A la Moda dai Salamun

Tourism, Experience and Identity in an Italian Alpine Village

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*For Jude
and for our children
Maryse Pablo Antonio*

ABSTRACT

The people of the European Alps have been the focus of considerable ethnographic research since the late nineteen fifties. During the same period, their cultures have been profoundly transformed by the influence of rapidly developing mass-tourism. Studies in Alpine ethnography have generally taken one of two theoretical approaches, either examining the histories and cultures of mountain-dwelling peoples as ecological adaptations to a marginal ecological environment, or examining their historical situation as one of political and economic "dependency". Research from both perspectives has tended to ignore tourism as a central focus of inquiry. When studies have addressed tourism and its impacts, researchers have generally neglected the existential dimensions of the experience of change, focusing more commonly on structural effects.

Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork, I argue that the major cultural impact of tourism from the perspective of the people of Salamone, a heavily touristed village in the Italian Alps, has been a pervasive process of "cultural disenchantment". Tourism, along with other cultural forces at play in contemporary Italian society has, in the view of Salamonesi themselves, alienated them from a sense of the past and from local traditions. My study explores the means by which the members of this community act to recover historical experience and a sense of place, and adopt historical idioms of expression to both display identity and boundary it from what they perceive as the culturally homogenising effects of the tourist presence.

From a perspective grounded in existential and phenomenological anthropology, I focus on three modes by which historical experience is constituted; historical *inscription* of the landscape and village space; *ethnomimetic enactments* of historical roles and behaviours; and lastly, the *poetics of social interaction* with tourists and other villagers. I argue that these modes provide common forms of expression within which individuals make complex and sometimes contradictory statements about who they are, how they perceive contemporary realities, and how they imagine the cultural and political future in a rapidly unifying Europe.

The experience of long-term fieldwork and a prolonged personal engagement with Salamonese have also opened the possibility of a sustained reflection on the nature of ethnographic inquiry and fieldwork practice. This reflection is the second major theme of this study. Just as Salamonesi "take up" what is given to them by history and transform its meaning through practical means, I argue that practical experience and embodied knowledge lead us to recast our assumptions about the relationship between theory and experience, and the nature and intent of anthropological understanding.

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A Note on Publication

An earlier version of Chapter Eight has appeared as Ridler (1995).

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Introduction

One winter in the late fifties, my father drove our family from Rome to Innsbruck over the Brenner Pass. The journey was to take three days, and late on the second evening, as the roads began to ice and become treacherous, we stopped at an inn somewhere north of Trento for the night. Although I was only five or six, my image of this is still powerful. Like the archetypical inn of travellers' tales, this place had an extraordinary feeling of welcome. The immediate warmth and noise of the crowded main room, the rough feel of its well-used wooden tables, the delicious smells of fresh sawdust on the floor, and of the food, coffee and grappa *being consumed were instantly etched into my memory.*

After dinner, a group of Alpini, *Italian mountain troops, sang at the next table, in the complex and beautiful harmony for which they are famous. Behind them, someone quietly accompanied with an accordion. Among their many songs was* "Quel' Mazzolin' di Fiori" *- one of the best known ballads of the Trentino. It is about love and paints a romantic disappointment against the backdrop of the singular beauty of the Alps. Like many popular Trentino songs, it weaves together a nostalgic sense of the past with a kind of wonderment, which nothing can take away, at the beauty of the Alpine environment. That night, for me as a child, this music found its perfect setting, an ultimate sense of place.*

Thirty years later, and as far away from the Trentino as one can get, at a gathering of Italians in New Zealand, my wife asked an accordionist to play this tune. As he squeezed the first notes from his instrument, almost everyone burst into song. We discovered that it is still a standard when Trentini, or even Italians from other parts of the country, come together. It serves to remind of poorer, if not simpler, times. Its power and its popularity, are undiminished. For me, as perhaps for the others present that night, the memory of this music has served as an emblem: for a place and a way of life which has fascinated me since my first passing visit to the Trentino; and which, in those thirty years, had been utterly transformed.

The remembered Italy of my childhood - an Italy at once urbane and marked by the first stirring of the "economic miracle" of the fifties, yet still a society of widespread, often desperate, poverty - no longer exists. In the sixties and seventies, Italy became a leading economic power and is now, in the late-nineties, one of the wealthiest of European nations. In the space of my own lifetime, Italians, and amongst them the people of the Trentino, have seen a transition from *miseria* (poverty) to *benèssere* (affluence) which those who did not know Italy before those years must find it difficult to imagine. Over the last two decades or so, this process has accelerated to the point

where people who, only a generation ago, were peasants farming mainly for subsistence, now enjoy a standard of living second only in Europe to Germany and France. In terms of *per capita* income, by the nineties Italy ranked amongst the top five OECD nations and - much to the astonishment of most observers - had surpassed even Britain. These changes have been radical, not only as regards the growth of absolute wealth in the country, but also in the pace and rhythm of their social and cultural impacts. Harvey Franklin's prediction some thirty years ago that the European peasantries had arrived at their "final phase", has long been borne out in most of the country (Franklin 1969).

After many years away, throughout the eighties and nineties I returned to Italy a number of times to carry out fieldwork exploring cultural aspects of this transition[1]. The experience of doing so as an ethnographer at a period of profound change within social anthropology has of necessity included at least two continuous yet moving threads; the need, on the one hand, to understand something of the transformed lives of Italians living in one particular valley of the Trentino, and on the other, the requirement that I reflect on the complex thing that practising anthropology - perhaps especially in Europe - has increasingly become, both philosophically and practically, over the last decade or so. This study is thus both a reflection on the contradictory and contested ways in which people in the village of Salamone have "taken up" what has been given to them by their historical situation and on the manner in which an antinomy in anthropology between objectivist and interpretive modes of inquiry expresses a similar epistemological tension between received and created knowledge. My discovery, in writing this dissertation, has been that the study of lived history, experience and identity in the increasingly touristed Trentino, with all its nuanced complexities, offers more than simply another case study of a journey into the post-modern situation. As one amongst myriad contemporary examples of the struggle for localised meaning, it has also afforded, as the philosopher David Levin argues of our present historical situation on a more global scale, an opportunity for a phenomenological "opening of vision" which restores an ontology of mutuality rather than difference to the centre of our discipline (Levin 1988: 470).

The Structure and Intent of this Study

While my research began as an investigation of the economic articulation of traditional agriculture and the burgeoning tourist industry, over the years its centre of gravity shifted to areas closer to the immediate experience of the people I worked with. To some extent, the structure of this study reflects this movement. It also reflects the interplay of the two themes mentioned above, making a journey *via* ethnography, as it were, between two points of theoretical reflection. This journey is in five parts. In Part One, I briefly examine the discursive forces and disciplinary traditions which in

ethnographic writing have produced, both in Alpine ethnography and in the anthropological study of tourism, as two separate and rarely overlapping fields, a similar tendency to overlook the concrete experience and lifeworlds of their ostensible subjects. In concluding, I make a preliminary argument for an existential and phenomenological orientation which informs the ethnography of experienced space, place, time and sociality explored in Part Twos to Four (Chapters Two to Six). In these chapters, I discuss three modes of historical experience expressing fundamental aspects of identity in Salamone, moving from the most "external", the visible traces of the past on the landscape and the village itself, to the most culturally intimate, the performative style of interaction with tourists. In Part Five, I suggest that these modes of experience have a wider political significance, as means of resistance to the historical process of alienation and cultural disenchantment first diagnosed by Marx and Weber as characteristic of the modern condition, and now, for many Alpine peoples, crystallised in the effects of the massive influx of metropolitan tourists to their communities. In then refocus this argument in terms of a theoretical and methodological consideration of the contemporary practice of anthropology, and extend its thrust to suggest a recentreing of anthropological inquiry as a search for commonalities of experience embodied in friendship and practical activity.

The two major concerns of this study interpenetrate throughout and arrive at parallel conclusions in tandem. Both my interpretation of the cultural-historical dynamic at work in Salamone, and my method of approach, take as their point of departure Sartre's concluding observation in *Search for a Method:*

> ...the foundation of anthropology is man himself, not as the object of practical Knowledge, but as a practical organism producing Knowledge as a moment of its praxis (1968:179).

The epistemological conclusion, that anthropology cannot privilege its knowledge of the Other on absolute philosophical grounds, seems to me inescapable. Rabinow, in one of the texts which launched an interpretive sensibility within the discipline, draws it lucidly:

> Anthropology is an interpretive science. Its object of study, humanity encountered as Other, is on the same epistemological level as it is. Both the anthropologist and his informants live in a culturally mediated world, caught up in "webs of signification" they themselves have spun. This is the ground of anthropology; there is no privileged position, no absolute perspective, and no valid way to eliminate consciousness from our activities or those of others. This central fact can be avoided by pretending it does not exist. Both sides can be frozen. We can pretend that we are neutral scientists collecting unambiguous data and that the people we are studying are living amid various unconscious

systems of determining forces of which they have no clue and to which only we have the key. But it is only pretence (Rabinow 1977:151-152).

Writing this study of an Alpine community engaged in the ongoing defence of its identity through the continual re-creation of a vital sense of history and locality has for me enriched, and will - I hope - for those who read it demonstrate, a clear if not yet universally shared vision of the foundations of anthropological inquiry. It is rooted in the conviction that an anthropology which takes seriously its humanist *raison d'être* - which therefore genuinely attends to, even celebrates the complex humanity of those who are its subjects - must itself be grounded in a search for existential commonalities rather than cultural differences, and in the attempt to grasp simultaneously both the immediacy and ultimate indeterminacy of all human experience.

[1]These visits included four major fieldwork trips, and several shorter visits. The longest was the first (December 1980-June 1982), during which my work was initially aimed at forming a general understanding of the social history and contemporary culture of Alpine communities and of the Val Rendena, Province of Trento in particular. As research evolved during this period, my main focus narrowed to social and economic questions related to the transformation of the Alpine transhumance system of agriculture in the village of Salamone, my principal research site. During a second fieldtrip (November 1986-February 1987) I turned my attention more closely to tourism, and worked mainly on the economic aspects of the local industry and on the dynamics of social encounters between tourists and locals. The third prolonged visit (July 1988-February 1989) involved me in a deeper study of the demographic history of the village, of tourism growth, and the history of migration. More recently, on a brief visit in November 1990, and for five months in 1996 (March - July) I investigated the forms of historical experience and cultural "revitalisation" which are the main concern of this work.

Part One

Theory and Experience
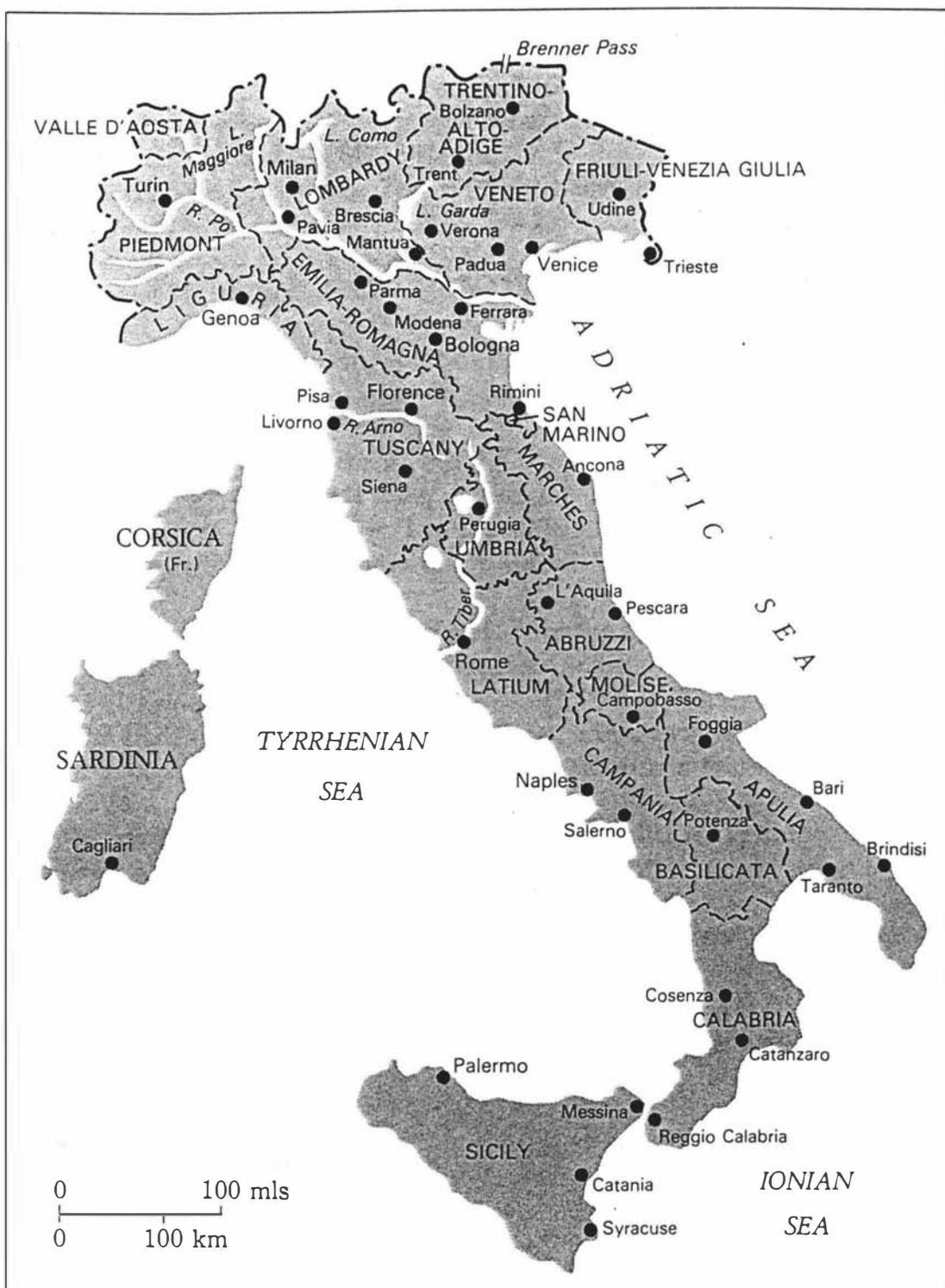
Map 1. Modern Italy
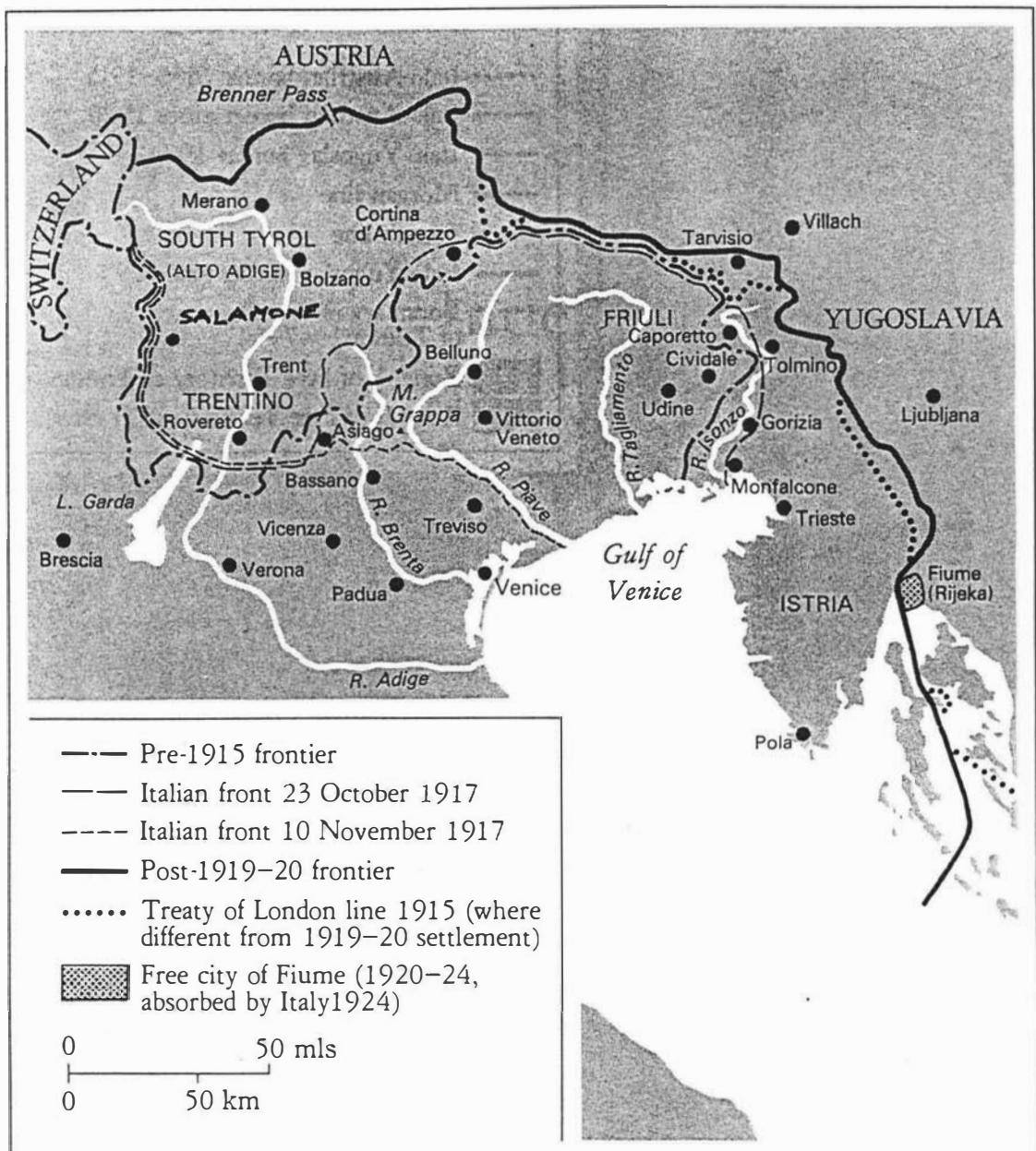
Map 2. Italy's northern frontiers
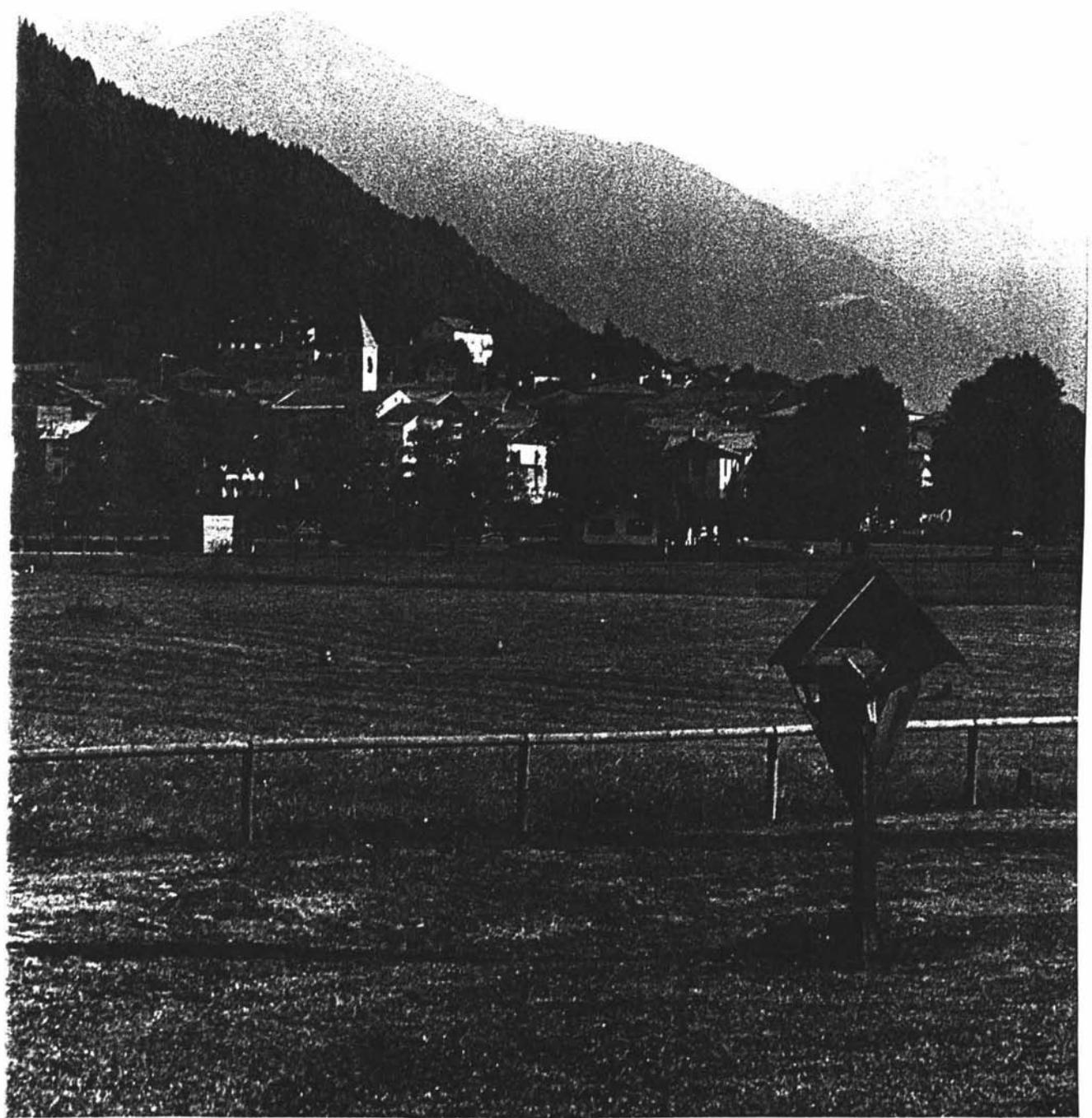
Salamone from the Southwest 1995 (Phot.: KR)

Ch.1: Alpine Ethnography, Tourism Studies and Local Experience

September 1981

It was my first autumn in Salamone, and the soft rains of the season had arrived early, cooling the valley. Mushrooms had begun to push up through the moist litter of the forest floor almost overnight. Most of the tourists had left over the previous fortnight, and Adriana Delpaese and I had spent an undisturbed afternoon above the village searching for porcini (boletus edulis), *the wonderfully fragrant and richly flavoured* funghi *enjoyed by Salamonesi above all others. The woods too were heavily scented from the rain, and the drowsy smell of the larch trees turning gold surrounded us as we strolled home down the stony track.*

We'd been successful and our plastic supermarket sacks were full with various species, promising several good meals of fresh fungi as well as plenty to dry for later. Adriana was talking about how to prepare the different types we'd gathered. The old woman and I were enjoying the afternoon warmth and each other's company. I listened carefully while she explained how to prepare a parasol mushroom (lepiota procera), *the best-known edible member of an elegant, umbrella-shaped family. She recommended dipping it in milk, egg and bread-crumbs, then frying it in butter. It would look and taste almost like milk-fed veal, she said. In New Zealand, I told her, most people ate only one species, and that was almost always fried. Laughing incredulously, she said that there were over a hundred in these woods, of which several dozen were eaten.*

That afternoon Adriana had shown me a great number of them. She was generous with her expertise - her knowledge not only of mushrooms, but of medicinal herbs, flowers and plants was vast, a careful accumulation over most of this century. In Salamone, she was greatly respected for this and, as an avid reader, for her knowledge of local history. While we searched the undergrowth, Adriana had talked about how things had been between the wars, and her own experiences as a young woman living up on the mountainside during the summers. As she told me her story, I was taken by the way she wove her own experiences around the places we were visiting, and set them against the history of the village and of the Trentino. Adriana's sense of unbroken historical continuity - of the ways in which a landscape, a life, and a history can be seamlessly connected - was lucid and commanding.

Returning at the end of the afternoon, I felt myself relaxing further into this enjoyable conversation and not, for once, thinking about fieldwork or the notes I would write later that evening. As we rounded the last corner on a narrow path, we were startled by a brightly-dressed couple, Italian tourists. Their fluorescent sportswear seemed out of place against the soft colours of the autumn landscape. As we neared

them, without a word, the man raised a camera, snapped our photograph, then turned and hurried quickly away. The furtive look of a boy caught pilfering smeared his face as he swung around. Unable to bring himself to speak, he had stolen our image. The sound of the shutter hung dead and final in the air for a moment before the cricking of the insects flooded back to us.

I had to ask. Having taken so many photographs myself since the beginning of my fieldwork nine months before, I wanted to know what Adriana felt now. What did she think of it: the tourists, the photographs? Her reply was brief and forceful.

"They look at us as if we were animals."

Certain moments, perhaps unremarkable at the time, live on to form troubling nodes in memory from which it is impossible to escape. Something intangible leads us back, again and again, to recast them retrospectively, each time in a different light. We recall and retell them with renewed or transformed purpose, worrying after some definitive meaning, a meaning which persists in eluding us.

This is how it is for me with this moment of the photograph shared with Adriana so many years ago. With each return in memory, this business of having our image stolen, and her comment about it, seems more evocative, more richly iconic. From a simple, if unwelcome, intrusion on a quiet, sunny afternoon, it has come to suggest a discourse in which anthropologists, and not only tourists, are also implicated. To steal an image is, after all, a simple thing; but to create one, and cause others to wear it, demands, as Said has shown us, power, persistence and craft (Said 1978).

In particular, Adriana's response to my question has, with the passing of time, come to provide a point of departure for reflection on anthropologists' and others' characterisations of Alpine peoples and the mass-tourism on which their communities, by and large, now depend. Like the tourist-photographer stealing our image on that afternoon, I suggest, we and others concerned with the study of Alpine peoples have often constructed accounts which, by ignoring the existential orientations and contemporary experiences of Alpine peoples, have dehumanised and disempowered them in our eyes and theirs. In this respect, our imageries have paralleled the often alienating impact of mass-tourism itself. Ironically, similar effects result from the ways in which tourism has often been studied by scholars interested in the social changes it produces.

In this chapter, my dual task is to briefly explore some parallel aspects of the architecture of Alpine ethnography and of studies of tourism, in order to suggest a different approach.[1] In concluding, I foreshadow an experiential orientation, developed in the body of my study, which leads toward a radically different picture of the situation of the people who live in the European Alps and of the tourism which is transforming

their world. In the image I work towards, Alpine peoples appear not as *bestie*, as Adriana put it, or simple objects of a foreign "gaze" (Urry 1990b), but as complexly motivated and often effective historical agents sometimes accommodating and sometimes resisting change in their communities as historical circumstances and their existential projects allow.

A Brief History of Alpine Ethnography: Ecological vs. Historical Determinism

As Adriana's forceful comment suggested, popular perceptions of Alpine peoples by outsiders have almost universally had at their core a received image in which insularity, passivity and dependence combine to signify them as beasts of burden silently reacting (or failing to react) at the margins of national histories and cultures. We can find here, barely submerged, the portrait of the peasant as *cafone*[2], the long-suffering, ultimately defenceless entity depicted in the works of Carlo Lévi (1945) or Ignazio Silone (1949, 1955). Unlike these writers, however, whose works struggled against stereotypes and are often cited in Italy as ethnographic models, anthropologists have often shared with popular thought an image of Alpine peoples as an homogeneous, a-historical and politically powerless class.

In ethnographic studies of the Alps, from about 1960 onwards, two general theoretical orientations have underpinned this representation. Although opposed to the extent that they assume differing *ultimate* determinants of the forms of social organisation characteristic of Alpine populations, they share a received orientation which ignores agency as an explanatory factor in accounting for the diversity of cultural expression amongst Alpine peoples or for the contemporary situation of individual communities.

The first approach is a most simply characterised as a functionalist perspective found in two variants; one strongly conditioned by British structural-functionalism and, the other, across the Atlantic, an ecologically determinist perspective deriving from the work of Julian Steward (see, in particular, Steward 1955). This earlier approach, characteristic of the pioneering studies of the fifties and sixties, focused on forms and mechanisms of material and social-institutional adaptation to the Alpine ecological environment. The second major theoretical perspective is equally determinist, but has founded its understanding of the marginal situation of Alpine peoples in an *historically determinist* conception of a relation of dependency with metropolitan forces. This approach, dominant in the literature of the seventies and eighties, is ultimately rooted in the work of Latin American dependency theorists, most notably Frank (1969a & b), and in the later world-system formulations of Wallerstein (1974) and Wolf (1982). Its focus, broadly speaking, has been on metropolitan forces at play in capitalist

development in rural settings and the resulting processes of modernisation and culture change, including the impacts of declining agriculture, the growth of the "worker-peasantry" (Franklin 1969; Holmes 1989) and the development of tourism as the economic mainstay of mountain economies.

I turn now to a closer discussion of this literature, arguing that despite their differing ontologies, both have acted to position Alpine peoples similarly, obscuring what might have been of most interest to anthropologists; the multiform, often metaphoric and, I suggest, always experientially grounded ways in which they themselves have represented their own localities, histories and identities in relation to those beyond their immediate communities.

i) Heidi-ism: Functionalist Reductionism

Given the Victorian anthropologists' early interest in the Mediterranean and Europe, it is one of our discipline's great ironies that until the 1950s, the cultures of the area remained largely *terra incognita* to systematic ethnography, particularly by Anglophone researchers.[3] In British anthropology, European studies did not surface until the immediate post-war years, encouraged by Evans-Pritchard, who was influential both in establishing Europe as a legitimate "site" and in shaping the orientation of a number of studies. Amongst these, most influential were the work of Pitt-Rivers (1954/1971) and Campbell (1964), both of which were carried out in what might very broadly have been considered alpine environments (although not in the European Alps), and that of Boissevain (1965) in Malta. These monographs reflected the social-typological and structural concerns characteristic of British research in Africa and South Asia during the previous two decades.[4] Thus, the Oxford anthropologists' interests in the relationship between "values" and social structure, or more broadly between ideology and social equilibrium, predicated on a homeostatic model of society, are close to the surface in the European and Mediterranean ethnography of the period. Cognate emphases were evident in some early American studies of European communities, such as Wylie's (1957) work on Peyrane in the French Massif Centrale and E. Friedl's (1963) work on Vasilika in northern Greece. The collective hallmark of these studies is that they were primarily concerned with the analysis of the day-to-day functioning of systems of kinship, affinity and friendship or other dominant idioms of social structure (most centrally honour and patronage) to maintain over time specific forms of political process and/or economic organisation.

In Alpine ethnography, this theoretical orientation was reflected in a number of early studies carried out in the late sixties and early seventies by a group of graduate students then under the supervision of Bailey, who organised a large scale project mounted from

the University of Sussex. This work was reported in two volumes published in the early seventies, and included papers by Bailey himself, Codd, Colcough, J. Hutson, S. Hutson, Heppenstall, and Vincent which explored local level politics and/or the social-structural impacts of economic change in a range of Alpine communities from the Pyrennes west to the South Tyrol (Bailey 1971, 1973). Viewed as a series, these papers extended the structural-functional perspective beyond a preoccupation with continuity to one with change. While disinclined to adopt the purely static picture of rural communities presented in earlier British work, and indeed already highlighting local level changes tied to the decline in mountain agriculture of the fifties and sixties, virtually all of these studies pursued questions surrounding the breakdown of what were, in effect, homeostatic mechanisms of social equality in mountain villages. Little further work on Alpine communities followed from this group, one important exception being two later articles by Vincent, who subsequently published comparative research on development issues and on ethnicity in the Val D'Aosta and Kashmir from a dependency theory perspective (Vincent 1980, 1982; cf. my discussion below).

Amongst American anthropologists, initial work on Alpine communities along the main divide had begun in the late 1950's and early 1960's, and not surprisingly - given the equally functionalist tenor of the dominant American social scientific theory of this period - was also founded in "objectivist" and a-historical positions. Here though, unlike the British studies, most work was strongly shaped by cultural-ecological concerns, examining "the Alpine village as an ecosystem" (Viazzo 1989:16). The earliest study was Burns' 1961 paper on the Dauphiné which argues for a "close correlation that exists locally between a specific type of community and an equally well-defined type of physical setting" (1961:19). Similarly, an initial publication by Wolf based on research in two villages in the northern Trentino stressed the ecological unity of Alpine environments, although arguing that this might be overlaid by distinctive cultural traditions. Interestingly, in terms of the later directions Wolf's research was to take, he also noted the cultural dependence of these communities on the "expressive behaviour of pace-setting cosmopolitan elites, an approximation miming a social and economic equality denied by the reality of peasant life" (Wolf 1962:14; but cf. Wolf 1982). In the event, Wolf, as we shall see below, was to substantially modify his assessment of the impact of ecological factors on cultural forms, and in later work with Cole adopted a rigorously historical perspective on the central problem of this early paper, namely the genesis of varying settlement patterns in the Alps (Cole and Wolf 1974).[5]

In a further, more programmatic paper, Burns distinguished a distinct "Circum-Alpine Culture Area" (Burns 1963). This, he wrote, was "unified by several persistent underlying cultural patterns, the distribution of which corresponds more or less closely to the mountain zone as physiographically and ecologically defined" (ibid.:130). The

Alps were a "region of cultural climax", comparable definitionally to the American Great Plains, representing "the end product of a long-term process of evolutionary adjustment covering a period of some four thousand years" (ibid.). His criteria included: transhumance-based agriculture; articulation with urban economies; particular kinship and inheritance systems (stem-families and primogeniture); the existence of closed corporate communities and a "cantonal" form of political organisation; education and high skill-levels, and the historical presence of Protestant heresies and sects (ibid.:134-154). Overall, he concluded, the pattern was one which "represents an orderly, independent synthesis of diverse traits and patterns *accepted from virtually all of Europe's culture areas*" (ibid.:154, my emphasis), but which was clearly and distinctively constrained by adaptation to the economically marginal Alpine environment.

Further American studies concerning various aspects of this framework followed in the late sixties and early seventies. Cole, a student and later co-author with Wolf, began studies in the same Italian villages Wolf had studied (Cole 1969). J. Friedl, Weinberg, and Netting initiated long-running studies in the Swiss Valais, and Berthoud continued work there begun some years earlier (Berthoud 1967). All of these ethnographers presented papers at a bench-mark symposium held at the 1971 meetings of the American Anthropological Association held in New York under the title "Dynamics of Ownership in the Circum-Alpine Area" (Berthoud 1972a). Honigmann, who as early as 1960 was already researching occupational divisions among peasants and "worker-peasants" of the Austrian Steiermark, in summarising noted that the principle focus of studies over the previous ten years had been on peasants and farmers, primarily from an ecological viewpoint, at the expense of an examination of change predicated on the development of industry and tourism (Honigmann 1963, 1972:199). He described this as "salvage anthropology" and was critical of the relative neglect of "modernising processes" and, in passing, of the personal dimensions (the "imponderabilia" as he termed the relation between individuals and culture) of Alpine life (ibid.:200). Wolf, the other *rapporteur*, while still stressing the value of cultural-ecological perspectives, argued that future research should "...combine...inquiries into multiple local ecological contexts with a greater knowledge of social and political history, [and] the study of inter-group relations in wider structural fields" (Wolf 1972: 205).

The symposium was a watershed for Alpine ethnography. Over the next decade, cultural-ecological studies proliferated while a number of ethnographers also responded to Wolf's call to develop more sophisticated historical and political analyses. I will examine the latter development in the following section; as regards the former trend, the foremost study of the seventies was an enormously detailed quantitative analysis produced by Netting, reported as it developed in a series of papers throughout the

decade and eventually incorporated in a monograph in 1981 (Netting 1981). Netting's central argument was that the key to long-term survival and internal stability for Törbel, a community in the Swiss Valais whose population history he carefully tracked, lay in complex system of demographic checks and balances regulated by an inheritance system ensuring the maintenance of viable, if fragmented, agricultural units. While Netting himself was cautious about the comparative extension of this idea, others were not so reticent. Rhoades and Thompson argued that it might usefully be extended from Alpine Swiss to Khumbu Sherpas in northern Nepal and Andean peasants to "explain the evolution of parallel social institutions in alpine environments" (1975:548). Analogous fragmented systems of landownership in the European Alps and amongst Sherpa, they wrote, "offer perhaps the strongest testimony that successful subsistence agricultural adaptation to an alpine region requires rather specific institutions, *regardless of the group's historical, cultural or biological background*" (ibid:540; my emphasis). Drawing also on Webster's detailed study of "mixed pastoralism" in the Q'ero culture region of the southern Andes (Webster 1973), they concluded that, in terms of the labour organisation of agriculture, such communities were also strictly comparable to the mixed mountain agriculture practised in Swiss and Himalayan contexts (ibid.:547).

Whether or not such comparisons were justified remains, some two decades later and in the absence of comparative research on the necessary scale, an open question. Netting's own final qualification, following Steward, that "[d]eterminism in any clear, unmitigated sense can seldom be discerned among the tangled threads of history" (Netting 1981:224), was observed, in a number of studies, mostly in the breach. At least in American anthropology, through to the mid-seventies, the notion that the social and cultural character of European Alpine communities was in the first instance rooted in the environmental characteristics of the mountain environment itself arguably set the terms of reference for studies of a wide variety of practices and institutions. In a "revisionist" version articulated in Viazzo's major study, discussed further below, it still defines a series of prominent debates (Viazzo 1989).

ii) The Image of Dependency

Berthoud, who had organised the 1971 symposium session and edited its proceedings as a special issue of *Anthropological Quarterly*, had put the case against a reductionist cultural-ecological view perhaps even more strongly than Wolf. He criticised Burn's position as both "elemental and a-historical" (Berthoud 1972a:118), and observed that all the papers presented at the symposium documented "villages [which were] progressively losing their peasant mode of production and...being absorbed, or at least

dominated, in one way or another, by different forms of capital" (ibid.).The crucial issue, as he put it, was not how the social organisation of Alpine communities reflected ecology, but rather an historical one, namely how such communities articulated peasant and capitalist modes of production. Ecology was properly to be considered a *factor* amongst others contributing to the historically unique development of Alpine areas. Its explanatory significance lay in the fact that it had effectively underpinned the "differential evolution of the hierarchical lord-peasant relationship" by buffering the Alpine region from the historical forces at work in the development of feudalism in the lowlands. This ecological-historical conjuncture, acting to preserve pre-feudal communal and/or individual forms of landownership, subsequently conditioned the *historically* specific form of survival of an Alpine peasant mode of production. The ecological distinctiveness of the Alpine region was not *per se* a definitive determinant of forms of social organisation, but rather "the specificity of its historical process" (ibid.:119).

Berthoud's critique initiated at least a partial shift in the orientation of studies in the field. While, as I have already indicated, ecologically-based perspectives continued to be vigorously advanced, from the mid-1970s onwards an increasing number of ethnographers took up the study of historical and contemporary articulations between metropolitan and peripheral economic formations as a central theoretical problem. From attempting to recover a pristine peasantry in the Alps the centre of gravity of the field began to shift to studies of change, exploring the growth, for example, of the Alpine "worker-peasantry" and examining the impacts of burgeoning tourism development.

In these studies, the image of Alpine villages embedded in wider systems of economic, political and cultural links structured in terms of centre-periphery, or metropole-satellite relations - relations of unequal exchange and economic dependency similar to those pertaining between First and Third Worlds - assumed paradigmatic status. Rosenberg, Reiter and Reiter, for example, in an early paper which argued that the principal impact of Alpine tourism development was an increase in economic and social polarisation, adopted the Frankian paradigm, and its terminology, almost directly:

> The communes stand in relation to the forces behind tourist development schemes as satellite to metropolis. The capitalist metropolitan economy imposes itself on peasant productive and social relationships, and redefines the region's resources and social relations (1973:36).

In broader historical perspective, two monographs published the following year placed Alpine villages in the context of intensifying historical forces transforming the "traditional" bases of community life. Cole and Wolf's influential monograph contrasted

a German and a Romance village, not far from my own fieldwork site, in the Val di Non in the Trentino, while J. Friedl's examined post-war developments partly resulting from tourism in Kippel in the Swiss Valais (Cole and Wolf 1974; J. Friedl 1974).

Both positioned their communities within a dialectical relationship of incorporation which, as Cole and Wolf put it, ultimately "generates an ongoing transformation over time which subjects the narrower unit to ever more comprehensive processes of integration, or synthesis" (Cole and Wolf 1974:3-4). Attacking ecological reductionism directly, this meticulous ethnography located the evolution of ecologically specific agricultural practices and cognate institutions (centrally the differing inheritance systems dominant in their two villages), within the framework of regional and national economic and political histories.

Cole and Wolf argued that their material "raised doubts...about the usefulness of ecological anthropology in the study of complex societies" (ibid.:284). Such societies dynamically incorporated both "negative" and "positive feedback" processes in which a simple homeostasis was constantly transformed and transcended. Secondly, the processes of fusion and synthesis at work were profoundly influenced by a "specifically political element that transforms problems of ecological limitations into decisions of a *political* economy" (ibid.:285). Alpine adaptations (and their diversity) could only be understood within a wider framework:

> We, therefore, cannot understand the microecology of St. Felix and Tret without raising questions about the changing economic and political systems which encompass them and to which they must respond. The institutions of market and state relate to local ecological processes, but they are not explicable in microecological terms (ibid).

Pivotal to the "political-ecological" understanding these authors proposed was the role of regional and national elites in the process of historical incorporation into national structures. Patterns of adaptation in the Alps, and their diversity, could not, they suggested, be reduced either to ecological factors, nor were they "inherent" in local cultures, but reflected individual communities responses at differing periods to the competing interests of the politically powerful within the broader field (ibid.:287).

Friedl's primarily descriptive study also examined, though in the shorter perspective of the post-war period, the decline of traditional agriculture and its institutions. Focusing on new economic pressures and cultural processes from about 1960 onwards, particularly modern communication, tourism and the media, he put the view that modern forms of communication had erased the contrast between country and city. The most that might be hoped for, he somewhat patronisingly concluded for the Valais

community he studied, was that the process of cultural incorporation *might somehow be controlled by planners*, providing "enough protection for the mountain people that tourism, or any other form of economic advancement thrust upon them, can be mollified to the point where they can adapt their way of life to their new socio-economic environment, rather than having it molded for them" (Friedl 1974:127).

iii) Revisionism: Historical Studies and an Emerging Image of Agency

By the late seventies, core-periphery models were widely used to describe North-South relations in Europe in general (Boissevain and Friedl 1975; Tarrow 1977; Seers et.al. 1979; Grillo 1980), and increasingly provided the dominant language for studies of the Alps concerned with specifically cultural-political (as opposed to ecological) processes. Papers dealing with issues as diverse as the psychological dynamics of Alpine Italian family life (Saunders 1979), drinking behaviour as symbolic of identity in Alpine France (Gibson and Weinberg 1980), and Passion Plays as idioms of community solidarity in Bavaria (Lang & Lang 1984), examined local level social processes as epiphenomena of metropolitan politico-economic processes and forces.

The emerging argument was concisely summed in a 1980 paper on the political economy of Alpine development highlighting - on the basis of a study in the Val d'Aosta in Italy - the common politico-economic trajectory of the transition from agriculture to tourism in many Alpine villages (Vincent 1980). Unlike a number of the authors, however, Vincent adopted an articulationist viewpoint, arguing that here, as in numerous other "dependent" sites, the process of economic incorporation might be mitigated by the specific character of the relation between metropole and satellite at a given historical moment, such that a relative degree of autonomy was possible at the periphery in particular times and places. Thus, the residents of St. Maurice, during the late sixties and early seventies, a period of economic downturn in the national tourism industry, were able to resist further externally driven development in favour of more autonomous agricultural intensification (ibid.:266-267). In a later comparative paper, he argued that here, as in the Indian Kashmir, resistance to metropolitan political domination was also expressed in cultural idioms which politicised and re-defined ethnic identities (Vincent 1982). At about the same time, an important collection of work by French and Swiss scholars appeared in Europe, providing both the first comprehensive social history of the Alps and a number of more specific studies documenting in comparative perspective, the contemporary situation in particular regions of the Alpine chain (Guichonnet 1980). Again, and here in greater historical depth, many of the authors stressed local responses to wider political forces as

differentiating factors at play in economic adaptation and the elaboration of local identities.

By the late eighties, two major historical studies in English by anthropologists addressing issues of cultural diversity and of local agency had also appeared (Rosenberg 1988; Viazzo 1989). Both monographs, although from widely differing theoretical perspectives, dealt with the transformation of Alpine communities in longer perspective. Both, unlike earlier "dependency" oriented studies, focused extensively on strategies actively adopted by Alpine peoples to engage with broader social and political networks.

Rosenberg's *A Negotiated World: Three Centuries of Change in a French Alpine Community* (1988) was arguably the first community-centred ethnography to present the theme of local resistance, in this case that of villagers of Arbries in the Brianconnais, in long term historical perspective. In broad outline, Rosenberg charted the transformations in village life from the Old Regime (early 1700s) to the present day, focusing specifically on forms of local political and economic activity designed to preserve the autonomy of the Commune of Arbries against increasing political and legal incursions from the French Revolution onwards. Like the studies discussed in the previous section, Rosenberg broadly positioned the community she studied in a dependent relationship with regional and national centres; unlike them, however, her historical account provided "a cautionary tale" in a dialectical mode by highlighting agency,

> eliminating the notion that rural people are "traditionally" poor or apolitical. Peasant poverty or wealth, political mobilisation or passivity, are not givens. Rather, they are aspects of peasant society requiring historically contextualized explanations (Rosenberg 1988:3).

What emerged clearly from Rosenberg's study was the extent to which the Arbriesois had struggled to control the channels of political communication and connection which linked them to Paris, initially as part of the "Little Republic of the Brianconnais", and later - from about 1880 onwards - as an element of the Canton of Aiguilles (ibid.:75). A wide range of strategies were adopted, including the use of "buffers" in the form of locally controlled administrators, passive resistance, alliance with other similarly placed communes, the employment of a lobbyist in Paris itself, and (when all else failed) attempts to ingratiate themselves with metropolitan officials in the local administrations. Gradually, with the decline of subsistence agriculture and the spread of capital-intensivity in the nineteenth century, as almost everywhere in the Alps, their ability of maintain decision making processes at a local level declined. Yet, despite this ultimate failure to secure political autonomy, Rosenberg's portrait - like those of Vincent and Guichonnet in other regional and temporal contexts - is that of an Alpine

community practising sustained and varied strategies to counter "dependency" over a period of virtually three hundred years.

Similar conclusions, though framed in a more sociological register, that of the role of population dynamics, were also reached in the other major study (Viazzo 1989). Viazzo, in a definitive work which marshalled an enormous body of comparative material, provided a sophisticated empirical critique of the cultural-ecological research from within its own body of theoretical assumptions. The scope of the study was extremely broad, reconsidering the inter-relation of environment, population and social-structural dynamics in the Alpine regions since the sixteenth century. His conclusion, rather cautiously stated in terms familiar from the cultural-ecological literature, nonetheless clearly implied that local political initiatives, as much as any other factor, explained the particular form of community characteristic of the Alps, and its accommodation or resistance to incorporation in wider economic systems:

> All in all, the Alpine evidence...suggests that "strong" corporate structures were in fact capable of vigorously resisting outside economic forces and, in some circumstances, of maintaining not only a comparatively closed economy but also a largely closed population. The relation between "weak" corporate structures and migration was, on the other hand, mediated by the kind of economic change which external forces had brought about....It would therefore seem that a "strong" corporate community was able to prevent or slow down emigration not so much directly (because of rights it conferred to its members) as indirectly through the resistance it opposed to economic changes...(ibid.:285).

Both these closely observed historical accounts, albeit on very different scales, recognised the centrality of local initiatives neglected by the earlier literature, and suggested that the universal processes of capitalist incorporation of Alpine communities into metropolitan spheres were accompanied historically by effective local processes of institutional resistance. By and large, however, Vincent, Rosenberg and particularly Viazzo's accounts continued to adopt historical arguments which elided non-local readings of the past, theorising local resistance in terms of metropolitan institutions and values.

Thus, despite the opening towards a consideration of agency which these works presented, it remains the case that to date there are no anthropological studies of the contemporary situation which make local understandings of the past, or the construction and expression of contemporary experience, pivotal to an understanding of either historical change or contemporary relations between locals and the wider social context. As I argue in the concluding section of this chapter, this absence continues to

impoverish our understanding not only of specific histories, but of contemporary forms of cultural expression and idioms of identity.

Avenues of Vision on Tourism: Phenomenological vs. Structural Approaches

I turn now to survey a second body of literature pertinent to framing this study, that which concerns the anthropology of tourism. As is the case for the ethnography of Alpine communities, two main contrasting approaches define much of the anthropological literature in this field since its inception in the mid-seventies. While recently they do show a degree of convergence around issues to do with constructions of locality and identity, much of the earlier research can be defined in terms of a focus on either the *phenomenology of the tourist's experience* or, on the other hand, *structural politico-economic factors* and related cultural impacts.[6]

Schematising this opposition somewhat simplistically in order to highlight both literatures' most glaring omission, I would suggest that the broad differences in perspective between phenomenological and politico-economic approaches have equated directly to a focus on the contrasting experiential avenues of vision of tourism's consumers, on the one hand, and - albeit from a critical viewpoint - that of the generally non-local or elite producers, on the other. Inevitably perhaps, as a result, much of this literature leaves the impression that its two dominant streams have operated in very different spheres. Where they have intersected in the past, it has been around contextually "reading the tourist" (Lofgren 1994:103), addressing broadly sociological aspects of the touristic encounter, again at the expense of what I will argue is the anthropological "heartland", the mediatory experience of locals themselves.[7]

i) Phenomenological Views and The "Tourist Gaze"

The birth of mass-tourism is conventionally dated by the departure of Thomas Cook's first "organised excursion", a train outing from Leicester to a Temperance Meeting in Loughborough, in July of 1841 (Turner and Ash 1975:51; Swinglehurst 1982:7). The choice is debatable, but emblematic: Cook's vision of cheap travel was deeply ideological, harnessed to the twin notions of progress and self improvement, enduring themes in the marketing of tourist travel. Less idealistically, it seems likely that the popular appeal of Cook's tours rested partly on meeting a burgeoning Victorian and (later) Edwardian desire - signalled also in the birth of anthropology - to contemplate social and cultural difference. In both popular and academic reflections on touristic experience, the dominant metaphor still combines both impulses, and remains the displaced "gaze" as a means and idiom of metamorphosis: tourists travel to see and

be seen, and to transform themselves, beyond and outside the mundane (Urry 1990b:2-4).

Phenomenologically inclined authors have consistently taken as their point of departure some aspect of this densely-packed notion that the tourist experience is both transitory and transformative, and that it hinges on visual consumption. Being a tourist, the broad argument runs, is experientially radically different from ordinary life: in everyday lifeworlds interpersonal encounters form part of an ongoing fabric of intersubjective relationship founded in a *gestalt* of sensory modalities. Thus, the fact that tourism is both primarily about visual consumption and directed toward relatively transient pleasure rather than a broader range of instrumental purposes doubly constitutes the tourist experience as an experiential "departure" (Smith 1978:2).

Anthropologists, perhaps more attuned than most to the personal impacts of cultural dislocation, have emphasised the degree to which this departure is motivated by the search for, and/or results in an existential alteration of self. As an extension of different ways of seeing tourism, of course, also fosters new ways of *being seen*, as in the adoption of unaccustomed clothing, body adornment, perfumes - in short, physical *persona*. For many tourists, and (co-incidentally) for anthropologists in the field, they suggest, movement from their own societies into others is experienced as a refreshed or altered sense of the embodied or sensual self. Such experiences are easily connected to a sense of social disinhibition and perceived as a "recreational" transformation of identity through a release from the work-dominated rhythms and orientations of the tourists' own cultures (E. Cohen 1972; Crick 1990; Smith 1978; Boissevain 1996).

This phenomenological contrast with ordinary experience early on led a number of writers to see tourism as a search for existential "authenticity" lacking in modern metropolitan life (E. Cohen 1974, 1979a; MacCannell 1976, 1992). Some anthropologists (most notably Graburn 1978, 1983) have construed this as a kind of "sacred journey", a profane version of the "spirit quest" or pilgrimage. In Graburn's view, the tourist's journey is like a religious pilgrimage in secular mode, and follows the familiar ritual trajectory of separation-liminality-reintegration. Like rituals and pilgrimages in general, it involves seeking a liminal or rather, liminoid, condition of social inversion, a transformed field of meaning which allows the recreation of identity by encouraging a different and sometimes deepened subjectivity. Classically, this is the ground of "cultural" - as opposed to purely "recreational" - tourism, which aims to provide the transformative experience through contrast, fostering and yet containing an encounter with "Otherness" based on strongly exoticised objects of visual and experiential consumption.

Recent writing, in the European context in particular, has focused on an increasingly economically important variant, offering the tourist a deepened experience of their own

alienated or poorly understood historical identity, rather than its radical transformation. Such "historical tourism" satisfies a search for roots, for a "golden past", and the desire to participate, even if only temporarily, in a lifestyle suggestive of an idealised local history (Abram 1996; Boissevain 1992b; Odermatt 1996; Zarkia 1996). Recreated historical sites and re-enacted performances are here constructed to pull together natural settings and historical tropes with idealised, and generally "blurred" identities; as part of the burgeoning "heritage industry", this form of tourism has close links to the production of regional and national, as opposed to local, self-imageries (Lofgren 1989). Like the other "tourisms", although perhaps more transparently, historical tourism systematically manufactures its object for the visual consumption, creating "an essentially 'artefactual' history" in which, as one critic observes, "history is distorted because of the predominant emphasis on visualisation" (Urry 1990b: 112).

Considered together, these explorations of these various tourisms and motivations they reflect, extending over two decades, contributed to a sense of the multiplicity of tourists' modes of experience (E. Cohen 1979a). They also implied another, more sociological dimension of the tourist's experience. While, from an essentially individual viewpoint, tourism - whether 'recreational', 'cultural' or 'historical' - remains a self-conscious search for altered states of identity, there is often the desire to distance experience not only from the mundane self but also as far as possible from other tourists. Many tourists are deeply ambivalent about tourism as a popular form of consumer identity. Much of the contemporary marketing of tourism internationally pivots on means of differentiating tourist identities and dissociating the tourist's individual experience from that of the "mass" (Crick 1989a: 308-309). The issue of taste, of distinction and judgement as functions of class-stratified *habitus*, so extensively analysed by Bourdieu (1984) in another context, at least for some classes, forms an *intrinsic* dimension of the architecture and dynamic of the tourist experience. Hence, what is initially an egocentric gratification develops, is intensified or qualified by a sense of uniqueness: the more individual the tourist's experience, the more valuable it appears.

