

which untypical of traditional Bulgarian music which has been claimed to be “Oriental”) [Кайфман, Н., 1965:210].

Unlike fiction writings, the press and everyday speech, academic works do not put a negative mark on the relationship between *zurnaci* music and Oriental influence. Even when the *zurnacies* are accepted as “Oriental musicians...having unique Oriental playing techniques”, as the players from Greece are described by a Western scholar, their music is interesting in its mosaic of Oriental, modern Western and traditional Greek details. It is impossible to separate the initially Greek from the Oriental elements of traditional music from the Greek province of Macedonia [Hoerbuerger, 1967].

The musicians' vision of what is “alien” is presupposed by the hybrid character of *zurnaci* music, where various ethnic idioms co-exist with the practice of playing different music to different audiences. The Roma *zurnacies* from Southwest Bulgaria do not oppose their own traditions to those of the ethnic majority for whom they play. They disregard the Bulgarian-Oriental dichotomy. The term Oriental is very rare in their speech. Among the many interviews taken during the field research, only two sources indirectly related to *zurnaci* music mentioned this term. The first is a clarinetist from a *zurnaci* clan; the other is a choreographer working with a *zurnaci* band. One of them uses the term to define the local *zurnaci* style: “in the Gotse Delchev region our *zurnas* are more like *kaba*, like something Oriental” [C.M., p.1]. The other source describes the local *zurnas* in Dabnitsa (where the *zurnaci* tradition is associated with the Turkish native population of the village) as Oriental, having arrived with the Turks: “The *zurna* is an oriental instrument. I explain its place here by the presence of these people here, the Turks. They've come from somewhere there and the music's come with them, and those traditions, customs. They are not like the Greek *zurnas* – the Greek ones are slender, like those from Petrich” [А.Л., p.5]. Turkishness emerges in the speech of the *zurnacies* (chiefly in that of Gotse Delchev's players) when they characterize their style. Negative qualifications are absent since they describe their own music: “in our region here we almost play more in Turkish”; “At table – *nehet, gazelles*, like having the tint of Turkish music” [АИФ, I, №100, p.26; Б., p.13]. Even in the historic discourse, always bearing the negative connotations of the Bulgarians, Roma musicians do not feel upset by Turkishness. Explaining how the old *zurnaci* music was and what a *maestro* his grandfather was, a player from Kavrakirovo brings as a proof the fact that the grandfather played “once to the voyvodas of the Turks” [Д.К., 10/2001, p.49].

Special attention should be paid to the oriental stereotypes of the musicians, audience and reviewers. Moreover, studies should include the intermingling views of historians and anthropologists, the differentiation of many and various points in the discussion discourse. Our brief survey on the interpretations of the Oriental shade in *zurnaci* music has shown a specific understanding of this aspect which is not connected with the oddity and Oriental exoticism as it is in the European discourse [Санд, 1999:128]. In our case this characteristic is a symbol of Turkishness and Islam. This near-to-home “foreignness” is rejected *a priori* because it is associated with the negatives of emotional experience in the historic past, with terror and barbarism, which are rather far from the Western idea of “taming the exotic” [Санд, 1999:128]. Even some local scholars use the Orient and Easternness as an image of unwanted traces of Turkishness. The Orient in music is beyond investigation. It is only proclaimed through the typical common cliches: rich melifluousness, heterogeneous, melody of strong individuality and richness, augmented seconds, Oriental makamas [Цимревски, 1985:48-49].