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KHAKASSIA SPECIAL

KHAKASSIA: GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

M. L. Makhrova

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF KHAKASS STATEHOOD

E.P. Mamysheva

ANCIENT HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE OF KHAKASSIA

A.I. Gotlib and V.S. Zubkov

KHAKAS PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

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LITERATURE OF KHAKASSIA

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Editor's Page

Covering an area of 61,900 sq. kms in eastern part of Siberia, the Republic of Khakassia of the Russian Federation is situated in the valleys of the Abakan and Yenisei rivers. Besides occupying the Minusinsk Basin, it also occupies part of the Chulym-Yenisei Valley. Khakassia has its borders touching Krasnoyarsk Territory in the north and east, Republics of Tyva and Altai in the south and southwest and Kemerovskya Oblast in the west. Khakassia is known as the 'archeological Mecca' due to its being a repository of archeological sites and rich historical and cultural heritage. From ancient times, Khakassia maintained trade and cultural relations with Russia, Mongolia, China, Tibet, Central Asia and India. Through its history, Khakassia has been the meeting place of many cultures of Finno-Ugric, Iranian and ancient Turkic peoples. The extension of Mongolian rule in Khakassia during the 13th through 15th centuries AD, resulted in enormous loss of lives, cultural heritage and also the destruction of the Khakassian state. The natural landscapes of Khakassia are varied ranging from steppes, plains and taiga to mountains, which cover two-thirds of the Republic's territory. There are 230 large and small rivers and nearly 300 mountain and steppe lakes. Its natural bounty and over 30,000 ancient historical sites have made Khakassia the focus of attention of geologists, scientists, archeologists, explorers, anthropologists, historians and other tourists from around the world.

Khakassia has a population of 578,500 people, comprising over 100 nationalities including Russians (79.5 %), Khakases (11.1 %), Ukrainians (2.3 %), Germans (2 %), Tatars (0.8 %) and others. Following the movement of Russians into Siberia since the 16th century AD and the incorporation of Khakassia in the Russian

empire under the Tsars, the people of Khakassia converted to Christianity. Soon after the October Revolution of 1917, Khakassian territories were united into a District. However, in 1930 it was elevated as the Autonomous Khakassian Region of the RSFSR. It was in July 1991 that the Khakassian Autonomous Region of Krasnoyarsk Territory was transformed into the Republic of Khakassia of the Russian Federation with Abakan being its capital and administrative centre. Possessing huge mineral deposits and water resources, this Republic is known for its non-ferrous metallurgy, hydro power generation, mechanical engineering, light and food industries. Its economic development has been facilitated by the existence of efficient railway transportation network.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming presence of Christianity, the people of Khakassia retain the influences of their ancient traditions, beliefs, rituals, shamanism and even Buddhism, which bring them closer to India in their worldly, spiritual and cultural outlook. Besides, after the disintegration of the former USSR, there has been a strong urge among the people of Khakassia to relook at their roots and revive their historical and ethno-cultural heritage. It is in this perspective, that this Khakassia Special issue of *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* highlights the traditional history, society, ethno-culture, literature and economy of the Khakassia Republic of Russia. It is a result of active academic collaboration between the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation and the Katanov State University of Khakassia based in Abakan.

K.Warikoo

KHAKASSIA: GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

M. L. MAKHROVA

Khakassia is an intracontinental Asian territory which is considerably remote from the seas. Occupying an area of 61,900 sq. kms, Khakassia is situated between latitude 51°15' and 55°23' north and between longitude 87°50' and 91°57' east. Khakassia stretches 450 kms from north to south, with its widest part being 200 kms. The territory of the republic has its natural borders of the crests of high mountains and the Yenissei river. On the west of Kemerovo Region, Khakassia is separated by the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau range. It has its southern border with the Altai region and the republic of Tyva goes along the axial crest of the western Sayan mountains and their branches, the Kantegir ridge and the Sabinsky ridge. To the east of Shushenskoye, Minusinsk and Krasnoturansk districts of Krasnoyarsk territory, Khakassia's border is formed by the Dzhebashsky ridge and the great waters of the Yenissei. However, its northern border with Novoselovo, Uzbur and Sharypovo districts has no exactly determined natural borders, as it crosses the steppe areas which serve as the means of land communication of Khakassia with central districts of Krasnoyarsk territory and other parts of the Russian Federation.

The territory of Khakassia is characterized by a good transport system. Some important transport lines of the Siberian southern regions cross the territory. Crossing the northern and central parts of the Republic, the Abakan-Achinsk Railway connects them with the Trans-Siberian Railway. Within the bounds of Khakassia this line (near Abakan) joins the Usinsk highway which regularly connects it with the southern parts of Krasnoyarsk territory and the republic of Tyva. Going through the Novokuznetsk-Abakan section, the South-Siberian Railway considerably improves the transport and geographical position of the Republic and

facilitates the use of natural recourses of its western mountainous regions. The part of the South-Siberian Railway from Khakassia to Taishet provides the Republic the main position in the system of important Siberian railways. Before damming up the Yenissei river for Krasnoyarsk hydroelectric power station, the river used to be an important means of waterway communication with Krasnoyarsk, central and northern parts of Krasnoyarsk territory in summer. Nowadays this waterway has become less important.

The territory of Khakassia is situated within the bounds of the Altai-Sayan mountain region which joins the Siberian platform in the south-west. It is a part of the revived epiplatform mountains of Central Asia which appeared on the place of the denudation plains and lowlands. The Altai-Sayan block is formed by the ridges of the north-western direction (the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau Range, the Altai). It is transformed into the Western Sayan Mountains. Several wide inter-mountain depressions can be found within its bounds (the Kuznetsk Depression; the Minusinsk Depression; the Tyva Depression).

The Altai-Sayan mountain region is located within the bounds of uneven-aged geographical blocks of the Baikalian (the Eastern Sayan), the Salayir, the Caledonian (the Western Sayan, the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau) and the Hercynian (the Altai) foldings. Judging by the structural geomorphological condition, two stages can be singled out in the republic of Khakassia. They are the Salayir-Kuznetsk platform piedmont stage and the Altai-Sayan-Tyva orogenic stage. The Salayir-Kuznetsk platform stage includes two structural geomorphological complexes. On the territory of Khakassia it is represented by first-order morphostructures (by the blocks of little uplift) - the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau mountains, and by piedmont depressions (by the blocks of little subsidence) - the Minusinsk Depression. Within the bounds of Khakassia, the Altai-Sayan-Tyva orogenic stage is represented by the Sayan-Tuva structural geomorphological complex, the blocks of tectonic uplift and lowering of different intensity (the Western Sayan).

The geological structure of the territory of Khakassia is formed by various stratigraphic complexes starting with the Paleozoic up to the Quaternary deposits. They are Proterozoic and Low-Paleozoic sedimentary and metamorphic rocks of the folded foundation (Cambrian and Sinian deposits) which form mountain massifs framing the Minusinsk trench. They are represented by the masses of marble and limestone, rocky and argillaceous slates, Paleozoic magmatic rock, which can be found in the

mountain ranges surrounding the Minusinsk trench. Devon volcanic and sedimentary rocks make up the upland territories of the depression. Upper-Paleozoic and Mesozoic sedimentary rocks form synclines and moulds of the depressions. Cenozoic rocks are fully represented within the bounds of the depressions.

In the history of the development of the territory, the following important periods can be distinguished. The Paleozoic period is a stage when the land of the geosynclinal type appeared. During the first part of the Paleozoic era (the Caledonian folding) the development of trenches predominates. The consolidation of separate folded zones became apparent. It resulted in the formation of the mountain ranges such as the Kazyr of the Eastern Sayan Mountains, the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau and the Western Sayan Mountains. At the end of the Caledonian folding period the appearance of faults in the uneven-aged folded foundation led to the formation of the intermontane depressions (the Chyulym-Yenissei Depression, the Syda-Yerba Depression, the Southern Minusinsk Depression). The second part of the Paleozoic period (the Hercynian folding) was marked by the volcanic activity and the whole stabilization of the folded region in general. During the Low Carboniferous period the ascending movements had been replaced by the descending ones. As a result, within the bounds of the Minusinsk Depression there appeared a large cove which turned into a large lake after regression. From the east and southeast there came a large amount of ash. It resulted in the formation of multi-colored tuff-sedimentary mass. In the Lower Permian formation there was a differential uplift of depressions and splitting of the basin. The whole Permian period is characterized by a considerable general rise of the whole territory and strong erosion.

The Mesozoic period is a platform period. During the Jurassic period the mountains of the Western and Eastern Sayan and the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau, which surrounded the Minusinsk Depression, went through the phases of rapid uplift. There was a considerable erosive splitting of these mountains. Lake sediments were formed in the closed and semi-closed shallow basins. The Middle Jurassic period is characterized by flooding of the depression by the inland water body. It was subject to recurrent drying up and intensive swamping. On the uplands there was a process of peneplanation. The tectonic stabilization during Late Jura and Cretaceous contributed to the descending development of the relief. During the Cretaceous period the mountain links separating the system of depressions were considerably smoothed over and turned into the peneplain. By the

end of the Mesozoic period, the territory of Khakassia had been a low hilly smoothed land (peneplain). The flat land was characteristic of the territory up to the Pliocene.

The Cenozoic period is characterized by the differentiation during the newest tectonic movements. The tectonic movements were in the form of bending folds along the faults and in the lowering of the adjoining depressions. These movements were of fault-block character. The highest point of the tectonic activity was at the edge of Pliocene and Pleistocene (Early Pleistocene). The oscillatory movements caused the division of the planation surface along the lines of the tectonic faults. During this period there were local uplifts within the bounds of mountains framing together with relative lowering within the bounds of depressions. It resulted in the formation of the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau and the Western Sayan Ranges and the system of Minusinsk depressions.

In Late Pliocene there was a sharp isolation of the uplifted areas and the areas of relative bowing. The areas of the relative bowing included the Syda-Yerba and the Southern Minusinsk depressions of the Minusinsk mountain trench.

In the second part of Middle Pleistocene on the whole territory of Khakassia there was a general bending fold that caused the formation of terraces in the upper reaches, the lowering of the lakes and dispersion of friable lake sediments along the interfluvium and slopes. At the end of Middle Pleistocene the strengthening of the tectonic activity under the conditions of a progressing cold spell resulted in the glaciation of the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau mountains and the Western Sayan.

Thus, the development of the territory of Khakassia is characterized by the change of the epochs of weakening and strengthening of the tectonic activity. The first epochs of Middle and Late Trias including the considerable part of the Cretaceous period and Palaeogene are marked by the periods of a quasi-platform condition which led to the relief leveling. The second epochs of Early and Middle Jura and the Oligocene-Quaternary period stated the periods of tectonic tension which prevented the territory from turning into a platform.

Certain endogenous and exogenous processes and relief-forming factors take part in the formation of the relief of Khakassia. The endogenous processes of relief formation are magmatism (volcanism and plutonism) and tectonic movements. Magmatism of the modern relief can be seen either in wedging out of some magmatic intrusive bodies (rock fractures) on the slopes and mountain tops of the Western Sayan, the

Abakan Range and the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau or in the form of ancient volcanoes (see photo below).



The tectonic movements influenced the relief formation of Khakassia greatly. Splitting tectonic movements caused the formation of grabens, intramontane depressions and horsts (mid-mountain ranges).

