

Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

Intimate Heritage

Creating Uyghur Muqam Song in Xinjiang

Nathan Light



LIT

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In 2005 UNESCO declared that the most treasured performing art of the Uyghurs, the Twelve Muqams, were a 'Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.' This event was preceded by more than fifty years of work behind the scenes, in both institutions and more intimate settings, to record, transcribe, research, edit, and reorganize the Uyghur muqams into a symbolic form representing the history and culture of the Uyghur ethnic collectivity.

In this study, Nathan Light describes the structure of the Uyghur muqams, analyzes the historical production of the Central Asian Turkic poetry performed in them, and shows how traditional performers created songs as oral versions of mostly written texts. He integrates these research dimensions through his ethnographic focus on the editing process in which the poetry was organized into the canonical muqam songs and on ongoing negotiations over identity, culture, and history in Uyghur society. Editing the muqams became a process of Uyghur self-examination and self-definition involving culturally reflexive practices from local, Central Asian, and international sources. To prevent problematic aspects of past and present culture from entering public representations of Uyghur society, the performers, scholars and politicians who edited the muqams carefully investigated and reshaped culture and history. The many discourses and interpretations of the Uyghur past that emerged during editing reflect a broad range of local political, scholarly, and artistic values and motivations. Through study of how the muqams were reworked, Light investigates the social organization of cultural reflexivity in Xinjiang Uyghur society. He finds that the present Chinese political context concerned the editors less than issues related to the cultural practices of Central Asian Sufis and court poets over the past 800 years.

Uyghurs have embraced the widespread assumption that modern national cultures should be represented on stage through systematic, monumental performances. The muqam editors sought to shape the 'folk classical' muqams into a source of ethnic pride. In doing this they confronted many cultural intimacies—aspects of collective and personal life that contaminated Uyghur self-images and disrupted public values and official ideologies about language, gender, love, and spirituality. Through backstage discussions in largely Uyghur contexts, they negotiated solutions and rehearsed the framing of public muqam performances. The many difficulties they encountered resulted from the contradictions between public and intimate domains. For example, Central Asian *ghazal* poetry uses esoteric images and terms drawn from Sufism to express personal spiritual quests and criticize worldly society, but in the modern Uyghur Twelve Muqams the same *ghazals* are sung in public celebration of the ethnic collective and its shared culture. Similar issues have arisen around traditional culture throughout Central Asia; this study shows the political complexities that arose as Uyghur cultural elites moved first towards rejection of the spiritual, the foreign, and the ecstatic, but more recently have begun to justify accepting these as parts of local heritage.



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Contents

	Acknowledgements	ix
	Note on Terminology and Spelling	xi
1	**Introduction**	**1**
1.1	Editing the Muqams	2
1.2	International Muqam Scholarship and Local Goals	5
1.3	Compromising Culture and Identity	8
1.4	History and Geography	15
2	**Uyghur Performing Arts and the Muqams**	**19**
2.1	Muqams and Dance	23
2.2	Muqam Discourse, Ideology, and 'Modernization'	26
2.3	The Structure of the Muqams	39
2.4	Muqam Rhythm and Song Meters	50
3	**The Poetics and Politics of Literary Sufism**	**57**
3.1	Sufi Poetry	58
3.2	Ahmad Yasavī	72
3.3	Classical Turkic Poets: Lutfī, Navā'ī, and Fuzūlī	83
3.4	Muqam Poets after Fuzūlī: Mashrab and Huvaydā	109
3.5	Conclusion	126
4	**Give and Take: Genealogies in Music and Art**	**129**
4.1	Culture and History as Homelands	131
4.2	Creating Autochthonous Uyghur Music History	132
4.3	Muqam History on Film	134
4.4	Genealogy and Identity	137
4.5	Music in Chinese Ideologies and International Relations	143
4.6	Foreign Music in China	148
4.7	Fārābī as Philosopher of Music and Turkic Culture Hero	150
4.8	The History of Music in Central Asian Cultural History	153
4.9	'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān	169
4.10	The Uses of the Narrative of Āmānnisā Khān	170

5	**Ömär Akhun's Muqams**	**179**
5.1	Becoming a Muqamči	181
5.2	Learning and Creating Song Lyrics	184
5.3	Religion and Love Songs	187
5.4	Performance and Audience	194
5.5	The Aesthetics of Muqam Sound	198
5.6	Other Views on the Muqam Scales and Modes	200
5.7	Only Rabbit Meat Remains	206
5.8	Conclusion	210
6	**Performing, Editing and Publishing the Muqam Songs**	**215**
6.1	Rescuing and Publishing the Muqam Texts	217
6.2	Editing the Muqam Texts	221
6.3	Poetry in Manuscript	226
6.4	Come, O Beloved (*Käl äy mähbub*): Language and Ethnicity	227
6.5	Mashrab's *Satar* Ghazal (*Satarim Tariğa*)	231
6.6	Songs in the Repertoires of Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun	239
6.7	To the Valley of Madness (*Junun vadisiğa*)	241
6.8	From the People of the World (*Aläm ähldin*)	245
6.9	In the Garden (*Bağ ičrä*): Ömär Akhun's Uššaq *Täzä*	247
6.10	O Early Spring (*Äy näv bahar*)	250
6.11	O Seven Worlds (*Äy yätti mänzär*)	252
6.12	'Folk' Texts in the Čoñ Nägmä	255
6.13	Single Couplets	257
6.14	Conclusion	259
7	**Dastan and Mäšräp Songs in the Muqams**	**261**
7.1	Written Dastan Texts	262
7.2	The Distribution and Variation of *Gherip-Sänäm*	264
7.3	The Structure of *Gherip-Sänäm*	267
7.4	Formulas in Other Dastans	272
7.5	Comparing the Ili and Kashgar Versions of *Gherip-Sänäm*	276
7.6	Gherip Tested by Shaykh Junayd	277
7.7	The Resolution of *Gherip-Sänäm*	283
7.8	Turdi Akhun's Mäšräp Songs	286

8 Conclusion 293

8.1 Cultural Power 295
8.2 Offstage 298
8.3 Cultural Purity and Working on the Collective Self 300

Appendix: A Brief Introduction to Uyghur Musical Instruments 305

Bibliography 307

Index 331

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Notes on Terminology and Spelling

In working with many different sources in different languages and scripts, I have tried to spell most words consistently. However, linguistic variation is an integral part of the subject I explore, so I cannot use a single spelling system. The following general rules for transliteration should keep things recognizable.

Türk refers to the people who ruled much of Central Asia in two empires between 552 and 740 CE, and established other polities. *Turkic* refers to people whose language and culture are closely related to those of the original Türks. Many Turkic people have described their language as *Türki*. I use the spelling *Uyghur* for both the Turkic people who identified themselves with that name up until around 1500 and for the revived ethnonym that began to be used in the 1920s, sometimes known as Modern Uyghur or Uygur.

To make things easier to read, in spelling names of people and places I use common English equivalents for consonants that in transcriptions, quotations, and citations I spell with Modern Uyghur diacritics: for example, Kashgar and Abdushukur Turdi, versus Qäšqär, Abdušukur Turdi. In historical discussions I transcribe terms and names from Arabic script and use modern spellings only when referring to present-day usage: for example, ʻAbd ar-Rashīd Khān and Abduräshid Khan. With Bābā Rahīm Mashrab, I do not vary the spelling, although in Uyghur his name is pronounced and spelled Mäšräp. The latter spelling I use for the Uyghur celebration and kind of music. Likewise to avoid confusion I use only the spelling *ʻāshiq* except in quotations from published sources. I do not use diacritics for Arabic consonants, but I indicate long vowels. In most Turkic I indicate back and front vowels instead. I use common era (CE) dates unless otherwise indicated. When I give a single CE year corresponding to a Hijra (AH) date, it is the year in which the AH year began.

Political and geographical concepts are particularly treacherous. Xinjiang (ʻNew Territoryʼ) is the modern Chinese political term. It includes areas that have been variously known as East Turkistan, Moghulistan, Altishahr, Little Bukhara, Kashgaria, the Tarim basin, Jungaria, and the Western Regions (Xiyü). I use whichever term is appropriate for the period to which I refer. Any term that identifies a geographical area by reference to cultural and political identities is necessarily problematic, because territoriality has a particular kind of meaning for nation-states, and so such terms bring assumptions and projections from collective identities onto spatial organization. The distinct ethnic enclaves carved out through nomenclature and political structures in Xinjiang do not change the basic fact that this has long been a culturally diverse region.

Chapter 1
Introduction

As part of forming shared ethnic self-images, Central Asian ethnic groups institutionalize cultural performances that provide idealized, unified self-representations and reflect historical and cultural distinctiveness. In 1989 during my first visit to the city of Ürümchi, the capital of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, I repeatedly encountered what many members of the Uyghur ethnic group consider their central performance tradition, the Twelve Muqams. In theatrical performances of music, song, and dance and in publications, recordings, and radio broadcasts, Uyghur muqams were everywhere. No formal gathering or recording of Uyghur music, particularly none destined for international audiences, was complete without a performance of at least one muqam song and, frequently, descriptions of the great value and significance of this tradition.

Many kinds of music and dance were popular Uyghur entertainments, but the muqams were the most valued exhibitions of Uyghur cultural attainment. The Twelve Muqams are the most important Uyghur ethnic art, and training and performance in them, as well as research, editing, and publishing about them, have all been heavily supported by the government. The Twelve Muqams, as a cultural canon that Uyghurs can point to as distinctive and unifying, give concrete substance to the group. The symbolic significance of the muqams for Uyghur identity means that researching, editing, and performing the muqams are ways to represent and re-create the ethnic group itself.

This book is an ethnographic and textual study of scholars, politicians, and performers who worked together under government auspices in Ürümchi to create a canonical form of the Twelve Muqams within complex historical and political contexts. To explain how they shaped this canon, I analyze traditional and transformed muqam performances, poetic and historical texts and ethnographic contexts. My study differs from other ethnographic studies of Uyghur society in my attention to historical documents and written tradition and to the ways intellectuals, politicians, and artists used these in nego-

tiating public representations of Uyghur identity. I do not try to explain who Uyghurs are and how they live, but show instead Uyghurs themselves working to figure out who they are, how best to represent Uyghur society using cultural and historical materials, and how to present that self-understanding to the many audiences they would like to reach, locally, within the Chinese state, and internationally.

Most of my fieldwork took place in Ürümchi in 1992-93 and consisted of discussions with scholars and performers as well as participant observation at the Art College and throughout the city. I was able to observe preparation for and performances of many events, some centered on the muqams and some not. These performances showed me how muqams were integrated into the public culture and rituals of the city and became socially and politically meaningful, but it was the discourses about the muqams and the changes to the texts that I found most interesting and readily researched. Performances were important in political events, but discourses and editing were important contexts for political expression.

Nonetheless, there were also limits to the research I could do. Many sources, including original recordings from early performers, were carefully sequestered and controlled. Original transcriptions of songs were inaccessible. As I discuss in this chapter, this related directly to the concerns of those revising the muqam tradition to isolate their work backstage, away from public scrutiny. I was not alone: everyone working with the muqams had to navigate among public and backstage domains of this highly politicized art form, and my analysis of these negotiations reveals how cultural production of and reflexivity around the muqams was socially organized. Since I was identified as an outsider I could not participate in the editorial process, but heard about the work second-hand. There are thus limits to my observation that mean I am often unsure about who decided about exclusions and inclusions during editing, and how they framed their decisions. But I also had advantages because I was seen as less partial and people would talk to me about issues within the editing process without fear that I was allied with other parties.

1.1 Editing the Muqams

Beginning in the 1950s, politicians and scholars worked on reshaping the muqam tradition to better reflect a long and distinctive Uyghur cultural history in Central Asia. The many poems and musical pieces encompassed by that tradition offered evidence for a civilized and cohesive Uyghur identity that could be projected into the distant past. In this study my goal has been to analyze everything that sheds light on the history of the Kashgar muqam tradition as recorded from the performers Turdi Akhun and Ömär

Akhun, as well as the representations and concepts that have developed around these muqams. I show how editors reorganized and revised the textual tradition to create the new canonical forms performed on stage and recorded in media since the 1980s, in relation to traditional Central Asian Turkic literature and to other traditions such as the Ili muqams, which had weaker institutional and political support as a potential canon of 'classical' Uyghur performing arts.

The people I describe are intellectuals and political and cultural experts who used cultural materials to define and stage national culture (compare Gellner 1983; Handler 1984; Kapferer 1988; Anderson 1991; Adams 1999; Suny and Kennedy 2001; Boyer and Lomnitz 2005). They worked on cultural productions of Uyghur heritage to demonstrate historical depth, cultural accomplishment, and unified identity, but they pursued shifting goals with changing methods. A key goal was to create systematic, organized, and monumental performances, but neither their methods nor their results were particularly systematic, primarily because many people were involved, the materials they worked with were complex, and they negotiated compromises among conflicting concepts and values. Nonetheless, their cultural productions were presented as orderly and were accepted as such because the audiences were persuaded by the appearance of completeness and particularly by the discursive and ritual framing of performances.

As Jonathan Hearn (2002: 747) describes it, many authors have shown that the nation is imagined as 'a continuous actor on the historical stage,' and people invent traditions 'that put a patina of antiquity on newly formed nationalities.'[1] He then asks how individuals give up differentiated identities and align themselves with a 'unified agentic state.' Although the intellectuals and politicians I studied responded to the perceived needs of the Uyghur nation, in their work they tried to align the nation with themselves as much as the other way around. They were sincerely interested in editing, creating, and commenting on performance practices and not simply pragmatists seeking resources (Verdery 1991) or instituting government policies that suppressed or distorted local cultures (Grant 1995; Levin 1996; Slobin 1996; Pegg 2002). They had various official or unofficial positions through which they participated in the editing and were guided by various political ideas

[1] I do not accept the concept of 'invented tradition' but use it to reflect Hearn's use. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), who introduced the concept, distinguish traditions that develop rapidly (over a few years or less) from supposedly more organic and authentic ones that take more time. But their analysis of the power relations through which traditions are instituted and legitimated, and of who benefits from them, does not require temporal parameters. All traditionalization, regardless of time scale involves such questions. Time is a rhetorical source of authority for making traditions, not an objective source of distinctions among them.

and fears: they sought to promote their own careers, but were mostly committed to their ideas regardless of risks to their careers. Rather than simply agreeing with superiors to further their careers, many avoided talking about things that were obviously not acceptable, but some even maintained their positions even if it meant exclusion from the work. As in Hearn's discussion of Scotland (2002), they linked personal agency with political interpretations of historical narratives, but they also aligned their agency with the ethnic collective through connecting public and personal dimensions of culture. In editing and reworking ethnic culture they could even disguise their agency and present personal values as shared culture. Thus Hearn's dimensions of aligning the self with state and collective ethnic history are only some of the many ways people connect their lives to national projects. The cultural elites I knew were able to understand their work as creating national culture while also presenting it as recovering culture that had been lost.

By remaking cultural productions to more effectively support the best possible interpretations of the Uyghur past, the editors redefined heritage as a shared collective product, not as the work of diverse individuals with diverse pasts. They did this within institutions that removed expressive culture from the control of performers and excluded many people from the process. The national project as defined by these institutional culture workers took priority over the interests of performers and other individuals within it. But even when eliminating religious references from muqam songs, editors sincerely felt this was the best compromise between authenticity and political expediency, and they justified it by arguing either that religious texts were not original to the muqam songs or that this would enable radio performance without violating government policies against the public performance of religious material. Those who did not accept such compromises were the ones who tended to be excluded from the work, because Chinese state policies were not negotiable, and the overarching goal was to make an officially-accepted public tradition.

Nonetheless, the work of making this national culture was continuous and contested. Uyghur intellectuals accepted the premises of the national project but offered multiple ad hoc histories and interpretations of fragmentary evidence to pull the nation together into a coherent description. The Uyghur nation was under construction, and through the muqams these intellectuals worked hard to articulate and resolve gaps in the national substance and overcome potential fractures in the social and political order. By working backstage on the muqams, they developed ways of talking about the nation that were used to publicly frame the muqams. They understood their work on the content of the muqams as improving the music and texts, but it also gave them opportunities to refine ideas about the nation that were pre-

sented in public along with the muqams and entered broader political discourse as well. By identifying the muqams with the Uyghur nation, culture makers could negotiate abstract problems of nationhood through the concrete operations of editing.

The many adjustments to the content of the muqams mattered little to most audiences. It was only in the backstage domain, where specialists worked, that these were debated. Most audience members accepted the Uyghur Twelve Muqams as valuable support for the idea of a continuous and shared national past and future. Audiences were diverse so doubtless some did feel that the ascetic and dervish ethos of the muqam songs should be preserved, but most Uyghurs I knew in Ürümchi accepted the dominant ideology that these were embarrassing cultural intimacies (Herzfeld 1997), and felt they should be excluded from representations or practices of modern Uyghur cultural identities. Editing the muqams was linked with narratives about oppression of Uyghur culture by Sufi elites, and this justified the exclusion of Sufism from Uyghur public culture.

The valuing of autonomous and extensive heritage means that traditions are important not only for their specific cultural content, but also because they add diversity and size to shared traditions. Modern ethnic nations often lay claim to all evidence of cultural activity in order to fill their territory and history with material but this can support problematic and contradictory interpretations. Publicizing everything as heritage results in intimate pasts that have to be excluded or explained away. The past becomes both treasure and curse, desired and repressed. Since 1980, the many editions of Uyghur manuscript literature published to prevent further loss and destruction such as had occurred during China's Cultural Revolution, gave satisfying evidence of Uyghur cultural depth and vigor. In expanding the muqam tradition, editors went through this material to select songs suitable for public presentation. Nonetheless, they found mostly spiritual poems that raised problems. They wanted to expand the range of the muqam songs but the material had to be edited and reinterpreted. The muqams were already large and impressive, but when turned into staged performances with dozens of singers, musicians, and dancers, they were felt to be even more impressive, and intimate disruptions of the public image were easier to conceal. Some purists were annoyed but for most Uyghurs it demonstrated the scale, modernity and dynamism of their heritage.

1.2 International Muqam Scholarship and Local Goals

In her study of Uyghur music in China, Sabine Trebinjac (2000: 225–226, 326, 377) argues that the Chinese approach to managing musical traditions is unique, not influenced by Soviet methods, and that the state traditionalism

she finds focuses on the elite or *savant* Uyghur muqam music in order to integrate it into a canon of Chinese heritage. In her analysis, muqam texts and Uyghur popular songs are overlooked by state functionaries and scholars because they are classified as the popular arts of a minority, not part of the grand Chinese state-managed multiethnic tradition. The Chinese state focused on collecting and rewriting material as cultural evidence to show the state was unified by a long history of musical exchange with the Western Regions (Xiyü). Her argument about the muqam texts stems from their disappearance, after they were edited, when Red Guards burned them around 1966. But the texts survived and have been published twice, once in substantially if not exactly the same form as the burned texts (Barat 1986) and once in the Soviet Union in a somewhat different form (Ärshidinov 1970).

Unlike Trebinjac, I find important Soviet influences on the work of creating the modernized Uyghur Twelve Muqam tradition, because central institutions of the Chinese state set the overall goals, but did not manage and regulate how they were carried out. The state allowed local leaders and scholars to carry out most of the work. Further, the texts were not ignored because they were insignificant, but because their explicit reference to problematic aspects of Uyghur culture made them more politically sensitive, requiring more time to reorganize and revise than the muqam music. They were not released after printing in 1964 but kept in storage and eventually burned. The editing of the Twelve Muqam canon has taken a long time and involved many people – whom I describe generally as scholars, politicians, and performers – who have continually adjusted their work to fit shifting political conditions.[2] These people did not simply work according to dominant ideologies but came with differing goals and concepts and debated and modified them during the editing. Soviet concepts and methods were important because many of the scholars and culture workers had experience in the Soviet Union and because at the same time that work was being done on Xinjiang Uyghur muqams, similar efforts were taking place in Kazakhstan as part of the competition for Uyghur sympathies, particularly during the Sino-Soviet split. Although state policies towards minority music shaped the overall institutional activity, the process of editing the revised Twelve Muqam canon involved ongoing negotiation of interpretations, methods and goals in offstage zones where the ideologies and goals of the Chinese state were not paramount.

Debates over the effectiveness of ideological controls imposed on local cultural practices in the Soviet Union and China are extensive. Laura

[2] The list could include the editors, audiences, artists, filmmakers, actors, dancers, poets, composers, musical instrument makers, recording engineers, teachers, and reporters who were also involved.

Adams (1999) breaks the analyses into those of scholars such as Allworth and Carrère d'Encausse, who saw Soviet cultural policies as radically changing local practices, and those of scholars such as Fierman and Olcott, who saw them as ineffective and leaving much of the society unchanged. A similar debate emerges in analyses of Islam in Central Asia, in this case involving Soviet scholars as well as Western analysts. Some, such as Shahrani and Khalid, see eradication or at least localization of Islam, while others, such as Bennigsen, Snesarev, Poliakov, and Ro'i, suggest Islamic culture was more continuous. But in fact, diverse dimensions of innovation, change and continuity in Islamic practices have been found in more detailed ethnographic and historical work (Keller 2001; Martin 2001; Privratsky 2001; DeWeese 2002; Edgar 2004; Northrop 2004; Kamp 2006; Louw 2007; Kehl-Bodrogi 2008).

The effects of Soviet rule and policies varied widely, and few generalizations can be made. Adams (1999: 359) writes that 'the Soviets went about inventing an official national culture for every ethnic group in the USSR,' but this practice varied, both because they were 'emphasizing elements that were seen as exotic or socialist, and excluding anything that might be considered less than progressive, such as religion' and because they held evolutionist ideas about what culture to value. Bruce Grant (1995) shows that for the Nivkhi, lack of reified cultural productions and radical changes in economic and social organization led to cultural discontinuity, while Soviet political and economic collapse led to a failure to attain the European modernity to which many Nivkhi aspired.

What is clear for most ethnic groups in the Soviet Union and subsequently in China, where Soviet policies had considerable effect, is that 'the Soviets helped [them] learn a romantic, nationalistic method for understanding the difference between traditional and modern, ethnic and universal' (Adams 1999: 362–363). Although intending to move people from national to socialist loyalties, Soviet cultural policies were contradictory and ineffective, and sometimes promoted nationalism and local identities (Balzer 1994). Nonetheless, in some ways the Soviet Union was very effective in bringing people to adopt progressive, cosmopolitan socialist identities. Perhaps the most successful – and a strong source of nostalgia for Soviet times – could be called *Komsomolizatsiia*, whereby children learned an optimistic and patriotic identification with state projects that managed to exclude ethnic identities from most social and workplace contexts. China has been less successful in this because until recently it was less able to include all citizens in the cosmopolitan mobility and industrial projects that were so powerful in reshaping Soviet ideologies. Projects such as sending people to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution involved important shifts in social ex-

perience and ideologies but were too brief to become part of an ongoing idealized commitment to the state's goals.

1.3 Compromising Culture and Identity

Soviet and Chinese policies and effects were important for framing the concerns of Uyghurs reshaping the muqam tradition, but local approaches were based on many individual and collective concepts of culture. People's many goals and methods for this cultural project led to unintended consequences. Cultural workers micromanaged content through ad hoc methods that relied upon specific understandings of cultural power related both to who should control tradition, and to the effects of tradition on audiences. These concepts of cultural power involved multiple, contradictory logics that guided editing, but compromise and subversion made the results incoherent.

To use Louisa Schein's (1999) terms, minority stage productions in China at least partly perform modernity through reflexive self-presentations, but they also made spaces within performances for ironic challenges to constructions of modernity that exclude minorities as tradition-bound others. I have argued that the intellectuals and officials supposedly promoting state cultural projects and representations likewise practice strategic, untheorized resistance (Light 2007). I propose that the complexity of state cultural projects arises in ways suggested by Ildikó Bellér-Hann (2005: 66): 'Like the emic models of self-perception and self-definition, modern state discourse [in China] also builds on historical antecedents and makes *random and contingent* use of much of the same repertoire that ethnic identity may rely on in its constant re-creation of itself' (emphasis added). She offers an example of Chinese state policies leading to problems and resistance when she describes state suppression of hashish and opium but encouragement of vodka consumption in Xinjiang (2005: 73).

Shaun Malarney (1996) argues that state functionalist approaches to creating and using rituals do not manage to control the meanings rituals have for people. My research shows likewise that creating tradition is a shifting process that develops many ways to grapple with contradictory material. Bruce Kapferer disagrees with Eric Hobsbawm's (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) sense that some traditions are entirely novel and invented. For Kapferer, no tradition is 'invented and discontinuous with history,' but he nonetheless views the creation of sacralized national culture as resulting in forms removed from daily life and using cultural content to embody static ideology, and support a coherent political program (1988: 209-212). Kapferer here emphasizes narratives and rituals that have direct ideological effects, while neglecting the multiple uses and meanings that make symbolic forms useful within national culture despite having problematic contents that

have to be explained or edited away. Nationalists would like the kind of purely effective programs that Kapferer describes, but have to settle for ambiguous and messy traditions, and then create discourses about the tradition to make the ideology less vulnerable to such content. All national ideologies have to accommodate or work around the flawed character of heroes and the moral ambiguities of events and cultural practices in order to hold onto these valuable symbols. National cultures, even if institutionally constructed, are flexible and negotiated and their meanings are indeterminate. They change despite attempts to stabilize and standardize them because personnel, ideologies and audiences change.

Trebinjac (2000) described the use of ethnic music within Chinese state productions, but few of the people who collected and shaped the formal Uyghur muqam canon were oriented towards this goal. Almost all of them were improving the tradition for the sake of the Uyghur nation. Only politicians making speeches and the political boilerplate in publications ever mentioned the Uyghur muqams as part of China's heritage as a whole (e.g., 'the Twelve Muqams … are an achievement of the Uyghur people and an important treasure in the musical wealth of our multi-national homeland, the People's Republic of China,' Imin 1980: 12). Such slogans were not part of the process of negotiating Uyghurness that took place around the muqam editing. It is perhaps here that Verdery's argument does work and that insincerity can be found: commitment to Chinese state orthodoxy had to be demonstrated in order to receive resources for cultural production, but the contents of those productions and the process of creating them were far removed from state intervention. The present study explores the less public and more Uyghur ethnic arena where muqam texts, histories and interpretations were created and debated, before the more public performances of the muqams as ethnic culture and part of Chinese multiethnic culture.

Creating the revised textual tradition took place mostly in Ürümchi under the auspices of scholars and politicians with extensive experience of Soviet cultural policies. Only in the stricter and more anti-Soviet political environment of China in the 1960s were the muqams subject to more programmatic central government planning, with attempts to add contemporary political songs and turn this into a patriotic socialist tradition. This work was short-lived because there was no real reason for cultural radicals to support this tradition in any form. After the Cultural Revolution, 'classical' music and poetry were once again valued and placed largely outside of the political demands made on modern socialist art, by framing them as historical products of earlier stages of political development. Editing did not make them socialist, but made them more national, secular and rational by reducing Persian and religious elements and organizing them more systematically.

In both the Soviet Union and China, classical traditions supported cultural nationalism and patriotic pride in ways that were generally felt to be more important than correcting popular ideologies, except during periods when ethno-national symbols and sources of cultural pride were suppressed. Classics provided evidence of an important past, and this aura dissipated if the works were changed and modernized. Despite unearthing and valorizing historical evidence of anything that might be interpreted as popular resistance or critiques of elite domination, Soviet and Chinese officials sought international legitimacy through 'authentic' cultural productions and accurate scholarship, and in Central Asia the two states generally competed to showcase their support for local traditions. This is not to say that distortion of the past, rewriting of traditions, and flawed scholarship did not go on, but considerations of accuracy were also important criteria. To the extent that state ideologues were invested in perpetuating the Russian and Chinese academic and cultural legacies and reputations, they supported works of scholarship and performance that accorded with internationally accepted standards.

Trebinjac's focus on the music, and mine on the song texts does explain why she sees more agents of the Chinese state involved. No one outside of the Uyghur scholarly and political community participated significantly in the editing of the texts, and this created an autonomous space where specific problems interpreting past literary and performance culture could be addressed without worrying about the projects of the state. Music crossed cultural boundaries more easily and made few insistent references to ideologically troubling practices. It needed less revision in the ethnic backstage than did the muqam texts before presentation to the multiethnic public of the Chinese state.

In describing how performers, scholars, and politicians produced the Uyghur Twelve Muqams, I explore the tensions and conflicts found within scholarship on the muqams. Like the muqams themselves, each work of scholarship was the product of negotiations among people who were guided by differing values and ideologies. Scholarly texts were an important part of the backstage reinterpretation of Uyghur culture and history. Through ethnographic and textual research, I show how the linked production of muqam texts and performances emerged from the shifting networks of individuals participating in this complex process. The cultural production of the Twelve Muqams allows investigation into local understandings of culture and its creation. That the muqams were radically changed and yet readily accepted as classical is not because people did not know better but because they understood 'classic' to refer to a kind of tradition and ritualized performance frame as much as to the muqams' exact contents. Only a few experts chal-

lenged the renovation of these 'classics,' on the grounds that government authority was allowing those with inadequate skills to reshape tradition.

Organizing and elaborating a tradition and providing it with history were not easy in the highly politicized context of China, with conflicting demands about managing and interpreting history, art and tradition. The fragments of history and culture that were brought together in cultural productions had to be judged and selected according to many criteria, but state politics apparently took second place to historical plausibility. In the case of muqam history a few pages in a minor source have become a rich and complex narrative about the 16th century culture hero Amannisa Khan as muqam creator. Despite the fact that the Yarkand Khanate in which she worked was culturally and politically autonomous from China, the Chinese state has not intervened or pressured those who were interpreting the muqams to connect this history with China. In prehistories of muqam origins, there have been efforts to connect the music of the 'Western Regions' with China, but they were not used to prove political incorporation.

The work on these cultural productions took place out of the public eye to avoid accusations of ideological distortion and inauthenticity. Accounts of culture heroes whose original compositions were being restored, allowed culture producers to disclaim responsibility and conceal their agency in shaping the tradition. But through detailed work on each possible interpretation of collective history and culture, these scholars and politicians continually reflected on Uyghur identity and connected practices from other times and places to the present daily life of Uyghurs. Their work of cultural reflexivity linked improving muqam culture with correcting practices in everyday life. The muqams and related historical narratives offered models to encourage people reform their own culture. Experts used their cultural authority to guide the ethnic self. As remade culture the muqams helped discipline the Uyghur collective self, but to do this the muqams themselves had to be disciplined by institutional research and textualization to create a standard form.

The work on Uyghur culture that I explore does not define ethnic boundaries along borders and zones of intercultural contact, as the usual model would have it (for example, in Dru Gladney's [2004] discussion of relational alterity). Instead, the acts of exclusion, purification, and performance that continually produce Uyghur identity are operations on the self and the community: the culture one is working on is already part of the self, and it is the self that is contaminated. For reflexive cultural work, one makes boundaries and exclusions in the core of the ethnic self, so the disciplining of cultural identity is re-creating a lost authentic self, eradicating the flawed cultural elements that reveal moral and social failures of origins, transmis-

sion and maintenance of proper practices. Cultural intimacy (Herzfeld 1997; Shryock 2004) contrasts with national culture seen as primarily public and involving public performances of difference. Cultural intimacy suggests that culture emerges and is negotiated in impure contexts in which personal and national identities are threatened, and purity is continually constructed. These intimate backstage zones are fraught with moral failings, and the reflexive operations of textualization, editing and reinterpretation help purify and rationalize this contaminated culture before it is made public. But the culture thus created contains inevitable traces of the intimate material that has been excluded, and non-public contexts are full of practices and debates that reinforce awareness of this other self that is being excluded.

The creation of pure selves is always contingent and compromised by the realities of social participation. Purity is a backwards projection from experiences of cultural difference and change, but since culture always changes, pure origins are constructed rather than real.[3] Problems with ideas about purity can be seen in the ambiguities of the *Minkaohan* identity among Uyghurs and other minorities in China who become culturally Han by studying in Han Chinese schools (Smith Finley 2007). Idealized purity tends to be impractical and there are benefits to being able to work in multiple cultures. Minkaohan cross boundaries and internalize otherness at an intimate and personal level; the fact that any child can in a few years learn another culture shows that cultural stability and purity across many years are problematic ideals. But such personal experiences are excluded from the public performances and symbols related to collective ethnic identities. *Minkaohan* identity is generally ignored in public discourses about identity and purity: it is a slightly embarrassing but practical choice of parents, and it is difficult to accuse people of disloyalty when seeking success for their children. And since the children themselves did not choose their education they may be expected to be able to operate effectively in both cultures but they are rarely accused of willfully rejecting pure origins and culture.

In fact, *minkaohan* identity emerges from compromise between the two opposed forces of nationalism that Ernest Gellner writes about in some detail (1983): ethnic particularism and the shared culture of a nation-state. In his interpretation, nationalism and national cultures facilitate efficient participation in industrial economies, but nationalism can also promote alternative solidarities when groups are excluded from participating in the nation-state's economy.

[3] Instead of particular traditions, hybridity and purity themselves seem invented. Cultural changes emerge from many sources, including innovation, but claims about mixed and pure culture seem to be rhetorical inventions for instituting social hierarchies.

I bring up the case of the *minkaohan* because I want to clarify that what I am researching is at the heart of the making of ethnic distinctiveness, but not central to Uyghur lived experience. I am examining the cultural reflexivity of idealists creating highly stylized representations of culture that do not encompass the variety of Uyghur experience. There is a gap between experience and ethnic identity as constructed by romantic nationalists. The latter morally commits the self to purity and loyalty, in which the desire for the distinctive shared self is good, and giving in to temptations to join in mixed communities is bad, a betrayal of this loyalty. Cultural purity in the present guarantees that this self can continue to exist in the future, and pure heritage and autonomous histories are guarantees that the self continues from the past into the present. Such models of ethnic identity make it difficult to accept personal experiences; they tend to be relegated to zones of cultural intimacy.

In fact, other models of the Uyghur self do exist and have strong ties to experience. One would be the trader model in which Uyghurs can be anywhere, interacting with anyone, and making a living by doing so. This model is part of daily discourse but rarely enters formal public presentations of ethnic culture, reminding us that what is cultural intimacy in one social context may be a source of pride in another. In many contexts, the trader identity is valued, but in the scholarly and political domain I discuss here it was ignored, or seen as a source of humor, as in the well known joke about Artush traders being already on the moon when the first astronauts landed.

The connection of Uyghur selves and Uyghur muqam song culture are not all-encompassing: this is one particular kind of self that can be worked on through cultural performances. And even within the elite cultural domain where people were connecting intimate selves with official Uyghur culture, sources of ethnic identity were complex and the logics of culture – concepts about culture and about how to change it – varied widely, so efforts to shape collective culture were always in process, and the products were contingent. The reflexive reworking of culture also involved reworking the logics and interpretations of that culture. Romantic nationalist assumptions that ethnic culture must be shared, systematic, complete, independent, and enduring led to contradictions and it became impossible to create culture that conformed to them. Scholars of Soviet and Chinese nationality cultures have generally examined policies, goals, and results, but here I analyze the process of working on cultural content in relation to discourses about Uyghur identity and the collective self. I describe the making of culture by filling lacks and excluding contamination, but also the continual struggle over contradictory cultural logics.

People relied upon a multitude of arguments to defend decisions about what to exclude from and include in tradition, but this work was primarily consequential within the cultural bureaucracy, where would be guardians of Uyghur tradition had to develop ways of talking about all that was Uyghur. The ideological stakes seemed higher than those Katherine Verdery (1991) found in Romania: Uyghur culture producers were responsible for designing a modern secular faith based in identity built through culture and history, avoiding embarrassment by cultural intimacies of disorderly gender and desire, preventing religious ideologies from undermining political projects, and excluding contamination by and debts to the 'foreign' traditions of Persians and Arabs.

What had to be excluded from these texts were not just a few errors, but essential aspects of historical and present practices. Each word and image had to be policed to decide whether it was in or out of the tradition, Uyghur or not Uyghur. The editing involved implicit and explicit reflection upon the ethnic self and decisions on what was acceptable and what should be excluded. Ethnicity became a moral question, an ethics, and proper performance of one's ethnicity involved constant work of discipline and censorship, as well as debate and reinterpretation. The concept of cultural intimacy aids analysis of links between personal and shared cultural practices. I examine how people connected intimate lived experience with public representations of heritage, and applied ideas about purity to personal practices.

Exclusion begins at home. A nationalist friend, upset by his wife's excitement over China's victories in a World Cup playoff game, suggested to her that a Uyghur should not consider herself a fan of China's football team. In telling me about this, his obvious enthusiasm for this scene of instruction and self-definition reflected how important such moments can be for shaping identity commitments. Self-reconstruction, moving toward an idealized ethnic self uncontaminated by disloyalties, placed properly in history, and sharing correct commitments and culture with other Uyghurs, was a dramatic struggle, whether in sports or in music. In the case of Uyghur muqams, anxieties and concerns about identity came from the commitments of poets and singers: Persian, Sufi and gender identities expressed in muqam songs had to be reconstructed so these public performances would represent idealized personal practices.

The work on the Twelve Muqams during the 1980s and 1990s that I examine here and the resulting recordings are parts of a long process, not final products. They are central symbols that are reworked to express shifting ideologies about Uyghur pasts and practices. Already by 2002 another version of the canon appeared, with new, more diverse muqam songs performed within sophisticated narrative video productions (Dawamat, Abdure-

shit, and Tilivaldi 2002). It contained a different account of Uyghur identity, still romantic nationalist but more firmly based in idealized traditional culture and less reliant upon speculative history of the distant past for its scale and importance.

1.4 History and Geography

Geographically and conceptually the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region consists of three distinct but interacting regions: northern (*šimaliy*), eastern (*ğärbiy*), and southern (*janubiy*). The political subdivisions of Xinjiang are more complex. Nominally autonomous districts and counties are associated with the Kazakh (Qazaq), Kyrgyz (Qirghiz), Hui (Dungan), Mongol, Tajik, and Xibo (Sibe) nationalities.[4] Perhaps even more basic is the ecotype division: mountain pastures and steppe grasslands are the domain of Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Mongols, and Uyghurs live in oasis towns and cities and agricultural river valleys, while Hui and Han live in the more industrialized cities. There is much mixing across these divisions, but the urban-rural and pastoral-agricultural divisions provide significant cultural distinctions of self and other in Xinjiang. The geographic foundation that unites the division according to culture and ecotype with that into north, south, and east is the pattern of mountains and deserts, which are the dominant landforms that divide Xinjiang into three regions and create local ecosystems.

North Xinjiang includes the arid steppe grasslands of the Jungarian basin, surrounded by the mountains and high pastures of the Altai, Tarbaghatay, Alatau, and Tian Shan ranges. Although the foothills of all these ranges include significant towns, the most important agricultural areas and cities are in the southern edge along the Tian Shan range. To the southwest is the fertile Ili River region, and to the southeast is the capital city of Xinjiang, Ürümchi.

East Xinjiang includes the cities of Turfan and the large oasis around it and Qumul (Hami), roughly 400 kilometers to the east. The region south of the Tian Shan range is desert, but mountain drainage supplies water to Turfan and Qumul and the oases of the Tarim River basin, which form a chain around the desert.

South Xinjiang consists of the oases surrounding the Tarim basin and the Taklamakan Desert. Known variously as Kashgaria or Altishahr (Six Cities), this region has a long and complex history of interaction with Iranian and South and East Asian societies, as well as with nomadic peoples of the

[4] The most important studies of local ethnic diversity in Xinjiang are Svanberg 1987, 1991, 1996; Benson and Svanberg 1988, 1998; Svanberg and Benson 1989; Hoppe 1995 and Harris 2005. See Light 2005 for further bibliography.

Central Asian steppes. Turkic speakers settled and became dominant in this region toward the end of the first millennium. Along the southern edge are the city of Khotan and numerous smaller towns, and to the west is the large agricultural area including Kashgar, Yarkand, and Artush at the edge of the Pamirs. Along the northern edge, in the foothills of the Tian Shan, are the cities of Korla, Aqsu, and Kucha.

Today, the more than 8 million Uyghurs make up a little less than half the population of Xinjiang. Han Chinese in Xinjiang are roughly equal to the Uyghurs in number, and in recent years Chinese policies promoting resettlement and the extension of rail service have led many Han Chinese to migrate to the southern region. Most people of other ethnic groups in south Xinjiang, including until recently most of the Han Chinese, rely on Uyghur as the lingua franca (see Li 1989; Yuan 1990; Toops 2004).

The Ili region has a large Uyghur population that mostly descends from agricultural colonists brought there in the late eighteenth century after the Manchu Chinese conquest of Xinjiang. There are Uyghur communities in the towns throughout north Xinjiang, but they make up only about one-sixth of the population. The Han and Kazakhs each make up around a fourth, and the Hui (Chinese-speaking Muslims) and Mongol ethnic groups each make up less than 10 percent. Many Uyghurs have moved from throughout Xinjiang to the capital city, Ürümchi, but they make up only around 15 percent of its 1.5 million people.

Uyghurs have long lived in east Xinjiang, but there are large Han and Hui communities as well, and these areas have been more closely connected to inland China. In Qumul, Chinese has become the dominant language, although Uyghurs still make up a considerable proportion of the population. Turfan is still a largely Uyghur city, although culturally it is somewhat distinct from the cities of south Xinjiang.

South and north Xinjiang have been the homes of many different societies and rulers. In the first millennium, the Xiongnu, Chinese, Tibetan, and Turk empires controlled the area at various times. After the Tang dynasty, it was not until the Mongol conquests that China was again a part of the same empire as the Western Regions. Most of the Tarim and Jungaria were domains ruled by Chingiz Khan's son Chaghatay and his descendants until the mid-fourteenth century, when the Moghul rulers separated from the Ulus of Chaghatay. The resulting Moghulistan remained under the rule of Turkic-speaking Mongol princes until the seventeenth century, when Qalmaq Mongols took control of northern Xinjiang (Jungaria) and helped establish the leader of the White Mountain (Aqtaghliq, Afaqi) Khoja clan as ruler of Kashgaria.

In the 1750s, China under the Manchu Qing emperor Qian Long again invaded the Western Regions and established political and military control. Many who fled this conquest settled in the Qoqand Khanate west over the Pamirs from Kashgar and helped foment rebellions against the Qing Empire during the 1800s, when East Turkistan became the object of power struggles between Qoqand, China, Russia, and Britain. In 1864, when China faced rebellions and imperialist encroachments in the heartland and coastal regions, Muslim rebellions throughout Kashgaria and Ili led to Ya'qūb Beg's taking control of Kashgaria. Under his rule the region was fairly prosperous, but when he attempted to extend his rule north into the Ili and Jungarian regions and east to Turfan and Ürümchi, he was far less successful. The resulting wars devastated these regions.[5]

Russia took control of the Ili region for a period in the 1870s. After regaining control of that region and Kashgaria in the early 1880s, China established closer economic and political links to the Tarim and Jungarian areas. The Western Regions were renamed Xinjiang (New Territory) and united into a province in 1884, and stronger military control was imposed. But China's political weakness continued, and in the early twentieth century Xinjiang was ruled by Han and Dungan warlords while Uyghurs in Kashgaria broke away and briefly established an independent Islamic republic in 1932–1934. People of several nationalities rebelled against Chinese rule and founded the Eastern Turkistan Republic (1944–1949) in northern Xinjiang.

When Xinjiang was incorporated into the People's Republic of China, autonomous counties and districts were established for areas with dominant ethnic groups. In 1955 Xinjiang itself was made into the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Under policies promoting economic, agricultural, and military development of China's border regions, hundreds of thousands of Han Chinese settlers migrated voluntarily or were sent from inland (*neidi*) China to Xinjiang. This intensified in the 1960s, when the railroad reached Qumul (Hami), and during the Cultural Revolution, when many urban youths and intellectuals were sent to rural and underdeveloped regions.

For the purposes of this book, the symbolically important region is southern Xinjiang, as the heartland of Uyghur society. My research was with people working in the Xinjiang capital, Ürümchi, but they were recreating a Uyghur tradition that originated in the Kashgar region. Southern and eastern Xinjiang have yielded the most important artifacts and documents supporting interpretations of Uyghur history as stretching back to and before the Uyghur

[5] The best synthetic narrative of the nineteenth-century history, taking into account local and Chinese sources as well as Russian and Japanese analyses, is Kim 2004. See also Millward 1998, 2007; Newby 1998, 2005.

kingdoms of the eighth through thirteenth centuries, but even more important in the historical narratives that have developed around the Uyghur muqams is the Yarkand Khanate based in a city near Kashgar in the sixteenth century, which is understood as a golden age when Moghul rulers supported 'Uyghur' cultural development.

Chapter 2
Uyghur Performing Arts and the Muqams

In 1989, during my first trip to Xinjiang, my friend Hairet took me to a Uyghur wedding celebration in a large dining hall room rented for the occasion. Men sat in groups of nine or ten around tables along the wall near the windows, while women sat at tables along the inside wall. In the late afternoon the dining hall employees began to serve the main courses, which consisted of *polo* (pilaf made with mutton, rice, carrots, onions, and raisins) and *manta* (steamed dumplings filled with mutton and rice), along with countless dishes of pastries, nuts, and dried fruit, *nan* (flat bread), and bowls of tea. Spicier stir-fried dishes were set out toward the end of the meal as accompaniments for drinking *aq haraq*, more commonly known by the Chinese term *baijiu*.

While the drinking was still going on, musicians began to perform. Hairet pointed out that some of the musicians were Han Chinese, which he feared would mean that the music would not be appreciated by the Uyghur wedding guests. In the end he decided that the music was good anyway, because the singer had been Uyghur and because Chinese learned music through written materials, rather than aurally as Uyghurs do. The ensemble's instruments included a guitar and electronic keyboards, and the songs were popular waltz tunes. But it was dancing that was the great attraction for the guests.

Between the women's and men's sides was a large, dimly lit dance floor. As soon as a song began, the men would get up from their tables and move rapidly across the room to find a woman to dance with. For a woman to refuse to dance was considered rude, but because there seemed to be fewer women than men, there was some competition. With each song, the whole room was flooded with waltzing couples rotating counterclockwise in a great circle. After each song, everyone would sit down again. Hairet told me that it was inappropriate for the same couple to dance together more than a few times.

Only briefly during the evening was the waltzing, called *tans*, replaced with *ussul*, in which pairs danced traditional Uyghur dances. Although men and women, both old and young, could all dance *ussul*, it was most commonly two young men who faced each other and performed a dance that consisted of rotating their arms and wrists, softly snapping their fingers, and sometimes gently stamping their feet on the floor. In dancing *ussul* the partners revolved around each other in a circle, remaining closely parallel in their movements and usually keeping their eyes on one another. Hairet told me that the music was a Uyghur form known as *muqam*.

In an interview with Hairet not long after the wedding, I asked him about music, and he responded with a commonplace about the Uyghurs' love of music and dance: 'Uyghurs, by custom, are a people who are very enthusiastic about song and dance.' He went on to historicize music as a Uyghur cultural practice:

> In general, Uyghurs consider instruments such as the *dutar*, *tämbur*, *rawap*, and *ǧejäk*, and then another kind, we call it the *čañ*,[6] to be the most traditional. From long ago until now, people would greatly enjoy playing these instruments.
>
> But now this has changed. The young in general have begun to like electronic instruments. They take earlier instruments such as *dutar*, *rawap*, and *tämbur* and make them electronic and play sorrowful [*mungluq*] songs on them. And for example instruments from abroad like the guitar have been popularized by younger artists. Now young people are enthusiastic about the guitar and play it more.
>
> In the past, among Uyghurs music or songs were played on the *dutar*, the *tämbur*, the *rawap*, or other instruments. Either people would play the music separately, or they would sing songs that went with the music and others would listen in enjoyment. If someone wanted to dance an *ussul*, they would dance.
>
> Now this is gradually changing. Now young, middle-aged and old people all dance *tans* together. And since the *dutar*, *tämbur*, and *rawap* are being replaced by electronic instruments, the songs that had been played is being replaced by new, modern songs that are played on instruments such as electronic pianos, electric guitars, and drums. When the songs suit *ussul*, people who like to dance *ussul* will dance *ussul*, but most of the time people dance *tans*.

According to Hairet, the Uyghur shift to dancing waltzes was associated with changes in musical styles. Others mentioned that they liked waltzes more because they involved male-female couples. There was also an increas-

[6] For brief descriptions of these instruments, see the appendix as well as Trebinjac 2000: 190–209.

ing interest in foreign instruments and music, especially the guitar. In 1992, when I was back in Ürümchi, the musical instrument factory that I had often visited had turned to making pool tables and guitars as its dominant products, rather than specializing in traditional Uyghur instruments.[7] And the husband of my Uyghur teacher in 1992 had recently become a traveling salesman of imported electronic keyboards.

Music and dance were both socially important, but in very different ways. During my research in 1992–1993 I observed that while traditional Uyghur musicians and musical aficionados were often concerned about musical skill and authenticity, other participants at celebrations were ready to dance to all kinds of music. Dancing was multicultural, whereas music was felt to preserve and represent a more distinctively ethnic character.

Dance has long been a significant mode of intercultural entertainment in Central Asia. The Turko-Sogdian commander An Lushan, although so heavy that he apparently needed support to walk, was famous in the Chinese court for his skill at the 'barbarian whirling dance' (*huxuanwu*), which he performed for the Tang Emperor (Levy 1960: 34).[8] Dances were a common way to honor superiors and were often an expected part of court rituals. Not long after An Lushan's rebellion, a young Chinese prince on an embassy to the Uyghur court in 762 refused to perform a dance for the Uyghur Qaghan. As punishment he was whipped, but he avoided execution because of his youth (Mackerras 1972: 72–75).

The custom was widespread under Mongol rule as well, in which both singing and dancing were considered ways of showing respect, especially when drinking a toast to an authority figure. In 1604, when the Christian missionary-explorer Benedict Goës appeared in his Aqsu court during a dancing celebration, the twelve-year-old Turko-Mongol prince of Aqsu asked him to demonstrate how 'the people of his country used to dance[.] And so Benedict, not to be churlish with a prince about so small a matter, got up and danced himself to show the way of it' (Yule and Cordier 1913, 4: 229).

In 1869 the British explorer Robert Berkeley Shaw was treated to *tamāsha* ('recreation, fun'), by his host Yuzbashi Muhammad Ya'qūb: 'The Yoozbashee took care that my evenings should not be dull. He generally fetched me away to his own rooms for tamāsha, as he called it, when one of his men would play on a two-stringed guitar [dutar], while others danced in

[7] For further discussion of this factory, see Toops 1990: 137–140.

[8] An Lushan is famous for his briefly successful rebellion against the Tang dynasty in 756–758. The Tang court relied on Uyghur military aid to put down An Lushan's rebel forces, which subsequently gave the Uyghurs significant power and influence within the Chinese Empire.

Toorkee fashion. The movements are slow; they wind in and out with an alternate chassé of each foot, the dance, on the whole, having a soothing and somnific effect' (Shaw 1871: 169–170). The Yuzbashi himself, 'before a select circle,' danced an Andijani dance for Shaw.

Later in his stay in Kashgar, another of his official hosts, the Mährämbashi, demonstrated some local dances for Shaw. Unlike the Yuzbashi, the Mährämbashi was a native of Kashgar and resented the strictness of Ya'qūb Beg's regime. According to Shaw, he complained: ''Formerly there was much amusement, but now it is all Islām.' Then he represented the grave demeanor of a devotee taking out his rosary and mumbling constant repetitions of the name 'Allah.' . . . 'This is what we all have to do now,' he said, 'each alone by himself; no merry meetings or 'tamacha [sic]' now'' (1871: 319).[9]

Even in 1993 people in Ürümchi frequently distinguished between religious leaders who accepted music and dance and those who felt they were unacceptable for true Muslims. For traditional musicians such as Ömär Akhun and Qawul Akhun, this was a major concern, and they were happy to tell of mullahs and *ishan*s who showed their support for musicians by inviting them to perform or teaching them new poetic texts to sing.

Visiting Kashgar in the days before Ya'qūb Beg's rule, Chokan Chingiz Valikhanov commented: 'Wherever you go, you cannot be a invited to a party without female dancers who sing amazingly delicately the epic of Laili and Majnun that is loved in Kashgar.'[10]

The *ussul* dancing I saw at parties and weddings is still a way to show friendship and respect. One dancer begins by directing his dance at another, inviting him or her to get up and dance. They dance together for a while, until one or the other, or sometimes both, turns away to find another partner through the same invitation as the original one. This results in a sequence of people being invited to take the floor, until the one who made the original invitation sits down and the new dancer finds someone to join him or her.

Lady Catherine Macartney (1985 [1931]) described a similar pattern at women's 'gala entertainments' that she attended in the early 1900s. 'A small orchestra of four or five professional female musicians, who took their turn at dancing, provided the music.' Judging from her description, they played one or two bowed *satar*s, instruments she said were played like mandolins, probably rawaps, the zither-like *qalun*, and a *dap*:

> When the music struck up, one of the professionals started the dancing and was followed by the guests, who, one by one, got up and gave a

[9] Writing in the first years of the twentieth century, the historian Mulla Musa Sayrami (1986: 522–523) described similar resentment of authoritarian Islamic leadership under Ya'qūb Beg.
[10] Iskhakov 1975: 47, citing Valikhanov's 'O zapadnom krae Kitaiskoi imperii.'

> solo dance very slowly and gracefully, with swaying movements of the body, and arms, which were held straight out with the long sleeves hanging over the hands; the dancer sometimes simply marking the rhythm of the music with the feet, while the body remained still with arms outstretched and eyes closed. The waving and winding of the arms in perfect time to the music played a great part in the dance, and was wonderfully graceful and in keeping with the dreamy music (1985 [1931]: 122–123).

2.1 Muqams and Dance

When I returned to Ürümchi to do research on Uyghur song in 1992 and 1993, I had decided to focus on the Uyghur muqams. In meetings with scholars of music and poetry, performers, teachers, craftspeople and I found many willing to talk about the muqams and what they meant as public culture, while far fewer had the expertise to say much about them as skilled practice. As a result I focused on the making of public muqam canon and on the media and popular understandings of the muqams as representing Uyghur national culture and history. I was fortunate to meet many of the people involved in the institutional process of canonizing and editing the fixed set of texts and musical notations for public muqam performance.

Heytäm was the chief craftsman at the musical instrument factory near the main Uyghur market area, known as Erdaoqiao. I visited the factory workshop often, and Heytäm always chatted with me and demonstrated his skill on the rawap he had made thirty years before, during his apprenticeship. Several times he pointed out that he would never sell this rawap because it was something his mother had seen when she was alive.

Knowing that I was studying the Twelve Muqams, Heytäm one day invited me to a bride's side wedding celebration at which he and a group of his friends were going to perform. He was organizing this group because the bride's father was a friend of his from high school. His only request was that I avoid drinking, because he felt alcohol always led to trouble for performers.

A Uyghur wedding usually consists of two parties with little mixing between them. In this case the bride's side party began in the late morning, and the friends and relatives of her family occupied the main hall. The bride and her female friends had a somewhat quieter party in a smaller room off the main hall. The main room, where the bride's parents were hosts for their friends, was the center of the celebratory eating and dancing, whereas the bride's group was more subdued and did not leave their room.

In the late afternoon, the groom arrived with a large group of male friends to take the bride off to his family's party. The door of the main hall

was barred to the groom and his friends, and after humorous negotiations and payment of money from the groom's friends to the family of the bride, they were finally let in with much banter. At this party a friend of the groom's played loudly on an accordion as he led the groom's friends into the hall. Similar negotiations took place at the door to the bride's room, with her friends barring the door and conducting the negotiations there. After the bride was brought out into the main room, the groom and his friends remained briefly while the bride said goodbye to her parents and a mullah read the *nikah* over her and the groom. Some of the bride's women friends and family members went with her to the groom's party, but they stayed there for only half an hour before returning.

Although both are all-day events, the bride's side party begins winding down with the departure of the bride, whereas the groom's side party is fairly low-key until her arrival. At the bride's party, we had a meal at noon consisting of the usual *manta* and *polo*, with many side dishes. During the meal, Heytäm and his friends began to play muqam songs. The group he had organized consisted of mostly conservatory-trained musicians who were doing this performance for pay. There were two *ğejäk* players, three *rawap* players including Heytäm, a *dap* player, and a *čañ* player. All the musicians joined in the songs. After the noon meal, the musicians performed off and on throughout the afternoon. At this party, because the musicians were playing only muqams and other traditional songs, the dancing consisted of *ussul*. Only after the bride and her party had left – while the musicians were taking a break – was a rather small tape player used to play popular music for *tans*, and many of the guests formed couples and danced counterclockwise around the room.

While the musicians performed they also were served food and drink generously. As Heytäm had pointed out, drink did cause trouble, and one of the performers became so intoxicated that he could barely sit in his seat to play his *ğejäk*. Except for Heytäm the musicians all drank the strong liquor.

While some of the guests were dancing *tans* to the recorded music, one of the *rawap* players challenged them, asking them why they were not dancing Uyghur style. The exchange did not last long, but the upshot was that the musician wanted people to dance *ussul* and not resort to the tape player, whereas the dancers wanted to enjoy themselves and liked dancing in couples. The guests felt that dancing was entertainment, not an expression of ethnically marked culture, while the musician seemed concerned to preserve the central role of the characteristic Uyghur music in which he was skilled.

At the two groom's side wedding parties I attended, traditional Uyghur music was played during and after the afternoon meal, and in the evening popular musicians played on amplified keyboards, guitars and drums,

but also using some traditional instruments. These bands still played distinctively Uyghur songs, but the volume and rhythm were appropriate for dancing *tans*.

Dance was also a central aspect of the thirty-fifth anniversary celebrations at the Xinjiang Art College, where I lived. Preparations for this event were intensive and performances were enormous. The younger dancers did outdoor group performances with their classes, and older ones did a special evening dance program. There was also spontaneous music and dancing as alumni and teachers joined in the celebrations. At the evening celebration, which began as an organized outdoor dance performance on the basketball court, faculty and even the school president joined in the dancing around two bonfires to the music of *nağra* and *surnay*. The long line of dancers revolved around the two bonfires, doing a dance that in Uyghur scholarship and popular media has been identified with the primitive origins of Uyghur culture. One Uyghur scholar of dance, Inayitilla (1987: 276–279), argues that because 'the fire dance [*ot ussul*] is based in the earliest myths and legends of the Uyghurs, it reflects the way of life, the customs and traditions, and the religious beliefs of those times.' He says the dance preserves the traces of Uyghur fire worship customs across several thousand years and thus represents the superstitions of Uyghur primitive culture.[11] But there was nothing formal or ritualized about this dance: instead it was a moment of participation and creative variation that broke down distinctions among members of the campus community. Despite unusual pouring rain, students continued the fire dance late into the night, until campus authorities announced that the event was over and security officers made sure that people left.

At one point late in the evening, someone put music by Michael Jackson on the public address system, which initially got a small group of people performing under the street light and speaker pole across the basketball courts from the bonfires. When the *nağra* drummers and *surnay* player took a rest, the mostly student crowd began to drift toward the people dancing to Jackson's music. Unlike the popular music at the wedding, this music did not attract much participation, but students were eager to see the dancing of a well known alumnus of the school. Some other people joined in the dancing, but eventually interest waned, and people returned to the more participatory dancing of the *nağra-surnay* music. No one that I heard made moral judgments about the music: people seemed interested in enjoying themselves and not worried about the ethnic origins or traditionality of the music to which they listened.

[11] The fire dance also appears in the 1993 documentary film *On Ikki Muqam*.

While dance thus has a social importance and encourages collective participation, traditional Uyghur music has taken on a political importance, especially the classical music of the Uyghur Twelve Muqams. Even traditional muqam performers felt that the more delicate, sophisticated, slower muqam songs could find few appreciative listeners because they required mature tastes. In addition, these songs were based on the texts of difficult classical poets such as ʻAlī Shīr Navāʼī and the music was difficult to learn, so only professional musicians could master it. In contrast, dance was participatory and more easily crossed cultural boundaries. Dance traditions changed more rapidly because the many nonprofessionals had less investment in particular styles. For example, in the 1980s the Sama dance was revived and became popular during Islamic festivals in Kashgar, but its popularity waned within a few years.

Because of difficult musical pieces and poetry, in the 1950s the muqams were recognized as an ideal vehicle for creating a classical national culture that would reflect the long-cultivated tradition of the Uyghurs. From their origins in local professional traditions passed down from master to apprentice, usually within families, the muqams have been made into an extensive canon of rigorous and difficult music that no one can perform in its entirety. Muqam performers need institutional support for training and practice, and through institutions this Uyghur cultural canon has become closely tied to political projects of creating an ethnic culture.

2.2 Muqam Discourse, Ideology, and 'Modernization'

In addition to presentation on stage, the muqams are presented, taught, analyzed, and interpreted by performers, scholars, media figures, and politicians. In most public discourse the performers have little authority. Instead, political and scholarly authority is used to craft an image of the Uyghur Twelve Muqams as a treasured artistic canon from the Uyghur past that belongs to all Uyghurs. Because of their length and wide recognition as a symbol, anything said about their past became a significant element of public ideas about the shared Uyghur past. Through the cultural monument of the Twelve Muqams the Uyghur past has been made more accessible for use in public rituals and as a source of guidance, ethnic consciousness and pride.

The institutionalization of the muqams has been a complex process involving collection from performers throughout Xinjiang, transcription and correction of texts, comparison of musical pieces, integration of selected pieces into a few dominant traditions from the more masterful performers, and so on. It has involved extensive collaboration among politicians, scholars, musicians, singers, poets, and audiences. The Uyghur Twelve Muqams

now have an important place in the mass media, on stage, and as a cultural showpiece in political events and discourse in the Uyghur context, in the Chinese context, and internationally. They have become recognized as the core of Uyghur cultural heritage, a coherent tradition and container for representations of Uyghur customs and autochthonous literary, musical, and dance genius.

The creation of the Twelve Muqams as a revised canonical tradition that is perpetuated and interpreted within an official institutional context involved redefining content, renaming that content, and instituting new concepts for understanding what the muqams show about history, society, ethnic identity, and culture. The muqams may in some contexts still be performed by individual performers who rearrange them to please themselves and their audiences, but at least in the urban context where I was, the institutional form of the muqams was accepted as standard, and other forms were considered 'local' or 'individual' variations. The idea of shared ethnic culture was closely tied to that of a fixed canonical form, but required institutional creation and management of the form. The muqams have been transformed through collection and rearrangement from widely divergent fluid traditions to a standardized canon and yet are presented as an unchanged traditional art that has always been Uyghur, now restored to its original glory and put on stage by professional performers. In the rest of this chapter I discuss the motivations behind these rearrangements, the justifications given for them, and the methods used in renaming, reshaping, and reinterpreting materials collected from traditional performers to make the modern (*zamaniviy*) Uyghur Twelve Muqams.

The idea of the Twelve Muqams as a 'folk classical' (*χälq klassik*) tradition was already established by the time the first major publication about the muqams appeared in 1960, with the title *Uyğur χälq klassik muzikisi On Ikki Muqam* (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu Wenhuating 1960).[12] The use of *χälq* ('folk, people') to characterize 'classical' somewhat ambiguously captures both the sense of musical culture that is 'folk, not institutional' and that which 'belongs to the national ethnic group.'[13] In ongoing usage the

[12] This transcription of the Twelve Muqams is generally considered to be solely the work of the musicologist Wan Tongshu, although he was not assigned authorship in the book. Only Säypidin Äziz and Turdi Akhun's names appear in the text. The transcriptions are detailed and represent an enormous amount of work but are not very accurate, according to most musicians who refer to them.

[13] The Uyghur word *χälq* describes cultural practices that are oral, traditional, or communal in some way, as opposed to institutional, individual, or literary. In the titles of all collections of Uyghur oral folklore, *χälq* is used to modify the name of whatever genre is collected. In order to specify 'national', the word *milliy* is generally used, but seldom as an attribute of culture. In discussions of folk music, the term *älnäğmä* ('popular song') is also common.

phrase *Uyğur On ikki muqam* ('Uyghur Twelve Muqams') is used to specify that these muqams are shared by or belong to the whole Uyghur ethnic group, while the term *χälq* continues to suggest 'folk, popular, traditional.'

Uyghur intellectuals and politicians with Soviet education, such as Säypidin Äziz, were influenced by Soviet ideas about ethnic traditions. But the 'folk classical' idea never became dominant in Soviet scholarship on Central Asian maqom and muqam traditions. In the 1930s, V. M. Beliaev determined that the Uzbek Shashmaqom were derived from Arabic and Persian music and so could not be considered an ethnic folk tradition, whereas in the 1950s Iunus Akbarov included Shashmaqom in collections of 'Uzbek folk music' (Radzhabii and Akbarov 1958–1959).[14] Definitions of the many *maqām* traditions were refined in the early 1960s, when it was concluded that Shashmaqom were native professional music that had evolved from folk music (Levin 1984: 84, 88–89).[15] Since then scholars writing in Russian about Uzbek music have consistently distinguished *narodnaia*, 'folk, popular, national,' music from the *professional'naia*, 'professional,' music of the Shashmaqom.

In his Soviet publications on the Uyghur Twelve Muqams, Batur Ärshidinov (1970, 1987) described the poetry as classical and the music as folk. Other important studies of the muqams in the Soviet-Russian sphere used the phrase 'professional music in oral tradition' (Shklovskaia 1991; see also Alibakieva 1988).[16] It appears that some native scholars in China and the Soviet Union connected cosmopolitan, professional art music with ethnically distinct folk music, while non-natives were more likely to reject ethnic distinctiveness and acknowledge international influences. But the stigma attached to acknowledging Persian influences in the present territory of China has prevented any scholars from making strong statements about foreign origins, and most people argue that the Uyghur muqams are autochthonous.

The issue here becomes more complex because these scholars debating social categories and musical origins are also involved in editing the traditional music and texts. This debate over origins and originality is part of negotiating whether to emphasize the similarities or differences between the

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[14] Beliaev and F. M. Karomatov both characterized Tajik and Uzbek Shashmaqom pieces as *klassik* music (Beliaev 1950: 11, cited in Levin 1984: 81; Karomatov 1966–1975).

[15] The Arabic term *maqām* (*maqāmāt* is plural) refers to systems of modal improvisation, but is often used collectively for the many Muslim art music traditions in the Near and Middle East, as well as Central Asia that draw their name and/or inspiration from the *maqāmāt.*

[16] Tamara Alibakieva relies on scholarship from China but ignores the 'folk' label that scholars in China attach to the muqams. In her brief discussion of the relationship between Uyghur professional and folk music traditions (1983: 162), she defines folk as 'nonprofessional, oral musical culture of the people.'

muqams and *maqāmāt* traditions in other areas, and hence also a way to think about the autochthony or connectedness of Uyghur culture more generally.

Rather than denoting elite art music and institutions, the term *klassik* is used by some Uyghur scholars, particularly in China, to identify the muqams as an old, enduring musical tradition that can be compared to the great works of European, Chinese, or Japanese tradition. The Soviet Uyghur composer Quddus Khojamyarov drew on these ideas when he told me about his struggles to dissuade the Muqam Research Group editors from changing them. Quddus said, 'The muqams are treasures of the Uyghur past, and like Chinese opera or Japanese *gagaku* music, they should be preserved without changes. They are monuments like the Taj Mahal, or Zhong Nanhai in Beijing. They must be protected and respected as records of Uyghur culture. One does not say Faust is old and put new texts into works about him.'

Quddus said that one may borrow musical elements from the muqams – as he himself has done in some of his compositions – but one should use them to compose in European forms and modern styles. 'Do not take old music and put in new-style texts. Preserve the medieval philosophical poetry of the muqams. If one wants socialist art, it should be done entirely modern, not by changing the old.'

For Quddus, a classical ethnic tradition should preserve its roots unchanged and be incorporated into internationally approved, European-style music through new compositions, not the revision of the old. Classical and monumental culture is most potent and valuable as an unchanged treasure of the past, not as a staging area for creating modern ethnic culture.[17]

Although muqam songs were already being performed on stage and by ensembles in the 1930s, only in 1945 did Äχmätjan Qasimiy, a leader of the Eastern Turkistan Republic (ETR), begin to promote the study and transmission of Rozi Tämbur's muqam tradition in the Ili region (Ärshidinov 1970: 7). The idea of the muqams as classical music guided the recording and transcription of the muqams in the 1950s under the direction of Säypidin Äziz, another former member of the ETR government. He served as chairman (*ra'is*) of the Xinjiang government from the founding of the Autonomous Region in 1955 until 1967 and from 1972 to 1978, and he retained considerable authority as a member of the standing committee of the National People's Congress through the 1990s. Even in the 1950s Säypidin

[17] In a nice synthetic article Marina Frolova-Walker (1998) captures the many ideological debates over musical structures, national distinctiveness, and politics that swirled around the task of composing new music in the Soviet republics. Stalin's push for works that were both 'national in form and socialist in content' was a way to help coalesce national identities around musical nationalism.

Äziz's goal in these recordings was not only to collect and preserve the most monumental and archaic form of the muqams as an important part of Uyghur cultural heritage but also to revise them to suit contemporary political goals. These ideas were shaped by his education in the Soviet Union, where similar work was being carried out in the new Central Asian republics.

In 1960 Säypidin (as he is usually known) wrote in the foreword to 1960 muqam musical transcriptions: 'The collection, editing, and first complete publication in history of the Uyghur people's famous classical music 'Twelve Muqams' is a great event in the development of Uyghur classical literature and art.' For him this classical art form expressed the life and ideas of working-class ancestors of the Uyghurs, but rather than simply being preserved, it had to be researched, edited, and made complete. Its rich form and contents should be continuously developed as part of the political project of creating a new society and culture in China: 'We must develop new modern literature and art and give full expression to the new socialist life and socialist relations of the people [*χälq*] of every nationality.' The content of art and literature must express the new realities of socialist life and contribute to the development of socialism and communism, but it must also be in an appropriate national form. The people of each nationality must develop its own heritage of classical literature and art: 'The Twelve Muqams are a rich national musical tradition, so in the development of the Uyghurs' modern music it is of great significance to study deeply and correctly carry on the artistic successes of the Twelve Muqams' (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu Wenhuating 1960, 1: 1–2; foreword reprinted in Äziz 1992).

Clearly Säypidin supported the well known Stalinist doctrine that arts should be national in form and socialist in content. But there is an obvious logical contradiction between researching a tradition to discover its original forms and simultaneously revising it to create a new socialist tradition, 'a new modern literature and art.' Implicit in these contradictory goals are the problems that continue to make editing the muqams difficult. Säypidin's plan suggests that the Twelve Muqams should be understood both as a classical art that was created and performed in the past and as a resource to be developed to create new art. But it is the power of the classical muqams as a political symbol that makes them worth preserving and performing as a monumental tradition. Säypidin Äziz and others could not modernize them very much without losing this potential. Hence the Twelve Muqams have remained in the forefront of cultural production, performance, and discourse, guided by the demands of 'modern' performance practice based in fixed, systematic structures and written transcriptions, and with political concerns determining textual content. But because of the symbolic importance of a supposedly authentic tradition and loss of legitimacy that might arise if the

state supported creating new muqam forms, few efforts have been made to create new music based in the muqams.

State institutions did attempt to create for the muqams new poetry with socialist content in the 1960s, but this was quickly given up. Instead, the texts of the muqams have been revised to include more recent poetry and fewer religious ideas and archaic words. But this compromise leaves the texts still ideologically contaminated, so attention deflected from traditional texts to those that can be more readily interpreted as love songs. In addition, because most of them are sung in chorus, the words are hard to make out, and the religious texts are particularly difficult to understand because audience members do not know many of the terms. The texts were not officially published until 1994, and even then they were only available in expensive editions (Dawamat and Tursun 1994).

When I told Uyghurs I was studying the Twelve Muqams, they almost always assumed I was studying the music. Although in 1960 Säypidin Äziz described the muqams as a tradition of classical music and literature for which new texts should be created, now that most of the texts remain traditional the music is emphasized. In the 1990s, the most widely sung and recorded muqam *muqäddimä* (slow free-rhythm introductory song that is sung by a single musician accompanying him or herself on satar or tämbur) includes a text that was not in the traditional Kashgar muqam repertoire but highlights ethnic distinctions far more than most muqam songs. It consists of a comparison of Arabic, Persian, and Turkic words for the parts of the face and body of the beloved and so reinforces the ethno-nationalist cultural distinctions that have become so important in Central Asia, as well as emphasizing corporeal, erotic love rather than its allegorical spiritual meanings. But even this song weakly reinforces Uyghur cultural identity because it repeatedly uses a Persian verb unknown to most speakers of modern Uyghur, and it suggests that Uyghurs speak Türki, which undermines the Soviet and Chinese goal of creating distinctive ethnic cultures in Central Asia (see chapter 6 for my discussion of this *Käl äy mähbub-u mätlubum* verse).

Editing the muqams has been justified as the moderate, rational, and populist reformation of a tradition that has been contaminated by religious and foreign culture. In the 1980s and 1990s no one tried to make the muqams socialist in content, but they cleaned up the tradition to prevent detrimental social influences. Qawul Akhun explained to me that the muqams predated the coming of Islam but had had to include religious songs in order to survive the restrictions of Muslim authorities. He pointed out that these now had to be removed if the songs were to be broadcast on state radio, because the state could not support religion. Ömär Imin, a member of the Muqam Research Group who was editing the texts, told me that the substitu-

tion of archaic words and the replacing of Navā'ī's fifteenth-century *ghazal* poems – a formal genre of poetry in the form of rhymed couplets – with nineteenth-century 'Uyghur' ghazals was justified because it would make the tradition comprehensible to popular audiences.

Once the muqams were edited, they became the subject of a major effort to disseminate them to local performers from all over Xinjiang. Performers from communities in southern Xinjiang were brought to Ürümchi in the late 1980s as part of a special program to teach them the revised muqams. This was the completion of the Chinese policy of taking popular culture from the masses, reforming it, and returning it to them, which Sabine Trebinjac discusses extensively, which does to reflect a particularly Chinese approach to managing popular traditions (2000).

The idea of the muqams as folk classical music has been consistent in publications in China since 1960, appearing again in the title of Abdushukur Muhämmät Imin's *Uyğur χälq kilassik muzikisi 'On ikki muqam' häqqidä*, published in 1980. This was the first historical analysis of the muqams to appear in China, and it reflects the author's understanding of them as a continuous classical tradition. Abdushukur is concerned primarily with establishing the autochthonous origins of the Uyghur muqams (Imin 1980: 1–12). He argues that they predate the coming of Islam and so do not derive from the Arabic *maqāmāt*. The use of Arabic words as Uyghur terms for musical instruments and musical genres and works is the result of Islamization, he writes, and does not mean that the contents have been Arabicized. He also suggests that the greater length and elaboration of the Uyghur muqams show that the similar Turkish, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, and Tajik 'muqams' are all derived from the Uyghur muqams. He says V. M. Beliaev's studies of the Tajik Shashmaqom shows that they are later, and they lack the division into three sections (known as Čoñ Näğmä, Dastan, and Mäšräp) of the Uyghur Twelve Muqams. In a footnote he enlarges on this relationship, attributing the dissemination of the Turkic muqams from Central Asia to Anatolia to Seljuq rule during the eleventh century (Imin 1980: 197–198n6). He concludes his sweeping historical argument: 'Therefore, the Twelve Muqams are in no way a foreign heritage or 'foreign love songs,' but rather are an achievement of the Uyghur people and an important treasure in the musical wealth of our multi-national homeland, the People's Republic of China' (Imin 1980: 12).[18]

[18] Alibakieva (1988: 22–23) draws on his argument and reinforces it with newly published Chinese sources, arguing that 'in the beginning of the eighth century the prototype of the *čoñ näğmä* was created' in the city of Kucha. But although she claims that this is the prototype, she reports historical events such as the origins of Arabic music theory in the writings of al-Fārābī (870–950) and Ibn Sīnā (980–1037). She does not explain how these events are

Abdushukur's arguments are not universally accepted among Uyghurs, but people did frequently offer me similar narratives of the history of the Uyghur muqams. The muqams were widely seen as unique classical music, an important and enduring part of Uyghur cultural heritage, distinctive and untouched by outside influences, although borrowed widely by others. It was felt to be a comprehensive collection that represented the literary and musical attainments of the Uyghurs, and even as an encyclopedia.[19]

As I discuss in chapter 4, scholars such as Husäyn Kerim and the traditional musician Ömär Akhun did not feel that acknowledging non-Turkic elements in Uyghur musical and literary traditions threatened their cultural significance or autonomy. Some of the scholars I talked to recognized that all languages are mixed and compared the Uyghurs to Europeans who used Latin or English and to Germans and Russians who used French at court, arguing that strong linguistic influences were not a problem. Most Uyghur scholars working outside of China did not seem concerned about describing the tradition as purely Uyghur, although Tamara Alibakieva and the Soviet Uyghur composer Quddus Khojamyarov (Kuddus Kuzham'iarov in Russian transliteration) did both claim that the tradition began in the Tarim region in the first millennium.

But others resented the contamination of their language with foreign words. Persian forms in the ghazal songs disturbed many people, and people usually attributed difficulties in understanding the muqam songs to the foreignness of the words rather than to archaic language. But even though

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connected to earlier and later forms of the 'Uyghur muqams.' Despite a historical narrative connected only by juxtaposition, she makes stronger claims about the historical priority of Uyghur music when she says that Beliaev 'truly describes its genesis' when he characterizes an early-twentieth-century Uyghur music recording as 'transporting us into an atmosphere of austere and hoary antiquity, into an atmosphere of the pre-music of Central Asia.'

[19] Ämätjan Äχmidi (1992: 296) distinguishes five classes of Uyghur muqams, among which the Twelve Muqams are first as 'the encyclopedia of Uyghur *χälq* classical music' (*Uyğur χälq klassik muzika qamus*). The other four classes are the muqams from Qomul, Dolan, Turpan, and Kucha. Himit Mehrulla and Lätipä Qurban (1991: 36) express a more developed version of this idea: 'The Twelve Muqams are an artistic encyclopedia of great capacity that describe all aspects of Uyghur life using the language of song, dance, and music.' Soviet Uyghur authors often cited a memorable metaphor from the Kazakh Sabit Mukanov, who compared the complex composition of the muqams to the Ming-Oy (literally '1,000 rooms,' meaning Caves of the 1,000 Buddhas found in several oases in the Tarim area), each different in size and time of creation, but united into a single architectural whole. 'The Twelve Muqams are an encyclopedia, containing all the song and musical riches of the Uyghur people from a to z' (Mukanov 1967: 232; quoted in Alibakieva 1988: 22). The idea of traditional ethnic cultural encyclopedias was around in the nineteenth century as well. Ch. Ch. Valikhanov assessed the Kyrgyz *Manas* epic as 'an encyclopedical collection of all the Kirghiz mythological tales and traditions' (quoted in Schuyler 1876, 2: 138).

'Alī Shīr Navā'ī's Persianate language was often questioned, he was recognized as a key figure in Uyghur literary history. Several scholars objected to Navā'ī being described in Uzbek literary histories as a founder of literary Uzbek.[20]

Although it remained largely implicit, the conceptual problem – arising from modern ideologies that define peoples and cultures as bounded and homogeneous – is obvious: Persian words are part of Persian culture, and Uyghurs who use Persian culture lose the purity of their Uyghur identity. The same problem lay in accepting Arabo-Persian maqāmāt as the source of the Uyghur muqams. Local scholars and politicians tended to apply a logic that requires the ethnic culture to have autochthonous origins. A song or person using foreign words suggested foreign cultural essence and identity. Arabic and Persian names for people and for musical forms such as the muqams were less problematical, because they could be explained as labels that were applied without changing the Uyghur essence of that which was labeled. Despite a foreign seeming name of a song or person, the person or song itself could still be claimed as autochthonous. But Uyghur cultural purists advocated using native Uyghur words for foreign inventions such as the television. Shir Mämät came up with a Uyghur derivation for *tämbur* and gave up the Persian word *nakhun* for plectrum, preferring the Uyghur neologism *simtir* instead. Some scholars worked out Turkic derivations for the names of muqams and muqam branches.[21]

The Uyghur situation can be illuminated through comparison with Ziya Gökalp's discussion of how to create Turkish national modernity. He argues that much is at stake politically when he insists on clearly distinguishing foreign and native national cultural characteristics, and we find again the identification of the nation, the people, and the folk in his use of the word *halk*. In his 1923 article 'Halka Doğru' ('Toward the folk'; reprinted in Gökalp 1959), Gökalp defended the nascent Turkish nation and justified rejecting Persianate Ottoman culture. The Ottoman elites had tried to keep the Ottoman commonwealth together, but inevitably the component nations would seek independence and their own 'homogeneous, genuine, natural

[20] Edward Allworth (1964: 46–87) discusses the dangers and benefits of nationalization of Navā'ī as a literary culture hero. Because the modern nation is inextricably linked to a shared national history, language, and literary tradition, such early authors establish both the language and the nation. But in socialist ideologies, the founders must be political models as well. During the Stalinist purges, when no allowance was made for historical context, Navā'ī was politically incorrect because he supported feudalism, so he could not be acknowledged as a founder of the Chaghatay language.

[21] Theodore Levin (1984: 150–160) claims that in editing the Uzbek Shashmaqom songs, Yunus Rajabiy reduced the foreign contamination of Uzbek culture by avoiding breaking up Uzbek words according to the rules of Persian *'arūz* meters.

social life.' The Ottomans were like somnambulists: 'While their real language was Turkish, they talked an artificial language in their delirium. In poetry, they put aside their own metre and sang in artificial metres copied from the Persians.' But in waking them to the 'sacred word Turk,' Turkists taught the Ottoman elites 'the name of the nation' and 'the beautiful language of the nation' (Gökalp 1959: 259–262).

Throughout his writings, Gökalp distinguishes folk culture, the harmonious and unified expression of ethnic emotional life, from elite civilization, a mixture of intellectual institutions composed by borrowing ideas that circulate freely across national boundaries. For example, Turkish music 'arose spontaneously from the people,' whereas Ottoman music 'was originally adapted by Fārābī from Byzantium.' Turkish music was culture, 'composed of sentiments which cannot be developed artificially, and cannot be transmitted from nation to nation.' It was melodies without stereotyped rules that were the sincere expression of the emotions of the Turkish people. Ottoman music was civilization, 'the sum total of the concepts and techniques developed according to certain methods and transmitted from nation to nation' (Gökalp 1959: 104–109).[22]

Counter to the Uyghur argument that Turkic music theory was taken to the Arabs by Fārābī or the Seljuqs, Gökalp consistently attributes Byzantine origins to the music that Fārābī adapted to Arabic forms. Thus he can argue that art music was part of the elite civilization that spread among the upper classes of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks but was not taken up by the folk. 'Turkish masses continued to play their older music which they had when they belonged to the civilization of the Far East, and produced a folk music out of it. The Arab and Persian peoples did the same thing' (Gökalp 1959: 272–273). Uyghur nationalist scholars in China find in the present only folk traditions, some classical and some not, and can thus claim Fārābī as a culture hero who took Uyghur music abroad. Ziya Gökalp, on the other hand, finds two traditions of music in Turkey, and wanting to promote native traditions of singing religious music in mosques and *tekke*s, he rejects the foreign, rule-bound musical traditions of the courts. Uyghur scholars distinguish elite and folk strata of literature but not of music, whereas Gökalp

[22] In two 1913 articles, 'Halk medeniyet' (Folk Civilization) and 'An'ane ve Kaide' (Tradition and formalism), Gökalp said that every nation has two civilizations and divided them into authentic, natural, traditional folk civilization and artificial, borrowed, rule-governed formalism (*kaide*). He argued that a folk elite created the Ottoman Empire, and only with the rise of formalist education did the empire begin to decay. Rules are 'always devoid of creativity and growth,' while tradition 'means creativity and progress. . . . Tradition is something growing and creating by itself, and, moreover, giving life to the borrowed innovations grafted on itself in such a way that the foreign elements do not dry out and become rotten, as happens in ordinary [formalist] imitation' (Gökalp 1959: 89–96).

dichotomizes both music and literature into folk and elite. But Gökalp also claims that certain 'practical arts,' such as architecture, calligraphy, dyeing, weaving, and joinery, were performed solely by the common people and thus have remained genuine Turkish arts (1959: 107–108, 263).

Like Uyghur scholars, Gökalp uses history to put original Turk culture back at the origins of Western civilization, thus making it easier to explain his acceptance of Western civilization while rejecting Byzantine and Iranian civilization. He goes back to early history, claiming Turanian peoples founded Mediterranean civilization, and explains that these Turks were driven 'temporarily towards the Far East' by Semites and Aryans. 'Much later, Muslim Arabs, Persians, and Turks again improved this civilization and became the teachers of the uncivilized Europeans. . . . We are connected with Western civilization through several contributions, and thus have a share in it' (1959: 267). Gökalp's use of the word *share* reveals the profoundly possessive sense of history that arises in modern discourses: heritage becomes a possession that gives rights and authority to those who can be identified as participants in past cultural and historical production. As several writers have pointed out, a share of the past is a valuable symbolic possession in the present (Appadurai 1981; Shnirelman 1996).

A similar situation arises with the development of European Enlightenment cultural production and intellectual history, which was self-consciously connected to ancient Greece. This motivated Greeks to retrieve a Hellenic past for their national origins, entitling them to cultural priority over Europe and compensating for the Greeks' sense of contamination by Ottoman rule and marginality to European modernity (Herzfeld 1982).

Unlike Gökalp and many Uyghur scholars, Soviet scholars such as Iu. N. Plakhov (1988) and A. S. Shklovskaia (1991) who describe all maqāmāt as art music are not concerned with the connection of folk arts to national origins and destiny. Their concept of cultural traditions is determined by the distinctions and economic relations among social classes more than by the cultural identities and political relations among ethnic groups. The reality was that arts were shared across language and other identities in Central Asia. Not only was traditional Turkic poetry shared by several ethnic groups, but the Shashmaqom musical tradition was performed by Tajiks, Uzbeks and Jews (Levin 1996). Such cultural realities meant Soviet scholars could only preserve the concept of ethnically distinct cultures through economic and class explanations for how culture was shared.

The complex ideas and ideological discourses about the social and cultural situation of the muqams were only one aspect of the ways they are used in social and political contexts. The scholarly and musical contests over the muqams in which, as Quddus Khojamyarov said to me, 'the poor mu-

qams are pulled this way and that, played this way and that,' were the background for the political uses of the muqams, speeches about them, and media representations of them, their history, and their significance. To suggest some of the recurrent themes in political representations of the muqams, I abridge a speech delivered by Tömür Dawamat, chairman of the Xinjiang government from 1985 to 1993, at the opening of the Second Scientific Convention on the Uyghur Twelve Muqams, held in Yarkand in August 1992:

> The Twelve Muqams are the jewel of Eastern music. They are the treasure of the industrious Uyghur people's intellect and express all aspects of Uyghur life in a capacious artistic encyclopedia. The Twelve Muqams are a priceless part of China's cultural heritage.
>
> Professor Anderson [Bakewell] said that Xinjiang is the cradle of the musical wealth of Asia, and no maqāmāt exist elsewhere that are as large as those of the Uyghurs. The Twelve Muqams are a brilliant representative of Uyghur culture and are imbued with the ancient Uyghur spiritual world, social life, and psychology. They have inspired people to a passion for social justice, moral relationships, and admirable customs and life. . . .
>
> We must remember that before Liberation [Chinese Communist revolution] only a few muqam performers remained. After Liberation the Party and the People's Government stimulated and developed this great musical wealth. Our artists and scholars have spent forty-one years in difficult but successful research, collection, editing, performing, recording, staging, and publishing (Amat and Dawamat 1992: 5–7).

Dawamat went on to describe the additional collecting, research, analysis, and publishing needed to be done.

At the same conference, Dawamat's predecessor Ismail Amat lauded the achievement in muqam research and stressed that there should be more international exchange and cooperation. He concluded with his hope that 'because the muqams appeared in this country, research here should stay in the front ranks, and results remain at the highest levels in the world' (Amat and Dawamat 1992: 1–3).

Trebinjac (2000) shows how the goals of collecting and revising the muqams are closely tied to Chinese work in other areas of reshaping and invigorating local folk traditions. But revising the Uyghur tradition involves approaches that derive from Soviet methods, and involves conditions peculiar to Central Asian literary traditions. Säypidin (1992) explains the work that still has to be done, including the composition of new poetry in the modern Uyghur language to make some of the muqams more comprehensi-

ble and popular. He wrote some poetry with Abdushukur Muhämmät Imin and a few other poets for Čargah and Rak muqams. He is also concerned that the muqams be presented in international form, using 'international notation' (staff notation) and modern research methods (1992: 7–30).

Indeed, editing the muqams to 'modernize' them became an all-encompassing project that took the work of many people on different aspects of tradition over the course of fifty years, with hiatuses during the political upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s. The shaping of the final muqam product in the 1990s depended on other people's editing and publishing the manuscript sources for the Uyghur literary tradition, most of which was done since 1980. Without readily available editions of poems, the muqams could not have been revised to include a broader, more recent, more representative, and more comprehensible range of Uyghur poetry. Hence the re-creation of the muqams depended on the re-creation of the Uyghur literary tradition as well as the collection, transcription, and reorganization of songs texts and tunes from many different performers.

The Uyghur Twelve Muqams exist in a political modernity dominated by ideas about collective cultural property and national presentation. They are part of a strategic political creation of a canonical performance form that can be used as a symbol for shared Uyghur identity, as well as to demonstrate the group's distinctive history within China and even to claim a role in the history of world civilization. Both Soviet and Chinese influences on these projects are strong, and doubtless it is worth investigating how specific approaches derived from participants' experiences in Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, or Beijing. But I believe it is more important to recognize that this project and the associated project of editing Uyghur literary sources reflect many different concepts and techniques relating to traditions and how to manage them in the modern world. As we see in comparing with the ideas of Ziya Gökalp, concepts about tradition, identity and history are similar, although the particular logic of argument depends on concerns raised in particular cultural and historical contexts. He used moral judgments about folk tradition, dynamism and authenticity to reject static elite cultures.