Ironically, this sought-for distinctive engagement with other people and places at the core of various tourisms' individual and industrial self-imagery is frequently negated by the scale of the industrial structures, and the temporary time-frame, which together shape the mass-touristic style of travel. Thus, the vexed issue of the authenticity of the tourist's experience has also been an enduring theme in the literature where it has dealt with the character of encounters with locals, rather than tourist's motivations. In an early paper, E. Cohen described tourist's experiences as taking place in an experiential and "environmental bubble", and stressed the alienated relation between the tourist and their context (E. Cohen 1972:166, but see also 1973, 1979a & b). Others have shown

that tourists' perceptions of other cultures, particularly as the scale of tourism increases are very frequently stereotypical, as Adriana also suggested, as - after a certain degree of exposure - are hosts' perceptions of visitors (Pi-Sunyer 1978; Bowman 1989; Crick 1994; Martinez 1996). Such stereotypes are, of course, political in the most personal sense, and are connected on both sides of the encounter to wider systems of power which, as Bowman - one of the few authors to examine touristic encounters from the phenomenological perspective of locals - has recently described, profoundly condition strategic relations between locals and tourists, the poetics of encounter, and the narrative accounts which locals give of interactions with tourists (Bowman 1996).

I return to the question of authenticity in relation to process of cultural commoditisation in the following section, however, it is worth pointing here to another line of argument which suggests that the issue is of decreasing importance, at least to some types of tourist. A number of writers are now exploring tourist experiences and their constructed contexts as aspects of what Eco, in a now classic description of popular representation in American culture, described as "travels in hyper-reality" (Eco 1986). Eco surveyed museums, historical reconstructions, theme parks, and the ultimate "degenerate utopia" - Disneyland - as semiotic spaces where the "boundaries between real and illusion are blurred...and falsehood is enjoyed in a situation of 'fullness'" (ibid: 8). Such spaces, he suggested, "establish reassurance through Imitation" (ibid.:57). In the twenty or so years since Eco wrote this piece, the global development of large numbers of similar theme parks, of adventure tourism, and the international sex-tourism industry all signal, if in widely differing ways, that many forms of tourism may now be less about edification than pleasure, and that various tourisms and the environments they create are increasingly unanchored in an engagement with the lifeworlds of those who have been thought of as "hosts". These post-modern contexts, and the touristic "gaze" they accommodate, reflect the needs of (or perhaps breed) a post-tourist, who "...knows that...tourism is a game, or rather a whole series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience" (Urry 1990b:100).

The emerging phenomenological literature's demonstration of the range of motivations, representations, "gazes", contexts and finally meanings embedded in touristic experience not only continues to challenge the reductive popular notion that tourism is a single form of experience, but also subverts the idea that tourism in the contemporary context is about a search for Otherness in any terms in which we may have previously understood it. Mass-tourism, at least, as Crick observes, is now "very much about our culture, not about their culture and our desire to learn about it" (Crick 1989a: 328). This is not a negligible insight, and clearly connects with the changing configurations of tourism from a metropolitan viewpoint, yet the fact remains that with very few exceptions, the phenomenological literature of tourist experience continues to

reveal more about tourists' "myths and fantasies" (ibid.:329), and the "tourist image" (Selwyn 1996) than about the cultural dynamic and individual meanings of the tourist encounter conceived as a phenomenon of cross-cultural encounter.

An important theoretical critique and point of ethnographic *entrée* emerges from this, for even at the level of individualised touristic experience, a *particular* form of "tourist gaze" is not reducible to the phenomenal experience of the tourist. With the exception of the most hyper-real of contexts, it is always inter-subjectively located, intrinsically connected with, even in a small-scale an instance as Salamone, an effective and specifically "targeted" series of industrial structures, and with local lifeworlds which produce particular objects of vision, contain and intensify the experience of them, and ultimately, constrain and boundary ways of seeing. Each moment of the "gaze", each concrete encounter, proposes not only an action on the part of the tourist, but an inherently socially positioned interaction; not only "being there" but acting and seeing within what some Italian commentators have called a *cultura turistica* (Bruschi et. al. 1987). Thus local histories, shaped by relations with the metropolitan culture and processes of "transculturation" (Pratt 1992:6) whereby metropolitan representations are reworked at the periphery, equally differentiate and impact on the local cultural forms of encounter. Against the dominant phenomenological image of the tourist and of tourisms, we should, more inclusively, speak of a number of tourist cultures. Their only common defining feature, I suggest, is not the experience of the tourist *per se*, but that they comprise spaces actively and dialectically constructed in the phenomenologically complex encounter between tourists' *and* locals' lifeworlds.

ii) The Structure of Touristic Impact: Political Economy

From a rather more distanced perspective, the analysis of the dialectical contexts of touristic experience has been taken up by the opposing tradition in anthropological writing, focusing on political economy and by extension, the issue of cultural impact. Here, the initial debate was framed by the issue, strongly put by development studies critics of Third World tourism policy, as to whether mass-tourism was an effective path for economic development (de Kadt 1979).

In the economic field, on the one hand, proponents of tourism within the industry and amongst government planners argued that it generated high levels of employment at relatively low investment levels compared to other industries, had a comparatively minor ecological impact, and in many cases where primary commodity production was the only alternative, offered the only sustainable means of generating widespread improvement in local incomes. Critics countered that the industry offered only "illusory" benefits: large-scale mass-tourism required resources which were generally

not available locally with the result that outside investment led to expropriation and transfer of profits from the host countries or concentration of the industry in the hands of local elites. Often locals were constrained to service jobs with low wages and poor job security and local economies gained only peripheral benefits while having to meet other social and infrastructural costs of the tourist's presence (de Kadt 1979:11-12). Mass tourism, from this point of view, was simply another form of imperialism through which the familiar processes of unequal exchange between core and periphery operated, in this industry as in others, to marginalise dependent economies (Nash 1978; Seers et. al. 1980).

The conclusion was that in those situations where tourism has been financed primarily by external investment, whether on a regional, national or international scale, the nett economic effect on local communities has tended to be, at the very least, a marked polarisation of income over the long term and at worst, an absolute impoverishment as unskilled labour was drawn away from subsistence agriculture and into the service sector Interestingly, this argument was convincingly made early on for Alpine communities similar to Salamone, where peasant production had not generated sufficient wealth to allow locals to fund the development of expensive infrastructures to service the ski industry (Reiter 1972, 1978). The issue of political and economic control, of ownership of the development process from an initial stage, thus emerged as the central pivot of local perceptions and experiences of the success of tourism development.

In this polemical context, anthropological writing on cultural impacts took several directions. At a rather simplistic level, for example, typologies of tourist impact appeared, tending to link numbers of tourists and/or forms of tourism (mass vs. elite, natural vs. cultural, adventure vs. "drifter") to specific degrees of tourist impact. Thus, in perhaps the most widely received example, Smith differentiated seven categories of tourism ranging from "explorer"' to "charter" tourism and correlated these with local perspectives of tourists, arguing that beyond a certain point, tourism simply became "part of the 'regional scenery'" (Smith 1978:8-13).

More incisively, the anthropological literature soon engaged a parallel debate to the economic conducted on the terrain of cultural impact again around the key trope of *authenticity*, though here in relation to the meaning of tourist performances within the "host" culture rather than from the viewpoint of the individual tourist's quest. Some ethnographers suggested, just as planners had in terms of development, that in the cultural domain tourism might foster a process of "revitalisation" through tourist's interest in cultural practices and through tourism's provision of the surplus income required to sustain otherwise threatened forms of cultural performance (Smith 1978; later Boissevain 1996). Others similarly argued that tourist arts and performances

constituted new and vital communicative systems which recuperated, but did not necessarily subsume or displace traditional art styles and forms which they either economically subsidised or formally extended to incorporate new media, individualised styles of representation and contemporary narrative material (Babcock 1985, 1993; Ben-Amos 1977).

Opposed to this reading, others saw tourism as "selling culture by the pound", a "commoditization of culture", whereby traditional cultural patterns and events, while maintaining their outward form, were decontextualised and rendered experientially meaningless for participants (Greenwood 1978; Nuñez 1978; Urry 1990). Greenwood, perhaps the first to put this argument, referred to a "collapse of cultural meanings", foreshadowing the kinds of tourist cultures discussed above in which even local participation was superfluous. Describing the effect of constituting a private Basque ritual, the *Alarde*, as a publicly saleable event by fiat of the local political elite, he wrote:

> Perhaps this is the final logic of capitalist development, of which tourism is an ideal example. The commoditization process does not stop with land, labour, and capital but ultimately includes the history, ethnic identity, and culture of the peoples of the world. Tourism simply packages the cultural realities of a people for sale along with their other resources...The loss of meaning through cultural commoditization is a problem at least as serious as the unequal distribution of wealth that results from tourist development (Greenwood 1978: 137).

The theorisation of tourism as a form of commodity exchange continues to be elaborated, particularly within sociology (Watson and Kopachevsky 1994), though whether the corresponding cultural dynamics in "host" societies are as clear-cut as Greenwood polemically depicted has over the years been thrown into doubt (Boissevain 1996c:116-118). Nonetheless, Greenwood's argument did, at the time, powerfully place in relief the pragmatic issue of political control of cultural as well as economic resources, and twenty years later, continues to direct anthropological attention to examining ways in which traditional forms of expression and their historicised meanings remain central to the struggle over identity in the field of local cultural politics.

Thus, in the nineties, writing from this viewpoint has highlighted this issue of tourism as a space for cultural struggle, focusing somewhat belatedly on the issue of local or indigenous responses. Three collections of current ethnographic research include mainly papers oriented around the politics of self-representation, and from a broadly deconstructivist perspective revisit the issues of authenticity, commoditisation,

and political relations in the light of locals' attempts to control imageries of identity and locality (Boissevain 1996a; Butler and Hinch 1996; Selwyn 1996). Boissevain, concluding a collection which specifically addresses means of "coping with tourists" in European communities, observes that local communities adopt a range of

> specific, active measures to protect their values and customs threatened by outsiders. The means they utilise include covert action, hiding from tourists, communal celebrations, fencing them out, organised protest and even overt aggression to protect their interests (Boissevain 1996b:21).

This long-overdue recognition that locals are not simply "passive victims of acculturation" (ibid.) now provides a point of convergence between broadly structural perspectives and phenomenological approaches. As with the phenomenological literature, however, the overall impression is that, until very recently, much structural and cultural impact analysis has been rather simplistic in its ethnographic treatment, hinging - by and large - on an unmediated opposition between development and underdevelopment, or revitalisation and commoditisation, with relatively few studies to date examining in detail the contradictory, historically and culturally specific, and frequently obscure small-scale cultural dynamics operating in particular social contexts.

In sum, as with the ethnography of Alpine communities, and for largely theoretical reasons, what might be considered potentially the most fruitful terrain of anthropological inquiry is only now beginning to be charted. Where the phenomenological approach elided the socio-political framework of encounters with tourists, the politico-economic has tended to ignore the existential complexities. Thus, although one can no longer argue that tourism is a neglected subject of anthropological research, the field, as Crick pointed out some ten years ago, has by and large remained one in which "ambivalence, sweeping generalisations, and stereotypes abound" (Crick 1989a:338).

In a similar way to Alpine ethnography this has been to a great degree because the experiential perspective of those who make living from tourism, and therefore must accommodate structural forces which are economically constraining if not individually determining, have been neglected by both main streams of argument. With the exception of the recent studies I have mentioned, and even here only in an initial and frequently programmatic way, anthropologists have been reluctant to examine the touristic encounter as an experiential moment framed in relation to both the broader social and historical parameters of a specific *cultura turistica* and the strictly local continuities at play in the lived experience of "hosts". This, I maintain, belies the intentionality and effective agency of Salamonesi and others dependent upon it for whom the presence of

tourists is neither an unalloyed good nor an unmitigated evil to be understood from a single, inevitably myopic, theoretical stance. For them, it is simply a material given, and hence a condition *of all their practical activity*, with and against which they must simultaneously work to live, if not as they wish, at least towards that possibility.

Conclusion: For an Experiential Approach To Alpine Ethnography

Perhaps the most personally compelling reason why I have been so often led back over the years to the moment with which this chapter began is the realisation that ethnographers of the Alps and anthropologists of tourism, writing in the style I've adopted to review their work, much like the tourist documenting Adriana's and my image, have often missed the existential point and experiential meaning of the situations they have observed. Their "gaze", like his, has also been conditioned by ulterior motives which reflect limiting preconceptions and intentions. Reducing the flow of life and the diversity of social arrangements to neat theoretical categories embodying an ulterior quest for rationality and order, anthropologists have been led to substitute elegant nomothetic constructions for more humanistic and hermeneutically revealing understandings, giving the illusion of conceptual control over indeterminate and diverse experiences. In ethnography, such categorical neatness comes dearly, as Jackson has observed of "objective knowledge" more generally:

> The price is what Whitehead called "the fallacy of misplaced concreteness". For in becoming tokens *of* the real, concepts easily become mistaken *for* the real, and manipulated magically as if they gave control over life' (Jackson 1996: 5).

In much this way, the literatures of Alpine ethnography and of tourism studies have systematically neglected the existential and experiential responses of local peoples to the transformations occurring in the Alps in the last forty years, considering them epiphenomena of ecological or historical causes, or simply displacing them from view. Instead, as in the moment of the photograph, what Herzfeld writing about Greek ethnography has called "a burden of otherness", a folkloristic image of "aboriginality" has been thrust upon Alpine peoples, formalistically positioning them as passive subjects of historical and contemporary forces (Herzfeld 1987:1-5, 49-51).

At the most general level, this is perhaps not so surprising. It is now well recognised within anthropology that ethnographic representations have long been shaped by political and disciplinary histories, at times as much as by the character of our subjects themselves.[8] Throughout the late seventies and eighties, the interrogation of processes of "cultural invention" on the part of both indigenes and anthropologists, emerged as an

industry with branches in most academic outposts. The resulting "crisis of representation" in anthropology (Marcus and Fischer 1985:8) highlighted, in a way that produced extreme discomfort amongst some practitioners of the discipline, the unequal distribution of ethnographic authority and its relation to a more extensive discourse founded in what we might call the "metrocentricity" of anthropology.[9]

Keeping things neat at the geo-political core of the discipline has tended to involve techniques ensuring both the construction of cultural difference and epistemological distance. For reasons pertinent to the politics of professionalism, anthropologists working in sites closest to the traditional homes of the discipline in North America, Northern Europe and the Mediterranean, have arguably been amongst the most reluctant to open inquiry into their own cultures and societies to existentially and phenomenologically informed epistemological frameworks. Again, like the tourist, we anthropologists have wanted most forcefully, it would appear, to preserve a notion of the essentially pristine Other when dealing with our own domestic terrain.

One important manifestation of this, as I have argued for Alpine ethnography, has been the adoption of theoretical frameworks acting to maintain, as a reflection of a wider Europeanist "urge to primitivism"[10], survivalist and folkloric imageries already displaced elsewhere. What one observer of movements of cultural revitalisation in France has recently called "the shame of peasantry" (Abram 1996:198), finds echoes here in frameworks of scholarship which act to subordinate and displace Alpine realities away from urban and academic ones, submerging local understandings and forms of cultural expression beneath structural conceptualisations of determination. Thus, in most of the literature I have discussed, what Sartre has called *the personal project* - the meaningful, reflective and intentional quality of the lived experience of subjects engaged in praxis - the grounds on which commonality of experience might most easily be established, has tended to be displaced by sociologically-oriented concepts and depersonalised forms of description (Sartre 1968:170).

A countervailing theoretical tendency, so far developed mainly beyond the European context, and which finds its philosophical grounding in American pragmatism and radical-empiricism and in European traditions in hermeneutics, phenomenology and existential-Marxism has, since the mid-eighties, led to a renewed interested in ethnography centred in local experience and embodied practice.[11] Writing naturalistically, and self-consciously against the grain of objectivist representation, an increasing number of ethnographers are working towards forms of understanding and narrative representation which make the detailed phenomenological description of the lifeworld and its performative expressions foundational to their accounts of local meanings and individual intentionalities.

This focus on the lifeworld, on experience, performance and expression, is not simply a retreat into subjectivism, as critics of reflexive and experiential approaches to ethnography often allege. On the contrary, phenomenological perspectives encompass the objective and the subjective as dialectically related modes of experience, through which individuals are both shaped by, and transcend what is given by the historical past. In what stands as the most authoritative account of the relationship between phenomenology and anthropology to date, Jackson has argued that the lifeworld is constantly shaped and reshaped by the interplay of consciousness and historical legacies. Understanding this relationship as genuinely dialectical invites us to reconceptualise our understanding of both agency or intentionality and culture:

> We have already insisted on locating knowledge, experience, and the person in the lifeworld. This implies that consciousness cannot be understood in isolation, as pure cognition or disinterested observation. Consciousness is engaged with the lifeworld. It is "from the very beginning a social product"....In this sense, consciousness is active and outgoing; it points beyond itself....For phenomenology, the ego works with or against others to constitute a world on the basis of that which is already given, that which is at hand. If, when all is said and done, the world so constituted through collective or individual praxis is objectively identical to the world which existed before, the significant fact for phenomenology is that the passage from one objective situation to another is always mediated by *subjective* life - by purposefulness, practical activity, and projective and strategic imagination...
>
> ...In this view, society or culture cannot be conceptualised in terms of objective conditions that directly determine the possibility of thought or action from without. Society is equally the domain of instrumentality in which human beings make their lives and confer meanings whose existential import cannot, in the final analysis, be reduced to the meanings sedimented in pre-existing cultural forms....Analytically, our understanding of human intentionality demands what Sartre called a progressive-regressive method - a disclosure of the dialectical tension between what is given and what we make of the given in the light of emergent projects, imperatives and contingencies...in the end, human freedom appears as "the small movement which makes of a totally conditioned social being someone who does not render back completely what his conditioning has given him" (Jackson 1996:29-30).

I have quoted Jackson's argument at some length, because the understanding it articulates of how our lifeworlds are intrinsically embedded in modes of historical

experience serves both as a final point of critique for the literatures I have discussed in this chapter, and the point of departure for the experiential investigation with which I am concerned in the remainder of this dissertation.

The most notable absence in the literatures I have reviewed is that they fail to examine experience and its expressions as they are founded in the relation between the understandings of the historical past and the lived present. The dialectical engagement of culture and intentionality which Sartre referred to, in his later work, as *totalisation*, most simply glossed as the "constantly developing process of understanding and making history" (cf. Sartre 1976:79-94)[12], is generally elided by these studies, and so therefore, the question of who people imagine themselves to be in the present. What is now required in Alpine ethnography is precisely the kind of understanding which would allow us to comprehend the ways in which people in particular communities have experienced and articulated their lived situation in order to both accommodate and systematically transcend wider historical forces - a perspective, as it were, on the play of how histories are imagined in the present.

Mass-tourism is of course a central aspect of contemporary realities, but its meaning for locals is forged against the backdrop of long historical cycles in which they have responded to many forms of political, economic and cultural hegemony. Equally, the forms of accommodation, negotiation, and resistance which have developed and are currently played out are phrased in a wide variety of idioms. Such idioms and expressions are grounded in enduring existential orientations to place, community and the wider world nurtured in a the humus of readings of the past and its relationship to the present.

Such historicised modes of experience, as I explore in the descriptive chapters which follow, shape common forms of phenomenological orientation to the landscape, the expression of identity and the poetics of encounter in Alpine communities which, like Salamone, are both part of, and distinguishable from, *culture turistiche* established in encounters with outsiders. Understanding experience in this light throws up a strong hermeneutic challenge to inquire into the frequently obscure or displaced means and performative idioms by which identities are asserted, encounters negotiated, a pragmatic *modus vivendi* developed and maintained. Such a project reminds us that behind simple imageries and acts, we all live enmeshed in complex topographies of historical connection and memory which, dense as the stories of her life that Adriana told that afternoon, bear tangible fruit in what is passingly visible.

[1]For reasons of space, I have in this chapter restricted my discussion to sources in English. There exist, of course, extensive literatures on Alpine communities and on the anthropology of tourism by anthropologists writing in Italian, French and German. Although the theoretical orientations of these various literatures differ in a number of ways from those I discuss - for example, Alpine ethnographic studies by European scholars tend to draw more intensively on national traditions of folklore studies - the overall critique I make as regards the absence of work from an experiential perspective remains pertinent.

[2]*Cafone*: a term generally translated as "oaf" or "lout", but in general use, particularly in the immediate post-War years, as a derogatory word for a peasant, in opposition to the less prejudicial *contadino*. It is the later term which is used by agriculturalists in Salamone to refer to themselves. Lévi and Silone were, it is important to note, writing against popular stereotypes, and their works figure amongst the great works in the Italian humanist writing of the nineteen forties and fifties.

[3]As Davis (1977:1-2) points out, while figures such as Maine, Fustel de Coulanges, Robertson-Smith, Frazer, Durkheim, Westermark and later Mauss took considerable interest in European and especially Mediterranean European societies, none carried out fieldwork in the region.

[4]While the European ethnographers of this period appear uncomfortable with a simple translation of substantive concepts from one context to another, they nonetheless felt impelled to search for equivalent and comparable formal structures with which to grasp their material. The teleological formalism of structural-functionalist theory with its emphasis on social homeostasis as worked out by Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Pritchard became an important point of departure for the analysis of European patterns of social organisation, although there were obvious difficulties in transplanting particular schema. Pitt-River's reflexive comments in the Preface to the Second edition of his *People of the Sierra* (published some 17 years after the first edition) are indicative:

> My training in anthropology, such as it had been, was mainly concerned with Africa, especially east Africa. I went therefore into the field armed with the models of lineage systems and age groups, but devoid of any which turned out to be relevant to the social structure of Andalusia...Consequently, by the time I had hit upon the important conclusion that there is no lineal principle to be found in the dynasties of nicknames and that the ages were not 'grouped', I was left with no alternative but to think things out for myself.
>
> Rather naturally I groped for a higher level of abstraction at which the principles I had been taught would not be wasted. Lineage systems, in Evans-Pritchard's analysis, are after all no more than the principle of social solidarity organised into a hierarchy of binary oppositions, and so forth. It was understandable then that the work which became my bible while I was

in the field should have been *The Sociology of George Simmel*. His kind of *totally abstract sociology, which depends upon form and quantitative relations, provided me with a mode of transition from what I thought was anthropology to what I saw with my eyes...*' (1971:xv-xvi; my emphasis).

[5]Viazzo (1989:56-62), discussed further below, provides a close discussion of the specific analytical problems pertaining to the explanation of varying settlement patterns in Germanic and Romance areas of the Trentino which prompted Wolf's re-evaluation of his original position. The discussion is interesting because it provides a micro-critique of the epistemological assumptions of early ecological studies more generally.

[6]Crick (1989a), still the most authoritative review of the literature, deals with it under three thematic rubrics ("Tourism, Economic Development, and Political Economy"; "Tourism, Meanings, Motivations and Roles"; and lastly, "Tourism and Sociocultural Change"). While Crick's breakdown is useful, especially as regards bringing together what is now a very large body of empirical material, for the purposes of my brief discussion, I have grouped together the discussion of literature on political economy and that on sociocultural change since, as I suggest below, from the viewpoint of theoretical focus on sociological as opposed to experiential evidence, the central debates are closely related and formally parallel.

[7]Rrecent exceptions, however, include the papers collected in Boissevain (1996a) (discussed below), and Crick's recent monograph (Crick 1994).

[8]Amongst a growing number of notable studies discussing various aspects of the construction/invention of otherness, see Boon 1977; Stocking 1987; Herzfeld 1987; Kuper 1988; Marcus and Fischer 1985; Fabian 1983; Geertz 1988; Said 1978).

[9] I use this term here to intentionally to make a point by conflating the ethnocentricity of metropolitan views with respect to non-western others and also the privileging of metropolitan perspectives, within the European field, with regard to "peasants".

[10]For more general and extensive discussions of the theoretical effects of the urge to primitivism in European and Mediterranean studies see Davis 1977:6-7; the extended debate between Llobera 1986 and Various 1987; Herzfeld 1987:49-76.

[11]Influential works in this emerging trend, mainly associated with American anthropology, include Turner and Bruner 1987; Jackson 1989, 1995, 1996; Rosaldo 1989; Stoller 1989, Lavie, Narayan and Rosaldo 1993; Hastrup and Hervick 1994.

[12]The gloss is Alan Sheridan-Smith's, translator of *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (Sartre 1976:830).

Part Two

Inscription

Ch.2: Landscape, Memory, Inscription

July 1988

Some months after my afternoon with Adriana, a cousin of hers, Franco Delpaese, took me to see a rock. It was important for me to see it, he said, if I wanted to understand the history of the village. This rock was the witness of time: it proved the valley had been populated "long before history began."

That winter was unusual, with little snow, less than any since 1916. The track above Gablan, an ancient group of stalls and cheesemaking huts where I was living, was almost clear. Franco's boots, the soles sewed on with fraying string, squeaked footsteps in the occasional patch of bright, dry snow as I followed him up the path. He was in his early seventies then, wiry and energetic.

Already, he was an almost total recluse. His eyes, a steely blue-grey, looked calmly through you. Like Adriana, he passed his time reading everything he could find on the history of the valley. Since 1945, he had also kept extensive diaries; in these pages he recalled and analysed the story of his life and of the village in a complex mixture of Stalinist analysis and anguished theology. Occasionally, explaining some special point, he would read long passages as we sat in his kitchen drinking herbal teas he made from plants collected on the hillsides. I was fascinated by the detail of his observations, the sociological scope of his interests.

Also like Adriana, Franco had an unusual reputation: in the village, people called him "un anima torturata" - a tortured soul - yet, like me, had come to admire the glacial clarity of his memory. For this lonely man, the past - especially the remote past - had become an obsession. He found its traces in the shapes of the land and in the names people had given them in ancient times. As we climbed above the village, he talked about the Etruscans, and the Rhaeti, tribal people who populated the valley before them. The name Gablan, he claimed, was derived from the name of a pagan god; there must surely have been a shrine to him here in pre-Roman times.

The boulder, when we reached it, looked identical to a dozen others strewn on the hillside, and Franco had carefully avoided giving me any clues about exactly what we were to see. We looked at it in silence for a few moments. Covered in moss and snow, I imagined I could see in it the features of a miniature mountain - tiny neves, glaciers, couloirs and buttresses - a scaled-down Alpine peak, like the boulders, complete with miniature climbers, some Swiss guides keep in their gardens to advertise their profession. But nothing human, nothing to connect it with those who had lived here so long ago. For me, the rock stood mute.

It transformed Franco, though. Now a smiling, proud magician, he brushed snow from the front of the boulder with careful, dramatic gestures, revealing a rectangular net of cracks which split it from side to side. A large piece was missing. Perhaps it formed part of the wall bordering the track below us, he speculated. Looking more closely, clearing more moss and snow, we could see that other cracks split the boulder from front to back. "These cracks were made with chestnut splints", he said, "...chestnut splints, banged in, then soaked, so the rock would split in the freezing night. Look, you can see where they forced them in...."

I couldn't then see the marks he saw, though I didn't admit this to Franco, reluctant to hurt his feelings. And over the years, I became sceptical of his more speculative ideas, of the etymological complexities on which he wove his theories of the Rhaetian tribes, and of Etruscan settlement. From an archaeologist's perspective, not much is known about this particular valley in pre-Roman times: compared to other areas of the Trentino, there have been few finds in the Rendena, and none in Salamone itself. But tonight, back at Gablan again seven years later, thinking of his suicide, so long planned, so lonely and in character, I went to look at the rock again. It is summer now, and the track is becoming overgrown. The top of the boulder is covered with moss, but the sides are clear all around. At one side, towards the back, I noticed something I hadn't seen the first time. Invisible from the front, deep in an oddly shaped crack disappearing into the hillside, there is a wedge-shaped stone. It's firmly fixed, hammered deep into the crack - a rock to split a rock...

Returning to Salamone after World War II, Franco spent a season building stone walls before deciding to live as a hunter. The work was backbreaking, and done with means no different from those used two hundred years, or five, before. It paid seventy lira an hour; a pittance when a kilo of lard cost five hundred, a pair of mountain boots ten times that much.[1] Splitting and fitting rocks hour after hour, crafting them to hold back the soil moving down the mountainside with the seasons and the weather, he had time to ponder the work of his ancestors, sketched by the still-standing structures he was repairing and extending. As he looked down towards the village in the first months of peace, he contemplated the traces of time on the landscape; the walls, the mountain settlements still scattered up the hillsides, the traces of irrigation channels, all so well embedded they might be natural formations. He told me that this period of building rock walls was what led him, later in life, to his fascination with the pre-history of the valley.

Taking Franco's sense of physical engagement with the past as my point of departure, I want in this chapter to initiate a reflection on the modes of historical experience which provide my central focus in this dissertation by describing briefly how a sense of historical continuity is inscribed in the landscape. This discussion will also

serve to geographically locate the village, relating it to the terrain which surrounds it. In exploring this material, I also introduce my central argument that this sense of historical continuity is a fundamental dimension of contemporary identity, embedded in, but also shaped by, the existential concerns of the present. As such it is phenomenologically evident in the everyday construction of the lifeworlds of many Salamonesi providing, as I suggested in concluding the previous chapter, a basic idiom in which contemporary meanings and historical understandings are invested.

Modes of Historical Experience

The past, a fine ethnographer of rural Ireland reminds us, is a "space expanding infinitely beyond our vision. It is not a record of progress or regress, stasis or change; uncharted, it simply, smugly, vastly is" (Glassie 1995:621). Yet people everywhere conceive the past, account for it, converse about it and in its terms one to another, and finally, define themselves by reference to some fragment of its vastness. Beginning a journey into its meanings, I should make some preliminary remarks about my preconceptions and intentions.

A sense of the past may be universal, but in any society, understandings of its meaning are not unanimous, nor uncontested. The sense of the past reflects, for each person, and perhaps for particular groups, an interpretation founded on, as Dilthey maintains, a particular relation to present experience:

> The comprehension of the historical system...grows first of all
> from individual points at which related remnants of the past are
> linked in understanding by their relation to experience: what is
> around us helps us to understand what is distant and past
> (Dilthey 1976:203).

Such personally grounded historical interpretations, one might argue, are - in the broadest sense - positional, reflecting roles, interests, and existential projects. They necessarily reflect the idiosyncrasies of individual experience. Yet, despite individual readings, the sense of the past is also everywhere expressed within what A. P. Cohen, arguing the case for founding our understanding of identity in self-consciousness, has called "common forms" (A.P. Cohen 1994:20). Such common forms, he warns "do not generate common meanings", but they do nonetheless provide *idioms* in which to express commonality of experience, and a possible field or fields of "communitas" or social solidarity constitutive of shared culture.

It is the modalities of the interplay between individual interpretation and common form which will most concern me in this study. In Salamone, what links peoples'

interpretations, one to another, I suggest, is partly the shared *intent* to express an understanding of the existential currency of the past in the present, partly the realization that the past is not a foreign land or language, but a patterned and mutual aspect of where and how we all live now. So, like Franco and other Salamonesi reflecting on and making use of aspects of the past in everyday experience, I am not primarily concerned to recount the History of the classical historians, written as if the past continuously moves itself towards the present according to logically related transformative patterns. Nor am I attempting to narrate a social history "from the bottom up", recuperating from whatever traces are available the detailed everyday fabric of the ordinary person's life in the past in the style of, for example, LeRoy Laudrie's famous study of Montaillou (LeRoy Laudrie 1979). Invaluable as this latter kind of research is in reversing the received positions of positivist historical writing, it - like more classical accounts - continues to locate the author in an epistemological space which imposes a linear and "objective" chronology and presupposes a privileged locus from which to comment. Seen from the existential and phenomenological perspective I develop in the rest of this work, both these approaches propose, in ways which are similar to the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, frameworks outside the current memory and experience of historical transformation.[2] What I do want to explore, from the standpoint of the present, are the experiential *modes* in which the sense of the past is historicised and therefore rendered explicit as a form of contemporary self-consciousness. In this sense I read Dilthey literally, and in this and subsequent chapters, my focus is on "what is around us", and on how visible forms constitute ways in which people understand themselves as embedded in historical time. It is the role of history in, as Jackson remarks of oral histories, "sustaining the life of the living rather than keeping a record of the past" (Jackson 1996:38) which concerns me here. My topic is thus neither History, nor history, but the *remembered* past as if seen by torchlight, "the sedimentary crust of hindsight" in Calvino's nostalgic phrase (1994:82).

This sense of a remembered-past-embedded-in-the-present, as it is lived and performed in the present, I will call *historical experience*. In doing so, I want to suggest that its expression is a means by which people distinguish significant events from the uninterrupted flow of chronology and relate them to a sense of the social self, translating between *experience* and *an experience*. In Dilthey's thought, as Turner points out, *an* experience "stands out" from the flow of time (Turner uses the metaphor of a rock in a Zen sand garden), is formative and transformative, and perhaps most importantly, involves the whole person, joining together

at every moment and phase not simply thought *structuring* but the whole human vital repertorie of thinking, willing, desiring and feeling, subtly and varyingly interpenetrating on many levels (Turner 1986:35).

Historical experience, seen in this way, also comes close also to the Sartrian notion of totalisation, discussed in the conclusion to the previous chapter, engaging at one and the same time, both the givens of history and the intentionality of the project. Historical experience, to put it another way, is the social space in which individuals imagine the past and bring it to the present.

In this work I discuss three modes of historical experience against the backdrop of their display and performance both for locals and visitors to Salamone. Their principal analytic justification is simply that they provide phenomenologically evident means by which a rich experience of the past is created and made use of in contemporary life, serving, amongst other purposes, to distinguish between locals' and outsiders' lifeworlds and to mediate between them. The three modes I discuss - *inscription, ethnomimetic enactment, and social poetics* - are not the only means by which people represent to themselves and others the dimension of historical continuity, but they are amongst the most forceful ways in which a public dimension of expressive performance and private aspects of the historical dimension of self-consciousness and identity are brought together. Narrative is, of course, another obvious mode, and a pertinent one, but in this work, although I examine some examples of narrative expression, I have not made it a principal focus. Rather, I have wanted to move beyond the words, or beside them, to focus specifically on the ways in which the lifeworld is expressed in actions and performances and their traces. The very *tangibility* of the modes I discuss, as Franco intended to demonstrate to me with the rock, is their most persuasive characteristic.

In this chapter, I begin with the dimension most immediately suggested by Franco's demonstration, the visible process of inscription, the ways in which the past, like the split in the rock, cuts physically and experientially into the surfaces of local topography. My focus here is the way in which place becomes space, on "spatial stories" and the broadly metaphorical means by which a landscape is inhabited, in this case by memory. In this aspect, "space is practiced place", as de Certeau reminds us (1984: 117). This is the most immediate and continuous dimension embedding the past in the life of local people, and on which first impressions of the valley and village are founded in the experience of outsiders. It is not, however, a passive process: much of my discussion in the next chapter focuses on the ways in which, in the contemporary touristic context, the past is being revitalised, restored, and re-inscribed on that which is already given. Thus, in Chapter Three, where I observe the village itself, I see it, at least in part, as an impacted variant of the "story" of the landscape; one which physically presents itself as

a mnemonic account of the past in the present, at various levels from the pattern of physical development to the organisation of the interior space of houses and their decoration. Then, in Chapters Four and Five, I explore a number of examples of *ethnomimetic enactment*, describing some of the ways in which the sense of the past is ritually and mundanely performed by Salomonesi, suggesting that such performances, like 'spatial stories' also act to distinguish insiders and outsiders. Again, like the first dimension, this mode of experience and expression - from the point of view of an audience - is often public and accessible. However, from the point of view of a partipant, enactments allow individuals to *select and create* specific thematic elaborations which affirm common ways of expressing identity, yet at the same time, contest historical perspectives and also carry politically and existentially forceful statements of personal identity.

Following on from these two modes of historical experience, in Chapter Six, I take up ways in which the same sense of the past is stylistically expressed in the *social poetics* of informal interaction. At this most intimate level of encounter, people make immediate statements in dealings with other Salamonesi and with outsiders about their understanding of history, and their sense of how it relates to the present. Perhaps it is because so many meanings are made visible in style - or at least, play crucially between the implicit and the explicit - that, as I suggest in that chapter, poetics remains so ambiguous. Nonetheless, again the interplay between individual inflection and common form articulates both a creative tension between self and group, or one group and another, and allows the possibility for statements to be successfully communicated.

Taken together, inscription, ethnomimetic enactment and social poetics are modes of historical experience which provide experiential frameworks and also expressive idioms within which specific themes reflecting an historicised sense of identity are couched in the ongoing life of Salamonesi. But it is as well to remember that they are not the themes themselves which, by contrast, are in a specific way often contested declarations about who Salamonesi feel themselves to be. Examples of such themes include: the assertion of a particular privileged relation to local land based on the continuity of an agricultural tradition and of an ability to preserve local control of the ecological and historical values of the environment against outside incursions; pride in an exceptional appetite for work which has carried Salamonesi from *miseria* (poverty) to *ben'essere* (material wellbeing); the possession of unique expression of religious faith centred on the two patron-saints of the village; a self-conscious statement of an historical identity linked to the convoluted history of the South Tyrol; and perhaps most importantly, the claim of social equivalence with others in the political and cultural spheres which constitute Italy today. These themes are "moving threads" woven into the fabric of Salamonese identity in complex and multivalent ways. As with the question of identity

in general, which themes emerge in any given encounter is a contrastive issue, depending on social context as much as symbolic content. The description of the specific ways in which these themes are rendered concrete by the modes of historical experience I have been discussing, the ways in which they both shape and colour the lifeworlds of individual Salamonesi and - at the same time - are collectively deployed in establishing and boundarying local identity are the continuing *leitmotif* of this and later chapters.

The Inscription of the Landscape: Memory Inhabiting Place

Some years ago an exhibition of Leonardo da Vinci's drawings from nature toured Australasia, and I was able to see them in Auckland, New Zealand. Amongst the numerous studies of animals, insects and plants was a series of timeless Alpine landscapes sketched in ink on small sepia sheets, like those from a notebook. When I saw them, I felt convinced - though I know it is improbable - that at some time in his widely travelled youth, the genius must have visited the Rendena, or at least the Trentino. In his delicate, faded sketches, studied in a darkened gallery eight thousand miles away from Salamone, I re-discovered my first overwhelming visual impression of the valley. Captured, incredibly, in these tiny works was the irreducible contrast of minuscule architectural detail embedded in a landscape of enormous scale, of fragile human presence dwarfed by a vast *imposing* verticality. Let me begin my discussion by trying to recapture this impression, recalling the circumstances in which it was first formed.

The moment I want to remember is an afternoon in early winter, the day after I arrived in Salamone. I am standing in the doorway at Gablan; the air is wondrously clear and cold, the valley free from haze. From where I stand the skyline across the valley is dominated by the sheer rock walls of the Brenta massif, at this time of year carrying the first heavy falls of snow. Directly across from me, directly east, is the Cima Tosa (3159m), a broad flat-shouldered Dolomite peak mantled with a permanent ice-cap, the curling edge of which can be seen glinting like a wave in the late afternoon sun. Further north are the Campanili di Brenta (2937m) and the Cima Brenta (3150m), peaks legendary amongst Alpine rock climbers. They are so close - so *present* - these peaks that, in a certain late afternoon light, you feel as though you might reach out a hand and touch them. In the summer to come, I will discover that in the evening when the summits pulse red with alpine-glow, the peaks seem, as if by some strange illusion of foreshortening, to actually overhang the valley floor some two thousand metres below.

Behind me, hidden by the hillside I am living on, are even higher peaks, though less dramatic. These are the crystalline Adamello-Presanella massif, including the Presanella itself, at 3558m the highest peak of the Trentino. Immediately to the west, invisible from here though not from higher up, lies Carè Alto (3462m), an elegant triangular crest of snow and ice, and also legendary, but as a place of death where between 1914 and 1918 thousands of men, including some from the village, died in perhaps one of the cruelest of military campaigns (see below).

It is literally an awe-inspiring Alpine landscape, softened by the foothills of the peaks, which somehow mediate between their remote summits and the gentle valley floor. On these hills mixed larch, beech and pine stands are cut by streams and snow runnels falling steeply towards the valley floor. Dotted here and there are minute clearings surrounding *monti* (mid-mountain settlements) like the one I am living at, the buildings scarcely visible, and higher up, there are more extensive clearings at the edge of and above the tree-line. These are the *malghe* (alps) at which the herds were traditionally pastured in summer. Now, in December, these hillsides are a patch-work of faded purples and browns, pinks and dull greens awaiting a covering of snow: in spring and summer, they appear as a mosaic of greens, matching the lush colour of the hayfields on the *pianura* (valley-floor).

Through leafless, stark chestnut and cherry trees, the view to the valley floor is clear. My vista takes in part, but not all of the village, spread like a jumbled brown and orange table-cloth where it sits on an ancient moraine fan. In the old central part, the *centro storico*, the roofs of the houses, once covered in wooden shingles, but nowadays terracotta tiles, lie glowing against the darker brown of the wooden spars of haylofts, some still in use. If I started along the track beneath my door, in a few moments I would see the *campanile* (bell-tower), said to have been built on the foundation of a Roman tower; as it is, I can hear its bells tolling the hours, calling people to mass, or announcing a death. From other nearby villages too, comes this sound: each set of bells ringing a slightly different time, and tune. Their *campanili* lie directly in my line of sight, sweeping downwards along the valley floor. Canzolo, the largest village in the valley, is twenty minutes walk to the north, and nearby are Fredino (one of its *frazioni* or satellites), and Lisorno, the smallest *Comune*[3] in Italy, some eighty people, still governing their own local affairs. Behind their village, an ugly scar in the hillside marks Italy's largest felspar mining operation: at three each afternoon explosions rattle their windows, and across the valley, mine. Closer, other faint sounds drift up from Salamone; the muffled clunking of cow bells as animals are moved in and out of *stalle* (cowsheds), the low, slow mechanical grunt of tractors shifting wood or fodder, a constant peripheral rumble - trucks and cars moving up and down the valley on the main road. In the woods, somewhere above me, someone is working with a chainsaw,

coppicing saplings: the wood will sit stacked on the hillside seasoning throughout the winter. Above Salamone, and across the River Sarca lies yet another village, Deore, its huge seventeenth century church, brilliantly lit at night, dominating the river terrace on which it is built. Follow this river far enough, as the *arrotini* (knife grinders) and *salumieri* (salami-makers) of this valley did for so many years, and you will reach Lake Garda, and from there, the Lombardy Plain.

Reflecting on the view, at once so domestic yet in parts so untouched, I become aware too of the smells carried up from the village on the breeze. The sharp aroma of woodsmoke from the stoves in village houses mixes with the pungent odour of the last loads of manure being spread on the hayfields before the snow comes. People are working at this below me at the northern end of the village: every so often a small figure walks out to join them or to attend to the stock housed at one of the outlying farm-buildings. From below too the aroma of something cooking in the kitchens of the Hotel Fiume; yet closer, the scent of hay stored above the neighbouring *stalla*.

On this afternoon, as I turn to write my first fieldwork notes, everything sensed beneath me - the villages almost shading into one another, the constant sounds drifting up to Gablan, the tiny figures in the valley below, the smells - all suggest a populated, perhaps a welcoming landscape. In contrast to my own valley on the other side of the world, this appears a teeming, lived-in space, marked by centuries of intensive, repetitive use; each stone, wall and building sunk into its place under the weight of time and human effort. And yet I feel, as I tilt my head back to watch a plume of crystal spindrift funnelling off *la Tosa* catching the last sunlight, that in some aspects it is removed and disengaged from me, and perhaps from any human presence, as another planet.

This, then, was the visible landscape as it appeared when I first arrived. Perhaps, if da Vinci's drawings are a reliable visual trace of Alpine settlement, not much transformed since the days when this was the territory of the Counts of Tyrol. But for people from the Salamone, behind or beyond this is the truly *remembered* landscape of another time: the one they associate with a simpler past, for people in middle-age with their childhood, and with a way of life which is now gone. As recently as thirty years ago, the hills were completely clear of trees, a vast area of fields used for haymaking. When you walk the tracks which lace the hillsides together with people who remember them as they appeared then, they will tell you that they were once beautiful, well-ordered and tended. Your companion might show you a piece of scrubby bush below a road, and recall that Giacomo, or Luca or Nicola with the bad leg would scythe this particular place, marvelling at the energy it took to do this work by hand and at the extent of the land that was used for haymaking. In spring and autumn, cows were grazed

Salamone from the Southwest 1957 (Unknown Photographer)
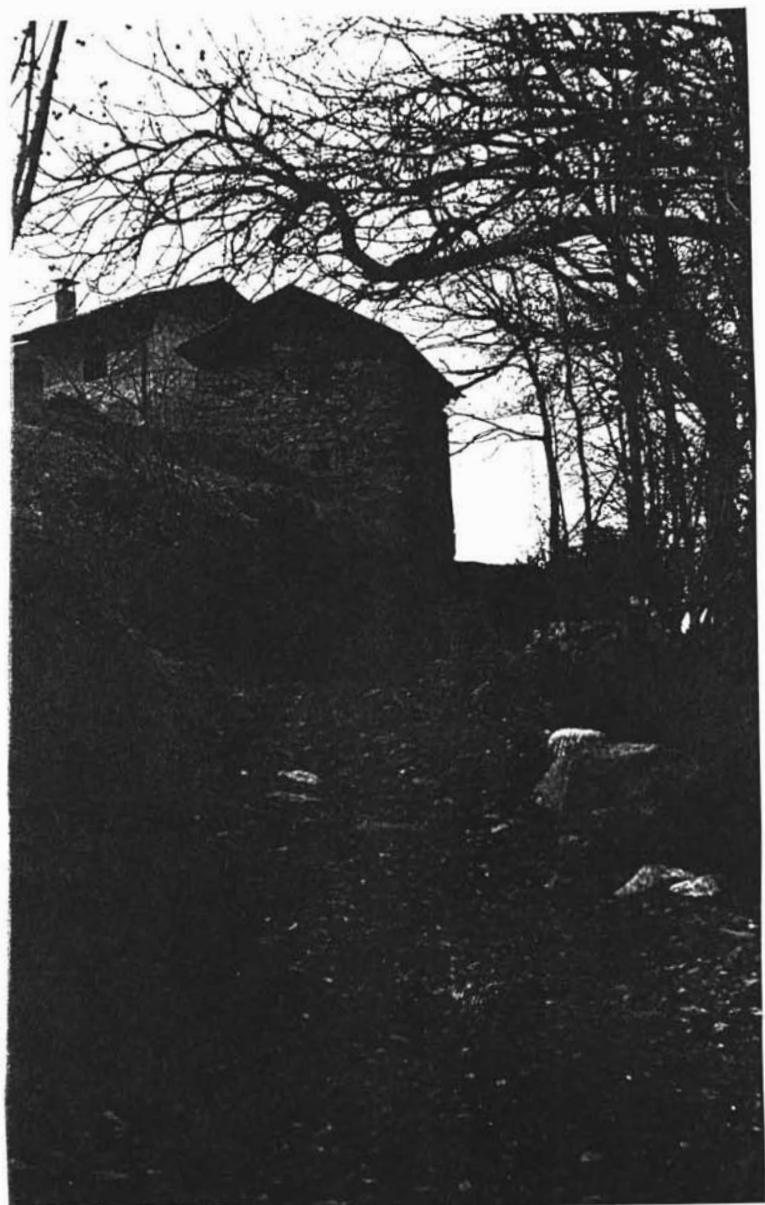
Monte at Gablan 1985 (Phot.: KR)
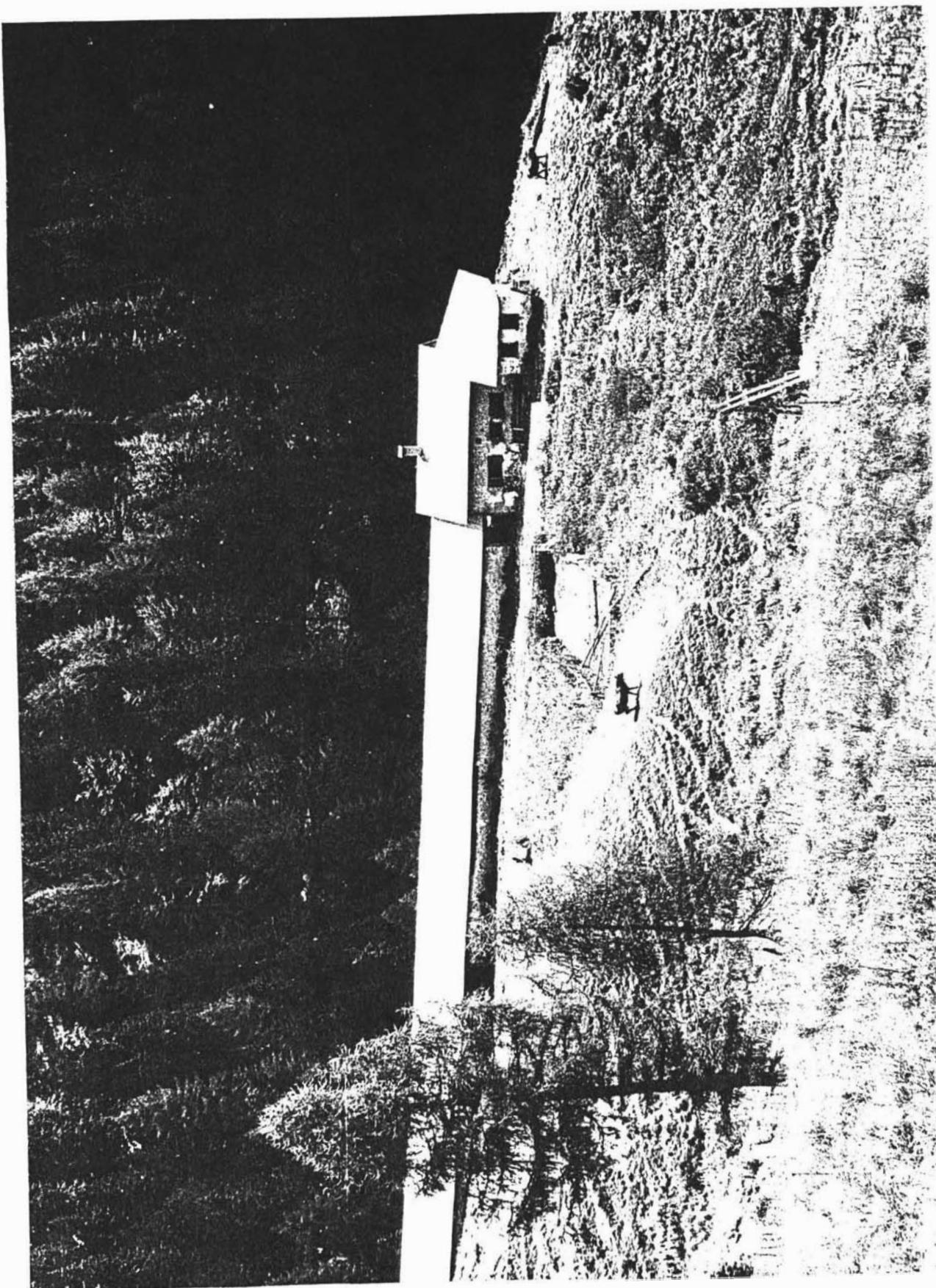
Malga at Doss 1987 (Phot.: KR)

on these hillsides. They recall too the herds of goats, now long gone, which were taken up each day, called from their stalls under the houses of the village by the *cavrèr* (goat-herd) with his trumpet, returned in the evening to provide the milk the families themselves drank. At the *monti*, they will point in the direction of other, now invisible, settlements on the next ridge, remembering that once you could see your kin and friends working there, and call out to them.

In interviews I conducted during my first period of fieldwork with people then in their mid-seventies, there is the powerful sense that in the past these hillsides were *an extension of the physical community itself*, linked to it by the pattern of repetitive daily and seasonal movements and the richly varied routines of agricultural work. This was the point made by Franco, talking one rainy afternoon in the spring of 1981, as he gestured at the hillside across the valley:

> F: Those *monti* there, that you can see there, *they were like a village*...everyone came down from the *malga*, that one you can see above, on the Doss di Sabion, the Brenda L'Ors, and they stayed there, at those *monti*. Now you can't see them clearly anymore because the forest has grown, but everyone used to stay there. They sang, they made fires, they made themselves heard by those who stayed down here....To come to the *monti* after the summer was *un allegria* (a joy)...people were very pleased to stay there...everything was perfectly organised for work. Life was very different. It was more...more normal, more natural, there was not so much *essigensa* (desire for material things)...

> K: So young people enjoyed being there?

> F: *Per Dio*! We were happy to be there, although sometimes we got bored. We young men used to make a kind of border of boulders, on some flat place, and play *bocci* (bowls), with stones. Or we would build sleds [for bringing down wood and cheeses]...or other tools. And the girls would make a kind of container, like a small barrel made from birch bark, well made though, they were specialists, and gather blue-berries, raspberries, strawberries, all kinds of things, as a pastime, which we would eat in the cheesemaking hut[4]...

> K: So you used to eat well at that time of year [autumn]?

> F: There was nothing lacking, nothing missing...up there we had everything: milk, polenta, polenta and milk, and we used to make *frageruoi,* it was a kind of soup made with milk and white [wheat] flour. Ah, and cheeses, there were certainly enough...too many even...

The *monti,* more trenchantly than the *malghe* or even in some emotional respects, the village itself, may provide the most potent example of the weight of topographical inscription in contemporary experience. In Franco's recollections of life there, physical order, material abundance, pragmatic routine, and a sense of connection between village and landscape are interlaced. These are commonly expressed themes. The atmosphere of the *monti*, nostalgically recalled, may seem to present a romanticised past, but by contrast with that of the village (especially in winter, during which people were largely confined to it), and with the *malghe*, life at the *monti* must have seemed almost festive.

Unlike the *malghe* higher up the mountain, for example, the *monti* were places were people lived among family, kin and friends, and where the requirements of work, while heavy and constant, were more flexible, allowing for a diversity of activities and social contacts. Then, as today, the *monti* were places where social life flourished relatively free of the constraints of village life, where children played while learning about work, where adolescents mixed and found their spouses, and older people, men and women alike, were able to relax from the the harder or more pressing labour on the mountain or in the village. In short, the *monti* were, in a social as well as topographic sense, a kind of mediatory zone, experientially more open than village or alp.

