



THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TERMA AND DOSTON IN THE SURKHANDARYA EPIC-SINGING SCHOOL

Kadirova Saida Maksudovna

Assistant Teacher at the Ellikkal branch of the
Nukus State Pedagogical Institute named after Ajinyoz

E-mail: kaadirovasaida14@gmail.com

ORCID: 0009-0008-5493-6492

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17268262>

Abstract

This article examines the artistic, functional, compositional, and performative interrelationship between terma and doston in the Surkhandarya epic-singing school, one of the most expressive regional forms of Uzbek bakhshi culture. The relevance of the topic is determined by the renewed scholarly and institutional attention to intangible cultural heritage, by the official recognition of bakhshi art as a significant national value, and by the fact that the Surkhandarya and Sherabad performance environments have preserved a living system in which epic narration, instrumental accompaniment, oral memory, and ethical instruction are inseparable. In Uzbek folklore, doston is usually understood as a large-scale lyrical-epic narrative that embodies heroic, romantic, historical, social, and moral experience, while terma is a shorter lyrical or lyrical-epic genre performed by bakhshi singers in the form of praise, reflection, moral counsel, social evaluation, instrumental glorification, or introductory address [1; 2]. However, the practical life of oral performance shows that these two genres should not be studied as isolated textual units. In the Surkhandarya school, terma prepares the communicative and emotional space of performance, reveals the worldview of the bakhshi, activates the symbolic authority of the dombra, and creates a transition into the broader epic world, whereas doston expands the same ethical, thematic, formulaic, and melodic resources into plot, character, conflict, and resolution. The article applies historical-comparative, structural-poetic, functional, and performance-oriented methods in order to define the mechanisms through which terma and doston interact. The results show that their relationship is realized through performative initiation, thematic concentration, formulaic continuity, melodic transition, moral framing, and pedagogical transmission within the master-apprentice tradition. The conclusion argues that terma is not merely a minor song preceding a



doston; it is a condensed epic code through which the bakhshi opens the narrative universe, negotiates the audience's attention, and establishes the moral horizon of the performance. Accordingly, doston may be interpreted as the expanded narrative realization of the values concentrated in terma.

Keywords: Surkhandarya epic school; terma; doston; bakhshi art; Sherabad school; Uzbek folklore; oral tradition; dombra; intangible cultural heritage; epic performance.

Introduction

The Surkhandarya epic-singing school occupies a central and distinctive position within the broader system of Uzbek oral artistic culture because it brings together archaic epic imagination, regional melody, local speech, instrumental symbolism, social memory, and the ethical authority of the bakhshi into a single performative whole. In this tradition, the bakhshi is not only a singer who reproduces memorized poetic material; he is also a narrator, musician, improviser, cultural educator, guardian of genealogical and heroic memory, interpreter of public morality, and representative of a professional artistic lineage. This complex role explains why the relation between terma and doston should be approached not as a simple distinction between a short and a long genre, but as a structural problem of oral performance. Doston, as a large epic or lyrical-epic narrative, presents human fate through extended plots, conflicts, heroic acts, romantic trials, family relationships, social obligations, and moral conclusions. Terma, by contrast, appears in a more compact form and may include praise of the dombra, address to the audience, remembrance of masters, social reflection, satire, philosophical thought, or moral instruction. Yet in actual bakhshi practice these forms are mutually dependent: terma opens, compresses, comments on, and prepares the world of doston, while doston expands, dramatizes, and confirms the meanings first concentrated in terma. The scientific relevance of this issue has grown in recent years because Uzbek bakhshi art has become a subject of state cultural policy, international heritage recognition, and renewed academic research. The Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan adopted in 2018 approved measures for the further development and improvement of bakhshi and epic art, while the presidential decision of 2019 introduced additional institutional mechanisms to support bakhshi schools, festivals, creative centres, and the



