

MUSIC HERITAGE IN RELOCATION: THE “GUČA NA KRASU” FESTIVAL

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ABSTRACT

Music Heritage in Relocation: The “Guča na Krasu” Festival

This article attempts to turn from describing heritage in the framework of official and everyday discourses of identity and politics of belonging towards acknowledging its spatial nature. As an example, I use the *Guča na Krasu* festival in order to explore two main questions: how a strong notion of locality is mediated by the non-locality of sound, and the ways in which globalization and mobility are remodelling music heritage protocols, particularly in the case of migrant communities. I explore the ways in which trumpet orchestra music, as one of the main genres of Balkan music on the world music market, is becoming an affective tool of identification and affiliation, and bringing a newly emergent global-local dynamics to the existing heritage management of the Serbian community living in this area. The discourses of heterogeneity and transnationality in branding Balkan music have led to an ambivalent identification with the festival among community members. Navigating between sound environments, music heritage protocols, globalization processes and affective technologies, the space is approached through an examination of the complexity of relations among communities, affective spatio-temporal sound collectivities, and music globalization processes.

KEY WORDS: Guča na Krasu, spatio-temporal sound collectivities, trumpet orchestras, Balkan music, heritage protocols

IZVLEČEK

Premeščanje glasbene dediščine: Festival Guča na Krasu

Članek poskuša preseči opisovanje dediščine v okviru uradnih in vsakodnevnih diskurzov identitete in politik pripadnosti ter raje poudariti pomen prostora v odnosu do dediščine. Avtorica za primer vzame festival *Guča na Krasu*, prek katerega razišče dve vprašanji: kako je močan občutek lokalnosti posredovan skozi ne-lokalnost zvoka ter kako globalizacija in mobilnost, še zlasti v primeru migrantskih skupnosti, preoblikujeta protokole glasbene dediščine. Avtorica raziskuje, kako glasba trubaških orkestrrov, kot osrednji označevalec balkanske glasbe na globalnem tržišču glasb sveta, postane afektivno orodje identifikacije in pripadnosti, s čimer so označene nove dinamike med globalnim in lokalnim v obstoječih procesih upravljanja dediščine srbske skupnosti na tem območju. Diskurzi heterogenosti in transnationalnosti v 'označevanju' (branding) balkanske glasbe namreč izzivajo ambivalentno identifikacijo članov skupnosti s festivalom. Med zvočnimi okolji, protokoli glasbene dediščine, globalizacijskimi procesi in afektivnimi tehnologijami avtorica prostor obravnava skozi kompleksnost odnosov med skupno-

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stmi, afektivnimi prostorsko-časovnimi zvočnimi kolektivitetami in procesi glasbene globalizacije.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Guča na Krasu, prostorsko-časovne zvočne kolektivitete, trubaški orkestri, balkanska glasba, protokoli dediščine

SOUNDS, SPACES, HERITAGES

Where the once a song of rattling tank engines was sung, the young music will resound. Until a few decades ago, the land at the airport at Rouna near Briščiki was a tank training area. Heavy military armoured vehicles ploughed the karst land with their tracks, drawing wavy brown lines on it, the rumbling of their engines audible all the way to the village. Then they went quiet and left; the land was beginning to heal, but it was left alone until a year ago... (Tam, kjer so ropotali tanki).

In the fifties of the twentieth century, when Trieste was divided into A and B zones, if one would have imagined the stadium for baseball and American football and an airport for allied forces to be filled with the sounds of Serbian trumpets, it would have been characterized as pure fiction. Sixty years later, trumpets and drums can be heard by the infantry tactical training areas. Today, there are no more zones, [and] the Karst is a zone of entertainment and the Serbian trumpet (Guča na Krasu).

"Briščiki is transformed into no man's land where you do not know whether you are in Italy, Slovenia or Serbia" (Gučo na Krasu bodo odprli).

These quotations describe in an almost pure Lefebvrian manner the ongoing re/formation of space sonic materiality of space (Lefebvre 2004) and, in the words of Edensor, "reflect the multiplicity of flows that emanate from, pass through and centre upon space, and contribute to its situated dynamics" (Edensor 2010: 3). In this article, I would like to turn from describing heritage in the framework of official/everyday discourses of identity and politics of belonging towards acknowledging its spatial nature. Not only is certain music heritage attached to certain spaces, but heritage itself is invariably constituted as a material spatial practice. As Thrift warns, a sense of the concreteness and materiality of the situation undoubtedly complicates what is assumed to be a simple empirical fact (Thrift 2008: 16), drawing not just on all kinds of representational and non-representational registers (digs, ethnographies, various maps and diagrams, buildings, software, performances) but also because they simultaneously explore how particular spaces resonate and obtain their particular 'atmosphere' (Brennan 2004). In accordance with that, this article attempts to develop an argument based on the strong interrelation between symbolic geography and the imagination of space on one hand and its real materiality on the other. I would here draw again on Thrift, who sees space not as metaphoric or transcendental nor simply as material space (Thrift 2008: 16).

