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Festivalizing Tradition. A Fieldworker's Notes from the Guča Trumpet Festival (Serbia) and the Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Spain)

Waldemar Kuligowski

This article is an attempt to apply Häussermann and Siebel's concept of festivalization (Häussermann, Siebel 1993) to modern forms of cultural politics, with particular emphasis on the phenomenon of cultural and music festivals. It's based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted by the author during two festivals: the Serbian Guča Trumpet Festival and the Canarian Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Spain).¹ In accordance with the results of the fieldwork, the author perceived tradition as an important part of the festivalization process. Tradition is never politically neutral and plays an important role in the movement revolving around identity and recognition. The author suggests we can recognize the process of the festivalization of traditions as an emerging cultural trend.

Straipsnyje bandoma, vartojant Hartmuto Häussermanno ir Walterio Siebelio sąvoką „festivalizacija“ (Häussermann, Siebel 1993), nagrinėti šiuolaikines kultūros politikos formas, ypač atkreipiant dėmesį į kultūros ir muzikos festivalius. Straipsnis paremtas autoriaus etnografiniais lauko tyrimais, atliktais dviejuose festivaliuose – Serbijos Gučos trimitų festivalyje ir Tenerifės Santa Kruso karnavale (Ispanijoje, Kanaruose). Autorius tradiciją traktuoja kaip svarbią festivalizacijos procesų dalį. Tradicija, kadangi niekada nebūna politiškai neutrali, atlieka svarbų vaidmenį su tapatumu ir at(pri)pažinimu susijusiame judėjime. Autorius teigia, kad tradicijų festivalizavimo procesą galėtume laikyti atsirandančia kultūros kryptimi.

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¹ An interpretation the first will base on the author's previous work (Kuligowski 2014).

Festivals and Festivalization

Festivals are one of the oldest and most common cultural phenomena (MacAloon 1984; Burke 1994; Ronström 2015).² As Owe Ronström suggested at the end of the last century, the word 'festival began to be used as a generic term for a large array of celebrations' (Ronström 2015: 1). In the area of event studies, Donald Getz defined festivals as 'themed public celebrations' (Getz 2005: 21). For the Polish human geographer Waldemar Cudny, a festival is a 'socio-spatial phenomenon, taking place at a specially designated time, outside of everyday routine, shaping the social capital and celebrating selected elements of (...) culture' (Cudny 2016: 18). Today, all kinds of calendar events, markets, meetings, feasts, and religious and secular rituals are called festivals. Particularly in the last decades, festivals have become folk feasts for all kinds of people, with all kinds of music and a large variety of non-musical activities. You can participate in events that range from the Fryderyk Chopin Festival in Duszynki Zdrój or the Richard-Wagner-Festspiele in Bayreuth to pierogi (dumplings) festivals, potato festivals, or even pickled cucumber festivals. In consequence, the festival becomes the most common or even an almost universal form of public activity, especially in urban spaces. Every year in Poland, it is possible to participate in more than five hundred music, theater, literary, and dance festivals. Cities such as Istanbul, Cannes, or Milan organize big shopping festivals. Other cities prepare festivals of museums (with marketing copy such as 'Igniting Scotland's Imagination' – Scotland's Museums Festival, or tempting advertisement information such as 'You'll be amazed at the variety of events, activities, exhibitions, talks, walks, trails, craft and art workshops at museums across Wales' – Welsh Museums Festival) and festivals of science ('Visitors will be able to experience interactive exhibits, to participate in debates, scientific experiments, workshops, educational games, student competitions, to watch scientific theater performances and documentaries' as declared the organizers of the Thessaloniki Science Festival).

Furthermore, we can observe a deep connection between two types of industries: the festival industry and the tourism industry. The logic of cooperation between them is simply this: the festival industry provides the experience, and the tourist industry provides the audience (Getz 2005; Anderson, Getz 2009). The result is large festival geographies (the big festivals are connected by a set of highways, along which a small selection of artists travel; access to these highways are

² Etymologically, the term festival derives from the Latin *festum* and *festivus*, and was used from the fourteenth century. Other forms then derived from this original term: the Italian *fiesta*, the French *fête* and *festival*, the Spanish *fiesta*, the Middle English *feste dai*, *festial*, and *festival* (Falassi 1987: 2–3). In the Middle Ages, most festivals were held under the auspices of the church, and they were a part of the religious calendar (Ronström 2015).

effectively controlled by gatekeepers in the festival organizations), especially in summer. Several hundred large festivals are organized only in Europe over the course of two or three months, but the number of smaller festivals is literally countless. (The big festivals are connected by a set of highways, along which a small selection of artists travel. Access to these highways is effectively controlled by gatekeepers in the festival organizations). In this light, we can conclude that world has been festivalized.

