

**TRANS 27 (2023)** 

**DOSSIER: REIMAGINING AUDIOVISUAL ETHNOMUSICOLOGY** 

Exploring Ethnomusicological Films: Short texts by the directors of 6 films shown at the 2nd Symposium of the ICTMD Study Group on Audiovisual Ethnomusicology (Lisbon, 2018)

Explorando el cine etnomusicológico: Textos breves de los directores de 6 películas proyectadas en el 2º Simposio del Grupo de Estudio del ICTMD sobre Etnomusicología Audiovisual

Jana Belišová (Comenius University of Bratislava)
Robbie Campbell (MacEwan University)
Horacio Curti (Sound & City Research Group, UAB-Esmuc)
Benjamin Harbert (Georgetown University)
Michael B. MacDonald (MacEwan University)
Miranda van der Spek (Mirandas Filmproducties)

## 1. Eolssigu! (2019)

Horacio Curti (Sound & City Research Group, UAB-Esmuc)

**Duration: 14'31"** 

Producer, sound and second camera: Horacio Curti

Filmmaking and main camera: Ariadna Pujol

Script and editing: Ariadna Pujol and Horacio Curti

**Production:** Museu de la Música de Barcelona and Seoul's National Gugak Center (NGC)

**Film link:** https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xde0mzR9cwk

Eolssigu! emerged as the central audiovisual creation within a yearlong exhibition on Korean music, a collaborative effort between the Museu de la Música de Barcelona and Seoul's National Gugak Center (NGC), the National Centre of traditional Music. Its primary aim was to delve into applied ethnomusicology by producing materials intended for a broad European audience, allowing a closer connection to South Korean classical and traditional musical practices, diverging from purely academic knowledge resulting from research.

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As curator, I anchored the project around two pivotal concepts: firstly, exploring the human and social facets of music-making, emphasizing practices beyond the musical realm; secondly, presenting diverse ways for the audience to engage with the content, transcending intellectual approaches and passive observation of showcased items. Given these principles, it became evident that audiovisual materials were fundamental. Collaborating with filmmaker Ariadna Pujol proved highly effective. We strategized three categories of materials: "poetic" (a longer piece), "promotional" (brief, intense), and "educational" (15 pieces).

Together, we devised a shooting plan and delineated responsibilities. Ariadna directed and served as the main camera, while I acted as general coordinator, producer, sound engineer, and second camera. Filming took place in Seoul over three weeks in winter, followed by collaborative editing in Barcelona.

Eolssiqu! embodies the "poetic" category, exploring Korean musical practices and sounds in a sensuous, poetic, and ambiguous manner, purposefully excluding written or spoken word, aiming to bridge audiovisual expression and ethnomusicology. Displayed centrally in the exhibition and presented at venues such as the 8th International Folk Music Film Festival (Kathmandu), where it earned first prize for short film, Eolssigu! navigated budgetary constraints and institutional parameters to fulfill its role within the exhibition, enriching the audience's experiential understanding of musical practices.

Looking forward, given more resources and fewer limitations, I would explore a broader inclusion beyond musicians, possibly encompassing the audience, and diverse performance scenarios. While the piece captures significant on-stage practices, it could deepen its exploration of off-stage experiences, exemplified in Pungmulnori's context (visible from 7:18 to 8:08). These instances beyond traditional performance settings offer rich, multifaceted insights that could enhance the experiential and social aspects portrayed in the piece.

## 2. Ťažká duša / Heavy Heart (2017)

Jana Belišová (Comenius University of Bratislava)

Duration: 71'

Producer and research: Jana Belišová

**Direction and photography:** Marek Šulík

Sound: Richard Fülek, Martin Merc

Editing: Marek Sulik and Peter Kotrha

Production: Žudro

Film trailer: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DuETPcaNllg

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The film is based on several years of ethnomusicological research that I conducted between Romani people in Slovenia (Belišová 2018). This research delved into the emotional ties between sorrowful Romani melodies and the life narratives of their performers. It resulted in 25 research videos, capturing individuals and families, and their specific repertoires and narratives. Together with the film director Marek Šulík, we decided to craft a feature-length documentary to explore the intergenerational transmission of this intimate repertoire and its social impact, with the aim to reach not only the community of scholars, but a wider audience.