Another important question arising from this is how a strong notion of locality is mediated by the non-locality of sound.¹ Spaces of musical performance as specific "geographies of music" (Wood et al. 2007) – material spaces with specific histories, locations, and acoustical contexts – are irretrievably entangled in particular social, cultural, economic and political frames, which, on the other hand, forces us to think beyond ethnographic localization. In order to demonstrate the ways that the social, the aural, and spatio-temporality are interconnected, I observe sound as both filling space and as filled by the spaces into which it is projected (Thrift, Dewsbury 2000).

The third question concerns the issues of globalization and mobility which have significantly remodelled the relations between music heritage and space. In the last few decades, migrations have enabled profound new connections between sound and space in the sense of a dynamics of detach-

¹ For a discussion of the non-locality of affect see Clough et al. (2007: 67), and of sound as ubiquitously affective, Thompson, Biddle (2013: 15).

ing and repositioning. Much has been written in recent years about the conceptual limitations of sites particularly in the arts; about the homogenization, fragmentation and alienation resulting from globalization; and about an understanding of space as an unstable and shifting set of contested relations. In times of musical globalization and hybridization, music detaches itself from its space of origin and tends to exist as a material (non-spatial and non-identifiable) object. Simultaneously, sound becomes appropriated by space influenced by local discourses and heritage politics. This produces sonic images of certain spaces which co-exist with the actual setting of the performance as a kind of sonic environment in a variety of encounters.

By paying attention to its character as a spatial phenomenon we cannot explore how lived practices of music heritage interact with the space without claiming the falsity of the formal division between intangible and tangible heritage. Cultural practices promoted and defined within the category of intangible heritage are equally physical, while tangible objects and artefacts are ubiquitously immaterial and shaped by symbolic meaning. Navigating between sound environments, musical heritage protocols, globalization processes, and affective technologies, the space is approached in this text through an examination of the complexity of the relations among musical communities, affective spatio-temporal sound collectivities, and music globalization processes.

MUSIC AND SOUND AS HERITAGE

The discourses of heritage as a multilayered social performance (Smith 2006: 3) mediated by the global heritage protocols and politics are epitomized in the UNESCO rhetoric and actions. The establishment of the category of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) as embodied knowledge and practice tries to put the emphasis on fluid and dynamic cultural processes and overcome the static prescriptive notion of "heritage": "Understanding heritage as the tangible and static construction of the past often leads to undervaluing intangible assets and non-physical resources which are also a fundamental element of heritage" (Park 2011: 521). Still, despite moving from objects and artefacts to events, artistic activities and performances, these definitions actually have not challenged the demarcation line between the separate practices of heritage (intangible and tangible). New critical deliberations regarding UNESCO's categorizations point to the inseparable interrelation between these two concepts, arguing that it is not possible to distinguish objects from events and vice versa (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 59).

With regard to music and sound practices, the dominant heritage protocols prove to be even more challenging. Apart from safeguarding disappearing musical practices, the most important part of the UNESCO agenda is mapping the existent, vital, living practices. The main idea is that the music heritage is not only preserved and safeguarded through recording and archiving, but is also passed on through performance (transmitting of the musical repertoire through live performances). These examples also illustrate the shift in the conceptualization of heritage previously selectively associated only with 'folk' or so-called 'high culture'² which therefore prevented the heritage mapping of other kinds of music and sonic forms. Such an approach is most visible in the heritage protocols on popular music, usually limited only to private collectors and archives of enthusiasts and fan groups, separate from established national and international institutions (museums, galleries and trusts). Only in the last decade have museums started collecting and preserving popular music, including independent and major label artists and acquiring recordings from collectors, artists, record companies, publishers and distributors from around the world.³

² In the dominant heritage management protocols, particularly in the European context, shaped by the official and scholarly discourses situated in the national/ethnic approach, the concept of music folklore has been a synonym for music heritage.

³ In the UK, popular music has been redefined as a national heritage and the institutions previously neglecting that field of cultural production have started including popular music in their projects (such as the protection

Critical heritage studies also emphasize the contentious or disturbing nature of heritage production. These approaches warn of the sensitive nature and the effects of the various heritage representations, whose management resonates with multiple actors – those whose heritage is represented, government officials, UNESCO, experts, the general public. They also reflect the mechanisms of heritage production, understanding heritage as a selection from a selection: “a small subset of history that links to a given group of people in a particular place, at a specific time” (Dann, Seaton 2001: 26). Heritage is deemed to be something inherited, passed on or transferred from the past, but with an emphasis on a sense of *ownership* of the past (see Kong 1998). The concept of *inheritance*, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out, brings “added value” and is an important aspect of the institutional recognition, legitimization and valuation of certain representations of the past (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 370). This emphasis on the preservation and continuity from one generation to another shows how heritage is commonly linked not only to group identity but also cultural prestige. The production of heritage is thus associated with complex readings and representations of the past and incorporates the revising of past objects, events and actions in order to make a coherent story.⁴ Such interpretations have also been based on the dominant paradigm of cultural heritage as focused on objects or events and not on the culture bearers themselves (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 56) and the perception of heritage as a static representation of the past, without taking into account its vital nature. This view repudiates any agency of those who perform, although they are not necessarily conscious of being carriers and bearers of the heritage. Because of this, it has been mobilized by various actors and agendas, and used as a crucial element in the politics of belonging, enabling group legitimacy and cohesion. However, starting from the understanding that heritage is a mode of cultural production, of living practice associated with everyday activities, we have to be aware of the paradox of how “life becomes heritage”, sometimes even before it has a chance to be lived – to put in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s words, “to be aware of the problem of synchronizing the heritage clock with the historical clock” (ibid. 189–200).⁵ Such an almost ironic condition makes both the theory and practice of the management of music heritage more complex, and imposes conceptual, methodological and safeguarding challenges.

