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Making The Most Of The Archive

Commercial Exploitation Of The Digital Archive On Contemporary Italian Network TV

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Abstract: In the last 20 years, Italian television has discovered the richness and profitability of its enormous archives. Many new programmes have been broadcast on public and commercial television, making extensive use of historical fragments taken from previously aired shows. This essay explores the rationale behind the commercial re-use of TV archives in four different programmes: the "variety show made of variety shows" *Da Da Da*, the militant pastiche *Blob*, the commercial programming remix *Super Show*, the comedy history rewritten by *La Super Storia*. On the basis of these programmes, the consequences and risks of putting de-contextualized pieces taken from the past into the contemporary TV flow will be explored.
Keywords: Italian television, archives, Public Service Broadcaster, commercial TV, TV programmes, convergence, digitization, TV history, variety shows, remix

1   From Source To Exploitation: The Destiny Of The Archive

Italian network television has never been so full of archive material as in recent years. Fragments of already aired TV programmes, often re-contextualised and/or re-mixed with others in order to produce new texts – and, of course, new meanings – are now familiar in regular programming. Archive material is, in fact, a 'buried treasure' for the broadcaster in an age of digital, multi-channel and convergent television.

During certain periods of the year, such as summer, when investment in original programming decreases significantly, programmes made entirely of re-mixed archive materials are often the most viewed on the networks.[1] Indeed, the circulation of re-packaged texts or fragments has, for many reasons, increased dramatically during the last decade. For example, Public Service Broadcasting channels that rely on a huge (over fifty-year old and partly unexplored) archive, have gradually increased the archive-based hours of their programming, a fact exemplified by the *ad hoc* analysis made by Teche, the Rai branch, which aims to preserve and archive the Italian Public Broadcasting Company's audiovisual heritage.[2]

The increasingly strategic role of an in-house archive for the broadcaster depends on a number of different factors. 'Convergent television'[3] nowadays needs 'multi-purposable' content to be used and re-used in different contexts and platforms.[4] Moreover, the digitisation of TV distribution, through the diffusion of different platforms (i.e. Dvb-t, Dvb-s, Cable, IpTV, mobile TV), has built an abundant,[5] multichannel environment, which *must be filled*. As often happens, technology precedes the development of content, as Raymond Williams has pointed out.[6] However, in this case, the spaciousness of the new digital environment *forces* the broadcaster to turn to archive footage to develop new content based on old texts, both for their traditional networks and for their new digital channels. It is not simply a question, therefore, of re-running programmes but rather of making creative use of the archive according to new institutional and economic demands of broadcasters in an age of convergence.[7]

And yet, as is clear from the Teche Rai analysis referred to above, the process of archive digitisation itself, started in the late nineties, makes a large amount of archive material available to both authors and programmers. There are two distinct processes here: firstly, the commencement of a programme of restoration and digitisation of old analogue material which began in the late nineties and is especially pertinent to Public Service Broadcasting with the creation of Teche Rai. Secondly, all new TV productions fit the standards for digital archiving, which has led to the creation of a digital archive of 'recent' TV from the last decade or so. This digital archive is immediately re-usable by broadcasters themselves. The new needs of a channel in this convergent environment and the in-house availability of an increasing quantity of digitised material turn the 'buried treasure' of the archive into a strategic asset for contemporary broadcasters, a resource ready for exploitation.

The specificity of the Italian context not only perfectly shows the multiple ways in which the archiving/digitisation process of television can take place, but also its primary purposes from an institutional point of view, as well as its contradictions. Unlike other western European countries, such as the United Kingdom or France, and despite various proposals formulated in the past, Italy has never established a National Audiovisual Archive. Furthermore, despite the rhetoric of 'openness' to researchers and historians that accompanied the foundation of Teche Rai (by far the most important in-house TV archive in Italy), the constitution of this company branch was considered first of all in an institutional, rather than a 'research/historian' frame, which primarily served the contingent needs of production (from news to entertainment programmes). During the last decade, however, in accordance with the demands of the new abundant/convergent environment, Teche - like the other, smaller, in-house Italian archives (such as Mediaset and TMC/La7) – has become a particularly important asset for broadcasters.

