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**(RE)CREATING THE (FOLK MUSIC) TRADITION:
THE NATIONAL COMPETITION OF BRASS ORCHESTRAS AT
THE DRAGAČEVO TRUMPET FESTIVAL**

Abstract: This paper deals with the problem of the treatment of traditional music at the *Dragačevo Trumpet Festival*, one of the most important folk music festivals in Serbia. In over half a century of its existence, the Festival has developed from a local event into an international spectacle with a programme scheme which reflects the growing tendency towards multiculturalism, also obvious at the national contest, which refers conceptually to the national folk music tradition. The effects of 'festivalization' are analysed on the example of the 50th contest (2010), as a paradigm of the modern treatment of the folk music tradition at the Festival. The complexity of the web of the Festival's protagonists (musicians, organizers, the members of the jury, the audience), requires a consideration of the issue through different domains which represent their participation in the (re)creation of tradition.

Key words: *Dragačevo Trumpet Festival*, trumpet-playing (in Serbia), competition (of brass orchestras), tradition, reshaping tradition.

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Апстракт: Рад је посвећен проблему третмана традиционалне музике на Драгачевском сабору трубаџа, једном од најзначајнијих фолклорних музичких фестивала у Србији. За више од пола века постојања, Сабор се од догађаја локалног значаја развио у интернационални спектакл са програмском шемом која одражава растућу тенденцију ка мултикултуралности, видљиву и на националном такмичењу, које концептуално реферира на националну фолклорну музичку традицију. Ефекти фестивализације разматрају се на примеру 50. такмичења (2010), као парадигме савременог третмана фолклорне музичке традиције на Сабору. Сложеност мреже актера фестивала (музичари, организатори, жири, публика) налаже сагледавање проблематике преко различитих домена који репрезентују њихово партиципирање у (ре)креирању традиције.

Кључне речи: Драгачевски сабор трубаџа, трубаштво (у Србији), такмичење (брас оркестара), традиција, преобликовање традиције.

The *Dragačevo Trumpet Festival* is the biggest musical folklore manifestation in Serbia and one of the most important regional music festivals. Great popularity and its specific profile make it the centre of attention of national and even foreign researchers, mostly ethnologists and anthropologists, sociologists and culturologists.¹ Considering that this is a folk music festival² and that ethnomusicologists have constantly been present at the Festival throughout its history,³ it is surprising that a comparatively small number of works have been dedicated

¹ Miloš Timotijević, *Karneval u Guči: Sabor trubača 1961-2004*, [*Carnival in Guča: Trumpet Festival 1961-2004*] Čačak, Legenda i Narodni muzej, 2005; Miroslava Lukić Krstanović, 'Politika trubaštva – folklor u prostoru nacionalne moći' ['The Policy of Trumpet-playing – Folklore in the Space of National Power'], in: Zorica Divac (ed.), *Zbornik radova Etnografskog instituta SANU [Proceedings of the SASA Ethnographic Institute]* vol. 22, Belgrade, Etnografski institut SANU, 2006, 187–205; Miroslava Lukić Krstanović, *Spektakli XX veka: muzika i moć [Spectacles of the XX Century: Music and Power]*, Belgrade, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Etnografski institut (Special editions vol. 72), 2010; Valdemar Kulić, 'Nacionalizam običnih ljudi: Etnicizacija muzičke tradicije na primeru Sabora u Guči' ['Nationalism of Ordinary People: Ethnicization of the Musical Tradition on the Example of the Guča Festival'], *Antropologija*, 2011, 11/2, 67–84; Dragoslav B. Petrović, *Mesto i domašaj „Dragačevskog sabora“ u kulturnom miljeu Srbije [The Place and Reach of the 'Dragačevo Festival' in the Cultural Milieu of Serbia]*, Niš, Univerzitet u Nišu, Filozofski fakultet (doctoral thesis, manuscript), 2012.

² By the term 'folk music' we allude to traditional music, not to the much broader 'folk music concept', often used in the English language.

³ Miodrag Vasiljević, the founder of the Department of Ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, was one of the conceptual authors of the Festival and the member of its first jury. For a number of years, from the First Festival on, Dragoslav Dević, PhD, participated in the jury, as did many other ethnomusicologists, later.

to it.⁴ Our comprehension of this Festival unites the experience of field research – through the years-long live experience of the music and backstage insight into the behaviour of the key participants in the specific context of the festival, as well as experience in the application of ethnomusicological knowledge from the position of the members of the expert jury.⁵ We have delayed the scientific elaboration of the personal insights for several reasons. First of all, the impression of the limited examination of the Festival from separate scientific aspects on the basis of the published works (about it), led to initiating an interdisciplinary project, which would consider in an appropriate, interactive way, all the significant dimensions of this (increasingly complex) event, and, in this sense, also the music. Besides, there were certain reservations regarding writing about the experience ensuing from personal engagement, which is related to cultural policy, and, on the other hand, is not recognized as a project assignment in the context of current scientific policy. Still, specific circumstances induced us to set the Trumpet Festival in our scientific focus at this moment. First of all, ideas about interdisciplinary projects in our scientific environment are still difficult to carry out for bureaucratic reasons, so it is uncertain when we would be in a position to approach the analysis of the Festival in that way. Besides, festivals have, in the last few decades, in the global context, become ‘istaknute tačke muzičkih pejzaža’ [‘prominent spots of musical landscapes’] and ‘jedan od najvažnijih savremenih folklornih konteksta’