The film tells three stories within segregated Roma communities, spotlighting the transmission of traditional songs across generations. One narrative portrays a beautiful bond between a grandmother and her grandson. Through songs, the grandson maintains a connection with his grandmother and copes with life's challenges. In contrast, another story depicts a father's futile attempts to teach Romani songs to his adolescent son, who prefers modern Romani music and the company of his peers. The third story introduces two cousins who aspire to become guitar virtuosos like one of their fathers, who imparts musical lessons via Skype from abroad.

These central narratives intertwine with on field recordings from the ethnomusicological research, and they illustrate vividly the significance of mournful songs in Roma communities. Given the film's three-year research background, ample time was available for careful selection of participants and restructuring the film's mosaic-like structure. Certain shots were prepared in advance, enabling a natural flow of events, although some scenes were reconstructions of past events.

### 3. Follow Me Down: Portraits of Louisiana Prison Musicians (2013)

Benjamin J. Harbert (Georgetown University)

Duration: 97'

Producer and director: Ben Harbert

**Direction and photography:** Marek Šulík

Video editor: Christoph Green

Audio editor: Brendan Canty

**Cinematographer:** John Slattery

Audio Recordist: Chauncy Godwin

**Distribution:** Films for the Humanities & Sciences

Film trailer: https://vimeo.com/48035769

Producing and directing Follow Me Down: Portraits of Louisiana Prison Musicians, I wanted to avoid what sociologist Loïc Wacquant calls the spectacle of "penal pornography", titillating yet predictable stories of law and order that fill our mediascape (2009: xi-xii). The musical dramas that fit into this category highlight either dangerous criminality or pathetic regret. They inevitably support a criminal justice solution that as a citizen of the United States discomforts me and as a scholar distracts my interest in music and musicking. Sam Bathrick's 16 Bars (2018) is a good example of penal pornography in the form of a music documentary. Bathrick dramatizes hope and failure by following a studio recording project in the Richmond City Jail collaboration with Grammy-winning Todd "Speech" Thomas from the hip hop group Arrested Development. Watching the musicians, we learn little about how music and incarceration relate. Furthermore, the prisoners don't get the opportunity to present their music that didn't fit in inside the dramatic narrative of a failed individual. I happen to know the music-making done at that jail but had I not, I might have thought that the prisoners there just sing sad about life's mistakes and a hope for redemption. 16 Bars is a film that Jill Godmilow might pejoratively call a "liberal documentary", fulfilling the confirmation ritual for liberal audiences by telling them that they, indeed, are compassionate people without actually offering any critical perspective (Godmilow 1999: 91). This is a danger of narrative structure.

To avoid narrative structure and to capture a variety of music that occurs there, I structured Follow Me Down as a concert film. The film includes 114 musicians playing 25 songs in three different prisons. Rather than bringing musicians to a shared stage, I used the camera as a way of bringing the stage to the musicians. In preproduction, I collaborated with incarcerated musicians and staff to craft sequences that would show how music happens at the prison, making it clear that I wasn't just interested in "talent." As a result, the film contains a mix of observational footage and semi-reenactment about the use of music in prison. We followed the officers meeting in the morning to then take prisoners to the field where they worked and rapped, collecting spontaneous interviews before and afterwards. We reenacted a musician singing over the phone after learning that he had copyrighted his songs that way. We planned a concert at Hunt prison for the purpose of filming it. We filmed gospel quartet singing in the yard because they had done so decades ago although it is more typical now that they sing in the chapel and designated band room. We quickly brought the camera and microphone to lockdown when we were told that someone had been singing upon her arrival earlier that morning. In short, we both planned and responded in order to put together a series of provocative musical performances. Hence, the emphasis on portraiture over biography.

Reenactment, while seemingly suspect, allowed the musicians to be participants in the presentation of their lives —from planning events, conversation themes, cinematography and audio recording strategies. While I had the final say, they gave me important ideas based on their understanding and vision. Planning without the use of professional actors made the prisoners amateur actors in their own everyday settings. There are deep roots of this strategy in Italian neorealism which used amateur acting as a way of revealing the construction of the film, guarding against the danger of cinematic propaganda (see Leprohon 1972: 85-124). The device approximates reflexivity in ethnography. And in prison especially, it is important to acknowledge the camera. The

men and women I filmed in prisons were under constant surveillance. It was important to present a more complex entanglement of voyeurism felt by the viewer. Footage from prison is complicit with the power of surveillance and is better if understood that way rather than kept hidden.

