ZORDUN SABİR: A CENTRAL FIGURE IN MODERN UYGHUR LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

The genre of modernist Uyghur Turkic language fiction first emerged in Northwest China (East Turkestan) at the turn of the twentieth century. Since that time it has undergone a great deal of development as an heir to a rich classical poetry tradition. Through this expansion, a number of influential literary writers have emerged among Uyghur intellectuals. Yet despite the growing depth of this body of literary expression, much of this work is gone unnoticed in the Turkish world. In large part this absence of recognition is due to problems of translation and transnational politics. In this essay, we set out to begin to address this gap in Turkish Studies scholarship by introducing the work of Zordun Sabir, one of the most influential fiction writers in twentieth century Uyghur literature. Many of his works of historical fiction have had a deep affect in shaping the reception of fiction writing in Uyghur popular culture. In this essay, we argue that Zordun Sabir’s role as a literary figure, as well as his work itself, have been central in promoting fiction as a literary genre that provides Uyghurs with a sense of their own history and values.

STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

The genre of modernist Uyghur Turkic language fiction first emerged in Northwest China (East Turkestan) at the turn of the twentieth century. Since that time it has undergone a great deal of development as an heir to a rich classical poetry tradition. Through this expansion, a number of influential literary writers have emerged among Uyghur intellectuals.

Zordun Sabir was born in April, 1937, as the second child in poor farming household in the village of Yenitam in Ghulja Township, a mid-sized town in Ili Prefecture in contemporary Xinjiang. Although his father,
Sabir, was an uneducated farmer, he nevertheless loved science and like the majority of Uyghurs of his time, had a tremendous respect for intellectuals. Zordun’s mother, Anarhan, died when Zordun was only five years old, and so the responsibility of raising Zordun fell to his father. Since his father did not have the money he needed to buy Zordun books and other school supplies when it was time to send him to the nearby school, Sabir worked for three months for a wealthy farmer in the village to ensure that his son could go to school. Having successfully completed primary school, Zordun needed to travel to the town of Ghulja proper for secondary school. Despite many obstacles and the extreme poverty of his family, a teacher named Zamanidin thought that Zordun was a very bright student. The teacher took him under his wing and helped him continue to study and successfully finish secondary school.

Zordun Sabir’s literary career began under difficult circumstances in 1961 when his poem “White Apricot” (Ak Erik) was published in the journal Tarim. Shortly after its publication he was arrested and accused of being an ethno-nationalist and counter-revolutionary. As a result, he was sent to the Tibetan region of Garmu near the border of Gansu and Qinghai for reeducation. Due to these circumstances Zordun was unable to engage in any form of literary production until 1972 at the age of thirty-five. One short story in particular, titled Dolan Youths (Dolan Gençleri), proved to be his major breakthrough. Published in the October issue of Tarim in 1979 the piece tells the story of a young man from the Dolan area of Southern Xinjiang in Kashgar Prefecture. Despite coming from a place rich in Uyghur traditions, the protagonist of the story disdains the forms of cultural thought and expression for which Dolan Uyghurs are most renowned: the song and dance traditions of meshrep and muqam. By taking this up the story grapples with larger social concerns regarding the forms of cultural erasure that occurred during the Cultural Revolution. Zordun demonstrates that the experience of political trauma could have the effect of distancing younger generations of Uyghurs from the traditions that came before.

The publication of the three volume novel, The Motherland further solidified Zordun’s position as one of the preeminent Uyghur authors of the twentieth century. The Motherland(Ana Yurt) presents a fictionalized chronicle of the struggle of the Uyghurs and other Turkic groups against the Chinese Republic as they established the Islamic Republic of East Turkestan in 1944. In the novel, the complexity of the precarious geopolitical position of East Turkestan is presented in intricate detail. The novel describes the way Uyghurs were pushed in opposing directions by the conflicting interests of great powers such as Russia and China. After its initial publication, the novel was republished in four different editions over the span of two years. To date, it remains one of the bestselling works of Uyghur fiction in the history of Uyghur language publishing.