Uyghur ideas about traditions are being re-created and reshaped locally through contact with similar ideas from many parts of the world. We will best understand the local versions of modern practices by examining exactly how this tradition is interpreted, revised and managed. Modernity offers internationally disseminated ideas about how to create a nation and define its territory, culture, and history. These give rise to multiple conflicting demands, such as requiring proof of national uniqueness as well as integration into international cultural and historical connections. And the logics available for proving that one's culture is unique and valuable must be

taken from international discourses about tradition and history, or they will not be recognized as persuasive.

In the rest of this book I consider the literary and historical background of the muqams, editing processes and debates over the contents, techniques of muqam performance, and the ways in which the muqam texts have been transformed into the Uyghur Twelve Muqams.

2.3 The Structure of the Muqams

I have already briefly described the performance context of the muqams when they were part of social celebrations such as weddings. But the Twelve Muqams in their full institutionalized glory were presented in choreographed staged events with many performers and were available on recordings of an hour and a half to two hours in length. These recordings could often be heard on the radio on Sunday afternoons. The larger cities in south Xinjiang had ensembles that specialized in these muqams, with certain performers who were particularly famous. Since my field research, publications of songs, texts, and musical transcriptions appeared with government funding in 1994 and 1997, and a large-scale project of narrative videos, one for each of the Twelve Muqams, directed by Tömür Dawamat, was completed in 2002.[23]

These officially sanctioned Twelve Muqams were based on the Kashgar tradition recorded in the 1950s from Turdi Akhun. The only other muqams that had been officially institutionalized in Xinjiang by the time of my research were those of the somewhat simpler Ili muqam tradition. These were closely related to the Kashgar tradition because musicians had gone back and forth between the Kashgar and Ili regions in the late 1800s. However, the dominant tradition in Ili as recorded from Rozi Tämbur in 1951–1954 did not include many of the longer songs of the first section (the Čoñ Näğmä).[24] Therefore, the Ili muqams are treated by the editors as a local version while the Kashgar-Yarkand version has been given central status as *the* Uyghur Twelve Muqam tradition, which preserves the fullest and most cultivated form. Local traditions from Ili, Kucha, Aqsu, Turfan, Qumul, and elsewhere are felt to be simplified folk versions of the classical Twelve Muqams.[25] They tend to be shorter, have fewer than twelve muqams, and use mostly folk verses. But the editors and scholars developed the expedient

[23] Most of these twelve individually boxed VCDs (video CDs) consist of roughly one hour of well-produced narrative music video, with the complete text of each song given in subtitles (Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002). I thank Rahile Dawut for obtaining these for me.

[24] Overviews of the life of Rozi Tämbur and his involvement in the Ili performing arts scene can be found in Qahhariy 1990 and Äχmidi 1992: 145–155.

[25] Rachel Harris (forthcoming and 2007: 69–88) discusses efforts to canonize and 'muqamize' (borrowing Jean During's concept of 'maqamization') local musical traditions.

doctrine that these local versions preserved elements lost or forgotten in Turdi Akhun's tradition. One important part of the editorial practice was therefore the collection and transcription of other traditional songs and music to fill in gaps, repetitions, and otherwise 'flawed' parts of the Kashgar tradition.

The basic musical structure of the Kashgar and Ili variants of the Twelve Muqams is the complex result of collection and creativity and is difficult to present in a compact form. More detailed musical characterizations of the different parts have been provided by Wan Tongshu (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu Wenhuating 1960), Sabine Trebinjac (2000) and Rachel Harris (forthcoming), and I provide here only basic information to serve as a framework for my later analysis of song texts and performance practices.[26] The difficult characteristic aspects of muqam music, such as mode and rhythm, are still aurally taught, and the various transcriptions represent them with considerable ambiguity.

Each of the Twelve Muqams is a suite of songs and instrumental pieces. According to the traditional performer Ömär Akhun, the Twelve Muqams should be played in five different tunings, but some performers reduced these to three. Within these tunings the scale structure is flexible, because the strings on the instruments used to play the melody in the muqams – *satar, tämbur, dutar, qalun* – can be readily adjusted by finger pressure on the strings passing over frets. Measurements of the intervals in Turdi Akhun's muqam scales show that each one is distinctive. It is difficult to draw any comparative conclusions about scale structure from the transcriptions because they are not based on accurate measurements or on performers' own discussions of their tuning practice. In working out his systematic analysis, Zhou Ji has tried to characterize the Mušavräk, Nava, Uššaq, and Čargah muqam modes in terms of sequences of half tones, three-quarter tones, whole tones, and five-quarter tone intervals, but in doing so has reduced the complexity found in the measured scales and not reflected performers' ideas.[27]

Only in the Čäbbiyat and Nava muqams do most of the songs remain within a stable characteristic mode. In the other muqams most songs modulate from one mode to another, although usually starting from and returning

[26] The most complete musical notations are in *Uyğur χälq klassik muzikisi On Ikki Muqam* (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu Wenhuating 1960) and Alibakieva 1988. Mätruzi Tursun and Zhou Ji produced unpublished transcriptions of the muqams presently performed by the Muqam Änsambli in Ürümchi, and revised notations have been published (ŠUAR On ikki muqam tätqiqat ilmiy jäm'iyiti 1993-94). See also the transcriptions of Rak, Čäbbiyat, and Mušavräk in Razieva 1991.

[27] Yinyue yanjiu zu 1986: 47–51; Zhou Ji 1988: 19–26, 1991: 227–236. During and Trebinjac (1991: 32–34) reduce the muqam scales even further to half and whole tones.

to the same basic mode in each song within the muqam. Zhou Ji (1988, 1991) and Jean During and Sabine Trebinjac (1991) point out that although most of the songs in the muqams are heptatonic, some are more pentatonic or hexatonic. I discuss local concepts of the scales and modes more fully in chapter 5.

The melodies of muqam songs were probably originally improvised according to a characteristic mode associated with each muqam.[28] Many *maqām* traditions in the Muslim world, such as the *makam* tradition of Turkey and the *dastgāh* tradition of Iran, are still improvisatory, but in Central Asia, the modern Tajik-Uzbek Shashmaqom tradition and the present-day Uyghur Twelve Muqams are based on fixed tunes with little or no improvisation (see Levin 1984, 1996). This is part of the institutionalization of the tradition. Improvisation, as a technique for creating new song and music, would leave the tradition open and productive rather than a fixed corpus. Eliminating improvisation facilitates unison performance by ensembles and enables institutional teaching of the songs and music without teaching students how to create new pieces. When I talked to the eighty-year-old traditional performer Ömär Akhun, he claimed he could readily create new songs and said he had offered to fill in the gaps of the institutionalized tradition, but he was employed to teach the standardized muqams rather than being encouraged to create new ones.

Ömär Akhun and Turdi Akhun both performed improvisationally, extending or shortening the tune of a song to fit the poetic pieces they chose to sing. In addition, they developed songs through use of melodic and rhythmic motifs that can be heard in many different parts of the muqams. Such repetitions are frustrating to those who are editing the muqams, because they seek unique tunes with fixed song texts. But the repetitions and the use of melismas and vocables make up a set of tools with which the music can be made to fit any poem. The muqams as performed by Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun are music that makes it possible to sing poetry.

Each muqam melody consists of many repeated motifs following a basic progression from low register to climactic moments in a high register somewhere after the midpoint of the song, with a return to low pitches at the end. The point or points at which a muqam song reaches its highest notes are

[28] The system of twelve *maqāmāt* derives from ten modes, or *parda,* with Arabic and Persian names that were first mentioned in the late eleventh century CE by Kai Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar in his *Qābūsnāma*. In the thirteenth century Safī al-Dīn wrote the first systematic treatise on the twelve *maqāmāt* and included eight with the same names as in the *Qābūsnāma* (Wright 1978; Jung 1989). Other traditions derived from or influenced by the *maqām* concept are analyzed in Touma 1971; Elsner 1975; Signell 1977; Levin 1984 and During 1988. Harold S. Powers (1980: 422–36) discussed the development of the concept of mode and its application to *maqām* and *rāga* music. See also Chabrier (1990).

called *avj*, 'peak, summit.' There can be up to three of these in a single song, but Qawul Akhun told me that this was more common in Turdi Akhun's longer songs. The recent edited versions are shorter, because, according to Qawul and others, modern audiences are less willing to sit through long performances. An *avj* can reinforce the sense of the song when it is sung with words that express the poet's despair or passion. The progression up to and down from the *avj* is usually gradual, but when reaching the *avj* the singer sometimes makes leaps in pitch of a fifth or even a entire octave.[29] Like the song itself, each line tends to rise in pitch from the beginning and to descend toward the end. In the slower and less dramatic sections of songs, in many measures the melody moves in only a narrow ambit, but these measures alternate with measures that are predominantly climbing or descending.

The now standard Uyghur Twelve Muqams are known by the names Rak, Čäbbiyat, Mušavräk, Čargah, Pänjigah, Özhal, Äjäm, Uššaq, Bayat, Nava, Sigah, and Iraq. The sequence varies somewhat, with a more recent shift towards giving Sigah the third place, in accordance with its name (from the Persian word for the number three), so that it comes before Čargah, 'four,' and Pänjigah, 'five.' In the past, the names and sequence of the muqams, like the names for their parts, varied from performer to performer.[30] Historical and literary sources from East Turkistan mention several other muqams as part of the tradition, and Ömär Akhun often said that there should be thirteen or fourteen, rejecting the idea of a canonical list of Twelve Uyghur Muqams.[31]

The names of the Uyghur muqams are closely related to names from other maqām traditions. For instance, the Bukharan Shashmaqom tradition consists of the *maqom*s Buzruk, Rāst, Navā, Dugāh, Segāh, and Irāq but also includes parts known as Čārgāh, 'Uzzāl, 'Uššāq, and Bayāt, among others (Jung 1989: 172–74). But according to During and Trebinjac's analyses

[29] The progression from low register to *avj* and back to low register is characteristic of most *maqām*-derived traditions, including the *dastgāh* of Iran.

[30] Some of the other names that have been used in the past 200 years in the Kashgar and Ili muqam traditions are Husäyni, Saba, Dugah, Ruχsarä, and Naläš (see Ärshidinov 1970, 1987). The Dolan Muqams are called Zil Bayavan, Ärzal Bayavan, Dolan Rak, Dolan Mušaviräk, Sim Bayavan, Bom Bayavan, Dolan Jula, Xudäk, Bayavan, and Dugamät Bayavan (Imin 1989; Äziz 1992). The Qumul muqams are Dur, Uluğ Dur, Mustähzat, Čarigah, Xupti, Čäbiyat, Mušaviräk, Uzhal, Du'a, Dolan Mušaviräk, Iraq, and Rak (Isma'il 1991: 1–343).

[31] Ärshidinov (n.d.) finds the first modern mention of the muqams in a 1924 article from an Almuta (Almaty) almanac, *Birinči Čamdan,* in which the author, Yüsüpjan Ğapparov, described thirty-two muqams that were popular at the courts in the Ili region. They were described as *bäglär näğmäsi* ('songs for begs [officials]'), and the author went into some detail describing how they were gradually being forgotten.

(1991), parts with similar names in these two traditions differ in scale and structure.

Except for Čäbbiyat and perhaps Rak, all Uyghur Twelve Muqam names appear in some other maqām musical traditions. ‘Uššāq, Nawā, and ‘Irāq are mentioned in the eleventh-century *Qābūsnāma* of Kai Kā’ūs ibn Iskandar. Ärshidinov (n.d.) and others argue that *Rak* is derived from the Hindu musical term *rāga*.[32] This seems supported by Ömär Akhun’s pronunciation of this name as ‘Räğ’, but it may be connected with the musical work *shu‘bā rakb* listed by ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (1350–1435) (Jung 1989: 75–77).[33] (*Shu‘bā* (literally ‘branch’) is the term widely used by maqām performers, including Ömär Akhun, to refer to a single composition or section of a muqam.) Čäbbiyat is from *čap*, ‘left, dischordant’ (Steingass 1988: 387), and Bayat.[34]

During and Trebinjac (1991: 29) claim that the name Mušavräk is derived from the Arabic *šavrak*.[35] In an error-prone article, the usually thorough scholar N. A. Baskakov (1990: 23) derives it from *mušāvir* and *aq*, claiming it would mean ‘sign, signal.’[36] But the East Turkistani poet Molla Sabir binni Abdulqadir (1840–1920) gives us a clue when he calls this muqam Niš Aväräk (1988: 88, 123). The *shu‘bā* Nišabūrak (‘from Nishapur’) is fairly common since first noted by ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (Jung 1989: 75). The changes [b] > [v] and [n] > [m] are common in Uyghur.

Sigah, Čargah, and Pänjigah mean third, fourth, and fifth position in Persian and were first noted by Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (1236–1311) (Jung 1989: 67). Ärshidinov interprets Özhal as a Turkic term meaning ‘to descend,’ but it must derive from *‘uzzāl*, a common maqām also first noted by Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (Jung 1989: 70). It also appears in the Azerbaijani mugam tradition as Huzzal (Naroditskaya 2003: 48, 69). Äjäm means ‘non-Arab, Persian’ and, like the muqam named after the Iraq region, accords with the common use of names of places or peoples for maqām names. Äjäm is not mentioned in the literature until the end of the fifteenth century and remains uncommon in later discussions of maqāmāt, but it does appear in the

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[32] Ärshidinov’s article was part of a collection of newspaper clippings loaned to me by Tursunmuhämmät Sawut, for which I am very thankful. Inna Naroditskaya (2003: 47) mentions Rag, Rag-Hindi, and Rag-Horasan in the *mugam*.

[33] Powers (1980: 429) points out that *rāga* is pronounced *rāg* in North India. Mark Slobin (1976: 81, 230) mentions *Rağı* songs and a style of playing termed *reig*.

[34] John Baily (1976: 38) describes *chap* as a weak stroke in playing the *dutār,* opposite to the strong *rāst* stroke.

[35] *Shawrāk* appears in Kaufmann 1990: 640 as a Persian mode that uses the Hijaz scale and is sung slowly.

[36] Baskakov’s hit-or-miss identifications result from not referring to historical sources on music that show which words were actually in use.

Turkish tradition (Signell 1977: 24; Jung 1989: 88, 112). Uššaq comes from the Arabic *'ushshāq*, 'lovers.' The maqām name *bayāt* and *bayātī* is common since being first noted as a *shu'bā* by 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (Jung 1989: 75); it should probably be interpreted as 'grief, anxiety, care' (Steingass 1988: 213). Nava is a common maqām name and comes from *navā*, 'song, tune, music.'

Early descriptions of the maqāmāt classified them according to which ones were appropriate for older and younger audiences, for happy and sad moods, and for particular times of the day.[37] The *Qābūsnāma* goes into detail about when to play heavy and light modes. For old men and those of serious character, one should play heavy modes, whereas for the young, play in light modes. Then the delicate tarāna are for 'women, children and men of more effeminate taste.' In addition to character, there is music appropriate to people of each of the four humors: 'When you are seated with a company, look about you. If the audience is composed of men of ruddy and sanguine complexion, let your music be largely on the bass strings; if the audience is pale and bilious, let the music be chiefly on the short strings; if your hearers are pale-faced, obese and large, play mostly on the bass; if they are dark-complexioned, lean and melancholic, play on the lute for them.' For elderly men, 'let most of your songs then be about old age and scorn of the world.' For young men and boys, 'sing melodies picturing women or in praise of wine and wine-bibbers. If you see that the audience is military or given to living by freebooting, sing them quatrains of Turkestan (Transoxiana), songs about battle and bloodshed and in praise of an adventurous life' (Kai Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar 1951: 186–190).[38]

Because of theories about performing maqāmāt at certain times, and because the twelve muqams consist of roughly thirty songs apiece, with each muqam taking roughly two hours to play, some Uyghur performers and

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[37] For an overview of the sources for theoretical ideas about the maqāmāt in Central Asia, including relationships to astrology and Greek influences on Arabic music theory, see Vyzgo and Rashidova 1969. They cite the sixteenth-century theorist Najmuddin Kaukabī, who elaborated Ibn Sīnā's theories: 'In early morning, at dawn, perform Rāhawī, and all that suits it. At sunrise, perform Uššāq, and then Rāst after that but before noon; at noon perform Irāq. As soon as the sun begins to decline, listen to Buzurg, and halfway to sunset, Būsalīk. At evening perform Zangūla, and at the hour of the evening prayer perform Zīrāfkand, and Isfahan at the final hour. At midday [mistake for midnight?] perform Hijāz' (Vyzgo and Rashidova 1961: 181). Trebinjac (2000: 230–241) explains a variety of such concepts about the muqams. Alibakieva (1987: 4) suggests that youthful audiences prefer the lively and natural Čäbbiyat, Mušavräk, Pänjigah, and Uššaq, while older people like the peaceful, dignified (*ševkätlik*), and sad (*ğämkin*) Rak and Nava muqams. See also Bürgel 1988: 91–97; Veksler 1961.

[38] Kai Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar also warns against drinking when performing and gives advice on how to deal with drunken audience members.

scholars believe that muqam structure should be synchronized with the division of the year into months, the month into days, and the day into hours. But from my interviews it is clear that these idealized abstractions do not guide practice; classification and performance of particular songs is guided by more nuanced and less systematic ideas. The slower and longer songs of any muqam are felt to be more suitable for mature listeners, whereas younger people like the more rapid dance tunes that come later in a muqam suite.

Although the scales and modes are generally distinctive for each muqam, and melodies are distinctive for each song (though often closely related, with reuse of motifs and even tunes in different muqams), rhythmic patterns are highly consistent from muqam to muqam. Each muqam suite of songs occurs in a specific order, and each named song is characterized by a rhythmic pattern that – with a few exceptions – is similar for each song of the same name in the other muqams. In each of the three sections of the muqam, the songs generally move in a sequence from slower to faster rhythms (the *kičik säliqä* and the *täkit* songs are exceptions to this rule), and each song itself also increases in tempo by 10 to 15 percent during performance. In Turdi Akhun's performances, he slowed the Mäšräp section down toward the end, but this is not done now. The organization of muqams into songs according to rhythm and tempo provides the basic structure of muqams and needs to be described in some detail, after I present the basic sequence and structure of the songs.

The following list gives the basic parts of the Kashgar muqams according to publications based on the 1950s recordings of Turdi Akhun. I describe Ömär Akhun's understanding in detail in chapter 5 and discuss the organization of the sung poetry further in chapters 6-7. Except for *baš* and *čüšürgä*, the following names are all from Arabic or Persian, and *sänäm* is the only word that retains its original meaning for Uyghurs. After each section and song I give a brief description of its characteristics and relationships to other pieces in the muqam system. Ömär Akhun calls each song and its *märğul* (instrumental piece related to the preceding song) a *šaχ,* 'branch,' or *šöbä* (from the term *shu'bā* 'branch'), and conceives the song as the combination of an *ahañ* ('tune') and *bäyt* ('poem, song text'). Ärshidinov argues that each muqam should consist of twelve *šöbä* with two *šaχ* each (a song and its instrumental *märğul*), although he says that in the past there were twenty-four *šöbä*. He speculates that the twelve *šöbä* should be as follows: *muqäddimä, täzä, nusχa, kičik säliqä, jula, sänäm, čoñ säliqä, päšru, täkt, mustäzad, yarim saqi*, and *abu čäšmä*.[39] This series is pieced

[39] The *abu čäšmä* or *awu čäšmä*, which should be read as *ab-i čäšmä* ('spring water'). Turdi Akhun performed this selection of muqam songs separately from the twelve muqam suites. See chapter 5.

together from different songs that do not actually appear in the same muqam (Ärshidinov n.d.). In the present form each *šöbä* now takes about ten minutes, so a muqam should take about two hours. If such a system ever existed, it was probably never performed in such a regular form, because – as even Ärshidinov admits – performers were constantly learning, adding, and forgetting songs.

2.3.1 First Section: Čoñ Näğmä

The first section of the each of the Twelve Muqams is called the Čoñ Näğmä ('great songs'). It includes the basic songs of the muqam tradition, whereas the second (Dastan) and third (Mäšräp) sections were added to the muqams from other traditional performance forms. Turdi Akhun learned dastan and mäšräp songs[40] from other performers and added them to his muqam repertoire. Few song texts are shared between these three sections, which supports the idea that they originated in socially distinct traditions and were not usually performed by the same people. Ömär Akhun performs the Čoñ Näğmä exclusively.

The Čoñ Näğmä begins with a slow, free-rhythm song and moves through progressively more rapid songs, which the performers play without pausing between pieces. The slower songs have up to twelve measures per line of verse, with syllables melismatically drawn out, whereas the dance songs with *qošaq* folk verse have as few as four measures per line. Each song can have verses drawn from more than one poem in order to fit the length of the music. Often single couplets are drawn from several ghazals. Certain poems and couplets are particularly popular for these songs and occur in more than one song in the same Čoñ Näğmä and often even in those of several muqams. These texts almost never appear in the Dastan and Mäšräp sections. The *čoñ säliqä* seems not to share verses with other songs in this section. The *päšru* and *täkit* only occasionally share a verse with other songs.

The following list briefly characterizes the songs of the Čoñ Näğmä section, in their usual sequence. I note which ones only appear in some of the muqams, and which songs are followed märğul instrumental pieces, as well as suggesting the meanings of the names:

Baš, 'head.' Also known as *bašliniš*, 'beginning,' more formally as *muqäddimä*, 'introduction,' and occasionally as *saraχbar*.[41] Ömär Akhun

[40] The terms in lowercase refer to the type of songs, while initial capitals refer to the formal names of the second and third sections of the muqam.

[41] I did not hear people use the term *saraχbar,* but it was used in 1987–88 when the Xinjiang Art Research Institute (Yishu Yanjiu Suo) was organizing events and making explicit connec-

called this section simply 'muqam.' In this initial slow, free-rhythm song, a solo muqam singer accompanies himself or herself on a lute such as a *satar*, *dutar*, or *tämbur*. Because there is only one accompanying instrument, the muqam *beši* (*baš*) has the most clearly audible text and so has the greatest verbal impact, particularly in the current performance practices, in which the other songs are sung in chorus to the accompaniment of an instrument ensemble. The *baš* ranges from eight to thirty-four lines of poetry in the texts from Turdi Akhun's performances. Qawul Akhun explained that the shorter texts generally belonged to a set of alternative introductions known as *šahzadä* ('prince') that were livelier and more interesting for younger audiences.

Täzä. This name may derive from *tarjī*', 'repetition,' which is the piece immediately following the maqām in the Khwarazmian Shashmaqom. During and Trebinjac (1991: 13) suggest it is from *täz-*, 'to arrange in order,' which should be *tüz-*, whereas Ärshidinov (n.d.) gives 'pure, new' from Arabic. The *täzä* is the beginning of the measured rhythm songs. Here the traditional performer would be joined by an apprentice playing a stable rhythm in 3/4 or 6/4 time on a small frame drum known as *kičik dap*. In the present standardized Uyghur ensemble form, the *täzä* is the first song sung by a chorus, which then sings in unison for the rest of the muqam suite. The song ranges from fourteen to fifty-eight lines of ghazal poetry by Navā'ī and others.

Märğul, 'curled locks, decoration, sweet melodious voice' (Steingass 1988: 1217). Walter Kaufmann (1990: 474) gives *marghūla* as 'repetition of the same note to avoid any pause in the melody.' This is an instrumental piece based on the preceding song. Always in the same rhythm, it usually ends with a repetition of the final lines of the preceding poem. These lines are known as the *čüšürgä* or *čürigä*, 'tail.'

Mustähzat. Baskakov (1990: 22) derived this from the Arabic word for 'a poem in which there is rhythmic augmentation.' Steingass (1988: 1230) has 'kind of poem.' It is in 5/4 time. It appears in the Čäbbiyat muqam only, apparently taking the place of the *nusχa*, which does not appear in Turdi Akhun's Čäbbiyat. This is followed by a *märğul*.

Nusχa, 'archetype, model' (Steingass 1988: 1400). Turdi Akhun apparently sang these only in the Rak, Mušavräk, Pänjigah, Özhal, Uššaq, and

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tions to other maqāmāt traditions. *Saraχbar* is also used in the Tajik-Uzbek Shashmaqom tradition as the name for the introductory song. See the history and description in the program *Mukam Music and Dance Ensemble of Xinjiang (China)*, Twelfth Festival of Asian Arts, presented by the Urban Council, Oct. 14–Nov. 2, 1988, Hong Kong. It is also the term used on the album *Don't Torment Me Dear* by the Mukam [*sic*] Art Troupe of Xinjiang (1998), with the unfortunate Chinese-inflected title 'Sarahbar from Lake [Rak] Mukam.'

Nava muqams, but since then they have been included in other muqams as well. Three basic rhythmic patterns are performed in the *nusχa*. The *tätür* ('reversed, stubborn') *nusχa* is 2.5/4 + 4/4, which can also be thought of as 6.5/4 or 5/8 + 8/8. This *nusχa* appears in the Mušavräk and Nava muqams, although Mätruzi Tursun (1992: 406) also gives an example from the Rak muqam. The *oñ* ('correct') *nusχa* is 4/4 and appears in the Uššaq and Özhal muqam. The *täzä* (sometimes known as *tokur*, 'lame, crippled') *nusχa* form is 5/4 or 3/4 + 2/4. It appears in Rak, Pänjigah, and now in Bayat and Čargah.

Mätruzi Tursun (1992: 403, 416) has apparently renamed the Čäbbiyat muqam *mustähzat* as *nusχa* to give a fourth kind. Although the Pänjigah muqam as annotated by Wan Tongshu did not include it, the present Pänjigah has two *nusχa*, and in Qawul Akhun's enumeration of *nusχa* rhythms there are five kinds, including the second *nusχa* of Pänjigah, which is unique. Qawul listed the four other kinds as appearing in the Pänjigah, Nava, Uššaq, and Rak *nusχa*. *Nusχa* songs range from fourteen to thirty-two lines of poetry and are followed by a *märğul*.

Kičik säliqä, 'little decoration' (Steingass 1988: 695). Sometimes simply called *säliqä*, as in the Äjäm muqam. In 4/4 or 2/4 time, the *kičik säliqä* ranges from twenty to thirty-two lines. It often contains changes of rhythm, known as *özgiriš*. In some muqams the *kičik säliqä* follows the *jula* and *sänäm*, or there is a second one that follows the *čoñ säliqä*. It is followed by a *märğul*.

Yarim saqi. This name means 'beloved cupbearer' but it may derive from the *nim saqil*, or 'half' *saqil* of the Shashmaqom (Beliaev 1975: 214, 331) because yarim also means 'half' in Türki. In 7/8 time. Found only in the Uššaq muqam where it consists of twenty-two lines, followed by a *märğul*.

Jula, 'bright, lively' in Arabic. This song is always followed by ***sänäm*** ('idol, beloved, beautiful' from Arabic, Steingass 1988: 794). These are played in 4/4 and 2/4 time, respectively. They are shorter dance pieces with strong rhythm and not followed by *märğul*. They range from four to fourteen lines, often including folk verse and easier ghazals. Qawul Akhun explained the *jula*, *sänäm*, and *čoñ säliqä* as dance pieces put in to rouse people who were sunk in *muñ* ('pensive sorrow'). This suggests an explanation of why Turdi Akhun used the same tune and texts for *jula* and *sänäm* in several of the muqams: they were not unique, integral parts of a muqam suite but pieces included for social reasons to vary the muqam music. The distinctive rhythm is characteristic of that used in music for weddings and other *toy* ('celebrations'), usually played on the *nağra* and *surnay*. *Sänäm* is a very popular traditional Uyghur dance. Himit Mehrulla and Lätipä Qurban (1991:

37) claim that the public Sama (*samā*') *ussul* performed on religious holidays is now danced to the *jula* muqam song.[42]

Čoñ säliqä, 'big ornament.' In 5/8 time, which Zhou Ji felt was best shown as 3/8 + 2/8. This piece has no *märğul*. Turdi Akhun did not perform this in the Čargah, Äjäm, Sigah, and Iraq muqams. It ranges from eight to sixteen lines of folk verse or easier ghazals and rarely uses the same text as any other verses. It uses the same rhythm as the music for the Sama *ussul*, which is performed as part of Sufi worship.

Päšru, 'preamble, overture' from Persian (Steingass 1988: 252). In 4/4 time, sometimes 5/4. Zhou Ji felt that Uššaq Päšru should be annotated as 2.5/4. It appears only in Turdi Akhun's Rak, Mušavräk, Pänjigah, Özhal, Uššaq, and Bayat, and ranges from eight to twenty-two lines of poetry, often including folk verse and easier ghazals. It is always followed by a *märğul*.

Täkit, 'reinforcement, emphasis,' from Arabic *tā*'*kīd* (Steingass 1988: 276). This meter is 6/8 time, which Zhou Ji says can be divided into three thirds or two halves, and he relates this to Uzbek and Azerbaijani music. This is the short concluding piece for the muqäddimä section. Ranging from two to six lines long, it rarely has the same text as in other songs. Turdi Akhun did not perform this in the Iraq muqam, and in four of the muqams he used the same couplet by Navā'ī for the *täkit*:

Noh omrigä baqa yoqtur, Sulayman mülkigä,
Äy Navayi badä ič, aläm ğemi bihudädur.
Noah's life was not eternal, nor was Solomon's kingdom,
Oh Navā'ī, drink wine, and become unconscious to the suffering of the world.

2.3.2 Second Section: Dastan

The second section, called Dastan because it consists primarily of the romantic and religious narrative dastan poems that are widespread in Central Asia, includes up to four progressively more rapid songs named simply first, second, third, and fourth. There is a generally fixed rhythmic progression: (1) 2/4; (2) 7/8, sometimes more clearly 3/8 + 4/8; (3) 6/8 or 9/8, sometimes clearly 3/8 + 3/4 or 3/8 + 6/8; and (4) 6/8. Many of Turdi Akhun's versions have been replaced by those from the Ili muqams of Rozi Tämbur and Yüsüp Ämät. The dastan songs are poetic dialogues taken from written dastan tradition, but also include a few ghazal poems. These verses were not used in the Čoñ Näğmä or the Mäšräp sections until some of the editors of the re-

[42] Inayitilla (1987: 41–223) describes *sänäm* dances from Kashgar, Kucha, Dolan/Märkit, Qarghiliq, Korla, and Qumul, with extensive song texts but no musical transcription. A brief collection of texts and music for Sänäm dances can be found in Säypulla and Ömär 1984.

vised muqams borrowed texts and even tunes from one section to put into another.

Lines in the dastan songs take as little as three and as many as ten measures to sing. For most of the dastan songs the vocal, instrumental, and *dap* rhythm parts start simultaneously in each line, and there are no *özgiriš* rhythm changes in the middle of a song. But it is common for the first line of a couplet to take a different number of measures from the second. The songs range from twelve to thirty-two lines in length. Each one has a fairly brief *märğul* following it.

2.3.3 Third Section: Mäšräp

The third section of a muqam is called the Mäšräp ('drinking, social gathering'). The word is also the pen name of the Sufi poet Mashrab (Grenard 1898: 141; Bellér-Hann 2005: 215–216, 476–477) and has become the term used for certain types of dervish songs.[43] It consists of as many as six shorter and progressively more rapid songs in fixed rhythmic progression. The first and sometimes the second songs are 7/8 or 3/8 + 4/8. These also use the rhythm of the Sufi *samā*' dance, but not the same one as that of the *čoñ säliqä*. The second and subsequent songs are in 2/4 time. Zhou Ji found, however, that Turdi Akhun followed this rhythmic sequence inconsistently. There are rhythmic changes in the middle of some mäšräp songs that come at the end of the melodic and vocal line, and in general the vocal lines coincide with the rhythmic pattern. The mäšräp songs have no *märğul*.

Turdi Akhun performed folk verses and ghazals by Mashrab, Navā'ī, and even the twelfth-century Sufi poet Ahmad Yasavī in the mäšräp songs. These verses are rarely used in the other two sections. The songs range from eight to twenty-six lines long and, like the dastans, are referred to by ordinal numbers.

2.4 Muqam Rhythm and Song Meters

Whereas the names of the Uyghur Twelve Muqams and their component songs exist in other maqāmāt, the names for the *usul* (Arabic 'rhythms') that have been so important to maqām theorists since Fārābī have not been borrowed into Uyghur, nor is the word *usul* used. In Uyghur, the word *ussul* refers to dance, perhaps because the social value placed on dance has shifted attention away from the music that it is based upon. In Uyghur, the terms

[43] More recent forms of mäšräp are analyzed in Roberts 1998 and Dautcher 2004. Trebinjac (2000: 262–267) describes the convergence of Dolan muqam, dance, and social control in Dolan mäšräp events.

udar (from Russian 'strike, beat') and *takt* (through Russian from German 'time, beat, measure') are now used to describe the *dap* rhythms in the muqams and other music.

Uyghur musicians identify types of songs by rhythmic patterns, but connections between rhythms seem to be made more by association than by analysis. Classes of similar rhythms such as the *jula* and *sänäm* and the three or four kinds of *nusχa* rhythms are recognized. Three Uyghur names for kinds of tunes seem to be derived from the names of rhythmic patterns, but the rhythms of the tunes do not match those used elsewhere. The *päšru* is a muqam song, but its rhythm only generally resembles that of the *pešrav* of the Shashmaqom. The *mustähzad* appears only in the Čäbbiyat muqam and does not resemble the Shashmaqom *mustazod*. But there are other connections between the rhythms of the Uyghur muqams and the Shashmaqom. The characteristic rhythm of the sixth song in the Mäšräp section of the Kashgar muqams appears in the Bukharan Shashmaqom, where it is called the *kašqarča usul* (Jung 1989: 181–182). None of the other rhythms is identical, although the *aqsaq*, 'limping,' rhythm characteristic of Shashmaqom parts such as *talqin* have a general similarity to the Uyghur muqam *aqsaq* rhythms in *nusχa*, *sänäm*, *čoñ säliqä*, and *päšru*.[44]

Different scholars have different ways of representing and characterizing the complex rhythms of the muqam songs. During and Trebinjac (1991: 18) describe the creation of a hemiole within a hemiole, point out that this is unique to Uyghur music, and describe the result as 'a sort of *aqsaq* of an *aqsaq*.' Zhou Ji uses a complex notation to show the effect of hemioles on the meter. He annotates the Nawa *tätur nusχa* rhythm as 2/4 + 2.5/4 + 2/4 but points out that the rhythm is ambiguous because it is not clearly divided into measures and could be annotated as 2.5/4 + 4/4, or 6.5/4. An example of the complex variations in the rhythms in Turdi Akhun's muqam performances can be found in his third dastan song in the Nava muqam: Zhou Ji (personal communication) finds that the first line of each couplet is in the rhythm 4/4 + 3.5/4, whereas the second line of each couplet is the rhythm 4/4 + 3.5/4 + 3/4.[45] In her transcriptions of the free-rhythm muqam *beši* introductions, Alibakieva (1988) uses the rather complex method of putting time signatures such as 6/8, 9/8, 12/8, and 15/8 at the beginning of each measure to give a sense for its rhythm.

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[44] I use *aqsaq* in the absence of local terminology for this characteristic kind of Uyghur rhythm. Theodore Levin (personal communication 1998) points out that the term *aqsaq* is not used in native rhythm theory in Central Asia.

[45] This song is not now used in the Uyghur Twelve Muqams. See also the analysis and table of rhythmic patterns by Wan Tongshu in Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu Wenhuating 1960, 1: 22–23, 2: 1–15, 'Ilavä' (appendix, notes).

Another source of rhythmic ambiguity is that in each musical line the *dap* rhythm starts a few beats ahead of the melodic rhythm. In transcriptions, the melody is usually taken as determining the beginning of the musical measures, so a measure beginning with two or three rest beats has to be annotated to show the beginning of the percussion.

Mätruzi Tursun (1992) gives a detailed discussion of the rhythmic complexities of the muqam parts, especially the offset between the melody and rhythm. He worked with Zhou Ji, and their analyses are similar. They transcribe the rhythms in greater detail than, for instance, Shao Guangshen (Šav Guañšen 1992), who seems to base his discussion of rhythms on the transcriptions of Wan Tongshu rather than on the muqams as currently performed. Offsets of rhythm and melody are also common in Shashmaqom.

In most songs, the lines of vocals, melody, and percussion do not stop at the same time. The melody and percussion end a measure or two after the vocal line. This phenomenon is even more pronounced at the transition from one song to the next, when the *dap* player changes the rhythm while the melody and even the vocal part are still finishing the song before. This also happens in the *özgiriš* changes when the *dap* rhythm changes in mid-song and the vocal rhythm changes immediately afterward. In recordings of Turdi Akhun, it appears that he did the opposite, changing his song with the *dap* player following him. This makes sense because the *dap* player was his apprentice. The songs in each section run together without pauses. Qawul Akhun pointed out to me that Turdi Akhun would go back to the beginning of the Čoñ Näğmä, Dastan, or Mäšräp section to start over if there was a mistake or a pause in the performance. But between sections the *dap* rhythm and melody stop at the same time. This gives a dramatic, simultaneous end to chorus, melody, and dap rhythms in mid-measure, with a brief silence followed by the solo vocalist performing the slow, free-rhythm *čüšürgä* that ends the Čoñ Näğmä and Mäšräp.

An important aspect of muqam songs is the integration of song text and musical melody. Each poem has a fixed line length. The poems with the shortest lines have seven syllables, and the longest lines are sixteen syllables of ghazal poetry. But differences in sung melody and repetitions of parts of lines, as well as different song tempos, make for a vast range of ways and times for singing a line. In the free-rhythm *baš* muqam, lines are usually around twenty seconds long but can take up to thirty seconds or as few as eight seconds, even though each line is sixteen syllables long. In Ömär Akhun's Uššaq *täzä*, some lines take as much as forty seconds to sing, whereas others are half as long. The lines in the revised Uyghur muqams *täzä* songs are a little shorter, and the pieces that follow the *täzä* have lines

that vary less in length, have fewer repetitions and melismas, and are progressively shorter, down to about four seconds.

The relationship of meter and melodic rhythm in the muqam songs is complex. Although many muqam songs use accentual verse, vowel length varies widely in singing, in order to adjust verse to melody. Vowel length is determined by the performer and does not adhere to the *ʻarūz* quantitative meters derived from Persian prosody. In muqam songs, melismatic extension of a single vowel sound is an important melodic technique, and the syllables thus extended are usually the final syllables of Turkic words or the long syllables of words borrowed from Persian and Arabic. Sometimes the extended sound is an *-i* sound affixed after a word. Melismatic vowels are the last sounds in a melodic measure and often take up more than one measure. Melismatic vowels are important because they take up more than half the time in most lines, although they are only one to three syllables out of sixteen. In Ömär Akhun's singing, a single syllable can last two-thirds of the line.

Most maqām scholars argue that *ʻarūz* is fundamental in singing the poetic texts. During and Trebinjac (1991: 18) cite approvingly the argument of Alibakieva that the Uyghur muqam musical rhythms are based on the *ʻarūz* quantitative meters of classical Chaghatay verse.[46] But it is melody that determines which syllables are sung long, and how long they are sung. Especially in the early, slower pieces in a muqam, significant variations of scansion can occur when words or phrases are repeated in a different melodic context. The scansion of ghazal poems also varies when they are used in different songs. These variations show that while the ghazal poetry itself generally fits quantitative meters, these do not determine which syllables to sing long. In practice most syllables can be sung long or short, and the melody does not follow *ʻarūz* meters closely. Singers may prefer to sing long and melismatic syllables on long vowels of Persian and Arabic words and on endings of Turkic words, but these same vowels are sung as short when the melodic rhythm requires it.

In contrast, when Theodore Levin examines the relationship of poetic *ʻarūz* meter and melodic rhythm in the Tajik-Uzbek Bukharan Shashmaqom tradition, he does find a 'very close correspondence between prosodic quantities and melodic rhythm.' Prosodically short vowels coincide with notes that are eighth notes or shorter (Levin 1984: 129, 142). However, although melodic rhythm fits *ʻarūz* exactly, he finds that any *usul* rhythm can be applied to any *ʻarūz*. 'Instrumental interpolations as well as held sung notes provide sufficient metro-rhythmic license in the melody line to assure metric

[46] Although it does not appear in their bibliography, they are apparently citing Alibakieva 1987.

solution for the convergence of any pair of *usūl* and *ʻarūz* cycles' (142). Levin shows that the dominant scansion rule is that open syllables are the only ones that can be scanned short, and they and all others can be scanned long, as well as other rules, including adding a short vowel *-i* to words so that a line will have enough morae (142–143).

But Levin's analysis contrasts with Mark Slobin's demonstration that meter and musical rhythm in Tajik maqām songs have a more flexible relationship, in which the singer seems roughly to follow the rules of Persian verse but nonetheless uses melody to emphasize syllables by choice. The singer is not bound by strict rules about vowel quantity, although poetic feet and melodic feet do remain closely aligned (Slobin 1971: 100–104, n253).

Slobin's analysis seems to fit the slower Uyghur muqam songs as well. In the free-rhythm Čäbbiyat *baš* muqam sung in the revised Twelve Muqams (*Käl äy mähbub-u mätlubum*), I find that the melodic lines and poetic lines are organized into metric feet that coincide, but there are only general preferences for how many syllables can be in a foot and which vowels can be long or melismatic. In this song, melodic rhythm and the number of syllables in each melodic foot do not remain constant from line to line, and because the ghazal poem used for this song should scan with four equal feet of four syllables in every line, changes in vowel quantity are the only way to accommodate changes in musical rhythm. A melodic foot includes three to eight syllables, or one or two poetic feet. The long and melismatic syllables can be the second, third, fourth, seventh, or eighth syllables. Any two of these can be melismatic in a single melodic foot. Uyghur muqam singers avoid singing the first syllable in a poetic foot as long, and the only place two adjacent syllables are long is when the first is overlong, as in the Persian *guft'äm*, 'if I say.' But the singers do not always sing this overlong syllable or the ones in the words *türki* and *parsi [fārsi]* as long syllables. The limits of melodic feet almost always coincide with the limits of poetic feet, although sometimes a two-syllable word – such as *yüzüñ* in line two of the poem – can be used as the ending of one foot and then repeated as the beginning of another foot.

This relationship of melody and poetry holds true for the *baš* muqam and *täzä* songs in the modernized stage form and as performed by Ömär Akhun and, as best I could tell from poor recordings, Turdi Akhun. It also sounded as if Turdi Akhun sang each line in *täzä* more rapidly and with fewer repetitions of words and phrases within the line than Ömär Akhun did in his performances. The revised muqam *täzä* songs seem to be performed more like Ömär Akhun's version. This would make sense, because Ömär Akhun worked at the Art College in the 1970s and 1980s teaching young performers the style for the revised muqams.

In the measured songs that come after the *baš* and *täzä*, syllables that are scanned long are fixed even when parts of lines are repeated. In the revised version, the choral songs have very little melisma, perhaps because of the difficulty of singing it in unison. When there is an extended vowel, it is usually sung on a single pitch. The *dap* rhythm in most of the faster songs does stay synchronized with the lines of melody and song and keeps time with the verse meter in the verse sections where both melodic and poetic feet consistently contain four syllables. Turdi Akhun clearly sang many of his faster songs so that melodic emphasis coincided with stressed *dap* beats.

Ömär Akhun also handled repetitions of parts of poetic lines with more variation than appears in the present standardized versions, in which the repetitions are fixed and sung in unison in most of the songs. Ömär Akhun actually varied the wording on some repetitions, which makes the meaning clearer. In the penultimate stanza of his Uššaq *täzä* he sang the phrase *at aqsaq-u yol tayğaq*, 'the horse is lame and the road slippery,' and then repeated it as *ečim aqsaq yol tayğaq*, 'my horse is lame and the road slippery,' giving *at*, 'horse,' a possessive suffix and softening the t > č. In the first two stanzas of this same song, Ömär Akhun also repeats part of one line with the final words of the preceding line, which is never done in the new standardized muqams. This seems to be further evidence that he integrates music and verse with more flexible and improvisational techniques, whereas performers of the revised muqams remain bound by the fixed forms created by the editors. The repeated words and lines are specified in the standard versions, as can be seen in the mimeographed texts that are used for training muqam singers.

Chapter 3
The Poetics and Politics of Literary Sufism

In this chapter I give a historical account of the Turkic poetry used in the Uyghur muqam songs to show how poets' ideologies and the cultural politics of the contexts in which the poetry was composed relates to present debates about editing the songs. Turkic poets composed and circulated their work in complex social and religious contexts. Their poetry was as much a performance tradition as a written tradition, and performances invited both oral and written commentary on the goals and methods of poetic expression. The poetic tradition is thus highly reflexive, with works created in active response to discourses about how to write. In addition, for several centuries, Turkic and Persian poetry have circulated and been interpreted within highly ideological Western scholarly discourses about 'Oriental' culture.

Put into historical progression, the Central Asian Turkic poetry that Turdi Akhun sang as muqam songs in the 1950s moves from early poetry in styles that reflect oral Turkic poetics, particularly works apparently in oral circulation but attributed to the twelfth-century poet Ahmad Yasavī.[47] His songs then include many from the rise of increasingly Persianate Chaghatay ghazal poetry that culminated in the 'classical' poetry of Nizām ad-dīn 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī (1441–1501). But Turdi Akhun also sang many works in the more accessible and popular styles from poets after Navā'ī, including the antinomian ghazals of Bābā Rahīm Mashrab (1657?–1711) and the more religiously orthodox ghazals of Nazar ibn Ghā'ib Chīmiyānī Huvaydā (1710?–1780).

During the rise of classical Chaghatay poetry at fifteenth-century Timurid courts Central Asian Turkic poets established a pan-regional literary tradition. Based in Persian models of courtly patronage and strictly defined genres, especially the ghazal, the poets of the Timurid period were prolific, and their works were disseminated as far as Turkey, China, India, and Sibe-

[47] Yasavī is widely but probably erroneously believed to have died in 1166 CE. There are good reasons to place his death in the early years of the thirteenth century (Madelung 1987–1988: 508).

ria. Poets such as Mavlānā Lutfī (d. 1465?) and Navā'ī, from Herat, and Muhammad ibn Sulaymān Fuzūlī (d. 1556?), from Baghdad, continue to enjoy great popularity, at least as representative founders of classical Turkic literature. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Turkic poets of Central Asia followed in the classical tradition established by the Chaghatay poets, but with a more regional audience. The poets Mashrab and Huvaydā are still well known and popular among Central Asian Turks. Their poems use less Persian syntax and lexicon than those of the classical court poets. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many East Turkistani poets were active, but Turdi Akhun only included a few as songs. The revised muqams of the 1980s and 90s include far more local poems in an effort to make a more ethnically 'Uyghur' tradition.

Ghazal poems by major literary poets such as Navā'ī appear in all three parts of the muqams but are dominant only in the refined and contemplative Čoň Näğmä. Folk verse and literary romantic narratives composed largely of dialogue are important in the Dastan section, and ghazals and folk poetry developing Sufi themes alternate in the Mäšräp section. In the course of performing a single muqam, the performer incorporates poetic forms and musical styles from a broad variety of social contexts, both religious and secular. In order to discuss these diverse contexts, I first explore the historical origins of the poetry and what those origins reveal about the social and cultural lives of the people who created, transmitted, and appreciated these poetic performances.

3.1 Sufi Poetry

Scholars of Central Asian Turkic literature have produced only a few useful studies of Turkic Sufism in its literary expression, primarily because of the ideological problems Sufism presents to secular governments and to scholars seeking to canonize national traditions. Even in Turkey this remains a problem, although Mehmet Fuat Köprülü's work *Türk Edebiyatında Ilk Mutasavvıflar* (1918) is an early comprehensive study of the literature.[48]

Although Sufism has many manifestations, courtly and popular poetry that put Sufi mystical ideas into literary form tended to represent its esoteric doctrines more narrowly. The diversity of Sufi religious and philosophical ideas and beliefs was reduced to poetry on themes of love, ecstatic spirituality and philosophy, using highly conventional imagery and themes. I introduce some of these themes and conventional expressions in order to present

[48] This book has been translated into English as *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature* (Köprülü 2006).

what I term *literary Sufism*.[49] Later I touch on the relationship between this widely known form of Sufism and more esoteric doctrines in discussing the didactic forms used to disseminate Sufi beliefs.

Any introduction to the forms and methods of literary Sufi poetry must begin with its fundamentally metaphorical form and multiple meanings. This multiplicity allows for a continual recombination of a fairly limited set of images and ideas within highly structured generic forms. The poetry is a constant play with words and images, a reexamination of commonplaces from new perspectives refracting ideas differently. Critical examinations of these poets tend to argue that they are highly conventional in their endless variation on the same themes, but I believe this apparent generic stability cannot be seen only as convention, because the genre is also defined by its rebellion against social convention.

The basic characteristics of the poetry are readily outlined. Annemarie Schimmel (1975: 288) points out that all these poems are replete with mysticism and argues that profane and mystical meanings cannot be distinguished in them. But in conversations with the *muqamči* Ömär Akhun, he expressed an idea widespread among Uyghurs – that Sufi poems can be divided into love poems and religious poems. For Ömär Akhun the focus on Islamic religious concepts and images makes a poem religious, but if the poet's voice is that of a lover describing or addressing a beloved, then he considers the poem to be a love poem. Sufi love poems are written, spoken, sung, or read in the voice of the lover and narrate aspects of a desperate search for the unattainable beloved.[50] These poems describe the anguish of unreciprocated love. The relationship of lover to beloved is always unequal, and never between two lovers. The poet seeks requital, often expressed as *visāl*, 'union,' or as various metaphors for union, but rarely attains it.[51]

Ömär Akhun distinguished love and religious poems because he valued the clearly religious songs and the older audiences who appreciated

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[49] Annemarie Schimmel's many works examining the relationships between Sufism and Muslim poetry are essential (Schimmel 1975, 1979, 1992b, 2001). She prefers the phrase *mystical poetry*, but I want to stress that the poets and their audiences were less likely to be interested in mysticism itself than in the social and literary use of these somewhat conventionalized Sufi ideas. Few poets were ascetic Sufi dervishes, although the practices associated with Sufism were important for many. See Schimmel 1975: 286–343.

[50] Only a few women poets have left written records of their work, but ambiguous pronouns in Turkic allow one to see the lover as a woman. In addition, many of the singers of this poetry were women. Nonetheless, the usual persona of the poet was that of a man pursuing a cruel, dismissive, or evasive beloved, either male or female.

[51] An unusual ghazal by Navā'ī does end with union with the beloved and an end to his suffering: *Söyüngil, äy köñül, aχirqi jismiñ ičrä jan käldi* (Be happy, O heart, at last love has come into your body) (Barat 1986: 108, 162).

them.[52] But although he preferred poems that were unambiguous that the beloved was God, he did recognize that Sufi love poetry should be understood as an allegory of spiritual devotion, in which the poet is an intoxicated lover seeking union with God. The poet's basic persona is that of the *'āshiq*, one who wanders mad with love, hoping to find union, while singing ecstatic poetry to God. Ömär Akhun called muqam singers *'āshiq*, and the term is also common in Anatolia and Azerbaijan, although images of *'āshiq* and the kinds of songs they sing vary widely.[53]

The genres of literary Sufi poetry include several longer forms: 1) series of quatrains with a AABA CCDC rhyme scheme known as *ruba'i* in the Arabo-Persian poetic system but similar to the Turkic *qošuğ* form already mentioned by Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī in his 11th century dictionary of Turkic. Other Turkic forms reflect this style, such as the *tuyuq* form described and composed by Navā'ī (Fearey 1977) and the *qošaq* in modern Uyghur. 2) The five-line stanza of the *mukhammas* using the rhyme scheme AAAAA BBBBA CCCCA, is more clearly borrowed from Arabo-Persian poetics. 3) The dastan narrative epics in Persian and Turkic used the *masnavī* form of rhyming couplets.

By far the most popular form for literary Sufi poetry was the ghazal, an important genre of Persian and Turkic literature that had little in common with Turkic oral forms. The ghazal consists of four to nine couplets (*bayt*). The two lines (*misrā'*) of the first couplet (*matla'*) repeat the rhyme syllable and *radīf* syllables, if any. The *radīf* is the unchanging words that follow the rhyme syllable. Succeeding couplets repeat the *radīf* and rhyme syllable only in the second line. An important characteristic of the ghazal that contributes to its distinctiveness and resistance to change even in oral circulation is that the final couplet (*maqta'*) contains the penname of the poet, known as the *takhallus*. This becomes the name by which the poet is most widely known,

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[52] In his *Qābūsnāma,* Kai Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar (1951) also advised performers to adjust their performances according to whether audiences were likely to appreciate love or religious songs. Ilhan Başgöz (1975: 155) describes an *aşik* selecting religious songs for older people and love songs for younger people.

[53] Sabine Trebinjac (2000: 180–84) describes *'āshiq* as some of the professionals who use music for supernatural ends. Ilhan Başgöz (1975: 157) writes that 'the great *aşiks* were considered to be holy, God-inspired poets.' They were called upon as healers in real life and were supernatural heroes in songs. Yïldïray Erdener (1995) stresses the similarities between *aşik* and *bakhshi* and other shamans who receive supernatural powers for healing and epic performance. He argues that the name *aşik* was taken up by urban epic singers in the sixteenth century in order to avoid persecution by Islamic authorities. Secular interpretations are also common. *'Āshiq,* 'at least in stories, frequently become obsessively attached to one woman' (Albright 1976: 221). The *'āshiq* 'denotes the lover, more specifically someone who has become a wandering minstrel because of some unhappy love affair' (Reichl 1992: 65). On the Sufi idea of *'āshiq,* see also Schimmel 1975: 137–141.

such as Navā'ī, Fuzūlī, Mashrab, or Huvaydā. The first and last couplets are thus both distinctive, and in muqam performances, ghazal poems usually includes both, although intervening couplets may be left out, changed, or rearranged and may even include lines from other poems.

Another important aspect of courtly Turkic poetry was the use of the *'arūz* quantitative meters, as opposed to the *barmaq* accentual meters of Turkic oral and popular written poetry. The Persian quantitative meters were not always followed very closely, although Navā'ī generally adhered to them. As discussed in chapter 2, vowel length is flexible in muqam performance. Although there is a general preference for singing long vowels as long and short vowels as short, syntax and meaning guide emphasis more than a sense that certain syllables should be consistently long or short. Particularly in the muqam *muqäddimä* or introductory song, lines and parts of lines are often repeated, with syllables changed from long to short or short to long. The *'arūz* meters belong to the realm of prescriptive literary practice rather than describing actual Uyghur performance.

In the following passage I give a brief example of a ghazal from the popular seventeenth-century poet Mashrab (1990: 24) to suggest the genre's form and content. This verse was performed as the Rak *päšru* song (see chapter 2) by Turdi Akhun and has the shorter lines that are common in the faster songs. Like most of Mashrab's ghazals it has been transmitted in differing versions, and here I use an edition published in Tashkent in 1990. I have changed the Uzbek spelling conventions to those of Uyghur.

Körsät jämaliñ mästanälärgä,	Show your beauty to the intoxicated ones,
Išqiñda küygän pärvanälärgä.	To the moths burning in your love.
Mändin duadur, sändin ijabät.	From me prayer, and from you agreement.
Janim täsädduq jananälärgä.	My soul is sacrificed to the beloved.
Äy, köñli qattiğ, rähm äylämäysän,	Oh, hard-hearted, if you do not have mercy,
Qilğil näzarä bečarälärgä.	Cast a glance on the hopeless ones.
Küygän ğäribmän, šäfqät qil aχir,	I am a burned poor one, show mercy at last,
Küyiñdä yurgan devanälärgä.	To a madman wandering in your quarter.

Mashrab säni däb käčti jähandin,	Mashrab, saying 'you', left this world,
Bašini qoydi astanälärgä.	And put his head on [your] threshhold.

With its short lines and common words, this ghazal is similar to Turkic oral verse. It can be consistently scanned as —u—/—u— (described as *mustafʿilātun mustafʿilātun* in *ʿarūz* notation) according to the rule that any syllable can be scanned long, whereas only syllables ending in vowels can be scanned short. A syllable ending in a vowel is defined as one in which the vowel has only one consonant between it and the vowel of the next syllable. Although this rule is different from the complex rules of Persian *ʿarūz*, it is the only one that works consistently beginning with Yūsuf Khāss Hājib's *Qutadhğu Bilig* (1983).[54]

The *radīf* in this ghazal is *-älärgä*, and the rhyme syllable is the *-an-* preceding the *radīf*. Line six apparently violates the rhyme. This might have been changed in transmission, or it might indicate that Mashrab was unconcerned about altering the rhyme slightly as long as the *radīf* was repeated.

This poem includes several images that are particularly frequent in Mashrab's poetry. One is the image of burning in the flame of love, especially as a moth, and another is his going to the quarter or street of the beloved and putting his head on the threshold or in the dirt. Unlike court poets, Mashrab uses fewer elaborate images and descriptions of the beloved and more images of destruction and debasement, which are in keeping with his identity as Dīvāna-i Mashrab, Mashrab the Dervish.

3.1.1 Images and Ideas

In describing the beloved, certain metaphors and themes recur frequently as part of the circulating expressive resources, whereas others may be a poet's own innovations.[55] The face is a moon, for example, and the body a cypress. The eyelashes are arrows that wound the lover; the eyes are dark and intoxicating, often compared to bubbling springs. The hair is a dark, musk-scented web that entangles the lover. The cheeks are red pomegranates or roses, the lips are rubies, the down on the upper lip is a line of writing. Flowers and

[54] Only Alessio Bombaci (1968: 79) seems to recognize this simple rule, but even he does not find that it is consistently applied. The consensus of modern scholars of Turkic poetry is that Yūsuf and most subsequent poets tried to conform to *ʿarūz* but made many errors (Köprülü 1964; Stebleva 1982: 288–292; Thiesen 1982: 210–216). See Light 1998 for more discussion.

[55] A wide-ranging compilation of corporal metaphors for use in love poetry can be found in the *Anīs al-ʿushshāq,* compiled in the fourteenth century by Sharaf al-Din Rāmī. See Browne 1902-1924, II: 83–84. Walter Andrews (1997: 36–61) has analyzed statistically the recurring language and images of Ottoman poetry.

fruits, gems, sweet or glistening liquids, soft textures and pleasurable scents are used in comparisons. In addition to comparing the face and body of the beloved to natural and secular objects, poets also used metaphysical images. Letters and writing are often metaphors for the beautiful forms of the beloved.[56] In the muqam texts, one frequently used verse by Navā'ī compares the form of braids of hair to the two *mīm* characters in the word *Muhammad:*

Bar mu ol ikki örülgän gesuyi änbär šämim,
Ya etäk salmiš Muhämmäddä yezilğan ikki mim.[57]
Are there two such braided tresses smelling of ambergris,
Or is it the two mīm written in Muhammad lying on the jacket-front?

A ghazal poet may compare the beloved to the idols of Buddhists and Manicheans and to the *peri* and other supernatural beings of Persian and Turkic mythology. The lover entreats the beloved to be the *sāqī*, or cupbearer, and offer the wine of love and union.[58] The beloved can inflict cruel wounds either intentionally or simply by being seen by the lover, but is also the doctor with the medicine to heal the lover's pain.

There are many settings in which the poet addresses the beloved, or sometimes more simply an audience or even himself. The lover may be in the desert of separation or in a garden. The Sufi image of the wandering dervish suggests the poor, starving, insane lover pursuing only his quest for union, but the Sufi can also be a gardener, and the nightingale singing to a rose is one of the most widespread images for the lover's poetic song to the beloved.[59] Extensive description is lavished on the lover's suffering and anguish because of separation, insane love, and the cruelties of the beloved. Many of these cruelties are the result of the lover's obsessive gaze and the pain caused by the beauty of the beloved's hair and eyes. Images of webs and arrows represent these ensnaring, piercing beauties.

In addition to the lover's wandering in a wasteland, his face is yellow from sorrow, tears of blood run down his face, he burns in the flames of separation, or he is wounded by the stones cast by the lover. He sighs and moans day and night at the beloved's door. His heart and liver are sore or bleeding; he longs for the wine of union but drinks only poison. He courts annihilation like a moth burning itself in a candle flame. Union with the

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[56] Kathleen Burrill (1972) discusses the mystical and poetic ideas that made this into a dominant system of imagery for some poets and Sufis.

[57] This verse is from the *mustähzad,* a song that appears only in the Čäbbiyat muqam (Ärshidinov 1970: 37, 73; Barat 1986: 32; Navā'ī 1987–1990, 5: 279).

[58] The development of these double meanings began with the Persian poet Sanā'ī (d. 1131 or 1140), who first used the images of the friend, the cup, and the tavern to stand for Sufi ideas (Yarshater 1988: 133).

[59] It also appears as a metaphor for the *aşik* singing to his audience (Erdener 1995: 157).

beloved will end his suffering in this world and take him to the next, which is his greatest desire. Through his suffering the lover gains wisdom and a profundity of emotional experience that the people of this world do not understand. They are faithless, materialistic fools and must be avoided.

This last image introduces the theme of rebellion and violation of worldly propriety. Just as the beloved may be an infidel idol who entices one to drink the forbidden wine of love, the lover errs from the path of behavior permitted and prescribed for a good Muslim and proper citizen. The lover, or Sufi *'āshiq*, does not live within the same world as the moderate believer: he wants to overcome barriers and rules that are felt to separate him from God. One of the best examples of such violation of rules is the famous blasphemy of Husayn ibn Mansūr al-Hallāj, who spoke the words *anā'l-haqq*, 'I am the truth,' or figuratively, 'I am God.' For his heresy he was decapitated and his body burned.[60] Al-Hallāj persists as an image of the true lover and knower of God whose deep sense of union with God completely overcame the shallow knowledge and rules of worldly people. He no longer existed within a body or with fear of its extermination. It is this sense of the passing away of the self and the body that Sufis strive for, at least metaphorically, and one realization of this goal is to be scorned and even destroyed by law-abiding people. Rejection of and by society serves as proof that one is dedicated only to God. In Central Asia, the life of the Sufi poet Mashrab most closely resembles that of al-Hallāj, and in many ways Mashrab became a local version of al-Hallāj, his image serving a similar role in popular conceptions of Sufi dervishes.

3.1.2 Gender in the Poems

One issue that comes up in modern discussions of ghazal poetry is the gender of the beloved. The problem originates in the realist assumption that the poet primarily expresses erotic desire for another person. The idea that a male poet's ideal beloved is a male youth becomes difficult for some realist moralists to accept, and Schimmel (1975: 289–90) offers the sociological explanation that this homoeroticism arises from the lack of opportunity for men to court girls or women in Islamic societies because women are not in public.

Such critiques were common even in the Islamic societies where this poetry circulated, because realist interpretations were important in other poetic genres, such as praise poetry. The poet as lover could sing of the beauty, strength, and grace of his ruler or patron as if he were the beloved

[60] See the comprehensive study of al-Hallāj by Louis Massignon (1982).

(Meisami 1987: 60–67).[61] In writing his memoirs, Bābur Shāh, the Turkic founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, created highly realistic literature using very few metaphors. And in assessing the work of one contemporary poet, he disapproved of poets' metaphorically representing the person of the king as the beloved of a dervish: 'When poets of mathnawis in former times wrote on love, they gave the attributes of the lover to a man and those of the beloved to a woman. Hilali, on the other hand, has made a dervish the lover and a king the beloved, a shameless strumpet in fact. It is really an affront that, in the interests of his poem, he describes a young man – and a king at that – as a brazen woman or prostitute' (Bābur 1996: 225). Although elsewhere Bābur strenuously attacked homosexual activity,[62] here he seems to criticize the image not for its homoeroticism but for portraying the king as an immoral woman.

Orientalist and socialist European critics and local modernizers of poetic tradition often attack male poets who describe boys or young men as love objects, arguing that it reveals the depravity of 'oriental' or 'feudal' society. In the strict moral economies of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, where official interpretations seek art that reflects social realities, homoerotic interpretations of poetry have been repressed, and the beloved has always been publicly interpreted as a woman. Poetry – particularly valorized traditional poetry – that mentions men as the objects of male desire has been rejected, and such interpretations are rarely even discussed.

Another way to deal with homoeroticism has been to ascribe it to the depravity of foreign elites. E. J. W. Gibb (1900-09, I: 64–65) says that the mystical 'masculine love' directed toward a male youth rather than a woman is 'directly opposed to modern ideas.' He claims Muslims borrowed it from the Greeks, and Turks from the Persians. For the Turks, he writes, 'this fashion was for the most part merely a literary convention,' because it did not appear in the 'national ballads, in which is heard the true voice of the people,' and it eventually died out of even literary poetry.

Gibb's idea that Turkish heterosexual virility was being dissipated in Persian literary decadence accorded well with the ideas of Turkish nationalists in the early twentieth century who worked to define and interpret a

[61] Meisami's discussion of the ghazal (1987: 245–251) also gives a good but inconclusive overview of how the question of homoeroticism has been treated by critics.

[62] Despite praising the character, conduct, and administration of his near contemporary Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā, Bābur (1996: 60–61) also writes of him: 'He was addicted to vice and debauchery. He drank wine continually. He kept a lot of catamites, and in his realm wherever there was a comely, beardless youth, he did everything he could to turn him into a catamite. . . During his time this shameful vice was so widespread that there was no one at all who did not have catamites. To keep them was considered a virtue, and not to keep them a fault. His sons all died young of shameful immoderation and debauchery.'

literary tradition that would represent realistically what they felt were purely Turkish moral ideals. Through their nationalist modernizations of tradition, they sought to exclude immorality by excluding Persian language and culture. In conflating political nationalism and social realism, canon formation and canonical interpretations became important techniques for legitimating the state and making it an embodiment and protector of the authentic culture and morality of the people.[63]

But these poems are not about love only as realistic sexual and emotional tie within gendered relationships. The ambiguity and uncertainty of mystical love for the deity and the other world are expressed in the play of images of desire for beauty and love in this world. The meanings are not stable, and their metaphors are central to these poems. On the surface, poems can be explicitly directed toward women or men portraying them as men or women, as chaste or debauched, but they always portray them as unavailable. Beyond concrete descriptions of the lover's desire and agony and the beloved's inaccessibility are the metaphors that take these poems outside of human physical relationships to ideal relationships with the divine. In these poems love is not necessarily about sexuality, and sexuality does not impose identity. Love serves as a metaphor for ecstatic desire, but as part of a mystical expression of unattainable union.

The poems remain open to many readings, and the poet's persona in a poem is difficult to relate to his or her social and historical existence. Many of the poets remain obscure outside their poetic self-representations. It is a useful to link cultural practices with poetic images of gender relations and love (e.g., Yarshater 1960), but the spiritual allegory must also be taken into account. Imagery may express spiritual ideas or lived experience, but distinguishing these meanings requires more concrete investigation of poets and their actual social relations. Such research is only beginning (see Andrews 1989: 31–56; Southgate 1984; Andrews and Kalpaklı 1995).

Critiques of homoeroticism reveal the referential thinking and cultural sensitivities of the critics more than anything about the poets. Modern readers who attempt to purify poets and poems impose their own interpretive paradigms and historical narratives on poets who intentionally challenged ideological domination of literary meanings and pushed the limits of literary

[63] Ziya Gökalp (1959: 104–109, 300–303) separated out the types of morality in Western, Turkish, and 'Eastern' or 'Iranian' literature, language, music, morality, family relations, and sexuality and determined which ones were acceptable for creating a new Turkish civilization. Jan Rypka (1968: 86) says that decadent Persian literary influence displaces 'the natural healthy heterosexual eroticism of the ancient Arabic *qasīdas*.' Attributing pederasty to Persian influences also was a way to disparage Persians within debates over 'Abbāsid culture (Meisami 1987: 239, 279–281, 246n17). See also Holbrook 1994: 57–58, 118–124.

conventions and sociological determinisms. These poets sought new images and language for expressing the ideal of ecstatic union with the beloved. They wrote metaphorical and allegorical poetry that explicitly rejected the world and described an isolated, abject self concerned only with its relation to the beloved. It is reductionist to see this as describing individual and sociological realities. Although poetic practices are involved in social relationships in many ways, they should not be reduced to referential expressions of those relationships. Sufi court poetry, particularly ghazals, should be read as manifestations of spirituality, imagination and the play of language within society and personal life.

3.1.3 Thematic Unity

Other aspects of orientalist interpretation that Victoria Holbrook (1994: 50) has described as the 'disciplinarian specter of evaluative criticism' appear in the debate over 'thematic unity' in ghazal poetry. As Michael Hillmann (1976: 8) shows, the debate over this issue had already begun in fifteenth-century Persian writings on ghazals, although it expanded with critical European receptions of Persian ghazal poetry.

In a famous phrase, the eighteenth century linguist William Jones described the couplets of Persian poetry as 'orient pearls at random strung,' arguing that the disparate images in sequential couplets submit to no overall order and build toward no conclusion (Arberry 1958: 352). He concluded that individual couplets were appreciated for their structure and imagery, which, as we will see later, is a good description of the way Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun treat certain couplets in the muqam poetry. Couplets or *bayts* condense multiple meanings and sound patterns and appreciating them separately is an important aspect of poetic commentary in Islamic literary tradition (Andrews 1997: 17–22; Clinton 1972: 54; Schimmel 1992: 8).

The Persian scholar Mas'ūd Farzād answers the charge of weak thematic connection, especially in the poetry of Hāfiz, with the assertion that there must be inferred between each pair of couplets a connecting thought (Arberry 1958: 358). Michael Hillmann (1976: 4) gives the most sustained treatment of this poet and this issue. He says, 'Hafez's *ghazals* are classic defendants in a longstanding indictment . . . of the technical *ghazal* verse form in medieval Persian literature as lacking in unity.' He reviews the debate over unity in an analysis of Hāfiz's well known ghazal about the Turk soldier of Shiraz and, applying a measure of unity that he devises, examines fifteen other ghazals by Hāfiz. He concludes that unity can be created in a variety of ways, and although some poems, such as 'Turk of Shiraz,' have

limited overall unity, most of Hāfiz's poetry in fact shows considerable unity.[64]

Applying the Tartu School semiotic approach to cultural typologies, Henri Broms (1981) discusses metaphors from other arts that have been used to explain thematic organization in Persian ghazals, including carpet patterns, mosaics, and variations in music. He argues that the poems present many dimensions of the same theme but each in a different context, creating a series of detours that do not reach a definite point. He views sequential arrangement as less important than parallelisms between phonemes, grammatical categories, syntactic forms, metrical organization, and concepts. Thematic distance can be overcome by these formal parallels (1981: 74–76). Drawing on the ideas of Roman Jakobson, Broms points out that one measure of poetic virtuosity is the ability to unify diverse elements within the repeated structure of a poem (1981: 85).

For Anatolian Turkic, Walter Feldman (1987) also shows that in the ghazals of a single classical Ottoman poet, Necātī Bey (d. 1509), there is a wide range of topical coherence. At one end are tightly organized ghazals in which couplets are linked by a *radīf* in which a recurrent noun imposes topical consistency, and at the other are ghazals that completely abandon any 'rhetorical, syntactic, and lexical repetitions' (1987: 79). Nonetheless, even in the most apparently disconnected ghazal analyzed by Feldman, the theme remains that of the lover's desire for the unattainable and disdainful beloved. Thematic unity is inherent to the genre, even if a single unifying center is not expressly a part of a particular poem. Sufi allegories such as those of the lover seeking the beloved and the impoverished and humble person rejecting things of this world are readily available as organizing principles even when not made explicit. These themes enable interpretation of a wide range of images and allusions and include a variety of assumptions about voice, persona, and audience.

The rules for ghazal meter, rhyme and sequence of couplets are highly fixed. Flexibility and variation arises in the selections and organization of words, ideas, and images into complex syntactic and lexical patterns. Narrative and sequential development of images remains possible but is not required. Like any other genre, ghazals maintain variation within uniformity, but it is the logical organization and the relation of images that vary while

[64] Jerome Clinton (1972: 92–98) also demonstrates that coherence can vary from poem to poem in a poet's work and that certain poets valued it more. He suggests that Manūchihrī Dāmghānī intentionally used incoherence to achieve a poetic effect. Schimmel (1979) reviews the critical reception of Hāfiz, whose poetry has been the center of much of the debate over thematic organization. Meisami (1987: 286ff) also discusses the question of unity and analyzes one of Hāfiz's ghazals to show a great degree of unity.

the theme is more stable. The ghazal has endured as a genre because it encourages criticism of social convention. The rebellions against rules that often change artistic conventions are an integral part of the ghazal genre. Rather than consisting in tacit or formalized rules that are constantly stretched or violated by poets, the ghazal with its apparently rigid form endures because it enables poets to innovate and express ideas that challenge social rules.

Through the Sufi allegory of love, ghazal poets express fundamental opposition to society and its material values, whereas European literary theorists tend to assume that literature reflects and participates in social life and history. The ghazal poet denies being subject to social history and critiques practical daily life on the basis of experiences that transcend it. Jan Mukařovsky (1964) and other literary critics suggest that generic conventions are part of social order with its cultural norms and linguistic conventions, and the creative hero-poet breaks out through an unstructured aesthetic.[65] But ghazal poetry shows that generic conventions themselves can challenge social order and express transgressive ideologies.

I. V. Stebleva is one of the few scholars who has studied the question of coherence in Central Asian Turkic ghazals. In her first study of Bābur Shāh's ghazals (Stebleva 1982: 205), she concluded that 'contrary to the widespread assumption that bayts in the ghazal are semantically disintegrated, the study of Bābur's ghazals has disclosed the linear character of their semantic arrangement, predetermined by the development of concepts of the author, who wanted to present their meaning in motion and development.' But in her later, wider-ranging study of the organization of Turkic ghazals (Stebleva 1993: 13), she corrected her idea of ghazal development, arguing that 'a semantic network connects all the mutually conditioning threads and correlating images of the ghazal.' In this revised understanding of ghazal structure, Stebleva argues that traditional themes are given concrete form in the thought schema established in the initial bayt, the *matla'*, which provides the conceptual foundation for constructing the system of images for the whole ghazal. If this basic concept is presented in contrasting images, then the whole ghazal will be built on antithesis, which will serve 'as the semantic dominant, informing the development of the content and the system of images of the ghazal in the frame of antithetical construction' (1993: 12, with two examples analyzed, pp. 31–38). This more flexible account of ghazal construction recognizes the importance of patterns and

[65] Jan Mukařovsky discusses poetic norms (1964: 66–68) as aesthetic principles that succeed each other in history. He argues that periods and genres are defined by excluding or devaluing either structured or unstructured aesthetic principles, and literary history oscillates between these styles.

connections based in sound and imagery that do not necessarily contribute to the semantic coherence of the poem, but she ignores the ways in which disruptions of logic and coherence can express resistance to worldly values.

As I discuss in later chapters, Uyghur muqam performers do not have a strict concept of ghazal sequence and structure. Ömär Akhun's and Turdi Akhun's muqam performances reveal that they treated ghazals as organized collections of couplets from which they selected material according to what fit their musical performances. In some cases they performed entire ghazals, but they also preferred certain couplets or sets of couplets and ignored others. A similar process occurs in written transmission as well, because popular ghazals were frequently abbreviated to preserve only the more interesting or memorable couplets.

Ömär Akhun and Turdi Akhun generally treated couplets as units and preserved their integrity. They also usually preserved the sequence of couplets of a ghazal but often reduced the number of couplets they performed. They almost always began a ghazal from the *matla'*. These rhymed couplets were also what they most often performed as independent elements or combined with other couplets.

Muqam performers used the first few words of a *matla'* as the name for the ghazal as a whole, although the ghazals are alphabetized according to rhyme in the large collections known as *dīvān*s. This emphasis on the *matla'* accords with Stebleva's idea that the semantic dominant must appear here. In it the essential theme of the poem, along with its metric structure and rhyme, are available to the performer as memory aids to help recall the rest of the ghazal.

The poet Muhammad Fuzūlī (1480?–1556?), who was born and lived in what is now Iraq, is popular in both Central Asia and Anatolia. In the following poem he sets the theme as that of *adab* and establishes a pattern of oppositions, as Stebleva described. Only in the final couplet does he mention love, but he does not mention the beloved. Thus he describes a love that is more a philosophical ideal than an allegory of romantic passion. The wine in the third couplet is likewise not set into the allegory of the cupbearer and tavern but expressed as something direct from God. The poet uses contrasting images in most of the succeeding couplets, alternating descriptions of worldly temptations and values with descriptions of those who seek another kind of wealth from God. This poem was one of the few that Turdi Akhun sang both as a song in a Čoñ Näğmä (of Äjäm muqam) and as a dastan song (in the Rak and Čäbbiyat muqams). Although Ömär Akhun did not sing it for me, he discussed it briefly as a song he also sang. It fits Ömär Akhun's preferred repertoire of religious songs because it does not mention erotic

love. I can find no editions of Fuzūlī that include this song, so I translate from the versions in the editions of the muqam songs:[66]

Ädäpniñ rištäsin tütqil, ädäptin yaχši raz olmas,
Ädäpsiz ikki alämdä biliñ ki säräfraz olmas.
Hold the thread of propriety [*adab*], there are no secrets better than propriety,
Know that in the two worlds, the improper one cannot hold up his head.

Kimä dävlät quši qonsa, üčar här jayğa qanatsiz,
Kimä bäχti qara bolsa äniñ dästi däraz olmas.
Whomever the bird of fortune lands upon, [though] wingless he will fly everywhere,
To whomever fortune is black, he will not have long arms [he will not be rapacious.]

Egämniñ ğäzinisi köptur, tiläydurmän ilahimdin,
Egär bir qäträ mäy bärsä, tökülsä äsli az olmas.
My master's store of treasure is great, I seek it from my God,
Even if he gives only one drop of wine, when he pours it, it will not be little.

Köñülniñ qušliri pärvaz urar učmaqliq asmanä,
Bäläntučmaqliq bilän zağ-u zuğan alämdä baz olmas.
The birds of the heart fly to the roof of the heavens,
Even flying high, crows in the world are not falcons.

Täväzzu pešä qil šikästälik alämdä käsip äylä,
Mubada kasäiy zärrin bahasi sïnsa az olmas.
Make humility your habit, and make your profession in the world that of the broken one.
Even if [the world] breaks a golden goblet, its value is not little.

Fuzūlī ikki alämdä muhäbbät ašinasi bol,
Muhäbbätsiz kišiniñ köñli qišdur, äsli yaz olmas.
Fuzūlī, in the two worlds be the neighbor of love,
In the hearts of those without love it is winter, there is no summer.

This poem is a good example of a ghazal structured around interconnecting parallelisms of sound and sense: *ädäp*, 'etiquette, propriety,' appears three

[66] Ärshidinov 1970: 27, 42; Barat 1986: 19, 172. Two couplets appear in the revised Mušavräk muqam *kičik säliqä* (MRO 1986: 10).

times in the first couplet; *äläm*, 'world,' appears four times, twice in the phrase *ikki äläm*, 'two worlds.' The words *učmaq*, 'to fly,' *muhäbbät*, 'love,' and *köñül*, 'heart,' appear twice each. Couplet five exhorts the listener to be *shikastä*, 'the broken one,' and then uses the metaphor of the world breaking a golden cup to suggest the value of the broken one. The final couplet juxtaposes the two contrasting pairs of summer and winter and hearts with and without love.

From among many possible images of fortune and success in this world, Fuzūlī integrates theme, sound pattern, and logical parallelism along with the repeated *-az olmas*. The poem consistently attacks the temptations of the world, each couplet giving another rejection of the world, but there is no apparent sequential development among the images. Despite the lack of logical development from one couplet to the next, the versions I have found in the muqam texts all follow the same sequence.

3.2 Ahmad Yasavī

I begin my discussion of the poets whose works are used in the muqam tradition with Ahmad Yasavī, to whom a large volume of Sufi didactic poetry is ascribed. Yasavi's teachings were transmitted both orally and in writing. Unlike most of the later poets, he was also famous as a Sufi shaykh and became extremely well known as the supposed founder of an eponymous Sufi order (*tarīqa*).

Little can be said with certainty about the historical figure of Yasavī. A. K. Borovkov (1948), Devin DeWeese (1996a), and M. F. Köprülü (2006: 128) all argue that some or all of the poems collected in the *Dīvān-i hikmat* are not by Yasavī. In addition, sayings attributed to him that circulated orally differ from the written corpus. Therefore, in discussing Yasavī and 'his' poetry here, I refer primarily to the constructed figure and not to the historically real Yasavī, about whom I can say little.

Yasavī's poetry rarely refers to the love allegory. He shared the reluctance of early Sufi poets to adopt erotic imagery for the mystical path and continued to emphasize gnosis (*maʿrifa*) over love (*mahabba*, *ʿišq*; see Schimmel 1975: 130–38). As I discuss shortly, Yasavī's idea of gnostic wisdom, or *maʿrifa*, was more paradoxical and cryptic than explicitly didactic. Although memorable, many of the proverb-like oral sayings attributed to Yasavī and his followers needed explanation if they were to be used as guides on the mystical path.

Ahmad Yasavī apparently lived in the twelfth or early thirteenth century CE and is the earliest poet named as an author of verses that appear in the Muqam songs. Although he was born in Sayram, he lived in and was named after the town of Yasi, north of modern Tashkent. His fame as a Sufi

shaykh and proselytizer of Islam became so great among Turkic Muslims that the name Shaykh-i Turkistan was applied to him. This later caused his hometown itself to be renamed Turkistan. The mausoleum constructed for him there by Emperor Tīmur is important pilgrimage site.[67] Yasavī's poetry has come to be a monument as well, serving to anchor some of Central Asian Turkic Sufism to a large corpus of narrative poetry about Yasavī's own life.[68]

Yasavī's poetry appears little in the Twelve Muqams, but the closely related poems that are used reveal interesting differences between the image of Yasavī in oral and literate tradition. The most coherent and rhythmically regular poem is as follows:[69]

Qudrät bilän bärdiñ jan	With your power, [Allah,] you revived
Kim yaχšidur kim yaman.	Those who are good and those who are bad.
Barčä yaχši, biz yaman.	All are good, we are bad.
Barčä buğday, biz saman.	All are wheat, we are straw.
Jandin käčmäy iš pütmäs,	Do not abandon life without finishing [your] work,
Qäs [qasd] qilmayin näps ölmäs.	Without making a resolution the carnal self will not die.
Quruq däva söz ötmäs	Dry medicine and useless words cannot succeed
Yalğan guva bärsämmän.	If I bear false witness.
Yalğančiniñ sani yoq,	The liars are beyond counting,
Išqsiz tänniñ jani yoq.	Without love the body has no soul.
Därdsizlärgä dava yoq,	There is no cure for those without pain,
Täbibimdin sorsam män.	When I ask from my doctor.

[67] See Privratsky 2001, particularly pp. 54–57. Irène Mélikoff (1987) gives an overview of the meager secondary sources on Yasavī. She primarily discusses the connections of Yasavī and his followers to the Bektashi of Turkey and makes historical assertions that are not justified by the sources. See also Hofman 1969, 6: 110–129, for a useful discussion and bibliography.

[68] András J. E. Bodrogligeti (1993) discusses Yasavī as a model of piety for later Turkic rulers. DeWeese (1996: 184n6) finds Bodrogligeti's arguments untenable.

[69] Iraq mäšräp, Barat 1986: 277. The revised version of Nava muqam, third mäšräp, contains similar verses also attributed to Yasavī, although four lines are completely different and five lines have been significantly changed (ME 1991; MG 1984: 19; MRO 1986: 13, Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002). MG 1984 includes the note that this text was taken from the 'Muqam tekistliri toplimi, p. 290.'

Täbibim sän dava qil,	My doctor, give me medicine,
Hajitimni rava qil,	Grant my prayer,
Päzliñ bilän ada qil,	Fulfill it with your grace,
Yolğa qädäm qoysammän.	If I set my feet on the road.

This poem expresses in simple terms concepts of asceticism, the Sufi path, and the quest for a cure for the misery of living among worldly people. But it also suggests that Sufi dervishes should serve people of this world before going to the next. As in Fuzūlī's poem, quoted earlier, love is not erotic but gives life and hope. But where Fuzūlī describes a drop of wine as a means to union with God, here the metaphor is medicine.

The rather obscure second pair of lines in the first quatrain uses proverb-like logical contrasts and concrete metaphors supported by rhyme and parallelism in a memorable phrase. The contrast of wheat and straw serves as a concrete image for the more abstract contrast of good and bad. Significantly, one hagiographer attributes this pair of lines to shaykh Hakīm Ātā. Although Hakīm Ātā was a *murīd* (follower) of Yasavī, these lines are given as examples of the former's *hikmat* (wisdom sayings) (Borovkov 1948: 237).[70] As Borovkov points out, a more elaborate form also occurs in the collection of *hikmat* poetry attributed to Yasavī:

Qul Khwajah Ahmad yamānlarni yamāni sen,
Barčä būğdāy īl tūtmāğān samāni sen.
Slave Khoja Ahmad, you are the worst of the bad,
All are wheat, [while] you are the straw that people did not harvest.[71]

The final three quatrains in the *Qudrät bilän* song above are also similar to some found in the *Bāqirğān Kitābi* of Sulayman Bāqirğāni (Boqirghoniy 1991: 25), one of Yasavī's *murīd*s. These orally circulated poems have probably been associated with Yasavī because he is better known than Hakīm Ātā and Sulayman Bāqirğāni. A further indication that these circulated orally is that they use seven-syllable lines, which are uncommon in the written *Dīvān-i hikmat*.

In oral tradition the more obscure sayings are strongly identified with the Yasaviyya tradition and quoted in hagiographical treatments of shaykhs. As I discuss later, the *Dīvān-i hikmat* contains relatively general Islamic knowledge and principles, whereas the oral teachings associated more directly with Yasavī express more unusual concepts.

The idea that others are good and we followers of Yasavī are the bad ones is an innovation in Turkic Sufism. In contrast to earlier ideas about

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[70] The Persian text of this hagiographical compendium, the *Rashahāt-i 'ayn al-hayāt*, is in Zaleman 1898: 138.

[71] Borovkov (1948: 181) cites the Kazan printing, which must refer to the editions of J. Th. Gottwaldt cited by Hofman (1969, 6: 121).

wisdom, these followers of Yasavī seem to have been the first Turkic Sufis to suggest that service to others, actively seeking out misfortune, and debasing oneself were all manifestations of God's special favor. Earlier Sufi writers advised humility, but not to the extent of self-deprecation and valuing suffering that seems to have become important with Yasavī and his disciples.

These lines appear only in the Mäšräp section of the muqams, which Turdi Akhun learned from the Sufi *'āshiq* performers known as *mäšräpči*, who specialized in these songs. That similar lines appear in different muqam songs also attributed to Yasavī further supports the idea that these are part of an oral tradition held together by semantic and poetic similarities and circulating within distinct social and religious settings in East Turkistan, rather than being preserved in fixed written texts. These couplets and even quatrains are highly organized in sound and sense and hence readily remembered and transmitted, perhaps partly in written form but certainly orally much of the time. The tradition was closely related to larger Turkic traditions of wisdom poetry, but the ideas that Yasavī and his successors developed were distinctive enough to be preserved separately.

3.2.1 The Dīvān-i Hikmat

Despite its name, the *Dīvān-i hikmat* ('Collection of wisdom sayings') is a compilation of poetic narratives organized around the general theme of Ahmad Yasavī's spiritual biography. The title probably reflects the fame of Yasavī and his followers as shaykhs who taught through mystical sayings but this work covers more general Islamic knowledge and its description of Yasavī's life only occasionally embeds his distinctive teachings within narrated events and dialogues. The poet generally uses first person pronouns for himself and addresses the reader or listener in the second person. The name Yasavī appears as the *takhallus* in the final couplet or quatrain (as I discuss below, Borovkov uses the irregularities in the takhallus as evidence against Yasavī's authorship). Many of the poems describe Yasavī's life, following a sequence from early youth until he enters an underground chamber at age sixty-three, and then until his death at 120 years old. This suggests that they are biographical teachings created by his followers rather than being his own compositions.

I do not propose to analyze this written canon in detail, but a few examples suggest the kinds of ideas and poetry found in the *Dīvān-i hikmat*. The following are excerpts from a poem of forty-three couplets giving a basic outline of the life of the Prophet (Yasavī 1984: 177–180):

Muhämmädni biliñ zati äräbdur,	Know that Muhammad's essence was Arab,
Täriqätni yoli[da] gül-i ädäbdur.	And on the Path he was the flower of propriety.
Häqiqät bilmigän adäm emäsdur,	He was not a man who did not know the Truth,
Biliñiz hič nimägä oχšimasdur. . .	Know that there is nothing like him. . .
Atasiniñ ati Abdulla ikändur,	His father's name was Abdulla,
Anadin tuğmayin ölgän ikändur...	And he died before Muhammad was born from his mother. . . .
Babasi yätti yašinda ölüpdur,	When he was seven years old his grandfather died,
Räsulni imikisigä beripdur. . . .	And they gave the Prophet to his nurse. . . .
Räsulnni yašlari qiriqğä yitipdur,	When the Prophet reached the age of forty,
Ki andin soñ χudadin vähi inip-dur. . . .	After that revelation came down from God. . . .
Yitimni körsäñiz ağritmäñizlär,	[The Prophet said,] 'If you see an orphan do not hurt him,
Ğeripni körsäñiz dağ ätmäñizlär...	If you see a pauper do not wound him.' . . .