In my opinion, we can perceive many contemporary festivals as a specific extension of the paradigm of the idea of McDonaldization formulated by George Ritzer (Ritzer 2004). In the most general formulation, McDonaldization involves four values: (1) efficiency or an efficient method for satisfying many needs; (2) calculability or emphasis on the quantitative aspects of services and products sold; in this system quantity has become equivalent to quality; 'bigger is better'; (3) predictability or comfort in knowing that the world offers no surprises; (4) controlled or standardized and unified procedures and way of doing things (Ritzer 2006). I suggest that we can recognize many of the contemporary festivals as Mcfestivals. It's a part of a global process in which 'McDonaldization affects not only the restaurant business but also education, work, the criminal justice system, health care, travel, leisure, dieting, politics, family, religion and virtually every aspect of society' (Ritzer 2004: 2). In this paradigm, Mcfestivals are highly predictable and standardized forms of leisure and consumption. Their organizers aim for quantity and want to satisfy many consumer needs. The dominant logic is clear: if we provide an attractive festival product (i.e. a popular music band) or service (i.e. opportunities for shopping), we achieve success.

Cultural festivals become a main element in constructing a proper 'atmosphere' for urban space, especially when we perceive it as a 'relational and dynamic urban time-space' (Graham, Healey 1998). This factor turns urban space into a place of constant festival, a phenomenon called festivalization. The term festivalization was coined by Hartmut Häussermann and Walter Siebel, two German sociologists, in the article 'Die Politik der Festivalisierung und die Festivalisierung der Politik' in 1993 (Häussermann, Siebel 1993). They focused on large sport events like the Olympic Games and football championships and the 'festivalization of urban politics'. Häussermann and Siebel described the instrumentalization of large-scale cultural and sports events and the government and entrepreneurial support for them. Festivalization transforms an urban environment into a 'showcase' for visitors and global audiences (Black, van der Westhuizen 2004). It also means to 'clean up' an event precinct and to rid this environment of 'unwanted' objects and people (Eisenhauer, Adair, Taylor 2014: 40). The festivalized mega-event reconfigures urban spaces to satisfy the aspirations of governments and commercial interests. Locals must 'fit in' with the festivalized

urban agenda. 'It is important to acknowledge that festivalisation only becomes a possibility with the realisation of the "world-class" city: global in outlook, investor-"friendly" and the national hub for business; a site with political profile and cultural cachet, and a destination favoured by tourists' (Eisenhauer, Adair, Taylor 2014: 40). Festivals are often strategically conceived with the purpose of promoting a 'distinctive city' (Johansson, Kociatkiewicz 2011: 395). Obviously, the scope, scale, and impact of festivalization depend fundamentally on context. The study of the 2006 Football World Championship in Hamburg found that this city did not need to be festivalized, because the required local urban infrastructure was already well established (Baasch 2011). By contrast, another study discovered the forced removal of local residents from the 2010 Football World Championship in the RSA (Steinbrink, Haferburg, Ley 2011).

The term festivalization has become popular among scholars for interpreting the development of festivals at the turn of the twenty-first century. Understood as the expression of a new urban policy and a celebration of cultural and social elements, including religious ones that unify social groups, festivals are the subject of research conducted by scholars from many scientific disciplines. Some of these scholars emphasize that European cities are transformed into 'eventful cities' that offer new forms of festivals, including 'edutainment and shop-attainment' (Richards, Palmer 2010: 29–30), which combine education or shopping with entertainment.

My aim is an analysis of festivalization in the particular context of tradition. Certainly, in the vocabulary of ethnology and socio-cultural anthropology, the words 'tradition' and 'traditional' are the most commonly used terms. The concept of tradition is wide. In their classical analysis of the concept of culture, Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn identified a certain type of definition that places the greatest emphasis on problems of heritage and tradition (Kroeber, Kluckhohn 1952: 47–49). They quoted many anthropologists who claimed that culture is an 'inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs', 'the whole of social tradition', or 'social heritage' and that it 'comprises inherited artefacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, customs, and values'.

From my perspective, a very useful idea of tradition was formulated by Ann Fienup-Riordan. She argues that tradition is a certain type of 'conscious culture' and 'conscious heritage' (Fienup-Riordan 2000: 167) reproduced in old and new public contexts. In this formula, tradition becomes a cultural buffer for localness over sub-local currents. James Clifford writes about 'heritage work' in a similar way. He suggests: 'Heritage work includes oral-historical research, cultural evocation and explanation (exhibits, festivals) (...) art production, marketing (...). Heritage projects participate in a range of public spheres, acting as

(...) ways to reconnect with the past and say to others: "We exist", "We have deep roots here", "We are different" (Clifford 2004: 8). Clifford points to the fact that tradition understood in this way is never politically neutral and plays an important role in the movement revolving around identity and recognition. I have no doubt that Clifford's heritage work takes place intensively in local communities all over the world.