Large forms of the modern relief of Khakassia are inherited structures. They are represented by the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau Range, the Western Sayan Range and the hollows of the Minusinsk Depression.

The Minusinsk Depression, which is situated in the north-eastern part of the Altai-Sayan mountain region between the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau, the Eastern and Western Sayan Mountains, coincides with the blocks of little subsidence. Within the bounds of the Minusinsk mountain trench there can be found the Nazarovo, the Northern, the Middle and the Southern Minusinsk depressions.

Speaking about the names of the depressions, it is necessary to bear in mind that they are not generally accepted except the Nazarovo Depression which is situated between the Arga Range and the Solgon Ridge. Many scholars give different names to one and the same depression. For instance, the Northern Minusinsk Depression is sometimes named the Chyulym-Yenisei Depression or the Chebak-Balakhta Depression. But we mean that it occupies the northern part of the Minusinsk mountain trench and it is situated between the Solgon and the Batenevsky Ridges. That is why we will use its first name. The Middle Minusinsk Depression is named the Syda-Yerba Depression which is surrounded by the low and

middle mountainous massifs of the Batenevsky and the Balyk Ridges. The Southern Minusinsk Depression (or more often known as the Minusinsk Depression) is a depression which is situated in the south of the Minusinsk mountain trench.

An erosive denudational plain relief of lake valleys and an erosive accumulative relief of piedmont plains which is developed on the folded structures of the sedimentary basement complex during Middle Paleozoic and Cenozoic periods are characteristic of the depression. River valleys with various series of terraces are also typical here.

Folded and fault-block structures of the Batenevsky and the Solgon Ridges and the Arga Range divided the Minusinsk trench into the series of intermontane hollows. The formed links have a folded and fault-block structure. They are anticlines with tectonic lines along the sides.

The Northern Minusinsk Depression is more than 150 km high and 60 km wide. The relief of the depression is represented by hilly plains with absolute heights of 450 to 500 meters. In the tectonic structure of the depression we can single out the Salbat-Blacklake synclinal zone. In the relief it is represented by the Blacklake and the Salbat moulds which are occupied by the troughs of Salbat Lake and Black Lake. The Kopyevo anticline zone is a system of local uplifts (the Kopyevo domes), the watershed of the White Iyus River and the Chyulym River and the system of lake troughs (White Lake, Shyra Lake, Itkul Lake, Bele Lake).



LAKE BELE

The Syda-Yerba Depression (the Middle Minusinsk Depression) is 100 kms long and 50 kms wide. In the north it is limited by a tectonic bench that goes along the southern uplift. In the south it is limited by the spurs of the Eastern Sayan Mountains and the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau (the Batenevsky Ridge and the Bellyk White mountains). The sloping spurs are gradually changed by the relief of hills and ridges. The hills are surrounded by cuervas and ridges. Their direction coincides with the wings of the anticlinal and synclinal folds. The absolute marks within the depression are less 500 meters. The central part is the lowest one. It is 220 to 300 meters high. The high hills are characterized by asymmetric slopes. The southern and south-western slopes are steeper and lack the cover of diluvial deposits. The northern and north-western slopes are usually covered with diluvial deposits' mantle and the topsoil and plants. Within the depression the Krasnoturansk, the Syda and the Yerba moulds are developed. The valleys of the Yenisei's tributaries (the Syda and the Yerba) also start here (the territory of Khakassia) (see photo below).



THE SYDA-YERBA DEPRESSION (THE BASIN OF THE YERBA)

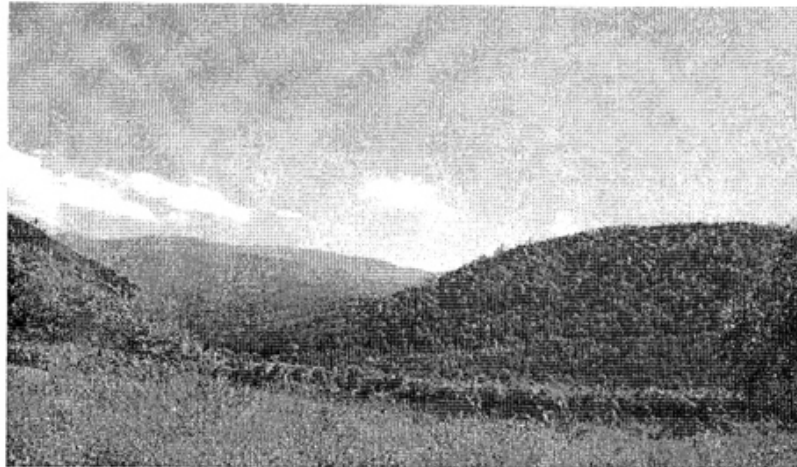
The Southern Minusinsk Depression is 10 kms long and 45 to 50 kms wide. The bottom of the depression is marked at an average height of 300 to 450 meters. To the north-east it reaches the height of 500 meters. Within the depression there are low hill ridges and massifs touching at the height of 700-850 meters. Within the depression there are 3 structural zones stretched along the sublatitudinal direction of the Khalsk-Duben zone, the Chernogorsk-Kalyagino synclinal zone and the Uybat-Tagar anticline

zone. The Khalsk-Duben syncline is represented in the relief by the ancient valley of the Yenissei and the Abakan-Yenissei interfluve. The Uybat-Tagar anticlinal zone is situated in the central part of the Southern Minusinsk Depression in the shape of lowland interfluve of the Tuba, the Yenissei and the Abakan (the Altai swell). The Chernogorsk-Kalyagino synclinal zone occupies the northern part of the depression and comprises the wide valleys of the Abakan and the Yenissei.



THE SOUTHERN MINUSINSK DEPRESSION

The Kuznetsk Ala-Tau is a complex mountainous massif. It is a tableland or a plateau with the height of 400 to 800 meters, with separate ridges and massifs rising over them (Kuznetsk Ala-Tau, the Mountainous



THE KUZNETSK ALA-TAU

Shoria, the northern and middle parts of the Abakan Ridge). Judging by the tectonic structure the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau is an anticlinorium cut by the Caledonian intrusions, with flat tops and ancient denudational surfaces of the Mesozoic period significantly raised along the fault lines (the Sarala-Balyksa Fault, the Abakan Fault, the Anzas Fault, and the Teya Fault)

The Western Sayan is a series of blocks, horst uplifts and near-fault intramontane graben-like depressions registered on different heights.



THE WESTERN SAYAN

The processes of weathering do not form any special forms of the relief but they form a special type of sediments (eluvium) which are shifted and accumulated by other exogenous agents (water, wind, snow, ice, etc.). On the tops of the hills and mountains, the eluvium slowly shifts down the slopes under the influence of the stone fields and rivers (comb rock). The process of weathering forms asymmetric highlands and ridges (cuestas) on the folded-faulting structures in strongly metamorphosed rocks. They are formed due to partial weathering of heterogeneous bedded formations on the wings of the folds

The surface riverbed streams form river valleys along their way. Under the conditions of a complex morphostructural territory, the river valleys are characterized by their morphological variety. In the mountains they are V-shaped valleys with a narrow bottom and steep slopes. Trough valleys can be found in the regions with glaciation in Pleistocene (the Western Sayan).



TROUGH VALLEY OF THE WESTERN SAYAN

Within the bounds of plain areas, the river valleys become widened U-shaped valleys, with a series of low and high terraces. For instance, in the Abakan river in its middle and low currents the flood-plains of different levels can be distinguished. It is 0.5 to 3 meters high above the low water mark and 2 to 3 km wide. There is also a terrace complex of 5 to 6 meters, 18 to 20 meters, and 60 to 80 meters. Asymmetric slopes are typical of the river valleys. This peculiarity is connected with the geological structure of the slopes and the insolation of different degree. It leads to partial weathering and the stability of the slopes.

On the slopes of the cuesta uplands temporary water currents (rain and melt water) make gullies and ruts which are not so deep and long. It occurs due to little amount of water which flows down the slopes in the steppe areas and it is not enough to form large ravines. At the foot of the uplands there are distinct diluvial trails.

Underground waters together with rainfall flow down the gently sloping hills which are formed by karst rocks (limestone and marls) and by covered soils. The waters form especial forms of the underground relief such as craters, wells and caverns. The karst relief can be found in the Batenevsky Ridge, the Kosinsky Ridge, the Sakhsyr Ridge, the Abakan Ridge, in the submountain region of the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau along the White Iyus river valley.



A KARST CAVERN

The glacial ice that existed in the mountains of Khakassia during Pleistocene and melt waters smoothed uneven and rough relief, brought away friable rocks and made the jugged edges of the rocks round and smooth. The glacial ice is a mixture of boulders, pebbles, sand and clay. It can be found in the forms of hills and small ridges in the upper areas of the Abakan, the Yenissei and the Tom river valleys, etc.

Due to lack of moistening in the Minusinsk trough, the vast plain areas, wide river valleys and friable sediments create certain conditions for the development of the eolian forms of the relief. There are dunes on the right bank of the Yenissei (Minusinsk district) and sandy hills on the right bank of the Abakan in the environs of the ulus of Arshanovo.

The main river of Khakassia is the Yenissei. It is a forceful and ancient river. It is older than the mountains of the area. The valley of the Yenissei river cuts the Western Sayan mountains at right angles. While the ridges were rising, the full-flowing river was making its riverbed without changing its direction. This was the way the deep Sayan canyon appeared, it being one of the most picturesque sights of Khakassia. The valley separating the Bartenev mountain-ridge from the Bellyk Highlands has the right angle orientation to them. Following the flow of the Yenisei outside Khakassia the same position can be observed in the area where the Yenisei cuts through the spurs of Eastern Sayan.

Reaching its basin, the ancient Yenisei covered all flat surface, leaving only some islands and filling the wide valley with huge bedding of alluvial

drifts (alluvium from Latin 'alluvio' means 'a drift', 'a deposit' - deposits formed by constant water flows in river basins). For instance, that part of the Koibal steppes which is located between the rivers Yenisei and Abakan has alluvial sands that are not fixed with any vegetation. Dunes and sand-drift sites with sand buttes form here some specific landscape resembling a desert. At present, the Yenisei is crossed with hydroelectric station dams.

The Abakan, the second largest river in Khakassia, rises high in mountains somewhere in the area of junction of the Western Sayan and the Abakan range and flows to the northeast along the Abakan range. At its start, it is a picturesque mountain river augmenting its waters with numerous and not in the least picturesque tributaries (the largest among them are the Ona and the Dgebash). Coming down to the valley, the flow of the Abakan becomes calm till it reaches the Yenisei. Here flowing into the Yenisei, the Abakan takes up wide flood-lands which near the estuary extends up to 5 to 8 kms in width and has islands, channels and old beds. The largest tributaries in this area are the rivers Tashtyp, Askiz and Uybat which flow down the eastern slope of the Abakan Range. Each of these rivers has its own divergent water basins.