Note this last couplet's use of proverbial parallelism. The preceding couplet (left out here) makes explicit that the Prophet's was an orphan and explains that this motivates his charity. The poem continues:

Süfät qilsam 'Ali šir-i Xudadur,	'If I describe him, 'Ali is the lion of God,
Ki šämšär birlä kafirni qiradur. . .	Who destroys the infidels with his sword.' . . .
'Ali islam üčün qanlar yütädur,	For Islam 'Ali spilled much blood,
Ki islam tuğiğä mähkäm tutadur.	So that the standard of Islam could be firmly held.

Xojä Ähmäd bilä ğeriblikkä tüšüpdur	He joined Khoja Ahmad and fell into poverty,
Räsul ävladiğä sözlär qatipdur.	The prophet added his words to those of his descendants.

This poem is unique in this edition of the *Dīvān-i hikmat* for its *masnavi*-like AA BB CC rhyme scheme, and its short lines and limited use of Persian words indicate a possibly earlier date than most of the other poems. It says little that pertains exclusively to Sufism but rather is a basic introduction to the life of the Prophet, his simplest teachings of charity and humanity, and his companions, particularly ‘Ali and the role he played in spreading the faith through holy war against infidels.

A considerably longer narrative verse of slightly irregular, *murabba*‘-like quatrains held together by a common rhyme in each final line also recounts several episodes from the Prophet’s life, including extended dialogues from encounters with a shepherd, with the Byzantine Caesar, and with Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh (Yasavī 1984: 130–154).[72] This poem has the same limited Persian content as the poems just quoted and little specifically Sufi content.

The first poem of the *Dīvān-i hikmat* presents the life of Yasavī in the first person (Yasavī 1984: 100–112). This supposed autobiography compares Yasavī with Muhammad and has Yasavī entering the earth at age sixty-three to avoid living longer than Muhammad, who died at that age. Each decade of his life is told in another sub-poem of twelve to twenty-two stanzas, but they are similar in structure and should be considered parts of one long poem. Each poem repeats the same final line in each stanza. The first sub-poem repeats the line, *Ol säbäbdin atmiš üčdä kirdim yärgä* (‘For that reason I entered the earth at age sixty-three’).

The poem begins with an account of the *Mi‘rāj* (ascension to heaven) of Muhammad and then says that Yasavī himself came into the world 400 years later. After being on earth only nine hours, he went to heaven and saw God. Then it narrates his growth year by year and tells of the encounters he had with saints of the unseen world in the Sufi canon. At age five he fasted day and night and recited the *zikr* (remembrance of God). At six he left the company of people and traveled again to heaven, where he studied from the angels. At seven he began to get instruction from Arslan Baba. At eight he was told to speak *hikmat* and given wine and illumination by Sufi shaykhs (Yasavī 1984: 100–103).

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[72] Jābir was one of The Seventy who swore allegiance to the Prophet at ‘Aqaba. He is respected as a transmitter of *hadīth* and given an important position in Shī‘ī tradition (Kister 2004: 230).

The next sub-poem tells how, at thirteen, he struggles with carnal desire. At seventeen he lives in the town of Turkistan. At nineteen the seventy stages, or *maqāmāt*, were evident to him, he said the *zikr* both internally and externally, and Khizr was now his *baba*, or shaykh. At twenty he became a pīr (shaykh) but could get no one to listen to his *hikmat* or to his recitations of the Qur'ān and Hadith (Yasavī 1984: 103–104).

At twenty-four he strays from God and has to be called back. At twenty-seven he finds a pīr. At twenty-eight he is an *'āshiq*, and at twenty-nine he is destroyed, his liver is *kabāb* meat, his eyes are running with bloody tears (Yasavī 1984: 104–106).[73]

This narrative continues for some time but then skips from age forty-nine to age sixty-three, when Yasavī goes into the earth in mourning for Muhammad. The poem continues for some thirty stanzas but mentions his age only once more, when he reaches seventy-seven. Other poems in the collection (for example, Yasavī 1984: 165–167) also mention this life course, the places he traveled, and his tomb at Turkistan, but without the consistent sequential development that we find here.[74] Most of the other poems address particular topics: his teachings on the principles of being an *'āshiq* (1984: 127), his notebook of *hikmat* and how to use *hikmat* for teaching (1984: 157–161), the repression of the carnal self, and avoiding people who do not know the secrets of the Sufi path and 'fools who do not understand the *anā'l-haqq*' of Hallāj (1984: 115, 161). There are also poems about other great shaykhs such as Baba Machin (1984: 184–185) and Arslan Baba (1984: 162–163, 1985: 196–200).

Borovkov (1948) has shown that the *Dīvān-i hikmat* is unlikely to have been Yasavī's composition. Borovkov discusses several aspects of the *Dīvān-i hikmat* which show that it was pieced together from a variety of sources and that as a whole it could not have been composed or compiled by Yasavī himself, or even within two centuries of his time.[75] These reasons include variations in the *takhallus* and metrical problems that suggest Yasavī's name was substituted that of another poet, extensive Persian vocabulary, grammar, and meters, and dialectal and archaic forms that suggest some poems are older or from other authors than those in the main corpus.

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[73] Muhammad is similarly described on p. 140.

[74] Narratives organized by years or decades of age were already fairly widespread in Turkic poetry beginning with the Orkhon monuments, despite the title of Rémy Dor's 1985 article 'Un genre Turc peu exploité: La Ballade-des-âges (*Yaš destani*).'

[75] H. F. Hofman (1969, 6: 110–113) summarizes Borovkov's work. Poems identified as the work of other poets are also included in some manuscripts of the *Dīvān-i hikmat*, suggesting one way in which poems not originally attributed to Yasavī came to be considered parts of his work (Hofman 1969, 6: 124–125).

The mentions of Turkistan as Yasavī's birthplace, hometown, and place of his tomb suggest knowledge that would have been difficult even for a Sufi shaykh, because the town was called Yasi during his lifetime. However, Borovkov's argument (1948: 242, 246) that quantitative verse in the *Dīvān-i hikmat* could not have been composed earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century is not persuasive, because as mentioned above there is a Turkic understanding of quantitative meter evident already in the eleventh-century *Qutadhğu Bilig*.

Although some of Borovkov's arguments clearly make it impossible that Yasavī could be the author of the work, the question of whether Yasavī or his immediate disciples wrote any of the *Dīvān-i hikmat* has to remain open. It is more likely that later Sufis claiming him as a founding figure for their spiritual lineage compiled this collection to give Yasavī's life and teachings a monumental form and possibly to canonize some teachings while suppressing others. As opposed to the long narrative poems and longer lines of the *Dīvān-i hikmat*, short, proverb-like lines are commonly cited in biographies of Yasavī and his *murīds* as representing his doctrine. These were presumably transmitted in oral form because they do not show up in the *Dīvān-i hikmat* or other collections by Yasaviyya shaykhs. These *hikmat* are clearly valued for their poetic form and their centrality in Yasavī's original teachings, because they are quoted in Turkic even in Persian hagiographies:

Sözni qoy, özni tap.
Give up the words and find the self.[76]
Toq yeyu, toğray yuru.
Eat [your] fill, go straight [on the path].[77]

These differ from the poems of the *Dīvān-i hikmat* because they are short, proverbial, and didactic rather than narrative. They are similar to the short and somewhat allusive teaching phrases found in numerous hagiographies of Turkic-speaking Sufis. These pithy *hikmat* are unlike the longer poems of the *Dīvān-i hikmat* and seem not to have been valued by the latter work's authors, compilers, or copyists.

The *Dīvān-i hikmat* is probably a later creation combining doctrinal teachings with a personal account of a founding figure around whom the Sufi *tarīqa* (order) could be unified. Sufi *tarīqa*s did not exist in Yasavī's time; the followers of a shaykh did not think of themselves as bound to a single doctrine but sought wisdom from many shaykhs. The ideas of a canonical doctrine and organized *tarīqa* seem to have begun in the fourteenth century (DeWeese 1992: 139–140, 1994: 138–139).

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[76] This saying enjoins the *murīd* to enter the Sufi path and seek union with God, not merely God's words. Cited by Borovkov (1948: 230) from the *Lamahat* of Muhammad Alim Khoja.
[77] Borovkov 1948: 230, citing the *Thamarat al-Mashaikh*.

The canon of *hikmat* formalized Yasaviyya teachings but seems to have included few of Yasavī's oral teaching in their original forms. Instead, his teachings are expressed in forms that seem to confer on them the value and authority of Persianate wisdom poetry. The poems are longer and more explicit, and they develop ideas in sequential form. The form of the *Dīvān-i hikmat* suggests that, like the *Qutadhğu Bilig* and the *'Atabat al-haqā'iq*, it arose from a desire to create Turkic poetic monuments that could attain recognition in the Islamic world, although now in the context of competition among Sufi orders (see Light 1998). In order to define a specific tradition, Yasavī as the speaker of compact, suggestive, and flexible proverbial sayings was converted into a putative writer of a canon of Islamic knowledge and Sufi doctrine that began to challenge the predominantly Persian literature of Sufism.

3.2.2 Yasavī's Verses in the Muqams

The Uyghur muqam poetry supports the idea that Yasavī's poetry in oral tradition differs profoundly from the written tradition usually ascribed to him. The Mäšräp sections of the muqams in which Yasavī's poems were performed were associated with Sufi rituals of the dervishes who lived around Kashgar. This does not mean that the verses could not have circulated in manuscript form as well, but it suggests that these songs were more likely part of local Sufi oral tradition attributed to Yasavī. Turdi Akhun's version of Yasavī's verse given earlier was also transcribed as follows (Ärshidinov 1970: 178):

Qudrät bilän (jana) bärdiñ jan,	You revived with [your] strength (O beloved),
Kim yaχšidur ya imam, ya kim yaman.	Those who are good and those who are bad, O Imām.
A, barčisi, (jana) biz yaman.	And all, (O beloved) we are bad,
Pärvaz qilur (jana) tändä jan.	The life in my body will fly (O beloved).
Jandin käčmäy (jana) iš pütmäs,	Do not abandon life without finishing [your] work (O beloved),
Qäst qilmay päqät näpäs ölmäs.	Without making a resolution the carnal self just will not die.
Quruq däva bilän (jana) söz ötmäs,	Words cannot penetrate dry medicine (O beloved),
Yalğan däva (örgiläy) bärsämmän.	If I give false medicine (I am enraptured).

Yalğančiniñ (janäy) sani yoq,	The liars are beyond counting (O beloved),
Išqisiz tänniñ (örgiläy) jani yoq.	Without love the body has no soul (I am enraptured).
Adätsizlärgä (jana) dava yoq.	There is no medicine for those without customs (O beloved).
Täbibimdin (ya imam) sorsam män.	If I ask from my doctor (O Imām).
Täbibim (janäy) sän dava qil,	My doctor, give me medicine (O beloved),
Hajitimni (ya imam) rava qil.	Grant my prayer (O Imām).
Päzliñ bilän (janäy) ada qil,	Fulfill it with your grace,
Pärman qil (ya alla, janansän).	Give the order (O Allah, beloved).

Batur Ärshidinov's edition of this poem, sung by Turdi Akhun in the early 1950s, differs in several ways from the version published by Qurban Barat. Eleven of the sixteen lines are basically the same, three lines partly match, and two lines are completely different. A major difference in the transcription is that Batur Ärshidinov includes the exclamations addressed to the beloved, to an imām, and to God. These are part of the singing style, adjusting the poetic lines to fit the melodic lines, often sung in long melismas. Because they are stereotyped and repetitive in form and style, they are readily separated from the poetic line, as Ärshidinov has done here with parentheses, except in the second line.

The other differences in the poem are largely in word choice, such as *däva*, 'medicine,' replacing *guva*, 'witness,' in line eight, and *adät*, 'custom,' replacing *därd*, 'pain (caused by the beloved),' in line eleven, which clearly make the lines less comprehensible. Likewise, the couplet 'All are good, we are bad / All are wheat, we are straw' found in Hakīm Ātā's *hikmat* is distorted here, without logical contrasts, and with a completely different second line. It is difficult to know whether these distortions are due to the singer or transcriber or whether the version that preserves the original saying was a correction to what was performed and transcribed. In any case, these poems show that Turdi Akhun learned and performed a Yasavī oral tradition greatly different from that found in the *Dīvān-i hikmat*.

The other poem attributed to Yasavī in the muqam texts is the following less-organized verse, from a mäšräp song in the Čäbbiyat muqam (Barat 1986: 50):[78]

[78] A long verse in the separate *Ab-i čäšmä* version of the muqams includes most of this one in rearranged form but mixed with a variety of other verses with less Sufi content (Ärshidinov 1970: 190–191; Barat 1986: 305–306).

Qudrät bilän bärdiñ jan.	Revive with [your] strength.
Čiltän-čiltän ämäsmu,	The forty is forty, is it not?
Čiltän därviš ämäsmu,	The forty are dervishes, are they not?
Čiltänlärniñ du'asi	The prayers of the forty
Müškül asan ämäsmu.	Make the difficult easy, do they not?
Müškülümni asan qil,	Ease my troubles,
Hajitimni rava qil,	Grant my prayer,
Päzliñ birlä ada qil,	Fulfill it with your grace,
Yolğa qädäm qoymasmän.	I have not set my feet on the road.
Čiqsam tağniñ bašigä,	When I go up mountain peaks,
Čiltänlärniñ qašigä.	[I will meet] face-to-face with the forty.

This poem seems a somewhat fragmentary combination of two simple chant-like addresses to God. The one seeking ease for troubles is similar to the quatrain in the previous Yasavī verse, while the theme of meeting the Čiltän seems to be a different way to enlightenment.[79] The final couplet does not address God but returns to the Čiltän theme. A related line appears in the *Dīvān-i hikmat*: *Čiqsam tağlar bašiğä čihltän bolsam bolğaymu?* 'If I go up to the mountain peaks can I become a Čiltän?' (Yasavī 1984: 162).

The mixing of two rhymes in the first quatrain and the couplet where a final quatrain might be expected suggests again that the oral tradition consisted of readily remembered couplets and quatrains that could be combined in many ways. In chapter 6 I show how performers use couplets from other collections in varying sequences. These couplets are only slightly longer than those we find as quotations in the biographies of Yasavī and his disciples. I believe these short couplets and quatrains were chanted during Sufi rituals but there are no sources for the texts of such East Turkistani Sufi chants so this has to remain speculation supported by the fact that Turdi Akhun gathered these songs among mäšräpčis.

Unfortunately, studies of Yasavī's poetry are not very advanced, and the many textual sources have yet to be adequately assessed, so it is difficult to determine when the poems were composed or compare different versions of the *Dīvān-i hikmat*. There are no critical editions that would suggest how this collection was put together and changed over the centuries, and there are few sources that show how Yasavī's poems were used in teaching, worship, or performance. That they endured in popular currency through the 1950s is

[79] *Čihil tan,* 'forty persons Moses is supposed to have slain and brought to life again' (Steingass 1988: 405).

clear from the muqam songs, but it is difficult to determine whether transmission was only oral or whether performers also found these songs in written collections. Yasavī's poems have only a minor place in the muqam tradition. They are found only in the mäšräp songs, which provides further evidence that Turdi Akhun in fact collected these songs from dervishes and added them to the muqams himself. Despite fairly explicit Sufi meanings one of Yasavi's songs appears in the Nawa revised muqams (including Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002), as mentioned in a footnote above.[80]

Attention to wisdom sayings and proverbial style is not prominent in the Yasavian written tradition, but the popular currency of his sayings suggests that they have remained part of Central Asian Turkic oral culture. A Sufi tradition of using local vernacular languages to teach Islam also appears in Aziz Ahmad's description of the earliest use of Urdu – originally the language of the Mongol Orda, or court – as a literary language. Sufis working as missionaries used the popular speech and wrote down collections of their didactic sayings in Urdu. These phrases appear in hagiographies as early as the thirteenth century (1969: 94).[81]

In the literary Sufi poetry I consider next, the Turkic forms and styles used by Yasavī have been changed, the ghazal form dominates, and the romantic allegory is more prominent. Ghazals rarely reflect distinctively Turkic styles, although Navā'ī does attempt to demonstrate the uniqueness of Turkic poetry. In social and political life, a few poets continue to negotiate between Persian and Turkic culture, but more importantly a gap develops between elite courtly and popular Sufi poetic styles and identities.

3.3 Classical Turkic Poets: Lutfī, Navā'ī, and Fuzūlī

From the time of Ahmad Yasavī to the classical 'Chaghatay' Turkic poetry of the fifteenth century, literary Turkic poets moved further from oral Turkic style, adopting with little modification the Persian ghazal form and *'arūz* quantitative meters and using many more Persian and Arabic words.[82] Translations and re-creations of Persian works in Turkic form brought new literary

[80] Yasavī's putative work also has only a minor place in the canonical histories of Uyghur literature. Ğopur and Hüsäyin (1987: 344–352) discuss him briefly as a critic of mullas, qazis, muftis, and imams.

[81] He explains that the first prose Urdu was also a Sufi text, the *Mirāj al-'āshiqīn* of Muhammad al-Husayn 'Gisudarāz,' written in 1421.

[82] The literary language now termed Chaghatay was usually simply called Türki by the authors themselves. Oghuz, Qipchaq, and Chaghatay speakers shared this literary language, and dictionaries were composed to help people read the difficult poetic language. See Clauson 1972: xxi.

themes and plots into Turkic literature. From the eleventh century *Qutadhğu Bilig* of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib through the fourteenth century 'Qipchaq' literature of the Golden Horde, authors tended to borrow and translate Persian and Arabic terms differently: Persian words were translated into Turkic, while Arabic terms were often preserved without translation.[83] But this approach was not preserved in the ghazal poetry of the fifteenth-century Timurid courts.

After the Mongol conquest, patronage at Mongol courts radically shaped the politics of literary culture. The Mongols relied to varying degrees upon both Uyghur and Persian literati as scribes and teachers. The cultural conflicts between Arabic, Persian, and Turkic traditions that predated the Mongols now existed within new political contexts and involved conflicts over religious practices as well, as Turko-Mongols gradually converted to Islam and Mongol *yāsā* laws gave way to Islamic *sharī'a*.

Because Mongols relied heavily on Turkic recruits to create their empire, eventually Turkic became the primary oral language for most of the Mongol elites west of China (Manz 1989: 7, 176–177n9–11). The early Mongol chancellery was organized and managed by Uyghur *bakhshis* who established the Uyghur vertical script as the official Mongol script. But in the Īlkhānid branch of the Mongol Empire, the Persian chancellery became more important, and Turkic never attained the status of a literary language. Elsewhere, Turkic was generally still accorded a secondary or ritual status.

Historians and poets expressed differing attitudes toward the linguistic and cultural mixing of this time, but protests against the cultural effects of the Mongol conquest were common. Victor Minorsky (1956, 1964) examines the late-thirteenth-century Persian poet-satirist Pūr-i Bahā's use of Mongol and Turkic vocabulary in his *qasīda* to Juvaynī, which included a line translated as 'Like the reed-pens of *bakhshīs*, the sorcerers [*qām*] of your tresses, / Have practised Uyghur script on your cheeks.' Although he is praising Juvaynī in his poem, Pūr-i Bahā's mishmash of foreign words calls attention to Juvaynī's role as cultural translator. Pūr-i Bahā openly criticizes the Mongol invaders in other poems, so there is likely an implied criticism in this depiction. Minorsky translates another poem in which Pūr-i Bahā makes fun of a stuttering Chiğil Turk who says in Turkic that he is not a Turk. Minorsky concludes that although Pūr-i Bahā gives the Mongol rulers their due in odes to them, he hides some barbs 'among the smiles and roses.' More daringly, when writing poems to fellow Iranians, Pūr-i Bahā describes Mongol rule as a *fitrat* ('interregnum') and is otherwise dismissive.[84]

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[83] See the analysis by Robert Dankoff in Yūsuf Khāss Hājib 1983: 10–12, 264–267, András Bodrogligeti's analysis in Sa'dī 1970: 11–17, and my discussion Light 1998: 135, 208.

[84] For other examples, see Huart 1914 and de Rachewiltz 1968.

Mongols choosing between Turkic and Iranian cultural values and traditions found that Iranian culture offered a richer literary and artistic 'civilized' tradition, whereas Turkic identity was more appropriate genealogically and in shared nomadic values. Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair (1980) analyze one mid-fourteenth-century manifestation of developing Iranian identity among elite Mongols in the Īlkhānid domains. They conclude that the heavily illustrated manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* created during this period was a 'major document in the creation of a proto-national [Mongol-Iranian] consciousness' and an attempt by Mongol and Iranian elites to glorify 'the new Iranian state through the exaltation of its legendary past' (1980: 25–26).

From the other side, the use of the Uyghur-Mongol script in Timurid and Golden Horde chancellery and literary works such as the *Qutadhğu Bilig* and the *'Atabat al-haqā'iq* was one of the ways in which Turko-Mongols resisted Iranian cultural domination.[85] Persian literature in Arabic script was the predominant courtly form, so when writing valued political and cultural texts, Turko-Mongols relied on their traditional script as one symbol of their distinctive cultural tradition.[86]

In this section on the classical Chaghatay poets, I examine how Timurid court patronage and the highly politicized relationship of Persian and Turkic culture and literature shaped the Turkic poetry of this watershed period and its later reception. The problems with Lutfī's use of proverbs suggest the difficulties of using oral language in ghazals, and Navā'ī's biases toward Persianate poetics come out in his assessments of his own work and that of contemporaries. Navā'ī's political and cultural importance and his enthusiastic defense of Turkic poetry help give him an enduring importance

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[85] Although one was promised by Tourhan Gandjeï (1962), there are as yet no synthetic discussions of the use of Uyghur script to represent Turko-Mongol identity in literary culture, although individual works have been considered in detail. In Reşid Rahmeti Arat's introduction to his edition of the *'Atabat al-haqā'iq*, he discusses the Uyghur script versions (Yükneki 1951). Sir Gerard Clauson (1962) argues that the Uyghur script used in Timurid times was essentially a symbol of Mongol tradition, newly applied to writing Turkic with diacritics derived from Arabic writing used for loan words. In some cases both the alphabet and the language itself were described as *Moghul* (Mongol). More recently, A. M. Shcherbak (1982: 470-74) stated that Timur's descendants had recourse to 'all sorts of means for continuing the tradition of the Mongol Empire,' and the Uyghur alphabet was one of these means, 'all the more so after the Turks stopped using it.' On Timur himself using it for historical purposes, see comments in Hofman 1969, 6: 12. István Vásáry (1987) has worked extensively on Uyghur script texts from the Golden Horde chancellery and considers connections to Timurid uses, while Osman Sertkaya (1974) discusses Anatolian use of the Uyghur script.

[86] Thomas Lentz and Glenn Lowry (1989: 259–271, 305–310) show that Timurid courts were bicultural and bilingual in both the political and artistic spheres. Beatrice Forbes Manz (1992) gives an overview of the rise of Chaghatay ethnic identity and the consequent Persian/Turko-Mongol duality of court and bureaucracy.

that he is able to transfer to his precursors through his commentaries on their work. Although these poets were part of only one literary circle among many, they become dominant in Central Asian Turkic literary history because of political and social factors, as well as their aesthetic accomplishments.

Despite changes in literary style and language, Turkic oral style and genres remained very similar to those of the earlier period but had little presence in the written record until much later. With increasing social and literary exchange, Turkic speakers began using Persian and Arabic vocabulary orally, but these words did not dominate in the way they did in the literary language. In my treatment here, I am aware that I am highlighting divisions among Arabic, Persian, and Turkic lexicon and style that were becoming less prominent in educated speech and literature. But documents of popular speech make clear that these linguistic distinctions remained important even in the twentieth century.

If we compare Eastern Türki (Uyghur) popular contest (*munazara*) literature and oral tall tales, profound differences in style and lexicon are obvious. As Gunnar Jarring (1972: 17–21) points out, the tall tale is a widespread oral genre among Turks.[87] The phrases are syntactically highly parallelistic, although they do not rhyme, and the narrative sequence relies on a logic of reversals. For instance, the narrator describes using a broken jug to fetch water from a dry river and pouring it into broken kettle to cook a dead fish that he had killed with a broken knife. The phrases describe finding each object, discovering that it is useless, and then putting it to an impossible use. The language of these narrators is concrete and uses few Arabic and Persian words.

On the other hand, the *munazara* is a widespread Muslim literary genre, and even vernacular Uyghur examples retain linguistic and formal characteristics of literary Turkic. Jarring's examples of 'The Contest of the Fruits,' 'The Contest of Food and Throat,' and 'The Conversation between the Horse and Camel' consist of rhyming couplets with less syntactic and logical parallelism than the tall tales (Jarring 1936, 1980a, 1989–1990: 29–71). In addition, they include roughly one Arabic or Persian word per line, whereas the oral tall tales average less than one such word in five lines.

Because I am looking at this crucial period of the creation of Central Asian Turkic classical literature from the perspective of its place in modern muqam performance, I am teasing out evidence for how Turkic oral expression was stitched into, and excluded from, literary forms. The literary documents are the only means we have to follow the history of Turkic speech and

[87] In addition to the oral text he translates in this 1972 work, he also edits and translates a briefer tall tale from a manuscript (Jarring 1989–1990: 26–29).

performance. Muqam performers create their tradition in learning and performing songs that draw on both oral and written literary sources, so their art should be understood from the perspective of the dynamic interaction of these forms in literary history.

I have been developing a heuristic distinction between oral and literary forms of Turkic, but I do not seek to essentialize these differences. Turkic languages changed dramatically in both speaking and writing through contact with other languages, and through people's conscious reflexivity on linguistic style; there are no Turkic stylistic universals, but it is useful to examine the different kinds of changes that appear in different oral and literate genres to understand people's reflexive practices. Awareness of generic and linguistic patterning is part of both changing and remaining within conventions. In many oral Turkic genres phrases are shorter and use more imagery from daily life, with greater logical and phonological parallelism, and more forms derived from verbs. Written genres tend to have longer lines using more elaborate images not drawn from everyday experience. Written lines show less parallelism, and make more complex uses of nouns and adjectives while verb forms tend to be simpler. Oral use of imagery can be more conventional as in proverbs, but they do not become a generic stock of ideas and images as have literary forms. Literary images are less relevant to everyday experience and outside of ordinary social conventions. In particular, ghazals in Persian and Turkic express allegorical, mystical, and religious ideas rather than attending to more concrete, socially contextualized situations and experiences. My discussion of Lutfī's use of proverbs in a ghazal explores some practical complexities resulting from these distinctions.

3.3.1 Mavlānā Lutfī

Chronologically, the next poet who appears after Ahmad Yasavī in the muqam songs is Lutfī, an important, early-fifteenth-century predecessor of the great poet Mīr 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī. The poets Sakkākī and Atā'ī are Navā'ī's other major predecessors, but they do not appear in the muqam songs performed by Turdi Akhun.[88] Eleazar Birnbaum (1986: 835) claims that Lutfī uses the fewest Arabic and Persian forms, drawing mostly on Turkic words, but this is true only in comparison with later Chaghatay poets.

[88] On the precursors to Navā'ī, see Eckmann 1964: 305–326; Rustamov 1963. The poetry of Sakkākī appears in the Ili muqams (Ärshidinov 1987: 48–49). Poetry by both Sakkākī and Atā'ī is included in the revised Uyghur Twelve Muqams. See Iraq *čoñ säliqä* (ME 1991: 16–17); Sigah *nusχa* and first Mäšräp song (ME 1989: 6–7, 28); Äjäm second dastan song (ME 1991: 25); Bayat *täzä* (ME 1991: 7–10); Özhal fourth Mäšräp song (ME 1986: 32).

In his comments about these poets, Navā'ī himself describes Lutfī as the most correct in his use of 'arūz.[89] About Lutfī's life little is known. János Eckmann (1964) gives the approximate dates 1366–1462. When Birnbaum asked him, Eckmann said these dates were a guess (Birnbaum 1973: 240).

Few of Lutfī's poems appear in the Uyghur muqam songs, but his name is attached to a couplet frequently sung by itself in the *muqäddimä* and *täkit* songs:

On the emerald arch a line written in gold said that
Other than the benevolence of kind people nothing will last forever.[90]

One ghazal by Lutfī appears in the Ili muqam collection. It is an address to the beloved, with imagery expressing the pain of separation and being a social outcast. In the final couplet it refers to Lutfī's performing Rast and Iraq maqām tunes (*ahañ*) (Ärshidinov 1987: 81; the ghazal also appears in Lutfī 1987: 112.) Ghazals from Lutfī are more common in the recently edited versions of the Twelve Muqams.[91] Along with newly included works by the similarly 'classical' poets Atā'ī and Sakkākī, these new poems of Lutfī's reflect the effort to make the muqams a more broadly representative selection of Turkic poets.

One reason for Lutfī's importance is his extensive use of folk forms. Even more than Atā'ī and Sakkākī, Lutfī continues to find meaningful uses for proverbs from oral circulation, introducing what Ergash Rustamov (1959: 383) describes as realistic details in the otherwise largely formalistic code of romantic and religious ghazal poetry.[92] The dozens of examples of proverbs that Rustamov discusses from all three of these authors attest to their strong desire to include this aspect of Turkic oral style in ghazal poetry.

But since these 'realistic details' are socially ratified ideas in proverbial form, they undermine the ghazal's rebellion against society. What Rustamov assesses critically as formalism is also the abstract unworldly domain of Sufi allegory and rejection of society. Lutfī wrote an entire ghazal based in proverbs, which has been widely discussed in histories of Central Asian Turkic literature:[93]

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[89] Eckmann 1964: 308; Hofman 1969, 4: 63ff.

[90] Barat (1986: 30) assigns this to Lutfī, but Ğulam Ğopuri, in his dictionary (1986: 305) cites it as from Fuzūlī.

[91] Two ghazals by Lutfī are included in the Uššaq *muqäddimä* (ME 1991: 6–8), replacing texts by Huvaydā and Navā'ī. Lutfī's verses are also used in the revised Nava *kičik säliqä* (ME 1991: 17), Iraq *jula* (ME 1991: 13–14), Rak *päšru* (ME 1991: 21, MG 1981: 12–13), Bayat first dastan song (ME 1990: 24–26). These verses appear in Lutfī 1987: 15, 124, 129, 130, 132, 135, 139, 178.

[92] A revised version of this article appears in Rustamov 1963: 128–160.

[93] Rustamov 1959: 401–402, 1963: 158; Eckmann 1964: 310; Bombaci 1968: 113.

Āyağina tušar har lahza gesu,	Every moment your hair falls to your feet,
Masaldurkim: 'čarāğ tubi qarānğu.'	There is a proverb: 'The base of the lamp is darkness.'
Tutārmän köz ki, körsam ārazi-ñni,	I hold onto the hope that I may see your face,
Ki därlar: 'āqqan āriqga āqar suv.'	Because they say, 'Water will flow to the canal that it flowed through before.'
Yüzüñni tutdim ārtiq āyu kündin,	I value your face more than the moon and the sun,
'Kišiniñ közidur ārä tārāzu.'	'A person's eyes are accurate scales.'
Köziñ qānimdin iymanmas, ajabdur	It is amazing that your eyes do not shrink from spilling my blood,
Ki 'qorqar qayda kim qān körsa hindu.'	Because 'a Hindu is scared when he sees blood.'
Tilar vasliñni Lutfī qil ijābat,	Lutfī desires a meeting with you, fulfill this desire,
Ki ayturlap: 'tilaganni tilagu.'	Because they say, 'The desired shall be sought.'

This unique example of generic syncretism is worthy of the attention it has been paid, but there is a conflict of genres here that has not been pointed out. The socially conventional proverbs disrupt the usual anti-social logic of ghazals. The contrast of proverb and ghazal logic only appears in the proverb about Hindus fearing blood. Otherwise, each line uses a proverb only to comment upon or reinforce an image. Connecting the images of lamp, hair and darkness seems to have no deeper sense than simply a way to use a proverb. Why it matters that the base of the lamp is in darkness is not made clear. Black hair is often a symbol for what Louis Massignon (1982, 2: 253) calls 'the Dark Night in which God blinds the reason of his lovers,' but usually a ghazal would make clear the mystical meaning of the lamp's base being in darkness.[94] In the second couplet, vision and the flow of water are metaphorically connected, but repeated flow seems a weak expression of the *desire* to see the beloved again and again. The third couplet uses a proverb to defend the poet's evaluation of the beloved's face, but using a proverb to support the lover's fixation seems superfluous, because ghazals are not logical persuasion about subjective experience, but vivid expression of it.

[94] See Vāsifī's similar critique in Subtelny 1984: 146–47.

Likewise, in the fifth couplet, rather than using art to reinforce the lover's plea, the proverb reframes it in the social argument of an accepted phrase.

Lutfī creatively introduces proverbs as sources of conventional imagery, but they do not seem to aid the expression of rejecting society and filling the soul with God. When the lover uses conventional social logic to persuade the beloved, it replaces the powerful evocation of desperate love with the demands of social authority. Lutfī is stretching and redefining the ghazal genre, but his innovation fails to catch on. Whether mystical or didactic in purpose, later Turkic ghazal poets remain resolutely opposed to worldly society, either rejecting or correcting it. In Navā'ī's enormous oeuvre, straddling Persian and Turkic language he further rejects Turkic oral poetics, despite his later attempts to defend the Turkic language.

3.3.2 Mīr 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī

For many reasons, Navā'ī is the central poet of the Central Asian Islamic tradition and the muqam songs. He composed thousands of ghazals and more than a dozen other major literary and historical works over the course of his life. He was a key figure in the Timurid cultural flowering in Herat and Samarkand. His skillful and varied language and his extensive use of difficult Persianate and Arabic words and phrases make his Turkic ghazals uniquely difficult and earned him great fame among Turks of Central Eurasia. Few poets have been as prolific, widely circulated, and appreciated as Navā'ī. His works are a watershed in the history of Turkic poetry, and he remains the outstanding classical poet for most Central Asian Turks and scholars of Turkic.[95] He has been called the founder of the Chaghatay literary language and is claimed as a culture hero by both Uzbeks and Uyghurs.[96]

Navā'ī's fame is also due to social and political factors. Born in 1441 in Herat, Navā'ī was the descendant of Uyghur *bakhshi* scribes who served the Timurid royal family (Subtelny 1979–1980). He attended school with the Timurid prince Husayn Bāyqarā (1438–1506). When the latter ascended to the throne in 1469, Navā'ī served as one of his highest officials until Navā'ī's death in 1501. In addition to being a prolific poet, he was one of the wealthiest men in the Timurid domains at the close of the century-long decentralization of the empire that Tīmur had created through his conquests.

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[95] Maria Subtelny's survey of Navā'ī's life and works (1993: 91) reflects this idea: ''Alī Shīr forged Čaghatāy into a supple instrument of poetic expression and, in so doing, endowed it with classical form.'

[96] Navā'ī parallels Uyghur and Turkic in the preface to his first Turkic dīvān: 'Among the eloquents of Uyghur expression and the rhetoricians of Turkish speech are Mawlana Sakkākī and Mawlana Lutfī' (quoted in Thackston 1989: 366). Subtelny (1983) discusses the Uzbek leader Shaybani Khān's adoption of Timurid court culture.

Maria Subtelny has described the political and economic changes that made possible the vast patronage of artists and scholars during the Timurid era. Under the early Timurids, patronage was given primarily by the sovereigns, such as Tīmur and his son Shāhrukh. However, the gradual increase in power of the Turkic amirs through being granted ever greater tax exemptions and *soyurghal* land, which were entirely free of state governance or obligations, enabled them to provide extensive private patronage. Mīr ʻAlī-Shīr was one of the most fortunate in terms of receiving gifts of such land from Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā, and he spent most of the proceeds supporting architectural and charitable works and as patron of many artists and poets (Subtelny 1988, 1991).

As well as being the subject of several biographies by contemporaries, Navā'ī became important in Turkic oral tradition. His name is widespread in popular narratives, in some of which he has become something of a trickster figure after the manner of Nasraddin Khoja (Bertel's 1965a: 200–204). Further work is required to explore the origins of these oral traditions, but it seems clear that many come from written sources. Navā'ī arises from a literate world, and his enduring appeal has depended on dissemination of his image and his poetry in writing.

Although the sources on Navā'ī's life are somewhat contradictory, it is perhaps the stories about him recorded by his acquaintances that best suggest the spirit of his personality, or at least the ways he was perceived. A. N. Boldyrev (1946) recounts many of these as they appear in the collection of narratives from Navā'ī's contemporaries made by the Persian author Zayn al-Dīn Vāsifī. They suggest that he had a sense of humor but did not always deal well with the frustrations and social conflicts that went with his position as cultural patron and government official.

Vāsifī recorded Mavlānā Sāhibdārā's account of Navā'ī's asking him to visit a sick teacher of his while he hosted some guests he had already invited. The guests leave soon after eating and Navā'ī gets angry, accusing Sāhibdārā of breaking up the party by leaving. Sāhibdārā reminds Navā'ī of what he had gone to do, and Navā'ī becomes angry with himself, sulking for several days. He asks Sāhibdārā not to tell any of their acquaintances, because it would damage his reputation to be known as forgetful and irascible (Boldyrev 1946: 131–132).

Other stories recount ruses that Navā'ī used to get revenge on political rivals, and many describe his great personal frugality, humility, and generosity. This latter image supports the hero worship of Navā'ī in Uzbekistan. Edward Allworth (1964: 46–87) describes the demonization of Navā'ī during Stalin's purges of all things connected with the ruling class and ethnic nationalism in the past or present. But in the 1940s Navā'ī attained new

heights of scholarly attention, although writers had to temper their praise by mentioning his ruling-class identity to avoid critical attacks.

Since the 1940s Navā'ī has remained the most prominent cultural figure among the many who are interpreted as progressive 'Uzbeks,' when 'progressiveness' is judged relative to stage of economic development. Popular understanding has been carefully shaped to show that Navā'ī, Lutfī, and other Sufi literati were progressive in their criticisms of those in power, their defense of the poor and powerless, and their supposed disinterest in the material world.

Rustamov (1959: 414) concludes his article on folk elements in the ghazals of Lutfī, Sakkākī, and Atā'ī by arguing that they simplified ghazal poetry and popularized it among 'Uzbek' folk by giving up the narrow 'Eastern scholasticism' (Sufism) of the courtly literati and expressing worldly love instead. Bertel's (1965a) criticizes the modernized image of Navā'ī as a revolutionary but also seeks evidence of his social progressiveness. On the basis of Navā'ī's own statement in the introduction to one of his dīvāns, Bertel's claims that the initial sections of dīvāns contain more religious poems, while the later sections tend to consist of love poems; he admits they are difficult to connect to Navā'ī's own life. Bertel's also finds that Navā'ī's *qit'a*s (fragments) are criticisms of specific people and injustices, although they are vague because he was afraid of retaliation (1965a: 67–70, 96–104, 154, 188).[97] Even Navā'ī himself distinguishes 'the Sūfī language of truth' from 'the style of the non-mystic poets' and points out which of his *qasīda*s are in each style (Navā'ī 1966: 34), but it is doubtful that he would have made such a distinction among his ghazals.

Despite Navā'ī's generosity in his good works for the poor and in supporting *madrasa*s and other religious institutions, he clearly would not have included common people in his social sphere. He was capable of brutally mocking people he felt were intellectually beneath him. Vāsifī praises Navā'ī for knowing physiognomy so well that he can recognize a certain Sadr ad-Dīn Yūnus as a fool. Navā'ī enjoyed entertaining his friends with allusive insults that this man did not quite understand, including a story that exceeds the bounds of what Subtelny is willing to translate (1984: 149–150). Navā'ī also criticizes the crude habits and pleasures of the Turks of Samarqand, such as riding and falconry (Bartol'd 1962: 43–44).

As I pointed out earlier, realist interpretations distort the Sufi allegory that shapes Navā'ī's ghazals. Ghazals refer to few of the social problems that

[97] Julie Meisami (1987: 285) reads Persian poetry from a similar historicist perspective, also finding allusive rather than explicit social criticisms. She finds ghazals the most private and subjective of the genres she considers, mirroring 'transcendental truth' rather than 'historical *realia*.'

Soviet critics such as Bertel's and Rustamov would like to identify; the ideology of the ghazals advocates asceticism, respect for God's power alone, and abandoning the world in the constant remembrance of God. Bodily needs should be denied and spiritual exertions should be continual. The people of this world are cruel and uncomprehending, contributing to the suffering of the lover. Just as the images of the ghazals do not correspond to Navā'ī's comfortable life, they cannot be read as social commentary.

Navā'ī and his shaykh, 'Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī (1414–1492), like many other politically involved figures in Central Asia beginning in the fifteenth century, were followers of the Sufi tradition based around Bahā' ad-Dīn Naqshband (1318–1389). Drawing many of his ideas from his spiritual shaykh, 'Abdu'l-Khāliq Ghijduvānī (d. 1220), Naqshband taught that productive labor in service of other people was the proper way to approach God. In Jāmī's words, Naqshband summed up his revision of Sufi dervish ideology in the phrase 'solitude in society, a foreigner at home, externally with people, internally with God' (Bertel's 1965a: 112–113).[98]

Following the example of Khoja Ahrār (1404–1490), a Sufi shaykh in Samarqand who, through his many *murīd*s, had considerable religious authority throughout Timurid domains, the later Naqshbandiyya believed in doing God's will through political involvement. They stressed defense of *sharī'a* law over non-Muslim law and even *'ādat* customary law, as well as 'sober adherence to the *sharī'a*' and *adab* on the spiritual path (Algar 1990: 14, 42). Jāmī clearly followed this ideology.[99] Jāmī also criticized Sufi dervishes for their ignorance and lack of productive work, whereas Navā'ī seems to have viewed them more positively (Bertel's 1965a: 113–118).[100] Navā'ī's commitment to Naqshbandī ideology comes out most strongly in his extensive support of religious charities (Subtelny 1988, 1991).

Navā'ī's enduring historical importance arises from his extensive Turkic literary creation within the historical frame of his religious and cul-

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[98] See also Paul 1998: 30–34. Algar (1993: 934) gives the three principles relating to *zikr* rituals – temporal awareness (of one's spiritual state), numerical awareness (of ritual repetitions to prevent intruding thoughts), and awareness of the heart (making the physical heart participate in the work of *zikr*) – that Naqshband added to the eight he learned from the spirit of Ghijduvānī (see Schimmel 1975: 364–366). Because they were ways of calling attention to oneself, Naqshband rejected wonders, music, *samā'*, vocal zikr, and distinctive dress.

[99] Jürgen Paul (1991: 536) quotes Jāmī in defense of *sharī'a* and describes him as 'a close follower of Khwaja Ahrār.' See also Algar 1976: 141. Whereas Khoja Ahrār and Jāmī both strongly opposed Shī'a tendencies, Timurid rulers including Sultān Husayn patronized both Sunnī and Shī'a institutions (Lentz and Lowry 1989: 251–253).

[100] In the *Mahbūb al-qulūb,* Navā'ī points out the value of dervishes' prayers in preserving the ruler. But Navā'ī (1948: 35–38, 46–47, 62–63) criticizes musicians and other wandering entertainers while explaining that farmers (*dihqān*) are good because they feed so many others. Naqshband believed in serving all beings, including animals (Molé 1959: 54).

tural commitments. Several stories about Navā'ī reveal the effect of ethnic identities on social relations among the educated classes and officials. Despite Navā'ī's Persian literary education and limited knowledge of Turkic literature outside the courtly Persianate poetic tradition, he nonetheless was an advocate of Turkic poetry. In one of many encounters with the Persian poet Kamāl ad-Dīn Binā'ī in the court of Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā, Navā'ī asked him to tell something about the virtues of the Aqqoyunlu leader Ya'qūb Beg. Binā'ī responded, 'Of all the virtues of Ya'qūb Beg, none can be compared with the virtue of his not speaking Turkic.' Navā'ī exclaimed, 'O Binā'ī, your rudeness surpasses all boundaries. Are you proud to fill your mouth with vulgarities?' Binā'ī answered, 'That is simply done: it is enough to recite some Turkic verses' (Boldyrev 1946: 147).[101]

Binā'ī's answer reflects the tensions surrounding the promotion of Turkic literature by Timurids. This story had wide currency and Mīrzā Muhammad Haydar mentions it. As a Mongol writing history in Persian and poetry in Turkic, Mīrzā Haydar would have been aware of the tensions that lay behind this story. Haydar reports that Navā'ī tried to be friendly and put aside animosity towards Binā'ī when the latter returned from exile to court in Herat. But when he asked Binā'ī how he found the Aqqoyunlu court in Iraq, Binā'ī replied, 'The one really good thing I found in the Iraqis is that they absolutely do not compose Turkic poetry.'[102]

Navā'ī's relationship with Turkic oral and literary tradition was complex. Despite his descent from *bakhshi* chancellery officials, Navā'ī showed no interest in the literature written in the 'Uyghur-Mongol' script used in some Timurid courts to distinguish valued works of Turkic literature from the Persian and Arabic tradition in Arabic script. Nor did he patronize any of the scribes who used it. Indeed, Navā'ī lacked some knowledge of the Turkic literary tradition before him, apparently because of his Persian education and Persian-dominated political and religious life.[103]

Although he himself did not compose in oral forms, he did show the close correspondence of popular oral song meters and the literary meters of

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[101] Subtelny (1984: 148) offers a slightly different translation.

[102] Cited in Thackston 1989: 358. Mīrzā Haydar's Turkic poem (Hofman 1969, 3: 156–171; Toğan 1937) has been published in Xinjiang without recognizing the author as Mīrzā Haydar (Šikästä 1985). Bābur (1996: 224) gives another example of the contest of wits between Binā'ī and Navā'ī.

[103] He did not know of Qutb's translation of Nizami's *Khusrav va Shīrīn* (Bertel's 1965a: 145–150) and when writing about Turkic poetry he could not find any poems by Sakkākī and claimed that Sultan Husayn was the first to encourage poets to write in Turkic (Gandjeï 1962: 66). Navā'ī seems not to have known of the thirteenth-century poet Ahmad Yüknäki except as a Sufi shaykh in oral tradition, rather than as a literary poet whose work circulated in Timurid times (Navā'ī 1979: 390–91).

Turkic poets in his *Mīzān al-awzān* (Measure of the meters), using examples from Lutfī and Atā'ī in particular.[104] But in his collection of biographies of poets, the *Majālis an-nafā'is*, Navā'ī criticized Turkic poets for their use of easy *turkāna* rhymes, in which the repeated syllable is simply a verb ending. He accused Atā'ī of writing for oral performance and using variable Turkic oral meters rather than conforming to Persian *'arūz* rules. Navā'ī felt that Lutfī, alone among the earlier Turkic poets, had attained the Persianate standards of excellence that Navā'ī set for himself. Even in this he ignored aspects of Lutfī's poetry that he considered defects in other poets.[105]

Nonetheless, Navā'ī believed strongly that Turkic should be a literary language, and he did his best to make it one. He apparently had Jāmī's encouragement of his efforts at expanding and refining the Turkic literary tradition, and Jāmī even suggested that Navā'ī do a *nazira* ('version') of the tradition of composing a Khamsa (Five epics) begun by the Persian poet Nizami and reworked by Amir Khusrau and Jāmī himself. In the introduction to each of the romantic epics in his Khamsa, Navā'ī explained the importance of putting these works into Turkic so that people of the Turkic tribes (*Türk ulus*) would have the opportunity to understand these heroes in their own language (Bertel's 1965a: 126–169).

Towards the end of his life, Navā'ī began to feel more strongly that the Turkic language was equal or even superior to Persian, although he never really accepted Turkic style in ghazals. After Jāmī's death in 1492, Navā'ī translated Jāmī's collection of biographies of famous Sufis, *Nafahāt al-uns min hadarāt al-quds* (Breezes of fellowship from the heart of the holy), into Turkic as *Nasā'im al-mahabba min shamā'im al-futuvva* (Breezes of love from the perfumes of chivalry), adding to it biographies of important Turkic Sufis that Jāmī had left out. In addition, Navā'ī composed the *Muhākamat al-lughatayn* (Judgment of the two languages), describing the superiority of the Turkic language, in the interest of liberating learned Turks 'from the taunts and criticisms of those who are enamored of Persian' (Navā'ī 1966: 46). In it he makes detailed comparisons of Turkic with Persian and Arabic to show the former's advantages as an expressive medium, and then he describes his own literary achievements in Turkic.

Navā'ī (1966: 3) begins his discussion by praising Arabic, which 'possesses the most eloquence and grandeur, and there is no one who thinks or claims differently.' Then he describes the three principal 'varieties of language' after Arabic: Turkic, Persian (which he calls both Fārsī and Sārt,

[104] Bābur Shāh (1996: 214) finds that Navā'ī's understanding of meters is poor. Like his rhyme principles, Navā'ī's metric analyses are more prescriptive than descriptive (Gandjeï 1949).

[105] Gandjeï 1949; Rustamov 1959: 387–391; Navā'ī 1966: 41.

1966: 5n10), and Hindi. These languages arose from the three sons of Nuh (Noah): Yāfith, who was sent to Khatā and was the father of the Turks; Sām, who was sent to rule Irān and Turān and was the father of the Persians; and Hām, who was sent to Hindustān and was the father of the Hindus. Because of the curse Nuh laid on Sām, the Hindus are dark and their language resembles 'the scratching of a broken pen.'

Between exalted Arabic and base Hindi are Turkic and Persian. 'It is well known that Turkish is a more intelligent, more understandable, and more creative language than Persian, whereas Persian is more refined and profound than Turkish for the purposes of thought and science' (Navā'ī 1966: 5). The proof that Turkic is superior can be found in the fact that Turks all know Persian, whereas the few Persians who learn Turkic make themselves objects of ridicule. He argues that Persians must borrow from Arabic words for certain phenomena, and Persian has fewer of the homonyms that Turkic poets use in repeated line ends in the *tuyuğ* genre. He presents Turkic verses that are not readily translated into Persian and lists Turkic verbs and technical terms that express certain 'nuances and shades of meanings' that Persians have had to borrow. Turkic has more words for animals and animal parts, food and drink, and older and younger siblings. Derivative suffixes are richer in Turkic (1966: 6–24).

Navā'ī concludes that Turkic is superior and that Turkic poets and writers should use 'their own tongue.' When he explains why Turkic speakers write in Persian, it sounds as if he writes of his own experiences: Persian is easier, other poets have used it, and the older scholars from whom young poets seek approval may read only Persian (1966: 25). He himself was slow to recognize the advantages of Turkic over Persian, but he does not say who coaxed him to this recognition. We can infer that it was due to the support of Turkic patrons such as Sultān Husayn.[106]

Navā'ī explains his Turkic compositions, showing how they are related to the Persian poems of Amir Khusrau and Jāmī, and gives examples of his Persian compositions. He praises the technical skill of these compositions, says they earned him the respect of Jāmī and other poets, and suggests that he had to be recognized as a Persian scholar to get respect for his Turkic compositions (1966: 29, 36–8).[107] He argues that because he has such mastery of both Persian and Turkic, his choice of writing in Turkic is the best demonstration of its excellence as a poetic language (1966: 39).

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[106] Sultān Husayn Mīrzā comments that Navā'ī has 'infused life in the dead body of the Turkish language' (Thackston 1988: 4).

[107] For a discussion of how Navā'ī integrated his poetry into Persian tradition through composing *jawāb* (responses) to the poetry of Hāfiz and Jāmī, see Ricardo Zipoli's excellent work (1993).

After mentioning Lutfī and Bābur as the only Turkic poets he feels are truly skilled, Navā'ī ends with an encomium to the rule of Sultān Husayn and his many great poetic compositions: 'He writes and speaks Persian and Turkish with equal skill and facility, but he has preferred to write his dīvān in Turkish because of the influence of his essential nature and because of the expressiveness of Turkish' (1966: 43). Although he defends Turkic as more difficult and more expressive, Navā'ī clearly also seeks to resolve the problem of Turks who cannot write well in Persian by justifying their native tongue as both more natural for them and more excellent in absolute terms.

Despite identifying Turkic popular meters in the *Mīzān al-awzān*, in the *Muhākamat al-lughatayn* Navā'ī largely ignores popular oral literature and instead draws on Islamic rhetorical theory to defend Turkic. He demonstrates the importance and versatility of Turkic by displaying its linguistic diversity, not its oral poetics. He values *gharīb* (rarities, uniquely excellent words).[108] This can be seen in both his *recherché* ghazal style and his argument that Turkic has more names for things, more possibilities for puns, and more nuances of meaning. In the prose of *Muhākamat al-lughatayn* itself, however, Navā'ī uses the high-flown Persian style of elaborate tropes based in difficult words and complex images (1966: 20–21):

Bu khāksārğa sibā awā'ilīda kīm āğīz-i huqqasidin
bīrār gōhar zāhir bōlā bāšlār.
Ōl gōhar hanūz
nazm silkīgā kīrmāydūr īrdī.
Kim zamīr daryāsidīn
nazm silkīgā tārtīlğān gōharlār tab'.
Ğavāsī sa'yī bīla
sāhlīğa kela bašlamaq.
To this lowly one in early youth from the vessel of my mouth
a few pearls began to be evident.
These pearls had not yet entered a string of verse.
From the river of consciousness
were selected those pearls that suited a string of verse.
With the efforts of diving
they began to reach shore.[109]

In keeping with high Persian literary prose style, Navā'ī's lines are often organized in pairs with related ideas, but not in the close parallelisms of sound and sense we find in Turkic proverbial composition. Here he develops a consistent treatment of the pearl imagery over several lines, using only

[108] Navā'ī's first collection of poetry is entitled *Gharā'ib al-sighar* (Rarities of childhood).
[109] I have altered Robert Devereux's translation.

limited grammatical repetition, alliteration, and syntactic parallelism. Although Navā'ī is advocating Turkic, it is highly Persianate in practice.

There are more Turkic style parallel constructions in the *Muhākamat al-lughatayn*, such as Navā'ī's description of one of his own works, the dīvān *Fawā'id al-kibar* (Advantages of old age):

> *Anda ūlūğlārğa fā'idalār-i zulālīn yetkürüb män*
> *Va havaslari šu'lasiğa nasā'ih-i zulālīdīn sū urub män (22).*
> I gave to great people the benefits of pure water to drink,
> And I quenched with the pure water of pleasant advice the flames of their desires (27).

Even here, despite the parallel grammatical structure, he emphasizes complex imagery rather than parallel semantic structure. In the second line he changes the sense of both the subject and the verb, without making these contrast with the first line, and keeping constant only the sense of liquid. Complex forms such as this are harder to memorize because of the limited redundancy of the weaker parallel structure, and this suits literary appreciation more than oral use. Such elements from the *Muhākamat al-lughatayn* do not have the redundancy that would allow them easy oral circulation.

3.3.2.1 The Mahbūb ul-Qulūb

Navā'ī tells us that he wrote his didactic final work, the *Mahbūb ul-qulūb* (Beloved of hearts) (1948), from his extensive experience and travels and consequent skills in distinguishing good from bad. He intends it to help readers with less experience than he.[110] Although much of the work consists of rhyming couplets, most of them resemble the paired lines of Arabic and Persian *tarsī'* prose more than verse, because they do not have fixed metrical patterns or line lengths.

The *Mahbūb ul-qulūb* is in three parts. The first describes social and occupational groups and their attributes and character, the second moral principles. These two sections consist of elaborated literary prose, with few compact phrases resembling Turkic proverbial style. The third section is the longest in the work. It is a presentation of aphorisms interspersed with brief verses, mostly *qit'a*s, 'fragments,' and *bayt*, 'couplets,' but also including other genres. Some of the aphorisms resemble Turkic wisdom sayings in their strict parallelism and brevity. Navā'ī begins this final section with a discussion of the importance of learning from others' words and not placing oneself above others. He says that listening makes one full, whereas speaking empties oneself (1948: 101). Some couplets are brief and highly parallel:

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[110] This work is analyzed in detail, with extensive translations of the proverbs, by Belin (1866). I use Kononov's edition here (Navā'ī 1948).

köb digan köb yañilur Saying much err much,
köb yigan köb yoqulur. Eating much destroy much. (101)

Later this couplet appears inverted:

az digan az yañilur Saying little err little,
az yigan az yoqulur. Eating little destroy little. (161)

And both sense and structure are similar to those in the following:

köb degüči köb yegüči One who speaks much and eats much
tamuğ törigä ašuqub ketküči. Is one rushing for the place of honor in hell. (139)

But there are few instances of such terse, verb-centered Turkic expression in *Mahbūb ul-qulūb*. More common are elaborated explanations such as the following from a section on *karam* and *futūwat* (generosity and liberality):

Biravniñ mihnatī χārī hamlīn qobūl qīlmāq, To accept the thorny burdens of someone's unhappiness,
Va ōl dīgān nūkīdīn güldīk ačīlmāq, And open like a rose from these sharp points,
Va ōl qīlğānnī tīlgā kêltūrmāmāq, And not make the tongue tell of doing this,
Va āğziğa almāmāq, And not take it to the mouth [not mention it]
Va ōl kīšīgā minnat qōymāmāq, And not lay it on that person as an obligation,
Va ānīñ yūzīgā köz sālmāmāq. And not rest your eyes on his face. (112)

Despite and the dominance of Turkic words and rhymes here, the lines have varying degrees of parallelism, which hinders memorization. He composes with neither the strategic parallelisms of Turkic proverbial style nor the strict rules of literary poetry. But other sayings do fit the Turkic oral style better:

'aql va tamyīz da'wīsī yōq, Wisdom and discernment make no claims,
bīrmāsāñ āčdur, bīrsāñ tōq. When you give not they will be hungry, when you give full. (133)

köñlida ilga yüz āzār χiyālī In the heart one hundred thoughts trouble the people
va jahalīdin ulusqa miñ zarr ihtimālī. And from fools one thousand injuries likely will come to the ulus. (133)

īšak unidin qulaqqa āzārdur, The sound of a donkey troubles the ear,
andin özgā ne 'ayb bardur. Besides that, what harm does it do?(133)

He expresses a complex mystical idea using unusual and distinctive concrete metaphors and mostly Turkic vocabulary:

sudin asrağuluqdur tufrag va balčiq evin
va otdin asrağuluqdur yiğač va qamiš evin
va yildin asrağuluqdur böz evin
va tufrağdin asrağuluqdur köz evin
jamī‘ mā sūy alladin asrağuluqdur köñül evin.
From water the earth and clay house must be protected,
And from fire the wood and reed house must be protected,
And from the years the cotton house must be protected,
And from dust the house of the eyes must be protected,
From everyone but God the house of the heart must be protected. (164)

Navā'ī seems to have understood the principles of proverbial style and to have turned to it and perhaps to its oral sources in his late writings. But he felt that ghazal poetry was the highest achievement of pure form autonomous from social usefulness, whereas other genres had more applied purposes. When he describes quintessentially Turkic genres, he has strict requirements and yet criticizes those that are too *turkāna* (Rustamov 1959: 388–389; Navā'ī 1966: 15; Fearey 1977: 10).

Navā'ī was a linguistic nationalist who served his patron's cultural ideology by promoting Turkic poetry, but he was vain and needed recognition of his brilliance. At least in ghazal poetry he did not want to give up the refined Persian style and genres that he had mastered so well for what he considered the coarser style of the Turks. And it is his ghazals which continue to be most valued, at least in the muqam songs. The romantic dastans he composed have not been used as muqam texts.

3.3.2.2 Navā'ī's Poetry in the Muqams

The dominant position Navā'ī's poems occupy in the traditional muqam poetry reflects his importance as a Turkic poet. Despite present efforts to move away from Persianate and highly religious poetry in the muqams, his poems continue to be important, reflecting his symbolic importance for Uyghur literary tradition. In one recent history of Uyghur literature (Ğopur and Hüsäyin 1987: 498–671), Navā'ī receives three times as much space as any other writer.[111] In the Kashgar versions of the muqam texts performed by Turdi Akhun in the 1950s, Navā'ī's ghazals make up roughly 60 percent of 150 different ghazals (Ärshidinov 1970; Barat 1986). In the Ili version of the muqams, only about 20 percent of the texts are by Navā'ī (Ärshidinov 1987).

[111] Mahmūd Kāshgharī, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib, and Lutfī are each given about fifty pages.

The more recent versions of the Twelve Muqams, edited during the 1980s and 1990s, include a more diverse spectrum of poets. Poets such as Sakkākī and Atā'ī are newly included, as well as more characteristically East Turkistani figures whose works have been revived by scholars through the editing of rare manuscripts or borrowed from other regional muqam traditions. These include A. Nizari, Ayaz, Gumnam, Mähzun, Zälili, Qäländär, Vapayi, Nobiti, Ämiri, and Molla Bilal. In the case of the Pänjigah muqam, edited in the late 1980s, the 1950s version included ten full ghazals by Navā'ī, whereas the later version replaced seven of those with more recent poets (ME 1981-1992). More generally the revisers replaced only about a quarter to a third of the original poems by Navā'ī, Mashrab, and Huvaydā with a broader selection of authors, until the version of 2002, which has even fewer of the original poems and includes works by authors such as Gumnam, Mähzun, and Bābur who were only recently recuperated as part of the Uyghur tradition and made available in editions (Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002).

In this section I discuss a few of the ghazals by Navā'ī that are most commonly performed in the muqams, as examples of his poetic style and themes. The first (Navā'ī 1987–1990, 4: 87) is a verse sung by Turdi Akhun in the *muqäddimä* of the Čäbbiyat muqam.[112] I give the sequence and lines that he performed, although I use readings from the Tashkent 1989 edition to clarify the sense. I use the spellings of modern Uyghur.

Äy jamaliñ mehridin rošän äzäldin ta äbäd,
Zärrä yañliğ ol yaroğluq ičrä särgärdan χiräd.
Kunhi zātiñdin χirädgä bolsa ä'ma ni äjäp,
Zärrigä yüzmiñ quyaš māhīyatin bilmäk ni hädd.
Xälq räddidin ne ğäm tapqanda lutfuñdin qobul,
Äl qobulidin ne sud aniki qähriñ qilsa rädd.
Saña talib kimki 'äzmi kä'bä äylär yoqsä däyr,
Sän muradi kimki däyr ičrä 'sänäm' där 'ya sämäd.'
Häm munajat ähliniñ janida biymiñ be-hisab,
Häm χarabat ähli janida umidiñ be-ädäd.
Jurm isyan čahidin čiqmaq Navayi iltimas,
Sändin äylär nigäkim yoqtur saña kufwän ähäd.
Oh, the sun of your beauty is bright forever,
Amid the brilliant sparks [my] mind was bewildered.
If from your true essence they [reach my] mind, blindness is no surprise.

[112] All revised versions replace this with a ghazal apparently by Navā'ī that compares Turkic, Arabic, and Persian words. In chapter 6 I discuss this ghazal, which was borrowed from the Uššaq *muqäddimä* of the Ili muqams.

What right does an atom have to know the essence of 100,000 suns?
What sorrow comes from people's rejection when I find acceptance in your favor?
What profit can come from acceptance by the people if [I am] rejected by your strength?
Whoever seeks you leaves for the Ka'ba or to a wine shop,
You are his desire, whoever in a wine shop says, 'O love, eternal one,'
In the hearts of the people praying silently you inflict countless fears.
And in the souls of the people of ruins you create hopes without sorrow.
Navā'ī's request to leave the pit of sin and heresy,
Was made of you because you have no obligation to give refuge.

The combination of love imagery and a fairly explicit address to God in this ghazal shows the difficulty of distinguishing literary Sufi love poetry and religious poetry. The poem contrasts people of the world who pray silently and live in fear and dervishes who have nothing but hope because they look forward to annihilation in the sun of the beloved's beauty.

The parallel line structure and reversals of sense are distinctive in this ghazal. The lines in each couplet present two parallel aspects of an idea, using the same words in a reversal of sense or different words in a similar sense. The first and second couplets repeat similar ideas using different words: in the first it is 'brilliance,' using *rošan* and *yaroğluğ*, and in the second it is 'essence,' using *zat* and *mahiyat*. The third couplet repeats the same words, *qobul*, 'acceptance,' and *räd*, 'rejection,' but attributes them first to the beloved and people of the world and then reverses them. The fourth and fifth couplets use repeating words and syntax to parallel supplemental or contrastive ideas.

In addition to parallelism in each couplet, Navā'ī establishes links between some couplets through repeating words such as *χiräd*, 'mind,' and *zärrä*, 'atom, spark.' If we look at the third, sixth, and seventh couplets from the Tashkent edition that are left out in Turdi Akhun's performance, we find that two of them are also highly parallelistic, and we find more occurrences of the same words – *χiräd*, *quyaš*, 'sun,' and *čah*, 'pit' – as well as several more synonyms for words we already have. In this ghazal Navā'ī has successfully combined these conventional images into a formally and semantically coherent whole.

The following ghazal by Navā'ī appears frequently in Turdi Akhun's muqam songs. He sang parts of it in the *täzä*, *jula*, *sänäm*, or *säliqä* songs of nine of the muqams. He usually sang only the first two to four couplets, and they were transcribed with many differences, although these probably do not reflect differences in his singing. This ghazal is also common in Navā'ī's

dīvāns, appearing in volumes 1, 2, and 5 of the Tashkent edition of his ghazals, with no differences among them.[113]

Bir kün meni ol qatil-i mäjnun ši'ār öltürgüsi,
Osruk čiqip jävlan qilip divanävar öltürgüsi.
Gär zä'if ilä ajizliqim köñligä salsa rähim häm,
Bašimğa yätkäč säkrätib be-iχtiyar öltürgüsi.
Āšiq bolurda bilmidim män nātuvān χästakim,
Hijr olsa ğäm köydürgüsi, väsil olsa yar öltürgüsi.
Väsli ara gär öltürür janimğa yüzming šukr erur,
Čun qalsam andin bir zaman hijran-i zar öltürgüsi.
Mäydan ara, äy ähl-i din, kirmäñ tamašasiğä kim,
Yüz körmäyin ol kafir-i čabuk-suvar öltürgüsi.
La'liñ zäkati mäy tutub tirguzmäsäñ, äy muğbača,
Däyr ičrä män dilχästäni rānji χumar öltürgüsi.
Därlär Navayi qätliğa gül-gül ačibdur arizin,
Körgunčä ani vaikim bu χar-χar öltürgüsi.
One day this murderer with insane ways will kill me,
Going out drunk and begging as if mad, he will kill me.
If he takes my feebleness and weakness to his heart with compassion,
Making [his horse] leap at my head, he will kill me against his will.
In becoming an 'āshiq I did not know I would be so weak from love-sickness that
When separated, sorrow will burn me, when united, love will kill me.
If he will kill me during union there will be 100,000 thanks for my love,
Because if I remain away from him a time, the suffering of separation will kill me.
O people of religion, do not join the pleasures of the public square, because
Without seeing his face, this infidel jockey will kill you.
O tavern boy, if you do not revive me with the wine of your lips as alms,
The hangover pain will kill my lovesick heart in the wine shop.
They will say that every flower opened its cheeks to the murdered Navā'ī,
Until seeing them, alas, he was killed by their thorns.

As in the previous poem, in most of this poem the beloved is portrayed as powerful yet elusive, but here he is a horse-riding infidel murderer, not an

[113] Navā'ī 1987–1990, 1: 521, 2: 556, 5: 427. It has been replaced in almost all the revised versions of the Twelve Muqams. I found three couplets from it only in the 1981 revision of the Čäbbiyat *kičik säliqä* (MG 1981: 16–17).

all-powerful blinding beauty. In the first poem the relationship of lover and beloved was more concerned with metaphysical issues, whereas here it is expressed in violent physical terms. But the images of madness, weakness, the infidel, the wine shop, wine, and the rose and its thorns are also common images of the Sufi allegory, although the beloved as horse rider recalls Persian imagery of the beloved as a cruel Turkic warrior. Although some Uyghurs suggested the embarrassing cultural intimacy of the tradition of dancing boys (*baibacha*, usually written as *batcha* in historical discussions of Central Asia), the male beloved in poetry went unmentioned, so I can only infer that it was the address to a male beloved that caused this poem to be removed from the revised Uyghur Twelve Muqams. Again, homoerotic imagery is avoided because the spiritual allegory has been abandoned, so readers make only worldly interpretations of love, despite poets' explicitly rejecting people of the world. The irony is deepened when one considers that the idea of suffering and even dying for love is still central to the social understanding of these poems, although also obviously metaphorical.

Whereas the preceding poem was united by the pattern of syntactic parallelisms in each line, this poem uses the *radīf*, repeating the idea of being killed by the violent beloved in couplets one, two, four, and five and by other sources of pain in the other couplets. Couplets three, four, and six use contrasting parallels as well. Couplets three, six, and seven use common imagery and could fit almost any mystical love poem, although the description of *Navā'ī-yi qatīl*, 'murdered Navā'ī,' in the final couplet echoes the use of *qātil*, 'murderer,' in the first line.

The images of destruction here are more active and concrete than those in many other ghazals. The preceding ghazal was more typical in its focus on perception, conception, and acceptance. Turdi Akhun's frequent performance of this ghazal seems related to its recurrence in Navā'ī's dīvāns. But too little information exists about audience preferences and the reasons some poems were more widely disseminated than others.

Turdi Akhun performed the following poem in the *täzä* songs of the Čäbbiyat, Nava, and Iraq muqams, although now it has been replaced by other poetry in all revised versions.[114] Here Navā'ī (1987–1990, 5: 26) repeats the image of a quince (behi) in different metaphors for aspects of his bodily suffering:

[114] Čäbbiyat *täzä* has been changed to include a number of verses by Navā'ī that were not used previously. The first revision was mimeographed in MG 1981 with twenty-three couplets from three previously unused ghazals. The second revision came out in 1986 with thirteen couplets from three ghazals, only one of which was the same as the 1981 version. The third revision is undated but probably appeared around 1990. It includes ten couplets from two of the ghazals in the 1986 version.

Behi räñgidäk olmiš därdi hijriñdin maña siyma,
Dimağim ičrä här bir tuχum yañliğ danä'i [dāna-i] sävda.
Muzällät tufraği sariğ yüzümdä bardur andaqkim,
Behigä gärd olturğan musällik tük bolur päyda.
Aqartib išq bašimni nihan qildi seriğ čehrim,
Mamuq ičrä behini čirmağan yañliğ käbi ämda.
Yüzüm tufrağdadur härdäm quruğan jismim zäχmidin,
Behigä särnigunluq šaχi zä'ifdin erur goya.
Bu gülšän ičrä mähbub istigän da'im behi yañliğ,
Kiyip pišminä ta'etigä qäddin χäm äsrämäk ävla.
Navayi gär quyaš naränjidin bihräk körär tañ yoq,
Behikim lutfi qilmiš mähd ävliya ismät ud-dunya ['ismat ud-dunya].
My face has become yellow like a quince from the pain of separation,
On my cheeks every beauty spot of passion is like an egg yolk.
The contemptible dust on my yellow face is like
The fuzz that appears on a quince placed in the dust.
Love whitened my head, my yellow face was hidden,
Like a quince wrapped up in cotton.
My face is in the dust because my body is always exhausted from toil,
Like a quince on a branch drooping from weakness.
In this garden, seekers of the beloved are always like quinces,
It is better to protect curls of hair on your body than to wear the wool of obedience.
Oh, Navā'ī, no wonder you prefer to the sun's orange
The quince that favors the friends of God guarding the world.

The repeated image of the quince in this poem does not depend on a repeated *radīf*. Navā'ī has organized the poem around different images of a quince while using a simple rhyme. The concrete imagery of the quince keeps the verse focused on the effects of love on the lover, with little attention to metaphysical ideas. Although the image of the quince is unusual, the yellow face and white hair, dust, and weakness are common attributes in ghazal poetry. The quince serves as a novel organizing motif, developed over the course of the poem.

These examples show that Navā'ī's ghazals tend to be fairly coherent in their images, but like most Persian ghazals, couplets that fit the poetic form do not have to be fully integrated into a continuous development. Navā'ī's choice of words can be obscure, especially in his final couplets, where he seems to try to make more use of religious imagery and word play. As in the extended metaphors found in his prose writing, he tries to develop his imagery in complex ways, rather than valuing brevity. He uses little

alliteration and assonance, but logical and syntactic parallelism are common in his poetry.

Despite his vigorous defense of the Turkic language for poetry, Navā'ī was committed to using Persian and Arabic lexicon and syntax to extend the expressive possibilities of Turkic. Navā'ī represents a high point of Persian influence in Turkic poetry, but he established principles of autonomous creative expression, formal excellence, and disregard for practical language that remained important for subsequent Turkic poets.

Practical, direct, communicative language that subordinated style to content was championed by Bābur Shāh (1996) and Abū'l Ghāzī Khān (1958) in their Turkic histories.[115] Many poets who came after Navā'ī did not have the skill and education necessary for including high-style forms in Turkic poetry. Popular Central Asian Turkic poetry had limited courtly audiences and was directed more at audiences in popular performances and religious celebrations. Through this more concrete and popular language, many aspects of the Sufi allegory entered popular tradition as ways of understanding the world.

3.3.3 Muhammad Fuzūlī

Muhammad ibn Sulaymān Fuzūlī is another poet whose educational and literary attainments enabled him to use language similar to Navā'ī's. He even wrote poetry in Arabic as well as Persian and Turkic. Fuzūlī is the only one among the muqam poets who has been extensively translated into English. The primary reason for this is that he is important outside of Central Asia in Turkey, because he wrote in the Oghuz Turkic dialect of his native Iraq (Karahan 1991: 937–939).[116] E. J. W. Gibb (1900–1924, 3: 70) states, 'There is no greater name in all Turkish literature than Fuzūlī of Baghdad.'[117] But he was not as prolific in Turkic as Navā'ī was, and his popularity in Central Asia is not as great as in Anatolia. Turdi Akhun sang only five ghazals by him, in his Rak, Čäbbiyat, Äjäm, Mušavräk, and Iraq muqams, and in the Ili muqams there is only one ghazal by Fuzūlī. Two of these

[115] Abū'l Ghāzī (1958: ll. 45–50) introduces his work saying, 'Everyone, realize that before us, those who recounted the history of the Turks added words from Arabic and Persian, and gave Türki words rhythm [*saj'*], to make [the author's] craft and mastery known to the people. We did none of that, because those who will read or listen to this book, of course, will be Turk, and with Turks it is necessary to speak Türki [*turkāna*] so that all will understand.'

[116] Basic sources are Gibb 1900–1924, 3: 70–107; Fuzūlī 1970; Demirel 1991. Bertel's 1962 includes only two articles on Fuzūlī, less than a tenth of the whole book.

[117] Demirel (1991: 173) comments that Fuzūlī's Turkish dīvān is the most common manuscript in Turkish libraries.

ghazal texts do not even appear in the editions of Fuzūlī's poetry published in Turkey.

Because what little is known of his life has been discussed widely, I give only an outline. Fuzūlī was born around 1480 in Iraq, under the Oghuz Turkic Aqqoyunlu dynasty, and was perhaps a member of the Bayat tribe of the Oghuz. He was already known as a poet when the Safavids captured Baghdad in 1508, and he was supported by the patronage of the Safavid Wālī of Baghdad. He was apparently a strongly committed but moderate Shī'a, and may even have served at the shrine of 'Alī at Najaf.[118] He wrote poetry in praise of 'Ali and about the tragedy at Karbalā'. Nonetheless, when Sultan Sulayman captured Iraq in 1534, Fuzūlī attempted to gain his patronage through praise poetry. He seems not to have been very successful in this (Bombaci in Fuzūlī 1970: 12-17).[119] Fuzūlī died in 1556 in Baghdad.

In addition to the example given earlier to show the style of ghazal poetry more generally, another of the few instances of Fuzūlī's poetry in the muqams is the following poem from the *säliqä* of the Iraq muqam (Barat 1986: 212-213). It is not in any of the revised Twelve Muqams.

Šifā-yi vasl qadrin hijr ilä bīmār olandan sor.
Zulāl-i lā'l šavqin tašna-i dīdār olandan sor.
Labiñ sirrin kelib güftāra mändän özgädin sorima.
Bu pinhan nuktani bir vāqif-i asrār olandan sor.
Közü yašlulärin hālin nä bilsün mardüm-i ğāfil.
Kavākib sayrini šab tā sahar bīdār olandan sor.
Xabarsiz olma fattān közläriñ javrin čäkänlärdän.
Xabarsiz mastlar bīdādini hüšyār olandan sor.
Čamiñdin šam' däk yandim sabādan sorma ahvālim.
Bu ahvali šab-i hijrān mänimlä yār olandan sor.
Xarāb-i jām-i 'išqim nargis-i mastiñ bilur hālim.
Xarābāt ehliniñ āhvālini χammār olandan sor.
Muhabbat lazzatidin bī-χabardur zāhid-i ğāfil.
Fudūlī 'išq zavqin zavq-i 'išqi var olandan sor.

Ask the value of the cure of union from those who are in separation and illness.
Ask about the desire for the pure water of ruby [lips] from the one with an insatiable gaze.
Do not come and ask the secret of your lips from any other than me,

[118] Karahan (1991) and Demirel (1991) do not mention this, but Bombaci (in Fuzūlī 1970: 12) says Fuzūlī himself describes this in his poems.
[119] See also Demirel 1991: 102, 118–119, 187–188. Demirel bases his argument on a somewhat stereotypical remark of Fuzūlī's about being ignored by the rulers despite singing their praises.

Ask about the hidden meanings from one who understands secrets.
What should the heedless man know about the state of those with tearful eyes?
Ask about the wandering of the stars from dusk till dawn from the one who is wakeful.
Do not be ignorant of those suffering the cruelty of your bewitching eyes.
Ask those who are vigilant about the injustice of the drunken ignorant ones.
From the pain you caused I burned like a candle; do not ask my condition from the eastern breeze.
Ask this condition from the beloved in the night of separation from me.
My ruin [is] in the cup of love, your intoxicating narcissus will know my state.
Ask the wine-seller about the condition of the people of the tavern.
The heedless ascetic is ignorant of the pleasures of love.
Fuzūlī, ask about the delights of love from one who has the delights of love.

Like Fuzūlī's poem given at the beginning of this chapter, the parallelisms here are more striking than those we saw in most of Navā'ī's poetry. The first couplet is a near perfect example of parallelism of a sort that Navā'ī praises highly in the *Muhākamat al-lughatayn*: the *tarsī'* of Arabo-Persian rhetorical theory, which Devereux explains as rhymed prose 'in which every word of one clause is balanced by a similar word in the other' (in Navā'ī 1966: 34n88). But this parallelism depends more on syntactic and sound similarities than on semantic parallels and contrasts.

In addition to the thematic unity imposed by the repeated *radīf* 'ask of those who are,' Fuzūlī here repeats many words and images in varying syntactic structures. These can be the same words in parallel lines of a couplet, such as *χabarsiz*, 'without news, ignorant,' and with reversal of the *b-r* sounds in the later pair *χarāb*, 'ruin,' and *χarābāt*, 'ruins.' And *χabar* is repeated in *bī-χabardur*, 'is ignorant.' *Hijr*, 'separation,' *'išq*, 'love,' *ğāfil*, 'heedless,' *köz*, 'eye,' and *šab*, 'night,' are repeated, and images of lips appears in two successive couplets using different words. Fuzūlī also repeats Arabic words in different forms, as in the alternation of *hāl*, 'state,' and *ahvāl*, 'condition,' and *sirr*, 'secret,' and *asrar*, 'secrets.' Just as he has made the initial couplet most parallel, Fuzūlī makes the final line stand out with its double use of *zavq*, 'delights, taste,' and *'išq*, once in the Turkic possessive and once in the Persian *izafet* constructions.

The repetition of words in this poem and the one I discussed earlier reflects Fuzūlī's highly conventional use of Sufi love imagery and somewhat limited use of difficult words. He does not reach for obscure Arabic and Persian words and phrases to the same extent as Navā'ī, but repeats words to express new ideas. Fuzūlī explains in a verse, 'The basic purpose of speech is not adornment. Discourse [*sakhun*] is that which common people understand' (Demirel 1991: 109, translation modified).[120] But even though Fuzūlī's ghazals are somewhat simpler to understand, they are far from Turkic oral style, and he is apparently too linguistically or geographically distant to be included in the revised muqam songs.

3.4 Muqam Poets after Fuzūlī: Mashrab and Huvaydā

Bābā Rahīm Mashrab (1657?–1711), often called Shāh Mashrab, is a central figure in the popular understanding of Sufism in Central Asia, and he is difficult for those creating official cultural traditions to come to terms with. He was an ecstatic Sufi who publicly violated taboos in order to bring people to mystical understandings that transcended superficial obedience to doctrinal rules and knowledge of external appearances. He followed the pattern of the Arab Sufi Mansūr al-Hallāj (858–922 CE), who was executed at Baghdad for mystical beliefs that were interpreted as heresy, in particular his famous phrase *anā'l-Haqq* ('I am the truth [God]'). Mashrab compared himself to al-Hallāj, and the sequence of events leading up to his death began when he told people in Balkh, 'My name is Khudā (God)' (Lykoshin 1910: 27, 221–234).[121]

Mashrab's trickster-like behavior fit the ideals of Malāmatiyya Sufis ('those who draw blame on themselves'). Malāmatiyya avoided actions that would earn respect for their piety. Some lived without any pious display, and others hid their faith behind public offensiveness (Schimmel 1975: 86; de Jong, Algar, and Imber 1991). But in addition to leading people to question his piety, Mashrab's transgressions were didactic challenges to social, political, and religious order. When he violated public decency, his explanations were meant to show that he had a better knowledge of Islamic science than did his challengers. He also revealed hidden truths about the world that showed others' conventionally pious acts to be sinful.

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[120] Gibb (1900–1924, 3: 77) says Fuzūlī innovatively uses simpler, more emotional language and less labored metaphors than the Ottoman poets of his time. Later he puts it: 'Fuzūlī has but two or three strings to his lyre, tuned though these be to perfect harmony' (1900–1924, 3: 85).

[121] See also Hartmann 1902. Mashrab frequently mentioned Mansur al-Hallāj in his poems (Mashrab 1990: 12, 69, 99, 132, 141, 148, 232, 241, 284, 293, 296).

As with Yasavī, Mashrab's literary image is difficult to ground in historical sources, and he is best understood as a figure who generated official disapproval and popular glorification. The story of his life and people's responses to his baffling deeds is contained in a popular work known as the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* (Mashrab the madman, with a pun on *dīvān* as 'collection of poetic works'), which interweaves his poetry and events from his life. The book is also entitled *Qissa-i Mashrab* in some copies. Mashrab's poems themselves violate social conventions in the ways typical of other Sufi poets, but the stories in the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* describe more rebellious disrespect for conventional ideas about knowledge and learning, propriety and authority.

The *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* places Mashrab in historical reality and so must have been written not long after his death. Like most other Sufi hagiographies, this narrative presents him performing miracles, but his audacity and courage in transgressing convention have persuasive and didactic effects just as impressive as his miraculous feats.

Even though many events are described, the narration of his life story is briefer than the poetry Mashrab recites within it. Some of the stories in the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* are only sketchy narratives to provide context for his poems, many of which seem not to have been collected elsewhere. The poems vary widely in their relevance to the events being described. Many of them are poems about the Sufi allegory and path. Others are more closely related to the narrative and expand on its themes, although they were not clearly composed with the narrative in mind.

The contents of the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* and Mashrab's poetic dīvāns only partially overlap, but his poetry in both works makes more frequent reference to specific events in his life than the other literary Sufi works I have discussed, except for the poetry of Ahmad Yasavī. But unlike Yasavī and Huvaydā, whom I discuss next, Mashrab usually avoids didacticism in his poems, mentioning Sufi concepts and Islamic knowledge only in relation to his own experiences and rarely addressing the listener directly or attempting to guide. He demonstrates many esoteric ideas through his actions and explanations but seems not to have attempted to create any doctrine. The edition I have of Mashrab's dīvān seems to contain few poems that directly address God, but these are common in the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab*. The difference may be in the original works, but it is also possible that even in 1990 the Tashkent editors excluded poems that addressed God.

Mashrab was born in Namangan, in the Ferghana Valley across the Pamirs from the Kashgar region, around 1657. Because this is outside of the present territory of Xinjiang, he is readily excluded from the modern canon of Uyghur literature and his verses are published in Xinjiang as Uzbek

literature (see Äkbär 1988: 47–64).[122] (Navā'ī, on the other hand, is included ostensibly for genealogical reasons, but mostly because he is famous, despite his having lived in modern Afghanistan.) Mashrab's exclusion removes the problem of explaining this popular but troublesome poet within official Uyghur cultural history. Nonetheless, his poetry is still important in the revised Twelve Muqams, although many of his poems have been removed.

The pen name Mashrab means 'place for drinking' and by extension came to mean a wellspring, particularly for Sufi inspiration. It is also a Uyghur term for an outdoor gathering with songs and sometimes dances in parks and at *mazār*s (tombs),[123] a usage that also refers to Sufi gatherings. Songs of Sufi dervishes are the origin of the muqam section called Mäšräp. Traditionally, *'āshiq* performers known as *mäšräpči* sang these separately from the muqam tradition, and apparently it was only with Turdi Akhun that they became included as part of the muqam tradition. The allusion to Mashrab is significant, and his poetry is prominent in the Mäšräp sections of the muqams, along with poetry by others who have ascetic reputations. The social aspects of mäšräp songs are thus closely related to the popular image of Mashrab.

Although the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* has been the primary source of popular knowledge about Mashrab, there have been few scholarly discussions of it.[124] I describe the work here in some detail, in order to examine how Mashrab's poetry is integrated into the narrative and to suggest some connections to its contemporary historical context.

3.4.1 Mashrab as Antinomian Hero

Like other Turkic mythic heroes, Mashrab is precocious. The *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* portrays him as a miracle worker even before he is born. When his pregnant mother picks up two grapes from the ground in the market, Mashrab speaks to her from the womb, saying that he will disappear if she does not return the grapes to their rightful owner (Lykoshin 1910: 15). When he is old enough to go to school, he rejects literacy because it draws one away from God. He refuses to recite the alphabet beyond the first letter, *alif*, which represents the unity of God (Lykoshin 1910: 16–17). He recites a ghazal that begins:

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[122] His poems also appear in the journal *Bulaq* (Mashrab 1981). The latter selection is taken from a copy of the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* and includes some poems that do not appear in the Mashrab 1990 edition.

[123] Mashrab is pronounced *mäšräp* in Uyghur. In the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* his name is explained as a word for a spring where water bubbles up.

[124] But see Hartmann 1902b; Allworth 1990: 73-77; Machrab (*sic*) 1993.

To place *alif* in my soul I learned from the *Bismillah*
To spill blood as a martyr for the faith I learned from the Qur'ān.
To sell the eight doors of paradise for a single grain of wheat
And to know the path of created beings I learned from Adam and Eve.

This long ghazal from Lykoshin's translation does not appear in the editions I have. It goes on describe what Mashrab learned from Moses (Musa), Jesus (Isa), Solomon (Sulayman) and other prophets, the four caliphs, and Fatima and Muhammad. After reciting the ghazal Mashrab leaves the school and goes into the desert. He recites a ten-stanza *mukhammas* that begins with the affirmation that 'God is one' and then explains the interactions between God and various prophets, ending with a direct address to God about following the path of Truth.

These initial poems are closely connected to the narrative, but the latter gives only a framework of events. The poems explain some of Mashrab's actions through details of his esoteric teachings, clarifying his rejection of written learning in order to learn directly from the prophets.[125] The theme of conflict with learned Islam recurs throughout his life story and reflects a mystical opposition to intellectual learning similar to that expressed in Yasavī's 'Give up the words and find the self' (*sözni qoy, özni tap*).

The rest of Mashrab's life story continues this theme of conflict in his relations with teachers, religious officials, political leaders, and ordinary people. He serves his religious teachers but cannot do things exactly as he should. After he refuses to learn the alphabet and leaves school, he begins to manifest other marks of being a holy fool. He explains to his mother that he must go naked because that was how he was born. When he is fifteen his parents take him to become a *murīd* of Bazar Akhund in Namanghan because they are ashamed to have him in their house (Lykoshin 1910: 24–25). Mashrab recites a ghazal explaining to Bazar Akhund that he came to calm his soul and find his love, the house of his soul, and then another ghazal arguing that even if one is a shāh, or Mansur al-Hallāj, or the emperor of China, one will not escape the suffering of death (1910: 25–27).

Bazar Akhund replies with a short verse explaining that the blessing and support of one's father and mother is even more important than the quest for God. Mashrab replies with an eight-stanza mukhammas largely concerned with the burning of the lover and the Sufi path (Mashrab 1981: 104–

[125] Suggested here is direct communication with an absent or dead prophet, which was an important method of training for some Sufis. It is generally described as Uwaysī, after Uways al-Qaranī, who communicated with the Prophet Muhammad when he was physically absent. See DeWeese 1993, 1996.

106).[126] The poem is a good example of the style and concepts for which Mashrab was popular, and it appears as the first poem in the selections published in the journal *Bulaq* (Mashrab 1981). Here I present the first stanza in the original, and then summarize:

Išqida köymäs hečkim dīvāna bolmağunčä,
Šäm'idä yanmas hečkim pärvanä bolmağunčä,
Söymäs sädäpni hečkim durdanä bolmağunčä,
Ädhäm supät dunyadin biganä bolmağunčä,
Bašqa alip malamät äfsanä bolmağunčä.
No one will burn in love unless he is insane,
No one will burn in a candle flame unless he is a moth,
No one will love an oyster unless there is a pearl,
No one will be like Adham until they forget the world,
No one will receive blame until they are notorious.