GUČA NA KRASU: RESOUNDING “SPACES BETWEEN THE POSTS”

The *Guča na Krasu* (“Guča on the Karst”) festival is organized by the “Other Music Music and Cultural Society” (*Glasbeno-kulturno društvo Druga muzika*) from Zgonik (It. Sgonico) in cooperation with the Vuk Karadžić Serbian Cultural Association from Trieste. The idea came from Andrej Petaros, the president of the Society, which is involved in organization of several projects, among them “Music Without Borders” (*Glasba brez meja*), a network of musicians, organizers and fans of Balkan music, flowing between of-line and online spaces.⁶ The festival has been held annually since 2009, usually in mid-July, and lasts

of Paul McCartney’s former home in Liverpool and its development into a tourist attraction in 1997; installing blue plaques at the former London residence of rock guitarist Jimi Hendrix in 1998 or John Lennon in 2001). These initiatives also raise questions about how the popular musical past is being constructed and represented, perceived and valued. The best example is the exhibition “David Bowie is”, an international retrospective of the career of David Bowie at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in March 2013.

4 From Hobsbawm, Ranger (1983); Hewison (1989); Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995) to Smith (2007).

5 Different temporalities of things, persons or events provide a tension between contemporary and contemporaneous.

6 In the course of my research I conducted several live and online interviews with people involved in the organization of the festival. I was also invited to be a jury member for the preliminary competition of trumpet orchestras, but due to other obligations I was not able to attend.

13/15 JULY 2012

GUČA NA KRASU
GUČA SUL CARSO
BRIŠČIKI / BORGOGROTTA GIGANTE
TRST / TRIESTE

GUČA
NA KRASU
SUL CARSO

13/07 venerdì / petek
Gogol Bordello
Ork. Elvis Bajramović
Balkan Beat-i

14/07 sabato / sobota
Boban i Marko Marković Ork.
Ork. Nema Problema
Ork. Elvis Bajramović
DJ Stoner

15/07 domenica / nedelja
Gipsy Queen Esmā Redžepova
& Balkan Brass Band
Ork. Elvis Bajramović
DJ Stoner & Coco Dub

BALKAN MUSIC & FOOD FESTIVAL

GLASIA BREZ MEJA
MUSICA SENZA CONFINI

guča muzika
sveta muzika

FRUILLI VENEZIA GIULIA

Heineken

Comune di Spionico
Občina Zgornik

Figure 1: *Guča na Krasu* 2012 – promotional poster

for 3 days, with a winter version called *Guča na Krasu Winter Edition*, and many other musical events with similar content are held throughout the year (such as Caravans of Friendship, the *Karsolina* Food and Wine Race and so on).⁷ The initial goal was to introduce trumpet orchestras from Serbia to the Italian audience.⁸ By the time the festival started bringing internationally recognized artists and the most popular stars of Balkan music⁹ and the Balkan beat genre, DJs, such as Goran Bregović, the Boban and Marko Marković Trumpet Orchestra, DJ Shantel, Gogol Bordello, Emir Kusturica and the No Smoking Orchestra, Esmā Redžepova and the winners of the Serbian Trumpet Festival in Guča (such as the Elvis Bajramović Orchestra, Bojan Ristić, Dejan Lazarević Orchestra etc.), as well as new talents from the Balkan scene and local, regional performers from Serbia, Germany, Belgium and Italy. The event was

⁷ See more on their revamped website (*Guca na krasu-gucasulcarso*) and Facebook profile (*Guca Facebook*).

⁸ Dejan Nikodijević of the Serbian Cultural Association is responsible for booking trumpet orchestras from Serbia, while the festival's main organizer, Andrej Petaros, books performances of bands and performers from other countries, including Europe and the US.

⁹ Balkan music here does not refer to traditional music from the Balkans as such, but to the "world music" label which combines diverse forms of popular music with the traditional music practices of the Balkans. Balkan music has already been present on the popular/world music scene for decades, starting with the popularity of the Bulgarian group *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares* in the 1970s. But particularly after 1990, Western European audiences were presented with one of the interpretations of Balkan music through the films of Emir Kusturica, through which Balkan music gained international popularity. According to Aleksandra Marković, over time the Balkan scene began to appeal to more and more non-Balkan audiences, and this trend is continuing (see Marković 2008).

marketed as “a unique experience with the legends of Balkan music”, “each for their own specific field of reference as protagonists of the music scene that draws inspiration and an amazing life force of artistic transformations mainly from the Balkan and Eastern European music traditions.” Their performances were presented as “high quality music and real artistic treats”, and the event itself as a “unique meeting with the artists whose names are inscribed in golden letters in the history of world music” (Kraško poletje). Representatives of local, national and foreign media have followed the development of the festival with great interest, and the festival has become a reference event for regional fans of this music genre. In addition to the music programme, another important part of the event are the offerings of “typical” Balkan cuisine.¹⁰