By contrast, life at the *malghe*, higher up, although not always grim (there were visits from other villagers, trips down to the *monti* and rarely the village) was, for the men and boys who worked there, physically exhausting, frequently lonely, monotonously repetitive, and socially isolating. In purely physical terms, the living conditions were markedly harsher than elsewhere; even today, with the *malghe* supplied with heating, running water and mattresses, and the work well paid, it is difficult to recruit workers. Thus, Augusto Bonafesta, a man who spent twenty years between 1923 and 1943 as *vachér* (the chief cow-herd) at various *malghe* belonging to Salamone and neighbouring villages, and served regularly as a *Console* (a manager or over-seer), commented pointedly about his decision to stop:

> I was tired, because it was a miserable life. The work was hard.
> As for sleep, one slept little. So many animals to milk, to take
> out to pasture...I had no regrets.

In the six years I knew him, and in the course of many discussions about the *malghe* and the complex rotational system which governed their use[5], I cannot once recall his ever having described any aspect of his experiences in nostalgic terms. He, like many other occupational specialists (notably including the migrant *salumieri* and *arrotini* who travelled in winter beyond the village) took up the work and stayed at it under duress of extreme poverty. In their recollections they count themselves fortunate to have had work which at least provided some cash income, and equally importantly, did not impinge on

the food resources of the family particularly during the *stagione morta* (literally "dead season", i.e. winter).

In general, the *malghe* were a male space of marginality and separation: experienced and recalled, with few exceptions, by the men and boys as emotionally impoverished and painful places of solitude. Paolo Mengoni, in the 1990s one of the last farmers in the village still making use of them, recalled crying himself to sleep for weeks on end when, as a boy fifty years ago, he went up to the *malghe* for his first season.

There is a further and much more public sense in which the high alpine landscape surrounding the valley is historicised in a deeply emotional and political fashion for Salamonesi, as I have mentioned, and this is the memory of war. Between 1914 and 1918, the Val Rendena formed part of the front in the so-called "Guerra Bianca", one of the physically most extreme campaigns in the history of W.W.I. During these years Salamonesi were conscripted into the Austrian army to fight Italian forces from encampments on the glaciers and peaks of the Adamello-Presanella massif. Fighting often at close to three thousand metres of altitude, these troops - on both sides - endured incredible conditions of cold and deprivation to occupy redoubts scratched from the rock peaks and tunnelled into the glaciers themselves even throughout the winter months. In the valley below, conditions were not much better, with food supplies and materials being requisitioned by Austrian forces to supply the soldiers above. Women were not exempt from the requirements of warfare: able-bodied females of any age were required by the Austrian military to carry timber for construction up the neighbouring Val di Genova and on the glaciers at the front. Nor were children and the old spared shortages, for the rationing of foodstuffs (mainly *polenta*) in the valley imposed great hardship on families, particularly those with young children. When the war came to an end with the treaty of St. Germain en Laye on 10 September 1919, the Trentino became part of Italy, and those who had suffered so much during the war found themselves a part of the nation that they had been fighting against.

The contrast I have alluded to between the emotional significance of the *monti* and higher mountain terrain (roughly between a space of sociability and congeniality and, on the other, one associated with solitude, poverty and suffering) no doubt goes some way towards explaining the salience of the *monti* as something like nodal points in the construction of what people today identify as local customs. When they describe the *monti*, as did the current *Sindaco*, as 'the bulwarks of our traditions', and claim that Salamonese have been more successful than most villagers in retaining ownership of them, they highlight their importance in preserving not only a sense of physical continuity with the past, but with a less individualistic and more solidary form of social life among villagers. Although based now on recreation and re-creation of past traditions in a new functional context (leisure), social life at the *monti* today constantly

recalls, as I show in Chapter Six, elements of the mundane life of the past. Typical social gatherings at the *monti* are animated by traditional food and drink, and time passes storytelling, card playing and the singing, much as it would have fifty years ago. Salamonesi feel "at home" at their *monti* precisely because these places bring to life a sense of continuity with the past, and allow them to recreate its distinctive meanings and pleasures in the present.

Connected to this feeling of inhabited, familiar space is the way the mountainside hides a profusion of named and spoken landmarks, places and associations which exist in memory, even if their form, function and significance has now changed. Returning to the hillsides, aside from the *monti* themselves, the position and ownership of which are familiar to young and old, and the *malghe*, numerous other points locate memories. Many areas of the hillsides, sometimes as small as the field surrounding a single *monte*, are named with a profusion of ancient or dialectal words, the origins of which are sometimes obscure -Gablan, Monte Crusoc, Daniele, Largo, Pozzo del Caval. These "little places" also locate memories and actions: an old water reservoir on a little-used track above the village, where children believed a witch lived who exacted a horrible toll; springs and water troughs where cows drank moving down from the *malghe*; remnants of the old irrigation system which watered the pastures and gardens; the small chapels along the roads above the village, maintained by individual families to mark the place of some personal loss. The minor tracks which link these places are still maintained by owners of the *monti*, or new ones cut, to make access easier from points on the road where cars are left, and sometimes, just for the pleasure of it. Individual memories, tied to family, friends and significant events are linked to these names, fields, pathways, waters: conversation is rich with reference to such features, their history, and the personal histories associated with them.

The same detailed familiarity does not necessarily hold true for the peaks surrounding the valley, but a similar knowledge of local places and historical events applies to other villages on the valley floor and, even more intensely, to the named places which dot the terrain of the village on the *pianura*. Aside from the personal associations everyone has, most older villagers have an extremely precise knowledge of the ownership of the fragmented parcels of land surrounding the village and of the various *stalle* associated with them, sometimes shared between as many as five or six families and which, in the past, frequently changed hands either through the system of partible inheritance or on the active market existing between village families.

Beyond the territory of the village itself, this kind of knowledge is probably even more extensive today than in the past. Until the 1950s, social closure of villages, and intense rivalries between villages, signalled by a high degree of village endogamy and linguistically by the use of disparaging nicknames for those of other villages, were more

common.[6] With the decline of agriculture and growth of wage-labour in tourism and other industries since the 1960s, increased mobility and a tendency towards centralisation of schools, health-care facilities and other social services at Canzolo and Tione, many villagers today travel routinely up and down the valley or to Trento, fostering contacts outside Salamone. Hence, despite the profusion of in-migration and construction for the tourist industry, especially at Madonna di Campiglio (a major resort at the head of the valley), local people easily identify buildings and businesses up and down the valley which in the past or currently belong to Salamonesi or to their dense networks of kin and associates. In all this, there is a sense of strong connection, maintained despite a history of frequent out-migration both with the place and with the historical past inscribed on it. Thus, emmigrants maintain a large number of houses occupied at Christmas, Easter and during August (the traditional summer holiday period) and often also own parts of *monti* where they are able to renew and maintain their connections with those who have stayed behind. For them, as for permanent residents, knowing the landscape and the ability to make accurate and detailed use of references and placenames, to describe it and physically traverse it, is a critical social skill which both recalls their own pasts and serves to differentiate them from complete outsiders.

A final point in this respect is that this "inhabiting" is also, for permanent residents and emigrants a matter of action, of practice, in the sense that they , unlike outsiders, still act on this landscape, harvesting from it, maintaining it, deriving some of their individual and communal income from it. They are, like Adriana or Franco, constantly walking in it, appropriating it physically, and telling stories about memories of this physical presence. As de Certeau also concludes, this is - in the end - what makes of a landscape a "spatial story":

> The opacity of the body in movement, gesticulating, walking, taking its pleasure, is what indefinitely organizes a *here* in relation to an *abroad*, a "familiarity" in relation to a "foreignness." A spatial story is in its minimal degree a *spoken* language, that is a linguistic system that distribute places insofar as it is *articulated* by an...act of practicising it. It is the object of "proxemics"...[in which] space appears once more as a practiced place (de Certeau 1984:130).

Conclusion: Inscription, Spatiality and Social Boundaries

In the coming together of naming, physical journeying and memory, practiced space becomes "storyable", that is inscribed, and in its inscription, like all stories, comes also to propose not only a teller but a particular audience. Thus, to return to where this

chapter began, Franco's interest in the Rhaetian and Etruscan origins of place names, his attention to the physical traces represented by boulders and rock walls, with the passing of time have begun to seem less idiosyncratic than I first understood; an extension, or intensification, of a common form of local, familiarized, knowledge of the mountainsides rather than a distortion of it. The point of Franco's lesson to me has come to be that the detailed knowledge of this particular topography and its nomenclature, shared by all villagers and coloured by common and private memories, is privileged; like fluent use of the dialect, it constitutes a social boundary between villagers (including *emigrati,* villagers living elsewhere), and - on the other hand - tourists and even anthropologists. Weighed against the background of historical experience I have described, the mountain landscape thus carries a strictly local significance which is different from that open to outsiders. Its essence is that it is peopled, not just by those who inhabit it (temporarily) now, but by the people and practices of the past, carried in living memory, and thus made familiar.

Thus, as these examples of skilled and practised topographical familiarity suggest, the various spaces of the landscape (*pianura*, hillside, Alpine peaks) are woven into contemporary social life in forms of memory and current understanding which doubly affirm a historicised sense of identity for Salamonesi. At one level, such knowledge is itself a form of *mnemonic*, in which in which the public and personal past is inscribed in particular settings. At another, the power to inscribe is itself a form of exclusivity which affirms solidarity. Knowing the names and location of inhabited places is a form of navigation which is at once both geographical and social. In this way, like the organisation of the space of the village itself, as I explore next, the forms of the land, as Franco believed, importantly preserve historical experience in the existential topography of the present.

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[1]Franco was referring to the old so-called "gold" *lira*, revalued by a factor of 200 in the late 1940s.

[2]For an historical overview of the Trentino from a more classical perspective cf. Zeiger (1981), the leading Italian historian. On the history of various autonomist movements and the Austrian heritage, cf. Faustini (1985) and Rusinow (1969). A brief but useful treatment of the political history of the area also appears in Cole and Wolf (1974:28-63), who provide an extensive discussion of the impact of the Trentino's border-land status on the culture of the region. Historians of the Rendena (notably Cristel 1981, 1982; Franchini 1980, 1984) provide overviews of the history of the valley or more specific studies of particular periods (cf. also Ausserer 1987; Ongari 1984), or of particular groups, as in the case of Franchini (op. cit.) on the experience and language of migrants. Finally, on Salamone itself, a local historian resident in the village, T. Giustina has, over the last decade, published a very considerable number of studies on the medieval period, focusing primarily on the history of the Lodron family, feudal lords of the village and much of the surrounding territory (Giustina 1986a, 1986b, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1991, 1995, 1997).

[3]The *Comune* is the smallest administrative unit in Italian political life ranging in size from large cities (e.g. the Comune of Milano) to, as cited, the Comune of Lisorno with around eighty residents. A *Comune* generally comprises a village, associated hamlets (*frazioni*) and their lands. The *Comune*, administered by a *Consiglio Comunale,* headed by a *Sindaco* (Mayor) and elected every five years has extensive autonomy in the financial and logistical operations of a community. The *Comune* is also a corporate body, administering sometimes very extensive assets, often in Alpine villages in the form of land and silvicultural resources. The Val Rendena, with a population at the time of my first fieldwork of about 11,300 (1980), is divided into 13 such units (which include 16 named communities) totalling some 40,000 hectares of settlement, gardens, meadow, pastures and high grazing land. The Comune of Salamone falls somewhere around the median size for *communi* in the valley, with a poulation in 1980 of 538 (now, in 1995, 565: of which 283 males and 282 females).

[4]The *malghe* and some *monti* included several out-buildings; usually three, known as the *casino del fuoco* (cabin of the hearth), *casino del latte* (cabin for milk), and *casino dei formaggi* (cabin for cheese). The first served as a rustic kitchen and for the heating of milk to make cheese; the second for cool-storage of milk; the third to store cheese for further processing (salting or brining, maturation) or until it could be carried down to the village for further processing. These buildings were situated around the *stalla* or *barrac* where the cows and other stock were housed at night, and where (at both *malghe* and *monti*), people often also slept.

[5]The equitable use of the *malghe* required circulating herds and equipment and involved a more or less rigid hierarchy of work roles. Salamone, for example, had four *malghe* (San Giuliano, Campo, Garzonè and Campastrìl). Families were divided into two groups on the basis of a line passing through the village and each group made use of a pair of *malghe* for a five year period (San Giuliano was linked with Campo; Garzonè with

1.

Campastrìl), before exchanging with the other. Each group also communally owned the necessary equipment for cheese and butter-making, which was moved along with the stock when shifting from *malgha* to *malgha* or during the sesquintennial exchange. Two *Consoli* elected by the heads of families oversaw the operation of this rotation and also administered the *malghe*, monitored the weighing of milk and the distribution of cheese and butter, and were responsible for hiring and paying the *malgari* (the workers at the *malghe*). Their titles (in local dialect) and duties were as follows: the *vachèr* (chief cow-herd), responsible for overall decision-making and the care of the stock; the *vachiröl* (his assistant); the *casèr* (cheese-maker), responsible for making *sprèsse* and *ricotte* (rich and lean cheeses respectively), and for their storage and transport; the *smarzirol* (his assistant), who carried milk, cleaned equipment and ran errands. These assistants were usually boys, and paid almost nothing other than their keep. Lastly, I should mention the *cavrèr* (It. *capraio*, goatherd) who brought the goat herd up to the *monti* in spring and autumn and tended them at the *malghe* in summer. The *cavrèr* was generally at the disposition of the cowherd or cheese-maker as required. The maintenance of the *malghe* also involved specified rights and duties on the part of the owners; days of labour owed depended strictly on number of stock sent.

[6]Thus Salamonesi referred to the people from their neighbouring villages, Campago and Canzolo as *"i porcei da Camp"* ("the pigs of Campago"), and   *"i signorotti da Canzül"* ("the lords of Canzolo") respectively, and were known in turn as *"i muntùn di Salamun"* ("the rams of Salamone"): Fabio Delpaese recalled that during his school-days in the 1920s, these deprecating nicknames were used, accompanied by insulting gestures (pulling out the pockets to signify a pig, nodding the head like a ram) to provoke stone-fights at the boundaries of the village territory, particularly on a convenient hill on the road between Salamone and Campago.
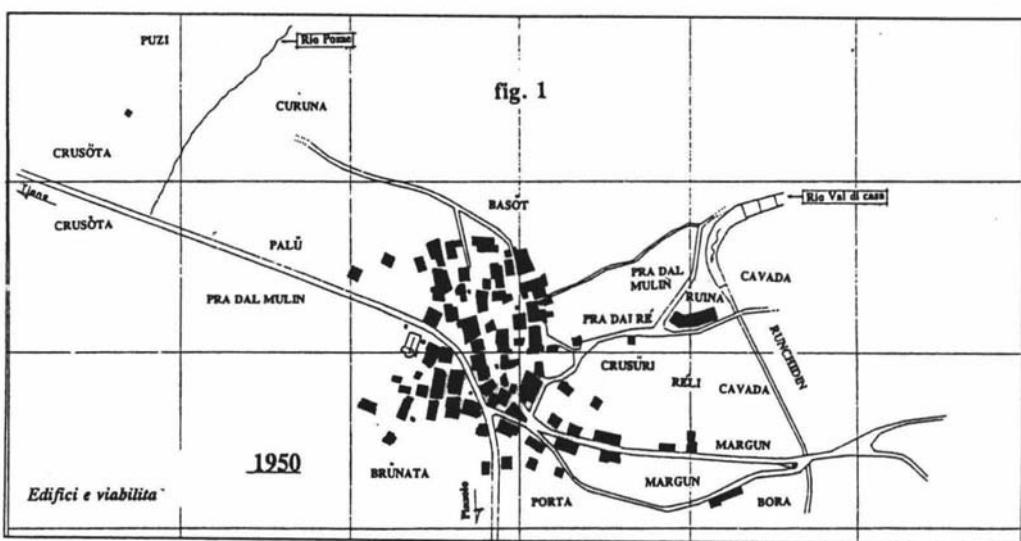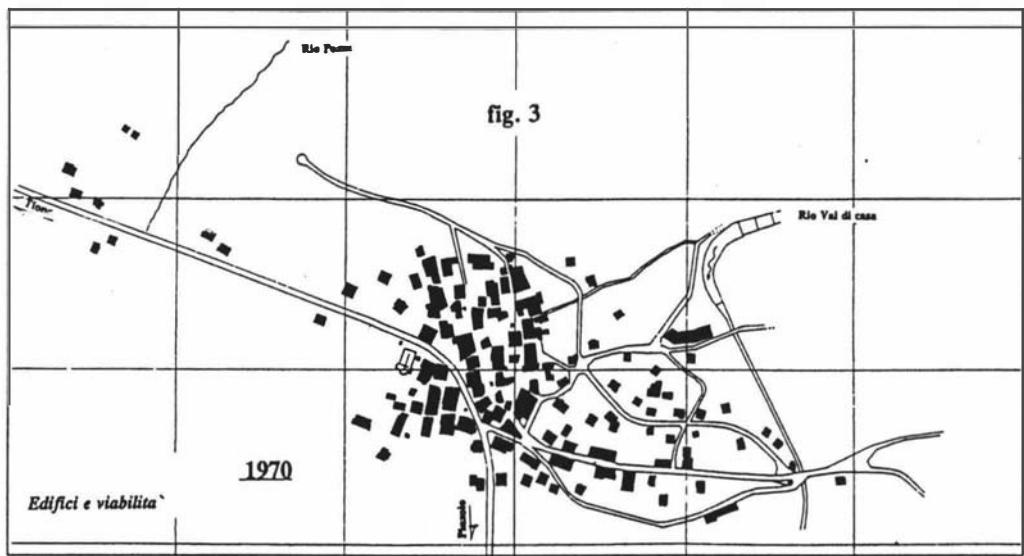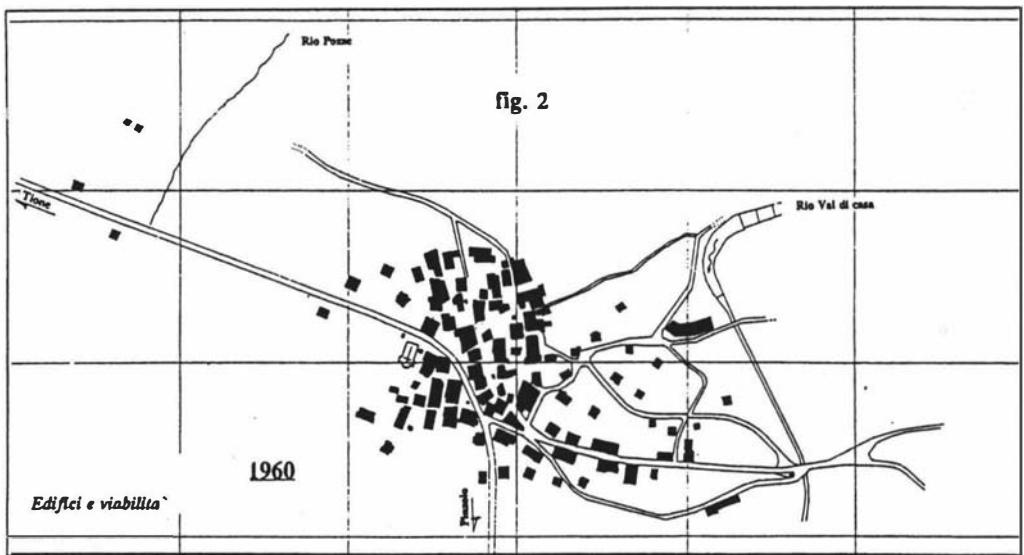
fig. 1

PUZI

Rio Fosse

CURUNA

CRUSŎTA

Rio Val di casa

Tione

BASŎT

CRUSŎTA

PALŬ

PRA DAL MULIN

CAVADA

PRA DAL MULIN

RUINA

PRA DAI RÉ

CRUSŬRI

RELI

CAVADA

RUNCIDORI

MARGUN

1950

BRÙNATA

MARGUN

BORA

Edifici e viabilita´

PORTA

fig. 2

1960

Edifici e viabilità

fig. 3

1970

Edifici e viabilità

fig. 4

1980

Edifici e viabilita`

fig. 5

1992

Edifici e viabilita`
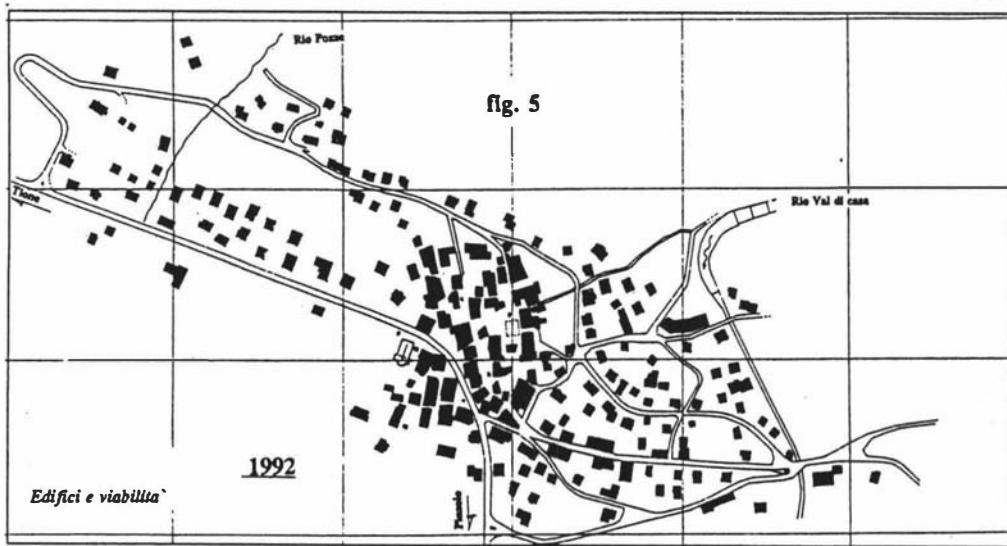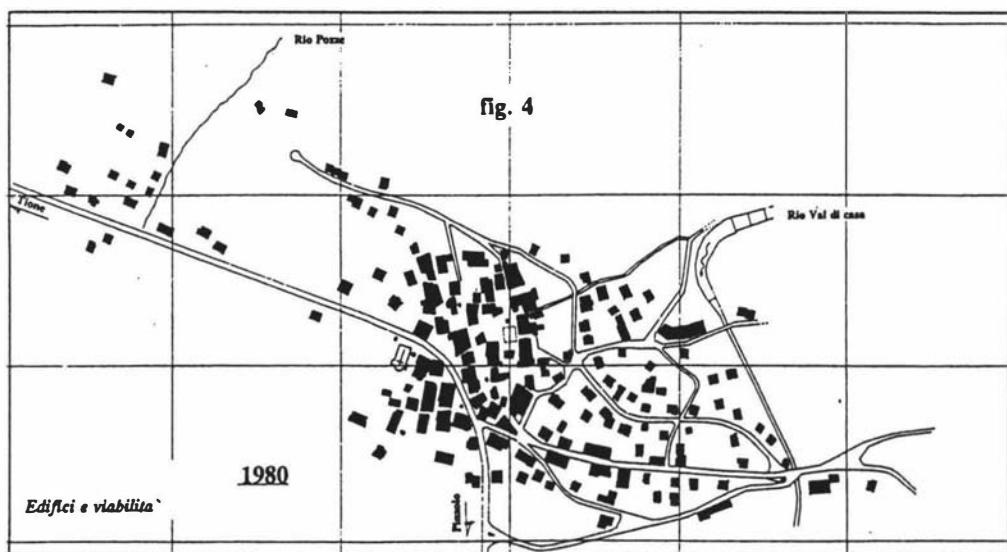
Ch.3: The Space of the Village as Mnemonic

Seen from above, the settlement of the valley, I suggested in the previous chapter, still realises the image evoked by da Vinci's sketches; a scattering of small, nucleated villages, each one surrounded, like eggs in a nest, by fringes of farmland and forest. This pattern itself demonstrates a visible historical continuity. But shift perspective to ground level and the evidence of change in the last few decades is unmistakable. Salamone, like the upper valley in general, has for thirty years lived in a fever of construction and reconstruction fed by the tourist industry, an architectural mushrooming which, begun in the late fifties, now seems never-ending to its inhabitants. The fringe of green has shrunk each time I visit, and the space of the village, homogenous a century ago, is now as varied as the cities whose concentric pattern of urban growth it follows. In this chapter, I explore this space, describing the pattern of its physical transformation, the architecture it contains (and some of that of the surrounding landscape), and the more recent history which these buildings and their contents display. I argue that both aspects of the process of historical inscription in the larger landscape - the establishing of continuities with the past and the boundarying of contemporary identity - are visible in its increasingly diverse arrangements and styles. Much as other, vaster, spaces differentiate zones of experience, so the spatial organisation of the village, its common parameters of functional and aesthetic difference, validate and centralise a common cultural form.

Walking Through Circles

In May of 1995, during my last period of fieldwork, at a time when I was living in the village for the first time with my children, I wrote the following description. Written partly with an awareness of the freshness of a child's perception, it will serve here to give a first impression of the "look" of the village, much as it might be formed by any visitor:

To picture how this village has changed, you need to physically walk though it, as I do each morning on this visit, accompanying my daughter into the centro storico *to catch her school bus, before walking out again to Gablan, where I am writing. Our apartment, this time, is close to the southern edge of the village, in an area of mainly tourist condominiums and on the main road, and Gablan is to the north and above. Our walk bisects the village, and taken, at least the first half, at the pace of a chanting, chattering, and intensely curious four year-old child, I have time to ponder the details,*

recalling a pleasure I've had before, but discovering too new evidence of others' memories.

At half past eight in the morning, when we leave, the main road is already busy with traffic, although, on a weekday at this season (spring), there are no tourists and the buildings around us are nearly all empty, shuttered and life-less. We are living in the zone of new construction, most of the housing here built since the 1960s and some of it more recently. Other than two village families, including that of the mayor, we have no resident neighbours, for most of these three-story condominiums (there are fourteen, each with up to eight apartments inside) are owned by outsiders and rented by the year to Brescian, Veronese or Milanese villegianti (long-term tourists). These buildings are plain and trim, the area uncluttered. Individually, they echo the form of the older buildings of the village, with large over-hanging eaves, wooden balconies, shuttered windows; collectively, their uniformity and rectangular positioning contrasts with the diversity of architectural forms and angles in other parts of the village. Our gardens here are sparsely planted, mainly with decorative conifers and shrubs: there are no vegetable gardens or woodpiles, no untidy stacks of building material or clusters of agricultural machinery as in other parts of the village. Likewise, no piazza, no bar or café, and few seats or benches from which to watch the goings on of the community. When there are villegianti in residence, we meet these transient neighbours clustered on the bare lawns of the buildings, in the asphalted streets between them, standing amongst our cars, or chatting on the sidewalk of the main road.

As Maryse and I start along the main road towards the centre, we catch glimpses of other new and large buildings above us on the hillside, screened off from the tourist condominiums by a stand of mature trees. These are the homes of villagers who have prospered from the tourist boom of the seventies, and line a new street which descends to the main road at the boundary with Campago, the neighbouring village. Here, at this one point, the two villages almost shade into one another and may, in a few years, join. Like the tourist condominiums they overlook, these houses stand well apart, though each different; their gardens are sizeable and, from the road, planted with the same decorative shrubbery. Across the road, the view to the other side of the valley is still mostly open; though even these few remaining hayfields, rich with wildflowers and hunting swallows, are slowly being taken up with buildings and public amenities. Maryse, for whom it is the unqualified major attraction on this side of the village, points out the children's play park and the adjoining basketball court: this is virtually the only public social space on this side of the village. The park sits hard up against a private golf course, a new cycle track, and then the river which marks the eastern edge of the territory of the village.

Our walk from this built-up periphery (there is more room on the northern side of the village) takes us away from one of the most successful new tourist-oriented businesses, a sports shop selling ski, mountaineering and cycling equipment, past the Oratorio, built recently by villagers to house the priest, Don Giustino, and to provide a community centre including an auditorium, gymnasium and meeting rooms. At this hour it is deserted except for Don Giustino who sometimes works early in his garden or orchard dressed like any contandino in tartan shirt and green gumboots. In the evenings there are always cars parked amongst the rubble of sidewalk construction, and people attending exercise classes, or meetings of various village groups, gather around the front doors: it has been the most successful local initiative for the benefit of villagers themselves in recent years, and is used by groups up and down the valley.

As we get closer to the village we pass one of the three hotels, a converted condominium at the up-valley edge of the same group we live in. It marks the edge of the more open space of the village: next door and across the road are several older villas and the primary school which sixty children from Salamone and the neighbouring two villages attend. Opposite the school, as if recalling the brevity of life's journey, lies the cemetery, surrounded by a low wall of local granite. It is always, even in mid-winter, bright with flowers, red and gold votive candles and the graves themselves, each one with its framed photograph of the deceased.

Once we are past the school we are, suddenly it seems, in the heart of the village. To reach the upper piazza, *the Piazza di Sant'Antonio, where the school bus stops, we edge watchfully along the main road which divides the centro storico neatly in half. For both of us, this is the most interesting (and hazardous) section of the walk. Traffic moves through the village at high speed, and because the road here passes through the two main* piazze *squeezing between which buildings come literally to its edge, and because there are no sidewalks, it is a dangerous place at this hour for cars and pedestrians.*

First, though, we pass through the more southern of the piazze: *a kind of canyon between the Municipio, an imposing four-storey building which houses the administration of the Comune, its archives, a doctor's surgery and several meeting rooms, and the church, to which the cemetery and a chapel, shaded by a large oak and dedicated to the victims of the two world wars are adjoined. Next to it stands the* campanile *I can see from the track below Gablan. If for some reason Don Giustino is ringing the bells at this hour, the sound resonates between these large buildings, drowning out the noise of the traffic. Next door is the Bar al Mulino, the most popular café in the village since it has the concession for tobacco, newspapers and totocalcio, the soccer pools. In the summer, it spills out into the* piazza, *and Carlo and Maria Mengoni serve tables of customers outside where they can watch the traffic and the goings on of almost everyone in the village. During village* feste, *such as the festival of*

the second patron saint, San Giuliano, this piazza *(the largest) becomes a fair-ground packed with stalls, bands and dancing. On an average morning, it is full of the cars of working men, taking their morning coffee, glass of wine or grappa at the bar. Some mornings Maria and her son Pietro, a class-mate of Maryse, join us here for the rest of the walk: the dozen or so pre-school children from the village, all part of a single class at the* asilo *(kindergarten), tend to converge from here on.*

A few yards away is the second main piazza, *and we head for it now, past various smaller shops (a barber, hairdresser, butcher and a real-estate rental agency) which line the upper side of the main road. At the second* piazza, *little more than a widening of the road around a seventeenth century fountain, I point out to Maryse the apartment where her mother and I lived during my second period of fieldwork, directly across from the* Cooperativa. *This is a large supermarket which sells everything from food to hardware, clothing toys and appliances. Its large well-lit windows can be seen from the main road, and are stacked with cheeses, local wines, bottles of boutique* grappa *and wooden craft objects displayed for the tourist trade against a garish background of posters of the valley. None of this interests the children much: to reach the window they like, crammed and bright with Lego, Barbie dolls, Action Men, games and puzzles (coincidentally a few steps from where the school bus collects them), the children climb a series of cobbled steps between the Cooperativa and the Bar Rustik, a café/restaurant now leased to outsiders and which works mainly during the tourist season.*

At the top of the steps we finally emerge into the Piazza di Sant'Antonio (the walk has taken ten minutes), to find ourselves facing the Palazzo Lodron-Bertelli, historically the seat of the signori *(feudal lords) of Salamone (see below). This is a large, cluttered* piazza, *surrounded by houses, and jammed with cars, tractors and trailers, a fountain at one end, stacked woodpiles and agricultural gear at the other. It is at the centre of one of the oldest parts of the village; aside from the rear of the* Cooperativa, *a casual depot for gas bottles and goods awaiting delivery, and the vehicles and machinery, we could be standing in the village as it looked a century ago. If we're not late for the bus, we choose different ways to reach this centre from the main road each day, for the simple pleasure of immersing ourselves in the details of streets and buildings. For the closer we walk to the Piazza Sant'Antonio, the more* affreschi *(murals) and* meridiane *(sundials) decorate the buildings; the more often houses are surrounded by artfully stacked woodpiles; the more frequently we see people on the streets and in the small vegetable gardens. Animals and poultry are housed in stalls under the houses, or in ramshackle sheds leaning amongst the woodpiles; at street corners, hard against the ruined walls of the Palazzo are running fountains and laundry-troughs, where even in winter women wash clothing, breaking the ice for the pleasure of company; flaking plastered sections of old buildings, their oranges and greens faded to pastel colours*

with rain and sun, and walls of rough grey rock, sit side by side with newly painted stucco and plaster surfaces. The streets in this part of the village are narrow and cobbled, overhung with the upper stories of the houses, and the smells of the stalle, of cooking, of the wine and coffee being consumed in the bars are caught in the enclosed spaces. Buildings of every size and shape butt up against each other in a profusion of unexpected angles and nooks: tiny windows curtained with lace and barred with a hatchery of pitted steel look out onto the courtyards which, just now, are packed with tubs of forsythia, japonica and hanging geraniums between which the occasional rooster scratches for grit.

This part of the village is not only the mostly richly inscribed, it is also the most densely inhabited, and hence the most intensely shared space. In the piazza, *as we wait for the bus, there is a ferment of minor activity: someone has thrown open their shutters, and is draping some bedding on the sill to air; she calls out to two women returning from buying the day's provisions; men have started working in the smithy just above, and nearby, two painters are climbing the scaffolding to replaster one of the houses; a farmer mounts his tractor to fetch the day's first load of hay; and the parents - mainly mothers - having reached our destination early, chat at the bus-stop for a few minutes, cataloguing the latest chicken-pox epidemic while the children race shouting and splashing each other around the fountain, or discuss (secretively and with great seriousness) the toys in the magical rear window of the Cooperativa. Amidst this movement and sound, both Maryse (I can tell this from her mounting excitement) and I find something which is lacking in the atmosphere at the periphery: the powerful and open sensuality of life happening in place, of a living milieu in which people know and are known to each other against the background of a familiar setting.*

The bus arrives and parents quickly disperse, saluting each other ("Salve!") as they do so: Maria to her bar, the occasional other father or mother to work, the other women to do their shopping or housework. Almost reluctantly I start my own walk out to the area villagers refer to as fuori, *outside, the area beyond habitation and therefore, inconceivably inhabited. People found it strange, my first winter at Gablan, that I should live so far outside: this time they find it easier to understand that in spring, and to write undisturbed, one might want to be away from the constant noise of the village. As I climb the hill away from the centre, the rumble from the main road is already muted: the only sounds a dog barking or the rattle of cow-bells as the cows grazing on the* pianura *below move around the first mown hayfields. It's rare for me to meet anyone in this part of the village, and within minutes I am passing La Fontana dalla Tullia, a small fountain cacading gently into an old mill-stone. It once marked the upper limit of the village. Above it, the houses, built since the 1950s, again begin to spread out, to be surrounded by vegetable gardens and orchards, small patches of hayfield which are*

regularly mown despite their size. A kind of architectural and proxemic shading happens here: as I near the top of the village, the houses become progressively newer, some still under construction, and fewer are permanently inhabited. Many of these are houses of emigrati *and* villegianti; *a very few belong to younger villagers who have built on some of the last available land. At the top of the village, looking down over this area, stands La Colonia, a large holiday centre owned by an order of nuns, and which takes groups of families and children for a few weeks each during the summer. It is being readied for summer now, and plumbers move in and out with equipment for some of the fifty or so bathrooms this gigantic place possesses. Immediately past it, I cross the stream which marks the northern edge of the village: it has been canalised in cement and concrete since the 1987 mud-slide which started high on the hillside and damaged the Hotel "Fiume", the largest hotel in the village, some hundred metres below where I'm standing. I pause here to catch my breath and look out and up-valley, towards the peaks of the Brenta and the villages of Canzolo, Fredino and Lisorno to the north. The valley floor is often hazy with smog from the traffic, yet I can see at least half the valley from here, looking north and south. Unlike the area where my walk began, the northern part of the terrain of Salamone is sparsely built-up, and forms a huge green buffer between itself and Canzolo. Near the "Fiume" are two large industrial dairy operations, both owned by villagers, and housed in huge grey buildings built with EEC subsidies in the early 1960s. These buildings mark the transformations in local agriculture clearly: they stand at the edge of a zone declared an Agricultural Park recently by the* Comune, *and some two hundred metres away from some of the oldest agricultural buildings in the valley. The most imposing is a wooden "maso" ('Maso Curio'), a medieval wooden farmhouse and stall, on the face of which, barely discernible, is an* affresco *by one of the Baschenis family, itinerant Bergamese painters active in the valley during the fifteenth century. Other, less imposing stone stalls, some still roofed with wooden shingles stand nearby, linked by a narrow road lined with pollarded poplars leading out to the edge of the part of the* pianura *belonging to the village. This road, as I can see in the distance, leads out to two outlying modern farms and, until it burned recently, a small hotel-bar which operated during the summer months. Beside it, sandwiched between the road and the river, lie a recently refurbished sports ground and another new children's playground. Immediately below them, in a forested area near the bridge, a villager is developing stables and a horse-trekking operation for tourists.*

I turn and walk out on the track towards Gablan. I am now truly fuori, *and the unpaved road, which serves only the group of monti a kilometre away, is always deserted. Like the track that Franco took me along to see the rock (a few hundred metres above where I am walking), it runs between crumbling stone walls through dense*

forest. Above, where the hill is a little gentler, are the traces of ancient terraces, where hay was made until some forty years ago. Few of these are clear now, and each spring, those that remain are fewer and more overgrown. It strikes me as I walk this shady track that it won't be long before the last traces of how these hillsides once looked will soon be gone.

This walk has taken us twice through a series of historical boundaries, each the frontier of an architectural zone, a concentric circle of inhabited space. The outermost one (*fuori*), where this walk began and ended, I have described in the previous chapter; it is the zone of agricultural *pianura*, of *monti* and, higher up, of *malghe*. To the south of the village, where Maryse and I began, it has almost disappeared, taken up with new housing and some public amenities (the playground, the golf-course, which like the Agricultural Park to the north, represent a last-ditch attempt to preserve a green fringe from tourist industry speculation). To the north, it is not so threatened, and still provides a wide buffer to the expansion of Canzolo to the north, which will, in any case, be blocked by the river. Inside this circle lies a ring of post-1950s "boom" building which includes the two large hotels and the area of tourist condominiums on the edge of which we are living. Much of this housing, as I have said, is only used seasonally. Inside this ring, mediating architecturally between it and the *centro storico* is the old residential area of the village, permanently inhabited, well served by *piazette* and fountains, with little open space. Finally, at the core, the *centro storico* itself, defined by the three *piazze* I have described: here are found all the services of the village, its functional as well as historical centre.[1]

Like us in the morning, most villagers make the transition through these diverse spaces daily: workers move through the village to workplaces around it or in nearby communities, those at home to shop at the centre or visit relatives and friends.[2] Other than village children at the primary school, all the young people from pre-schoolers to secondary school students also travel up and down the valley every day. These movements, like the movements around the landscape, are also "spatial stories", echoing dimensions of experience already foreshadowed in the opposition between the terms *centro* (centre) and *fuori* (outside). Travelling across and beyond the village are also navigations across its dual social faces, away from "inner" and more intimate settings of the lifeworld (the family, the home, the known community) towards "outer" more individual yet less autonomous participation in the schools, work-place, regional and national institutions.

The movement from inner to outer, in this respect, inscribed in the space of the village as movement from the past to the present, is thus also, as one travels *fuori*, a journey away from the physical and tangible loci of local identity. One might draw a
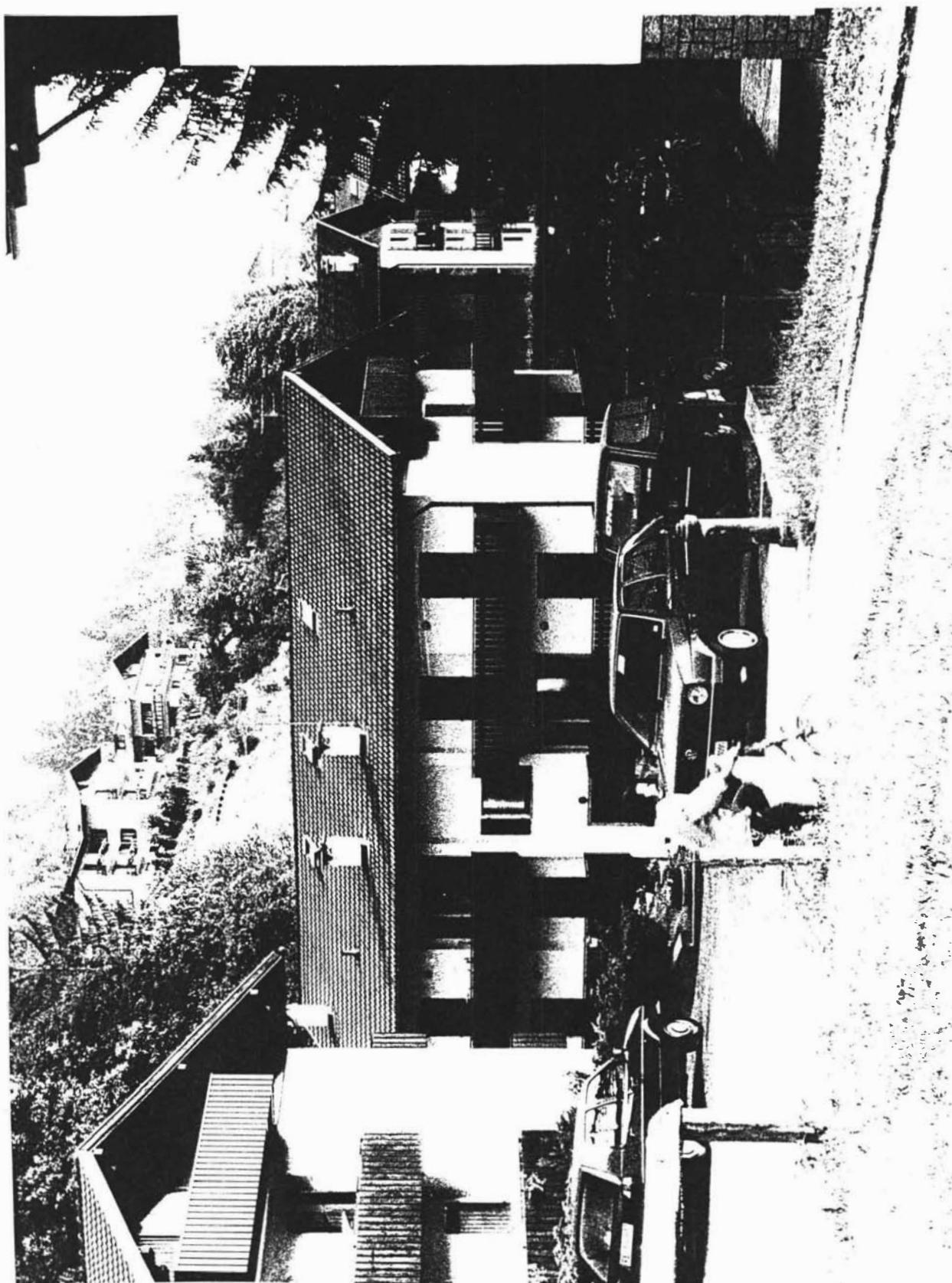
Tourist housing 1995 (Phot.: KR)
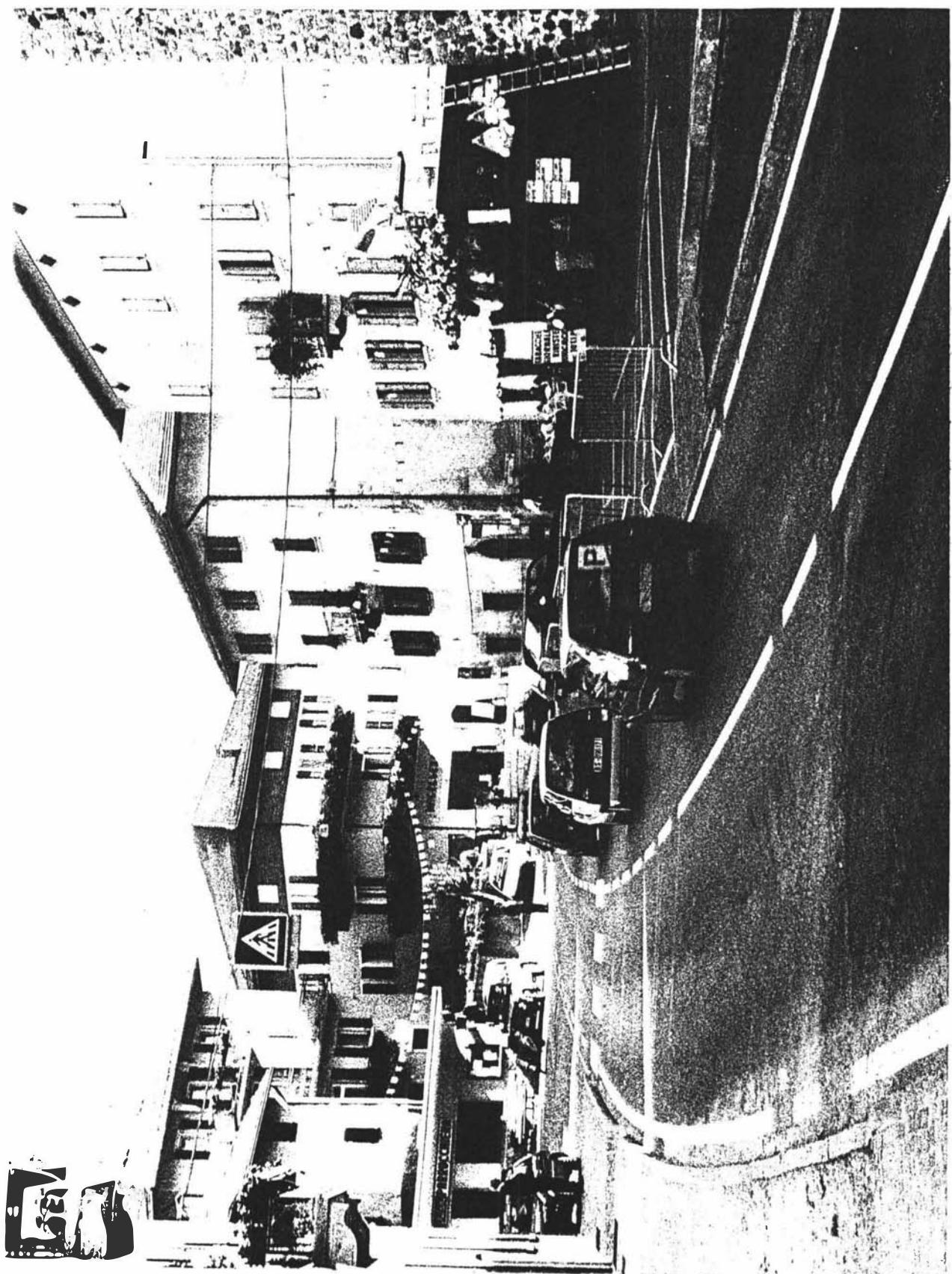
Central piazza 1995 (Phot.: KR)
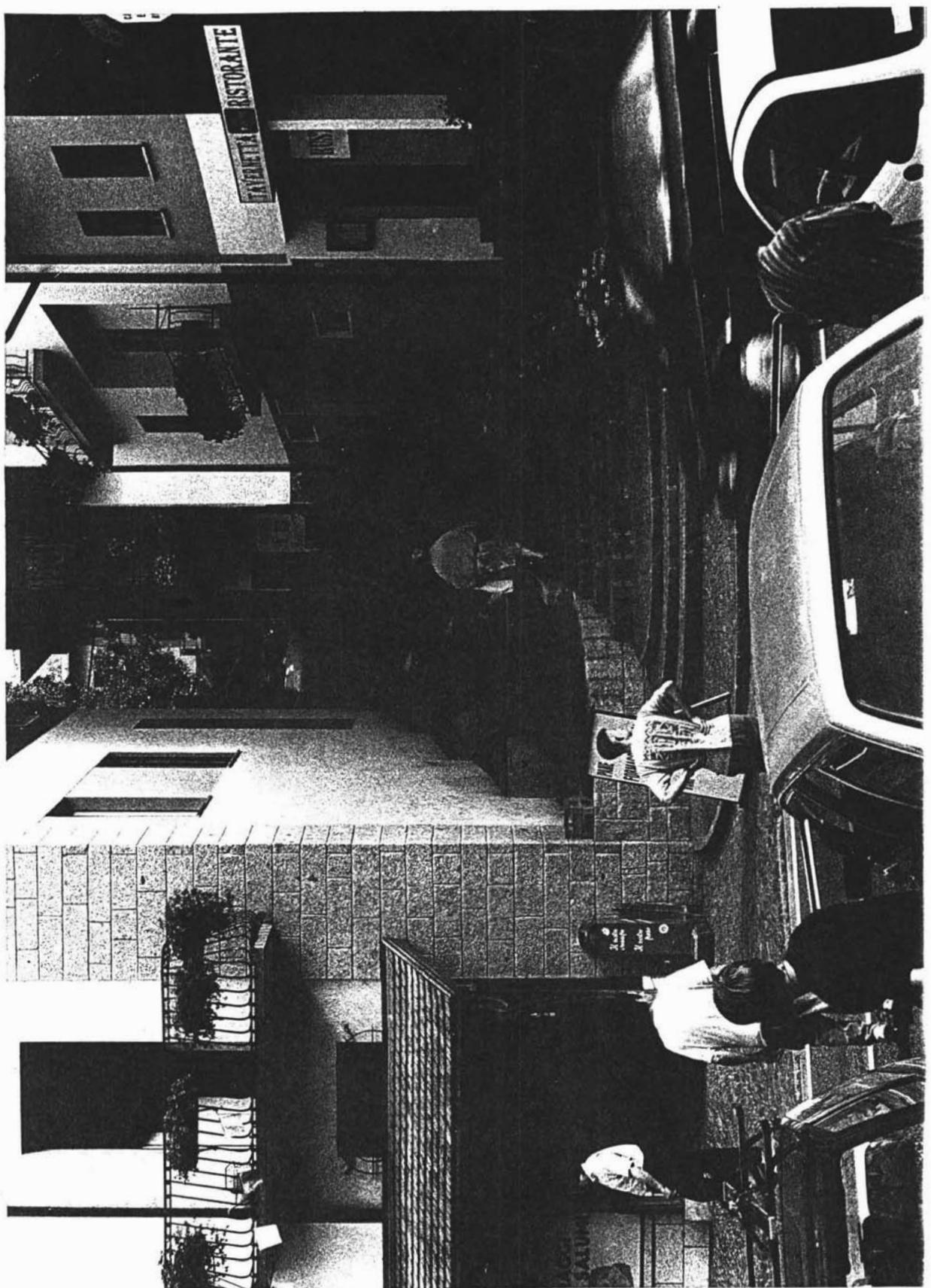
Crossing the main street: tourist season 1995 (Phot.: KR)

Centro Storico 1995 (Phot.: KR)
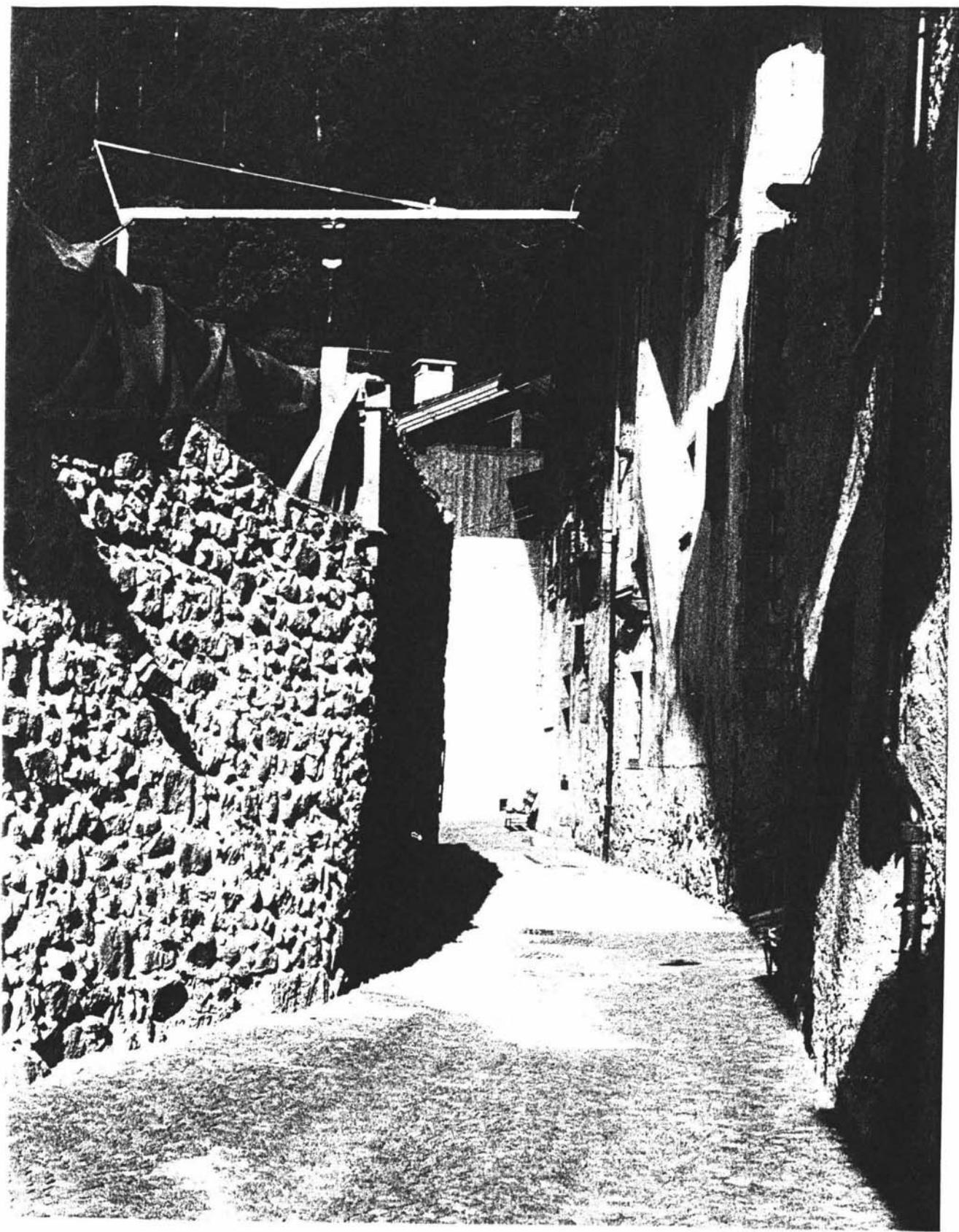
Centro Storico 1995 (Phot.: KR)
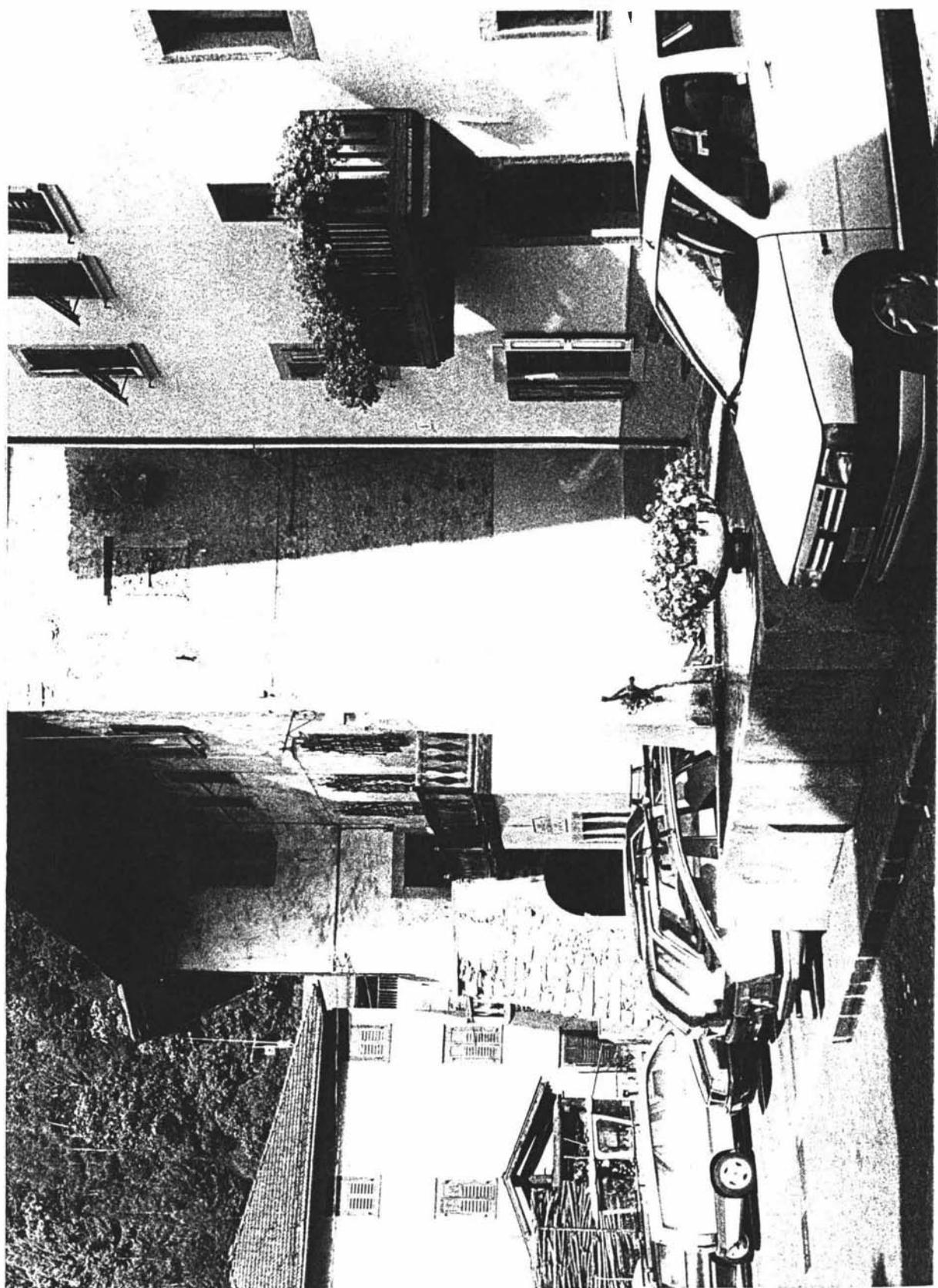
Centro Storico 1995 (Phot.: KR)

metaphor here from contrastive or segmentary theories of identity and suggest that just as Salamonesi may choose to identify themselves with less specific loci as they move away from the village (with the Val Rendena, the Trentino, the Tyrol, and ultimately Italy) so, too, in moving outwards from the historical and social core of the village they (and the outsiders involved) adopt less specific cultural forms, in spatial usage as in linguistic. In these wider fields, and analogically in the structure and development of the peripheral areas of the village, there is a diminishment of control of common (local) forms: what is given recedes into what is made, and is increasingly less determined by what local roles and identities propose. Thus, for example, women who would not be seen in a café in Salamone, or only at certain hours, will met in the more urbane atmosphere of a Canzolo café; locals, celebrating a special occassion, will eat by preference in restaurants outside the village; in the world's of work and business, as the move outside Salamone, people increasingly speak Italian rather than the dialect, even though the local dialect can be understood throughout the Trentino.