The second stanza says that without the beloved, the speaker does not need the two worlds, the throne and wealth of Solomon, the long life of Khizr, or his body and soul. In the third stanza he describes how his own flame will destroy everything on the Day of Judgment. The fourth stanza describes Mashrab's tears and remembrance of God (*Oğan*) and the happiness of union that would come if God were to be the judge (*qazi*) and do justice by splitting his chest. The fifth stanza concerns his suffering and search for annihilation in flame, and the sixth through eighth stanzas are among of the few places in which Mashrab directly addresses the listener, explaining how to be an *'āshiq* and concluding that neither Mashrab nor other *'āshiq*s will see the beloved without suffering (Lykoshin 1910: 28–31).

Despite Bazar Akhund's request that Mashrab return home and serve his parents, he insists on serving Bazar Akhund, and develops his skills in attracting attention and blame. He makes a horse out of saplings and rides about on it, followed by the only *murīd* he is said to have, Pirmast. He has Pirmast get some hay, which he feeds to the horse while reciting a ghazal about Bazar Akhund, whom he calls Bazar Dīvāna.

The rose garden of wisdom, Mulla Bazar Dīvāna
The leader of the 'āshiqs, Mulla Bazar Dīvāna.
No hatred in his mind, an ocean of wisdom in his chest,
The mirror ['*ayn*] of the light of the Truth, Mulla Bazar Dīvāna.
On the road he is a bridge, to the light of Truth wine,
Whoever sees him becomes a slave, Mulla Bazar Dīvāna.

Mashrab recites three more couplets about the greatness of Bazar Akhund, ending with the statement, 'Mashrab is a dīvāna himself, a moth in the flame

[126] This also appears in Mashrab 1990: 274–275, but with many changes, showing again that Mashrab's poetry circulated in many variants.

of love,' who will follow Mulla Bazar Dīvāna. Bazar Akhund welcomes Mashrab, who then recites a ghazal with the radīf -*gali käldim*, which means 'I came in order to . . . ,' and says that he has come to burn in the flame of his love, see his moon-like face, ask for his medicine, find a pearl, be annihilated by his beauty, drink the wine of union, and so forth (Lykoshin 1910: 35–37; Mashrab 1981: 107–109).

Mashrab asks permission to go to his lover, who has sent her husband out to look for firewood, and Bazar Akhund grants it, saying Mashrab must fulfill his promise to her. Two of Bazar Akhund's other *murīd*s object, but Bazar Akhund defends Mashrab, who then wanders about followed by people of the town. He throws himself into a lake, and his mother comes and grieves at the lake's edge, reciting a four-line ghazal. Mashrab comes out of the lake and recites a brief answer, to which his mother responds with another short ghazal about having fed him her own milk and asking to come out of his cold cradle. Mashrab comes out of the lake and asks her forgiveness. He explains to Bazar Akhund that he had gone to visit his lover, but her husband came home and beat him with firewood. The people accuse him of lying, and Bazar Akhund tells them that he was trying to take their sins upon himself.

Mashrab recites a six-stanza mukhammas about love and suffering and, in an ecstatic state, picks up a *satar* – the instrument of choice for many muqam performers – in the market and plays it while singing a nine-stanza mukhammas that begins, 'I have entered the path of love and am willing to sacrifice my head.' He sings a description of his path and his suffering, mentioning in the sixth stanza Adam and Eve and the Sufi shaykh Najm ad-Dīn Kubrā (Lykoshin 1910: 42–45).

Mashrab leaves for Kashgar to become a *murīd* of Āfāq Khoja, a Sufi shaykh in the tradition of Khoja Ahrār, who ruled over the western Tarim region of Altishahr from 1679 to 1694. Āfāq Khoja was installed as the ruler of the Yarkand khanate when Galdan, the leader of the Oyirad Mongol confederation that eventually became the Junggar Khanate, invaded Altishahr from north of the Tian Shan in 1679. Āfāq Khoja led the Āfāqiyya, or Aqtağliq (White Mountain), Khoja faction that competed for power in Altishahr against the Ishaqiyya, or Qaratağliq (Black Mountain), faction and Manchus throughout the nineteenth century (see Papas 2005).

Mashrab sings a mukhammas describing his path in general terms, but he includes a few lines explaining that he is leaving Namangan.[127] He acquires a sheepdog as a companion from some shepherds and tells the famous

[127] This mukhammas is not in my editions, but in Mashrab 1990: 213 there is a mention of his leaving Namangan in a ghazal that seems not to appear in the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab*.

story of the Seven Sleepers of the Cave and their faithful dog. He recites a ghazal to his dog (Lykoshin 1910: 45–49) that begins:

O wordless companion, everywhere we are together,
In the desert and in the town we are together.

He comes to a river, sings a mukhammas, and, heading toward Andijan, meets some girls swimming near the town of Baliqchi. They ask him to sing a ghazal. This scene reflects another theme of Mashrab's life story: his love songs explicitly express his attraction to women, for which he is later punished. The song (from Lykoshin 1910: 51) begins:

Bir baqib maña qara köz učidan janan qiz,
Aylanib yüz ögürüb qildi yuräkni qan qiz.
With one glance at me from the corner of her black eye, beloved girl,
Leaving me the girl filled my heart with blood.[128]

Mashrab continues on his way, passing through Andijan and Osh before reaching Kashgar, all the while reciting or singing poems. One ghazal mentions Moses, Abraham, Nimrod, Joseph, Jacob, and the martyrs of Karbalā' and ends with an address to God. In another he compares himself to Majnun, endlessly in search of Layli, and describes being intoxicated with wine and hashish (*naš'a*). In Osh he prostrates himself at the mountain shrine known as Takht-i Sulayman (Throne of Solomon) and visits the tomb of Asaf ibn Barkhia, whom Lykoshin (1910: 49–56) explains as the uncle of Solomon.

He comes to Āfāq Khoja's door, recites a verse explaining himself, and is let in. Āfāq Khoja tests him by asking him to recite a verse of Hāfiz, which Mashrab does, and then he recites more verses about dedicating himself to Āfāq Khoja. Finally Āfāq Khoja prays to fill Mashrab's desire and strokes his shoulder with his hand, knocking him to the floor. He looks into Mashrab's soul and sees that the lamp of his soul is already filled with oil but needs a *murshid* strong enough to light his wick. He bestows on him the name Mashrab. Mashrab finds himself profoundly changed and recites two brief ghazals, one asking Āfāq Khoja to show him the way and another about needing to be insane and wandering to find the beloved. He spends seven years in the service of Āfāq Khoja in Kashgar, wearing always the same fur coat (Lykoshin 1910: 56–60).

I explain some of these poems in detail to show how they alternate with the narrative and to demonstrate how few of them appear in the Mashrab 1990 edition of 28 mukhammas and 220 ghazals. If the poetry in the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* were added to this collection, it would roughly double its size. This suggests that there has been significant abridgement, perhaps in both works. Fewer than a third of the poems in the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* appear

[128] The ghazal in the Tashkent edition contains six additional couplets (Mashrab 1990: 41). This is one of two ghazals with the radīf *qiz,* 'girl, young woman.'

in the Tashkent edition, but perhaps there never was a dīvān that included all of Mashrab's poems. In addition, many of the poems in the Tashkent edition would be appropriate for certain points in his life story but are not included. Either Mashrab composed several different poetic commentaries on certain events or some were excluded to shorten the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab*.

There are also significant differences among the poems that do appear in the editions I am using and that were used by Lykoshin, probably reflecting oral transmission and re-creation from memory, by Mashrab himself as well as others who learned his poems. As I show later, the narrative itself suggests that Mashrab did not write his poetry down and did not wish others to do so.

During his service to Āfāq Khoja, Mashrab one day becomes infatuated with a female servant, and he faints twice upon seeing her beauty. Āfāq Khoja punishes him for his lust by branding him on the back of his head with his seal. Mashrab leaves Kashgar and goes to Yarkand. The people of Yarkand know of Mashrab by reputation and are eager to meet him, but they are shocked to find him to be an opium-intoxicated, naked *qalandar*. The local *akhund* points out that these are signs of his holiness (Lykoshin 1910: 62–66). The ruler of Yarkand invites him to sit beside him and offers him a cushion. Mashrab urinates on the cushion and explains that urinating on the ground is bad because the ground holds the dirt from which God created people.

Mashrab has his servant Pirmast bring a water pipe, and he smokes hashish while reciting a ghazal that mentions the spiritual benefits of smoking hashish. When he taps the hashish out of the pipe, it has not burned, and he puts it away in his pouch (Lykoshin 1910: 69–71). He plays the satar and sings two ghazals, one around the theme of drinking wine and one on the burning and insanity caused by the beauty of the beloved (Lykoshin 1910: 71–72; Mashrab 1990: 82, 84).

The gathered people use the proverb 'the saint has no horns' to explain why they did not recognize him as holy person. He tells them his urine is worth more than all their praise, so they again lose respect for him. He leaves town and goes to Khotan, where he is arrested for urinating in a canal. To the questions of the *akhund* in Khotan, Mashrab says, 'O Akhund, you can clean this water with your science. In pissing in water, I am simply reuniting a child with its mother. What could be wrong with that?' When the *akhund* asks why he does not urinate on the ground, Mashrab replies that all the holy figures of the past are waiting in the earth for the Day of Judgment, and one must therefore respect the earth.

Mashrab then urinates from a balcony on the *akhund*'s head, but explains, 'You yourself declared that water upon turning seven times becomes

pure, and my urine falling from that height could turn seventeen times. Why do you consider it unclean?' The *akhund* admits that Mashrab knows the external sciences. Then Mashrab asks him the meaning of some words from the book *Mishkāt-i Sharīf* (a collection of hadith and Qur'ānic and juridical interpretations) and shows that his own understanding is better than the *akhund*'s (Lykoshin 1910: 72–75).

Mashrab's frequent use of his own waste to insult and educate elites by showing them that they are ignorant of the deeper reality behind appearances suggests Malāmatiyya ideas as well as reflecting the disrespect for elites often found in Central Asian Sufism. But Mashrab takes these blameworthy acts to unusual extremes. Rather than serving commoners and the poor, as Naqshband taught, Mashrab shocks them. Nonetheless, as in the case of smoking hashish that does not burn, many of his acts turn out to be unclean in appearance only, suggesting that whoever was describing Mashrab's deeds sought to limit the outrage of these transgressions.

Mashrab recites two ghazals, but when he is asked to present written copies of his ghazals to the *akhund* and his students, he refuses, saying, 'I think it is better not to leave a book behind, because in reading it, the *'āshiqs* lose its sense.' The *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* as a record of his life, replete with his poems, is thus paradoxical. The paradox deepens when oral circulation also distorts his words. On his way out of Khotan, he hears a farmer singing one of his ghazals while plowing. Mashrab goes up to him, and when the farmer gets angry at him for spoiling his fieldwork, Mashrab replies that the farmer is spoiling Mashrab's own work. He concludes, 'It would be better to burn my words than to have them transmitted uselessly by such a mouth as yours' (Lykoshin 1910: 75–77). His paradoxical refusal to serve people extends to denying them records of his poetry.

Although variations are common in the manuscripts of Central Asian poetry, the many different versions of Mashrab's poetry indicate that his predications were accurate. Navā'ī's poetry varies less, because of his involvement in courtly literary production, whereas Mashrab's poetry was more fluid in both composition and transmission. Navā'ī's poems were in a difficult language that compelled greater reliance on manuscripts. Mashrab's popular poetry was not confined to – and was perhaps even scorned by – the educated literati who would have had the means to preserve it more exactly.

Mashrab travels to Ili, north across the Tian Shan range from Kashgar, and falls in love with Āfāq, the daughter of Khun-Taiji (Galdan's title), the Oyirad (Kalmyk) ruler of Ili. She tells him he must abandon Islam and serve her. Mashrab offers to do anything she wishes, but he does not give up his religion or eat unclean (*haram*) food when visiting her. He takes a job tending camels for her for three years and converts Khun-Taiji to Islam. Khun-

Taiji then allows Āfāq and Mashrab to marry. Her father wants her to have a child by Mashrab, because it would inherit his holy powers. Despite his resistance, she manages to get pregnant by him (Lykoshin 1910: 77–93).[129] Mashrab hears the words of the baby in its mother's womb crying out for bread and decides he will be unable to feed it. He feels in his heart that Āfāq Khoja's wife, Khanim Padishah, has persuaded Āfāq Khoja to forgive Mashrab, so he returns to Kashgar. There Āfāq Khoja ignores Mashrab until he is satisfied that he has overcome his worldly desire. He agrees to help him advance his knowledge of Sufi secrets and, in a traditional image of transmitting wisdom from *murshid* to *murīd*, spits in Mashrab's mouth (Lykoshin 1910: 94–103).

A long episode follows in which Mashrab cures Khoja Nūr ad-Dīn of Tashkent of an illness caused by the devil (Lykoshin 1910: 104–119). Āfāq Khoja gives Mashrab permission to go again to his hometown and pray at the tombs of his ancestors, because Mahmūd Khān of Balkh is going to kill Mashrab. He leaves and performs various wonders and instructive deeds, including leading a prayer in which he recites only a single couplet from Hāfiz and making *halva-i tar* for some merchants without using any ingredients. Then he is seized by some Kyrgyz who claim he is a *yadači* ('sorcerer') and want to burn him. They put him on a pile of reeds and set them on fire, but he emerges unscathed. He sings one of his poems about being burned and explains to the Kyrgyz: 'Do not think you can burn this madman. I have already burned. I only look like a person' (Lykoshin 1910: 134).[130] By connecting one of his miracles to a common image from Sufi poetry, Mashrab makes Sufi allegory into heroic reality, much as al-Hallāj did. Where a Sufi poet sings about burning and other images of suffering, the Sufi saint puts these metaphors into practice as miracles.

Mashrab returns to his hometown and finds his mother blind. They exchange verses with each other. Mashrab's mother recovers her sight by prayers and rubbing her eyes with the edge of Mashrab's dervish clothing. She is overjoyed to see Mashrab but then tells Allah to take her life, whereupon she dies. In mourning, Mashrab recites several long mukhammas poems, including one that repeats the *radīf* line, 'O mother mine, my Mecca and Medina, kind one, where are you?' at the end of each stanza (Lykoshin 1910: 135–146; Mashrab 1990: 308–309).

Then he decides to leave for Bukhara to see Mavlānā-i Sharīf. He takes the road to Bardan Qurghan with a crowd of people following him. After passing through Bardan Qurghan he arrives at Khojent, where the local

[129] Lykoshin decides it is too pornographic to translate the way she does this.

[130] Compare the related motif of Sufi shaykhs converting people to Islam by surviving cooking in an oven, in DeWeese 1994: 232–267.

ruler, Aqbuta Biy, wants to see him. The messenger finds Mashrab playing the satar, and when he resists paying a visit, the messenger smashes the instrument. Mashrab picks up the satar, puts it back together, and sings a song about the muqams that Turdi Akhun performed in one version in the Iraq *täzä*. Rozi Tämbur performed a somewhat different version in the Äjäm *muqäddimä* in the Ili muqams. It appears in the Rak *muqäddimä* in the revised Uyghur Twelve Muqams, replacing a ghazal by Navā'ī that is no longer performed at all. I examine this song more closely in a later chapter, but here I give the translation:

> If I added a thread from my soul to the strings of my satar,
> With its lamentations I could possess a faithless heart.
> Playing a muqam in a muqam [mode], I would make a space [maqām] in the heart,
> If [I] were abandoned on the street of the beloved, I would play before her.[131]
> They say that the fathers of the muqams are Husayn and Äjäm,
> On the fret above them I will play Bayad.
> Remembering God, the truth most high, I will play constantly,
> If I knew that the beloved was miserable, I would play Nava.
> Sometimes I will play Uššaq and put ghazals to Rak,
> In the bedroom and at dawn I will play Mušavräk and Pänjigah.
> If the abundance in Iraq and Čäbbiyat and Özhal is finished,
> Seek union with the sun in the moment of dawn when I play Chargah.
> Reaching union with heaven, passing the mountains of separation,
> Drinking your wine of union and tuning [the instrument] I will play Sigah.
> If people of love knew my condition they would weep plaintively,
> From the pain and sorrow you gave me I will make particles of a foundation.
> O Mashrab, come offer the cup, let's immerse ourselves in drunkenness,
> In one hand I hold the bowl of the *tämbur*, in the other I hold the [wine] cup.

This defiant performance for Aqbuta Biy's messenger is another example of Mashrab's resistance to conventional political and religious authority. He never obeys anyone except his teachers and his loves, and he always succeeds in convincing authority figures and 'the people' to believe in his holiness and powers while he continues to transgress their rules. He probably has served as a model for some dervishes and muqam performers, but in

[131] Lykoshin 1910: 152: 'If love led me to its street I would play before her.'

Ürümchi only a few people mentioned him in this role. Turdi Akhun's apprentice described Mashrab as one of the dervishes who would play the *sapayi* off his shoulder until blood ran. Two older muqam aficionados from Khotan praised a traditional muqam performer they knew there for being 'just like Mashrab.' This suggests that Mashrab may be better known in Khotan, which is not surprising, because his poetry mentions Khotan more than any other place where he lived (Mashrab 1990: 53, 71, 80, 85-87, 146, 203).[132]

After Mashrab performs the foregoing song, Aqbuta Biy comes in person to Mashrab and gives him gifts, but Mashrab gives them to opium smokers. He again urinates on the cushion he is offered and will not take Aqbuta as a *murīd*. He continues to Tashkent, where he again astonishes people with his vulgarity and miracles but is excused as a madman (Lykoshin 1910: 154–159). He continues to the town of Turkistan, to Ahmad Yasavī's tomb. He sits on the tomb, and when Yasavī's spirit throws him off, he says, 'Patience, Turk, since I am a guest.' He convinces the people from town that he is holy (1910: 167).

Aqbuta Biy then wants to see Mashrab again and finds him lying on the ground tied to a stake by his mustache and covered with sheep entrails (Hartmann 1902: 176).[133] Mashrab is invited to Aqbuta Biy's castle, where he persuades Aqbuta to free some thirty or forty people he is punishing (Lykoshin 1910: 172).

Mashrab and his followers set out on the road to Mecca. On the way he meets another *qalandar*, who asks him what his name means. Mashrab explains that he helps everyone who wishes to join him. He uses a proverb about this hospitality: 'Dropped into any pot, I will boil. Hence I am called Mashrab' (Lykoshin 1910: 173, 203). Mashrab turns back from Mecca despite the objections of his followers but shows them the Ka'ba through his fingers (1910: 173–177).[134]

On the way to Bukhara Mashrab passes the house of Bahā' ad-Dīn Naqshband, where Mashrab recites a poem to the effect that Bukhara would be a land of European infidels if it were not for Naqshband. In Bukhara he spends the night in the mosque of the Barsu quarter. He tethers his donkey in the *mihrab* and sleeps in the *mimbar*. When he is woken in the morning he is

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[132] The frequent mention of Khotan in the poems contrasts with the brief and uneventful description of his life there in the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab*, suggesting different geographic origins for these two works.

[133] Lykoshin (1910: 170–171) does not give the details, explaining that they are too vulgar for translation, so perhaps there is something more that Hartmann has suppressed as well.

[134] This anecdote reflects a common hagiographical image of advanced Sufis who can go back and forth to Mecca in a single night or even cause Mecca to come to them.

rude to the imam and squats in the corner during the service, shouting. When asked after the service whether he does not fear God's wrath for doing this, he replies that he did it because he fears God's wrath. 'Better not to pray at all than to pray as you did. During the whole service you were constantly thinking about whether or not your calf had suckled from your cow' (Lykoshin 1910: 193–195).

He defecates and says that soiling the floor of the mosque, the house of God, is no worse than soiling the ground without asking permission of the Creator. Accused of violating religious law, he asks to be taken to Mavlānā Sharīf in the Kökäldash mosque to judge who is right. When Mashrab rises from his place, it is seen that he has not actually soiled the floor. On the way to Mavlānā Sharīf he sits backward on his donkey and is attacked for being undignified. But Mashrab explains that he does this because so many mullas are following him that it would be rude to turn his back to them. Mavlānā Sharīf recognizes with his inner eye that Mashrab is a holy man and tells the people so.

Mashrab studies the *Mishkāt-i Sharīf* under Mavlānā Sharīf. Each day when he returns to his cell he tears out the page he has studied and smokes it in his pipe, inhaling the smoke. When questioned about this he explains, 'Some of what I have read escapes my memory. In order that what is written on the paper does not disappear, I swallow it in the form of smoke and imprint it on my soul.' When Mashrab asks Mavlānā Sharīf if he would present the contents of the Qur'ān in verse, the latter responds that no one can do so, for it would be disrespectful of the Qur'ān. Mashrab tells him he is not as wise as he had thought but merely drily pious (Lykoshin 1910: 202).

He comes to the attention of 'Abdulla Khān, the ruler of Bukhara, and eventually gains great favor from him. The khān gives Mashrab a stallion, and he is led to the Rīgistān ('public square'; in Bukhara despite the greater fame of that in Samarkand) with musicians playing celebratory Shadyana music (Lykoshin 1910: 203–209). When he arrives at the Rīgistān in the middle of Bukhara, Mashrab asks his servant Pirmast to bring an ax so that he can break the legs of the stallion. When people demand to know why he wants to destroy such a good horse, he says that riding on such a good horse, even in the time it took him to reach the Rīgistān, he had begun to forget God, and he did not want that to happen to anyone else. Upon hearing this, 'Abdulla Khān wants to become his *murīd* and brings him 1,000 *tanga* (silver coin). Mashrab takes only one *dirham* (coin smaller than tanga) for himself and uses the rest for charitable works. He goes into an ecstatic state and bad words fly from his mouth. The learned people of the city accuse him of apostasy and decide to burn him. Mashrab enters the flames and recites a

mukhammas about burning in love. He comes back out and even his clothing is untouched by the flames (Lykoshin 1910: 210–212).

On his way to Mecca, Mashrab visits the well known poet Sufi Allayār (Turdi Akhun sang four of his poems). Mashrab offers to take Allayār on the road to heaven, but Sufi Allayār fears the seven gates of hell that he sees between Mashrab's legs. Mashrab shows him in his hands the angels praying for God's mercy on all the followers of Muhammad and tells him this proves that Sufi Allayār should be at peace about his life. Mashrab then goes on to Balkh. He obtains a tiger skin from an Uzbek, puts it over himself, and sits backward on his donkey. When the inhabitants of Balkh see this *qalandar* and ask him his name, he replies, 'My name is Khudā [God].' The mullas hear this and call for him to be seized and killed. Mashrab runs and takes refuge under the throne of Mahmūd Khān. When the mullas accuse him of saying his name was Khudā, Mashrab defends himself, saying he was trying to say his name was Khudā Berdi ('God gave,' a fairly common name), but the mullas did not give him time to finish. He sings a ghazal to reveal who he really is (Lykoshin 1910: 221–234; Mashrab 1990: 101).

In another ghazal he tells of Āfāq Khoja's prediction that he would be killed in Balkh and compares himself to al-Hallāj. Mahmūd Khān recognizes him as Mashrab and wants to treat him well, but Mashrab says that since the creation of the world, it has been ordained that his death should come from Mahmūd Khān. Mashrab asks Mahmūd Khān to give him his throne, which the latter happily does. Mashrab defecates on the cushions and tells him to take his throne back. Mashrab tells Mahmūd Khān that he defecated on the throne just as Mahmūd Khān defecates on the people. Mahmūd Khān orders Mashrab to be executed. Mashrab tells Mahmūd Khān that he himself will die in three days. He recites two ghazals about his own death and union with God, using explicit rather than metaphorical or allegorical terms. Then he orders his own execution, causing the executioner to carry out the order (Lykoshin 1910: 239–242).

Mahmūd Khān wishes Mashrab had not been executed and is upset that the order was carried out without asking again. He asks the executioner, 'Did you not see me wink my eye when I ordered you to execute Mashrab, to show that it was just a joke?' Three days later a building collapses and kills Mahmūd Khān (Lykoshin 1910: 243). On the seventh day after his death, Mashrab is seen heading for Mecca, and when the grave is opened, his body is gone. A door leads out of the grave in the direction of Mecca. One of Mahmūd Khān's viziers dreams that Mashrab has come and told him that he has returned, and they should move his tomb to a place called Ishkanmish. In the morning the vizier finds that his body is back and has it moved.

Among the poets whose poetry is sung in the muqams, Mashrab is unique in that many of his poems refer to events in his own life. But such an understanding depends on knowing the larger body of his work and this biographical narrative, because most of his poetry uses the same fairly general terms as other poets. In addition, his image as a fearless antinomian depends on the narrative in the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab*, which grounds the Sufi imagery of the poems in actual events and places them in historical contexts. This realism is not the same as that of other historical narratives of the period but has strong links to the hagiographic representation of other Sufi shaykhs who attain validity and significance by describing their interaction with historical figures and participation in recent history. Sufi literary acts generally take place in an imagined place of personalized suffering, but Mashrab has made his acts real in front of others, or at least they have been recounted as if they were real experiences that included others. Thus grounded in history, the Sufi poet's rebellion against society breaks out of the boundaries of literary genres and into social life.

3.4.2 Huvaydā's Didactic Poetry

Mashrab is clearly the most important poet in the Twelve Muqams after Navā'ī, but it is useful to compare him with another popular Central Asian Turkic poet, Khoja Nazar ibn Ghā'ib Chīmiyānī Huvaydā, whose poetry appears in the muqams as well. Huvaydā flourished in the eighteenth century but there are fewer narratives about him than about Mashrab (Hofman 1969, 3: 146–149). Like Mashrab, he is excluded from Uyghur literary history, despite his great popularity in East Turkistan, because in Xinjiang his poems are identified as Uzbek. He, too, came from the Ferghana Valley (Huvaydā 1988, 1989).

Huvaydā's poems are also easier than those of Navā'ī's and were widely used by Turdi Akhun in both the Čoñ Näğmä and Mäšräp sections in the muqams. Mashrab and Huvaydā were both Sufi poets, yet very different in style. Especially in the songs preferred by Turdi Akhun, Huvaydā is more serious and explicitly religious, singing didactic songs about ethics and the value of suffering. Huvaydā uses fewer bodily images for the beloved and does not elaborate as much upon the Sufi allegory of mystical love.

One long ghazal by Huvaydā that Turdi Akhun sang as the *muqäddimä* of the Mušavräk muqam and in an unpublished, full-length version of Uššaq *muqäddimä* begins by giving boundless praise to the Creator and spends five couplets enumerating the important aspects of creation. Then he exhorts his Muslim listeners to respect *sharī'a*, cherish the Prophet and the friends of God, and seek advice from the learned. He ends by asking for God's forgiveness and describes himself as the lowest of the low (Barat

1986: 53–54).[135] Huvaydā keeps more to the sober path of the Naqshbandiyya, whereas Mashrab is considerably less restrained, praising *sharī'a* only once in the poetry I have (Lykoshin 1910: 45). Both poets mention al-Hallāj as an important figure, although Mashrab embraced him as a role model while Huvaydā would prefer to avoid his fate. A ghazal by Huvaydā that Turdi Akhun sang in six different muqams ends with the couplet:

Äy Hüväyda qilmiğil Mänsurdäk sirriñni paš
Äylisäñ huyi änälhäq daridin ändišä qil.
Oh, Huvaydā, do not reveal your secret as Mansur al-Hallāj did,
If you do sigh anā'l-Haqq, worry about the gallows.

But in a more ecstatic poem from the muqam songs, Huvaydā describes how an *'āshiq* must live. He calls himself *dīvāna-i Huvaydā* and says he will sell the two worlds for a cup of wine (Barat 1986: 196; Huvaydā 1988: 92). As in the case of Mashrab's poetry, the popularity of Huvaydā's ghazals has led to wide variations among the different texts. There are no comprehensive editions of his poetry, and a full collection has not been published for more than 100 years. His entire oeuvre seems to have been around 200 ghazals and a few pieces in other genres (Hartmann 1902a; Hofman 1969, 3: 147).

Turdi Akhun performed part of the following ghazal of Huvaydā's in the mäšräp songs of Mušavräk, Nava, and Uššaq muqams. It also appears in the Rak Mäšräp of the Ili muqams. The revised Twelve Muqams include this song only as four couplets of the first Mäšräp song in the 1991 version of Uššaq.[136]

Baqsam bu jahanğa hämmidä därd-u äläm bar,
Här adämniñ köñlidä miñ qayğu ğäm bar.
Ğämsiz kišini tapsa bolurmu, kiši izläp,
Bu päyki dilim eytadur, ğämsiz kiši kim bar?
Köp χätt-i häväsni bitur ärdim bu köñüldä,
Sundurdi äjäl, ämdi dävat-u nä qäläm bar?
Dunyada Hüväyda näpäsi urmadi šadi,
Häyhat, aniñ bağrida köp χari sitäm bar.
When I look at this world, I find everyone has troubles and suffering,
Every person has a thousand sorrows and worries in his heart.
Can one find a person without grief? Seeking someone,

[135] According to Qawul Akhun, Turdi Akhun also sang this for the Uššaq *muqäddimä*, but the Huvaydā text that was published reflects the Shahzadä Uššaq muqam version on the limited-distribution phonograph recordings of the muqams from the 1960s. The Shahzadä were briefer and livelier versions of the muqams performed for youths without the patience for listening to the original muqams. Only Rak, Mušavräk, and Uššaq have Shahzadä versions.

[136] Ärshidinov 1970: 138, 1987: 39; Barat 1986: 207, 253; Huvaydā 1988: 84–85. My reading follows the last mentioned source fairly closely. I have omitted the four couplets preceding the final *maqta',* which are not performed in the muqams.

My sorrowful heart says, 'Who is without grief?'
I have written many letters of desire on this heart,
Fate offered, but what pen is there for this ink?[137]
In the world Huvaydā has not taken a breath of joy,
Alas, in his liver there are many thorns of injustice.

In general, when Turdi Akhun performed Huvaydā's poems in the mäšräp songs, he sang only two to four couplets, whereas Huvaydā's ghazals in the Čoñ Näğmä songs are usually four to eight couplets in length.

The following poem expresses the pursuit of union with the beloved, clearly described as divine. Turdi Akhun performed it in the *muqäddimä* of Äjäm muqam and in the fourth dastan song of Mušavräk muqam, but it has been edited out of the revised muqams.[138]

Sänämniñ därdini däftär qilip χätkä bitip bolmas,
Uniñ äsrarini bifähmilärgä šärh eytip bolmas.
Judaliq χänjiri birlä yüräkim čak-čak boldi,
Yüräk zäχmin ečip bi-därdlärgä körsitip bolmas.
Fäläkniñ äχtärin qilsa bilur därlär hesabini,
Yüräkim zäχminiñ härgiz hesabini bilip bolmas.
Äläm tertib yüräk köymäy, qara közdin tökülmäs yaš,
Qazanniñ astiğa ot yağmağunčä qaynitip bolmas.
Hüväyda, här iši kim bi-mušäqqät bolmiğay hasil,
Mušäqqät tartmiğunčä yar väsligä yetip bolmas.

The pain from the beloved cannot be accounted by writing it in letters,
No explanation can put an end to misunderstanding its secrets.
From the dagger of separation my heart is in slivers,
But the wounds of my heart cannot be opened and shown to those without pain.
If [the Beloved] makes the stars of the firmament, they can be counted,
But the number of wounds in my heart will never be known.
[My] suffering heart does not burn, tears do not flow from [my] black eyes,
Until the fire is lit under the kettle, it will not boil.
Huvaydā, everything that is without affliction will bring no gain,
Until you endure affliction, [you] cannot attain union with the beloved.

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[137] *Dawāt u qalam,* 'pen and ink' (Steingass 1988: 986).

[138] Text from Ärshidinov 1970: 61–62; Barat 1986: 169; Huvaydā 1988: 90, 1989: 99. In the revised Mušavräk muqam it has been replaced by a ghazal by Qäländär (MRO 1986: 15; ME 1984: 28), and the Äjäm *muqäddimä* now uses a song by Navā'ī that Turdi Akhun sang in the Nava *muqäddimä* (Ärshidinov 1970: 155–156; Barat 1986: 237; ME 1991: 5–6). Similarly, the poem *Ädäpniñ rištäsin tütqil* by Fuzūlī, discussed previously, was also sung in Äjäm *muqäddimä* and in the dastan sections of two other muqams and has now been eliminated.

Huvaydā's suffering is hidden from people of the world, and it cannot be expressed in words. Just as Mashrab needed instruction from Āfāq Khoja to light his wick, so Huvaydā suggests that his suffering will not yield results until someone lights his fire. The third couplet obviously alludes to the beloved as God the creator, rather than to any mortal being, and the final couplet makes the moral message clear: only through suffering on the path will Sufis seeking God be able to attain union.

Turdi Akhun sang a ghazal by Huvaydā in the Özhal *täzä* that gives further development to the theme of suffering and deprivation as means to enlightenment (Barat 1986: 143). Huvaydā asks:

> Without pain in the soul, how can one know the value of the soul?
> Until one has endured hunger, what does one know of the value of bread?
> The spring makes the lovesick nightingale know the value of the rose.
> People without afflictions cannot reach their goals.

Turdi Akhun sang another didactic ghazal by Huvaydā in the Uššaq *muqäddimä* and the Čargah *täzä* (Ärshidinov 1970: 71), which instructs the listener not to ignore death and to remember that it can appear suddenly. As in the poem by Mashrab that explains that everyone will die (Lykoshin 1910: 27), Huvaydā says, 'In the face of death, shāhs and beggars are all equal' (*ölümniñ aldida šah-u gada barčä baravärdur*). He points out that even the Prophet died and says, 'God has determined your life. Make a habit of contentment, for the discontent will not reach their goals. If you make a shell of contentment, in your breast a pearl will appear [*qana'ättin sädäpni da boldi, köksigä göhär päyda*]. Fear God, show shame, and worship properly. Do not be a fool and make your life valueless.'

3.5 Conclusion

Just as Persian poets adapted pre-Islamic Persian poetry to Arabic forms after converting to Islam, so early Turkic poets created a synthesis between Arabo-Persian poetic forms and techniques and those of traditional Turkic oral poetry. Eventually, Arabo-Persian generic principles dominated, and only some Turkic ideas about parallelism and logical contrasts fit into the varied creations that were classical Chaghatay Turkic literary poetry. There was little room for proverbial style and terse parallel constructions in this new Turkic literature, although they remained important in Turkic oral epics, tall tales, and oral Sufi teachings. Ghazals based in stylized versions of Sufi mysticism became important ways to express religious ideas for less ascetic audiences and were the dominant form of both popular and courtly Turkic written literature beginning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In addi-

tion, each poet created works that expressed his own distinct personality and values.

The Turkic ghazals in the Uyghur muqam songs reflect these complexities of Central Asian cultural history, but it is only through careful reading of the poets' works and the works compiled after them that these dynamic and contested histories can be perceived. The social, religious and political background for understanding muqam poems comes from other contemporary documents. Turkic poets from Ahmad Yasavī to Huvaydā show great respect for Arabic and Persian literary and Islamic religious traditions, participating in them in a variety of ways. Poets engaged with the multifarious contest over the relationship of Turkic and Iranian culture in different ways: the ghazals were a largely socially autonomous genre but reflect cultural and personal religious and poetic concepts.

Although Lutfī was the poet most praised by Navā'ī, his poems are of little importance in the muqam tradition. His proverb-poem disrupts the social autonomy of the classical ghazal genre as he attempts to reconcile the social conventions of proverbs with images of the lover rejecting the world and courting the beloved with vivid images of suffering.

The muqam ghazals selected by Turdi Akhun reflect Islamic and Sufi religious identity, expressed through a range of emotional and aesthetic registers that reflect the different backgrounds of the poets and the ways they thought about literary creation. The poems of Navā'ī show a greater focus on aesthetic variety and high Persianate literary style expressing conventionalized Sufi emotional experience, whereas those of Fuzūlī are slightly less varied. The poems of Mashrab reflect a personal but public spiritual quest and describe specific events and ecstatic experiences. Although Mashrab and the author of the *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* are obviously intent on instructing listeners in Islamic and Sufi ideas similar to Huvaydā's, the latter is more like Yasavī in explaining general principles, while Mashrab gives fleshly meaning to allegorical imagery, connecting again the physical and the spiritual that made the life and death of the Sufi martyr al-Hallāj so meaningful in Islamic tradition.

Yasavī, Mashrab, and Huvaydā all refer extensively to religious tradition and they use their poetry to involve their listeners in this tradition rather than being concerned only with the self and its emotions. Navā'ī and Fuzūlī engage in the courtly poetics of creating ghazals around careful verbal structures unencumbered by references to experience outside of the spiritual and romantic allegory. These last two poets are the most widely known creators of 'classical' literature because they eschewed most nonliterary commitments in their poetry, exploring instead the formal and expressive

possibilities of literary tradition shorn of its social, religious, and historical specificity.

Navā'ī himself makes this clear in a conversation with the wrestler, poet, and musician Pahlavān Muhammad. The latter asks Navā'ī who he thinks is the best among the Turkic poets. Navā'ī says that Lutfī is unarguably the best Turkic poet. When Pahlavān Muhammad asks why he did not choose Sa'id Nasimī, Navā'ī answers, 'He wrote not as a worldly poet but sang of the path of Truth. I thought you were asking of the poets who write as they wish' (Navā'ī 1970: 213–214). Navā'ī distinguishes courtly poets from religious poets, suggesting that the latter struggled to express mystical truths, while courtly poets pursued emotional effects through powerful language and images in their compositions.

Although I have suggested a historical shift from vernacular language to Persianate literary style and back, as well as shifts in spiritual concepts, I have suggested that these have more to do with the social positions and political contexts of the individual poets than a general pattern such as Jan Mukařovsky describes. But I also suggest that Mukařovsky's model helps explain why despite individual variations in ghazal contents, ghazals have remained a dominant genre because they express opposition to social conventions rather than becoming a social structure against which poets rebel. This interpretation is relevant to the present process of muqam revision because ghazal poetry is both a symbolically powerful classical tradition, but also a vehicle for esoteric language, anti-social spirituality, illicit gender imagery, and rejection of authority, that it a source of cultural intimacy and presents problems for creating official culture.

Chapter 4
Give and Take: Genealogies in Music and Art

The existence of the Twelve Muqams as present-day staged cultural productions that have a particular symbolic role within the Chinese multiethnic state links them to aspects of cultural circulation that call for a different approach to analysis than in the preceding chapter on poetry. The poets left many documents about their ideas and how and why they created their works of art, and their poetry is preserved and concretely referential in ways that other arts, particularly music and dance, cannot be. Instead of analyzing musicians and their practices in history, the present chapter examines the ideas and practices related to the circulation of music and muqam performances. I focus here on documents about performing arts within Asian and Middle Eastern contexts, to suggest how the politics of cultural interactions involved reflexive understandings of cultural materials as circulating objects rather than performance experiences. Most of the sources in this chapter involve descriptions by non-artists of objectified traditions and their social and political uses, rather than by performing artists participating in tradition and creating works of art. Such objectifying reflexivity on cultural productions and their circulation are important ways to think of about social structure and create historical narratives for organizing relations among people and groups.

China participated in a broad circulation of musical culture as part of political practice. Such objectified musical culture was important in terms of its symbolism and concepts about it, and less so for its contents or experience. Distinctive musical politics arose in interactions with China: 'Koreans . . . are proud of having preserved their import carefully. In Korean eyes, aak was Chinese to begin with, has been authentically Chinese ever since, and always will be purely Chinese' (Provine 1996: 75). Such statements show that views of culture as enduring, preservable, and possessed by particular identity groups tied culture to politics. This is obvious in the logic of an Iranian musicologist who explained that Iranian music resembles that of neighboring cultures because the Arabs stole the music, the Ottomans bor-

rowed it, and Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, and Transoxiana belonged to Iran (During 1993: 33).

Why are such arguments about boundedness and movement so widespread in cultural reflexivity? The culture of the nation becomes ambiguous because it is mobile and shifting and yet crucial to attempting to define a fixed political group and its territory. The resulting anxiety leads to a variety of reflexive efforts to overcome cultural fluidity and variation, and the framing of certain cultural productions as canonical heritage. As we saw in chapter 2, challenges to autochthonous originality are explained away by a variety of ideas about how culture is created, possessed and moved. Concepts of territorial possession, cultural property, and ethnic identity overlap. Interpretations of ethnic culture are useful ways to negotiate historical relationships, as well as to emphasize or suppress aspects of the cultural self. Such ideas are widespread but the particular strategies and logics of argument vary widely, because they are developed ad hoc to solve particular problems in using culture and history to defend, define and link ethnic and personal identity.

My analysis of the relationship of cultural history and muqam revision examines how past and present cultural politics interact in Turkic-Iranian-Mongol Central Asia and reveals the work of constructing the Uyghur nation and its history. Uyghurs thinking reflexively about their culture often feel influences from foreign cultures threaten the integrity of 'Uyghur' cultural history, but at the same time they seek to show that Uyghurs and their forebears participated in and contributed to the history of Eurasian culture.

In their ambiguous relationship to Islamic influences, many Uyghur intellectuals embrace the Islamic faith and yet see the cultural influences that came with it as external contamination. A Chinese state ideology of cultural autonomy also contributes to suppressing connections to Arab and Persian culture, but even in private most urban Uyghur intellectuals that I talked to sought to discount the importance of cultural debts and promote ideas of Uyghurs as culture donors. Their cosmopolitan intellectual commitments led them to support a distinctive secular ethnic history but their spiritual commitments also allowed for a non-ethnic Muslim identity. This predicament is not unique to modernity, although the stakes are higher in the quest for a distinctive history and territory that is respected in the modern world, or what Robert Foster (1991) has called the 'global ecumene.'

In his review article, Foster concentrates on the cultural codes, practices, and collective representations that people turn into communal symbols of their nation-states. Most of what he says applies to creating the cultural substance of an ethnic nation as well. The local is made into the national: 'Official histories frequently appropriate and revalue regional or local tradi-

tions, offering them up instead as indexes of unitary and common (that is national-communal) history' (Foster 1991: 242). Durkheim defined this as a task of the state: 'The State is a special organ whose responsibility it is to work out certain representations which hold good for the collectivity' (quoted in Foster 1991: 247). Foster's article reflects the work of anthropologists who have investigated the creation and consumption of cultural codes and symbolic products (languages, sites, histories) more than negotiated national cultural performances such as the muqams.

The cultural past as the source of national culture seems to offer the stability of historical fact, but in fact the past stays open to negotiation. Past cultural events bear the stamps of their creators and their social contexts, and these interact with the work of people in the present who are shaping idealized ethnic culture; the interactions reveal the cultural logics and operations through which diverse cultural practices are transformed into the shared culture of the nation. In this chapter I investigate how the muqams are conceived as part of cultural change and exchange and the stories that are used to explain these processes. I begin with several important contemporary interpretations of Uyghur music history and then look at the historical context of cultural exchanges between China, Central Asia, and the Middle East. I end the chapter with a description of how historical sources have been made into a charter for present-day muqam editing and revival.

4.1 Culture and History as Homelands

In denying cultural change and debts, Uyghurs strengthen discursive claims to Xinjiang as their homeland. Ignoring historical processes and foreign influences helps them connect present Uyghurs with the original essence of a distinctive past. As in many modern nations, modernist ideologies of national culture, history, and territory have prompted Uyghur efforts to identify and exclude foreign contamination and return to the roots of original national purity and essential identity, which in this case includes construing a number of early oasis civilizations of the Tarim and Turfan basins as Uyghur.

Modern concepts of territory and history are related to ideologies of private property and exclusive ownership that Richard Handler describes as 'the logic of possessive individualism' (1988: 191). Stability in space and limited historical change help legitimate such territorial claims. According to their understanding of this international paradigm for the ethnic nation, Uyghur modernizers avoid recognizing a historical and cultural gap between the Uyghurs of the Uyghur Qaghanate and the Idiqut kingdom and the modern Uyghurs. Similarly, they avoid considering the way 'foreign' influences such as Buddhism and Islam created this gap. To be modern, they feel they should restore cultural purity and distinctiveness, emphasize autochthonous

origins, and create a shared culture in the present that will reflect inheritance of a past both unique to the Uyghurs and internationally acknowledged as important.

According to the logic of possessive individualism, influences from Arabic and Persian literature are reinterpreted as cultural debts which undermine attempts to show that Uyghur literature is distinctive and autochthonous. At the same time, Uyghur intellectuals claim Uyghurs participated in world cultural history, and contributed to music and the Buddhist, Manichean, and Nestorian Christian religions. They feel that music and religion connect Uyghurs not only to the Middle East and China but even to Europe. One way in which Uyghurs claim a respected identity within China and internationally is through histories that stress the Uyghur role as culture donors to other societies.

4.2 Creating Autochthonous Uyghur Music History

To demonstrate their cultural uniqueness, Uyghurs create public narratives of autochthonous local origins and development and explain how products of Uyghur culture were taken to other places and peoples. At the same time, they seek to deny the importance of contributions to Uyghur culture from 'foreign' donors.

The painter Ghazi Ämät has created prominent representations of autochthonous cultural history. He has been the president of the Xinjiang Art College since 1987, and his paintings have been the basis for several large murals around the city of Ürümchi. Three of these public artworks tell a story about the history of Uyghur music and dance. They include a four-by-six-meter enameled tile mural depicting Xinjiang music and dance, located in the Xinjiang Regional Exhibition Hall on Youhao Road; a ten-meter-long oil painting over the lobby of the 1950s-era Kunlun Hotel, also on Youhao Road; and a bas-relief mural carved into a wall about three meters high and twelve meters long, erected in a park on Yanan Road near the Art College. Whereas many of Ghazi Ämät's smaller paintings treat single scenes, these public murals narrate connections between modern Uyghur traditions of music and dance and Buddhist images of musicians and dancers. The subject matter of Ghazi Ämät's public art is split between past and present in a way that reflects the deep historical awareness of many intellectuals I met and whose works I read: they desire a big past to give their culture and ethnicity value and respect in the present.

In the tile mural, titled *The Country of Songs and Dances* (*Naχša-usul makani*, 1985), Ghazi Ämät narrates the origins of Uyghur performing arts by 'quoting' from paintings of Buddhist *apsara* musicians and dancers. He sets these floating images in a green monochrome background behind his

polychrome portrayals of idealized Uyghur folk performers. Performers from the smaller minorities of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region – Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tatars, and Tajiks – are distributed around the periphery of the central Uyghur figures (also in Wang 1989, unpaginated).

In his bas-relief carving in the park on Yanan Road, Ghazi Ämät similarly portrays Buddhist *apsara* musicians as background for modern Uyghur folk performers. His long painted mural (ca. 1990) in the Kunlun Hotel makes a similar transition, moving left to right, from flying *apsara* musicians to Uyghur musicians and dancers.

The images of Buddhist musicians and dancers are drawn from Buddhist rock temple paintings in Xinjiang that were created during the first millennium in the Tarim and Turfan basins. By connecting these figures directly to images of present musicians and dancers, Ghazi Ämät's narrative pushes aside Arabic and Persian musical influences on Uyghur musical terminology, instrumentation, form, and textual contents, especially in the muqams. When he emphasizes the links of Uyghur music and dance to Buddhist tradition, he presents a vision of deep local roots to Uyghur culture. Ghazi Ämät gives modern Uyghurs a local past and denies that Arabic and Persian cultural influences introduced fundamental changes. By representing religious and artistic tradition as continuous, he denies the need for the modern ethnic group to overcome a lingering distinction between Kashgar Turks who converted to Islam voluntarily in the tenth century and the Turpan and Qumul Uyghurs who converted during Moghul expansion in the fifteenth century.

Ghazi Ämät is not an artistic ideologue repeatedly expressing a single idea, but his narrative art obviously became popular among the Ürümchi politicians and planners who control the mounting of public art. This art also supports narratives of a unified multiethnic Chinese state, because it suggests that Uyghur cultural traditions developed within the present boundaries of Xinjiang and hence within present-day China. The reference to Buddhist origins downplays Islamic influences on Uyghur culture and the resulting anxiety about identity and distinctiveness. Even though Buddhism and Buddhist art originated outside Xinjiang, the many well-preserved Buddhist murals suggest extensive early local development. These murals are readily claimed as culturally Uyghur because Uyghurs now live where they are found. Uyghur Buddhism is not a political threat to national unity in the same way Islam might be, because it is not a present source of ideological influences originating outside of China (see Gladney 1992, 2004).

In contrast to these public representations of historical continuity, during the same period Ghazi Ämät painted many scenes from Uyghur traditional culture, including musical performances, marketplaces, artisans, grape

harvesting, and local legends. Of these, only the painting of a large and varied group of recognizably Muslim Uyghur musicians titled *Muqam* was reprinted and widely available in stores as a representation of performers of classical Uyghur music (see Wang 1989). But popular though this print was, it did not have the same prominent public display as his narrative murals. His simple mural on a new classroom building at the Art College, completed in 1992, showed a dancing woman and two male musicians, and another mural in the Regional Exhibition Hall depicted folk sports and games of the Uyghurs and other peoples. These were the only murals of his that I saw that did not suggest a historical narrative.[139]

These highly public representations were clear statements about Uyghur history, and although Ghazi Ämät was the creator there were obviously others involved in selecting the images and how to present them. There was little overt response to them, probably because the ideas expressed were not particularly new. Uyghur Buddhist culture had been widely discussed for some time. In addition to appearing in Ghazi Ämät's art, Uyghur musical culture and particularly the muqams were constantly referred to in textbooks, speeches, poems, songs, and lectures.

4.3 Muqam History on Film

The documentary film *Uyğur On Ikki Muqami* (The Uyghur Twelve Muqams), broadcast on Xinjiang Television in November 1992, describes the Twelve Muqams as the culmination of the long and linear historical development of Uyghur music and dance (Xinjiang Yishu Xueyuan 1992). The film's narrator – an older, turban-wearing man whose white beard and deep, resonant voice connote authority – describes the events of Uyghur muqam history to a young woman whose high, breathy voice suggests childish wonder.[140] The man explains that in the year 119 BCE the Han dynasty diplomat Zhang Qian brought the tune sequence of the Moqdul songs (*Moqdul nağmisi yürüšläškän ahañlar*) from the Western Regions to the Han court, where they became the basis for a composition of twenty-eight

[139] The latter mural, *People of the Tian Shan,* suggests another continuity, that of solidarity among the different peoples of Xinjiang. The muqam videos prepared under the guidance of Tömür Dawamat do focus more on Uyghur traditional culture and Muslim religious practices without suggesting a relationship to the pre-Islamic period (Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002). Characteristically, the Äjäm muqam video in this series begins with images from Ghazi Ämät's *Muqam* painting.

[140] I interpret the meanings of these voices on the basis of a variety of performances that connoted childish innocence through high voices. Men in positions of authority were portrayed with stylized deep voices.

songs.[141] Following the popular socialist doctrine of cultural evolution, the film portrays the origins of Uyghur dance in the 'primitive' *atäš usuli* ('fire dance') with men dressed in skins dancing around a bonfire. This dance form is shown gradually transforming into a sixth-century Kushan Buddhist court dance, which the film presents through a dance by women of the Kucha performing arts troupe. These green-clad Buddhist dancers are filmed through a refracting lens that gives multiple images resembling the repeated figures in Buddhist murals. The narrator says that the *čoñ küy* ('great tunes' or *daqu* in Chinese) of Kushan (modern Kucha) and Qocho (near modern Turpan) music were popular in the Chinese courts of the Sui and Tang dynasties and that they developed into the Čoñ Näğmä of the muqams.[142]

The narrator next describes how the coming of Islam resulted in the substitution of Arabic names for the Uyghur musical forms, so that the suites came to be called 'muqams.' This information is presented in narration over scenes of the supposed tombs of Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī and Yūsuf Khāss Hājib in Kashgar. These two famous authors of the eleventh century are widely recognized as founders of Uyghur literary culture who were important participants in Muslim cultural circulation in Central Asia, and here they help evoke the effects of cultural contact with the Islamic world.

When the young woman asks about creating the Twelve Muqams, the narrator explains that the Uyghur muqams were organized into the Twelve Muqams by Āmännisā Khān, a wife of Sultān 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān, who ruled the Yarkand Khanate from 1533 to 1560. The film represents this period through a stage performance in present-day Yarkand (Yäkän) that portrays Āmännisā Khān and Yūsuf Qidīr Khān, a musician at the court of Sultān 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān, defending their right to create music and dance in the face of stiff opposition from the Sopi-Ishans (Sufi Ishans, Naqshbandī shaykhs), who try to impose a strict interpretation of Islam. The leader of the Sopi-Ishans plays the characteristic instrument of the East Turkistani *qalan-*

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[141] The film's narrative is fairly close to that of Ämätjan Äχmidi (1992: 3–10), who cites the *Jin Shu*, 25 *quan,* where the *moqdul näğmisi* and its origins in the Lopnur region are described as part of the section on the music of the Han dynasty (Äχmidi 1992: 3–4, 18n4).

[142] Äχmidi's discussion (1992: 3–6, 80–86) gives more detail but is no less explicit in describing all this music and dance as Uyghur. He derives the word *muqam* from the 'ancient Uyghur Kushan-Tocharian language word *mäqävmä,* which meant *čoñ näğmä*.' Because it was similar to the Arabic *maqam,* meaning 'stable place,' Arabs later made use of this word for the musical concept. He writes that historical sources make clear that during the Western and Eastern Jin dynasties, 'Uyghur song and dance were taken to Central China by way of the courts at Suli (Kashgar), Kushan (Kuchar), [and] Qocho (Turpan). . . . In 517 [*sic,* elsewhere 567 or 577] CE the great Kushan Uyghur musical theorist and musician Sujup Aqari' (the name is elsewhere reconstructed as Suzup) went to Changan and 'introduced his musical system of five modulations [*taranä*], seven pitches [*awaz*], and twelve rhythms [*ritm*].'

dar (ascetic), the *sapayi* (*safa'il*), hitting it against his shoulder. This is an excellent demonstration of how the history that has been edited out survives to disrupt this story of good and evil: the sapayi they play is used in Sufi zikr rituals, and both the zikr and the sapayi were portrayed positively in the 2002 video productions of the muqams (Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002). But in the film, with the support of 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān, Āmānnisā Khān and Qidīr Khān succeed in defeating the forces of religious orthodoxy and complete their great song and dance composition. Here the film ends its narrative of the historical development of the muqams and begins describing their role in the modernization and internationalization of Xinjiang as a world economic and cultural presence.

This film, like the majority of muqam histories published in China, focuses on the development of musical culture in the area that is now Xinjiang and claims it all as part of Uyghur heritage. This version of Uyghur cultural history defines a civilized, settled, oasis-dwelling identity, ignoring the nomadic Uyghurs and Turks who are also ancestors. The film also ignores pre-modern cultural exchanges with geographic areas outside of China and thus fits with the idea of Uyghurs as autochthonous in Chinese national territory. But even in this film, being part of China causes subtle conflict. The film shows traditional Uyghur uses of Xinjiang petroleum and then contrasts this with the massive extractive industry that now exports oil to 'inland' China (*neidi*). In the midst of this cultural documentary, adoring images of the glistening oil industry and long lines of tank cars stretching off toward China tie Uyghurs' pride in their indigenous Twelve Muqams to pride in their indigenous oil reserves.[143]

Not only is cultural development in the form of muqam research, training, and recording supported by industrial development, but cultural heritage and natural resources are brought together as Uyghur possessions. This film and many discussions of Uyghur cultural history revolve around a uniquely Uyghur territory, and the creativity and resources within it. National and international interest in them proves their value.[144]

Because there are no obvious competing heirs to the Indo-Iranian Buddhist civilizations created in the Tarim oases by Tokharians, Khotanese, and other peoples, contemporary Uyghur historians have claimed them as Uyghur ancestors. In modern nationalism, present collective identities derive

[143] See Rudelson 1997: 75 for a Uyghur joke about trains taking Xinjiang resources to Beijing, an issue I heard people mention often. Perhaps the filmmakers are even consciously making a parallel between the export of oil and of music.

[144] Uyghurs are also proud of their fruits, *kawap* (shish kebab) and *polo* (pilaf), which are popular throughout China. Ghazi Ämät showed me a painting of his that depicts European tourists greedily eating traditional Uyghur foods. See also Cesaro 2007.

their potency from unified and continuous territory, history, and culture. To avoid challenges to authority and legitimacy, much work is put into excluding ruptures and discontinuities from narratives of the national whole (see Winichakul 1994 and Duara 1995). In order to lay the strongest possible claim to the autonomous region that bears their name, many Uyghurs represent their ethnic group as heirs of all that has happened in this land.[145]

4.4 Genealogy and Identity

Narratives of cultural and genetic exchange and interaction in the past enable symbolic and actual interaction in the present. If Uyghurs can lay claim to a great past according to the artistic, religious, and musical standards of modernity, then they are justified in considering themselves a people of international importance, appreciated for their contributions to the modern world. An identity recognized by others is a valuable resource for creating the collective self.

Uyghur musicians and scholars with whom I worked often gave examples showing international recognition of Uyghur culture and history. Uyghurs had performed their muqams to great acclaim in London, Berlin, Singapore and Japan. The historian Lewis Henry Morgan purportedly stated that the Tarim basin was the 'golden key' to world cultural history.[146] Renowned scholars and explorers such as Aurel Stein and Gunnar Jarring had visited Xinjiang to do research.

My first exposure to such ideas about Uyghur history came from Shir Mämät, a *tämbur* teacher at the Art College. Shir Mämät is an excellent musician, scholar, and narrator of Uyghur history who was intent on making a name for Uyghurs as important culture bearers in world history. He explained that in the sixth century a Uyghur musician named Suzup (Suzhipo in Chinese) had invented the chromatic scale of seven whole-tones and five half-tones and taken it to China.[147] Abū Nasr al-Fārābī (870–950), the Central Asian Turk who became one of the greatest Islamic philosophers and wrote an extensive study on music, took this same musical system to the Arabs, from whom it spread to Europe, becoming the basis for modern European music theory.

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[145] Kamalov 2007 discusses in detail how Russian and Soviet scholars contributed to such interpretations of Uyghur history and heritage.

[146] Morgan's book *Ancient Society* was published as *Qadimqi Jämiyät* in 1992. Although many people mentioned Morgan's idea, a friend had heard that the historian Qurban Väli looked through all of Morgan's works without finding this quote.

[147] Feng Qinjün has reconstructed the name Suzup as Suvajiva, pronounced Sujiva or Sujava. See Äχmidi 1992: 86.

Shir Mämät and other historians of Uyghur culture interpreted historical evidence to claim prominence for Uyghur culture within the world of contemporary international modernity, which they correctly perceived as obsessed with the evolution of civilization and with the connections between cultural origins and modern societies. By expanding Uyghur identity to encompass a larger, more valued, and internationally connected past, the modern ethnic group could gain a sense of self-respect through recognition as a valuable source for civilized culture. Sulayman Imin (1992), a Uyghur composer at the Xinjiang Art College, maintained that the idea of the symphony had arisen with the Uyghur muqams and had been taken by the Arabs, who introduced it to Europe. This idea was not widely supported, but Uyghur and even a few Han Chinese composers, including my teacher, Zhou Ji, had based orchestral compositions in the muqams.

Shir Mämät argued that although the names for many of the musical instruments were Arabic, the instruments themselves had been invented by the Uyghurs. Just as the twelve-tone scale had been taken by al-Fārābī to the Arabs and then to Europe, so the *ğejäk* had been made into the violin, and the *čañ* into the piano. The Arabic *'ud*, the Persian *barbat*, and the European guitar were all derived from the *tämbur*. The Persian and Arabic words for the *dutar*, *satar*, *rawap*, and *muqam* came after the things already existed. He demonstrated this by analogy to himself: although he is a Uyghur, his name, Shir Mämät ('lion of Muhammad'), was borrowed from Arabic. Like many other Uyghur musicians, Shir Mämät believed that the large number of songs that made up the muqams proved that they were a Uyghur invention, because they were more complex and longer than other maqām traditions.[148]

Shir Mämät used the etymology of the word *tämbur* to show that the instrument was Uyghur, not Persian as some maintained. He interpreted the name as a description of the tuning of the strings of this five-stringed long lute. Two pairs of strings each have one pitch while another, single string is tuned to a different pitch, so the name probably comes from the Uyghur *täñbir*, 'equal-one.' Shir Mämät also renamed the wire plectrum that is attached to the forefinger for playing the *tämbur*. It had been called a *nakhun*, from the Persian for 'fingernail,' but he renamed it a *simtir*, from the Uyghur words *sim*, 'wire,' and *tirnaq*, 'fingernail.'[149]

Avoiding the dominance of Arabic and Persian names was important to the literary scholar Abdushukur Turdi as well. He argued that the muqam

[148] Such arguments that claim cultural complexity is original or the result of later development depend on cultural logics about traditions undergoing decay or elaboration. Alan Dundes (1969) has written about tropes of evolution and devolution in theories about folk traditions. See also Wilson 1976.

[149] John Baily (1976: 60) illustrates a similar Afghan *nākhunak* plectrum.

names Rak, Bayat, and Čapbayat (Čäbbiyat) were derived not from Arabic, Persian, or Central Asian Turkic but from Sanskrit and Old Uyghur, and thus claimed that these muqams probably came into existence as a group of pre-Islamic, third- and fourth-century 'classical Uyghur tunes' (Turdi 1992).

Many Uyghur musicians proudly described their ability to learn American and European music easily – *Yankee Doodle Dandy* and *The Blue Danube* were tunes I often heard – but foreigners (I was an excellent example) and Han Chinese could not easily learn Uyghur tunes and songs. This showed that Uyghur musical skills were more developed and hence suggested a longer history and a greater range of traditional forms. The complexity of Uyghur music could also be seen in the fact that Wan Tongshu, the Han Chinese musicologist who had prepared the first transcription of the Uyghur Muqams, had been unable to avoid giving them the *puraq* ('taste, flavor') of Han music.

On the other hand, the musician and researcher Husäyn Kerim did not think that difficulty and difference necessarily meant Uyghur music was more advanced. He used another metaphor when he described Wan Tongshu's mistakes, saying, 'It is like drawing a face, the person draws it according to the details he knows. If he is Kazakh, the face looks like a Kazakh; if he is Han, it looks Han. He cannot capture the flavor of another ethnic group. Most Han look with horror at the difficulty of Uyghur songs, and if they do learn a song, it sounds Han.'

Husäyn Kerim was also one of the few people I talked to who not only felt that Arabic and Persian influences on Uyghur music were very likely but was committed to using documentary sources to figure out the historical relationships. His ideas about the muqams and about Uyghur culture were not as firm and positive as those of Shir Mämät and Sulayman Imin. Husäyn depended on historical evidence and recognized it as open to interpretation. He was criticized for this by those who accepted the dominant linear and autochthonous interpretation. The clear linear history of Uyghur music history that was dominant in public art and film was also more acceptable to public scholars and officials. Husäyn's challenging voice was excluded from public debate about the muqams because official admission of the complexity of cultural processes would leave room for competing genealogical narratives.[150]

Yet many people around Ürümchi respected Husäyn's intelligence and persistence. He appealed to people as a rebel who threw caution to the wind and as a martyr to the cause of historical truth. Best of all, he was good

[150] Husäyn Kerim has published on ancient music history of the Huns, Dingling, Uyghurs, and other nomads and on the history of Uyghur musical instruments (Kerim 1981, 1982, 1985, 1987, 1989).

company because he never stopped entertaining people with his ideas and critiques. He compensated for the uncertainties of his historical method by outspoken criticism of his colleagues for speculating without evidence when they wrote about Uyghur music and history. Using the Uyghur metaphor in which knowledge is contained in the stomach, he said, 'They sit down and simply write whatever comes out of their belly.' He believed it was impossible that there were muqams in the Tarim region before they appeared in Arabia. For him, saying that the Uyghurs gave the muqams to the Hindus, Arabs, and Persians was like saying that the child passes tradition to the parents.

Chinese historians describe the unique cultural heritage of the Han Chinese. Western Sinologists in love with the massive documentary resources of China laud the gifts of Han culture to the world.[151] Historians and anthropologists do battle over the importance of the Iroquois confederation in the design of the American Constitution (Johansen 1994). The notion that the Iroquois were a source of American democratic ideals threatens the Euro-American faith in democracy as a heritage from Athenian Greeks. The idea that Greek civilization owes something to that of Egypt and is hence partly African is also a threat to the dominant ideology (Bernal 1987–1991; Lefkowitz and Rogers 1996). A 1998 April Fool's Day news report on National Public Radio's *All Things Considered* discussed changing the pronunciation of the Boston Celtics name from [*seltiks*] to [*keltiks*] because a supposed Irish anthropologist had found evidence that the Irish invented basketball. This satire was convincing because of the wide acceptance of such 'heritage hunting' and laying claims to the past in a kind of cultural irredentism. Similarly, immigrant Finns criticize American uses of the sauna, and Cornish, Italian, and Finnish residents of the Upper Peninsula in Michigan argue over who invented and perfected the pasty (Lockwood 1987a, 1987b). The modern paradigm of intellectual property rights and more enduring concepts of descent and inheritance involve concepts related to such retrospective claims. Priority remains a central principle: added to the claims to a genealogically defined group's shared possession of a past is the practice of organizing that past according to an absolute historical chronology that allows adjudication among completing claims to priority. As I describe later, origin myths narrated by Central Asian Turks claim descent from Turk, the first son of Yafes (Japhet), the first son of Nuh (Noah), and

[151] Howard E. Wilson (1942: iii) writes, 'We have all read about 'our debt to ancient Greece and Rome' and about 'our heritage from Europe.' We need to think also about our gifts from the cultures and peoples of Asia. This pamphlet tells about some of the things given by China to the Western world.'

described the invention of various cultural practices within this lineage as well.

In Ürümchi, many people justified ethnic pride through stories of Uyghurs as culture donors. Others, such as Husäyn, could accept Uyghur participation in cultural circulation in which they had borrowed as well as contributed. This led to potentially risky debates about the meaning of different histories and about the ethnic nationalist motivations of those who promoted them. Not all Hans and Uyghurs allowed ethnicity to determine their historical beliefs, but historical discussions often revolved around such conflicting interpretations and attempts to discredit others' arguments by accusations of ethnic bias.

One Han historian told me that he thought the Japanese and Turkish studies and symposiums on the Silk Road were good because they challenged Uyghur scholars who wanted to deny foreign and non-Islamic influences. A Uyghur historian pointed out that the importance of Persian in Uyghur literature was like that of Latin throughout Europe or French at the Russian court. For him, the attempt to create Uyghur terms to replace foreign words was unnecessary, as were the Chinese government guidelines that said new Uyghur words should not be borrowed from European or Middle Eastern languages but should be native or come from Chinese. Another Uyghur historian felt that the idea of the muqams as an independent Uyghur creation was a Han idea, and obedient Uyghur scholars had gone along with the idea. He told me, 'The Han say the sun rises in the north, and then they give nice clothes and travel opportunities to those who agree with them.' This historian also thought that the Chinese were trying to suppress the importance of the muqams because they did not want to acknowledge the long cultural history of the Uyghurs and the greatness of their cultural accomplishments.

Rarely did this debate over ethnic bases for ideology become public, because the underlying antagonisms were too threatening: Uyghur scholars debated the many possible interpretations in the relative security of non-public settings. Accusations of ethnic nationalism and Han chauvinism were not taken lightly; the latter was more ubiquitous but the former was more likely to ruin one's career. Ethnicity influenced beliefs about history, but ironically both Uyghur nationalists and their opponents, the apologists for Chinese rule in Xinjiang, agreed that Uyghur history should be seen as autochthonous, whereas the few Han and Uyghur scholars who allowed for influences from abroad were rejected by these dominant voices. And the Silk Road model offered ways to talk about wider interactions not limited to connections with the Islamic world.[152]

[152] Zhou Jingbao (1987) was one of the few comparativists who was able to publish his results widely. See James Millward's (2005) analysis of 'silk roadism' and Zhou's goals.

In her account of the Chinese approach to the study and promotion of minority music, Sabine Trebinjac details the argument of scholars who promote the 'unity of nationalities' in China by speculating that music from the Western Regions had a long and productive interaction with the Han and Tang courts. Although it is clear that musicians traveled to Chinese courts, and it is possible that Tang *daqu* music was derived from this foreign music, several scholars emphasize that influences went in both directions and continued across multiple dynasties (Trebinjac 2000: 219–224, 268–73). Unsurprisingly, few Uyghur scholars mention possible Chinese influences on their music. But musical traditions doubtless were shared across ethnic boundaries defined by other cultural forms, and given the scanty evidence for the effects and directions of cultural interaction, it is more useful to analyze how local practices gave music such a central role in thinking about cultural relations.

Linear narratives of Uyghur history centered on their present territory offer a stronger sense of Uyghur identity than those with a broader perspective in which cultural exchange is messy and confusing. Shir Mämät demonstrated to me how culture created structural coherence and continuity and resisted decay. He once explained to me that musical works should be put together like buildings. He used the example of a sixty-three-year-old mosque builder in Aqsu whose skills were part of a long tradition passed down from father to son. Scholars could not understand how he built mosques so straight and tall with simple tools. But the builder did it as one must put music together: he advanced through firmly connected pieces and continually returned to strengthen the base. The muqams are like this, said Shir Mämät: they build from the base of the Čoñ Näğmä, Dastan, and Mäšräp, progressing through an ordered sequence of closely linked tunes and rhythms, with a *märğul* between each song. Using a matchbox and a cigarette case on the table between us, Shir Mämät demonstrated to me how misalignment of the parts of a building would cause it to fall.

Shir Mämät's metaphor may not concretely teach one how to make music, but it conveys an idea of the goal: creating solidity through the use of techniques with a long tradition, beyond scholarly understanding. The metaphor effectively captures the sense of stabilizing a tradition in time and space through frequent returns to its origins and through repeated connections among its parts. The coherence of tradition and of musical works is the durable result of orderly, consistent, and continual construction. This image can be extended to coherent histories that hold up well because they give events a linear order and avoid ambiguities that could make things unstable.

In another conversation about the muqams, Shir Mämät also used a building metaphor. He explained that people claim that the muqams are finished, complete, but in fact they need more research to fill in gaps. As in

the case of fixing old buildings in Italy or France, the editors should add cement, but they should do research first to decide what kind. They have to repaint, but the color must be right: if it should be blue they should not use red. He used a tape cassette set on edge to show how the muqam structures needed reinforcement to correct their tilt and make them firm again. Shir Mämät suggests authentic restoration of past culture, whether European monuments or Uyghur music, requires research and special techniques to recreate the original structure. He uses the concrete forms of built objects to stand for more abstract and fluid traditions, implying that national symbols should also be objectified and enduring products of the past that should be maintained as originally made. The maintenance must not use present techniques but should be authentic to the original, not changing the object's essence or its connection to its origins. Shir Mämät sees authentically restoring buildings or traditions as promoting continuity with the past and stable cultural monuments in the present.

But Shir Mämät also felt that these cultural objects circulated. He connected Uyghur musical culture with China as well as the Middle East and Europe. He told me that Suzup had taken Uyghur music to China. When they first encountered the Uyghurs, the Chinese had no stringed instruments. They had borrowed the Uyghur *ğejäk* and created their *erhu* from it, while the *tämbur* was the origin of the *pipa*. His story gave coherence to the fragmented historical sources for musical connections by organizing them around a unified Uyghur culture based in the territory of Xinjiang. In this model cultural forms were created and flowed outward from the Uyghur homeland, and should be restored to their original form there.

4.5 Music in Chinese Ideologies and International Relations

To suggest some reasons why issues of cultural property and exchange are so potent in China, particularly in relation to music, I describe the use of cultural exchange in Chinese thinking and political practice. I begin with Chinese ideas about the forms, value, and uses of elite, refined culture. Culture (*wenhua*), civilization (*wenming*), and cultivation or refinement (*wenya*) have long been marks of personal and collective merit in China, especially within the Confucian tradition. Whereas Han ethnic nationalism stresses shared Han culture, the courtly ideals of Chinese literati provided standards for judging individuals' refinement more objectively in terms of Confucian values of respect for authority, hierarchy and order. These ideas have endured into the present in the form of assessments of the cultivation of

individuals and groups in terms of 'cultural level' (*wenhua shuiping*) and 'population quality' (*renkou zhiliang*, *renkou suzhi*).[153]

According to ideas of traditional Chinese statecraft, to the extent that people have learned the habits of thought and behavior associated with the cultivated ideals of elite culture, they deserve authority and power. Those without such habits were considered to be outside the cultivated world of China and had to be controlled and cultivated through force and cultural exchange. But this became difficult when those who should be controlled invaded and became the rulers of China through force. In such cases, cultivation began at the court through instruction of the ruling class by literati bureaucrats. The use of Chinese culture to cultivate foreign elites has many similarities to the use of Persian culture in the western Mongol courts. The presence of literati using the Mongol and Manchu languages in competition with Chinese in the Yuan and Qing dynasty bureaucracies is also generally similar to the role of *bakhshi* writing in Türki in Mongol courts further west.

In their efforts to cultivate the 'barbarian' peoples with whom they came into contact, Chinese court officials readily extended the philosophy and practice of using music to pacify and keep order within the Chinese state. The history of Chinese international relations reveals many records of two-directional musical exchange with barbarians,[154] but detailed analyses of ongoing musical exchange appear only in studies of Sino-Korean relations. From the Song dynasty to the twentieth century, Korean Confucian court rituals used music and dance ensembles whose size and arrangement connoted the Koreans' cultural and ideological subordination to China. Instruments and dancers were given to the Koreans by the Chinese court, but eventually the Koreans claimed that they preserved more authentic and pure Confucian performance practices and that the Chinese themselves had dis-

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[153] Joseph Levenson (1965) developed the idea of Chinese culturalism as a universalizing ideology that contrasts with nationalism and its dependence on ethnic or national essence. Despite over-dichotomizing these two ideologies his idea has generated productive debate. See also Langlois 1980. Stevan Harrell (1995: 3–36) discusses the 'civilizing projects' the Chinese central government has directed at the ethnic minorities, and further examples appear in Dreyer 1976 and Crosseley 1990. In the 1880s, after defeating Yaʿqūb Beg's rebellion in Xinjiang, the Chinese promulgated a Türki translation of the Confucian *Book of Rites*, in order to promote political order through its description of the attitude and etiquette appropriate for subordinates (Le Coq 1925).

[154] Ying-shih Yü (1990: 144–145) mentions a visit in 52 CE of the northern Xiongnü to the Chinese court, where they ask for replacement instruments. The Gaoqü tribe that ruled Beš-Baliq, Qočo, and Jungaria at the end of the fifth century maintained a court orchestra of musicians and eighty instruments given by the Tabghach (Esin 1980: 74, 226n152, 227n155). Edouard Chavannes (1903: 30) mentions a Chinese gift of instruments to the West Turks in 641 CE. Other examples are mentioned in Gimm 1966; Loewe 1986: 303; Yü 1986: 460; Picken and Nickson 1987-90.

torted the original tradition. Finally, in the later fifteenth century, Emperor Sejo substituted native Korean compositions for the Chinese music that had been used in sacrifices to royal ancestors (Pratt 1976: 199–218, 1981; Provine 1996).

The Chinese use of music in diplomacy derived from its use in rituals for cultivating and regulating the Chinese state. Traditional thinking analyzed music into court, or *ya*, 'refined, sophisticated, elegant,' folk, or *su*, 'vulgar, common,' and *hu*, 'foreign, barbarian,' styles of music. The court music included Confucian ritual music, which was believed to ensure an orderly empire. In Chinese theories of ritual, there must be a balance of music and ceremonies: music establishes internal affective connections while ceremonies create external order and hierarchy. The *Yueji* (Record of music, ca. 2nd century BCE) explains the role of music in rituals: 'Music unifies, ceremonies set things apart. In unifying there is a mutual drawing close; in setting things apart there is mutual respect. If music overwhelms, there is dissolving; if ceremonies overwhelm, there is division' (Owen 1992: 54).

Chinese political philosophers felt that ritual and music preserved the equilibrium and order of the state. The Han dynasty historian Sima Qian argued that the decline of the Zhou dynasty resulted from the loss of the ritual and music that earlier kings had used to pacify the Chinese kingdom (Bol 1992: 54). Just as the loss of proper ritual and music could bring the downfall of a government, so legitimating a new dynasty through revival of traditional ritual music was a common historiographic motif (e.g. Fang 1968: 56–58). Reviving proper traditions often involved purifying native tradition of foreign contamination. At the Southern Song court in the early twelfth century, music was used to reestablish authentic 'Chinese' cultural traditions after defeat by Jürchen invaders (Lam 1995: 14, citing Liu 1988). A similar nativism motivated an effort to purify Ming court culture of Mongol and Central Asian influences in music and culture. One contemporary commentator wrote, 'Our civilization surpasses the ancient past; how can we then possibly still follow bad examples?' (Liang 1985: 133–134; Serruys 1987: 161).

This cultural logic of nativism with its rejection of contamination by foreign cultures coexisted with contrasting values of cosmopolitan interest in foreign cultures, and of making cultural connections in order to cultivate foreign elites and tie them to China as cultural and political subordinates. When Emperor Huizong gave musical instruments to the Korean king in 1116 CE, he described them as a reward for the king's honor and virtue and his close ties to China. The emperor quoted the *Classic of Filiality* (*Xiaojing*): 'For rectifying customs and cultivating the unrefined, there is nothing

like music' (Pratt 1976: 209). The *Yueji* describes Confucian ceremonies and music as 'instruments by which the minds of the people are assimilated, and good order in government made to appear' (Wechsler 1985: 30). In general, stately, measured, and happy music was valued for its influence on the morals and attitudes of the listeners and, more generally, on the state as a whole.[155] Despite some challenges to the theory that music had direct moral and emotional influences on people and that it influenced the condition of the state and its relations to social and supernatural forces, this remained the dominant theory of music.[156]

Even in contemporary Chinese debates over music and modernization, many people still think that music directly affects popular morals, and many officials try to control what music may be performed in public and broadcast through the media. Richard Kraus (1989) and Andrew Jones (1992) show this in their studies of the politics of Western styles of classical, popular, and rock music in modern China. Jones's historical perspective is narrower, and he ignores the long tradition of Chinese moral theories of music in his discussion of modern debates over rock music, but Kraus (1989: 29, 211) explicitly parallels Confucian and Communist uses of music as moral guidance for the masses.

Music and dance are complex cultural vehicles, and their international exchange is fraught with difficulties. Claudia Strauss (1977) aptly describes the paradoxical appeal of foreign music and dance to otherwise nationalistic Chinese Communist ideologues. Although they did not want to promote disorderly popular influences, Communist officials also felt that the Confucian stress on harmonious and orderly music and dance was part of the repression of working-class expressive culture and, like the binding of women's feet, discouraged dramatic and athletic movement in the arts. They thought European ballet techniques would unleash the revolutionary spirit of women, peasants, and workers. The acrobatic and martial movements that were added to Beijing opera served two purposes: they would make China more competitive on the international stage, and they would enable workers' culture to find more liberating dramatic expression. Ballet also would not promote the immorality of European bourgeois couples dancing together, as long as the *pas de deux* was largely eliminated.

Despite the stress on elite indigenous musical creations in official court and ritual music, popular and foreign music have long been important

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[155] Kenneth DeWoskin (1982: 7, 30–31) argues that musical physics suggested action at a distance, and thus music was seen as a mode of communication between heaven and earth and as a calming and orderly influence on people who were not even listening.

[156] Xi Kang (223–263) argued from Daoist ideas that sound was a natural phenomenon that did not inherently express emotion (Liang 1985: 93–94).

in Chinese ideas about music. Confucius himself is said to have collected and edited the *Shijing* (Book of odes) from popular songs. The Han dynasty in particular was concerned with popular music, and it was widely believed that an important responsibility of the emperor was to know the feelings of the people through direct knowledge of their songs and talk in order to overcome the distance created by the official bureaucracy. Suppression of popular dissent by overbearing officials would lead to violence: 'It is more difficult to stop up the mouth of the people than to stop up a river. . . . When you control a river you allow an escape route. When you govern the people you allow them freedom of speech' (Birrell 1993b: 5–7, 100–115).

At least one emperor felt that the court music of the early Western Han dynasty was boring and soporific, and emperors often sponsored performances of popular music from their native regions and elsewhere. Thus even at court, official music theory was contested. One response was the creation of the Bureau of Music around 200 BCE. This institution was responsible for ensuring the purity of ritual music while researching and 'improving' the regional popular musics that were enjoyed at court and collecting the songs of the streets and villages to ascertain the state of popular sentiment. At the time of its partial abolition in 7 BCE, the Bureau of Music employed 829 people, of whom 441 were removed from their post because they worked on popular music. During its heyday the Bureau of Music collected music from fifteen countries, including some outside the Chinese Empire, such as Sogdiana (Trebinjac 1990a).

When Emperor Ai ended the Bureau of Music's involvement in popular music, he did so for the same reasons that Confucius created the *Shijing* as a canon of acceptable ritual music that would displace the morally corrupt popular music from the country of Zheng. Emperor Ai argued that the widespread taste for popular music was detracting from appreciation of official ritual music and causing the people to lose respect for their superiors. 'When the sounds of Zheng and Wei are popular, illicit and licentious customs multiply; the good and honest people who aspire to provide for themselves are like the stream of limpid water that one seeks when the spring is muddy: they are hard to find. Did not Confucius say, 'We will banish the sounds of Zheng, the sounds of Zheng are perverse'? We will close the Bureau of Music!' (Trebinjac 1990a: 62).

Trebinjac demonstrates that the history of the Bureau of Music is not arcane and ancient history to Chinese today. The history of the Han dynasty is basic to the historical consciousness of Han Chinese intellectuals, and the Han ethnonym itself refers to this period. At the end of her comparison of the work of the Bureau of Music with modern Chinese government sponsorship of collecting, research, editing, and re-creation of folk music, she con-

cludes that there is again a Bureau of Music in the Chinese central government. But this apparent hyperbole is not her own argument: it is the director of the institution himself, charged with collecting, editing, and publishing folk music, who 'insisted that the present Bureau perpetuates, twenty-two centuries later, the *yuefu* [Bureau of Music of the Han dynasty], and that the recent collections of songs participated in a straight line of descent from the *Book of Odes* [*Shijing*] compiled by Confucius' (Trebinjac 1990a: 77).[157]

As I discuss later, this Chinese official was not the only one using history to legitimate official intervention in folk tradition. Säypidin Äziz, Qawul Akhun, and several other Uyghurs said that their editing of the muqam tradition was analogous to Āmānnisā Khān's creation of the Twelve Muqams from a variety of folk traditions in the sixteenth century. The interesting and important point is that the Uyghur editors are largely responsible for Uyghur music, while the Chinese central government institutions discussed by Trebinjac create policy but is quite distant from the day to day editing of Uyghur music, and of course, even further from the process of editing the texts. The rewriting methods Trebinjac analyzes (2000: 73-106) were only the general frame while the interaction among Uyghur scholars, politicians and performers shaped the tradition itself. The institutions for collecting and recreating traditional music that Trebinjac describes shaping these processes, but it is clear even from the sources she quotes that there is enough diversity in ideology and practice that it is individual choices rather than institutional policies that determine the form of the resulting music.

4.6 Foreign Music in China

The partial closure of the Bureau of Music notwithstanding, many Chinese elites remained fascinated by popular and foreign music. Despite the Confucian belief that ritual music induced elevated sentiments and could civilize both commoners and barbarians, and despite the tendency of Chinese literati to view foreign music as crude and uncultivated, foreign musicians and dancers were popular at the courts of the Wei, Sui, and Tang dynasties, as well as later during the Mongol Yuan and Manchu Qing dynasties (Rawski 1996: 164).

The records of this attraction for foreign music are extremely diverse, again reflecting the importance of music in Chinese elite culture.[158] But

[157] This historical connection explains the situation criticized by Yu Mang (1994) when he objects to the ideological domination of collection, edition, and even composition of 'traditional' Chinese folk songs that results in suppression of religious expression and promotion of politically correct ideas.

[158] For the Tang dynasty in particular, see the works of Martin Gimm (1966) and Pickens and Nickson (1987-1990). On the popular *hu* musicians and dancers from Samarkand, Tashkent,

despite a number of useful studies, the musical tastes, skills, and lives of these foreign musicians and their audiences in the capital and outlying cities are still little known.

China during the first millennium was quite cosmopolitan. Its ruling classes were multiethnic, and its important diplomatic and economic ties to foreign countries brought many foreigners to live in China permanently. Turk, Sogdian, Iranian, and Middle Eastern traders, performers, artisans, and soldiers established communities in port cities as well as along the inland trade routes, heavily influencing court politics and introducing their Buddhist, Nestorian, Zoroastrian, Jewish, Manichean, and Muslim religious beliefs. Although most of these religions had little long-term effect, large Muslim communities exist to this day in many of the places where these early travelers settled (Gladney 1996; Lipman 1997).

One source depicting Tang dynasty court performers is the polychrome terracotta figures found widely in Tang dynastic tombs. Jane Gaston Mahler has analyzed these figures in connection with Tang sources that mention dress and coiffure, and reveals a debate over the moral effects of borrowing foreign food and clothing that resembled the debate over borrowing music. One narrative from Tang history describes the ongoing conflict between urban fashion and imperial edicts that tried to restore propriety. During the Kaiyüan period (713–741), palace women began to wear Western-style hats and expose their painted faces. The common people emulated them. Eventually commoners and the high-born could not be distinguished. 'After the K'ai-yüan era the T'ai Ch'ang Institute of Music preferred Barbarian tunes. Noble families all served Barbarian food; men and women vied with one another in wearing Barbarian clothes. This preference really presaged the rebellion of the Fan Yang Barbarians at the end of the T'ien-pao era (755 AD) [An Lushan's rebellion] long beforehand' (Mahler 1959: 20–21, quoting from Xiang Da 1923).[159]

But even before the cosmopolitanism of the Tang dynasty, performers were brought to the Chinese courts as part of diplomatic contacts. In Western studies the narrative of Suzhipo (Suzup) is widely referred to as a watershed in which Chinese court music was exposed to Indian or Iranian – rather than

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and Bukhara, see Ishida 1932, 1961. These latter articles both use Tang literary sources, important but little-used sources documenting Chinese views of Westerners. See also Van Gulik 1969: 40, 44, 50, 62, 94, 159, on Sui, Tang, and Liao controversies over the influences and value of barbarian music.

[159] Ishida (1961: 39) cites a Chinese writer who reports that the *hu* style became even more popular after the An Lushan rebellion, due to *hu* troops who helped put down the rebellion: 'The women have married the *hu* people, and followed the *hu* style of cosmetics; the singers appreciated the *hu* music very high[ly] and were diligent to learn it.' See also Birrell 1993a; Gimm 1966: 259–269.

Uyghur – musical culture on a large scale. Like Feng Qinjün and Ämätjan Äχmidi, Maurice Courant (1913) interprets Suzhipo as the Sanskrit name Sujiva and cites the same Chinese sources that show him coming in the entourage of the Turk princess Muhan, daughter of the Ashina Turk Khān of Kucha (Kushan), when she married the Chinese emperor Wudi around 567 CE. Suzhipo was a master of the barbarian *pipa*, or lute, which he had learned from his father, a renowned musician in the Western Regions. Suzhipo brought a seven-tone scale to court and a system of seven modal transpositions for these notes. The Chinese musician Zheng Yi apparently added five transpositions to create a total of eighty-four scales and proposed this as a reform to the court music (Courant 1913: 95–97; Gimm 1966: 207–219).[160] The names that Suzhipo gave for his notes were apparently derived from Sanskrit, but even though the historical source translates the words into Chinese and gives them in transliteration, only a few have been identified. Äχmidi (1992: 82) explains this last fact as proof that these were Suzhipo's own developments.

More recent evidence of important influences from the Western Regions is a description by Ghiyāth al-Dīn, a member of an embassy from Timurid Herat to Beijing in 1419–1422. In the Ming capital he heard a performer on the *yātūğān* (probably the Chinese *qin*) play twelve *maqām* that were not from China. Another Timurid musical theorist, 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), described several other instruments of China and the Persian modes 'Ushshāq, Nawā, and Būsalīk that the Chinese musicians could play (Farmer 1934). These are perhaps the more accurate historical evidence for influences from the Near East on performers in China proper, but they are too recent to have made much of an impression on arguments about 'Uyghur' precedence in musical invention.

4.7 Fārābī as Philosopher of Music and Turkic Culture Hero

Chinese interest in foreign music and dance led to clear connections with Central Asia, but records from the Middle East also suggest connections with Central Asian music. Abū Nasr Muhammad al-Fārābī (870–950) was a Turk from the village of Fārāb in the Balasaghun region (to the south of Issiq köl) of the Qarakhanid Empire. Because of his Turk origins, Fārābī has been claimed as a culture hero by several modern Central Asian Turkic nations. In Kazakhstan he appears on the *bir teñge* note printed in 1993. In Xinjiang, when setting forth a charter outlining the scope and purpose of the journal

[160] Kucha musicians continued to be popular at court until the Song dynasty, when they began to be rejected as foreign by the many Chinese literati working to renew native tradition (Courant 1913: 193–198).

Bulaq, the literary historian Imin Tursun included Fārābī in the 'Uyghur' literary tradition (Tursun 1980: 18). He explains that philosophers working in Arabic helped transmit Greek philosophy to Europe and that Ibn Sīnā learned Aristotle's metaphysics from a book written by al-Fārābī. Imin Tursun does not suggest that al-Fārābī's philosophy was itself Turkic, but his prominence as a music theoretician led some people to argue that Fārābī taught 'Uyghur' music to the Arabs.

Fārābī has great symbolic importance to Uyghur music scholars. The frontispiece to Imin 1980 shows a line drawing of Fārābī done by Tashpolat Hashim. The description reads, 'The Uyghur Qarluq scholar, the Aristotle of the Middle Ages, Abu Nasr Muhammat ibni Muhammat ibni Tarkhan ibni Uzluq Farabi.'[161] He is wearing a turban and reading from a Qur'ān, and behind him are books and a *qalun* set into alcoves in the wall. This image of Fārābī is reinforced by being frequently cited as an authority in Central Asian manuscript works on music.