The village of Briščiki (It. Borgo Grotta Gigante) where the festival takes place is one of the spaces characterized by a specific “traffic between the posts” (post-socialist, post-conflict, post-industrial, post-capitalist) (Verdery 2009), where current global transformations are generating complex local transformational narratives, producing new multi-layered levels of belonging. Being not only a borderland between Slovenia and Italy, but also no-man’s land between two Cold War blocs, two economies and systems (capitalist/socialist) and former military training ground, it provokes multifaceted meanings. Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the EU integration policy, the internal border between Slovenia and Italy was removed, which provoked new spatial discourses and practices. This makes this border zone a territory which over time changed uses and meanings both physically and discursively, enabling dynamic ways of coexistence, meetings and encounters of various “lives” of the space, created through a variety of histories, memories and experiences. Such narratives are also used in the promotion of *Guča na Krasu* by organizers, media and officials. The municipality and the regional authorities highly support the event, which is included in the range of tourist attractions of the Municipality of Trieste and the Friuli Venezia Giulia region, with particular help from the mayor of Sgonico (Zgonik): “I am very happy that we have revitalized the former military territory with the help of culture and concerts at a very high level” (Gučo na Krasu bodo odpri).

At *Guča na Krasu*, the trumpet (primarily considered to be a military instrument) has replaced the sound of military vehicles. But why this kind of music is used in the prefiguration of this space? And why has this, as the journalists enthusiastically call it, “Balkan oasis” appeared in the middle of the Karst? According to the organizers, there are two main reasons: the popularity of Balkan music genres in Italy and Europe in general, and the important historical and cultural links between this area and the Balkans. The extreme popularity of Balkan music in Italy and the number of trumpet orchestras founded in the last ten years have established new musical links between Italy and the Balkans. Moreover, the popularity of trumpet orchestras music not only in Italy but also in Slovenia makes this event particularly attractive for cross-border cooperation. The organizers of *Guča na Krasu* used that popularity to promote the event as the place where regional musicians and bands can popularize their music.¹¹ However, *Guča na Krasu* was presented not only as a transborder event dedicated to local visitors, but as a gathering of Balkan music fans and performers from across the country: “Many people come to our festival even from the south of Italy, because Balkan music is very popular there. I explain this as a consequence of the fact that in the south a lot of music is produced by brass instruments, which makes music in southern Italy related to the Balkans” (Petaros 2013).

10 A tent is located behind the stage with several food stands where people can try Serbian specialities.

11 According to Mojca Kovačič, who conducted research on two bands, Strizzy and Dej še'n litro, at least six of these bands have been formed in Slovenia since 2000. The growing popularity of Balkan brass music among listeners in Slovenia (particularly Bregovič) was expressed to be main impetus for them to establish the bands (Kovačič 2009: 141). It is interesting that members of both bands had already performed in Slovenian trumpet orchestras and that this kind of shift was actually a form of widening their repertoire, since they perform pop and jazz tunes and traditional trumpet and folk-pop music (ibid. 142).

GUČA – "A PLACE OF NETWORKING MUSIC CULTURES"¹²

Guča na Krasu appears to be the first and the most successful event inspired by the Dragačevo trumpet festival in Guča (a small town in Western Serbia), organized in this region in the last five years.¹³ The Guča festival¹⁴ is the most popular and biggest music event dedicated to the promotion, distribution, production and consumption of trumpet orchestra music. Started as an event dedicated to the preservation of the trumpet orchestra tradition from the Dragačevo region and later on south-eastern and north-eastern Serbia, nowadays the Guča festival is an annual 5-day world music spectacle with two main competition programmes (*Best Trumpet* and *Best Orchestra* being the most significant) and revue performances, with around 800,000 visitors annually.¹⁵

The international popularity of Guča coincided with the popularization of Balkan music on the international market and the changes in cultural politics in Serbia after 2000. This was also reinforced by the increased popularity of Roma orchestras from south-eastern Serbia which were already present on the international market through Goran Bregović's projects and whose music has become one of the main sound markers of Balkan music within the world music industry.¹⁶ In 2000, trumpeters from Italy and Sweden appeared at the Guča festival for the first time and by 2006 people from different countries (such as Germany, France, Israel, Poland, USA, Slovenia, Macedonia) started performing. The organizers recognized this as an extremely potent strategy which led to changes in the repertoire policy and programme conceptualization.¹⁷ Guča has become a national brand and has been used in the promotion of Serbian culture internationally, which has often provoked ambivalent public discourses on the national cultural policy and the involvement of political and intellectual elites in its shaping.¹⁸ Trumpet orchestras have been attributed the notion of national music heritage important for post-1990s nation-

12 From the title of an article about the Dragačevo trumpet festival by Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić (2012).

13 Taking into account numerous events inspired by the Guča festival held in Slovenia such as *Guča po Guči* [Guča after Guča], *Zlatna trobenta Dravograda* [The Golden Trumpet of Dravograd] and so on. For more about these events, see Šivic (2013: 71–72).

14 *Dragačevski sabor trubača* u Guči [the Dragačevo Trumpet Festival in Guča]. In this text I will use the popular name "the Guča festival."