Reenactment of daily life also provided a way of thinking of the constructedness of musical performance. Musicians in prisons are particularly plagued with the authentic gaze —my own riff on how cinema can produce a certain subject. Prisoners inherit John Lomax's idea that prisoners sing authentically about their own experiences (Lomax 1934: 183). And as Foucault argues, the conditions of prison have led to a constant pressure of investigation into the psyche of the prisoner (1978: 295). A prisoner singing has the double burden of authentic representation, the bearing of the soul for public consumption as entertainment and punishment. And yet sometimes, musical performance is an escape from that burden, a way of being outside the self, perhaps in concert with others. Reenactment puts the terms of authenticity in question, its failure as "acting" productively defeats the authentic gaze.

To me, the most valuable consequence of Follow Me Down has been the screening has been because these public moments radically constitute audiences through engagement and discussion. I have mostly screened it at universities and prisons in the United States. Once invitations began coming from universities, I committed to setting up additional screenings at local prisons. In many cases, the universities had prison outreach programs. Not only could screenings help support these important programs by giving them publicity and a forum for engagement, but the paired screenings helped bring audiences together in at least imaginary ways. An audience at a museum, for instance, knew that an audience at a nearby prison was going to see it. An audience at a prison knew, for instance, that university students had seen it. This awareness led to questions: "How do they watch it differently?" and more importantly, "How do I watch this uniquely?" These questions led to important questions about our relationships to incarceration and social divisions. Denaturalizing prison for prisoner audiences was particularly useful in the prison screenings. If I've learned one thing from my work in prisons it is that prisoners welcome anything from the outside —media, personal engagement, and ideas. Seeing alternate and real conditions of incarceration often led to powerful discussions of their own experiences, about mass incarceration in general, and about the many roles that music has. University honoraria and screening fees also helped offset costs for these screenings and discussions at prisons (mostly travel and lodging).

Most of these ideas about critical filmmaking and screening, however, came to me after showing *Follow Me Down* to many audiences over many years. Inevitably, we see flaws in our own work. Perhaps they emerge from the boredom of repeated viewing. While I have many elements that I would change if I could, my greatest wish is that I had used a tripod. While this may seem trivial, I appreciate the way that a tripod forces deliberate composition. A well-composed still shot gives room for the motion of music and sound. The stillness of a locked shot offers the viewer a certain intimacy with space. Counter-intuitively, the lack of camera motion acknowledges the camera by disposing of the conceit of a shaky camera being "in the mix" of actuality. Truth, to me, is found in cinematic experience. Truth is not something to be "captured" by a camera.

#### 4. Worth Repeating! (2011)

Miranda van der Spek

**Duration: 27'** 

Research camera, compilation, editing: Miranda van der Spek

Sound / mixing: Robert Bosch

Production: Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ Amsterdam and Muziekgebouw Frits Philips Eindhoven

Film trailer: http://www.mirandasfilmproducties.nl/film/worth-repeating/

Worth repeating! is a film about the music of the Ouldémé people in the North of Cameroon and the relation with daily life, especially the production of millet. Their music expresses their worldview: the unity of man and nature, the cyclical thinking and the importance of the group above the individual. One of the characteristics of the Ouldémé music is the endless repetition of polyphonic melodies, which are mainly played on flutes and trumpets of natural materials like reed, bamboo, wood and horns. At each stage of the agricultural cycle, different instruments and specific melodies are played.

Before flying to Cameroon, I had the privilege of visiting musicologist Nathalie Fernando in Canada. She is a specialist of the polyphonic musical traditions of the Ouldéme and several other ethnic groups in the Mandara Mountains. Her audio and video recordings brought me the keywords to focus on: repetition of melodic lines, hocketing, trance, the music making as a group issue, the use of hypnotic sounds, the idea of interconnectedness with nature. So, I arrived in Cameroon as a well-informed observer.