A MOUNTAIN RIVER OF THE ABAKAN RANGE

The river Tom rises on the Abakan range. It goes down its western slope to the Kuznetsk basin and flows into the river Ob. In the northern part of Khakassia two rivers, the White Ius and the Black Ius, rise in the mountains. These two rivers with their numerous tributaries gather almost all waters flowing down the eastern slopes of the Kuznetsk Alatau. Flowing together the White Ius and the Black Ius become the deep-watered Chulym which is characterized by a particular geographical paradox. Every initial feature predicts the Chulym to be inside the Yenisei basin. At first the

Chulym flows eastward along the northern border of Khakassia. Almost reaching the Yenisei the Chulym flows parallel to it. But having not found any suitable part of Yenisei riverside rocks to burst, the Chulym turns abruptly to the West and becomes a tributary to the Ob.

With the exception of these major rivers, there are a lot of shallow rivers in Khakassia. Flowing down from the mountains sometimes they do not reach their original estuary because their water is taken for irrigation.

The land of Khakassia possesses countless lakes. The largest of them are Bele, Shira, Itkul and others, they are concentrated in the center of the Shira region. There are a lot of shallow lakes in the southern part of the Koibal steppes which is the bottom of the former riverbed of the ancient Yenisei. People call this area as Sorokaozerka (The Land of Forty Lakes). Among these lakes one can find some with fresh water and some with salt water, several lakes are considered to be curative. Numerous lakes with fresh water give rise to rivers of the Yenisei and Abakan basin.

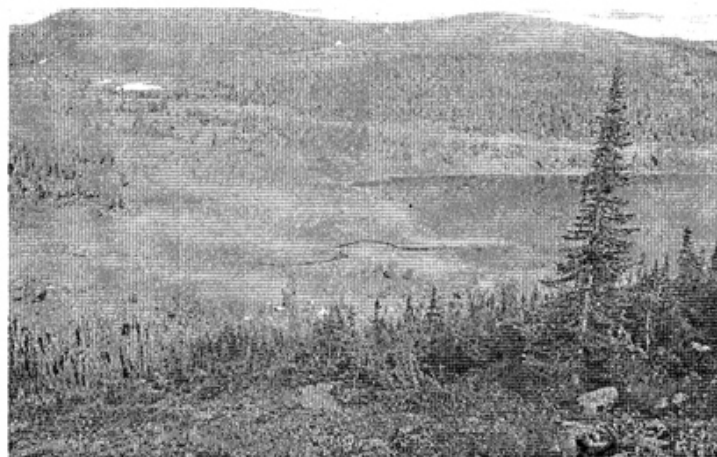


IVANOVSKIE LAKES

The climate of Khakassia is harsh continental with cold winters and hot summers, with great variation of temperature and the amount of precipitation. Due to the specific relief (a combination of high mountain ranges and inter-mountainous cavities) the climate may differ even within neighboring territories. The number of sunny days almost equals to that in the Crimea. The amplitude of average monthly mountain air

temperatures constitutes approximately 30°, and steppes air temperatures at about 40°. So the amplitude of absolute temperatures reach 80° in the first case and 90° in the second. The duration of frost-free period is about 80 days in mountains and up to 120 days in the steppes. The annual amount of precipitation varies from 250 to 450 ml, more than 90 per cent of it fall out during the warm period, that is from April till October. The winds blow mainly from the West and from South-West. With the result, the western slopes of the Kuznetsk Alatau, and the Abakan range and the adjoining steppes situated in the "rain shadow" of these mountains are often droughty. Rains, often brought by the cold air masses, are mostly cumulonimbus.

In the steppes summer usually lasts from the second half of May till the middle of September, in mountains it begins in the middle of June and lasts till the end of August. The hottest month is July (the average temperature in the steppes reaches 20° and in mountains from 12 to 14°. The second half of September or sometimes October is characterized as the Indian summer. The weather is fine, during the daytime the temperature can be up to 30°. There may happen the second blossoming of plants. Winter comes at the end of October - beginning of November. Snow covers the earth unevenly. The steppes may be covered with 10 to 30 centimeters of snow; and as the wind blows the snow off into hollows and ravines, the major part of the steppes has no snow at all. Owing to this fact since ancient times till present the population has used winter grass to feed domestic livestock, not only sheep and horses which are able to find grass under the snow but also cattle.



HIGH-ALTITUDE ZONING IN KHAKASSIA (DARK-CONIFEROUS TAIGA, TUNDRA)

The vegetation of Khakassia is varied. There can be counted more than 1,500 species of plants, some of them being endemic. In general the native flora is similar to that of Altai. The beginning of the present Khakas vegetation formation with its vivid vertical zones dates back to the Ice Ages.

The five high-altitude zones are clearly seen. The tundra with Alpine and Sub alpine meadows occupy most of the Alpine zone. Below it begins the taiga zone, being the biggest in area (more than one third of the whole territory of Khakassia). First comes the dark-coniferous taiga with fir-trees (*Abies*), Siberian pines (cedar), spruces (*Picea*), following it comes the light-coniferous taiga with larches and pine-trees. The next zone, sub taiga, is characterized by light-coniferous and mixed forests; here can be found larches, pine-trees, birches, aspen, alder-tress and poplars. Foothills are occupied by the forest-steppe zone, narrowly circling the steppe zone. The forest-steppe landscape is characterized by low-hill spurs which usually have steep southern slopes and rather gentle northern slopes. Forests consist mostly of birches, seldom of larches and pine-trees and are combined with meadow and steppe areas. The steppe zone occupies about 20 per cent of the whole territory of Khakassia. It combines various steppes (of wormwood, feather-grass, oats, cheer grass, hemp nettle, shrubby, meadow, stony, desert land and other) and saline soils, low place marshes and cultivated fields. Khakassia is rich in berries (bilberry, red whortleberry, guilder rose, rowan-berry, currant, honeysuckle, raspberries, wild strawberries, strawberries and other) and mushrooms. Meadows and meadow steppes are natural flowering areas of striking beauty. Flowering begins in early spring and goes in endless waves when wide grass areas continuously change the colorful scale. Prevailing in turn come yellow, light-blue, violet or other colors. When it is the hottest time, the steppes fade and become of grey-yellow color. The first to fade is the grass on the stony southern slopes, being the most colorful in spring.

The most widespread in Khakassia - from the steppes to highland meadows and the tundra - is the so called "burning flower" (Asian globe flower). This flower appears in numerous legends and beliefs, for instance in the legend about mermaids who lured youths and young girls into water. It is a very beautiful flower of orange or red color which resembles a bright flame if looked at from some distance. The other peculiar plant for the steppes and meadows of Khakassia is piculka (wild iris). It looks like a punch of long wiry leaves; these leaves are so firm that even sheep do not eat them in summer (though in winter they are used as forage).

But at the beginning of summer this unattractive piculka starts flowering. The wild iris is a flower of astonishingly delicate structure and color. Its flowering makes the steppes wonderful. Sometimes wild irises (like the globe flower) give flowers for the second time during the Indian summer. But the second flowering can not be compared to the beauty of the first one.

The fauna of Khakassia is also rich and various. The invertebrate animals living in Khakassia has been poorly studied and that is why the number of them cannot be given even approximately. The ants are represented in more than 40 species, reservoirs are inhabited by more than 37 species of fishes, 11 of them having been brought here and became acclimatized. These fishes are Siberian sturgeon, Siberian salmon, hunchback salmon, trout, grayling fish, lenok, peled, omul, vendace, Siberian stream lamprey.



TROUT IN THE YENISEI

The continental climate with severely cold winters turned out to be unfavorable to amphibians (there are only 4 species) and reptiles (6 species). Among poisonous snakes here can be seen vipers and a species of rattlesnake. The feathered world comes in wide variety of species. Here can be found 317 species of birds including birds of passage. Many of these birds are not afraid of severe frosts, 110 species stay for the winter. 45 species of birds are hunting-licensed, but in fact only 13 species are hunted. They are mostly Gallinacean - wood-grouse, hazel-grouse, partridge, and waterfowl, mostly ducks. Khakassia is also rich in mammal

species, there are 76 of them. Three species appeared in Khakassia due to acclimatization, they are grey hare, musk-rat and mink; beaver and wild boar migrated from the neighboring areas. In forests and steppes there can be found bear, lynx, wolverine, wolf, fox, hare, Siberian deer, wild goat, musk-deer, squirrel, sable and other. Red wolf, snow leopard and argali (wild sheep) are extremely rare animals they are listed in the Red Book of Rare Animals of Russia. Recently as the living conditions of many animals have changed, many species have reduced in numbers. They are included in the regional list of rare and vanishing species of animals of Khakassia. This list consists of 25 species. According to the decree of the UNESCO the Altai-Sayan ecological region, which encircles Khakassia, is considered to be one of the priority ecological areas of the Earth.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF KHAKASS STATEHOOD

MAMYSHEVA E.P.

The statehood of Khakass people has a history of many centuries. The development of statehood is a historical, political-legal process originating from ancient times.¹ In the reconstruction of the history of Khakass statehood historians, archeologists, ethnographers and other scientists took an active part. The researchers date the appearance of early statehood from 4th-3rd centuries BC, which the archeologists call as the period of Tagar culture. This state is mentioned in old Chinese annals as Dinlin-go after the name of its founders – the Dinlin tribes. The population of the empire was believed to be over 300, 000 inhabitants, including the army of 60,000 soldiers, who were the real support of the young state.² Dinlin-Tagar society was characterized by a significant differentiation of the population which is proved by the majestic earthen pyramidal barrows. These are tombs of the Tsars who headed the union of Tagar tribes.³ However, in the year 201 BC, Dinlin-go fell to the attacks of Hun tribes which had come from Central Asia. The Hun armies under the leadership of Maodun' conquered not only the Sayan-Altay mountains, but also the Baikal region. The power of Hun governor was maintained with the help of Special Deputies who were assisted by the military garrisons. The conquered population of Southern Siberia was controlled by the Hun state laws. In 60-30 centuries BC, the union of Dinlin and Kyrgyz tribes was formed (Huns forced the Kyrgyz people to leave the region of Lake Kyrgyz-nur and come to Khakass-Minusinsk basin).⁴ The coalition was headed by the military aristocracy of Gianguns, who called themselves as the successors of an absent ruling Hun clique.⁵ During the next centuries the development of Dinlin-Giangun society was directed towards the creation of solid economy and own statehood. The representatives of the newly-

formed Giangun aristocracy held all higher posts in the society. They assimilated local Ugrian and other elements and created preconditions for the formation of a new ethnic community of ancient Khakass people.⁶