transmission of epic performance [3; 4]. UNESCO's recognition of bakhshi art as intangible cultural heritage further confirms that this tradition is not a museum remnant but a living cultural practice in which memorized narration, instrumental accompaniment, improvisation, and collective value transmission operate together [1]. For Surkhandarya, this recognition is especially meaningful because the region, including the Sherabad epic environment, is repeatedly associated with strong continuity of oral performance, the activity of celebrated bakhshi lineages, and the preservation of southern Uzbek epic intonation [5; 6]. In the Surkhandarya school, a performance frequently does not begin with the immediate narration of a large doston. The bakhshi may first perform a terma devoted to the dombra, to the dignity of speech, to the responsibility of the singer, to the memory of teachers, or to the moral condition of the audience. Such an opening is not an accidental ornament. It performs several necessary functions: it tests the acoustic space, warms the voice, tunes the instrument, establishes contact with listeners, marks the transition from everyday communication to artistic time, and gives the audience an ethical key for understanding the forthcoming narrative. This means that terma is a threshold genre. It stands at the entrance to the epic world, but it also carries within itself the worldview that the doston will unfold at greater scale. The problem is that many descriptions of Uzbek folklore classify terma and doston separately and therefore risk underestimating their dynamic interrelation in live performance. A purely textual approach may describe terma as a short lyrical-epic poem and doston as a long plot-based epic, but such a description remains incomplete if it does not explain how a bakhshi actually moves from one form to the other in front of an audience. The present article therefore aims to investigate the interrelationship between terma and doston in the Surkhandarya epic-singing school through the categories of genre function, compositional sequence, formulaic memory, melodic transition, and cultural transmission. The object of the research is the Surkhandarya bakhshi tradition as a regional form of Uzbek oral epic art, and the subject is the internal connection between terma and doston as performed, remembered, taught, and interpreted in this tradition. The main tasks are to clarify the theoretical distinction between the two genres, to identify the mechanisms that unite them in performance, to analyze the role of the dombra and the master-apprentice system in maintaining their continuity, and to show why the preservation of bakhshi art requires attention to both large epic narratives and shorter lyrical-epic forms. The hypothesis of the study is that terma functions as a condensed code of epic



consciousness, while doston functions as the expanded narrative realization of that code. This formulation allows one to avoid the simplistic hierarchy according to which doston is treated as the major genre and terma as a secondary introduction. In the Surkhandarya tradition, the two forms are not equal in volume, but they are equal in systemic importance: without terma, the doston loses its performative entrance and moral concentration; without doston, terma loses part of its epic depth and becomes detached from the large narrative memory that gives it resonance.

METHODS

The methodology of the article is based on an integrated folkloristic approach that combines historical-comparative analysis, genre typology, structural-poetic interpretation, functional analysis, and performance-oriented observation. Such a combination is necessary because the relationship between terma and doston cannot be explained by one method alone. The historical-comparative method makes it possible to situate the Surkhandarya school within the wider network of Uzbek epic schools and to compare its genre practice with the broader traditions of bakhshi art in the Kashkadarya, Khorezm, Karakalpak, and other regional environments [7; 8]. This method is important because the Surkhandarya school shares general Uzbek epic features, such as the authority of the bakhshi, the use of traditional instruments, oral memorization, heroic and romantic narrative cycles, and moral didacticism, but it also possesses local characteristics, including its southern intonation, Sherabad-related lineages, specific performance manners, and regional linguistic colour. The genre-typological method was used to define the principal features of terma and doston without separating them artificially. Terma is relatively short, flexible, lyrical, dialogic, and often directly evaluative; doston is extended, plot-based, character-oriented, episodic, and narratively cumulative. Nevertheless, typology also shows that both genres cross each other's borders: terma may contain epic names, narrative fragments, heroic values, and formulaic images, while doston may include lyrical interruptions, praise passages, moral reflections, invocations, and small self-contained poetic units that resemble terma. The structural-poetic method was applied to the compositional sequence of performance: introductory address, praise of the dombra, remembrance of teachers, moral positioning, transition formula, narrative opening, episodic development, lyrical commentary, and concluding evaluation. In this sequence, terma often occupies the introductory and interpretive positions, but it



