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Introduction to the Work of Uygur Poet Bakhtiya

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Dilfuza Rozieva and Anna Oldfield,
"Introduction to the Work of Uygur Poet Bakhtiya"
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Abstract: In their article "Introduction to the Work of Uygur Poet Bakhtiya" Dilfuza Rozieva and Anna Oldfield introduce Ilya Bakhtiya's (1932-1987) work. For writers like Bakhtiya, the task was to create a Kazakh Uygur print culture that combined their ethnic heritage with their new reality in the Soviet Union. Bakhtiya published in a variety of genres including lyric, satire, and children's literature in vernacular Uygur. Importantly, Bakhtiya's texts merge and bridge identities in both graceful and appealing ways overcoming the required Soviet context and continuing to inspire Uygurs today.

Dilfuza ROZIEVA and Anna OLDFIELD

Introduction to the Work of Uygur Poet Bakhtiya

Ilya Bakhtiya (Илия Бахтия 1932-1987) was an Uygur poet who was born and lived in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic for most of his life. He is respected by the Kazakh Uygur population and since his death new editions of his poetry, scholarship about his texts, museum exhibitions, and a school named for him demonstrate his popularity. Bakhtiya is beloved by his readers for his rich use of the Uygur vernacular and for his versatile texts ranging from children's books to lyric, satire, and novels in verse. But for Kazakh Uygurs there is something more that explains his appeal. Bakhtiya's poetry is the voice of the diaspora, a voice which expresses a hybrid identity of belonging simultaneously to multiple homelands: to his native Kazakhstan, to the ancestral Uygur homeland of Xinxiang in China, and to the Soviet Union. In his poetry, Bakhtiya created bridges of thought and language, gracefully closing the gaps between these different identities and creating a new whole, an identity which is multiple, complex, yet integrated. For Uygurs in Kazakhstan, his poetry is an affirmation of their own multifaceted identities, embracing a new homeland without denying the old and this appeal is as poignant in independent Kazakhstan as it was in the Soviet Union. His poetry provides an enduring road map for being Uygur in Kazakhstan and creates a linguistic hearth at which to warm the hybrid self (on this, see also Rozieva).

Uygurs are a Turkic people who have long lived in northern China. Unlike the nomadic Kazakhs, Uygurs developed a settled society based around urban centers such as Kashgar and Urumchi. Living at the crossroads of the Silk Road, the Uygurs developed a cosmopolitan culture with rich traditions in literature, music, and arts. Kazakh Uygurs represent a diaspora having emigrated from Xinjiang in waves since the 1900s and continuing through the twentieth century (see Kamalov 148). Uygurs now live throughout Central Asia and Uygurs in Kazakhstan are numbered at approximately 370,000 (Guang and Debata 66). Although small in numbers, Uygurs have a distinct presence in Kazakh society and the registered public association The Republican Cultural Centre of Kazakhstan Uygurs acts as an official body representing the population as a minority. There is an Uygur press and the Kazakh State Radio broadcasts daily news and cultural programs in Uygur. Kazakhstan is also the home of the Kozhamiyarov Uygur Drama Theater, the only Uygur theater in Central Asia. There is a faculty of Uygur studies at the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, as well as an Uygur section of the Writers Union of Kazakhstan. There are over fifty Uygur and mixed Uygur and Kazakh schools in Kazakhstan which make possible an education in Uygur. Under the legacy of Soviet minority policies and the leadership of Kazakhstan, the country has an official policy of tolerance and support for ethnic minorities (see Rozieva 4). From the USSR to the Independent Republic, Kazakhstan has been a welcoming home for Uygur immigrants (see Laruelle and Peyrouse 104).

Kazakhs and Uygurs share their Turkic traditions, their Islamic religious heritage, and their historical experiences. As an ethnic minority in Kazakhstan, Uygurs have been successful in many fields, for example the geneticist Shoukhrat Mitalipov, the composer Kuddus Kozhamiyarov, and the Soviet military hero Sulfi Lutpullin. Kazakh Uygurs have also been successful in preserving their original language and culture thanks in part to state supported schools and cultural institutions, but also owing to the continued use of Uygur language at home and in community life. The Uygur community in Kazakhstan is an example of a successful diaspora which has adjusted well to its adopted country, yet is still proud of and feels connected to its ancestral homeland and culture (see Guang and Debata 65). As a diaspora, however, Kazakh Uygurs have complex, multiple identities that encompass both a sense of belonging to (or longing for) their original homeland and a sense of belonging to the country of their birth. As William Safran points out, diaspora communities tend to hold on to "memories, visions and myths" of the original homeland and these images are an important part of diaspora identities which bind communities together (83). This does not necessarily mean an intention to return to the homeland: As Nadja Johnson observes, "The 'homing' desire or narrative is not necessarily the same as wanting to return to the physical homeland. Instead it is more of an understanding that regardless of where the persons relocate, their conception of home is always with them and that it will remain a central part of their identities and that they will always themselves embody some obligation and responsibility to this home" (47). In Soviet Kazakhstan, this connection to the homeland had to be