⁴ Dragoslav Dević, *Narodna muzika Dragačeva: oblici i razvoj* [Folk Music of Dragačevo: Forms and Development], Belgrade, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1986; Dragoslav Dević, ‘Od Kragujevca do Guča’ [‘From Kragujevac to Guča’], in: Adam Tadić et al., *Guča: pola veka Sabora trubača (1961–2010)* [Guča: Half A Century of the Trumpet Festival], Guča – Belgrade, Centar za kulturu, sport i turizam Opštine Lučani ‘Dragačevo’, ‘Princip Pres’, 2010, 28–30; Dimitrije Golemović, ‘Mesto i uloga limenih duvačkih orkestara u narodnoj muzičkoj praksi Srbije’ [‘The Place and Role of Brass Orchestras in the Folk Musical Practice of Serbia’], in: *Etnomuzikološki ogledi* [Ethnomusicological Essays] Belgrade, Biblioteka XX vek, 1997, 211–226; Dimitrije Golemović, ‘Šta i kako’, *Dragačevski trubač* [‘What and How’, *The Trumpeteer of Dragačevo*], July 23rd 2002, 12–13; Dimitrije Golemović, ‘Brass Bands in Serbia: from Urban to Rural and back to Urban Musical Practice’, in: Sokol Shupo (ed.), *Urban Music in the Balkans*, international symposium, Tirana September 28 – October 1, 2006, Tirana, ASMUS, 2006, 359–368; Mirjana Zakić, ‘Raskošna i raznovrsna muzička tradicija’ [‘Magnificent and Diverse Musical Tradition’], in: Adam Tadić et al. *Guča: pola veka Sabora trubača (1961–2010)*. Guča – Belgrade, Centar za kulturu, sport i turizam Opštine Lučani ‘Dragačevo’, ‘Princip Pres’, 2010, 356–357; Mirjana Zakić, ‘“Dragačevski sabor trubača” u Guči – uloga festivala i takmičenja u oblikovanju tradicionalne muzike u Srbiji’ [‘“Dragačevo Trumpet Festival” in Guča – the role of festival and competition in shaping traditional music in Serbia’], work presented at 40th Conference of ICTM in Durban, held from 1 to 8 July 2009.

⁵ Namely, we have been participating in the Trumpet Festival for ten years, as members of the expert jury.

[‘one of the most important contemporary folklore contexts’],⁶ thus becoming one of the key objects in the focus of new global ethnomusicological research. In our domestic scientific production there are still very few works dedicated to festivals, and among them, few are based on experiences gained from a direct insight. The incentive to present directly our own views on specific aspects of the *Festival* was also the fact that our experiences and narratives about them became the subject of interpretations not only of journalists, but also of other scientists dealing with the phenomenon of ‘Guča’. Above all else, an important motive for writing this text arises from a sense of obligation to contribute, in our own way, to a more comprehensive understanding of the *Trumpet Festival* in Guča as an event that is existentially significant for a great part of the trumpet playing population in Serbia. In that sense, the ethnomusicological activities concerning the ranking of the brass orchestras, influencing their status, and their market value as well, have the effect of a socially committed application of scientific knowledge. On the global level, the responsibility of the ethnomusicological evaluation of the position of trumpet-playing in Serbian culture was intensified by discussing this musical practice as an element which should be verified in the process of protecting non-material cultural heritage. The concurrence of the said motives directed our attention to this opportunity for understanding and treating traditional music in the context of the performances of the orchestras in Guča, and the finale of the national competition is the Festival programme, which testifies about it most explicitly. The competition at the jubilee 50th Festival held in 2010 is an example of the paradigmatic qualities compared to the modern relation of trumpet-playing and traditional music in the festival context, which is exactly the reason why it was, on this occasion, chosen as the subject of particular attention. In order to examine it comprehensively, it is necessary to provide its historical shadow and synchronic frame, to which we devoted the first part of our study.

The Dragačevo Trumpet Festival: the first 50 years

The tradition of such festivals, as local gatherings of an economic and entertainment character but, above all, with an integrative function, in the period

⁶ Naila Ceribašić, ‘Festivalski okviri folklornih tradicija: Primjer *Međunarodne smotre folklor*’ [‘The Festival Context of Folk Traditions: the Example of *International Folk Review*’], in : Zorica Vitez and Aleksandra Muraj (eds.) *Predstavljanje tradicijske kulture na sceni i u medijima* [*The Presentation of the Traditional Culture on the Stage and in Media*], Zagreb, Hrvatsko etnološko društvo – Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2008, 7; Dan Lundberg, Krister Malm, Owe Ronström, *Music, Media, Multiculture: Changing Musicscapes*, Svenskt Visarkiv, 2003, 333.

after World War II, was used as a basis for the achievement of new ideological objectives.⁷ In such a context, in 1961 in Guča, a town in the region of Dragačevo in Western Serbia, on the basis of concrete experiences in organizing a local review of ‘authentic national creativity’,⁸ a specific competitive festival of brass orchestras was initiated in 1961, the *Dragačevo Festival of Village Trumpet-players of Serbia*, today the *Dragačevo Trumpet Festival*.⁹ As the focus of this cultural event, trumpet-playing was chosen as a representative but already endangered segment of the Dragačevo region’s culture.¹⁰ Namely, although rather popular in the first decades of the 20th century, the activity and number of brass orchestras which had become a part of various national celebrations, declined after the Second World War.¹¹ Thus, from approximately fifteen orchestras mentioned in Dragačevo between the First and the Second World Wars,¹² there were only four¹³ ready to make an appearance at the first competition in Guča, each

⁷ More on this in: Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, ‘The Politics of Folklore on the Festival market: Power of the Paradigm and Power of the Stage’ (forthcoming work); Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, ‘Politika trubaštva – folklor u prostoru nacionalne moći’ [‘The Policy of Trumpet-playing – Folklore in the Space of National Power’]..., 187–194.

⁸ ‘Termin *narodno stvaralaštvo* je od šezdesetih godina dvadesetog veka promovisan u nazivima publikacija i manifestacija, od sedamdesetih godina sve češće se upotrebljava termin *izvorno narodno stvaralaštvo*, kao preteča budućoj nacionalnoj kovanici “srpska baština”, koja je postala omiljena floskula u akademsko-političkim retoričkim pledoajeima’ [‘The term *national creativity* was promoted from the 1960s in the titles of publications and events, and from the 1970s, the term *authentic national creativity* was used increasingly often, as the precursor of the future national coinage “Serbian heritage”, which would become the favourite platitude in the academic-political rhetorical pleas’], Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, ‘The Politics of Folklore on the Festival Market: Power of the Paradigm and Power of the Stage’.... In other ex-Yugoslav republics, the festivals founded during the 1960s and 1970s are also referred to as reviews of the *authentic* folklore (Naila Ceribašić, op. cit., 7).

⁹ Radovan M. Marinković, Nika-Nikola Stojić and Joviša M. Slavković, *Dragačevski sabor trubača 1961–2005* [*Dragačevo Trumpet Festival 1961-2005*], Guča, Centar za kulturu, sport i turizam Opštine Lučani ‘Dragačevo’, 2006, 11–12; Adam Tadić, Joviša M. Slavković, Nika Nikola Stojić and Radovan M. Marinković, *Guča: pola veka sabora trubača u Guči*, Guča, Centar za kulturu, sport i turizam Opštine Lučani ‘Dragačevo’, 2010, 75.