The logic governing the design, use and access to TV archives is, therefore, quite different from that required by historians, i.e. to serve "mainly commercial – or other institutional – interest",[8] as has been true of audiovisual sources over the past 50/60 years. For Public Service Broadcasting particularly, a logic of 'memory-building' has

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1 In summer 2011, for example, the two most viewed regular programmes on network channels are based upon the re-use of audiovisual texts and aired during 'peak' primetime: *Da Da Da*, aired by Raiuno (see below), and *Paperissima Sprint*, on Canale 5, which is a based on a second or third-hand use of amateur audiovisual fragments.
2 http://ww.teche.rai.it/noiteche/
3 A. Grasso, M. Scaglioni, *Televisione convergente. La tv oltre il piccolo schermo,* Link Ricerca, RTI, 2010.
4 S. Murray, 'Brand Loyalties. Rethinking Content Within Global Corporate Media', Media Culture and Society, 27 (3), 2005: 417.
5 According to John Ellis, the contemporary age of television can be referred to as the 'era of plenty'. See J. Ellis, *Seeing Things. Television in the Age of Uncertainty*, I.B. Tauris, 2000.
6 R. Williams, *Television. Technology and Cultural Form*, Fontana, 1974.
7 In the UK, the BBC developed a project to involve viewers and citizens in a creative use of TV archive online. In Italy, the vast new digital environment has led Rai to launch different channels entirely based on TV archives on the DTT platform.
8 See R. Nelson, L. Cooke, 'Editorial. Television Archives. Accessing TV History,' *Critical Studies in Television*, Vol. 5, No 2, Autumn 2010.

occurred, which has replaced the 'need of exploitation'. The archive – and not exclusively the TV archive[9] – is widely used to produce historic series focusing on different periods of national history, such as fascism, terrorism during the seventies, the economic boom of the sixties and the biographies of Popes in the age of television.

Commercial exploitation is, nevertheless, the primary goal for broadcasters' use of archives in the last decade, since 'pure' historical programmes usually appeal to only dedicated or niche audiences. In Italy, partly because of the absence of a dedicated national institution, the televisual archive could certainly be a reference for historians analysing specific audiovisual sources, as well as authors aiming to produce series or programmes committed to popularise specific topics, periods or problems. It is, however, primarily conceived as an instrument for more general productive needs and more popular genres, such as entertainment.

Since Italian television makes quite a wide use of archive material within the 'commercial exploitation' framework, paying far less attention to the audiovisual origins and characteristics (recent or old, original contextualisation, etc.) than to its entertaining or crowd-pleasing qualities, it is well-worth trying to better understand the specific logics of use, re-contextualisation and exploitation within contemporary TV programming. This article aims to offer an overview on these logics: it will not be an exhaustive taxonomy, but an initial exploration based on four case histories that are, for different reasons, relevant.

A common archive-exploitation frame characterises all four cases illustrated here; in other words they all aim, through juxtaposition and editing, to re-use miscellaneous television content and fit this new material into the needs of a different contemporary schedule. Even if they share a common exploitation or 'wild' approach to the archive, less (or at all) interested in contextualising the material origins than in creating new texts, meanings and 'paths' through editing, these cases are, at the same time, quite different according to the logic that governs each of them. Therefore, each case presents, and is representative of, a particular logic, which can be tracked back to a more general 'function' intrinsic to the history of Italian cultural industry.

2 Mainstream Entertainment: Da Da Da

Unquestionably, the most viewed programme on Italian television making extensive use of archival sources is *Da Da Da*, (aired since 2009 by Raiuno, the main Italian Public Service network) which is able to attract between 3 and 4 million viewers every night, thanks only to the re-utilisation of content already aired, 'precious gems' from the archive and more recent programming.