I tried to transmit idea of the interconnectedness of music with the Ouldémé agricultural life and world view by building the film as a cycle, an organic whole. Camera work and editing emphasize this congruency. The camerawork is mostly slow filming, dancing around the subjects and sober total shots of the landscapes. The editing is based on rhythm, not only in music, but also following the rhythm in the nature, the daily activities and movements of people. As a whole, the film is a musical composition in itself.

Worth Repeating! was produced for the opening night of the World Minimal Music Festival 2011 in Amsterdam. The film's central theme was the agricultural annual cycle and the associated forms of repetitive music of the Ouldémé in Cameroon. But how do you capture the essence of the music and its signification, how do you give the public a truthful experience and insight into the local music culture? I think that the whole process of filming and editing —the choice of point of views, picture frame, what to show or what to leave out of the image, locations, the persons you choose in the picture—, is about finding a congruency between music, image, and the symbolic value of the music in its environment. To achieve that I need to dive into the culture and try to become a part of the scenery, without interfering too much in what happens, but moving organically along with all that is happening. Rouch called it cine-trance.

So, you start filming and capturing specific moments and you are inside them. You dance with your hand held camera around the people with some kind of observational filming style. In this dance, this cine-trance, I try to represent the music as much as possible from the local point of view. The paradox is that it is nevertheless a very personal story you are telling as a filmmaker. It is through your eyes that you represent the music culture. But this subjectivity, this cine trance, is more a strength then a problem. I see it as the only way to create an intimate portrait, with an anthropological/ethnomusicological value.

### 5. We're Too Loud (2018)

Michael B. MacDonald (MacEwan University)

**Duration:** 54'

Director, camera, sound and editing: Michael B MacDonald

**Production:** Michael B MacDonald Films

Film link: https://www.michaelbmacdonaldfilms.ca/films/2019/2/17/were-too-loud-an-

ecomusicological-love-story

As a professional musician I moved between worlds. To call these worlds alternative modes of musicking (Small 1998), is not enough, nor is it enough to leave these worlds untheorized. Musicking does not provide a way of thinking about these becomings/worldings; modalities of being experienced as multiple is-nesses relationally constructed with multiple kinds of beings. These worlds cannot and should not be reduced to systems. My relationships/resonances (Zwicky 2019) with each musical instrument reorganized my body, my mode of expression, my social, cultural, economic, and technological entanglements. Moving from an acoustic piano to a digital keyboard for instance, changed where the sound came from, how the keys resonated with my fingers, and changed what would come out of me, and who was with me in the rehearsal space, on stage, and in the audience. My musical imagination was transformed by the resonance with the instrument, the audiences changed, industrial relations changed, mobility and geography changed. The word "instrument" in its common understanding is also too limited to explain the world that was opened up, and the Beings that I was experiencing: social, cultural, economic, sonic, geographic, linguistic, photographic, audiovisual beings resonating with its own existential phenomenological style. Musicking is not enough to explain this complexity because it does not address the practices (Dreyfus 2017), power (Foucault), subjectivities (Deleuze), and resonances (Zwicky) that constitute this world where "the term 'world' does not refer to an extant thing but rather the context or background against which particular things show up and take on significance (I say resonance): a mobile but more or less stable ensemble of practices, involvements, relations, capacities, tendencies and affordances" (Anderson & Harrison 2010: 8). When I became a researcher, these worlding practices were reduced to hermeneutic analysis, systems analysis, ethnographic observation, phenomenological bracketing, poststructuralist discourse. My cinematic researchcreation practice (Stevance and Lacasse 2018) has been to find a means of expression to provide other bodies with the experience of resonating with me as an audiovisually enabled being allowing for a cineworlding practice to stretch across spacetime through editing software and onto big and small screens around the world.

We're Too Loud (2018) is an early attempt at CineWorlding (Bloomsbury). By suggesting CineWorlding I am not sidestepping ethnographic film theory and history at all, but instead trying to be more particular about the language and approaches that I am using to create my work. Ethnography takes as its starting point the potential of an objective view of the world, one deeply informed by both the division of subject and object, as well as the rarely discussed ancient division of demos and ethnos. Granted there has been work on the problem of self-reference in ethnography, namely reflexivity, but too often this self-reference is not philosophically very rich. For instance, while reflectivity has been practiced since at least the writing culture debates in the 1980s the question of the ethnos in ethnography, if addressed at all, is usually done with the rolling of the eyes as if to say, "oh this one again". My interest in replacing ethnography as a method with CineWorlding emerges, perhaps unexpectedly, not from the critique of ethnography, but the nearly unnoticed dissolving of the demos as a socially meaningful concept. No one any longer feels themselves to be (if they ever did), nor believes in, a unified political subject at the center of the nation, the undifferentiated common people that the demos rely upon. Both terms, ethnos and demos, have dissolved. Moving away from the illusion of the demos contributes in a small way to the decolonization of cine-ethnomusicological methods, by working against the myth of the western rational subject, propped up by the rational system of Humanism. It is my interest in finding a cinematic approach to the study of the entanglements and futurity of beings and becomings, that develops from this starting point.

