

The music sends the hero away from this world and takes him to the supreme spheres [Mapa30B, 2001:34]. The relation of Orpheus' communication with the animals via shamanic music techniques has already been mentioned. It has parallels with the symbolic thinking of the *zurnacies*. Maybe the stories of taming birds perched on the instrument comprise reflections of the old symbolism of the soul as a bird. The proof is the symbolic interrelation between soul, *zurna* and playing described above.

Nowadays, at certain moments the most prosaic and profane situations of reality gain ecstatic symbolism via *zurnaci* music. The shrill and hypnotizing sound of the *zurna* and the rhythmic beats of the *tapan* build a sound ladder to other worlds. Understandably the reviewers of this music describe it as "exciting", "penetrating" [Hoerbuerger, 1976:28], "wonderful", "having a very strong effect", "spearing the soul". They compare it to the rocks in the mountains and to the flames of the fire [Ky6a, 1992]. *Zurnaci* music leads dancers in crowded *horos*, merry-makers at the tables and football fans to ecstasy for hours.

## IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGUES

The symbolism of the *zurna* is not beyond time and particular fields (political, religious, ethnic, etc.). The present days and especially the last two decades allow us to trace images in the symbolic orders of two political systems – the end of the socialist and the beginning of the transition period. The issues of ideologues and identity connected with the *zurnaci* discourse is easy to distinguish in Bulgarian reality of the last few years. It is not only on account of their being close to the interpreter and comprehensible through direct observations and interviews. This is a period of active political, socio-economic and cultural changes in the country which exhibit dynamic and contradictory tendencies in the social construction of reality. The 1980s can be characterized by ideological dictate and cultural engineering imposed by the party-state. *Zurnaci* music also turned out to be among the victims of the so-called regeneration process (the enforced assimilation and re-naming of Bulgarian Turks and Bulgarian-speaking Muslims). In the 1990s, after the change of the political system, a period began of transition characterized by pluralism, deregulation, liberalization, and commercialization in the culture sphere and new political struggles for symbolic power. Under conditions of socio-cultural fermentation, ethnic and confessional processes of differentiation and consolidation simmer, while the battle of symbols draws *zurnaci* music into new trends.

Being traditional, *zurnaci* music is much more a symbol of tradition than of modern times. It has local characteristics and therefore is distant to constructions of national music. In fact, its potential as an ethnic and confessional symbol and a factor affecting group identity comes from its traditional features, from the local audience and contexts. *Zurnaci* music has preserved some of its traditional functions and symbolism, even in its contemporary contexts, that provide it with new dimensions. Now the facts are reconsidered ideologically. This process puts secondary reconsideration and new symbolism over the heritage of tradition. It seems that present-day public notions relate the *zurna* only to the image of the Turkish oppressors who were led by *zurnacies*. All this is a relict from the signal and military function of the instrument. The scholar is aware that such symbolism has real historic grounds: the *zurnas* are the core of the *mehterhane*, *zurnas* were leading the *başıbozuk*<sup>3</sup> detachments for suppressing the April 1876 Uprising, etc. There are enough