

no devillish tricks in them, such as the flaps of the clarinet and the electric amplifiers of modern bands. *Calgias* and synthesizers come from the devil because they play without a soul: "We don't use electric power. We play with the heart... their power stops and it's over. And we with the *zurnas* defeat them. We're more powerful with the *zurnas*!" [С.Д. 02/2001, p.8]. In this sense the power of the instrument is thought of as spirituality, as a moral domination of the living and human over the dead and artificial. The player makes music with his heart and the music bears his pulsing vitality. Therefore the *zurna* as an acoustic instrument is considered a holy one while the electric instruments are "devilish". The sacralization of the player's own instrument is illustrated by the linguistic relation between breathing and spirituality of the *zurna* noted by the players. For them the words spirit, soul and breathing<sup>2</sup> are synonyms. They say that by breathing into the instrument they blow a soul to the music.

The symbolism of the *zurna* can be traced with regard to the male/female dichotomy. We should specify that the male and female core in gender dimorphism are not poles but an expression of the parameters of the whole [Живков, 2000:132]. In this sense, in its own different aspects and relations the *zurna* has both male and female symbolism. The name of the *zurna* in all Slavic languages in the Balkans is grammatically female, while in Greek it is male [Hoerbuerger, 1976:29]. Regardless of its name the *zurna* is a typical male instrument. It is always played by men. The wild pagan power, as opposed to the angelic and holy music of "female" instruments and dances; the men's furious masquerade plays and the ritual heavy dances opposed to the women's singing and dance. The *zurna* in Bulgarian tradition chiefly accompanies the men's ritual and festive dances – *Rusaliu* plays, *Stanchinar* plays, heavy *horos* from the Lower Struma river valley, *komitski horos*, etc. Like the *kaval* and the pipe, the *zurna* has phallic symbolism. Contrasted to the *kaval*, which accompanies the kneading of the wedding bread, the *zurna* does not reveal its phallic function as an item. It is demonstrated first of all as a sound. The *zurnaci* band at traditional weddings is a sign of the male side – it is present when the bride is captured and taken to her husband's home. It announces successful intercourse. The male phallic symbolism of the *zurna* is manifested in the indirect relation between the sounding instrument and fecundity. The *zurnacies* produce the acoustic marker of the initiation ritual *sunnet*, as well as one of the masquerade plays having a productive and protective function.

*Zurnaci* music can also be decoded as an ecstatic symbolism.

D. Marinov, M. Arnaudov and Sv. Zaharieva [Захариева, 1998:176] have turned their attention to the context of men's calendar ritual performances when the inevitable *zurna* player, a first assistant to the leader, takes part in his shaman's mission.

The role of the *tapan*, which is a must for *zurnaci* music, leads to parallels with shamanism. The drum is known to play a major part in shamanic ceremonies, which are determined by the magic of music [Елиаде, 2000:150, 155]. Of course, the *tapan* in the *zurnaci* formations is not sacral. It is not kept at a sacral place like the *tapan* of the Nestinars (fire walkers) but its sound is an unavoidable part of the set of sounds inducing ecstasy. The playing *zurnaci* has more ecstatic characteristics. One of the typical poses taken by the maestro during performance is playing with his eyes closed and head tossed back. In this position his *zurna* is vertical and points at the sky. There is stunning similarity between this pose and the one of a body trans in Thracian art. Orpheus, dancing bacchantes, dancing Eros are portrayed with the head tossed back. Their gesture is interpreted as a visual sign of ecstasy when the soul leaves the body and communicates with the Gods.