The concentric patterning of the space of the village is, of course, not unique. Nor is the conceptualisation of space, time, control and identity in terms of such circular patterns a local phenomenon. Similar modes of concentricity as a medium for conceptualising local identity with reference to space and time are found in many cultures. Often, the pattern of concentricity also corresponds with different systems of reckoning of time and or space, so that, to put it in the language of "spatial stories", such stories are told in different codes, depending on where they are practised.[3] But in the case of Salamone it seems that, rather than stipulating a differentiated system of time and space *reckoning*, concentricity here is associated with differentiated ways of *experiencing* space and time - in the broadest historical sense - in which the physical settings of the past (*il centro*) articulate a framework for the solidary experience of a boundaried culture, and oppose it to wider identities (*fuori*). Put another way, the topography of the village, like that of the wider landscape surrounding it, inscribes zones of experience on circles of space, expressing tangibly the possibility of a differentiated sense of place and self tied to the notion of an historicised past.[4] The space of the village in this way inscribes differentiated possibilities for behaviour, styles of social interaction, and spheres of praxis.

It should be clear that I am not suggesting that the settings afforded by the concentric topography of the village in any sense *determine* how they are experienced or what takes place there; inscription as a mode of historical experience is not, in this sense, a predicative process. Individually, Salamonesi experience the concentricity of the village in differing ways. Thus the relative value given to past and present, and the judgements made about the impact of touristic development, for example, are not the same for the few small-scale agriculturalists left and for those, on the other hand, who service and

administer tourists' housing. Nonetheless, for everyone whose life unfolds across the heterogeneous spaces of the village, these concentric zones exist as distinct existential settings offering differing possibilities for the expression of the communal sense of historicised self-hood. Quite tangibly, they are variously conducive to the inscription of symbolic statements creatively linking self-hood with community identity in terms which allow mutual recognition. Again, this is a matter of individual inflection on a field of common meaning, as I discuss next, in looking more closely at architectural styles as historicised elements of the appearance of the village.

Architectural Inscription

To an even greater extent than those written on the landscape, the temporal continuities, spatial distinctions and cultural boundaries inscribed in the space of the village are self-consciously created and controlled by the community through political means, at the level of the legislated policies of the *Comune*. In this respect, to some extent, the appearance of the village reflects the simple realities of a dependence on tourism. In the case of Salamone the vast majority of the approximately two and a half thousand tourists who are present at peak periods are Italian, working or middle-class, and drawn from a relatively restricted urban radius, comprising the major cities of the Trentino and the Lombardy Plain. Apart from seeking the classical pleasures of Alpine tourism, such as walks or climbs in the mountains, skiing in winter, traditional food, the atmosphere of village life, many - especially the *villegianti* who .rent long-term - are increasingly seeking the visible appearance of the rural past which, for many, represents their own real or imagined roots. The *Pro Loco* of Salamone, a voluntary association mainly of business people who, amongst other activities, promote the village as a tourist destination, has shown itself acutely aware of this appeal. Thus, the first glossy, full-colour brochure designed to attract tourists to the village, issued late in 1996, played heavily on the historical appearance of the village. Salamone, on the brochure's opening page, is entitled "A Village With an Ancient Heart" and flanking two images of older houses shot across foregrounded fountains is the following text:

> Salamone is one of the oldest settlements of the Val Rendena. Walking through the *centro storico* one discovers atmospheric spots: the steep lanes with their irregular cobblestones, the *piazzas* with their characteristic stone fountains, the wide porticos on the ground floors of the houses, the granite portals, wooden balconies laden with flowers. *Even the houses speak, recounting ancient stories and legends* (my translation and emphasis).

Later, the same publication, on a page featuring images of the local children's *Gruppo Folcloristico* (Folk Club) in traditional costume and two images of the *Banda Comunale* (Village Band) in uniform, declares, while listing architectural highlights, that tourists can disover "ancient roots" in the village.

> It's beautiful to immerse oneself in traditions not yet forgotten....[and] to rediscover ancient mysteries, the customs which live again in the processions, with the band and traditional costumes; it's lovely to pass an evening at table with friends from the village, tasting traditional dishes, hearing stories and legends, learning something...new (my translation, and emphasis).

There is a considerable public force at work to shape notions about historical architectural appearances, and their contemporary economic value to the village as a whole. To a large extent, this meshes with the ordinary impulses of civic pride. Nonetheless, as I elaborate below, individuals householders privately and ironically "play off" the self-consciously common form appearing in public discourse to make other varied statements about status, identity, and personal taste. Thus, architectural inscription, the external appearances of public buildings and private houses in the village, of *monti* and *malghe,* in this context, carries many meanings: among which those which perform, consciously and unconsciously, a contrastive function. Beyond this, styles of architectural inscription may also by given by *or* refer to the shared historicised core culture of the village as well as being, in more idiosyncratic ways, directly expressive of the individuality of families and individuals within the community. Like symbols generally, elements of architectural inscription are thus famously associative and multivalent.

In what follows therefore, I intend to describe, without any attempt at a definitive categorisation, the appearance of elements which inscribe the past, and to trace out their contemporary contrastive and reflexive significance at a number of "architectural sites". In doing so, it seems useful to again follow the framework of concentricity explored in the previous section, this time moving outwards from the *centro storico*, through the various zones of the village, to the *monti* and *malghe* on the hillsides above the *pianura*.

The outstanding architectural element of the *centro-storico*, and arguably the most important medieval building in the valley, is the Palazzo Lodron-Bertelli, which overlooks the Piazza di Sant'Antonio described earlier. Built in the thirteenth century, for much of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries it was the seat of various minor branches of the Counts of Lodron, lords of much of the southwest Trentino, feuds - for various periods - of the Prince-Bishops of Trento or the Counts of Tyrol. Briefly,

during the fifteenth century, the Palazzo and the fortified tower above and connected to it achieved widespread infamy in the region under Marco of Salamone (142?-1490), the bastard son of one of the minor counts, a notoriously cruel and occasionally traitorous warlord not above extortion from the general population. In the sixteenth century, the *palazzo* passed to the Bertelli family, close allies of the Bishops of Trento, influential at court and in literary and artistic circles in Trento, then at its height as a centre of vescoval power and renaissance culture in the north of Italy. They commissioned important art works and added a the impressive chapel in the former armoury. This must have been the *Palazzo's* finest hour - Giovanni Foligni, writing in 1647 described it as

> ...the most beautiful and comfortable habitation in the valley, adorned and decorated with art, gardens and *piaze* (sic), and provided with excellent waters and with everything that is not only necessary and useful, but also that renders relaxing and beautiful a most delightful place...(cited in Giustina 1994:9).

Its beauty did not protect it. In 1703 it was sacked by Marshall Joseph de Vendome, signalling the beginning of the Napoleonic occupation of the valley. Soon, with the decline of the fortunes of the Bertelli, it fell into complete ruin. The last of their line died in 1822, and the main building, its remaining lands and surrounding gardens were auctioned and bought by a number of village families. When I first saw it, a hundred and sixty years later, their descendants were still living in the castle, architecturally much in decline; it had become a vast farmhouse, sheltering both people and animals. A major fire in 1976, a few years before my first fieldwork, destroyed much of the exterior fortification. The once magnificent interiors, too, had in the previous century been almost completely ravaged. In 1981, being shown for the first time through the arched cellars, I was fascinated to amazed to see that they were teeming with rabbits being bred for the table.

As monument to a past in which the village played a considerably more prominent role than it does today, the *Palazzo*, more than any other edifice, is a visible symbol of distinction dear to Salamonese. Even if the details of its history are not well known to everyone, there is the powerful sense that it is the last remaining trace of a moment in which Salamone stood above its now more affluent and sizeable neighbouring communities, and had a role - albeit a peripheral one - in the political affairs of the Trentino. And the building itself still possesses a certain ruinous grandeur: by virtue of sheer size and its position alone its visual dominance would be guaranteed. Its detail speaks of its former opulence: it rises four stories, rather than the more usual three, and

is capped by a massive hayloft, laced with ancient beams and roof timbers. The walls curve upwards from a thick stone base and sport massive flying buttresses. The principal entrance, a massive arch of sculpted granite is still the main ingress, leading off the Piazza di Sant'Antonio, and above it hangs an ancient wooden balcony. All the windows are guarded by elaborate seventeenth century wrought-iron grills. Lastly, at the level of the *piazza* itself, the is the Capella di Sant'Antonio di Padova, its exterior restored and inscribed with the name of Girolamo Bertelli and the date of its dedication in 1677.

At the same time, there is no mistaking its modern use. Like several other contemporary buildings around it, though some are now abandoned, it is surrounded by woodpiles, small vegetable plots, dog kennels, tractors, tillers and harvesting equipment. Pieces of the fortified walls are incorporated into chicken wire fences, and poultry sheds lean against the buttresses. Spattered farm bikes lean against the facade, and cars jam the cobbled area between it and the fountain in front of the chapel. It takes imagination and a certain degree of commitment to envisage that "most delightful place" which so impressed Foligni three hundred and fifty years ago.

All of this distresses the planners at the *Comune* who, in 1993 bought nearly all of the *Palazzo* (it is now in a number of separate titles) and intend to restore it as a public venue (see below). Work is already under way for the complete exterior restoration, including large parts of the fortifications which, at this moment, rise from a jumble of green plastic construction fencing, newly cut rock, scaffolding and cranes. Ultimately, if the *Comune* can convince the two remaining families to relocate, the building will include a conference centre, a library and apartments for visiting scholars and artists, and as of the latest proposal, a school to train local youth in traditional and now neglected crafts such as wood-carving and decorative ironmongery. While the restoration is seen as providing a major tourist attraction (there is talk of a dramatic light and sound display recreating Marco's last bloody battle) the main impetus appears to be simple civic pride and the desire to retrieve the *Palazzo* from its decline.

A similar process is at work in the entire *centro storico*. Many of these houses here are of the traditional three story design - *stalle* on the ground floor surmounted by living quarters and then a hayloft: and some are contemporary with the *Palazzo*. In recent years the exteriors of a considerable number of these central houses have been repainted partly at the expense of the *Comune*, several incorporating elaborate decorative friezes in Tyrolese style below their overhanging eaves. Most of the murals decorating them have been restored, as have two chapels on the Via Diaz, the main road leading towards the agricultural park. The old sawmill on this road, has been completely rebuilt, and although from the outside it resembles (but does not reproduce) the pre-existing structure, the interior has been divided into a mixture of warehouse space for the *Comune* and two apartments for its employees. As is the case with several ancient

houses below the main road, the exterior surfaces incorporate and display the triangular timber roof structures of its original construction. Further out, on the same road, a large *stalla,* burned to the ground in 1994, has also been rebuilt to its original seventeenth century plan from locally quarried rock, incorporating an arched tunnel similar to the entrance of the *Palazzo* and using timber logs as roof beams. Like the cobbled sidewalks of the main road, these architectural elements formally and texturally resonate with the appearance of the *centro storico.* Choosing a route which avoids the main road, it soon be possible to walk from the Palazzo Bertelli-Lodron *fuori* along streets where the majority of the buildings appear to have been built in the distant past.

Not all aspects of the restoration of the *centro storico* express such single-mindedness in their determination to recreate the historical scene, however. In the centre of the main *piazza*, for example, immediately next door to the *campanile*, housed in a dignified and severely rectangular four-story building constructed in the eighteenth century is, as I've mentioned, the Bar al Mulino. From the front, the building's severity is softened by the colourful contrast between the facade and the pastel shutters which regularly break its form, the central opening a door leading onto an elaborately scrolled wrought iron balcony overlooking the *piazza*. From the side facing the *campanile* (the only other side visible from the road), the effect appears to be the same: rectangular shutters on a rectangular form. As I studied the building when I returned in 1995, I became aware of someone looking from a window on the third story, gesturing to someone below. Some moments passed before it dawned on me that the windows and shutters on this side of the building, and the figure waving at the scene below, are *trompe-l'œil* - secular and ironic murals in the tradition of the ubiquitous religious images. Like many of them, these were painted by Giulio Tolei, a Salamonese artist well-known for his restoration of the religious *affreschi* and icons scattered throughout the valley. The figure reflecting on the comings and goings of the villagers and tourists in the *piazza* is an acrylic portrait of Ercule Mengoni, owner of the building. There is a further invisible play on appearance and on time and its passage inscribed in this mural, however, and one which would be known only to locals, for it is laid down over an earlier one, painted some seventy years before, in which Ercule also figured, but as a child.

Beyond the *centro storico* the look of the village changes and particularly as you walk to the south the density of the forms of historical inscription I have been describing diminish to be replaced by others. It is as if at a certain line, you pass suddenly into a new cultural and geographical micro-climate. The culture of stylistic reference ceases to be local and becomes regional, even pan-Italian. Many of the most recently constructed houses on the hill above the tourist condominiums, for example, ignore the older architectural forms in the centre or even in the first surrounding circle and are

considerably more individual than those elsewhere. In their spatial organisation, architecture and environment they strike one as stylistically similar to the villas, built in the eighties and nineties, which line the roads running through any of the villages and small towns between the Val Rendena and Brescia, or even further south into the Lombard plain. Many of the managers and professionals live here: and much of the new wealth of this class is displayed in the size and architectural uniqueness of their houses. Undecorated with exterior art, their most striking features are extensive tiled or marbled entrances, large panoramic windows, multiple roof angles, and highly visible designer lighting of unusually shaped balconies and pathways. Expensively landscaped, gardens here are purely decorative, planted with cypresses, wisteria, japonica and forsythia: new varieties of plants which will survive this climate but were not traditionally grown here. The house of Massimo Santini, arguably the most striking house in the street, for example, stands above a sweeping driveway, from which marbled steps climb to a double main doorway. Above this hang a number of offset balconies and a large sun-deck. The driveway, steps and pathways are illuminated at night by concealed lighting which reflects off the shrubbery and marble steps; just after dusk it has that particular Californian polished glow, a play of varied light and shadow, which photographers love for its effect on the glossy art-paper pages of architectural magazines. Neither Massimo, former manager of the *Cooperativa* and a man who unmistakeably cuts the figure of the successful Italian entrepreneur, nor his house, would look out of place in a exclusive suburb on the hills of Rome or Los Angeles. Like the other houses which surround it, the identity inscribed here is not local or historical, but self-consciously post-modern and international, a demonstration that the urbanity and cosmopolitan sophistication of Salamonesi matches anyone else's.

The tourist housing, which I have already generally described, in some way mediates between these two extremes. The broad forms of the condominiums, for example, echo those of the older houses, yet lack their detail, as if sketched rather than painted. The *stalle* have become garages, the living quarters balconied apartments, the haylofts *mansarde* (loft apartments), their exterior walls a swathe of glass and varnished wood beneath typically overhanging eaves. Their form is a schematic representation of traditional alpine construction, yet the materials (stucco as opposed to stone, varnished wood facades and beams), concrete or paved as opposed to cobbled surrounds) resonate with those of the modern houses above. Their gardens are decorative, if more sparsely landscaped, dotted with the occasional rustic wooden plaque or arch carrying their names ("Residence al Parco"; "Cia"; "La Mia Baita" - this last a dialect word for a wooden shed or cabin). As intended by the *Comune*, responding to a petition of residents at the time of construction, these buildings express a continuity with the past,

but here a schematic and approximate one which conveys the sense but not the richly detailed texture of the *centro storico* and its surrounding zone.

In contrast, as one moves *fuori*, beyond this area, as I argued earlier, one reaches the places where Salamonesi express most strongly and individually their attachment to the landscape and to the past. In general the *monti* owned by locals, despite considerable variation in size and degree of restoration, at least in exterior style, preserve their historical appearance as simple agricultural buildings: like the restoration of buildings in the village itself, this has been regulated by the *Comune* which has, for example, forbidden the glassing in of haylofts, although this, as is the case with a number of other laws, tends to be observed more in the breach than otherwise. Those which are no longer used to house cattle and store hay, by far the vast majority, continue to give that appearance, the small stone architraved windows laced with iron bars, their doors of roughly worked wood, the larch or pine-wood structures of hayloft and eaves visible above the shrines or *ex-voti* to Sant'Antonio hung in niches over the entrances. Outside, fountains or wooden troughs used in the past for watering stock have been restored or replaced, sold ready-made and ready-aged by local sawmills. Typically the dates of building and restoration are chiselled or painted above the main door, often beneath the abbreviated inscription F.F. (*fece fare*: made or caused to be done) and the initials of previous or current owners. Old agricultural tools, equipment for mules or horses, stacks of firewood or poles for gardens in the village lean against the facades, taken in during winter when the *monti* are closed up except for the occasional visit by men on hunting or ski-touring trips. The primary intent, here as in the interior decoration of the *monti* is to create an appearance of the past and of the simplicity of life on the hillsides: *monti* which have been over-extended or reconstructed in a excessively modern style, generally by in-comers, are considered pretentious by most villagers, who in the words of one who recently completed the reconstruction of a derelict *monte*, "prefer a place they can walk into with their boots on."

Despite this valuing of continuity with the past and uniformity in the present, however, *monti* still afford scope for considerable self expression. Thus at the first *monte* at Gablan, where there are seven or eight, the lower part of the exterior walls are constructed with rounds of wood set in concrete, to give the appearance of a woodpile; "*Cauli*", a *monte* completely reconstructed on the site of a former ruin, reverses the effect, with the bottom story in rough-cast stucco and the top (where the hayloft might have been) constructed in dark-stained beech logs, the inscription above the door featuring paintings of flowers and pines in Tyrolese style rather than the traditional *ex-voto* and inscription; another nearby is approached past a small carved wooden chapel displaying an African crucifix given to the owner by Don Giustino. The pattern may be given, but the detail, relished by those who make them and their guests, is not.

Above the *monti*, the *malghe,* now used by only a handful of local farmers, are perhaps the plainest and least decorated of all structures on the terrain of the village. These too are maintained and restored in traditional style at the expense of the *Comune*. At San Giuliano a number of outbuildings have been completely rebuilt to the original design, as at Campastril, another lakeside *malga*. They bear the traces of individual history also: the older *stalle* and out-buildings at both these *malghe*, built from stone and timber found on the spot, are extensively graffitied with the initials and dates of residence of the *malgari* (workers at the *malghe*) of the last thirty or forty years. Their work record, inscribed for the benefit of those who followed them, is pointed out with pride when they themselves visit these places.

All these sites (the *centro storico*, the tourist housing, the "hill", *monti* and *malghe*), are architecturally invested with claims to identity, whether historical or contemporary. At one level, such inscription reflects the operation of wider forces: metropolitan images of modernity and post-modernity, or the regional, indeed global operation of a burgeoning heritage industry. At another, the tension between the pressures of an exterior tourist 'gaze' and the search for local 'common forms' is expressed in local initiatives to retain the look of the past as a visual marker of distinctive culture or, conversely, to reject it in favour of a broader sense of self. The collective and individual inscriptive choices made are not uniform: they are visible traces of the salience of contradictory collective impulses and a plurality of individual projects.

In such a fragmented, ambivalent and contradictory inscriptive domain, the prevailing arguments about "authenticity" discussed in Chapter One prove too simplistic: the buildings and structures which are evolving with reference (or in opposition) to traditional styles offer physical idioms for the public display of a cultural style directed *both* towards tourists and towards the community itself. Moreover, they demonstrate divergences of identity amongst Salamonesi. As if to complicate matters further, they are not "read" identically by all local people, or by local people and tourists. The sensitive surface between public and private is kaleidoscopic in its complexity. Yet underlying it is a fundamental dynamic: reaction to the specific historical moment, embodied in the physical forms given by the past, through or against which villagers stake claims to a vision of the future. Just as the space of the village proposes, as I argued earlier, differentiated spheres of praxis, so - perhaps to any even greater degree - architectural inscription, the signing of identity under the public "gaze" stipulates fields of choice about individual styles and possibilities of self-hood. While such statements are themselves individual modes of historical experience, whether taken up positively or rejected in favour of a self-conscious break with the past, they are not made randomly, but played out within the spatial boundaries already given.

Mnemonic Interiors

Inside people's homes the same fundamental dynamic is at work, although the interplay between public and private shifts emphasis from that which is given by cultural disposition to engage more insistently with individuals' unique desires to remember (or forget) the collective past, and more particularly personal history and experience. Thus, private spaces have not only a directly pragmatic use, but also what could be called a personal mnemonic style. The organisation and use of rooms, and the display of objects within them, are self-consciously created to recall particular moments or people in a way familiar to all of us. What an outsider in any culture notices, invariably, is the way in which these personal mnemonics are embedded in encultured idioms, private memories couched in shared language.

I should qualify, in this context, the term private, since even architecturally interior spaces are, as in most societies, distinguished by the degree to which they are accessible to kin, friends and family as social settings. As I describe below, formal etiquette also applies to entering others houses in Salamone and is crucially revealing since it signals forms of relationship, specifies the visibility of interior space, and demonstrates the scope and direction of mnemonic statements about self-hood. In "mapping" behaviour onto space, entering a house can be as much a "spatial story" as traversing a mountainside. Thus, in this context, how (in a behavioural sense) spaces and things are revealed is as informative as the object displays themselves. In what follows, by contrasting the interior spaces of Salamone houses with the more private spaces of the *cantine* and *monti*, it is my intention to describe both forms of access to private space and again, the interplay between common idioms and individual statements.

Let me describe what it is like - as a stranger - to enter a home in Salamone, before turning to a more detailed description of objects and object displays. The progression of rooms and of style of interaction, in the course of doing fieldwork and becoming known to many individuals and families, has repeated itself so often that I can choose a moment almost at random: in this case, a visit which occurred several years ago (1988) but which, despite the highly personal (to my hosts) reasons for it, developed so typically that it has remained etched in my memory. The rhythm has often varied, unfolding over one or several visits, but the sense of moving inwards through a house and - simultaneously - socially closer to people has occurred numerous times.

On this particular field trip, my third, I'd been intensely involved with videoing public events; the processions for the Patron-Saints, masses, demonstrations of traditional skills, the transhumance movements, and perhaps most pleasurably, various

feste at people's *monti*. Video cameras in Salamone were not common in the village and I'd acquired, it seemed, a reputation for videoing almost anything at any time. Several people had asked me to record events and in one or two cases, such as an important soccer match between Salamone and a neighbouring village, I'd been happy to oblige.

Daria Mengoni was about to marry Guido Vincenti, a professional mountaineer from the neighbouring Val di Sole, and had asked me if I would like to video their wedding. Guido is from a Ladin family, and she thought I might find some aspects of the celebration unusual, as well as wanting a copy of the tape for herself. I agreed to do it, and a week before the wedding, went to visit Daria at her parents' home to talk about what they had planned. Her younger sister answered the door and showed me in, leaving me waiting in a small anteroom, typical of many homes in Salamone, formed by a door which blocks off the main hallway and divides the house into areas referred to as *giorno* (day) and *notte* (night or sleeping rooms). Off the ante-room there are often entrances to a living/dining room and the kitchen. This anteroom, like most, was studiedly neutral: sparse and spotless, smelling of furniture and floor polish, somewhat dark and unmistakably formal.

I waited here, studying some enlarged photographs of the valley on the wall while Carla searched for an older member of the family to deal with this stranger. In moments, Fausto, their father, a man built like a bear, appeared and showed me into the living room, lighter but still formal and immaculate, dominated by a massive dining table and a television which flickered silently from a large bookshelf decorated with books with matching bindings and collections of china *objets-d'art*. Around the room were several smaller polished tables covered with lace doilies and elaborately framed photographs of the family. Every wooden surface, including the parquet floor, was spotless, dark and highly polished; sunlight filtered weakly through the drawn lace curtains at the windows. On the walls hung several crystal wall lights, a large carved crucifix and a number of oil paintings of local scenes, including one, in the style popular in Salamone, of the house we were sitting in. I recognised this as the work of a travelling painter from Brescia from whom several people in the village, including myself, had commissioned paintings earlier in the summer. We sat sunk in heavily upholstered sofas and talked, alone, for a few minutes. Fausto's wife, Sophia, served us a sweet *apperitivo* and some sugared almonds (bought for the wedding) on a silver platter, but instead of joining us, went back to the kitchen to begin preparing the evening meal. Fausto and I hadn't met before, and I asked about his work and family, and talked about my videoing, explaining that Daria had asked me to video the wedding and that I would be pleased to do it if I might also have a copy of the tape. Our conversation, like the room, was decorously formal (we used the spoken *"lei"* form), and for a bizarre instant I had the curious sense that I might almost have been asking for Daria's hand, rather than to video the wedding.

Thankfully for both of us, we were interrupted by Daria and Guido, who wanted to show me a short clip of another friend's wedding which they had liked. We all moved next door to the kitchen, where another television and VCR stood above the table spread with magazines, books, ashtrays, the debris of everyday life in a family kitchen. Space was cleared, a bottle of ordinary wine and a *salami* put on the table and, with a deprecating comment, some wonderful *sott'olii* (typically vegetables or *fungi* preserved in oil) made by Sophia. The video played, soundtracked by noisy, satirical comments, while Carla and her mother continued cooking dinner on the other side of the large kitchen, where a gas and a wood-stove stood side-by-side. Following Daria and Guido, Fausto slipped into less formal "*tu*" form, which meant I could reciprocate.

Like the living room, the kitchen furniture (wooden wall-cabinets, a corner dresser, matching table surrounded by Tyrolese-style varnished pine benches) was modern, but every surface was covered with objects in daily use. The walls were simply decorated; a calendar from the local *Casa Rurale* (Rural Bank), another smaller crucifix, a vase containing dried flowers. Spilling from the window-sill, open to the light and air, there was a cascade of aromatic herbs and flowering geraniums. My eye was caught by a poster above the table, featuring a summit shot of Guido on his most recent expedition, a first winter ascent in Patagonia. The marbled floor seemed to reflect the peaks. This room had life and light, casually combining so many elements typical of contemporary style in Salamone - an image of mountains on the wall, flowers, Tyrolese furniture, the good smell of herbs and meat simmering, the television going constantly in the background with no-one watching.

We spent a congenial hour here, until, around six o'clock, with the excuse that he wanted to show me some old agricultural tools and souvenirs of the "Guerra Bianca" which I might find professionally interesting, Fausto invited Guido and I down to his *cantina* below the house. To reach it, we plunged into the light and noise of the street before entering a small door below the kitchen. Fausto's *cantina* is - like many, and perhaps more elaborately than most - practically a private museum, which at that time was also used by his elderly mother who lived for various periods with each of several children. An incredible, extravagant variety of historical artefacts were crammed into this smallish room, painstakingly categorised and displayed. A partial list would have to include: butter and cheese-making equipment; ancient copper *polenta* pots, ingeniously mended and re-mended by skilled tinkers; racks of gleaming cow- and goat-bells; worn wooden haymaking tools, spindles and hand-weaving gear; framed posters; faded post-cards, letters and official documents; more family photographs; rusted ice-axes and crampons, including those used for cows; battered munitions boxes, shell-cases and bits of military uniform melted out of the glaciers of the Adamello. Astonishingly, Fausto's mother, dressed in traditional black and wearing an embroidered red shawl (a simplified

version of the traditional costume) seemed entirely at home amidst all this: when I asked her, she replied that it reminded her of her youth and she found it comforting.

We spoke for some time about the objects in the collection: many were things Fausto's mother had used daily as a young woman spending summers at the *monti*. After a particularly protracted and detailed account of the use of one of the many tools, during which Fausto seemed to become progressively more agitated, she excused herself to help upstairs. This was the moment he had been so patiently waiting for, and surrounded by his collection, the company, now exclusively male, could do what *cantine* are made for, and what he'd had in mind all along: we sat down to glasses of *grappa* and the business of straightening out the rest of the world.

Just as the contrast between the central and peripheral zones of the village presents an opposition between historical and modern modes of topographical and architectural inscription, so an analogous opposition can be drawn between the relatively public domains of people's entrance ways and living rooms, on the one hand, and the more private kitchens, *cantine* and *monti*. The more formal and public spaces of most houses, furnished in a heavily modern style, seem often to have no other purpose than to stand as the guardians of a more intimate and relaxed domain, distancing the visitor from the life of the household heard, smelt or glimpsed in brighter, more colourful and animated rooms further back in the house. Kitchens (a kind of mediatory zone), *cantine* and *monti*, where food and drink are prepared and consumed are the spaces *par excellence* for the expression of congeniality and mutuality. The more intimate the space, the more heavily it is invested with historical association, so that Fausto finally found himself most at ease in his museum.

There is, as my encounter with Fausto also shows, another aspect to this. The inscriptions of the space in the landscape (the contrast between *pianura* and *malghe*), space in the village (between washing trough and bar), and space in the house (between kitchen and cantina), are all, in another register, rigidly gendered. The association between traditional food and especially drink, the visual symbols and objects of the past, and informal congeniality, is so intensely celebrated and fostered by men, that the conclusion that they are a fundamental idiom of masculine identity is inescapable. Where the kitchen is women's space, accessible but not controllable by men, *cantine* provide a kind of cloistered setting for the performance of male poetics. The word itself traces this association, for as well as simply meaning cellar, the term in both historical and contemporary usage may also refer to a commercial wine cellar where food and drinks, bottled or bulk wine are bought almost exclusively by men. One or two such ancient *cantine* still exist in the local area, the best known being a richly decorated cavern in a village near Lago Toblino, unchanged since the days of the Austro-

Hungarian Empire. A number of men from Salamone regard this place as an important landmark on the trip between the village and Trento, and it is a model for the *cantine* many of them are refurbishing in the village.

A particular local inspiration has been the social success of one, the private *cantina* of Giacomo, the most accomplished illicit distiller of *grappa* in the village and a popular late-night place for men to meet. Like Fausto's *cantina*, although considerably more rustically, Giacomo's is decorated with momentos from the agricultural past, although the copper *polenta* pots and wooden *trìse* (sing. *trìsa*; a wooden implement used for stirring *polenta*[5]) here are still used to produce impromptu meals on the open fireplace in the style reminiscent of the *malghe*. Where Fausto's *cantina* has the atmosphere of a collector's display, Giacomo's represents a kind of happy accretion: the tools of his hobby lie sprawling where they were last left on top of a dresser stuffed with jars of his wife's preserves, a half-finished round of fine, well-matured *Spressa* (the local cheese), or a local *salami* casually covered with a cloth sit in the middle of one of several hand-hewn tables. Hanging from the walls or on shelves are the antlers of chamois and roe deer, on a shelf a fine stuffed ptarmigan, relics of the days when Giacomo was a hunter. The ubiquitous Sant'Antonio Abbate is here too, as is the crest of Salamone and the Tyrolese double-headed eagle on plaques above the fireplace. This, supplemented by candles or a kerosene lamp provide the lighting at night.

This *cantina* has, in the last few years, become famous and is changing its nature. For many years it was definitively not for outsiders. But this is changing: you still enter by Giacomo's invitation only, yet sketches of the *cantina* itself and a portrait of local men singing in advanced state of enjoying its ambience appeared in a recent issue of the monthly journal published by the *Comune*. And now, Giacamo has begun to host parties there at other people's request, for groups of *villegianti* as well as locals, provided they put an appropriate amount in the kitty to cover the cost of food and drink. Somehow, it is becoming more ordered and immaculate, perhaps even a touch business-like.

Fifteen years ago, when I first went there, the *cantina* was Giacomo's personal refuge and bolt-hole, simultaneously his garage, storehouse, workshop and distillery; now, and with each passing year it grows a little more pristine, a little more public, and is developing the signs of itself becoming inscribed as an historical trope. Like the external appearance of the village, though here in a more intimate space, the lines between what villagers do for themselves, and what they do for outsiders, can play in two directions, sometimes blurring boundaries between intimacy and display.

While the same associations which shape the atmosphere of Fausto's and Giacomo's *cantine* shape the ways in which people use and decorate their *monti,* these seem mostly to remain much more securely "back-stage", from the point of view of tourists. Like the *cantine* the range of style and degree of personal investment vary widely, but there is the

sense that *monti* are spaces more reserved for villagers. I discuss the significance of this in later chapters, but here, make some brief comments on their decoration. Because they are outside the village, on the hillsides, and nearly all were in use until forty or so years ago, many contain objects which refer to their previous use as mid-mountain *stalle* or to mountaineering activities. Within this framework, they are nonetheless often highly personalised. "*Cauli*", a *monte* I mentioned earlier, has a simple main room decorated with floral paintings, cowbells, beer mats collected on Ciro's son Ezio's travels and a barometer set into an ice-axe. There is no electric lighting, by choice, and candles stand on tables set with the brightly coloured floral oil-cloths popular in the fifties. An upstairs bedroom is decorated with the beautifully carved butter-paddles used to shape butter when the *monte* were still used, and a butter-churn stands in the corner. Others are decorated in the style of *rifugi* with old ski, crampons, ropes and ice-axes: many boast extensive collections of the local wooden carved folk art (miniature troughs, pipes made from cow-horn, *grual* (lidded bowls with multiple spouts for drinking mulled-wine)) subsequently mass-produced for the tourist trade. Typically, as at Fabio and Giovanna Mengoni's *monte* at Diaga, there are personal collections (Fabio's pipes and Giovanna's carved wooden kitchen implements). Almost always there will be displayed somewhere a photographic record of the process of reconstruction. These document the most important emotional and pragmatic meaning of the *monti* for Salamonesi: that they have been restored by their owners' own labour.

Whether densely inscribed or relatively simple, richly or sparsely decorated the essence of inscription of these intimate places (both *cantine* and *monti*) lies in the way in which they are visually personalised. These are those rare places made to stand for a privately chosen experience of openness, geniality and mutuality: within them Fausto's military momentos, Giacomo's trophies, Ezio's beer coasters, Giovanna's wooden spoons, everyone's "before and after" photographs, intensify this sense of possession, are a testimony to individual passages, passions, trajectories. But it is also true that they do so within a system of associations by which these places are already "located" in time, or perhaps an imagined time, rather than space. Here, personal memory travels together with collective images of the past, almost as text and context, each informing the other, deriving meaning from their interaction. In this way, the details of architectural inscription, those architectures and objects publicly displayed, act both as personal *mnemonics* and public statements, connecting - in a way that everyone is able to "read" (or recognise), individual experiences and meanings within the "common forms" and symbolic idioms of locality and history. Whether the *meanings* are common - in the sense of argreed upon - or not (does Fausto's *cantina* signify the same to him and others as Giacomo's?) is less germane to what they communicate than the fact that

they do so within the parameters of a common visual discourse which affirms for everyone the sense of belonging to a particular culture, a mutually-shared identity.

Conclusion: Dual Inscriptions

Between my descriptions of ancient split rock and contemporary *trompe-l'œil*, in the argument I have made in this and the previous chapter, lies a chain of visible inscription by means of which Salamonesi, past and present, have inhabited a terrain, at one moment writing their individual or collective sense of place and time into it, at another, reading them back and recasting them again to suit the present. Like the broader cultural processes at work in the contemporary context, such inscription is perennially a question of a lived dialogue between "what is given and what is made of it", between an historical framework and the experiential record created and accreted within it. In this process, the various forms of expression, from the construction of a topography to the mnemonic use of object display, allow for variously shared and contested meanings. As James Clifford has aptly remarked in reflecting more generally on the role of historical materials in the creation of contemporary identities:

> Interpreting the direction or meaning of the historical "record" always depends on present possibilities. When the future is open, so is the meaning of the past' (Clifford 1988:343)

For Salamonesi, the "openness" of this mode of historical experience, the visible tracing of the past, stems both from the indeterminacy of individual tastes and memories, and also follows from the dual roles it plays in the everyday lifeworld. For what is seen inscribed, as I have suggested, is both the recognition and re-creation of historical continuities, on the one hand, and a contextual and contrastive boundarying of identity on the other. In the context of massive and rapid tourist development, itself inscribing, local inscription shapes and expresses a mode of historical experience which - at one and the same time - is directed both inwards towards the community itself, and outwards at those who gaze upon it. From the point of view of those caught between a past which is pragmatically discontinuous with the present, and a future which threatens to overwhelm local meanings, inscription provides one fundamental idiom for conversing about personal and collective understandings of history, community and identity through the idiom of shared memory.

[1]The area covered by these four circles and the associated lands is extensive and its use extremely varied:. including communally owned forests, alps, pastures and fields, and the built up areas of the village itself (about 19 hectares), the territory within the *commune* amounts to some 1543.1 hectares. The area is made up as follows : forests (1151.5ha), alps (255.3ha), pastures (105ha), fields (1.6ha), gardens, orchards, vineyards (0.01ha); non-productive and built-on lands (18.5ha), unclassified (11.2ha) (Zulberti 1995: 33-42).

[2]The workforce of Salamone is highly mobile. Of the 247 workers (*lavoratori*) figuring in the records of the *Comune* in 1994, 101 (41%), or less than half, actually worked in the village itself, while 146 (59%) worked outside it. Of those who were employed or self-employed outside the village 103 (70.5%) were employed within the Val Rendena and a further 22 (15%) within the district (Comprensorio C.8). Of the remaining 21 (14.5%) were employed outside the district, 11 (7.5%)worked within the Trentino, 7 (5%) elsewhere in Italy and 3 (2%) outside Italy (Polla 1995:32). In terms of the geographical mobility of the workforce, these figures somewhat de-emphasize the degree of mobility outside the village, since a significant number· of those counted as employed within it are tradespeople who frequently work beyond it.

[3] Perhaps one of the best documented examples comes from the history of Iceland where Hastrup (1985; cited in A.P. Cohen 1994:24) has shown how Icelanders have shifted from ego-centric to socio-centric systems of space and time reckoning as their society moved from conditions of sparse population and relative isolation to greater density and more complex networks of social relationship. In the older system, space was conceived "as a circular, multi-dimensional area with ego in the centre" (Hastrup 1985:56). By contrast, the newer system, imposed by the state, introduced absolute measures of space and time. These modern standardised measures of space and time here did not *displace* the older system, which continued to exist alongside it, but each system operated in different areas of an individual's social and practical activity. In this scheme, Hastrup demonstrates, ego-centric models of space-time became associated with places and practices close to the local identity of individuals; absolute measures with those pertinent to the identity of the group, the national culture and the state.

[4]At one level, this notion might be understood as simply another nuance of the complex of values known to the anthropological literature as "campanilismo", a kind of spatial equivalent of the idea of "honour", held to be exceptionally marked in the Mediterranean and perhaps particularly, in Italy. Sense of self, on this argument, is linked to assertions of inherent local superiority. The excellence of village characteristics (e.g. the beauty of the village, the virtue of its women and virility of its men, the superiority of local wine, etc.) inflate the local and relativise other communities and their members. What tends to have been missing from discussions of "campanlismo" is a sense of historical process, that attributes seen as inherent and which contribute to sense of place and of identity, are aspects of the project of construction of self-hood which must be understood, at least in part, as a result of the self-conscious appropriation of historical elements.
1.

[5] Tomasini concludes the exceptionally long entry for '*trìsa*' in his definitive *Il Dialetto della Val Rendena* (1989:197), after distinguishing the term from the erroneously allied *trizàr* (to chop finely) with the comment: 'The distinction is not of secondary importance if one remembers that the Rendena is universally known as '*la vàl däla trìsa!*'", i.e. the valley of the "*trìsa*". Here an object stands both for place, and for a food (*polenta*), itself a metonym of place and past.

Part Three

Ethnomimetic Enactments

Ch.4: Ethnomimetic Enactments: Public *Feste*

August 15, 1988

Fer'agosto

He is a filmmaker manqué, *is Don Giustino, and when he is excited about something, as he is on this radiant summer day, his voice breaks with boyish exuberance. He is gesturing me forward, up the main road into Verzaglio, a village a few kilometres from Salamone, for the* festa *of* Fer'agosto. "Ecco! Adesso vedemmo!" *("Here! Now we'll see!"), he calls, waving authoritatively, and striding ahead. His normal slow, dignified pace has been abandoned, and this morning he can hardly stop himself skipping upwards towards the crowds. Today I am videoing, and he has decided he is Director as well as one of the principal subjects.*

Don Giustino is originally from another local village, although he has been for many years now the priest of Salamone, and is as central to the life of this village as Franco was marginal. He is the animator of many things; at seventy, his energy and determination are undiminished. Every detail of life around fascinates him, and he shares his enthusiasms with a cheerful, abrupt generosity. Like the metaphors lacing his sermons, conversations with Don Giustino can start anywhere and expand endlessly, spinning through circuitous turns until the centre has disappeared and you find yourself unable to remember where the talk began. He is much loved and trusted by his parishioners; children will slip their hands into his to chat as they walk up the path to religious classes on Saturday mornings, teenagers stop him in the street to rave about the new video games he's installed, the old people admiringly describe him as indefatigable - like a dog with a bone, they say - in pursuit of facilities for the village.

On this morning, his cassock streaks out behind him as he leads me toward the main piazza. *Before we even reach it, two men cooking* polenta *over an open fire in a grassy place have stopped us to offer a glass of wine. They are from Salamone, as are many of the people participating in today's* festa. *There are old links between the two villages. At one time, during the fascist years, they - together with Campago - formed a single* Comune. *From above us there is the steady buzz of a crowd, and as we are talking, a goat-herd - his horn slung beneath a felted cape - ambles by with his animals. At ten in the morning it is already hot, and the pungent odour of the goats briefly overrides the smell of the* salumini *(little sausages) cooking in a copper pot next to the* polenta.

Don Giustino is in his element, for the theme of today's festa *is a re-enactment of all the traditional occupations of the valley; he is planning on doing some filming himself, with his well-used eight millimetre camera. The preservation, documentation and revitalisation of such skills and "customs" has been Don Giustino's passion for many years, and a display as varied and vibrant as this one is an inspiration. Up ahead, towards the main* piazza, *activity is intense: there are crowds everywhere, and set up here and there around the square are demonstrations of traditional skills. In the shade of a wall Alfonso and his son Enrico, also from Salamone, are making salami, working the meat with their hands to sour it with wine, mixing in herbs and garlic before stuffing it into an ancient hand-cranked machine which fills the gut casings. Nearby a* moleta *(dial.: knifegrinder) is sharpening tools on a foot-powered mobile grinder, of the type so many used in their travels to Innsbruck, Trieste and Mantova, and as far away as Manchester and New York. The stream of water dribbling from a can onto the grinding wheel rings a small bell to attract customers while he grinds: his* garzonè *(dial.: apprentice) runs into the nearby houses to collect knives, scissors, tools for sharpening. At one time, these* moleti *spoke an argot of their own -* il Taron - *but this is now almost lost, and the knifegrinder calls out in simple dialect. These were, in the past, the two most common occupations of local men migrating out, and even today, in their modern versions, are important areas of work for people from the valley.*

Wafts of smoke drift towards the crowd around the moleta *from a carefully constructed earth mound a few metres away to which a* carbonaro *(charcoal-burner) is putting the finishing touches: the elegant beehive of sticks around a central chimney would normally takes several days to become charcoal. Across the road, a group of women in traditional dress (white blouses, long black skirts and floral aprons, red patterned shawls around their shoulders) are singing songs as they wash clothes in the laundry trough with lye and ashes. Their songs are shouted, ribald, and poke fun at the men nearby, who either join in or respond laughing with one of their own. Nearby, a man sharpening a scythe by hammering its edge against a small anvil pushed into the earth seems to be beating time to their songs. A few steps further away, other men and women in traditional dress (the men wearing alpine hats and long black woollen capes despite the heat) are roasting coffee over a fire, the smoke blackened roaster sitting in the embers producing a delicious smell of coffee. They are using real coffee beans, not the barley that once was the staple drink, and the smell has drawn a large crowd.*

Don Giustino and I cross the street and walk back to the piazza. *Near the fountain we hear shouting; an angry exchange is taking place between an old man who is taking to role of* casèr *(chief cheese-maker) and his younger* smarzirol *(assistant).*

They cannot agree on where the huge copper pot for heating the milk should be hung. Throwing his arms up in disgust, the old man walks away shouting abuse. The younger man patiently goes back to work, a look of wry resignation on his face, and re-adjusts the tripod of large sapling-woods. Within moments, the old man is back, cursing fluently, and making the most of his moment, dramatically throws the pot into the fountain. His smarzirol *quietly begins to wash it as the old man stalks away again. Its like a scene from a Punch and Judy show and the crowd is roaring with laughter. None of us are sure whether this is part of the act or the real thing.*

In a quieter corner of the piazza, *near a reconstructed* cantina, *Laura and her helpers have recreated a school as it might have been at the turn of the century. A young boy in slouch-cap and baggy knickerbockers, his face smeared with soot from a previous role as assistant* spazza-camino *(chimney sweep) now sits at a desk along with his classmates. The children are all in period clothing, and writing on slates with chalk: Laura is conducting a real lesson about the history of the valley and the jobs the children can see demonstrated around them. Don Giustino, hopping excitedly from position to position, is filming in full swing. The children call out to him, waving and hamming, until Laura, enjoying the authority of her role as teacher, gets their attention back to the lesson. Really, there's too much going on for this: Fausto is furiously splitting* scandole *(wooden roof-slats), some women are spinning yarn on a bench by the Municipio, Italo is giving rides around the village on a horse-drawn haycart, the bars are working at full capacity selling coffees and ice-cream, and the crowd is humming with excitement and energy.*

Suddenly, there are bells tolling urgently from the campanile, *echoed by smaller ones drawing nearer from below. From the hayloft of one of the houses on the* piazza *clouds of smoke billow across the sky. The spell of enactment - the magic sense of being drawn backward in time - is broken. For a moment there is complete bedlam, then, with a crowd's fascination for a fire, in an instant, the* piazza *is crowded with locals in costume and tourists, all peering upwards, searching anxiously for the orange of the flames. Don Giustino and I are still filming, and almost miss the entrance, at our backs, of the fire-brigade. And then it's clear and there is an audible sigh of relief from the onlookers; they too are in the luxuriant costumes of the volunteer fire-fighters of the Austrian period, running in strict military time to the whistles of their captain, who wears an imposing, and apparently thoroughly impractical, headpiece decorated with long white plumes. Their uniforms are stupendous: dark serge, shining brass buckles, huge polished leather harnesses from which hang curiously shaped axes, whistles and other equipment. Behind them they pull a magnificently restored piece of nineteenth century fire-fighting apparatus, its spigots sparkling on the wooden frame, double-handled pump swinging wildly as it*

bounces on the cobbles of the square. With awesome speed and precision - the drill has been polished to perfection - the hoses are in the fountain and the pompieri *are pumping rhythmically. After a few disappointing initial spurts and some minor adjustment, plumes of water stream 15 metres upwards to the hayloft and the roof above it, to the continuing applause of the crowd.*

With the "crisis" over, the crowd wanders off to fetch free plates of polenta *and* salumini *or to the bars for a drink before lunch. The* festa *will go on all day on a quieter note, and in the evening there is a concert of local* Cori Alpini *(Alpine Choirs). Don Giustino and I, however, have another* festa *to film, the one back at Salamone, where the main square is filled with amusement stalls and where, this evening, there will be a band and dancing in the streets. As we turn to leave, Don Giustino taps me on the shoulder and with a satisfied smile, as if he has concluded a particularly successful sermon, gestures back at the crowd:* "Vedemmo!", *he says, his voice cracking with pleasure,* "La gente qui son' buoni per lavorare, e buoni anche per far festa!". *(You see! People here are good for working, and good for partying too!).*

Ethnomimetic Enactment

Everyone I have talked to about that particular *Fer'agosto* celebration some eight years ago remembers it with particular intensity and pleasure. It was, it seems, the first of the large public *feste*[1] of this kind mounted at Verzaglio, and in it, the participating locals discovered a successful format. Since then, this annual *festa* has expanded, the number of tourists has grown, and while it is still pleasurable, it no longer as vibrant as in its early days. Nonetheless, people in Salamone, Verzaglio and the surrounding villages still look forward to it and it continues, successfully, to draw local participants.

Why do local people so passionately enjoy participating in this kind of reconstruction? The most immediate answer is that this kind of enactment, or perhaps more accurately re-enactment, as Don Giustino suggested, clearly includes a powerfully ludic dimension. At one level, it is simply fun; good entertainment for the "actors" and for the tourists and, as the word *festa* suggests, provides a moment for unusually playful interaction between them. Even more than most *feste*, this one is a theatrically transformative event, one in which the *personae* of all the participants, if only in some momentary and transient sense, are subtly changed by the costumes they wear and by the historical roles they play. In acting themselves (in a collective and historical mode), and thus, at the same time, *not* themselves (in a contemporary and

individual sense) locals experience a freedom in their interactions with tourists qualitatively different from that which is possible in more functional contexts.

But enactment and its significance as a dimension of the life-world in Salamone does not, in the argument I make in this and following chapter, end with *feste*. At one level, re-enactments such as the one I have described (and they occur in many other forms) may appear a game or diversion. At another, enactment provides a pervasive idiom and performative framework of informal sociality. As a mode of historical experience, like the traces on the landscape and in the village space, enactment is also inscribed, but inscribed on the body in decoration and action in a form which refers itself to the modes of physical experience of the past recreated in the present. Because of this embodied character, enactment - I will argue here and in the final Chapter - is one of the most powerful imaginative media for the expression of psycho-social and existential concerns, and for recognising intersubjectivity, totalising past and present projects at a variety of levels from the purely personal to the spectacular and public.