may also appear inside the body of doston as a pause, reflection, or emotional intensifier. The functional method was used to answer the question of what each genre does within the performance. Terma legitimizes the bakhshi, prepares the listener, demonstrates the performer's artistic competence, condenses ethical ideas, regulates the emotional temperature of the gathering, and opens the path toward epic narration. Doston, in turn, transforms these ethical ideas into narrative action by showing how courage, loyalty, patience, betrayal, love, justice, and honour are tested in the lives of characters. This method reveals that the two genres are linked by function rather than merely by theme. The performance-oriented method is especially relevant for the Surkhandarya school because bakhshi art is not only a verbal text but a performed event in which voice, melody, instrument, gesture, audience attention, social occasion, and performer authority interact. UNESCO materials and Uzbek cultural policy documents emphasize that bakhshi art involves the memorized performance of epic stories and original pieces accompanied by traditional instruments, and this confirms that the genre system must be understood through living performance rather than through written transcription alone [1; 3]. The article also relies on oral-formulaic theory in a limited but productive way. Both terma and doston use stable epithets, repeated syntactic structures, parallel lines, rhythmic phrases, conventional openings, blessings, laments, and praise formulas. These formulas are not signs of artistic poverty; they are the working memory of oral art. They enable the bakhshi to improvise within tradition, to maintain continuity with teachers, and to respond to the audience without losing the epic code. In the Surkhandarya context, formulaic continuity is visible in the glorification of the dombra, the respect shown toward ustoz lineages, the opposition between bravery and cowardice, the praise of generosity, the condemnation of treachery, and the moral interpretation of human life. The source base of the article includes official documents concerning the development of bakhshi art in Uzbekistan, UNESCO descriptions of intangible cultural heritage, Uzbek folklore scholarship on epic genres, and recent research on Surkhandarya, Sherabad, and southern Uzbek doston performance [1-12]. The article does not claim to replace fieldwork or to present a newly recorded corpus of performances; rather, it offers a theoretical synthesis of available scholarly and cultural materials. This limitation is important because oral traditions are variable by performer, locality, generation, event, and audience. A bakhshi may perform one terma before a doston in one context, several termas in another, or a short terma-like passage inside a longer narrative



depending on the social situation. Therefore, the conclusions of this article should be read as analytical generalizations about the regional genre system, not as a fixed prescription for every individual performance. At the same time, the chosen methodology is sufficient for identifying the main structural relationship: terma and doston form a single oral-aesthetic mechanism in which the short lyrical-epic form prepares, condenses, and interprets the long epic narrative, while the long narrative expands and dramatizes the moral and artistic energies concentrated in the shorter form.

RESULTS

The analysis demonstrates that the interrelationship between terma and doston in the Surkhandarya epic-singing school is realized through at least six major mechanisms: performative initiation, thematic concentration, formulaic continuity, melodic-rhythmic transition, moral-aesthetic framing, and pedagogical transmission. The first mechanism, performative initiation, is connected with the way a bakhshi begins the epic event. A large doston requires a prepared listener, a stable emotional atmosphere, and a recognized artistic authority. Terma creates this preparation. When the bakhshi begins with a short song about the dombra, the power of the word, the value of ustoz teaching, or the moral burden of the singer, he does more than entertain the audience. He announces that the gathering is entering the zone of epic speech. The ordinary social situation becomes a performative space, and the listeners are invited to hear not everyday talk but inherited memory. This function explains why terma frequently has the character of an address. It may speak to the audience, to the instrument, to the teacher, to the hero, to the homeland, or to the human conscience. The second mechanism is thematic concentration. The great doston of Uzbek oral tradition often deal with courage, loyalty, justice, love, endurance, generosity, social duty, and the testing of human character. Terma expresses these same values in a condensed form. It may say directly what doston later shows narratively. For example, a terma may praise the loyal friend, condemn the false companion, honour the generous man, or remind the listener that a person's worth is measured by integrity rather than wealth. A doston then takes such moral theses and transforms them into events: a hero leaves home, faces enemies, suffers separation, keeps a promise, struggles against injustice, or returns with honour. In this sense, terma is the ethical seed and doston is the narrative tree. The metaphor is not decorative; it describes the actual movement of