In summary, then, Zordun Sabir’s oeuvre consists of four novels, 13 novellas, 86 short stories, two dramas, one screenplay, and five essays of literary criticism. The characters he created have a distinct place in Uyghur popular culture. In his works, the ethno-national ethos of Uyghurs and their Turkic traditions has been explicated and evoked through moving prose. His works have inspired patriotism and account for historical traumas that have been widely shared within Uyghur.
society. Through his works, he developed a great deal of nuance and complexity in literary forms. In a 1992 reader poll conducted by the Tengritagh literary journal, Uyghur readers selected Zordun as one of their top three most highly regarded authors. Further shoring up his position in the Uyghur canon, Zordun was the first Uyghur writer to receive an international literary award. A number of his works such as Dolan Youths, The Reception and The Quest have received awards from the Chinese Writers Association. Yet Zordun’s legacy extends beyond these awards. He is also important for the way he influenced Uyghur literary form, inspired debate about Uyghur values and history among his readers and critics, and brought Uyghur realities into broader conversations about the nature of the human experience.

Of course, many critics have noted that Zordun’s importance exceeded his fiction. In fact, in many ways his work was merely the starting point for discussions and debates about the role of tradition and history in Uyghur society. In addition to this, there is also a universal appeal to the human experience in Zordun’s work. Although he is most famous for his works of historical fiction, much of his work is focused on the present and the ordinary. This fine-tuned observational style is something he found through his reading of Russian authors such as Tolstoy and Gorky who he read in Chinese translation during his training in Lanzhou. It is also a product of the way Zordun was forced to become a student of his own life and understand himself in relation to a Socialist Realist framework. This approach to the subject of his writing is what allowed him to present such a nuanced picture of Uyghur experience both past and present.

Zordun Sabir suffered a heart attack and passed away on 13 August 1998. Shortly after his death in 1998, a number of his most devoted readers began to organize a campaign to establish a state-recognized memorial museum in his honor. Yet although they applied for funding from the Chinese Culture Ministry on numerous occasions, their requests were not acknowledged. Finally, after ten years of petitioning, these private Uyghur citizens decided to build a memorial to the great author themselves. A core group of organizers along with Zordun Sabir’s family, a number of intellectuals and commercial sponsors banded together and in late 2009 they founded the Zordun Sabir Memorial House in the author’s hometown of Ghulja, near the Chinese border with Kazakhstan. The museum, housed in the secondary school that Zordun Sabir attended as a young man, consists of his work desk, his table lamp, glasses, a chess set, pencils and a clock in addition to number of personal effects, photographs of the author, and the original manuscripts of some of his works. Although the Zordun Sabir Memorial House is in fact little more than a small 70 square meter room, it is nevertheless the first memorial founded in honor of a modern Uyghur writer.

In writing this essay, we hope to answer the question of why Zordun Sabir has been memorialized in this way. Leaving aside the question of why the state has refused to honor him, we ask, what is it about his work that has inspired such a devoted readership? What is his role in developing Uyghur fiction from a nascent genre to one of the most powerful mediums in contemporary Uyghur popular culture? In this essay, we argue that Zordun Sabir drew from his own experience of the
tumultuous early history of the People’s Republic of China, as well as his own reading of world literature, to build a body of fiction that spoke to a common experience and history of Uyghur social life. By making Uyghur history relevant to a mass audience, he in fact helped Uyghurs themselves understand their own history and their position in the world. Literature for Zordun Sabir was thus more than simply an artistic representation of life; it was also a way of making meaning out of life and forcing his audience to remember where they came from and where they were going.

**Keywords:** Uyghur, Literature, Zordun Sabir, Fiction

**YENİ UYGUR EDEBİYATINDA ÖNEMLİ BİR YAZAR ZORDUN SABIR**

ÖZET

Uygurlar doğu Türkistan’da yaşayan köklü ve zengin kültüre sahip eski Türk boylarından birirdir. Türkistan kültür tarihinden elbette ilk aкла gelen Uygur Türklerinin ortaya koymuş oldukları maddi ve manevi değerlerdir. Onların mimari, heykel, yazı, resim, müzik sanatları bir yana, şehirleşme, ziraat, matbaacılık, tüccarlık, çeşitli el sanat meslekleri vs. alanlarda gösterdikleri ilerlemeler hem Türk kültürü, hem de dünya medeniyeti açısından son derece önemlidir.