To enact in this sense is to *act upon* something - the self, the audience, the setting - but, it is also to be *act-ed upon*, in this case and others I will discuss, by the historical weight of others' previous modes of experience. This dialectic is mediated by and draws deeply on the mimetic faculty, "the gift of producing similarities", in Walter Benjamin's telling phrase (Benjamin 1979:160). By means of such mimesis, the physical investment of self in activity which may be as simple as one's presence, as extensive as the creation of a comprehensive role or identity, is made to signify historical and existential equivalences, and therefore, continuities. Expressively such enactment may be sometimes "freer", sometimes less. While to walk in a religious procession may offer little scope for individual choice, to play the part of a *maestra* in a reconstructed school calls for a comparatively complex poetics. At either extreme, however, to enact is to "throw oneself into" an experience outside the mundane, to bring together a self and an other (the audience) in a new light, to create a conceptual space for statement and reflection within the boundaries of a communication which, while still constrained by social structures, is nonetheless socially and psychologically transformative.

It might be argued that, beginning with children's play, mimesis enacted in such a way is a human universal (cf. Taussig 1993). So basic is this impulse that Robert Cantwell, who has coined the term "ethnomimesis" to loosely describe it, somewhat idiosyncratically equates it generically with "culture" (Cantwell 1993: 6). More usefully, at the core of Cantwell's notion, is the more restricted sense of ethnomimesis as the embodied representation of the imagined self to an imagined other. Ethnomimeses, the enactment of ethnomimetic events, function to project a sense of self and grouphood within what he terms the "'noetic vacuums' or culturally vacant

spaces of complex societies" (ibid:7), corporeally communicating statements of identity:

> ...in a complex society like ours, social distances, with their accompanying insulation of one group or community from another, cause people otherwise unknown to one another to conceive the other on the basis of perceptible signs that lend to that conception the character of a mimesis or fictional attribution, with all that such attribution implies; in the social hinterlands between self and other, verbal, pictorial, dramatic, and other representations of groups and communities arise ·to mediate that conception, including self-representations of one group to another, often in response to the other's stereotyped expectations (ibid.:6-7).

Predominantly, however, Cantwell tends to associate imitation, impersonation, and the "figuring-forth" of imaginative equivalence (all characteristics of ethnomimesis as he defines it) with festivity, "enchantment", and a pre-conscious, pre-structural expression of order (Cantwell 1993: 5; 7-8). In his argument, ethnomimetic events are strongly associated with folk-life as opposed to elite culture, against which they tend - though not exclusively - to position themselves counter-hegemonically (ibid.:8). Similarly, Handelman, whose focus in a major study is "the relatively closed phenomenal world" of public events (1990:16), opposes their design or structural form (which he conflates with their intentionality), to their practice (which equals performance or enactment) and privileges the former. For Handelman, enactment is subservient to structural form in public events. Where the opposite holds, we are referring, he maintains to "proto-events", "identifiable as special occasions, yet ones that have yet to be accorded a status of distinctive phenomena by their practitioners" (ibid.:20-21).

In both these interpretations, what I will call "ethnomimetic enactment"[2] intensifies experience by conforming to the existentially powerful dynamics of ritual transformation - of liminality and "communitas" - particularly as taken up by Turner in his various late studies of the experiential homologies at play across ritual, drama and other forms of social performance (Turner 1969, 1986, 1987). Such experiences of heightened marginality and inclusion are seen by Cantwell and Handelman as tending to be the province of folk-cultures or, in so-called "complex" societies, of informal milieu. In the sense in which in which I use the term here, however, *ethnomimetic enactment as a mode of historical experience embraces ritual but also extends beyond it, into non-repetitive, spontaneous acts of expression constrained only by the requirement that they fall appropriately within the performative idiom of*

an expressive, sometimes dramatic, and temporally-oriented cultural frame. The range of representation shaped by the dimension of ethnomimetic enactment, in the forms I describe below, thus includes not only formal public ceremonial and celebration (the *feste* discussed in this chapter), but constitutes a experiential aspect of the activities of functional and recreational associations (the *Banda Musicale Comunale* and *Schützen* described in Chapter Five), and also of the poetics of informal and spontaneous interaction (private *feste* at *monti* and *cantine* discussed in Chapter Six). What is ethnomimetically enacted - among other elements - is the ritual expression of community, but also, to cite some other examples to be discussed later, a poetics of informal interaction with tourists and others, the performance of music at private parties, and the stylised preparation and consumption of traditional food and drink. Ethnomimetic enactments are not identical with what I will later discuss as social poetics, but the two - like all modes of historical experience - interpenetrate as dimensions of actual practice.

Ethnomimesis and Public Ritual

The variety of contexts I have referred to raises an important point: ethnomimetic enactment, even more than the inscription of space, is a flexible medium within which individual statements of self-hood are made within common forms, and an image of social order, community, personhood, and the self represented both to the selves and others. That this is often a self-conscious and even strategic process, and that it goes far beyond the constraints of social obligation or simple tradition, there can be no doubt. In the contemporary context, forms of ethnomimetic enactment and aspects of material tradition are re-activated, recreated and sometimes "invented" (as I discuss in Chapter Five) by people in Salamone to present an image of the past crucial to the present. These processes, as Boissevain has recently observed, are - partly as a result of tourist influence - widespread in Europe, and have led not only to an enormous increase in the number of public ritual performances in recent years, but also to a widely variable series of transformations in their contemporary form, significance and external representation (Boissevain 1992:1-2). A significant aspect of this transformation - in Salamone as elsewhere - is that ethnomimetic enactments, as I discuss in the next chapter, also reveal themselves as elements in political strategies for the production of the contemporary lifeworld.

Across a very wide range of activities and events, then, ethnomimetic enactment provides a physically embodied and socially embedded mode of historical experience which is at once both collectively visible and intensely personally engaging. Perhaps to an even greater extent than the journeys and "spatial stories" I have already

discussed, enactment is immediately made meaningful in the doing, through physical participation. But, as the examples I discuss below illustrate, ethnomimeses also offer a forum and a means for reflective political strategising around the ambivalences of identity.

Although I have argued that events across a very wide-ranging scale of social contexts may be considered to be grounded in the practice of ethnomimetic enactment, Handelman is correct in emphasising that public events are of exceptional importance for ethnographers. By virtue of their size, expense, and degree of collective effort, such events offer particularly dense expressions of symbols, statements and meanings for both participants and observers. They thus present, as Handelman puts it, "privileged points of penetration into other social and cultural universes" (1990:9). This may be because, simply as a function of their collective size, as in the examples I discuss below, such events not only condense levels of meaning but are able to powerfully and multi-sensorially communicate complex symbolically-loaded statements about collective possession, solidarity and finally, identity. As such, they are expressive vehicles *par excellence* for fostering "communitas".

In this and the following chapter I discuss two "sets" of public events or groupings which, I argue, illuminate some aspects of Salamone experience in meta-experiential forms. In this chapter, I discuss religious *feste,* the most important of public ceremonials. In the next, I look at the constitution of "folkloristic" associations and their performances in these and other contexts. In both instances, I will suggest that specific forms of enactment and of grouping foster and convey an inward-looking sense of identity, contrasting with events, groups and performances which play dialectically (including inclusively) with and against outsiders, specifically tourists and ethnic neighbours in the northern Tyrol. Within each chapter, the contrast between the positioning of specific forms of ethnomimetic enactment thus reveals "meta-experiential" aspects, in Turner's sense of the term, of the pervasive underlying dynamics of boundary and of identity maintenance.

Religious *Feste*: Processions and the Possession of the Village

In local perceptions, the most important and widely supported ceremonial expressions of collective action in Salamone are the religious *feste.* Both the masses and processions themselves, as well as a number of associated practices, are frequently described as being *feste nostrane* (traditional festivals)[3], and contrasted, in form and detail, with those of other villages and areas. Villagers assert that Salamonesi are more active in their support of such festivals than their neighbours,

and that they have survived in traditional form to a greater extent there than elsewhere.

Over a number of years, with considerable encouragement and help, I videoed many of the major masses, processions and *feste* which form the annual cycle of religious celebrations in the village. In particular, I paid attention to two, for Salamone, unlike many - perhaps most - Italian villages, has both an "official" patron saint, San Biagio, and an "unofficial" one, San Giuliano, whose cult may have been introduced by the Bertelli in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

Systematic visual documentation, as every filmmaker knows, invokes the same fundamental paradox as participant-observation in general, but in an accentuated form: from behind a camera, it is difficult, if not impossible, to be fully "in" an event, to attend to it as a participant would, while at the same time "observing" or documenting it from "outside". In the case of filming rituals, such as the Patron Saint's masses and processions, the difficulty is both logistical and epistemological. One cannot film a procession effectively while marching within it, and without being within it, one cannot understand the embodied sense it has for its participants. Thus, in my videos, I recorded the observable pattern of religious *feste* in Salamone, a consistent "staging" which - in general outline - will be familiar to anyone who has lived for any time in an Italian village. But I often felt I was unable to adequately record the visibly intangible but nonetheless real physical and sensory elements of the atmosphere important to the participants. In what follows, I want to explore this experiential dimension reflexively, moving - as it were - from form to experience, and suggesting thereby, some of the parameters of participation and dimensions of meaning of religious *feste* for those who enact them.

There are six important religious *feste* including processions currently held each year in Salamone: those of the two Patron Saints, *San Biagio/St. Blaise* (always on the 3rd of February) and *San Giuliano/St. Julian* [the parricide] (the last Sunday of July); the *Festa Del Rosario* (the first Sunday of October); and three moveable feasts, for the *Settimana Santa* [Holy Week] (Easter Monday), *Rogazioni* [Rogation Days](the seventh Sunday after Easter), and *Corpus Domini* (the 9th Sunday after Easter). It will be useful to begin by describing briefly the general pattern of these *feste*, in terms of their processual form. I will generally emphasise common elements, and where I depart from this, I will refer particularly to the *Festa di San Biagio*, the central *festa* in the annual cycle, and the one regarded as most distinctively Salamonese by locals.

On the morning of a *festa*, the village is woken early by the ringing of bells from the *campanile*. In recent years, as in the remote past, this ringing itself signals a unique tradition, for they toll a local form of bell-music known as *Il Campanò*. In this style the bells are "played" by hand using a wooden mechanical apparatus which

functions like a key-board, rather than "pulled" or played electronically, as elsewhere in the valley. *Il Campanò* has been recently revived (controversially, due to the expense of reinstalling the equipment) and allows great versatility and richness of sound, offering an almost complete musical scale with half-notes played as repeats. Its revival is seen by supporters as a form of revitalisation of tradition (see Chapter Five), and demonstrates, as in other aspects of *feste*, Salamone's distinctive attachment to the past.

The bells ring with increasing frequency until they are almost continuous as people begin to gather outside the church around 9.30 a.m. for a morning mass. Masses for *feste* here are still well attended, and families with small children enter early to secure a seat. Men often go to the bar for a coffee or wine before the mass, women rarely so. Inside, the choir gathers on the balcony above the main entrance, and the organist begins to play while the choir members warm their voices.

Ten minutes or so before the mass, the church begins to fill rapidly. Traditionally men sat at the front of the church, women and children behind, although this, as in the order of the procession which takes place after Vespers in the afternoon, has in recent years been followed less rigidly, and today, many couples sit together towards the back. Shortly, at around 10.00 a.m., Don Giustino, or sometimes a priest invited from another village or outside the valley whom he assists[4], enters the nave from the vestry, and begins to conduct the mass. The mass itself follows the usual form of prayer, with the *Credo* being recited by priest and congregation, the singing of hymns, a sermon keyed to themes of the occasion, such as the life of the saint who is being honoured, the taking of communion and a final blessing. For each *festa*, however, this final blessing takes a special form, depending on the occasion. At the mass for San Biagio, for example, a healer whose blessing is especially sought by those with illnesses of the throat, after receiving the Eucharist each member of the congregation is blessed by having two crossed candles held across the throat.[5] The priests also bless each other in this manner, and then, after a few final words from Don Giustino, the mass ends.

Afterwards, if a saint's statue is to be carried, there is a further ritual which locals maintain is, today, unique to Salamone. This is *L'incanto* or *Incantare la Statua* (literally: "Singing the Statue"), and is an auction in which village organisations such as the fire-brigade, the football team, or the Hunter's Association compete by bidding for the privilege of carrying it during the procession. In the past, single *casate* (households)[6] bid against one another for this honour, the proceeds - sometimes substantial - going to the church. It was felt that carrying the statue solicited a special blessing from the saint. Older Salamonesi recall that emotions could run high at these auctions and even poorer families would bid seriously until surpassed by their wealthier neighbours. Today, the auction is held informally in front of the Bar al

Mulino. If it is a summer procession, the *Incanto* will be observed, photographed and videoed by tourists who are given to understand that this is one of the unique "traditions" of the valley, now maintained only in Salamone. *Casate* have now been replaced by voluntary associations as bidders. In fact, the auction itself seems no longer to be taken as seriously by villagers themselves and the auctioneer sometimes needs to work hard to generate much interest. Afterwards, the crowd disperses, men to the bar, women and children home to prepare the midday meal. Before doing so, however, many people spend a few minutes in the cemetery adjoining the church, praying at the graves of family members.

In the afternoon, after Vespers (held around 2.00 p.m.), the procession takes place. Again, people gather early around the church. Again, the gendering of space and order are apparent, the men drinking an *espresso* at the bar or smoking and chatting under the trees in the *piazza* while the women gather directly in front of the church or enter it. This time, however, members of the various associations who will march together, such as the *Banda Musicale Comunale*, the *Pompieri* (Fire Brigade), and the *Gruppo Folkloristico* are in uniform. If the Madonna is carried, as at *Corpus Domini*, the men of the religious confraternity who will carry her appear in their best suits and wearing short red capes. These groups form little clusters in the *piazza* to confer and adjust their uniforms. Across the road, at the *Municipio*, the members of the *Banda* tune their instruments.

Soon, the mass is begun indoors. After prayers by the whole congregation, whatever group is carrying the statue (whether it be the Virgin or one of the saints) gathers before the altar and the statue and its bearers are blessed by the priest. The statue is lifted, lurches for a moment as the men adjust to its weight, and then moves through the congregation to the doors.

The most visually dramatic moment of a procession is now, right at the beginning, when the huge wooden portals of the church are thrown open and the first members of the procession, always children, emerge from the darkness of the church into the sunlight, led by the two altar-boys swinging braziers of pungent incense[7]. Suddenly there is an explosion of colour as the white and gold lace and bright crimson silks of the alter-boys' tunics, the rich yellow and vermillion brocade of the standards, the swaying and iridescent shimmer of the statue and of the gold embroidered canopy which shades Don Giustino all seem to flow together in a single movement down the steps. There always follow a few instants of confusion: the band needs to form itself into regular lines, and the crowds which have made way for the leaders of the procession to fall in behind. Slowly, the bass drum begins to beat a deliberate march, and for a few seconds, this is the only sound; measured and drear, echoing between the buildings. The crowd, divided into two lines begins to move, and then there is the

echo, equally funereal, of hundreds of feet marching in slow time. Abruptly, Don Giustino's loudhailer, carried by another altar boy, bursts into static and song, Don Giustino's voice breaking as he begins to sing a popular hymn or once, to my surprise, "As the Saints Come Marching In". Other voices, mainly those of the women marching behind him, join in, and the procession is underway.

The route of the procession is always the same, and more or less follows those streets which mark what I described in Chapter Three as the second inner circle of the village, including the *centro storico* and the small ring of older housing around it. Unless it is the procession for St. Biagio, it pauses frequently, first at two family chapels in Via Diaz, then at the one dedicated to Sant'Antonio Abbate in the *Palazzo*[8]. The chapels, for these occasions, are open, decorated with flowers, altar cloths and carpets. At some houses along the route there may be candles in the window or a statue of the Madonna placed on an altar cloth draped over a sill. Don Giustino blesses each of the chapels. Responses are murmured from the crowd; there is a change-over of bearers, for the statues are heavy. As the crowd departs, the sacristan closes and locks each chapel, removing the most valuable chalices and candle-stands.

A last pause beside the ruined walls of the stables of the *Palazzo*, once again to change bearers, and the procession winds its way downhill beside the school and *Municipio* to re-enter the church. Here, Don Giustino offers a final prayer and thanks everyone for their participation. People drift from the church to greet each other in the *piazza*; to chat and to compliment Don Giustino on the mass and the procession. Invariably, it is a good turn-out - "the external manifestation of faith", as he puts it - which most pleases him and signals a successful procession. If this has been the *festa* for San Biagio, or most of the other *feste*, this is the end of the public event. If, on the other hand, it is that of San Giuliano, held on the penultimate Sunday of July, and hence at the beginning of the tourist season, there will be amusement stalls in the main *piazza*, and later the band will play until late at night (see below).

Beyond the processual and visual dimensions, on which I have so far focused, there are other and equally important symbolic and sensory aspects central to a participant's experience of the mass and procession. What then, is missing from the picture I have just painted? Let me turn now from general form to a specific occasion.

In May of 1995, together with my wife and children, I decided to simply attend mass and then later to march in the procession, rather than the document it. It was *Corpus Domini*, the third Sunday of the month, and the first *festa* of the year likely to be held in good weather. This is still before the main body of tourists arrive, and hence the majority of the participants are villagers and conversely, most villagers participate. Indeed, the sense of the entire village bodily participating in the mass and

particularly the procession (as is also the case with *festa* of San Biagio), is the key element of this *festa*.

Having so often concentrated on the "look" of processions, I was surprised to find that the dominant impression is auditory rather than visual. As the procession began, there was, first and foremost, a powerful solemnity born from the silent, slow and rhythmic movement of a crowd, set in the first moments of the procession, in which each participant matched their pace to that of the others. The movement was that of a slow funereal march, so that - at moments - foot-fall echoed foot-fall and our bodies themselves were in rhythm. This rhythm itself had a point, being reminiscent of the alternations of Catholic prayer, the slow demands and responses of the priest and supplicants. The procession was, of course, literally prayerful: but beyond this, in its rhythm, pace, sound and movement - like the dual dimensions of privacy and communality which inform the act of prayer in church - processing through the streets of the village sensorially seemed to link individual to fellow villagers. Thus, the sound of the procession, possibly its most powerful dimension for people walking with lowered eyes, reproduced this duality, alternating silence and speech or song. This duality was reflected also in the marcher's awareness of each other: interaction was focused on the priest and while people acknowledged each other's presence, there was no verbal greeting: each villager processed as if alone. Yet, within the crowd, each individual is literally *enveloped* by sound: the crackling of Don Giustino's loudhailer; the voices of the women singing; the shuffling footfalls of those who process; the sound of prayer echoing in the narrow streets.

Certainly, marching in the procession is also spectacular and dramatic. There is the spectacular image of the statue, swaying through the streets, led by the banners of the church and surrounded by clouds of incense - its fragrance wafting back over the procession - and by the finery of the altar boys, the priest shaded by the embroidered canopy and the bearers wearing bright red capes. And in this procession there were also the children who had taken Communion during the year, in this case all girls of about eight, wearing pure white head-dresses and veils, dresses, stockings and shoes, their clothes vividly reflecting the sunlight as they moved ahead, at the front of the procession. Behind them came other older children, wearing traditional dress and ushered by young women who also wore costume. Almost everyone in the crowd which followed, men first and then the women, was dressed in their best clothes, the men in suits, the women in elegant dress. Yet all these participants are the object of a "gaze", not "gazers", for walking often with eyes averted, you see only a few people around you, and not, most of the time, the crowd or the setting. It is sound which links people to each other, rather than shared sight, as in most other social contexts.

The only exception to this occured during a singular halt along the procession's route to pray at the chapel on the corner of two streets where the procession turned. And precisely because it was the only exception, this moment had a perceptual power unlike any other. Up till now ranged along the narrow streets of the old part of the village, the procession at this point bent back on itself and partially reformed as we gathered around the statue and the priest to pray. Because of the location of the chapel, the interlude required us to regroup and curiously, allowed us to also become - for a few minutes - spectators of ourselves. This was a moment of powerful self-consciousness for everyone in the crowd, for at this moment the sheer numbers were visible; in contrast to the sense of individuality within the procession as it moved, now there was a view of the people of the village, gathered together as at the mass, but at a new setting, as if by sheer physical presence collectively possessing the space of the its oldest streets.

In this respect, the route of the procession was also significant. It followed the upper half (relative to the mountainside) of the circle which circumscribes the *centro storico*. Traffic on the *statale* which runs through the centre was stopped, and for a few minutes, at the beginning of the procession, the central village space is taken over by villagers walking the centre of a road they often, because of the traffic, have difficulty even crossing. From there it winds its way past the *Palazzo* and back to the church in narrow streets which mark this oldest and most inscribed part of village space. This route in fact marks the historic boundaries of the village. A procession is the only time when the entire village, collectively, observes this physical space, and in solemnly processing through it, asserts possession.

More fully participating in the procession without filming it, for me, forcefully made this phenomenal point: to walk in a procession is, as well as a way of displaying *individual* religious devotion, or collective adoration of the Madonna or a saint, a collective, and immediately *physical* appropriation of the most historically inscribed space of the village. The centrality of its experiential dimension - an embodied resolution of the dualities of individuality/communality and of past and present identities as a sense of uniqueness - and the ethnomimetic enactment of this resolution through sensory modes other than the visual, contrasts strongly with both with everyday life and of the procession's reality for a *spectator*. Being "inside" and "outside" the procession offer two different modes of experiencing of its meaning; and are also metaphors for the contrast between the experience of an embodied historicised sense of collective solidarity, on the one hand, and the specular perception of a contemporary "folkloric" display of tradition on the other. What marching teaches is that the existential power of a *festa* and its procession derives precisely from the

embodied expression of a "meta-experiential" equivalence between individual and group, past and present, which articulate a sense of possession. In the setting of the central space of the Salamone, the *festa* and particularly the procession, thus works with the problem of inclusion and exclusion, past and present, becoming - as Orsi has observed about the *festa* of the Madonna of Mount Carmel in Italian Harlem in New York - a kind of "sacred theatre" where people reveal themselves to themselves, dramatically displaying "their deepest values, their understandings of the truly human, their perceptions of the nature of reality" (Orsi 1985:xxii-xxiii), and perhaps most importantly in this case, their sense of place.

Fêting the Tourists, Stealing a Cheese

As well as corresponding to different perceptions engendered by participating or observing, the contrast I've been describing also provides an organising *principle of difference* in the enactment of *feste* in which locals only or mainly, on the one hand, and locals and tourists, on the other, participate. This principal links embodied solemnity with village exclusiveness on the one hand, and spectacularity and a playful dimension with inclusiveness on the other. Thus, while the procession I described marching in with my family could equally well have been the procession for San Biagio, it contrasts strikingly with that for San Giuliano, which falls during the tourist season and is surrounded by a series of other events involving both local and tourist participation. The contrast is an important expression of the ways in which Salamonese boundary access to their own experience and place from tourists, and in this section, I want to draw out some countervailing aspects of this other *festa*.

To a far greater extent than the *feste* I have described, that held to celebrate San Giuliano fully incorporates both main clusters of meaning around the use of the word in everyday Italian. The *festa* for San Giuliano celebrates a *holy-day* with mass and a procession, in this case that of a Patron-Saint (even if not the "official" one). But as well as this, the extended series of events which are organised in the village (and later, at the chapel and the lake named for him) are truly festive in the common sense of the word. A sense of inclusiveness, as I suggest below, is built around the event through sharing traditional food and drink, and around locals and visitors dancing and singing together, spending a day at the high alp.

On the morning of San Giuliano's *festa* (celebrated on the last Sunday in July), various entertainment stalls open in the village square. There is the *vaso di fortuna*, a kind of "lucky-dip" offering prizes ranging from beachballs to mountain-bikes. There is also a dice-game which draws crowds of young men who gamble passionately for small sums of money. Then there are competitions, such as climbing mineral-water

crates beneath the tower, sponsored by the local climbing shop. The proceeds from all of these benefit the *Pro Loco* (which promotes tourism and sponsors the non-religious aspects of this *festa*). And the Bar al Mulino on the square puts out extra tables, and does its best trade of the year.

Again, like the other *feste*, a mass is held in the morning, followed by the *Incanto*, and again after Vespers, there is a procession. It is interesting that this procession, its size swollen by emigrants and *villegianti*, is much more fully a spectator event. For this occasion the streets of the main *piazze* are lined with tourists, many with cameras and videos, documenting the procession, headed by the helmeted statue of San Giuliano. Locals dress well but not formally: numbers of children participate but not as communion groups or in traditional costume.

What is notably different about the *festa* for San Giuliano is the desire to prolong it: both on the saint's day itself and on other occasions loosely around the same time. The stalls operate all day, as do the exhibitions of local art in the *Oratorio*, a hundred metres down the road. People invite each other into their homes for drinks or a large family midday meal, finished with a special Herb Cake (*torta di erbe*) baked only on this day. But the most inclusive event is reserved for the evening. On this *festa*, the village band not only marches in the procession along with the volunteer fire brigade and, for the first time in 1995, the *Schützen* (see Chapter Five), but when it is dark, also gives a concert in the square. The area is lit, coloured lights and balloons are strung around a temporary stage, and although the main road cannot be blocked off, the *piazza* is packed with locals and tourists, adults and children, drinking the wine offered free by the *Pro Loco* and eating ice-creams bought at the bar. Emigrant villagers, even if they are not holidaying in the village, try to return for this day, and in the evening meet in the square to greet old friends and arrange expeditions and family *feste* for the days to come. The evening's celebrations are a true "street-party", the model for a form of festivity which Italians have introduced wherever they have gone all over the world .

But these are not the only celebrations for San Giuliano. A week later, if the weather allows it, later if it does not, there is a mass and a *festa campestra* (field party) usually held at the chapel of San Giuliano. This is sited in a spectacular setting, a basin some two thousand metres above the village near one of Salamone's four *malghe* where two small lakes nestle against one another. From the chapel, one can see almost the entire Presanella massif across the Val di Genova. As well as the chapel and the *malga*, the basin also holds a *rifugio* owned by the *Comune*, used as a base by walkers and village anglers who fish for the delicate alpine trout with which the lakes are stocked. The smaller of the two, on the shores of which the chapel stands, is said to have been the place where Giuliano, a Roman soldier, repentant

parricide and recluse, was martyred; bound in a sack of live vipers and thrown into its waters Today, older villagers still place a few pebbles from the area around the chapel in their pockets as a protection against snakebite and, as Don Giustino once remarked, "the most evil snake of all, the tongue".

On the day of the *festa*, in this historically charged and physically dramatic setting, after a modest mass, the *Pro Loco* hosts locals and tourists alike at a midday meal of *salamini* (small salami sausages), *bracciole* (braised pork-chops), s*pressa* cheese and *polenta* foods that for Salamonesi constitute the core of "traditional" cuisine, today associated by locals with the *malghe* and *monti* . These dishes are the basic elements of numerous combinations and elaborations featured on the menus of restaurants which purvey *piatti tipici* (typical, meaning local, dishes) to *villegianti* and other tourists up and down the valley, each claiming to be producing the most authentic and traditional versions. Like goulash in Hungary, they make up a "deliberate example" of peasant dish turned local symbol (Kisbán 1989); where once they were everyday foods (particularly *polenta*), they are now marked in local usage as festive dishes. In feeding several hundred people, mainly tourists, the *Pro Loco* demonstrates the hospitality of the village: in feeding them with these foods, locally manufactured and cooked publicly and on the spot, it demonstrates its culinary history. The dishes, and the occasion, in this way, form a practical demonstration of Brillat-Savarin's famous fourth gastronomic aphorism: "Tell me what you eat: I will tell you what you are" (Brillat-Savarin 1825/1970: 13).

In Chapter Six, I discuss further the historically symbolic attributes of these various foods and the styles of their preparation at the *monti*. In this festive context, however, three points are worth making. Firstly, they are foods which in the historical past were staples; pork products, polenta and cheese, until the 1950s formed the backbone of the local diet. Locally produced or cheaply imported (in the case of *polenta*), and easy to conserve through the winter, they are foods associated with the historic poverty of the village. The association is particularly rich in the case of *salumi* of various kinds for, as I noted in describing the celebration at the beginning of this chapter, the manufacture of *salumi* was one of the two skilled occupations on the basis of which men of the village where able to out-migrate during the winters in search of often desperately needed cash income in the cities of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Secondly, it is worth noting that on this occasion, the foods are prepared publicly and co-operatively, cooked over open fires; competition between local men is animated and theatrical, and is accompanied by constant banter by the guests. The *salumini* and *polenta* are cooked in huge copper *paioli* (pots) hung from a long row of larch-wood tripods; the *bracciole* braised *a la piastra* on stone barbecues. The equipment used is therefore, on this occassion at least, also traditional, the same as that used by *malgari*

in this same setting, and by families at the *monti* lower down the mountainside. Both the food and its method of preparation speak of the past, and visually display historic practices. Lastly, the importance of the visible sharing of the process of preparation of the food, and of the meal itself should not be underestimated. As in the Glendiot experience discussed by Herzfeld, abundance of food (especially meat) is of particular ideological importance to a people whose recent historic experience is of enduring hunger (Herzfeld 1985:21-23). Metonymically, abundance of food remains, for Salamonesi, a tangible statement of affluence, whose contrast with former poverty is heightened when the foods themselves are the foods of the past. The ability to share it freely with guests, is also a statement of the collective social transition from famine to feast. Most markedly, the sharing of meat, coffee and *grappa* means the ability to host with what were scarce and supra-valued foods in the past. The fact that they are offered free to everyone not only testifies to the prosperity of the village, but provides the hosts with the opportunity to engage in a poetics of hospitality which affirms equivalence of status with formerly wealthier lowland tourists and makes a display of generous inclusion through the medium of shared food.

These foods, then (their substance, preparation and distribution) are not only a sensual narration of the past but, in this festive and liminal context, provide a medium for the playing out a poetics of relationship. Like the *Fer'agosto* celebration with which this chapter began, the *festa* for San Giuliano is a venue where the ever-present rivalry between locals and tourists can be gently expressed, each camp trading proud assertions and friendly insults about the *preggi* (valued characteristics) of their respective home-places. Over lunch, people offer each other tastes of special foods brought to accompany the main meal, or of their local wines and *grappas,,* and compare quality. There is always a lot of humour and genuine appreciation in this; locals and tourists eat together and exchange stories about this setting, the life that was lived at the *malga* here, and other similar places and experiences. At the end of the meal, a large *paiolo* of coffee is made, and for those who want it, the coffee is liberally laced with *grappa*, sometimes that distilled in the village. The meal thus ends with a liquor which is truly *nostrano* - local, valued, traditional, as well as rare and artisanal - a metaphorical as well as literal distillate.

Sooner or later, inevitably, a group of Salamonesi will begin to sing, songs of the *Alpini*, and always the obligatory *Alla Moda di Salamun,* a satirically reflexive ballad which I discuss further in the next chapter. For some groups, most notably young village men, drinking increasingly through the afternoon, the *festa* can get quite wild. Often this is expressed in jokes and physical "horseplay": children play everywhere, younger men wrestle, young men and women, local and visitors, dunk each other in the cow-troughs. Older folk, who have spent an hour after lunch chatting or playing

cards, find themselves singing and dancing in large sociable circles outside the agricultural buildings. It is a congenial time, with an almost liminoid aspect, in which everyone - locals and tourist alike - step out of more familiar roles and relations. Perhaps in part also because the *festa* takes place on the mountainside, rather than in the village, there is a sense of relaxation, aided by the drink and the outdoor scene, in which, for once, locals and tourist party together, rather than the more usual situation in which locals are required to act as decorous hosts. The *festa* normally continues in this way until late afternoon, when many local people retreat either to their *monti* or to the village, where smaller parties continue until early next morning.

That the cult of San Giuliano is historically a "popular" one, introduced probably by the Bertilli family in the sixteenth century does not in itself explain the contrast between this and other processions and *feste*. These days, San Giuliano is so firmly entrenched in the physical space of the church and the nomenclature of the terrain of the village that most villagers perceive no significant difference in theological status of between he and San Biagio. What is most salient is the social context of the celebration, specifically the touristic and local political influences which surround it. Since this *festa* falls at the end of July, at the outset - as it were - of the main month of "work with the tourists", and the *festa campestra* a week or so later, these events present opportunities for villagers to display large scale hospitality towards visitors as well as using the occasion to compete amongst themselves for the honour of playing important roles in the celebrations.

This interpretation is given added weight by the fact that, in recent years, there have been occasions when the role of hosting the *festa campestra* has been hotly contested; too hotly, some feel, for the good image of the village. In 1988, for example, its venue was shifted from the Lago di San Giuliano to another *malga* (Campastril) after a rift between the *Pro Loco* and the *Associazione Cacciatori* (Hunters Association), who had previously collaborated, over how the *festa* should be mounted. Members of one or other group declared they would boycott the celebration if it was hosted singly by the other. In the end, as the official "tourist promotion" group in the village, the *Pro Loco* prevailed and it seemed that the matter had been resolved. When, however, on the day itself, a cheese was stolen from a hut at the *malga* during the *festa*, a round of bitter recriminations and gossip began which did not settle for some weeks until one of the hunters returned a cheese to the organisers, explaining that it had been taken "by mistake". In the meantime, public notices *"thanking everyone who participated, and condemning those bastards who removed a cheese from the cheese hut"* had been publicly posted in the bar, and considerable pressure brought to bear, rightly or wrongly, on an individual known as a poacher who, after considerable subterranean discussion, was thought to have been the thief.

Several members of the *Pro Loco* were convinced that the theft of the cheese had been a deliberate insult, some taking it quite personally, and that even the choice of a locally made *spressa* (along with *polenta* one of the culinary "icons" of tradition[9]) had been premeditated. What was exceptional in all this was the level of tension generated by what was later conceded by the individual members of the *Pro Loco* to be a minor matter in this context of hospitable display.

Another perspective is that it was the symbolic violation of this inclusive ambience of *hospitality*, part of the conscious creation of a local *cultura turistica*, which made the theft of the cheese so significant, since it attacked the impulse which differentiates the ethnomimesis at play in this *festa* from the other local *feste* I have described. Stealing food during the *festa* threw into relief and challenged the dissolution of the "front-stage"/"backstage" on which tourist encounters normally hinge. Although the others, especially that for San Biagio, may include occasional visitors, the *festa* of San Giuliano, like the *Fer'agosto* celebration, is specifically a touristic event: and publicly shared food and drink, as the dominant idiom of social exchange, are what is central to this *festa* and its meaning, and what sets it apart from others.

Conclusion: Public *Feste* and the Strategic Management of Ambivalence

Both the nature of the this last *festa* and the local tensions which can sometimes surround it, highlighted in the way that prestige is at stake for different local groups, suggest that it condenses a number of levels of meaning in which approaches to inclusion and exclusion, displaying or shielding senses of past and place, are contested in terms of both touristic considerations and more strictly local orientations. None of this, of course, precludes local people enjoying it, but it does mark it off from others as a different and more contrastive space in which to make statements of local identity. Although the idioms of expression of all the *feste* share aspects of a common form and notion of tradition, the style and content, and the way they are perceived, also articulates differing experiential orientations. In the case of the *feste* for San Biagio (and for *Corpus Domini*), for example, their symbolic (and experiential) freight is carried by the ethnomimetic enactment of a communal sense of identity and of possession of the historical space of the village; in that for San Giuliano, in the demonstration of this sense of place, metonymically and physically displaced to the sharing of food in a remote space of the village terrain, and articulated ludically for outsiders.

The contemporary meaning of these *feste* stems, in my interpretation, from deep ambivalences regarding local-tourist boundaries at play in Salamone. Ethnomimesis,

I have suggested, provides a powerful means to express and mediate, although without always resolving, such ambivalences. In their differences, however, the two main *feste* described illustrate that experientially some events and forms of ethnomimetic enactment are more resistant to outside influence than others, which are self-consciously open to it, and foster a sense of inclusion. Almost literally, the *feste* described here "face" in opposing directions, inwards towards local and boundaried commonality, outwards mediating the always complex encounter between locals and outsiders, ideally rendered permeable and fluid, in the case of the *festa* of San Giuliano, by the remote and ludic context of the festa itself. This contrast in the domain of ethnomimetic enactment, as a mode of historical experience, I suggest, is homologous to the topographical contrast at play in the concentric organisation of village space and operates according to a similar notion of exclusive and inclusive display. The management of both domains highlights the centrality of control of contexts of local-tourist interaction. In managing the space and time of exclusive and inclusive celebration, for example, Salamonesi are able to preserve a communal experience of historical identity for themselves while, elsewhere, enacting, displaying and limiting the poetics of hospitality to forms and contexts chosen by themselves.

[1]The *Dizionario Garzanti Italiano-Inglese, 11ed.* (1979), gives four meanings for *festa (pl. feste).* 1. Holiday; 2. Birthday, name-day, Saint's day; 3. festival; 4. party. In my experience the term may also be used to distinguish Sunday from other days of the week. In practice and everyday usage, as when a Patron Saint's festival includes both a formal procession and an informal street party, several meanings may be conflated. In this and following chapters, I refer to both principle constellations of meaning, namely, a formal and ritualised festival, on the one hand, and a party on the other, relying on context to distinguish them.

[2]I have preferred the term ethnomimetic enactment to either simple ethnomimesis or enactment alone as a general descriptive term precisely because it brings together as a dimension of experience both what I take to be the generic impulse (*ethnomimesis*) and its various dimensions of practice (formal and informal performance or *enactment*). Cantwell's usage of the former term seems to me suggestive but imprecise (equating ethnomimesis alternatively with all of culture or folk-culture), while Handelman's restriction of the later privileges structure over practice. By bringing together the two I want to stress that the conscious model and the embodied (and sometimes unconscious) practice are seamlessly linked aspects of the same mode of historical *experience*.

[3]This term, derived from the Italian *nostro/a* (ours) connotes in contemporary usage not only possession, but also something which is traditional and authentic. Thus local foods, such as *salami* produced in the village, are advertised as *produzione nostrano* implying that such items are not only locally manufactured, but are traditional and artisanally manufactured products of Salamone.

[5]This particular *festa* is, like those in the other eight Trentino parishes devoted to this saint, often attended by people from beyond the village who have had laryngectomies or other throat operations. The earliest record mentioning the "*campanile* of the church of San Biagio in Salamone" dates from 1361; the original is held in the church archives.

[6]Historically, co-resident extended-family or stem-family households known in dialect as *cioc*, and identified by distinctive names referred to as *scutùn*. Given that in the past there were only five major surnames common in the village, and that personal names often reproduced those of an individual's grandparents, such *scutùn* served to distinguish identically named individuals not only informally but also in the anagraphic registers of the *Comune*. The forty or so known *scutùn* are still quite commonly used by older people, but the practice, once widespread throughout the Trentino, is dying.

[7]The order of the procession is rigidly adhered to: first the choirboys, then children, followed by members of the religious confraternity bearing the banners of the particular saint or the Virgin and of Salamone, then other men, followed by the statue, the priest, the Cross, and, at the rear, the women of the village. Today, couples and families may also walk together at the rear, but this was uncommon in the past.

[8]During the procession for San Biagio, the marchers do not stop except to change bearers. Although these changes tend to take place at the chapels, prayers are not, on this occasion, offered there. Don Giustino explained this as follows: "The procession is a manifestation to say to San Biagio, to bring the saint close to *all* the families, almost as if the saint visits them - invisibily, with his spirit - in their homes....the prayers are precisely to draw on to the families and the village the saint's blessing." The Patron-Saint is the patron of all.

[9]There is an often repeated local saying, *"La bocca le strac, se non sa di vac"*, which roughly translated suggests that the mouth is not satisfied [after a meal] without the flavour of the cow.

Procession for S. Giuliano 1995 (Phot.: KR)

Procession for S. Giuliano 1995 (Phot.: KR)

The Banda di Salamone 1995 (Phot.: KR)

The Banda di Salamone 1995 (Phot.: KR)

Schützen Marching 1995 (Phot.: KR)

Schützen Marching 1995 (Phot.: KR)

Ch. 5: "Closed Circles"(?): Ethnomimesis and the Politics of Cultural Revitalisation

While the interplay between the enactment of solidarity and the performance of public display is dramatically highlighted in the case of *feste*, it is also a frequent subject, although not necessarily in these terms, in the explicit discussion of tradition in Salamone. Pragmatically and transparently in daily life, this interplay forms an important dimension of the way people experience their involvement in *ongoing* groups and activities which, unlike the Patron-Saints' *feste,* form an continuous thread in the social life of the village. Reflecting a notable increase in the intensification of tourist presence in the nineties, during my last fieldtrip issues concerning the relationship between tourism and tradition, surfaced much more frequently in conversation. Underlying this preoccupation lay a wider concern about the globalising effects of mass-media and consumerism on local cultures, an issue which was being widely discussed in the Italian national media at the time of my visit.

In Salamone, along with the physical restoration of the *centro storico*, and the transformation of public *feste*, another evident response to this broader conjuncture and the intensification of local tourism, has been the foundation and growth of a number of groups which aim to re-establish cultural activities important in the past, and which had disappeared from the village scene. Unlike other older associations such as the *Pro Loco*, the *Gruppo Sportivo*, *Associazione Cacciatori*, the local section of the *Societa Alpinistica Trentina*, and others which do not principally concern themselves with recuperating a sense of the past, these newer groups are focused specifically on the re-discovery and documentation of local history and customs, and - in the public and ceremonial aspects of their activities - provide venues and occasions for the public enactment of an historical sense. Like the *feste*, in which some of these groups participate, although less inclusively, the meetings and performances of these groups are experiential foci around which sometimes contested statements about identity and its boundaries are made. As I will discuss below, while several groups are focused on the ethnomimetic enactments of historical identities, their fields of symbolic reference relate to the village as whole in differing ways. Because of this, the statements their members embody and display about the nature and extension of both the contemporary sense of self and its primary historical referents are hotly debated. In the public sphere, they figure in relation to each other as "sites of struggle" in the search to define such identity *vis á vis* other communities in the valley and in the Trentino generally.

In this chapter, I discuss in detail two such groups, the *Banda Musicale Comunale* and the *Schützen*, both emergent associations (in the last five years) which are becoming central forces within the ceremonial and social life of the village. By contrasting their

roles and styles, the political positioning of such groups and what this implies both for their expressive role in village life and in the lifeworlds of individual Salamonesi should be thrown into relief.[1]

Framing the Contrast: A Cultural Activist's View

A key figure in supporting such groups locally since the late eighties has been Marco Delpaese. He is an intense, humorous and extraordinarily energetic man who is now in his mid-forties, prematurely grey from pressure of work and political commitments. His personal history in recent years speaks eloquently about the ways in which some Salamonesi have worked hard to develop a discourse within the community on the cultural impact of tourism and media influences in order to more positively control their impact.

When I first got to know him in 1980, Marco and his wife Patrizia were about to marry; one of the first of their many gestures of continuing friendship towards me and later my family was to introduce me to climbing in the Adamello massif. As we stood on the peak of the Cresta Croce by a cannon remaining from the *Guerra Bianca* in the summer of 1981, I remember Marco was already talking passionately about the need to control the extent of tourism development in Salamone by asserting local control of investment. The issue of local control - whether political, economic or cultural - has remained a continuing theme of his professional and personal project.

After finishing high school and military service as an *Alpino,* Marco worked first in his family's delicatessen on the main road in Salamone, and then, in the late seventies, joined the recently created *Comprensorio* administration.[2] Much of Marco's work involved providing cartographic, photographic and other visual documentation of changes in the pattern of building, land-use, and population concentrations in historical perspective. By the time I met him, he headed the technical section of the *Comprensorio*, but was looking for ways to further develop his expertise. In the mid-eighties he became one of the first of his generation of Salamonesi to get a university degree - studying architecture at the University of Venice, specialising in urban-planning. Later, he became centrally involved in village politics, first as leader of the opposition in the *Comune*, and since 1990, as *Sindaco* (mayor). Like Don Giustino, the other key figure in the local impulse towards the rivitalisation of traditions, Marco is strategically single-minded figure in pursuit of village development as he sees it, passionately committed to the ideal of retaining Salamonese control of the terrain and resources of the village. Developing a strong and visible sense of community is, in his view, the first and foundational step in this process. Thus, in the local elections held in July 1995, one of the principal planks of the *lista* (electoral list) he led was specifically

the provision of communal funds and facilities for groups promoting local identity, and for support of research on the history of the village.[3]

A few days before leaving Salamone at the end of my last period of fieldwork, sitting in Marco's study, surrounded by maps of Salamone and with a large architectural project he was monitoring spread out over his desk, we talked again about the issues at play in "revitalising" traditions, and later, about the various groups involved in the process:

> K: Can you explain to me, M., the business of the re-discovery of traditions here in Salamone, the various things that you are doing with the restoration of the village, with the Palazzo Bertelli, *il campano*, *tratto Marzo*.[4] For you what is the meaning of this movement...?

> M. I think that in this society where everyone is seeking to resemble something - people, facts, behaviour - that are represented to you by...the television, the newspapers. There is a desire to differentiate yourself, and to differentiate yourself, you have to do something particular that could be, exactly, this search for these old traditions, these old behaviours, perhaps tied to the territory, or to some tool, that not everyone can have, or which, if they have them, is not the same as that which is here. So, there was a group of people, a good number of people, who had this desire to have something different, something characteristic, or maybe who had a desire for another time, for the past, because everyone of a certain age has lived traditions which disappeared not long ago. Because up to thirty years ago there was not a big difference...I mean there was not a big difference between the turn of the century and thirty years ago. The big differences have all been in the last thirty years...so to remember the old things...

> K. That is, the things that were part of the village in the fifties?

> M. ...that were part of the village then, when we were young. I think its this, fundamentally this, this desire to differentiate yourself.

> K. Differentiate yourself from whom?

> M. From the system now, where the difference between here and somewhere a few kilometres away, or a thousand kilometres away - maybe in the south, maybe in Africa there is a difference - but the difference, here in the West, is irrelevant.

> K. Let me explain really why I asked this. I'm trying to understand whether this movement towards trying to differentiate yourself is more trying to differentiate yourself

against the others, the *mazuk*[5], the *forestieri* who come, or if it's a sense turned back towards yourself...to recuperate the traditions for yourselves or to show them to outsiders.

M. But certainly for us! They are rediscoveries which, first of all, are not used...that don't have a practical end, they're really cultural and folkloristic. They don't have a specific practical function...you don't rediscover a tool, an instrument, because you need it now, but because you want to remember what was here so long ago, how people lived, how they acted. So, I think to know yourself is always useful, to know where you come from. But also because we want to differentiate ourselves from those who come here as tourists. But those there shouldn't be a great need, it's often to differentiate one village from another [here].
K: So, according to you tourism isn't a big influence on this...?

M: Tourism certainly influences as far as the folkloristic side goes, the rebirth of these traditions. Because it serves...it's a vehicle for tourism. It's a touristic vehicle [medium], the business of coming to see customs, spectacles, objects from the past. Someone who goes touring goes, yes, either to see either the super-modern or something from the past, the normal things are always overlooked. So we too display our things from the past, *poverissime*, but...we display them. So tourism is an influence in this sense. But not so much psychologically...

K: I'll tell you why I'm interested in this. At least in anthropology there is a big debate about this. There are those who say that tourism destroys local culture, that it does precisely what you say you fear, that it homogenises everything, like the mass media. Then there are others who hold that one effect of tourism, especially in the Third World, is that is revitalises traditions, that it becomes a reason to rediscover, re-create, old traditions. So...I don't know...

M: Yes, it's as you say...

K: ...this seems to me a way of over-simplifying things, I don't think it's that simple...but, I'm aware that here in Salamone, there is this movement which coincides with a very strong period of tourist growth...

M: I think so, eh. A lot is done to create this folkloristic aspect, that people look for when they are tourists, to see..."that's how people are here, that's how they were", so we accentuate this. Then aside from this there is the cultural part, people who do this because its part of their own personal culture, to be conscious of where they've come from, who was here before we

were, how they acted. But surely tourism tries to make everything uniform...because, these people come from the city, and for better or for worse they're all the same. We don't distinguish the Cremonese from the Padovano - yes, maybe from their accents - but for the rest, they all seem the same to us. And the young people here, in some way, are adapting to this, and this is the big problem...

K: Adapting? In what way?

M: Ah, ha [rueful laugh], adopting their way of acting and of doing things. I don't say that one should be rude (*maleducati*) about this, but to be able to distinguish between one who lives in the mountains and one who lives on the plain or in the city, there should be some...something that makes him different. Linking ourselves to the ancient culture, maybe we can pull something out. But, I'm fairly - as I already told you - pessimistic about this.
K: Why?

M: Because it seems to me to be a closed circle, a private club. I don't think it's felt much by people here - this club might be twenty percent. The other's couldn't care less about this....

Marco's comments in this last interview, as I reflect on them in the long-standing context of our friendship, seem to me to articulate both his own existential project and a more widely shared attempt by a core group within the village to extend this "closed circle", multiplying the number of activities which differentiate the community both from the wider societal culture and from other local villages. The most evident concern is, as I have also discussed with regard to inscription and public *feste*, the establishment of *difference*, seen in terms of the maintenance of a system of cultural boundaries between locals and tourists. But beneath this is also the deeply problematic issue of cultural *transmission* from generation to generation. Tourism, like the media, and perhaps even more powerfully, is seen as an interruption to the historical continuity of a more or less "normal" process whereby local values and hence identity are reproduced. Not only is the content of local culture being transformed, in other words, but a traditional relation to the "sense of history" is under threat. Speaking at a conference on "The Impact of Mass Tourism on the Human Environment in the Alpine Valleys"[6] held in the neighbouring Val di Sole some months after this interview, Marco outlined the negative aspects of tourism development, linking property speculation and the creation of a dual-economy to the loss of identity. The youth of Salamone in particular, he argued, were the most vulnerable to metropolitan influence: they had lost first their material and then their cultural connection with the land and were now apathetic and

disinterested in the affairs of the *Comune*. They were "ashamed", he suggested, of being seen as part of the local population. "Families and schools have been incapable of teaching [young people] to know, value and respect their origins and traditions in the context of a valid local culture". His solutions included the development of a school curriculum centred on local history and traditions, closer links between the school and the *Comune*, and obligatory community service. Only in this way might a "mentality" be created which would safeguard a local sense of place for future generations and "create a population which had *recovered* its own identity in order to know how to live with a modern outlook, yes, but one nurtured by the wisdom of the ancestors".

Although ambivalently as regards the future, Marco's analysis, like those of many others, explicitly links local resistance to touristic impact to the movement for revitalisation and the stimulation of ethnomimeses. Ethnomimetic enactment is seen as not only distinguishing locals from others, but performing a didactic function in transmitting tradition. In this light, he distinguishes between forms and aspects which he terms "cultural" and "folkloristic". These terms, his comments made clear, are not equivalent, for "cultural" activities, in his usage, are powerfully linked to a "genuine" project in the rediscovery of local identity, whereas "folkloristic" ones are decorative, constructed for the tourist gaze. Without necessarily following Marco's own categorisation (in itself a statement of position in the local play of cultural politics) I was struck, when we talked about this, by the degree to which such a categorisation is pragmatically founded in the same notion of difference, contrasting the two "faces" - of solidarity and of display - which had impressed me in regard to the *feste* discussed in the previous chapter. There is no doubt about where Marco's personal project lies; in fostering the former type of activity he feels - to use his own term referring earlier to the role of the *monti* - that the community is erecting a "bulwark" or bastion against the process of erosion of shared common forms of identity. In his discourse a multi-valent set of contrastive and sometimes metaphoric equivalences is at play: between us vs. them; tradition vs. modernity; local vs. national culture; cultural vs. folkloric; authentic vs. staged for the tourist gaze; closed vs. open circles of local participation. On the local scene, as I show below, these contrasts are "mapped" differently by participants. Moreover, particular organised enactments located within the general field of the revival of traditions, however it is conceived by individuals, are positioned in ways which themselves state claims to be "common forms" for historical experience. When Marco speaks of a "closed circle", to which, as a cultural activist he belongs, he is also interpreting the significance of one among many possible historical trajectories of the village from the standpoint of a particular concept of its present culture.

Two Contrasting Associations

In this light, the contrast been the current political and social contexts of two associations which have flourished in the last five years is illuminating. Both have been re-founded on the basis of historical "charters" and both, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were active in either Salamone or the Trentino more broadly before disappearing for a more or less lengthy period. They thus both refer to direct "models" of association rooted in the period of when the area was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Despite the trauma of the *Guerra Bianca* (see Chapter Two), this epoch remains for many Salamonesi (and Trentini in general), an idealised "Golden Age", in which local life is held to have been well-ordered, relatively autonomous, and above all, stable. As an historical trope, its image figures nostalgically in historical accounts, contrasting sharply with the present historical moment, widely seen here and throughout Italy, as a one of extreme fragmentation and loss of local and national identity. In the current conjuncture, sense of place is felt to be diluting outwards towards a wider field, that of Italian popular culture dominated by the media and particularly television (as Marco commented) or more broadly, towards a pan-European identity resulting from political and economic union.

Both the *Banda Musicale Comunale* and the *Schützen* derive some of their energy from this nostalgic referral to an idealised past ("linking ourselves to the ancient culture"), but they are not equivalent, as I discuss next. For the *Banda* roots itself directly, as we shall see, in village history, drawing on a local charter, whereas the *Schützen* have their origins in Tyrolese irredentism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In their contemporary form the *Schützen* are one expression of a broad political movement for the establishment of a modern Tyrolean region spanning the frontiers of Italy and Austria. This broadened cultural "scope" throws into relief, as I explore below, the motives sometimes strongly expressed political debate surrounding this later association and the appropriateness of their local connection both in Salamone and in the Trentino generally.

(i) The *Banda Musicale Comunale di Salamone*

Unquestionably Salamonese, in style and following, at least as villagers themselves are concerned, is the *Banda Musicale Comunale*. Originally founded in 1853, it was the second comunal band in the Trentino to register its charter. The archival records held in the *Comune* show that instruments were ordered from Prague and Innsbruck, and that

the band was a formally organised and quite regimented association, with fines being levied for absenteeism from rehearsals, and against players who fell asleep at school the following day. It is also possible to reconstitute the composition of the band at this period (some 19 players, plus *maestro*), and part of their repertoire. Some twenty-five folios of music were sent in its early days, scored for this type of band, by a Maestro Giorgetti of Pola in Istria, now part of Bosnia, where many Salamonesi had emigrated; and there are scores by local composers from nearby valleys and the village itself. Sacred music, marches, *ballabili* (dance-music) and lyrical passages from opera all figured in the repertoire, suggesting that the band played for popular entertainment as well as religious *feste*. Interest in the band and in music generally must have been high in the second half of the nineteenth century; the village also boasted a church choir at this period and, briefly, from 1873 onwards, a *Società Filarmonica* comprising both a *coro virile* (male-voice choir) and a classical string quintet. The latter, and its instruments, were absorbed into the *Banda* in 1877. [7] Evidently the band flourished for some seventy years after its foundation, foundering sometime during the Great War. Although the church-choir was able to continue, the band then disappears from records and memory until 1991, when it was re-founded at Marco's initiative shortly after his election as *Sindaco*.