In the 6th century AD, there was an Old Khakass state headed by aristocrats of Kyrgyz family (Chinese *giangun / tsiangun*)⁷ on the territory of Khakass-Minusinsk basin. Therefore the historians call this multinational state of 6-13 centuries AD, the ancient state of Khakass people or of Kyrgyz people. The written sources name their governors elders, *sylyfa*, *azho*, *beg* or *khan*.⁸ In the state, the military-administrative government had been preserved since the Hun times. This means that the population was divided into tens, hundreds and thousands. At the end of the 6th up to the beginning of the 9th century AD the state covered the territory of the Khakass-Minusinsk basin and maintained diplomatic and trade contacts with China, Tibet and other countries.⁹ When the Uyghur state had been conquered in 847 AD, its territory stretched from Altai to Middle Irtysh, Middle Ob, Tuva, Northern and Western Mongolia and the Baikal region.¹⁰ The highest achievement of this culture was the spread of rune writings. The territory of the state was divided on *bagi*. The aristocracy received *bagi* from *kagan* for their service, forming the highest class of feudal lords - *begs*. When *begs* whose lands were located considerably far from the administrative centre, became stronger they wanted to become independent of the *kagan's* authority.¹¹ In the beginning of the 13th century, the federation of Old Khakas princedoms was going through the process of feudal dissociation that weakened it eventually. In 1207 AD, the Mongol-Tatar army under command of Dzhuchi - Chingiskhan's senior son - intruded the Old Khakass state. In 1293 AD, after the next intrusion of the Mongolian army, the Khakass state started declining. However, according to some researchers, the final destruction of the state didn't take place. Due to the feudal system it was divided into four princedoms: Altysrk, Altysarsk, Esersk and Tubinsk.¹² the governors (*knez*) of all these four princedoms belonged to the same *seoku* - Kyrgyz. The despotic power and decisions of the prince were executed by *esauls*, *bashlyks* and judges.¹³ In 15th- 17th centuries, one of them was the head of the state, while as all others were recognized as his subjects. Common political issues were discussed in specially held congresses which were considered to be the supreme body of the government. Before the beginning of 18th century, such attributes of statehood, as the original title system of the officials, tax system, judicial power, bank notes *akhcha* were kept. However, the Mongolian expansion limited the power of the Khakass

state. It resulted in a loss of many achievements in its material and spiritual culture. Towards the end of 17th and the beginning of 18th century, Khakassia became an object of struggle of three states: Russia, Mongolia and Dzungaria. Khakass princes considered this struggle to be a struggle for independence. However, there was no unity between princes in this struggle. Their opinions differed: some princes supported the union with Mongolia, others - with Dzungaria, and the third section tended to unite with Russia. Active negotiations between the Tsarist Russian government and a ruling clique of Khakass people concerning peaceful annexation of Khakassia were held during the first half of the 17th century. But the negotiations didn't bring any practical results. The second half of the 17th century was characterized by frequent military attacks of the Mongolian Khans and Dzungar *huntaishi* on Khakassia. Kirghiz *zemlitsa* princedoms of Khakass people were called in the documents of the Tsarist government, also suffered from frequent military campaigns from the Tomsk, Kuznetsk and Krasnoyarsk stockades that demanded recognition of the authority of the Russian Tsar and the payment of *yasak* - fur taxes. Constant military intrusions, attempts to secure the territory of Khakassia dealt a heavy blow to its human resources and economy. The contiguity of Khakass people with the powerful and aggressive states destroyed mutually advantageous international economic and cultural connections with the states of Central Asia and China. In 1703 AD, there was violent migration of a significant part of the population, mostly men.¹⁴ This incident is referred by historians as an accident which interrupted the development of ethnic-social consolidation of Khakass people¹⁵. According to scientific research, it was fatal for the statehood of Khakass people as all the members of the governing Hyrgys family were withdrawn.¹⁶ This also affected the final choice of Khakass people: their union with the northern state under the White Tsar.¹⁷ The process of Khakassia's entry into Russia was actually completed in August 1707 when the Abakan stockade was built. The representatives of Khakass people took an oath of allegiance to Russian emperor and the territory of Khakassia became an integral part of the Russian state. The princes of the ruling family Kyrgyz lost their political domination for ever and they became equal to their former subordinates. The territory of Khakassia was divided into Kuznetsk, Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk *uyezds*. The Abakan stockade became an administrative centre of Kirghiz *zemlitsa* where the governmental office was located. It was responsible for the civil and criminal cases of Russian and native population. In the daily life of Khakass people, significant role was played

by the feudal aristocracy which did not lose their economic influence. Every *ulus* became a part of *volost*, several *volost* formed *zemlitsas*. The management of *zemlitsa* was entrusted to *kniazets* (*bashlyks*), appointed by the Tsarist authorities from the native officials. Being the representatives of Tsarist authority, they carried out the administrative and fiscal functions. *Bashlyks* were assisted by *esauls* whose duty was the gathering of *yasak* and the execution of small administrative functions.¹⁸

In 1822, administrative reform was carried out in Siberia. It was the first attempt by the Tsarist government towards the management of Siberia. The reform was designed under the direction of Siberian General Governor M. M. Speransky. It comprised several legislations: Establishment of government in the Siberian provinces, Charter about government of *inorodtsy*, the charters about the exiled, about the Siberian Cossacks, the regulations about *zemstvo* duties, etc.¹⁹ The territory where Khakass people lived in a compact form, became a part of Minusinsk and Achinsk districts in the newly-formed Yenisei province. One of the components of the reform was the Charter about government of *inorodtsy*,²⁰ which brought about changes in the life of the natives. The researchers agree that this Charter is the first document in which the legal position of Siberian natives is defined and that there are no such analogues in the legislation of other colonial powers. According to the Charter about government of *inorodtsy*, Khakass people who traditionally engaged in cattle breeding, were referred as the nomads. For them the self-government institutions - Steppe *dumas* - were established: Kachinsk, Koibalsk, Kyzyl *dumas* and the *duma* of united heterogeneous tribes. The *dumas* united some families in departments and consisted of the ancestor and the elected assessors whose number depended on the accepted custom or the decision of relatives. Steppe *dumas* submitted to Minusinsk district chief and the Yenisei governor. Without their acceptance any *Duma* decision was void. The bodies of steppe self-government were responsible for the execution of instructions given by Tsarist authorities, the distribution of duties and taxes, economic issues, the account of the population and its property, maintenance of law and order and satisfactory sanitary condition.

In the second half of the 19th century, some qualitative changes in the governmental policy towards the natives of Siberia took place. The Siberian establishment of 1822 was considered inappropriate to the modern needs of the territory. Therefore, it was desired "to impart to Siberia the common vital rules which were accepted by other parts of the country."²¹ The Second Siberian Committee paid great attention to the treatment of

Siberia as a part of the Russian state. The members of committee visualized the future of the Siberian natives as shifting into a settled way of life, their familiarizing with orthodoxy, unification of their government like that of Russian migrants.²² The changes brought by the Charter about government of *inorodtsy* and the reorganization of Khakass Steppe dumas generated the new law: Regulations about *inorodtsy*.²³ Later on at the end of 1892 AD, on the instructions of Irkutsk Governor General came the law about abolition of Steppe dumas in the Yenisei and Irkutsk provinces and the final establishment of Kyzylsk, Abakansk and Askizsk foreign offices (*Inorodny upravas*).

Further changes in the administrative-territorial structure of Khakass people were connected with Stolypin's agrarian reform. According to the Resolution of 28 October 1911, Khakass people were shifted from nomadic to settled way of life and the foreign offices were transformed into Ust'-Abakansk, Askizsk, Siniavinsk, Ust'-Yeniseisk, Ust'-Fyrkalsk *volosts* of Minusinsk district and Kyzylsk *volost* of Achinsk district of the Yenisei province.²⁴ According to regulations about peasants, the functions of *volost* management were performed by *volost* assembly, the *volost* foreman, *volost* board and court. The former three-level administrative division (*Inorodny uprava*, patrimonial government and *ulus* government) was replaced by two-level division (*volost* and rural ones). With the introduction of *volost* establishments, such traditional establishments, as divisions of families (*rod*), patrimonial government disappeared from the administrative structure of Khakass people. The *volost* reform transformed the patrimonial structure of Khakass government into the territorial one, which functioned without taking into account the social and economic peculiarities of Minusinsk and Achinsk *inorodtys*.

The construction of the Soviet national state in Khakassia began with the authorized Minusinsk Council of workers and the acts of Peasant's and Soldier's deputies: Regulations about Khakass courts dated 24 April 1918 and Regulations about Khakass steppe self-government dated 25 April 1918. Khakass population of Minusinsk and Achinsk districts of the Yenisei province was united into the Khakass steppe society with the system of *ulus*, regional and steppe councils.²⁵ But during the civil war, further national - state construction in *inorodtsy* areas of the Yenisei province on the basis of councils was suspended. After the end of the Civil war on the 14 November, the Presidium of VTSIK made the resolution about the creation of Khakass *uyezd*.²⁶ According to this act the *volosts* which had been parts of the Minusinsk and Achinsk *uyezds* of the Yenisei

province and the Kuznetsk *uyezd* of Tomsk province were united into one territorial unit. Because of new division into districts and formation of the Siberian territory in 1925, the Khakass *uyezd* was transformed into a district of Askizsk, Bogradsk, Tashtypsk, Charkovsk and Chebakovsk districts. Despite certain independence in the resolution of local problems, the Khakass *uyezd* and district were still not independent state divisions²⁷, but only national administrative units playing a preparatory role in the creation of the Soviet statehood of Khakass people. There were no such specific attributes of independent divisions as the existence of a special law on their legal status, the right of special representation in a Soviet of Nationalities of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, territorial leadership²⁸. Since the resolution of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People Commissars of the USSR about liquidation of districts (23 July 1930) had been made, the Presidium of VTSIK made the decision to transform the Khakass district into autonomous region within the existing borders and a territorial part of West-Siberian territory.²⁹ This act gave Khakassia the status of national territorial division in the form of autonomous region. Unlike the autonomous regions of RSFSR which had been formed in 1920s, the Khakass autonomous region was part of regional association throughout its existence. From the moment of its formation, it was a territorial part of the West-Siberian territory. At the end of 1934, it became a part of Krasnoyarsk territory. In this manner, Khakass regional division was specified.

Further development of statehood of Khakass people is directly connected to two Russian laws. For purposes of further political, social-economic and national-cultural development of Khakassia, the Council of People's Deputies decided on 15 August 1990 to transform it into the Khakass Autonomic Soviet Socialist Republic within the same existing borders. The deputies put in an appropriate application to the Supreme Council of Russian Soviet Federal Socialistic Republic which passed the Law of RSFSR on 15 December 1990 "about changes and additions of the Constitution of RSFSR." This formed the basis for removing Khakass Autonomous Region from the structure of Krasnoyarsk territory. The second law "About transformation of Khakass Autonomic Region into Khakass Soviet Socialist Republic in the structure of RSFSR" was passed on 3 July 1991. It raised the political and legal status of Khakassia, which was transformed from an autonomous region into the Soviet Socialist Republic in structure of RSFSR. On 29 January 1992, the Supreme Soviet of Khakassia passed the Law "About change of the name of Khakass

Soviet Socialist Republic within the structure of the Russian Federation."³⁰ The legal status of the Khakass Republic is defined by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the Constitution of the Khakass Republic. The main law of the state names the Khakass Republic alongside other Republics of the Russian state³¹. Thus the Khakass statehood was revived. This allows the Republic to have its own legislation, form its own bodies of the government, to establish a state language in addition to Russian, to establish own state symbols (an emblem, a flag, a hymn etc). Important governmental bodies in Khakassia are: the Supreme Soviet of the Khakass Republic - the unicameral legislative (representative) body of the government consisting of 75 deputies, elected by the population of republic on the basis of equal and direct suffrage by voting for the period of four years; the Government of Republic is the supreme governmental body headed by the Chairman of Government of Khakassia which is the supreme official elected by the citizens on the basis of the equal and direct suffrage by voting for the period of four years. Since 13 December 2004, there has been a new law according to which the chief executive of the Khakass Republic is endowed with powers of the supreme official of the subject of the Russian Federation after his presentation by the President of the Russian Federation. The Republic has its own legal system, as a component of legal system of the Russian Federation. In the legislative activity, the Supreme Soviet of the Khakass Republic pays special attention to the regulation of issues in the sphere of constitutional, state-legal construction and in the field of local self-government.