**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Uygur, Edebiyat, Zordun Sabir, Hikaye

**Introduction**

Shortly after his death in 1998, a number of Zordun Sabir’s most devoted readers began to organize a campaign to establish a state-recognized memorial museum in his honor. Yet although they applied for funding from the Chinese Culture Ministry on numerous occasions, their requests were not acknowledged. Finally, after ten years of petitioning, these private Uyghur citizens decided...
to build a memorial to the great author themselves. A core group of organizers along with Zordun Sabir’s family, a number of intellectuals and commercial sponsors banded together and in late 2009 they founded the Zordun Sabir Memorial House in the author’s hometown of Ghulja, near the Chinese border with Kazakhstan. The museum, housed in the secondary school that Zordun Sabir attended as a young man, consists of his work desk, his table lamp, glasses, a chess set, pencils and a clock in addition to number of personal effects, photographs of the author, and the original manuscripts of some of his works. Although the Zordun Sabir Memorial House is in fact little more than a small 70 square meter room, it is nevertheless the first memorial founded in honor of a modern Uyghur writer (Abdureshit, 2010, 33).

In writing this essay, we hope to answer the question of why Zordun Sabir has been memorialized in this way. Leaving aside the question of why the state has refused to honor him, we ask, what is it about his work that has inspired such a devoted readership? What is his role in developing Uyghur fiction from a nascent genre to one of the most powerful mediums in contemporary Uyghur popular culture? In this essay, we argue that Zordun Sabir drew from his own experience of the tumultuous early history of the People’s Republic of China, as well as his own reading of world literature, to build a body of fiction that spoke to a common experience and history of Uyghur social life. By making Uyghur history relevant to a mass audience, he in fact helped Uyghurs themselves understand their own history and their position in the world. Literature for Zordun Sabir was thus more than simply an artistic representation of life; it was also a way of making meaning out of life and forcing his audience to remember where they came from and where they were going.

1. The Life of Zordun Sabir

Zordun Sabir was born in April, 1937, as the second child in poor farming household in the village of Yenitam in Ghulja Township, a mid-sized town in Ili Prefecture in contemporary Xinjiang. Although his father, Sabir, was an uneducated farmer, he nevertheless loved science and like the majority of Uyghurs of his time, had a tremendous respect for intellectuals. Zordun’s mother, Anarhan, died when Zordun was only five years old, and so the responsibility of raising Zordun fell to his father. Since his father did not have the money he needed to buy Zordun books and other school supplies when it was time to send him to the nearby school, Sabir worked for three months for a wealthy farmer in the village to ensure that his son could go to school. Having successfully completed primary school, Zordun needed to travel to the town of Ghulja proper for secondary school. Despite many obstacles and the extreme poverty of his family, a teacher named Zamanidin thought that Zordun was a very bright student. The teacher took him under his wing and helped him continue to study and successfully finish secondary school (Hoshur, 2007, 106).

From 1953 to 1955, Zordun studied at the Ili high school (Gimnaziyum). After finishing his studies there he studied at the Ili Teacher’s Institute (Darülmuallim) where he graduated in 1957 and started to work at the Ili Gazette. A few months later, he was sent to the Northwest Institute for Minorities in Lanzhou for further training in socialist thought and specialized cadre training. While studying there an additional two years, Zordun became intimately acquainted with the classics of world literature in Chinese translation. Through this exposure he came into contact with a wide range of creative expression and writing. As his literary horizons expanded, he became a voracious reader of works of history, philosophy and art. After serving as a teacher at the Northwest Institute for Minorities for several years, in 1964 he returned to Ili Prefecture and became a teacher at the Number 2 Middle School in Ghulja. In 1966, when the Cultural Revolution began, schools were closed across the country. For six years Zordun returned to his roots and worked as a farmer until in 1972 he was able to join the Chinese Writer’s Association. Finally in 1976, at the end of the Cultural Revolution,
he moved to the city of Ürümchi at the invitation of the Xinjiang People’s Press. After two decades of productive writing in the city he suffered a heart attack and passed away on 13 August 1998.

2. Zordun Sabir as a Literary Figure

Zordun Sabir’s literary career began under difficult circumstances in 1961 when his poem “White Apricot” (Ak Erik) was published in the journal Tarim. Shortly after its publication he was arrested and accused of being an ethno-nationalist and counter-revolutionary. As a result, he was sent to the Tibetan region of Garmu near the border of Gansu and Qinghai for reeducation. Due to these circumstances Zordun was unable to engage in any form of literary production until 1972 at the age of thirty-five (Omar, 2001, 20).