15 The Guča festival was founded in 1961 by the Cultural-Educational Association of Guča (*Kulturno-prosvetna zajednica Guča*). At the beginning it was a part of the wider cultural review of traditional folk heritage called *Dragačevo kroz pesmu i igru* [Dragačevo through Music and Theatre] (Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić 2012: 225). It was founded with the goal to preserve the endangered part of Dragačevo's musical heritage – trumpet orchestras. From 1964 on, Guča became republic-wide event expanding the range of participating bands from Dragačevo and Western Serbia to ones from south-eastern and north-eastern Serbia (usually consisting of Roma and Vlachs), where this type of music also became popular at the beginning of the 20th century (Babić 2004: 159–270).

16 Particularly after Kusturica's movie "Underground" from 1995 won the Golden Palm award, the market breakthrough of the trumpet orchestra sound was made by Goran Bregović and his cooperation with Slobodan Salijević's orchestra.

17 Timotijević defined five phases in the cultural politics of the festival from its foundation: "preservation of tradition and gaining popularity", "folk heritage under the veil of ideology", "long death march to Tito", "the national elite 'discovers' Guča" and "the birth of the world's carnival" (Timotijević 2005). For studies of the Guča festival see Milovanović, Babić (2003); Babić (2004); Lukić-Krstanović (2006); Tadić (2010); Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić (2012); Gligorijević (2012).

18 The Guča festival was used as one of the main cultural policies in the re-branding of Serbia after 2000 by individuals - producers, music promoters, advertising agencies, media, restaurateurs and others. Their efforts were invested in designing a new type of spectacle and show business. The most important tactic was the involvement of a German agency in the network of cultural promoters. This was part of a strategy of promoting a new democratic face of Serbia (see Mijatović 2012). For the festival's multiple and contradictory meanings see also Gligorijević (2012).

building and a sense of continuity and coherence with the national history,¹⁹ yet this has often been contradictorily interrelated with world music discourses and their internalization (Gligorijević 2012: 4).

This led to the main shift in the programme conceptualization, announced at the 50th anniversary of the festival in 2010 when Guča became the “World Capital of the Trumpet” by introducing an international competition in terms of both orchestras and the jury selected to assess their performances.²⁰ This was also reflected in the performances of the most popular stars of Balkan music who started performing at the Guča festival after 2010 (such as Goran Bregović, Esmā Redžepova, Emir Kusturica and the No Smoking Orchestra, DJ Shantel and a number of other performers). This shift in the branding of the festival made the event one of the symbols of the promotion and popularization of trumpet orchestras and their visibility on the world music scene.

Using Guča as one of the biggest Balkan world music festivals and a high-ranked brand to promote the event as its “foreign version”, the organizers of *Guča na Krasu* employ the already-existing discourses used in promotion of the Guča festival itself. While at the beginning referring to Guča was more symbolic and market-led, over time the organizers of *Guča na Krasu* established a stronger link with the Guča festival organizers and management. This resulted in pronouncing *Guča na Krasu* to be a pre-competition event for the international competition in Guča in 2013. In this way, the link with Guča festival has become more direct, while the “unique experience” of Balkan music became “closer to the original” and its “authenticity” was sonically and symbolically multiplied. Still, the organizers emphasize that they see the festival more as a developed version of Guča, which introduced a new focus on “world music” and a more liberal approach to genres by combining Gypsy trumpet orchestras from the Balkans, the ones from Europe and pop-bands such as Dubioza Kolektiv or Magnifico: “You know, in making a program you have to achieve a certain balance in order to satisfy the tastes of everyone – Italians, Serbians, Slovenian minority in Italy, Slovenes: to be innovative but not forget tradition and to think about all of that... and because of that we are successful” (Petaros 2013).²¹

However, in the promotion strategies of *Guča na Krasu* as a part of the range of cultural tourist attractions, narratives of the Guča festival as a place of preserving the trumpet as the traditional heritage and a source of Serbian national identification are completely absent. Trumpet orchestra music is, namely, set exclusively within the framework of Balkan music: “We talk about Balkan music, we put the emphasis on Balkan music, not Serbian music. In Guča you hear different music. That is Serbian, but here the emphasis is on Balkan music. If we say Balkan music, more people will attend, if we reduce it only to Serbian we cannot attract so many people” (Nikodijević 2013).²² The festival’s main organizer, Andrej Petaros, explains that the focus on the “Serbian-Roma trumpet” has been at the centre of the festival concept from the very beginning, as well as various performers and bands inspired by Roma music from the Balkans.

In such promotional strategies, the image of the Roma appears as one of the most exploited in accordance with the needs of the global entertainment industry and the existing market strategies regarding Balkan music. The organizers actually employed the most ubiquitous way of branding world

19 The trumpet is a symbol of Serbian liberation events dating from the 19th century and is strongly associated with the Serbian cultural memory of a “glorious historical past” (Gligorijević 2012: 8).

20 It is interesting that the proposition for the international competition requires that foreign groups play one piece from their own music tradition apart from one traditional piece from Serbia (Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić 2012: 230).

21 Starting in 2014, the festival will have a slightly changed concept and has been renamed the “Guča na Krasu World Music and Culture Festival 2014.”