In fact, the re-foundation of the band was a major and risky community project, both financially (in its first year it was underwritten personally to the tune of some 20 million *lira*[8] by Marco and by Tadio Tolei, a non-playing member who is currently president), and in terms of the external image of the community. Its initial meeting in late 1990 attracted about fifty villagers (almost one in ten) of whom 43 joined: only a handful possessed instruments and even fewer were able to play them or to read music. They ranged in age from about ten to seventy six, and constituted a very wide cross-section of village families, although some (Marco's own, for example) contributed several players. Instruments, many of them broken and unplayable, were begged from the bands of surrounding villages, soon new instruments were acquired in Trento, music teachers hired and courses in readings and performance held. An apparently irascible *maestro* known for his propensity for terrifying players - evidently the only *maestro* available - was lured from retirement with the challenge of a new band. The organisers, who soon included leading figures in the *Pro Loco*, hotel businesses, and - of course - Don Giustino, arranged trips to hear other bands play, and immediately arranged for the band to be registered with the federation of this type of band in Trento.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that public opinion amongst non-participants in the village and elsewhere in the valley was extremely sceptical about the chances of success. The neighbouring community of Campago, for example, with whom historically there has been intense rivalry, was trying to raise funds for a new *Comune*

building at the same time without success, and those convinced of the impossibility of either project posted satirical notices announcing that the Salamone band would play at the new *Comune's* opening.

Nonetheless, the band gave its first public performance less than six months after its formal re-foundation, playing in the procession for *Corpus Domini* on the 21 June 1992. The band possessed no uniforms, so players were asked to wear blue-jeans and white shirts, and Patrizia, the night before, tied a bow from black ribbon for each member. The procession took an unusual form: since the band could not march and play simultaneously, the procession stopped for the performance of each number (they had mastered two pieces) before proceeding on to pray at the chapels. In front of the band, Tadio - who has a wooden leg - processed slowly and solemnly, carrying its banner, embroidered with the two dates of its foundation and re-foundation, symbolising its historical continuity.

As of mid-1995, the band and its supporters number some 328 members (making it by far the largest voluntary association in Salamone). Players now possess individually tailored full dress-uniforms which reproduce those of the first *Banda*, their purchase subsidised by the *Comune*, and a full range of new and modern instruments. As well as offering a number of public concerts each year, including several as far away as Austria, the band has played in every village procession since its first.

In the light of this history, the collective practical struggle to re-found it, and the climate of public scepticism which surrounded its re-foundation, it is not surprising that the existence of the band is a source of enormous local pride. When I returned to the field in 1995 (the first occasion since its re-founding), almost everyone we met in the first day urged me to attend a rehearsal of the band to be held the following night. Rehearsals are held in a specially equipped and sound-proofed room on the top floor of the *Comune* reserved for the use of the *Banda*. As it happened, this was only the second rehearsal directed by a new *maestro*, a young bandleader in his mid-twenties, who is well-known in this part of the Trentino as conductor of several other local bands as well as the famous band of the *Alpino* regiment quartered at Trento. The atmosphere in the rehearsal room was extraordinary: elderly people and children sat side by side, chatting and tuning their instruments, or reading music scores and preparing to practice. The sense of satisfaction and commitment were evident in the concentration, seriousness and disciplined attentiveness to the conductor, who had already taken the band in hand. Obviously, the members were enjoying themselves, the most necessary reward for a substantial commitment in money and time, which between practising, music reading and performance lessons, rehearsals, and public performances can easily, as several members told me, amount to fifteen or twenty hours a week. After the band had gone through a series of warm-ups, section by section and then *tutti* they began to play a

march. After a few bars, the *maestro* halted them to explain that a series of notes needed to be played more distinctly:

> "Other bands, *'bandaccie'* (rubbishy bands), play it like that.
> But we, we are not a *'bandaccia'*, and so, we are going to play it
> like this [sings the sound] so that, in the whole sound, we will
> hear every note, and every player, perfectly".

This comment seemed to sum up the spirit of village bands generally, and perhaps particularly that of Salamone. No-one laughed, and no-one in the room took the *maestro's* reference to other *bandaccie* other than literally.

The exterior, public role of the band demonstrates similar self-confidence and pride, and the desire for display: it is significant perhaps, that the Comune has spent more than twice as much, some 40,000,000 *lira* in 1993[9], on uniforms for the *Banda* as on instruments. Uniforms are a frequent feature of ceremonial life in Salamone, and to stand out in a procession from the uniformed firemen, the *Guardia Civile*, the *Schützen,* the *Gruppo Folkloristico* (in traditional dress) and the religious confraternities, and to compete with the bands of neighbouring villages, is no easy thing. To some extent, the *Comune's* expenditure reflects a wider Italian value attached to public elegance, to the business of *"fare bella figura"*[10], but, in the case of the uniforms of the band, also makes an important historical point, visibly identifying the group with Salamone and its past.

Many of the active members of the band, in fact, also participate in other local organisations. Marco is a clear example, given his involvement in the *Giunta Comunale*, the volunteer fire-brigade and the *Banda*, and numerous other players are also involved in the local administration (several are on Marco's *lista*), the *Pro Loco* or other associations, such as the church-choir or the *Gruppo Folkloristico*. In a number of cases players in the *Banda* are thus also co-members of two or three other associations concerned with the political life of the village and with the "rivitalisation of tradition". When Marco refers to a "closed circle", a "private club" concerned with tradition, then, it is this density of shared and overlapping networks, different from other distinguishable networks centred on, for example, the *Associazione Cacciatori* (several of whose leading members are also active in the *Società Alpinistica Trentina*, and/or the *Schützen*), to which he is referring.

Because of its size (as I have noted, it is the largest voluntary association in the village), however, the *Banda* - at least to some degree - also *cuts across* networks, offering the possibility of contacts between members of different political factions and social interest groups. This fact is important for the sense of solidarity which members

of the band feel: unlike some other groups, the identity displayed by the band is that of the whole village, undivided, for the band, as a symbolic expression of who Salamonesi are, could be said to fall between the level of internal cultural politics and that of a wider valley identity. Indeed, after the religious processions, its performances are the most powerful visual (and sensual) expression of this internally inclusive sense of "being Salamonese".

This sense is, of course, also reinforced by the fact that the primary audience is still the rest of the village. But within the band, it has also been consciously fostered by the leaders, who, in the early years of the band's existence, worked hard to create a feeling of sociability, of congeniality, amongst members, setting up a social life around the band itself, and organising occasions when the entire band would go out for an evening to eat together, or attend a concert elsewhere. This sense of congeniality is still actively fostered by Tadio, who on occasion, closes rehearsals by offering a glass of wine, or soft drinks from his extensive cellar to everyone present in the rehearsal room. Of the twelve or so voluntary associations in the village the *Banda*, in scope and style, is the most inclusive, the one which most successfully connects numerous other, more restricted, "closed circles". Positioned in this way, it both symbolises a historical continuity (the fact of its *re-foundation* is always stressed) and, in the present relatively fragmented social context, affirms internally and beyond the social boundaries of the village, a tangible sense of community. In contrast with its composition and role in the past, it thus performs a distinctly contemporary role, signifying a social inclusion which transcends other factional interests and yet which is boundaried by the social domain of the village itself.[11]

(ii) The *Schützen*

This sense of inclusive and local sociability expressed through an association which, more than any other, exclusively represents the village *as a whole*, provides an interesting contrast with the case of the *Schützen*, who while they have their local headquarters in Salamone and appear increasingly in village ceremonials, have a wider field of historical reference and current recruitment.

Refounded in Salamone in 1994, their historical role, from their medieval origins as local militias through Andreas Hofer's[12] time and their formal evolution under the late Hapsburgs, was always as "defenders of the soil" - a local militia functioning as a reserve army. By the nineteenth century, they were fundamentally a nationalist and military organisation which formed part of the "official" defensive infra-structure of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the *Guerra Bianca*, most of their personnel and weapons were absorbed into the regular troops defending the frontier against the Italian

forces, many local men being absorbed into the Austrian equivalent of the *Alpini* as crack mountain troops. With the Italinianisation of the South Tyrol under fascism, local communities lost a great deal of autonomy and the *Schützen* were disbanded. This modern history, popularly associated with German and Austrian - as opposed to Italian - nationalism, remains a central historical referent for the *Schützen*, and as I explore below, explains their ambiguous social positioning and the ambivalence of local reaction toward their revival.

Today, the *Schützen* exist as a widespread and closely linked ceremonial group spread throughout northern Italy and Southern Austria and Bavaria. Internationally, they have a substantial membership and are organised in local chapters (*Schützenkompanie*) which participate both in strictly local and regional gatherings and which also travel for larger ceremonies held throughout the erstwhile Tyrol and Bavaria. While military and religious themes dominate such ceremonies, often of a commemorative nature, and target-shooting is part of their activities, the *Schützen* claim not to be a para-military organisation, and are viewed by locals as contributing to the movement for cultural revitalisation.

Locally, at least, this is also the view the *Schützen* present of themselves. In a statement published in the Salamone early in 1996, reviewing their history and explaining the rationale for the re-foundation of the group, the Rendena Company declared:

> That of the *Schützen* is an age-old presence within the life of our valleys, strongly rooted in the convictions of the population and transmitted from generation to generation.
>
> In the rediscovered ideal of a Tyrolese European region, the re-foundation of the company of defenders should be understood as a reconciliation with our history, putting aside all the strains and opposed positions which today are nonsensical. Even the exercise of target practice, often misunderstood as a militaristic act, is in reality a moment of peaceful historical reference, a leisure pursuit and an occasion for sociability.
>
> We participate therefore in the rediscovery of common values with the people of the Tyrol and Bavaria, the values of family and community, the awareness of history, traditions and customs which are similarly shared by all the alpine populations: values which are to be defended from the dangers posed by a consumer and individualist culture which today is ever more widespread. (La Compagnia Schützen Rendena 1996:43).

Like the *Banda Comunale*, public display is a central aspect of the *Schützen's* local presence. On ceremonial occasions, members wear elaborate Tyrolean uniforms, display historical and contemporary banners, and carry ritual paraphernalia associated with the original regiments. In a further extension of embodied identity, many male members have grown the lush upturned moustaches often worn by Tyrolese men at the turn of the century. Membership today, however, extends to both men and women (female members are known as *Marketenderinnen* ((provisioners)), youth under sixteen as *Jungschützen*); and, in its social dimension, being a *Schützen* is for many a family activity.

In the Trentino, to the extent that the activities and ideology of the *Schützen* extend beyond a purely ceremonial profile and "folkloristic" intent, their existence is for many people a symbolically and politically problematic cultural statement. The historical dimension of this ambivalence finds its roots, of course, in the troubled history of the Tyrol and Trentino as historically contested borderlands at the margins of two cultures and linguistic areas. In this context, a cultural group which takes the form of an erstwhile militia is a painful reminder of the experiences of the *Guerra Bianca* and, more recently, of the traumas of the Fascist Italianisation programme in the South Tyrol in the nineteen thirties and forties and its legacy in post-war politics.

In the contemporary context, this ambivalence is echoed in current debates about the role of the regions, and specifically of the Tyrolese culture area in the New Europe. Like some French and Spanish Basque groups, Valdôtains of the Val d'Aosta, or groups of Celtic descent in Brittany and the British Isles, many people who identify themselves as being ethnically Tyrolese perceive the political unification of Europe as an unparalleled opportunity for the assertion, at various levels, of ethnic solidarity and inclusiveness for populations which have been historically divided by national frontiers. The *Schützen*, in this situation, figure as the pre-eminent cultural expression of an ethnic movement with far broader, and for some, more threatening, political and economic agendas.

In the Val Rendena, as in much of the Trentino, the ambiguities around this issue are intensified by historical circumstance. Located at the extreme margin of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Rendenesi, until 1919 politically part of the Austrian Tyrol, have nonetheless always been Italian speakers and identified themselves as culturally Italian. One implication of this background is that, in the present day positioning of the *Schützen*, they are seen as having been an administrative imposition, reflecting national rather than local interests. This sense of their historical role qualifies the identification of *Schützen* with a strictly local past, but does not obviate the sense that they also represent an aspect of a distinctive *regional* and alpine history in which the valley participated. As far as Salamonesi are concerned, the issue is unresolved and opinion divided over an appropriate identity and role for *Schützen* in local affairs.

This ambiguity is well illustrated by local responses to two recent ceremonial events in which *Schützen* from the village (currently about a dozen) participated. The first was the commemoration, on 21 May, 1995, of the eightieth anniversary of the founding of a large military cemetery in the neighbouring Val di Chiesa, a half-hour drive or so to the south of Salamone. Here, very close to the front, the local Austrian command post, supply depot and hospital were sited during the war years. The monumental cemetery, recently elaborately restored, is the last resting place of several hundred Austrian troops (some of whom were ethnically Italian) fallen in local campaigns on the Presanella-Adamello massif . It is a beautiful spot, planted with stands of pine, on a hillside above the village of Bondo, immaculately maintained through the efforts of the Austrian Black Cross organisation (Voralsburg section), the Italian ministry concerned with public monuments, and the local *Comune*.

Although local *Schützen* had described this event to me as an important gathering of some of their companies (including some from as far away as Austria), on the day of the commemoration it was clear that while they may have provided the most spectacular element of the display, they were not numerically dominant nor the most central. Speeches were made by the Mayor of Bondo and the Austrian organisations, translated into both German and Italian, and masses given by Austrian and Italian churchmen. The Bondo village band performed, both at the ceremony and, later that evening, at a concert which also included local Alpine choirs.

The inclusion of the *Schützen*, and a number of the visiting Austrians' speeches, thrust into the foreground at least one sub-text among several of this event: namely, the desire to recast the received Italian history of the *Guerra Bianca* as perhaps the last regional struggle for Italian unification against Austro-Hungarian oppression as, conversely, a campaign to preserve a Tyrolese identity under Austrian rule. This "irredentist" message, as I have argued previously, resonates with a long history of political struggles in the Trentino and Tyrol, touches a deep undercurrent of nostalgia for Austrian rule, and operates metaphorically in the present to highlight some contemporary aspirations toward the legitimation of a broadly Tyrolese regional identity.

Thus, the principal *lietmotif* of the speeches was, as the *Sindaco* of Bondo put it, "*the necessity of overcoming old prejudices, in order to construct the New Europe*" and the "*forging of new bonds*." Other speakers preferred metaphors of kinship, speaking of present day Tyrolese and Trentini as having been "one family" and more distantly "one culture" for a thousand years; these thinly veiled references to the re-foundation of a Tyrolese region received warm applause from the *Schützen* and other supporters.

When I discussed this event with people in Salamone, there was little adverse comment. Members of the *Schützen* were pleased with the public perception of the

ceremony; public acceptance and support for the commemoration as a whole was felt to cast a favourable light on their own participation. Non-members felt that the ceremony was a validation of a submerged aspect of the local history of the area, although not of direct relevance to Salamone itself, of course, but nonetheless positive in differentiating local history from the Italian experience beyond the Alpine region.

The reaction, however, was more ambivalent some two months later, when the local chapter of the *Schützen*, whose membership is not restricted to Salamone, approached Don Giustino to participate in the village procession for San Giuliano, described in the previous chapter. In what was felt to be his characteristic spirit of inclusiveness, Don Giustino readily agreed. In the eyes of a number of villagers, however, even for this explicitly inclusive occasion, the decision was untoward, and several people commented to me that while they had no strong feeling about the *Schützen* establishing themselves in the village, they didn't feel it was appropriate that they should march in the procession, which was a matter of local identity. The following brief conversation with Pier Paolo Delpaese, a former *salumiere* and currently a leading member of the *Banda* , nicely reveals an underlying attitude:

> K.   So, what do you think of the *Schützen* being in the procession?
>
> PP. This is something that doesn't concern [*che non riguarda*] our people, for me at least. It's a German tradition. If it was done here it was because they were obliged to do it by the Austrians. It's got nothing to do with us. Everything [in the contemporary Tyrol] is different. The way of eating, of dressing, of behaving. As far as I'm concerned, their way has nothing to do with our traditions.
>
> K. But this isn't the case as far as food goes...
>
> PP. But they don't eat *spaghetti*!
>
> K. Yes, but you do eat *canederli* and *speck* [traditional Tyrolese foods sold to tourists as traditional Rendena products]...
>
> PP. Yes, but these were things we learnt from them. *Speck*, you know, until twenty years ago we didn't have that here. *I* was the one who introduced *speck*. I went up to Bolzano to learn how to make it. This was a commercial thing. Tourists came up from Milano and we had to give them something you couldn't find there, and so, *speck*, we presented it as if it was ours. But it had nothing to do with *our* traditions, and, as far as I'm concerned neither do the *Schützen*. Now, they're like *speck*, something we've imported...

The metaphorical equivalence of *speck* and *Schützen* as cultural objects representing, in Pier Paolo's account, "imported" if not "invented" traditions expresses an unresolved vacillation, frequently expressed in conversation, between a desire to ally local history and "tradition" with that of the broader Alpine culture, on the one hand, and a fear that, in the very process of differentiating itself from the Italian milieu, Salamone will simply submerge itself in another *regional* image. At its most explicit, this ambivalence is political, and hardly surprising in an area where national ascriptions have changed frequently within recent history.

For local *Schützen* themselves, the meaning of such a regional image may also be unresolved. One *Marketenderinnen* (the wife of the local *Schützenkompanie* Captain), when I asked her whether the *Schützen* were in favour of the Trentino becoming part of Austria, emphasised that while there was indeed a logic to some form of economic association within a broad Tyrolese region, the main significance would be "cultural". A similar ambivalence appears to be at play more widely within the Trentino *Schützen* themselves. When on the 8 May, 1995, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Armistice in Europe, the General Commander of the Schützen dell'Alto Adige (Südtirol), Richard Piock, declared that "the 8 May 1945 did not cancel the injustice committed at the end of the world war [W.W.I] with the division of the Tyrol", and explicitly proposed the return of the Italian areas of the erstwhile Tyrol to Austria, his statement alienated some high-ranking members of the Trentino branches of the organisation. Michele Pizzini, co-founder and Deputy-Commander of the Piné company (one of the most active Trentino companies) resigned, categorically denying that most Trentino members shared this view and criticising the ranking hierarchy of the Trentino *Schützen* as undemocratic, repressive and overly dependent on policies generated by the more numerous and longer established groups in Alto Adige. Pizzini called, on this occasion, for the Federation of *Schützen* (the umbrella organisation) to declare itself on the issue, which it has remained reluctant to do (*l'Adige*, 15 May 1995:12).

Both within and without then, deep and unresolved ambivalences surround the issue of delineating the dominance of the "political" versus "cultural" and/or "folkloristic" role of the *Schützen*. On the broader stage the terms in which these ambivalences are phrased parallel, at another level, Marco's distinction between "folkloristic" and "cultural", and, in the eyes of many Trentini and Salamonesi, leave this group ambiguously positioned in a complex discourse which plays in a cultural space triangulated between claims to local identity, tourism and the politics of the New Europe. In this light, ambivalent reactions to their inclusion in local events such as the procession for San Giuliano, and differing interpretations of their role in wider commemorations (such as the gathering at Bondo), can in part be understood as

struggles over the definition of the boundaries of the social field on which strictly local (as opposed to regional) identities will be charted.

From the point of view of these political *contexts* of ethnomimetic enactment, the ambivalences which surround the involvement of the *Schützen* in local events finely illustrate the complexities of historical totalisation in the sense in which I discussed the term in Chapter One. For, in choosing to participate in particular associations and in specific forms of ethnomimetic enactment, individual villagers in Salamone display contested positions whilst making statements of identity in terms which are at once "given" by the past and yet transformed by the present political and poetic contexts. For their members, the commitment to associate oneself with either the *Banda Musicale Comunale*, the *Schützen* or any other of the ongoing groups in Salamone is thus far from arbitrary. In one dimension, such a choice embodies, quite literally by clothing the self and displaying an identity, a reading of the historical past. In another, it states a projective view of the future, staking an individual's identity on a vision of the future topography of the political and cultural landscape. As is the case with the *Fer'agosto* celebration with which the previous chapter began, such forms of ethnomimetic enactment can be understood as a kind of performative "hinge" between these two dimensions, a moment of praxis, shared and visible, in which Salamonesi work upon their own and other's perceptions of historical experience and thus the nature and parameters of their shared lifeworlds.

Conclusion: Ethnomimesis, Historical Totalisation and "Systems of Difference"

To march in a procession, host a *festa* at a *malga*, wear a uniform, give a public concert are all, for Salamonesi, performative ways of publicly differentiating their individual and collective senses of selfhood, locality and identity, from the homogenising mass-culture which so pervasively penetrates everyday life in the village. At work here is, however, also a further dimension: the need to differentiate from others who are also differentiating, whether this be in the context of the village itself, or more broadly within the field of revitalising local traditions generally. As Poppi has observed of the highly politicised Ladin revitalisation movement in the nearby Val di Fassa in recent years:

> The grounds for the legitimacy of a minority's claim to positive discrimination and, eventually political autonomy must be firmly established at a given boundary....[This process] becomes all the more crucial in the age of the expansion of the world system and in view of the persistence of the nation-state. History, language, culture, tradition, "tradition" - whatever the chosen signifier, a unit has to have a boundary to qualify as a

distinctive political/jural subject. Whether objectively grounded in historical developments or vindicated by a wholly contemporary claim, a "turn of events" of some sort is required to signal a change. Under such circumstances, the dilemma for contemporary ethnic minorities constituting themselves as political subjects is how to "be different" when everybody else, in the age of uniform individualism, seems to be engaged in the same game - how, in other words, a difference between "us" and "them" can emerge when the conditions for developing a system of differential characteristics are fast fading away (Poppi 1992:131).

In Salamone, the contrast between groups which share a common impulse to engage in "building difference" (as Poppi puts it), encompasses several levels in differing and sometimes opposed systems of "differential characteristics". Not only is the content of ethnomimetic enactment, in the case of the *Banda Comunale*, *Schützen*, and other groups diverse, but the definition of the political field in which such a system of difference operates signals contrasting readings of the politico-geographical setting of the past and present. Whether enactments signify allegiance to a local, regional or "pan-Alpine" culture is thus a framing political consideration defining variously "open" or "closed" circles of participation and social reference. Such circles of meaning perforce define notions of who are "la nostra gente" (our people), to cite Pier Paolo, and what is authentically *nostrano*.

It might be argued that the expression of the kinds of contrasting and even contradictory circles of reference I have described, in forms of ethnomimetic enactment, precisely because of their often dramatic and sometimes ludic character, also displaces political discourse from more threatening forms of expression. Because they are enacted in the idiom of past behaviour and establish historical rather than contemporary equivalences they can, despite the diversity of historical totalisations they embody, be encompassed in a general "spirit of inclusiveness". Ambiguities about defining boundaries, in this sense, are themselves important, and the always relative permeability of categories such as "cultural" or "folkloristic" allow a plurality of positions to be aired and tolerated within the public domain. The fact that ethnomimetic enactments allow individuals and groups to take positions, but without doing so exclusively *within* the nuclear population of the village at least, goes some distance, I suggest, toward explaining why political statements, in small communities, tend to find expression in such idioms rather than in the framework of institutional politics. In this regard, it is significant that the struggle for power in the Comunal administration of Salamone has never been organised along party lines, and that - to make the same point in another

register - both the *Banda* and the *Schützen*, as well as various other associations make their headquarters in the *Municipio*.

In the consciousness of people like Don Giustino and Marco, the two prime forces in the movement for revitalisation, whatever form the movement takes, there is the sense that differentiation is an urgent and challenging imperative. They see a younger generation increasingly disinterested in the common forms of comunal identity typical of the past and drawn toward a culture which, in their view, will eclipse those practices and values which have distinguished Salamone from its neighbours, and the valley from its broader contexts. Recognising the ambiguous and - at the extreme - contradictory character of this process, they waver between optimism and pessimism, but still don their various uniforms to march in the processions just as so many other generations of Salamonesi have before them.

[1]These are not the only associations which are foci for the enactment of historical experience. They are, however, two of the most important in terms of their public profile, and the contrast between them, in terms of political spheres of reference, is significantly marked in local perceptions.

[2]The *Comprensorio* is a local administrative body, located structurally between the level of the *Comune* and the *Provincia*. Among its many functions the *Comprensorio* is concerned with supra-local aspects of urban-planning, including historical research, documentation and restoration. The *Comprensorii* in the Province of Trento (comparatively wealthy and, from the point of view of taxation, relatively independent entity with the status of a *Provincia Autonoma* (Autonomous Province)), are well-resourced by Italian and international standards: one effect of this is that they are able to provide a great deal of detailed logistical support for the planning functions of *Comuni*, which remain politically the most effective and powerful level of local administration.

[3]Marco's *lista civica* was known as *Insieme per Salamone (Together for Salamone)*. Their programme included support for voluntary associations, increase in public services, various policies for public subsidy of agricultural and forestry operations deemed to be of environmental importance, support for local manufacturers and wage-labourers, social assistance for the elderly and various public works. At the head of the list of policies, however, was the "re-affirmation of cultural, social, historical and environmental values which constitute the identity of Salamone". Initiatives in this respect included plans to continue the publication of a local monthly magazine and monographs by a local historian, and support for studies which would illuminate "*nostra 'cultura montana'* (our mountain culture) as an element of enjoyment given our particular situation relative to the Parco Adamello-Brenta" (Programme of the *Lista Civica "Inseime Per Salamone"* (July 1995).

[4]"*Il Campanò, Tratto Marzo*": I am referring here to two traditions revived in recent years. *Il Campanò* is the distinctive style of bell-ringing discussed in Chapter Four. *Tratto Marzo* is a festive ritual now rare but once widespread in the Alps, in which a group of villagers gathered on a series of spring nights on the mountainside above the village to call out the names of courting couples. In Salamone, on the first night outrageous pairings were announced; by the third, genuine betrothals.

[5]This is a dialectal term of recent origin (about fifteen years) according to several informants, referring to tourists and sometimes, more generally, *forestieri* (outsiders). I've been unable to discover the etymology of this term nor how it entered the dialect of Salamone.

[6]Quotations below are my translations from Marco's text for his talk "Val Rendena: Reflections of an Administrator", presented to the conference on "*L'Impatto del Turismo di Massa Sull'ambiente Umano nelle Valli Alpine*", sponsored by the Centro Studi per la Val di Sole, Malé (TN), 15-17 September 1995.

[7]Some of this material results from my own trolling through the files held in the archive of the *Comune* - which were being organised during my last period of fieldwork - and some from an account provided by Tadio Tolei, President of the *Banda*.

[8]Approximately $20,000NZ at exchange rates of the time.

[9]Approx. $40,000NZ at contemporary exchange rates.

[10]An expression meaning "to cut a fine figure": the phrase signals the importance of dress and stylistic comportment in Italian life and particularly in a small community such as Salamone, where the public appearance of an individual goes far beyond the relatively simple matter of immediate impression management to function as one of the most important markers not only of taste but of status distinction. "*Fare bella figura*", in its broadest sense, can thus encompass more than appearance, including the idea of hosting with panache, implying also that one acts generously and disinterestedly, displaying power in a public context.

[11]This inclusive, cross-cutting role contrasts interestingly with that found by Weinberg, researching bands within a larger community in the Valais in the early 1970s. There, she bands were a vehicle for family clans supporting local political factions. Even in this much more pervasively factionalist context, the bands, she concluded, displaced and dampened the institution political effectiveness, and thus disruptiveness, of local clans (Weinberg 1976).

[12]Andreas Hofer (1767-1810), paramount symbol of Tyrolean independence, is importantly linked with the *Schützen* at the turn of the nineteenth century, when peasant militias, for a brief time, achieved political control of much of the Trentino. He is thought in Salamone to have lived for a period at Bleggio, not far from the village, and this is felt by some to provide some local justification for the refoundation of the *Schützen* locally. Hofer's "peasant militia" distinguished themselves against Bavarian, Italian and French troops during the Napoleonic occupation of Tyrol, briefly succeeding - in 1808 and 1809 - in re-allying the South Tyrol (including the present-day Trentino) with the Austrian emperor Francis I. In 1809, however, Francis ceded the Tyrol to the French and Hofer was executed at Mantova, on Napoleon's personal orders, in 1810. Hofer's exploits have provided a "mythical charter" for Tyrolese irredentism and/or relative political autonomy ever since: the Tyrolese anthem, the "Sandwirth Hofer" provides evidence of the continuing salience of Hofer's vision in the aspirations of many Tyrolese. An useful and brief analysis of the political significance and evolution of the Tyrolese peasant rebellion is given by Cole and Wolf (1974:47-48). This historical background provides, in the minds of Salamonesi, a strongly Tyrolean cast to the contemporary image of the *Schützen*.

Part Four

Poetics

Ch.6: Poetics, Locality, Social Equivalence

September 1988

Late on a clear, tranquil afternoon a group of local men, male villegianti[1] *and casual tourists, sit outside the Bar al Mulino in the central* piazza *of Salamone. It is the quiet hour of the day when people return from work, or pause, before starting some new activity as the temperature cools. There is a sleepiness about the village; for a few moments nothing seems to move. At this time of year, the tourist season proper is drawing to a close, but there are still a considerable number of outsiders around.*

I am sitting with Ugo (a builder in his early thirties), Michele (a Forest Warden), Gianni (an accountant who works for the Comune*), Pino (who works at the Cooperativa), and Enrico, an older man who is a farmer. Several other older local men and* villegianti *are sitting at adjoining tables. Small talk in a mixture of Italian and dialect, mostly about sport, politics and the weather flows between tables, including everyone; the atmosphere is relaxed and congenial. Carlo, the owner, moves between tables and the bar, carrying glasses of beer or wine and fragrant short black coffees.*

A Milanese tourist at the next table, curious about my accent, asks what I am doing in Salamone. I explain in terms the others have often heard, telling him that for some years I have been studying tourism and its effects. Usually this leads to some polite, semi-disinterested talk about my research, anthropology, or New Zealand before moving on to other more immediate topics. But not this time:

"Tourism? What tourism?," he explodes. "This village offers nothing to the tourists...its just easy money for people here. You have to give something to have tourism!"

He profits from my stunned silence, his manner becoming ugly as he compares Salamone unfavourably with the neighbouring village of Canzolo, much larger and more developed, where - since the mid-sixties - outside investors have ploughed millions into hotels, ski-lifts, tennis courts, ice-skating rinks and other infrastructure. He's not enjoying his holiday in Salamone, and he's decided everyone should know about it.

For a few moments, as he splutters to a close, no-one can think of what to say. We all feel embarrassed: myself at the unexpected turn of this often predictable conversation, my friends torn between the desire to play "hosts" in the appropriately inclusive manner and, on the other hand, the desire to defend their village, especially against comparison with Canzolo which many regard as having been ruined by tourism.

The desire to defend the village, perhaps combined with a certain end-of-the-season fatigue, wins out: in seconds, voices jostle to be heard, each responding to the challenge. Conversation, if it can still be called that, has suddenly shifted into

emotional over-drive: the tourist's barbed comments, consciously or otherwise, have touched a collective raw nerve, in fact several.

Michele, usually a quiet player in these little bar-dramas, surprisingly is the first to prevail:

"Clean air, good food, peace and quiet like this," he says, his voice rising, "you won't find these things in Milano, my friend, or in Canzolo. That's what we offer you turisti, *and most of you seem to like it all right."*

Gianni is in next, discomfited at not having had first say: "Or the mountains, the scenery. Smog, junkies' needles on the pavement, miseria, *that's the city.* No, qui si sta bene *(Here things are good)."*

"Bah, clean air? You find that anywhere in the Alps. And if you want to eat well, try Tuscany!" retorts the tourist, more heated now that he has our table against him. "The Trentino's always had the worst cuisine in Italy."

Pino, a passionate man when it comes to the appreciation of local food and drink, weighs in with an erudite description of the local specialities, explaining that not only are they things which are unique to the village, but that at least here, one knows that they are well made, healthy and genuine, unlike "le porcherrie" *(the rubbish), the adulterated foods and drinks, tourists are regularly served in the big cities and towns elsewhere.*

"Well," the tourist splutters, "at least in Canzolo there's something to do in the evening...other than sitting in the piazza *watching nothing happen. Those things were fine in the fifties, but this the eighties: Salamone needs to wake up, get something going, develop itself,* per Dio! *I tell you, tourism is going to pass this village by...."*

Finally, as if he has been waiting his moment, Enrico, the farmer, and older by twenty years than the other men at the table, silver-haired and distinguished, steps in, but not to conciliate:

"That mightn't be such a bad thing either. What do the tourists give us? Sure, there's the money - but the village is just a bloody mess. Every day I have to pick up your rubbish outside my house." (He uses the plural form, but its clear by his tone that he considers this man an individual ingrate). "Half the time you can't even get across the main road for tourists charging through the village. If you tourists don't like what we have to offer, go somewhere else....go to Venice, to the casino, or to Rome, where you'll get properly fleeced."

The conversation, I realise, has passed me by, developed a momentum beyond my ability or desire to keep up. I sit fascinated, watching the usual walls of polite hospitality crumble. Any question about my research has disappeared, to be replaced by a style of interaction between locals and tourists I've never seen before. All the contentious issues which normally divide locals for visitors, and farmers from those

who work in the tourist industry, are being expressed openly. For some minutes, the rules of interaction are transformed, as barbed comments, and almost - but not quite - playful insults, are exchanged: the mask of welcome - and the inclusive poetics it implies - have slipped. Like me, I suspect, everyone is listening with a kind of helpless yet pleasurable embarrassment: this is public dirty washing that's appearing on the line, usually confined to meetings of the Concilio Comunale *(Village Council), or conversations among villagers in more private settings. Carlo, diplomatically, has disappeared.*

Gradually, other men are drawn into the conversation: two villegianti, *from Milano and Brescia, who have rented houses in the village for many years and formed strong local friendships, silent until now, enter the argument. In effect they mediate, agreeing with the locals about the beauty of Salamone, its good air and food, the tranquillity and quality of life, and so on, but at the same time proposing a few minor developments, like a better sports field, a* bocci *(bowls) ground, and so on. Their suggestions are about community assets which would, unlike the discos, tennis courts and swimming pools of Canzolo and other villages, be widely used by both locals and outsiders. Villagers too have been pushing for these improvements for years.*

The conversation takes a new, more muted turn. The men find themselves agreeing with one another. Soon they are back to talking about sport. Gianni, who is president of the Sports Association buys everyone another round, and shortly leaves, as do Michele and Pino. Ugo and I go back to our previous conversation, and move inside. The turista, *meanwhile, has begun talking with the* villegianti, *about Milano now and its problems. Salamone, and what it offers to the tourist, has faded into conversational history as quickly as the topic flared. The* turista, *it seems, is not particularly impressed with Milano, his home city, either, though exactly what it lacks is not quite clear.*

It is an old understanding in fieldwork that disputes, far more than the quieter flows of ordinary life, reveal underlying meanings and practices. Whether this is true or not, (and I question it later in this chapter), in a social domain as carefully "stage managed" as tourism, such moments of public contention are relatively rare. In this field of encounter, when they do erupt, by their very eruption they emphasise how carefully and invisibly regulated interactions between locals and visitors generally are. In its dimension as a *cultura turistica*, Salamone is an apparently well-lubricated machine; but, as I illustrate below, this is because the tensions which surfaced in the altercation I've described are more generally expressed, negotiated and boundaried in a style of informal interaction which moves them away from explicit discourse and renders them more nuanced and subtle.

Thus, in this chapter, I want to extend my discussion in the previous two Parts, suggesting that contrastive understandings of the past, of locality and identity, are also embodied in a poetics of social interaction. Like the modes I have already described, this poetics serves to allow Salamonesi to manage a highly contextual interpersonal politics of social inclusion and exclusion. Similarly to the "poetics of manhood" explored for a Greek community by Herzfeld (1985), the poetics of informal encounter with tourists is also, in Salamone, a medium for ironic reflection on the nature of the transformation of village life from poverty to affluence, from marginality to inclusion in the wider metropolitan Italian culture. More intimately than other forms, poetics expresses both a sense of valuation of the local past and a resistance to metropolitan values.

Poetics as Multiply Situated Action: Performance and Context

Drawing extensively on Dilthey in one of the most philosophically wide-ranging of his late papers ("The Anthropology of Performance") Turner suggests that it is *meaning*, conceived as a retrospectively constructed synthesis expressed through performance, and not *structure* as such, which is foundational to the lived sense of history (1987: 97-98). "Ultimately", he observes, "it is only the category of *meaning* that enables us to *conceive an intrinsic affinity between the successive events in life*, and all that the categories of value and end can tell us is caught up in this synthesis" (ibid.: 97). Here, in terms of performance, Turner echoes Dilthey's notion, discussed in Chapter Two, that the past is always interpreted from the point of view of current experience.

In terms similar to Turner's, I have argued in exploring inscription and ethnomimeses as modes of historical experience that the relation between individual's or group's visions and performances of the past, present, and future on the one hand, and cultural common forms, on the other, is complex. Modes of historical experience as, in Sartrian terms, means of expressing a totalisation, comprise fields within which, as my discussion of the *Banda* and the *Schützen* aimed to illustrate, meanings may be inflected in multiple ways by reference to quite diverse "mappings" of cultural and political context. From the point of view of individuals making choices about public performance, there is thus always a kind of tension between individual praxis and common form, meaning and structure, a tension which results from possibility or indeterminacy, and in relation to which people discover and articulate historicised meanings and express individual intentions.

From this tension is also born the stylistic flexibility which is the essence of what, following Herzfeld, I will call a *poetics of social interaction* or more specifically in reference to interactions with outsiders, a *poetics of encounter* (Herzfeld 1985:10-16). In

this mode of historical experience, to a far greater extent than with inscription or ethnomimesis, not only what is done, but *how* it is done, is made to carry meaning. Poetics is, to put it simply, about doing and saying things with style, both in the sense of making statements stylishly, and making them through the idiom of style. Thus, what is ordinary, unenigmatic, normally anticipated in a given context (and therefore unmarked) does not partake of a poetics of social interaction in this sense. Conversely, action which is charged with style - where meaning is found in the alteration of the setting or the manner of performance - *is*.

This performative inflection, as Herzfeld's study of "the poetics of manhood" in Glendi so remarkably demonstrates, is foundational to any poetics which communicates: hence an "acceleration or stylistic transformation of action" (ibid.:16) is what marks a performance as successfully expressive or not. Inflection is the result of *how* action is performed in a given context; that is to say, it is the nuanced *inter*-play between action and context which inflects meaning. Thus poetics is first and foremost about highlighting aspects of *multiply situated actions*, changing stylistically their relation to the ordinary in much the same way as a verbal pun conjures multiple linguistic contexts and, if highly successful, metaphorises the relation between them.

In what follows, I want to discuss what might be thought of, as a first approximation, as the performative equivalents of puns. I will stress that such embodied metaphoric performances, to a far greater extent than is the case with inscription or ethnomimetic enactments, go well beyond collective statements. Because the meaning of a poetical action slides between multiple contexts it also allows the linking of individual and collective identities in cognate and/or (sometimes simultaneously) contradictory ways; as well as being a medium for the performance of locality, for example, poetically inflected acts (or at least those which are recognised as such, i.e. those which are successful) also signify individual selfhoods. The two things are also connected, and again, the nuanced inter-play between self-hood and common form, like that between act and context, as Herzfeld observes of Glendiot men, may be what carries meaning:

> ...it is clear that the successful performance of selfhood depends upon the ability to identify the self with larger categories of identity. In any encounter, the skilled actor alludes to ideological propositions and historical antecedents, but takes care to supress the sense of incongruity inevitably created by such grandiose implications: as with virtually any trope, the projection of the self as a metonymical encapsulation of some more inclusive identity rests on the violation of ordinariness....A successful performance of personal identity concentrates the audience's attention on the performance itself: the implicit claims are accepted because their very outrageousness carries a revelatory kind of conviction. *It is in this self-allusiveness of social*

> *performances, and in the concomitant backgrounding of everyday considerations, that we can discern a poetics of social interaction. The self is not presented within everyday life so much as in front of it* (Herzfeld 1985: 10; my emphasis).

In Salamone, like inscription and self-consciously ethnomimetic enactments, although far more individually, poetic interactions are fluid, often ludic, ways in which people link present constructions of self-hood to historicized identity, foregrounding specific personal and thematic statements which operate at several levels to foster a sense of inclusion and/or (depending on context) of boundarying. In social encounters with outsiders, such statements are frequently humorous, ironic or satirical, allowing scope for assertions of distinctiveness and difference within a larger framework of idioms of commonality. The meanings, and the appreciation of meaning in such performances, is enriched by their ambiguity, by the fact that they may be understood in different ways by different audiences.

I have already described a number of situations where the significance of organised public performances is broadly inflected in this poetic way. In a formal sense, this is true, for example, of the *festa* I attended with Don Giustino where traditional skills and occupations were performed for tourists. In that place and time reconstructed practices (the roasting coffee on a fire, the use of a manual fire appliance, the women washing with lye in the village tank), and even more to the point, a restricted number of skills which are still employed in local daily life (the cooking of *polenta*, wood splitting, the making or repair of some agricultural tools, the manufacture of *salumi*) were marked as ethnomimetic instances, signifiers of historical continuity, by the mere fact of being performed for a touristic audience (i.e. publicly, wearing traditional costume, using traditional tools). The same could be said of the *festa* of San Giuliano, where traditional foods are served to large numbers of visitors, in the sense that the occasion itself contextually redefines (or inflects) the significance of the foods offered towards a statement about commensality and so to inclusive hospitality, generically offered to the tourists at large.

Because these were *public* events, formally organised, with explicit performative structures, and because the fact of a touristic context so powerfully dominated, I chose to emphasise their characteristics as forms of ethnomimetic *enactment*. However, I might equally well have emphasised aspects which reflected a poetics specific to *culture turistiche*. Less formal contexts, by contrast, however, seem to me to offer clearer cases of action situated in multiple contexts, where meaning (in Turner's sense) dominates, and therefore of events and performances situated *vis à vis* both the *cultura turistica* and a life-world which exists alongside it but whose main field of signification is made up of local understandings. These less formal contexts, in other worlds, bridge lifeworlds, and

so the inflection of meaning fundamental to poetics has a broader and more personal field (indeed multiple fields) of play. The interstices between such lifeworlds are, to echo MacCannell's telling phrase, more clearly "empty meeting grounds" (MaCannell 1992), social spaces in which inclusion and exclusion can be creatively boundaried.

In illustrating this thesis, my technique in this chapter is simply to aim for a maximally "thick" description of a single encounter - an informal *festa* which involved both locals and visitors - which, as Geertz has put it, allows "sorting out the structures of signification...and determining their social ground and import" (Geertz 1973:9). Here, I am primarily interested in the shifting frames of stylistic meaning embedded in behaviour and indicative of a poetics of social discourse, rather than typicality. In what follows, I provide a number of "takes" at increasingly detailed levels (sociological, performative, textual, dramatological) focused on a range of symbolic aspects (food, social interaction, song, humour), of a single encounter in order to progressively unpack the implicit meanings which informed the local hosts' understandings of the event's significance. Unlike Geertz' brilliantly eclectic (and encyclopaedic) dissection of the Balinese cockfight (ibid.:412-453), Herzfeld's even more extensive exploration of performative and textual aspects of manhood in Glendi (Herzfeld 1985), or Feld's of Kaluli textual and soundscape poetics embodied in lament (Feld 1982), all of which might stand as larger models for this type of hermeneutic interpretation, I have restricted my discussion primarily to performative as opposed to linguistic or strictly semiological dimensions. My reasoning is that in this way it should be possible to bring into relief the embodied stylistic dimensions of encountering tourists while also demonstrating the complementarity of a poetics of social interaction to the modes of historical experience discussed in previous chapters. Before turning to this description, however, it seems apt to make some framing comments on what is the central element in informal *feste* in Salamone, namely what is eaten.

Food: Contrastive Connotations of Locality and Identity

If there was a single overriding message to be discerned in the discussion in the *piazza* with which this chapter began it is surely the assertion by the Salamonesi present of the virtues of unique locality, the deep and personal significance of the possession and appreciation of place. In the most fundamental sense, the tourist's attack on Salamone was so acutely galling precisely because it was a *comparative* one. Salamone in the tourist's perception figured unfavourably with another local community with which it has had close historical links and from which, in the past as now, it has sought to distinguish itself. What made this comparison even more unpalatable is the fact that in local evaluations, Canzolo has sold its heritage (especially land) for tourism

development and Canzolari are now felt to have a quality of life inferior to that of Salamonesi.

As I explore below, specific symbols of locality, in such contexts, derive meaning not only from their connection with a sense of place, but also from their role in encounters which express a process of cultural exchange. By doing so, they also condense historical relationships and provide symbolic material for claims to identity and status. A further level of meaning in the discussion I have reported derives from this fact: in attacking the *preggi* (valued characteristics) of Salamone, the tourist not only impugned local values, he also (quite explicitly) put into question the local sense of history, and how such local histories should or should not articulate with metropolitan notions of progress.

Amongst the most commonly deployed, and most powerful, markers of locality in Italy, as in other Mediterranean societies, is food and drink, and it is indicative that it surfaced early in this *contretemps*. On a regional and local level food marks difference, just as, in the international context, Italy itself is often marked in this way. In this context of national and international symbolic elaboration, it would be difficult to overemphasise the significance of local "traditional" foods for Salamonesi. Aside from generally figuring as a metonym for the transformation of life itself, in which their current abundance itself states the narrative of transition from an impoverished past to an affluent present [2], food and drink stand also stand both as tokens of place and as a means of mediating encounters with outsiders. *Polenta*, cheese, and *funghi*, I've already suggested, are considered mountain foods par excellence, as is *grappa* amongst drinks. But more than these, however, which are common to the Alpine area in general, *salami* and other forms of artisanally worked pork (*salamini, cottechini, salsicce, lardo, speck, pancetta affumicata, proscuitto cotto* and *crudo* or *dolce*, and the ubiquitous *bracciole,* all worked in a variety of ways), give a more specific dimension to the repertoire of culinary symbols tied decisively to a sense of place. The valley generally is known for its *salumi* (salted, i.e. processed, meats), but partly due to the familial nature of chain migration, a larger proportion of the migrants from Salamone than from other villages found work as *salumieri* in Mantova, Bolzano and Brescia, although, as in other villages, there were also many who worked as ambulant *moleti* or knifegrinders. (This last occupation, incidentally, is closely associated with Canzolo, and the main street of that village as approached from down-valley features a life-sized bronze statue of a knife-grinder with his apparatus). Salamonesi regard themselves as the pre-eminent artisanal *salumieri* of the valley.

In Salamone, any occasion of social significance will feature some or all of these specifically local foods: casual hospitality is most often expressed by means of them, and, in the absence of locally produced wines (the village is too high to grow grapes),

they fulfil a role in a discourse of quality equivalent to that which appears elsewhere in Europe in connection with local vintages. Fresh locally produced *salami* and *speck* substitute other *antipasti* at most meals in homes, and at *monti* and in local restaurants people invariably open the meal with them.

As in many other contexts, roles in the preparation and serving of food are markedly gendered. On occasions where hospitality is publicly offered, men mainly prepare and serve food; in the home, food is the exclusive province of women. The particular importance of *cantine* and *monti* as the most frequent venues for offering hospitality is explained partly by this conjuncture; not only are they places associated with the lifeworld and foods of the past, but they also function as equivalent but less gendered spaces - at least in terms of visitors - to cafes and restaurants as theatrical places where men *perform* hospitality.[3] Such settings are common contexts for the expression of a specifically male poetics of social interaction, which may also frequently be competitive, especially with outsiders. As Herzfeld has also described for Glendi, these spaces constitute a domain of male discourse governed by complex etiquette which allow for the expression and development of political rhetorics and alliances, as well as for the maintenance of close friendships based on frequent, often daily, interactions (Herzfeld 1985:152-62).

Female hospitality, by contrast, offered in the home to guests from *outside* the family, is generally understood as mundane and unmarked. When it does occur, which is rarely amongst village families, it is taken by men to reflect more on the success of the male, as provider, than on the skills and standing of the woman, although particular foods (especially preserves, such as *sot'olie* e *sot'aceti*), often stored in *cantine* are understood to be the result of a woman's frugality, care and skill. Women, in my relatively limited experience, socialise much more restrictedly in the home: female kin and neighbours may share a morning coffee at home instead of in the cafés after their morning's shopping, but it is rare for women to initiate an invitation to share a meal, other than on family occasions. This, in the contemporary context, is changing as the orientations of economically successful villagers begin to approximate more closely urban styles, but remains exceptional.

Because of this marked division of roles, spaces, and fields of interaction, public male hospitality is poetically marked, not only by its gendered performance, but also by the intensity with which it is singled-out as an occasion for festivity *beyond* the kin-group, distinguished from the daily routines of cooking and eating in the home which nowadays centre on foods associated more with the national Italian culture than on those featured in the traditional local diet. Men in Salamone are not generally expected to be domestic cooks, and it is rare to find men who express any interest in cooking in the home at all: they are however, expected to be expert in the preparation of mountain

foods, those associated with the "poor" diet of the past. Pre-eminent among these is, of course *polenta*, and on occasions such as the large *festa campestra* for San Giuliano described in Chapter Four, there is intense, humorous rivalry between village men cooking side by side in the open air. The preparation of game, fish, *funghi* and other foods hunted and gathered extensively in the past, and cooked over open fires or on outdoor *griglie*, are also culinary activities which men especially enjoy and invest with pride. The cooking of these foods is often carried out with great attention to style at *feste* and other gatherings. Given their historical centrality, it is not surprising that even the simple slicing of a fresh *salami* or tranche of *speck* is a matter to be performed skilfully and with great care.

The symbolism of these foods and the poetics of their preparation and consumption constitute, then, at least from a male perspective, the most celebrated act of hospitality precisely because they invoke landscape, history and the gendered lifeworlds of the past. For the most part, it is a symbolism which remains unverbalized amongst locals, although interaction with tourists incorporates a discourse which is explicitly articulated. Local restaurants, for example, now build their reputations on the concerted, and in one notable case[4], even scholarly effort, to re-discover and reproduce a wide range of specialised, traditional, dishes from the past. At private *feste* where outsiders are guests, menus are less elaborate, but are invariably anchored with traditional dishes. As icon of tradition, idiom for the narrative of transformation, metonym of place and gender, vehicle of cultural re-discovery and, last but not least, an important source of income - local foods densely connote multiple levels of identity. As I describe next, and at a more abstract level, the way in which they are prepared and offered to guests also carries poetic messages about the nature of social relations with outsiders.

Pino's *Festa*: "Social Grace", Boundaries, Equivalence

Perhaps one of my clearest experiences of this was on an occasion when I was asked by Pino, who spoke so passionately about food in the discussion with which this chapter began, to help with and video, a private *festa* for some Brescian friends which he was hosting at his *monte* early in the summer of 1988. A bachelor, Pino then had an extensive social life within and beyond the village: on this occasion he was repaying hospitality received on his frequent trips away. Locally, he was active in the *Pro Loco*, the volunteer fire-brigade, and the *Gruppo Folcloristico*. Among his generation, he was considered to be one of the most knowledgeable with regard to the genealogical history of the village and was often said to have *"una memoria di ferro"* (a memory of steel) for people, places and dates. He also had a well-maintained reputation as a *raconteur*,

and for practical jokes which pushed the limits of acceptability without ever quite stepping across them.

Pino's knowledge of, and involvement with local foods, as I mentioned earlier, was extremely extensive. At the period I am describing Pino managed the *salumeria* section of the local *Cooperativa*. Over almost twenty years, Pino has risen through the entire range of jobs in this business: from assistant *salumiere* and counter-hand to section manager, and now, at the time of writing, to the position of Director, responsible for the management of the largest enterprise in the village, and one which draws approximately eighty per cent of its income from sales to tourists during the summer and winter seasons.

In form, the *festa* Pino hosted was not a-typical of those regularly offered by Salamonesi to friends and outsiders. Such *feste* take most of the day, and are usually centred on a large mid-day meal eaten *al fresco*. This one took place at his *monte* at San Daniele, about an hour's walk above the village along forestry roads and mountain tracks. This is an extensive cluster of *monti*, and unlike some other similar groups, is still used as a staging point for stock moving down to the village from the *malghe*. Aside from the *monti* themselves, there are still several *stalle* in good repair; it has a spectacular view of the valley and of the Brenta massif opposite.

Preparation for the *festa* began early in the day: Pino and I met at a local bar for coffee and had driven up to his *monte* by eight in the morning, Pino having delivered supplies of food, wine and grappa the night before. Over the next hour or so, while Pino and I carried water from a stand-pipe some distance from the *monte* and split wood for cooking fires, half a dozen men, members of the group which Pino likes to refer to as *"la compagnia"* arrived individually or in pairs. Massimo, Pino's friend and boss brought numerous bottles of special wine from the Asti region from his extensive cellar, and set immediately to work preparing *polenta*. Italo, who operates the grooming equipment on the local ski-lift, busied himself splitting *braciole* from a rack of pork. Amerigo, reputedly the best singer in the village, disappeared behind the pink pages of the day's edition of *La Gazetta dello Sport*, surfacing around half past ten to begin sampling bottles of wine and check progress on the *polenta*. Several others constructed a large table on a flat space outside the *monte*.

Late in the morning, the first group of Brescian guests arrived, carrying a demi-john of their local wine, which was opened immediately and tasted by everyone. The assembled company, at this stage all men, having approved this, Massimo began opening bottles of the wine from Asti, an unusual white wine which impressed not only by its quality but by having the unusual property of turning momentarily cloudy as the corks were pulled. Opening and sampling the wine was, in fact, a "business", in the theatrical sense of the term, whereby the visitors and the hosts could impress: as each

man tasted from the same small ladle, it was incumbent to come up with a comment, preferably erudite, as to the appropriateness of wine for all occasions, and especially one such as this, in such good company and such an illustrious setting.