Thus, in the long history of statehood movement of Khakass people there were various periods of rises and falls. But every time it has been restored though sometimes it has changed in outline. And at the same time, Khakassia has preserved the traditions and now continues with its progressive development.

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ANCIENT HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE OF KHAKASSIA

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Khakassia, quite often and quite fairly, is called a museum in the open air and an "Archaeological Mecca." Those who have been living on the territory of the Republic of Khakassia and those who come here inevitably meet with rich and unique, historical and cultural heritage bequeathed by hundreds of generations of people. This includes numerous archaeological relics: the sites of ancient hunters for mammoths and reindeer, stone statues, rock drawings and burial mounds of the Bronze Age and early Iron Age. Moreover, there are burial mounds and settlements of the Medieval Yenisei Kyrgyz people who are one of the ancestors of the aboriginals of the Khakas-Minusinsk area - the Khakas people. These archaeological relics help us to reconstruct the basic stages of settlement and development of the given region through tens of thousands years - from the Stone Age (Paleolith) till the Middle Ages.

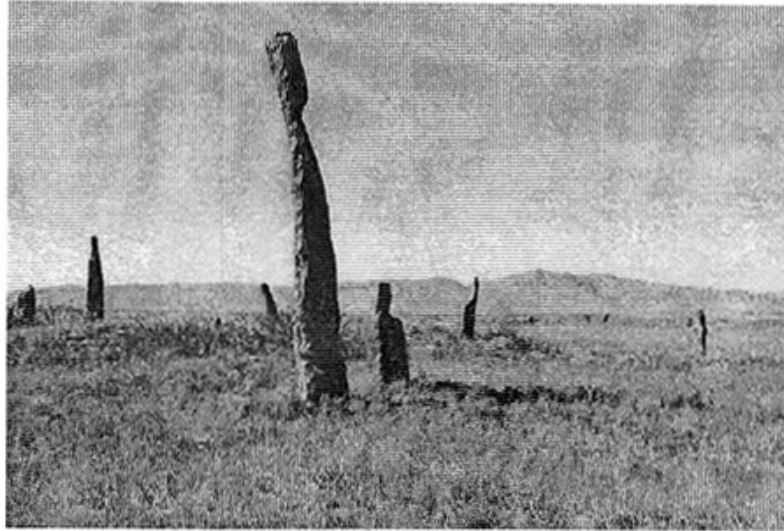
Archaeological relics of Khakassia became objects of scientific study in the 18th century, soon after the construction of the first Russian towns - Abakan (1707) and Sayansk (1718), and after the territory of the present-day Khakassia had joined Russia. These were also studied by the first scientific expeditions to Siberia under the direction of D.G. Messerschmidt and assisted by F.I. Stralenberg (1721-1722), the academic group led by G.F. Miller (1739) and P.S. Pallas' expedition (1771-1772). It was then, in 1722, when the first archeological excavations in Russia were held that the collections of ancient subjects were done and the written language of ancient Turkic people was discovered.



KURGAN OF THE TAGAR EPOCH

In the 19th century such ancient relics of Khakassia as petroglyphs, stone statues, and runic writing became a subject of study of the Finnish scientists - M.A. Kastren (1847), I.R. Aspelin, J. Appelgren-Kivalo and others (1887-1889), who were trying to find evidence of the Altai origin of the Finno-Ugric people. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the archaeological relics were investigated by A.V. Adrianov, D.A. Klements and I. T. Savenkov. Savenkov was involved in the discovery of the Stone Age sites in Khakassia.

In 1920-1929 the archaeological expedition of Tomsk University under the direction of S.A. Teplouhov worked here. And the result of this work was the creation of a scientific periodization of ancient cultures of the Bronze Age (the Afanasjev culture, the Andronov culture, the Kharasuk culture) and the early Iron Age (the Tagar culture and the Tashtyk culture). During the period 1930-1945 the expedition of Minusinsk museum of local lore named after N.M. Martyanov and headed by V.P. Levasheva, successfully operated in Khakassia. In 1930-1956 on the territory of Khakassia the Sayano-Altai expedition under the direction of S.V. Kiselyov and L.A. Evtjuhova worked. The most considerable researches are connected with the excavation of the early Middle Ages burial mound - Kopjeny Chaa-Tas, which contained burial places of noble persons, the imperial barrow - the Great Salbyk kurgan created in the 4th - 3rd centuries BC, and the so-called "Abakan Palace" - the building of the Chinese architecture constructed in the Hun times, not earlier than the first half of first century BC.



UYBAT TCHAATAS

The Khakas archaeological expedition (1950-2007) played an important role in studying ancient history of Khakassia. Till 2003, it was headed by L. R. Kyzlasov (1924-2007), an outstanding Khakas archeologist and professor of Moscow State University. This expedition investigated archaeological relics dating back to the Stone Age till the early Middle Ages. It has contributed to the study of history of the population of the Tashtyk epoch and Middle Ages times.

In 1965-1988 an archaeological expedition of the Khakas Scientific Research Institute of History, Language and Literature under the direction of a well-known Khakas scientist J.I. Sunchugashev (1926 - 1996) actively worked. Studying of the relics of ancient metallurgy of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, and ancient irrigation canals was its main activity.

It is necessary to note that on the territory of the Khakas-Minusinsk area in 1958-1975, the Krasnoyarsk archaeological expedition, the largest one in the USSR, supervised by M.P. Grjaznov worked. This expedition excavated hundreds of relics ranging from the Stone Age till the Middle Ages. The Afontov and Kokorev cultures of the late (upper) Paleolith, and a new culture of the Bronze Age - the Okunev one were found here. Besides, new stages in the development of the Kharasuk and the Tagar cultures were defined.



THE BIG BOYARSKAYA PISANITSA. THE TAGAR EPOCH

From 1985 onwards, an archaeological expedition of the Katanov State University of Khakassia has been working on the territory of the Republic. It has been engaged in the thematic study and salvage operations, excavating archaeological relics dating back to the Stone Age and till the Middle Ages. It is also involved in the categorization of ancient relics.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN KHAKASSIA

Southern areas of Siberia, as archaeological finds of ancient settlements testify, first began developing not less than 300,000 years ago. In northern areas of Khakassia, in the Yenisei valley, a pre-historic man possibly appeared already about 150,000 to 100,000 years ago. The initial settlement of the Khakas-Minusinsk area could occur as from the south - from Mongolia, through the territory of Tyva (Tuva), and from the West - from the foothills of the Northern Altai. Ancient history of Khakassia has been studied by I. T. Savenkov (1846-1914), the pioneer of the Stone Age discoveries on the Yenisei banks, G.P. Sosnovsky (1899-1941), Z.A. Abramova, S.N. Astakhov, V.E. Larichev, N.F. Lisitsyn (1946-1996) and S.A. Vasiljev.

On the territory of Khakassia, the earliest "traces" of a pre-historic man are found out in the grotto named the Two-eyed (Gljadeny) which is located 50 kms to the north-west from Abakan and that is 500 metres

from a small river channel - the Tolcheya, at a height 50 metres above water-level. The grotto is 15 metres long and 7 to 10 metres wide. It was investigated by Z.A. Abramova in 1974-1979. The most ancient stone tools are defined about 40 to 50,000 years of age. These stone tools are the pointed objects of a triangular shape and are made from massive chips. These tools could be used while hunting, animal cutting and handling of skins, wood and bones. Bones of horses, bison, woolly rhinoceros and reindeer are found together with the stone tools.

Another remarkable relic of an early Stone Age is the site named Malaya Syja located 1.5 kms from the settlement with the same name on the left bank of the Bely (White) Ijus river in the quarry of a brick work. It was discovered by a geologist N.D. Ovodov in 1974 and it was investigated by V.E. Larichev. The age of the site is about 30 to 35, 000 years old. According to V.E. Larichev, the clay constructions were dwellings in the form of dugouts with a dome-shaped roof. Hunters for reindeer, argali, and bison lived here. Among stone tools different knives, scrapers, and sickles were found there. The weapon for hunting such as the tips of spears and darts was made of the horns of reindeer and red deer.

Approximately 20, 000 years ago, there was habitation in the territory of modern Khakassia. Now archeologists know about 200 sites of that time. Large number of ancient sites is found in the valley of the Middle Yenisei. Nowadays the most part of this valley is covered by the waters of the Krasnoyarsk water basin. The majority of settlements are found near the former village named Kokorevo and in the area of the Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydroelectric Power Station, at the outlet of the Yenisei from the Sayan canyon.

At this time the role of hunting for a reindeer increases that is why its remains in ancient sites prevail. Besides, the hunters of the Stone Age successfully hunted for horses, bison, red deer, and Siberian goat. They hunted by means of throwing types of weapons such as spears, darts equipped with stone, bone and horn tips. A prey (large pieces of carcass meat) was delivered to a site. Small predators such as polar foxes, wolves, foxes were possibly bagged for getting fur. Besides, birds, often partridges, were also killed. The pre-historic man also gathered vegetarian food. The find of a grain grinder at the site of Uj II, the age of which is not less than 11, 000 years old is important in this context. Here, in temporary settlements, people were engaged in manufacturing stone and bone tools.

By this time people not only had made habitable grottoes and caves, but also were quite able to build light permanent and temporary portable

dwellings, and to make warm winter clothes. They also used fire for cooking and heating of dwellings. Our grand ancestors aspired to live and they lived not by bread alone. The display of their intellectual, creative abilities is the most remarkable feature. Any stone or bone tool is an output of hard intellectual activity. Archeologist V.E. Larichev, who researched Malaya Syja, singled out among such finds three sculptured bas-relief images of the mammoth, executed with pebbles, which he interprets as a totem animal, and as "a master" of the taiga and animals. In Maina site, in the stratum the age of which is about 13,000 years, a unique anthropomorphic figurine from the burnt clay was found. It is the only article of such kind found in Siberia.

The development of material and spiritual culture of a man of the Stone Age, the knowledge and experience saved up by him prepared the subsequent launch connected with the development of metallurgy of copper and bronze, the beginning of cattle breeding and agriculture on the territory of Khakassia.

The epoch of the Bronze Age in Khakassia is one of the brightest periods in the history of an ancient population of this territory. This period is connected with the formation and development of productive economy, cattle breeding and rapid development of metallurgy of copper and bronze. At this time 4 archaeological cultural types, successively replacing one another, are allocated.

The Afanasjev culture is the earliest one (the end of the 4th millennium - the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC). During this period on the Sayano-Altai territory, and the territory of the Minusinsk basin, appears an independent centre of productive economy connected with the development of cattle breeding, agriculture and copper metallurgy.

Archaeological relics of the Afanasjev culture are widespread on the territory of the Minusinsk basin. Basically they are presented by ancient burial grounds. The settlements are a rarity. The people of the Afanasjev culture were the first who began to build barrows in Southern Siberia. The space round the sepulchres was surrounded with a round stone wall made from the fragments of flat stone plates that were put one over another without any binding mortar, or it was surrounded with plates of sandstone vertically dug into the earth. As for a sepulchre, it was a spacious pit dug out in a rectangular form and 1.5 metres deep. Sometimes inside one barrow two or three sepulchres were constructed. The Afanasjev people buried their tribesmen putting them on the back with lifted legs up, and with the head facing towards the west or the southwest. The basic funeral stocks

were clay vessels. The majority of the Afanasjev vessels had a characteristic specific shape. They were either egg-like-shaped pots with pointed bottoms or spherical vessels with round bottoms and with the capacity of 1.5 to 4 litres. The Afanasjev people made special cult vessels - censers. A certain similarity is noted between the Afanasjev censers with similar cult vessels of "a grave-digging" culture (named so because of a ritual to bury the dead in pits under barrows) of the eneolith epoch in the Eastern Europe.