After his rehabilitation in Ürümchi in 1976, Zordun experienced an efflorescence in his literary production. Within a few short years he had written a number of short stories, such as: At the Back of the Mountain (Dağın Arkasına Geçince), Göher’s Happiness (Göhernin Mutluluğu), I Just Finished 10th Grade (10. Sınıfı Şimdi Bittirdim), Compassionate Father (Şefkatli Baba), The Reception Site (Kabül Yerinde), The Borrower (Borçlu), and The Neighbors (Komşular). These short stories quickly began to garner a popular audience among Uyghur readers.

One short story in particular, titled Dolan Youths (Dolan Gençleri), proved to be his major breakthrough. Published in the October issue of Tarim in 1979 the piece tells the story of a young man from the Dolan area of Southern Xinjiang in Kashgar Prefecture. Despite coming from a place rich in Uyghur traditions, the protagonist of the story disdains the forms of cultural thought and expression for which Dolan Uyghurs are most renowned: the song and dance traditions of meshrep and muqam. By taking this up the story grapples with larger social concerns regarding the forms of cultural erasure that occurred during the Cultural Revolution. Zordun demonstrates that the experience of political trauma could have the effect of distancing younger generations of Uyghurs from the traditions that came before. In the end, the story stresses the renewal that can come from appreciating the lasting value of tradition and local ways of preserving human dignity. In 1981, the story won the “National Literary Award” in China, and as a result Zordun was elevated to a position of prominence within the contemporary Uyghur literary scene (Sultan, 2002, 195).

From 1980 to 1985 Zordun emerged at the height of his powers. In this period of productivity and writerly maturity he wrote stories such as Gulsare I Can’t Forget (Unutmam Gulsare), The Silver Berry is Whispering (İğdeler Fısıldıyor), Fidelity (Vefakârlık), The Treasure (Hzâmine), Ah, Dusty Roads (Ah Tozlu Yol) and the novellas The Late Autumn (Sonbahar), Gulemhan, as well as, two of the novels for which he received his highest acclaim: The Wind of Avral(Avral Rüzgârları) and The Quest(Arayış).

Although each of these works is regarded as highly significant by millions of Uyghur readers, The Quest in particular made a deep impact in the development of the Uyghur novel. This novel, which offers a broad reflection of Uyghur social life under the influence of the Cultural Revolution, is inspired in part by Zordun’s own life history. In the two-volume “biographical” novel, the main character Ela searches for his own sense of self. In doing so he hopes to uncover the essence of his existence by discovering Uyghur cultural roots that have been subsumed by Chinese politics. Through its narrative style and realistic character development, the novel brought a new form and sensibility to Uyghur fiction writing. It was one of the first works of Uyghur literature in which the author took his own life history as substance with which to construct a fictional world. As many Uyghur critics have noted, Ela in a sense, was Zordun himself (Tanridağlı, 1997, 119). By taking his

For a wonderful translation and commentary on this story please see “Zordun Sabir’s ‘Dolan Youths:’ A Translation and Commentary” by Colin Legerton (2013).
own story seriously, Zordun was able to transform the struggles of his own life into an aesthetic form and create a portrait that resonated with the life experiences of millions of Uyghur readers. The novel was thus significant not only because of the expansion of fiction writing that it caused in the 1980s, but also in terms of its broader impact as a cultural documentation of Uyghur collective memory. For a whole generation of Uyghur readers the novel’s main character Ela was an exemplary model for young Uyghurs as they searched for meaning in life. Millions of Uyghurs identified with Ela, making him one of the first Uyghur literary heroes (Sultan, 2002, 196).

In 1987, Zordun visited Germany and before completing the hajj pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia. During his visit to Germany, Zordun met with the famous Turkologist Annemarie von Gabain. Despite the brevity of his stay in Germany, Zordun nevertheless found the time and inspiration to write stories such as For the Straight People (Çizik Ademler İçin) and The Unemployed Are More Diligent (İşsizler Daha Çalışkan) which expressed the German desire for the unity of East and West Germany. These stories were both published German-language journals. After her encounter with Zordun and a subsequent exploration of Uyghur literature, Professor Gabain acknowledged that, “Zordun Sabir is perhaps the most widely read Uyghur writer among the Uyghurs” (Kadir, 2007, 40). In response to his visit to Saudi Arabia, Zordun also wrote the novella The Headless Letters (Başı Sonu Olmayan Mektuplar). The novella, which described the life of Uyghur Turks living in Saudi Arabia, won the “International Faythal Award” given to artists by the Saudi Arabian state (Kadir, 2007, 41). In the years that followed, not only would he be noted as a major figure by a Uyghur reading public, but the Western scholarly community also began to take his work seriously.