In the following pages, I will describe and interpret two examples of contemporary festivals: the Serbian Guča Trumpet Festival and the Canarian/Spain Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife. I chose these particular festivals because they are brilliant examples contemporary festival diversity. Moreover, as Peter Burke observed, carnival is 'an example *par excellence* of festival' (Burke 1994: 260). Incidentally, I would like to note that both festivals began in 1961; this is an important coincidence.

In classic anthropological works, the festival was treated as a form similar to a ritual framed by inverted and temporary abnormal reality. In this light, many anthropologists observed how, during festival time, the norms and rules of everyday life were suspended. In the study of the 'primitive' or tribal festival situation of excess, disorder and temporary chaos have been interpreted in relation to communities' mythical pasts. Key contributions to the anthropological field include Roger Caillois's theories of transgressions and play (Caillois 1961), Arnold van Gennep's idea of rites of passage (van Gennep 1960), and Victor Turner's concepts of liminality, anti-structure, and *communitas* (Turner 1969). On the other hand, Jean Duvignaud argued that most classic analysis of festivals goes back to Émile Durkheim, who distinguished between the sacred and the profane and wrote about 'collective effervescence' as the supreme moment of the solidarity of collective consciousness (Duvignaud 1976: 13).

But in this case, I would like to refer to a multi-sited formula for ethnographic research (Marcus 1995). According to George Marcus, traditional ethnography typically situates a researcher in one field site for an extended period of time. Differing from it, multi-sited ethnography follows a research topic across numerous spaces for shorter periods of time. As Marcus wrote: 'For ethnographers interested in contemporary local changes in culture and society, single-sited research can no longer be easily located in world system perspective' (Marcus 1995: 98). In consequence, he proposed multi-sited ethnography as a way to examine global processes – one of them is festivalization. When conducting multi-sited ethnography, spaces can be geographic, social, or virtual, depending on what the researcher chooses to follow. Marcus writes that researchers can follow people, a 'thing', a metaphor, plot, story or allegory, life/biography, or even conflict. In this context, the object of study is ultimately mobile and situated in various locations.

I conducted ethnographic fieldwork at both festivals. I collected and then interpreted data, trying to use a few different ethnographic methods: participant observations, informal interviews, and analysis of additional sources (local press and websites) as well as photos, video recordings, and elements of field recording. During the Canarian carnival I worked alone (five days), whereas in Guča I realized my fieldwork with a group of students of ethnology and cultural anthropology (seven days). I would like to emphasize that ethnographic fieldwork of festivals entails several important factors: (1) research is carried out over only a few or a dozen days at most; (2) the research is conducted in the presence of many people; (3) the context of the research includes many practices, such as listening to music, being in a group of friends, spontaneous music-making, eating, drinking and resting. All these factors certainly influence the course of research and its results.

In my personal experience, the *sabor* (the Serbian term сабор means 'assembly', 'gathering' or in wider sense a 'festival') in Guča and carnival in Santa Cruz were very memorable events. During both festivals, my mind was a field of sharp battle between professional fieldworker and spontaneous participant, between seriousness and fun, obligation and an enjoyment. In these cases, the classic ethnographic formula of participant observation didn't work. Both festivals were places for participation and for observation, but not for participation and observation simultaneously. As Barbara Tedlock suggested: 'During participation observation, ethnographers move back and forth between emotionally engaged participants and coolly dispassionate observers of the lives of others' (Tedlock 1992: xiii). In this light, I was rather an 'emotionally engaged' ethnographer than a 'coolly dispassionate observer'. Moreover, I think that during the festival fieldwork I was a 'true' anthropologist in the field only under specific conditions: partly, temporary, and in a permanent 'collaboration' with music, dance, crowds of people, and a huge amount of colors, smells, and sounds. In this context, I would like to refer to James Thompson's 'horizontal method for researching' (Thompson 2009: 134). In his model, the researcher is situated alongside the festival participant and the gap between researcher and his or her collaborators is diminished and relations are distributed along a horizontal axis rather than a vertical one.

I would like to argue that we can perceive both the festival in Guča and the carnival in Santa Cruz in Falassi's idea of a 'periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees' (Falassi 1987: 2) many members of a community, united by and sharing a worldview. But 'sharing a worldview' is expressed in a radically different way in the Serbian festival vs. the Canarian one.