Da Da Da builds on the basis of a previous, more traditional programme entitled *Super Varietà* (tr. Super Variety Show): broadcast on Raiuno (and occasionally also on other Rai networks) from 1999 to 2008, which consisted of a continuous flow of clips and fragments from historical and more recent programmes, with a prevalence of songs, dancing numbers and sketches, ordered without explicit criteria and often presented in their entirety. Created by producer Paolo De Andreis as a 'filler' in weak timeslots, it gradually acquired more valuable positions in the daily schedule, with the latest editions broadcast everyday in access prime time from June to September.

With the new version of the programme, produced by Elisabetta Barduagni (previous assistant to Paolo De Andreis), the schedule has remained the same, while various features have profoundly changed, leading to a different, more conscious use of the giant Rai archive. The first important change is that every episode has a thematic leading thread, or leit-motif, according to which videos and fragments are chosen: a single word – i.e. 'doll' – can be the topic of twenty minutes of different material vaguely related to it such as songs, sketches, comedy, dancing exhibitions, movie and music clips. Another peculiar feature is the strong editing of those fragments: often the pieces are interrupted, have a reprise after another clip, are mixed and overlapped and are heavily shortened. The result is rapidly paced with carefully selected peaks, frequent one-liners and a clever mix between relatively unknown objects and musical and comedic evergreens, frequently represented on television.

The opening sequence of *Da Da Da* is accompanied by the homonymous song performed by synth-pop group Trio (released in 1982) and offers a strong guarantee of popular – or, to employ a category firstly used by Antonio Gramsci,[10] and subsequently popularised with often negative implications, 'national-popular' – entertain-

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9 One of the most important archives used for television historical programmes is the Istituto Luce archive, primary source particularly series on the fascist period, such as *La Grande Storia* (The Big History).
10 A. Gramsci, *Quaderni dal carcere*, Einaudi, 1948.

ment. Together with the title and the authors of the show, the portraits of numerous Italian show business stars of present and past appear on screen as sort of pop-up figures. In slightly different versions, it is possible to see hosts like Mike Bongiorno, Pippo Baudo and Raffaella Carrà; comedians and actors such as Aldo Fabrizi, Alberto Sordi, Valter Chiari and Totò; all round entertainers like Renzo Arbore, Roberto Benigni and Fiorello; singers or songwriters such as Mina, Adriano Celentano, Lucio Battisti, Gianni Morandi and Laura Pausini. Therefore, since the beginning of the programme, a certain version of Italian mainstream is evident, often with a hint of nostalgia towards a 'Golden age' already passed.

It is possible to describe the structure of the series by looking at the first few minutes of an episode that aired in July 2011 which focused on music exhibitions and was dedicated to foreign cultures and places: 'In giro per il mondo' (tr. 'All around the world'). After the opening sequence, an old fashioned globe rotates and is accompanied by a voiceover, which was taken from a variety show from the sixties, by Italian showgirl and host Raffaella Carrà. This leads into the first musical number - Brazilian artist Toquinho sings an Italian version of one of his songs. After less than a minute, in the middle of the song, another fragment is inserted: an orchestral version made by a brass band of the Brazilian hymn A Banda, rapidly followed by an Italian cover of the same tune performed by Mina. In a few minutes, other clips with a Portuguese flavour are shown – such as a duet featuring Fiorella Mannoia and Chico Buarque de Hollanda, a musical impression by Loretta Goggi, *a fado* exhibition by Amalia Rodrigues – with the intermission of another foreign country, Germany, indirectly referenced with a song by Italian performer Milva, *Alexander Platz* – and an exhibition by Italian new wave artist Garbo. Other clips follow.

The successful example of *Da Da Da* highlights the possibility – and, to a certain extent, the necessity – of how a re-mix of television archive is able to take into account the preferences of the public, according to a commercial logic that characterises the major part of TV productions, even by a Public Service Broadcaster. The fragments, which sometimes also consist of iconic scenes from classic Italian movies, are selected according to a thematic path, a story that accompanies the viewer from beginning to end and with which the audience can engage while decoding the different choices. The heavy pace, with full stops and subsequent reprises, prevents both boredom and the viewer's possible dislike of particular characters from interfering with their enjoyment of the programme. The predilection of a peculiar set of performances and artists from the sixties and the seventies adds an air of nostalgia to the selection. Following a typical 'entertainment logic', *Da Da Da* is then able to create a sort of mainstream canon, proposing hidden discoveries together with more well-known television pieces, that fits the needs of the schedule slot, and at the same time enhances the potential of the Rai Teche archive.