Tools are a rarity among a funeral stock in the Afanasjev sepulchres. Most such subjects are made of stone. Metal tools found in burials are not large in number. But they are the earliest ones on the territory of Southern Siberia. Small things in size were made from copper: prickers, awls, leaf-like knives, needle-cases, and fishing hooks. Domestic employment of the population of the Afanasjev culture is characterized by two features: the development of cattle breeding and the beginning of copper metallurgy. In Minusinsk basin the population of the Afanasjev culture had a semi-sedentary way of life in small settlements. As regards the anthropological type, the Afanasjev people were evidently Caucasoid ones.

There are some points of view about the origin of this culture and its appearance on the territory of the Minusinsk basin. The most widespread notion in the scientific literature is the bond of the Afanasjev people with "a grave-digging" historical community of the steppe people of the Eastern Europe.

The Okunev culture is one of the brightest and original cultures of ancient cattlemen of the Eurasian steppes of the Bronze Age. It appeared on the territory of the Minusinsk basin in the middle of the second millennium BC. The singularity of this culture is connected with an amazing phenomenon of graphic art presented by wellknown stone statues, rock drawings, imprints on gravestones, subjects of plastic art, and funeral relics.

The interment of the Okunev people was placed within quadrangular square walls made from plates of sandstone put vertically and edgeways. A sepulchre was a shallow and dug out pit calculated to place one person. Single, pair and collective interments are known. The tradition of making the walls around a sepulchre with vertical plates of sandstone in the form of a rectangular box appears. The Okunev people buried the dead in accordance with a ceremony, putting a corpse on a back with strongly bent knees and outstretched arms, and a head often facing towards the west.

The funeral stock is presented by the following tools: stone axes, adzes,



THE OKUNEV STATUE (THE KHAKAS NATIONAL MUSEUM OF FOLKLORE)

bone needle-cases, needles for sewing and knitting nets, harpoons. Metal things in the Okunev burials are not numerous: knives, awls, fishing hooks and needle-cases. The majority of subjects in burials are ceramic vessels decorated with ornaments all over the body. Frequently the bottom of

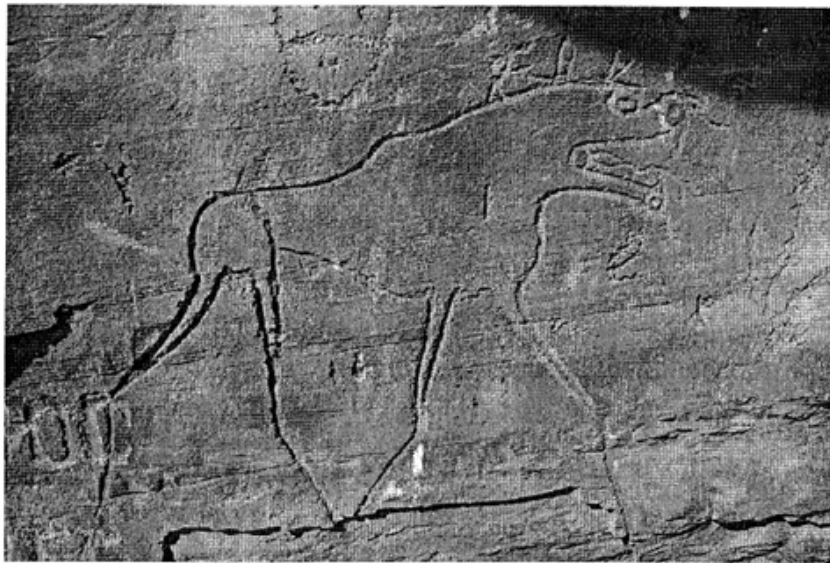


THE OKUNEV STATUE (THE KHAKAS NATIONAL MUSEUM OF FOLKLORE)

these vessels is also decorated. A separate group of ceramics is presented by vases-censers. Among all the archaeological values of the Bronze Age of Khakassia, hunting is brightly expressed among the Okunev people. Cattle breeding is confidently traced in the Okunev relics. The Okunev people bred cows, horses and sheep. Wheeled type of transport was also used by them.

Monumental stone statues and steles with anthropomorphic images carved on them are widely well-known. These stone statues are known in the European science since the first half of the 18th century, but they still remain mysterious even today. A disputable and insufficiently studied question is the semantics of these statues. The only point the scientists are unanimous is that these relics had a cult mission.

One of the challenges in the history of the Okunev culture is its origin. It is possible that the Okunev traditions emanated from the western areas of the Eurasian continent. The results of anthropological researches show that the population of the Okunev culture represented the mixture of groups of different origins: local Neolithic population and alien group of the western origin.



THE "SULEKSKIE DEVKI" PISANITSA (THE NORTH OF KHAKASSIA)

The Andronov culture (mid of the second millennium BC). Researchers say that it was the Andronov tribes that finally established herding in the Asian part of Eurasian steppes. Since that time, the

conditions of transition of an ancient cattle breeding population to nomadism appeared. The composition of the Andronov community was the result of intense integration processes which encompassed the lands of steppe and forest-steppe zones of Eurasia in the beginning of the second millennium BC.

The territory of the valley along the medium Yenisei watercourse made the very eastern purlieu where the Andronov tribes settled. There is no doubt in an alien character of the representatives of the Andronov cultural tradition in Southern Siberia. They appeared on this territory from the Ural-Kazakhstan steppes.

The relics of the Andronov period along the Yenisei are presented by two kinds of archaeological sources: burial grounds and settlements. The Andronov burial grounds on the Yenisei territory were spacious burial places consisting of several dozens of stone walls and located on the banks of great rivers and lakes. Two kinds of barrows are fixed: stone walls with low earth mounds and walls without mounds. The sepulchres were always dug out in the centre of a barrow's walls. The interments were single and pair ones. The majority of the dead were buried in accordance with a ceremony, putting a corpse on one side, with strongly bent knees and the hands put together before a face.

The funeral stock in the Andronov burial places in the Minusinsk basin is inexpressive and not numerous. The things of practical function are occasionally found here. Clay vessels are the main source characterizing the Andronov culture of the Yenisei territory. Flat-bottomed vessels have a pot-like or a jar-like shape. They are decorated with geometrical ornaments in the form of triangles and rhombuses, meanders and solar signs. Except for ceramics, in the Andronov sepulchres knick-knackery and clothes scraps are also found. Knick-knackery are presented by beads, earrings and temporal rings made from bronze, rare from silver and gold.

The anthropological data convincingly testify Caucasoid type of the Andronov people living on the territory of Khakassia. The Andronov tribes came to the territory of the Minusinsk basin with the developed culture. The appearance of the Andronov culture in the Yenisei steppes involved Southern Siberia in a course of important historic events taking place on the steppes of Eurasia. These events were also connected with the initial stage of formation of nomadic traditions among the cattle breeding population.

The Kharasuk culture defines the end of the Bronze Age (the end of the second-the beginning of the first millennium BC). In this period, cattle

breeding culture develops, and a powerful centre of metallurgy and bronze metal working is organized. The influence of the Minusinsk bronze centre is exclusively great. It has a profound effect on a vast territory and on many cultures of antiquity of this period in Siberia, Central and Middle Asia. Within the framework of culture development two chronological stages are identifiable: the early one - "classical" Kharasuk (13th-11th centuries BC) and the late one-masonry (10th-11th centuries BC).

In the early period of the development of the Kharasuk culture, funeral relics are spread throughout the territory of the Minusinsk basin. The walls around the burial grounds are square-shaped. They are made from thin plates of sandstone put vertically and edgewise. Burial grounds with round-shaped walls are quite rare. Inside the burial ground one sepulchre is located, but there are also burial grounds with two sepulchres. Sometimes barrows form even a systems of burial grounds successively attached to one another. The sepulchres represent stone boxes made from vertical thin plates of sandstone reaching one metre deep. Interments inside sepulchres are single.

In classical Kharasuk complexes a funeral ceremony is set and invariable. The dead man was put along the side of a stone box. The body lay in a flat position on a back or left side with legs slightly bent in knees. One or two clay vessels were put at the left of the head of the dead. At the foot of the corpse four pieces of meat of the sacrificed domestic animals were put: mutton, beef, and seldom horseflesh.

The basic source characterizing the Kharasuk culture is ceramics. Vessels, as a rule, are of a spherical shape. They are decorated by rhombuses, sophisticated triangular scallops, the zigzags, and shaded triangles. Bronze tools inside sepulchres are presented by various categories of products. Peculiar knick-knackery make the majority of finds in interments. Knick-knackery were used for decoration of clothes, head-dresses, and footwear.

The late period in the development of the Kharasuk culture in the Minusinsk basin is called masonry. The burial grounds of this time are considerably smaller in size than the classical Kharasuk remains. The walls around the burial grounds are square-shaped, but round-walled burial grounds are also found. There are no systems of walls attached to one another. The tradition to use vertical angle stone steles in wall shaping of burial grounds appears. Similar angle steles in barrows are already widespread in the Tagar epoch.

The funeral ceremony of masonry stage of culture development continues the traditions of early Kharasuk period. In masonry cultural

period the dwellings represent large land-based constructions of framework and pillar type.

The leading role of cattle breeding in a society, is the characteristic of the Kharasuk epoch in Khakassia. People were involved in cattle breeding, horse breeding and sheep breeding. The latter one prevailed. The finds of fragments of stone grain grinders and bronze sickles prove the existence of agriculture in the economy of the Kharasuk culture. Practice of casting bronze metallurgy was highly developed. A variety of bronze tools, weapons and knick-knackery of different sorts and shapes was made.

The description of ancient cattlemen's way of life on the territory of Khakassia will be incomplete without mentioning the Tagar culture (7th - 3rd centuries BC), which covers the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the early Iron Age. The Tagar culture is included in the scope of cultures of the so-called Scythian-Siberian type that developed in the Eurasian steppe zones. It was the tribes of the Caucasoid appearance. They developed cattle breeding of pastoral (semi-nomadic) type and mastered the horse for riding. The Tagar people reached high level in the metallurgy of bronze. As "a trump card" of the Tagar people, they developed the art of the Scythian-Siberian animal style. It means that the images of deer, argali and other animals were executed in a special manner.



THE TASHTYK MEMORIAL STELES (NORTH OF KHAKASSIA)

It is the people of the Tagar culture who created thousands of funeral complexes. They are represented by burial mounds with vertically standing stone steles which seem to be growing from the mounds themselves. Among mountains these burial complexes occupy vast steppe territories of Khakassia even nowadays, presenting a unique view. Study of these barrows shows a considerable stratification of the Tagar society, having chieftains and, probably, "Tsars". A striking evidence of it is the construction of the monumental barrow complexes among which there is the barrow named the Great Salbyk kurgan, which was investigated by S.V. Kiselyov in 1954-1956. The barrow's embankment, about 12 metres high and about 100 metres wide at the bottom, covered a rectangular stone wall of the size 70x70 metres. The wall was made of huge stone plates dug into the earth and towering over its surface about 2 metres high. The stones weighed from 30 to 50 tons. These blocks were delivered from a stone quarry located in 15 kms from the barrow. Inside the stone wall there is a burial vault of 5x5 metres size and about 2 metres deep, placing a log cabin which is the burial place of one aged man. Over the burial vault a wooden crypt in the shape of a truncated pyramid was constructed. The researchers name this barrow complex "the Tsars' one". The time of its creation is the 4th-the first half of the 3rd century BC.