The Guča Trumpet Festival

One of the biggest music festivals in Europe, drawing more than half a million visitors, was originally a small regional event that took place in a tiny Serbian town.³ Guča is located in the region of Dragačevo, in the southwestern part of what is today the Republic of Serbia. Guča has been a town since the beginning of the nineteenth century and was once the administrative capital of the Dragačevo District. The first performance of the Dragačevski Sabor Trubača (the 'Dragačevo assembly of trumpet players'; now the most popular English name is the Guča Trumpet Festival) took place in the town of Guča on Saturday, October 14, 1961, on the feast of Saint Mary the Advocate (Vujović 2004: 18–25). The first *sabor* was rather modest, as only four local players performed in the yard at the Orthodox Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel. Apart from the concert, there were other events, such as sport competitions, a contest for the most traditional woman's attire, and demonstrations of skills in traditional crafts. In the following year, six bands participated, and in 1963 as many as sixteen. Year by year the festival's popularity grew. The local event eventually became the largest regular festival for brass bands, not only in Serbia or the Balkans but also throughout Europe. It soon became necessary to conduct qualification rounds, as the event now attracted dozens of ensembles. Similarly, the audience was also increasing in size; the number of visitors reached 800,000 by the year 2010. In the same year, about 2,000 musicians from 14 countries arrived to perform at the festival. *Politika*, a high-circulation Belgrade newspaper and the oldest in Serbia, even called that year of the festival 'the largest gathering of people in Serbia's history' (Ostašević 2010).

When Yugoslavia still existed, the Dragačevski Sabor Trubača was a purely local event that responded to the official policy of promoting the folklore of federated nations. A new chapter in the history of the *sabor* began in 1993, when it became a truly mass event, with newly defined cultural, historical, and ethnic dimensions. Yugoslavia broke up into a number of states, the open conflict between the Serbs and Kosovar Albanians was escalating, and the festival in Guča, a town on the border of 'Old Serbia', now became an element of ethnic conflict. The 'national' evolution of the festival was reflected, for instance, in the following statement by Dragoljub D. Jovašević: Guča was a 'temple, where a due sacrifice is offered in the struggle for our national heritage. A temple where the liturgy is held by the trumpet, and the national past is the communion' (Timotijević 2005: 166). In the same 'national' context, Miodrag Đukić, the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, declared Guča to be the 'heart of Serbian culture'.

³ In this section I will refer to my fieldwork conducted in August 2010. Several ideas can be found in (Kuligowski 2014).

Similarly, Branko V. Radičević, one of the most famous organizers of the festival, said: 'Our *sabor* is the feast of pilgrims flocking to the sanctuary of national tradition' (Zatežić, Ilić 2007: 16). The Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Milorad Dodik and another VIP, Vojislav Koštunica, were present at the festival in 2007. Dodik expressed the government's support for the event by declaring: 'if you love Serbia, you must also love Guča—the most important town of the whole country during the festival' (Mikeska 2007: 28).

Furthermore, the *sabor* in Dragačevo began to even be considered the most prominent expression of the 'essence' of Serbian national culture. Obviously, the current Serbian authorities in Belgrade would strongly support that process of national redefinition. On the one hand, a large amount of money was provided to finance the festival in subsequent years. For example, the list of sponsors who supported the festival in 2010 contains the names of the most important national industrial companies of the country, such as Dunav Osiguranje or Telecom Serbia Belgrade, as well as prominent representatives of the press, TV, and the banking sector. On the other hand, senior government officials personally appeared at the Guča festival. In 2007, the festival was held under the patronage of the Minister of Infrastructure, Velimir Ilić, who also authorized the disbursement of 100 million dinars. By comparison, Exit, another Serbian festival, with dozens of bands, film projections, and theater pieces, received three times less.⁴

Apart from political and financial support, the Dragačevski Sabor Trubača was met with a strong and visible positive social response. During the *sabor*, shop owners sold a large number of t-shirts with images of Slobodan Milošević; Dragoljub (Draž) Mihailović, the leader of Chetnik guerillas during World War II; Radovan Karadžić, president of the Bosnian Serbs; and General Ratko Mladić—all bearing the motto 'Serbian Hero'. Visitors could also buy flags and emblems of Serbia and various banners with inscriptions calling for an immediate return of Kosovo to the homeland (Figure 1). Many times I observed men, both young and old, who sang Serbian folk songs, drank rakija (or beer), and showed me three fingers, a popular symbol of Serbia and the Orthodox Church. Many of them dressed in provocative t-shirts bearing the images of 'Serbian heroes' and slogans about Kosovo's eternal belongingness to Serbia. I saw and heard the same signs and shouts just after the closing ceremony of the festival.