Before examining his image in later writings, I briefly consider Fārābī's own writings on music because he strongly defended empirical field study and had many compelling insights into the relation of practice and theory, as well as the sociocultural contexts of musical science. There is little to suggest that Fārābī drew on Turkic ideas about music.[162] His *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al-Kabīr* shows that although he did place practice before theory, he also emphasized working out a theoretical system based on that of the Greeks. He ended up describing musical practice in abstract systems of rhythm and scale derived from analyses of the courtly and folk repertoires of his time.[163]

He argues that the Greeks' works were complete and correct but in need of corrections because of errors introduced by loss and poor translation. He takes on the task of elaborating and explaining Greek theory: 'The ancients have well established certain principles that we find in their works, but they have not explicitly demonstrated them. Nor have those of our contemporaries who have followed in their footsteps further defined them' (Fārābī 1930: 2–4). He relates music and imagination through abstract descriptions of the mental forms of melodies and their physical realization and by characterizing the skills involved in composing music and performing music. He discusses the three kinds of music: one gives relaxation and pleasure by

[161] He was already seen as a second Aristotle in Arab writings (Sawa 1989: 11).

[162] For example, Fārābī, like many Greek and Islamic philosophers, used the theory that climates shape the character of people. He argued that musical tastes were most natural and normal among Arabs, Greeks, and Romans, whereas Ethiopians and nomadic Turks were abnormal in many customs (Fārābī 1930: 38–39).

[163] On Fārābī's work to clarify music theory through empirical study, see Sawa 1989.

acting 'on the ear as a decorative design does upon the eye'; the second suggests images and inspires and expresses ideas as imitative painting does; and 'the third kind of music is inspired by our passions, by the state of our soul' in the same way that animals express feelings with their voices (1930: 13). These options exclude the theories of Plato and Aristotle about the connections between musical modes and human natures or humors. These Greek theories influenced the widespread ideas about how to suit maqāmāt to audience character that I discussed in chapter 2, but Fārābī rejects them.

Fārābī compares musical compositions to poems and to language more generally. 'In a poem the first elements are the phonemes; they compose the feet such as the *sabab* or *watad* or combination of these meters. These feet form hemistichs, which in their turn compose verse. In music the notes are the first elements; they play the role of the phoneme in poetry; but musical composition contains other intermediary elements that I will not explain here' (1930: 26). He rejects the Pythagorean idea that the planets and stars create sounds with their motion, because music, like language, is the product of art, not nature (1930: 28). But he does point out later that phonemes are purely conventional in rank or sequence, whereas nature determines the rank of musical pitches (1930: 43–44).

Making a strong argument for the separation of theoretical knowledge and practical skills, Fārābī distinguishes them in terms of consciousness: 'When a man attains the point of being able to perceive what passes in his mind, he finds he has knowledge he does not know when or how he acquired. One has the impression that these are things which belong to intuition, to instinct, that they are innate in us and develop with us' (1930: 31). Fārābī explains that although experience is central to perception and learning, the principles of some sciences are learned from childhood through sensation, whereas other sciences develop from explicitly demonstrated principles. The science of music depends on several sources. It develops from instinct, from experience, and from the teaching of explicit principles borrowed from foreign science. But Fārābī concludes that the scientific theory is not as closely related to the practice of music as one might expect: 'Musical practice long precedes musical theory. The latter appeared only when practice had already attained its full development, when the melodies already existed, when complete musical compositions and other aspects of music felt natural' (1930: 32–34). A jeweler serves as an example to show that theoretical knowledge of music is neither necessary nor sufficient to create music: he was 'a talented musician, but could not sing unless seated and working' (1930: 9). Because the interaction of performer and context is complex, and the sources and purposes of music are many, musical skill

must come from personal experience, not theoretical knowledge (1930: 15–19).

To properly analyze music, the theoretician does better to listen and judge another's playing than to play himself. If he does not have musicians to listen to, then 'he must accept the shared opinion of practitioners who have learned through means of sensation.' In fact, Fārābī tells us, many reputed theoreticians of antiquity did not have educated ears allowing them to recognize notes and melodies. Aristotle, in the *Final Analytics*, also said that many things were known in theory but not by sense. Fārābī concludes that when we cannot understand by the senses, we need to use metaphor and relationships of comparison to get there (1930: 34–36).

Fārābī treats musical performers as the primary experts, but he seeks to transform their practical knowledge into theory through careful study and discussion with the experts and then through techniques such as metaphor to transcend the limits of the senses. In the end, although he describes musical instruments concretely, his analysis of musical performance is put into the abstract systems that he has worked out.

4.8 The History of Music in Central Asian Cultural History

Despite Fārābī's inclusion in the 'Uyghur' musical and scholarly tradition, no one I met in Xinjiang acknowledged reading his works on music. He remains a symbolic path for cultural gifts to Arabs and Europe, but few attempted to offer substantive arguments of such connections, based in evidence from his works.

On the other hand, Suzhipo's set of seven-note scales supports beliefs in musical origins based not merely on geographic connection but on formal resemblances as well. Shir Mämät argued that Suzhipo's scales must have resembled European scales because they were in fact the same system that Fārābī took to the Arabs. Shir Mämät felt that the Arabs developed this system and passed it on to Europe, where it was developed further, while the Uyghurs sat in their isolated kingdoms and their musical knowledge stagnated.[164] According to him, the music and instruments that the Arabs gave Europe must have been taken from the Uyghurs, because the level of Arab cultural development was low in the seventh century. The Uyghurs in the Tarim had a developed musical culture when people in Europe were not even wearing pants yet.

[164] The Soviet scholars T. Vyzgo and D. Rashidova (1969) also conclude that Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā learned their musical theories in Central Asia and took them to the Arabs, from whom the theories went to Europe.

The most important document for modern Uyghur ideas about Uyghur music history is a brief manuscript called *History of Musicians* (*Tavārikh-i mūsīqiyyūn*), apparently written by a highly educated and serious scholar, Mulla ʻIsmatulla binni Mulla Niʻmatulla Mūʻjiz, in 1271 AH (1854–1855 CE), relying on written sources and oral traditions.[165] This is the most significant manuscript source about music history originating in East Turkistan, and it is the only description of Āmānnisā Khān and Qidīr Khān creating the Twelve Muqams at the court of ʻAbd ar-Rashīd Khān in the sixteenth century.[166] Mūʻjiz has great authority among modern Uyghur historians because he is presumed to be closer to authentic oral historical tradition and know Persian and Arabic historical sources better. He fills a gap in the history of Uyghur musical culture, and like Āmānnisā Khān, Turdi Akhun, and Rozi Tämbur, he has become a culture hero, a preserver of the vanishing Uyghur cultural past and a protector of Uyghur cultural identity and self-knowledge.

The following paraphrased translation and analysis of Mulla ʻIsmatulla Mūʻjiz's work reveals the close connections between music, religion, and literature in courtly life in Central Asia. Mūʻjiz is certainly not the most reliable source on the Timurid period that he describes, but his depth of detail and breadth of knowledge and his focus on the interaction of musical and poetic culture make this a central work for investigating the strands of cultural reflexivity I have been presenting. The uses of this work in contemporary China help reveal the changing meanings of the Uyghur muqam tradition within new cultural contexts.

The *History of Musicians* was found in Khotan in the late 1950s, bound with a copy of Navāʼī's *Kulliyat*. It was copied at the latest in 1338 AH (1919–1920), because it is inscribed as having been given as a gift in that year.[167] Mūʻjiz wrote the *History of Musicians* at the request of the ʻShāhʼ of Khotan, ʻAlī Shīr Hakīm Beg (ruled 1828–1864 and 1878–1882) (Mūʻjiz 1982: 73n6). The Hakīm Beg is quoted as saying, ʻFrom Pādishāh to beggar, from holy persons [*avliya*] to Christians, the science of music makes all happy,ʼ but he goes on to complain that now many performers do not know who the great scholars and masters of this science were. Mūʻjiz reports that the Hakīm Beg asked him to draw on his great command of literature, poetic

[165] His penname, Mūʻjiz (ʻmiracleʼ), is spelled with *waw* rather than without as my Arabic and Persian dictionaries give. Uyghurs usually pronounce this name *Möjizä*.

[166] Liu Zhixiao (1987) relies exclusively on Mūʻjiz for his discussion of music in the Yarkand Khanate and includes a chart showing who created each muqam according to Mūʻjiz.

[167] Änvär Baytur and Xämit Tömür edited the excellent facsimile edition, translation, and notes of the *Tavārikh-i mūsīqiyyūn* (Mūʻjiz 1982). In quoting this source I keep the spellings and long vowels that Mūʻjiz used, except for most place names. Trebinjac (2000: 212–218) provides an alternative translation with useful annotations but without the poetic texts.

composition, and music to write a treatise (*risāla*) on musicians (1982: 24–25). According to Mū'jiz's introduction, most of his sources are Persian and Arabic works. He usually does not name his sources for each biography, but he does mention in his introduction *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, *Tavārikh-i Tabirī*, *Tavārikh-i Ravzat as-Safā*, *Tavārikh-i Hukamā*, *Tavārikh-i 'Ajam*, and *Tavārikh-i 'Arab*, and elsewhere he mentions works by Pythagoras (Fīsāghūrs), Fārābī, 'Abd ar-Rahman Jāmī, 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, Bābur, and the wrestler (*kuštīgīr*) and scholar Pahlavān Muhammad Abū-Sa'īd.

Although it is also partly biographical, the *Risāla-i Musiqi* of the early seventeenth-century author Dervish 'Alī shares little content with Mū'jiz's work. Dervish 'Alī (1946: 35, 37) describes many more musicians and scholars, but the few figures such as Sāhib Balkhī, 'Abd ar-Rahman Jāmī, and 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī who do appear in both works are treated very differently.[168] Dervish 'Alī and Mū'jiz clearly draw on different traditions and apply different principles of selection. Dervish 'Alī begins with a detailed discussion of the *maqām* system and gives more musicological details in his biographies but seems uninterested in the spiritual dimensions of musical performance. Mū'jiz tends more toward hagiographic description of musicians' spiritual accomplishments, their teaching, and their miraculous performances while giving few musicological details.

Mū'jiz's work conforms to an episodic and genealogical style of history writing that was common in several genres of Persian and Turkic historiography. In political histories, this style consists of sequences of episodes with varying degrees of connection between the episodes and often little connection between sequences. Many of these histories are organized genealogically, following the fortunes of a lineage. They usually start with explanations of the first people, usually descended from Nuh (Noah), but they also include genealogies of some figures descended from the *ahl al-bayt* (the family of the Prophet), from the pre-Mongol legendary Turk Oghūz Khān, from Satūq Bughrā Khān, from Chingiz Khān, and from the Turanian hero Afrāsiyāb.[169] The proliferation of sources and genealogies meant that there were many different ways to organize material related to different figures. The most common method was to simply present the genealogies without

[168] Jāmī's well known *Risāla-i mūsīqī* includes no biography or history (Jāmī 1960).

[169] In the eighteenth-century *Tārīkh-i Kāshgar* that I discuss more later, the author spends several pages working out the descent of Turk, Chin, Saqlab, Rus, Khalaj, Hazar, and Ghuz from Yafes, and Tatar and Moghul from Turk, with Oghuz and Chingiz coming later. This work was published in Xinjiang as *Čiñgiz Namä* by Molla Mer Salih Qäšqäri (1985), but it is identical to *Tārīkh-i Kāshgar* (Anonymous 2001).

too much concern for the way they related to one another, except that Nuh was usually placed at the origin of all the genealogies.[170]

Hagiographic works tended to be organized by the lineage, or *silsila* ('chain'), along which doctrine was transmitted from one shaykh to another. Each biography described a shaykh's sayings, teachings, feats, and *murīd*s (disciples). But some hagiographers, including Jāmī and Navā'ī (1979), compiled more all-encompassing collections of biographies of Sufi shaykhs that did not follow such strict doctrinal and lineage links.

In the *History of Musicians*, Mū'jiz follows a broadly hagiographic convention, narrating a history of music through the great deeds and miracles of scholars and performers from Greek, Arab, and Central Asian tradition. He begins with several different founding heroes but then moves quickly to more recent periods; he mentions few connections among the figures he describes but consistently enumerates the work each musician did in teaching *murīd*s or *shāgird*s (apprentices) and mentions the treatises they wrote. He prefers figures who were expert in other aspects of Islamic tradition, such as *sharī'a* and reciting the Qur'ān, and has selected figures from this broad expanse of time and space who pursued music for spiritual purposes. Mū'jiz seems to have intended his synthesis of history and hagiography to give religious legitimacy to musicians and poets generally, but this may reflect existing acceptance of music as spiritual practice in Khotan. In sum, the resulting work is a loosely connected genealogy of musicians and their accomplishments seen from the Khotan region of East Turkistan in the mid-nineteenth century.

Mū'jiz connects Khotan directly to sacred history when he writes that Nuh's (Noah's) great-grandson Kharz sent his descendants to settle Yarkand and Khotan. He also associates Fārābī with the Qarakhanid capital Balasaghun, and he connects current musical practice with traditions established at Timurid courts and in the Yarkand Khanate. In his conclusion he acknowledges that this is not the whole history of music and explains that although in every century and every city there are a hundred or even a thousand musicians, in this brief work he can consider only one in a thousand.

Most of the biographies Mū'jiz includes in this compilation concern musicians who performed maqāms, but he includes other important musicians as well. He begins by connecting the origin of ethnic groups from Nuh's sons to the origin of music, citing the *Tavārikh-i Ravzat as-Safā* and *Tārīkh-i Rashidī* as his sources for the narrative of Kharz, son of Turk, son of Yafes, son of Nuh:

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[170] For a discussion of Iranian challenges to the universality of the flood and attempts to include progenitors besides Noah and Adam in sacred history, see Tavakoli-Targhi 1996.

> When this son Kharz grew up, he discovered how to trap foxes and make clothes from their pelts, how to salt food and make it tasty, how to make and play the [musical instruments] *tanbūr*, *barbat*, and *ʻūd*. He taught the people of the world to do these things. At that time, when parents or children died they would play the tanbur and mourn at the funeral and then cremate the body. Kharz was the grandson of Yafes. Kharz sent his descendents to the region of Yarkand and Khotan. We people of Yarkand and Khotan are from his descendents. From that time to this 5850 years have passed. [Now] strings for tanburs are made by slicing the intestines of sheep into strips (Mūʻjiz 1982: 26, ms. 6).[171]

The narrative of Turk and Kharz appears in the *Tavārikh-i Ravzat as-Safā* (Mīrkhwānd 1982), but the details are somewhat different. In this latter version, Turk is Yafes's successor and the most intelligent of his sons. It is Turk's son Fuduk who discovers the salting of food. And Kharz is a younger son of Yafes who invents cremation and musical performance at funerals when his father dies. Other East Turkistani histories vary widely in their treatment of these origin myths, but none that I have found makes Mūʻjiz's strong connections among Nuh's sons, the invention of music, and Khotan.[172] Clearly, Mūʻjiz is interpreting this story – or drawing on written or oral sources that interpret it – so that the people of Khotan and Yarkand are connected genealogically to the first Turk and culturally to the musical inventions of his son Kharz.

The next expert on musical science that Mūʻjiz describes is Fīsāghūrs (Pythagoras). He is said to have traveled widely and ended up performing in Antākiya (Antioch), which Mūʻjiz places in Farangistan (Europe) rather than correctly in southern Anatolia. Fīsāghūrs played the *satār* and sang poetry, and Mūʻjiz summarizes his ethical teachings in proverb-like form, much as if they were those of a Turkic Sufi shaykh:[173]

> *Sän özüñni tüzlimäy turup, kišigä näsihät qilma.*
> If you have not corrected yourself, do not give advice to others.

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[171] V. Ǧopur and Ä. Hüsäyin (1987: 54–58) argue that this mourning custom is reflected in the folktale of Pir Chängi who plays music in graveyards. Trebinjac (2000: 213) reads Kharz as Khäriz and says it is the 'mythical prophet' Khizr, but it is also possible that this name reflects Hazar, the mythical brother of Turk and ancestor of the Khazar Turks.

[172] E.g., *Tārīkh-i Kāshgar* (Qäšqäri 1985: 5–6) and Sayrami (1986: 43–47).

[173] Because this is largely Turkic, I indicate Türki pronunciation rather than transcribing vowel lengths.

Äyibiñni säña körsätkan kišini dost bilip, äziz tut.
If someone reproaches you, recognize him as a friend and hold him dear.

Čirayliq libas kiyip, yürgüčä čirayliq söz qilip, yürüšni örgängil.
Yaχši sözni äyturğä qudrätiñ bolmasa,
Yaχši sözni äyturqučidin örgängil.
Learn to wear becoming garments and speak becoming words.
If you do not have the ability to speak well,
Learn from those who do speak well.

Ilim örgänišdin nomus qilma,
ilimsizlikdin nomus qil.
Do not avoid studying knowledge,
Avoid lack of knowledge.

Häyvan tilsizliqdin jäfa-mushäqqätğä učrar,
Insan tilidin bäla-musibätkä učrar.
Animals run into trouble because they have no tongue,
Humans run into trouble because they have a tongue.

Fīsāghūrs worked musical miracles. The people of Antākiya had never heard poetry or music before and were fascinated. The Pādishāh came and was amazed. He invited Fīsāghūrs to live in his court, where he taught the people of the city the science of music. 'In ten years he trained 40,000 apprentices to perfection in the science of music.' Then Fīsāghūrs asked permission to go to India, where he studied the astronomical sciences and taught still more people the sciences of music. Mū'jiz states: 'After the Pādishāhs Jamshid and Kayqubād, the greatest nurturer of the seed of music is Fīsāghūrs.'[174]

In the third narrative, Mū'jiz describes the life of Shaykh Abu Nasr Fārābī, saying that he came from the city of Balasaghun in the Altay range.[175] According to Mū'jiz, Fārābī reached greater spiritual attainments than the Muslim philosophers Ghazzāli and Fakhrī Rāzī, and his science was greater than that of Ibn Sīnā. His many fields of expertise are listed and then his skills in music are described. He built, stringed, and tuned a *qānūn* (*qalun* in modern Uyghur) with his own hands, played it, and taught appren-

[174] Jamshid and Kayqubād were pre-Islamic Iranian kings who appear in the *Shāhnāma*. They are discussed at the very end of Mū'jiz's work.

[175] The editors suggest that Mū'jiz makes this geographic error because the Altay mountains were the original homeland of the Qarluq, who ruled Balasaghun during Fārābī's lifetime, but it is more likely that the location of the ancient capital Balasaghun was unknown to Khotanis in the nineteenth century.

tices. He created and spread Rāk, ‘Ushāq, and the ‘Ushāq *marghūla*, teaching them to his apprentices. He composed the Ōzhāl maqām and its first, second, and third *marghūla*, which were well known to present performers (Mū‘jiz 1982: 28, ms. 12).

Mū‘jiz claims to quote Fārābī’s *Risāla-i Mughanniyun* (Treatise on performers) on spiritual and emotional aspects of music:

> *Samā‘ naghmātnīñ tīlsiz mūñlari*
> *insānniñ rūhīğa ma‘navi ōtni tūtāštūrğūčī ‘āmildūr.*
> *Agar unīñğā ash‘ār abyāt qošūlsā*
> *ōl mūñnīñ sirrī nima īkānlīkī añlānūr.*
> The sorrowful emotion [*muñ*] of ecstatic listening [*samā‘*] to music without words
> will kindle a spiritual fire in the human soul.
> If someone adds verses from a poem to it,
> how strong the secret core [*sirr*] of the emotion they play for people [will be]!

Although in the treatise I discussed earlier, Fārābī said little about the religious significance of music, his discussion of *muñ* and *samā‘* in this East Turkistani text puts him solidly in the tradition of Sufis who use music to expand their spiritual and emotional attunement to God and to help others do so as well. Mū‘jiz’s other quote from Fārābī makes even clearer that he had come to be seen as representing an ecstatic alternative to Islamic verbal practices. ‘If you pray for one hundred years and do not receive abundance [*fayz*], take it from the strings of my qānūn’ (Mū‘jiz 1982: 29, ms. 12). Mū‘jiz mentions that Fārābī wrote 114 books and then expresses his intent, God willing, to translate the *Risāla-i Mughanniyun* into Turkic.

At this point Mū‘jiz leaves these distant founders of music and the musical sciences to describe a number of fifteenth-century figures from the Timurid areas of Iran and Iraq. The founding figures already described are sacralized as culture heroes with little explicit reference to Islam, but Mū‘jiz’s descriptions of Timurid figures use more elements from Islamic hagiographies. He begins to refer to each figure with the religious honorific *hazrat*, usually in the even more honorific plural *hazratlar*.

Mavlānā ‘Alī was from Khorasan. He wrote the books *Asl al-vasl* and *Murtāz*. He composed a piece well known to singers, the Čöl Iraq maqām, even though he never went to the deserts (*čöl*) of Iraq. He invented the *dūtār*. In his time, he was without peer for writing poetry and putting it to music. He died from excessive use of opium, which caused him to lose his mind.

Mū‘jiz then briefly describes Khoja Shihāb ad-Dīn, who had more than 200 apprentices, and ‘Abdullah Marvārīd from Samarqand, who wrote many treatises on music and had around 100 apprentices. Next Mū‘jiz tells

of ‘Abd ar-Rahman Jāmī, the important Persian poet who was ‘Alī-Shīr Navā’ī’s literary and spiritual teacher. He compares Jāmī to Fārābī in his broad range of knowledge and his skills on the tanbūr, the satār, and the qānūn, among other instruments. Jāmī invented (*ikhtira‘ qilip irdilār*) a maqām called ‘Ajam and two of its *marghūla*. He wrote a book on music called *Risāla-i Davvār*. He died in Herat at seventy-nine years of age, in 897 AH (Mū‘jiz 1982: 30–31, ms. 15–16).

Next, Amīr Nizām al-Dīn ‘Alī-Shīr Navā’ī is described as a prolific poet who wrote thirty-six books in addition to his *Kulliyāt*, *Chahār Dīvān*, and *Khamsa*. He learned the science of music from *hazrati* Jāmī. Every evening he played the satār or the tanbūr, and while singing praises of God with his own ghazals, he would become unconscious. He created and publicized a maqām called Navā. He was born in 843 AH on Jumādī as-sāni and died of a stroke (*säktä*) at age sixty-three in 906 AH in Herat (Mū‘jiz 1982: 31).

Ustad (‘master’) Muhammad Khwārazmi is briefly mentioned as someone who put a lot of effort and genius into subtle expression (*ihtimām-i mahārat-i mālā-yi kalām*) in his studies of music. He had more than 200 apprentices and wrote on the secrets of music. He died in 852 AH (1448 CE).

Mavlānā Na‘mān Samarqandī was a persevering Qur’ān reader who taught 500 people to memorize the Qur’ān. And he was a moving singer and musician. He would perform at gatherings (*majlis*) of ‘ulamā (scholars; Mū‘jiz uses *‘ālīmlār* here) and shaykhs. One day the Samarqand ‘ulamā had a *majlis* at which Mavlānā Samarqandī sang ghazals by Mavlānā Shams al-Dīn Tabrizī and played on the satār. One by one the ‘ālīms fell asleep. From his unconscious state, Mavlānā ‘Alī (apparently the musician described earlier) passed away during the *majlis*. The Pādishāh ordered Mavlānā Samarqandī thrown in jail. In 865 AH (1460 CE), after five years in jail, he died. He taught more than 300 musicians, several hundred scholars of sharī‘a, and several thousand Sufis (Sūfīlār). He offered the people of the path of music (*mūsīqīnīñ tarīqat ahli*) a book, *Mi‘rāj us-salikīn*, containing the results of his researches on music (Mū‘jiz 1982: 31–32, ms. 19–20).

Mavlānā Sāhib Balkhī taught 500 or 600 *tālib*s (seekers, students) in *sharī'a*. He magically made the tanbūr speak. Bābur Shāh could not part with him for a moment and employed him in his court. One day at a prodigious *majlis* of Bābur Shāh’s in Kabul, with many of the great and powerful attending, Mavlānā Balkhī picked up his tanbūr and began playing the Čöl Iraq maqām. After he passed the second *avj* and reached the third, a nightingale came and perched on the tuning pegs of the tanbūr and began to sing. The people at the *majlis* began to shout in astonishment, and several wept, lost consciousness, and rolled about. They hit the tanbūr and after seven or

eight blows the nightingale fell to the ground dead. Mavlānā Balkhī was greatly affected, and throwing down his tanbūr he lost consciousness. Most of the unconscious ones were given alcoholic drinks and revived, but Mavlānā Balkhī did not return to consciousness, despite the efforts of many experts. He died in 844 AH (1440 CE). This story is in Bābur's *Asrār-i mūsīqī* (The secrets of music) (Mū'jiz 1982: 32–33, ms. 20–22).

These descriptions of Amīr 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī, Mavlānā Samarqandī, and Mavlānā Balkhī clearly reflect ideas about Sufi musicians creating within spiritual tradition. Their greatness is revealed by their ecstatic experiences and their mastery of esoteric skills. Although such religious experiences are not indispensable to musicians generally, Mū'jiz seems to want to show that music can be an essential part of a spiritually meritorious life and death.

The next biography describes Shaykh Safāyī Samarqandī. There were no maqām tunes he did not know and no musical instruments he could not play. He had more than 200 apprentices. He wrote a book on music, the *Nashā'at-i mūsīqī*, and composed several songs and ghazals. He died in 869 AH (1464 CE) at the age of fifty-six (ms. 22–23). In the following biography Mū'jiz begins to discuss local founders of East Turkistani musical tradition. It suggests that Mū'jiz believed local musical tradition was less religiously inspired than that in western Turkistan. He describes Qidīr Khān Yārkandī:

> There are few such experts in music. He usually put the ghazals of Amīr Nizām al-Dīn 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī to tunes and sang them. In the whole world, there was no one with such a beautiful voice. His apprentices came to study music from distant cities such as Iran, Tabriz, Khorazm, Samarqand, Andijan, Islambul [Istanbul], Kashmir, Balkh, and Shiraz. He played on the rabāb and the hašttār, and he was a poet. He compiled a *Dīvān Qidīrī*.[176]

Sultān 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān would not eat, drink, or go to sleep without this musician. Qidīr Khān created a maqām titled *Visāl* and taught it to his apprentices. He died two years after 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān (ca. 1560 CE). This description of Qidīr Khān's apprentices coming from throughout Central and Western Asia is now important for Uyghurs because it suggests that their music was taken to many countries of the Islamic world. Through Mū'jiz's work, the Yarkand Khanate has come to be seen as a nexus of international cultural exchange.

After Qidīr Khān, Mū'jiz returns to Timurid musicians and describes the great wrestler and scholar Pahlavān Muhammad who appeared at the end of the last chapter. Despite the greater significance of Navā'ī and Jāmī in

[176] This mention of the *hašttār* helped stimulate the invention of the *χuštar* that I discuss later.

later literary tradition, Mū'jiz obviously considers Pahlavān Muhammad an artist of equal stature. He gets his information from Navā'ī's *Halāt-i Pahlavān Muhammad Kuštīgīr* (Hofman 1969, 4: 155; Navā'ī 1970).

Because Pahlavān Muhammad wrote mostly Persian poetry, he has no place in the present ethnic canon of Uyghur literature and art, but in the context in which Mū'jiz wrote, Persian culture was an important part of learned arts such as maqām song. Mū'jiz was as interested in the work of Jāmī as in that of Navā'ī. Rather than thinking in terms of a contained and pure Turkic tradition, Mū'jiz, like most authors from the thirteenth through the twentieth century, drew on the valued cultural traditions that were part of the Islamic synthesis. This aspect of Mū'jiz's work goes unmentioned in present Uyghur commentaries.

This broader cultural tradition is also reflected in the extant East Turkistani manuscript tradition, in which Persian works are nearly as numerous as those in Türki, although few native speakers of Persian lived in the region.[177]

Mū'jiz details Pahlavān Muhammad's musical compositions and gives examples from the poetry he sang. He writes that Pahlavān Muhammad was an elite among scholars (*ūlūğ 'ulamā*), a pole among the friends of God (*qutbu'l-avliyā*), and the greatest of heroes. In one thousand years such a hero was not to be found: a poet, a singer, and very wealthy. There was no one so good-natured as he. He wrote a book on music and created songs (*naqsh*), chants (*qavl*), and tunes. Among his compositions based in the maqām systems (*özlārī yāsīğān maqām-i 'amallārnīñ birisi*) was the Chahār Zarb maqām, considered more beautiful and heart-rending (*khosh va dil-kash*) than all the compositions of other masters. His great maqāms included this Chahār Zarb and his Chahārgāh. Mū'jiz gives the *matla'* of a Persian ghazal by Mavlānā Tūtī that Pahlavān Muhammad used in his composition based on the Chahārgāh maqām. This couplet is an address to a cupbearer, asking that he enjoy himself today, for who knows what tomorrow may bring. He named this Chahārgāh maqām composition Mir Buzrūk Termizī. This was such a beautiful maqām that no singers in Khorasan, Iraq, Samarqand, and Yarkand did not know it (Mū'jiz 1982: 34–35, ms. 24–25).

For his Dūgāh maqām Pahlavān Muhammad used a verse by Mīr Khusrau Dehlivī and called the maqām Bābur Sultān. Again Mū'jiz gives the Persian couplet, which praises the beloved's cheeks and hair. Using a verse of Mavlānā Kātibī's he created a Panjigāh maqām that was famous in the cities of 'Ajam (Iran) and Māvara'n-Nahr (Transoxiana). Mū'jiz gives both

[177] See the manuscript catalogs: Väli 1988; Sawut 1991: 328–88. See also M. Nazif Shahrani's (1991) description of the variety of traditional Islamic texts that were important among Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and Tajiks in northern Afghanistan.

the *matla*‘ and the final couplet, the *maqta*‘, of this Persian ghazal. Pahlavān Muhammad called this maqām Sultān Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā because of the *maqta*‘:

If you are sorrowful in the evening, like Katibī, have hope at dawn,
Because into this land has come Sultān Abū Sa‘īd. (ms. 26)

Pahlavān Muhammad also composed many more ghazals, maqāms, and tunes (*āhañlār*). In addition to the Chahār Zarb, his Dūgāh, Sīgāh, Chahārgāh, Panjigāh, Mushavrak, and Bayādak were all famous from east to west. He served at first in Bābur’s court and then had a high position in the palace of Mīrzā Abū Sa‘īd. After this he was an intimate (*muqarrab*) of Sultān Sāhib Qirān Husayn Bahādir Khān’s (Mū‘jiz 1982: ms. 27). He was good friends with Navā’ī. Mū‘jiz quotes Navā’ī’s comments on their forty years of friendship. He wrote many books on music and wrote his own poetry, of which Mū‘jiz gives a sample line in Persian. His *takhallus* was Kūshīgīr [*sic*] (1982: ms. 28).

Pahlavān Muhammad did many good works around Herat. He built a Sufi lodge (*langar*) called Ni‘mat-i Ābād with rooms and gardens for 5,000 people. Faqirs, dervishes, *musāfir*s, and other travelers would come and stay for months or even years and get food three times a day. Shaykhs and ‘ulamā would come and stay for five or ten years (1982: ms. 29). Hātam-i Tayy (an Arab renowned in Islam for his generosity) was never so generous. From the Pādishāh to beggars, from holy men to Christians, there was no one to whom he was not a friend.

Pahlavān Muhammad taught thousands *sharī‘a* and to recite the Qur’ān from memory, and thousands of apprentices to perform music. There was no one so wealthy in that time. Husayn Bahādir Khān would not have a *majlis* without him. Pahlavān Muhammad lost consciousness and died unexpectedly from a fall one day, and all of Khorasan, from the Pādishāh to beggars, mourned as if the Last Judgment (*qiyāmat-i qāyim*) had arrived. He had dug his own tomb at Ni‘mat-i Ābād while still alive, and every night he had gone and meditated there. In 899 AH (1493 CE) he was buried (1982: ms. 28–31).

Mū‘jiz’s source for the foregoing description was Navā’ī’s work. Like Navā’ī, Pahlavān Muhammad was both a great artist and a wealthy patron in his own right. But because his poetry and compositions were in Persian, the scholars who edited Mū‘jiz’s work could not even identify him. This section confirms two important aspects of the Uyghur muqam tradition that are no longer recognized. First, many of the muqam poems were in Persian, probably still at the time of Mū‘jiz’s writing. Second, it becomes clear in Mū‘jiz’s writing that a maqām or muqam should be seen as a musical system that composers used for singing a poetic text. Although he does not distinguish

shu'bā and maqām,[178] Mū'jiz separates the canonical fifteenth-century *shu'bā* systems – Dūgāh, Sīgāh, Chahārgāh, Panjigāh, and so forth – from Pahlavān Muhammad's compositions based in them. Pahlavān Muhammad has given each of his compositions a specific name, but it still belongs to a particular *shu'bā* as well. His Dūgāh he called Bābur Sultān, his Chahārgāh he called Mir Buzrūk Termizī, and his Panjigāh he called Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā. Only the Chahār Zarb described as *maqām-i 'amal* ('maqām form, method, system') remains ambiguous, because it could be a new composition based in an unspecified maqām or it might imply a new system or mode that Pahlavān Muhammad created.[179]

However, Mū'jiz does not always make explicit this distinction between underlying system and particular composition, perhaps because he depends on his sources and on his own familiarity with particular maqām names for deciding whether a composer created the maqām as system or a composition in an existing system. He writes that Fārābī 'created and introduced' (*ījād va kashf qil-*) Rāk, 'Ushāq, and Ōzhāl and some of their *marghūla*, whereas Jāmī invented (*ikhtira' qil-*) 'a maqām known as 'Ajam' and its two *marghūla*, and Qidīr Khān invented (*ikhtira' qil-*) 'a maqām named Visāl.'[180]

He differentiates Fārābī's creations by the verbs he uses and implies that Rāk, 'Ushāq, and Ōzhāl are so well known that he need not write 'a maqām called . . .' So we cannot be sure whether Mū'jiz uses the latter phrase to introduce a new composition based in an unspecified maqām system, a new maqām system itself, or both. Mū'jiz implies that Fārābī created and disseminated maqām systems, but he seems to be relying on oral tradition because Rāk appears in no early sources, and Mū'jiz here spells the name Ōzhāl as it is pronounced, rather than in its likely written form *'Uzzāl*. Mū'jiz may be accurate to associate the 'Ajam maqām with Jāmī, since there is no mention of it before Jāmī's time, and its name suggests a connection with Jāmī's *takhallus*.[181]

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[178] Judging by Turdi Akhun's repertoire and the structure of the Shashmaqom as well, Mū'jiz was probably following the common Turkistani musical ideas of his day in including *shu'bā* as maqāms.

[179] Jāmī mentions '*amal* as a kind of song and Chārzarb as a rhythmic pattern (Jāmī 1960: 58–59). See also Jung 1989: 128–132, 151–157.

[180] Although this maqām is not mentioned elsewhere, a piece with an identical name appears in a 1375 commentary on Safī ad-Dīn's work on music (Jung 1989: 71).

[181] 'Ajam does not appear in Jāmī's *Risāla-i musiqi*, but it is mentioned around 1484 in Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Lādiqī's *Al-risālat al-fathiya*, after which point it becomes firmly established in Anatolian tradition (Jung 1989: 86, 106–120). It is also mentioned in several ghazals by Navā'ī (Turdi 1992: 71).

In the next two biographies, Mū'jiz returns us to the Turkic poets of the Timurid period whom I discussed in the previous chapter. Mavlānā Lutfī is from Moghūlistān. In science he is like Fārābī, in wisdom like Ibn Sīnā, in poetry like Navā'ī, in singing like Qidīr Khān. More than 500 people studied science and recitation of the Qur'ān from him, and around 200 people learned music from him. He compiled more than twenty books. Navā'ī called him 'my master' in sciences. But he said to Navā'ī, 'You are my master, and two of your *misrā*' surpass the 10,000 *misrā*' I have completed in my life.' He died in 878 AH (1473 CE). Mū'jiz next describes Yūsuf Sakkākī, writing that he was like Fārābī and Lutfī in sciences. He had thousands of *tālib*s. 'In the sciences of oration, locution, and eloquence [*mantiq, fasāhat, balāghat*] he was unique. In the science of poetry, this thoughtful man from Moghūlistān exceeded all others.' He wrote a book on locution and eloquence, especially in the Qur'ān, called *Talkhīs*. He wrote treatises on music. He invented (*ikhtira*' *qil*-) and taught to his apprentices a maqām named Bayāt, which is well known among present-day singers (Mū'jiz 1982: ms. 32–33).[182]

The seventeenth and final biography introduces us to a figure unique to East Turkistan and little known from other sources. Princess (*malīka*) Āmānnisā Khān, who reportedly moved from obscure poverty to become the wife of Sultān 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān, has become the culture hero most closely associated with the creation of the Twelve Muqams in the sixteenth-century court of 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān. As shown by the film discussed earlier and in many works of history and fiction, she is now widely seen as the primary organizer of the sixteenth-century composition, collection, and arrangement that made the Twelve Muqam tradition. The story of Āmānnisā Khān has provided a model or charter for the modern re-creation of the muqams.

Mū'jiz is the single significant source for the story of Āmānnisā Khān, and his narrative has become official historical doctrine used to demonstrate that 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān's rule was a period of Uyghur cultural efflorescence. Mū'jiz tells us: 'She was peerless among the poets of the age and compiled a sweet book called *Dīvān-i Nafīsī*. She was an excellent calligrapher, and so perfect in music that the Sultān became insane with love against his will [*'āshiqi bī-qarār shaydā-i shiftaliq*].'

Mū'jiz recounts the events leading up to the Sultān's marriage with Āmānnisā Khān. Most of the following is paraphrased:

The Sultān and his vazīrs and amīrs went out hunting for several days along the Tarim River from his court at Yarkand. In the evenings the Sultān

[182] Bayātī was already identified as a *shu'bā* at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Jung 1989: 75).

would dress as a peasant (*dihqān*) in old clothes and spend the night at the homes of people living in the wilderness (*sahra*). Thus he would find out the truth about how his officials were treating the people. Once when the Sultān was traveling in this manner with his confidant Akram, he entered the dilapidated shack of a woodcutter named Mahmūd. This princess was Mahmūd's daughter (*'ājiza*). The Sultān saw a tanbūr in a corner of the house and requested that Mahmūd play for him.

Mahmūd coughed and said, 'I do not know how to play the tanbūr. . . . My daughter plays it.'

The Sultān said, 'Have your daughter play it.' She played the Panjigāh maqām so well that the Sultān was amazed, especially when she sang a poem she had composed herself. The poem had the following *matla'*:

To you 100 thanks, oh Lord, for making us a wise Pādishāh,
For this poor miserable one you made 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān into a refuge.

The *maqta'* is:

Nafīsī, pray night and day to God, may he be exalted [*täñri taqaddasa*],
If you do not pray for your Shāh you commit a great sin.

The Sultān became insane with love for this girl and asked her, 'Who is this poet Nafīsī? Where did you learn this ghazal?'

She answered, 'I appear to memorize and sing the ghazals of others. But I do not sing the poems of Navā'ī, Fuzūlī, and Zalīlī. This ghazal is my own, Nafīsī is my *takhallus*.'

The Sultān asked how old she was, and her father said thirteen. Āmānnisā Khān showed some of the verses she had written. The beauty of her calligraphy competed with her own beauty.

The Pādishāh could not believe that such a small girl could write these and said, 'Here, let me watch while you write a poem.' The girl got out her ink holder, pen, and paper and wrote the following *matla'*:

Oh Lord, this slave [meaning 'Abd ar-Rashīd] has strange suspicions of me,
As if this evening in this house a thorn grew into me.

The Sultān laughed and said, 'I am convinced. Don't make fun of me.' He went outside with Akram, and saying, 'Let's get some jewels,' he went to his soldiers, vazīrs, and amīrs and explained what he had seen. They put a crown on his head and a cloak over his shoulders.

Forty men went in the middle of the night to Mahmūd's house with ten sheep and silks and *atlas* (ikat patterned silk) and explained their intention. The Pādishāh revealed himself and they had a party and he married the girl. She was the Pādishāh's wife for twenty years.

God had given this girl such intelligence that it need not be described. She compiled the *Dīvān-i Nafīsī* and a book called *Akhlāq-i jamīla* (Beautiful manners) that was advice for the suffering (*mazlūm*). She compiled a treatise titled *Shurūh al-qulūb* (Rudiments of the hearts). Books on poetry, singing, and calligraphy such as hers are few. She created a muqam named *'Ishrat-i angiz* (Creator of pleasure). Out of jealousy the Sultān put his own name on it and taught it to his singers.

It is said that this queen died in childbirth at the age of thirty-four. They say that after she died the Sultān became suicidally insane, contracted an obscure disease, and died in mourning. After her, no known master creator of muqams and ghazals has come into the world (Mū'jiz 1982: ms. 37–8).

With all these details, including the names of two books she wrote, it is difficult to imagine that Mū'jiz was drawing only on oral sources for his history of Āmānnisā Khān. Nonetheless, no other extant written sources even mention her.[183]

Aspects of this story probably derive from traditional motifs: the story in the *Shāhnāma* of Bahram Gur discovering and falling in love with the musician Arzu is probably a model for ʿAbd ar-Rashīd Khān's discovery of Āmānnisā Khān (Firdawsī 1905-1925, 7: 55–67). Āmānnisā Khān's is the last biography that Mū'jiz devotes to a single figure. After hers, he ceases to provide biographies and instead summarizes some Iranian legends about the origins of music and musical instruments. He writes:

> It should be known that they say the famous wife of Jamshid Pādishāh, Queen Dilsūz, invented [*kashf qildi*] the *nay* [flute]. A soldier named Ardishīr in Kayqubād Shāh's army made and played the first *sūrnāy* [end-blown flute] from the horn of a bull. In the time of Nūshirvān they made the *sūrnāy* from wood and played it. Demons made the *daff* (hand drum) for the Prophet Sulayman. The *tabl* and *naqāra* [types of drums] were invented during the time of Iskandar Zu'l-qarnayin (Mū'jiz 1982: ms. 38).

These accounts are common in Persian legendary history, and all these figures appear in the *Shāhnāma*, although the narratives are somewhat different.[184]

Mū'jiz concludes, explaining that although among all the world's musicians he can include only one in a thousand, nonetheless each of those he

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[183] Ämätjan Äχmidi (1992: 110–111) describes a research trip in 1983 in which a group of researchers concentrated on finding out more about Āmānnisā Khān and her *'Ishrat-i angiz* muqam. He says that oral narratives they collected corresponded completely to the narrative given by Mū'jiz, but no one was able to play any pieces of her music.

[184] See the accounts mentioned by H. G. Farmer (1977: 2784–2785).

has included either created a muqam *naqsh* or a musical instrument or wrote a treatise on the science of music. He closes with a fourteen-couplet poem recapitulating the idea of the work and why and how he wrote it. He says that he 'made this memorial [*yādkār*]' for the Hakīm Beg and 'for the people of Khotan' (Mū'jiz 1982: 44, ms. 39).

Mū'jiz's work is important for several reasons. He did fine scholarship and had access to a variety of important Arabic and Persian sources. Although he put his biographies in only a rough chronological and geographical order, he seems to have known the traditions and materials well. Like much historiography of his time, his assortment of biographies has origins in Greek, Arab, and Iranian history, although it emphasizes the recent artistic renaissances of the fifteenth-century Timurid court and the Yarkand Khanate.

Mū'jiz is deeply committed to the spiritual significance of music and emphasizes music's value and effects in his narratives, although perhaps this reflects his sources because he does not describe this as important in the Yarkand Khanate. He understands maqām theory well, distinguishes maqāms and maqām compositions, and can identify those that are still well known. Like Fārābī he does not link maqāmāt to the character of audiences, although for Mū'jiz it seems to be because he accepts all great music as similarly spiritual, while in Fārābī's case it seems rather to be because he avoids abstractions and theory not based in empirical research.

His description of composition shows the importance of Persian poetry. Judging by the poetry that Mū'jiz includes, Āmānnisā Khān did not compose Persian poetry, but others at the Yarkand court did, including 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān, according to sources discussed later. Doubtless she and Yūsuf Qidīr Khān sang maqāms in Persian, and Mū'jiz describes Persian poems as an ordinary part of the performance tradition.

Not only is Mū'jiz's work important documentation of maqām history and of the historiographic interests of his time, but its recent discovery and canonization as a basic historical source in Xinjiang reveals much about the present search for connections between elite arts of the courts and indigenous popular culture. His detailed portrait of a spirited but otherwise little known woman, Āmānnisā Khān, helps modern Uyghur historians tie cultural activities at the Yarkand court to the shared ethnic culture of the modern Uyghur ethnic group. For many Uyghurs, the value of this portrait and its description of Āmānnisā Khān's role in developing the Uyghur muqam song and music tradition far outweigh any criticisms of the accuracy of the *Tavārikh-i mūsīqiyyūn* as a historical source or problems brought up by Mū'jiz's detailed description Persian maqām songs.

Although his original intent was to compile a sweeping history of musicians and their spiritual attainments, for modern Uyghurs Mū'jiz's history suggests popular origins for maqāms that can displace elite origins. Writers and historians have promoted Āmānnisā Khān and Qidīr Khān as defenders of Uyghur popular culture against the attacks of religious officials and Sufis. They have been canonized as progressive populists who repelled the efforts of conservative clerics to restrict popular culture. Most Uyghurs in Ürümchi seemed to accept this supposed heroic defense of Uyghur culture despite the evidence in Mū'jiz's history and in the muqams themselves that maqāmāt are part of Sufi practice. The ready acceptance of this version of history testifies to the power of official and mass-mediated cultural interpretations and to a lingering memory of religious officials who did suppress music, particularly under Ya'qūb Beg in the late nineteenth century.

That friends of mine from Kashgar could talk about joining in celebratory *samā'* dancing on Muslim holidays while accusing Sufis of suppressing traditional Uyghur music shows how important public discourses are for redefining memory and history. Official history successfully shaped popular understanding of Sufis and Sufism as representatives of conservative Islam. At the same time, modern historians of Uyghur literature interpret the Sufi poet Yasavī as a progressive critic of imams, *qazi*s, and muftis.

4.9 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān

Muhammad Haydar (1898: 147) describes 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān as a great musician and singer. Likewise, the history by Mahmūd Churās that continues Haydar's work describes 'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān as a talented singer, poet, and musician (*qošuqči*); it includes two couplets from one of his Persian ghazals and a quatrain in Türki. The examples use the vocabulary of love, and the Persian lines include his *takhallus*, 'Rashīdī' (Churās 1976: 156–159, ms. 47a–48b).

The *Tārīkh-i Kāshgar* describes 'Abd ar-Rashīd and his father, Sa'īd Khān, as patrons of the arts in the Yarkand Khanate. Sa'īd Khān is described as writing verse in both Persian and Türki, and the work includes a three-couplet ghazal and a quatrain by him, both in Türki and using the imagery of love, and a Persian four-couplet ghazal on a religious theme (Qäšqäri 1985: 99, 103–104).

'Abd ar-Rashīd Khān is described in the same work as having a close relationship to Sufis and even traveling as a *qalandar* sometimes. The book includes two five-couplet verses by him, one in Persian and one in Türki. These are both explicitly religious, rather than using the imagery of desire for earthly beauty as an allegory for the quest for sacred presence.

Also presented are two Türki quatrains from *rubā'ī*s. The first is entitled *Nurmar qadah* (*sic, nur-i marr*?) and concerns drinking wine. The author of this biography then comments on ‘Abd ar-Rashīd’s drinking to be happy and his skill in the science of music: ‘He composed the music *‘Ishrat Angiz*. He can perform the 24 shu’bā of the 12 maqāms beautifully’ (Qäšqäri 1985: 109). This suggests that Mū‘jiz may be correct when he states that ‘Abd ar-Rashīd Khān took credit for Āmānnisā Khān’s maqām composition. The earlier histories exclude her, whereas Mū‘jiz’s mid-nineteenth-century work seems to reflect an effort to promote knowledge of her accomplishments.

The remaining biographies in the *Tārīkh-i Kashgar* include few examples of verse. That Sa‘īd Khān and ‘Abd ar-Rashīd Khān are given so much space for their poetry in this eighteenth-century history shows that even 200 years after they lived, they were seen as exemplary founders of cultural tradition, versed in Persian literary and maqām musical skills and patronizing musicians and Sufis. Now their image as benevolent, even populist, rulers has been resurrected in the present, but their religious interests have been turned into a source of conflict that threatened their support for musical culture, as I describe below.

4.10 The Uses of the Narrative of Āmānnisā Khān

In present-day Ürümchi the story of Āmānnisā Khān is popular and well known. She is generally seen as the most important founder of the muqams, as well as connecting the Moghul elite ruling class and the folk. Her story is one way in which knowledge of the Yarkand Khanate has entered Uyghur popular culture. Uyghur films, plays, and documentaries describe this era as a moment of cultural and historical greatness in Uyghur history, a period in which rulers with local cultural roots patronized indigenous culture and made links between elite and popular or folk culture. Uyghurs feel that before the Yarkand Khanate, the Mongol conquest had disrupted the continuity of Turkic-Uyghur civilization in East Turkistan, and in the later Yarkand Khanate the power of the Khoja Naqshbandī Sufis, many of whom were from West Turkistan, also suppressed cultural expression. Many Uyghurs now see the rule of Sultān Sa‘īd Khān and Sultān ‘Abd ar-Rashīd Khān as bright spots in a long history of foreign domination and conflict that caused loss of culture and tradition. By aligning themselves with these rulers, modern politicians and cultural authorities can present themselves as benevolent populists as well.

Āmānnisā Khān’s image was often popularized in drama. Ömär Akhun, Qawul Akhun, Turnisa Salahidin, and other musicians I knew were involved in stage and screen plays. The most important dramatic version was

written by the former chairman of the Xinjiang People's Congress, Säypidin Äziz. Not only was he involved in organizing the official effort to preserve the muqams in the 1950s and revive them in the 1980s, but he also created literary representations of culture heroes who had worked on the muqams in the past. His stage play *Amannisakhan* (Äziz 1983) was published in 1983 and was the basis for a movie titled *Amanisahan* (Wan and Äziz 2003).[185]

The stage play opens with a twenty-year-old Amannisa Khan practicing muqam performance with her sixty-year-old instructor, Ömär Sazändä, playing satar and another apprentice of Ömär's playing the small frame drum known as a *dap*. As the first dastan song of Čäbbiyat muqam, Amannisa Khan sings a ghazal said to be her own composition – but apparently composed by Säypidin – on a flower and nightingale theme (Äziz 1983: 6). In chatting after this song, they reveal to the audience that Ömär Sazändä had been a teacher in the court at Yarkand but had had to leave because Ishans and Sufis pressured him to stop performing music (Äziz 1983: 11).

Political conflict over religious restrictions on music is the dominant theme in this play. After describing his problems with Sufis and Ishans, Ömär suggests the group perform the third dastan of Čäbbiyat Muqam, to which Amannisa Khan sings a ghazal by Saqi. Meanwhile, Abduräshid Khan and his companion Äkräm have come upon the house as they are out hunting, and they listen to the performance from under a tree. They decide to go in and ask to stay the night without revealing who they are. Äkräm warns Abduräshid Khan to be careful of what he says. They are welcomed inside and invited to stay. They meet Amannisa Khan, Ömär, and the other musicians. Abduräshid tells of their hunting trip, accidentally referring to his court and retainers. Äkräm has to nudge him to correct himself. Eventually they ask Ömär to perform. They sing the Čoñ Näğmä of Čäbbiyat muqam (Äziz 1983: 18). Amannisa Khan sings one of Säʿid Khan's love ghazals that appears in the *Tārīkh-i Kāshgar* (Qäšqäri 1985: 99).[186]

Abduräshid asks about the ghazal and finds out that Ömär had been a musician at Säʿid Khan's court but was expelled. Ömär, Amannisa, and the dap player describe the problems of Säʿid Khan's court and that of his successor, Abduräshid Khan, especially criticizing the excesses of their officials.

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[185] Although produced in the 1990s, the film is distributed under the date 2003. Below I use modern Uyghur spellings for these characters. Säypidin's other works include a long novel about Satūq Bughrā Khān (Äziz 1987), popularizing this ruler who converted the Qarakhanid Turks to Islam ca. 960 CE.

[186] Säypidin gives two more couplets than appear in the *Tārīkh-i Kāshgar*. Ğopur and Hüsäyin (1987: 719) give the entire text as Säypidin has it, citing Churās's continuation (*zäyli*) of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, but it does not appear in Akimushkin's edition of Churās 1976.

Abduräshid's response is to pick up a dutar and play Bayat *täzä* while singing a ghazal about the difficulties of governing and the fleeting and deceptive nature of the world. The ghazal ends with the *takhallus* Rashidi (Äziz 1983: 22). The older grammatical forms and the Persianate vocabulary suggest that this poem is by the historical Abduräshid, and it appears in the literary history by Ğopur and Hüsäyin (1987: 720–721), but they do not specify their source. Amannisa Khan sings the couplet given by Mū'jiz that insinuates that Abduräshid Khan is annoying her, and a second couplet describing her heart as troubled by the misfortunes of love brought by this hunter. Thus the first poem, in which Amannisa fairly clearly complains about the annoyances of Abduräshid Khan, is reframed to suggest that she is feeling the painful sparks of love for him. Abduräshid replies, singing a quatrain of a love poem using the rose and nightingale theme, and then leaves. Upon his departure, the group discusses who he was and what he intended to do. Ömär is fairly certain that he is the Khan. The dap player is particularly concerned because of his vehement criticisms of Abduräshid's rule (Äziz 1983: 23).

The rest of the drama describes the marriage of Abduräshid Khan and Amannisa Khan, and Amannisa Khan's work with her collaborators on editing the muqams. The Sufis and Ishans gradually become more organized in opposition to the performance of the muqams. The twentieth-century political overtones of this debate are subdued but constant. When an Ishan first voices some doubts about musicians, Ömär Sazändä explains that music is the voice of the people, reflecting their desires (Äziz 1983: 30). As in the drama included within the documentary film, Säypidin also stresses the opposition between Uyghur popular culture and elite religious restrictions. This is also the theme in the 2002 DVD production of Mušavräk muqam, sponsored and apparently directed by Tömür Dawamat (Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002). Amannisa Khan and her father go into exile when he is attacked by a Muslim cleric for performing music, and later in the video, opponents of music burn Abduräshid Khan's musical workshop and attempt to assassinate him.

The second act, consisting of scenes related to editing the muqams, begins with a performer playing the Čäbbiyat *mustähzat* on the *χuštar*. The χuštar is an instrument recently created in Xinjiang but widely claimed as traditional. It is a bowed instrument larger and thicker than a violin, with a more oval outline. It is eighty centimeters in length with four strings and seven sympathetic strings. Like the *ğejäk*, it is played in a vertical position, resting on the knee. According to what I was told, this instrument was introduced largely by the efforts of Säypidin Äziz, who had a hand in its design as well. Sabine Trebinjac (2000: 209) describes the χuštar as the 1974 inven-

tion of Tursunjan at the Xinjiang Art College and argues that its creation and the new bass and treble versions of existing instruments are a strategy for making orchestras seem more modern by multiplying their instruments.

In 1993 Rahman Ghejäk at the Art College told me that the χuštar was a good replacement for the ğejäk, because the latter had a vulgar sound due to its resonant membrane. Shir Mämät pointed out that it was a redesign of the ğejäk and the name was changed from *häšttar* to *χuštar* by Säypidin Äziz.[187] So the *hašttār* that Mū'jiz mentioned as an instrument played by Qidīr Khan has become a reality, invented to fill a perceived need for a more violin-like instrument among the Uyghur instruments, and with its name altered from *hašttār*, meaning 'eight-stringed' in Persian, to a name using the more familiar Turkic word *χuš* 'happy, pleasant.'

The second act of the drama is concerned with debates over how to organize the muqams – which verses to use and which music to play – and the difficulties and opposition Amannisa and her colleagues meet with in doing this work, especially from Ishans and Sufis.

Reading Qidir Khan's response to Amannisa Khan's complaints about the political difficulties of performing the muqams, we find that Säypidin Äziz seems to be asking for support in reshaping tradition to make it acceptable to the secular Chinese state. 'The situation is tense and complex,' he has Qidir Khan say. 'We must be careful. The most important [thing] is increasing Sultan [Abduräshid]'s security. We must help the Sultan' (Äziz 1983: 41). He implies that in his support for Uyghur culture, Säypidin is like Abduräshid Khan, while China's bureaucrats are like the Ishans and Sufis who oppose traditional popular music and entertainment on ideological grounds. That Säypidin had few qualms about making such analogies can be seen from Gardner Bovingdon's discussion (2002: 59-61) of a harsh and unmistakable satire Säypidin wrote about the predicament of minority politicians in China. In Säypidin's view, and that of many other Uyghurs, the muqams had been under threat from Muslim authorities, while under Communism they were threatened by extremists who wanted to do away with feudal traditions. Säypidin's efforts at reforming and reinterpreting the muqams seem intended to preserve Uyghur tradition against ideological attacks.

Qidir Khan and Amannisa Khan discuss a possible plot against Abduräshid, and when Ömär Sazändä comes in he explains that he was already trying to figure out what he could do to help Abduräshid five years earlier when they first met at Amannisa's house. He had been worried about Abduräshid's Sufi practices and beliefs and was trying to draw him away from

[187] It is depicted in Zhou 1987: fig. 19, and its tuning is given in *Zhongguo yinyue cidian* (Anonymous 1984: 159). It is also prominent in Ghazi Ämät's 1984 painting *Muqam*.

their influence. In the next scene Qidir Khan and Amannisa Khan are practicing the Nava muqam, using a chorus and groups of musicians (Äziz 1983: 49). Their performance is thus organized exactly as the muqams are presently performed on stage.

The next act is set one week later, and the performers are again rehearsing Nava muqam. They sing a verse by Rashidi, and then Amannisa sings the song of praise for Abduräshid that is given in Mū'jiz's work as the first song she sings for him. Then the characters begin debating the texts they are using, substituting easier words for ones that are difficult to understand (Äziz 1983: 56–57). Ömär Akhun and others told me that Säypidin supported editing the modern muqams to make them more comprehensible, and there are many such changes in the modern edited texts. Later Abduräshid Khan begins announcing reforms to curb the excesses of the Khan's officials, through reducing taxes and the salaries of officials, putting an end to executions as punishments, and improving the army (Äziz 1983: 61–63).

In the next two acts, the local political conflicts go on, but modern, international, cultural politics are also clearly being invoked. Qidir Khan explains to Amannisa Khan why editing the muqams is so important:

> We have edited seven or nine of the twelve muqams, and they are basically complete. We must continue. Basically three muqams remain, but the weak spots are many, so we must continue to work. It is known that following the Uyghur muqams, in Central Asia, in South Asia, and in the Near East, muqams have appeared among other peoples [*millät*]. But from the perspectives of quantity, quality, and organization, they are not equal to our muqams. Because the history of the Uyghur muqams is long, they have developed rather fully. We have to think about the language of the muqams. Instead of the works of poets from other Central Asia peoples, it would be better if we used poems of our own poets first (Äziz 1983: 87–88).

According to my interviews with Ömär Akhun and Qawul Akhun, this is exactly what the muqam editors were saying a few years after this drama was published. Säypidin's portrayal of Amannisa Khan and Qidir Khan closely parallels the editorial activities of Säypidin and others and argues for the priority of the Uyghur muqams internationally. He justifies the quest for local poetry that fits this indigenous music, rather than letting it be diluted by foreign poetry. Not only is Säypidin describing the concerns related to editing the muqams in the 1980s, but he also describes the performance of the muqams as they were reshaped in the 1980s. The final act consists of a full performance of the muqams using verses apparently created by Säypidin. It begins with a single performer singing the free-rhythm *bašliniš* intro-

duction, and then the subsequent songs are performed by a chorus with an ensemble of musicians.

The act begins with Abduräshid Khan's victory over his enemies at court and abandonment of his interest in Sufism. He describes what he has learned about friends in a poem he recites (Äziz 1983: 105–106). Then the musicians begin rehearsing the muqams. Ömär Sazändä performs the free-rhythm *bašliniš* to the Pänjigah muqam Čoñ Nägmä. He sings a ghazal that refers to all the muqams by incorporating each one into the text (1983: 109–111):[188]

O friends, listen while I explain the muqams,
I will declare my happy [*qutluq*] state with the muqam names.

I begin from Rak, saying that the muqams are an accomplishment for the people,
I tune the strings of my satar and demonstrate the song [*nägmä*].[189]

As the thread from Čäbbiyat to Mušavräk, I will have a place in the hearts,
Like the *bulbul* singing in the meadow, I will perform my dastan.

I will play the qalun and you will dig into the essence of the Čargah,
Hearts will be happy because I am demonstrating the mäšräp.

I will suffer deep groans for Pänjigah märgul on my dutar,
With Üz Hal *täzä* I will explain it to the people.

Äjäm I will give to cure the pain of the lovesick,
I will play *qošaqs* and demonstrate the *avj* with the *nusχa*.

I will perform Bayat muqam as proof of the boasts of our people,
In the bounty of Nava muqam, I will tell of Pärhat and Shirin.

If a lover joins in the *säliqä* of Segah he will make it sweet,
With the *jula* and *sänäm* of Iraq I will describe a girl and boy.

Come, O cup bearer, offer the drink so hearts may rejoice in drinking,
Friends and musicians have arrived at the mäšräp [celebration], let us perform.

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[188] This is doubtless also a composition of Säypidin's.

[189] Implying Čoñ Nägmä, because it is parallel to Dastan and Mäšräp, mentioned subsequently.

In this text, a muqam song describes the Twelve Muqams and calls upon people to welcome them. This reflexive song is at the heart of a reflexive play that explains how people should understand this musical culture. The practices of learning and experiencing muqams in social settings are replaced with narratives about performance, and dramatizing their cultural value. Whereas the traditional muqams and Turkic poetry have little to say about politics and social life, except from the critical stance of Sufi asceticism and rejection of worldly life, Säypidin Äziz's play and muqam song have given the muqams a political context, allying the popular and the progressive political elite against the forces of reaction and repression that seek to destroy musical culture. His play represents the elites of the past using the muqams as a symbol of progressive populism in much the same way he and others seek to do in the present.

After the introductory song, the chorus and all the musicians come together to sing the Pänjigah *täzä*, with a verse supposedly by Nafisi. The verse again emphasizes the story of the muqams themselves. It begins:

> Having happily completed the muqams they finally shout 'done' to the people,
> After waiting expectantly, their hope is finally fulfilled.
>
> Fifteen autumns and springs have passed, the muqam buds have opened,
> In the end my desires were not disappointed at all (Äziz 1983: 111).

In his play script, Säypidin includes verses for most of the muqam songs. They alternate between songs praising the people, songs of love, and songs about the muqams. For the *nusχa* there is another ghazal supposedly by Nafisi; for the *jula* there is a *qošaq* of six quatrains that should be accompanied by a solo dancer, according to the stage directions. A verse is not given for the *sänäm*, but Säypidin lists a sequence of four dances that should be performed to four *sänäm* songs. Then he gives a text for the *kičik säliqä*, after which he directs that the musicians should begin the dastan section. He gives texts only for the second and third dastan songs and the first, third, and fifth mäšräp songs (Äziz 1983: 112–120).

Säypidin Äziz wrote this play in 1983, early in the most recent period of work on reviving and re-creating the muqams. Since then he has been deeply involved with researchers and musicians in collecting, editing, and rearranging the muqams for recording and stage production. His play represents their project, describing what should be done to improve the muqams and suggestively describing the ideological predicament that the editors faced in creating a coherent, popular, and politically correct muqam tradition. Säypidin echoes modern political debates over religious content and

archaic words and the arguments for the priority of the Uyghur muqams among maqāmāt traditions. When Qidir Khan says that 'from the perspectives of quantity, quality, and organization' Uyghur muqams are superior, he describes more what the reformers intend the muqams to be after editing than what they actually already are. In the view of Säypidin and many of his colleagues, to make the Uyghur Twelve Muqams a musical tradition worthy of modern international recognition, their quantity, quality, and organization must be improved.

By preserving the story of Amannisa Khan, Mū'jiz gave modern Uyghurs a story they could rework to deal with present issues. Mū'jiz's vivid episodes delineate historical characters who potentiate many possible futures. The events he describes have been redefined in terms of present concerns, and the story of these earlier creative artists helps quell anxiety about modern interference in Uyghur tradition. The authority of history and the image of Amannisa as culture hero support the tricky negotiations over how the muqams should be edited. It seems an impossible task. The editors want to restore the muqams to their past glory yet make them suitable for the future. They should be superior art, but not inaccessible. And their changes will be authoritative and acceptable only if the new muqams are the same as the old, but better. The new muqams should contain within them the creations of Qidir Khan, Amannisa Khan, and Turdi Akhun but be better organized, clearer, more aesthetically pleasing, and livelier. Without the model of Amannisa Khan's efforts, finding a way through this maze would be unlikely.

Not all Uyghurs gave the story of Amannisa Khan the same import. The muqam performer Ömär Akhun said that because nothing remained from their work, it was hard to be sure it had really existed. Shir Mämät said once that Amannisa Khan's work did not matter much, because the muqams went back far before her and should be studied as they were originally. But Qawul Akhun, son of Turdi Akhun and a member of the editing committee, used Amannisa Khan's story often as a model for the committee's work in the present. He saw its work as filling in the gaps caused by faulty memory when the tradition was transmitted from performer to performer.

Mū'jiz's narrative facilitates canonization of the muqams in the present because it suggests that they originated in a similar organization and standardization during the sixteenth century. Tradition and connection to the uniquely Uyghur past can be preserved despite the exigencies of modern musical form and the quest for Uyghur pride in the international arena. As Shir Mämät describes it, proper restoration depends on knowing the original techniques, and Mū'jiz's history describes a few details that have been

fleshed out into a sacred story of muqam origins that is being reenacted in the present.

The story of Amannisa Khan is a flexible and suggestive frame that politicians, teachers, historians, playwrights, and filmmakers have filled with Uyghur ethnic significance in the present. The new content and meaning of this story has legitimated giving the muqams themselves new musical and poetic contents as well. The revised muqams can both accord with present expectations and still be accepted as an authentic tradition.

In the next chapter I move from considering the muqams as symbolic forms at the center of debates over cultural change and exchange to the perspective of Ömär Akhun, a performer of muqams who is annoyed at the political sleight-of-hand that has taken away his muqams and made them into symbols about which he can no longer speak authoritatively.

Chapter 5
Ömär Akhun's Muqams

Central to my understanding of muqam performance and the recent changes to the repertoire is the muqam performer (*muqamči*) Ömär Akhun. He was the only person I met who took responsibility for his tradition as a creator himself. He did not feel that he was simply a performer of a tradition that others had created and passed down to him. Rather, he undertook to create, perform, and teach the muqams as he thought they should be, despite the complex political situation in which the muqams had become an important symbol of autochthonous Uyghur civilization. The only legitimacy for his muqams was the expertise and knowledge he had acquired from his father and grandfather and that he had developed through long practice and exchanges with other performers. In his performances he strove for music and lyrics that would inspire contemplation and melancholy in properly appreciative audiences.

Although Ömär Akhun was confident in his mastery of the muqams, he became part of the culturally intimate backstage zone in which the revised muqams were created. Many of the politicians, scholars, and musicians involved in revising the Uyghur Twelve Muqams did not accept key aspects of his art and did not want them to become the official public version. Ömär Akhun was nominally part of the group editing the muqams, but most of his ideas were ignored. He had been a teacher at the Xinjiang Art College and had trained some of the best performers, but he had no officially acknowledged role in the muqam revival. Turdi Akhun, who had died in 1956, after most of his repertoire had been recorded, was the publicly acknowledged source for the muqam canon, even though Ömär Akhun's sound and style were important influences on the modern muqam sound and style.

Because I could not meet with the central political figures responsible for reforming and reviving the muqams, I heard only second-hand criticisms of Ömär Akhun. Both Qawul Akhun and Zhou Ji thought highly of him, but they told me that key figures felt his ideas about the muqams were inconvenient and would make government support for an institutionalized muqam

tradition difficult. Ömär Akhun felt strongly that the muqam lyrics should have explicitly religious contents, he did not consider the dastan and mäšräp songs integral parts of the muqams, and he was willing to compose or improvise new tunes and texts, which others felt undermined the status of the muqams as a fixed classical tradition. He believed that individual creative performers were essential to the muqam tradition. Unlike other performers who had accepted re-creating the muqams by committee and were willing to compromise, Ömär Akhun was outspoken in defending the way he thought the muqams should be learned and performed (see also Light 2007: 58-60).

Despite his eighty years, Ömär Akhun was a strong and confident performer, and once he recognized that I wanted to know what he had to say about his tradition, he was tireless in discussing it with me. Ömär Akhun recognized the power of writing to preserve his ideas. He had so much to tell me that my questions served more as resting points than as guides. In the following discussion, I focus on Ömär Akhun's ideas but relate them to issues that others discussed as well. I am trying to do justice to his ideas and show why he has a critical perspective on the editing process. Without his teaching, my understanding of the muqams would be shallower, and it seems to me that he has a right to be heard speak about the muqams. Because the goal of editing the muqams is to create one official form, politicians have taken over from performers, and Ömär Akhun's voice has been excluded.

Scholars, performers, editors, and audience members were each able to teach me about some aspects of the tradition but were uncertain about others. As Ömär Akhun put it, most of the people working on revising the tradition knew only the texts or the music, but not both. Turdi Akhun's son Qawul was a skilled performer and knew the history and sound of the muqams as well as Ömär Akhun, but he was reluctant to discuss the poems, seeing them as a liability to popularization. Qawul considered himself an expert on the music but said that I should talk to the poet Ömär Imin if I wanted to know about the texts. In the next chapter I describe my one conversation with the latter.

Qawul's older brother had been an apprentice of Turdi Akhun's, but Qawul himself had learned the violin in Kashgar in the 1940s because his father wanted Qawul to be able to play popular music. Of the people I knew, only Ömär Akhun understood the muqam tradition as a dynamic form that he created and performed from resources within himself. He was not interested in changing the muqams into an instance of modern music, in creating an ethnic canon, or in preserving the muqams as if in a museum.

5.1 Becoming a Muqamči

Ömär Akhun was born around 1912 near Kashgar and spent his youth from age three or four learning and performing muqams with his father and grandfather. The family lived in the Opal area of Kashgar. His father, a contemporary of Turdi Akhun, was born in the 1870s and died around 1930. Father and son would travel to nearby towns to perform at large celebrations such as *toy* (celebrations of marriages and circumcisions), *sorun* (gatherings), and *säylä* (excursions, but also a local term for tomb celebrations). These were also opportunities to exchange tunes with other performers. Ömär Akhun told me:

> If I was called and went to a party I would learn more from my father and grandfather. I would learn texts from the others, ask them to perform the words for me, and then play the music.
>
> I would say, 'I do not know that song or cannot play it. Please play one of yours for me and I will scrape out [*sulivarutup, sürkivärütüp?*] one of mine for you. Play the places in yours that mine does not have, and I will learn them,' I would say, and learn them in that way.

As a large city and important trading center, Kashgar was the cultural center for the people of Altishahr. It had the most stable and correct muqams, Ömär Akhun believed, because of the performers' commitment to learning from each other and from books and sharing what they knew:

> When I was small, I learned from my father and grandfather, and from many others. In that training they played all kinds. In each *nahiyä* [county], in each *yurt* [village, hometown], they played their own way.
>
> But not in Kashgar: they played the pure and well known way at Kashgar in the Padishah's court. They would read from a great book, and sit and play. And that is how they would learn the muqams. And from every *nahiyä*, muqam players would go to Kashgar and live for a few months. They would listen to the Kashgar muqams and learn them if they could, but some could not. Some tunes would not suit [*maslaš*-] their hometown, and they could not learn them because they were difficult.

The idea of cultural center was important to Ömär's understanding of transmitting muqam practice. He described the muqams as stable, fixed forms with fairly institutionalized transmission at the court in Kashgar, but he also explained that exchange at less formal gatherings was equally important. And the musical organization changed because what best suited local and individual styles was what people learned.

Ömär Akhun valued the core tradition in Kashgar and the tradition he learned from his father and grandfather, but he described the process where-

by performers perfected their skills and repertoires as individuals. The stability of the tunes was promoted by going to gatherings and comparing them, but this had broken down in modern times:

> In Kashgar there is a great mazar to Appaq Khoja, and there were celebrations [*säylä*] there in the third and fourth months. I would join and play. Muqam and *saz* players from all over would come to Appaq Khoja. They would drink tea during the day and compare the muqams, saying, 'Oh, this part should be [played] there,' and 'This is correct in Kashgar.'
>
> I mean to say, at the present time these muqams have not been destroyed [*buzulup kätmidi*], but they have become cruder – we say *yawa* [wild], bitter, unripe and not sweet.

According to Ömär Akhun, people in Kashgar did not listen to the dastan songs much. Musicians performed dastans mostly in rural areas (*yeza*). Because he had learned the Kashgar tradition, he did not accept that dastan and mäšräp songs should be part of the muqams. He did not criticize the new muqams for including them, because Turdi Akhun had also sung them, but he felt the emphasis should be on the core muqam songs, now known as the Čoñ Näğmä. Qawul Akhun agreed with him that it was largely Turdi Akhun who had combined the muqams with the dastan and mäšräp songs.

Ömär Akhun felt that the muqams must be listened to repeatedly before one tried to play them. The ear must be trained first just as was done in transmitting the Qur'ān which Ömär believed provided the original texts of the muqams:

> We did not have notation. It was in our stomach, our heart, our brain. That is the way it was originally: thousands of years ago they did not have these written notes. It was learned without notation.
>
> One man, a Qur'ān reciter [*qari*] who knew it, would recite the whole thing. He would not be able to recite and play the music. If you ask why, it is because our masters [*ustaz*] who could not see, would use their ears to listen ceaselessly, and they would become fully versed [*pišširiq*]. Those who could see would sit there in a group of five or six and write it down [*yezip χätlidi*].

The muqams can be learned only when experience has prepared someone to study. And after learning the muqams as others perform them, one can develop one's own style and sound:

> Well, for me, if I play a muqam, I play it my way. It has to be learned in the blood. It must be entirely familiar [*etirap qil-*]. Since that one's blood is different, since my blood is different, all have to hold onto their own.

> The young, the small, do not have the awareness. Not until they have gone a thousand times to *toy*, not until they have the feeling inside, are they ready to say, 'I will learn.'

The teaching methods that he was forced to use at the Art School failed to produce true muqam performers, he said. The problems included lack of intensive study and too much reliance on written music and texts. Literacy and classroom teaching had replaced mastery through aural familiarization followed by practice, and both Ömär and Qawul Akhun often lamented that only about four of the present muqam performers had really mastered more than one or two of the muqams.

Qawul Akhun told me that his father would spend days on end practicing muqams with his apprentices. Five or six would come to Turdi Akhun's house, practice all morning, eat together, and practice all afternoon. Or they would go to the house of one of the apprentices and practice all day.

I asked Ömär Akhun, 'What is the most important thing during teaching? To what must people pay attention?' He explained:

> One must listen without talking for several days so that one knows exactly how it goes.
>
> The texts must not be changed. If one uses shorter and easier words, it will not fit, not be long enough. Put them together just right, and use the correct words. So for that reason we taught each class in four groups. One couplet or two couplets at a time. That is what we taught.
>
> And then we gave exams after each three days. We would see if they could get it down, if they could sing the song, and doing it like this would take a month for a whole branch [*šaχ*, 'a song and its instrumental *märğul*'].

I played him the Pänjigah muqam *täzä* that had been recorded, and Ömär said that this was the Pänjigah as he taught it, but played a bit faster than it should be. He explained that because he and his colleagues could teach only one branch in a month, it took an entire year to teach the whole muqam, and still few of the students mastered it. 'They are reading while they play, because they did not learn it. One or two can study and master it, the rest do not succeed. We could only teach a muqam in a year, a whole year. When I studied we did one in one or two months, practicing every day.'

Because the modern musicians have limited time to spend on learning the muqams, they can perform very few muqams for live audiences. Ömär Akhun said that the Muqam Troupe (*Muqam ömigi*) in Ürümchi could play only Čäbbiyat and should learn more muqams. He commented, 'It is as if they serve noodle soup [*suyuk aš*] every day. People will get tired of soup. They need real food too, like pilaf or bread. Otherwise they will get bored.'

5.2 Learning and Creating Song Lyrics

Ömär Akhun explained that he and other muqamčis learned most of their songs from each other, but they could learn new ones or correct the ones they already knew with the help of mullas and muqam *häväskar* ('aficionados') who could read the poetry but did not understand music. Such literati were also often patrons who invited singers to come and perform. They would correct the songs from memory if they knew the poetry well, or look up the poems in manuscript dīvāns of the popular poets. Some mullas would write down the performers' songs and create books of them. This was done for the ghazals in the muqams, as well as for the dastans.

Ömär said that in Kashgar the muqam tunes were stable but the lyrics were more variable, and the singers had considerable flexibility in putting together verses with tunes:

> The songs of Kashgar are more complete [*toluq*] and orderly. So the muqams from Kashgar are more ripe [*pišširiq*], more connected, and have changed only a little. The tunes [*ahañ*] [are more systematic.] The *bäyt*s have changed more, the texts, the words, and we could do our own. Books of texts were very plentiful at that time. People would find them.
>
> In the books we would read out many of the songs sung in our times, from Navayi, Furqät, Hüväyda.[190] I would take those songs and put them in the old muqams and make them complete as they had been several hundred or a thousand years before. This is the same as now, in the present, what we are doing.

The singers understood the principles of combining verses with music to create and change muqam songs. The music would determine which verses could be played, and the length of the musical piece would determine how many verses could be sung and whether or not there should be repetitions to fit them in. 'If the melody [*ahañ*] was not fully developed [*piši yät-*], then bring another *bäyt*. There is room to add more. If one *bäyt* did not do it, bring another *bäyt*, add in another *bäyt* from a book, if it is appropriate [*čušluk*] to the *ahañ*.'

A month later, when I was talking with him after he had just sung the Äjäm muqam introduction for me, I asked, 'What relation do the *bäyt* and the music [*muzika*] have?' He answered:

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[190] To transliterate consistently, in quotations from Ömär Akhun I keep names and most terms as spelled and pronounced in modern Uyghur: Navā'ī is Navayi, 'Abd ar-Rashīd is Abduräshid. Ömär Akhun uses very figurative language and some of his terms are unusual in modern Uyghur. I thank Sawut Pawan, Gülnar Äziz, Rahile Dawut and Arienne Dwyer for their help identifying terms in this chapter.

> Either the *bäyt* will be long or the muqam will be long. If the *bäyt* is too short, if it does not reach [the end of the tune], then one puts in another *bäyt*. We put it in to complete it [*toštur*-]. Here I played three *bäyt*s, three. One would not reach the end. If it is repeated it still is not enough. One sings, '*Äy näv bahar* . . .' and when it ends, if the tune has only reached the middle, if one sings, '*Äy näv bahar* . . .' again, it will not do, and another *bäyt* should be put in.

Although I had asked about the music, his contrasted muqam with *bäyt* ('ghazal, verse') rather than using the usual term, *ahañ*, for tune. He used muqam here to refer to the music as the basic tune structure, within which he performed the verses that he felt fit. For Ömär Akhun, ghazals had no fixed connection to the music, and it is clear from recordings that Turdi Akhun, too, varied his choice of verses during performance. Both of them selected verses and couplets from their repertoire according to the length of the music. Ömär Akhun suggested several times that this compositional technique allowed him to perform verses that he considered appropriate for particular audiences.

When Ömär Akhun explained the ghazal by Navā'ī that begins '*Äy näv bahar*,'[191] I asked him in which muqams he sang it. His reply emphasized the difference between people who think the poems should be sung according to written texts and Turdi Akhun and himself, who learned poems orally and used them in many different muqams according to their judgments of proper performance:

> That one can be put in Čäbbiyat or in Uššaq. Since we were illiterate, wherever it fits, we put it. Those people I mentioned before would not allow a text used in one place to be used in another. They would put a whole *bäyt* [ghazal] in the muqams and [sing it] straight through. But we, Turdi Akhun and myself, since we are illiterate and dependent on our ears, we speak our knowledge and learn these *bäyt*s with brain and heart, and sing them according to the old way.

In Ömär Akhun's view, his illiteracy made using written texts difficult, but as he pointed out, even the Qur'ān was transmitted orally, and songs could be learned the same way. By learning them orally, he and Turdi Akhun knew them so well that they could select the best couplets rather than sing an entire ghazal. Although they were criticized by people such as the modern editors who knew the written poetry, both he and Turdi Akhun sang the same ghazals in different muqams and put couplets from different ghazals together in a single song, according to what fit.

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[191] 'O early spring.' In the next chapter I give examples of the full-length ghazals such as this one that Ömär and Turdi Akhun sang, as well as their compositions from parts of several ghazals.

Another way to make the verses fit the music was to repeat them, but Ömär Akhun felt they should be repeated only when they were particularly important or beautiful. Even then, a verse should be sung only twice. He criticized Turdi Akhun for frequently singing a couplet or ghazal more than twice. He said that if one repeated too much, it would teach one's apprentices that they did not have to learn longer songs but could just repeat parts of ones, and it suggested that something was missing or deficient.

Qawul Akhun and Zhou Ji both mentioned that Turdi Akhun's repetitions made the songs too long for modern audiences. So the revised Twelve Muqams were not only played somewhat faster than Turdi Akhun had played them but were also shortened by taking out many of his repetitions. Listening to tapes of Turdi Akhun's original muqam recordings showed that some of his songs were more than twice as long as the edited versions. Indeed, one of the biggest changes during the 1990s was that the edited versions of some songs have continued to get shorter. When muqam songs are performed along with other music as part of stage shows and celebrations, they are often shortened to brief highlights of the more popular songs. This usually included a three- or four-couplet version of the *bašliniš*, a brief version of the *täzä*, if it was performed at all, and then the livelier and shorter *jula*, *sänäm*, or *čoñ säliqä*, followed by songs from the Dastan and Mäšräp sections. The widespread stereotype of Uyghurs singing and dancing joyfully has shifted the general tenor of muqam performance very far from the idea expressed in Mū'jiz's quote from Fārābī: 'The sorrowful *muñ* of … music without words will kindle a spiritual fire in the human soul, [and] if someone adds verses … to it, how strong the secret core of the emotion they play for people [will be]!'

Ömär Akhun also pointed out that he sang verses different from Turdi Akhun's. He told me, 'Each *'āshiq* plays their own texts. There are no stable ones. I play different ones, Turdi Akhun plays different ones. Turdi Akhun had quite a few texts.'

I asked, 'You played different ones than he did?'

'Yes, different. Some were the same, three or four or five. Like Navayi's Äšräqät min äksi šäms.'

After the long process of mastering the tradition through apprenticeship, exchange with other performers allowed an *'āshiq* to develop a personal repertoire. Ömär Akhun felt that all performers had different tastes and skills and different opportunities to learn and create new songs, and he believed they should perform songs that were appropriate to their audiences. One of his greatest discontents with the institutionalized muqams was that audiences were no longer small and appreciative, and performers no longer mastered personal repertoires of tunes and verses that they could put together for

particular audiences. The Soviet-trained Uyghur composer Quddus Khojamyarov also felt that the muqams should not be performed in large halls but should be treated as a chamber form. He described performances he saw in Xinjiang during a visit in 1957 as much more suitable: six or ten musicians and singers in a small hall, with no dancing until the Mäšräp section.

Jean During finds than an opposite shift has taken place in Iranian music during the last fifty years. He says that nineteenth-century Iranian nationalists standardized and popularized Iranian elite *dastgāh* music, but in the past half-century the dominant ideology of Iranian musical performance has changed from classical formalism to Romanticism, from music as fixed sacred object to music expressing individual interiority, in which 'the values of inspiration, creativity, originality and personality of style and improvisation have become exalted to the detriment of conformity to standards, fidelity to repertoire, and fixed composition.'[192] During's description of the changes in nineteenth-century Iran resembles the editing of the modern Uyghur muqams. But During suggests that classicism stimulated the individualistic rebellion which shapes the current practice of *dastgāh*, whereas Ömär Akhun sees the individual creator as the traditional performer who creates a personal repertoire of texts and tunes although the latter are a more stable tradition. Ömär Akhun is not describing inspired, Romantic self-expression but a performance practice in which the musician can combine texts and tunes to respond to his or her audience.

5.3 Religion and Love Songs

Muqam performers and scholars in Ürümchi spoke mostly about love songs, while Ömär Akhun believed that the religious lyrics were more important. Ömär Akhun felt strongly that most of the poetry sung in the muqams should be religious, about God and the prophets and the pursuit of the other world by renouncing this one. He did not accept the language of love as a metaphorical expression of religious faith and commitment to God, unless the religious meaning was explicit in the song. He felt that religious topics had been abandoned in modernizing the muqam songs, and love songs put in their place. He told me, 'Now there are verses singing about love and 'my heart is burning' and 'your beautiful brows, and beautiful eyes, and your cheeks like the moon.' I did not play such verses. No, I used purely religious verses.'

[192] Quoted from an unpublished lecture in Levin 1996: 56, 299n22. This shift to Romanticism suggests that the oscillation Mukařovsky finds between structured and unstructured aesthetics (see chapter 3) can be found in music as well as poetry, and in the case of the muqams the present study reveals the social practices through which structured aesthetics are imposed.

The dastan songs also portray lovers and their struggles in the world. For Ömär Akhun, when the dastans began to be included in the muqams, they changed the character of the muqams. He argued that the dastans were distinct from the muqams and should not be made an integral part of them, as they were in the present canon:

> Before, I and my masters played the religious verses of Navayi, Hüväyda, Fuzuli, Soburi, Zälili, and Furqät. They did not play the dastans much, you could even say not at all. But now they are played a lot. *Gherip-Sänäm* was not in the muqams. It was sung in the dastan. We only began playing the dastans in recent times. *Gherip-Sänäm* was part of that.[193]
>
> Navayi's verse was in the muqams and was played a lot. Songs that spoke of religion and the pure road of God [*säp Xudaniñ yoli*], about the Creator, and the like. But now that has been put aside, and the *'āshiq* songs are very widely used now. They are in the dastan books.

Ömär Akhun appears to use *'āshiq* in two senses. In an earlier quotation he described himself and Turdi Akhun as *'āshiqs*, but here he refers to the love songs that he does not sing as characteristic of *'āshiq* repertoire. He gave me a historical justification for using only religious songs in the muqams:

> The words were not about love before. I talked about this the other day. They used the words of the Qur'ān when it came to the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, when it came into being.
>
> Before it came, there were three books. The *Zäbur* [Psalms of David], the *Injil* [Gospels], and the *Tävrat* [Torah]. They had all kinds of verses made by God. At that time they sang those verses. After the Qur'ān came, they stopped singing those others, during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century there were Navayi, Furqät, Hüväyda, those *'āshiqs* and poets, the poets of that time. And after those people had created their own verses they also considered the verses God created. And they sang those. But now if we use verses of the Qur'ān, people will not understand them and the songs will be forgotten and disappear.
>
> Navayi wrote two books. One is called *Hamza*. It has five parts and is all about love. The other one is not like that. It is influential talk [*täsirlik gäp*] about how the world ought to be, how God made us, and things of that sort. Hüväyda is like that, and Fuzuli is like that. Love is in them too. I sing the poem Fuzuli wrote, 'In the two worlds be ac-

[193] See chapter 7 for a discussion of the story of *Gherip-Sänäm*.

> quainted with love' [*Ikki alämdä* . . .], do I not? That is Fuzuli's. I sang it in the *Anarχan* movie.

For Ömär Akhun, the muqams are inextricably a part of religious expression: before Islam, the muqams were performed with other religious songs, other verses made by God. This contrasts with the story told by people who wanted to secularize the muqams and purify them of foreign influence. Qawul Akhun frequently pointed out that the muqams contained Islamic verses because performers such as Āmännisā Khān put them in to satisfy Muslim officials. This was one reason he was reluctant to discuss the muqam poetry: he felt it was extraneous to the muqam tradition, a sort of Islamic disguise adopted to protect the musical tradition.

In contrast, Ömär Akhun felt that although Qur'ān verses were not sung in the muqams now, good poets such as Navā'ī and Fuzūlī wrote their religious verses in the spirit of the Qur'ān, rather than ignoring the verses that God created and writing only about this world. He argued that singing the love songs of these poets was also acceptable because they made clear connections between love and faith and used love to describe the relationship with the next world. But he rejected songs by lesser poets and those who did not make overt religious references, because they debased the spiritual contemplation of the muqams. He criticized those who said the present muqams were complete and correct. 'Now the muqam singers sing about this world. They should sing words about pursuing the other world.'

Ömär Akhun described the muqams as part of Islamic tradition and was unconcerned about demonstrating that they were autochthonous Uyghur culture. He also understood the more recent history of the muqams differently. Although he was a peripheral participant in the modern editing project, he critiqued the scholars' willingness to draw on different local traditions to create the Uyghur Twelve Muqam canon. He did not see the story of Āmännisā Khān as a valid charter for the modern editing. At one point he recounted the story of Āmännisā Khān as it was told 'in history.' The version he told resembled Mū'jiz's version, although he stated that Āmännisā's father had fled the court of 'Abd ar-Rashīd's father, Sa'īd Khān, which seems to be a part of the narrative that comes from oral tradition or from Säypidin Äziz's drama. He continued the story after Āmännisā Khan's arrival at court as follows:

> Qidir Khan was the akhun at the court of Abduräshid Khan. He said, 'This girl plays pretty well.' Abduräshid and Amannisa held a *toy* [celebratory gathering] and got some apprentices. And people came from all over, from the Arabs and the Iranian peoples. And that was the beginning of the muqams, the Twelve Muqams. They researched the muqams and wrote the notes. But they have been lost because

> many could not write them. And so we have never seen the music or the words. Those muqams, the notes they wrote are no more, the music they played is no more, and the words they sang are no more. So I think this might be false. It seems like it is false.