## The worlding of We're Too Loud

The film opens with a quote from Wendell Berry's "The Art of the Commonplace" (2003): "One of the peculiarities of the white race's presence in America is how little intention has been applied to it". I want to consider Berry's use of the term "intention" here. Intention can mean both the rationality of actions or it can mean, in the medical sense, the healing of a wound. The double meaning of intention sets up the film's two entangled themes. With a focus on Breagan Smith making a conscious decision to turn his back on the financial opportunities of working in Edmonton, Alberta, where I live and teach, Breagan has chosen to live on Hornby Island in a small cabin without indoor plumbing or any heat source beyond wood for a stove. His access to money comes primarily from gardening which he supplements by growing as much food as he can himself. He takes great pride in doing this and is eager to share what he knows about gardening with me and the audience. This is where the second sense of intention, as a medical act, becomes apparent. By intentionally turning his back on modernity he is trying, in his own small way, to live more simply, making less of an environmental impact by reducing his ecological footprint, to heal ecologically. He makes the case that his music emerges from this orientation to living more simply. Making "loud ass rock and roll" is a multigenerational activity that has bound together the small community on Hornby Island

for two generations and he wants to protect this from the encroachment that he is experiencing, the rise of the tourist economy, the "rationalization" of life on Hornby.

The film develops these themes using quotes from Berry's book set to Breagan's music moving from acoustic to electric blues, to original spirituals, to the rock anthem "We're Too Loud" that closes the film. The tension in the film emerges when apparently Breagan and his band did not properly mop up the community hall after a recent gig. The consequence is that Breagan loses gigs for the rest of the summer, and he begins to wonder whether his "sacrifices" to live on the island are worth it if he does not get a chance to express himself artistically. The technology of the mop and the practice of mopping becomes, quite unexpectedly, an existential issue. This brings up an interesting question about the role of technologies, like a mop, as a kind of being, and a question of how "clean" gets defined and by whom, a very Foucauldian issue.

CineWorlding is the utilization of filmmaking to create a cinematic world that can tell us something about the practices that make life meaningful for the people we are working with and then perhaps to illuminate the operation of some of the background practices (Dreyfus 2017) of, in this case, conflicting modernities (the technoscience modernity and the counter cultural modernity). The worlding of CineWorlding is: "not just a haphazard grouping of practices, equipment, and roles, but a 'total system' — a whole ordered and coherent way of coordinating and aligning and orienting practical contexts— that gives substance to an understanding of being" (Dreyfus 2011: 13). And to this I might add a political dimension, the question of what happens when, through tourism, technoscientific modernity encroaches upon the children of an intentional hippie community's countercultural modernity? This is the question that WE'RE TOO LOUD seeks to address.

#### 6. Estevão: a sensory ethnomusicology of learning (2016)

Robbie Campbell (MacEwan University)

Duration: 72'

Research camera, sound, editing: Robbie Campbell

**Production:** SOAS

Film link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nRhc 016obc

The film is a sensory ethnographic installation: that is to say it focuses on the nature of experience itself, rather than a descriptive account of what those experiences might represent. It consequently has no narration or sequential storyline. It's also been designed as a loop with no beginning or end. While an immersive gallery space would be its most natural fit, a linear YouTube version is presented here for practical reasons (best experienced with headphones). It is also part of my Ph.D. web-thesis, accessible at: https://submissions.soas.ac.uk/timbilalondon/.

