

the dances it accompanies rejects these prejudices: "There's a lot of Turkish influence... Do you know how many melodies from the Turks I listened to. Nobody knows who stole from whom. I'm more inclined to believe that it's borrowed from the Turks. As far as they're concerned we're just too burdened, rather reserved. It isn't simply *köçek* – Turkey is awfully rich in folklore!" [И., p.13].

Now we have to hear the voice of the ethnic Turks from the region. According to the interviewed villagers from Dabnitsa and Blatska, the *zurna* is a Turkish instrument, because it is connected with their Turkish traditions and rituals and currently is a part of the demonstrated musical image of their identity. The dance ensemble for Turkish folklore of the *chitalishte* in the village of Dabnitsa was founded in 1956. With the exception of the period from 1984-1989 (the regeneration process) it had and still has a *zurnaci* band. A member of the ensemble presents the repertoire of the dances, the accompanying music and the performance as follows: "We made them dance in Stambolovo – we've been to Stambolovo, to Rozhen, to Predela, even to Razgrad last year for the Turkish festival – *Drama, Tauşan avasi*, the *Üç ayik*... Turkish dances. *Zurnas* played to us... The *zurna*'s a Turkish habit" [Дж.С., p.14-15]. The *zurna-tapan* band is also connected to Turkish wedding rituals. It appears in the manifestation of Turkish identity by means of amateur arts, whose performances the band accompanies. Women attending a Turkish wedding in the village of Blatska explained that there was only a modern orchestra (clarinet, saxophone, accordion, synthesizer, percussion) because they could not afford to have *zurnacies* as well. The three musicians form the orchestra with a clarinet, accordion and a small drum at first led the ritual processions and took the bride (a traditional priority of the *zurnacies*), then played with amplifiers to the banquet in the village restaurant. According to the local Turks, the *zurnaci* group plays only sometimes *Kina gedgi*, on the eve of the wedding. In the past the wedding and the merry-makings of men were with *zurnas*. Then a Turkish dance traditionally related to the *zurnaci* music would be danced: *Avur (h)ava*, *Bergama*, *Üç ayik*, *Drama*, *Tauşan*, *(H)Aydar*. The old *zurnacies* know the music of the dances but the way they are danced is familiar to few of the old Turks.

Unlike the Turks, the *Pomaks* from surrounding villages more often use *zurnaci* music in their feasts and rituals. The Turks themselves claim that the *zurnas* are heard more often at contemporary *Pomak* weddings. They also play at *Pomak sünnets*, at parties given when the boys go to serve the army and at village feasts. What is the *zurna* in the opinion of the **Bulgarian Muslims (Pomaks)**? Do they accept it as their "own" instrument?

A representative of this ethnic group (living in the Gotse Gelchev region) provides an answer to these questions: "Yes. That's what distinguishes a Muslim feast. Whatever it is – it's the *zurna*. It's for the way. (As a symbol of the Muslim?) Yes... (Weren't there *zurnas* playing at Christian weddings?) I was a kid then, I hadn't come here. I dunno... Ridiculous... The distinction, if you're Muslim, is the *zurna*. If you are Christian – a bagpipe and nothing else. It's not a written rule. Now I could be wrong, but that's the distinction, which is not mentioned... Well, if it's a *zurna* – there's no Bulgarian with it. The *zurna* is played by our people from the neighbourhood – *Pomaks*, Muslims" [И., p.8-9].

This opinion reveals that the informant identifies (ethnically on a religious basis) the group he belongs to as Muslim *Pomaks*. The religious identity is known to be often much stronger than the purely ethnic identity. This is due to the sacral nature of the former. There are many cases when Muslim communities provide an example of overlap between