¹⁰ Radovan M. Marinković, Nika-Nikola Stojić and Joviša M. Slavković, op. cit., 13–14.

¹¹ Krsto Milovanović and Dragan Babić, *Srpska truba* [*Serbian Trumpet*], Belgrade, Narodno delo, 2003, 29–131; Adam Tadić, Joviša M. Slavković, Nika Nikola Stojić and Radovan M. Marinković, op. cit., 53–66.

¹² Nika-Nikola Stojić, Prota Hadži Jovan Lukić, Nevenka Bojović, Joviša M. Slavković, Mišula Petrović, *Trubačka budilica: od Guče do večnosti* [*The Trumpet Wake Up Call: From Guča to Eternity*], Čačak – Guča – Chicago, TV Galaksija 32 – Radio Dragačevo – Tiffany Print, 2006, 29.

¹³ Stanojla Đorđević-Jovanović, at the time the music teacher in Guča who was in charge of preparing the players to appear at the First Trumpet Festival, thus witnessed their playing:

made up of five or six members.¹⁴ The Third Festival grew into a republic manifestation (in the context of the state social system of the time), with the participation of Gypsy and Wallachian orchestras from the south and the east, or, more accurately, south-east and north-east of Serbia.¹⁵ These orchestras presented different musical styles, but also had an impressive level of performance. Their qualities were respected by the hosts, who considered them to be ‘*izučeni trubači*’ [‘trained trumpet-players’], although none of those folk trumpet-players was musically literate,¹⁶ but this was also confirmed by the awards given by the jury, which elevated the criteria for evaluation at subsequent festivals. The affirmation of trumpet-playing and the increased interest in the competition created the need for a regional selection of orchestras from the west, south-east and north-east of Serbia. The recent introduction of the (fourth) pre-competition centre for the region of the north of Serbia – Vojvodina, also testifies to the popularity of trumpet music spreading geographically. Evidence on the age profile of the trumpet-playing population, however, lies in the great number of young trumpet-players, which resulted in the establishment of separate competition categories for the ‘youth’ and ‘pioneer’ categories. An increasing number of foreign orchestras brought new colour to the musical picture of the Festival, while the 50th Festival also introduced an international competition. Alongside of the competition performances, review performances of domestic trumpet orchestras became increasingly popular, which was institutionalized in the form of a Midnight Concert in 2001. The concept of this programme involved review performances of the best domestic orchestras with a latently competitive character (outplaying/*nadsviravanje*), at the same time offering performers a chance to show the diversity of their musical and cultural identities through their own choice of programme.¹⁷

‘Trubači, muzički neobrazovani, svirali su čisto, izvorno, narodnjački, malo “galamdžijski”, iz dubine duše i trube, ljubavlju i scem, melodijski izvanredno, dok im interpretacija nije bila na zavidnoj visini’ [‘The trumpet-players, musically uneducated, played a pure, authentic, folk, rather “noisy” music from the depth of their souls and trumpets, with heart and with love, melodically magnificently, while their interpretation was not of the highest level’]. Radovan M. Marinković, Nika-Nikola Stojić and Joviša M. Slavković, op. cit., 14, 15.

¹⁴ Regarding the propositions, today’s orchestras have up to ten members, and besides trumpets, there are also accompanying instruments of the brass section (bass flugelhorn, helicon), as well as percussion (drum with cymbals and, optionally, side drum).

¹⁵ Dragan Babić, *Priča o srpskoj trubi* [The Story of the Serbian Trumpet], Beograd, Beogradska knjiga, 2004, 159–270.

¹⁶ Ibid., 211.

¹⁷ Mirjana Zakić – Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, ‘Susreti muzičkih kultura na *Ponoćnom koncertu* “Dragačevskog sabora trubača” u Guči’ [‘The Meetings of Musical Cultures in the *Midnight Concert* of the “Dragačevo Trumpet Festival” in Guča’], paper presented at the symposium ‘The Days of Vlado S. Milošević’ in Banja Luka, 2012 (forthcoming).

In this way, after half a century of the continuous existence of the *Dragačevo Trumpet Festival* it developed a programme concept whose framework is made up of a finale, national competition of brass orchestras, an international competition, and the *Midnight Concert* review. The attraction of such an event is confirmed by the attendance which, at the 50th Festival, according to the organizers' estimates, came to 800,000 people, which represents an enormous growth compared to the audience of 10,000 at the First Festival. The participation of over fifty orchestras from different parts of Serbia only in the competition cycle at this jubilee festival, testifies to the accomplishment of the Festival's primary goal – the continuation and popularization of trumpet-playing.

Tradition and Trumpet-playing at the Festival

In the context of scientifically analyzing the *Dragačevo Trumpet Festival*, one of the most frequently problematized aspects is the treatment of tradition, more specifically, the relation of traditional music and the Festival. This problem is, first of all, related to the different concepts of tradition, which vary in a wide range, from the essentialist understanding of tradition, as the 'canon of text that provides a cultural identity for its practitioners',¹⁸ to the constructivist interpretation of tradition as 'unstable across time and continually changing to meet the requirements of the present'.¹⁹ Most modern scientific discourses, including ethnomusicological, stress the optimal combination of these two concepts of tradition, that is, of the object-oriented and process-oriented research perspective.²⁰ This approach is advocated by Ingrid Åkesson, who points out the double-sided concept of tradition, both organic/essential and symbolic/constructivist, both as an object and as a process.²¹ The aspect of viewing tradition as an object implies the set of essential elements which enable the recognition of tradition by its exponents and/or external observers, while the aspect of understanding tradition as a process refers to the continuity and the survival of the elements in time.²² The

¹⁸ David Atkenson, 'Revival, Genuine or Spurious?', in: Ian Russell & David Atkenson (eds.) *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen – Elphinstone Institute, 2004, 149.

¹⁹ Henry Glassie, 'Tradition', in: *Journal of American Folklore* 108 (1995), 408-409.

²⁰ Dan Lundberg, Krister Malm, Owe Ronström, op. cit., 8.

²¹ Ingrid Åkesson, 'Recreation, Reshaping, and Renewal among Contemporary Swedish Folk Singers (Attitudes toward Tradition in Vocal Folk Music Revitalization)', http://www.musik.uu.se/ssm/stmonline/vol_9/akesson/index.html, 2006, 5.