22 This is also visible from the lineup of Guča na Krasu 2013: Goran Bregović and his Wedding & Funeral Orchestra’s tour was called “Champagne for Gypsies”, while of the other performers more than half were Romani orchestras and bands from Serbia and Italy: Elvis Bajramović, Kal, Zlatna jabuka, Gipsy Abarth Orchestra, Radio Zastava, Bim bum balaton, Caravan orkestar, Fanfara Giufà, Kaligola Disco Bazar, Zig Zag orkestar, Babbutzi Orkestar, Ottoni Animati.

music festivals, where “Gypsiness” is evoked by the sponsors and the media to promote festivals as an authentic, unique musical experience.²³ As Aleksandra Marković (2009) writes, the commercial label of Gypsy music often used as a synonym for Balkan music is actually the “sound” of the Balkans in Western Europe.²⁴ Carol Silverman also asserts that “Gypsy music” has become both a commodity and a discursive symbol in the trafficking of “authenticity” and “exoticism” in context of world music festivals and tours” (Silverman 2012: 241). Counting on success within the world music industry, the organizers of *Guča na Krasu* placed the association of trumpet orchestras with Gypsy musicians at the forefront, taking advantage of its resonant market potential.

GYPSY MUSIC: AFFECTIVE SOUNDS OF RELOCATION

As mentioned, the branding strategies of Balkan music on the world music market are associated with the notion of Gypsiness, where stereotypes about Gypsies are exceptionally prominent. This conceptualization is also used by the Gypsy musicians themselves and other performers of Balkan music, who although aware of the stereotypes behind it actively employ that image in order to benefit on the market²⁵ (Silverman 2011: 13). Aleksandra Marković outlines three main stereotypes associated with Gypsiness used as selling points of Balkan music: Gypsies as nomads who are free from the constraints of modern life; as naturally gifted musicians who are capable of experiencing extreme emotions and of communicating them to their audience; and as innovators due to their trafficking in music styles (Marković 2009: 111–113). Drawing on her findings, I will present how these kinds of stereotypical images were used in the co-creation of sound and space at *Guča na Krasu*, as strategies of specific sound relocation:

1. The “specific affective power of Balkan music”

Balkan music is present in market discourses as “famous” for its ecstatic ability/potential (Gourgouris 2005: 343–344), with its moving dance rhythms and high energy. Also, it is seen by its consumers/fans as filled with specific drives, emotions, soul and passion – in general with strong emotions, followed by euphoria which can also lead to lack of control, wildness and loss of self: “in the emotionally contrasting Balkan music, the accompanying factors are quite contrary, such as a different atmosphere, dancing, food and an overall sense of positive chaos” (Šivic 2013: 65). This is charged by a stereotypical assumption that plays a very important role in the discourse surrounding Balkan music, where the Balkans are marketed as a blurry yet exotic space inhabited by people who live in the moment, and live their lives “full to the brim” (Bregović). As van de Port asserts, this “insight into the irrational, wild human being” is particularly associated with the figure of the Gypsies, who are characterized by deep emotionality that they are able to convey through music: “The Gypsies are in this picture painted as the appealing, exotized European other, and their music is a way for the consumer to “re-inject the self with otherness” (Port 1999: 306). Carol Silverman points out that Roma emotionality is constructed in ambivalent terms: on one hand “wild”, irrational and uncivilized, and on the other as a manifestation of their passion and sexuality²⁶ (Silverman in Steinberg, Sobol 2011: 13).

23 For more about tropes about the authenticity of Gypsy music in world music marketing see Silverman (2012: 246–47).

24 It should be emphasized that the term “Gypsy music” is a commercial label that does not necessarily refer to Romani music or music performed by Romani musicians. Nevertheless, many of these bands’ members are declared or perceived as Gypsies. For more about problematic usage of the idea of Gypsiness by Bregović see Marković (2009).

25 We have also to be cautious here since Romani musicians themselves are often faced with the paradoxes of such representations: on stage they are adored because of these stereotypical images, but as soon as they step outside of the concert hall they are seen as suspicious (Silverman 2011: 234).

26 Also strongly associated with gender roles.

Therefore, through participating in Balkan music events, people are provided with the possibility of relocation to an exciting imaginary world, enabling the listeners to enter another reality through a “hot-blooded” Gypsy performance.²⁷ This is particularly visible at *Guča na Krasu*, where some of the most passionate fans and festival attendees dress like Gypsies (men with the obligatory hat and women in long skirts), and dance in a particular “Gypsy way”.²⁸ This also includes transgressing of the boundaries between performers and listeners through dance, when the physical relocation from the listeners’ position to the very place of music performance – the stage: by performers dancing on stage and demonstrating enjoyment in the music in the same way as the audience, and when audience members join the performers on stage, thereby becoming active participants in the performance.²⁹ In this sense, the dancing, listening and performing bodies during the festival articulate not only symbolic relocation but also certain bodily histories.³⁰

2. Narratives of the heterogeneity and transnationality of Balkan music

A big selling point for Balkan music on the world music market is the idea that Balkan music in general, but particularly when performed by Gypsies (Gypsy music), can create a platform for expressing and negotiating multiple identities. Within the Balkan region, constructed and imagined through Balkan music events, there is a recurring image of Gypsies as “free nomads, unbound by the constraints of (Western) civilization, unattached to any specific location” (Marković 2009: 111). These narratives of the translocality of Balkan music also enable social relocation through enacting global musical subjectivity.