Because the muqams were essentially a religious tradition for Ömär Akhun, he felt that they had originated in religious recitation, even before the Qur'ān. With the revealing of the Qur'ān to the Prophet Muhammad, it became the basic text of the muqams, and then as poets composed more comprehensible lyrics, those were used, as long as they still expressed the same basic ideas as the Qur'ān. Ömär felt that the account of the muqam's secular origins during the Yarkand Khanate was less believable. He was more critical of these historical sources than were most literate scholars. In the absence of later evidence, he found the story hard to accept: 'I never heard anything about early writings. Four hundred years ago, three hundred years ago, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, if there were any books I have not heard of them. *There are none*. And the muqams from Amannisa Khan and Abduräshid Khan, when they gathered together many masters, there is not one song. Not even one or two phrases.'

He felt that the muqam tradition as he knew it was more reliable than speculating about possible muqam history from limited sources. The tradition itself was more solid and significant than a story. Although he mentioned Āmānnisā Khān as a reference point when describing the descent of his own tradition, he did so only in order to argue that his tradition did not begin at the Yarkand court: 'My first ancestor [*bowam*] lived at the time of Amannisa Khan and played in the same style [*täriqä*] as she. After him I am the seventh generation [*ävlad*], the seventh grandson [*nävrä*]. From my father, from my grandfather, from my great-grandfather, from the seventh *ävlad*, it came to me. I have been working at this profession seventy years. Ever since I was three or four I would go around with my father.'

His best evidence for the history was the muqams themselves, and his knowledge of them. This was real. Āmānnisā Khān was not particularly important because the real origins of the texts, the creator of the muqam songs, was God, and after God, the great Muslim poets. On the other hand, Ömär Akhun did not seem to value the origins of the musical aspect of the tradition: the music should be judged in terms of effect on his audience, not in terms of continuity with some treasured origins. But he also considered new ways to explain the sacred nature of the muqams:

> The muqams have a long history, and one can even say they are God. I heard this recently. It means that the muqams are God's own muqams. Twelve or eighteen muqams are God's, and the others belong to the prophets [*päyğämbär*], the remaining seventy or so.

> They say there are ninety-nine manifestations [*ispat*] of God. God has ninety-nine manifestations in all. Eighteen are special for him, and the remaining ones are divided into levels [*därijä*] for each of the prophets. They go like that. And this is also correct. Twelve muqams, twelve stars, twelve springs, twelve rivers.

Where the modern editors worried about performers forgetting or losing the songs and music of Āmännisā Khān and Qidīr Khān, Ömär Akhun was less concerned with how traditional masters changed the tradition and more concerned with the modern editors' own interventions. The masters took the time to learn the tradition, and thus it was theirs to create because they knew how it should sound. The editors were scholars and musicians from many different backgrounds whose understanding of the tradition was too shallow, he believed.

When he was trying to find ways to explain the tradition, Ömär Akhun referred to the muqams as including text and music in an expressive whole. But he also separated these two dimensions to clarify how they related to other arts. He characterized the texts as the religious writings of Turkic poets. The music he placed in a closer relationship to Uyghur culture. I asked him, 'If a *bäyt* is about love, does it require one kind of music, whereas if it is about the other world, it requires another kind of music?' He replied:

> *No*. Since we are Uyghur, if we choose beautiful parts from Uyghur tunes and Uyghur muqams, and we put a modern [*zamaniviy*] text, that is okay. But if we take a tune from another country [*dävlät*] and put in our own *bäyt*, that will be wrong. What is good in your own music is that from your own country. The tune also is our own, right? They do not know this. For example, if you go to France, there are French tunes. So if you learn it from a tape, and play it for them, they laugh and become *very* happy. But if you sing our tune, it sounds beautiful, but it is not appropriate [*oχšimaydu*] to the country. One has to respect what is appropriate [*oχšaydu*] to one's own place.

Here he is less concerned with what kinds of texts should be used and more concerned with having the music fit into the culture. In an earlier passage he explained that the texts should originate in Islamic tradition, although not directly from the Qur'ān, because people would not understand them. Here he suggests that it is the music that should be characteristically ethnic and make the performance part of Uyghur culture, whereas the texts can be more diverse. He mentions modern texts here, but elsewhere he emphasized the value of great religious poetry despite difficult Arabic and Persian words. Despite his emphasis on Kashgar performers' maintaining a consistent tradition, he seems here to stress that it is the ethnic distinctiveness that should be preserved, not fidelity to the past. New texts can be added and

separate couplets performed as *bäyt*s, but the poems should be those of the great poets. The music, on the other hand, should preserve its ethnic distinctiveness, but it can be created by skilled performers. Thus Ömär had offered to compose more songs to fill in the gaps in the recordings of Turdi Akhun.

Ömär Akhun clarified the idea of ethnic traditions with a comparison to kinds of cloth. In explaining that from the perspective of ethnic culture, the modern muqams were still Uyghur despite the changes made in them, he said:

> Someone might say that the muqams have changed. But we are all Uyghurs. We say this and that and the other, but since we are all Uyghurs, when someone plays in our own style, we view it as the same, even if there are changes in it from year to year.
>
> We say no coarse cotton [*mata*] can be turned into silk satin [*tawar*]. They are different. Each of them has their own price [*närq*]. In one place silk cloth will be twenty *koy*, and in another place it will sell for thirty. In another place I will buy better: sixty *koy* material. It is just like that, like cloth.

Ömär Akhun here compares the cultures of different countries to different kinds of cloth: each kind of cloth varies in quality but not in essence, just as each culture has performers who are better or worse, but the essential musical characteristics do not change. Uyghur musicians may vary in skill, but their music is still Uyghur. In characterizing Uyghur music thus, he suggested that it was best created and developed by skilled performers who had spent long years participating in the native tradition rather than by trying to borrow inappropriate traditions from abroad. The issue is not one of whether the music has autochthonous origins but whether it fits into contemporary culture. And although he describes Uyghur culture here, he associated his muqams with the style of Kashgar. As I discuss below, this became an issue when he wanted to prevent his Kashgar muqams from being combined with Ili muqams and other songs in creating the pan-ethnic Uyghur Twelve Muqams.

Although Ömär Akhun criticized the inclusion of love songs and dastan and mäšräp songs in the muqams, he believes that many of the dastan songs were narratives of holy men and women from before the time of the Prophet Muhammad. When he mentioned the mäšräp songs as having been added in the past 100, 200, or 300 years, he associated them with the poet Shah Mäšräp (Bābā Rahīm Mashrab) and explained who he was:

> Mäšräp was a holy man [*ävliyä*] created by God, a created slave [*bändä*] of his. He said he would not take a wife, and he would wander in the mountains and the wilderness [*jañgal*]. He wandered as an *'āshiq*. For this reason his song goes like this: 'The seven hells before

a man of God is a rose garden.'[194] The seven hells were created by God, and hence a man of God sees them as a rose garden. This poem says that human life is aimless and random. It says one should follow [*qarat-*] God. The mullas are afraid to do this.

The proper performance of muqams, according to Ömär, demands that the Dastan and Mäšräp sections be left out because they interfere with the concentration that is required to perfect the muqam itself, the Čoñ Näğmä: 'I play the Čoñ Näğmä. With all their details they take one or two hours to play. If they were played with the dastans it would take five or six hours and I cannot play that long. Play it slooowly, practice it for a week or so; if you do that, you will attain the desired ripeness, and it will be a ripe fruit, like a fig, like a peach.'

Along with the love songs that distracted audiences from the contemplation of God, another problem with the modern muqam performances, he believed, was that young women performed openly, and this also disrupted audience contemplation: 'Before now women would not openly play except over age fifty or sixty before the Padishah. They would not let themselves be seen. Now all kinds of illicitness [*zinalik*] go along with women openly playing.'

Women traditionally performed muqams and dastans but were veiled or otherwise concealed if there were men in the audience. Ömär Akhun objected to women's becoming public performers in the contemporary, staged muqam presentations. But the sources describing women veiling in Kashgar and elsewhere in Altishahr are somewhat contradictory, and it is clear that ideas about veiling varied widely. Covering the face does not seem to have been common outside of urban areas. Descriptions such as Chokan Valikhanov's from the 1860s suggest urban women sang from behind a screen if there were men in the audience (Iskhakov 1975: 47). A 1901 photograph from Kashgar shows three woman muqamčis playing a tämbur, dutar, and hand dap. They are heavily clothed and wear hats with scarves that cover their hair, but their faces are fully exposed (ŠUAR On ikki muqam tätqiqat ilmiy jäm'iyiti 1992: front plates).

Although Ömär Akhun felt that the modern performances in which men and women playing essentially equal parts were inappropriate, he did teach the woman performer Turnisa Salahidin and described her as a very skilled muqamči. But it is also possible that his critique of the legend of Āmännisā Khān was motivated in part by his resistance to a woman's having an important role in his muqam tradition. Ömär Akhun also considered the increase in dancing to be inappropriate in the muqams. He particularly

[194] *Yättä dovzaχ märd-i häqqniñ aldida gülzardur* (Mashrab 1981: 144; Barat 1986: 297).

disliked the 'spinning dance', or waltz, that became popular after 1949 and was now performed extensively at weddings, whereas at celebrations in the past people danced folk dances (*χälq ussuli*). By folk dances he meant dances in which pairs or groups of men danced with men, and women with women.

Nonetheless, many audiences liked female singers and popular, lively songs and dance tunes such as those in the Dastan and Mäšräp sections of the muqams. Even Ömär Akhun included some in his performances because he wanted to please his audiences, especially young ones. When I asked him, 'And you do not sing any of the songs about love?' he replied, 'I do sing them. If I did not play them, did not sing them, how would that be? I sing them to the young. The old do not understand them. To many, like me, one hundred years old or eighty years old, if I sing love songs, they will say, 'Tsk, play us another, a good one, one from Navayi that we understand.'' But Ömär felt that the values of the muqams were being changed too much in the revised versions, with the lively songs taking over from the spiritual songs. Some of his opposition to lively songs and dancing seemed to come from his feeling that he should fit into his age group, an important idea for most Uyghurs. He particularly appreciated and praised listeners who understood the contemplative songs.

5.4 Performance and Audience

Many of the problems that Ömär Akhun found in recent changes seemed to be due in part to the expanding audience for the muqams and the changes in the social context in which they were performed. Ömär Akhun learned a broad repertoire of songs [*naχša*] so that he could please a wide variety of audiences, but he felt the muqams, properly speaking, should remain a distinct form reserved for properly receptive audiences. The livelier tunes played for less discerning audiences should not be valued equally with the contemplative songs: 'If there were fifty people, there might be only two or three who understood muqams, and the rest would be people of the world, would they not? I would play whatever was suitable for them, and if there were two old people who asked if I could play them, I would say, 'Yes, please sit. I will play for you.'' He compared audiences and pointed out that respect for the muqams had declined since his youth:

> Sometimes, if I went to a *toy* and played a muqam, when I was starting a song they would say, 'Aka, play a bit shorter.' And the *bäyt*s for them could not be the old ones. But in the past, we would just play for the older people. When we played, we would complete a branch and its *märğul*. Whether they listened or not, we would finish the whole tune. . . . In the past the older ones would make the young ones listen. They

would say, 'This is gold.' At that time young children would listen to their parents, and when told, they would sit and listen politely [*ädäp biläп*] without saying anything.

There were sometimes conflicts over which audience members to please: 'We would play different songs for older people and for young ones. For the young ones we would play love songs [*uššaq pädä*]. But for the *damulla*s [religious leaders] that would not do. They would not stay, they would not stay sitting. They would only sit for the Čoñ Näğmä. . . . But during the Čoñ Näğmä others would say, 'Hey, friends, do not bore us.''

Qawul Akhun once described to me how the muqam musicians even learned to perform Dungan songs for Dungan (Hui, Chinese Muslim) audiences and Han tunes for the Han Chinese officials, especially during the 1930s. Ömär agreed that performers tried to entertain people in ways that would be appreciated so that they could make living. One way to perform muqams differently for different audiences was to vary the choice of which part or branch of the muqam to play. Another way was to use alternative forms of the muqams. Ömär Akhun and Qawul Akhun discussed the pieces known as *Ab-i čäšmä* extensively, because Turdi Akhun's performances of them had been recorded, but the tapes had disappeared, leaving only the transcriptions of the texts.[195] Turdi Akhun's *Ab-i čäšmä* appear to have been a sequence of tunes selected from the Čoñ Näğmä of different muqams but performed with different texts. At one point Ömär Akhun claimed to know them well, just as Turdi Akhun had. He described their loss as resulting from people not asking Turdi Akhun to perform them. He told me that some teachers at the Art College asked whether the *Ab-i čäšmä* really existed, and he had reassured them that they did.

They said, 'People say this *Awu čäšmä* exists but we traveled around Xinjiang four or five times and have not found it.'

I laughed and said, 'It exists, it exists.'

'No, there is nothing, since Turdi Akhun did not play it, and no one knows it.'

I said, 'I will play it one day, I will play *Awu čäšmä*.'

'No, it has been thirty or forty years and we have not been able to find it anywhere.'

But the president of the school himself, Ghazi Ämät, laughed and said, 'Since no one asked Ömär Akhun or Turdi Akhun, they did

[195] *Ab-i čäšmä,* which Ömär Akhun pronounced *Awu čäšmä,* means 'spring water, water of the eyes, tears.' During and Trebinjac (1991: 30) interpret this name to mean 'the water of the eyes' and point out that each ghazal in the *Ab-i čäšmä* evokes a theme of tears. I do not find tears significantly more common as a topic in these verses. Like eyes and roses, they are common in these poems, but they are common images in much of this poetry.

> not play it. They can play it. Ömär Akhun learned the *Awu čäšmä* that Turdi Akhun played.'
>
> And Ghazi Ämät could play it on the rawap. He was very good.

But Ömär Akhun was apparently working on editing the *Ab-i čäšmä* pieces and had not yet finished. He wanted to expand those that were already known:

> In my opinion, for each muqam there should be an *Awu čäšmä*. It is one of the branches. There should be one, since there is the name. A performer named Qasim Akhun Ustam made them into a branch. After the *täzä* and the *nusχa*, the *Awu čäšmä* should follow. That's how he did it, but that is not how we do it.

The muqam system depended on the *Ab-i čäšmä* to be complete. Ömär Akhun made cosmological analogies to explain the Twelve Muqams and the *Ab-i čäšmä*: 'The twelve muqams are like the twelve stars that come out, the very big stars. The Padishahs of the twelve brightest stars are the Twelve Muqams. Twelve springs [*bulaq*], or *čäšmä*, they say. In Persian and Arabic, human eyes are called *čäšmä*. This muqam called *Awu čäšmä* is the summary [*χulase*] of the muqams.' Both he and Qawul Akhun were interested in this project of reconstructing the *Ab-i čäšmä* and speculated about them at some length when I talked to them together.

The pieces known as Šahzadä ['prince'] were also alternate muqam forms that were shorter (four to eight couplets instead of twelve to twenty), livelier and higher pitched versions of *muqam beši* songs, oriented toward youths. Ömär Akhun said of them, 'The Šahzadä is considered the most beautiful words, the harmonious, beautiful, high-quality lyrics [*zil čiraylik süpätlik digän gäp*].' When we discussed the present canonical versions of the muqams and the way he had taught them, Ömär Akhun again described these alternate versions:

> I taught Sigah and Iraq, but they [the canonizing scholars and musicians] did not accept how I played them. And then there is *Awu čäšmä*, which those performers did not know and did not sing. And the Šahzadä Rak I learned when I went someplace in 1936 and learned from one or two old men [*boway*] who performed it [*ilan qil-*]. They [the canonizers] asked me what it was, and I said it is found in Kashgar, but not in other places. I learned it and played it. People did not know it and did not play it in other places besides Kashgar.

Turdi Akhun performed Šahzadä versions of the *muqäddimä* in Rak, Uššaq, and Mušavräk muqams, whereas Ömär Akhun played a Šahzadä version only of Rak muqam.[196] This was one reason he counted thirteen or fourteen

[196] Ömär called the muqam Räğ, which he said meant 'gold.' Rak, he said, was a mispronunciation and actually meant 'cancer.' Likewise, he did not accept the pronunciation Čargah, but

muqams, not twelve. He explained, 'There are thirteen muqams altogether, the Čoñ Näğmä. The muqams, the Čoñ Näğmä, *jula*, *sänäm*, *kičik säliqä*, *čoñ säliqä*, all have songs. And with the Šahzadä Rak there are thirteen.' I asked him whether the Šahzadä was a single muqam or a type of muqam and he replied, 'It is similar to this Rak muqam in some [*piški*] places and different in some places. In the *muqäddimä*, the beginning is the same but the end is different.'

One of Ömär Akhun's greatest concerns was to sustain the tradition of performing for small groups. Only there could a performer bring together music and song texts that would evoke emotion and understanding from the audience. In Ömär's terms, this would make the songs ripe, complete, tasty, and sweet, and it could not be done without cultivating feeling in performers, avoiding large groups of listeners or musicians, and selecting the pieces so that they would hold the attention of the audience. For him, sound and feeling would arise from fully developing the notes and deep listening. Although things could be made livelier and shorter for young people with brief attention spans and little feeling for the music, the ideal was to play for older people who could sink into the music and listen all night.

In discussing what had been changed in the present canon, I asked, 'So the Čäbbiyat, Čargah, Uššaq, Özhal, and Pänjigah are all basically correct?'

He said, 'Yes, they are correct.'

'But the texts have been changed a little?' I continued.

'Yes, the text has changed a bit, a little bit. Either they took out one word from this one, or they shortened that one. [They are] basically the same, except for being played in front of several thousand people. It should be only four or five people listening. If it is more people, their attention cannot be held. If they are old, they will sit all night and appreciate the slow places. The young ones drink alcohol and listen to a tape recorder. It is not polite [*ädäplik*].'

Elsewhere Ömär Akhun altered this statement slightly to say that it was the Rak, Čäbbiyat, Uššaq, Mušavräk, and Pänjigah muqams that had not been changed from the Kashgar versions that he and Turdi Akhun had performed. He said he had taught students Rak, Čäbbiyat, Čargah, Mušavräk, Pänjigah, and Uššaq. Özhal, Nava, and Sigah were taught elsewhere and, along with Bayat, Äjäm, and Iraq, had been changed. Many of the songs had been replaced with local versions from other parts of Xinjiang, particularly with pieces from the Ili muqams. But he pointed to a few changes as well in the ones he had taught, especially Čargah, which he said had been the most

called it Čiğah. I have not tried to preserve his pronunciation in translating his comments but use the spellings of written Uyghur.

important among the twelve muqams. He told me that Pänjigah now was performed the way Abliz Shakir performed it, but it was still correct.

5.5 The Aesthetics of Muqam Sound

According to Ömär Akhun, a small audience better appreciates music that the muqam performer chooses to play. The sound is easier to hear. In a large stage performance involving a chorus and many musicians, the words and music become unclear.

As Ömär Akhun put it, 'If only two people play at once it is clear. If there are ten people like they have now, they cannot be understood, the music [*saz*] is confused. One or two people, one performing the music, and one performing the song, is clear and good.' According to him, the older instruments, *satar, dutar*, and *qalun*, were quieter and subtler, whereas those that had been 'modernized' and were newly included in muqam ensembles – the *ğejäk, rawap, surnay*, and *näy* – Ömär felt were too loud and coarse [*yirik*]. These coarser instruments were not appreciated as much in urban music. Ömär said, 'Before Liberation (1949) we did not play the näy except in the countryside.'

For Ömär Akhun and other muqamčis a good performance should create a *muñluq* sound, a sound that expresses a pensive sorrow or melancholia and evokes a corresponding response in the listener. Although no one made this explicit, the concept of *muñ* seems to suggest that suffering enriches life, and to reflect Sufi ideas about suffering as an important aspect of one's relationship to God. After a discussion in which Ömär pointed out that the '*muñ* will not come out' if the satar is not tuned properly for each of the muqams, I asked him, 'How do you make *muñ* come out in the muqams?' He responded:

> If one does not have the *muñ* in the heart [*dil*], from the heart [*yüräk*], the hand cannot make the *muñ* come out. The *muñ* will remain crude [*qopal*]. In the past, masters would practice for many years and then would be able to play in public [*čoñ yär*]. If they could not make the *muñ* come out in the music, the people would not cry, it would not reach their heart.
>
> And it is the same in the song words. If one cannot make the words full of *muñ*, they will be seen as crude. If the words fit the *muñ* of the muqam itself, then it is very beautiful.

The essence of good muqam performance is *muñ*. *Muñ* arises from deep emotions, musical skill, long practice, and powerful words performed for a responsive and sensitive audience. As in his discussion of personal repertoire and ethnic music, Ömär suggests that muqamčis practice not merely to reproduce traditional musical sound and lyrics but to perfect their skill in

making music to which suitably attuned audiences will respond, and to create a repertoire of lyrics that fit the music they create.

The satar is a particularly flexible instrument for getting *muñluq* sound. It is tuned by tuning the eleven or thirteen sympathetic strings that run under the two main strings. These sympathetic strings help the player play the correct pitches for each muqam scale, and they enrich the sound of these pitches. Ömär explained: 'If the satar is not tuned the sound is not good. Tuning is the first thing. The satar is not a ğejäk, not a tämbur, not a dutar. Those play everything the same. Those cannot make *muñ* come out. If I do not tune the satar for each muqam *bäyt* then it will not have *muñ*. It will be left without *muñ* so I tune it five or six ways.'

Although he does not make the parallel explicit, Ömär Akhun's description of the satar tuned so that the sympathetic strings respond to the note being played recalls the idea of *muñ* itself as an expressive emotional sound that calls for audience response: 'I play the main strings, and the rest go *uuuuu*, each note's string has its own tone [*šivä*], right? I tune each note, and it calls out [*qišqar*-] in response and helps the note. The strings on the satar are tuned according to each note. When you press on top of each fret it makes a *muuuu* sound and calls to the string. The string makes a sound.'

The chromatic scales of Western music that have been adopted for institutional teaching and ensemble performance playing on the 'improved' and 'modernized' instruments do not offer the satar's flexibility and expressiveness:

> The new instruments such as tämbur, ğejäk, and χuštar have one kind of tuning [*pädä*]. They do not sound good. They have no sweetness [*mäzzilik*], no flavor [*puraq*], no beautiful [*čiraylik*] places. They just play the music straight.
>
> The way the muqams were played before, the flavor was made to come out. Each muqam had its own taste that came out in its individual tones [*šivä*]. Rak is a good example of this. It is completely different. Parts of it use Hanzu [Han Chinese] tunes.
>
> Every muqam has its own characteristics. If one does not follow these characteristics, they are all lumped together [*uyu*]. Čäbbiyat is also like that. It is separate. Čäbbiyat is similar to Äjäm in two places. Nava is a little like Čargah muqam. Nava is played with a few parts from Čargah. But Čargah is separate, has its own accents; its scale [*küy*] is different. If the scale is not found, it will all sound the same, [laughs] all the same.
>
> If someone does not know the muqams, they will play four or five all alike. All will become the same. But it should be listened to many times, and then it will be better.

This discussion makes it clear that Ömär Akhun understands each muqam as based in a particular modal organization: the music cannot be produced properly without the correct tuning of the satar.

5.6 Other Views on the Muqam Scales and Modes

The muqam tunings are complex. Because a central issue in the modernization effort is the establishment of consistent modal systems for use by all performers, it is worth reviewing some perspectives on this topic. Qawul Akhun described his father as using only two tunings: *naläš pädä* for Özhal, Sigah, and Iraq muqams, and *očuq pädä* for Čäbbiyat, Nava, Uššaq, Bayat, Čargah, and Äjäm muqams (I did not ask specifically which tunings Turdi Akhun played for the other muqams). But he pointed out that the tunings were personal to each muqam performer, and he acknowledged that Ömär Akhun's tunings were distinctive. At one point Ömär Akhun said there were three tunings, but more often he described five. He explained that Nava is tuned like Uššaq except for two strings, whereas Čargah has two strings changed from Uššaq to *yarim pädä* or *nim pädä* (both mean 'half fret') or *čäräk* ('quarter'), which means an interval that includes a quarter tone, such as a neutral second (three quarter tone, 150 cents).[197] Özhal, Mušavräk, and Pänjigah muqams are tuned alike.

The French ethnomusicologists Sabine Trebinjac and Jean During (1991) make an effort to resolve the different modes, scales, and intervals for the muqams that Trebinjac recorded during her research in Xinjiang. None is exactly the same, but During and Trebinjac find a sequence of similarity linking the basic modes of Rak, Čäbbiyat, Äjäm, Pänjigah, and Bayat. Another sequence links Čargah, Nava, and Uššaq. Mušavräk and Iraq are distinct from all the others. Özhal and Sigah are similar to one another. Even though During and Trebinjac (1991: 22; Trebinjac 2000: 243) report seeing pictures of instruments with diatonic tunings, in contrast to Ömär Akhun and other scholars they do not feel that the muqam scales include quarter tones, because any microtones they found were not stable parts of the scale.

Shir Mämät also felt that because the quarter tones were not stable, they were not basic to the musical system. On the other hand, Quddus Khojamyarov felt strongly that muqams could be played only using the *čäräk* note, and he praised Zhou Ji for indicating these quarter tones in his transcriptions. Qawul Akhun also argued that these were basic and said that getting them from instruments other than the qalun, satar, and dutar was

[197] There are 1,200 cents in an octave, so 100 in a half tone and 200 in a whole tone on the chromatic scale.

difficult. Other muqam performers that I knew at the Art College also considered it important to get these notes right.

Zhou Ji had done extensive analyses of the songs from Turdi Akhun's versions as well as from the modern versions and was developing a systematic approach to the scales. But at the same time, he acknowledged that the fact that certain notes shifted depending on musical context made many of the intervals ambiguous. He compared this to the Uyghur rhythms, which he believed were intentionally ambiguous as well, because musicians often started a rhythmic piece one beat before the measure started or broke up a measure into two distinct time signatures. Zhou Ji disagreed with During and Trebinjac and Shir Mämät and considered the moving notes and ambiguous rhythms to be key expressive techniques in muqam performance.

Nonetheless, Zhou Ji believed that each muqam and muqam song could be described as having a characteristic mode, although it might change during the course of a song. He tried to reduce the basic modes to the very similar Uššaq, Čargah, and Nava scales, which were related as tonic, dominant, and subdominant of each other and which all contained a neutral third. He felt the Nava could be seen as establishing the basic tetrad of notes with intervals expressed in cents as 250 150 100 or 100 250 150 to derive the other two basic sequences. The intervals of the octave would thus be as follows:

Nava:	250 150 100 250 150 100 200
Uššaq:	100 250 150 100 250 150 200
Čargah 1:	100 250 150 100 200 250 150 or
Čargah 2:	100 250 150 200 100 250 150

He then derived the other muqams from these basic sequences. For instance, the Äjäm muqam scale he analyzed as the Uššaq scale with a shift in the upper tetrad, giving the following intervals:

Äjäm:	100 250 150 100 200 250 150

By breaking the scales down into these basic groups of four notes, Zhou Ji also felt he could show the relationship between the pentatonic, hexatonic, and heptatonic muqams and readily explain changes from one to the other. He also found that other muqams often modulated into these basic modes during a song. For instance, Mušavräk muqam began in its own characteristic mode but then moved through Uššaq, Čargah, and Nava modes before returning to Mušavräk. But reducing the differences between players to Zhou Ji's system was difficult. He admitted that he was describing the tunings as they existed in the modernized repertoire and that Turdi Akhun's was actually rather different.

Clearly, traditional muqam performers had a wide tolerance for different tunings [*pädä*]. The tunings that Ömär Akhun used were the ones he

thought sounded best for each muqam. His concern with sound quality was foremost, and he learned or created the tunings that were optimum for the sound he wanted. As we will see, the tunings of the muqams were related to the küy [scales or modes] which could change in the middle of a song.

Muqam complexities resist easy analysis. Trebinjac (2000: 242) argues, 'Uyghurs do not perceive the muqams as modal categories nor do musicians advance a distinctive modal logic for the muqams.' She seems to be refining an earlier assertion that the muqams were not actually organized according to modes (Trebinjac and During 1991), to allow for modal organization that performers do not acknowledge. According to experienced performers and Zhou Ji's analysis, the muqams are based in tunings that can be considered modes and then some muqam tunes modulate away from these basic modes. The problem for music theorists is that performers' express their understandings in terms of tunings, which distracts from the more theoretical concept of sequences of intervals that characterize a mode. Even more difficult for any standardized concept of the muqams is that performers do not share the same tunings, but refine them to suit their own tastes. To create an emic model of the muqams one should avoid trying to decide if they are conceived as modes or not, and investigate instead the ideas and practices of performers.

Some muqams, such as Uššaq, Nava, and Čargah, remain within one tuning [pädä] and scale [küy], while other songs shift from one scale structure to another, although the tuning remains the same within the muqam. Current performers may learn only the revised muqams that have been transposed to a chromatic scale, although with the annotations to indicate the quarter tones, and hence the different tunings and shifts of scale are not as noticeable. But traditional performers such as Ömär Akhun are clearly aware that the structure of the scale is very important. And Mū'jiz's work shows that the muqams were conceived of as musical structures (scales or modes) that served as foundations for compositions, thus suggesting that at least through the nineteenth century the idea of a muqam as a mode within which one could play a variety of melodies was still current.

Despite the systematizing efforts of Zhou Ji, the muqams are not equivalent to or defined only by modes, but according to Ömär Akhun and Qawul Akhun, each muqam does have a characteristic tuning, at least for a particular performer, and the changes from one scale to another within that tuning are part of the musical structure as well. Smooth changes [*özgiriš*] in rhythm [*udar*] and küy [scale or mode] are valued parts of the muqam aesthetic and relate to the idea that the whole muqam suite should be played without stopping. In conversations with both of them, they explained these

changes and discussed whether they undermined the original organization of the music.

Qawul commented, 'There are küy changes in Pänjigah and in Mušavräk. In Özhal there are more. In singing the Özhal *täzä*, there are three couplets in Özhal's küy, its own küy, but then on the fourth couplet the küy changes. We change it and sing six couplets. Then the seventh couplet is another one, and it changes again. But in Nava it is not so. We begin Nava in one küy, and to the end of the Mäšräp, it does not change.'

Ömär pointed out, 'Čigah is like that, in one küy.'

Qawul answered, stressing his differing pronunciation of the name. 'Yes, *Čargah* is like that. It goes completely in one küy. But in other muqams, halfway through the *täzä*, the küy changes.'

Qawul then moved on to discuss the rhythms. 'And there are places that the rhythm changes as well. For instance, in the second *nusχa* of Pänjigah: *taq-taqañ-dum dum dum-taq-taq taq-taqañ-dum dum dum-taq-taq*. One rhythm goes like that. But then that song changes to this: *taq-taqañ-qañ-taq ketaq taq taq-taq-qa qañ ketaq taq*.'

Qawul felt this was a problem. 'I think these changes should not have been like that originally.'

Ömär agreed, 'It should not have been.'

Qawul went on, 'It should not have been, because in some muqams now it is not like that. In Uššaq we do not find instances of this; the küy in Uššaq does not change. And in Nava it does not change. In Čargah it does not change.'

Ömär continued the analysis, 'And Čäbbiyat does not change.'

Qawul repeated, 'And in Čäbbiyat it does not change. But in Rak, in the *jula* and *sänäm* of Rak, the küy changes.'

Later Qawul Akhun also mentioned the case of the *täzä* in one muqam that has sixteen changes of rhythm, although it is more common for a *täzä* to have only seven or nine.

Whereas Qawul was concerned that the numerous changes might be distortions of the original forms, Ömär Akhun later told me that the problem was not the changes but whether they were smoothly integrated into the song.

I asked Ömär about the texts that should be used in the *täzä*, *jula*, and *sänäm*, and he began to discuss the changes in these songs. 'For those songs one should use *bäyt*s one has put in place oneself. We say *täkit*, *sänäm*, *säliqä*. These all have changes. After one change there is another.'

I asked, 'What changes?'

He replied, 'The melody [*ahañ*, apparently meaning the küy or scale of the tune] changes. Inside the piece we call *täzä*, the melody goes through several changes. In those that are raw the changes can be counted.'

He contrasted these abrupt transitions with those in the Uššaq *täzä*. 'In the course of the Uššaq *täzä* the places that change cannot be counted. Little by little it keeps changing. They are tied together [*tügüčlük*], making more than ten changes, right? All one tune.

Although a well-constructed muqam song can change rhythm and küy without being too noticeable about it, Ömär Akhun was concerned that there were too many changes now that the muqams were being edited into longer forms that included the Dastan and Mäšräp sections.

He told me, 'If you want to make those changes, performing them will take more than a day. It will take a whole month if there are so many changes, so many strands [*qil*] in all the muqams. In my opinion fewer changes in the tunes would be better. Didn't Qawul Akhun say the other day: 'If we increase the changes, there will end up being several million'?

I asked him about changes within the same *bäyt*.

'Oh, as far as a *bäyt* is concerned, whether eight couplets or ten couplets, there can be several changes in a *bäyt*. In *jula* there is a change, in *sänäm* there is a change, in the *čoñ säliqä* there is a change. There are these sorts of changes.'

In order that the transitions from one part or branch to another within a muqam not confuse the audience, Ömär Akhun felt that the muqams should be explained during performance. He objected to the radio station's broadcasting the taped muqams without announcing the names of the branches. He said that he tells the names of the parts when he performs so that people understand when the tune changes from one song to another.

Ömär Akhun clearly saw the changes as an important part of the muqams, but a muqam song was properly ripe only when the changes within a branch were imperceptible to the audience. Like the tunings, they were one of the subtleties that must be refined through long practice to make the songs sound good.

On the other hand, Qawul Akhun found that the changes made the muqams more complex, and to him they suggested that there had been distortion or loss of the original forms. Although Ömär sounded as if he agreed with Qawul, his later description makes it clear that he did not see them as a problem.

When Ömär Akhun described the skills that had to be developed to perform a muqam properly, he included tuning and performance style:

> One must know correctly where to fret for each note. There are four fingers right? The akhun [performer] must know where to put the four

> fingers on the fifteen frets. That is good. So, the tuning [*pädä*] is first, the frets [*besiš*] are second, the method for holding the bow [*kaman*] is third, it is very important. If you flail around like this it will not do. It must be slow and steady.
>
> The tune is a river [*därya*], a large stream [*östäñ*]. Like water it should be made to flow some places slowly and some places fast. Some places we go quickly, some places slowly slowly slowly slowly [*toqtap toqtap toqtap toqtap*].

Ömär Akhun felt that slow and controlled sound was essential to good performance on the satar. He criticized the modernized songs that were shortened and played faster. Although he thought his apprentice Osman was one of the best singers of muqams, he still criticized his performances. When I played a tape of Osman's singing, Ömär said, 'It is all right, but should be slower, more stretched out.' He gestured to indicate stretching the song. Then he sang quickly, as on the tape, and then more slowly, to show the difference. 'It should be slower, more smooth [*iχtiyar* 'free'].' He demonstrated the two ways of singing again. 'Like that, that is smooth. *Iχtiyar* means steady [*muqim*], pretty. I taught them that, but they do not play it the same.'

He discussed the parts left out of the version of Čäbbiyat muqam performed by Osman, suggesting that either he had forgotten them or they were too difficult for him. Then he returned to the issue of the faster singing. He sang the same passage in short notes and then more drawn out ones and asked me if I heard the difference. Then he explained, 'Calling it *iχtiyar* means that the notes are brought together, connected.' He gestured with his hands to show how the notes should slide one into the other. 'If one sings like that it is good, it is fully long. If it is not stretched out, it will not do.'

He expanded on the problems of not connecting the notes when talking about the choral performance of other parts of the muqam. 'They do not perform it as they learned it. One or two learned it and the rest just follow them. It is chopped up. The words are not stretched out but made into little bits.' He made a cutting motion with his hand.

The smooth sequence of notes in a muqam song is similar to the smooth changes in rhythm and küy described earlier. The modulations or changes of küy seem to be less a loss of underlying organization than an increase in complexity, which can add to the aesthetic appeal but makes the underlying logic more difficult to grasp. The modernizers seem to have tried to reduce the changes in küy and rhythm just as they have eliminated the texts pieced together from multiple ghazals. They appear to feel that a canonical form should be consistent and complete, and a ghazal, rhythm, or

küy should be fully developed before changing to another. Constantly changing musical structures do not fit their ideal of a stable, orderly canon.

5.7 Only Rabbit Meat Remains

Ömär Akhun had a clear and critical understanding of the political forces at work in the institutionalizing of the Twelve Muqams. He saw his conversations with me as one way to remedy his powerlessness against the people who had taken over his tradition. He took many opportunities to validate his knowledge and authority as an expert muqam performer and to describe the ways people with institutional power had taken advantage of his skills while ignoring his ideas and opinions.

One indication Ömär often mentioned as proof of his rejection by the establishment was that most of his children had been unable to find jobs in government or state-run offices, and he was forced to support them on his meager pension of around 200 yuan per month (20–30 US dollars). In contrast, most of the other musicians with whom I talked described their success in terms of the good jobs their children had around the city. These performers and teachers were professionals who helped reinforce state ideology, and it was expected that the state should reward such service by helping their families. Ömär Akhun's outspoken resistance to state ideology earned him little help from bureaucrats.

Throughout our discussions, Ömär Akhun emphasized that his knowledge was far more extensive than that of the many scholars and politicians who were making decisions about how to manage the modern muqams. He strongly criticized the hierarchical organization of cultural knowledge that dominated in Ürümchi, and he understood traditional learning to be more valuable than scholarly research.

Apprenticeship and long-term development of mastery were common in many aspects of traditional Uyghur skills and crafts. The primary authorities on a particular art or performance tradition were the craftspeople and performers themselves. Audiences, patrons, and religious authorities could have input but not control. Even in Ürümchi I met boys who began apprenticeships in skills such as goldsmithing as early as age twelve because the high rate of unemployment meant their parents did not see school as a way to learn a useful trade.

Ömär Akhun did not doubt his own authority and skills, but after encountering the new cultural institutions in which trained experts and politicians could intervene in his muqam tradition, he learned some of their methods and discourses in order to legitimate his knowledge of the muqams. He used the term *research* (*tätqiqat*) to describe how he gained his broad knowledge of the muqams. He criticized as dabblers the many scholars who put

too little time into understanding the muqams. 'For thirty years, not one or two, I carried on that research, not staying in the village but going hundreds of places. And going everywhere I learned all of Xinjiang's songs. Those that others have changed I myself know. I learned all the songs of Kashgar.'

Nonetheless, he recognized the value of written and electronic records of tradition. He had dealt with many people doing such research and recordings and felt he had not been properly treated by them. He frequently told me that he had made a recording at a radio station in Ili but that they had never paid him as promised. However, he was still willing to give me the benefit of the doubt as a researcher because he knew there could be benefits. He told me, 'Someone like you, doing research is good. And such people have come. And I did such work myself. I both collected and performed.'

Ömär occasionally pointed to his illiteracy as a handicap. But he also knew that those who could read could not really play music properly, because they tended to use written notes and texts as a crutch. He compared this to the blind Qur'ān reciters who preserved the text that others could not memorize so eventually had to have scribes write down. In his view, writing was important for recording poetry and preserving the results of good research. Writing was part of the division of labor that made it possible to perform a tradition well and transmit it widely:

> This is important, this research you are doing. The muqams are something for the whole world. When God made man – animals, the heavens and the earth, and finally man – at that time there was nothing. No place, even in America, did people know their mother tongue. No one had anything to say. All of us, as a group [*äträt*], got our words from Adam.
>
> Later we composed our own songs. It made a difference if they were good or bad. The good ones were spread around, repeated [*köpäytip*], made more beautiful and written down. If you do not write it in books, how will it last for some five hundred or four hundred years? It all has to be written. Then it will not vanish. That which poets write now, in five or ten years it is gone. It vanishes [*tozip kättidu*].

But written records and media were also a threat because they could replace knowledge of how to perform a tradition. Ömär Akhun hoped he would be able to work with me for a longer time in order to talk about and demonstrate his tradition in more detail.

When researchers and reporters came to ask questions about his songs, music, and tunings, Ömär Akhun often felt used. When they came asking for his help, taking notes, and then leaving after a single afternoon, he thought they would never really know much about his art. They would have only his

words. He felt he was being replaced by a testament [*väsiyät*] while he was still alive.

He described to me how he felt about these researchers: 'I have lived here in person for many years, but they will just tell about how I did this and how I did that, just as if when there is no more meat to sell, they sell lungs. Like saying, 'Oh, madam, this meat is very good,' when there is nothing but rabbit left. That is how that sort of talk feels in my heart.'

Many of Ömär Akhun's stories reflected his resentment at being mistreated by the officials, scholars, and modern musicians who had taken over his tradition but had asked for his input into their work. He felt that his improvements and replacements for Turdi Akhun's repertoire had been ignored. The recordings he had made in Ili had apparently disappeared, so people did not use his additions.

Ömär agreed with modern scholars that the songs should be made complete and integrated into an orderly whole. He said that each of the twelve, thirteen, or fourteen muqams should have all the branches. Ideally, there would be thirty branches to each muqam, so that the total would be 360 for the Twelve Muqams. Turdi Akhun had performed 340 or so, and Ömär Akhun had provided the missing ones, as well as extending some of the existing ones. But instead the editors had chosen to select muqams from other regional traditions, especially from Ili, and rejected using exclusively songs of Kashgar origin for the complete Twelve Muqams. According to Ömär Akhun, the regional variants should not be mixed with the muqams of Kashgar. They were said to be the same because they were Uyghur, but it was the language that was the same, whereas the tunes were different. 'Toqsun, Turpan, Khotan, Yarkand, all are different. Only Kashgar is the pure, central, and stable form.'

Ömär Akhun was shocked when, in 1991, Chairman Tömür Dawamat announced after a performance in Ili that the team of editors had finished revising the muqams:

> The new chairman, Tömür, announced in 1991, 'We will spread the Uyghur people's muqams to the world. The muqams, the Twelve Muqams are complete. I cannot say that I did this by myself. In our time, in 1991, we completed them, our comrades completed them well. So I decided to have a great *mäjlis* in Khotän next year.'
>
> Tsk-tsk. He did wrong. He did not ask me, 'Master, you are a muqamči, what is your opinion, is this finished or not?' These young people did not understand the muqams they edited. Because they did not understand, when they announced this, I sent an opinion to Beijing.
>
> I wrote, 'Our chairman has announced that these Twelve Muqams are complete. But they are still incomplete. He did not ask the

> people who can complete them. Even though he does not understand the muqams, he told the common people [*töwändiki*] that these are complete, and they believe him. But they have not been introduced to the proper muqams. The muqams have a long history. They belong to the people of the whole world.' That is what I wrote to Beijing.

A major point of contention was how the muqams should be finished. Ömär Akhun offered to fill in the gaps and complete the muqams, and told me that Säypidin Äziz told the editors that they should rely on Ömär Akhun's songs. This apparently happened several times, most recently after the former chairman, who lived in Beijing, came to Xinjiang after Ömär Akhun sent the letter just described. Ömär Akhun reported the announcement Säypidin made to a large gathering at the time:

> Säypidin said, 'This man has gotten old. He has lived a long time. We need to quickly write down the notes to the missing songs. You were not able to write it down before. Make the texts appropriate. The texts he sings are many. Put in appropriate song texts from those suitable for the times. Not those purely about love. Singing only 'your beautiful brows, your beautiful eyes' would be a little unripe [*čürüš*]. Happy texts that are only for enjoyment will not do.' He gave that order.

Säypidin persuaded Ömär Akhun that he appreciated his muqam tradition. It is difficult to imagine how he could make this announcement and then allow Ömär Akhun's muqams to continue to be so neglected, but it is of course hard to know what was really said and what was intended. Perhaps Säypidin was only making a show of being optimistic and advocating the preservation of Ömär's muqams until political conditions allowed state sponsorship of religious art.

Ömär Akhun criticized the scholars who had come to ask him questions and record his performances, but he did not have the capacity to finish writing adequate studies. And he thought that people paid too little attention to the studies that had been written. He thought the lack of international recognition for the work that had been done was a problem. 'There was someone who worked alone for thirty years and published a book on the muqams. After this book came out, there was no international appreciation [*hörmät*]. That is not good.'

He criticized inadequate performers, such as students of his who could play well but never learned the tunings, so he always had to tune the satar for them. Others could only read notes and had not learned the muqams by ear. He reserved even harsher criticism for well known performers who did not respect his tradition or play the muqams on the tämbur, the characteristic instrument for Ili muqams.

I asked him, 'Which muqams are still incomplete? Are Bayat and Sigah still incomplete?' Ömär replied:

> The sequence [*qil*, 'thread'] of Sigah is different from mine, it is from Ghulja [Ili]. When I taught mine, they did not study it. The Nava *muqäddimä* is different from mine. The whole thing has been taught differently. It is an Ili muqam. The muqams from Kashgar, those of Turdi Akhun and myself, are Čäbbiyat one, Uššaq two, Rak three, Mušavräk four, Pänjigah five, Özhal six. But they also changed Özhal, changed the beginning.
>
> The four or five missing muqams they went around looking for. Sniffing. One of the ones sniffing was Hüsänjan Jami. Have you seen him? He is from Ghulja. And since he is from Ghulja he accepts none of our muqams. He does not listen. Whatever I said, he was shamelessly against it.

Ömär Akhun went on to tell of embarrassing Hüsänjan Jami by challenging him to play some muqam songs. He parodied the sound of Hüsänjan's tämbur. 'Tätuñ däduñ dedañ deduñ, hiyit hiit. It should not be like that. And that is how he sings. And that is how all the remaining muqams have been changed. That is not how I play them. I do them as they were originally.'

5.8 Conclusion

Ömär Akhun believes strongly in his authoritative knowledge about the muqams and how they should be performed, and he is unwilling to acquiesce to changes that he does not accept. He values the traditional musical sound and spiritual lyrics and is confident that his mastery of the tradition gives him the authority to criticize those who introduce innovations and modifications that fundamentally alter the muqams. It is difficult to imagine the depth of frustration a traditional performer can feel when he sees his performance tradition taken from him and redefined, given new forms and meanings. He and his colleagues had had only each other as teachers and judges of the tradition. He appreciated the expansion of his audience and the redefinition of this tradition as shared by all Uyghurs. If the state had granted him the right to speak publicly and authoritatively about this tradition, he would have been satisfied, but instead he was relegated to a minor position while others used political and academic authority to change and speak publicly about his tradition. His skills were useful in training performers and many of his ideas challenged the dominant narrative of the muqams, so he remained in the culturally intimate zone offstage, while new ideas about the muqams as symbols of Uyghur identity became dominant.

Ömär was particularly unhappy with the muqams from Ili that were being used to fill gaps in the Kashgar tradition. No one I talked to explicitly

mentioned making the muqams a more inclusive collective tradition and shared symbol around which Uyghurs could unite, but it seems this was one important consideration in revising the muqams. The editors felt justified in using the Ili muqams recorded from Rozi Tämbur and other performers in the 1950s to fill in the gaps in Turdi Akhun's repertoire because historical narratives connected these Ili muqam performers to the artistic lineage of the muqam performers Karušañ Akhunum and Mulla Gayit, who apparently took the muqams from Kashgar to Ili around 1870. Editors such as Qawul Akhun argued that these were the 'same' muqams that were in Kashgar, even though the Ili performers did not play the Čoñ Näğmä. The editors treated the Ili versions of the dastan and mäšräp songs as original to the muqam tradition, and claimed that Turdi Akhun forgot or neglected them (Ärshidinov 1970: 9–10; Äχmidi 1992: 121–125).[198]

The differences between the Kashgar and Ili traditions have been glossed over by those intent on creating a single Twelve Muqam tradition, but as described in chapter 2, many traditions are being revived locally as symbols of cultural distinctiveness within the Uyghur ethnic group. Such local efforts included the indigenous Ili suite of songs, or *yürüš*, that Shir Mämät said he had learned growing up and felt deserved more attention.[199]

Because the muqams are essentially local traditions, they are potentially divisive as they are stitched together into an ethnic-national whole. Individual masters such as Ömär Akhun feel strongly about the integrity of their own tradition. Ömär does not accept the redefinition of tradition through committee and negotiation. He knows his tradition and is willing to have it become the collective Uyghur tradition because he feels his are the muqams of Kashgar, where they were preserved and developed best. But others who knew about the mixing of Kashgar tradition with songs from elsewhere seemed to feel that this restored the muqams to their original integrity. Qawul Akhun described the work of collecting widely and sifting through local muqams and other songs to find those that fit the missing spaces. Researchers sought tunes that matched the scales and rhythms of the muqam songs they needed to replace, and so he felt that their work was as close as one could get to retrieval of the tunes that had been forgotten or lost.

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[198] Qawul Akhun said that Turdi Akhun had learned his dastan songs from Mämät Mulla of Yarkand and Juma Akhun, who were *dastanči.* He described Mämät Mulla as taking the dastans to Ili but not teaching the Čoñ Näğmä there.

[199] Batur Ärshidinov (1987: 11–12, citing *Šinjañ sän'iti* [*qošumčä san*] 1982, 1: 148) lists the twelve songs of the Ili *yürüšläštürülgän χälq naχšiliri* ('connected folk songs'): Östäñ naχšisi; Gülämχan; Oma naχšisi; Koča naχšisi; Kičik χanläylun; Därdiñ yaman; Ah yaräy; Häy-häy nadan; Gül qisqan meniñ yarim; Va, däriχa; Örgüläy; Kičik läylun.

But there was an underlying competition between Kashgar and Ili as two important centers of Uyghur culture. Pride in local traditional music was an important motivation in scholarship and performance, and many musicians learned on instruments that were characteristic of their region, such as the rawap in Kashgar and the tämbur in Ili. The animosity between Ömär Akhun and Hüsänjan Jami seems to have arisen over artistic differences in the muqam traditions they knew best.

Shir Mämät's promotion of the indigenous music traditions of his native Ili region is similar to the work of many scholars on traditional music, especially muqams from their native regions. The publications on Dolan muqams, Qumul muqams, and other local traditions mentioned in chapter 2 are by scholars from those regions and show their interest in preserving and promoting these local forms. One musician from Ili described the Kashgar songs as simpler and those from Ili as more complex. But for many musicians and scholars, local pride was not very important. Most musicians were proud of their conservatory training and their ability to perform multiple local traditions.

Ürümchi was a cosmopolitan center without a strong local Uyghur tradition. Although it was closest to the Uyghur city of Turpan, Turpan did not have the same large population as the Kashgar-Yarkand-Khotan region of southern Xinjiang or the Ili region of northern Xinjiang. Thus Ürümchi served as neutral territory for creating a pan-regional tradition and teaching performers to appreciate and play the music of several regions.

I have dedicated an entire chapter to Ömär Akhun because he is a central figure in the muqam tradition and because he was willing to explain in great detail his understanding of that tradition. Ömär was trying to defend his tradition against those who would modernize it by taking it from his control and establishing a single standard form. He sought to protect his traditional culture against synthesis and mixing, and he wanted access to writing to record it, despite his dynamic and creative practice. Ömär Akhun's efforts to make known his ideas, music, recordings, and compositions seem doomed to failure, however, given the cultural ideologies and technologies that come with the creation of pan-regional Uyghur identity and formal, classical culture within the Chinese state and the international arena.

As Fārābī suggested, it is best to understand the music and the social contexts through discussions with expert performers. And as Ömär Akhun himself pointed out, even if historical texts describe Āmānnisā Khān and Qidīr Khān and cite their poetry, none of their songs has survived in the muqam tradition. Literary and scholarly tradition tends to depend on other written works for authoritative facts and theories. Because Ömär Akhun mastered and works within another tradition, he can criticize the weak un-

derstanding that comes from reliance on writing and recording alone. His knowledge of performance and ability to explain its intricacies are far richer than those of most of those involved in the editing, but the cultural intimacies of religious expression and of performers changing this supposed classical tradition meant that his expertise could not be fully acknowledged.

Chapter 6
Performing, Editing and Publishing the Muqam Songs

The published collections of texts from the Kashgar and Ili versions of the muqams consist of nearly 800 pages from presses in Xinjiang and Kazakhstan.[200] In addition to the Ili and Kashgar versions, I found published texts and discussions of muqams from Kucha, Qarghiliq, Korla, Qumul, Toqsun, Turpan, and the Dolan ethnic group, which lives in Märkit, adding more than a thousand pages of texts.[201] Ömär Akhun was correct when he characterized these local traditions as more popularly oriented in language and music: very few of them include ghazal poems at all. It is clear that Säypidin Äziz and others identified the more elaborate Kashgar and Yarkand muqams as *klassik* (classical) because of the many songs, the kinds of poetry and the wide variety of musical styles.

In addition to the printed collections I have been citing, I was able to obtain copies of three unpublished compilations of texts developed in institutional settings during the editing of the official canon of muqam songs. These texts are mimeographed manuscripts and typescripts that circulated in Ürümchi for teaching and performance purposes between 1981 and 1991. They were edited and printed at the Muqam Research Office (MRO, *Muqam Tätqiqat Išχanisi*), the Xinjiang Muqam Ensemble (ME, *Šinjañ Muqam Ansambili*), and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Opera Troupe Muqam Group (MG, *Šinjañ Uyğur Aptonom Rayonluq Opira Ömigi Muqam Guruppisi*). Except for the 1982 Uššaq muqam from the MRO, which was signed by Ömär Imin, all these edited texts are identified only by the institutions that produced them. But all the MRO editions are in the same hand and probably should be attributed to Ömär Imin. Most of the MRO texts indicate

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[200] These include Ärshidinov 1970 and Barat 1986 for the Kashgar muqams from Turdi Akhun and Ärshidinov 1987 for the Ili version of the muqams.

[201] E.g., Äziz, Isma'il, and Inayitilla 1991: 41–243. *Uyğur χälq sänämliri* (Säypulla and Ömär 1984) includes texts and music for the Sänäm dance songs from these areas, as well as the towns of Artush, Aqsu, Aral, and Aqyar.

the sources for added songs and include references to a large, unpublished collection of texts, probably compiled from fieldwork.

The 2002 DVD recordings (Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002) provide textual subtitles for the songs of this canonical version. These seem to be on their way to becoming the most popularly accessible version, since both the words and music are readily circulated in digital copies. Excerpts from them can be found widely on the internet. I refer to these only occasionally here, because I did my ethnography and textual analyses before the DVDs were produced, and my goal has been to show how the editing and discussions relate to the interim versions. Still another set of texts, based on the Ili tradition, was disseminated during the 1960s, and two people allowed me to copy their manuscript notebooks of those texts. I refer to these as NB1 and NB2 followed by the folio number.

In this and the following chapter I focus on the Kashgar tradition and compare Ömär Akhun's performances with the published texts from Turdi Akhun (Ärshidinov 1970; Barat 1986). I also mention points of similarity and difference between their songs and the Ili repertoire edited and published by Batur Ärshidinov in 1987, the manuscript texts from the 1960s, and the institutionalized canon that was being created and disseminated by the organizations already mentioned. Finally, I compare the performed versions of the texts with published editions of the same poems. Although the analysis is complex, the results give valuable insights into the ways Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun learned, changed, and performed their songs and how the songs were subsequently edited. I show how oral performers work with 'literary' texts. Despite efforts to canonize muqam music and texts in recent decades, writing them down has not put an end to textual variation among different performers and among their performances over time. Even the works of literary scholars and the manuscripts prepared by highly literate copyists show variations similar to those associated with oral transmission. The interaction among different institutional entities creating written muqam texts and modernizing them to exclude religious themes and archaic words has led to ongoing variation.

In addition, the many performers who shorten the songs to fit into time constraints perpetuate muqam variation. Publication of 'official' revised muqam texts and musical transcriptions will not put an end to the changes. Cultural institutions such as the Muqam Ensemble and the Muqam Group of the Xinjiang Opera Troupe may establish fixed versions of the muqams, but many performers work outside of these institutions and negotiate what they will perform with their colleagues rather than within hierarchical organizations. There is no way to enforce a particular performance style or canon of poetry and music, except through the control of what is broadcast on radio

and television, because these are government supported and officially restricted to nonreligious materials.

Despite the transition from the orally transmitted muqams of traditional performers to the textual versions transmitted within professional institutions, the many versions that have been created during the editing process, and the availability of many other texts in written and oral circulation, will allow the creative process to continue. The official Uyghur Twelve Muqams that are being created through editing and reorganization of recorded materials will be available as a collective Uyghur political and cultural symbol but will also continue to be one of many sources for the tradition that performers can adapt in a variety of ways.

In the preceding chapter, Ömär Akhun described the changes in performer training and ideas about the tradition. Performers in the officially sanctioned and institutionally presented muqam tradition do not have Ömär Akhun's and Turdi Akhun's skills in using the poetic 'texts' to compose during performance. Nonetheless, like Heytäm in chapter 2, many popular artists continue to perform muqams at weddings and other celebrations outside the large urban theaters. More fieldwork must be done to explore what performers are doing with the different traditions and how they use the new canonized versions of the Twelve Muqams.

6.1 Rescuing and Publishing the Muqam Texts

I was unable to see the texts of the songs that Turdi Akhun had been recorded performing. Although I talked with his son Qawul Akhun at some length over the course of several months, he felt that the original texts were sensitive and he could not let me see them. He mentioned that a Japanese researcher whom he had allowed to listen to tapes of Turdi Akhun had made surreptitious recordings, and this had caused problems when people found out. Qawul did let me listen to much of Turdi Akhun's Uššaq muqam on tape, but the recording quality was too poor for me to make out more than a few words.

Several people suggested that some of the traditional texts that Turdi Akhun sang may have been entirely in Persian, and this was one reason the muqam editors were uncomfortable about letting them be recorded or seen. I asked Ömär Akhun about this, saying, 'I have heard that they sang some muqam songs in pure Persian.' He replied, 'That I did, between Arabic and Persian, I combined them and performed it as *muzakkir* [remembrance of God]. I said the other day that one thousand and some hundreds of years ago, in the fifth or sixth century, the muqam songs were edited.' He explained to me that the songs were originally in Arabic and Persian and were the sources

of Uyghur songs, but then the languages changed, although those languages could still be used in *muzakkir*.

But I cannot be sure why Turdi Akhun's texts were disturbing, because I never saw the original transcriptions. Turdi Akhun's original texts have not been officially published, so none of the present scholars analyzes them in print or describes the differences between them and the revised texts. However, the editions of Qurban Barat and Batur Ärshidinov seem to reflect Turdi Akhun's performances fairly accurately, although it remains possible that certain songs were left out or changed.

Qawul Akhun said that Qurban Barat's texts matched the songs that had been put on the ten phonograph recordings that Turdi Akhun made in 1955, which were published in a limited edition. Säypidin Äziz had one, the Xinjiang Radio and Television Station had another, one was in the Muqam Research Office, and the Xinjiang Party Secretary, Wang Enmao, had another. The phonograph recordings apparently also matched the music that Wan Tongshu had transcribed in the 1960 publication (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu Wenhuating 1960). But Qawul indicated that the phonograph recordings did not contain his father's full repertoire, because Turdi Akhun had played only sixteen hours of music for these recordings, as opposed the twenty-four hours that had been on the tape recordings. The line numbers on the texts in Qurban Barat's edition of the muqams match the numbers in Wan Tongshu's transcriptions, indicating that they had been intended to be published and used together.

I knew that Qurban Barat's edition was not officially approved, but I had conflicting accounts of the origins of his texts. I wanted to talk to him because he was the one person who was not holding the texts back as if a dreadful secret were hidden in them. Finding Qurban was one of my most fortunate and pleasurable experiences during my work in Ürümchi. Starting from the advice of a friend of a friend who knew roughly where he lived, I tracked Qurban down at his home near Xinjiang University. He welcomed me into his home, and before we even had a chance to talk, he went shopping to make *qazan kawap* (fried kabob) for me.

Qurban told me about his poetry. He had just received the proofs of a major collection back from the press and was happy to see that it would be out soon. He described how he had experimented with European poetic styles. Borrowing ideas from the Romantic poets, he had written an epic poem about the Uyghurs' shamanist origins. He told me that his poem about the Tarim River was Symbolist. He was particularly proud of his description in this poem of the Tarim River descending from the Pamir and Tängri Tagh (Tian Shan, Heavenly Mountains) into the Tarim Basin and losing itself in the sand. He felt that the Tarim River was isolated from the oceans of the

world just as the Uyghurs were cut off from other societies by mountains and deserts. But despite this present isolation, Qurban believed that Uyghur cultural history had international importance. Like others I talked to, he mentioned that Lewis Henry Morgan had identified the Tarim basin as 'the golden key to Aryan origins.'

Like many other Uyghurs, Qurban was fascinated by Uyghur physical diversity. He cited early historical sources reporting that the Uyghurs were descended from three people: one had blond hair and blue eyes, one had brown hair and brown eyes, and one had black hair and black eyes. Despite their apparent geographical isolation, the physical diversity of the Uyghurs suggested that they had diverse historical origins, in contrast to the more physically homogeneous Chinese. Uyghurs (as well as a number of Americans) have been intrigued for some years by the possible European connections of corpses found in tombs in Xinjiang.[202]

Qurban Barat told me that his publication of the muqam texts was based on a handwritten copy he had made from a transcription of Turdi Akhun's verses that was published in 1964 in a thousand copies but never circulated. He had buried this notebook along with other books during the Cultural Revolution to protect them from Red Guards, who were burning books as part of their attempt to eliminate traditional and local cultural practices and knowledge. The entire 1964 print run of the transcription was apparently burned. Qurban proudly described publishing 30,000 copies of this text in 1986 and taking several boxes of them down to his native Artush. He said that he had distributed them in villages because the government would never look for books in farmhouses, but the farmers would respect them and protect them even if they could not read them. He had done all this because he wanted to be sure that no one could find them and burn them again.

But Qurban Barat also suspected that the version he published was not the complete texts of the muqams, because when he was young, in the 1950s, he went with his father to Yarkand. They had been stuck there for several weeks when the authorities quarantined the area during a cholera

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[202] One corpse in particular was already popular in 1993 among Uyghurs, who were calling her the 'beauty of Kroraina' (*Kirurän güzäli*). A *National Geographic* article about these corpses was subtitled 'Mummies with Caucasian features recall a culture that thrived in Xinjiang 3,000 years ago' (Allen 1996). This mixing of physical features and cultural characteristics demonstrates how the ambiguous categories of Indo-European, Aryan, and Caucasian are conflated in popular representations. Sinologist Victor Mair organized a research project investigating European-Xinjiang connections using cultural materials buried with these corpses, but it was dramatized in a NOVA-WGBH documentary (Reid 1998) along the same racialized lines as the *National Geographic* article. See my review (Light 1999) and the documentary transcript at www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/transcripts/2502chinamum.html.

outbreak. While in Yarkand they listened to some seventy- and eighty-year-old muqam performers singing entirely in Persian. They and other audiences members could not understand the texts at all.

The other published version of the texts performed by Turdi Akhun came out in 1970 in Almaty, Kazakhstan, edited by Batur Ärshidinov. This version differs in many places from Qurban Barat's publication. Most of the differences seem to be the result of Ärshidinov's having used texts from Turdi Akhun's performances of his repertoire. If Qurban Barat's edition matches the phonograph recordings, then the different versions in Batur Ärshidinov's edition must be from the tape-recorded versions or simply from Turdi Akhun's dictations to the poets who did the transcribing. Qurban Barat's version tends to be shorter than Ärshidinov's, so the latter may derive from Turdi Akhun's more complete recordings.

Qurban Barat's collection shows little evidence of his editing to reorganize the texts or make them consistent, but Batur Ärshidinov wrote that he substituted texts when he thought one text was being sung too often, and he used manuscript versions to 'correct' the performed versions. In the back of his edition, Ärshidinov indicated whether his source for a song was a poetic manuscript or transcriptions of what Turdi Akhun actually sang. When Ärshidinov found written texts, he included the couplets that Turdi Akhun did not sing, but he put them in parentheses and used spellings that represented the Arabic script of the Chaghatay literary language. When he could not find written versions he gave the transcription as Turdi Akhun performed the verses, with spelling determined by his pronunciation (Ärshidinov 1970: 11–13).[203]

It is fairly clear that during the 1960s and 1970s the Kashgar muqam songs of Turdi Akhun were seen as esoteric and politically problematic, while the Ili muqams used more accessible language and would fit better with added socialist texts. Manuscript versions (such as NB1 and NB2) that circulated in the later 1960s reflected the Ili repertoire and included recently written texts. The Ili muqams dominated in this effort to create more populist and vernacular muqams, but when the political situation allowed, the editors returned to drawing upon the Kashgar muqams as the core of a new tradition because they were longer, more elaborate and reflected more a classical poetic and musical tradition. Nonetheless, these advantages were somewhat undercut by the need for considerable editing to remove problematic aspects of the songs.

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[203] Ärshidinov indexed the texts according to author and first line, separating them according to whether or not he had found a manuscript version. But he did not cite his manuscript sources or describe how he got the transcriptions of Turdi Akhun's songs. I wrote to him in Kazakhstan in care of his publisher but received no answer.

Qawul Akhun said that a poet named Mulla Ärmiya had transcribed Turdi Akhun's verses. This poet recognized many of the poems and could transcribe them accurately and identify the authors. Batur Ärshidinov (1970: 9–10) mentioned Ärmiyä Äli Sayrami, Ärshidin Tatliq, and Teyipjan Eliyop as the people who transcribed the texts when Turdi Akhun and Rozi Tämbur performed in 1951–1955.[204]

Qurban Barat knew no details about how the transcriptions he published were processed after Turdi Akhun sang them. He pointed out that he could not always understand the more difficult Chaghatay poetry in his edition, but he made no changes to the texts from the original 1964 publication. The editing of Turdi Akhun's texts for the 1964 publication was clearly limited; there are many misspellings and other distortions of the texts, and texts that Turdi Akhun performed more than once have many minor differences. Thus Qurban Barat's texts seem quite close to the original forms performed by Turdi Akhun, although they match the shorter phonograph recordings and are not as complete as the original transcriptions made by Ärmiya Äli Sayrami and others.

Errors in transcribing and changes that singers make were the biggest problems for the editors creating standardized muqam texts. Although folklorists recognize variation as the hallmark of oral transmission and re-creative memory, one of the primary purposes of the modern editing was to eliminate changes to the texts, which the editors saw as decay. Editors and scholars felt that performers such as Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun distorted the original songs through faulty memory and lack of understanding. Ironically, some of the editors who complained that performers' changes were a source of decay in the tradition also advocated simplifying the texts.

6.2 Editing the Muqam Texts

Editing the texts to create a new standard version of the Twelve Muqams has been difficult and sensitive. People involved in the editing described the intensive work of Ömär Imin and Mämät Ili Zunun, the two primary editors of the texts, and how they had to be shielded from the demands of everyday life to get their work done. They had been given rooms in the hotel on the campus of the Xinjiang University while they prepared the final drafts of their edited version. Finding Ömär Imin was a bit more difficult than finding

[204] Ärshidinov mentions that Ärmiya Äli Sayramiy edited the romantic epic *Pärhad vä Shirin* published in Ghulja in 1948 (Ärshidinov 1970: 81n, 1987: 72n). A photograph of Mulla Ärmiya inside the front cover of *Bulaq* 26 (1989) identifies him as *ša'ir* (poet) Nimšehit Armiyä Ili Sayrami, and the same photo is in Zhongguo Yisilan jiao xie hui (1957, n.p.), with the caption 'Maulana Armia, Uighur poet who recorded the verses of the '12 Mucam.''

Qurban Barat. Other researchers who said he was busy put me off. I was finally able to meet him with the help of Yasin Mukhpul, the editor of an Islamic journal in Ürümchi and an acquaintance of Ömär Imin's.

Ömär Imin was outspoken about his role and the reasons behind his work, and his comments revealed conflicting attitudes about the language and authors of the old texts and the balancing act that editing demanded. He repeatedly stressed a few basic principles for the textual editing: poems that Turdi Akhun sang more than once should be eliminated by adding new texts, and the texts should be largely the work of truly Uyghur poets of the past 200 years. The poetry should be comprehensible to the Uyghur people (*χälq*) but should still be 'classical' Uyghur poems, not folk poetry. Several times he said, 'I am not an ethnic nationalist [*millätči*], but the Uyghur people must have pure Uyghur poetry.' Ömär said that even though Huvaydā and Mashrab had lived a long time in Xinjiang, they were still Uzbeks and should be excluded from the muqams. He had traced Navā'ī to Mongol ancestors and said that his poems were totally incomprehensible anyway. Navā'ī was also problematical because he learned his philosophy and literary style from the Persian poet 'Abd ar-Rahman Jāmī. More recent classics should be drawn upon, although the poets Atā'ī and Sakkākī were both good and old.

According to Ömär Imin, even the verse by Navā'ī that is now widely sung in the *muqäddimä* of Čäbbiyat was incomprehensible to the Uyghur people and needed to be replaced. This is the most common muqam song now performed, and has been performed in more than ten countries according to Qawul Akhun. I discuss this verse and its comparison of Arabic, Persian, and Turkic words later in this chapter. Ömär Imin described how he and Mämät Ili Zunun were now editing the texts again to improve on the folk materials that had been used to make the modern versions. The last text edition was done too fast, he said. It was still missing some songs and needed to have more diverse classical texts – the past editors retained many of the folk songs Turdi Akhun and others sang when they quickly edited it for publication. Ömär Imin chose new texts that he thought would fit particular tunes and then had performers try singing them for him.

According to Ömär Imin, Mämät Ili Zunun was a modern poet who did not know the older poetry well but was very good at revising the older poems so that they made sense to present listeners. Ömär Imin felt that Mämät Ili Zunun did not have to have learned (*ilmiy*) knowledge to be able to work on the poems. Ömär and Mämät altered the texts by replacing little-known words such as *osruk* ('drunken') with the more familiar word *mast*, which Uyghurs would understand. Ömär Akhun had helped them fill in many of the gaps by suggesting verses that fit. Turdi Akhun had been good

at preserving the muqam tunes but could sing only half the muqams with original songs before he started repeating himself.

Even when everyone else said the texts were good enough, Ömär Imin told me he would push on to perfection because he had a feeling for how the texts should be. When these editors had asked the scholar Mirsultan Osmanov for comments, he had responded that they should keep the poetry the same, and not simplify it. Ömär Imin rejected this opinion, explaining to me that he understood the larger context of modern performance and saw that the original songs were a problem. Yasin Mukhpul agreed with Ömär Imin, pointing out that it would not be good to have a five-minute song requiring an hour of explanation. Ömär Imin nonetheless concluded that the editors should not completely purify the texts: they could keep some of the feudal and religious texts because when they were written Marxism did not yet exist.

Because the editing was so sensitive and not widely talked about, I generally heard comments about it only from people who were unhappy with the results. One scholar criticized Säypidin Äziz for advocating the elimination of Arabic and Persian phrases from the muqams. He argued, 'It is nonsense to completely avoid another language – did not the Russian nobility all use French in the last century? So here Persian was very important.' He also described the muqam editing as a competition among people trying to get involved so that they could get their names on the final product. Two other scholars whom I talked with said that Mämät Ili Zunun and Ömär Imin were good poets and playwrights, but they did not understand the older poetry as well as they should. If they did not get the poems right, international publication of their edited texts would make the Uyghurs look foolish (*sarañ*).

Editing the muqams presented risks for one's reputation. In discussions, Ömär Imin and others told me about the many concerns they had to consider in doing this work. Managing the muqams was taking responsibility for Uyghur ethnic treasures, and it meant one had to play to several demanding audiences and constituencies. The resulting muqams would have to show that the interests of each constituency had been taken into account, even if they had no chance to give feedback. One important constituency was the Uyghur people as a whole, who were invoked by Ömär Imin and others when they explained why they wanted to make the songs more comprehensible.

Another constituency consisted of literary scholars and musicians such as Mirsultan Osmanov and Quddus Khojamyarov who wanted the original songs accurately preserved. Quddus remembered how the muqams had been performed in 1957 and felt that they should remain a kind of chamber music. Literary scholars were less concerned about the music, but they could com-

pare the current texts against the manuscripts they considered authoritative and thus find the changes made by the editors. Scholars were concerned about historical accuracy, and worried about the international scholarly reception of the muqams. They argued that changes to the traditional forms would be noticed abroad and provoke criticisms of the authenticity and accuracy of this classical Uyghur tradition. These scholars felt that the best texts for the muqams would be the oldest ones, attested by fixed evidence such as manuscripts, and they refused to accept changes not based in the principle of fidelity to the original forms.

Another constituency comprised politicians who wanted to use the muqams as a Uyghur ethnic symbol. To support this use, the editors had to reduce the Islamic and Sufi ideas in the poetry and avoid classical Turkic poetry, which showed Uyghurs' historical ties with other Turkic peoples and with Iranian and Arab culture. To add to the prestige and familiarity of Uyghur literary history, the songs should use more local, vernacular poetry, composed in the past two centuries. Poems by Gumnam, Muhammad Sidiq Zälili, and Bilal Nazim were little sung by Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun, but they were important sources for the modernized texts.[205] At the same time, however, Ömär Imin indicated that the folk verse that was common in Turdi Akhun's repertoire and that predominated in most 'local' muqam traditions was being eliminated. In his view, all the songs should be literary poetry drawn from the works of classical but not too archaic or heavily Persianate Uyghur poets.

There was obviously no way in which all constituencies could be satisfied, because these different approaches and goals in reviving the muqam tradition were contradictory. Each critic legitimated his goals differently. The scholars pushed for firmer links to the Central Asian literary tradition while accepting weaker connections to modern Uyghur culture. The politicians largely wanted texts from the recent, relevant, comprehensible past. Both the scholars and the politicians appreciated the long Buddhist and Islamic cultural history of the Uyghurs, but they differed over how they wanted that history to be presented. Literary and historical scholars generally felt that distant history should be accurate to its times, whereas politicians such as Säypidin Äziz and those who had Ğazi Ämät's work publicly displayed wanted to redefine the past in order to serve the present.

But people's motivations and interpretations cannot be reduced simply to these two poles. Quddus Khojamyarov, Shir Mämät, Qurban Barat, and many others had complex opinions about Uyghur history and the muqams and how they should be narrated. Their opinions about the many problems of

[205] The texts for these poems came from the editions Gumnam 1981; Mulla Bilal 1983, and Zälili 1985. The latter is based on a publication by Nimšehit Armiyä Ili Sayrami.

editing and reviving the muqams differed, but they all experienced tensions between the evidence for 'original' forms of the muqams and the need to make these forms consistent and relevant to present Uyghur culture. Only Ömär Akhun defended the forms as he and Turdi Akhun played them, although Qurban Barat was committed to preserving the transcriptions. The institutionally trained musicians, scholars, and politicians whom I met or heard about wanted to correct the muqams so that they conformed to whatever historical evidence they accepted from the past and resolved the conflicts over cultural intimacy that were salient in the present.

The dominant perspective among institutionally trained 'experts' was that illiterate 'folk' performers had preserved the muqam tradition, but it was time to take it off their hands and return it to the entire Uyghur people, to whom it rightfully belonged. In the process the distortions introduced by the folk performers should be set right. The muqam tradition was thus being treated much like a manuscript tradition: scholars thought of it as fragile and easily lost through poor copying and limited distribution. Thus it was in need of editing to correct flaws and then publication of an authoritative edition to prevent further losses.

The muqams, as Qurban Barat's story demonstrates, are a precious Uyghur heritage (*miras*) that can motivate great sacrifices. Rescuing the muqam texts from near destruction was intensely satisfying to him. Qurban was also an editor at the journal *Bulaq* from 1980 to 1984 and thus one of the many Uyghurs committed to editing and publishing manuscripts and oral folklore to preserve the Uyghur heritage. *Bulaq* was founded in 1980 when Chinese government policies allowed minorities to begin publishing traditional literature in order to compensate for the destruction of folk and manuscript traditions during the Cultural Revolution.

Other editors also told me they were preserving traditional literature from loss in the gentler revolution of modernization, secular education, and the emergence of a younger generation who could read only the revised Uyghur Arabic script. It is easy to see how editing manuscripts, folklore collections, and traditional music became part of a single project of preserving and restoring the Uyghur past. Written and published texts and edited and recorded music seem safer and more secure than relying on traditional performers who changed and forgot their tradition, learned and created new materials, and were mortal. If the muqams were to be the central examples and symbols of shared Uyghur ethnic culture, they could not be left in the hands of a few traditional performers, because Uyghur cultural identity itself would thus be subject to loss and change.

6.3 Poetry in Manuscript

The separation of oral and written tradition may appear straightforward, but in a situation in which manuscripts are important elements of written tradition one of the principal distinctions vanishes. Each manuscript is a unique performance of a text. Although it is not oral, it nonetheless becomes a particular artifact with a distinctive context and history both in its writing and in its reading and circulation. A manuscript is a work of art without mass production. It is individually crafted and bears the marks of the person doing the copying in a way that few printed books do. Although printing with movable type remained a somewhat individual craft for a long time after its invention, in most modern printed books the personality of the printer has been largely eliminated, and the editor remains an anonymous figure, a midwife to an author who gets full credit for the baby.

In manuscript traditions, each copyist has a distinctive role and often includes his or her name in the text. When modern European scholars study manuscripts, they usually rely on comparison of many versions of the text to figure out a *stemma* or descent tree that shows the genetic relationships among various manuscripts. They generally use the stemmatic method to figure out the history of a given work, so that families of manuscripts can be grouped together. The manuscripts become documents of social interaction and exchange of ideas.

But scholars also use the stemmatic method to eliminate changes introduced by copyists and arrive at a text that most nearly approximates the original author's intention. If we compare the analysis of manuscripts to techniques used in studying folklore, it is obvious that the historic-geographic – or Finnish – method incorporates ideas similar to the stemmatic concept of origins and transmission, whereas more ethnographically oriented folklorists would see a manuscript as a performance event and decipher the context and intentions that shaped it. In fact, good editors and readers of manuscripts, although their dominant goal may be to retrieve a single authoritative version of a text, also explore the relationship of authors, copyists, and audiences to particular manuscripts and their historical contexts.

The supposed problem of the 'decay' of poetry from text to performance arises from the idea that the original, written version was somehow perfect, a unique expression of the author's personality and creative genius. But there is no perfect original. Many compositions are oral and variable to begin with, as seems to have been the case with Yasavī and Mashrab. Even if they compose works in writing, authors usually revise and rewrite, producing variants over the course of their lives. Manuscript contents can change in transmission in much the same way as oral performances: copyists and audiences change words and meanings intentionally and through error.

Manuscripts often reflect remembered versions of a text when a copyist writes familiar parts without reference to a written original. None of these facts is particularly remarkable, but they are problematic for people who believe they can recover and preserve fixed, canonical original forms and that change is contamination.

Rather than try to figure out what the putative original songs were, in the rest of this chapter I explore the motivations and causes for change in muqam texts. I do not seek stemmata: few of these literary texts have been given the kind of careful treatment that would allow that. Instead I use the transcriptions from traditional muqam performances to suggest how muqam songs were performed and changed in performance and transmission. I also discuss Ömär Akhun's interpretations of some of the poems, showing that he understands them as well as the literary scholars with whom I talked. He may protest his own ignorance, but he also points out that many who would claim they can understand are ignorant as well.

My discussion begins with the muqam texts that Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun performed in the muqam Čoñ Näğmä, which includes some folk verse as well as ghazals composed by known authors. Distinguishing folk verse from literary poetry is difficult, because there is much variation and oral transmission in the 'classical' literary verse as well. The distinction is best made in terms of sources of authority. If performers recognize that written forms have corrective authority for oral performance, then the verse can be considered literary. If performers accept the oral performance as equally authoritative or see the written form merely as a record of an oral performance, then for present purposes I consider the verse oral or 'folk.'

6.4 Come, O Beloved (*Käl äy mähbub*): Language and Ethnicity

A version of the Čäbbiyat muqam *muqäddimä* that has been performed since at least the 1960s reveals an interesting change that reflects some of the ethnic ideas shaping the present canonical muqams. Because Turdi Akhun did not sing this song, I first discuss his songs that were replaced by this *Käl äy mähbub* song. The two versions of the Čäbbiyat *muqäddimä* performed by Turdi Akhun both begin with a ghazal of Navā'ī's that I discussed in chapter 3. The first couplet is the following (Navā'ī 1987–1990, 4: 87):

Äy jamaliñ mehridin rošän äzäldin ta äbäd,
Zärrä yañliğ ol yaroğluq ičrä särgärdan χiräd.
Oh, the sun of your beauty is bright forever,
Amid the brilliant sparks [my] mind was bewildered.

This ghazal uses love imagery but explicitly indicates that it is an address to God. The fifth couplet is this:

Xälq räddidin ne ğam tapqanda lutfuñdin qobul,

Äl qobulidin ne sud aniki qähriñ qilsa rädd.
What sorrow can come from people's rejection if I find acceptance by your favor?
What profit can come from acceptance by the people if [I am] rejected by your strength?

The briefer version in Qurban Barat's edition (1986: 27) ends after only six couplets of this ghazal, but Ärshidinov's edition (1970: 34) shows Turdi Akhun performing five couplets from the preceding ghazal and then six couplets from another ghazal by Navā'ī (1987–1990, 5: 27). It begins:

Mäjnun bešini säjdidin almas idi äsla,
Gär Läyli itiniñ julidin tapsa musälla.
Majnun did not at all pick his head up from an adoring bow,
If he found the blanket of Läyli's dog, he used it as a prayer mat.

In this ghazal Navā'ī goes on to address the beloved and describe the disaster caused by his or her dark blue, narcissus-like eyes and face like a Qur'ān. He speaks of the tavern and the tavern boy (*muğbäčä*) and the fires of love like hell, and ends with the hope that God (*täñri*) will be kind enough to permit union. Turdi Akhun then ended his song with the single couplet:

Zäbärjät taqigä altun bilän bir χät yezilmiš kim,
Käräm ähliniñ ehsanidin ozgä qalmiğay baqi.
On the emerald arch a line written in gold said that,
Other than the benevolence of kind people, nothing will last forever.

As I discuss later, Turdi Akhun frequently sang this couplet in the *muqäddimä* and *täkit* of the muqams.

The present edited versions no longer use any of these verses, perhaps because they make too explicit the connection of the beloved and God, describing the Qur'ān of the beloved's face and identifying the beloved with a tavern boy. These reasons seem also to have led to the elimination from the revised muqams of the ghazal beginning *Bir kün meni ol qatil-i mäjnun ši'ār öltürgüsi* (discussed in chapter 3), which Turdi Akhun sang more than any other. Instead, all three mimeographed text versions of the Čäbbiyat *muqäddimä* use the following verse, supposedly by Navā'ī, although I have been unable to find it in published collections of his verse:

Käl äy mähbub-u mätlubum seniñ yašiñ hazar olsun,
Niqap ačqil köräy yüzüñ jamaliñ aškar olsun.
Šukuftä päthi bazariñ kečä-künduz seniñ yadiñ
Ki jännät hurliri dayim qešiñda šärmsar olsun.
Ärabi guft'äm är-är, bi farsi guft'äm qäddät,
Bi turki sözlisäm boyuñ čimändä säbzä-zar olsun.
Ärabi guft'äm hajip, bi farsi guft'äm äbru,
Bi turki sözlisäm qašiñ kämani hälqidar olsun.

Ärabi guft'äm äynät, bi farsi guft'äm čäšmät,
Bi turki sözlisäm kozuñ sähärlärdä χumar olsun.
Ärabi guft'äm väjhät, bi farsi guft'äm ruyät,
Bi turki sözlisäm yuzuñ χalayiq intizar olsun.
Ärabi guft'äm zähkät, bi farsi guft'äm χändät,
Bi turki sözlisäm külküñ bu aläm muški-bar olsun.
Ärabi guft'äm sidrät, bi farsi guft'äm sinät,
Bi turki sözlisäm köksuñ qizil alma, anar olsun.
Ärabi guft'äm yäddät, bi farsi guft'äm dästät,
Bi turki sözlisäm qoluñ košadi karbar olsun.
Ärabi guft'äm rijlät, bi farsi guft'äm payät,
Bi turki sözlisäm putuñ navayi binava olsun.
Come, O my beloved and my desire, avoid your tears.
Open your veil, I would see your face, let your beauty be revealed.
Flourishing is your bazaar of grace day and night, in [my] memory of you,
Let the houris of paradise be always ashamed by your presence.
If I say in Arabic är-är[206] and in Persian I say 'your stature,'
And if I say in Türki 'your figure,' let be in a verdant meadow.
If I say in Arabic 'eyebrow' and I say in Persian 'eyebrow,'
And in Türki if I say 'your eyebrow,' let it be a bow of obedience.
If I say in Arabic 'your eye' and if I say in Persian 'your eye,'
And if I say in Türki 'your eye,' let it be intoxicated in the early mornings.
If I say in Arabic 'your face' and if I say in Persian 'your face,'
And if I say in Türki 'your face,' let the people wait in anticipation.
If I say in Arabic 'your laugh'[207] and if I say in Persian 'your laugh,'
And if I say in Türki 'your laugh,' let this world be [your] musky lock.
If I say in Arabic 'your breast' and if I say in Persian 'your breast,'
And if I say in Türki 'your breast,' let it be a red apple, a pomegranate.
If I say in Arabic 'your hand/arm' and if I say in Persian 'your hand,'
And if I say in Türki 'your hand,' let it be generous.
If I say in Arabic 'your foot' and if I say in Persian 'your foot,'
And if I say in Türki 'your foot,' let Navā'ī be destitute.

This song is now prominent in the muqam tradition, because Čäbbiyat has been one of the most common muqams performed by the Muqam Troupe in Ürümchi, and because this is the *muqäddimä*, its words are sung very dis-

[206] Ärshidinov 1987: 111 and NB2: 29 have *sädirät,* 'chest.'
[207] NB2: 29 has *räχkät*.

tinctly.[208] The popular and prolific singer of Ili muqams Abliz Shakir (n.d.) also performs this song as the *muqäddimä* of Čäbbiyat muqam.[209] But in one manuscript of Ili muqam texts from the 1960s (NB2 29), this song is assigned to the Uššaq muqam *beši* rather than to Čäbbiyat. Ärshidinov (1987: 111–112) also gives it as the Uššaq muqam *beši* in the Ili muqams.[210] Thus it appears that this verse was borrowed from the Ili repertoire.

The Persian and Arabic terms in this poem are unfamiliar to most Uyghur audiences and performers, because most words borrowed from those languages into Turkic are abstract nouns. This verse refers more specifically to the body than most of the classical poetry, and the unusual lexicon makes the linguistic distinctions more prominent. The variations in these words in the 1960s manuscript version tends to support the conclusion that they were unfamiliar. When I played Ömär Akhun a recording of Osman Ämät's performance of the song, he said that it was sung properly, as he had taught it in 1976, but he did not comment on the text. Nonetheless, it seems to show the increase in love imagery that Ömär Akhun criticized, especially in its concrete bodily references: feet, hands, and breasts are mentioned rarely in ghazal poetry. The references to veil and breast make this poem more clearly addressed to a female beloved than are most of Turdi Akhun's songs, and therefore it helps overcome the ambiguous and possibly embarrassing gender of the beloved in other songs.

The internal translations of this verse provide semantic redundancy in addition to the usual syntactic, sound, and rhythmic parallelisms that aid memory. The semantic redundancy emphasizes the obscurity of the Arabic and Persian terms while still letting the audience know what the words mean by giving the equivalents in Türki. This verse helps nationalize and secularize the Uyghur Twelve Muqams and suits the editors, performers, and audiences concerned with separating lexicons and identities. Although the song may not originally have been intended this way, in the present context of concern about muqam origins, the song comments on cultural differences and reinforces the idea that words are intrinsically linked to ethnic identities. The song does not go beyond simple juxtaposition but no other muqam songs make such ethnic or linguistic distinctions.

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[208] Min On World Music Library (1991) includes this song as performed by Muhemmetjan (*sic*) Shakir on tämbur.

[209] Shakir follows the Ili style in performing the *muqäddimä* followed by dastans, but he often uses texts from the revised Kashgar muqams. Ömär Akhun said Shakir's Pänjigah *muqäddimä* had been made the standard for the Twelve Muqams.

[210] The other manuscript of the Ili songs has a seven-couplet poem by Mashrab that begins with a similar line: *Käl äy dilbär bayan äyläy saña bir-bir bayanliqni / Ki šayät rähmi etip salğay özuñgä ašnaliqni* (NB1 33). It was published with only five couplets in the Mashrab 1990: 56.

That this unusual song has become the most prominent one in the Ürümchi Muqam Troupe's repertoire strongly suggests that it was chosen to help shift the muqam lyrics from spiritual poems that ignore ethnicity to poems that emphasize Uyghur cultural distinctiveness. To transform muqams into symbols of the Uyghur ethnic nation they must be edited to include fewer metaphysical ghazals and more that reflect on social and cultural contexts of performance. The traditional concern for union with the beloved in the next world has been displaced in this poem to attention to the physical being of the beloved and the differentiated ways Uyghurs, Arabs, and Iranians would describe it. This ghazal also recalls Navā'ī's concern with linguistic differences. Even if he did not write it, it reflects one of the first things modern audiences learn about Navā'ī – his linguistic nationalism – and shows how he might have expressed it in his poetry.