²² Edward Shils, *Tradition*, London – Boston, Faber and Faber Limited, 1981, 13-14.

selection of elements depends on the evaluation criteria and experiences of the given environment in a specific period of time.²³

In interpreting the status of trumpet-playing in Serbian culture, tradition shows itself to be debatable in two aspects: in the context of the genesis and the historical position of this practice, as well as in respect of the body of elements which can be defined as traditional trumpet music. According to the ergologic-technological criterion, the trumpet belongs to the group of factory-made (machine-made) brass wind instruments, and as such does not belong to the typical traditional pool of musical instruments of Serbia, which consists dominantly of wooden hand-made wind instruments. One of the most important events in the history of the trumpet in Serbia is the foundation of the *Knjaževsko-serbska banda* (*Serbian Prince's Band*) in 1831, with Josif Šlezinger as the bandmaster,²⁴ which promoted brass instruments of a modern type, organized in a band, in an urban environment. According to the available records, the trumpet became a part of rural life at the turn of the century (19th–20th), when the military trumpets of the soldiers returning from the wars were used at social celebrations.²⁵ 'Folklorization' occurred relatively quickly, which one can correlate with the volume of the sound suited to open space and, on the other hand, to the symbolism of the military instrument in the context of the people's historical memory and their attachment to 'national traditions'.²⁶ Subsequent generations willingly accepted the trumpet, and the skill of playing on it was included in the chain of the national oral tradition. Its generational continuity and increasing popularity led to trumpet-playing in various parts of Serbia during the first half of the 20th century developing to the extent and in a way that qualifies it as folk music practice. The players in brass bands, even today, mostly lack a formal musical education, so continuity, in the current conditions, is still provided by methods of oral musical pedagogy. From the perspective of the repertoire, the trumpet could also be regarded as a national instrument, considering that ('civilian')

²³ Zofia Lissa, *Estetika glazbe (ogledi)* [*Aesthetics of Music (Essays)*], Zagreb, Naprijed, 1977, 254.

²⁴ Stana Đurić-Klajn, 'Orkestri u Srbiji do osnivanja filharmonije' ['The Orchestras in Serbia before the Founding of the Philharmonic'], *Akordi prošlosti* [*The Chords of the Past*], Belgrade, Prosveta, 1981, 128-154.

²⁵ Krsto Milovanović, Dragan Babić, op. cit., 17-31; Nika-Nikola Stojić, Protina Hadži Jovan Lukić, Nevenka Bojović, Joviša M. Slavković, Mišula Petrović, op. cit., 28-30; Adam Tadić, Joviša M. Slavković, Nika Nikola Stojić, Radovan M. Marinković, op. cit., 33-36.

²⁶ More on this in: Slobodan Naumović, *Upotreba tradicije u političkom i javnom životu Srbije na kraju dvadesetog i početkom dvadeset prvog veka* [*The Use of Tradition in the Political and Public Life of Serbia at the End of The 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century*], Belgrade, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, IP 'Filip Višnjić', 2009, 82-84.

music, usually played on traditional country instruments, became the dominant part of the repertoire of trumpet-players and brass orchestras. Regarding the style of playing, given the lack of primary sound sources from the first half of the 20th century, we only know that, generally, brass orchestras had the function of a medium in the musical expression of the local population, and that trumpet dialects were clearly recognizable in the sound mosaic of Serbia.

The significant changes that happened in Serbia in the second half of the 20th century were reflected in the position and treatment of traditional folk music, as well as folk trumpet-playing. The idea of its revival in Dragačevo by organizing the Festival referred essentially to tradition, which is quite clear from the original title of the manifestation (used until 1971), *Dragačevo Festival of the Village Trumpet-players of Serbia* (italic authors' own), where the attribution 'village' connotes the authenticity of the (trumpet) practice. On the other hand, although the first festivals were of a local character (according to the participating orchestras), the title suggests a transformation from the traditional, local gathering into an event at the republic level, suitable for the new social reality. The key novelty was the stage itself. It enabled the performers to communicate with a significantly broader auditorium, but from the distance established by the stage. The new experience for the orchestras was also shaping their performances according to the context of a public concert appearance and the rules of the organizers. In addition to that, the competition profile of the Festival brought about a specific psychological charge. As for the repertoire, the first rules concerning the competition programmes were an indication of the organizers' aspirations to make the manifestation more acceptable to a broad auditorium and suited to the dominant political ideology. Despite the formally proclaimed necessity to preserve tradition in the essentialist sense, the traditional military (*Sa Ovčara i Kablara*²⁷) and the old-town songs (*Bledi mesec zagrljo zvezdu Danicu*), together with the genre specification of the other competition programmes (march, round dance), testifies to the treatment of tradition as the compilation of elements of various ages and origins. The increased number of participants, as well as the shifts in the ruling ideological currents during the history of the Festival,²⁸ had the impact of changing the propositions towards a

²⁷ More on the history of this song, which is often wrongly ideologically interpreted, in: Adam Tadić, Joviša M. Slavković, Nika Nikola Stojić, Radovan M. Marinković, op. cit., 69–70. Starting from the Third Festival, the melody of the song *Sa Ovčara i Kablara* became the trumpet hymn, with which the orchestras in unison mark the opening of each competition at the Dragačevo Festival.

²⁸ The shifts in the model of cultural policy, according to the analysis of Miloš Timotijević, happened in the rhythm of the decades. He defined their essence as 'spasavanje tradicije i sticanje popularnosti' ['saving the tradition and gaining popularity'], 'narodno stvaralaštvo

reduction in the competition programme – first, to one melody for each of the assigned genres: a song, a dance (round dance or ‘čoček’) and a march, and later, from 1993, to just an ‘authentic’ song and round dance/čoček.²⁹ Although the qualification ‘authentic’ refers to the (older) history, non-authorization and continuity, as the key features of traditional folk music (and tradition in the general sense),³⁰ the broadness of the repertoire presented and accepted as traditional, considering that it was treated as regular by both the organizers and the jury, testifies that, in practice, the relation towards tradition was close to the constructivist concept. Such an attitude was probably partly determined by the basic aim of the organizers – to support trumpet-playing and popularize the event, but in time, as cultural policy changed, even the notion of tradition also changed. Such flexibility on the part of the jury regarding the evaluation of ‘traditionalism’ of the competition programmes, often resulted in ‘innovating’ the tradition, and in drastic cases, the propositions were practically marginalized by the fact that the compositions which belong to popular music genres were also performed in the competitions.³¹ This kind of ‘inventing’, i.e. ‘deconstructing’ tradition, culminated at the end of the 20th century, endangering the concept of the competition, and even the manifestation itself. In the context of broader political and organizational changes at the beginning of the fifth decade of the Festival, a new expert jury was established, which re-oriented the competition programmes towards a (constructivistically treated) traditional milieu. The Statute of the organization of the competition defines the jury only generally (‘music experts’), while in practice, the relation towards tradition, shown

pod plaštom ideologije’ [‘folk creativity under the ideological mantle’], ‘dugi “posmrtni” marš Drugu Titu’ [‘the long “funeral” march for Comrade Tito’], ‘nacionalna elita “otkriva” Guču’ [‘the national elite “discovers” Guča’] and ‘rađanje svetskog karnevala’ [‘the birth of the world carnival’] (Miloš Timotijević, op. cit.).