ANCIENT CARRIAGES AND RIDERS

P. AMZARAKOV

The Minusinsk basin is considered to be an "Archeological Mecca" for a long time, due to its large number of ancient monuments and relics and the high level of their study. Minusinsk relics became objects of scientific study in the 18th century, but nevertheless there are gaps in the archeological science of the Khakas-Minusinsk area. One of these gaps is the issue of the riding tradition and the usage of carriages on the territory of the Minusinsk basin.

During the eneolith epoch the population of Eurasia had a productive economy with different kinds of cattle breeding. People became more dynamic and mobile not only due to their being specific of half-nomadic cattle breeding but mainly due to the cattle breeders' innovations in the field of domestication of animals and transport. Two great discoveries belong to that epoch. These are the invention of a wheel, carriage, chariot and harness.

CARRIAGE

The first draught animal was undoubtedly an ox. The earliest drawings of harnessed oxen date back to the 2nd half to the end of the 4th millennium BC (Mesopotamia). On the territory of the Minusinsk basin the first drawings of a draught ox date back to the Okunev culture (the end of the 3rd – the 1st half of the second millennium BC).

To all appearances, the earliest piece of the harness was a ring in the nostril of a draught animal (Drawings 1-2). In Mesopotamia there are silver rings in the oxen burial places. In Asia Minor rope loops were used; in China – the compound components, made of a bent rod, the ends of which were fastened to the horizontal bar. The Okunev people used a flexible rod, drawn through the nasal gristle (Drawings 3-7).

One can say beyond doubt that the wheeled transport emerged on the territory of the Khakas-Minusinsk area in the Early Bronze epoch. On the analogy with the neighboring regions N. Leontjev supposes that the wheeled transport appeared in the Middle Yenisei steppes at the time of the Afanasjev culture, but this hypothesis is yet to be confirmed with facts.

The necessity of the change of a draught animal in favour of a faster one emerged in the process of improvement in the wheeled transport. The horse was such an animal. Originally, due to conservatism the same types of the harness were applied to the horses as to the oxen earlier: the ring, drawn through the nostril and the yoke. This stage is also reflected in petroglyphics (see drawings 6-7). Further improvement of the constructive peculiarities of carriages and harness led to the replacement of heavy carriages by the light and faster chariots. This kind of transport is presented in detail in the drawings of the Late Bronze Epoch (drawings 8-9).

RIDING TRADITION

Firstly, the attention should be attracted to the following moments:

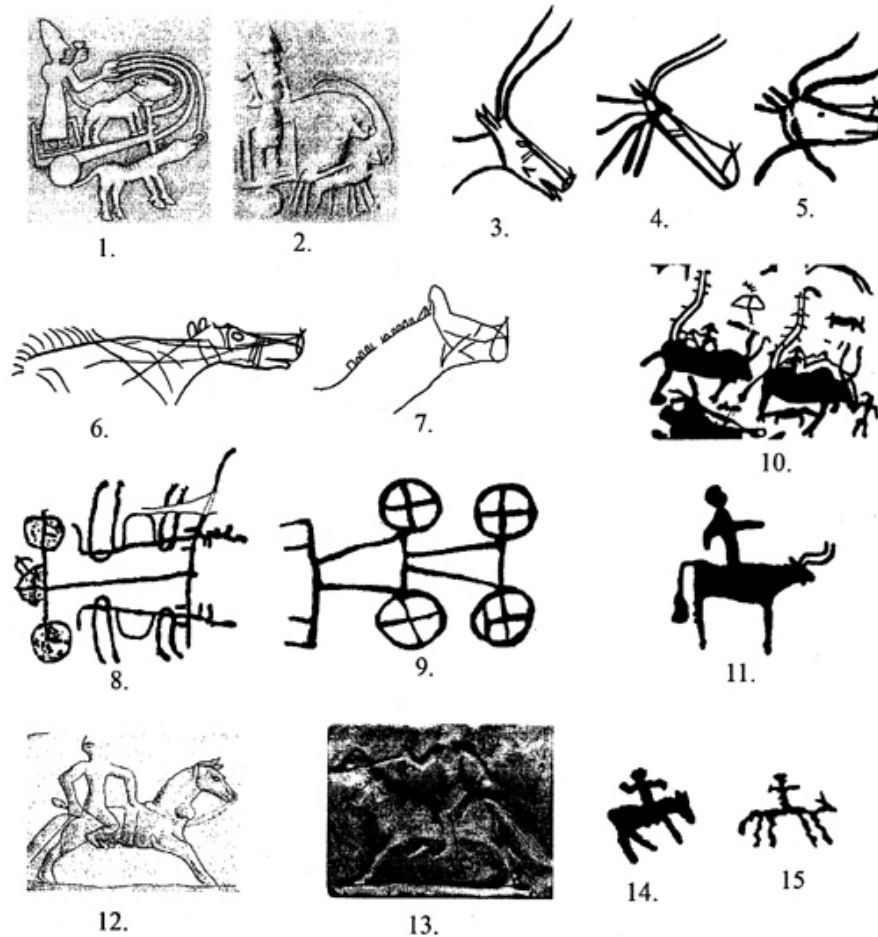
- a) the first saddle-animal on the territory of Eurasia was, as a rule, an ox;
- b) the same kind of harness, as used for carriages, could also be used for riding.

E. Miklashevitch supposes that the horse riding tradition emerged in the Okunev Epoch, but there is no precise evidence to substantiate this view. On the territory of the Minusinsk basin the first irrefutable evidence of the horse usage for riding dates back to the Late Bronze Epoch – these are drawings of riders (see drawings 14-15) and solitary finds of horn cheek pieces.

Nowadays 4 locations of cheek pieces of that period are known – the Kamenny Log settlement, the Ustinkin burial ground (see drawings 7 and 8), the settlement Byrganov and the settlement Torgozhak (see drawing 3).

So one can say that the formation of riding tradition began during the Late Bronze Epoch. The horn cheek pieces are typical of the contiguous territories of the Sayan-Altay. These were made of leather and didn't preserve till the present time.

APPENDIX



- 1-2. Chariots. Seal stamping of Cappadocia, 20th–21st centuries BC
- 3-5. Loops in cows' nostrils, drawings of the Okunev culture
- 6-7. Loops in horses' nostrils, drawings of the Okunev culture
- 8-9. Chariots. Petroglyphs of the Kharasuk culture
- 10-11. An ox as a draught animal
- 12-13. Riding a saddle horse by means of a nostril ring
- 14-15. Riders. Petroglyphs of the Kharasuk culture (Varcha)

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TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF THE KHAKAS PEOPLE

N.V. TUTARKOVA

AND

M. V. DORINA

The Khakas people are the Turkic people of Southern Siberia living on the left bank of the Yenisei river of Khakassk–Minusinsk basin. The Khakas people are the titular nationality of the Republic of Khakassia - a unit of the Russian Federation. The Republic stretches for 460 kms from the north to the south and for 200 kms from the west to the east. The Republic of Khakassia borders on the Krasnoyarsk territory, the Republics of Tuva and Altai and Kemerovsk region. The climate of the Republic is temperate continental with a cold winter and a hot summer. Sharp change in temperature, air and precipitation is characteristic of the region. The nature of Khakassia is unique in its beauty and variety. There are wonderful alpine meadows and wilderness, the mountainous taiga, the endless steppes with balmy refreshing air. Two thirds of the territory of Khakassia is occupied by the mountains. The Kuznetsk Alatau is in the western part of the Republic, the highest peaks of which are 1,700 to 2,000 metres high. The peak called Verkhny Zub (or Podnebesny) is 2,178 metres high. The Zapadny Sayan forms the southern border of Khakassia. Its axial mountain ridge Sayansk is 2,500 metres above the sea level. There is vast hollow land with rich soil at the foot of the mountains.

Modern Khakassia is a multi-ethnic region where more than twenty ethnic groups live. The major ethnic groups are the Russians and the Khakas people. According to the census of 2002, the population of the Khakas ethnic group is 75,000 in number, 70,000 of them lived in the Republic. The Khakas people are divided into four sub-ethnic groups: *Kachintsy*

(*Khaash, Khaas*), *Sagaitsy (Sagai)*, *Kyzyltsy (Khyzyl)* and *Koibaly (Khoibal)*. The latter are practically assimilated with the *Kachintsy*. In 1917 the ethnic name "a Khakas" was borrowed from the Chinese manuscripts to mark the indigenous population of the Khakas – Minusinsk basin, the term *Khiagas* denoted the medieval population living in the valley of the Central Yenisei. The term *Khiagas* recorded in the Chinese sources of Tang dynasty (9th -10th centuries) as conveyed the name of the Yenisei Kurgises.

At present the Khakas people are bilingual, speaking both the Khakas and Russian languages. The Khakas language belongs to Uighur-Oguzsk sub-group of the Turkic group of the Altaisk family of languages. It has 4 dialects: *Kachinsk*, *Sagaisk*, *Kyzylsk* and *Shorsk*. The literary language is based on the *Sagaisk* and *Kachinsk* dialects, the written language is based on the Russian alphabet.

From the anthropological point of view the Khakas people belong to the transitional races - Southern Siberian and Sub-Urals. They have the signs of a great Mongoloid race and a touch of the European race. The Khakas people officially practice Orthodox Christianity and have preserved their traditional religious beliefs.

The Khakas people have traditionally been engaged in semi-nomadic cattle breeding. Their movement and herding the cattle from one place to another depended upon the wealth of the owner: the more cattle he had the more often he moved around with it. The Khakas people were engaged in pasturing and cattle breeding as the cattle were at the pastures all the year round. The Khakas people mainly bred sheep, horses and horned cattle. The local fat-tailed sheep breed with thick skin and coarse black wool adjusted well to the severe winter climatic conditions of Khakassia.

Hunting played an important role in the traditional life, men were being engaged in it. Women were not allowed to touch a rifle. Young men were taught to hunt from the age of 15 years. They had become skillful hunters by the time they came of age. The first round of hunting fur-bearing animals (mainly squirrels) started in September-October. The hunters went to the taiga by horse and with huskies. They came back home in late November after it had snowed heavily. The second hunting season (it was mainly sable hunting) started in late December-early January and lasted till late April. They went hunting without their horses and dogs, moved on skis and drew the sledges with food. Apart from small fur-bearing animals the Khakas people hunted a Siberian stag, a musk-deer, a roe, a bear. The meat, skin and antlers of those wild animals were considered the most valuable parts. For example, a musk-deer was

mainly hunted because of the valuable musk gland of a male one. The musk was regarded to be a highly effective medicine by the Chinese, Mongolians and other nationalities of Central Asia.