⁴I should to note that the Exit festival was created by students from the university in Novi Sad in order to express their disappointment with the fact that, having been citizens of Serbia, they could not go to such festivals abroad. It was founded as a spontaneous student movement fighting for democracy and freedom in Serbia and the Balkans. Nonetheless, the initiative enjoyed little support from the government of Serbia. I perceive both Serbian festivals as cultural opposites with radically different ways of thinking about national identity, cultural heritage, and the place of Serbia in Europe.



Figure 1. Guča Trumpet Festival, 2010 (Photo by Waldemar Kuligowski)

According to official discourse (Timotijević 2005; Zatežić, Illić 2007), most visitors expressed their national feelings by connecting the *sabor* in Guča with traditional Serbian culture (now I quote few opinions):

We have it all here: the trumpet is our national instrument and rakija is our national drink (24-year-old female, Kraljevo) (Figure 2);

The festival promotes Serbian identity, particularly through music and fun, so characteristic of our tradition and stemming from it ... The festival increases our prestige throughout Europe (42-year-old male);

Guča is Serbia ... This is the most important festival promoting Serbia, the symbol of fun and happiness ... the festival brings people together and that is why there are visitors from all over the world (24-year-old male, Banja Luka);

I come here to see the folklore and folk customs (52-year-old male);

This festival promotes Serbian culture because the brass bands play our national music... We can be proud of this festival, as it is the most famous festival in the whole Europe (26-year-old male);

By means of music, this festival tells the history of our nation (36-year-old man, Belgrade).



Figure 2. Guča Trumpet Festival, 2010 (Photo by Waldemar Kuligowski)

In the context of the above statements, I would like to emphasize that the styling of the *sabor* in Guča into a festival of Serbian culture and a show of Serbian identity is in itself a demonstration of ‘banal nationalism’ as Michael Billig put it (Billig 1995). In this way, Billig intended to differentiate between the everyday, popular nationalism from its extreme, political variants. The most popular expression of such ‘banal’ or ‘hidden’ nationalism includes the use of flags in everyday settings, national songs, the symbolism of money, sports events, festivals, idiomatic expressions in everyday language, and patriotic clubs. In other words, the banal nationalism is not only a flag hoisted by national extremists but also a flag printed on a t-shirt purchased by visitors of a ‘national’ festival, not only a loud battle song but also a joyous rhythm inviting people to have fun with music played by a friendly band of trumpeters. In short, ethnicity and nationalism usually manifest themselves in undramatic, peaceful, festivalized ways.

Serbian participants of the *sabor* in Guča see the special value of the festival in its expression of Serbian culture and tradition, particularly through music. In this way, the brass band festival has become an element of ‘neo-folk culture’ and

'trash-patriotism' as wrote Dragičević-Šešić (Dragičević-Šešić 1994) and what Ivan Čolovič, a Belgrade ethnologist, termed a Serbian 'Kulturkampf' (Čolovič 2008), that is, 'ethnization' and nationalization of Serbian history.

Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife

The Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife is held each February or March.⁵ It takes place in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, the capital of the largest of the Canary Islands. The carnival has a long tradition; it has been celebrated since the time of the earliest European settlement. In 1605 chronicler Gaspar Luis Hidalgo made the first reference to 'the changing of sexes through costume' in Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Perdomo, Sánchez 1983: 19). In 1778 the war diary of Antonio Lope described the *Comparsas*, or big groups of dancers and musicians, which remain one of the main attractions of the local carnival (Penny 2013: 12; Perdomo, Sánchez 1983: 27). Spontaneous dance in the streets and, in particular, cross-dressing quickly became a problem in the eyes of the government as well as the Catholic Church (Alemán 1996). In 1783 the local government enforced a royal decree which banned carnival practices that involved the wearing of masks and the cross-dressing. In fact, carnival was prohibited for a long time, until the second part of the twentieth century. During the dictatorships of Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja (1923–1935) and General Francisco Franco (1940–1975), carnival was also banned (Barreto Vargas 1992–1993: 154). Anti-carnival laws were an element of political struggle against any sort of cultural or ethnic autonomy in Spain.

But the tradition of a transgressive carnival in Santa Cruz was very strong, and these bans were largely ignored by the local urban community. In the time of carnival, inhabitants of Santa Cruz (they are called *Chicharreros* in reference to the former common practice of eating the *chicharro* fish) formed *Tapadas*, or groups of men and women whose faces were covered by masks to undertake carnival practices. In the 1950s, residents once again got around the ruling by organizing the so-called *Fiestas de Invierno* (Winter Festival). The first official Winter Festival took place in 1961 over the course of five days (Sunday, Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, and Ash Wednesday) (Mayor 2015: 9; Perdomo, Sánchez 1983: 176–177). Besides the port city of Cadiz, Santa Cruz was the only place in Spain to continue with carnival throughout these years of austerity and dictatorship. In the end, after the death of General Franco and the democratization of Spain, in 1976 the *Fiestas de Invierno* was officially transformed into the Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

⁵In this section I will refer to my fieldwork conducted in February-March 2014.