meaning in performance. The third mechanism is formulaic continuity. Both genres rely on shared formulas: openings that call for attention, epithets that identify heroes, rhythmic patterns that support memory, praise structures for the dombra, blessings for the audience, and moral conclusions that close an episode. These formulas move between terma and doston. A line or expression that appears in a terma may return in a doston with expanded narrative force; conversely, a famous phrase from a doston may be compressed into a terma and performed independently. Such circulation proves that the two forms are sustained by one poetic memory. The fourth mechanism is melodic-rhythmic transition. Doston performance is long and demanding; it requires the gradual building of attention and emotional intensity. Terma helps regulate this process. Through a relatively short melodic unit, the bakhshi tests his voice, adjusts the dombra, establishes tempo, and senses the audience's readiness. If the audience responds strongly, the performance may move into a larger narrative. If the occasion is limited, several termas may function as an independent programme. This flexibility is one reason why the Surkhandarya tradition remains viable in different contexts, from family gatherings to formal festivals. The fifth mechanism is moral-aesthetic framing. Terma tells the listener how the coming doston should be received. It does not summarize the plot in a mechanical way, but it frames the ethical horizon. If the terma emphasizes loyalty, the audience will hear the doston's conflicts through the problem of loyalty; if it emphasizes the dignity of the word, the audience will pay attention to speech, oath, blessing, and curse; if it praises the dombra, the listeners will understand the instrument as a symbolic participant in the epic event rather than a simple accompaniment. The sixth mechanism is pedagogical transmission. In the master-apprentice system, young performers often begin by learning melodies, short passages, formulas, and termas before attempting entire dostons. This sequence has practical logic. Terma trains the voice, memory, rhythm, diction, emotional control, ethical address, and stage confidence of the apprentice. Only after mastering these compact forms can the apprentice sustain the long architecture of doston. Therefore, terma functions as a school inside the school; it is a pedagogical laboratory where the future bakhshi learns the elements of epic art in concentrated form. The results also show that the relationship between terma and doston is not one-directional. It is not only that terma leads to doston. Doston also nourishes terma. Many termas gain meaning because the audience already knows the epic world to which they allude. When a terma mentions bravery, exile, return, love,



or betrayal, listeners may hear echoes of well-known epic plots and characters. Thus, terma can activate a large narrative memory without narrating the whole story. This is a typical feature of mature oral traditions: a small form can carry a large cultural background because performer and audience share a common repertoire. Another result concerns the role of the dombra. In Surkhandarya bakhshi practice, the dombra is not merely a musical tool. It is a sign of professional legitimacy, a partner in performance, and a symbol of ancestral continuity. Termas devoted to the dombra often present the instrument as a companion of the bakhshi, a witness of sorrow and joy, a voice of the past, or a vehicle through which the singer's inner state becomes public sound [9]. When the bakhshi moves from such a terma into doston, the dombra continues to carry the rhythm of narration. The instrument therefore unites lyrical self-expression and epic storytelling. Finally, the analysis reveals that the Surkhandarya school preserves its regional identity precisely through the balance of stability and flexibility created by the terma-doston relationship. Doston preserves the monumental memory of the people: heroic biographies, moral conflicts, social ideals, and historical imagination. Terma preserves the immediate dialogue between performer and audience: local references, improvisational evaluation, brief philosophical reflection, and emotional preparation. The unity of these two forms allows the tradition to remain conservative enough to preserve inherited epic memory and flexible enough to respond to contemporary listeners. This balance is one of the most important artistic features of the Surkhandarya epic-singing school.

DISCUSSION

The results allow one to reconsider several theoretical assumptions about Uzbek epic performance and, more specifically, about the Surkhandarya school. The first assumption is that terma is secondary because it is shorter. This view is tempting but methodologically weak. Oral performance does not measure importance only by length. A proverb may carry a worldview; a blessing may define social relations; a short invocation may authorize an entire ritual. In the same way, terma may be short but structurally decisive. It is the genre through which the bakhshi establishes the rules of listening, gives ethical direction, reveals artistic identity, and marks the beginning of epic time. In a written classification, terma may appear as a smaller form; in performance, it may function as the key that opens the larger form. The second assumption is that doston is narrative and terma is lyrical. This distinction is partially