²⁹ Nika-Nikola Stojić, Prota Hadži Jovan Lukić, Nevenka Bojović, Joviša M. Slavković, Mišula Petrović, op. cit., 140.

³⁰ More on this in: Slobodan Naumović, op. cit., 11-23; Herman Bauzinger, *Etnologija (Od proučavanja starine do kulturologije)* [Ethnology (From the Studying of Antiquity to Culturology)], Belgrade, XX vek, 2002, 91.

³¹ Here, for example, we have in mind compositions by Goran Bregović (*Kalašnjikov, Mesečina, Đurđevdan...*), made for the film productions by the director Emir Kusturica, and realized through the participation of certain Gypsy orchestras, which had become famous at the Festival, such as the orchestras of Boban Marković and Slobodan Saljević. The media attention which those orchestras attracted thanks to this turned them into stars and the idols of numerous trumpet-players, at the same time introducing these compositions, and, accordingly, these genres, into the repertoire of the Festival in Guča (more on this in: Mirjana Zakić, op. cit.).

through the evaluation of the performances of the competitors, depends exactly on its structure. Namely, the devaluation of collectivity and growing individualism in the modern and post-modern society, and, accordingly, the dominance of the solo-trumpet-player in relation to the formation sound taken as a whole, traced an important direction of change in the musical tradition. Musicians oriented towards classical and jazz music are not familiar enough with folk musical culture itself, while, on the other hand, they are very familiar with the role of the soloist, and therefore, the exposition of the soloist is affirmed. The quality of the individuals, especially of those in the leading positions, is unquestionably necessary, but, problems arise in cases when this leads to exhibitionism, the distortion of sound and the stylistic deformation of functionally determined musical-folk genres. The task of the jury is especially demanding regarding the comparison of the performances based on the traditions of different aesthetics, collectivistic and individualistic, where not knowing the postulates of the traditions leads to evaluation according to the current standards. In such a context, the knowledge and experience of ethnomusicologists turn out to be a necessary part of the total reference in ranking the competitors' performances.

The influence of the Festival on reshaping musical traditions towards individualization is also reinforced by the award system, consisting of the awards of the expert jury and the awards of the patrons/sponsors. Among the prizes given by the organizers, there is a certain balance – there is an equal number of awards for the first trumpet-player and the orchestra (three of each), but, the awards given by the sponsors of the event are mainly meant for the solo trumpet-player. In this class of awards, as time-honoured, the most prestigious is the so-called award of the audience,³² named 'The Golden Trumpet', which is why it is often wrongly equated in value with the 'The First Trumpet (of the *Dragačevo Trumpet Festival*)', awarded by the expert jury. Thus, through the net of signals connoted by the awards, a message is sent about the primary importance of the solo-trumpet-player, which is why this hierarchy is present in the minds of most trumpet-players. A balance to the prominence of the trumpet-players is provided by the 'Professor Miodrag Vasiljević' award for the most authentic performance, established since the Fourth Festival, and it has been joined since 1990 by the 'The Golden Apple' award of Radio Belgrade's Second Programme. The significance of the award for the most authentic musical performance also lies in the fact that it is one of the four awards which are the condition for acquiring the title of 'Master of the *Dragačevo Trumpet*', but, on

³² The audience jury for a long time consisted of so-called public figures or celebrities – artists of different profiles, journalists – and recently, tele-voting was introduced.

the other side, it is a kind of paradox that the ‘master’s certificate’ includes both the individual and the collective awards.³³

In view of the changes that traditional music has undergone in the context of the Festival, one can notice that some of them are caused by endogenous impulses, as the product of the performer’s creativity and the efforts to improve a tradition, but still, reshaping a tradition is mostly due to exogenous factors – such as various external influences and, above all, encounters with other music cultures.³⁴ The shift in the cultural profile of the Festival, from an event oriented towards local culture, to multiculturalism at the national level (multiethnicity), and further, to the international level, has induced cultural dialogs as the reflection of confrontation, but also the interpenetration of (musical) cultures. Reaching out for the potential of diversity in the cultural offer, the organizers aspired to the multicultural concept, in the sense of the more or less independent co-existence of musical cultures.³⁵ Considering the particular quality of the co-existence of these cultures in Guča with the existence of the common medium (the trumpet, i.e. the brass orchestra) which enables their direct communication, the meetings of musical cultures unavoidably included interaction – the kind of relation which defines interculturalism as a concept.³⁶ The multicultural and intercultural dimensions of the Festival are especially prominent in the review and the unofficial performances. The freedom of the orchestras’ musical presentation to the increasingly numerous and, what is even more important, culturally varied auditorium, resulted in enormously broadening the repertoire, raising amateur performance to professional quality performance, but also, creating a new aesthetic. It turned out that multiculturalism, as a concept of accepting and promoting diversity, is also efficient in providing the prominence and sustainability of trumpet-playing, on a national scale. On the other hand, the idea of

³³ To earn the title ‘The Master of the Dragačevo Trumpet’, the trumpet-player must win one of the great awards three times, among which are the award of the expert jury for the best trumpet-player, the best orchestra and the most authentic musical performance, as well as the audience’s award for the most popular trumpet-player (according to the *Pravilnik predtakmičenja, polufinalnog i finalnog takmičenja trubačkih orkestara Dragačevskog sabora trubača u Guči* [The Statute of the Pre-competition, the Semi-Final and the Final Competition of Brass Orchestras of the Dragačevo Trumpet Festival in Guča], 2009, 6).

³⁴ More on this in: Edward Shils, op. cit., 213-261.