3   Militant Pedagogy: Blob

With its 22 years of regular, almost everyday airing, [Blob](#) is one of the longest-running programmes on Italian television. Inspired by the 1958 horror movie *The Blob* (dir. Irvin S Yeaworth Jr) and broadcast since 1989 by Raitre, the third Public Service Channel at 8 p.m. – the traditional news time on mainstream channels – Blob is a multi-authored TV production grounded on a simple, original concept: to summarise in a quick and rich 15/20 minutes 'montage' what happened on TV (and, more generally, in society as mirrored through the small screen) the day before. The programme's aim is, nevertheless, neither descriptive nor neutrally didactic: it takes a caustic and satiric perspective to both television itself and society, especially politics and attempts to set up a 'metatextual' humoristic criticism just by making use of recent TV materials.

Television flow is, in this sense, a slimy, shapeless and quite disgusting fluid – 'un blob', 'a blob' (now in common parlance) – whose meaning can be patched up only by an ironic, distancing point of view, reachable through the editing and juxtaposition of fragments.

During its long history, *Blob* has frequently bypassed its original 'rule' of creating a narrative which is only about the previous 'day on the small screen' and has often made 'thematic' episodes, focusing on specific topics or personalities (especially Silvio Berlusconi, who has dominated public life in the last twenty years); on the other hand, *Blob* has tried to 'read' the national most debated, everyday issues and current affairs through a militant, corrosive point of view, using on-screen titles, odd sequence combination, music/sound de-synchronised with images etc.

The *Blob* episode that aired on 23 February 2007 presents a telling title on screen, 'Caduta libera' (tr. 'Free fall'), which points to the specific political situation at that time, when the short-lived, centre-left government led by Romano Prodi was entering a critical phase of strong turbulence, which ended under a year later with the prime

minister's resignation, followed by a general political election and the fourth Berlusconi's centre-right executive, in 2008.

The episode starts its narrative with the opening sequence of the French movie *Le Haine* (dir. Mathieu Kassovitz, 1995), which shows the violent crash of a Molotov bomb on the land, symbolically evoking a sense of fall (the movie was aired, the day before, on the private network Retequattro). Afterwards, the melody of a particularly kitsch performance by pop singer Adriano Pappalardo provides the soundtrack – *Ricominciamo*, literally, *Let's start again* – to a juxtaposition of shots drawn from news and current affairs programmes depicting the chaotic political situation and the critical moment for Prodi's government. This quick, initial montage of very different images and sounds clearly shows what can be described as the '*Blob* method': its use of television fragments, 'recent' because they are part of the omnivorous flow or 'fluid' coming daily from the small screen, but removed from their origins: a 1995 French movie, an eighties pop-music performance, news and current affairs. *Blob*'s aim is quite clear: the programme renovates, in an original meta-textual fashion, the tradition of social and political satire that follows an entire history of national cultural industry.

This satiric tradition, characterised by its acidic and ironic take on power, its representatives (politicians, but also the ruling class in general, including the media "powerless elite"11) and its rituals, meets an 'oriented' or 'militant' pedagogy12: *Blob* tries to give its viewer an 'anarchic' point of view, as well as the means to 'read differently' a reality in which fictional and factual, truth and spectacle13 are irreparably blended. In this case, the vigorously intonated words of the *Ricominciamo* song – originally referring to a romance-narrative – are turned upside down in order to make fun of the left parties' tendency to always make the same mistakes again and again, and to never accomplish their goals.