Over the next hour, more guests, including women and children arrived, each to be greeted by Pino and the others, who paused frequently in their cooking. Some were drawn momentarily into the chores, but mostly the visitors chatted on the terrace in front of the *monte*. Massimo, now in charge of the *polenta* pots at the woodstove inside the *monte* and stirring patiently, performed his set-piece, explaining to anyone who will listen the qualities of an excellent *polenta*; it must be smooth and consistent, and cooked to the point where it pulls away from the edge of the copper pots, the edges smelling of roasted corn. Guests, amused that anyone would assume that they too were not expert, bandied suggestions and advice, discussed the merits of other kinds of *polenta*, suggested dishes. Outside, Italo, now grilling the forty or so *braciole* he has split from the racks on a *griglia* sizzling with fat, himself enveloped in clouds of smoke and steam, greasy newspaper in one hand and a long fork in the other, called constantly for more wine, mostly to combat the heat but some, occasionally, moistening the meat as it cooked. Back in the cool of the kitchen, Pino laid out enormous plates of *salami, speck*, and *pancetta,* each wafer-thin transparent slice overlapping its neighbour professionally in perfect rows, just as it would be served in the *Cooperativa*. The artistic precision of his task didn't prevent him from pausing to chat to anyone coming in, nor from taking a break to play with the video camera, filming Massimo at the stove, assisted by Dario, another *salumiere*, who poking fun at me, interviewed Massimo about the gender of *polenta*. Quietly, Pino drew visitors into the process of laying the table, circulating wine, stoking the wood fires. By midday, everything was nearing readiness; Pino paused to be certain that everything was to his satisfaction, and to drink a last *aperitivo*.

The most marked (and pleasurable) aspect of the morning to this point was how people's activities and interactions seemed to literally meander, each taking up jobs, pausing, switching to something else. The considerable work of setting-up the *festa* seemed a spontaneous thing, interrupted frequently and enjoyably by the arrival of more visitors, each of whom did as they pleased, helping or not helping, conversing, joking, entertaining those who were working or taking a turn when it seemed appropriate. A child might stir the *polenta* for a few minutes under Massimo's watchful eye, before wandering off to join a game of hide and seek outside; one of the friends preparing the table might be drawn into conversation by an item of sports news passed on by Amerigo behind the pink newspaper; Italo, "the Bull", could be called away from preparing his fires to help lift a heavy bench from the *monte* to the *prato*, and then find himself engaged in repairing its leg. Quietly in the background, Pino directed without ever telling anyone what to do, encouraging, commenting, pausing to drink another glass of

the Asti between tasks. While events during the morning seemed to simply "unfold" without explicit organisation, the production of the meal expressed an unspoken co-ordination, the result of putting together many similar occasions, between Pino and his friends, and by extension between hosts and guests.

When Pino judged the moment arrived, this co-ordination was given tangible form: at a nod from him, the *salumi*, bread, wine, *bracciole* and *polenta* were rushed to the table. Each heavy copper *paiolo* of *polenta* was tipped, in one smooth motion, onto clean new larchwood platters spaced along the centre of the table. There were close to thirty people seated. Without ceremony, the meal began, each guest serving themselves and those next to them, passing food and drink to their neighbours. The air was full of compliments: the excellence and abundance of the provisions, the beauty of the setting, the conviviality of the company, the pleasure of living the good life. Each element of the food was praised in turn by the guests for its authenticity, the impossibility of finding anything of equivalent quality elsewhere. The hosts approved again the wine, noting its clarity, freshness, taste and finally, strength. The meal ended with local *spressa* cheese, and later, as most of the company is lying singing under a tree near the table, strong coffee and *grappa*.

At the end of the afternoon, it was clear that Pino had hosted the perfect *festa*, bringing together locals and visitors in an elegant, understated demonstration of what is truly "good" about the good life in Salamone. In terms of both the style of Pino's *festa* (its pace and rhythm, the fluidity of interaction) and its substance (the food, the song) it exemplified exactly what a *festa* at someone's monte should be. The collective style of *"la compagnia"*, their informality and effectiveness as a group in presenting traditional foods and local music not only displayed hospitality elegantly, but embodied the best self-conceptions of villagers, expressing collective self-sufficiency and resourcefulness, generosity of spirit, mutuality of experience between individuals.

From the point of view of the hosts, the early part of the day in fact set the tone for the rest, and illuminates the central experiential point of this kind of *festa,* namely that it should have, as this one did, a relaxed, indeterminate atmosphere. This fluid quality, as important as it is "taken for granted", as much as anything, defines an informal *festa* as genuinely festive for both hosts and their guests. It contrasted immediately with the more regimented style and pace of the work of food preparation that many of the men were engaged with professionally during the week, where there are often time pressures in serving tourists in hotels or restaurants, or with the rhythms of routinised family life. This kind of relaxation also contrasts with formal entertaining in the homes of the Salamonese, where great attention is paid to timing, presentation, and formal refinement. Like the Irish *ceili* - an informal evening of shared music and talk characteristic of rural Ulster social life - so beautifully evoked by Glassie in his
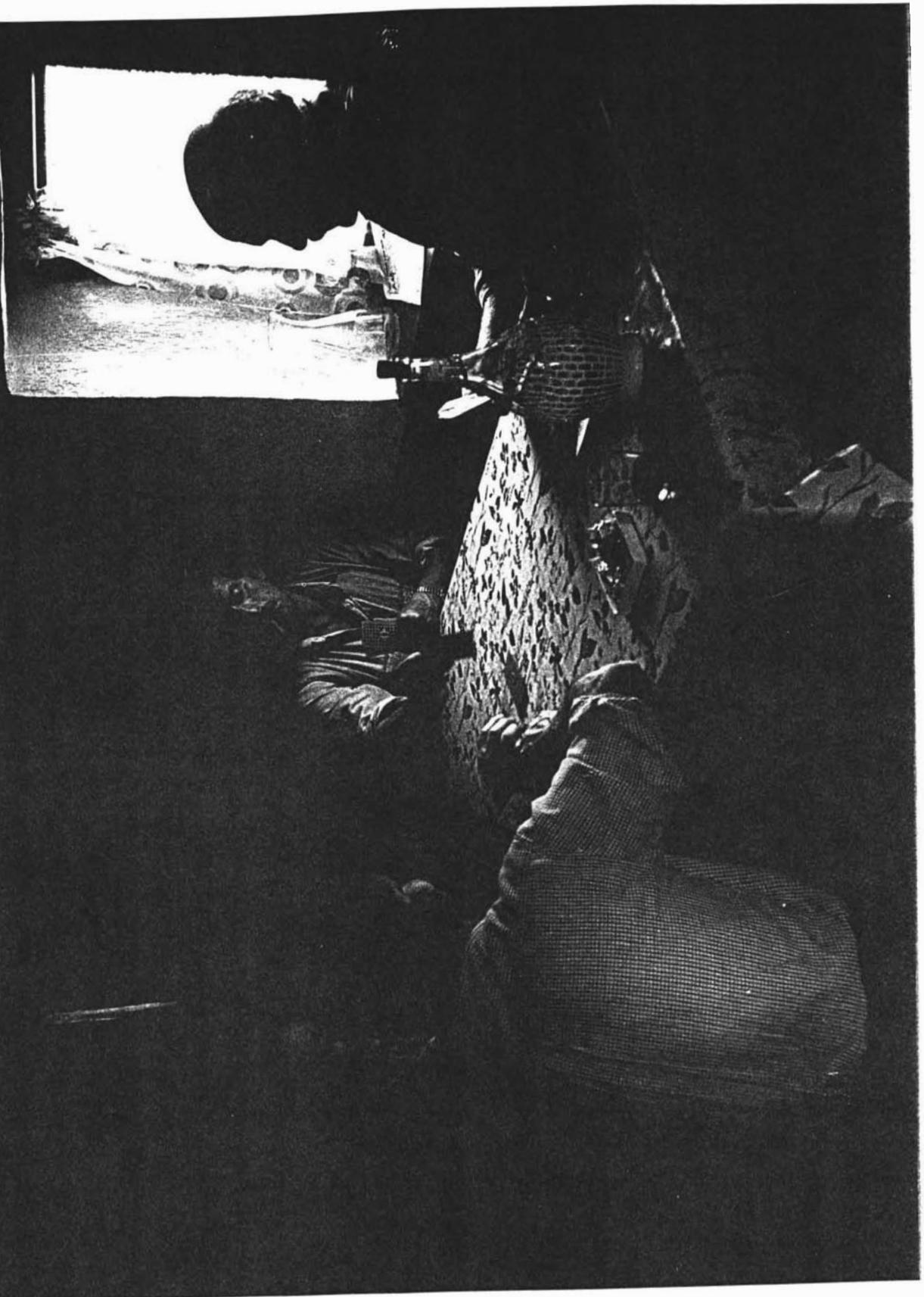
Men at a monte 1995 (Phot.:KR)

existential ethnography of Ballymenone, the spontaneous, mutable flow of conversation and song is all. The job of the host is to "pull others into performance", engendering a collective moment without threatening the fragility of its informality. Reciprocally, each guest contributes, but only as they feel moved to, without formal expectation (Glassie 1995: 99-100).

My point is that achieving this unhurried temporal flow - for there is no more precise way of putting it - this kind of fluidity of pace and style, is itself a performance in which the same physical acts performed elsewhere as work or formal entertainment become playful and fluid, and this quality itself a marker of the enjoyment of mutuality, shared company and friendship. In the case of Pino's festa, it was this quality which defined the men present, the hosts, as "*la compagnia*", and their project a *festa*. It is, in short, what constitutes their performative style, the poetics of this kind of encounter.

The phenomenal qualities I have focused on here - the temporal and interactive character of social encounter - as Rosaldo has recently observed, often pass unremarked by anthropologists, particularly when an event is informal or dramatically recessive (Rosaldo 1993). Indeterminate, socially flexible interactions are generally perceived as interpretative background to other foregrounded dimensions of the fabric of social encounter and are therefore regarded as tangential to analysis. Discussing a geographically removed but situationally similar context, however, that of Ilongot social etiquette, Rosaldo makes the phenomenologically insightful observation that the style of social interaction, particularly in such informal situations, is itself often the point: indeterminacy frequently has, in and of itself, a positive social value. In a similar way to the hosting of "*la compagnia*", he suggests, for Ilongot in engaged in *ba-at* (informal social visits),

> ...optionality, variablity and unpredictability produce positive qualities of social being rather than negative zones of analytically empty randomness. Far from being devoid of positive content...indeterminacy enables a culturally valued quality of human relations where one can follow impulses, change directions, and co-ordinate with other people. In other words, social unpredictability has its distinctive tempo, and it permits people to develop timing, co-ordination, and a knack for responding to contingencies. *These qualities constitute social grace, which in turn enables an attentive and gifted person to enjoy and be effective in the interpersonal politics of everyday life* (1993:256, my emphasis).[5]

These attributes of "social grace", are also prized in Salamone precisely because they contrast with the existential tenor of everyday encounters with tourists, where the poetics and substantive content of public social interactions are frequently established

by outsiders rather than the local participants. Their full significance, however, might lie even deeper than this: like the traditional foods and music at Pino's *festa*, relaxed and fluid encounters characterised by collective action founded in social equivalence and reciprocity are a lived expression of a remembered lifeworld centred on valley floor *prati* (fields), the *monti* and *malghe* where agricultural tasks were often undertaken collectively by members of the kin-group or neighbours. Where the working world of most Salamonesi today is mainly constituted by individualised labour and relations of economic power in which many individuals have relatively little feeling of collectivity, that of the past - intimately associated with places like Pino's *monte* - is thought to have been characterised by social connectedness, spontaneity, and status equivalence between participants. In this sense, the poetics of interaction, the intangible elements of rhythm, pace and flow as much as anything else, characteristic of a *festa* like Pino's is, like the food and music, also a metonym for authenticity and tradition, for the historical sense itself.

Feste at *monti* condense, within this over-arching framework of memory, culinary, musical and poetic expressions of time and place. The extraordinary relish of an occasion like this for Pino and *la compagnia* is that it provides an opportunity to demonstrate to outsiders in an elegant, improvisational way a side of Salamonese life which resonates with the values and tempos of the past, and yet, at the same moment, celebrates their continuing and pleasurable value in the present. In offering hospitality in this way, the progressive narrative relation between past and present is inverted. By association, inverted too is the relation between contemporary local and metropolitan identities in which local culture - its association with a different imagined time and the stereotypes which flow from that - is negated.

Alla Moda dai Salamun: Irony and the Impoverished Past

Elements of the same relation between past and present, though here played in an ironic register, are evident in the last of the songs which were sung on this afternoon. In recent years, it has become a virtual anthem, which, although it does not originate in Salamone, has come to be so closely associated with it that most young people assume it is traditional. Here is a partial text, as it was sung that afternoon, although, perhaps like all informal anthems, the song has many local versions and other singers can perform as many as eleven verses:

A La Moda dai Salamun
(In the Style of the Salamonesi)

Quel fiülìn ch'el ma crumpà	*That young son he bought for me*
si che l'era in bel fiülìn	*Yes, he was a fine young son*
Quel fiülìn ch'el ma crumpà	*That young son he bought for me*
si che l'era in bel fiülìn	*Yes, he was a fine young son*
nü l'era gni grand gni magrü	*Neither to fat nor too thin*
ma l ghiva in bel cúciun	*He had a good hard head*
a la moda	*In the style*
a la moda	*In the style*
a la moda dai Salamun	*In the style of Salamonesi*
Quel anel ch'el ma crumpà	*That ring he bought for me*
si che l'era in bel anel	*Yes it was a fine ring*
Quel anel ch'el ma crumpà	*That ring he bought for me*
si che l'era in bel anel	*Yes it was a fine ring*
nü l'era gni ór gni arzent	*It was neither gold nor silver*
ma all'era di ütùn (etc.)	*but was of lead (etc.)*
Quel visti ch'el ma crumpà	*That dress he bought for me*
si che l'era in bel visti	*Yes it was a beautiful dress*
Quel visit ch'el ma crumpà	*That dress he brought for me*
si che l'era in bel visti	*Yes it was a beautiful dress*
nü l'era gni lana gni sida	*It was neither wool nor silk*
ma l'era a quadratùn	*But made of patches*
Quei scarpün chel ma crumpà	*Those shoes he bought for me*
si ca iera bei scarpün	*Yes they were a lovely pair*
Quei scarpün chel ma crumpà	*Those shoes he bought for me*
si ca iera bei scarpün	*Yes the were a lovely pair*
nü iera gni sla gni guma	*They were neither (leather?) nor rubber*
ma iera di cartùn	*But of cardboard*

[*Da capo* for final verse]

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A la Moda dai Salamun became popular at a time (the mid-sixties) when Salamonesi, for the first time, began to glimpse the possibility of real wealth and to trust their escape from the pervasive *miseria* of the immediate post-war years. As tourists began to seek out the village, they found enough distance from real poverty to be able to reflect ironically on harder times. Another friend, Fabio Mengoni, who formerly owned a bar in the village and was for a time custodian of the *Rifugio* at San Giuliano, claims to have introduced it after a trip to Piedmont: "it just fitted, it was right for us, so we adapted it, and it took off." The song is now sung everywhere but most frequently, as on this occasion, at *monti* and in *cantine*; like *polenta*, *funghi,* cheese and *grappa*, it has become, in the musical domain, part of the repertoire of cultural emblems which people identify with the life-world of the mountain spaces. Thus, even though the song is not very "old" in Salamone, like many of the songs of the *Alpini*, it associates stylistically, as well lyrically, with the music of the past.

While during the sixties the song was sung at the Rifugio and at Fabio's bar by locals for their own amusement, and spread from there, it is interesting that these days, it is mainly sung when outsiders are present. I have heard it at *feste campestre*, at private *feste* like Pino's and perhaps sung most pointedly, at Guido and Daria's wedding, when as I mentioned in Chapter Three, many of those present were Guido's relatives from the neighbouring Val di Fassa.

At one level, that of the text, the rhymed couplets which are linked to the term Salamonesi use for themselves in dialect (*Salamun*), simply ironically inflect the fact of poverty. Most of the verses refer to ordinary items, but what is "celebrated" is their poor quality. Thus, the irony is intensified by the singer claiming that these items are *fine*: an inflection which one can read either or both as an ironic reflection on the quality of the items, or on the singers ability to distinguish between good and bad. In this way, these verses also play on a stereotyped imagery, to some degree an interiorised or adopted one, of Alpine peasants as crude, stupid or ignorant, the image of the *cafone* discussed in Chapter One, against which the song plays. In this respect, the most significant verse is that in which the female narrator sings of being given a hard-headed son. The term *cuciun* (hard-headed, in the sense of obstinate, stubborn) is often used as a collective self-description by Salamonesi, particularly with reference to the past, along with the notion of being "closed". The term also resonates symbolically with the nickname *muntun* (rams) by which Salamonesi were known to neighbouring villages. Hard-headed, hard workers, closed people, survivors; all of these describe the same feeling of insiders against a hostile physical environment, and sometimes a hostile world beyond the village, which Salamonesi celebrate. It is significant that this obligatory verse is frequently sung with special emphasis, and is also emphasised by repetition, since it always opens and closes the song. It may be significant too, in this respect, that the last

line of each verse is, "in the style of Salamonesi", not "in the style of Salamone", intensifying the individually reflexive feeling of the song. Somehow this grounds the song, giving it a concreteness that identifies the song with the singer and not simply with the more abstract concept of the village.

The fact that it is in the dialect of Salamone, also intensifies the reflexive dimension of the song, for it results from translation and makes a statement about the politics of dialectal use. Like the many former peasants in Italy and Europe generally, Salamonesi have, at times, regarded the use of dialect as a marker of social inferiority, at least in the perception of outsiders. Surrounded by tourists, with whom they mainly converse in Italian, they are intensely aware of the stereotypes which also surround them, and specifically of the ways in which dialect use has been used in Italian literature, film and everyday use to signify the inferior status of rural people. This does not surprise them: Salamonesi frequently make fun of other dialects, in particular that of that of the Bergmaschi (people of the Bergamot area), an unrelated but proximate dialect which they find unintelligible. In the current situation, inverting this satirically, and associating use of a dialect with a song that is also textually a play on stereotypes, at once makes fun of this logic and celebrates the dialect's use. In this way, too, the song metaphorically puts into play ideas about stereotypes and, like the overall poetics of Pino's festa, about status equivalence.

As important as the context, and text, of the song, however, is the style in which *A la Moda dai Salamun* is generally performed. The most popular songs of the Alps are generally sung *a capella* (unaccompanied), these days often by quite large (often male) choirs, and the entire aesthetic hangs on polished and subtly modulated part-singing and harmony, often alternating solo and group voices. The ultimate experience of this music is to hear it sung high in the mountains, in the open, where the interplay of voices, and of intensity of sound (stylistically, the music often calls for rapid changes of volume), is emphasised by sound echoing off mountain walls and cliff-faces.[6] Much of the music intentionally either reproduces or plays on such effects, recalling the way in which a person's voice calling to his cows, or the cow's bells themselves, will ricochet around an enclosed alp. In contrast, *A la Moda is* always sung roughly and with a single group voice, with an intentional disregard for finesse and modulation. Here, what counts is gusto and volume, so that it can almost be shouted, and the song is often sung at the end of an occasion (usually a *festa*) when people have drunk a few glasses and already sung a few songs. As the last song sung at Pino's *festa*, for example, it was sung by nearly all of "*la compagnia*" at full throat, and Amerigo, who in previous songs had orchestrated some astonishingly delicate and melodic singing, conducting almost like a choir-master, here stood back, abandoning his central role to the overpowering flow of voices. In addition to being sung loudly, it is usually delivered with a great deal of physical

movement, singers swaying with glasses in hand and toasting at the end of each verse, sometimes spontaneously dancing in a circle to it. Stylistically then, it is sung wild, in contrast to the better-known performances of Alpine song, and my sense of this is that its rough, deliberately careless and unfocussed delivery is part of the point, another way of throwing humour at, and thereby inflecting, its overt meaning. The poetics of performance, as at Pino's *festa*, in other words, is appropriate to its textual content: it is delivered tongue in cheek, refusing a stereotype by exaggeratedly embracing it.

I am tempted to write that, like the poetics of this *festa* as a whole, any given performance of *A la Moda* might be construed as a kind of rueful and even nostalgic reflection on the past, in which the significance of an historical trope, in this case a stereotype of peasant isolation and crudeness, is inverted through the presentation of an ironic text performed hyper-actively. There is, of course, an element of truth in this: the song and the poetics of its performance condenses and denies (because of its a-typicality within the repertoire of Alpine song) a series of reflections on the past, on the historical stereotypes which Salamonesi and outsiders have held of each other, and on their salience in the present. And clearly too, the social context of the song's performance, highlighted on this occasion, suggests a process of intensification which depends on the presence of an audience of outsiders. It would, however, be quite wrong to suggest that *A la Moda*, because it is generally sung in company with visitors, is *only* a performance piece for show, a kind of clowning or hamming for an visitors or tourists. It is only when you come from a culture in which informal singing in a group is rare, as I do, that you realise how powerful a means of "being together" singing provides. Of course, being a *good* singer confers some cachet among men and women, as it does for Amerigo, but only in the most informal way; being *willing* to sing is part of the fabric of being part of a *compagnia* (in the broader sense of the term) at any moment of festivity, and goes unremarked, except possibly in its absence. Because its irony is a reflection on a local experience of history, no song could express this sense of inclusiveness more strongly than *A La Moda*. In this respect, like the other symbols by means of which "social grace" was made manifest in the poetics of encounter at Pino's *festa*, the song expresses a valuation of the past which is itself a sign of distinctiveness.

Spilt Wine: Abundance and Waste

A small moment, with which my video ended, will serve to illustrate a final variation of the themes of inclusiveness, stereotyping and equivalence I have been discussing, played out on this occasion for the tourists at the moment of departure, and for me behind the video camera. It is a moment which has long puzzled and to some extent disconcerted me, partly because the style of horseplay seemed out of character with this

festa, and partly because, as so often in fieldwork situations, in its incongruity I have long sensed a deeper significance without at the time being fully able to discern what it might be.

As the *festa* wound to a close, and as the Brescian guests were preparing to leave soon after the singing of *A la Moda dai Salamun*, Pino beckoned me over to the table where the demi-john brought by the guests stood, now almost drained. "Film this", he said, "Celedonio is going to drink the last of the wine in one gulp". Celedonio was an older retired villager, owner of a neighbouring *monte*, affectionately well-known to myself and to "*la compagnia*", and with the local reputation of being a heavy drinker. He was not one of "*la compagnia*" in that he did not generally participate in their gatherings, nor had he been along on various trips away from the village organised by them. Like several of both the hosts and guests, on this occasion he had drunk a great deal of wine and grappa throughout the hot afternoon, and was, as the local saying has it, *mezzo ciuco*[7]. Supported by Pino and Fabio who held the demi-john to his lips, he drank mightily, but even so, the last of the twenty-two litre flask defeated him. Wine ran from his mouth, soaking his shirt and dripping to the ground. Just as the batteries on my camera failed, and as the last of the wine drained away, he stumbled and half-fell, taking both Pino and Fabio with him, and the three of them sat down heavily, spattered with the dregs, laughing uproariously.

Feste often end in this way, though usually with younger men as the butt of the horseplay and jokes. In this case, Celedonio - an older man - played this scene as a willing foil to Pino's practical joke, and when I saw him at his *monte* again a few days later after filming the transhumance of the cattle from a nearby *malga* he expressed no hard feelings about having been manoeuvred into what could be described as a demeaning position, hamming for the camera and the amusement of the other guests. And Pino, for his part, was so pleased with this tape that when he organised a showing of my videos to migrants from the village in Bolzano some months later, insisted on including it. At this showing, there was a great deal of laughter at this fragmentary scene, but afterwards, one member of the audience, a successful *salumiere* with a prosperous shop in the German section of the city, reproached me for showing Salamonesi as drunkards. Pino dismissed the comment, when I reported it to him, as ridiculous, saying it was *un picollo scherzo*, a small joke and all in fun.

I have often regretted allowing Pino to convince me to show this video of his *festa* on this occasion. The reproach of the *salumiere* emphasised not just a personal sensitivity, but deeper and more collective ambiguities. They have to do with the existence of a relatively widespread stereotype of the people of the Alps, and perhaps particularly of Trentini, held by urban Italians, and by tourists, as being exceptionally hard drinkers in a country where the consumption of alcohol is already close to the top of the list by

international standards. The stereotype equates heavy drinking with the other putative attributes of Alpine-dwellers; lack of education, insularity, physical and mental "coarseness", lack of social sophistication and so on. Against this background, the stereotype is both well-known and resented by locals who correctly see in it the underpinning, in popular thought, of a discourse of social inequality.

As with most forms of "essentialising" thought, the matter is more complicated than this however, for in every stereotype, as in every joke, there is, of course, a germ of truth. Thus, part of the offence of a stereotype is because it may be perceived as inaccurate (as in the conversation with the tourist with which this chapter began), but more often because it is felt to be inaccurately *extended*, in which they wrong characteristic (from the point of view of the stereotyped), is made to say too much, about too many. One means of neutralising such partial truths is precisely to turn stereotypes into jokes, to adopt them, yet so lightly, as it were, that they loose their ability to wound. Something of the same strategy is, of course, what underpins the irony of *A la Moda dai Salamun*.

I discuss this idea in greater depth in the next chapter, but here, let me suggest that at one level, the practical joke with which Pino's *festa* ended was just that; at another, it too was an inflected performance, a moment of reflexive satire in which - in contradictory modes - stereotypes were ridiculed. Like *A la Moda*, this kind of horseplay thus finds its ironic inflection *"in front"*, to adopt Herzfeld's dramatological metaphor, of the more usual meanings and performances of the *festa*. It emphasised, by its "outrageousness", through the idiom of hamming for the camera, and in much the same way that resentment of being filmed in general does, a substratum of discomfort with existential situations and the perceptions of others. Both Pino's enthusiasm that I film this practical joke, and the discomfort of the distinguished *salumiere* at Bolzano address the same issue: the currency and value of stereotypical images of Salamonesi and other mountain peoples.

Poetics of Interaction as a Politics of Cultural Resistance

If my interpretation is correct, this minor joke, like the poetic framework of Pino's *festa* in general, and the poetics of performance of *A la Moda,* must be understood at a number of levels which encompass the underlying themes of the assertion of local uniqueness and value, the claim of status equivalence, and a reflexive willingness to play textually and poetically on stereotypes in an ironic register which undermines their existential force. Although the tourists present on this particular occasion were Pino's friends, the moment derives its meaning not simply from the social dynamics of this moment, but from an experiential situation in which Salamonesi have, in historical

perspective, often felt themselves to have been patronised, condescended to, and socially demeaned because of their *culture*. To douse the oldest villager present in wine, and to laugh at the sight of it draining into the soil can be "read" both as an assertion of indifference to a stereotypical imagery and simultaneously as an assertion of the power to waste, itself an attribute of an urban culture which historically has been seen by the people of Salamone, and in many ways still is, as wasteful, careless, and itself apathetic in the face of its own affluence.

Introducing this chapter, I made the point that an essential characteristic of the poetics of encounter is that it is multiply-inflected, deriving its significance from their ability as performances to articulate a number of divergent and sometimes contradictory personal meanings. In order to do so, personal identities may be doubly displaced: firstly, away from explicit and/or verbalised statements and claims to enigmatic and sometimes ironic performances, and secondly, like ethnomimetic enactments, from a contemporary to an historical frame of meaning. In a cultural domain dominated by encounters with tourists, I suggest, the poetics of social interaction exemplified on occasions such as Pino's *festa* are best understood as a performance of resistance to the cultural values and styles associated with instrumental modernity, and the individualistic and competitive ethos and inter-personal practices which now characterise much of contemporary life for Salamonesi. The important point about the poetics of Pino's *festa* at every level, is that while the message was one of inclusion, more importantly than in any other aspect, it was about inclusion in local terms. Seen in this way, *feste* like Pino's can in part, at least, be interpreted as a personalised reaction to the existential alienation fostered by what, to use Weber's evocative term, might be called the "disenchantment of the world" (Weber 1958:105). extensively explored as an historical and existential trajectory for worker-peasants by Douglas Holmes (1989).

In the next chapter, I explore this dynamic more fully. Anticipating my argument, and putting it on a smaller scale, I suggest that in the final analysis, the poetics of interaction at work in *feste* like Pino's, and more broadly the processes of inscription and ethnomimesis at work in Salamone, are oriented in two directions. One the one hand, Salamonesi resist, by controlling the definition of contemporary realities through historical reference, a continuing process of cultural submersion to "disenchanted" metropolitan frameworks of meaning. On the other, as Marco Delpaese made explicit, and Pino's *festa* also asserts, they seek to "re-enchant" the present by embodying within it meanings derived from an idealised history.

Conclusion: Poetics and the Possession of History

The notion of expressing a contemporary sense of self in the poetic performance of a vision of the past may seem paradoxical. At the heart of the imaginative act to which such a poetics refers lies a vision of the present moving regressively towards a lifeworld more characteristic of an ordered and locally controlled, hence unalienated, past. Yet, this itself may represent an historical continuity. John Berger makes the point forcefully in his "Historical Afterward" to *Pig Earth*, where he characterises peasant society as having always been a culture of survival, emphasising the maintenance of the traditional order itself as a principal cultural value (1979:196-203). Correlated with such a culture, Berger argues, is a view of history which is cyclical, rather than linear, envisaging the future "as a sequence of repeated acts for survival" in which tradition provides the thread of continuity between acts. In this light, the Berger observes, peasant culture reverses the received evolutionary order of progress from the world of tradition towards the world of the future. Berger writes:

> The peasant sees life as an interlude because of the dual contrary movement through time of his thoughts and feelings which in turn derives from the dual nature of the peasant economy. His dream is to return to a life that is not handicapped....His ideals are located in the past; his obligations are to the future, which he himself will not live to see. After his death he will not be transported into the future - his notion of immortality is different: he will return to the past (ibid.:200-201).

This cyclical vision of time and history, if my argument holds, permeates the expressive impulse which motivates the inscription of the landscape, and the public ethnomimetic enactments (religious *feste*, the *Banda Musicale*, the *Schützen*) discussed earlier. As we have seen in this chapter, it is also the case that - at a more intimate level, in personal interactions with each other and with tourists - individual Salamonesi seek a kind of return to the interactive openness and fluidity (the context of "social grace") which stands against the more individualistic and entrepreneurial realities of contemporary life. At one level the offence caused by the tourist in the interaction described at the beginning of the previous chapter was simply that of insulting the value of locality. Probed more deeply, I suggest, his denigration of local values also negated this existential quest to differentiate identity from that of a broader milieu perceived as dehumanised and dehumanising, through modes of historical experience. His offence was a double one, for it attacked precisely those characteristics of Salamonese life

which locals feel are not only of value to them, but which, if equals were equals, would also be valued by those they play hosts to.

The ambivalences that surround the valuing of the past precisely because it negates the undesirable attributes of contemporary life, is something to which Salamonesi, like heavily touristed communities everywhere, are unusually sensitive. While the sense of the past is taken up ironically by locals in performative ways, as I have discussed in this chapter, the interpersonal politics of satire and irony are sprung, here as elsewhere, on the issue of authority. Salamonesi may be open to ironically inscribing, enacting and performatively stylising their sense of the past, but "ownership" of this process, as much as ownership of the physical infrastructures of tourism, is a matter of cultural struggle not only about what images are taken up in the process but who nominates the value and relevance of historical experience. Intrinsic to the process of resistance is the freedom to articulate not only a local history, but a local sense of how it is embedded in the present.

[1]It may be as well here to remind the reader that locals distinguish informally between several categories of visitors. Ranked in order of social distance from permanently resident "core" villagers they refer to: *emigrati* (emigrants and their descendants); *villegianti* (holiday-makers who have a history of staying in the village and/or who own second homes there); *turisti* (casual or "package" tourists who rent accomodation short-term or stay in one of the four local hotels or the "Colonia"). This categorisation is also reflected, as I have discussed, in the spatial organisation of the village, *cf. my discussion in Chapter Three*).

[2]On this role, see also Herzfeld (1985) on narratives of hunger in Glendi.

[3]This is not exclusively the case. For a number of the more affluent and better educated families in the village, *monti* especially are venues for family recreation, with women playing a prominent role in offering hospitality. This may in part reflect a historical change in the general status of women in the village, and an approximation to more urban models of sociality. The fact remains, however, that by and large, *monti* are frequently places of special significance for men, and while it would not be rare to encounter an exclusively male company there the opposite is virtually unheard of.

[4]This restaurant-hotel, in a nearby village, has figured in a number of national publications and is widely regarded as the most sophisticated of its type in the Trentino. The furnishing of the restaurant, as a mnemonic display, is extraordinary, and represents possibly one of the most extensive collections of local antique furniture and tools in the valley. The owners present an extremely extensive selection of "traditional" dishes which go well beyond the usual range offered to tourists. Diners do not order from a menu, but are offered a sequence of small servings, many dishes being based on ingredients collected from the mountainsides, or traditionally processed. As each dish appears, its ingredients and preparation are explained; an evening meal may take four to five hours to consume. In discussing their approach to food, the owners explained that they are attempting to recover culinary traditions which have been lost, and which they research through a large collection of family cookbooks and interviews with elderly locals about foods which were more extensively eaten in the past. In effect, their project is an extension of the same logic which lies behind the more general valuation of a more limited range of culinary symbols.

[5]Rosaldo (following an explicit Ilongot usage) also turns the notion of *meandering* to metaphoric use, illuminating the ways in which visiting patterns (and the patterns of social life generally) emerge from the collective intersection of the individual and autonomous lives of participants, as if the form of social life, like individual Ilongot, were journeying along a stream-bed through the forest (1993: 257; 264).

[6]Many recordings of Alpine choral music such as those of the *Coro del S.A.T.* (Societa Alpinistic Trentina), perhaps the most famous exponents of this style of song, show these choirs in Alpine settings. On occasion, their concerts are also recorded out of doors where this particular effect can be achieved.

Part Five

Cultural Disenchantment and the Force of Memory

Ch.7: Cultural Disenchantment, Modes of Historical Experience and Strategic Retreats

In the three parts of this journey following Franco's demonstration of the rock, I have endeavoured to describe as richly and tangibly as possible the modes in which Salamonesi invest the present with the power of memory, sustaining and shaping present lifeworlds through inscribed, enacted and embodied expressions of the historical sense. I doing so, I have aspired, much as he did, to invest my descriptions of how this sense-of-the-past-in-the-present is expressed with as much phenomenological immediacy as possible, convinced that this would be the best means of bringing a reader towards an understanding of the contemporary experience of Salamonesi as they negotiate their relationship to rapidly transforming cultural context.

The materials from which this journey towards a very specific reality has been constructed, (its landmarks, routes, inevitable detours) have moved from the most seemingly external dimensions (the inscription of the landscape, the space of the village), through public display and association, to what I hope will have been understood as progressively more personal, individual and intimate ones. Throughout, my most important aim has been to engage (and to engage a reader) as openly as an anthropologist in the field aspires to with, to echo Dilthey again, "what is around us", to discover in this way how meanings and identities are rooted in historical and historicised experience.

At the end of their outward journeys anthropologists, at least those also shaped by the past, by definition always leave the field, and in this and the following chapter, I am going to similarly step back to assess, from two points of view, the wider significance of the ethnographic material I have discussed . In this chapter, I take up a number of moving threads to place the experience of Salamonesi in a more global frame of reference with respect to the relationship between sense of history and identity. In the next, I return to the domain of fieldwork, but from an ambivalently-distanced perspective, to make some concluding observations about its character as a form of inquiry.

Cultural Disenchantment and Temporality

The two most influential figures of modern social philosophy, Marx and Weber, long ago identified the central cultural process of our era - the global substitution of individualist and contractual capitalist rationality for more collective and "organic" frameworks of social relationship. In the broadest terms, Marx conceptualised this transformation as an alienation founded in the development of commodity fetishism, a

process of "reification" whereby relations between people, specifically the social relations of production, assume the inert properties of commodities. Beneath it, and determining it, ultimately lay historic processes of dissolution of the relationship between workers and the land, in which individuals came to "confront all objective conditions of production as alien property" (Marx 1973: 502-503). For Weber, this alienation was conceived as the outcome of a long-standing historical trend toward "secularity" in which scientific rationality displaced the authority of magical and metaphoric thought, and formal contractual relations replaced relations based on mutual interest. Recasting Schiller, he coined what must be one of the most poignant and enduring phrases in the history of social theory to describe it, referring to the "disenchantment of the world" (die Entzauberung der Welt) (Weber 1958:105).[1] In both these readings, alienation largely figures as an outcome of relations primarily in the domain of production and work, although in the case of Weber at least, the process has far greater and hence cultural scope than the emergence of capitalist economic relations.

Later interpreters of both these depictions, most notably Lukác, the various members of the Frankfurt school, Sartre, and Bourdieu, have - in various registers - broadened the notions of "reification" and "objectification" which underpin the image of an alienated modern humankind to embrace the idea that alienation reflects a generic social condition characteristic of modern complex societies, in which individuals' intentionality is transformed by the operations of a "given" collective history. Thus, for Sartre, who made this question of the relation between the individual, the material given, and history central to the *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, alienation is the pervasive social condition of individuals whose praxis, in any domain, is dominated by the effects of the practico-inert (Sartre 1976: 71-73).[2] Similarly, Bourdieu, drawing rather more closely on the Weberian tradition, observes that adaptation by pre-capitalist peasantries to a modern economic order requires an "ensemble of knowledges...practical skills and know-how bound up with an ethos" requiring a reorganisation of the "whole of existence" (1979:7).

These contemporary formulations, whether from a predominantly Marxist orientation or a Weberian one, converge in directing our attention toward the effects of rationalisation, alienation and disenchantment in the cultural domain as definitive features of the modern (and, one might argue, post-modern) condition. Their value, in the light of this study, is that they invite us to address this historico-cultural process ethnographically as a "realignment of fundamental cultural categories"; "a process" as Holmes has put it, of "cultural disenchantment" fundamental to the constitution of contemporary lifeworlds (Holmes 1989: 10-13; 31).

Bourdieu, whose early work contains possibly the most extensive ethnographic development of the Weberian perspective, identifies the defining feature of such a realignment for peasantries in transition in terms of the dimension of temporality, both

in the mundane and cyclical senses conveyed in daily rhythms and ritual cycles tied to agricultural practice, and also with regard to the conception of historical temporality in relating past, present and future. Writing about the Kabyle, he observes:

> The disenchantment of the world coincides with the failure of the endeavour to enchant the experience of time (*la durée*) by magico-ritual stereotyping of the techniques or rituals which tended to make the unfolding of time "the moving image of eternity." So long as activity has no other goal than to ensure reproduction of the economic and social order, so long as the whole groups sets itself no other goal than to last, and objectively transforms the world without acknowledging that it does so, the acting subject lives in the very rhythm (*dure de la durée*) of the world in which he is bound up. He cannot discover himself as an historical agent whose action in the present, against the present order, is only meaningful in relation to the future and to the future order which it works to bring about. Traditionalism appears as a methodical undertaking (though not apparent to itself as such) aimed at denying the event *as* an event...(Bourdieu 1979:26-27).

Thus, while the enchanted peasantry locates the present in a literal reproduction of the past, the disenchanted individual or group negates is positioned by the rationality of a modern order in much away that they are led to negate these eternal rhythms by orienting themselves towards a future which either realistically, or more often not, aspires to realise a lifeworld in which their own agency is embodied (ibid.: 63). Whether realistic or unrealistic, in either case, a radical revision of projected relations (in the Sartrian sense) between the individual and a culturally specific historical chronology is a requirement of participation in the post-peasant cultural milieu. From the point of view of peasant society, cultural disenchantment, in other words, takes the form of an existential deformation of temporality in which individuals are alienated not only by a distortion of their relation to the world of the present, but by a displacement of their relationship with the past.

In the remainder of this chapter, I relate the modes of historical experience described in the body of this work to this more global process of cultural disenchantment, and argue that they represent a profound existential response which attempts to recapture not only a specific history, but a sense of historical continuity essential to the sense of identity and community of Salamonesi in the contemporary world.

Worker-Peasantries, Contemporary Tourism and the Sense of History

The economic and political means by which a disenchanted rationalism has developed historically are myriad. In the European case, the processes finds its roots in the economic dispossession of the agricultural peasantry and their increasing dependence, from the 17th century onwards, on incorporation within the wage-labour system. Perhaps the landmark ethnographic study of this process in Italy is Douglas Holmes' major work on the formation of a worker-peasantry and the cultural disenchantment which in part reflected this process in Friuli (Holmes 1989). As his study stands closely adjacent (both intellectually and geographically) to many of the underlying concerns of this work I turn briefly now to his argument, before seeking to extend the discussion to the contemporary milieu in Salamone.

Holmes' study of Friulian rural townspeople traces the development of a class of what he calls "urban peasants" in an historically semi-industrialised setting over several centuries. Its central thrust is to document the transformation of mundane relationships as a result of economic "rationalisation" in a world of corresponding and sometimes simultaneously contradictory cultural dispositions. While subject to powerful forces commoditising their labour, structurally diverse sub-classes of workers in Rubignacco, he argues, long sought to protect themselves from economic and cultural oppression within an alienating industrial environment by varied occupational strategies articulating autonomous agricultural work and industrial wage-labour. Within the domestic lifeworld, he suggests, they also maintained (and continue to) worldviews at odds with hegemonic frameworks of meaning.

There are several analytic foci at work in Holmes' multi-stranded ethnography, but the predominant one is an examination of the socio-historical influence of contractual labour relations on the conceptualisation of rural labour. Detailed labour contracts, common from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, and specifying in great detail a bewildering array of formal obligations, mediated, as he expresses it, a broader process through which tenant families were engaged with a formal organisation of production characteristic of the modern Friulian *latifondo*: "...the contractual instruments introduced a formal rationality that reduced various aspects of social life to easily calculable systems regulated by formal laws" (ibid:10). Overall, the process yielded a form of "bureaucratic capitalism" inimical, in its managerial orientation, to both the autonomous or semi-autonomous production strategies of the peasantry and to the reciprocal and personalised relations which underpinned them. Eventually, he concludes, because peasant orientations which maintained traditional cultural dispositions were contained within the domestic world the influence of formal

rationality in the broader external cultural domain radically undermined Friulian ethnic and political identities, reducing what were historically core existential orientations to a "sterile psychological utility" (ibid:214), consequently "subvert[ing] the formation of an independent political outlook and identity" (ibid.). Holmes' point is that the process of disenchantment *extended throughout the lifeworld of the peasant*, for even in those instances where formal rationalities were not at play, the dominance of the managerial ethic effected a repositioning of the spheres of influence of precapitalist logics, rhythms, and forms of relation, neutralising their efficacy through a practice of containment. Still, from the point of view of the lifeworld of the worker-peasant, despite this displacement of their efficacy, the meanings of the new capitalist order remained cast in the cultural framework of the old:

> The cultural orientation of the Friulian sojourner is emblematic. The experience of these individuals is ambiguous and contradictory from the standpoint of most theoretical perspectives. In Michael Taussig's words, these sojourners are the most liminal of beings: "Neither what they are, nor what they will become"...Seen in the peasant-worker context, however, the cultural stance of these sojourners gains coherence and meaning. To put it in radical terms, the peasant-worker can earn wages at the same steel mill, construction site, or coal pit as a worker, or till the same land as a peasant, yet the nature of his experience is fundamentally different. His understanding of the factory, the latifondo, the city, the state, national politics, religion, family, friends, and self are relativized by cultural ideals preserved in the routines, language, and intimacies of a most Friulian farmstead (ibid.:88).

I have greatly reduced a complex and richly detailed inquiry in the interests of drawing from it a central point, throwing into particular relief a general pattern in which a people's most fundamental existential orientations, including - if we follow Bourdieu - their sense of history was, over a considerable period of time, eroded in favour of a worldview orientated towards an ideologically constructed future. This erosion was not only pervasive, touching every dimension of the lifeworld, as Holmes has shown, but it also contradictory, for despite being displaced from the effective centre of *practices*, a traditional worldview remained the pivot of *meanings*.

The same economic processes which Holmes documents for Friuli were, in diverse ways, extensive throughout Northern Italy and the Alps in general over much the same broad period. As many of the historically-oriented ethnographers whose work was surveyed in Chapter One have documented, the same economic displacements which prevailed in Friuli had, by virtue of the almost universal integration into the wage-

labour system of modern Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, also re-structured the contemporary economic formation of virtually all Alpine communities by about the beginning of this century if not considerably earlier giving rise to a wide variety of articulations with metropolitan capital (c.f.. Cole and Wolf 1974; Guichonnet 1984; Netting 1981; Rosenberg 1988; Viazzo 1989). From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, throughout the Alpine chain, a class of people was forming who in a great variety of ways, often through occupationally specialised seasonal labour migrations, linked a communally-based agricultural economy with forms of individual wage-labour in the capitalist economy. While the process may have had different specific temporalities and resulted in varying local economic responses in the past, their prevalent and wide-ranging cultural impact was almost universally similar - the erosion of a cultural fabric, and the displacement of historical frameworks of meaning, which constituted the existential centre of local identities.

Closer to our own time, the burgeoning economic dependence on tourism, now the dominant industry of the Alps, and in the cultural domain, the increasing influence of metropolitan culture as represented by the national and regional media and by the overwhelming social presence of tourists themselves, have maintained this process of cultural disenchantment. In Salamone, from at least in the fifties and sixties, as the interview material from my informants vigorously attests, local people experienced this realignment as an increasingly powerful material and psychological alienation from their geographic, economic and historico-cultural heritage even as the new industry brought material gain. Buttressing this cultural displacement, metropolitan stereotypes also displaced the existential meanings, the sense of self embodied in the practices of the past, repositioning their significance to accommodate a tourist "gaze".

In much the same way as the contractual relations in Rubignaccio operated to transform social relations by submitting them to a dominant capitalist industrial rationale, so too, the economic relations at play in the nascent tourist industry in places like Salamone, founded often on outside investment and the development of large-scale infrastructure, was and is perceived by Salamonesi to have transformed social relations from a more collective and reciprocal network of links centred in the world of transhumant agriculture to individualised and economically competitive ones centred in the service-based tourism sector. This has happened, by and large, within the last forty years.

Thus the cultural cost of the transition from poverty to affluence via tourism was, as Marco Delpaese's comments in Chapter Five made clear, the progressive encirclement of traditional orientations and meanings, and in the present context, the alienation of subsequent generations from the historical practices and frameworks in which a distinct sense of humanity, of social equivalence, and of being Salamonese were grounded.

Intrinsic to his displacement was a process whereby not only were Salamonesi alienated from specific historical roots and events, but also from a *logic of temporality* which, as I have argued throughout this work, was central to the historical culture of the community. Adriana's comment, with which this work began, in this sense too, crystallises not only an experience of the present, but a reading of the past, and of the historical relation between them.

Re-enchantment: Modes of Historical Experience and Cultural Intimacy

In my discussion of the movement towards cultural revitalisation in Salamone in Chapters Four and Five, the same characterisation quite clearly emerges in local awareness, both as a reflection on what had gone before, and more pressingly now, as an explicit contemporary problem for individual and collective action. The essential point, from the perspective of Salamonesi is a pragmatic one: in the current context, the reflexive awareness of the pervasive historical process of disenchantment has thus engendered what one could call a programme of re-enchantment typified by strategies which might be thought of as both an attempt to control and gain from tourism and, at the same time, existentially as a series of "strategic retreats" carried out at various levels of social praxis. In this sense, unlike the history which Holmes recounts (although his later discussion of the Movimento Friuli acknowledges a similar impulse (ibid.: 217-218)), Salamonesi are actively engaged in moving tradition back to the centre, in recovering the sense of the past from those "refuges" to which it had been assigned. Pivotal to this cultural struggle is the cultural expression of historical modes of experience which validate not only a distinctive identity, and - although in multi-valent and even contradictory ways - establish cultural boundaries and communicate claims of unique locality and of status equivalence across them.

In this thesis, the existential dimension of this 'historicisation' has been my paramount concern, and my attention has focused most forcefully on the ways in which "traditional" cultural materials furnish the lives of Salamonesi with the fabric of experienced continuity. In this sense, what I have wanted to explore is a form of non-verbal narration of the role of the past, of the ways in which people, through a relation to land, to the appearance of the past as physically enacted in the present, and through the style of their encounters with others, literally embed and embody a tangible expression of what has gone before in their ongoing life-worlds. Such lived history, in an environment so heavily subject to external influence, necessarily orients itself in dual directions; in reaction to the perceptions and stereotypes, the cultural expectations and anticipations of outsiders (which are often negative), and secondly, towards the core community (which values them oppositely). Modes of historical experience are thus

shaped by contradictory discourses, and, as I have shown throughout this thesis, act to mediate the incongruent perceptions embedded in them through various the various devices of inscriptional, ethnomimetic and poetic flexibility.

In recent work, Herzfeld has taken up a parallel argument with reference to the role of the state in creating imageries of national character. Extending his early work on poetics, aboriginality and state discourse (1985, 1987) he describes the reflexively ironic dimensions of contested space such modes of historical experience inhabit as a domain of "cultural intimacy", which mediates the external imageries of the state and the experienced identities of its citizens:

> What is the common ground that ultimately dissolves the possibility of clearly defined, immutable levels of power? Here I want to argue for the centrality of *cultural intimacy* - the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality, the familiarity with the bases of power that may at one moment assure the disenfranchised a degree of creative irreverence and at the next moment reinforce the effectiveness of intimidation. Cultural intimacy may also reinforce the hand of power when its display becomes a sign of collective confidence, as in upper-class and colonial affectations of modesty. It consists in those alleged national traits...that offer citizens a sense of defiant pride in the face of more formal or official morality and, sometimes, of official disapproval too. These are the self-stereotypes that insiders express ostensibly at their own collective expense (Herzfeld 1997: 3).

While one cannot restrict modes of historical experience to ironic intention, for as we've seen they can also express unalloyed pride in locality and local identities, the notion of cultural intimacy highlights the ways in which historicized self-stereotypes can channel both "sincere" and "ironic" statements of identity. In the case of Salamonesi, the sense of cultural intimacy hinges fundamentally on the sense of possession of a unique history and a distinctive orientation to the place of the past in the present. The modes of historical experience I have described thus constitute a form of cultural intimacy which has an essential contrastive function in the expression of identity, a role which they perform through the inter-play of mutual stereotypes which simultaneously face outwards towards visitors and inwards towards the community itself. This contrastive function, as Herzfeld points out, is at the basis of what could be more generally referred to as "social poetics":

> Political identities, including nationalisms, are contrastive with
> regard to each other; this...is the basis of ethnogenesis.
> Concomitantly, such identities also become contrastive in the
> tension between self-promoting and introspective stereotypes.
> The content of these stereotypes is unstable. This is because
> what gives them their significance is not so much their actual
> form...as the social uses to which they are put. The confluence of
> stereotypes, their use in social interaction, and their necessarily
> unstable evocation of competing histories is the defining object
> of a social poetics, especially of a social poetics concerned with
> life in the context of the nation-state (ibid.:15)

What is true in this context for the nation-state holds equally, of course, in the parallel process of establishing local and regional identity within it. Thus, in Salamone, social poetics in this broader sense encompasses, and derives its expressive materials, not only from the poetics of social interaction, but other forms of expression, including the inscriptive and ethnomimetic modes I have discussed. The possession of intimate knowledge of a landscape, the positive valuation of architectural features and styles historically seen as "primitive" by the urban viewer, the celebration of traditional skills and events similarly negatively identified with "peasant" culture, support a social poetics which gives form to a continuing and mundane cultural intimacy amongst local participants and, by a similar contrastive logic, differentiate local identity from that of outsiders.

Cultural Intimacy, Cultural Stereotypes and "Hermeneutic Depth"

What makes the identity "lived-out" by these means so important for Salamonesi is the experience of agency these mechanisms of cultural intimacy allow them; the space in which to position themselves existentially in terms of, and to create life-worlds reflecting a collective rejection of aspects of the hegemonic metropolitan culture by buffering its culturally homogenizing effects. The kind of historicized sense of cultural intimacy I have been describing is thus a framework of common meaning within which Salamonesi, through the exercise of a systematic social poetics, *construct* social difference. But from the point of view of the individual, the meaning of such "intimacy" does not end with collective expression. It also furnishes to experience a dimension of what might be called, following Desjarlais, "hermeneutic depth", and allows the translation of a sense of historical continuity into a sense of personal narrative, itself foundational to any notion of experience (Desjarlais 1996:70-76) Just as the homeless described in Desjarlais' study of a Boston shelter attempt to buffer the psychological effects of a fragmented, episodic existence by the performative practice of daily rituals

of exchange and reciprocity, so too people in Salamone, assailed in other ways by alienating and stereotypical interpretations of their history and identity, construct intersubjective "strategic retreats" which reject hegemonic culture proactively. Unlike Desjarlais' radically marginalised informants, however, Salamonesi largely succeed in establishing a collective and individual unity and coherence to their experience, precisely by inserting it into a continuous and distinctive intimacy which links space, place, time and sense of self through modes of historical experience.[3]

This is, as I have described it, largely a pragmatic exercise. Modes of historical or historicising experience are also modes of experiencing history; the ideal life for Salamonesi is premised on an experiential seamlessness of past and present. Being "at home" in the landscape, inscribing the past in the appearance of the village, re-enacting historical roles and skills, presenting local foods, the revival or creation of "traditional" songs and the public use of dialect, are reflexive activities aimed forcefully at creating idioms of collective sociality, of culturally intimate con-geniality, in which a shared sense of self may be founded on the notion of a shared unique and immutable past.

All identities pivot on such constructed essentialisms. Drawn, as in Salamone, from diverse historical sources, what people perceive as essential and distinguishing attributes of self and group identity derive their force from collective recognition. As collective frameworks of self-hood, however, constellations of historicized experiences do not determine individual identities; what they do do, nonetheless, is provide the existential bedrock to which individual selfhoods can most securely be anchored. History, in particular, offers fertile ground here, for although we cannot speak of History, in the objective sense, experientially, the past is a common idiom, a mutual and therefore relatively stable language, even if its specific and detailed lexicon can be endlessly contested and reconstrued in the present.