³⁵ Majda Adlešić, ‘Unapredjenje kvaliteta ambijenta interkulturalne komunikacije (pogled sa strane)’ [‘The Improvement of the Quality of the Ambience of Intercultural Communication (a side view)’], in: *Interkulturalnost, Časopis za podsticanje i afirmaciju interkulturalne komunikacije* 01:34-41, Novi Sad, The Institute for Culture of Vojvodina, 2011, 35.

³⁶ Ibid.

promoting the ‘Serbian style of trumpet-playing’ beyond national borders is built into the propositions of the international competition.³⁷ The performances of foreign orchestras at the international competitions held so far (in 2010 and 2011) have pointed to a different understanding and interpretation of (musical) traditions: those from the territory of Serbia, whose experience they were supposed to express, and their own, which they were supposed to bring closer to the Festival audience. Thus, the programmes of some orchestras included artistic compositions inspired by folk dances, as well as those which belong to other genres of national art music. Even more than the repertoires themselves, the attitudes of the performers towards tradition are shown in the interpretations of the melodies. Still, the heterogeneity of the original musical cultures of the orchestras participating in the international competition complicates the observation and comparison of the ways of reshaping the traditions, which is why the analysis of this question regarding the treatment of tradition/s can better be considered on the example of the national competition.

The Treatment of Tradition at the 50th National Competition of the ‘Dragačevo Trumpet Festival’

The jubilee Trumpet Festival had a special significance and atmosphere, it lasted longer and had a larger audience than the previous ones, and the decision to organize an international competition, as well, created the need to stress the national profile of the competition, which constitutes the basic event of the Festival. The system of competition implied selection through regional pre-competitions and the last chance for qualification in the finale at the so-called play-off at the Guča Festival, itself. Thus, 16 orchestras went to the finals: 8 from the south-east, 7 from the west and 1 from the north-east of Serbia. The rules of the competition programmes were ‘standard’: to perform an ‘authentic folk song’ and a ‘folk round dance/čoček’. The orchestras performing at the 50th competition presented in their performances very different attitudes towards musical tradition, regarding repertoire, as well as the performance style of the chosen melodies. Besides that, many of them demonstrated an inconsistency in their attitude towards tradition, so that, within the same programme, the song and the round dance sometimes differed significantly in style (which is, also, a specific indication of the lack of knowledge, or disregard for tradition). Therefore, it seemed that it would be more to the point to present an analyses of the competition according to the genre criteria: song and dance.

³⁷ The orchestras present themselves with one of the assigned traditional Serbian melodies, and one number with which they present the musical culture of their own country.

Generally, the songs are closer to the concept of traditional folk music, although this could hardly be noticed solely on the basis of the repertoire. Namely, the songs performed at the 50th Festival were mostly town songs composed in different periods, which gained their popularity mainly through their tavern life. The universality of this context (coffee shop or bar) and the ‘mediaization’ rendered the identity deterritorialized,³⁸ therefore the orchestras from different regions are identified with them as their own musical-cultural expression. These more recent musical forms are closer to modern trumpet-players, not only as a cultural layer in the historical sense, but also as structures which enable greater exposure of the level of performance technique compared to (vocal) melodies from country practice. In other words, in accordance with modern aesthetics, the favoured songs have a wider range, i.e. a more developed melody, richer ornaments, often in rubato systems, which present more complex demands for the solo trumpet-player, and thus the opportunity to show his skill and musicality. The proof that this kind of criteria has become dominant in the choice of song is the presentation of the song *Kasaba*, which belongs to *world music*, and as a part of the competition programme (Elvis Ajdinović Orchestra) was chosen only on the basis of referring to Serbian musical tradition. The Gypsy orchestras from the (vicinity of) Vranje have a particular advantage due to the existence of Vranje town songs (the songs *Milkano* by the Demiran Ćerimović Orchestra and *Zbog tebe, mome ubava* by the Nenad Mladenović Orchestra were performed at the 50th Festival), shaped as a characteristic musical (sub)culture. This case also confirmed the experience that the ethos of the song is best preserved in the performances of the songs from the same region to which the orchestra itself belongs. The music from Vranje is intimately close to the performers who come from that region, and they experience it profoundly, which is noted as a specific quality in the performance of good musicians. At the mentioned competition there were no Wallachian songs, but in this case, it is also generally considered that the ethnic representatives of that tradition perform them impressively and in a recognizable style. Testimony about the significance of the kind and the intensity of the relation of the musicians with the (musical) culture to which the song belongs is evident in the example of the (bad) performance of the Gypsy song *Piravelo Mile* by a Serbian orchestra (‘Barka’) at the 50th Festival, which, above all, lacked the necessary stylistic sophistication.

As a combination of melody and text, a song generally represents a more exact example, a stronger model. Arrangement solutions, by which the melody

³⁸ Max Peter Baumann, ‘Festivals, Musical Actors and Mental Constructs in the Process of Globalization’, in: Max Peter Baumann (ed.) *The World of Music (Journal of the Department of Ethnomusicology)*, vol. 43 (2+3), Berlin, University of Bamberg – VWB, 2001, 9.

of the song is given to the solo trumpet-player along with a harmonically unpretentious, stylistically suitable orchestral accompaniment, result in the minimal reshaping of the interpreted song. Such solutions were dominant among the song performances at the 50th national competition, which gave them a more prominent traditional character. The arrangement approach which implies a more balanced distribution of the role parts, the fuller sound of the orchestra and diverse harmonic solutions, previously very popular, at this competition remained at the level of exceptions. In terms of the choice of song, but, above all, in terms of the suitability of the arrangement to the character of the song and the interpretation itself, highly evaluated songs were the interpretations of the songs *Kraj potoka, bistre vode*, performed by the Orchestra of Ekrem Mamutović, who was proclaimed the best trumpet-player at this Festival, *Gradinom cveće cvetalo*, performed by the best orchestra – the Dejan Petrović Orchestra, and the Gypsy song *Mamo, mamice, glava me boli*, performed by the Bojan Krstić Orchestra, which won the prize for the best song performance.³⁹