From an analytical point of view, it is very important that the festival is divided into two supplemental parts: the official carnival and the spontaneous carnival on the street. The official carnival has more than a hundred groups, including *comparsas*, *rondallas* and other musical groups. They are engaged in every event, performing music and dance. Members of *comparsas* use different types of instruments and costumes, but most of these accoutrements are taken from Latin culture. The *rondalla* is an ensemble of musicians using various chordophones including mandolins, guitars, and violins as well as tambourines and castanets. The word *rondalla* derives from the Spanish *ronda*, meaning 'serenade'. The particular tradition of the *rondalla* was born in medieval Catalunya and then expanded to other regions of Spain and to Latin America (Corominas, Gulsoy, Cahner 1987: 440). Members of a *rondalla* have unique and homogenous costumes. Usually, they sing about love, particularly about unhappiness in love. The first *rondalla* appeared in Santa Cruz at the end of nineteenth century.

The second part of carnival, that is, the spontaneous street carnival, is more loosely organized and comprises people celebrating on the streets. Thousands of people come each day to the streets to participate, most of whom wear a disguise in accordance with carnival tradition. In my opinion, this is the very heart of carnival in Santa Cruz.

In the last decade, Santa Cruz has become a popular destination for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual persons from all over Europe. Some streets are spontaneously arranged in the LGBT-friendly zone. Official posters which promote carnival are quickly transformed into queer stylish posters. Four thousand men take part in the election of the *reinina*, or drag queen, of carnival (the event is usually broadcast by Spanish television).

The most important element of carnival in Santa Cruz is the opportunity to transform into another person – real, mythical, or fictional – and also discard the ordinary, conventional, and 'stable' gender identity (Figure 3). The parade is huge and seemingly never-ending; it engages the whole population of Santa Cruz. Children, teenagers, adults, older men and women – all social types participate in carnival and each person wears a particular costume or mask. I observed greater imagination and freedom in costume design among women. They talked to me about their costumes: Spiderman, Little Red Riding Hood, a captain in pin-up-girl style, a pirate, a pharaoh, a medieval queen, an aerobics coach, a Dalmatian dog, a cat, a superhero, an angel, a demon, Sherlock Holmes, a priest, a fireman, an American Indian woman, a fairy, a sailor, Hello Kitty ('Canarian, hand-made'), a hippie, a flower, a zombie, a rock musician, and an athlete. In comparison with women, men chose fewer variants: a prostitute, a sailor, Zorro, a babysitter, a nurse, a bee, a soldier, an Indian, Minnie Mouse, and a walking grapevine. A recent study conducted by psychologists from the Universidad de



Figure 3. Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2013 (Photo by Waldemar Kuligowski)

la Laguna emphasizes the special cultural and psychological value in disguise (Mayor 2015: 12). For the majority of heterosexual women, the carnival practice of disguise is an opportunity to have fun and simply smile. My perspective on this event is similar: an opportunity to be something other than in ordinary life, the opportunity to transgress the dominant social and cultural order, and the opportunity to create a new time and space – these are the crucial values of carnival in Santa Cruz for its local participants.

The transgressive level of carnival is attractive for many participants. When I asked *Chicharreros* about their basic motivation to participate in carnival, they reaffirmed this idea:

I like Santa Cruz. We can come disguise for anything and it's fun (27-year-old male);

I like to observe other people, their creativity, their costumes and dances (26-year-old male);

Because I like to party (19-year-old female);

Because I like to wear a disguise (19-year-old female);

It's a unique festival, full of joy and happiness. People here are without limits (31-year-old male);

Carnival is a good time for fun with my friends (28-year-old male);

Carnival is a great opportunity to transform into another person (21-year-old female).

Beside their shared joy, many of the *Chicharreros* emphasized another dimension of carnival. They told me about their own tradition, its value, and significance:

Carnival is deeply rooted in our society (46-year-old male);

Carnival is the best way to promote our cultural heritage. We are proud of it (33-year-old female);

It's fun and a tradition (28-year-old male).

The carnival ritual cycle is strongly connected with the canonical calendar of the Catholic Church – without the Christian fast, the craziness of carnival is simply nonsensical. The most important part of the ritual cycle is the last week before Ash Wednesday. The ritual is outlined in the following:

- The Wednesday before Fat Thursday: the Queen of Carnival is elected. The event is broadcast to the entire country and abroad by satellite;

- Friday: the Announcement Parade (*La Cabalgata Anunciadora*) is held. All participating groups with dance and music march along the main streets announcing the arrival of the carnival

- Saturday, Sunday, Monday: these are days of feasting. Dance and music groups perform on stages built in many places.