6.5 Mashrab's *Satar* Ghazal (*Satarim Tariğa*)

Another important verse in the revised muqams is one by Mashrab that builds its poetic imagery around reference to the muqams and *satar* playing. As described in chapter 3, in the hagiographic work *Dīvāna-i Mashrab* a messenger came to tell Mashrab that the local ruler Aqbuta Biy wanted to see him. Mashrab was playing the satar, and when he resisted visiting Aqbuta Biy, the messenger smashed it. Mashrab picked up his satar, put it back together, and sang this song (Lykoshin 1910: 152).[211]

Turdi Akhun performed four couplets of this song in the Iraq *täzä*, and Qurban Barat's transcription of it is generally close to the *Bulaq* edition (Mashrab 1981). It does not appear at all in Batur Ärshidinov's edition of Iraq *täzä* but does appear in the same volume as a four-couplet extra text (*qošumčä tekist*) for the Äjäm *bašliniš* (Ärshidinov 1970: 196), which seems to have been recorded from someone other than Turdi Akhun. The poem was also sung in the Äjäm *muqäddimä* in the 1960s manuscript versions (NB1 31; NB2 27). The two present edited versions in Rak *muqäddimä* (ME 1991; MG 1981) are basically the same and closely follow the Ili muqam version in Rak *muqäddimä* (Ärshidinov 1987: 31, 38). Here I give this ghazal in parallel lines to show the kinds of variations among the many texts in the muqams and other sources.[212] As in many ghazals that appear in multiple

[211] Although Lykoshin's version differs significantly from the version performed in the muqams, I have not included it in my comparison because I only have his Russian translation.

[212] This song has been recorded as the *muqäddimä* on *Rak Muqam* (Šinjañ Muqam Ansambili 1992) and is the Rak *saraχbar* (alternative term for *muqäddimä*) on an album by the Mukam Art Troupe of Xinjiang (1998). Abliz Shakir (n.d.) sings this song as well, in a form that seems to follow that published in Mashrab 1981 fairly closely, although in some places he seems to follow the mimeographed versions instead (ME 1991; MG 1981).

versions, the first and last couplets show more minor spelling changes and alternations of verbs, whereas the couplets in between diverge from each other more significantly.

Satarim tariğa jan rištisidin tar ešip salsam, (Barat 1986: 271)
Setarim tariğä jan rištäsidan tar ešip čalsäm, (Mashrab 1990: 75)
If I added a thread from my soul to the strings of my satar,

Uniñki naläsidin bivapaniñ köñlini alsam. (Barat 1986: 271; NB1 31)
Aniñkim naläsidin benävaniñ köñlini alsam. (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)
Anikim naläsidin bevähani köñlini alsam. (Ärshidinov 1970: 196)
Ani χuš naläsidin beväfani köñlini alsäm. (Mashrab 1990)
With its lamentations I could possess a faithless heart.

Muqam čalip muqam ičrä muqamni dilğa ja qilsam, (Barat 1986: 271)
Muqam alip muqam ičrä muqamni dilğä ja qilsam, (Mashrab 1981: 137)
Muqam ičrä muqam alip muqami dilğä ja qilsam. (Ärshidinov 1970: 196)
Muqam ičidä muqam čalsam, muqamni dilgä ja qilsam. (NB1 31; NB2 27)
Playing a muqam in the [mode of a] muqam, I would make the muqam a place in the heart,

Muhäbbät koyiğa salsa aniñ aldida män čalsam. (Ärshidinov 1970: 196; Barat 1986: 271)
Muhäbbät saziğä sazläb men ani aldidä čalsäm. (Mashrab 1990)
Ki ul mähbubum näzär qilsa, aniñ aldida män čalsam. (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)
Ki ol mähbub näzär qilsa uniñ aldida män čalsam. (NB1 31; NB2 27)
If [I] were abandoned on the street of the beloved, I would play before him/her.
[or] So that if the beloved would glance [at me], I would play before him/her.

Muqamlarniñ atasini Hösäyni yu Äjäm därlär, (Barat 1986: 271)
Muqamlarniñ atasini Hosäynu bi'äjäm därlär, (NB2 27 and NB1 31)
They say that the fathers of the muqams are Husayni and Äjäm,

Bulardin yoqarikim pärdä'i Bayatini čalsam. (Barat 1986: 271)
Bulärdin yuqari pärdäkim Bayatini män čalsam. (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)

Bulärdin häm yuqari pärdäidä Čargah čalsäm. (Mashrab 1990: 75)
On the frets above it I will play Bayat [or Čargah].

Biyadi häqtä'ala yadida čalsam bayadikim, (Barat 1986: 271)
Bayadi häq tä'ala yadidä čalsam päyapäy kim, (Mashrab 1981: 137)
Bayani häqtä'ala yardäp čalsam päyačäkmä, (NB2 27)
Bayani häqtä'ala yadida däp čalsam bayatni, (NB1 31)
Bäyad dilbärimni yadidä čalsäm päya-päykim, (Mashrab 1990: 75)
Muhäbbät mäyidin nuš äyläban čalsam päyapäykim, (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)
Muhäbbät mäyidin nuš äyligäč čalsam payapäykim, (ME 1991; MG 1981)
Remembering God the truth most high I will play constantly,
[Or] Until I drink from the wine of love I will play constantly,

Köñülniñ binava bolğanini bilsäm nava čalsam. (Barat 1986: 271)
Ki köñlüm binava bolğanini bilsäm män Nava čalsam. (NB2 27)
Ki, köñul benäva bolğanidin äyläb Näva čalsäm. (Mashrab 1990: 75)
If I knew that the beloved was miserable, I would play Nava.

Aralab čalsam Oššaqni, ğäzälni Rakka yätküzsäm, (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)
Vay aralap čalsam Uššaq ğäzälni Rakqa yätküzsäm, (MG 1981)
Äraläb čalsäm Uššaq u ğäzälni sazä yätkursäm, (Mashrab 1990: 75)
Sometimes I will play Uššaq and put ghazals to Rak [or to music],

Šäbistanu sähärlärdä Mušavräku Pänjigah čalsam. (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)
Sähärlärdä qopub mäššaqlärdin purziya čalsam. (Mashrab 1990: 75)
In the bedroom and at dawn I will play Mušavräk and Pänjigah.

Iraqu, Čäbbayat, Özhalda päyzikim etär bolsañ, (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)
Iraqu, Čäbbiyat, Özhalda päyzikim yetär bolsa, (ME 1991; MG 1981)
If the abundance in Iraq and Čäbbayat and Özhal is finished,

Ki äy χuršidu väsli sühbi dämdä Čargah čalsam. (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)
Tilär χuršidi väslin sübhi dämdä Čarigah čalsam. (ME 1991)
Seek union with the sun in the moment of dawn if I play Čargah.

Yetip väsligä himmätniñ judaliq tağidin ötsäm, (ME 1991)

Reaching union with heaven, passing the mountains of separation,
Ičip väsliñ šarabidin qilip täñkäš Sigah čalsam. (ME 1991)
Drinking your wine of union and tuning (the instrument) I will play Sigah.

Meniñki halimni gär išq ähli bilsä zar yiğlaydur, (Barat 1986: 271)
If people of love knew my condition they would weep plaintively,
Ägär därdi ğemiñdin zärrä'i bunyadlar qilsam. (Barat 1986: 271)
From the pain and sorrow you gave me I will make particles of a foundation.

Kel äy Mäšräp qädäh sunğil bolayin mästu mustäğräq, (Barat 1986: 271)
Käl äy Mäšräb qädäh sunğil bolayin mästu ğärq, (Ärshidinov 1970: 196)
Come, O Mashrab, offer the cup, let's get immersed in drunkenness,
Bir qolğa kasä'i tämbur, birigä jamini alsam. (Barat 1986: 271)
Bir älğa kasä tänbür, birğä jam mäy alsam. (Ärshidinov 1970: 196)
Bir ilkimgä sataru, bir ilkimgä jamu mäy alsam. (Ärshidinov 1987: 31)
Bir qolumğa satardur, bir qolumğa mäy jam alsam. (NB1 31)
Bir qolumğa satoru, bir qolumğa jam mäy alsam. (NB2 27)
Bir ilkimgä sataru-bir ilkimgä jami mäy alsam. (ME 1991; MG 1981)
In one hand I hold the bowl of the tämbur [or satar], in the other I hold the wine cup.

This verse shows the variations that are common in muqam verses and suggests the general variability of pronunciation and spelling in Uyghur. Whether written or sung, the poetry changes in spelling, grammar, line order, and word choice (among both synonyms and new meanings). A few lines apparently from other ghazals – because the rhyme changes – appear in the version in Qurban Barat's edition.

These texts can be grouped into versions that vary only a little from one to the other. The variants within the Ili tradition (Ärshidinov 1987: 31; NB1; NB2) are quite close to one another, and Turdi Akhun's version in Barat (1986) seems close to that edited in Mashrab (1981: 137). But Ärshidinov's edition (1970: 196) and that published in Tashkent (Mashrab 1990: 75) give rather different versions. This fits with the fact that the versions given by Batur Ärshidinov and Qurban Barat do not appear in the same muqam song, and the former seems not to have been transcribed from Turdi Akhun.

That the modern editions (ME 1991; MG 1981) are very similar to the Ili tradition suggests strongly that they were drawn from that source, even

though they were put into the Rak *muqäddimä* of Turdi Akhun's nominally Kashgar tradition. Although the 1960s manuscript versions are very close, even they have a few differences in word forms and differ in several lines from Batur Ärshidinov's edition of the Ili text. Using written texts clearly did not standardize the song lyrics very much. But many of the changes are minor until we find what appear to be intentional suppressions of the religious texts. For example, the line *Bayadi häq tä'ala yadidä* . . ., 'Remembering God the truth most high . . .' was changed to *Muhäbbät mäyidin nuš äyläban* . . ., 'Drinking from the wine of love . . .,' in Ärshidinov's Ili version published in the Soviet Union, as well as in those used for the 1980s institutional performances in Xinjiang. In the 1960s this change had not been made, but the word *bayad*, 'God,' was misread as *bayan*, 'explanation,' although the common Arabic phrase 'God the most high' was preserved (*häq tä'ala*).

Some of the spelling differences result from differing pronunciations and orthographic conventions. The original Arabic script does not show the quality of many vowels, so the pronunciation of the transcriber influences the way such poems are put into the modern Uyghur Cyrillic and modified Arabic alphabets. The texts from Mashrab (1981: 137) and Mashrab (1990) were transcribed from manuscripts into Uyghur and Uzbek orthography, respectively. Variations in pronunciation and slight changes in the sense are also common from one performer to the next, especially in the vowels. But most of the changes in vowels do not affect the meaning, unless an intercalated *-i-* in an ending makes a noun possessed or an *-i* ending represents a Persian grammatical structure known as *izafet*, which is usually recognized by a reader but not explicitly written. In several places the performers or writers are clearly confusing *izafet* and *-u* conjunctions also from Persian. The frequency with which the *-i* ending is transcribed even when it seems not to make grammatical sense probably comes from the performers' using these extended vowel sounds to fit the text to the tune (compare Levin 1984: 142–143).

More prominent semantic changes in this example can be seen in the addition of *-im/-um*, the first-person possessive ending, to *köñül*, 'heart,' and in the changes among verbal endings such as *bolayin* (first-person singular imperative of 'to be') and *bolayli* (first-person plural imperative of 'to be'). The changes in the final line between *ilk*, *el*, and *qol* are also typical: these all mean 'hand.' The alternation between satar and tämbur in the final line shows an interesting reversal. The versions from Ili seem to have satar, and the versions from Kashgar use tämbur, whereas among muqam performers the satar has been more popular in Kashgar, and the tämbur in Ili.

The great variations among the versions of this poem suggest that it was more widely circulated in oral form than in carefully copied manuscripts. The more accessible language of Mashrab and the likelihood that many of his poems were circulated orally mean that people changed them more readily. For the more difficult language of the poems of Navā'ī, performers seem to have remained closer to the texts, accepting the authority of written sources more readily and being less willing to make semantic innovations.

Mashrab's ghazal about the muqams is clearly part of the tradition in both the Ili and Kashgar muqams, but it is not an accurate description of the muqams as they are played in those regions. The Husayni and Äjäm muqams that are mentioned as the fathers of the others are not particularly important in either muqam tradition. The Husayni muqam is not even part of the Kashgar muqams, but it does appear as an alternate title for Iraq muqam in the Ili version of Ärshidinov 1987. The Äjäm muqam is quite short in both the Kashgar and Ili versions. Although some of Mashrab's comments may accurately describe the muqams he knew, he was using the muqams and musical instruments primarily as an interesting framework of words and images on which to organize his poem.

As we have seen in ghazals such as Navā'ī's *Behi räñgidäk*, the ostensible topic – here the muqams – is a device for connecting metaphysical Sufi imagery. The images are related as a constellation of motifs based on the premise of playing muqams. The poem begins and ends with imagery based in musical instruments: the first image is that of the poet-singer joining his own 'soul thread' to the gut strings of the satar, and the last image is that of the poet-singer holding the bowl-shaped body of the tämbur (or satar) in one hand and the similar wine cup in the other. The poet neatly frames the poem and invents vivid imagery that ties the material nature of these instruments to the metaphysical motifs of suffering in love and drinking wine.

But this Sufi imagery is less valued in the revised muqams, and so the muqams themselves become more central as *subjects* described reflexively in the performances rather than remaining the media for expressing ideas of love and spirituality. The ghazal that Säypidin Äziz included at the end of his play *Amannisa Khan* even more explicitly describes muqam structure and topics. By explaining the muqam songs as interactions between singers and popular audiences and as songs about lovers, Säypidin's ghazal expresses no emotions but evokes what muqam songs should be.

The appeal of reflexive songs in the revised muqams suggests a significant transformation in the way the muqams are conceived. When Ömär Akhun and Turdi Akhun performed them, the muqams conveyed spiritual ideas and experiences. The performer and the songs were valued for their

effects on audiences and not for expository presentations and reflexivity. In the present socio-political context, the muqams become the central symbolic forms in self-conscious representations of Uyghur identity. Such songs describe themselves because the muqams themselves are more important than their traditional ideas and images. The *Käl äy mähbub* ghazal discussed earlier shares in this process of changing the muqams to reflect more upon the language and culture for which they are sacralized performances. Rather than describing spiritual worlds, these songs begin to define the world in which the audiences are living and the music they are experiencing. This is not socialist realism but it is more concrete and this worldly than ghazal poems usually are.

Another song in one of the manuscripts from the 1960s does go the route of socialist realism in connecting the reflexivity of songs about the muqams to reflexivity about the modern political context and the role of populist art. It is one of the few indications that patriotic and ideological texts were created for the muqams in the 1960s. Known as Turdi Akhun's Song (*Turdi Akhun Naχšisi*), it goes in part as follows:

Satarim tarini čäksäm, dilimdin orğidi näğmäm,
Koz alidimda ayan boldi, jimi käčmišlirim šudäm.
If I strike the strings of my satar, and sing from my heart,
Before my eyes it is clear, my entire past in that moment. . . .
Kuräš yoli elip käldi bugun bizni bu mänzilgä,
Kuräštin boldi äl azat zaman parlaq hayat korkäm.
Taking the road of struggle today we have come to this stage,
Through struggle the people have become free, the times bright, and life beautiful.
Uluq Mav Juši, Guñčäñdañ yolida mäñgu ğalip biz,
Šuña män zor jarañlaydu satarimda χušal näğmäm.
The Great Chairman Mao leads us forever on the Communist Party road,
So I sing loudly my happy song on my satar.
Yaša Guñčändañ!
Yaša Mav Juši!
Long live the Communist Party!
Long live Chairman Mao!

Although published Uyghur 'folklore' collections contain many such songs,[213] this is one of the few explicitly political songs that was included in the muqam songs. Another song that appears in the Özhal muqam *muqäd-*

[213] One 1979 publication has the colophon title *Uyğur χälq qošaqliri?* ('Uyghur folk quatrains?'), where the question mark suggests doubts about describing as 'folk' the collection's twenty songs praising Mao Zedong and the Communist Party (Light 2007).

dimä in both of the 1960s manuscripts offers a political message. It is unclear which period it comes from; it is patriotic and revolutionary but includes mullas and the ulamā among the vanguard:

Inqilavi baščimiz köñlümiz dastan irur
Sahibandur bu vätängä rähmiti asman irur.
Xušχuyluq äχlaqi χop, hičkim uniñdin ränjimäs,
Mulla alim yaš yigitlär ämrigä qurban irur.
We are leaders of revolution, our hearts are dastans,
We are possessors of this country, thanks to heaven.
With good character and beautiful morals, no one is angry from this,
Mullas, ulamā, and brave men sacrificed for this affair.

U yigittur ismi . . . dur qalibi pak,
Inqilavi bašči rähbiri qilmiši iksan [yäksan?] irur.
Bağ bina qildi vätängä χäliqčiliq tikkäy kočät,
Kim ägär qäsit äylisä ol, yär bilän yäksan irur.
He is a brave man, his name is . . ., and his heart is pure, [one manuscript has ellipses, the other a blacked out space]
The deeds of the revolutionary leaders are unique,
For the country the people made gardens and buildings, and planted shoots,
Whoever conspires [against this] will be [crushed] into the ground.

Bu mubaräk bağ ara dušmän tikän čačmaq bolur,
Šum tikän osmäy haman mäqsidi gumran bolur.
Čin yuräktin äylidim Abdirehim qutluq du'a,
Mäχsät zaman bärdi χuda, köñlümdiki arman irur.
In this blessed garden these enemy thorns will be scattered,
Insidious thorns will not grow but will be destroyed immediately.
With an honest heart I prayed for fortune to Abdirehim,
God fulfilled the purpose of the times; it is the desire in my heart.

This is a strange song to appear in this context. It shows evidence of censorship, thanks heaven for the success of the revolution, and asks God for victory. It could be from the East Turkistan Republic (1944–1949), which included the Ili region, or it could have been a song that included praise for someone who was out of favor under Chinese rule, at least in the 1960s. The owners of the manuscripts did not know how these songs were added to the tradition and had little to say about them because they felt these were not properly part of the muqams.

6.6 Songs in the Repertoires of Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun

A number of ghazals stand out in the repertoires of Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun as widely used and perhaps most reflective of their personal tastes in poetry. Some of these were shared by the two performers, but as Ömär Akhun pointed out, each performer has his or her own repertoire. Although thousands of ghazals are available, performers seem to think of many of the same ones as key songs. The Ili and Kashgar traditions share only a few songs, but those they do share indicate that some overlap existed between these two traditions before the recent revisions of the muqams.

When Ömär Akhun told me that his repertoire differed from Turdi Akhun's, he pointed out that he did share some ghazals, such as Navā'ī's *Ašraqat min aksi šams*, with Turdi Akhun. This is an important ghazal in the written tradition because it is the first one in Navā'ī's dīvān *Badā'iʿ al-bidāya* (Navā'ī 1987–1990, 1: 29). It is widely known and often elaborately illuminated.[214] But this ghazal was recorded only once in Turdi Akhun's repertoire, as the Rak *täzä* (Ärshidinov 1970: 20), and once in the Ili muqams, in the Iraq *tälqin* (Ärshidinov 1987: 150–151). Although Ömär Akhun did not perform it for me, he did discuss the ghazal when he brought it up. It is one of the more difficult ghazals of Navā'ī's and includes many Arabic and Persian elements. It is a good example of the problems that this esoteric vocabulary presents to performers and translators. It is performed in the Rak *täzä* in the revised Twelve Muqams (ME 1991; MG 1981), as couplets 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9. This includes the verse that mentions the tavern boy, suggesting that this was not a problematic image. The ghazal begins:

Ašraqat min aksi šams ul-kās anvār ul-huda,
Yār aksīn maydä kör däp, jāmidin čiqti sadā.
From the east is reflected in the cup of the sun the light of guidance,
Thinking to see the reflection of the lover in wine, from the cup came a call.

Ömär Akhun explained this verse as follows: 'From the wine cup of Padishah Jamshid came a sound / Inside the wine cup in the wine you see things.' The next couplet is:

Ğayr naqshīdin köñgül jāmīda bolsa zañi ğam
Yoqtur, äy sāqiy, mayi vahdat masallik ğamzidā.
If the heart is in the cup because of a foreign beauty, it is burning sorrow,

[214] This verse occurs nine times in E. Yu. Yusupov's collection (1982) of illuminated pages from Navā'ī's works (plates 36–38, 91, 98, 102, 114, 206, 214, 227, 248). The order of ghazals in dīvāns is alphabetical according to the rhyme, here *–ada*, which puts it early in the Arabic alphabet.

O cupbearer, there is no such thing as the wine of solitude that proverbially drives off care.

Ömär Akhun explained this briefly but then decided he did not understand it well enough to finish the couplet, pointing out that this was because he was illiterate. In other conversations he commented that few literate people understand these poems, and many poets cannot even translate them. He told me, 'The young cannot understand these. Even some of those who are Damullas or have read many excellent books cannot. Only those who have sung them constantly for several years and memorized them understand them. One needs something like in the Qur'ān where there is the *ayat*, and then a translation.'

The next couplet refers to Jamshid, explaining why Ömär Akhun mentioned him in the first couplet. I attempt to translate most of the ghazal here, although I cannot claim to understand it perfectly myself.

Äy χūš ol maykim aña zarf olsa bir sunğan safūl,
Jām olur Gītī-namā-i Jamšīd ani ičkan gadā.
Oh, this wine is so good that if elegantly offered in a clay cup,
It will become for a poor one like Jamshid's mirror of the world.
Jām-u may gar biylädur ol jām üčün qilmaq bolur
Yüz jahān har dam nisar ol may üčün miñ jan fida.
If the cup and wine rule, for this cup
The hundred worlds every moment will be scattered, for this wine a thousand souls will be sacrificed.
Dayr arā hōš ahli rusvā bolğali äy muğbača,
Jām-i may tutsañ meni dīvānadin qil ibtida.
In the taverns people of intellect will be disgraced, O tavern boy,
If you offer the cup of wine to me you begin [my] insanity.
Taki ol maydin köñül jāmida bolğač jilva-gar
Čahra'i maqsūd mahv olğay ham ol dam mā'ada
Until from this wine the heart is conspicuous in the cup,
The essence of intention I would be annihilated and become that which is past in that moment.

The ghazal continues for three more verses on the theme of drinking wine and its relationship to annihilation and union. The consistent repetition of the cup (*jām*) and wine (*may*) imagery used in different ways is probably one reason this verse is considered good enough to be first in the dīvān. Obviously its position is determined by its rhyme, but in crafting his dīvāns, Navā'ī made sure that the initial verses were particularly excellent. Emphasizing this verse also seems to demonstrate that Navā'ī valued topical coherence if not logical development in his poems (see chapter 3).

Because of the prominence of this verse in the written sources and its consequent fame among the literati from whom performers learned some of their verses, it is interesting to look at its place in the oral tradition. All the transcribed versions are complete, and there are few variations among them, although the version in the Ili muqams (Ärshidinov 1987: 151) shows the reversal of couplets that is so common in performance. Yet this song was not very popular among performers, unlike the two poems I discuss next, which are the first ghazals in two of Navā'ī's other dīvāns and were sung often by Turdi Akhun. Although Ömär Akhun mentioned *Ašraqat min aksi šams* as a verse he shared with Turdi Akhun, he did not remember it well, and neither he nor Turdi Akhun used couplets from it in other muqam songs. In short, it does not have much appeal, although clearly the strong reinforcement by written circulation prevents it from being changed much.

6.7 To the Valley of Madness (*Junun vadisiğa*)

More vivid and memorable to Ömär Akhun was a ghazal by Navā'ī about the intoxicated search for God. Ömär Akhun sang this verse once in the Uššaq *muqäddimä* and once in the Čäbbiyat *muqäddimä* during the five muqam performances that I recorded from him. Although he discussed this verse briefly, it was to explain the meaning rather than why he sang it. He might have appreciated this ghazal because Navā'ī does not rely on love imagery in describing the quest to transcend this world and unite with God. Compared with the preceding ghazal, this one is far more Turkic in its language, more parallelistic, and uses more concrete imagery.

Turdi Akhun sang part of this verse in the Bayat *muqäddimä*, with only four couplets in the version in Qurban Barat's edition and nine couplets in the version edited by Ärshidinov (Ärshidinov 1970: 143–144, 177; Barat 1986: 213). The latter's edition also shows that Turdi Akhun sang three couplets from this in the Iraq *säliqä*. Other performers sang it in the Ili repertoire in the Ruχsari muqam and the Özhal *muqäddimä*. It appears in the Ruχsari *muqäddimä* performed by Zikri Älpättä (1983). Zikri Älpättä (b. 1915) was often mentioned as one of the Ili performers but also as a composer. He appears in a photo with Hüsänjan Jami and Wan Tongshu in the beginning of Abdushukur Muhämmät Imin's book (Imin 1980: front photos). The text in the Ruχsari *muqäddimä* is virtually identical, although couplets 7 and 8 are reversed. The verse also appears in the 1960s manuscripts. I have not found this poem in any editions of Navā'ī's poetry.

Junun vadisiğa mayil körärmän jan-u zarimni,
Tilärmän bir yoli buzmaq buzulğan rozigarimni.
I see my soul and sadness longing for the valley of madness,
I seek only its road to destroy my devastated world.

Fäläk bedadidin gärčä mäni χaki ğubar oldum,
Tilärmän tapmağaylär tutiyaliqğä ğubarimni.
From the injustice of fate indeed I have become lowly mist,
I seek the medicine that others have not found for sight-dimming affliction.
Šäk ärmäs pärtävi tüšgäč öyi häm räχti häm köymäk,
Ču göristan gädayi säzmägäy šäm'i, mazarimni.
There is no doubt that when his beam shines, both house and goods burn,
While even the beggar of the cemetery does not notice the candle of my mazar.
Demäñ qay sari äzm ätguñ maña yoq iχtiyar-i aχir,
Qaza ilkigä bärmišmän 'inan iχtiyarimni.
Do not ask, 'Which direction will you go?' I have no final choice,
To the hand of fate I seem to have given my full will.
Tügändi äšk-i gülgün, ändi qalmiš zä'färan-i yüz,
Fäläk zulmi bädäl qildi χäzan birlä baharimni.
My rose-colored tears have ceased, but my saffron face remains,
The tyranny of fate has made my spring the same as autumn.
Diyarim ähli birlä yardin bašimğä yüz mehnät,
Netañ bašim elib kätsäm qoyub yar-u diyarimni.
A hundred sorrows on my head from the people of my country and from my beloved,
It is no wonder if I head out and abandon love and country.
Yaman halimğa bağri ağriğay här kimsä kim körkäy,
Bağri pargaläsidin qanğa bulğanğan uzarimni.
My liver hurts and causes my ill condition, no matter who I see,
From the tatters of my liver my sorrows have polluted my blood.
Hayatim badäsidin särgärdanmän äsru, äy saqi,
Qädähqä zähär qatil, quy dağı däfi'ät χumarimni.
O saqi, I am much bewildered by the wine of my life,
Pour the murderer's poison in the glass, and dispell my intoxication.
Jähan tärkini qilmay, čünki tinmaq mümkin ärmästur,
Nävai, qil mäni azad, örtäb yoq-u barimni.
Do not abandon the world because rest is impossible,
Navā'ī, burn my being-and-non-being and make me free.

Navā'ī creates this verse around his technique of contrasting parallelism: the first line in the couplet sets up images, grammatical and lexical forms, or sound patterns that get reversed or otherwise transformed in the second line. As in several of his poems discussed in chapter 3, he makes each couplet a tightly organized whole.

In the first couplet the noun *mayil*, 'longing,' in the first line is echoed by the verb *tilärmän*, 'I seek,' in the second line, and the valley of madness is contrasted to the world. The poet paradoxically takes the road to the valley of madness in order to destroy his destroyed world. The second couplet ties the two lines together through the word *ğubar*, used to mean mist or dust in one case and dim sight in the other. In the third couplet, the contrast is the brightness of the light of God the beloved, which burns all worldly possessions, and the dimness of the candle at the tomb of the poet, the only worldly object he leaves once he has passed on. In the fourth couplet, *iχtiyar*, 'will,' is used in two grammatical constructions, each a pair of words, but with *iχtiyar* once the first word and once the second. In both cases *iχtiyar* is modified, but first in a Persian *izafet* construction and second in a Turkic possessive construction.

In the fifth couplet the poet contrasts two contrasts. In the first line Navā'ī uses common images of grief that refer to the color of the face and the tears: the bloody tears have stopped while the yellow face remains. In the second line oppressive fate has obliterated his youth, making his spring the same as his autumn. The sixth couplet has perhaps the most comprehensive structural reversal: *baš* ('head') is used as the object of the miseries caused by others and then synecdochically for the whole person of the poet as he 'heads' out for somewhere else. The assonant pair *yar* ('beloved') and *diyar* ('country') is used in the first line and then reversed in the second. The sense of the two lines changes from the poet as object of treatment by the country and his beloved to poet as subject responding to this treatment. In the seventh couplet his liver is in pain and then its tatters causes damage, polluting his blood. In the eighth couplet, he first characterizes the confusions of his life as a kind of wine and then seeks out the poisonous wine that will cure him of life's intoxication.

In the last couplet he dances once more around irresolvable opposites: he wants to be done with this world but recognizes the impossibility of rest even if he dies, and then he concludes that it is the constant movement between being and nothingness itself that must be destroyed to find true freedom. But the apparent resolution is a paradox: he replays these same conflicts in a hundred other ghazals, and every solution he has tried leaves him in the same predicament. Nonetheless, this predicament is so compelling, so full of *muñ*, that Ömär Akhun, Turdi Akhun, and other singers perform this ghazal many times.

When Ömär Akhun sang this ghazal for the Čäbbiyat muqam *muqäddimä*, he began with an initial couplet from an unidentified ghazal that as nearly as I can make out is:

Päläk, päläk bivä mulüχtin alda aram muqararimini,

Malamät bolmidim heč yärdä bilmäs män turarimni.

Later he explained this couplet for me, saying that it means that there is no stable place for the poet, that other people do not understand, and he knows of no place to stand. Even if not part of it in the written tradition, this couplet clearly fits the ghazal because the rhyme is the same and the word *päläk* (= *fäläk*) occurs in both this couplet and the ghazal. After this couplet he sang couplets from the preceding ghazal in the order 2, 1, 4, 3, 7, and 9. Then he continued to another three couplets from two other ghazals before ending his *muqäddimä* song. When he performed this same ghazal as the Uššaq *muqäddimä*, Ömär Akhun followed the same order but included another couplet. He began with the same unidentified couplet and then sang the succeeding couplets in the order 2, 1, 4, 3, 7, 8, and 9. There also appear to be a few differences in wording between his two performances, but these might be the result of lengthening and shortening sounds to fit the melody.

When I asked him about this text, Ömär's explanation of lines from the ghazal showed that he understood them somewhat differently from the text I have translated here. He explained them to me in the sequence in which he sang them. Line 3 he recited to me as *Päläk bidadidin gänjam mänam aχir, mänäm aχiri, ğubar boldim* and explained that it means that as a human created by God, he will die.[215] The fourth line he explained as meaning that the poet seeks but cannot find the eye medicine for his weak sight.[216] He then recited the first line as *Junun vadisiğa mayil, körünmän janu zarim* and explained that it means the poet has seen his soul get lost.

Ömär clearly knows the ghazal well, but in a completely different sequence from that found in manuscripts, and he leaves out several couplets. That he has a different order for the first four couplets while maintaining the order of the final couplets is atypical for ghazals, because the initial two or three couplets are usually the most fixed.

In addition, although couplet 6 seems the most parallelistic, it is one that Ömär leaves out, contradicting the aesthetic and memory principles that seem to influence the way ghazals are performed. However, couplet 6 is also the only one that mentions a beloved, so he may disregard it for that reason. That the earlier couplets are in a very different order is interesting, but Ömär Akhun has not changed which lines are in which couplets. As I show next, he does occasionally separate lines within couplets as well, but here each couplet is apparently held together by repetitions and parallelism.

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[215] 'Tügäyšüm män, a aχiri män adäm, alla yaratqan adäm män, tügüšimän. Tügümäydigän heč dunyadä adäm yoq.'

[216] 'Ğubar boldim tiläy, tiläykim tapmağaylär. Män tiläp tapalmaymän, heč küni. Tutiyarliqumni ğubarimni.'

6.8 From the People of the World (*Aläm ähldin*)

In the Uššaq *muqäddimä*, Ömär Akhun follows the *Junun vadisiğa* ghazal with couplets from another ghazal that Turdi Akhun sang often. Turdi Akhun sang only three couplets of the ghazal in his Rak *päšru* in the muqam edition published by Qurban Barat (1986: 12–13), but in Ärshidinov's edition he sang three to five couplets in the *päšru* of Rak and Bayat, the *jula* of Pänjigah and Bayat, and the *sänäm* of the Ab-i Čäšmä muqam. Turdi Akhun also sang single lines or couplets from this ghazal in several places in Ärshidinov's version (1970: 24, 54, 58, 87, 146–147, 188). The Ili muqam singers did not perform this ghazal at all, perhaps because they had nothing corresponding to the *päšru*, *jula*, or *sänäm*. I cannot find any editions of this poem, because the author, Ayasi, seems not to appear elsewhere.

Qurban Barat's edition of Turdi Akhun's muqam songs is clearly shorter than Batur Ärshidinov's. The present ghazal and the *Junun vadisiğa* ghazal just discussed each appear only once in Qurban Barat's edition, and each includes only three or four lines from these ghazals. In the version edited by Batur Ärshidinov, these appear many more times. This supports Qawul Akhun's explanation of Qurban Barat's edition, and Wan Tongshu's 1960 edition of the muqam music, which it matches, as corresponding to the shorter phonograph recordings of the muqams.

This ghazal also shows that Turdi Akhun often used the same *jula* and *sänäm* verses in different muqams. As I pointed out in chapter 2, the *jula* and *sänäm* seem to be muqam songs that are not unique to a particular muqam but recur in several. The *sänäm* in particular is a popular genre of dance music, and many towns have traditional *sänäm* songs (Säypulla and Ömär 1984). When or how these might have been incorporated into the muqams is unclear.

Ömär Akhun performed the *Aläm ähldin* ghazal in the Uššaq *muqäddimä* and the Mušavräk *muqäddimä*. His two performances are similar, and both differ in some interesting ways from the version sung by Turdi Akhun. I give Turdi Akhun's version from Ärshidinov's edition first, with line numbers, and then Ömär Akhun's version, with underlining. The translation corresponds to Ärshidinov's text.

1 *Aläm ähldin köñülniñ muddi'asi qalmidi.*
2 *Ötti ömrüm ušbu alämniñ säfasi qalmidi.*
Aläm ähldin köñülniñ, muddasi qalmidi,
Öttä ömrüm ušbu alämdin sapasi qalmidi.
The people of the world have not given up their heart's desires,
My life passed and none of the pleasures of this world remain.
3 Bir yoli kätti väfa' üšbu alämdin, kim tapur,
4 Män χiyal äyläp edim ančä bälasi qalmidi.

Bir yoli kätti vapañ alliyäy, qaysa alämdin tapur, [combining lines 3 and 5]
O, bir birigä aläm ähliniñ vapasi qalmidi. [using line 6 here]
Good faith left this world on one road, who will find it?
I had imagined that not many troubles remained for me.

5 *Bir yoli kätti väfa'i, ämdi qaydaq tapilur,*
6 *Bir-birigä aläm ähliniñ väfasi qalmidi.*
[Ömär Akhun leaves this couplet out]
Sincerity left by one road, now where will it be found?
No loyalty to one another remains among the people of the world.

7 *Bar emišdur dähriniñ ančä bälasi janimä,*
8 *Barğäli ol säbzä gülšänniñ hävasi qalmidi.*
Bar emišdur dähriniñ, ančä balasi janimä,
Män χiyal äyläp idim ančä balasi qalmidi. [using line 4 here]
It appears that there is much trouble for my soul in this world,
Since he went this green garden's air did not remain.

9 *Ey Ayasi jan berib özni χälas ätmäk keräk,*
10 *Mundin özgä häjri, därdiniñ dävasi qalmidi.*
Äy Ayasi jan berib, özni χälasi ätmäk keräk,
Mundin özgä hijrä därtigä davasi qalmidi.
O Ayasi, you must give up your soul and liberate yourself,
Besides this no medicine remains for the pain of separation.

Elsewhere Ömär Akhun avoided separating the lines in a couplet but changed the order of the couplets in a ghazal, dropped couplets from the middle, and included other couplets at the beginning. In this case he seems to rearrange the order and reconstruct the lines themselves. He combines lines 3 and 5 into a single line 3, because they both begin *bir yoli kätti väfa'*. He then sings line 6 in place of line 4, probably because it is associated with line 5. But he preserves line 4, singing it in place of line 8. Thus Ömär ends up one couplet shorter than the version Turdi Akhun sang, through losing parts of the latter's lines 3 and 5 and all of his line 8.

Clearly, Ömär Akhun rearranged these lines because they were difficult to keep distinct in the mind. Unlike Navā'ī, the unknown poet Ayasi does not make each couplet a distinctive unit, bound internally by parallelistic transformations of language and images. Ayasi makes lines 3 and 5 unusually similar by using the phrase *Bir yoli kätti väfa'* followed by the question 'who will find it?' in two different forms. Ömär Akhun readily rearranged these elements. Once he made line 5 part of line 3, he did not then sing the repeating line at all. Turdi Akhun's version may not be the original form that Ömär Akhun recomposed into a shorter form, but it seems more likely that the latter shortened the song than that Turdi Akhun extended

it. I have no evidence for extensions by these performers, whereas omissions and changes in wording happen more often.

The changes in Ömär Akhun's version of line 3, with its *alliyäy* for padding, could suggest that he was actively re-creating the line in order to fill a memory lapse. However, because he sang this song for me in very similar forms in both the Uššaq and Mušavräk muqams one week apart, it seems rather that the changes had already been made in the version he learned, or that he changed it when learning it and consistently performed this version. Overall, the sequence and lines that Ömär Akhun sings for this ghazal make just as much sense as those performed by Turdi Akhun. Ömär's version is not a haphazard response to forgetting but another version of the poem, showing that his repertoire is related but not identical to that of Turdi Akhun.

It seems clear that couplets were the basic fixed units of memorized verse that Ömär Akhun and Turdi Akhun used to compose the muqam songs, whereas a ghazal can be seen as an expandable but fairly fixed sequence for the couplets. Nonetheless, both singers occasionally treat single lines as separable units. These independent lines usually occur after longer ghazals and are apparently used as filler material to extend the lyrics to reach the end of the music, as Ömär Akhun described. These singers seem to choose particularly beautiful or meaningful lines to use in this way, especially those for the drawn-out and emphasized *čüšürgä* pieces used to end branches and sections.

Ömär Akhun's reorganization of individual lines in the *Aläm ähldin* ghazal is not part of the process of muqam composition during singing but a one-time reconstruction that might have taken place in transmission or intentional recomposition, or perhaps when he recalled a ghazal after a long period of time. In composing during performance Ömär Akhun and Turdi Akhun treat couplets and occasionally separate lines as fixed units while chaining together couplets and parts of ghazals into songs. They also use the couplets in a ghazal in a fixed sequence, although not necessarily that found in written versions of the ghazals, and then change the ghazal in performance only by leaving out couplets, not by rearranging them.

6.9 In the Garden (*Bağ ičrä*): Ömär Akhun's Uššaq *Täzä*

Ömär Akhun usually played only the muqam *muqäddimä* songs for me to record and for our discussions. When he played the Uššaq *muqäddimä* for me, however, he followed it with the *täzä* and *täzä märğuli*. The poem he sang in the *täzä* was one that Turdi Akhun also sang in the Uššaq *täzä* (Barat 1986: 187–188), as well as in the Rak *kičik säliqä* (Ärshidinov 1970: 21;

Barat 1986: 6).[217] Turdi Akhun also sang the first one or two couplets of this ghazal in the *jula* and *sänäm* of Mušavräk, Pänjigah, Özhal, and Uššaq in Batur Ärshidinov's edition (1970: 54, 88, 105, 132). Again these repetitions are not in the version Qurban Barat published, and this ghazal does not appear at all in the Ili muqam texts. It does appear as the Uššaq *täzä* in the revised Twelve Muqams (ME 1991: 9–10).[218]

Bağ ičrä saña sačti gül aq-u yešil [^qizil AN] yapraq,
Šah bašiğä andaqkim äl aq-u seriq [^qizil AN] yarmaq.
In the garden white flowers and green leaves blow to you,
Just as the people scatter yellow and white coins at the Shah's head.
Ne yarliğ olğaykim här kečä tañ atqunčä,
Sän 'äyš ilä uyquda [^rahättä QB] män ränj bilä oyğaq.
How destitute I am because every night until dawn,
You are in pleasant sleep [^comfort], and I am suffering and sleepless.
Köz märdumi koyuñniñ gärdin tiläban bardi,
Qaniki aqar ani qan tartti [^tuti MS] vaya tupraq.
The pupil of the eye has gone to seek the circuit of your street,
The crimson that flows drew either blood or dust to it.
Körgäč ani häyrätdin ilgimniki tišlabmän,
Barmaqğa batibdur tiš, tilni kesiban tirnaq.
From astonishment at seeing him/her, I bite into my hand,
The teeth sink into the fingers and the nails cut the tongue.
Jan näqdin äjäl birlä hijriñ ikki bolmišlar,
Andağki tapib sudi ayrilğäy ikki ortaq.
The beloved's value appears double in death and separation from you,
Just as when they get their profit two merchants will separate.
Koyuñ [^köyüñ QB] keräk učmaq yoqkim [^učmaqkim yoq MS, QB] učmaq [^ujmağu ME] koyuñda,
Ol näv' täfavutdur kim tomuğ ilä učmaq.
I need your street, there is no heaven except that on your street,
It is the same difference as that between heaven and hell.
Häm dähr bäqasizdur, häm 'ömr väfasizdur,

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[217] In Ärshidinov 1970 the Uššaq *täzä* uses a verse about the famous insane lover Majnun. This is one of the instances in which Qurban Barat's edition gives a longer song: twelve couplets in the *muqäddimä* and eleven in the *täzä,* as opposed to five and eleven couplets in Ärshidinov 1970: 129–130.

[218] In the following text I include variants from different sources within brackets. The sign ^ indicates that these are substitutions for the preceding word or phrase. I use the following abbreviations for sources: AN = Navā'ī 1987–1990, 5: 229–230; ME = ME 1991; MS = a privately held Navā'ī manuscript; QB = Barat 1986: 6; TE = Navā'ī 1982: 376. AN, MS, TE, and ME all give the couplets in the same order. Later I discuss the order in which Turdi Akhun sang these couplets.

Xušdur näfäsi özni ähbab ilä χuš tutmaq.
Both the age is transient and life is faithless,
With kind words hold onto your friends and and your happiness.
Yätmäklik erur müškül mäqsädğä, nedin kim bar
Köz χiräv-u tün tirä, at aqsaq-u yol tayğaq [^yartaq MS, ^burtaq AN].
Attaining the goal will be difficult, because
The eyes are blind and the night dark, the horse is lame and the road slippery.
Debsän ki Navayini kälgüm dağı öltürgüm,
Ol öldi bu häsrättin, käl täñri üčün batraq.
You said that you want to come and kill Navā'ī,
He died from this desire, for God's sake come quickly.

Several lines in this ghazal are ambiguous because Navā'ī repeats similar words in a single line to get varying meanings. In the second couplet, *yarliğ* could mean 'charter, royal permission,' but seems more appropriately read as 'poor, destitute.' In the third and sixth couplet the word *koyuñ* could be read as *köyüñ*, 'burn (me)' (imperative) or even potentially as *küyüñ*, 'your tune,' instead of *koyuñ*, 'your street.' *Učmaq* can be read as 'to fly' or 'heaven' and may be spelled *ujmağ* or *ujmaq*. In the seventh couplet, Navā'ī uses *χuš* once to mean 'kindly' and once to mean 'happiness.'

Parallel phrases, contrasts, and paradoxical imagery are important in this ghazal. These intricate images are doubtless a source of its appeal. In the first couplet, each line is a description of scattered objects in terms of their colors. In the second couplet, the second line contrasts the beloved's comfort with the lover's suffering. The fourth couplet offers both contrast and engagement to make the image more vivid: the second line describes the mutual penetration of teeth into fingers and fingernails into tongue. The fifth couplet compares two images of doubled value and its link to separation. In the seventh couplet the first line uses parallel phrases to criticize life and the world. The eighth couplet uses parallel phrases to describe the difficulty of the lover's path. Finally, the ninth couplet again uses paradox to stress the poet's predicament: Navā'ī is dying from desire for the beloved to come kill him.

When Ömär Akhun performs this in his Uššaq *täzä*, he sings only couplets 1, 2, 8, and 9, with an unidentifiable couplet that also contains the phrase *ränj bilä oyğaq*, 'suffering and sleepless,' between 8 and 9. Ömär seems again to be avoiding images of physical love by not singing the intervening couplets about the lover going to the beloved's street and biting into his hand. While singing the last three couplets Ömär uses brief instrumental segments to separate the pieces of his verse, almost as if he begins the instrumental *täzä märğuli* and then returns to his song. Because I have only

this one recording of him playing a *täzä* song, I do not know whether this is typical for him.

The records of Turdi Akhun's singing indicate that each time he sang this ghazal he sang couplets in the same sequence, just as Ömär Akhun did with the songs we looked at previously. In the Rak *kičik säliqä* he sang couplets 1, 2, 7, 5, 8, and 6. In the Uššaq Täzä he added a couplet in the middle and the final couplet and sang 1, 2, 3, 7, 5, 8, 6, and 9 (Barat 1986: 6, 187–188). Couplet 8 is one of the more important couplets in this song, perhaps because of the vivid imagery and internal parallelism expressing the difficulty of the lover's path. Ömär Akhun sang it along with the usually more important beginning and final couplets, and Turdi Akhun performed it as an independent couplet in the Mušavräk *nusχa čüšürgüsi* and the Özhal *sänäm* (Ärshidinov 1970: 53, 106; Barat 1986: 62).

6.10 O Early Spring (*Äy näv bahar*)

Another ghazal by Navā'ī that was important in the muqam repertoires of Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun begins *Äy näv bahar* (O early spring). Ömär Akhun did not sing it for me, but he did discuss it several times. In the published transcriptions, Turdi Akhun appears to have sung this ghazal or parts of it in eight different muqam songs: Rak *nusχa*, Čäbbiyat *kičik säliqä*, Mušavräk *muqäddimä*, Mušavräk *täzä*, Mušavräk *kičik säliqä*, Pänjigah *täzä*, Pänjigah *nusχa*, and Uššaq *nusχa*. Except for its absence in the Ärshidinov version of Uššaq *nusχa*, the selection is the same in both editions.[219] This verse appears only once in the revised muqams, in the Mušavräk *täzä* (ME 1984: 7–8; MRO 1986: 4–5), where it consists of all seven couplets, followed by the first couplet of the *Ašraqat min aksi šams* ghazal.

When I asked Ömär Akhun about this ghazal, he told me, 'I sing *Äy näv bahar* a lot. Turdi Akhun put it in two or three muqams. I put it in one or two. It goes well, it fits. The words fit. It goes with Čäbbiyat, with Mušavräk, with Uššaq, with Pänjigah.'

Äy näv bahar-i äräziñ subhiğä jan pärvär hava,
Andin gul-u bulbul tapip yüz bärg birlä miñ nava.
O early spring, your face gives refreshing air to the dawn,
And from it come the nightingale and rose with 100 petals and 1,000 melodies.
Tubi-u šaχ-i sidrädur koyuñ giyahi nigäkim,
'Uššaq äšk-u ahidin härdäm tapar su-u häva.
The heavenly tree and cedar branches are the plants and trees of your street, because

[219] Ärshidinov 1970: 21, 38, 48, 57, 86–87; Barat 1986: 5, 34, 53, 55, 115, 119, 190.

From lovers' tears and sighs they will always find water and air.
Zähr-i firaqiñdin qayu ašiqqa boldi [^bolğay MS] tälχkam,
Noš-i visaliñ yätmasä 'Äysa aña tapmas däva.
From the poison of your separation, what is there for a lover besides hopelessness?
If [the lover] does not attain the nectar of union with you, Jesus [himself] will be unable to find a cure for him.
Čün qazi ul-hajat sän, dävayi mehriñ qilğali,
Därd-u firaq änduhidin kältürmišäm ikki guva.
Because you are the great judge, in order that you make your love a medicine,
I brought the grief of my pain and separation as two witnesses.
Qilmay qobul ijadniñ imkani yoq soñra yäna,
Mäqbulni räd äylämäk lutfuñdin olğaymu räva.
If [you] do not accept [me] there will no longer be the possibility of creation,
Can your grace permit the rejection of acceptance?
Zahid köñülniñ χälvätin mätlub ğäyridin erit,
Sän säyr qilsañ qil keräk köñlüñgä bolsa inziva.
The ascetic's solitude will be melted by the desire for a stranger,
If you take a voyage, you must take it though your heart is in seclusion.
Desäñ Navayi jan ara mähbub bolğay jilvigär,
Avval köñül közgüsidin mähv äylä näqš-i masiva.
If you say Navā'ī in your soul, the beloved will be manifest,
First from the mirror of the heart annihilate the image of the external.

This verse appears in the editions Navā'ī 1987–1990, 5: 7, and Navā'ī 1982: 307, where the order of the couplets is the same and matches that in Turdi Akhun's Rak *nusχa* (Ärshidinov 1970: 21; Barat 1986: 5). One reason for the popularity of this verse is that it appears as the first verse in Navā'ī's dīvān *Badā'i' al-vasat* (Navā'ī 1987–1990, 5). Turdi Akhun seems to have learned this ghazal from written versions and to have felt it was important to keep the ghazal fairly complete. He performed the couplets in the same order as in the foregoing written version and often performed all seven couplets. When he left some off, they were omitted from the end, not from the middle, and when he used only one couplet, it was always the first one.

Ömär Akhun discussed this as an example of a deeply meaningful and complex ghazal that even poets and great scholars (*čoñ alimlar*) would be unable to explain. He said the second couplet meant that whoever did good

things would find good air and contentment.[220] He did not discuss much of the rest of the poem. Although the ghazal is obviously about the lover and the beloved, Ömär Akhun felt it was a serious and worthwhile ghazal because it connected love imagery to spiritual ideas.

The first couplet uses the rose and nightingale image, which was important for Sufi poet-singers singing of the beloved/God. The next two couplets refer to lovers but within the context of powerful spiritual symbols, including the heavenly tree and the curing power of Jesus (‘Aysā). These references to the beloved are not on the superficial physical level of the burning sighs and beautiful cheeks that Ömär Akhun avoided. The extensive use of *izafet* constructions, particularly in the contrasting images of the ‘poison of separation’ and the ‘nectar of union,’ and the use of the *–u* ‘and’ conjunction are important structural patterns in this poem, adding to its syntactic complexity.

Couplets 4 and 5 refer to the beloved as a powerful creator, whereas the last two couplets use imagery from Sufi ideas about the path of the lover. The sixth couplet suggests Naqshbandī ideas about solitude in the crowd and being a traveler in the world while inwardly one remains in seclusion, but it is perhaps more noteworthy that such specific dogma never becomes particularly salient in these poems. Aesthetics, widely known images, and spirituality take precedence over the details of particular beliefs. The seventh couplet describes internal awareness of the beloved and cleaning the mirror of the heart so that it will only reflect God, while giving up the external world. Turdi Akhun performed this serious and deeply symbolic song in the slower and more contemplative muqam songs, but only in one *muqäddimä*. That he sang it frequently and fully in these slower songs suggests that he considered the ideas in it particularly appealing and worthy of thought.

6.11 O Seven Worlds (*Äy yätti mänzär*)

Another common poem in Turdi Akhun’s repertoire begins *Äy yätti mänzär*, ‘O seven worlds,’ a reference to a cosmological image of creation. He sang three to nine couplets from this ghazal in Mušavräk *täzä*, Čargah *nusχa*, Pänjigah *nusχa*, Äjäm *täzä*, and Nava *nusχa* and one couplet in Sigah *säliqä*. It does not appear in the revised Twelve Muqams at all. This ghazal is like the *Äy näv bahar* ghazal because Turdi Akhun frequently sang it in *täzä* and *nusχa* songs and as the first verse in Navā’ī’s dīvān *Favā’id al-kibar* (Navā’ī 1987–1990, 6) it was probably widely known. My translation is somewhat

[220] ‘Čim yaχšiliq qilsa, šu, hava här däm tapidu, razi eytidu. Här kiši yaχšiliq qilmisa bolmaydu digän ašundaq mänidä, buniñ mänilär ču a čoñqur.’

unsatisfactory because without a manuscript version or accurate edition some words remain ambiguous:

Äy, yätti mänzär tärhiğa mi'mar-i sun'uñdin bina,
Mäsnu'lar fānī väle mäslub sani'din fäna.
O buildings on the foundations of the seven worlds from the builder of your works,
Creations are transitory, snatched from the creator into annihiliation.
Čekmäy mäläk lutfuñ küni, juz zikr ilä täsbih üni,
Adäm deban qähriñ tüni här däm 'zälämna räbbäna.'
An angel does not suffer from your Day of Judgment, nor the sound of zikr [religious chant] and beads,
Nor a man saying every moment during your night of power, 'It is dark, O lord.'
Hämdiñda här kutah näzär häm guñg-u lal olğay mägär,
Čünkim demiš 'χäyr ul-bäšär' ol yerdä 'la'uhsi sana.'
In praising your every short glance I am not deaf and dumb,
Because he said 'good things to humans' without number.
Jins-i bäšär yoq agähiñ, χuršid χok-i därgahiñ,
Kök mahd ara tifli rähiñ yetti ata-u tört ana.
You are not aware of the human race, the sun is a pig in your court,
In the blue heavens your red wine is the seven fathers and four mothers.
Fäqir ähli istäb qurbätiñ, ähli ğina' häm ta'ätiñ,
Yätkängä dağı furqätiñ nä fäqir mani' ne ğana'.
The poor people seek your nearness, the people of song seek your service,
How can attaining the scars of separation from you hinder the poor one's benefits?
Väsliñdä 'išrät χob ärur, 'äyš-u täräb märğub ärur,
Sänsiz maña mätlub ärur tändä äläm, janda 'äna.
Meeting you is a great pleasure, a delight and amusement in demand,
Without you desire is pain in my body, hardship in my soul.
Išqiñda bir divanäliğ, šäbqiñdä pärvanäliğ,
Äğyaridin beganäliğ äyläb özüñgä ašina.
A madman in love with you, a moth lusting after you,
Acting like a stranger to strangers and coming close to you.
Jurm-u gunahlärdin ötub, kältürmä yüzgä qorqutub,
Lalä ägär sağär tutub, musičä gär qilmiš zina.
Avoiding faults and sins, fearing to have brought to my face

A tulip holding a cup, or a wood-pigeon commiting adultery.[221]
Bardur Nävaiy bekäsi, 'išq ičrä andağkim χäsi,
Čün örtädiñ ani bäsi, köydürmä dävzäχdä yäna.
Navā'ī is without friends, so in love that he lives in mountains,
Since you have burned him enough, do not burn him further in hell.

In this complex poem Navā'ī repeats sounds, roots, and words in terse half-line phrases. These short rhythmic phrases make this poem particularly appropriate for the *nusχa* and *täzä* songs rather than for the *muqäddimä*. Again this song is a clear address to God with only a few suggestions of the romantic allegory, and it is either the complexity of the language or the absence of romance that has led to its exclusion from the revised muqam canon.

This frequently performed song also shows the stability of Turdi Akhun's performances and the apparent accuracy of the transcriptions of his performances, at least in the version edited by Qurban Barat. In the five multi-couplet transcriptions of performances given in Qurban Barat's edition of the muqam texts, Turdi Akhun plays the couplets in the following sequences:

Mušavräk *täzä*	1, 2, 3	(Barat 1986: 55–56)
Čargah *nusχa*	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9	(Barat 1986: 96)
Pänjigah *nusχa*	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 6, 8, 9	(Barat 1986: 118–119)
Äjäm *täzä*	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9	(Barat 1986: 171)
Nava *nusχa*	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 6, 8, 9	(Barat 1986: 242)

In Batur Ärshidinov's edition they appear as follows:

Mušavräk *täzä*	1, 2, 3	(Ärshidinov 1970: 48)
Čargah *nusχa*	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	(Ärshidinov 1970: 72)
Pänjigah *nusχa*	States only that entire text is sung	(Ärshidinov 1970: 87)
Nava *nusχa*	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9	(Ärshidinov 1970: 157)
Sigah *säliqä*	1	(Ärshidinov 1970: 171)

Clearly, Turdi Akhun knew a fixed form of the ghazal that included all the couplets with a minor change in sequence from the manuscript version, but he did not always play all of them. But even when he left some verses out, he always followed the same verse sequence.

Batur Ärshidinov's 1970 publication of these texts shows no deviation from the order of verses in the written collections, and he mentions this text as one that he used a manuscript original to edit (1970: 225). This shows how Batur Ärshidinov corrected the text to conform to written sources when

[221] These images both appear to be figurative references to sexuality.

he could find them, whereas Qurban Barat's edition seems to preserve the songs as performed by Turdi Akhun.

6.12 'Folk' Texts in the Čoñ Nägmä

A careful comparison of some songs that seem to have no written sources reveals another way in which Turdi Akhun treated poetic couplets. The following is a group of nine rhyming couplets that are combined into loosely linked songs. The longest arrangement of these couplets is found in the Özhal *päšru* of Qurban Barat's edition (1986: 154) and goes as follows:

1 *Örgülgüčä-čörgülgüčä yillar örüldi,*
Yüräktiki seriqsular qanğa örüldi.
Spinning on, the years have whirled by,
In the heart, yellow water mixes with blood.

2 *Ey nazäninlar išqiñ oti mändä baru-bar,*
Yüzmiñ japa-jävr-i sitäm sändä baru-bar.
O beauty, the flame of my love for you cries out within me,
100,000 injustices and cruelties of tyranny are always in you.

3 *Ävväl bašlap Xudayimni yad etili,*
Päyğämbärlär rohini šad etili.
When first beginning to recall my God,
The Prophet's soul was made joyous.

4 *Irğay bilän elip bolmas sayniñ tašini*
Därd kälgändä ertip bolmas közniñ yašini.
With an irğay staff I cannot climb the stones of the river valley,
With the coming of pain, no tears seep from the eyes.

5 *Irğayliqtin alğan tayaq qamčiñiz bolsun,*
Xudayimğa tapšurdum yoliñiz bolsun.
May your staff and whip handle be made from *irğay* wood,
I gave [myself] to my God, may your road be easy.

Couplets from this group that do not appear in the preceding quotation are the following:

6 Qandaq qilimän, nä'ilaj qilay, janğa tägkän oq,
Gahi kelip, gahi yenip äqli hošum yoq (Barat 1986: 151).
What shall I do, what way shall I go? The arrow has struck my soul,
Whether I come or go, my reason and intelligence are gone.

7 Qarčiğamni qušlimiğan tağlar qalmidi,
Yarim bilän oynimiğan bağlar qalmidi (Barat 1986: 149).
There are no mountains left where I have not hunted with my eagle,
No gardens where I have not played with my love.

8 Kiši visal tüni yari bilän yatqunčä,
Jamali säm'igä näzär tañ atqunčä (Barat 1986: 302).
People on the night of meeting will attain their love,
And look at the beauty of their candle until dawn.

9 Törülüp, tuğulup körginim yoq bu väyranliqni,
Pešanämgä pütüp aldim särgärdanliqni (Ärshidinov 1970: 188; Barat 1986: 302).
Coming out and being born, I did not want to see this destruction,
On my forehead [destiny] I was able to write my confusion.

Although there are variations of spelling and verbal forms and even a few lexical substitutions among the different texts, the basic meanings of these couplets do not change. I have numbered them in the foregoing sequence in order to characterize the sequence of couplets each time they occur, as follows:

Rak kičik säliqiniñ märğ. čüš.	4, 6	(Ärshidinov 1970: 22)
Čäbbiyat čoñ säliqä	1, 2, 5	(MG 1981)
Pänjigah jula	2, 3	(Ärshidinov 1970; Barat 1986: 121)
Pänjigah sänäm	4, 7, 1	(Ärshidinov 1970; Barat 1986: 123)
Pänjigah päšru	1, 3, 6, 2	(Ärshidinov 1970: 91; Barat 1986: 129)
Özhal 2–kičik säliqä	4, 7, 3	(Ärshidinov 1970: 107)
Özhal 2–kičik säl. özgiriš	6	(Ärshidinov 1970: 107)
Özhal kičik säliqäniñ čüš.	4, 7, 3	(Barat 1986: 149)
Özhal sänäm	1, 6	(Ärshidinov 1970: 105; Barat 1986: 151)
Özhal päšru	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	(Barat 1986: 154)
Özhal päšru	1, 2, 4, 5	(Ärshidinov 1970: 108)
Uššaq sänäm	2	(Ärshidinov 1970; Barat 1986)
Sigah säliqä	4	(Ärshidinov 1970: 171)
Sigah kičik säliqä	4	(Barat 1986: 263)
Nava kičik säliqä	3	(Ärshidinov 1970: 159; Barat 1986)
Iraq täzä märğuliniñ čüš.	4	(Barat 1986)
Iraq täzä märğ. čüš.	4	(Ärshidinov 1970: 177)
Ab-i Čäšmä jula	8, 1, 9, 6	(Barat 1986: 302)
Ab-i Čäšmä jula	1, 9, 6	(Ärshidinov 1970: 188)

In the Ili muqams this group of verses is not used at all except in one case where couplet 4 seems to appear in the somewhat altered form *Teriğän bilän alib bolmas, sayniñ tašini / Därt kälgändä siñrib bolmas, közniñ yašini*. This is the first couplet in a ghazal attributed to the nineteenth-century Ili poet Bilal Nazim in the fifth mäšräp song of Mušavräk muqam (Ärshidinov 1987: 62).

The preceding list shows clearly that there is no fixed sequence for organizing these verses into songs, although they hold together thematically and structurally, and Turdi Akhun never mixed them with other couplets. Independent couplets from outside this set are sung before or after these, but not in their midst, except in the marginal case of the Özhal second *kičik säliqä* and *özgiriš*, in which a couplet from Navā'ī intervenes. The list shows that certain sequences repeat from one song to another, but these do not dominate or establish an overall sequence for these couplets.

This comparison also shows that when there are no other texts with which to correct the transcriptions, the versions in Qurban Barat's and Batur Ärshidinov's editions are generally very similar.

As pointed out by critics discussed in chapter 3, ghazal poems often have no clear narrative sequence or thematic coherence. Nevertheless, the traditional muqam performers Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun maintained a fairly strict order for the couplets in a ghazal. Sometimes the order they learned was not the same as that in most manuscripts, but manuscript versions themselves do not always have the same sequence. These muqam performers never rearranged the couplets of a ghazal in several different sequences the way Turdi Akhun did this cycle of 'folk' poetic couplets. Hence these are a rather different dimension of the muqam songs and suggest that the couplets performed in the *jula, sänäm, päšru*, and *säliqä* are conceived of differently from the more classical ghazal poetry of the earlier pieces, such as *täzä* and *nusχa*. That the poetry is kept distinct also suggests that these musical pieces are felt to suit different kinds of poetry, at least in these two categories of songs.

6.13 Single Couplets

Other frequently appearing verses reveal further aspects of the way the muqam songs were put together by Turdi Akhun. We have seen that he performed many of the same ghazals in different songs. In other cases he sang individual couplets that were from ghazals but always appeared alone, such as this one, which I discussed earlier:

On the emerald arch a line written in gold said that,
Other than the benevolence of kind people, nothing will last forever.[222]

Turdi Akhun sang this couplet in the *muqäddimä* of Čäbbiyat, Özhal, and Äjäm and in the *täkit* of Mušavräk, Čargah, Pänjigah, and Nava. In Qurban Barat's edition, Turdi Akhun also sang it in the Čäbbiyat *täzä čüšürgüsi*. When he sang it with other ghazals, as in the *muqäddimä* and the *täzä čüšürgüsi*, Turdi Akhun sang this as the concluding couplet. When he sang it in

[222] Ärshidinov 1970: 35, 59, 75, 92, 102, 129, 160; Barat 1986: 30, 131, 170.

the *täkit*, he sang it as the first and often the only couplet. When it was not alone in the *täkit*, he sang only one other couplet or quatrain.

Likewise, Turdi Akhun sang couplet 8 from the *Bağ ičrä* ghazal in the Mušavräk *nusχa čüšürgüsi* (Barat 1986: 62),[223] and he sang the first couplet from the *Aläm ähli̇din* ghazal in the *čüšürgä* of Mušavräk *säliqä* (Ärshidinov 1970: 54). Turdi Akhun also sang the first line from the *Bir kün meni* ghazal in the *čüšürgüsi* of Äjäm *täzä* (Ärshidinov 1970: 118; Barat 1986: 173) and the entire first couplet in the *čüšürgüsi* of Bayat *säliqä* (Ärshidinov 1970: 145; Barat 1986: 218).

One of the most common couplets that Turdi Akhun sang is the following first couplet from a ghazal by Navā'ī:

Häyhatkim birav ğämidin zarmän yäna,
Färyadkim, bälağä giriftar män yäna.
Alas that I complain again about the sadness one has caused,
I am suffering from being seized by troubles again.

Turdi Akhun usually sang only one or two couplets from this ghazal in *jula*, *täzä*, and *säliqä* songs and their *čüšürgüsi* (Ärshidinov 1970: 22, 51, 87, 106–107, 133, 144, 159, 160, 170). Ärshidinov gives the full seven couplets of this ghazal in the Äjäm *täzä* (1970: 118). These vary only a little from those that appear in the Ürümchi edition (Navā'ī 1982: 160–162). Ärshidinov seems to have added the rest of this ghazal, because it appears in his list in the back as one for which he found the original and completed the text (1970: 225).

In the *täkit* song of Äjäm, Uššaq, Bayat, and Sigah, Turdi Akhun sang the following couplet expressing the idea of worldly impermanence:[224]

Noh ömrigä baqa yoqtur, Sulayman mülkigä,
Äy Navayi badä ič, aläm ğemi bihudädur.
Noah's life was not eternal, nor was Solomon's rule,
O Navā'ī, drink the wine, and become senseless to the pain of the world.

Again in Ärshidinov's edition of the Äjäm *täkit* this song has been expanded to consist of the complete seven couplets from Navā'ī's ghazal. Although he does not mark the other couplets as added, he does list this ghazal as another for which he completed the text (Ärshidinov 1970: 225).[225]

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[223] In the revised version this couplet has been replaced with couplet 9 from the same ghazal (ME 1984: 13; MRO 1986: 8). This conforms to the tendency to use only the concluding couplets of ghazals in the modern *čüšürgüsi*.

[224] Ärshidinov 1970: 120, 135, 147, 171; Barat 1986: 177, 202, 224, 266.

[225] The ghazal that he gives begins with the couplet *Aräziñ közgüsimu tär käsrätidin suvdädur / Yaχud ol aräz süyiniñ äksimu közgüdädur* (Ärshidinov 1970: 120).

Although both Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun often used individual couplets to stretch out songs to fit the music, the most distinctive use of single couplets and even lines is in the *čüšürgüsi* and *täkit* songs. The former songs mark the end of *märğul* instrumental pieces, and the latter mark the end of the Čoñ Näğmä. Both are distinctive, slower songs that emphasize the lyrics. That the same couplet appears in several different *täkit* or *čüšürgüsi* songs suggests again that texts were often linked with particular branches in several muqams, and it possibly shows linkage of poetic text and rhythm.

In the revised muqams the *täkit* is sung as a choral song, with a brief solo, free-rhythm line from the *muqäddimä* after it. The *čüšürgüsi* songs are sung in chorus. Most of the modern *täkit* texts have been edited to be longer than those sung by Turdi Akhun, and the *čüšürgüsi* mostly consist of the final couplets of the ghazals that were sung in the preceding song. Few single couplets appear without the rest of the ghazal, and no couplets get repeated in several different parts of the muqams. Thus the emphasis that Turdi Akhun gave to certain repeated ideas does not occur in the edited muqams, and all couplets, like all ghazals in the revised versions, are treated as roughly equal in significance.

6.14 Conclusion

Editing and publishing the muqam texts originally involved a process of rationalizing and correcting performances recorded from Turdi Akhun. Careful analysis of song texts from Turdi Akhun and Ömär Akhun reveals certain principles of composition and memory that these performers used in performance. Further, the contents of important and repeated texts reveal strong preferences for religious ideas and images rather than images of love, which appear far more often in the contemporary revised muqam versions.

Although Ömär Akhun's and Turdi Akhun's repertoires and performance styles are closely related, the repertoires of Ili performers and the versions in the edited muqams are quite different, although there are still obvious connections among the different versions. The revised muqams have been edited to eliminate repetitions and to limit the religious material, the wide use of ghazals by Navā'ī, Mashrab, and Huvaydā, and the performers' varying choices of ghazals and couplets. Turdi Akhun rarely sang the same verses in the Čoñ Näğmä, Dastan, and Mäšräp sections, even though folk poetry and ghazals by the same authors do appear in all three parts of the muqams. In the next chapter I examine the songs sung in the Dastan and Mäšräp sections. We thus leave Ömär Akhun's domain, because he does not consider dastan and mäšräp songs part of the muqam tradition, even if he sings some of them to please his audiences.

Chapter 7
Dastan and Mäšräp Songs in the Muqams

Qawul Akhun described his father's learning the muqam dastan songs from dastan performers Juma Akhun (Jumakhun) from Kashgar, Mämät Mulla from Yarkand, and Rozi Tämbur from Ili. Qawul explained that his father exchanged songs much as Ömär Akhun described: other performers would teach Turdi Akhun what they knew, and he would teach them what he knew. Ili performers, particularly Rozi Tämbur – whom Qawul described as basically a *dastanči* – knew the dastan songs better, and the modern editors used these to fill out Turdi Akhun's repertoire. Rozi Tämbur was recorded in Ürümchi in 1951, at the same time Turdi Akhun was making his first recordings. The editors had also recorded the repertoire of the *'āshiq* Yüsüp Ämät, who knew forty dastans, and they had used some of his texts for the new muqam versions.

Qawul pointed out that Turdi Akhun performed five dastan songs for some muqams, whereas the revised versions usually had three or four songs. In the published editions, however, Turdi Akhun seems to have sung only three or four dastans, so perhaps Qawul was referring to recorded songs that were not published. Because he was not trying to specify the fate of each of Turdi Akhun's songs, his comments were not necessarily exact. But comparison of the dastan texts shows that the editors completely reorganized them, leaving nothing that Turdi Akhun sang as it was, despite his efforts to learn them from Ili performers. In several cases – Rak second dastan, Mušavräk second dastan, and Özhal first and third dastans – the 1960s manuscripts (NB1 and NB2) link the Ili muqams as given in Ärshidinov 1987 and the versions that were later used in the revised Twelve Muqams. My comparison in this chapter of versions of the *Gherip-Sänäm* dastan further demonstrates that Turdi Akhun's repertoire of songs differed greatly from that of the Ili performers, although their songs were all from closely related narratives.

In the first half of the chapter I compare dastan songs sung by Turdi Akhun with those sung by Ili performers, those in the revised song texts, and

those I have found in published editions of these popular literary texts. I focus on the most popular Uyghur dastan narrative, the love story of Gherip and Sänäm, and describe its connections to versions from elsewhere in Turkic Central Asia, especially Turkmen versions.

7.1 Written Dastan Texts

The Uyghur romantic epics known as dastans are a fairly recent, popular oral and written form. There is little evidence for them before the nineteenth century in East Turkistan. Turkic literary romantic epics by poets such as Navā'ī and Fuzūlī were widespread, but they do not have the alternation of verse and prose narration (prosimetrum, chantefable) that characterizes the popular dastans. The classical literary romantic epics are entirely in verse and the plots have only general relationships to those of the popular dastans. The different Uyghur dastans are closely related to one another, sharing plot elements and romantic themes about lovers separated from each other by society and family. In the most popular Uyghur dastans that I have examined, the versions are so similar and the borrowings from one dastan to another so great that performers or texts must have come from the same narrow milieu.

European researchers have paid little attention to the Central Asian Turkic dastans when compared to their work on folktales and Turkic heroic epic and ghazal poetry. The main reason seems to be that folklorists have used oral composition and transmission as defining criteria for folk traditions. Soviet folklorists in particular have been reluctant to admit written and elite literature as a source for folk performances, and many scholars were not interested in studying narratives that were not unique and traditional in one ethnic group. The dominant attention was oriented towards the 'pure' heroic national epics of the Turkic nomads, uncontaminated by foreign and urban influences. Western researchers using secondary sources have tended to follow the restricted notion that Viktor Zhirmunskii, Hadi Zarif, and their colleagues had of the heroic and purely oral epic. Walter Feldman (1980: 29–46) describes how Soviet researchers rejected parts or all of the repertoires of many performers because they sang lyrical, romantic, and religious works or read from texts.[226]

[226] Romantic dastans are considered derivative or inauthentic while heroic epics are valued as more original and purely oral (see Paksoy 1989: 5–6 and 13-14; Imomov 1990: 239–242; Reichl 1992, 2000). On the other hand, the many studies of Kurdish, Pashto, Persian, Turkish and Urdu dastan and romance traditions have examined the interaction of literate and oral forms and related performance practices. I list here some of the more important scholars (leaving out many important translators): Christine Allison, Ilhan Başgöz, Pertev Naili Boratav, Wolfram Eberhard, Benedicte Grima, William Hanaway, Wilma Heston, Hugo

Feldman also describes the important influence of written forms on the oral epics, but he remains largely within the limits of the Soviet paradigm, in which oral heroic epics and their performers are studied in depth while written and oral romantic epics are neglected. Indeed, Feldman seems to gloss over the deep generic differences in the form and content of these epics, although Zhirmunskii (1969) does not. The latter states, 'In the Near East, popular novels (*Volksromane*), which are very widespread in Turkmenia, Azerbaijan and Turkey, have practically superseded the old heroic *epos*' (1969: 316). Zhirmunskii argues for studying relationships between the popular manuscript, printed, and oral versions of old and new epics, but he still relies on the Marxist and Soviet dogma that says epics evolve through stages that correspond to socioeconomic development. He claims that even without literary influences, Kazakh and Kyrgyz epics went through the shift from heroic themes to 'popular epic tales with plots built mostly on themes of love and family conflict,' and he describes the Köroghlu epic as a reflection of feudal class struggle (1969: 316–317).

Feldman (1980: 69–105) also seeks the earliest origins for epics, even though there are few documentary records that would facilitate such a search. Because he too focuses on oral heroic epics, he mentions Zhirmunskii's arguments about the literary origins of several minor epics but does discuss them in detail. Local researchers have generally followed Soviet and European paradigms and not explored the oral and written interaction of these texts, although there are published transcriptions and translations of the dastans. Khalyk Korogly (1983) wrote a useful study of the connections among Iranian and Turkic popular dastan epics, but he did not discuss when and how these entered performance. Because there are so many primary sources for studying these epics, he limited himself to considering only the *Shasänäm-Garyp* (*Gharib-Sanam*, *Gherip-Sänäm*, *Ashik Kerib*) dastan as it has circulated in manuscript in Central and West Asia (see also the text editions in Korogly and Stebleva 1991).

Batur Ärshidinov, the Uyghur scholar who edited the Soviet publications of the muqam texts of Turdi Akhun and those from Ili muqam performers, also works on editing the dastan texts. But in his excellent study *Uyğur klassikliri ijadiyitidä dastan janri* (1988) he worked only on the sources and poetic forms of dastans composed by known authors and not on the popular anonymous dastans that are found in the muqams. The Uyghur folklorist Abdukerim Raχman gives a sweeping historical overview of a variety of dastans in his 1988 book *Folklor vä yazma ädäbiyat* and identifies many of the foreign publications of Uyghur and related versions of the

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Makas, Ulrich Marzolph, Julie Scott Meisami, Irène Mélikoff, Frances W. Pritchett, and Judith Wilks.

dastans (1988: 55–86). In a 1983 article he categorizes Uyghur dastans according to Soviet classifications of genres as heroic, war (*jäñnamä*), historical, romantic, and literary (see Imomov 1990). But neither of Raχman's works presentpresents textual examples or analysis or discuss, nor discusses Uyghur dastan performance.

7.2 The Distribution and Variation of *Gherip-Sänäm*

The most popular Uyghur dastan is the story of the lovers Gherip and Sänäm. Gunnar Jarring's introduction to his edition of a short piece from the dastan (1980b: 101–118) contains a brief overview of Turkic versions from a Uyghur perspective. Jarring (1983: 248–316) mentions the dissertation *Shahsanam i Garyp* by Khalyk Korogly which seems to be largely included in Korogly's book (1983). Unfortunately, Korogly ignores Uyghur versions of this dastan, although he briefly discusses lithographed versions published in Tashkent that seem to be the source for many of the Uyghur versions. Korogly examines the historical basis for this folk narrative, grounded in the character of the Safavid Shah Abbas I (1587–1629), who succeeded in taking Diyarbakır from the Turks, and he cites the mention of the Qizilbash in Ajamistan (Iran) in the poem as dating it to Shah Abbas's period (Korogly 1983: 284).

Xinjiang publications say little about this work. It appears five times in Qurban Väli's catalog of manuscripts (1988: 42, 104–106), the only dated item being a lithograph from Tashkent from 1916. The other items he describes are all manuscripts with no indication of date or provenance. Histories of Uyghur literature ignore folk dastans because the histories are organized according to works with known authors. But Abdukerim Raχman advocates comparative study of *Gherip-Sänäm* and gives a list of eleven manuscripts of the text in Xinjiang and abroad, including those written by Yusuf Hajji and by Shamsuddin (Raχman 1988: 72–78) that I will discuss below.

Here I use two Uyghur editions of this dastan. One was reprinted in the journal *Bulaq* (Ärshidinov 1984) from Batur Ärshidinov's edition published originally in the Kazakh literary magazine *Zhazushy* in 1982. The other was edited by Xojaχmäd Yünüs and published in a collection of dastans edited by Abdukerim Raχman (Yünüs 1986). Both editions are from manuscripts rather than from oral performances. Batur Ärshidinov's edition is based on the 1290 AH (1873 CE) manuscript that A. M. Muginov (1962: 112, no. 179) described in his catalog, but Xojaχmäd Yünüs gives no information about his source. Jarring (1983) suggests that the popularity and similarity among the versions of this dastan in Xinjiang are due to late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century lithographed editions from Tashkent. He also describes the language as limited in its use of Persian and Arabic, a

valid judgment only when the dastans are compared with classical Turkic ghazal poetry or religious writings. The dastans have Persian and Arabic content similar to that of the poems of Mashrab and Huvaydā, and the many Persian and Arabic words used as key terms in the plot suggest that these dastans originated as translations.

Because these works also circulated in manuscript, it seems likely that the limited variation arises from the introduction of this narrative to East Turkistan only in the nineteenth century. Versions in other parts of West and Central Asia vary more in plot, as shown by Jarring and Korogly, while those in Xinjiang are more consistent. In the editions of Ärshidinov and Yünüs, the prose recitations vary widely in length and form, but the dialogue poems that are sung to mark the turning points of the plot are remarkably similar. In addition, these poems rely upon formulaic structures that are shared in different dastans.

Despite suggestions that *Gherip-Sänäm* originated in the sixteenth century or even before, the only indications that this could be so are the widely differing versions found outside Xinjiang. In Xinjiang the known manuscripts and lithographs all seem to be from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[227] In the twentieth century *Gherip-Sänäm* has gained another audience through stage performances as a musical drama. The script by I. Sattarov and V. D'iakov, first performed in 1941, has become an oft-cited model for Uyghur drama (Kadyrov 1984: 34–35, 85–86, 150).[228]

I have not made extensive comparisons of the dastan editions I have to non-'Uyghur' versions of this narrative. But the examples given by Korogly show that some Turkmen and Azerbaijani versions are similar to those circulating in Xinjiang, despite changes in plot. The verse in which Gherip speaks to Sänäm when she discovers him in a garden is the same in the muqam dastan songs and in the Uyghur editions of the dastans and is closely related to the Turkmen version that Korogly discusses. Korogly (1983: 305) gives the following version of the first quatrain:

Bagyñ ičre bagban bolsam,	In your garden I would be a gardener,
Tirsem täze gülleriñni	in order to gather your fresh flowers,

[227] Jarring (1980b: 107) says he was told that the Xinjiang Museum in Ürümchi had a version composed in the sixteenth century by Yusuf Hajji, and Kadyrov (1984: 34) argues that the roots of *Gherip-Sänäm* 'go back to the XV-XVI centuries, that is, in that period when the famous Uyghur 'Twelve Muqams' were being formed.' Ironically, Kadyrov also states that the legend of Gherip and Sänäm was written down in the mid-nineteenth century by Yusuf Hajji and Shamsuddin, thereby undermining the claim made to Jarring at the Xinjiang Museum.

[228] In the photo section of Kadyrov 1984, among the plays based on classical Uyghur history and literature, *Anarχan* has nine photos devoted to it, *Gherip-Sänäm* has five, and *Mukamči* five.

Vysalyñyz nesip etse If only you would meet with me
Gučsam inče billeriñni. If only I could hold your slender waist.

Except for the third line, a quatrain with nearly the same meaning appears in *Uyğur χälq dastanliri* (Raχman 1981: 267):

Bağiñ ičrä bağvän bolup
Tärsäm taza gülliriñni.
Igäm seni χuš yaratmiš
Qučsam nazuk bälliriñni.

These differ only slightly from Ärshidinov's edition (1984: 243) and the muqam songs:[229]

Bağvän bolup bağiñ ičrä tärsäm taza gülläriñni,
Igäm seni χuš yaratmiš ägsäm nazuk bälläriñni.
If I could be a gardener in your garden and gather your fresh flowers,
My Lord made you beautiful, if only I could hold your slender waist.

Remarkably similar verses appear elsewhere in Korogly's study and Yünüs's edition (1986), with only a few words changed to fit local dialectal variation. This suggests that the Turkmen *Shasänäm-Garyp* dastan that Korogly quotes is closely related to this Uyghur edition.[230]

Korogly (1983) primarily compares four Oghuz Turkic versions of *Gherip-Sänäm* – Karaim, Turkmen, Azerbaijani, and Turkish – so does not explore the broadest range of possible variants. Nonetheless, there are great differences among the plots he examines. He traces the versions and the historical relationships among them and makes some points about style. The existence of very different versions suggests a long history of divergence. For example, in a version first recorded in a story by Mikhail Lermontov in 1837, Gherip is the son of a merchant from Tabriz and Sänäm is the daughter of a merchant from Tbilisi. In another version, Sänäm has a sister who also falls in love with Gherip.

Korogly does not seem to find any versions that include the episode in which Gherip meets and is tested by the famous Sufi Shaykh Junayd of Baghdad. Jarring believes this episode is unique to the Uyghur version of the dastan and therefore publishes this excerpt. He suggests that its uniqueness shows that, relative to the rest of Central Asia, there is greater 'Sufi influence on the Eastern Türki popular literature, perhaps even at an early stage'

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[229] This verse appears in Turdi Akhun's third dastan in both Mušavräk and Bayat muqams (Ärshidinov 1970: 61; Barat 1986: 80, 229), in the Ili Čäbbiyat second dastan (Ärshidinov 1987: 45), and in the Čäbbiyat third dastan in MG 1981, MRO 1986, and ME 1980.

[230] The edition Korogly uses is described only by title and as being published in Ashkhabad in 1957, but he associates it with what he calls the 'Āšiq Ğarip (cf. Turkish Ashik Kerib) version of this dastan (Korogly 1983: 268–288). Yünüs (1986: 268–269) and Korogly (1983: 297) also share four stanzas with minor changes.

(Jarring 1980b: 104). But the few variations in plot elements imply that this plot did not circulate widely or for a long time, so local influences would probably not have had time to affect the contents strongly. Although Jarring's variant is fragmented and simplified, it appears to derive from the same version edited by Batur Ärshidinov and thus is unlikely to be from the early period that Jarring suggests. But it remains unclear whether this version of *Gherip-Sänäm* revived and standardized an already known folk narrative or whether the circulated in East Turkistan for the first time in the nineteenth century. Research on these texts is only beginning in Central Asia and should build from the work of Ilhan Başgöz, Pertev Naili Boratav, and Wolfram Eberhard on dastans and *ashik* performers in Turkey to work toward a more general comparison.

7.3 The Structure of *Gherip-Sänäm*

Like most other dastans, the Uyghur versions of *Gherip-Sänäm* consist of prose narratives with verse dialogues that occur at important plot transitions such as departures, arrivals, and tests. The textual stability of the verses from version to version seems to result from the use of formulas and recognizable refrains that connote the plot junctures described by the verse. The prose sections do not have the same stability and tend to be subject to expansion or abbreviation. Many of the verses in this Uyghur epic consist of quatrains with eight or eleven syllables per line, usually rhyming as ABAB and AAAB, thus conforming to widespread oral Turkic patterns, while a few use literary forms such as the five-line *mukhammas* stanza with longer lines (see Korogly 1983: 302).

Here I compare the two published Uyghur editions with the separate verses found in the Ili and Kashgar muqam dastan songs. The published editions begin just prior to the birth of Sänäm, the daughter of Shah Abbas, whose court is at Diyarbakır, and Gherip, the son of the Shah's vizier, Hasan. While out hunting, the Shah and Hasan both aim their arrows at a pregnant deer but, remembering that their wives are pregnant, decide not to shoot (Ärshidinov 1984: 214).[231] They agree that if one child is a girl and the other a boy, then they should marry. Gherip and Sänäm are born and are destined to be married until the vizier dies and Gherip is made an orphan (*yetim*, meaning 'lacking one or both parents') at age three.

[231] In the variant edited by Xojäχmäd Yünüs (1986: 224) it is a pregant rabbit. This tale is related to the widespread Aarne-Thompson Tale Type 885 'Poor boy betrothed to maiden.' In Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index* this motif is T61.5.3, 'Unborn children promised in marriage to each other.' See also el-Shamy 1995, 1: 344.

Gherip grows up going to school with Sänäm, and they fall in love. He learns from his mother of the promise that the two should marry, but he finds that the Shah has changed his mind. Although several poems have already appeared by this time in the published narratives, the first verse that appears in the muqam editions is Gherip's response to the Shah's rejection. He complains of the tyranny of fate in a poem that appears as the second text for the Rak second dastan in the Ili muqams (Ärshidinov 1987: 37).

Text 1

Zulmiñ bilän qäbä päläk	Your tyranny and ugly fate
Bizni ğäyri yarğä saldiñ.	Has set us in a distant place.
Ibrahimdäk otqa yaqip,	Like Ibrahim burned in the fire,
Japa birlän narä saldiñ.	You have put us in cruelty and flame.

The verse is five or six quatrains long and uses the same rhymes in all versions.[232] But although the initial quatrain in text 1 is the same in all versions, by the middle of this verse the texts diverge somewhat. In the muqam version the third quatrain (Ärshidinov 1987: 37) is:

Text 2

Qayğu bilän χun-χun etip,	Making misery and blood
Közdä yašim kälkünlitip.	In my eyes tears flood.
Bizni Läyli-Mäjnun etip,	They call us Läyli and Mäjnun,
Qizlarni bazarä saldiñ.	You sold [your] girl in the bazaar.

Ärshidinov's edition (1984: 220) is semantically identical:

Qayğu birlä χunlär ätip,
Közdä yašim kälkünlätip.
Bizni Mäjnun, Läyli ätip,
Qizlarni bazarä saldiñ.

But Yünüs's edition (1986: 225) is rather different:

Bizni Läyli-Mäjnun etip,	They call us Läyli and Mäjnun,
Kečä-kündüz qan yiğlitip,	Every night crying blood,
Köz yašimni jäyhun etip,	The tears of my eyes make a Jayhun River [Amu Darya],
Bu ğäm bazariğa saldiñ.	You sold this sorrow in the bazaar.

The remaining two couplets continue with roughly the same degree of divergence: Ärshidinov's variant (1984) remains closer to that in the 1987 edition of the Ili Rak muqam, perhaps because Ärshidinov edited the Ili muqam to

[232] A dastan song with a similar initial verse appears in the 'Dilaram' verse in Turdi Akhun's Čäbbiyat fourth dastan (Ärshidinov 1970: 42; Barat 1986: 46), in the Ili Čäbbiyat third dastan (Ärshidinov 1987: 47), and in the revised Rak fifth dastan (ME 1991: 29). This must refer to a Bähram-Dilaram dastan but I can find editions of it. Two literary versions of this narrative by the nineteenth-century authors A. Nizari and Molla Sidiq Yärkändi are edited in *Bulaq* 10 (1983) and *Bulaq* 34–36 (1991), but neither is a dastan.

fit the manuscript text. The 1960s manuscript notebooks of the Ili muqams do not have this verse at all. For the Rak second dastan they give the *Mundin ketär bolduñ sän Bağdat šährigä* verse, discussed later as text 4. The next song from *Gherip-Sänäm* that appears in the muqams is from a little later in the dastan when Sänäm complains to the mullas of the school where she studied with Gherip, whom they now hold prisoner. Unlike most of these verses, this is a monologue addressed partly to Gherip and partly to the mullas. The verse is in the more literary *mukhammas* form using fifteen-syllable lines.

Text 3

Bulbuli bičaräsän gul išqida päryadä qil,
Ašiqi särgüštä bolsañ uyqini bedarä qil.
Tinmayin šam-u sähär yiğlap yürüp bunyadä qil,
Bir imarät män salipmän išqidin abadä qil,
Janim mollam bir zaman gül-yarini azadä qil.
You are a miserable nightingale, lament your love for the rose,
Lover if you are confused lie without sleeping.
Crying at dawn, do not stop moving, build a foundation,
I am making a building from eternal love,
My dear mullas, just once set my rose-love free.

