

*sabors*, amateur art competitions and folk festivals, such performances can be viewed as a repeat presentation of a sacralizing ritual of national identity in which the *zurnacies* are a part of the symbolic event. The reproduction of mythical images in their historic and patriotic translation becomes possible via the *zurnas*. This is why the *zurnacies* relate the *Rusalia* with Botev. The *zurna* remains an attribute of the *komitas* who struggled for the Bulgarian national liberation. Let us remember the episode from the film *Measure for Measure* when the leader Hristo Chernopeev, who said farewell to arms after the plot of the Young Turks in 1908, expressed his sorrow and his *komita*'s hot temper in a heavy dance under the accompaniment of *zurnaci* music.

### ***The zurna as a "foreign" instrument***

Social discourse about the *zurna* does not decode a great deal of information on *zurnaci* music. It reveals that its images are imposed by external positions of power. What unites these images is their being alien. *Zurnaci* music is performed by Roma, hence it is Gypsy, or may be Indian or Asian; it sounds Oriental, hence it is Oriental or Turkish. Interpretation of the discourse digs out prejudices and stereotypes, political motives and nationalistic ideologemes. The Bulgarian image of the *zurna* (which is to a certain extent also a Balkan one, corresponding to those in Greece and the Republic of Macedonia) puts it forward as an Oriental and Turkish instrument, a *bloody memory from the past*. Such concepts lead to acts such as the ban of the *zurnas* and restrictions on *zurnaci* music during the regeneration process. We cannot be indifferent to such events.

The notion of the *zurna* as an alien instrument is also visible in its **interpretation by Bulgarian arts and particularly fiction writers.**

The image of the *zurna* in works of Bulgarian fiction writers will be traced through the viewpoints of three authors: one classic whose works establish universal human values, a novelist with a special feeling for Macedonia, and a contemporary writer.

Yordan Yovkov's prose contains a lot of music as musical facts and sound pictures. His short stories provide information about lyrics and melodies of songs, about music – town and village, Bulgarian and foreign, folk and modern, religious and secular. This great master is far from ethnocentrism. This can be proved by musical facts from his works – the music of Sali Yaşar, the African ethnomotifs in "Eski Arap", the Arab dance music and Greek folk songs in "Random guests". Yovkov's musically gifted characters are Bulgarians, Turks, Roma, even Sudan Negroes [Пейчева&Димов, 1996]. It is worth searching for the image of the *zurna* among the abundance of such a natural artistic vision of the music.

Describing traditional feasts, Yovkov characterizes them by instruments such as bagpipes, violins, *kavals*, *tapans* ("During the plague", "Bozhura", "At Cowslip Meadow"). The various musical instruments appear when the writer recreates the fury of the Kardzhalias' bands in the short story "Indzhe" – thunder *borazans* (horns) and *tümbeleks* (large bells). "This wild music" is used by the author to create the sound image of the foreign horde. *Zurnas* appear in a similar situation – with the horror from the bloodshed after the attempt to liberate the country. *Zurnas* and *tapans* are the sound image of the *başibozuk* troops in the short story "Heroes' Heads": "*Tapans*, calls, song and in between all these the drawling weeping melody of *zurlas*. So they appeared over the Hill: riders ahead, behind them the infantry was coming like waves, like waves. And long poles protruding over them and on the poles were human heads. Old Russia nearly lost consciousness. The *zurlas* were