In the case of trumpet orchestras, this is also reinforced by the notion of the inherent ability of instrumental music to more easily transgress boundaries and mediate cultural dissonances: the trumpet is already identified as a tool of intercultural communication not only among the regional musical idioms and styles but also in the wider context of globalization (Lajić-Mihajlović, Zakić 2011: 233). In this case, Roma musicians/orchestras in particular are seen as capable of performing this specific type of networking among musical cultures through hybridizing different musical elements. This hybridization on the micro-level is visible in improvisations on the rhythmical pattern of *čoček* or using a specific techniques to imitate the colour of other instruments such as *zurla* or saxophone), and on the macro-level by mixing various regional musical genres and styles: “Their trumpet expressions represent an amalgam of different styles of playing, from folk to jazz, and musical practices from Serbia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Macedonia” (ibid.).

3. Resistance, disobedience, acting against norms

The role of emotional discourses and especially the “unconstrained” nature of emotions have been also seen as a platform for resistance and negotiation (Silverman 2011: 226). Roma are often associated with the living beyond the prescribed rules, as the masters of “alternative living practices”. Coded as being beyond the control of and outside the norms of any state or society, the Gypsies are presented as the carriers of implicit social knowledge: “Gypsies embody this inner, secret knowledge... music transmits

27 Particularly associated with the sexuality of Roma women (Silverman 2011: 227).

28 This visual identification with Balkan brass music is also seen in the case of trumpet orchestra members who occasionally use this style of dress or incorporate other elements of behaviour such as sticking money to their foreheads and playing “among the people” (Kovačić 2009: 142).

29 The most passionate fans usually dance on the stage in the course of the performance, which is often also encouraged by the performers themselves, as was the case with Emir Kusturica and the No Smoking Orchestra.

30 As Mirjana Laušević’s research shows in the case of Balkan music in the US, a large majority of people involved in Balkan music through dancing, performing or simply attending events express their desire to “invent” their ethnic background (in her words “adopted ethnicity”) – in this case, an imagined Balkan identity (Laušević 2007: 21–22). This thesis is also proposed by Silverman, who claims that Western audiences are particularly receptive to the trope of the authenticity of Gypsy music, because “they feel they have lost their own authenticity and folklore” (Silverman 2012: 247).

this knowledge via emotion" (ibid. 232). This narrative is also incorporated in the representational strategies of the Guča festival as a "hedonist paradise", a place of good but unpredictable and even "crazy" people, which is illustrated by a statement by one of the visitors to the festival:³¹ "You are crazy people! Absolutely crazy! You are made out of the confusion of the entire system of existence [...] Speaking of death, to supply at least that I'm going to raise the middle finger and smile, and not hypocritically and scared like the rest of the world" (*Trubom na junački megdan*).

GUČA NA KRASU: SLOVENES, SERBS, ITALIANS IN A TRANCE

What do these relocations mean for the local communities' members living on the Slovenian/Italian border and the migrants from former Yugoslavia, particularly those from Serbia? Using that existing sonic image and the transnational notion of Balkan music on the international world music scene, the promoters of *Guča na Krasu* used the discourses of social relocation of the people involved in the musical event, representing Brišćiki as a global space, with the idea of blurring identities which operate in border environments. And this affective management reflects a dynamics of multilayered levels of belonging – local, regional, national, transnational. Therefore, it cannot be neglected that in these kinds of sound relocations within the musical event, the relations between communities are also reshaped. Although the festival organizers are individuals or small groups, the event is also a place for the local society to assert their visions of local heritage management. The main communities which take part in the organization of the event are members of the Slovenian minority as the main organizers in charge of technical support, drinks and security, and the Serbs, who are responsible for the food (preparing the most popular dishes of Balkan cuisine). They have obtained different positions within the local society: while the Slovenes are a declared minority, the Serbian community consists of people who migrated to Northern Italy mainly during the 1990s. But working together to organize an international festival enables both communities to make a significant contribution to the region's range of tourist attractions and make a certain profit from it.

Regarding the local community members among the festival's attendees, the situation is quite different (particularly in the case of the Serbian community): of the approximately 3000 people attending the event from the very beginning,³² the largest proportion consists of Italians (according to my interlocutors around 80%), mainly students and younger people between 20-30 coming from all over Italy (Bari, Rome, etc). Another large group consists of young Slovenes from both sides of the border. These are people who have already heard about Guča or visited the festival with the help of tourist agencies which promote it as one of the most popular destinations for young people.³³ However, with regard to the Serbian audience or Serbian community members the number of visitors is surprisingly low. As Dejan Nikodijević explains, people simply do not identify with this music genre. Although almost 100 people from the Vuk Karadžić Cultural Centre are involved in the organization, he claims that other members of the community are not interested in such cultural activities.³⁴ According to the president of the Serbian association, although this is a way of "recognition and promotion of the Serbian community

31 I will not go deeply into the discussion already widely deliberated by numerous scholars of the discourses on the Balkans since the early twentieth century, which presents a picture of a place whose residents do not care about standards of conduct and norms prescribed by the "civilized world" (see Todorova 1997).

32 The concert by Goran Bregović was the most attended, with 10,000 people.

33 According to Urša Šivic, the number of people from Slovenia who visited Guča during the festival reached its peak in 2005 (Šivic 2012: 70).