In the 1990s Zordun wrote stories such as Where Are Those Gardens (Nerde O Bahçeler), The Sound of the Waves (Dalgalar Sedası), The Danger of the Sun (Güneş Tehlikesi), The Freshed Air (Yenilenen Hava), The Streets of Kashgar (Kaşgar Sokakları), The Respect (Hürmet) and wrote novellas such as The Voice (Seda), The Fog (Kaplıca), The Last Shepherd (Son Çoban). He also wrote his final two novels: The Father (Baba) and The Motherland (Ana Yurt). Among these works from his final decade, The Motherland (Ana Yurt) was the work which claimed the most significant place in his oeuvre and a key position in the past century of Uyghur literature.

Given epic scope of this three volume novel and the dexterity with which Zordun reconstructed the historical emergence of Uyghur ethnic identity, The Motherland further solidified Zordun’s position as one of the preeminent Uyghur authors of the twentieth century (Ömer, 2001, 20). The Motherland (Ana Yurt) presents a fictionalized chronicle of the struggle of the Uyghurs and other Turkic groups against the Chinese Republic as they established the Islamic Republic of East Turkestan in 1944. In the novel, the complexity of the precarious geopolitical position of East Turkestan is presented in intricate detail. The novel describes the way Uyghurs were pushed in opposing directions by the conflicting interests of great powers such as Russia and China. After its initial publication, the novel was republished in four different editions over the span of two years. To date, it remains one of the bestselling works of Uyghur fiction in the history of Uyghur language publishing (Kadir, 2007, 42).

3. **Zordun Zordun Sabir’s work**

In summary, then, Zordun Sabir’s oeuvre consists of four novels, 13 novellas, 86 short stories, two dramas, one screenplay, and five essays of literary criticism (Kadir, 2007, 43). The characters he created have a distinct place in Uyghur popular culture. In his works, the ethno-national ethos of Uyghurs and their Turkic traditions has been explicated and evoked through moving prose. His works have inspired patriotism and account for historical traumas that have been widely shared within Uyghur society. In addition to this general impact, his literary style has become a model that
is widely emulated in contemporary Uyghur fiction writing. There are few Uyghur authors who have risen to his level of prominence across the broad spectrum of Uyghur society (Kadir, 2015, 17).

Table 1. Zordun Sabir’s novels and novellas

Novels:
1. The Winds of Avraln (Avral Rüzğarları) 1981
2. The Quest (Arayiş) 1983 (two volumes)
3. The Father (Baba) 1994
4. The Motherland (Ana Yurt), 2000 (three volumes)

Novellas:
1. A Fortunate Event (Hayırlı İş) 1982
2. The Sunrise (Tan Vakti) 1983
3. Fidelity (Vefakâr) 1983
4. Gulemhan 1983
5. The Spring Is Always Warm (Bahar Zaten İlık) 1984
6. The Berber Leaves (Pınar Yaprağı) 1985
7. Dreaming at Dawn (Seherde Görülen Rüya) 1986
8. The Late Autumn (Sonbahar) 1989
9. The Thermal Sands (Kum Kaplıcası) 1989
10. The Fog (Duman) 1991
11. The Cloudy Window (Muğlak Pencire) 1991
12. The Voice (Seda) 1995
13. The Last Shepherd (Son çoban) 1997

4. The Legacy of Zordun Sabir in Uyghur Contemporary Literature

Zordun Sabir produced an important body of work in the short 26 years of his writing career. Through his works, he developed a great deal of nuance and complexity in literary forms. In a 1992 reader poll conducted by the Tengritagh literary journal, Uyghur readers selected Zordun as one of their top three most highly regarded authors. Further shoring up his position in the Uyghur canon, Zordun was the first Uyghur writer to receive an international literary award. A number of his works such as Dolan Youths, The Reception and The Quest have received awards from the Chinese Writers Association. Yet Zordun’s legacy extends beyond these awards. He is also important for the way he influenced Uyghur literary form, inspired debate about Uyghur values and history among his readers and critics, and brought Uyghur realities into broader conversations about the nature of the human experience.