Perhaps it is this flexibility in the use of historical materials which allows marginalised individuals and communities to slide so easily between a reflexive and ironic sense of continuity and the notion of a determined present. Rhetorically, a primary means of working with this ambiguity is through the discursive use of stereotypes, as in my interpretation of the local "anthem", "A La Moda dai Salamun", and of the practical joke played on Celedonio. The always recognised tension between History and history, in this sense, is the seedbed for the interplay between stereotype and ironic self-reflection, as Herzfeld points out:

> Stereotypes appear correct to those who espouse them *because* they reduce all members of a population to a manageable iconicity, while those who apply stereotypes to themselves may...be ironically ridiculing the majority populations blithe assertions of superiority to those who are simply different and

therefore stereotypically all alike - a classically Eurocentric view
(Herzfeld 1997:31-32).

Stereotypes, then, are essentially "essentialising", an operation they perform as tropes with reference to a history, an observed past, either by reducing it or negating it entirely. Anthropologists, as I argued in Chapter One, like tourists, have not been immune to the power which reduction offers.

Given this reductive fact, the ability to take up stereotypes and to dispose them differently, to redeploy them as it were, in a strategic fashion, to deflect their meanings and revalue them in a local context is important to Salamonesi for two reasons. Firstly, because such stereotypes are founded on historical imageries they are a means of *possessing a history*, something negated by the wider traditions of Mediterranean and European urbocentric "high culture." Secondly, through inversion and the play of irony, the manipulation of stereotypes allows Salamonesi to assert something about the nature of such history, of the connection between past and present; inverted stereotypes, like other forms of displayed identity, are a basic performative material through which a particular and distinctive past may be narrated.

The notions of possession and particularity, linked to continuity, are apodictic dimensions of experience defining an experience as distinct from the generic flow of being in the world. The possibility of investing the self in a flow of time and event and of seeing that investment as unique and particular constitute for individuals (and I would argue collectivities) a fundamental parameter of intentionality or of agency. Without them, experience is impossible, and so is history, even in the relative sense in which I have employed the term in this work. Accounting for the past in relation to the present is what gives individual lives meaning, "hermeneutic depth"; it is also what constitutes the sphere of cultural intimacy, on which identity is founded.

Conclusion: Structural Nostalgia?

That such accounts - whether individual life-histories or collective myths - are often idealised is easily understandable. The image of a "golden age", as Herzfeld points out (1997: 109), paradoxically provides both a legitimation of the present by essentialising contemporary truths as permanent and offers an explanation of the "fall from grace" of contemporary life as historical contingency. The kind of cultural intimacy I have been discussing is thus also - at least partially - founded on what Herzfeld calls "structural nostalgia", "the collective representation of an Edenic order - a time before time - in which the balanced perfection of social relations has not yet suffered the decay that affects everything human" (ibid.). Like the cultural intimacies which buttress state imageries of national character, structural nostalgia operates discursively to legitimate

interventions of the state, and reactively, also to justify resistances to them. Again, the same logic applies in the dialectic between local and regional identities.

There is a temptation to interpret the modes of historical experience I have been discussing in this light, to see in them the operation of a strategising rationality or discourse which legitimates claims to status and for the economic, political and cultural resources of the nation. But this, the image I have been constructing throughout these last chapters should suggest, is only one side of a necessarily dialectical picture. Such strategising, as I have argued, is also about "survival"; a constellation of defensive manoeuvres which preserve for Salamonesi the sense of individual and collective projects which reflect a localised totalisation of their historical context. Salamonesi do not maintain that the "peasant'" past was perfect, but rather that, despite its hardships, it was a past in which local autonomy allowed the expression of a unique culture reproduced from generation to generation. That past, although idealised, is not in this sense "Edenic", for it is within living memory, and its traces, like Franco's rock, still tangible although eroding. Thus, while like an Edenic order the past figures as a time in which the reciprocities of social life had a more mutual and satisfying character, unlike the pre-lapsarian state of grace it is also one marred by "miseria", a condition to which no-one desires to return.

Thus, there is something more at play here than a merely discursive deployment of "structural nostalgia", for Salamonesi explicitly acknowledge that the present is, in important material respects, an improvement and the future promises even better prospects. Their situation is, again, a typically contradictory one; informed both by a yearning for the sociality of the past and an attachment to a material present that, in numerous respects, has displaced it. The process of re-enchantment in which they are engaged is therefore necessarily a selective one, and the forces which operate toward centralising certain practices and eliding others are not only calculations of political strategy but also, and with at least equal salience, the search for coherence in a present lifeworld. Salamonesi are engaged in the business of carving out local meanings from fragmentary and only partially local contexts, and while this is importantly a dialectical process of negotiation with the surrounding metropolitan culture, it is also experienced as to a degree an autarkic one, in form both strictly localised and culturally introspective.

The ultimately undefinable contemporaeniety of a sensibility that moves between and mediates so fluidly the contradictions of History and history, of local and national cultures were poignantly brought home to me the night before the end of my last visit to Salamone. It was the evening of the *festa* for San Giuliano, and after packing, my wife and I walked up the main road to the centre of the village to say farewell to friends. The *piazza* was crowded with locals and tourists, eating and drinking in the street, and
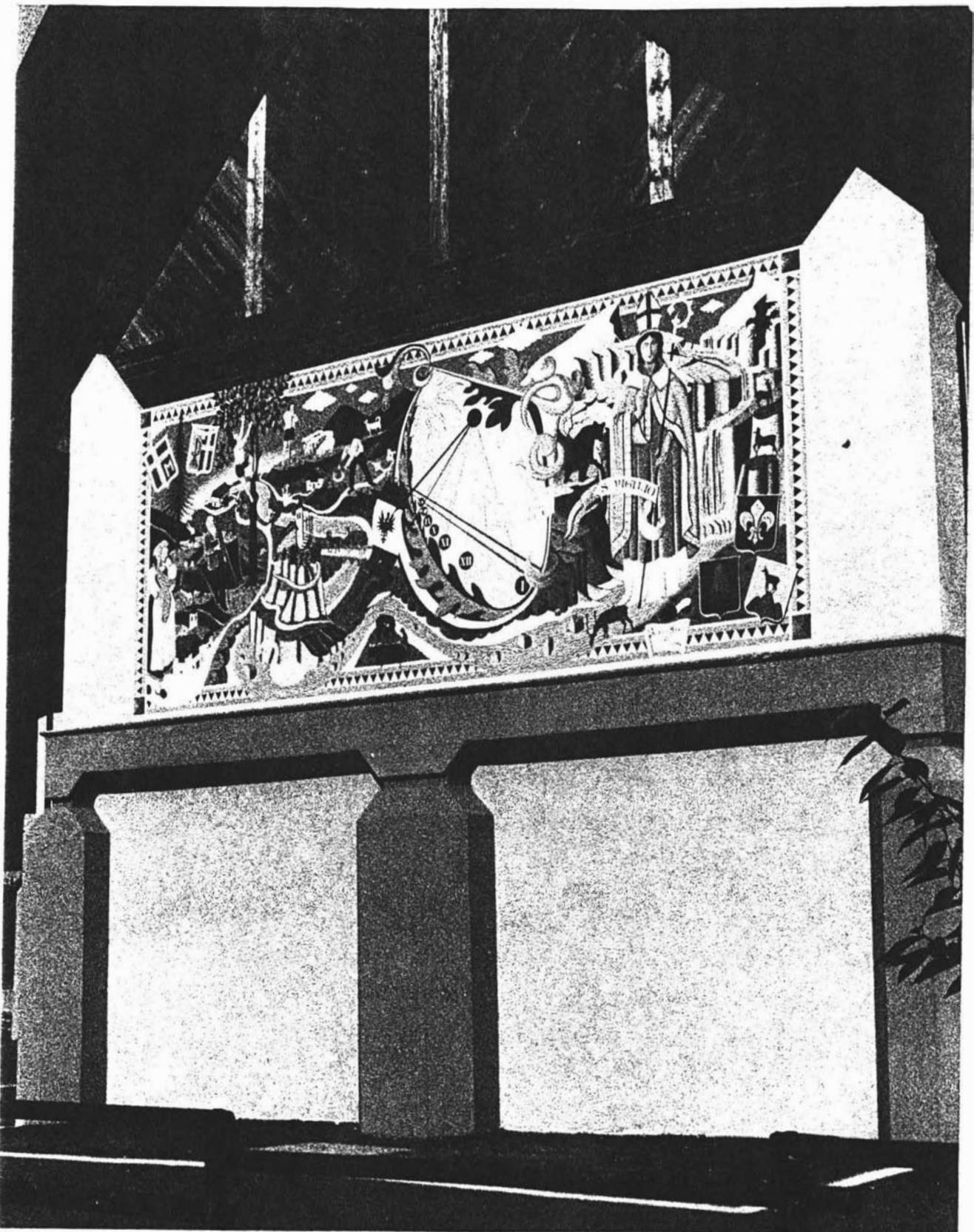
Gulio Tolei's mural on the Oratorio 1995 (Phot.: KR)

listening to a concert given by the *Banda Comunale*. A local painter, Giulio Tolei, who I had spent a lot of time with in the previous weeks, talking as he completed a major *al fresco* on the wall of the new *Oratorio*, invited us up to his apartment for a last drink together. The mural, now complete, had been one of his most challenging commissions he said, for it had to tell the history of the valley in a single mural space. Inherently, the design posed great problems of selection and formal representation, much different from the religious paintings which he restored or created on family houses in the village, and which generally comprised a single iconic image. Giulio had resolved this by making the River Sarca, which boundaries the terrain of the village, the linking motif of his mural: on its banks, as the river flowed, the significant events of local history unfolded.

As we entered his apartment in the loft of an old building in the *centro storico* where my wife and I had also lived years before, I was amazed to find the walls covered with abstracts and studies in modern art in after Rothko, Jasper Johns, de Koonig and Warhol, many on American themes. When I asked Giulio about these paintings, he said he no longer cared for them: "'Yes", he commented, "this is a phase which, like many other Italians, I had to pass through. This kind of art doesn't interest me anymore." And as I left, he made me a gift of one of his more recent paintings, a Madonna and Child resembling a Greek icon, painted in acrylic on a piece of wood from the roof of the building we were in. Embedded in it were still the hand-forged nails used when it had been built, some four hundred years ago.

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[1]"The great historical process of disenchantment of the world, which began in conjunction with Hellenic scientific thinking, condemned all magical means of salvation as superstition and blasphemy, was here [in the Protestant Reformation] completed" (Weber, in Holmes 1989:219).

[2]As Poster observes, this broader conception of alienation represents a departure within the Marxist tradition, opening the concept to other forms of human oppression beyond the labour situation:

> It can be argued that Sartre's expansion of the concept of alienation to the practico-inert in general provides a superior basis for critical theory to that of Marx. If Sartre's concept of alienation were no more than a complaint about otherness, a protest against the individuals non-identity, it would be useless for marxism. Since his concept of alienation is rather an attempt to make intelligible all the forms through which praxis becomes lost and opposed to its creators, Sartre has introduced into marxism a deeper comprehension of social misery. The connection between the practico-inert and alienation enables the critical historian to explore the multitudinous forms that inhumanity has taken in the process of overcoming scarcity. Sartre's contention deserves serious consideration: human beings have been alienated not only by the capitalist organisation of labour but by all actions which introduce into human affairs the counter-finality of the practico-inert (Poster 1982: 64, *my emphasis*).

[3]Desjarlais' study springboards a reflection on, and rejection of experience as a universal and essential cultural category by examining what must be considered an extreme negative case, a kind of example at the limit, one in which lifeworlds are so shattered by contingency and marginalisation that continuous narratives of the self are impossible. I do not suggest here that the case of Salamonesi is similar in this respect, but rather that the impulse to construct coherence through continuity is similar and may be extended from the individual to the collectivity.

Ch.8: If Not the Words: Friendship, Shared Experience and Anthropological Inquiry

In a few months time, I will be returning again to Salamone to present this work to the people I have written about. Contemplating this journey, I find myself constantly travelling in thought between antipodes, both geographical and intellectual. The geographical poles are obvious - the intellectual ones perhaps less so, interwoven as they have been throughout this work. I signalled in my introduction that this work would find its space between "two continuous and moving threads"; the lives of the people of Salamone and my engagement with them on the one hand, and on the other, a reflection on the practice of anthropology. In this chapter, which stands somewhere between a methodological "Coda" and a reflexive summation of the existential inquiry this dissertation has been, I highlight the second of these moving threads, even if - in the final analysis - it can never be truly disentangled from the first.

Thus here, I make central the memory of friendships, some of which are about to be renewed. Pivoting on a very partial account of these, I make my own engagement with particular friends a focus in order to examine reflexively the conditions of production, as it were, of the ethnographic interpretations which have formed this work. In doing so, I discuss both the significance of friendship itself in a wider optic, and my own experience of it in Salamone. I suggest that there are systematic discursive and existential reasons why fieldworkers are ambivalent about the notion of friendship. These reflections provide a point of entry into a consideration of the anthropologically vexed area of the phenomenological description of friendship, its role and nature in fieldwork, and what the experience of friendship, so fundamental to everything I have written, suggests about the nature of anthropological inquiry and the philosophical orientations of the discipline.

Two First Encounters

I first arrived in Salamone in early winter, a few weeks before Christmas 1980. I had spent a month travelling and walking throughout the Alps searching for a fieldwork site, until at dinner one night in Milano, friends of my host invited me to use their holiday-house there for a week or so while I assessed whether this village might prove suitable. They themselves would be there for the weekend and would introduce me to people in the village and show me how things worked at their place. On that first trip, discovering that Salamone offered exactly what I had been searching for, I stayed on for almost two years.

The first person I met in the village was Pier Paolo. Carlo, my Milanese contact, who had met the bus, took me into the *salumeria* (delicatessen) and introduced us. It was a quiet time of day, and Pier Paolo led us out the back to admire a batch of *salami* he was hanging to season in the cool cellar behind the shop. The smell there was marvellous and completely unfamiliar; a pungent mixture of odours of salted meat, garlic, spilled wine and the damp pine sawdust on the stone floors, so powerfully intoxicating as to distract me while he talked of the tradition of *salami* making in the village.

On the wall of the dark corridor leading to the cellar hung a photograph of Pier Paolo's great-uncle, who had been a delegate to the parliament at Innsbruck in the nineteenth century. Like Pier Paolo himself, his brother, his father, and many generations of men from this village who came after him, he too had been a *salumiere* before being elected. Pier Paolo's family, I learnt in those few minutes, had once been substantial peasants, gradually moving into business and playing a central part in local politics.

When I explained my reasons for coming to Salamone, Pier Paolo responded enthusiastically by telling me about his activities in ecological politics, and the current plans to turn the mountains surrounding the valley into a national park. There was considerable local discussion, he assured me, about the issues which interested me, and he invited me to have dinner at his home next day to meet his family and talk further. He also offered to introduce me to people he thought could be helpful with my research on the social history of the village, and others who were involved in various local organisations concerned with tourism. He was very animated and positive; as Carlo and I left, I remember feeling, with complete astonishment, that my fieldwork had already begun, literally within moments of arriving.

A few days after this, I met Augusto, or rather, he made a point of meeting me. I was working in the woods above Gablan, concentrating on preserving my hands and feet while I cut wood with a chainsaw, a tool that was new to me. I was working slowly, methodically, and with a reasonable degree of success, when I had the vague but unmistakable feeling that someone was watching me. I turned and saw an old man dressed in check shirt and jacket, rough trousers and mountain boots leaning on a stick observing me silently from a few feet away.

"Siete pratico?" he asked, which after a moment I realised meant "Are you experienced [at this work]?"

I bent the truth a little and said I was, explaining that where I came from, in New Zealand, we heated our houses with wood mainly, and unlike Italy, only rarely had central heating. Augusto made no comment, then introduced himself as the *proprietario* (landowner) who had sold this piece of hillside to Carlo and Monica, telling me that he still made hay on the terraced pastures around the house. I asked about the boundaries,

and he pointed them out precisely, indicating a rock here, there a line of old chestnut trees, and finally, a small gully to our left where, in late afternoon, he said, roe-deer came down to drink. As he did this, there was in his manner a great gentleness; in his talk, a kind of open, non-judgmental curiosity which I liked immediately.

We fell into conversation. Augusto asked about my work and what New Zealand was like. He told me about himself, his family, the names in Italian and dialect of the various trees and plants we could see. He was surprised to have found an academic working with a chainsaw.

Both these relationships, begun in the first few week of my fieldwork, became friendships which lasted through various successes and troubles in our separate lives. Over the intervening years, Pier Paolo lost his first wife in tragic circumstances, remarried and then separated. His children grew, became teenagers; the *salumeria* was sold to the village Cooperativa and eventually turned into its meat-processing area. Pier Paulo struggled to find a new direction, re-trained and developed another career. During this period, he transformed himself, professionally and also personally. The enthusiastic *salumiere* became a rather more reserved and urbane businessman, who, in his increased leisure-time, began to explore the *vie ferrate* (fixed-rope routes) on the Dolomites. He travelled more, developed his long-standing love of choral music and became active in organising various music groups locally.

Augusto too lost his wife, Francesca, a couple of years before his own death, and his last years were a time of sadly endured domestic solitude, cared for by his sons and daughters-in-law. Eventually, he stopped going out to the fields at Gablan, began attending Mass in the mornings, and spent his afternoons playing cards, local games like *Tre-sette* or *Briscola,* in the cafés with his contemporaries. His remained an active life for a man of his age (he was in his mid-eighties when he died), though, in letters to me in New Zealand, he wrote that he was melancholy, and feared he was losing his memory.

Over the same period, I married, had children, and fought, for a couple of years, a prolonged illness which kept me away from Salamone for some time. I found I spent less time mountaineering, a life-long passion, becoming absorbed in academic work and by the world of home and children in a way that I would not have understood, I now think to my detriment, at the time that I began fieldwork.

In the fifteen years so since I had met Augusto and Pier Paolo I visited the village another five times, alone or with my wife Judith, sometimes for six or seven months, at others for a only a few days while in Europe for other reasons.[1] Each time returning, whether the visit was long or short, I experienced that confusing mixture of feelings characteristic, I suspect, of all ethnographers going back to a place where they have done fieldwork and which comes to me now as I think about returning: anticipatory

pleasure at seeing again old and new friends, anxiety about how what one has written will be received, and hope for future projects. The first page from my notes from a short visit in 1990, when my wife and I were expecting our first child, reflects this:

> (6 November 1990)
>
> Arriving, again, in Salamone, laden with New Zealand gifts, Carver's poems and short stories, tapes of Barber's and Rodrigo's music. In the dark, glimpses of snow: at the Bar al Mulino, a familiar back curved over a glass of wine...a square of light on the *piazzetta*, construction barriers and cars streaming through the centre of the village.
>
> To Giovanna and Fabio Mengoni's...Giovanna so warm and welcoming with presents for the future baby ("...a la futura mammina, che da noi portano fortuna" ["...to the future little-mother, for us they (the gifts) bring good luck"]). Their flat, as ever, spotless--the craft of public housewifery showing--a glass of white and news. Fabio a councillor, Marco Delpaese "Sindaco" (mayor) (finally), Sergio Delpaese to marry, after so many false starts...so many threads picked up instantly from the last visit, less than 2 years ago.
>
> Though almost ten since I started--December 9th, 1980 the day I arrived on the same bus, perhaps even the same driver, to be met by Carlo and accompanied to meet Pier Paolo at the *salumeria* (now long gone) and for a drink at the Bar al Mulino, changed but somehow still the same.
>
> How to measure 10 years - the jumble of continuities and ruptures, Salamone's and my own? All the notebooks, searching for some sense of it, of a story, theme, uniting thread: when all there is are the fragments of people's lives, changing, reforming, moving through and towards other shapes, themselves moving towards yet other shapes and projects, never fixed or defined for even a moment.
>
> What does remain, and is renewed each time after the initial anxiety is the sense of the familiar, even if only half-caught, like someone's voice echoing down a hall - the wave of sound, if not the words.

Now, after so many years of visiting, thinking about, and describing Salamone this half-caught wave of sound or sense has become a part of my life which I cannot simply reduce to the activity of carrying out ethnographic research. As with most anthropologists who carry out long-term fieldwork, the memory of place and people is

so deeply inscribed in my own experience that it has come to form part of my own transposable history. Completing this dissertation, and thinking now about returning again, something other than words is already flooding back. I find myself re-reading old notes trying to decipher its form, hungering for *polenta* and *salami* in the evening, browsing old photographs and looking, implausibly, for the faces they record in street crowds on the other side of the world. Having written so much about memory, the sense of the past in the present, and the ways in which historical experience provides an idiom of intimacy, I am caught again by a deep curiosity about the ways in which, transposed to the personal, memory and commonality are so indissolubly mixed, and how they have shaped what I have written.

The "Natural Standpoint" and Its Ironic Suspension

I am certain that many ethnographers recall the potent yet qualified feeling of familiarity about returning which is described in my notes, and rely on it to re-orient themselves in the field. This learned yet backgrounded familiarity, the ability to take certain things in another setting "for granted" is in some intangible way is part of what we mean when we speak of someone as a being an accomplished ethnographer, yet, in producing ethnographies, most of us relegate this sense to the sphere of the intangible and hence inexplicable, useless for our attempts to generate anthropological knowledge.

Husserl describes this domain of the unquestioned familiar as an immediately intuited *"world of facts and affairs*, but, with the same immediacy, as a *world of values*, a *world of goods*, a *practical world"* (Husserl 1967:73-74). It is, he says, an amalgam of both immediate perception and "a dimly apprehended depth or fringe of indeterminate reality" (ibid.:69). It is the pre-reflexive *topos* of what we accept, assume, preconceive, without knowing that we do so. He calls it "the natural standpoint" and describes it as *"prior to all 'theory'"* (ibid.:73).

In attempting to fix "the natural standpoint" we are dealing with everything that we know, without *consciously* knowing it, in order to foreground any perception or conception of discrete experience. It is the intangible, phenomenal knowledge from which experience*s*, meanings and ultimately narratives, are born. The "natural standpoint" is thus constitutive of the *flow* of experience, forming the bedrock from which, by virtue of verbalisation, accounts are hewn.

Despite this, it remains shadowy from the point of view of representing ethnographic realities. Writing earlier about Franco's gestures at the rock, or the pace of "*la compagnia*" preparing Pino's festa, about the smell of Pier Paolo's cellar, and endeavouring to make these things stand *in themselves*, I have tried to approach them, conscious at the same time of breaking with that unstated convention whereby raw,

immediate, intuited social experience is discounted in favour of theorisation. Yet, these are the things which, both in the first instance and in memory - engage me with Salamone, and are the ground, in a literal sense, on which I am able to stand when I return there.

I want to suggest that for anthropologists in the field, this backgrounded, umbral aspect of experience is both foundational to understanding and yet neglected for systematic experiential and discursive reasons. These reasons are intrinsic to the existential character of the fieldwork situation and to the process of moving from immediate experience to ethnographic account. They have to do with the nature of anthropological encounters as lived *towards* the writing of ethnography, and as I argue below, deeply affect the social role of the ethnographer, his/her relationships in the field, and the accounts s/he produces.

The textual reductions practised by anthropologists have by now, of course, been almost overly discussed in the literature (Clifford 1988; Geertz 1988; Marcus and Fischer 1986; Rosaldo 1989). What has been less remarked is that this representational reduction is effected in two directions, and is not only discursive but also existential. The anthropologist lives partial realities in the field for many reasons: one of them is the necessity of shaping experience toward representation. In this sense, the discursive objectives of anthropological research lead fieldworkers to (re-)shape experience both *retrospectively* (s/he shapes the account of that experience narratively) but also, and prior to this, *projectively* (the ethnographer lives experience towards a text).

To live a moment through the optic of research, with the ulterior motive of representation, is already, *at the outset*, to be committed to the construction of a deeply interpreted, hence selective, experience. [2] The social reality of the ethnographer, in this sense as much as all the others, is existentially different from that of the people with whom we work. Representation constitutes our "project", our means of making totalising sense of experience. The poetics and politics of fieldwork are framed by this ultimate objective.

While such an existential project may (rarely) coincide with the intentions and experiences of those we work with, the more typical case is one of experiential disjuncture, rendering interpretation more complex, multiplying significances and meanings. In itself, the sheer fact of experiencing projectively sets up ambiguous correspondences and contradictions between the anthropologist's and informant's lifeworlds.

This disjuncture struck me very forcibly after Augusto's death, one evening as I sat writing up some notes a few days after his sad, rainy funeral. His intellectual generosity, his willingness to impart knowledge of the transhumance system and of life at the *malghe*, his sharing of the of the detail of village history glimpsed at our first

meeting had extended over the years, and crucially helped foster my first clear picture of what life in Salamone had been like, before tourism transformed it. His sense of continuity was powerful, rooted in his own daily work as a *contadino (*peasant), a word he used with pride. He had told me once, as we were haymaking together, that he had used the same scythe for more than sixty summers: "the blades have changed", he said, "but it's always been the same handle."

By contrast, the early evening had been spent visiting Pier Paolo and his second wife, Carla. Pier Paolo, elegantly dressed and sporting an expensive new watch, was talking about the difficulties he had faced in re-training as an investment broker, how stressful he had found the examinations and how satisfied he felt that he had been able to achieve a new direction. His conversation on this theme was occasionally studded with stories about his and my experiences together in the past, largely for the benefit of Carla and Jude. As he spoke he absent-mindedly adjusted his tie, glanced at his watch, attended to our drinks from an elegantly designed and well-stocked bar beside the sofa.

Entertaining us in his own home in this way, Pier Paolo might have stepped from the pages of one of the glossy Italian life-style magazines, a portrait of the successful, urbane entrepreneur. The memory of him sitting in his battered three-wheeler delivery van a few years earlier, smiling happily as I took his photograph, surged into my mind, then quickly disappeared.

Pier Paolo was, indeed, a "changed man", and saw himself as one: happy that he had re-married, and that his professional horizons had expanded. His story was a tale of hard-won transformation. As he spoke, I was struck by Don Giustino's words about Augusto at the memorial Mass - *"era un uomo umile"* ("he was a humble man") - a requiem for a villager of the old type. The conversation with Pier Paolo made it clear that he thought of himself as a new type. Even as he spoke, Pier Paolo's telling of his recent experience suggested itself as a way of making an anthropological point. Later, remembering Augusto, thinking of Pier Paolo, I wrote:

> (8 Feb 1987)
>
> Pier Paolo is, in his own eyes, the exemplar, perhaps, of the peasant made good: from peasant to artisan to manager or professional. The story he is telling, at another level, is also...the sociological narrative of this valley, one which is given poignant contrast by Augusto's funeral, its sense of a continuity lost. For where Augusto was the man unmade by these times (his life and style having moved from centre-stage), Pier Paolo is the man who is made by them, or is given the space to make himself in them...

> ...All of this, of course, amounts to another kind of performance - my own performance (increasingly suspect) of an act of anthropological interpretation whereby I reduce this lived experience to a kind of sociological narrative in which Augusto and Pier Paolo play the role of dramatic tokens in another kind of play...

Pier Paolo's story was, of course, like many one is told in the field, *already* a sociological narrative, if cast as a moral tale about progress, which became embedded in my own. Like me writing my notes at the time, and as I have done throughout this work, he was also narrating several histories; related through a series of equivalences between his view of change in the valley and the changes in his own life. At this level, there was a certain coincidence between his narrative and my own.

But how close was it? The stories we (locals/anthropologists) might tell, the metaphors we establish, even biographical/historical equivalences, might be similar, but the import and experiential intensity is radically different. The emotional point of Pier Paolo's account of his own transformation was precisely that of explaining/performing to a friend the nature of his own intentions; my story, at this moment, became one in which Pier Paolo typified structural changes in the valley. While the outer surfaces might seem similar, the core of meaning, in my telling, involved a reduction away from experience; in Pier Paolo's a *revelation* of it.

Reflecting later on this evening it struck me again, though here experientially rather than discursively, the extent to which my project collided with that of my friends, creating a degree of what one might call "epistemological violence" which distorted my understanding of this situation and perhaps of many others. Although disturbed by this realisation, as time has passed, I have come to appreciate that many fieldworkers' relationships or moments within them are typified by similar existential ambiguities and narrative expectations. Handelman, for example, has written movingly about his relationship with the Washo shaman, Henry Rupert, describing their engagement, initially at least and on Handelman's part, as a form of "projective typification"; Handelman saw Rupert as an informant, while the latter was seeking someone to whom he could genuinely pass his practical knowledge (Handelman 1993: 136; 143-44). Likewise Crick, in recounting his obviously close relationship with "Ali", a street-trader in Sri Lanka, finds the instrumentalisation of anthropologist's relationships in the field so problematic that he is led to question whether it is ever appropriate to use the term "friend" in this context (Crick 1989b). It appears that many anthropologists find or construct friendships in the field which are framed in terms of projective typification, emotional dependency, instrumentalisation or other forms of psychological boundarying

which they contrast with the mutuality, compatibility, recreation and openness conceived of as more typical of their relationships at home.

Some years ago, Geertz, on a somewhat broader canvas, found the same note when he wrote:

> Usually the sense of being members, however temporarily, insecurely, and incompletely, of a single moral community, can be maintained even in the face of wider social realities which press in at almost every moment to deny it. It is fiction - fiction, not falsehood - that lies at the very heart of successful anthropological field research; and because it is never completely convincing for any of the participants, it renders such research, considered as a form of conduct, continuously ironic (1968: 154).

Perhaps the crucial word in this passage is "conduct", for the moral irony operating here is not only contextual or political. More immediately at issue is what might be termed, following the argument I made in the last chapter, the "poetics of encounter" of fieldwork, the meaning and performance of self-hood and relationship. Ultimately at stake is the fieldworker's possibilities of approach to the "natural standpoint" of those s/he lives with and engage with it, as far as possible, within his or her own experience.

"Resonance" and Mutuality

This recognition of the ironic existential context for the research practice of the most humanistic of social scientific disciplines has been, in recent years, the strongest driving force behind the deep impulse towards reflexivity anthropology and cognate disciplines. However, the problem of thinking through the epistemological question of appropriate method, strategy, or stance has remained problematic. Strongly articulated recent reactions to the "interpretive turn", wrongly construed as a form of idealism, from genetic structuralists (Bourdieu 1990), neo-Marxists (Roseberry 1989), or neomodernists (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992), side-step the issue by encouraging us to return to principally structural or textual analyses. Yet the pivotal epistemological question posed by an existentially and phenomenologically informed anthropology simply will not go away. Is there, we continue to ask, a way of moving beyond this situation of colliding projects and "continuous irony" towards forms of inquiry which ground themselves more easily in the unquestioned field of meanings of others?

A useful entry-point to a consideration of the issue is provided by Merleau-Ponty in *Phenomenology of Perception*. Arguing against sensationalism, on the one hand, and transcendental idealism on the other he, early in this work, establishes one of its central

themes, arguing that it is meaningless to see perception as divorceable from the world which it grasps. On this understanding, the phenomenological method, unlike the textual and experiential reductions I have discussed above is less an act of translation than one of rediscovery:

> The eidetic reduction is, on the other hand, the determination to bring the world to light as it is before any falling · back on ourselves has occurred, it is the ambition to make reflection emulate the unreflective life of consciousness....The self-evidence of perception is not adequate thought or apodeictic self-evidence. The world is not what I think, but what I live through....(Merleau-Ponty 1962:xvi-xvii).

With the later Husserl, Merleau-Ponty holds that our perception of the material world is intrinsically engaged, practical and embodied. In the social field, knowledge is founded in the intersubjective fabric of the lived experience of relationship or, as in R.D. Laing's phrase, in "inter-experience" (ibid: 364; Laing 1967:17).

Similarly, in some non-western cultures, this idea is rendered explicit as both epistemology and moral schema. As Uni Wikan has elegantly described, in Balinese thought, for example, the notion of *ngelah keneh* ("creating resonance") describes both a dimension of relationship and a complex epistemology in which feeling and thinking are not radically distinguished (Wikan 1990: 268-276). Resonant feeling/thinking allows balanced and ethical understanding to emerge. In this way, Balinese epistemology bases itself in a deep sense of shared being n which mutuality forms the ground of social understanding. Flowing from this, Wikan observes, the Balinese notion of resonance extends to an explicit rejection of forms of social knowledge which are based on ontologically and emotionally disengaged intellection alone. As her discussions with friends and colleagues demonstrate, this provides the Balinese with a trenchant critique of forms of anthropological knowledge about their culture in which such mutuality of experience is neglected (ibid.:282-83).

This Balinese construction and critique "resonate" strongly, in another sense, with Merleau-Ponty's discussion of "Other People and the Human World" (1962:346-365) . Like the Balinese, Merleau-Ponty insists that our engagement with, and our relationship to others in the social world is never objectified because we can never existentially remove ourselves from it:

> We must therefore rediscover, after the natural world, the social world, not as an object or sum of objects, but as a permanent field or dimension of existence: I may well turn away from it, but not cease to be situated relatively to it. Our relationship to

> the social is, like our relationship to the world, deeper than any
> express perception or any judgement. (1962:362)

The social thus possesses, Merleau-Ponty insists, an "existential modality" founded in interexperience not reducible to object relations between social players. Similarly, though expressed in a different idiom, for Wikan's Balinese friends, resonant engagement is an inseparable mode of both being-in and knowing-of the world (*mekeneh*). *Negelah keneh* is thus both conceptually foundational, and at the same moment, profoundly *practical* in that it allows *mekeneh* to exist (Wikan 1990:275-277).

From the Balinese perspective, as from that of phenomenological philosophy, the dominant Western episteme which effects an objectifying theoretical reduction on experience and lived relationship is itself irrational. Both these standpoints insist that knowledge of the social, to echo Wilhelm Dilthey's beautiful phrase, consists in the "rediscovery of the I in the Thou".

This rediscovery is the same one which every anthropologist performs in the construction of friendships in and out of the field. What is remarkable, although generally unremarked in the anthropological literature, is the extent to which relationships founded in recognition of mutuality provide both the conditions under which fieldworkers are able to exist as real social beings at their fieldwork sites, and the source of much of what we consider data. What Balinese epistemology asserts, as does the phenomenological argument, is that the discovery of mutuality is both intrinsic to our definitions of self and other and existentially prior to and foundational of other knowledge of the social.

The Practical Space of Friendship

In the conduct of fieldwork, the existential marginality and ulterior motives of the fieldworker mitigate against this realisation. The reasons are complex and often personal; more generally, the nature of fieldwork as a culturally dislocated experience encourages forms of engagement and disengagement, styles and rhythms of sociability, which contrast with those the anthropologist experiences in his or her own culture. One of the most transformative and unsettling aspects, and one of the most often remarked, is the mutation of the ethnographers sense of self as a result of this contrast (Crick 1989a).

A chief aspect of this is how we participate, or fail to, in the flow of practical, daily activities of the people around us. Informally, fieldworking anthropologists have often contrasted accounts of intensive, methodologically systematic, primarily verbal research activity with descriptions of the lived-experience of fieldwork as characterised by long periods of waiting, "down-times", failures to connect with activities or people seen as

necessary to furthering their projects. Frequently, such periods are described as filled with displacement activities which relieve the stress of existence in an unfamiliar culture by disengaging one from one's cultural surroundings.

Such accounts may be symptomatic of many ethnographers' self-perceived need to effect a psychological and sometimes physical distancing from the repetitive and mundane actions of local people to better observe and document them. Indeed, when similarly mundane tasks are performed by anthropologists, they are often considered irrelevant to the main purposes of fieldwork itself, or merely unilluminating, precisely because of their immediately pragmatic character (Jackson 1989: 134). At another level, however, this detachment, and the displacements which accompany it, echo the dualistic detachment effected in Western culture between the activities of the mind and those of the body.

In as far as it is shaped by this intellectually privileged and privileging framework, at an immediate level, the fieldworker impoverishes his or her experience of the sensual dimension of the life-world by removing themselves from the sensate patterns and rhythms which furnish its texture and fabric.[3] Jackson has made this point with regard to the specific question of the phenomenological understanding of bodily practices:

> If we construe anthropological understanding as principally a language game in which semiotic values are assigned to bodily practices, then we can be sure that in the measure that the people we study make nothing of their practices outside of a living, we will make anything of them within reason. But if we take anthropological understanding to be first and foremost a way of acquiring social and practical skills without any *a priori* assumptions about their significance or function, then a different kind of knowledge follows. By avoiding the solipsism and ethnocentrism that pervade much symbolic analysis, an empathic understanding may be bodied forth (ibid) .

In searching for such empathic understanding of embodied practices, Jackson encourages us to think towards an analogical and "mimetic" mode of anthropological inquiry in which the practice of physical tasks informs an embodied understanding of others' experience. The "methodological strategy" of allowing participation to be an end in itself, he argues, "of literally putting oneself in the place of the other person", is necessary in order to grasp the embodied sense of an activity (ibid:135-136).

In a comparable way, I maintain that empathic relationships, characterised by the emotions and practices of affection, loyalty, trust, and finally revelation, are fostered primarily by and through the sharing of embodied practical experience. The point can be made even more strongly, as does the philosopher Elizabeth Telfer who suggests that

such "shared activity" is a *necessary*, if not sufficient condition for friendship (Telfer 1991:251). It is in this embodied and social domain that the commonalities (and divergences) of experience are tested; here, in practical experience, that the "natural standpoint" as an en-cultured, habitual form of knowledge reveals itself as the crucial "unsaid" of congenial interaction; here, finally, that we reveal and recognise our own character and selfhood in dialogical encounter with others.[4]

What I am suggesting is that both the practical and the shared character of carrying out mundane activities in company are integral to the process of forming and maintaining friendships. Indeed, it is significant that this pattern emerges very early in life. In the same way that children who have made the transition from parallel to co-operative forms of play (a transition which occurs specifically when a child is first able to differentiate and project into the experience of an other), adults sharing practical activity experience an intensification and extension of their engagement both with the activity itself and with others who participate. And, like children's co-operative play, which markedly involves the sharing of objects and fantasies, shared activity is often a medium for exchange and revelation not only of knowledge and practical skills but of intention.

In the case of adults' friendships too, the ongoing and repetitive nature of many practical activities establishes a chronology which forms a framework for reciprocity, mutual obligation and deep awareness of a shared history of experience itself. These dimensions are universally buttressed by narrative accounts born from such histories. Much of their experiential force derives, as an outsider is always aware, exactly from the supposition that teller and listener have in common enough background understanding to celebrate together their unspoken meanings and associations.

In the most tangible way these aspects of "friendly" relationship, which lie beneath yet are seamlessly connected to the various cultural idioms in which friendship is cast, express concretely the "existential modality" of the social. The dense fabric of friendship, its close-woven texture, multiple - sometimes conflicting - role expectations, its emotional weight in carrying us beyond the conceptual boundaries of self, all remarked repeatedly as *general* characteristics of the social in ethnographic writing yet seldom attended to *per se or* in detail, express a lived reality which, as Merleau-Ponty asserts, is prior to analysis or theory. Yet, such relationships are the heart of the ethnographic encounter as it is experienced in fieldwork. To the extent that fieldworkers are unable or unwilling to take "things as they are" in this sphere, we remove ourselves in a structural and positional way from the ongoing process of relationship. Our sometimes sporadic and partial participation in shared activity, inability or reluctance to assume the ongoing mundane obligations of daily life in another culture, and discursive neglect of emotional connection mitigate against our

recognising the importance of the simple fact of "being together" with others. Yet attended to in their own right and for their own sake, friendships provide the ground for entering and exploring another epistemology of the social, one which seeks to encompass the "natural standpoint" and to create "resonance" in a way which has, by and large, been problematic for anthropologists.

Empathy, Memory, Revelation: Two Moments of Being Led

i) Pier Paulo

I have already described in Chapter Two the significance of the hills and peaks around Salamone as a setting for informal socialising. In spring and summer, many local families spend weekends at the *monti*, and men especially also use these settlements in winter, climbing on ski to hunt, to mount *feste* there, or just for the pleasure of an outing. On still higher terrain, Alpine activities are not confined to tourists, but include locals who visit the high *rifugi* (climbing huts), several of which are operated by Salamonesi, and climb local peaks in the Adamello-Presanella and Brenta Massifs. The high peaks and the glaciers surrounding them figure prominently in local history, songs, poetry, and in the local economy, with many villagers working in the industries connected with mountaineering and skiing. Among men and women, to ski and climb well are skills which are locally admired, and many friendships are built around these activities, either organised informally or through organisations such as the local section of the *Club Alpino Italiano*.

In the early years of my fieldwork, I climbed extensively in the Adamello-Presanella Massif to the west of the valley, sometimes in the company of Marco and Patrizia Delpaese and other locals, but never, I'm not sure why, in the Brenta Massif to the east. Geologically, from a mountaineering perspective, these have a curious and convenient feature: occasional bands of softer rock between horizontal strata have eroded out, leaving open-sided ledges and paths along which a climber can traverse for long distances. The ledges vary in width and degree of exposure, in places broad and secure above relatively wide basins, in others as narrow as a foot-width, suspended above air. Where a fall would be dangerous, many have been equipped with steel fixed-ropes and sometimes ladders, to which climbers clip themselves with karabiners connected by slings to their harnesses. For an experienced mountaineer, these *vie ferrate* provide a relatively easy form of travel, particularly in good weather, with ample protection from falls and no route-finding difficulties. Nonetheless, they remain an exciting challenge for climbers of every level, and day trips along them are popular in July, August and September with both tourists and locals: distances are not great and in the basins

between peaks the *rifugi* offer comfortable accommodation, good food and drink, relaxed surroundings in which to rest.

Over the years that I had known Pier Paolo, we had talked often of these peaks, and of the establishment of the park which now includes them. In many ways, Pier Paolo and my common interest in the environment and eco-politics, revealed at our first meeting, had been what maintained our friendship. I had learned a great deal from Pier Paolo: his love of his landscape, his extensive botanical knowledge, both abstract and related to his former profession as a *salumiere*, his interest in the politics of the Alpine environment had fuelled many conversations. But while we had walked the lower hills together we'd never reached the higher peaks which were are for me one of the great beauties of the this part of the world.

In August of 1988, Pier Paolo invited me to join him and a group of his friends on a section of the Sentiero SOSAT, a not very difficult *via ferrata* which passes under the highest peaks of the Brenta, directly above and visible from the village. We climbed on a perfect day from a *malga* in a lateral valley towards the Cima Brenta itself. Our route led through a surreal landscape of jumbled blocks of rock: below us, lay gentle scree basins covered in Alpine anemones and ranunculis; above, rock walls broken with crusted avalanche runnels and shattered, discoloured ice. To the west, we had sweeping views of the terrain on the Adamello-Presanella I had climbed on in previous seasons, and of the hills above the village, and I could point out places and routes to Pier Paolo which he had never travelled. On the Brenta though, Pier Paolo was the energetic guide: herding us along with solicitous concern, pausing and waiting constantly to help others across more difficult parts of the route. Yet there was something strained in his manner, uncomfortable with himself.

The most challenging point the route we were on came about an hour after the ledges began, where a deep vertical gully, almost a huge chimney, cut the track: here two long steel ladders faced each other across the chasm. When we arrived a family of tourists were negotiating these, belaying their children with a rope down one side and up the other. We waited, Pier Paolo in silence, his eyes on the gentler peaks across from us; his hands, I remember, were trembling slightly and uncharacteristically, he smoked one of my cigarettes. Eventually, when the path was clear, he led down the first ladder before carefully crossing the steep floor of the gully and climbing the long ladder on the other side. Everything seemed to be happening very slowly, and he was visibly relieved when we were all gathered on the other side. Shortly, when the path again widened, he suggested we take a break.

We sat together for a few minutes without speaking before Pier Paolo turned to me and confessed that for most of his life he had suffered secretly from severe vertigo.[5] Since childhood, he said, he had wanted to climb, but not until recently had he been able

Augusto and Francesca 1982 (Phot.: KR)

to control the symptoms. Now, it was as if another world had opened up: one that all his life he had heard described, sung about, and had seen from a distance, but never shared the experience of with others.

That evening, at dinner at Pier Paolo and Carla's, as he presided at the table, Pier Paolo was exuberant about the day on the Brenta. He wanted immediately to plan future trips, and spoke at length about his involvement in the continuing campaign to turn this area into a National Park, and about the ambivalence of local people regarding the management of their environment. But the main importance of the day for him was personal: he spoke about being able to travel the *vie ferrate* and how it had become a conscious expression of connection with his place, the history and natural environment of the valley, his positive sense of himself and of his friends. He spoke about physically possessing the landscape, the sense of journeying in it; it was in this conversation, thinking about why it was so important to him to physically inhabit those spaces, that the notion of inscription first occured to me, and the impulse to come to understand something more about the ways in which personal meanings are written on the landscape.

ii) Augusto and Francesca

On the wall of my study at home hangs a photograph of Augusto and Francesca, taken a few months before her death shortly after the end of my first period of fieldwork. Augusto stands rock-solid as he was almost until the end: confident, centred, an old man enviably at ease in his world. He is wearing the same check shirt he had on when I met him, his sleeves rolled to the elbows the only concession to the heat of the day. Beside him Francesca, wearing a floral print dress and mountain boots stands in much the same way, relaxed and in no hurry. Neither of them is smiling, though they were both happy that afternoon; they gaze directly at me behind the camera, as interested in the moment of the photograph as in its result. The image, for me, captures a unique quality of their way of being together: they seem wordlessly linked to each other in the work they are about to do.

Resting in their hands are wooden rakes which also lie across a pile of hay we have gathered together into a mound, to be tied into a *couvert* (a large sacking-cloth), and carried down the field to the horse and cart waiting on the track below. In the background there is one already tied, solid and heavy against the hazelnuts, waiting to be lifted onto my back and stacked with the others Augusto and I had already carried down. The wooden rakes are ones Augusto himself had made, carving each wooden tooth-peg and forcing it into a hole drilled in the rake head. The handles are industrial, doweled on a modern machine. In Augusto and Francesca's hands, these tools seem to

me to tell part of the material story of their lives. Perhaps this struck Augusto too, for after Francesca's death, he kept this photograph, chosen from a number I had given him, on the sideboard in his austere kitchen, studying it as he ate the bread boiled in broth that was his usual evening meal.

The afternoon it was taken we were making hay below the house at Gablan where I had lived the first time I went to Salamone. They had found my efforts hilarious, laughing as they watched me stagger under the sixty kilos of the bundles, their unfamiliar shape and weight throwing me off-balance, the hessian and hay prickling, sweat stinging my eyes. Augusto, already in his eighties, could still carry one with relative ease, swinging its bulk onto his back with Francesca's help. The motion when they did this was fluid - superbly economical. They worked together without speaking, tying with four hands the awkward knots that secured the *couvert*.

We had been working together most of the day, raking the long, dry hay from the first cut of the season. As we worked, they talked about other times they had done this work, describing the various cuts of the summer season, and the movements of cows, sheep and goats up and down the mountainside connected with the rhythm of haymaking. Later, as we paused to drink a glass of cool wine and listen to the crickets whirring in the heat beneath the larch trees, they told me the story of their marriage, after the death of Augusto's first wife, Silvia.

Francesca and Silvia had been close friends in childhood, travelling with their families up to their adjacent *monti* in the summers before the "Guerra Bianca." The two young women passed their time working in the *frate*, the small Alpine gardens where rye and vegetables were grown. They also kept their families' pigs, collected nuts and berries, and went mushrooming together in the woods. Their most important job was to milk their families' milch-goats, and to make cheese with the surplus milk.

Augusto's family were nearby, and in the evenings, he would visit Silvia to drink a bowl of fresh milk. Francesca would often be there, keeping company with her friend. She herself, she said, was never courted. Later, Augusto and Silvia married and had two sons.

During the war, the Austrians requisitioned materials and food supplies from the villagers, imposing great hardship. As happened elsewhere, even the church bells were taken away and melted down. The women of the village were made to carry these supplies on foot many miles up to the military posts scraped into the rock above the glaciers at almost three thousand meters. Francesca remembered this cruel work with bitterness, recalling that she and Silvia often supported each other in this forced labour. Food was so scarce, she added, that families were reduced to eating grass and weeds with their *polenta* ration, which was a mere three hundred grams of meal a day.

When Silvia died, in her thirties, Augusto--left with two young boys to raise--was devastated. His situation was exacerbated by his poverty: he had little land and few cows, and he could not imagine how he would cope with two boys too young to work. He "took" Francesca, as he put it, to be their mother.

Francesca sat on the bench in front of the house, her feet swinging just above the ground, smiling as Augusto finished speaking.

"I always fancied him, you know, even when we were young and he would visit Silvia, who was so beautiful. But I never thought, all those years, that he would have me".

Just after this, as we went back out into the afternoon sun, thinking of how at ease with themselves and with each other they looked, I asked if I might take their photograph. As I was taking it, I asked how long they had been raking the hay together.

"Here?", she said. "I don't know, about fifty years...this used to be one of our *monti*. This house was built on the ruin. It's different now, so many trees, and never anyone here, but it's always been a happy place for us; it reminds us of how things were before."

It was, Augusto later told me, the last photograph of them together.

Like the moment of the photograph with which I began this thesis, I've often also pondered this one, which has, over the years, led outwards from itself. In Francesca's reply to my question lay the beginning of one part of this journey into her memories and those of others in Salamone, and also into mine. The thought is given for me a personal poignancy by the coincidental possibility that at some time in the years since her death, Augusto and I, separated by several worlds, could well have been gazing at the same image, at the same time, certainly reading it in different ways, but still sharing the moment when it was produced.

About Revelation: An Indeterminate Conclusion

Friendships are of all relationships those which play most freely in the interspace between individual intention and cultural constraint, between agency and structure, in the lifeworld as it is concretely experienced. In this sense, they are by nature indeterminate, open to future possibility in unpredictable ways, and finally, enigmatic. In writing about specific friendships, there is an indefinable yet nonetheless real point at which they defy motivational analysis or reflection, while simultaneously providing a richly suggestive field for thinking outwards towards an understanding of our own experience and beyond that, of cultural meaning and practice.

Thus the small moments in my friendships with Pier Paolo and with Augusto and Francesca I have offered here, or others throughout this thesis, cannot be said to provide a key to the "essential" culture of Salamone or to irreducibly typify the "existential modality" of life there. In recalling them, the nebulous movement between ambiguity and revelation, enigma and familiarity, reveals as much about my shifting sense of my own engagement with a time and place as it does about these friends. Nonetheless, these moments, amongst many others - as parts of a mosaic - were what led me towards a deeper sense of the meaning, the unarticulated weight, of the modes of historical experience which have been my central concern.

Independently of idiom what is central is that friendship and, for the fieldworker, some kind of insight, is engendered by the sharing of practical and mundane activity. This experience of shared embodied recreation or work, as I learned again from Pier Paolo and Augusto, permits a form of revelation of self, which is precluded by the ulterior pursuit of instrumentalised relationship. Without revelation, ambiguous and nuanced as it may be, resonance and an empathic understanding are impossible. Such understanding is the ground of social knowledge, and the principle means we have available to understand the "natural standpoint" of others. Okely makes a similar point in observing that embodied empathic experience is the only means of moving beyond the unreliablity of spoken statements. In an recent article in which she reflects on sensory and vicarious knowledges of the past, she writes:

> I have presented an extreme case of what is in effect standard to anthropological fieldwork: the project of constructing the world of others in ways that go beyond or indeed belie the subjects' statements about their world. Anthropological fieldwork is a total bodily experience, not one merely dependent on verbal accounts. Contrary to those, like Geertz, who fear the mystery of empathy, I suggest that the anthropologists has no choice but to use body and soul, in addition to intellect, as a means of approaching other's experience....
>
> ...Whatever its hazards, this is the most appropriate medium available. In may instances anthropologists have not been fully aware of the extent to which they have relied on this unarticulated embodied knowledge to make sense of and to interpret their fieldwork. Instead they have mystified themselves and their readers by an instrumental and retrospective language of disembodied objectivity (Okely 1994:61-62).

Beyond instrumentalisation, both in friendship and in accounts of fieldwork then, lies the practical sharing of activity for its own sake and for what it can teach us about our own and other's experience.

There are dangers, of course, in such an approach - not least of which the illusion that by this means, any more than any other, we will be able to understand other's lifeworlds as fully as they experience them, as if ultimately we ourselves were not positioned by our own fields of practice. There is a powerful emerging critique of fieldwork, primarily articulated by from within cultural studies, which asserts this, arguing that as a spatial practice central to the discipline the dislocation of anthropological research from "home" to other sites ultimately acts to empower the fieldworker, legitimate his or her accounts, and maintain genre and disciplinary boundaries   (Clifford 1997:52-91). Against this trend, I suggest that the search for mutuality, resonance, and practical insight through the practice of a "mimetic" and embodied style of fieldwork also carries a wider lesson for anthropology: that in formulating our philosophical orientation as a form of phenomenological inquiry, we will discover, in much the same way as Salamonesi imagine possible in their relations with those beyond the village, both existential commonalities and the possibility of social equivalence beneath the evident and irreducible cultural differences.

[1] These visits are detailed in the Introduction, footnote 1.

[2] Kohn (1994:22) makes a cognate point in the context of the ways in which early fieldwork impressions, themselves unable to be clearly articulated, also shape later accounts:

> Ultimately, when I did fieldwork in Tamaphok, I only *felt* my
> own experiences, but these were essential elements in all
> cultural descriptions and interpretations I have attempted since.
> After the glamorous poetic intensity of the early phase of
> fieldwork wore off, and I was busy translating conversations,
> conducting interviews and compiling Yakha word-lists, I believe
> that the questions I asked and the notes I took were still shaped
> by my early field experience.

She goes on to suggest that such early experiences, despite being informed by a less extensive cultural knowledge, are nevertheless particularly important in shaping attributions of intensity and emotional weight to interpretations of later encounters. Thus, "the impressions shape the questions".

[3] A parallel, if somewhat more specific argument which is relevant here is that put recently by Stoller (1989) and Classen (1993) for a revaluation in fieldwork of attention to sensory experience beyond the visual (Stoller), and for an exploration of the cultural and historical formation of the culturally specific hierarchies of the senses (Classen).

[4] The psychologist Nathaniel Branden has referred to this as the Principle of Psychological Visibility:

> "Human beings desire and need the experience of self-awareness
> that results from perceiving the self as an objective existent, and
> they are able to achieve this experience through interaction with
> the consciousness of other living beings" (Branden 1993:72).

[5] It is not commonly recognised that at its extreme, this is a condition which can so terrify that it physically paralyses the sufferer, resulting in an uncontrollable loss of balance and a dramatic sense of panic. It is triggered by looking the percpetion of depth below the body, and results in a kind of dizziness, in which the world appears to be revolving, or even whirling rapidly, around one.

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