negotiated in a complex web of many levels of belonging. Bakhtiya, living in Soviet Kazakhstan, was in a complex and delicate position: an ethnic minority, separated geographically and politically from an ancestral homeland he had never seen or would see, citizen of a country that encouraged him to write and publish in the Uygur language, but insisted that, although it could be "national in form," it must be "socialist in content" (Frolova-Walker 331). As a writer, Bakhtiya's identity was not only in the public eye, but also would have been scrutinized by government authorities.

As a citizen of the Soviet Union, Bakhtiya was cut off from the Uygur community in China, as well as from his heritage of Uygur literary traditions. While Uygurs who emigrated from Xinjiang could still read Arabic script in which the language was written, their children like Bakhtiya could not: Kazakh Uygurs wrote in Cyrillic and were discouraged from learning or reading Arabic script. Even when they could read Arabic, Kazakh Uygurs had limited access to classical literary texts, many of which had religious content banned in the Soviet Union. Culturally, as Marlène Laruelle and Sebastien Peyrouse assert, the "secular and Europe-oriented" Soviet Uygurs were "distant from the Uygurs of Xinjiang" (96). Folklore and song, kept alive in the villages, was the only native literary spring from which Bakhtiya could draw. For writers like Bakhtiya, the task was to create a Kazakh Uygur print culture that reframed their cultural heritage within their new reality in the Soviet Union. Bakhtiya's poetry contributed to the creation of a unique Kazakh Uygur literature. The creation of print literature can be an important factor in the maintenance of ethnic identity and community. In his work on the development of nationalism, Benedict Anderson theorized the growth of "imagined communities" bound together by the reading of texts. As Anderson describes it, national consciousness grew along with the capitalist/industrial developments that led to print culture, which created communities of "fellow readers, to whom they were connected through print" (47). Print served the function of a bridge providing "unified fields of exchange and communications" in which individuals could imagine themselves as part of a larger whole" (Anderson 47). For Kazakh Uygurs, print literature connected them not only to their continued heritage as Uygurs, but also to their unique situation as minorities in Kazakhstan.

Bakhtiya's biography shows him as very much a man of the twentieth century and he was a Soviet cosmopolitan fluent in Russian, Uygur, and Kazakh and travelled frequently to Moscow and to other republics of the Soviet Union. Bakhtiya was born in 1932 in Kazakhstan in the Uygur village of Achinoka, in the Almaty region. His father died when Bakhtiya was a child and his uncle took him to live in Samarkand, in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan. Bakhtiya showed a penchant for literature at an early age and recalls learning the Uzbek heroic epic *Alpamish* by heart when he was five years old (Speak 5). He was still a child in 1941 when World War II broke out, at which time his uncle joined the army and Bakhtiya returned to Kazakhstan. These were difficult times: during the war so many men joined the army that only women, children, and the elderly remained in the villages and Bakhtiya and his peers had to work as adults. During that time young Bakhtiya wrote poems and letters for people to their husbands, fathers, and sweethearts at the front (Speak 15). Later in life, Bakhtiya would remember the hardship of those years in poems which have a strong resonance with others who were children in the war. For example, in the following except from the poem "Memories of Life 1941-1945 ("Жиллар хатириси 1941-1945") he wrote: "The years passed and passed/ At that time we were 'the grown ups'/ We weren't even 11 years old/ But we tried to labor nonetheless" (unless indicated otherwise, all translations are by Rozieva and Oldfield) ("Жиллар к□тти, жиллар к□тти/ У жиллири «жут чо□лири» биз еду□/ Он бир яш□а толмиса□му алдимиз/ □зимизч□ тирикчилик издиду□" [Speak 759]). This style of poetry, embedded in real life, endeared him to readers who had shared similar experiences during the war. Bakhtiya's poetry first came to the attention of readers in 1954 when his poems were published in the collection *Д□сл□пки □□д□м* (The First Step) and his first solo collection of seventy-two poems was *Достларга сога* (Present to Friends) published in 1956. Bakhtiya published altogether fifteen collections of poetry and two verse novels, *Б□хит □уяши* (The Bird of Happiness) and *Тянь-Шань жигити* (The Man of Tian-Shan). He also published in journals and magazines throughout his life. He worked across many genres, including lyric, satire, children's poetry, and essay.