correct but incomplete. Doston is indeed organized around plot, character, and episode, but it also includes lyrical intensification, moral commentary, direct address, praise, lament, and reflection. Terma is indeed more lyrical and direct, but it often contains narrative traces, heroic references, epic values, and allusive memory. The two genres therefore form not a rigid opposition but a continuum. At one end of the continuum stands condensed lyrical-epic speech; at the other stands expanded epic narration. Between them are transitional forms: introductory terms, inserted songs, moral pauses, lyrical monologues, and concluding reflections. The Surkhandarya school is particularly useful for demonstrating this continuum because its performance practice emphasizes the living movement from song to story and from story back to moral song. The third issue concerns the relationship between text and event. When a terma and a doston are printed in a collection, they may look like separate texts. The printed page freezes them. Performance, however, connects them through voice, instrument, sequence, rhythm, and audience response. A bakhshi's pause before beginning, the first strokes on the dombra, the gradual rise of melody, the recognition of familiar formulas, and the audience's attention all create meaning. Therefore, the interrelationship between terma and doston should be studied not only through manuscripts and printed texts but also through audio and video recordings, field observation, interviews with performers, and documentation of actual performance contexts. Without this, scholarship risks reducing living oral art to a silent text. The fourth issue is regional identity. Surkhandarya is not simply a geographical label; it denotes a cultural environment shaped by oasis life, mountain and steppe contacts, historical mobility, local dialects, ceremonial practices, and southern Uzbek musical sensibility. The Sherabad epic school, often mentioned as a significant centre of the region, is associated with strong bakhshi lineages and the preservation of specific performance manners [5; 10]. In this environment, terma allows the performer to bring local immediacy into the epic event: local humour, social observation, references to contemporary life, and direct moral speech may enter through terma more easily than through the stable plot of a doston. Doston, in turn, links local performance to the broader world of Uzbek and Turkic epic memory. This double orientation gives the Surkhandarya school its special character. It is deeply regional, yet it speaks through universal epic categories such as honour, trial, loyalty, love, courage, and justice. The fifth issue concerns improvisation. A strong bakhshi is not a mechanical reciter. He must know inherited texts, melodies, formulas, and



narrative structures, but he must also respond to the living situation. Terma is one of the main spaces where this responsiveness becomes visible. The performer can choose a terma appropriate to the event, adapt its address to the audience, extend or shorten it, emphasize social criticism or praise, and use it to measure the emotional readiness of listeners. Doston also allows improvisation, but its plot architecture imposes stronger constraints. Terma is therefore the flexible face of the tradition, while doston is its large narrative body. A healthy epic culture needs both: flexibility without depth becomes shallow, and depth without flexibility becomes archival. The sixth issue concerns cultural safeguarding. Modern programmes supporting bakhshi art, including festivals, research conferences, creative centres, and educational initiatives, are necessary and valuable [3; 4; 11]. However, institutional preservation must be careful not to simplify the internal ecology of the tradition. If only famous doston are recorded and promoted, the everyday performative mechanisms that sustain them may be weakened. If only short termas are staged because they fit modern concert formats, the monumental narrative memory of the tradition may be reduced. Safeguarding must therefore preserve the relationship, not merely the separate forms. Students should learn termas not as decorative songs but as structural keys to epic performance; they should learn doston not as long texts only but as expanded fields in which the ethical and musical principles of terma are realized. The seventh issue concerns the didactic value of the terma-doston relationship. Uzbek epic art has always carried a pedagogical function. It teaches ideals of courage, justice, loyalty, patience, generosity, and respect for elders not by abstract instruction alone but by emotional and artistic embodiment. Terma teaches directly and aphoristically; doston teaches narratively and dramatically. Their combination creates a powerful educational mechanism: the listener first hears a value as a concentrated thought, then experiences it as a human story. This is why bakhshi art can remain relevant in contemporary cultural and educational contexts. It does not only preserve old plots; it preserves a way of thinking about human conduct through art. The final theoretical implication is that small forms are essential to the survival of large oral traditions. A doston may be the monument, but terma is the entrance, the breath, and the living dialogue. Without terma, doston risks becoming a long text detached from immediate performance. Without doston, terma risks losing the deep narrative reservoir that gives its moral statements historical and emotional weight. The Surkhandarya school shows that the power of oral epic lies precisely in this reciprocity.