4 Snack Entertainment: Super Show

The re-use and re-mix of the television archive has been a strategy widely employed not only by the public service broadcaster Rai, but also by Italian commercial networks. Canale 5, the flagship channel of the Mediaset group and the large private media outlet owned by Silvio Berlusconi, has tried various times to exploit its huge library – the result of thirty years of regular original production. On several occasions a particularly well-known programme has been re-broadcast for an important celebration, as in the case of the re-transmission of the popular variety show *Drive-in* and fake news magazine *Striscia la notizia* (tr. *The News 'Slithers'*), 20 and 10 years (respectively) after their first episodes aired. Another important circumstance of re-mix and mash-up of archival content has been the preparation of specials entirely devoted to important entertainers, as with the comedy (and real life) couple Raimondo Vianello and Sandra Mondaini. However, the most important step towards a coherent and extensive re-utilisation of its commercial properties was accomplished in the summer of 2008, with the broadcast of Super Show.

Starting with its title – the use of the word 'super' - and its collocation – in the delicate time slot between the news and the beginning of prime time - the programme is deeply indebted to the previous experiments of public broadcasting, such as *Super Varietà* (tr. *Super Variety Show*). Nonetheless, the 'commercial TV's take' on the

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11 F. Alberoni, *L'élite senza potere*, Vita e Pensiero, Milano 1963.
12 According to Fausto Colombo, a 'militant' or 'oriented pedagogy' is one of the main cultural logics or forces that contributed to the birth and development of the Italian cultural industry during the XIX century. See F. Colombo, *La cultura sottile*, Milano 1998.
13 In a sense very close to Guy Debord's 'spectacle'. See G. Debord, *Societies of Spectacle*, Black & Red, 1977.

archival compilation of TV fragments has been quite different in its purpose and results (and far less successful, with the suspension of the experiment after only one season).

Super Show drew heavily on comedy, resulting in a disorganised and messy collection of sketches and monologues performed by famous Italian comedians (such as Luciana Littiszetto, Aldo, Giovanni e Giacomo, Claudio Bisio, Paola Cortellesi) and entertainers (i.e. Fiorello). The insertion of 'historical' pieces of TV, for instance the first newscast hosted by anchorman Enrico Mentana or the early debuts of famous presenters Gerry Scotti and Paolo Bonolis, are the only exceptions to this unwritten rule.

As a consequence, *Super Show* demonstrated several weaknesses in the re-use of the archive. First, the series did not offer the audience a coherent path connecting materials of different origin, preferring a distracting, and sometimes confused, set of individual items unable to interact with the previous and following ones. Secondly, it broke a series of unwritten rules about TV stars and brands. Often the re-used sketches starred comedians that were now important assets of other Mediaset competitors, including Rai, and the commercial broadcaster only owned the rights to air their first appearances on television. The selection also included fragments never aired before on Canale 5 and not fully suited for a mainstream audience, such as those taken from programmes previously produced by Italia 1, another network of the Mediaset group, which caters mainly to younger audiences.

The commercial exploitation of the Italian TV archive has been made with a 'recent past sensibility' with some important pieces of network history (i.e. comedy shows from the eighties) being completely avoided, while more contemporary characters and stars being widely favoured. The reckless jumble of various sections of the archive and a 'comedy sketch logic' brought an imperfect experiment to the audience similar to Rai's practices, but without their strong identity and peculiar traits.