Among Uyghur literary critics and readers, Zordun is widely regarded as pathbreaking in his holistic approach to fiction writing (Sultan, 2002, 184). Writing about the way Zordun used everyday
rural Uyghur life as a literary resource, Muhemmet Polat noted: “Zordun Sabir gave literature a new life force by reflecting on our reality in a holistic manner” (Polat, 2001, 23). But Polat did not stop there. To his thinking, Zordun also forces contemporary writers to take Uyghur traditions, and the sacrifices of Uyghur forerunners, seriously. Polat added, “Zordun is a writer who thinks deeply about the debt we owe to those who went before us and created our Uyghur reality” (Polat, 2001, 23). Thinking along a similar theme, Azat Sultan has written: “In Zordun Sabir’s writing we see the ethos of Uyghur social values; yet, simultaneously, he is presenting a holistic vision of Uyghur reality” (Sultan, 1997, 39).

Of course, many critics have noted that Zordun’s importance exceeded his fiction. In fact, in many ways his work was merely the starting point for discussions and debates about the role of tradition and history in Uyghur society. As Mambet Turdi has argued: “If we want to understand the role of Zordun Sabir in Uyghur literature, we need to examine the debates he inspired after his works were published” (Turdi, 1997, 46). There is a sense then, that Zordun made public many things that had been forgotten or pushed to the side over the long duration of the twentieth century. By mining his own life experience and reconstructing a Uyghur world in his fiction, he made his own memories public memories. As the eminent literary scholar Abdukadir Jalalidin has noted: “Some of Zordun Sabir’s works are filled with epic images. These are images of life and love that many people have lost, but here Zordun helps us try to find them again” (Jalalidin, 2001, 33).

In addition to this, there is also a universal appeal to the human experience in Zordun’s work. Although he is most famous for his works of historical fiction, much of his work is focused on the present and the ordinary. This fine-tuned observational style is something he found through his reading of Russian authors such as Tolstoy and Gorky who he read in Chinese translation during his training in Lanzhou. It is also a product of the way Zordun was forced to become a student of his own life and understand himself in relation to a Socialist Realist framework. This approach to the subject of his writing is what allowed him to present such a nuanced picture of Uyghur experience both past and present. As the critic Ehtem Ömer has suggested: “Not only is Zordun Sabir one of those rare authors who has knowledge of nearly every field, he is also the first Uyghur writer to nakedly describe the reality of Uyghurs lives” (Ömer, 2001, 22). By combining these two forms of knowledge – a deep sensitivity to Uyghur lived experience and a keen understanding of world literature, arts and sciences – Zordun was able to elevate Uyghur prose to a form that could appeal to a mass audience and convey the passion and feeling of Uyghur traditions. As Enver Abdurehim has argued: “Zordun Sabir was a writer who successfully reflected the multifaceted complexity of human nature” (Abdurehim, 2000, 34). Like all great fiction, then, Zordun’s work attempted to be as powerful as the world it tried to represent.

Conclusion

Zordun Sabir is one of the most significant figures in the modernist Uyghur literary canon. Yet, despite his importance, research and analysis of his work is very limited in Turkish and Comparative Literary Studies. Outside of a translation and commentary of “Dolan Youths” published in 2013 as a Master’s Thesis by Colin Legerton, there is very little English-language scholarship about Zordun Sabir. Yet, despite this oversight, in Uyghur scholarly circles he continues to be regarded as one of the most influential voices in contemporary Uyghur literature. Many argue that his work is crucial to understanding the cultural identity and ethos of Uyghur society. His novel Motherland, written in the last period of his life, invites Uyghurs to continue their struggle to protect their ethnic identity and cultural awakening. Hidden beneath the surface of his work is an elegy to the disillusionment of Uyghur social life; yet there is also an evocation of Uyghur future yet to come. For all of these reasons, he has come to be regarded as one of the central figures in Uyghur contemporary literature and a leading inspiration to a new generation of Uyghur readers and writers.
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