The alternative definition of the second obligatory form of the competition programme (round dance/čoček) by itself indicates that this form is the distinction of the ‘trumpet dialects’ in Serbia: round dances characterize the Serbian and Wallachian tradition, while the ‘čoček’ is a part of the traditional Gypsy repertoire. Within those categories, the 50th Festival presented a very broad spectrum of stylistic and expressive qualities. The only true representative of the traditional Serbian round dance was *Stari čačak* which was also arranged and stylistically correctly interpreted by the orchestra ‘Zao Taro Lajt’. A danceable, functionally adequate tempo is a part of such expression which, in this specific case, was at the same time the consequence of the (insufficient) performing abilities of the orchestra, which was evident from the interpretation itself, and significantly diminished the general experience of the traditional round dance. Among the performed round dances, newer round dances dominated, composed in the traditional manner, which were recognizable in their metric, rhythmic, formal and melodic structuring. Such round dances were composed for concert performances, as an opportunity to express the virtuosity of the soloist, so that they imply faster performance compared to the tempo which would suit the primary, traditional use of this genre – the dance. Therefore, as examples from the 50th competition show, the interpretation of such round dances of demanding tempo, was chosen mainly by orchestras whose trumpet-players have (or believe they have) an impressive

³⁹ At the 50th competition, the orchestras were evaluated by an expert jury consisting of: Mirjana Zakić, PhD (ethnomusicologist), Mladen Đorđević, MA (academy graduate trumpet player), Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, MA (ethnomusicologist), Dušan Vujović (conductor), and Nataša Plečaš (academy graduate piano player).

technique, although the high quality interpretation (and, after all, stylistic correctness) necessitates that the whole orchestra responds to the ‘technical’ standards of such compositions. In this context, a good example is the performance of the round dance *Homoljski vez*, very well known in the versions played on the pipe and the accordion. This round dance, composed on motives from Romanian folk music and named after the geocultural region of Serbia, was promoted through the media into one of the symbols of Wallachian folklore, and performed by players from different parts of Serbia. Its performance at the 50th competition in Guča by the Dejan Petrović Orchestra from Duboka – Western Serbia, was mainly characterized by the high professionalism of all the orchestra’s members who, in an imposing tempo for a brass band, demonstrated a compact and melodious sound. As in the mentioned case, the interpretation stresses passion as the most prominent characteristic of Wallachian folklore, virtuosity is not experienced as empty and void, but as purposeful, and pregnant with character, which is the basis of the traditional experience of this performance. A very specific example in the context of repertoire is the composition *Cepaj* (in the original version performed by the Sanja Ilić and Balkanika brass orchestra), which the orchestra ‘Barka’ presented as a round dance. This composition belongs to the *world music* genre, with minimalist expression and fragmentary structure, and is linked to the category of round dance only by distributive rhythmic pulsation.

Like round dances, the *čoček*s performed at the 50th competition show a wide range of answers to the task of playing a ‘folk *čoček*’. The problem in analysing contemporary *čoček*s is that this genre, as well as the whole Gypsy tradition in Serbia, has not been researched. Regarding the sound, the identity of the orchestras of Vranje is easily recognizable compared to the other orchestras from south-east Serbia (Surdulica, Vladičin Han, Bojnik...). The first group performs *čoček*s, which mostly refer to the traditional (Vranje) sound (in this specific situation, these were the performances of the orchestras of Demiran Ćerimović, Ekrem Mamutović, Nenad Mladenović), while the key feature of the other type of *čoček* is an amalgamation of the elements of different musical cultures (as presented by the orchestras of Siniša Stanković, Bojan Krstić, Elvis Ajdinović, and Bojan Ristić). The musical content of the *čoček*s differ in the level of influence and the treatment of elements from other musical cultures, from ethnic (the most prominent is the Turkish influence, somewhat less Bulgarian and Macedonian), to the other musical genres, above all, jazz. The impacts are recognizable at the level of melody, rhythmisation, as well as timbre. Namely, some orchestras show a more or less noticeable, broadening of the spectrum of the expressive means at the timbre level, especially with the solo trumpet, which, by applying specific instrumental techniques, paraphrases the timbres of other instruments (mostly the *zurna* and the saxophone). The

interactions of the musical cultures happen at the micro-level, first of all in the context of improvisations on the (solo) trumpet, resulting in (musical) texts of a hybrid, transcultural profile.⁴⁰ Čočeks are most often named after the first trumpet-player (*Ekrem's*, *Demiran's* etc.), by combining the personal and the local generic references (*Nenad's čoček from Vranje*), while the 'modern' quality is sometimes stressed by the very title (*Anti-stress čoček*).

In the context of the evaluation of performances at the 50th competition regarding the relation to tradition, the example of the prize for the most authentic performance is especially indicative. Namely, for the ranking of the soloists (trumpet, tenor, bass, drum) and the orchestras, the impression about the general, solo, or orchestra quality, is very important, while for the categories 'the best performed song', or, 'the best performed round dance/čoček', besides musicality and virtuosity, the stylistic criteria is also very significant. Still, the most delicate task of the jury, above all for the ethnomusicologists, is the decision about the award for the most original solo playing, exactly because of the interpretation of 'authenticity' by the trumpet orchestras. At this level, the lack of systematic cooperation of the organizers with ethnomusicologists on the re-conceptualization of the treatment of traditional music within the context of the festival is very noticeable. On one hand, the term 'authentic' is not precise enough and does not give a clear definition of the 'archaic' quality which it alludes to, and, on the other hand, it is rather limiting, because it rules out the right to choose the representative of the tradition according to the experience of contemporary folk musicians. Thus, the responsibility lies with the jury, which is forced to make a compromise between 'authenticity' and practice, which was also the case at the mentioned, 50th competition. It turned out that the orchestras that do not possess competitive performing qualities usually choose the programme which is more 'authentic', i.e. belongs to the older layer of folk music, which, in turn, reflects on the general devaluation of such a repertoire by the musicians themselves, as well as by the audience. In such circumstances, the jury decided to award the prize to the Dragan Igić Orchestra, whose repertoire belonged to the newer production (the song *A što ti je mila kćeri jelek raskopčan* and *Šaran-kolo*), but was performed with artistic quality, and above all, adequately in terms of style. This kind of experience is one of the basic motives of the insistence on (ethnomusicological) discussion of the status of tra-

⁴⁰ Volfgang Velš, 'Transkulturalnost: forma današnjih kultura koja se menja' ['Transculturality: The changing Form of Cultures Today'], in: *Kultura: Časopis za teoriju i sociologiju kulture i kulturnu politiku* [Culture: The Magazine for Theory and Sociology of Culture and Cultural Politics], 102 (2001), 70-89.

ditional music in each actual moment, as the ‘frozen frame’ of folk music life/existence, especially this one, in which we function as scientists.