5 History Popularisation: La Super Storia
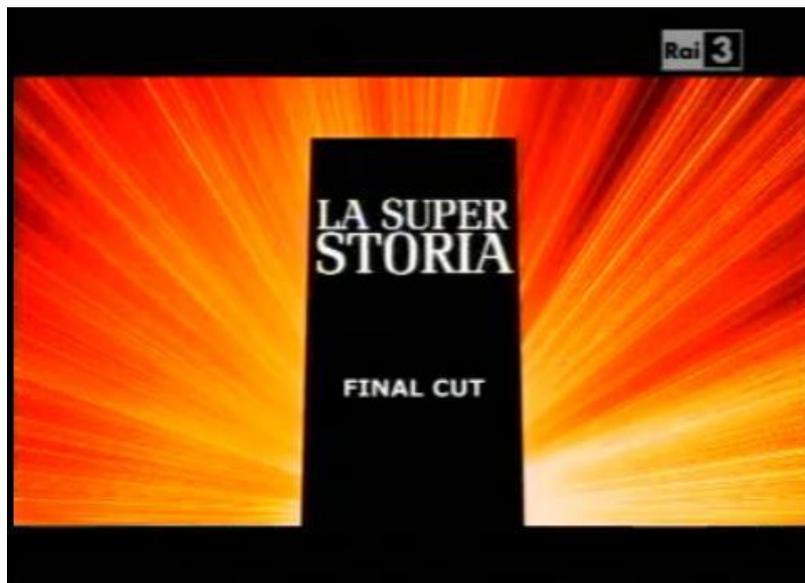
Another experiment on Italian television, once again on the Public Service Broadcaster, was the re-utilisation of the huge archive of Teche Rai to package shows that could give a distinctive interpretation of national history. *La Super Storia* (tr. *Super History*) is a good example of this. A series of a dozen hour-long documentaries – or, in a way, mockumentaries – composed by several long fragments taken both from information and educational programmes and from political satire shows. The result is a roundup on the development of some important themes from the beginning of Italian TV in 1954 until the present day, where even impersonations of political personalities, sketches with a social background or parodies are taken as a trustworthy source for political, cultural and social commentary from an historical perspective.

The show is written by Andrea Salerno and directed by Igor Skofic, authors of several left-wing variety and talk shows aired by Raidue and Raitre (i.e. *L'ottavo nano*, *Parla con me*) and members of an unofficial 'factory' of Italian satire that includes such stars as Corrado and Sabina Guzzanti, and host Serena Dandini. In *La Super*

Storia, they detach their work from current events and choose to collocate parts of previous works into a tradition of Italian political and social lampoon. The episodes, generally broadcast throughout the summer in different timeslots including access prime time and noon, and heavily re-broadcast through the year, are grouped into a visual 'encyclopedia', and are each dedicated to a different broad theme: topics range from a comparison of left- and right-wing politics, the importance of soccer in national culture, the economy, sexual habits in recent history as well as welfare and employment.

The fragments taken from the archive are particularly long, with full news items and comic sketches, connected by an ironically emphatic voice off-screen. This can easily be seen in the initial fragments of the episode dedicated to the economy, and entitled 'Il capitale è finito' (tr. 'Capital has ended') which has a forceful allusion to Marxist theories and their inability to fully read contemporary phenomena. The opening sequence is abstract, with a black monolith floating in space, surrounded by a red halo and electronic signals: a direct reference to *2001: A Space Odyssey* (dir Stanley Kubrick, 1968) but also hinting at the digitisation of the television archive. The first fragment after the opening sequence starts in voice off, and it is a few seconds before the first images can be seen: a video taken from a professional conference held by Telecom, Italy's most important Telco, showing a motivational speech held by top manager Luca Luciani. The speech is famous for containing huge mistakes, including a reference to Waterloo as Napoleon's triumph (which led to that particular fragment going viral) and here demonstrating the fragile cultural basis of knowledge workers. A second fragment, shockingly different, comes from a sixties educational programme called *Sapere* (tr. *Knowledge*), explaining industrial economy and including interviews with factory workers. After a few minutes, the fragment ends and allows the narrator to explain the theme of the episode – the relations between economy, work, trade unions, strikes, etc. – over a very traditional background of factories, assembly lines and machinery. The third fragment, with a time leap, is taken from the satirical programme *Raiot* (wordplay between Rai and riot) broadcast for only one episode in 2003 due to political controversy and showing female comedian Sabina Guzzanti impersonating Barbara Palombelli, a soft news journalist and the wife of a prominent Italian politician, while talking about the uselessness of worker strikes. And so it continues, alternating between serious and comedic pieces. At the end of each episode, the monolith returns, and – accompanied by Beatles' *Here Comes the Sun* – the sources of each fragment are meticulously shown with names of performers, authors, original programmes and air dates.