CONCLUSION

The study confirms that the interrelationship between terma and doston in the Surkhandarya epic-singing school is organic, structural, and performative. Terma should not be interpreted merely as a small lyrical song or a preliminary ornament before the main epic. It is a condensed artistic and ethical code that prepares the audience, activates the bakhshi's authority, establishes the symbolic role of the dombra, expresses the moral direction of performance, and provides a flexible bridge into the larger narrative world. Doston, in turn, is not isolated from terma; it expands the values, formulas, melodies, and emotional energies concentrated in terma into a broad system of plot, character, conflict, and resolution. The relationship between the two forms is therefore one of condensation and expansion: terma condenses epic consciousness, while doston expands it into narrative action. This model helps explain why the Surkhandarya tradition has maintained both stability and adaptability. Stability is provided by the inherited repertoire of dostons, by the continuity of formulas, by the authority of ustoz lineages, and by the persistent moral categories of epic thought. Adaptability is provided by terma, which allows the bakhshi to respond to the audience, the occasion, the social mood, and the performer's own creative state. The dombra unites these processes by serving as both musical accompaniment and symbolic mediator between the singer, the tradition, and the listeners. The master-apprentice system also confirms the centrality of terma: young performers often acquire the elements of epic art through shorter forms before mastering the demanding architecture of large dostons. From a scholarly point of view, the article demonstrates that future research on Uzbek bakhshi art should avoid separating genres too rigidly and should instead analyze the internal performance logic that connects them. Textual collections remain essential, but they should be supplemented by field recordings, performance analysis, musical transcription, interviews with bakhshi masters, and regional comparison. From a practical point of view, cultural safeguarding programmes should preserve the full ecology of bakhshi art. It is not enough to record famous epics or to stage short concert pieces; the tradition must be transmitted as a living system in which terma and doston support each other. In the conditions of modern cultural policy, UNESCO recognition, festivals, and educational reforms, this integrated approach is especially urgent. A tradition can be archived through documents, but it remains alive only when its performative grammar is understood, taught, and practiced. For the Surkhandarya epic-singing school, that grammar is built



on the dynamic movement from terma to doston and from doston back to terma: from direct moral song to expansive epic story, from the immediate voice of the bakhshi to the long memory of the people.

REFERENCES

1. UNESCO. Bakhshi Art. Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Paris: UNESCO, 2021.
2. Mirzayev, T. O'zbek xalq baxshilarining epik repertuari. Tashkent: Fan, 1979.
3. Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Resolution No. 304, On further development and improvement of bakhshi and epic art. Tashkent, April 26, 2018.
4. President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Resolution PQ-4320, On measures for further development of bakhshi art. Tashkent, May 14, 2019.
5. Zarifov, H. O'zbek xalq dostonlari. Tashkent: Fan, 1960.
6. Zhirmunsky, V. M., and Zarifov, H. T. Uzbek Folk Heroic Epic. Moscow: State Publishing House of Fiction Literature, 1947.
7. Mirzayev, T., and others. O'zbek folklori ocherklari. Tashkent: Fan, 1988.
8. Paksoy, H. B. Alpamysh: Central Asian Identity under Russian Rule. Hartford: Association for the Advancement of Central Asian Research, 1989.
9. Lolayeva, G. B. Surxondaryo xalq dostonchilik an'analari va ularning etnografiyasi. CyberLeninka, 2021.
10. Rashidov, Q. Surxondaryo-Qashqadaryo hududidagi Sherobod doston ijrochilik maktabi baxshilari ijodi. Conference materials, 2024.
11. Turayeva, M. Activities of Epic Schools in South Uzbekistan. International Journal of Social Science and Interdisciplinary Research, 2023.
12. Mahmudov, M. M. Surxon baxshichilik maktabi. Academic Research in Modern Science, 2023.
13. Ochilov, N. Dostonchilik an'analari va uning bugungi kundagi taraqqiyoti. Folklor Akademi Dergisi, 2024.
14. Do'mbiram maqtoviga bag'ishlangan termalar. Jizzakh State Pedagogical University educational materials.
15. Kadirov, M. Uzbek Traditional Music and Oral Performance Culture. Tashkent: Music Publishing House, 2005.
16. Jumanazarov, U. O'zbek xalq og'zaki ijodi va dostonchilik an'analari. Tashkent: Universitet, 2010.



EduVision: Journal of Innovations in Pedagogy and Educational Advancements

Volume 2, Issue 6, June 2026

brightmindpublishing.com

ISSN (E): 3061-6972

Licensed under CC BY 4.0 a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

17. Tursunov, S. Surxondaryo tarixi va madaniyati. Tashkent: Akademnashr, 2012.
18. Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Materials on the International Bakhshi Art Festival and scientific-practical conferences on bakhshi art. Tashkent, 2019-2025.