Estevão documents the daily life of master timbila xylophone maker Estevão Nhacudime and his family in their village in rural southern Mozambique. A series of observational uncut scenes portray sensory engagement, materiality, environmental interaction, and social learning and play. Filmed with a single camera and microphone, and with little post-production, various aesthetic choices also mirror my own subjective experience of the environment. In this way, and in contrast to the other audiovisual installation included in the thesis Timbila ta Muane, this film was almost entirely conceived and produced amongst the sensory landscape it documents. Estevão: a sensory ethnomusicology of learning therefore represents process: of timbila manufacturing; of musical transmission; of children's learning; and also of film-making.

Estevão is a master timbila xylophone maker, teacher, and leader of the group Timbila ta Mazivela ('The Timbila from Mazivela'). He is also grandfather to many young children. Mazivela can be found around twenty minutes by car from the main N1 National Highway down sandy paths headed towards the Indian Ocean coast. Set in the mato amongst coconut, citrus, and other trees, the village uses solar panels for limited electricity supply, large corrugated metal sheets to collect rain water, and almost every naturally-growing material either for food, housing, or to make timbila instruments. For more on Estevão, Mazivela, and the children's learning processes see here.

I was first introduced to Estevão by timbileiro Bob Mahuaie, with whom I had spent some time in Maputo and helped my research enormously. On arriving in Mazivela with Bob I was immediately struck by the sheer number of children, young and old, involved in the musical life in the village. I could see a great opportunity to explore how children learn not only to play timbila, but also to see, hear, touch, feel and understand it. Both this film and the chapter Learning are a result of my time spent with Estevão.

Over the course of three months, I visited the village several times a week, having timbila lessons, filming, or simply sitting quietly and observing Estevão and others as they worked, or the children as they played around him. Limiting how my presence disturbed their work was also a practical consideration. That my difficulties learning Portuguese (which remained poor) meant I was unable to communicate with them in Chichopi was a great disappointment to me.

Towards the end of my planned period with Estevão, and the subsequent shift of focus to timbila master Filipyane, I stayed in the village for a week; a time made especially precious by their lack of conditions to accommodate me for longer. Having also bought two 18-key timbila xylophones from Estevão, I was able to watch and film their construction process more fully during that time than I had previously at others.

With timbila a resolutely male tradition, my experience with Estevão, as with all the timbileiros both in Zavala and Maputo, was a very gendered perspective. Accordingly, I was not invited to observe or participate in women's activities. As a result, females feature very little in the film. With the exception of two scenes inside a cooking hut, and a third of a chicken enclosure, the entire film documents the single space under a large mango tree. This is the designated space for timbila making and playing; and so too consequently for young boys to come and join in. Rules are limited, and the children are largely unhindered in their explorations and play.

Bringing my own camera equipment into the environment presented a rare experience for the children of seeing something they were told they couldn't touch or play with it. They were of course always curious, and allowing them at least some familiarity with the equipment and the filming process was soon part of our interaction.

But mostly I represented someone the children had to attend to in a particular way, just as they would be expected to with all adult male white foreigners (of which I would have been the first for many of them). They quickly became accustomed to my presence, recognising early on I couldn't speak Chopi and the younger ones not yet speaking Portuguese. Their own attuning process su"cient, they settled back into their own world of play, including me whenever a moment arose, and it was interesting to do so.

(This text is composed by excerpts from the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter pf my Ph.D. dissertation, Campbell 2022)

## **Audiovisuals**

16 Bars. 2018. Film. Dir. Sam Bathrick. 94'. Lightyear Entertainment.

*Eolssigu!* 2019. Film. Dir. Horacio Curti and Ariadna Pujol. 14'31". Museu de la Música de Barcelona and NGC. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xde0mzR9cwk

*Estevão: a sensory ethnomusicology of learning.* 2016. Dir. Robbie Campbell. 72'. SOAS. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nRhc\_016obc

Follow Me Down: Portraits of Louisiana Prison Musicians. 2013. Dir. Benjamin J. Harbert. 97'. Films for the Humanities & Sciences.

Ťažká duša / Heavy Heart. 2017. Film. Dir. Jana Belišová. 71'. Žudro

We're Too Loud. 2018. Film. Dir. Michael B MacDonald. 54'. Michael B MacDonald Films. Available at: https://www.michaelbmacdonaldfilms.ca/films/2019/2/17/were-too-loud-an-ecomusicological-love-story

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#### Cita recomendada

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