34 In his view, this is a result of the fact that the Serbian community in Trieste mainly consists of working-class, less-educated migrants from eastern Serbia (the town of Požarevac and the neighbouring villages).

and its culture" which could enable them to be present in the social web "as a chance for better inclusion in Italian society", community members do not see the festival as such an opportunity. Such situation indicates the ambivalent heritage narratives regarding trumpet orchestras and Balkan music in general. The Vuk Karadžić Cultural Centre is one of the biggest Serbian cultural organizations in Italy and presents itself as a leader in the preservation of the cultural heritage of the Serbian community in this part of Europe. As is typical of other institutions of this type, the cultural centre's leaders' agenda is exclusively national, directed toward the maintenance of traditional culture and music, primarily through the activities of folklore groups. In this sense, Balkan music as conceptualized and branded within both the world music market and *Guča na Krasu* is rather difficult to incorporate into the existing heritage regimes. The transnational notion of Balkan music, and particularly its association with the image of Gypsies, appears as inappropriate with respect to the existing means of the (self-) identification of the Serbian community and its heritage strategies.

SPATIO-TEMPORAL COLLECTIVITIES ON THE BORDER

The spatio-temporal collectivities and network socialities shaped by music events in physical spaces/geographies as specific places of meeting and interaction provide a specific contribution to an affective politics and politics of relation. Music performances are networking, relational and situational (LaBelle 2010: xviii) – they create spatio-temporal collectivities at all scales from the most local level to the most global. Simultaneously these activities constitute the individuals involved in them – the ways individuals engage with or participate in musical events, ascribing them with the psychic-emotional experiences they have (Anderson 2006). Taking Bakhtin's stance that listening is not passive but active preparation for response-reaction (Bakhtin 1986: 69), music events produce networks, shaping social interaction and intra-action between performers and listeners. The sociality of music (Turino 2003) and its participatory potential built through sonic affect³⁵ enables people to synchronize with the "collective atmosphere". The commonly used "tuning-in" to describe of a process of coming into a shared experiential flux (see Garcia 2011: 181) through music and sound is an interconnectedness between social, sonic and affective. However, "being in tune" as Garcia asserts, "does not necessarily mean that one identifies with that body or that one has the same understanding of what this attunement means" (ibid.). In this sense, sound collectivities can be seen simultaneously as non-identitarian forms of belonging, where individuals' ethnicities no longer have an important connection with the music they perform or listen to, also turning away from the notions of ideology and identity.

At *Guča na Krasu*, the subjectivities of the audience, differentially located socially, economically and politically, are mediated by the notion of global Balkan music, and particularly through the spatio-temporal collectivities shaped through the affective technologies of sound as a mass 'production of worlds' (Lazzarato in Thrift 2008: 23). Sound operates as a formative link for groupings and conjunctions that enable a specific relocation and contribute to the creation of an experience of shared spaces (LaBelle 2010: xxi). During the event, participants belong to more than one collectivity – not only in terms of social locations, but identifications and social belonging as a result of heterogeneous, multiple, and complex sonic affects (Garcia 2011: 182).

Still, although within loose collectivities, such relations can also be transferred to the level of inter-community identifications and provoke new heritage performances within the local context. Trumpet orchestra music as a symbol of the Balkan music label becomes an affective tool of identification and affiliation, and brings a newly emergent glocal dynamics into the existent heritage protocols. The paradox that Serbian community members, who are thought to identify most easily with trumpet orchestra

35 For theorizations of sonic affect see the works of Grossberg (1984); Gilbert (2004); Cusick (2006, 2008); Goodman 2010; Thompson, Biddle (2013); Kassabian (2013); Schrimshaw (2013).

music and whose "heritage" is presented in the international arena and popularized through the festival, do not consider it valuable, indicates complex heritage managements. Identification with this music is partial and temporary – Serbian community members involved in the organization thus recall/address that heritage with ambivalence: a certain degree of self-identification enabled them to be a part of the organizing team for such a big international event (which is, according to my interlocutors, significant for community empowerment) and gave them an opportunity to make a certain profit, while at the level of community the event was dismissed as inadequate for national self-representation.³⁶ In this case, one of the main potentials of festivals in "bringing local people together through participating in their organization and attending them" (Kozorog 2011: 300), underscores more the complex local-global dynamics of heritage management.

However, seeing identifications not just as an "underlying social machine of identifications but a series of pre-individual ethologies that incessantly rehearse a materialism in which matter turns into a sensed-sensing energy with multiple centres" (Thrift 2008: 17), I would rather claim that in the case of *Guča na Krasu* the aesthetic experience appeared as the primary base for identification, communion and social convergence, and not the ethnic one. This also demonstrates the importance of the capabilities of people to choose which heritage they want to participate or identify with, including on the temporal level (for two hours, one day etc.) Heritage, understood as a living practice in this case, becomes a "heritage of a moment". Although certain music can be an object of institutionalization (such as trumpet orchestras in Serbia), its perception and experiencing is always changeable – from moment to moment.

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36 I observed several situations where people involved in preparing food occasionally take an active part in the event, by dancing and enjoying brass-band music, asking musicians to come and play for them and giving tips. Through this kind of somatic expression, Serbian community festival attendees displayed their "special skills" and capacity for a "more authentic" experience of this music.

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