

practicing Muslim traditional and religious rituals, playing Turkish music [Желязкова, А., 1998:389]. *Zurnaci* music was also banned.

Previous practices of banning *zurnaci* music in the Balkans have also been registered. Though *zurna* and *tapan* bands are one of the markers of folklore festivity, attributed to the "Turkish music style" they were banned in Greece in the 1950s [Brandl, 1996:15, 18]. The *Rebetikos* dances accompanied by a *zurna* and a *tapan* were also banned in post-Second-World-War Greece because they had an Oriental character [Hoerburger, 1967:72-73]. There is evidence that the dances, music and customs of the Slavonic population were also banned by the Greek authorities. Noteworthy is the fact that the people continued to do the dances, but were forced to rename them for the benefit of Greek gendarmes and give the necessary instructions to the *zurnaci* musicians [Димоски, 1971:295].

We have gathered a considerable amount of information during our field research. It allows us to describe in detail the prohibition of the *zurna* as a fact and the consequences the ban had for the *zurnaci* tradition in its centres – the regions of Petrich, Razlog and Gotse Delchev.

Evidence of the earliest ban on the *zurna* comes from the Gotse Delchev region, where there is a compact population of Bulgarian Muslims. The assimilation process in this region began earlier. According to some musicians, the *zurna* was banned from 1971 up to 1987, and according to others it was banned between 1973 and 1975, then up to 1989. Other sources say the *zurnas* were silent since the early 1980s. We do not have any written document about the ban, but in the memories of our sources it was always connected with the authorities. In this connection, the musicians' stories mention Todor Zhivkov<sup>6</sup>, the mayors and the militia. They also remember punishments, confiscation of the instruments and fines. The players say that the *zurna* from the musician's (Muslim) neighbourhood of Gotse Delchev was the last to be banned. This was due to the fact that the Roma of this neighbourhood identify as Turkish, so active assimilation reached them after 1984. The musicians were permitted to play at home. At that time many of the *zurnacies* had state jobs and few of them continued to play in order to *keep their zurnas*. The most repressive effect was that of the ban on Bulgarian Muslims practising their rituals and feasts such as traditional weddings, *sünnets* and *bayrams* in public. Of course *zurnaci* music was much affected [Ш., p.7-8; M.M., p.41; C.M., p.11; A.M., p.41].

*Zurnas* were banned in the region of Razlog for a long time. The musicians stated that they had not played the instrument for 17 or 18 years (in the 1970s and 1980s) since the authorities had said it was Turkish. The ban is associated with Bulgarization, the change of the *Pomaks'* Muslim names. They say that the ban started after a *Pomak* said at a meeting that *zurna* playing reminded him of the massacre in Batak. Our informant mocked this *Pomak*, remarking that the *Pomaks* might have taken part in the massacre in Batak. The musicians dissented in the same way from the directives of the authorities and went on playing at *Pomak* weddings, ignoring the ban. They did so with the tacit support of local mayors who allowed them to play: "Play and if someone says anything to you, tell him I'm not there!". A *zurnaci* from Razlog says that the ban did not affect him and his music: "The *zurnas* won't! Mancho used to be in the Ensemble and had a document confirming his right to cross any border, being a *zurnaci*. People cried when they heard the *zurnas*!". Unlike in the case of the *Pomak* villages, *zurnaci* music never stopped playing in Razlog [M.K., p.24; K.X, p.42-43; H.M., p.34].