

crying, the *tapans* were banging. And then – was it a cry or the roar of a pack of wolves? And again those dry, fearful beats of the *tapans*, as a sharp sword was hitting the village, hissing and flashing in the sun in the whiteness of the snow” [ЙОВКОВ, 1983:210].

The novel “The Bells of Prespa” by Dimitar Talev⁵ depicts music while outlining a picture of everyday life. *Zurnas* sound when the beginning of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877 is declared: “It was heard somewhere in the distance – a dull thunder of the *tapans*, the squeaking yell of *zurlas*, coming from the Turkish neighbourhoods... A mob of about a hundred or a hundred and fifty men, Turks, gathered at the square next to the tower bell. Those were *redifs* (ex-service men) or ones of the kind preparing to go with the *başibozuk*, and many of them were armed. Two Gypsies were blowing *zurlas* with goggle eyes, two more were slamming *tapans*” [Талев, 1966:511]. As seen, this author describes the *zurnaci* formation with Gypsy musicians as Turkish music. Talev gives the bagpipe specifically as opposed to the *zurna*. In his novel “The Iron Candleholder” the bagpipe sounds at a Bulgarian wedding and is related to the customs of the male main character’s relatives from the country.

The novel “The Price of Gold” by Gentcho Stoev is about the suppression of the April Uprising of 1876 in Perushtitsa. Here, *zurnaci* music accompanies a group of Gypsies going to plunder after the *başibozuk* hordes: “He had climbed up the hill and got out of the turn, overtaking the cart, they were already seen before the turn. In front of them a mob of Gypsies was dragging with *zurlas* and *tapans*” [Стоев, 1977:100].

The image of *zurnaci* music in the works of the three authors written at different times in the 20th century and depicting different Bulgarian regions (the Eastern Balkan, Macedonia and Rhodopes) is stunningly identical. The passages describe the formations of “*zurlas* and *tapans*” as tightly bound to the shock from the oppressor. *Zurnaci* music is the sound image of the antagonists of the Bulgarians – Turkish *başibozuk*, soldiers and tramping Gypsies. The historic events in all the three books take place in 1876-1877, when the suppression of the April Uprising was followed by the declaration of the Russian-Turkish war. The authors have recreated the view of the Bulgarians. It relates the sound of *zurnas* as causing horror and being associated with the violence, with the ferocious image of the enemy – the foreign, Ottoman *oppressor*.

Bulgarian films present *zurnaci* music in the same way. According to the interviewed *zurnacies*, they have been in the cast of several Bulgarian and one German film whose scripts deal with the Ottoman past. In one of the films they “played themselves”. The film was about the present-day life of a *Pomak* village (Burn Little Fire, Burn); in another film they play to *Komitas* who are fighting for the liberty of Macedonia (Measure for Measure). Most often *zurnaci* music is part of the image of the Ottoman oppressors. For example in the film *Kapitan Petko Vojvoda*, *zurnacies* from Gotse Delchev play Turkish music in an episode when the *oppressors* take the captured Petko Vojvoda and his men to jail. The enchained prisoners are escorted by Ottoman soldiers. In this film again and again the *zurnas* symbolize the Turkish element and mark the strong powerful position of the oppressors.

Zurnaci music is associated with the “alien” not only in the discourse of fiction. Academic texts do not differ very much from the every-day consciousness of people in their treatment of the *zurnas*. In such works the instrument is often the **symbol of the Oriental, Turkish and Islamic**. Such ideological prejudices are published in descriptions of the local life, in amateur arts and folk, in the press and academic studies.