- Tuesday: the last carnival parade is organized. *El Coso*, or the parade, follows the main streets, marking the official end of carnival. '*El Coso* demonstrates that carnival is the most important festival on all the Canary Islands' (Barreto Vargas 1992–1993: 255)

- Ash Wednesday: 'the burial of the sardine' (*Entierro de la Sardina*) is celebrated. A giant sardine made of *papier-mâché* is carried in a funeral procession along the streets, which are draped in mourning. The procession is followed by wailing widows and persons dressed as priests, bishops, or popes imitating blessings and other Catholic practices. Different sexual objects are also very popular among the participants.

As I mentioned above, *comparsas* and *rondallas* are very traditional elements of carnival. But the most typical element for carnival in Santa Cruz is *murga*. *Murga* is a specific form of popular musical theater. A traditional *murga* group includes a male chorus and a few percussionists. *Murguistas'* dress is elaborate and colorful. The musicians perform of a suite of songs and recitations which are based on a particular theme, serving to provide recent commentary on local events, politics, scandals and, rumors. In this way, *murgas* expresses another



Figure 4. Carnival of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2014 (Photo by Waldemar Kuligowski)

form of carnival fun. Like medieval clowns (Bakhtin 1941; Burke 1994), *Murguistas* transgress the borders of the 'normal' world. Their ironic songs reverse ordinary life and its rules and regulations. Undoubtedly, the most popular *murga* group in Santa Cruz is the *Afilarmónica NiFú-NiFá* (Figure 4).⁶ In the period between 1962–1965, this group won every contests and became a living legend as the best *murga*. Now, *Afilarmónica NiFú-NiFá* is the patron group of the street in Santa Cruz.

Conclusions

As I noted above, in general, festival is a part of European cultural heritage that is ancient in origin. In older times, most festivals were held under the auspices of the church and were a part of the religious calendar. Today we can observe many types of festivals, which can have national, spiritual, or ethnic backgrounds;

⁶For more info look at: AFILARMONICA-NIFU-NIFA 2016.

many of them offer a specific focus on local history, ethnic values, and social transformations. In my opinion, contemporary festivals have become the main cultural stage for expressing, producing, and reproducing traditions on an ethnic, national as well as personal level. Festivals have already begun operating as a differentiating field of values, norms, and emotions. According to Clifford, festivals are a part of specific 'heritage work' (Clifford 2004). In his perspective, tradition is never politically neutral and plays an important role in the movement around identity and recognition. In accordance with the results of my fieldwork, I would like to suggest that we can recognize the process of festivalizing traditions as an emerging cultural trend.

If even brass band music is a main motivation for most visitors, national Serbian message is strongly visible in Guča. The Serbian festival is an expression of a common national character, with strong political associations. The trumpet music became a medium for national identity in its pure version. According to Čolovič, we should treat the Guča trumpet festival as an element of folklorization (Čolovič 2007). Čolovič also indicates that the fact that many political events were framed in a mythological context based on authentic and unifying Serbian folk culture exemplifies this trend. Čolovič's folklorization of politics now meet in Guča, expressing the 'ethnic commodification' described by John and Jane Comaroff (Comaroff, Comaroff 2009). They analyzed ethnicity in the context of the neoliberal market, which motivates 'ethno-agents' – whole countries among them – to 'sell' their ethnic identity. This selling take place in many various fields; among them are ethno-tourist projects and music or cultural festivals. In consequence, we can observe a play with authenticity and tradition, marketing and promotion, local culture and global tourism.

We can notice similar play during the carnival in Santa Cruz. In May 2000, the Santa Cruz de Tenerife became the Carnival Capital of the World and headquarters of the 20th Convention of the Federation of European Carnival Cities (FECC). Now Santa Cruz aspires to become a World Heritage Site (in the framework of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO) as a place with special cultural or physical significance. Chicharreros also strongly refer to tradition and local culture but without nationalization. In Santa Cruz I observed a lack of national context. The carnival is an expression of personal character without political connotations. *Comparsas, rondallas* and *murgas* became a specific medium for individual identity. In consequence, Serbia's Guča seems like a place where tradition is constantly being nationalized. In contrast, Canarian Santa Cruz is a place where tradition is undergoing privatization.

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Festivalizuoiant tradicija.