In the light of the conceptualization of tradition as a dynamic phenomenon,⁴¹ we considered that the music presented at the 50th competition of the *Dragačevo Trumpet Festival* offers a representative insight into the kind and degree of changes which traditional folk music in Serbia is undergoing in the context of this festival. Considering the importance of ‘festivalisation’, as the spectrum of changes in contemporary music life conditioned by the rising number of events of this kind,⁴² the analysed competition also has a paradigmatic value regarding the treatment of traditional folk music in Serbia. In the systematization of the specific examples of reshaping tradition, the model which Ingrid Åkesson applied in the study of creativity in the contemporary processes of the revitalization of Swedish vocal folk music, also advocating its applicability in describing the relevant processes at a historical level, proved to be extremely valuable.⁴³ This model is based on three concepts: *re-creation*, *re-shaping/transformation* and *renewal/innovation*. ‘These concepts or categories define performers’ different but often concurrent and overlapping attitudes and approaches to traditional material and styles, and different levels of stability and change.’⁴⁴ The concept of *recreation* means staying close to the source, includes minor (unconscious) changes typical of oral/aural tradition; *reshaping/transformation* means consciously changing and/or arranging traditional music, changing the form, etc. and includes conscious variation typical of musicians with a tacit knowledge of the craft/idiom (e.g. replacing, repeating or omitting motifs); *renewal/innovation* means creating new melodies based on traditional style and with knowledge of the tradition, keeping the essence, includes combining traditional tunes with newly created introductions, interludes, etc. and genre-crossing compositions based on traditional music but with a mix of idioms, as other folk music/world music, jazz, rock, modern art music, etc.⁴⁵ The author points out that these concepts are rather broad and inclusive, than isolated categories: ‘Both reshaping/transformation and renewal/innovation mostly include an element of recreation, at least on a general level; the border between unconscious and conscious change might be debated in the case of forgetfulness, which may result in unconscious reshaping of a musical item’.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Edward Shils, op. cit.; Henry Glassie, op. cit., 405.

⁴² Dan Lundberg, Krister Malm, Owe Ronström, op. cit., 344.

⁴³ Ingrid Åkesson, op. cit., 7.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 1.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 8.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

On the basis of the analysis of the repertoire at the 50th national competition in Guča, we can conclude that the performed songs predominantly belong to the composed folk music of urban origin, which, compared to the older, country folk music, can be interpreted as an innovation of tradition. This kind of innovation – including the more recently chosen songs in the body of traditional music – is the result of the performers experiencing and evaluating these songs as music products which deserve the respect of the present generations as well as their preservation for the future. The relation towards the melodies which belong to the category of folk dances shows a broader range in the manner of referring to tradition. The old folk round dances, performed in a rural environment on wooden wind instruments, mainly in soloist formations, in a recreation through a new medium – the brass wind orchestra – are inevitably subject to minimal reshaping. More recently composed round dances/čoček are reshaping tradition in the sense that they base the innovative musical contents on an ideal-type category of folk round dance/čoček. A more complex level of reshaping tradition towards innovation is present in more recent čoček, which contain both traditional and several cross-genre encounters. The relation towards traditional music is largely conditioned by the skill – professionalization of the performances and the need for individual assertion. The higher level of music capabilities represents the prerequisite of creativity and the realization of ideas about improving (‘modernization’) tradition. Professionalization is certainly one of the most important products of the ‘festivalization’ of trumpet-playing. Namely, the Festival in Guča, as a modern trumpet ‘arena’,⁴⁷ had a decisive influence on the development of trumpet-playing as well as on transforming trumpet music, presented in other live arenas (concerts and commercial performances at private parties) and media arenas. The reputation of trumpet-players and their orchestras, and the musical experiences gained at the Festival reflect on their status in their original environment and in their engagement outside the festival. This, in turn, reflects in a higher level of self-confidence, and improvement of the performance qualities, which stimulates the players’ creativity and, eventually, leads to the innovation of tradition. The brass orchestras also confirm their status through the media, and adaptation to the media system/‘*mediaization*’ (through adapting duration, re-arrangement, and even changing the basic formation of the brass orchestra etc.) implies a further transformation of the festival form for the presentation of the trumpet music. The experience of recording music, appearing in television shows and film projects are built into the performing styles, which become models for the further reshaping of the tradition.

⁴⁷ Dan Lundberg, Krister Malm, Owe Ronström, op. cit., 355.

Although brass orchestras participate directly in producing the music forms at the (national) competition, as well as in the other events of the *Festival*, the general relation towards traditional music is governed by the ideas, activities and aims of the structures from the domain of cultural policy: the organizers, sponsors, jury and – also, the audience. In the context of such structural positions and realizations, folk trumpet creativity, as a paradigm of persistence, on the one hand, fits into the traditional *modus vivendi* of seasonal celebrations, and, on the other hand, acquires the features of a festival spectacle with a tendency towards global networking and the more universal characteristics of local cultures.⁴⁸ In the confrontation of such strategies – the celebration and the spectacle, i.e. folklore and popular culture – the Festival is specifically, ambivalently positioned between the domestic and the foreign, the traditional and the innovative, the local and the global. So, during five decades of its existence, trumpet-playing at the Festival has gained the characteristics of a glocal phenomenon. Its promotion into a ‘Serbian brand’ is causally related to the systems of national and market ownership.⁴⁹ The *Dragačevo Festival* promoted the brass orchestra as a medium through which, in the formal trumpet programmes, traditional folk music is being modified in various ways, or in various degrees. At the same time, the Festival offered a mass auditorium ‘folklore as an alternative world’⁵⁰ – as a tempting departure from the ordinary rhythm of life.

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⁴⁸ Miroslava Lukić Krstanović, ‘The Politics of Folklore on the Festival market: Power of the Paradigm and Power of the Stage’..., Max Peter Baumann, op. cit., 9-25.

⁴⁹ Miroslava Lukić Krstanović, ‘Political folklore on the Festival Market: Power of the Paradigm and Power of the Stage’, in: Jiří Woitsch (ed.) *Český lid, Etnologický, 3, ROČNIK*, Praha, Etnologický Ústav Akademie Věd České Republiky, 2011, 266–267.

⁵⁰ Herman Bauzinger, op. cit., 196-214. This ‘alternative world’ is mostly related to the other part of the trumpet event, the one which takes place in the tents, bars and restaurants and in the streets.

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