: *Niccolò Tommaseo: Rivista mensile delle tradizioni popolari d'Italia*. Directed by Giovanni Giannini. 2 issues. Arezzo, 1904-1905.
- Pall: *Pallante: Studi di filologia e folklore*. Directed by P. S. Leicht, F. Neri, and L. Suttina. 10 issues. Torino, 1929-1932.
- PSM: *Pitrè e Salomone-Marino*. It contains the papers of the conference for the fiftieth anniversary of Pitrè and Salomone-Marino's deaths. Sponsored by the AssCTP and the Società Italiana per la Storia Patria. The conference was held in Palermo, 25-28 November 1966. Palermo: Flaccovio, 1968.
- RLP: *Rivista di Letteratura popolare*. Directed by Giuseppe Pitrè and F. Sabatini. 4 issues. Roma, 1877-1879.
- RsDRI: *Ricerche sulle dimore rurali in Italia*. A series on rural dwellings in Italy, founded by R. Biasutti and then directed by G. Barbieri and L. Gambi. 22 vols. up to 1968. Sponsored by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. 1938—.
- RTPI: *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane*. Directed by Alessandro De Gubernatis. Roma, 1893-1895. Reissued in photoprint. Bologna: Forni, 1967.
- RvEth: *Rivista di Etnografia*. Directed by Giovanni Tucci. Napoli, 1947—.
- SCN: *Studi in onore di Carmelina Naselli*. Università di Catania, Facoltà di Lettere. 2 vols. Catania, 1968.
- SDFML: *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend*. Edited by Maria Leach. 2 vols. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949-1950.
- SL/ACoMaC: *Strumenti di lavoro/Archivi delle comunicazioni di massa e di classe*. IEDM publication. Milano, 1965—.
- SL/AdMP: *Strumenti di lavoro/Archivi del mondo popolare*. IEDM publication. Milano, 1965—.
- SL/AIEDM: *Strumenti di lavoro/Archivi dell'Istituto Ernesto De Martino*. IEDM publication. Milano, 1970.
- SL/AMO: *Strumenti di lavoro/Archivi del movimento operaio*. IEDM. Milano.
- SL/AS: *Strumenti di lavoro/Archivi sonori*. IEDM recordings collection. Milano, 1968—.
- SMSR: *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*. Journal founded by Raffaele Pettazzoni in 1925 and directed by him until 1954. Continued by A. Brelich. Roma, 1925—.
- S/Pa: *Generi e strutture della letteratura etnica, Symposium di Palermo, 5-10 aprile 1970*. The symposium was organized by the Istituto di Storia delle Tradizioni Popolari dell'Università di Palermo and by the AssCTP. The papers are in press.
- STUDIO: *L'art rustique en Italie*. Special issue of *Studio*, Fall, 1913. Paris. Also in English: *Peasant Art in Italy*.
- Tes: *Il Tesaur*. Directed by Gianfranco D'Aronco. 15 issues. Udine, 1949-1963.
- TrV: *Tradizioni: Rivista di letteratura popolare delle Tre Venezie*. Directed by Gianfranco D'Aronco. Padova, 1961—.
- TtIt: *Tuttitalia: Enciclopedia dell'Italia antica e moderna*. Firenze, 1965.
- U&C: *Uomo e Cultura: Rivista di Studi Etnologici*. Directed by Antonio Buttitta. Palermo, 1968—.
- VdR: *Il Volgo di Roma: Raccolta di costumanze popolari*. Edited by F. Sabatini. Roma: vol. 1, 1890; vol. 2, 1890; vol. 3, 1901.

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