La Super Storia is, therefore, groundbreaking in its exploitation of Public Service archives, trying to 'bend' historical material to fit the creation (or re-creation) of an 'amusing national history', often read from a post-ideological left-wing point of view. The archival fragments are fully respected, aired in long and complete clips and with the correct temporal and contextual indications, but simultaneously acquiring a new meaning from the juxtaposition and from the 'serious' reading of comedic numbers. An 'educational logic' that makes use of TV satire as a textbook, therefore, mingles with a less demanding reading of the programme as a collection of noteworthy educational and satirical clips.

6 Conclusion: The Logics Of Exploitation

Through this close analysis of four different mainstream TV programmes that make full use of the archival resources of Public Broadcasters (or, in the case of *Super Show*, of commercial networks), we are able to make a few final remarks that will hopefully lead to subsequent research in the field.

In first place, the utilisation of archive materials leads to a completely new contextualisation, depending both on the source material and the destination programme. A series of different 'media logics' have emerged, and can lead to different interpretations and functions of the same material, thanks to their insertion into an environment branded by network and programme identity, to the editing and scheduling practices, and to a collocation in time, place and flow dissimilar from their first broadcast. Pieces from the archive can also be exploited according to 'pure' entertainment logic, in order to construct a meaningful collection of amusing clips, such as in *Da Da Da*. They can be juxtaposed in order to gain new meanings from the sequence, the editing and the overlap of images and sounds, follow a deliberate logic that can even become pedagogical, as in *Blob*. They can be put together in a sequence of noteworthy moments, choosing a sketch logic that isolates and frames comedy scenes into a sort of 'canned laughter' as exemplified by *Super Show*. Finally, they can be oriented to build a national history and memory for educational (or perhaps lightly educational) purposes and re-framed into a unique narrative made of progress and life cycle, as in *La Super Storia*.

These logics in the use of the TV archive follow wider trends that affect cultural production and circulation in their entirety[14]: an educational or ideological stance on the part of the producers, as well as a collocation in Public Service Television, commercial networks or thematic channels[15] can inexorably change not only the programme, but the significance of each piece of content taken from the libraries and the archives. On the one hand, these fragments conserve their value as an historic source, even if typical of a more popular and lowbrow 'minor history', or 'entertainment history'. On the other hand, the exploitation of the library leads to a consideration of the single pieces as a precious commercial resource that grows bigger and bigger in time, thanks to the insertion into collective memory and nostalgia, in a sort of 'historification process' that involves the entertainment programmes and puts them into lists, top tens, rankings and charts.[16]

As the fragments of the television archive occupy larger and larger portions of programming hours in the schedule of the main networks, the status of the 'pieces from the past' also changes: it becomes a classic feature, commonly used, mixed with the re-runs[17] and the re-makes, confused in the white noise of television programming. And this can lead to an extreme: the re-use of pieces re-used, the re-mix of the already re-mixed, as in *Blob* taking a sequence of *Da Da Da*, and inserting it into an interpretation of contemporary Italian society. Today, everything ends up into an archive, and re-starts its life cycle from there.

Biography

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14 For useful indicators about Italian TV and media, see A. Grasso, *Storia della televisione italiana,* Garzanti, 2004; P. Ortoleva, Mediastoria, Milano 2002; F. Colombo, *La cultura sottile,* cit.

15 There is a detailed discussion of two thematic channels, Rai Storia and Rai Extra in *Catch-up avec les archives. La télévision numérique terrestre et le patrimoine audiovisuel du service public en Italie*, L. Barra, C. Penati, INA, Paris.

16 How the past is distorted and read according to contemporary values is widely known. As this relates to the music business, see the recent (and widely discussed) S. Reynolds, *Retromania*, Faber and Faber, London 2011. Check also U. Eco, *The Infinity of Lists*, Rizzoli International, Milano 2009.

17 For a close analysis of differences and similarities between reruns and archival content on television, a useful source is D. Kompare, *Rerun Nation*, Routledge, 2004.