Bakhtiya was educated in Kazakh-language schools and graduated with a degree in philology in 1957 from the Kazakh Pedagogical Institute named for poet, composer, and philosopher Abay Qunanbayuli. First he was a teacher in a small village and later worked for a publishing house and then for the Kazakh Radio and Television. With his success as a writer opportunities opened for him

and in 1973 he was invited to Moscow to study in the prestigious Maxim Gorky Literary Institute from which he graduated in 1975. He was a longstanding member of the Writers Union of Kazakhstan. As a writer, Bakhtiya benefited from Soviet language policies, which encouraged literacy and publication in minority languages as long as the content was sufficiently Soviet and avoided nationalism and forbidden subjects. An enthusiastic believer in communist ideals, Bakhtiya wrote poetry of everyday life with complex word-play, structural inversions, and a large number of Persian and Arabic loan words (see Baratova 73) and his poetry was distinguished by a fresh, vernacular Uygur written in the syllabic meters common across Turkic folk poetry (see Bombaci xxvi). His poetry was topical ranging from current events to local corruption, but also touching on universal themes of creativity and freedom. The richness of his poetry attracted Soviet era scholars, such as Makhmut Abdrurakhmanov, who wrote that "The distinguishing feature of the poetry of Ilya Bakhtiya is a quest to tell the personal in traditional colors and motifs" (21). It was perhaps his ability to merge different fields such as the personal, the social, the modern, and the traditional that contributed to his ability to embody multiple identities in his poetry.

Bakhtiya spent most of his life as a member of intellectual and social circles which included Kazakhs. He translated many literary works from Kazakh into Uygur, including the poems of Alibek Tazhibayev, Khalizhan Bekkhozhin, Syrymzhan Mavlenov, and the dramas of Sabit Mukanov and thus contributed to communication between Kazakhs and Uygurs. Bakhtiya was also influenced by Kazakh literature: "His greatest idol was the nineteenth-century Kazakh poet Abay. He tried to follow in his footsteps and to use the style of Abay in his verses" (Seyitov qtd. in Bakhtiya, Speak 657). The excerpt from the poem "В□т□н" ("Motherland") shows Bakhtiya's feelings towards Kazakhstan as a homeland and a source of strength while expressing a patriotism that does not deny his Uygur identity: "You have given benefit to my people without cease / The voice of love for the Motherland is never dimmed / Every one of us takes power from you / Tell me, Mother, who does not love you? // I am singing a song of my Motherland / I always take pride in your honor / I would protect you like the iris of my own eye / If the enemy comes, I'll conscript myself to the bloody war" ("Б□хит б□рди□ х□л□имг□, Т□гим□йду/ 'В□т□н' дег□н му□□бб□тни□ □ни □чм□йду/ □□р бир ад□м □ув□т алар □аяти□дин/ Ей ана, ейт□ин сени ким с□йм□йду?// В□т□н дес□—нахша ейтип шадлиним□н/ Сени□ да□□и□ бил□н □□р ча□ махтиним□н/ К□з□мни□ □аричу□ид□к сени са□лап/ Д□шм□н кирс□, □анли□ ж□□г□ атлиним□н" [Speak 759]). In the first line of the poem we read that Bakhtiya claims Kazakhstan as a homeland, but he also assert himself as a member of his own people. This is a stunning assertion of simultaneous belonging and separation, one that he presents not as a contradiction, but as a declaration of love and Bakhtiya asserts his deep, even physical sense of belonging to Kazakhstan, a land which gives "power" and whose honor he "takes pride in," like a family member. Even stronger than the relationship of a son with his "motherland," in a powerful image he uses the Uygur expression "to protect you like the iris of my own eye" ("К□з□мни□ □аричу□ид□к"), as if merging the country with his own body. The self that is projected in this poem merges the human, the land, the country, and the people ending with a promise to protect his motherland with his life.