Pastabos iš lauko tyrimų Gučos trimitų festivalyje (Serbija) ir Tenerifės Santa Kruso karnavale (Ispanija)

Waldemar Kuligowski

Santrauka

Praeito šimtmečio pabaigoje sąvoką „festivalis“ pradėta vartoti kaip bendrą terminą norint apibūdinti daugelį įvairių švenčių (šventimų), kurios turi ne daug religinių konotacijų arba jų iš viso neturi. Šiandien įvairius kalendorinius renginius, turgus, sueigas, religines šventes, religinius ir pasaulietinius ritualus norima vadinti festivaliais. Ypač paskutiniaisiais dešimtmečiais festivaliai virto įvairiems žmonėms skirtomis liaudies šventėmis, kurioms būdinga kuo įvairiausia muzika ir didelė nemuzikinės veiklos įvairovė. Galima dalyvauti Frederiko

Šopeno festivalyje Dušniki Zdruj (Duszniki Zdrój) mieste arba Richardo Vagnerio festivalyje Bairoite, taip pat apsilankyti „pierogi“ (virtinių), bulvių ar net marinuotų agurkų festivaliuose. Pagaliau festivalis tapo populiariausia ir vos ne universali viešosios veiklos forma, ypač miesto erdvėse. Taigi miesto erdvė paverčiama nuolatinio festivalio vieta, šis reiškinys pavadintas festivalizacija. Šį terminą 1993 m. pavartojo du vokiečių sociologai Hartmutas Häussermannas ir Walteris Siebelis straipsnyje „Festivalizacijos politika ir politikos festivalizacija“ (*Die Politik der Festivalisierung und die Festivalisierung der Politik*) (Häussermann, Siebel 1993). Jie sutelkė dėmesį į didelius sporto įvykius (Olimpinės žaidynes ir futbolo čempionatą) ir „miesto politikos festivalizavimą“. Häussermannas ir Siebelis aprašė plataus masto kultūros ir sporto renginių instrumentalizavimą, vyriausybės ir privataus verslo teikiamą jiems paramą. Terminas „festivalizacija“ išpopuliarėjo mokslininkams interpretuojant festivalių raidą XXI a. pradžioje. Festivalius tyrinėja įvairių mokslo disciplinų atstovai. Be to, daugelį šiuolaikinių festivalių galime suvokti ir kaip išplėstą George'o Ritzerio suformuluotos makdonaldizacijos idėjos paradigmą. Festivaliai yra labai nuspėjamos ir standartizuotos pramogų ir vartojimo formos, jų organizatoriai orientuojasi į kiekybę ir siekia patenkinti daugelio vartotojų poreikius. Taip pat galime matyti, kad festivalių ir turizmo pramonės yra glaudžiai susijusios.

Straipsnyje nagrinėjant šiuolaikines kultūros politikos formas, ypač pabrėžiant kultūros ir muzikos festivalių reiškinį, vartojama Hartmuto Häussermanno ir Walterio Siebelio sąvoka „festivalizacija“. Straipsnis paremtas autoriaus dviejuose festivaliuose atliktais etnografiniais lauko tyrimais – Serbijos Gučos trimitų festivalyje ir Tenerifės Santa Kruso karnavale (Ispanijoje, Kanaruose). Pasiremdamas lauko tyrimų rezultatais, autorius traktuoja tradiciją kaip svarbią festivalizacijos procesų dalį. Festivalis Serbijoje yra nacionalinio charakterio išraiška, kuri turi stiprių asociacijų (sąsajų) su politika. Trimitų muzika tapo priemone išreikšti nacionalinį tapatumą. Santa Kruso gyventojai taip pat labai remiasi tradicija ir vietine kultūra, tačiau šiuo atveju karnavalas yra asmens charakterio išraiška, neturinti jokių politinių konotacijų. Taigi serbų Guča atrodo kaip vieta, kurioje tradicija nuolat nacionalizuojama. Kanarų Santa Kruse, priešingai, tradicija privatizuojama.

Apibendrinant teigiama, kad šiuolaikiniai festivaliai taip pat tapo svarbiausia kultūrine scena išreikšti, kurti ir atkurti etninio, nacionalinio ir asmeninio pobūdžio tradicijas. Festivaliai – tai tarsi tam tikras laukas, kuriame diferencijuojasi vertybės, normos ir emocijos. Pasak Jameso Cliffordo, festivaliai yra ypatingo „paveldo darbo“ dalis. Jo požiūriu, tradicija niekuomet nebūna neutrali ir atlieka svarbų vaidmenį su tapatumu ir at(pri)pažinimu susijusiame judėjime. Atsižvelgus į autoriaus atliktų lauko tyrimų rezultatus teigiama, kad tradicijų festivalizavimo procesą galėtume laikyti atsirandančia kultūros kryptimi.