The radīf line of these stanzas alternates between 'My dear mullas, just once set my rose-love free' and 'My dear mullas, let my Gherip go free.' This verse was sung in the Ili Nava second dastan.[233] Again the Ili muqam version is closer to Ärshidinov's 1984 version of *Gherip-Sänäm*, but except for one entire stanza in Yünüs's edition that is not in the other two texts, they are all very similar.

After a long dialogue between Gherip and Sänäm, the mullas decide that Gherip should be exiled to Baghdad, and his parting dialogue with Sänäm is one of the more widely used texts in both the Ili and Kashgar muqam dastans. I give a translation of the complete text of one version of this dastan and compare the variants in translation for the texts of Turdi Akhun's first Čargah dastan as it was published by Qurban Barat (1986: 102) and Batur Ärshidinov (1970: 76). I include the latter's variants in brackets with additions marked by [&] and substitutions with [^]. Words that I include to clarify the sense are in parentheses. This is a verse dialogue between the two lovers when Gherip is leaving for Baghdad:

[233] Ärshidinov 1987: 129–130 and NB1 39, with only two stanzas. This is the more literary *mukhammas* with its five-line stanzas, and the lines are fifteen syllables instead of the more common eight or eleven.

Text 4
When you go from here to Baghdad,
My love [^Gherip], I give you up only to God.
God put (us) in the pain of separation,
Gherip, I give you up only to God.

I must go, [&my love,] do not grieve,
Do not cry much, Sänäm-love; if I go, I will return.
Do not be always wet like a red rose as it opens.
Be peaceful, Sänäm-love; if I go I will return.
[^Do not cry much, Sänäm-love; if I go, I will return.]

How can I help crying, my heart is broken,
The thread of love has been cut from (my) soul.
Such a fate has fallen on my forehead,
[^This fate was written on my forehead,]
Gherip, I give you up only to God.

I must go, my love, do not be bewildered,
I allow only your coquettish glance to my pain [^my soul].
Although I am calm, in my body is the same soul.
[^Even if my head is calm, in my body is a lovesick soul.]
Do not cry much, Sänäm-love; if I go, I will return.

The following appears only in Ärshidinov's version (1970), while in Qurban Barat's it ends after four quatrains.

Saying 'I will come,' you take my sanity,
In my soul are a hundred thousand fires that you ignite.
I do not know when you will return.
Gherip, I give you up only to God.

If I do not see you, (I will make) moans and sighs,
If I find calmness [*qarar*] going to the city of Baghdad,
If I do not die I will return in three months,
Do not cry much, Sänäm-love; if I go, I will return.

Sänäm said there are troubles and oppressions [*jäbir*],
A lover of God, my grave is on the road.
If you come (back) safely, I have three years of patience,
Gherip, I give you up only to God.

Gherip said, if there is no other sustenance for me,

My love, if I do not go and leave my head in the desert,
If death does not reach (me) and I do not fulfill my bad luck,
Do not cry much, Sänäm-love; if I go I will return.

Here I present four different versions in Uyghur of the first quatrain of text 4 for comparison:

Mundin ketär bolsañ Bağdat šährigä,
Yarim seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.
Alla saldi judaliqniñ därdigä,
Ğerip seni bir allağa tapšurdum.[234]

Mundin ketär bolduñ [sän] Bağdad šähriğä,
Ğerip seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.
Alla saldi judaliqniñ därdigä,
Ğerip seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.[235]

Mundin ketär bolsañ Bağdad šährigä,
Ğerip, seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.
Mini qoyduñ tükänmäs hijran (oti) gä,
Ğerip, seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.[236]

Mundin ketär bolduñsän yatiñ yerigä,
Ğerip seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.
Alla saldi jädaliqniñ därdigä,
Ğerip seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.[237]

Except for line three in the third version (Ärshidinov 1984), these are essentially the same. Further into the verse however, the version published by Yünüs (1986) diverges such that the middle five quatrains do not match either Ärshidinov's edition (1984) nor that in the revised muqams (ME 1991). Only the first two and the last two quatrains of the verse in Yünüs 1986 match the other versions, having the same rhyme scheme and content.

The text matches the Ili muqam version of this song (Ärshidinov 1987: 32–33, NB1; NB2). In one edited text (ME 1991) the Rak second dastan has *yatiñ yerigä* ('to your foreign place') replacing *Bağdad šährigä* ('to Baghdad city'), which seems to reflect a concern to edit out connections with the non-Turkic Muslim world, but the editors have changed it back to *Bağdad šährigä* in the 2002 DVD production (Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi).

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[234] Barat 1986: 102.
[235] Ärshidinov 1970: 76–77, 1987: 32–33; NB1; NB2; Yünüs 1986: 237.
[236] Ärshidinov 1984: 223, with *oti* added in parentheses by the editor.
[237] ME 1991: Rak 2–dastan, four quatrains.

7.4 Formulas in Other Dastans

In earlier revisions of the Kashgar muqams (MG 1981), the Rak second dastan is the same text as in Turdi Akhun's Rak second dastan, the *Hörliqa-Hämra* text that begins *Mundin ketär bolduñ zalim ağalär*. This *Hörliqa-Hämra* text shows the formulaic nature of departure episodes throughout these dastans. The story of Hörliqa and Hämra appears in several sources.[238] In both Turdi Akhun's version and the Ili muqam versions the text begins:[239]

Text 5

Mundin ketär bolduñ zalim ağalär,	You are going from here, cruel brothers,
Härnä körgüniñni bayan degäy-sän.	Whoever you see, explain to them
Yalğuz Hämra qaldi čahniñ ičidä,	That Hämra was left alone in a well,
Ölgünüm yoq esän-aman degäy-sän.	Tell that I did not die but am healthy and safe.

Despite the completely different narrative context, in which Hämra's brothers have torn out his eyes and thrown him into a well, the theme of parting is expressed similarly to that seen in *Gherip-Sänäm*. The first line and the contrast of safety (*aman*) and death in Gherip's line, 'If I do not die I will return in three months,' and Sänäm's reply, 'If you come (back) safely, I have three years of patience' (Ärshidinov 1970: 77), seem parodied in Hämra's response to his brothers' violence and abandonment. Two nearly identical verses indicate an even closer connection between this *Hörliqa-Hämra* dastan sung in the Ili repertoire and the *Gherip-Sänäm* dastan just discussed. These two verses from parting scenes in the two different dastans differ only in the names of people and places:

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[238] Raχman (1981: 187-236) and Sayit (1990) give rather different versions. Neither editor gives his source. As with the *Gherip-Sänäm* story there are few manuscripts of the *Hörliqa-Hämra* legend and all seem to originate after the middle of the nineteenth century. Seven manuscripts and one lithograph appear in Muginov 1962: 110–111 and Väli 1988: 35–36, 174–175. Jarring (1946) published an oral version. V. V. Radlov (1886: 86–99) transcribed and translated an oral text entitled 'Hämra,' which is told mostly in prose. In Radlov's version Hämra's beloved is named Hüllükar, and the sequence of events is somewhat different. This tale is a widespread Middle Eastern type that Hasan el-Shamy (1980: 239) has proposed identifying as AT Tale Type 303B, built around motif K2211, 'Treacherous brother.'

[239] Ärshidinov 1970: 26; Barat 1986: 203–204; NB1 62. Ärshidinov 1970 and NB1 have a footnote to this episode explaining that Hämra was thrown in a well. The text is similar to that in Raχman 1981 but the verse does not appear in Sayit 1990: 224.

Text 6, version 1 (Ärshidinov 1987: 35–36)

Mundin ketär bolsañ Misr šähäriğä,	When you go from here to Egypt city,
Hämrah seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.	Hämra, I give you up only to God.
Alla saldi yirğaliqniñ otiğä,	God put [me] in the fire of separation [read: yiraqliq],
Hämrah seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.	Hämra, I give you up only to God.
Meni kätti deban mälul bolmağil,	I must go, do not grieve,
Täz kelurmän, söyär yarim χoš ämdi.	I will return quickly to kiss you, my love, so be happy.
Qizilgüldäk ačiliban solmağil,	Do not be always wet like a rose as it opens.
Täz kelurmän, söyär yarim χoš ämdi.	I will return quickly to kiss you, my love, so be happy.

This *Hörliqa-Hämra* dialogue from this Rak muqam dastan extends for ten quatrains, and the first four and last two follow the *Gherip-Sänäm* text almost exactly. In the published editions I have of the *Hörliqa-Hämra* dastan, this verse is recognizable, but there are significant differences, as can be seen from the following two versions.

Text 6, version 2 (Raχman 1981: 218)

Mundin ketär bolsañ qaytip yurtuñğa [if you leave here return to your home],
Hämra seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.
Vädimizgä sän özäñ qilğaysän vapa [you be faithful to our promise],
Hämra seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.

Yarim meni kätti dep malal bolmağil,
Čin sözüñni maña härdäm yolliğil [honestly keep your words to me].
Vädimiz sänmu bärbat qilmiğil [and you too gave a promise do not . . . (line seems to lack a word, and *bärbat* should probably be *bäriban*)]
Pat kelurmän, söyär yarim χoš ämdi.

Text 6, version 3 (Sayit 1990: 125, translation below)

Mundin ketär bolduñ Misr šähäriğä,
Pat kelurmusän Hämra yarim χoš ämdi.
Alla saldi judaliqniñ därdigä,
Pat kelurmusän, Hämra yarim, χoš ämdi.

Mundin kätsäm kelurmän seniñ qašiñğä,
Yiğlimağin, pärizadim, χoš ämdi.

Aman bolsam kelurmän seniñ qašiñğa,
Pat kelurmusän, pärizadim, χoš ämdi.

Obviously, these two versions are fairly different from one another, but they are clearly based in the same formula as the *Gherip-Sänäm* verse in text 4. The differences among the Ili muqam, Raχman and Sayit versions of *Hörliqa-Hämra* are just as great as the differences between them and the *Gherip-Sänäm* texts. Here I translate the first six quatrains of Sayit's edition (1990: 125) of *Hörliqa-Hämra* for comparison with the versions of *Gherip-Sänäm* (text 4) and *Hörliqa-Hämra* (text 6, version 1) from the Ili muqams.

Text 6, version 3

You will go from here to Misr [Egypt] city,
(I will be) happy if you quickly return, Hämra my love.
God placed (us) in great pain,
(I will be) happy if you quickly return, Hämra my love.

If I leave I will return to your eyebrows.
Do not cry, my fairy-born one, be happy.
If I am safe I will return to your eyebrows,
I will quickly return, my fairy-born one, be happy.

How can I help crying, my heart is broken,
The thread of love has been cut from (my) soul.
For me this fate was written,
(I will be) happy if you quickly return, Hämra my love.

I must go, my love, do not be bewildered,
I allow your glance to freeze my soul.
Although I am calm, in my body is a lovesick soul.
I will quickly return, my fair-born one, be happy.

Do not be like a red rose, opening in the autumn,
When I say I am going from here, do not break (your) heart.
Do not be unfaithful to your beloved,
(I will be) happy if you quickly return, Hämra my love.

Being separated from a heart-ravisher such as you,
It would be better to die than to travel the world alive,
Do not be impatient until I come back,
I will quickly return, my fair-born one, be happy.

The final six quatrains in Sayit's edition of the *Hörliqa-Hämra* dastan differ substantially from the other versions in wording and sense, although the

theme of departure and the exchange of comforting words continues in all of them. The Ili muqam version (Ärshidinov 1987) shares only one of its final eight quatrains with the Sayit version, although it seems that they should be similar because they are both about Hörliqa and Hämra and match in the first four quatrains. Altogether the Sayit edition of *Hörliqa-Hämra* has seven quatrains not found in the Raχman edition and Kashgar muqam versions, whereas that in the Ili muqams has three unshared quatrains.

Clearly these are not simply words mixed up through forgetting: the compositions begin with very similar formulaic structures and then diverge into completely distinct verses. Because many of the dastans have such overlapping pieces, it appears that the oral or literary composers and oral performers of these verses freely borrowed from one dastan to another. A number of other dastans in the muqams also show this tendency to borrow phrases and plot elements, such as the Dilaram dastan mentioned in note 7.

The pattern of borrowing and the similarities of plot and verse structure suggest that this was more than a shared generic model. Perhaps many dastans were composed based on already existing plots during a limited historical period for a few patrons or for a society with expanding literacy, or perhaps the dastans were recorded from a few performers within a closely linked tradition.[240] In any case, the many variations suggest oral transmission or active adaptation of texts when copying. At the same time, the poetry is borrowed so much from one dastan to another that it seems only a limited number of copyists, authors, or performers were responsible for these versions of different dastans. This last conclusion is also supported by the limited number of manuscripts in Central Asia and Xinjiang, all apparently from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

That the muqam versions of the *Hörliqa-Hämra* and *Gherip-Sänäm* dastans are even more similar than those found in the published editions suggests a further source of convergence: the similarity of important events made remembering distinct verses more difficult. Typical scenes such as departures seem to have been treated as a single formulaic form that may even have been generated during performance, with only the names of people and places changed to fit the dastan being sung.

[240] In his study of Uzbek oral epic, Feldman (1980) discusses the distinctive styles or even schools that developed in a few small towns.

7.5 Comparing the Ili and Kashgar Versions of *Gherip-Sänäm*

In the next verse appearing in the published editions of the *Gherip-Sänäm* dastan and in the Ili Mušavräk second dastan, Gherip's mother says goodbye to him:[241]

Text 7

Häsän väzir öldi däp, saña süyändim,	Hasan Vizier died saying I am grateful to you,
Barğin balam, Allağa tapšurdum seni.	Go my child, I give you up to God,
Bir näččä kün boyuñ körüp quvandim,	I rejoiced to see your frame for a few days,
[Barğin] Balam seni bir Allağa tapšurdum.	Go my child, I give you up to God.

His mother goes on to describe his trip to far places and wish him the best. In both published editions of the dastan the verse is five quatrains long and the texts are similar. In the Ili Mušavräk muqam it is only four quatrains, leaving out the fourth quatrain that is given in the published editions (Ärshidinov 1987: 57). One manuscript version of Mušavräk muqam has only three verses originally, with a fourth added in the margin (NB1 18). These are recognizably the published verses 1, 2, and 3 with 5 added later. But they diverge significantly from the other versions. The verses that appear in the revised Mušavräk second dastan (ME 1984 and MRO 1986) are identical to each other and close to the manuscript version of this text (NB1 and NB2). Batur Ärshidinov lists this text as among those he added to Turdi Akhun's songs: he gives the same five verses as in his edition, with only minor orthographic differences (1970: 229–230, 1984: 227).

The next poem in the published editions of the *Gherip-Sänäm* dastan is also an Ili muqam dastan that has been integrated into the revised Kashgar muqams. Ärshidinov added it to his edition of Turdi Akhun's texts, and it appears in the most commonly performed of the revised Twelve Muqams, Čäbbiyat.

Text 8

Aradin bir söz ötmäyin,
Jan aka qayan barursän.
Meniñ köñlümni almayin,
Jan aka qayan barursän.

Anamniñ χizmitin qilmay,
Kipän sorağida bolmay,

[241] Ärshidinov 1970: 160–161, 1984: 227, 1987: 57; NB1 18; Yünüs 1986: 243.

Öz qoluñda gorğa qoymay,
Jan aka qayan barursän.

Meni äylidiñ bičarä,
Bağrim boldi parä-parä,
Yürikimgä selip yarä,
Jan aka qayan barursän.

Bir namärtniñ pändin elip,
Ketär bolduñ bašiñ selip,
Gül jamalni zar yiğlitip,
Jan aka qayan barursän.

These four quatrains are the fourth dastan of Čäbbiyat muqam in the mimeographed versions of the muqams (MRO 1986; ME 1981–1992), whereas MG 1981 gives the verse beginning *Učurdum šuñqar qušumni* that also appears in Mušavräk third dastan in the Ili muqams (Ärshidinov 1987: 57–58). This dastan verse consists of seven quatrains in Ärshidinov's edition (1984). Text 8 matches the first three quatrains in Ärshidinov's edition, and the final quatrain consists of the first two lines of quatrain 5 and the last two lines of quatrain 7 (1984: 228–229). In Sayit's edition (1990: 244–245) there are six quatrains, similar to quatrains 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 in Ärshidinov's edition.

Ärshidinov (1987: 46) shows five quatrains from this verse in the Čäbbiyat third dastan, closely corresponding to quatrains 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7 in Ärshidinov 1984. Finally, Ärshidinov has changed Turdi Akhun's repertoire by adding all seven quatrains from his edition of this verse to the Nava second dastan.[242] That Turdi Akhun's repertoire included none of these shows how different his dastan tradition was from that of Ili.

7.6 Gherip Tested by Shaykh Junayd

Although texts 7 and 8 were not in Turdi Akhun's repertoire, he did sing the next verse drawn from the *Gherip-Sänäm* dastan, but the Ili performers did not. In the first dastan of Özhal muqam, Turdi Akhun performed six quatrains from this dastan dialogue portraying Gherip's meeting with Shaykh Abū'l-Qāsim al-Junayd of Baghdad, in which the shaykh asks Gherip a long series of esoteric questions.[243] The several variants from this dastan that I have found show greater differences than those seen in the Ili variants of

[242] Ärshidinov 1970: 161–162. On pages 229–230 he lists the added verses.
[243] Ärshidinov 1970: 109–110; Barat 1986: 157–158. On Shaykh Junayd, see Schimmel 1975: 57–59.

Gherip-Sänäm, but the initial couplets are very similar, as can be seen below. I give a translation for the last one.

Text 9, version 1 (Barat 1986: 157)
Ässalamu äläykum Ğerip ašiqim,
Häq räsuli äkrämni nemidin yaratti.
Räsul üčün näččä därya yaratti?
Oğlum ašiq bolsañ sän maña javab bär.

Vä'äläykum ässalam Junäydil Bağdadi,
Häq räsuli äkrämni nurdin yaratti.
Räsul üčün yättä därya yaratti,
Piri kamil bolsiñiz javabim šuldur.

Text 9, version 2 (Ärshidinov 1970: 109)
Ässalamu äläykum Ğerip ašiğim,
Häq räsul ikramini qaydin yaratti?
Häq räsul ikram üčün nemilär yaratti?
Oğlum ašiq bolsiñiz maña javab bär.

Vaäläykum ässälam Jünäydil Bağdadi,
Häq räsul ikrämini nurdin yaratti.
Häq räsul ikram üčün yättä däriya yaratti,
Maña ustaz bolsiñiz javabim šuldur.

Text 9, ver. 3 (Jarring 1980b: 108; Ärshidinov 1984: 229; Yünüs 1986: 246)

Ässalamu äläykum Ğerip ašiğim,	Peace be upon you, Gherip, my 'āshiq,
Häq räsul ikramni qaydin yaratti?	From what did God create the most noble Prophet?
Räsul üčün näčä därya yaratti?	How many rivers did he create for the Prophet?
Oğlum ašiq bolsañ maña javab bär.	My son, if you are an 'āshiq, give me an answer.
Va'äläykum ässälam Jünäydil Bağdadi,	And peace be upon you, Junaydil of Baghdad,
[^Va'äläykum ässälam Jünäydil ašiqim (Jarring)]	
Häq räsul ikrämini nurdin yaratti.	God created the most noble Prophet from light.
Räsul üčün yättä däriya yaratti,	He created seven rivers for the Prophet,

Maña ustaz bolsiñiz javabim šuldur.	If you are my master (teacher), this is my answer.

The longest version is that in Ärshidinov's edition (1984) consisting of twenty-two quatrains. Yünüs's edition (1986) consists of fourteen quatrains, corresponding to quatrains 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 5, 6, 17, and 18 in the preceding edition, followed by a final pair of quatrains not found there. These two versions have quite a few differences, particularly changes in the order of lines within a quatrain and in verb and question forms.

Jarring's edition of this section of the dastan (1980b) closely matches the prose sections in Ärshidinov's edition (1984), which are considerably shorter than the prose sections in Yünüs (1986). Jarring's edition of this verse consists of quatrains 1-6 in Ärshidinov's edition, with the texts matching almost exactly. Both of Turdi Akhun's muqam versions (text 9, versions 1 and 2) are essentially identical and match quatrains 1, 2, 13, 14, 5, and 6 in Ärshidinov's edition. Thus Turdi Akhun followed the same sequence as in Yünüs's edition but did not perform all the quatrains. In addition, the wording and sequence of lines that he used differ from those in the written versions, and his version changed somewhat from one performance to another.

We seem to have two redactions: one represented by Ärshidinov's 1984 edition, with a shorter but textually very close form in Jarring (1980b), and one represented by Turdi Akhun's dastan songs and Yünüs (1986). Likewise, the next exchange of questions and answers from Turdi Akhun's dastan song has only minor grammatical changes from Yünüs's version:

Text 9, versions 1 and 2, continued (Ärshidinov 1970: 109; Barat 1986: 157; Yünüs 1986: 246)

Ol nemädur, tenäsi bar jani yoq?	What is it that has a body but no soul?
Ol nemädur, qänatiniñ bar, sani yoq?	What is it that has wings but without number?
Ol nemädur, ikki yüzidä qani yoq?	What is it that has no blood in its two sides?
Ğerip ašiq bolsiñiz maña javap bär!	Gherip, if you are an 'āshiq, give me an answer!
Qara yärdur tenäsi bar, jani yoq.	It is dark places that have a body but no soul.
Jäbrailniñ qanitiniñ sani yoq.	Gabriel's wings have no number.
Ant ičkänniñ ikki yüzidä qani yoq.	Drinking an oath has no blood in its two sides.
Maña ustaz bolsiñiz javabim šuldur.	If you are my master, that is my answer.

In Ärshidinov (1984) quatrains 13 and 14 present the same basic dialogue but in a different form:

Text 9, version 3, continued

Ular kimdur, qänati bar, sani yoq?	Who are they that have wings but without number?
Ular kimdur, tenäsi bar jani yoq?	Who are they that have a body but no soul?
Ular kimdur, aq yuzidä qani yoq?	Who are they that have no blood in their honest faces?
Oğlum ašiq bolsañ mäña jävab bär.	My son, if you are an ‘āshiq, give me an answer.
Jäbra’ildur, qaniti bar, sani yoq.	It is Gabriel who has wings but without number.
Qara yärdur tenäsi bar, jani yoq.	It is dark places that have body but no soul.
Ant ičkänniñ aq yuzidä qani yoq.	In the honest faces of drinking an oath there is no blood.
Mäña ustaz bolsañ jävabim šuldur.	If you are my master, that is my answer.

The ideas are basically the same, but the order of the questions and answers is different, and the exact meaning of the questions differs. In the final exchange in the muqam texts, the shaykh tests Gherip on his knowledge of the prophets. The two editions of Turdi Akhun’s texts differ in this stanza. In Barat’s edition (1986) the questions and verb forms show greater parallelism:[244]

Text 9, version 1, continued

Ol kim bolur asmanğa čiqti, čüšmidi,	Who is it that went up into the sky and did not fall back?
Ol kim bolur jännätkä kirdi, čiqmadi.	Who is it that entered heaven and did not leave?
Ol kim bolur tuğuldi, härgiz ölmädi?	Who is it that was born, and never died?
Oğlum ašiq bolsañ sän maña javap bär.	My son, if you are an ‘āshiq, give me an answer.

[244] Several of the following questions appear in Stith Thompson’s *Motif-Index* under H810, ‘Riddles based on the Bible (the Holy Book, scripture) or legend.’ See el-Shamy 1995, 1: 165.

Asmanğa čiqtilär, Äysa päyğämbär,	The prophet ‘Aysā [Jesus] went up into the sky,
Jännätkä kirdilär Idris päyğämbär.	The prophet Idrīs went into heaven.
Tuğuldi härgiz ölmidi Xizir päyğämbär.	The prophet Khizr [Elias] was born and never died.
Maña ustaz bolsiñiz javabim šuldur.	If you are my master, that is my answer.

In Ärshidinov’s edition (1970) of Turdi Akhun’s songs much of the parallelism is lost, although the sense changes little:

Text 9, version 2, continued
Ol nemädur kökkä čiqti čüšmädi,
Jännätkä kirip härgiz čiqmadi.
Bu alämgä tuğulup zadi ölmädi,
Ğerip ašiq bolsiñiz maña javap bär.
Kökkä čiqip čüšmigän, Äysa päyğambär,
Jännätkä kirip čiqmiğan Idris päyğambär.
Tuğuldi, ölmidi Xizir päyğambär.
Piri kamil bolsiñiz javabim šuldur.

The variant in Yünüs’s edition (1986: 248–249) maintains most of the parallel forms found in Barat’s edition but uses the question form ‘*U qaysi dur...?*’ and uses the title *näbi*, ‘(minor) prophet,’ rather than *päyğambär,* ‘prophet,’ for Khizr and Idrīs. Shaykh Junayd asks about Khizr, then ‘Aysā, then Idrīs. His question about Idrīs uses the word *behišt* ‘paradise’ rather than *jännät*. Ärshidinov (1984) and Jarring (1980b) give the same text except that the order of the questions is Idrīs, ‘Aysā, and Khizr in Ärshidinov, and ‘Aysā, Idrīs, and Khizr in Jarring. They preserve complete parallelism just as in Barat’s muqam texts but use *behišt* for heaven and the question form ‘*Ular kim dur...?*’ These comparisons show that although much argues for grouping these texts into redactions as I have suggested, certain features, such as the order of lines, change far more easily than others, such as the verbal roots, which are exactly the same in all variants, and the rhymes, which are fairly fixed for each quatrain. Nouns and line syntax seem to change more readily than verbs. Overall, however, the meaning of these variants does not differ greatly.

As described in the last chapter, both Turdi Akhun’s and Ömär Akhun’s performances of ghazal songs changed little in couplet sequence and phrasing from performance to performance, even when they sang the same texts in different muqam songs, but they commonly included or omitted couplets. The variations in Turdi Akhun’s dastan songs suggest that he remembered them as scenes, semantic patterns, and fairly fixed sets of verbal

roots and rhymes, whereas exact wording, syntax, and grammar often varied, even from performance to performance. The extensive parallelism within dastan songs and the many formulaic lines and scenes seem to have aided memory in performance, making it possible for Turdi Akhun to re-create roughly identical stanzas without the more verbatim memorization he used for couplets in ghazals. The sequence, lexicon, and syntax of lines within a quatrain in dastans could change because he created the parallelism from semantic memory of ideas. The generic similarity of the plots and verses within the repertoire also reinforced the overall stability of the romantic dastan epic in the minds of the performers.

These dastan narratives are structured around the verse dialogues. From one text to another, the dialogues remain more fixed in form and content than the prose narratives and serve as pivotal moments in the plot (compare the use of verses dialogue in the heroic dastans described in Reichl 2000: 26-35). The prose narratives act as context but audiences seem to know them well enough that performers could evoke these scenes without the prose narratives: dastan plots were known from other sources. Similar prose and poetry performance traditions that rely upon textual sources to varying degrees have been studied in many parts of the world, and the range of skills involved in memorizing and composing based on such works carefully analyzed by many scholars.[245] The case of Turdi Akhun's dastan performances offer an example of how a performer created oral works modeled upon, but not identical with written works, and the variations in the texts suggest that some have a similar relationship to other texts and performances. The methods of re-creating songs in performance seems closely related to the ways some written texts were composed, while those that preserve form more exactly but are simply shorter were likely created through more direct copying.

Related questions remain: why were the versions of *Hörliqa-Hämra* are so different from one another and why does the muqam verse from *Hörliqa-Hämra* seem closer to *Gherip-Sänäm* than to the published editions of *Hörliqa-Hämra*? *Hörliqa-Hämra* seems to have had a longer history in East Turkistani tradition, and in some versions was influenced by the *Gherip-Sänäm* tradition, which seems to exist only in recent, closely-related redactions. Performers may perform the *Hörliqa-Hämra* dastan less frequently so it is more difficult to remember or more easily combined with the better-known *Gherip-Sänäm* plot and poetry. From the limited data I have, it is difficult to go beyond these speculations to seeing the larger picture of the way dastans have circulated and changed in Uyghur traditional culture.

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[245] The best review of ethnographic approaches to orality, literacy and performance remains Finnegan 1992.

7.7 The Resolution of *Gherip-Sänäm*

The verses in the final section of the dastan continue to appear in the muqam songs, with the Ärshidinov edition (1984) consistently closest to the Ili versions, perhaps merely because Ärshidinov also prepared that edition. Turdi Akhun also sang several more verses from this dastan, but not usually the ones sung by the Ili performers. His songs vary more from the verses in the two editions of the dastan. Because these findings follow the pattern already shown, I do not discuss the verse in detail. After telling of Gherip's meeting with Shaykh Junayd, the dastan returns to the story of Sänäm. After Gherip leaves, Sänäm falls ill and refuses to meet any of the suitors Shah Abbas wants her to marry. Shah Abbas consults a doctor, who tells him that she should be sent to a place with good air. He builds her a garden by the river near Diyarbakır and provides her with forty female slaves as companions.

Meanwhile, after leaving Baghdad, Gherip is captured by two thieves. They sell him as a slave at the market in Diyarbakır, where he is bought by the head gardener for Sänäm's new garden. Eventually, through the aid of Sänäm's companion, Aghchä, Sänäm discovers that Gherip is one of the gardeners. After getting Sänäm's forty female attendants drunk, Sänäm and Gherip are able to meet in the garden. But one of the girls wakes up, sees them, and tells Shah Abbas. The dastan ends when Shah Abbas finally relents and agrees to allow Gherip to marry Sänäm. The following dialogue (Barat 1986: 105) appears in all the versions I have; it is the crucial dénouement of the plot, resolving the tension that began when the shah and his vizier agreed that their children could marry.

Text 10

Yurt qädrini šahlar bilmäs,	Shahs do not know the value of the homeland,
Bašqa yurtqa čüšmigünčä,	Until they have gone to another homeland,
Yaχšiliqniñ qädrini bilmäs,	The value of goodness is not known,
Bir yamanğa čüšmigünčä.	Until one falls into evil.
Qol uzatsam yarğa yätmäs,	If I stretch out my hand and do not reach love,
Yarsiz meniñ išim pütmäs,	Without love I cannot complete my work,
Yaχši-yamanni pärq ätmäs,	One does not distinguish good and bad,

Bir namärtkä čüšmigünčä.	Until one falls into something speckled.
Sundurma momin sadasi,	Do not interrupt the voice of a believer,
Oquydu bäš waqt namazi,	Who recites prayers five times (a day),
Bäglär bilmäs yurt rizasi,	Begs (leaders) do not receive the homeland's consent,
Xatäm bolup kälmigünčä.	Until they become the ruler.
Xuda kimki bir därd berur,	To whomever God gives pain,
Ol därdigä därman berur,	He gives the medicine for it,
Bändä Xuda däp yiğlimas,	God says, 'Slave, do not cry,'
Bir därd äläm kälmigünčä.	Until the pain of suffering comes.
Ašiq bolğan sinä čak bolmas,	Being an 'āshiq does not break the chest,
Šehid bolğan hilak bolmas,	Being a martyr does not destroy,
Išqniñ därdidin pak bolmas,	The pain of love does not make one pure,
Išqi otida köymigüñčä.	Until one burns in the fire of love.
Šah Abbas män bilmidim,	Shah Abbas says, 'I did not know,
Ävväldä ne däp sorumadim,	At first I did not ask what (was the matter),'
Išq otini män bilmidim,	I did not know the fire of love
Öz bašimğa kälmigüñčä.	Until it fell on my head.

This final dastan verse summarizes the overall theme of the *Gherip-Sänäm* dastan. The quatrains compare Shah Abbas's eventual understanding and support of Gherip and Sänäm's desperate love to the long suffering of Gherip as a wandering *'āshiq*. Life is a process of discovering the cures for suffering through experience or learning from the suffering of others. The entire dastan describes the struggle for love and enlightenment. As an observer of love's passion, Shah Abbas has also learned about love.

Although all the editions and muqam versions of this verse have four to six quatrains, they also vary widely. The quatrains are in different sequences, and several quatrains are added or omitted. In order to compare the different versions, I list the parts according to the ones already given, along with the following quatrain, which appears in several variants:

Text 10, supplement

Qäländär bolmaq asan ämäs,	It is hard to be a qalandar
Sači [čeči] bälgä čüšmigünčä,	Until the hair has fallen to the waist,
Ašiq bolmaq asan ämäs,	It is hard to be an ʻāshiq
Šerin jandin käčmigünče.	Until a sweetheart has left the heart.

This quatrain is identified as 6 in the following analysis. Quatrains that are semantically roughly equivalent are identified as the same here, disregarding the many lexical and syntactic variations:

Ärshidinov 1970: 78–79 (Čargah 3–dastan)	1, 2, 3, 6, 7
Barat 1986: 105 (Čargah 3–dastan)	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7
Barat 1986: 205 (Uššaq 2–dastan)	1, 2, 3, 5, 4, 7
Ärshidinov 1987: 131 (Nava 3–dastan)	1, 2, 3, 7
NB1 39 (Nava 3–dastan)	1, 2, 3, 7
NB2 34 (Nava 3–dastan)	1, 3, 2, 7, 6
ME 1991, MG 1981 (Rak 3–dastan)	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
Ärshidinov 1984: 265–266	1, 3, 2, 5, 7
Yünüs 1986: 310	1, 6, 2, 3, 5

This comparison shows that the quatrain sequence in these dastan poems remains fairly similar even in widely varying redactions of the dastan narrative. This indicates that Turdi Akhun treated the dastans more like ghazals than the cycle of folk couplets discussed in the preceding chapter, and did not reorganize the quatrains very much. These dastan songs also resemble ghazals in that the initial and final couplets are most consistently present and in order, while the middle couplets or quatrains are more likely to be left out or rearranged. The opening and closing lines of a poem are more important than the middle material. Likewise, the early and final poems in the dastan story as a whole are more important for the overall narrative. Thus Turdi Akhun's version and that in the Ili muqams both use the verses about Gherip's departure into exile (text 4) and Shah Abbas's acceptance of Gherip and Sänäm's love (text 10). Just as in a ghazal or given dastan verse, variation in the dastan narrative as a whole is greatest from around the middle to near the end of the work, whereas the beginning and end tend to be the most consistent from one version to another.

The dastan songs make up an extremely complex section of the muqams. In my comparison of the *Gherip-Sänäm* songs, I have been able to consider only a few important issues in the structure and reorganization of the songs in the Dastan sections of the muqams. The most important in the recent editing is that the dastan songs have been completely rearranged to reflect Ili traditions. The other priorities are not completely clear, but the result has been to exclude much of what Turdi Akhun sang, including the religious dastan dialogues. In the mimeographed editions are more examples

of *Gherip-Sänäm* verses replacing Turdi Akhun's non-romantic dastan songs, but in the 2002 edition, many dastan quatrains have been replaced by ghazals and folk verse about pairs of lovers.[246] None ofNeither the non-romantic dastans such as *Hörliqa-Hämra* nor the religious dialogues from *Gherip-Sänäm* have been retained. References to foreign lands have also been reduced by excluding verses from dastans that referred to other parts of the Middle East. Egypt is no longer mentioned and Baghdad was removed in one edited version. But religious imagery has not been completely excluded. A ghazal that mentions al-Hallāj is still included, and the references to belief and God remain fairly common.

7.8 Turdi Akhun's Mäšräp Songs

One of Turdi Akhun's apprentices described mäšräp performers in the markets of Kashgar and elsewhere in south Xinjiang as vagrants who played the *sapayi* off their shoulders until they were bleeding, but he also told me how Turdi Akhun learned their songs:

> When Turdi Akhun was young, he was very active [*šoχ*]. He liked parties and entertainment [*oyun-tamaša*]. He would go to a *gülχan*, which is a house where they sold meat and tea and smoked *näšä* [hashish]. Now the Chinese say it is opium, but it is not opium, it is something else. He went with the intention of learning mäšräp songs, but they would not let him in if he did not smoke *näšä*. All the performers were *'āshiqs*. Other people did not come: cooks, bakers, butchers, traders did not come. Each *'āshiq* would know one or two mäšräps. One would sing the mäšräp from Rak, another from Uššaq, another from Sigah, another from Bayat. [He made gestures to show an *'āshiq* playing a *sapayi* off of his shoulder.]
>
> Every day Turdi Akhun would study three, four, five mäšräp songs. Every night he would practice diligently. He would fit the songs to the satar. He also learned the mäšräp songs from a Khotani *'āshiq* named Ata 'Āshiq. Ata 'Āshiq knew them all. He knew all twelve. Turdi Akhun would invite him to the house as a guest, or go to his home, and they would play together, and exchange songs. That was how he learned the mäšräp.

According to this account the muqam tradition as presently conceived was a work in progress in Turdi Akhun's time. Perhaps under the influence of the Ili muqam tradition, he wanted to bring together dastan and mäšräp songs to

[246] This is particularly obvious in Pänjigah Dastan in Dawamat, Abdureshit, Tilivaldi 2002, where each dastan is given a title referring to a romantic dastan plot, but they are described rather than dramatized through dialogues.

make three sections within a single muqam system. He worked hard to create this grand synthesis but apparently enjoyed his work as well. His dream of bringing these three separate traditions together into a single muqam tradition has been realized in the present institutionalized version, but as we saw earlier, this has involved completely changing many of the songs that Turdi Akhun performed, especially in the Dastan sections (see also Trebinjac 2000: 238).

Because Turdi Akhun learned the mäšräp songs as a separate tradition and then combined them with the Čoñ Näğmä and the dastan songs to make one muqam, he rarely sang the same poems in the Mäšräp section that he sang in the other two sections. Checking the two editions of Turdi Akhun's songs shows only the following six instances in which he sang the same verses in more than one section. One or two couplets from the following ghazal appear in many Čoñ Näğmä songs but also appear once in the Uššaq third mäšräp (Ärshidinov 1970: 23, 37–38, 52, 55, 105, 140, 160). It appears only twice Qurban Barat's transcription of Turdi Akhun's songs, both times in Čoñ Näğmä songs. It also appears in Čäbbiyat Jula in a revised song, but not in the 2002 DVD version.

Ğäm-ğussa bilän balağä hämdäm bolimän,
Dunyasini däp japağä mähräm bolimän.

All of the following examples only appear in two to four muqam songs and are not used at all in the revised muqams. The first is a ghazal by Navā'ī appears in the Rak *muqäddimä* and once in the first dastan of Rak (Ärshidinov 1970: 19, 25; Barat 1986: 3). It begins:

Išqi sirrin hijir äsri nätavanlardin sorañ,
Äyš ilä išrät täriqin kamranlardin sorañ,

A ghazal by Huvaydā appears in both the Sigah *täzä* and the Rak first dastan (Barat 1986: 16, 261), with the following first couplet:

Äy dilagül vaqtida gülzaridin ändišä qil,
Üzmigil bihudä gülni karidin ändišä qil.

A ghazal by Navā'ī appears in both the Pänjigah *jula* and the Özhal third dastan (Barat 1986: 121, 163). The first couplet is:

Ačmiğay erdiñ jamali aläm ara kaški,
Salmiğay erdiñ bari alämğä ğävğä kaški.

Turdi Akhun sang the *Sänämniñ därdini* ghazal by Huvaydā in Äjäm *muqäddimä* and the fourth dastan of Mušavräk. The *Ädäpniñ ništäsin* ghazal by Fuzūlī also appears in Äjäm *täzä* and in Rak and Čäbbiyat dastan songs in Turdi Akhun's repertoire. I discussed both of these ghazals in chapter 3.

Except for the first example, it is clear that these are not ghazals that Turdi Akhun often performed. Verses that he performed repeatedly he included in only one muqam section. Only ghazals that he performs infre-

quently can appear in different sections, as if he had not sung them often enough to associate them with a fixed section in his repertoire.

Although Turdi Akhun used some folk verses in the Čoñ Näğmä and many dastan quatrains in the Dastan sections, his mäšräp songs are mostly ghazals, usually by Navā'ī, Mashrab, or Huvaydā, with only a few folk verses and quatrains apparently related to Sufi *zikr* rituals. The religious themes in mäšräp songs are generally fairly pronounced, with more didactic content and explicit religious figures and concepts. As discussed in chapter 3, this was the only part of the muqams in which Turdi Akhun sang quatrains from the Yasaviyya tradition, and this has been kept in the revised muqams. But the revised versions also include many new verses as well, including that of the Pänjigah first mäšräp song from the most recent edition. It refers to Abduräshid Khan, and anomalously uses both his Räshidi *takhallus* and that of Amannisa Khan, Näfisi, in the same ghazal (Dawamat, Abdureshit, Tilivaldi 2002), thereby helping to localize the otherwise largely foreign place names in Turdi Akhun's dastans and ghazals.

In the Uššaq second mäšräp and the Mušavräk fifth mäšräp (Ärshidinov 1970: 65, 139; Barat 1986: 209), Turdi Akhun sang a ghazal by Mashrab that begins:

Ägär sän χani χaqan sän ölärsän aqibät bir kün,
Vägär sän šahi dävran sän ölärsän aqibät bir kün.
If you are a khan or qaghan, you will die one day in the end,
And if you are the shah of the age, you will die one day in the end.

Each succeeding couplet of the ghazal contrasts particular accomplishments with the certainty of death. The original does not appear in the editions of Mashrab's poetry that are available to me. Another example of a typical mäšräp song is the following from Turdi Akhun's third mäšräp in Pänjigah (Ärshidinov 1970: 96; Barat 1986: 136). It begins with four couplets of a ghazal by Mashrab about dying and joining the beloved:

Yarniñ koyida ölgän barmikin,?
Bir ölüp ikki tirilgän barmikin?
Can [I] have died on the street of the beloved,?
Can [I] have died once and lived a second time?

Turdi Akhun also sang two couplets from this song in the Nava and Özhal mäšräp songs. The Pänjigah third mäšräp song includes another couplet by Mashrab that appears in Turdi Akhun's mäšräp songs in Čäbbiyat and Bayat as well, but has been eliminated from the revised editions:

Män qäländär šahimän, aläm maña väyranädur,
Paytäχti gülχänim, ordam qäländär χanädur.
I am the king of the qalandars, the world is desolate to me,
My capital is the hashish house, my court is the place of the qalandars.

As I pointed out in chapter 3, Huvaydā's ghazal about the universality of suffering and grief in this world, *Baqsam bu jahanğa…*, appears often, not only in Turdi Akhun's mäšräp songs but also in those from the Ili tradition, and is retained in one version of the revised muqams. Turdi Akhun also often sang a ghazal by Navā'ī in the Mäšräp section that describes renewal at the end of time:

Söyüngil äy köñül axirqi jismiñ ičrä jan käldi,
Quvan äy jani mähzunkim hayatiy javidan käldi.
Be happy, O heart, at last love ['soul, life'] has come into your body,
Rejoice, O sad soul, that eternal life has come.
Säfärdin ol päri yätti mäni mähzunni šad ätti,
Köñüldin äski kätti, tän ičrä yeñi jan käldi.
This fairy has arrived from the journey and made my sad self happy,
The bad has left my heart, and new life has come into my body.
Xiräd, yiğ bu mäsafiñni, tähämmul, qoy gäzafiñni.
Värä' tärk äylä lafiñniki, ašubi jähan käldi.
Intellect, order these battle lines of yours, Endurance, set aside your idleness,
Abandon timidity and idle boasting, because universal tumult has come.
Dämikim andin ayrildim, köñülni hämrahi qildim,
Bügün käldi köñül, bildimkim ol namähriban käldi.
Do not say I separated from it, I made a companion my heart,
The beloved came today, I knew that this unkind one came.
Kelibtur yašurun ol Šah, mäni mäjnun äman agah,
Päri ärmäs äsä bäs, väh, nečük közdin nihan käldi.
This shah came secretly, gave me refuge in my insanity,
He is not a fairy, it is true enough, but alas, how was he hidden from [my] eyes.
Fäläk baqti fiğanimğa, äjäl rähm ätti janimğä
Xäzanliğ bostanimğä güli bağı jähan käldi.
Fate looked at my moaning, Death showed compassion to my soul,
To my autumn garden eternal paradise [gülbağ] came.
Muğänni bir näva tüz, Nävaiy näğmäiy körgüz,
Ayaqči, tamsa tut toqquzki, daraiy jähan käldi.
Singer arrange a song, perform a song of Navā'ī,
Cup-bearer, if drops fall, catch nine, for the master of the world has come.[247]

[247] Ärshidinov 1970: 96, 97, 112–113, 123; Barat 1986: 108, 162; Navā'ī 1987–1990, 3: 454.

This is a fairly straightforward ghazal as Navā'ī's compositions go. He repeats several words, giving them different meanings in different contexts. *Jähan*, 'world, universe,' is used in the rhyme in three different constructions in couplets 3, 6, and 7, and *jan*, 'soul, beloved, life,' occurs four times in couplets 1, 2, and 6. The tone of this ghazal differs from many because Navā'ī is joyful about the end of the suffering and separation that most ghazals describe, but the imagery is fairly common: he directly addresses his heart and soul, his intellect and endurance, and the cup-bearer. In addition to personifying aspects of his inner self, he describes Fate and Death as willful beings.

Turdi Akhun sang this in the Mäšräp sections of Čargah, Pänjigah, Özhal, and Äjäm. As with a number of other mäšräp songs, he sometimes repeated it in more than one song from the same Mäšräp section, implying that he sang it to different rhythms. Three couplets from this ghazal now appear in the revised Čäbbiyat *täkit* (MG 1981), and the ghazal also appears in the Mäšräp sections of Pänjigah, Özhal, and Äjäm in the Ili muqams. Ärshidinov (1987: 82, 97, 105) specifies that this Ili mäšräp song was included by Rozi Tämbur. In the Ili muqams this verse was also sung in the Nava and Iraq *muqäddimä* (Ärshidinov 1987: 127, 147, 150), thus suggesting that Ili performers, probably Rozi Tämbur in particular, did not make the same clear distinction between the Čoñ Näğmä and Mäšräp sections that Turdi Akhun did.

Another example of the use of mäšräp songs can be seen in the following short verse by the poet Huvaydā, which appears many times in Turdi Akhun's mäšräp songs. I have not found a published copy of this to compare with the versions that he sang. A friend was able to remember the text and helped me do an accurate translation and identify the poet for this widely varying text. I have kept the text largely as it was in the muqam sources, but when I have trouble translating it as written there, I follow my friend's explanations.[248]

Va, ölüm bağrimğä qoyduñ yüz tümän miñ dağ ilä,
Su bolup aqti yüräklär qäträ-qäträ yağ ilä.
Vah! Death, you put a billion wounds in my liver,
The heart dissolved and flowed drop by drop like oil.
Bağ-i mülküñgä išänmä här ne qilsañ adämiy,
Nagähan yätsä äjäl qalğay bu mülkiñ bağ ilä.
Do not rely upon the garden of your wealth, whatever you do as a human,

[248] This poem is also edited in Huvaydā 1989: 95, but with several significant differences, including the use of *-lar* as the radif rather than *ilä*, the lines following the sequence 1, 3, 2, 4, two new lines, and then 5, and many lexical and grammatical changes.

If death suddenly reaches you, abandon your kingdom and garden.
Nagähan tän bağiğa yätsä zimistan-u äjäl
Jan däräχtidäk sačilğay [^tökülgäy] här täräp yaprağ ilä.
If suddenly winter and death reaches the garden of the body,
The soul like a tree will leaf out on all sides.
Dunya malini eliban, tuymiğan čäšmä-i heris,
Tuyğusi tolğanda közi gör ara tuprağ ilä.
Taking the things of this world, unnoticed by the eyes of the guards,
Filling the desire to see with dust in blind eyes.
Tävbä däp ušlap yaqañni, äy Hoväyda yiğlağil,
Zärričä yoqtur gunahim aldida burtağ ilä.
Vowing to repent, interrupt your mourning and cry, O Huvaydā,
Destroyed into particles before my sins with mud.[249]

This ghazal, like the preceding one by Navā'ī, concerns death but in this case the poet is not celebrating it so much as explaining more clearly that the world is no refuge and should be willingly abandoned for the benefit of the soul, which will burst into life upon death. Like the ghazal near the beginning of this section, *Ägär sän χani χaqan sän ölärsän*, Huvaydā is also warning that everyone dies and all wealth will be for naught. Turdi Akhun sang two, three, or four couplets from this poem in the mäšräp songs of Rak, Čargah, Özhal, Äjäm, Uššaq, Bayat, and Nava muqams. In the Ili Čargah and Äjäm Mäšräp sections, the ghazal is sung with a final couplet that does not appear in any texts transcribed from Turdi Akhun.

As Qawul Akhun pointed out, Turdi Akhun repeated many of the same songs and music in the Mäšräp sections. These were not songs that he wanted to develop into distinct and exquisite performances but were a type of song that could be sung in several different Mäšräp sections and used with varying numbers of couplets. Turdi Akhun occasionally even repeated the same couplets or ghazal in the same Mäšräp section. In the Özhal Mäšräp, Turdi Akhun sang the *Vä, ölüm bağrimgä* ghazal as a single couplet in the third song and then as three couplets in the sixth song. Likewise, he sang most of the *Söyüngil äy köñül* ghazal twice in the Pänjigah Mäšräp and twice in the Özhal Mäšräp.

Clearly the mäšräp songs are very religious, as their origins among *sapayi*-playing *'āshiq*s imply. These are not the songs of worldly poets using double entendres to praise physical beauty. They are the songs of people in painful love with God, believing in death as a way out of this hopeless world and its separation from God. Although I suggested that Ömär Akhun might have used *'āshiq* to refer to singers of love songs, here it is clearly a matter

[249] Ärshidinov 1970: 28, 80, 113–114, 125, 139, 150–151, 164, 1987: 72, 106; Barat 1986: 21, 208, 255.

of ecstatic singers of songs about God, demonstrating their commitment to God through their songs in the bazaar. While *ʻāshiq* identities and practices were looked down on for most of the period since 1949, and the earlier editing seemed designed to exclude many of the more religious references and emphasize only the romantic love interpretations of the muqam songs, since the mid-1990s dervishes and zikr rituals have become a more accepted part of the Uyghur cultural heritage. Dances and songs that celebrate the *sapayi*-playing *ʻāshiq* have now become an important part of the Mäšräp section of the muqams (Dawamat, Abdureshit, Tilivaldi 2002), while in the early 1990s these figures represented the forces of religious conservatism who were opposed to music and song. Like the change from arguing for pre-Muslim origins of the muqams to focusing on the Yarkand Khanate, this transformation of the *ʻāshiq* image is part of the ongoing debates and revisions of Uyghur cultural history. The rise of pride in ethnic culture and the decline of politically correct attacks on tradition are some of the many different influences that are gradually changing public Uyghur presentations of culture, but all are discussed and rehearsed offstage long before being made public.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

Since the middle of the twentieth century, in a shifting political climate, Uyghur scholars have been reworking muqams into a symbolic cultural canon meant to reflect Uyghurs' long and valuable indigenous history and civilization. They have organized disparate materials into a systematic tradition and created narratives and interpretations to explain how this tradition reflects Uyghur collective selfhood. The redefinition of the Uyghur muqam tradition has been complex because of the rich materials, the many participants, and their sophisticated concepts and goals. Generally, the participants have downplayed the work, suggesting that they are making only minor changes to an existing great tradition. They have framed their work sometimes as the discovery and recovery of the internal principles of the muqam tradition and at other times as reform and restoration with new materials. The complexity necessitates leaving some aspects of the process unexplored, but I have tried to attend to both the variety of traditional poetry and their transformation into the objectified culture of an ethnic canon.[250]

The comprehensive transformation of existing cultural materials and performance contexts to make the muqam canon reveals how people exercise cultural power and the logics of that power. The editors of the muqams have developed these shifting logics through the process of familiarizing themselves with the muqam material and debating how best to interpret and present it. They have exercised cultural power according to logics constructed from many different sources and applied contingently, almost experimentally, and then discussed the results. I was party to some of these discussions, and many Uyghurs reiterated to me the ideas and materials that were being tried out in discussions, publications, and editing work.

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[250] In her detailed analysis of the canonization of Uyghur muqam music, Rachel Harris (forthcoming) makes comparisons to similar processes in the creation of other musical canons. Little ethnographic work considers the canonization of poetic texts and performance traditions, so I have not taken a comparative approach but have examined canon formation through the study of authors, editors, editing, and the processes of cultural production.

Anthropologists have critically analyzed cultural power, asking who can create public representations of objectified culture, who contests them and how they do so, and in what ways such cultural forms become further sources of power through public performances. A widespread feature of modernizing ethnic culture is the identification of some practices as traditional heritage, which reframes local practices as meaningful in relation to collective history and identity (Herzfeld 1982, Handler 1984, Foster 1991). Those with cultural power – such as scholars and politicians – help shape such explicit 'traditions' by decontextualizing (Bauman and Briggs 1990) the material and making it available to serve political goals through reworking and performing it for particular audiences and effects.

Throughout the mid-1900s, as anthropologists moved from studying isolated and supposedly less reflexive communities to attempting to understand mixed societies and eventually 'modern' urban life, they formulated theories of class, ethnicity and gender to understand the processes of differentiation and contest that had gone largely unnoticed in supposedly more homogeneous, culturally stable and unreflexive societies. Eventually, anthropologists had to acknowledge that many communities were overtly reflexive about culture, culture contact and innovation, and people were objectifying and extracting culture from dynamic contexts, and transforming and recontextualizing it for new meanings and effects. Some tried to distinguish between genuine traditions and those created by particular interest groups in order to manipulate social processes. The result was the development of theories about 'invented traditions' in the 1980s (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Handler 1984, 1988). Charles Briggs (1996) and Marshall Sahlins (1999) have usefully critiqued the problems that arise from identifying traditions as invented or otherwise manipulated, rather than understanding culture as always contested and always involved in power relations.

The identification of 'invented traditions' was one of a number of approaches to analyses of cultural domination, in which moral judgments mingled with attempts to understand how cultural representations were involved in social structures of domination. Gradually ethnographers have separated judgments about authenticity from analyses of cultural power in social process, and studied the ways men, elites and colonial officials objectified, transformed and revalued aspects of local cultural practices for various political projects (for example, Raheja 1996; Kendall 1998; Frykman and Löfgren 2000; Goodman 2002). The critical stance on reflexively reworking and imposing culture has been useful in highlighting processes that were otherwise neglected, but because of the emphasis on those without power, the analyses tend towards essentializing power and its exercise by homogeneous groups.

My approach in the present study has been to analyze the social organization of cultural reflexivity and its practices. Instead of criticizing the exercise of cultural power and judging its products, I have shown that the diversity of kinds of cultural power, the different projects of those exercising it, and the influences of cultural intimacy (Herzfeld 1997; Shryock 2004), disrupt any smooth imposition of power on cultural performances and social life. The projects and attempted reinterpretations reveal many contrasting ideas about national culture and the products are far more contingent and open to reinterpretation than the designers would like. In addition, it has helped to have the dissident perspective of someone like Ömär Akhun because of his experience as a traditional performer whose tradition was being reworked. He attempted to influence the process by directly engaging with Säypidin Äziz, revealing his own understanding of the sources of cultural power and the identities of those who excluded him from the editing process. By exploring muqam transformation I have followed the work of cultural power, not through criticism but by understanding its local concepts, practices and motivations.

8.1 Cultural Power

Editing the Uyghur muqams involved the cultural power of those whose expertise and authority allowed them to change and popularize them. The muqams were edited in order to increase their effectiveness as cultural symbols, and the editorial criteria were closely related to concepts of how cultural performances influence audiences, particularly when the muqams were represented as central to Uyghur identity in historical and cultural terms. But the complex editing was not so important for its systematic cultural product as for the extended negotiations over the principles that should guide the process and which interpretations were the best descriptions of the muqams, and this points to another kind of cultural power, in which they could create a protected zone to work out issues of cultural intimacy and create interpretive discourses for framing the muqam.

The poetic material included in the muqams comes out of contexts of power negotiations as well. Analysis of the poetic materials reveals cultural contests from the past that directly affected the editing. Traditional Turkic poetry ranges from highly vernacular to highly Persianate, with much explicitly religious and didactic content. This created problems for the editors particularly with regard to the two most important muqam poets. Despite the high status of his poetry among Central Asian Turks and his efforts to promote Turkic-language poetry, Mīr ʻAlī-Shīr Navāʼī was critical of vernacular Turkic genres and his Persianate oeuvre was difficult to use in the muqams. He has become the archetypal classical Central Asian Turkic poet but re-

mains at the edge according to the genealogical, cultural, and geographical categories used to characterize modern identities. The editor Ömär Imin said bluntly that he was unacceptable because of his Mongol ancestry and often incomprehensible poetry and because he learned his ideas and poetic styles from his Persian shaykh ‘Abd ar-Rahman Jāmī. Navā’ī’s Persianate style prevents easy assimilation to the populist poetry valued in present-day ethnic nationalism. His attempts to enrich the literary language and gain greater acceptance for it in Persian-dominated court cultures distanced him from the vernacular literature that is a hallmark of modern ethnic cultures.

Bābā Rahīm Mashrab presented other problems. Despite his traditional popularity, he is geographically excluded from the canon of Uyghur poets, and he is difficult to interpret except as a Sufi dervish. Despite a famous life history, he does not conform to modern ideas of propriety: his life story celebrates his challenges to those in power but has been suppressed by those with power over the modern canon because his anti-elite practices cannot be recuperated into something presentable. Mashrab’s life has to remain behind a curtain of cultural intimacy because he is too embarrassing to claim as a culture hero. However, Mashrab and Navā’ī were not excluded, but only supplemented. Like Persian words and the mention of Gherip travelling to Baghdad, the ‘foreignness’ of Mashrab and Navā’ī are reminders that ethnic history in Xinjiang can only be contingent and cannot domesticate all the sources of Uyghur culture.

The reconstruction of the past in ethnic terms has to give present meaning through recognizable categories. Cultural power establishes these categories and reinforces itself through them. The categories domesticate the past and ensure its meaningfulness, but only by erasing the meanings that people of the past made for themselves. One can describe this as ‘historical intimacy’: local meanings contaminated past events and made them hard to read without raising embarrassing questions about their connection to the present. Like the muqams themselves, the meanings of the past had to be changed to avoid revealing the intimate self and, by extension, contaminating the collective ethnic culture. By linking the individual and the group in a unified culture that was appropriate for public performance, the intimate self and its shared ethnic culture became the focus of reflexive monitoring. The cultural power that shaped the collective was also internalized for reflexive discipline of the self.

The editors of the muqams have understood the re-creation of the muqam tradition and the cultural power relations associated with it not as the consolidation of state control over ethnic culture and identity but as the revision of cultural practices and history by editing and reinterpreting their products. The muqams prove cultural continuity with the past, but the editing

project has allowed politicians and scholars to change the meanings of that past and develop interpretations and narratives that integrate muqam culture and history into present Uyghur identity while limiting contaminants such as Navā'ī's Persian language and Mashrab's ecstatic transgressions. The editors have used their positions within cultural institutions to reorganize and restore the muqams and revive popular interest in them. Changes to the tradition are founded in ideals about classical culture, its modern forms, its power as symbol and representation of shared values, but the muqams have also been edited to support narratives about culture and identity and to exclude that which interferes with the logic of such narratives.

Ömär Akhun obstructed the editors' attempts to extract the muqams from the cultural intimacies to which they were sensitive, and present them as a shared source of Uyghur cultural pride. He understood the muqams as embodying a cultural power involving spiritual elements that in modern China had been largely excluded from the public sphere. For Ömär Akhun, the muqams were not consolidated canons and symbols of ethnic culture, nor were they vehicles for public referential discourse. For Ömär Akhun, the muqams were first and foremost ways to influence spiritual and emotional states through song and music, and he defined perfect performance of a muqam song as the optimization of such influences. As we saw, in performance he systematically connected music, words, and emotions to influence his listeners directly. He did not rely on interpretations of his performances to explain their broader significance; they were valuable for their immediate influences, carefully calibrated to particular small audiences.

For scholars and politicians, the aesthetics of muqam sound and meaning were primarily academic issues to research objectively. Those reforming the tradition worked to affect audiences through other kinds of communication. The revised muqams were designed as collective representations of the ethnic nation that could be deployed in rituals to stand for the extensive, stable cultural identity of the Uyghurs. To have this kind of cultural power, the muqams have to consist of objectified, rationally organized substance, not something adjusted during performance to help listeners attain new spiritual heights. The power of the muqams as symbols relates more to what is said about them and to the politicized rituals in which they are presented than to any direct effects they have on audiences.

The power of the muqams as cultural symbols depends on narratives that explain how they have been part of major historical moments of Uyghur identity creation. Particularly important is the story of Amannisa Khan; at the Yarkand court the muqams were the core art of the golden age of 'Uyghur' culture. According to this account, reactionary Sufi Khojas threatened the muqam revival and attempted to suppress autonomous courtly arts and

culture but were defeated, and the muqams were organized into a rational canon by officials, scholars, and musicians working together. This narrative was used as a charter that explained the work of the modern editors repairing and restoring the tradition to fit better with vernacular culture and ethnic identity. Their understanding of Uyghur society and how to improve its culture and extend its historical significance reached audiences through political speeches and performances such as the play *Amannisakhan* by Säypidin Äziz, leading to popular support and few challenges to the editorial changes.

In sum, the muqams have been transformed from a difficult and individualized tradition into a widely shared public symbol that represents a valuable collective past. The remaking of the muqams has helped demonstrate that they were a more central public canon in the past, because what might appear to be adding new material has been interpreted as the restoration of intrinsic grandeur, order, and structure. Backstage, this complex remaking has offered many opportunities for practical negotiations over identity, history, and meanings within a culturally intimate zone.

8.2 Offstage

Sabine Trebinjac (2000) shows that from the perspective of Han musicologists and creators of national public culture in China, the revision of the muqams is part of the appropriation of minority performing arts for staging a unified Chinese state culture (see also Gladney 1994; Schein 1999). But the editing of the songs and texts for the Uyghur Twelve Muqam tradition has taken place largely outside of the sphere of Chinese government interests and cultural management. The muqam editing has been far more important as a Xinjiang Uyghur project of redefining ethnic tradition, perhaps exactly because these editors were outside of central government control and surveillance. Once edited, the muqams are public culture used in state rituals, but the editing has been offstage and has not raised strong concerns for Chinese central state interests.

Studies of ethnic minorities in China often focus intently on relations among state practices, Han Chinese, and minority group members. Such close studies of identity processes reinforce the idea that relations with Han Chinese and experiences of government policies have overwhelming affects on minority social and cultural lives, yet many aspects of the Uyghur muqams are quite removed from Uyghurs' interactions with the Chinese state and Han society. The Chinese state was barely present in discussions among editors, and although Han Chinese cultural history stimulated efforts to narrate a longer Uyghur musical history, it did not lead to anxiety over cultural influence, and this longer history has subsequently become less

important than that of the Yarkand Khanate. Except in political rhetoric, those who represent Chinese state interests have not attempted to integrate Chinese and Uyghur traditions, and have accepted Uyghur narratives of primary autochthony and secondary culture donation to Chinese courts.

The muqams have thus been a zone of cultural autonomy in which discourses about Uyghur identity and history could be developed with limited attention to Chinese ideas. Interpretations of the poetry and the music were closely related. When Uyghur scholars worked on the texts, they were concerned with relations with other Muslim societies and cultures, particularly Persians. Few Han Chinese were interested in the poems, and editors working on them had no need to discuss Chinese influences, ideas, or culture. The only Chinese state policies taken into consideration were the restrictions that made religious culture unacceptable in public performance. Uyghur scholars of music worked more closely with non-Uyghur scholars, and described musical relations with Arabs, Persians, and Chinese as similar in historical significance, but again, some anxious work centered on explaining away the use of Persian and Arabic names for muqams and musical instruments.

The Uyghur literary and musical canons were sites of struggle with internalized outsiders, primarily Persians, who had invaded the language Uyghurs spoke and dominated the religion they practiced. Of course there was no real invasion, because Turkic speakers adopted Persian terms as practical or elegant ways to participate in Muslim cultural activity, particularly literature. Modern desires for the clearly bounded culture of the authentic ethnic self, in which written and vernacular language coincide, require that cultural intimacies be reworked so that domestic and public cultural lives can both be represented as valorized parts of ethnic identity. Private life has to be available as a public symbol. It is embarrassing that Persian appears in quintessential Turkic classical poetry or in Uyghur speech, because it suggests ethnic disloyalty and failure to preserve pure ethnic culture. The historical intimacy of past desires to speak Persian, appreciate dancing boys, smoke hashish, or participate in ecstatic rituals were the subject of debates about how to revise, reinterpret and exclude them.

What might be called a 'decolonization' of Central Asian Turkic culture after centuries of Iranian courtly domination still motivates debates over the political meanings of culture, and leaves some still pursuing autonomous, autochthonous versions of ethnic history.[251] To cultivate self-respect and pride, Uyghurness has to be shown to exist separately from the Persian and

[251] Only some Turkic Central Asians see mixed Turko-Persian society as something to overcome. The anxiety I describe about internal others is not inevitable but the product of reflexive management of tradition to attain ethnic cultural purity.

Arab influences that came with Islamization and were embraced as the elite culture in Mongol courts. Continuity with Buddhism, such as Ghazi Ämät represented in his art, actually helps this project because this religion developed for a long period in Xinjiang, among a people named Uyghur, and does not continue to pose a challenge to state cultural and political authority in the way Islam does. Islam continues to undermine the primacy of Uyghur ethnic identification because it offers an alternative source of identity, which Buddhism obviously does not, since it is no longer an active belief system among Uyghurs.

In the offstage zone of cultural intimacy where Uyghurs deal with remaking and reinterpreting their intimate selves, they confront these absent others, Arabs and Persians who brought or imposed beliefs, languages, and cultural forms long ago and Sufis who were excluded from public life. They existed within the Uyghur self, and excluding them involves removing parts of the self, particularly its language. Competition and cooperation with present ethnic others, Han, Kazakh, or Hui, who were more clearly external was a simpler matter of maintaining ethnic boundaries, but grappling with these internal others suggested that forebears actively incorporated these beliefs and language of romance and spirituality.

8.3 Cultural Purity and Working on the Collective Self

The concept of cultural intimacy makes the personal nature of reworking the muqams accessible and salient. Debates and discussions took place not among institutions or officials holding fixed positions and interpretations but among people actively rethinking and applying their changing understandings to solving the problems of studying, interpreting, and objectifying culture and history in relation to collective Uyghur identity. They did not work to define ethnic boundaries but to edit a fundamental representation of Uyghur identity.

The muqam editing gave people opportunities to work through personal questions in a small community as a rehearsal for public presentations. I use the concept of cultural intimacy to describe not only nonpublic aspects of culture but also the space of rehearsal and experiment through which people reworked aspects of practice to fit them into public representations of shared culture and avoid negative responses. Uyghurs discussing the muqams with me seldom presented their most embarrassing cultural anxieties but rather justified particular choices about how to edit and interpret the muqams. When asking about motivations for their choices – as in comparing Turdi Akhun's texts with those of the revised muqams to figure out what was being excluded – I could infer more intimate concerns that usually went unspoken, such as homoerotic imagery that no one mentioned.

The muqams as they have been edited carry with them the remnants of what has been removed or excluded in order to avoid undermining the logics of cultural power. Concerns about what should be in and out of Uyghur culture are reflected in the muqams and in narratives about them. People developed possible interpretations and narratives about the muqams and make choices among plausible and implausible descriptions. People's reactions to the muqams were also personal. Ethnic identity demands participation in the logics of public cultural power – particularly the unified, uncontaminated whole of idealized egalitarian participation, without disruption by group boundaries and cultural impurities.

Muqam editing was framed as the removal of problematic content and its replacement with material that would support the narratives being developed around the muqams. The contents of the muqams were not nearly as important as the narratives, because the latter were clear official statements made in explicit, referential language. Official reflexive descriptions of the muqams framed them unambiguously, but the muqam poetry carried potential sources of culturally intimate disruptions that had to be excluded. The muqams were equated with Uyghur culture, so the material should conform to cultural logics of continuity, autochthony, historicity, and unified identity. These concerns emerged in the backstage zone of conversations and editing practice, but because of the multiple, conflicting principles and differing sensitivities of the scholars, politicians, and performers, they were implemented in widely varying ways, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 1. Motivations and Logics of Editing Muqam Song Content

Problematic Content	**Projected Negative Effect**	**Solution**
Persian and Arabic words and verbal structures	Muqams would not be comprehensible; such impurities would indicate cultural borrowing from Persian speakers	Substitute 'Uyghur' terms; find Turkic poems with fewer Persian and Arabic forms
Archaic language	Listeners would not understand and would reject the muqams, would not recognize them as Uyghur	Substitute more recent poems and words
Islamic images and concepts	Suggestion that muqams are belated, arose during Islamic period, and are borrowed rather than autochthonous or original	Interpret the music as autochthonous and the texts as camouflage to protect against Islamic strictures on music

Sufi religious concepts, asceticism, and critiques of worldly people	Promotion of religious beliefs; might prevent radio play of muqams because government prohibited public displays of religious beliefs and practices	Substitute poems that are less religious; reinterpret poems as critiques of worldly elites rather than as advocacy of asceticism
Ambiguous gender of the beloved	Homoerotic imagery considered immoral	Always interpret the beloved as female addressed by a male poet
Short and repetitive poetry, not encyclopedic	Suggest impoverished culture; performers forgot the original forms	Add music and poetic material
Incomplete and unsystematic content; asymmetrical organization; lack of variety	Implications that tradition is decaying and forgotten; irrational culture; performers changed the tradition	Restore music and texts with new items collected in different parts of Xinjiang and with new texts from published editions; explain limits of performers
Edited content	Strips tradition of aura of age and authenticity, because content is created in the present by interested agents	Redefine editing as recuperation and restoration; downplay its significance; compare it to the revival of the muqams during the Yarkand Khanate
Newly composed or reworked poetry or music	Detracts from image of traditionality	Present it as part of recuperating, restoring, preserving the tradition.
Texts by poets not local to Xinjiang or not Uyghur, such as Mashrab, or contested with Uzbeks, such as Navā'ī	Suggestion that Uyghur identity is not culturally distinct and the tradition is not Uyghur in essence; failure of autochthony and loss of uniquely Uyghur culture heroes	Find additional poets from manuscripts being edited and published

Content that does not explicitly and exclusively describe Uyghur identity, society, and history	Shows lack of localized references and ethnic culture; failure of continuity within Uyghur tradition; failure of tradition to be a self-referential display of identity	Add more reflexive poetry representing distinctively Uyghur life; poems explicitly about muqams and language; narrative of muqam restoration during Yarkand Khanate, a golden age or renaissance
Content determined by performers	Appears unstable and focused on individuals rather than representing the group	Idealize Turdi Akhun rather than living traditional performers
Multiple instruments and tunings; individual performers and traditions	Gives appearance of lack of modern scale of performance; not monumental tradition	Create standard instruments and tunings; train musicians to perform in unison using European notation (cf: Pegg 2001: 256ff)

As the muqam tradition has been made into an objectified canon and ethnic symbol, conscious attention to the meaning of the tradition has led to increased reflection upon it and reflexivity within it. Politicians and scholars have begun thinking about the tradition in relationship to the ethnic nation, and through their editing and sponsorship of the tradition, more reflexivity has gradually been worked into it. The muqams are not preoccupied with themselves, but they have been made a center of cultural attention and refer to themselves a great deal more than they used to, simply because they stand for reflexive Uyghur selves. Less the work of performers who could directly affect audiences, the muqams are now cultural performances that also serve political sponsors. They are being made more encyclopedic and representative, but the contents of these representations shift from one public performance to another. The most recent muqam videos in more than twelve hours of film represent every imaginable aspect of Uyghur culture, from circumcision, weaving, printing, paper-making, healing, and stylized Sufi rituals to the legend of Amannisa Khan, *Gherip-Sänäm* and other traditional narratives, and muqam performances themselves (Dawamat, Abdureshit, and Tilivaldi 2002). Many of the scenes suggest public displays of the culturally intimate, idealized and carefully cleansed of embarrassing moments.

In the case of the Uyghur Twelve Muqams, the process of moving from the unruly cultural practices of daily life to carefully constructed, ritualized performances involved writing down and editing the texts. The transition from the oral performances of creative individuals relying on memorized and spontaneously organized texts to the written standard canon

of muqam poems depended on written texts put side by side and checked for repetition, forgetting, and contamination by problematic material. Cultural performances of traditional muqams created by individual performers and their work for spiritual effects were culturally intimate aspects of the muqams and have been excluded from public, ritualized presentations of the muqams as shared Uyghur heritage. In the past performers controlled the muqam tradition and it vanished back into their expertise the moment it was performed. Only through texts and recordings have fleeting performances been made reliably present as stable cultural substance for the Uyghur ethnic group. The textual form and institutional transmission disciplined cultural process and gave greater control over performances to allow more consistent effects and meanings. The textualized muqams are clearer and more orderly and consistent, but the publicly performed muqams still carry traces of backstage negotiation, earlier performers, differing approaches to editing, and the varied source materials that were used. And backstage negotiations continue as new muqam versions continue to be produced, reflecting new concepts and representations of the Uyghur ethnic self.

Appendix
A Brief Introduction to Uyghur Musical Instruments

For the Uyghur muqams, the most important musical instruments are the *satar*, a long-bowed lute (ca. 150 cm) with two or three main strings that are tuned the same and nine to thirteen resonant strings that run underneath the main strings; the *dutar*, a long lute (ca. 125 cm) with two strings that are plucked and strummed in a variety of strokes; the *ğejäk*, a spike-fiddle (ca. 100 cm) with four strings that run across a bridge resting on a leather resonator; the *qalun*, a fifteen- to nineteen-stringed zither played with a plectrum in each hand (ca. 60 cm square, although one dimension decreases as the pitch increases); the *tämbur*, a five-string long lute (ca. 150 cm) that is played with a wire plectrum attached to the forefinger; the *rawap*, a three- to six-stringed short lute (ca. 90 cm) played close to the chest with the wrist of the playing arm wrapping around the bottom of the resonant chamber and the hand pivoting at the wrist to pluck and strum the strings with a plectrum; and the *kičik* ('small') *dap*, a small frame drum (ca. 25 cm) with a leather head and many small metal rings hung around the inside of the wooden frame.

Other Uyghur instruments that are used to perform the muqams in larger ensembles include the *čañ* (ca. 35 by 100 cm), which is similar to a hammered dulcimer or Iranian *santur*; the *balaman*, a short, end-blown reed flute (33 cm); the *näy*, an end-blown flute (45 cm); the *surnay*, an end-blown, twin-reed instrument like an oboe (ca. 45 cm); the *sapayi*, a pair of wooden sticks with iron rings that are generally played by striking them against the shoulders; and the *nağra*, a pair of small, fired clay drums (ca. 20 and 25 cm high, 25 and 30 cm in diameter) with leather heads, played with slightly curved sticks.

Most of these instruments are cognate to others found in many parts of central Eurasia and the Middle East. Even in Xinjiang they appear in a variety of forms, although institutional standardization has brought many of them to have fixed forms. The best sources for the Uyghur instruments include Wan 1986, Liu Guiying 1990, Säläy 1992, and Trebinjac 2000: 190–211 and plates. Laurent Aubert (1985: 29–37) discusses and gives illustrations of the Kashgar satar, ğejäk, rawap, and dutar.

Older descriptions and illustrations of instruments from the Ili and Khotan regions appear in Pantusov 1890 and Grenard 1897–1898, 2: 139–43. Excellent historical images have appeared in Chinese imperial texts and Japanese works derived from them. Maurice Courant (1913: 148–149, 179–182) provides a convenient source for these early studies of East Turkistani instruments, including the dap (no. 37), nağra (no. 41), satar (no. 140), rawap

(no. 141), a misidentified picture of the qanun (no. 224), the čañ (no. 144), and the ǧejäk (no. 154).

Comparative studies of Uyghur instruments and closely related ones can be found in Karomatov, Meškeris, and Vyzgo 1987, Ögel 1987, Picken 1975, Spector 1967: 448–63, and Zhou 1987. There are many brief but relevant articles in the *New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (Sadie 1984), but few references to the Uyghur versions of these instruments. See the entries in Sadie 1984 under Duff (vol. 1: 616–617) Dutār (1: 638–639), Ghichak (2: 43), Naqqāra (2: 747–748), Qānūn (3: 169–171), Rabāb (3: 177–183), Setār (3: 353–354), and Tanbūr (3: 518–519).

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Index

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ʻAbd ar-Rashīd Khān 135, 136, 154, 161, 165-70
ʻarūz 53, 62, 83, 88, 93
ʻāshiq 60, 64, 75, 78, 103, 111, 113, 124, 186, 188, 192, 261, 278-80, 284-6, 291-2, *see also* dervish, qalandar
Ab-i čäšmä 45n, 81n, 195-6, 245, 256
ahañ (ʻtune') 45, 88, 163, 184-5, 204
Alibakieva, T. 28, 28n, 32n, 33, 33n, 40n, 44n, 51, 53, 53n, 307
allegory; romantic 70, 72, 83, 127, 254; spiritual 60, 66, 169; Sufi 69, 88, 92, 104, 106, 110, 118, 123
Āmānnisā Khān 11, 171-4, 177, 189, 190, 236, 288, 297, 298, 303
An Lushan 21, 149
Arabic 28n, 31-2, 34-5, 41n, 44n, 53, 66n, 83-7, 90, 94-8, 101n, 106-9, 126-7, 132, 133, 135, 135n, 138-9, 151, 154-5, 168, 239n
Ärshidinov, B. 81, 211n, 216, 218, 220, 221, 231, 234, 235, 245, 248, 254, 257, 263, 264, 267, 269, 276
autochthony 27-9, 32, 34, 130-2, 136, 139, 141, 179, 189, 299, 301, 302

Bābur Shāh 65, 69, 95n, 106, 160, 308
backstage/ offstage/ rehearsal 6, 210, 292, 298, 300-1, 304
Bahram Gur 167
Barat, Q. 6, 81, 100, 107, 123-4, 126, 216, 218-22, 224, 225, 228, 231-4, 241, 245, 247-8, 254-6, 269, 270, 278-88
bäyt 45, 184, 185, 191, 192, 194, 199, 204
Buddhism 33, 63, 131-6, 224, 300

Chaghatay language and literature 34n, 53, 57-8, 83, 85, 90, 220-1
classical; culture 212-3, 297; music 26-33, 39, 134, 139, 146; tradition 9-10, 32, 35, 58, 128, 180, 187, 213, 215, 224, *see also* folk
classical Turkic poetry 53, 57-8, 83-109, 126-8, 222, 227, 230, 257, 262, 265, 265n, 295, 299
Čoñ Näğmä (section of muqam) 32, 39, 46, 49, 52, 58, 70, 123, 125, 135, 135n, 142, 171, 175, 175n, 182, 193, 195, 197, 211, 211n, 227, 255, 259, 287, 288, 290
contamination and purity 11-4, 31, 33, 34, 36, 130, 131, 145-7, 189, 227, 229n, 300-4
cultural intimacy 12-4, 104, 128, 225, 295, 296, 300
cultural debts 14, 130-2

dance 19-27, 45, 46, 48-50, 111, 132-6, 144, 146, 148, 176, 194, 215n, 245, 292
dastan (romantic epic) 46, 49-51, 60, 100, 182, 184, 188, 192, 194, 204, 211, 211n, 261-88
Dastan (section of muqam) 32, 46, 49, 52, 58, 142, 175-6, 186, 193, 194, 204, 230n, 259, 261-88
Dawamat, T. 14, 31, 37, 39, 39n, 73n, 83, 101, 134n, 136, 172, 208, 216, 271, 286n, 288, 292, 303
dervish 5, 50, 59n, 62, 63-5, 74, 80, 82, 83, 93, 102, 111, 118-20, 163, 292, 296, *see also* ʻāshiq, qalandar
Dīvāna-i Mashrab 110-23, 231
Dīvān-i hikmat 72-82 *passim*
During, J. 39n, 41, 200
dutar 20, 21, 40, 43n, 47, 138, 159, 172, 175, 193, 198-200, 305-6

ethnic identity/ ethnicity 7-8, 12-4, 27, 85n, 130-2, 141, 178, 227, 298, 299, 301
exclusion 2, 4-5, 7-8, 11-4, 66, 69n, 110-1, 123, 131, 137, 154, 222, 285-6, 292, 296, 300

Fārābī, Abū Nasr Muhammad 137-8, 150-3, 158-60, 164-5, 186, 212
folk 27-9, 32, 34-9, 46, 48-50, 58, 88, 92, 133, 134, 138n, 145, 148, 151, 170, 194, 221, 222, *see also* classical
folk and literate verse 224-7
folk couplets 255-7, 285-8
folk dastan 262, 264, 267
Fuzūlī, Muhammad ibn Sulaymān 58, 61, 70-2, 74, 106, 188, 189

ğejäk 20, 24, 138, 143, 172, 173, 198, 199, 305, 306
genealogy 137-40, 155-7, 296
ghazal 32, 33, 46-62 *passim*
Ghazi Ämät 132-4, 134n, 136n, 173n, 195, 196, 300
Gherip-Sänäm dastan 188, 261-86, 296
Gökalp, Z. 34, 35, 38, 66n

Hallāj, Mansur al- 78, 109, 112, 118, 122, 124, 127, 286
Herat 58, 90, 94, 150, 160, 163, 308, 326
homoeroticism 64-6, 104, 300, 302
Hörliqa-Hämra dastan 272-4, 282
Husayn Bāyqarā 90, 91, 94
Huvaydā, Khoja Nazar ibn Ghā'ib Chīmiyānī 57-8, 88, 123-7, 184, 188, 222, 259, 287-91

Ili Muqam 3, 39, 42n, 49, 87n, 88, 101n, 106, 119, 124, 192, 197, 209-11, 220, 230, 231, 239, 241, 245, 248, 256, 261, 263, 268-77 *passim*, 285, 286, 290
invented tradition 3n, 294

Jāmī, 'Abd ar-Rahman 93-6, 155-6, 160, 162, 164, 173, 222, 296
Jarring, G. 86, 86n, 137, 264-7, 272n, 278, 280, 281

Kashgar 15-8, 22, 26, 31, 39-40, 45, 51, 80, 100, 110, 114-8, 133, 135, 169, 180-4, 192, 193, 196, 197, 207-12, 215, 216, 220, 235-9, 261, 267, 269, 272, 275, 286, 305
Kerim, H. 33, 139, 139n
Khojamyarov, Q. 29, 33, 36, 187, 200, 223, 224
Khotan 16, 116-7, 120, 136, 154-8, 168, 208, 212, 286, 305
Korogly, Kh. 263-7
küy 135, 199, 202, 203-6, 249, 324

Levin, T. 3, 28, 34n, 36, 41, 51n, 53-4, 187n, 235
Lutfī, Mavlānā 58, 87-92, 95, 97, 100n, 127, 128, 165

Mahbūb ul-Qulūb 93n, 98-9
maqāmāt 28-9, 32, 34, 36-7, 43, 44, 50, 78, 152, 168, 169, 177
Mashrab, Bābā Rahīm 50, 57, 58, 61, 62, 66, 101, 109-24, 126, 127, 192, 222, 226, 231-6, 259, 265, 288, 296, 297, 302
Mäšräp (section of muqam) 32, 45, 46, 49-52, 58, 75, 80, 87n, 123, 124, 142, 175n, 186, 187, 193, 194, 204, 234, 259, 261, 287, 289-92
mäšräp (song) 46, 50, 50n, 75, 75n,

81-3, 111, 111n, 124, 125, 175, 176, 180, 182, 192, 211, 256, 259, 286-91
mimeograph muqam texts (ME, MG, MRO) 55, 104, 215, 228, 231, 233, 234, 239, 248, 250, 271, 276-7, 285
Minkaohan 12
Mīrzā Haydar 94, 94n, 169
mode (music) 40-3, 46, 119, 150, 152, 164, 200-6
Mongol/ Moghul/ Moghulistan 15, 16, 18, 21, 83-5, 85n, 94, 113, 114, 133, 144-8, 155, 170, 222, 296, 300
Mū'jiz, Mulla 'Ismatulla binni Mulla Ni'matulla 154-77, 186, 189, 202
Muhākamat al-lughatayn 95-8, 108
Mukařovsky, J. 69, 128, 187n
mukhammas 60, 112, 114-5, 118, 122, 267, 269, 269n
muñ, mung, mungluq 20, 32, 34, 47-9, 50, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 83, 85, 87, 159, 186, 198-9, 243

Naqshband, Naqshbandī, Naqshbandiyya 93, 93n, 117, 120, 124, 135, 170, 252
Navā'ī, Mīr 'Alī Shīr 26, 93-106 *passim*, 108-11, 117, 119, 123, 127, 128, 154-6, 160-6, 185, 189, 222, 227, 228, 229, 231, 236, 239-43, 249-54, 257-9, 262, 287-91, 295-7, 302
Noah, Nuh (prophet) 96, 140, 155, 156, 156n, 258

Ömär Akhun 2-3, 22, 33, 40-6, 52-5, 59-60, 67, 70, 170, 174, 177-217, 221-7, 230, 230n, 236, 239-61 *passim*, 281, 291, 295, 297
Ömär Imin 31, 180, 215, 221-4, 296

Pahlavān Muhammad Abū-Sa'īd 128, 155, 161-4
parallelism 68, 71-2, 74, 86-7, 97-9, 102, 104, 106, 108, 126, 230, 241-50 *passim*, 280-2
parda, pädä 41, 195, 199-202, 205
Persian (Fārsī, Sārt) 9, 14, 28, 31, 33-6, 41n, 42-5, 53-4, 57-8, 60-8, 77-87, 90-100, 101n, 104-9, 126-33, 138-41, 144, 150, 154-5, 160, 162-3, 167-73, 191, 196, 217, 220, 222-4, 227-30, 235, 239, 243, 262n, 264-5, 295-301
proverbial style 72, 74, 76, 79, 83, 88, 98-100, 126-7, 157-8
purity, *see* contamination

qalandar 116, 120, 122, 169, 285, 288, *see also* 'āshiq, dervish
Qawul Akhun 22, 31, 42, 47, 48, 52, 124n, 148, 170, 174, 177, 179, 182, 183, 186, 189, 195, 196, 200-4, 211, 211n, 217, 218, 221, 222, 245, 261, 291
Qidīr Khān 135-6, 154, 161, 164, 165, 168-9, 173-4, 177, 189, 191, 212
Qutadhğu Bilig 62, 79, 80, 84, 85

rawap 20, 22-4, 138, 196, 198, 212, 305
reflexive/ reflexivity 2, 8, 11-4, 57, 87, 129-30, 154, 173-7, 236-7, 294-6, 299n, 301, 303
Rozi Tämbur 29, 39, 49, 119, 154, 211, 221, 261, 290

sama, samā' 26, 49, 50, 93n, 159, 169
satar 22, 31, 40, 47, 114, 116, 119, 138, 171, 175, 198-200, 205, 209, 231-7, 286, 305
Säypidin Äziz 27-31, 37, 148, 171-6, 189, 209, 215, 218, 223, 224, 236, 295, 298

Shah Abbas I 264, 267-8, 283-5
Shāhnāma 85, 158n, 167
sharīʿa 84, 93, 123, 124, 156, 160, 163
Shaykh 72-5, 77-9, 93, 94n, 114, 118, 123, 135, 156-63
Shir Mämät 34, 137, 139, 142, 143, 153, 173, 177, 200, 201, 211, 222, 224
šöbä, shuʿbā, šaχ (branch) 34, 43-6, 183, 194-6, 204, 208, 247, 259
Sufis, Sufism 5, 50, 79-80, 157-74 *passim*, 266, 288, 296-7, 300, 303, *see also* Huvaydā, Mashrab, Yasavī
Sufi imagery 62-7, 70-4, 101-9, 224, 236, 286, *see also* allegory
Sufi poetry/ literary Sufism 57-128 *passim*, 252
Suzhipo/ Suzup/ Sujaiva/ Sujup Aqari 135, 135n, 137, 137n, 143, 149, 150, 153

tämbur 20, 31, 34, 40, 47, 119, 137, 138, 143, 193, 199, 209-12, 221, 230, 234-6, 305
Tārīkh-i Kāshgar 155n, 157n, 169-71
Tārīkh-i Rashidī 155, 156, 171n
Tavārikh-i mūsīqiyyūn 154-68
Tavārikh-i Ravzat as-Safā 155-7
thematic unity/ topical coherence 67-70, 108, 236, 240, 257, 297
Timurid period 57, 84-5, 90-7, 150, 154-65
Trebinjac, S. 5, 32, 40, 41, 60n, 142, 172, 200, 218
Turdi Akhun 2, 27n, 39-42, 45-58, 61, 67, 70, 75, 80-3, 87, 100-6, 111, 119-24, 124n, 125n, 154, 164n, 177, 179-86, 188, 192, 195-7, 200, 208, 210, 211n, 215-28, 230, 231, 234-50 *passim*, 254-63, 266n, 268n, 269, 272, 276, 277, 279-92, 303

Uyghur script 84, 85n, 94

Verdery, K. 3, 9, 14

Wan Tongshu 27n, 40, 48, 51n, 52, 139, 218, 241, 245

χuštar 161n, 172-3, 199

Yaʿqūb Beg 17, 21-2, 144n, 169
Yarkand 11, 16, 18, 37, 39, 114, 116, 135, 154n, 156-7, 161-2, 165-71, 190, 208, 211n, 212, 215, 219-20, 261, 292, 297, 299, 302, 303
Yasavī, Ahmad 50, 57, 72-83, 87, 110, 112, 120, 127, 169
Yūsuf Khāss Hājib 62, 84, 100n, 135, 165, 168

Zhou Ji 138, 179, 186, 200-2, 306
Zhou Jingbao 141n, 330
zikr 77-8, 93n, 136, 253, 288, 292

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