Bakhtiya thus occupies what Johnson refers to as a "diasporic space" that "incorporates the physical and metaphoric homeland, as well as some attributes of the new 'host' society" in "a space replete with multiple identities" (47). We can also see how this space opens in the poem "Ту□ул□ан й□р тописида" ("In My Native Land"): "Here I was born and grew up / Here I saw my native soil for the first time / Here I learned to appreciate the value of a friend / Here I learned to work hard and to love labor // Hospitality to guests is a good tradition here / They can give away everything they have to their guest / To quote the old saying: 'Life is just for five days' / The hosts themselves know they are guests in this world" ("Мошу й□рд□ ту□улдум м□н □□м □ст□м / Мошу й□рд□ д□сл□п к□рд□м й□р □стин / Мошу й□рд□ дост □□дрини билдим м□н / Мошу й□рд□ □мг□к с□й□п, т□р т□ктим // Ме□ман к□т□ш яхши ад□т бу й□рд□ / Айимайду, сизг□ барни бериду / Конич□ ейтса□: 'Б□ш к□нл□к шу ал□мд□' / □злириму ме□ман болуп ж□риду" [Speak 209]). In this poem Bakhtiya focuses on his native village, his own birthplace, a microcosm within a larger society. In the first stanza we read that he considers the village as the foundation of values which are similar to the values he will need as a Kazakh-Soviet citizen. In the second stanza, however, we read that is interested in characteristics which are distinctly Uygur and are in some ways the opposite of practical,

materialist Soviet values. For example, the tradition of great "hospitality" according to which Uygurs can "give away everything they have." The Uygur proverb "Life is just for five days" hails back to pre-Soviet Uygur culture embedded in Islamic culture in which the poetic tradition often bewailed that life is short and illusory. Once again, in a gesture which combines both separation and belonging, Bakhtiya bridges multiple identities into a seamless whole and succeeds in the task of connecting his Uygur cultural traditions with Soviet realities.

Bakhtiya also wrote many poems on the theme of the Uygur people in China including "Ш□р□ий Т□ркистан зари" ("The Grief of Eastern Turkistan"): "My dear people! / My dear tribe! / My ray of sunlight! / Do not grieve, do not worry, lift your heads! /Keep your eyes full of hope / Save your tears for the day of glory!" ("Ва □зиз □л!/ Ва □зиз жут! Нур □уяш!/ Му□ланми□ин, зарланми□ин, к□т□р баш!/ □ара к□зни□ арминини са□ли□ин/ Шатли□ к□ни бол□андиму кер□к яш!" [Speak 384]). Johnson writes of diaspora populations suggesting that "their conception of home is always with them and that it will remain a central part of their identities and that they will always themselves embody some obligation and responsibility to this home" (47). Here, writing of a land Bakhtiya has never been to and a people he has never met, he uses metaphors words asserting his sense of close belonging to the distant, but original homeland. Interestingly, Bakhtiya not only drew inspiration from the idea of the Uygur homeland, but also served as an inspiration to it. In an example of how literary communities can work in many directions, Bakhtiya's poem "Уй□урларни тонуштуруш" ("Meet the Uygurs") was so popular among Uygurs in China that it became a well-known song in Xinjiang: "He can spend the wealth gathered over a lifetime / On a wedding, for the guests / If you do not understand and ask 'why?' / You should know he is an Uygur. // The Uygur was created for kindness / He seeks knowledge / His scholarship is widespread throughout the world / He works to grow a flower, not cast a bullet / He labors, saying 'May life be good for humanity!'" ("Жи□ип ж□рг□н дуниясини той□а д□п/ Т□к□ветиду «Ме□ман к□лди □йг□!» д□п/ Дес□□ □г□р ч□ш□нм□стин: «Бу □анда□?»/ Билип □ой□ин, уй□ур дег□н мошунда□.// Уй□ур дег□н яхшили□□а ярал□ан/ Билим-илми, Жа□ан□иму тарал□ан/ О□ орнида □емиш□м г□л □нс□н д□п/ □мг□к □илар 'Инсан аман болсун!' д□п" [Speak 402]). The poem seeks to define certain transcendent qualities of Uygur identity—qualities that the author feels should transcend locations and generations. However, the poem is not only descriptive of Uygur qualities: it is also prescriptive, telling his people how they must behave to keep up their unique identity.

Bakhtiya was also an enthusiastic citizen of the Soviet Union and promoted Soviet values and concerns. In his poem entitled "М□н к□нд□ к□рим□н Ленинни" ("Every Day I See Lenin") we read "He leads us to Fortune / He gives us warmth equally / Every day when I see Lenin / I always see Happiness!" ("Башлайду уту□□а елимни/ □□ммиг□ т□кши у нур с□пк□н/ М□н к□нд□ к□рим□н Ленинни/ □□р □ачан б□хитни к□рс□тк□н" [Speak 270]). He also wrote many poems on the theme of World War II, a war which impacted the USSR with brutal losses and bound together the peoples of the country as a nation. For example, in "Солдат аниси" ("The Soldier's Mother"):

The war, the struggle, is over	П□тти уруш. П□тти ж□□
A soldier died in a faraway land	Солдат □лди жира□та
His aging mother is anxious	□ери ана беарам
Waiting for her son.	К□т□р о□лин бира□та
She never turns off the light	"Балам кеч□ к□лс□..." д□п
Thinking "My son may arrive at night"	□ч□рм□йду чира□ни.
During the day she never,	К□ндизи болса изд□п
Never thinks about her problems.	Ойлимайду б□л□кт□
She never believes,	Иш□нм□йду у п□□□т
Never believes in death.	Иш□нм□йду □л□мг□.
The Mother is always Love	Ана дег□н–му□□бб□т
In a Mother there is always Life.	Ана дег□н–□м□рд□. (Speak 283)

The poem focuses on the personal, human sacrifices made in the war and how each of the millions killed was a terrible loss of a son to each mother allowing all parents to share in the collective grief. He stresses a sense of belonging to the larger collective of the USSR, as well as acknowledging his own community's sacrifices. In "У к□ни 9 май еди" ("That Day was the 9th of May"), Bakhtiya emphasizes that collective sense of joy that the nation shared when the war was ended: "That Day was

the 9th of May / That great day! / The Fascist was destroyed / The *zhoza* was spread out for victory / Who knows when the war was born?! / But we know peace started from that day!" ("У к□ни 9 май еди/ Шу улу□ к□н!/ Фашист г□рг□ ташланди/ Йе□иш к□нг□ жоза □сти расланди/ Уруш □ачан ту□улдекин!/ Ким билсун?!/Амма течли□ □шу к□ндин башланди!" [Speak 323]). Here, Bakhtiya gives a voice to the collective joy and asserts the Uygur participation in it, noting the *zhozha* (a celebratory feast) was held for victory thus referencing an Uygur cultural tradition.

However, Bakhtiya became critical of certain aspects of Soviet life, in particular bureaucracy and corruption. As he became older and censorship became more prevalent, he wrote more satirical verses, including "А□ри□лар" ("Diseases"), "Хот□к б□ри бир еш□к болиду" ("Neddy Becomes a Donkey"), and "Бюрократ ширхан" ("The Bureaucrat Sher Khan"), and "□ст□лл□р сири" ("The Secrets of Chairs") in which attacks the heartlessness of officials who run collective farms:

Red chair,	(□изил □ст□л,
White chair,	А□ □ст□л,
Blue chair…	К□к □ст□л...
There are lots of chairs in this *kolkhoz*	□йт□вир бу колхозда к□п □ст□л.
People say:	К□рг□н □л:
"Some chairs don't know	"Хизмити!" д□йду.
Their obligations,	Б□зил□р билм□йду,
And some do."	Б□зил□р билиду.
But among themselves,	□□, □ст□лл□р □з ара
The chairs gossip like this:	Мунда□ д□п □ев□т □илиду:
The red chair starts proudly,	- Мана м□н,-
"From the time I came into this world,	Д□йду □изил □ст□л керилип,-
Until I became a chair,	□ят□а ярилип,
I've gained a lot of power,	□ст□л боп т□рилип,
And respect!	Талай хизм□т к□рд□м.
Sometimes hungry,	Изз□т к□рд□м!
Sometimes full.	Ач-то□ □елип,
I have seen happiness and sadness too.	Шатли□ бил□н д□рт к□рд□м.
I had lots of bosses	Мени□да б□зи башли□лар олтар□а-аан....
They created my power	□атму-□ат тартмамни
With stamps and directives!	Печ□т бил□н буйру□□а толтар□а-ан!) (Speak 321)

Bakhtiya comments on the dehumanizing effect of power, noting how people turn into "chairs" as they achieve an official position. These "chairs" are in danger of forgetting their obligations to the people, and become separate from everyone else with their "secrets."

Although Bakhtiya criticized the internal workings of the Soviet Union, he supported its foreign policy and ideological conception of the world. For example, in "Кичиккин□ Томсон" ("Little Thompson") he writes: "New York. Covered in snow / The view is painful, grievous... / Only the terrible tall buildings are standing, ghastly... / Again he is out in the street / Looking for some bread / In the storm outside / The snow is falling heavily" ("Нью-Йорк. Бас□ан □ар / К□р□н□ши □□ср□тлик... / П□□□т егиз мунарил□р / Турар болуп д□□ш□тлик... / Й□н□ чи□ти кочи□а / Кичик Томсон нан изд□п / Шоруп шувур□ан талада/ □ар я□ма□та л□пилд□п" [Speak 91]). Here he reflects on the United States, a land of racial discrimination and economic inequality, a land where if you have no money, you are worthless. Bakhtiya's identification with matters Soviet was complete, as was his knowledge and appreciation of Russian literature. In "Пушкинни□ □□йкили алдида" ("In Front of Pushkin's Statue"), he pays his respects: "Stone monument, full of sadness, full of grief / He cannot smile, he cannot cry / He does not show any of his tears / If he wants to cry, it can be only when it rains // This is the stone monument–the stone man / One who understood his time and history / This is a young monument–a young man / One who believes in the future generations" ("Таш □□йк□л тол□ан му□, тол□ан д□рт / К□л□шни, жи□лашни билм□йду / Йешимни к□рмисун д□п п□□□т / Жи□лиса ям□урда жи□лайду. // Туриду таш □□йк□л-таш ад□м / Тарих□а, заман□а ч□ш□нг□н / Туриду яш □□йк□л яш ад□м / Кел□ч□к □влат□а иш□нг□н" [Speak 401]). Bakhtiya asserts his membership in the larger, Russian-language culture of the Soviet Union, but connects it to his local world. He contrasts the living nature of poetry, that "understands history" and "believes in the future" and connects past and present through the magic of words.

Interestingly, Bakhtiya was the first Uygur writer to write children's literature and also wrote the essay "Кичикл□ргиму чо□ □д□бият кер□к" ("Children Need Great Literature") in 1961 urging Uygur writers to take youth seriously to assure the future of the Uygur language and culture (Bakhtiya published over five collections for children). His poetry for children—learned by heart by Uygur children today—aim to be both engaging and didactic and he instructs children to develop their moral and ethical qualities, to be friends with books, and to love their motherland. Before the Soviet period, in Uygur there was no children's literature or any writing intended to teach literacy to (see Akhmetova 72). Bakhtiya's children's verses are distinctive for using simple speech. Here is an example: "Little fingers hold it softly / Then it makes words on paper/ This object serves the people / Lets find out what it is!" ("□ркилитип ушша□ □оллар тутиду/ Шу ар□или□ □□□□зг□ с□з п□тиду/ Ад□мл□рг□ хизм□т □илар у нем□/ □ени ойлап тепи□лара у нем□!" ["Children" 67]). The collection *□□нири□ни синап ба□, тез о□уп, тез с□зл□п ба□* (Let's Check Your Skills, Read and Speak Quickly) was written for children to develop phonetic skills and to improve speech and reading habits. Bakhtiya drew on folk poetry for his examples, infusing his tongue twisters with cultural references. His poetry has played a crucial role in combining traditional oral poetry with children's literature insuring the transmission of lullabies, songs, and riddles easily learned by heart. Following the Soviet era, the lives of Kazakh Uyhurs changed dramatically. Living in independent Kazakhstan in a rapidly globalizing world, the long isolated Uygur community has been "incorporated into a new world order of open borders and free trade" (Roberts 203). Now subject to the pressures of globalization while negotiating being a minority in a new state, the Republic of Kazakhstan faces a new century of change. Unlike many Soviet cultural icons, however, Bakhtiya's poetry has made the transition to contemporary readers. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen assert that "Identity comes to mean being identifiable, and is closely linked to the idea of 'permanence through time'; something remaining identical with itself from moment to moment" (7).

In conclusion, although existing in a society beset by change, Bakhtiya's poetry grasps permanence, something that can be a stable foundation for Kazakh Uygurs on which to build their twenty-first century selves. Bakhtiya championed his hybrid identity and created a poetic homeland where his multiple dimensions could coexist and thrive. In this space, Kazakh Uygurs could feel proud of their Uygur identity in a way that did not threaten their love and loyalty to their Kazakh and Soviet communities. In the post-Soviet world, Uygur readers are still finding inspiration Bakhtiya's poetry.

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