In general, hunting was associated with the religious beliefs of the Khakas people about the animal world. Offerings were made to the spirits-masters of the taiga and mountains before hunting. There was ban on quite a number of things in everyday life thus limiting the usual activities of a hunter's family members during a hunting season. There was a strong belief about the taiga spirits' love to listen to music and fairy tales about very strong people (*bogatyr*s) and their feats and singing. Therefore, hunters often invited folk musicians-story tellers (*khaidjy*) who sang their songs to the accompaniment of their original traditional musical instruments for several nights in the taiga to please the taiga spirits who in their turn were supposed to give the hunters luck at hunting.

The Khakas people did not practice agriculture regularly. By the time of Khakassia joining Russia (1703-1727), agriculture was being practiced manually only in the nearby taiga districts. Barley was the main sowing crop used for making a traditional sweet dish (*talkan*). To make *talkan*, barley was pounded in the mortar, then it was winnowed, fried in iron bowls and ground in the hand mill. The traditional activities of the Khakas people were weaving, jewellery and thick felt making.

The main type of dwelling of the Khakas people was a portable cylindrical *yurta* of a carcass type. Its frame was made of extensible grating, the top of which formed a dome from the poles, the lower parts of which were tied to the grating of the walls while the upper parts were put into the circle of the flue. The *yurta* was covered either with birch bark or thick felt depending upon the season. Rich people used to cover their *yurts* with white felt, sometimes it was patterned felt. The entrance to a Turkic *yurt* was always East-oriented. Depending upon the hearth placed in the center the *yurt* interior was divided into the parts aimed at being occupied by men or women and honored and non-honored parts. There were shelves with dishes and household gadgets in the northern part occupied by women. In the part occupied by men there were trunks full of winter and smart clothes, women adornment and other precious things of the family. The place between the married couple's bed in the western part of a *yurt* and the hearth was considered to be the most honored one. It was there that a low table was put at which the family had lunch. The non-honored part was consequently the place between the entrance and the hearth.

The basic components of Khakas cuisine as those of other nationalities

of Southern Siberia are milk and meat: soup (*ugre*), various broth (*myin*) with boiled meat, pearl-barley soup (*charba ugre*) and barley soup usually served at dinner. One of the most favorite and festive dishes is blood-pudding (*khan*). It is usually made when domestic animals are slaughtered. The most popular drink is called *airan* made of sour cow milk. *Airan* was stored in big tubs. They could make milk based alcohol from *airan* (*airan aragazy*), which is consumed while celebrating great holidays, treating guests or used for performing special religious rites. Consuming milk vodka was strictly regulated. They did not allow the women who had not given birth to three children and single men under thirty to drink alcoholic drinks.

A traditional Khakas costume was a complex of various kinds of clothes put on in accordance with a season and an occasion. The main types were a shirt for a man and a dress for a woman. They were made of cotton cloth for everyday wear and of silk for festive occasions. The preferable cloth for a dress was of red, blue, green, brown and wine-colored hues. About seven meters of the cloth were necessary to make a dress of a wide cut with the inset of the side gores and the collar pleats. The front dress was shorter than the back one as it was convenient while walking and riding a horse. The cuffs, a turn-down collar, the shoulder straps were decorated with national ornamental patterns. A shirt was made according to the same pattern but it was shorter and worn with a girdle. Both men and women put on thrown-open caftans (*sikpen*) on a dress or a shirt in spring and autumn. Women always covered their heads with kerchiefs tied round the head in a special way. In winter the Khakas people put on thick felt coats (*ton*) and fur caps. Married women put on sleeveless jackets (*sigedek*) on festive costumes and fur coats of a straight cut.

The Khakas people believed the human hair to have great life energy, therefore, the hairdo was strictly regulated and supposed to have a symbolic value. Young girls did up their hair in a number of small plaits. As soon as they got married their hair was done up in two plaits. A spinster was supposed to do up her hair in three plaits. A woman having an extramarital child was to do her hair in one plait, a widow braided her hair till half of the plaits. Men usually had their hair done in one plait (*kichege*).

A traditional detail was breast adornment (*pogho*) worn by women and demonstrating the peculiarities of the arts and crafts of the Khakas women - experts at their trade. The basis cut in the form of a half-moon with the rounded ends was covered with velvet. Some pearl buttons were

sewn on the front part, there were coral and glass beads arranged between them. According to Khakas traditions, women used to make a *pogho* for their grown-up daughters before their wedding.

Marriage was treated as one of the most important events of human life in the traditional culture of the Khakas people. There were different forms of marriage practiced by the Khakas people. Rich people used to arrange match making while their children were still small with a prospect of paying the parents of the fiancée all the presents and valuable things by the parents of the fiancée until the children came of age. Most Khakas people arranged marriage by stealing a bride by a bridegroom (*karamchenie*). It was necessary to pay bride money (*kalym*) in such kind of marriage. The archaic form of marriage – presenting a rosy flamingo – gave a bridegroom a right not to pay *kalym*. In case of the death of one of the spouses, a widow or a widower had to marry a younger relative of the deceased. Monogamy was peculiar to Khakas families though one could come across polygamy in some wealthy families.

There were usually many children in the traditional Khakas family and the family members were of different generations. There was a strict coordination of the junior members of the family obeying the senior ones. Kinship was considered according to the male line. There was a cult of the family having many children. Child bearing and giving birth to a child were accompanied by a code of special prohibitions and rites. For example, the women in the family way were not to look at the things or phenomena that could cause fear or surprise; the behavior of both pregnant women and the people they communicated with was strictly regulated. Child birth, a post-natal period and bringing up children were characterized by strict observing the rites.

The annual cycle of the Khakas people's economic activities was marked by some holidays. The most important and festive one that is still celebrated is the holiday of the first *airan* called *Tun Pairam*. It is associated with successful cattle breeding and celebrated in early June when cattle breeders move to their summer pastures. Sports competitions in running, horse racing, shooting bows, traditional wrestling as well as musical performances: concerts and competitions of folk singers and musicians are held during the holiday. Another popular holiday is Khakas New Year celebrated on March 22, the day of spring equinox, and associated with the idea of a new life and the revival of nature.

Though the Khakas people are Christians, they have preserved the peculiarities of their world outlook. The Khakas people have a cult of the

heaven, a cult of ancestors and a cult of nature. There were about 200 cult observing places in Khakassia where offerings were made. They were marked either by a stone stele, an altar or a poured stone heap (*obaa*) next to which birch trees were set and red – white ribbons – *chalama* were tied to them. The majestic five top Borus of the snowy peaks of the Western Sayan mountains is a sacred place for every Khakas man, as it is the place where shamanism is born. According to mythology it is called Borus after Khakas Noah who saved the people in the flood. Borus' sons formed clan groups.

The Khakas people practiced shamanism. The Universe was believed to consist of three worlds each of which was inhabited by spirits and deities. The middle world was given to people, the spirits of water, fire, mountains, woods and their relations were strictly regulated. A shaman (*kham*) was an intermediary between the worlds. A shaman gift was inherited. The main task of a shaman was to treat sick people. A shaman's attributes were his specific clothes, a drum (*tyur*) and a baton (*orba*). The philosophy of Khakas shamanism has something in common with the ancient religions and doctrines of China, Iran and Tibet. The most stable rite that has preserved the religious basis of Khakas world outlook, is a burial rite. According to the traditional world outlook a human being has several spirits. After one's death one of his spirits is supposed to walk around for 40 days. That is why the Khakas people as many other nationalities make a ritual. It is necessary to feed the spirit of the deceased through the fire. The other world is regarded as a direct reflection of the world of the people. The life hereafter is supposed to be the same as it is in this world but in a new quality. Believing in the life hereafter, they buried a deceased with the necessary things of everyday life that accompanied his life in this world. Khakas folklore heritage is characterized by richness, variety and originality. It is represented by various folklore genres: legends, myths, heroic epics, fairy-tales about animals, songs, rite poetry, shaman incantation and so on. The most popular Khakas musical instrument is a *chatkhan*, a zither-like seven or nine stringed musical instrument played by plucking. The characteristic features of Khakas traditional musical art are heroic epic, a *chatkhan* and a peculiar manner of musical intoning - guttural singing (*khai*) in combination with a declamatory speech. The traditions of narrating folk tales and love of a figurative style pass from one generation to another, and the great masters of folklore, musicians – performers, singers and tale-tellers have always enjoyed respect and recognition. At present Khakas traditional culture is being actively revived.

The young generation acquires knowledge of the ancient traditions, history and the heritage of the ancestors. In this era of globalization, these phenomena are especially important and necessary as they promote both the progress of the ethnic self-consciousness of the people, their consolidation and preserving their ethnic identity.

KHAKAS PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

V.G. KARPOV

The Khakas language is the language of the Khakas people living on the territory of the Republic of Khakassia along the middle streamway of the river Yenisei and its tributaries – the river Abakan and the upper Chulym. The total number of the Khakas people according to the population census of 1989 constituted 78500 people, 62900 among them being inhabitants of the Republic of Khakassia comprising 11.9 per cent of the total population. Some part of the Khakas people live outside Khakassia in the neighbouring regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Uzhur region, the Sharypovo region and in the Republic of Tuva.

Following the genealogical classification of the Turkic languages suggested by N.A. Baskakov, "the Khakas language belongs to the Uighur-Oghuz group of the Turkic languages, being a part of this group it comprises a peculiar Khakas subgroup together with the Kamasin, Kueric, Shorsk, Sarygh-Uighur languages and the northern dialects of the Altay language."¹

According to the typological classification, the Khakas language is referred to agglutinating languages. Khakas tribes have been mentioned in ancient Chinese annals as a group of ethnic Turkic tribes of Ghyanghun (Kyrgyz). Some historians suppose that the Khakas tribes, having split off from the Altai main body situated somewhere in Central Asia, "in the second century BC moved towards the north out of the basin of Great Lakes across the Sayan range to the Khakas-Minusinsk basin, where they met with the Dinlins. The latter, judging by the toponymy (which is preserved on the territory of Khakassia till present time) spoke partially Uighur and partially South-Samod dialects."²

The ethnic name 'Khakas' was officially recognized in the USSR as the name of people belonging to several Turkic-language tribes (*Haas, Sagay, Koibal, Kyzyl, Beltyr*), also from Turkic-influenced Samod-language tribes,

Keto-language tribes and other tribes who lived in the Khakas-Minusinsk basin beginning from the 2nd to 1st century BC. The language of the tribes which comprised the Khakas people and their native names has survived till present time in the form of dialects and sub-dialects of the modern Khakas language or as compound elements of other languages.

A famous Russian researcher of Turkic languages V.V. Radlov wrote in one of his ethnographic essays about the origin of the Khakas people that historically the Khakas people originated from the most varied mixture of tribes, but through living together they became unified in terms of their way of life and the language.³

A Khakas historian and ethnographer S.D. Mainagashev suggested that the name 'Khakas' was mentioned in Chinese annals, which were later published in Russia in the 19th century. He gathered those annals during his visit to China on a religious mission. The annals were translated into Russian by a learned monk Iakinph Bichurin (his official name was Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin, 1777-1853), who was an outstanding scholar in the field of Turkic culture and languages, and a contemporary of the great Russian poet A.S. Pushkin.

It turned out that the Chinese historians not only described domestic events, but also the state of things in their neighbourhood. Thus, the Chinese chronicles mention that in Southern Siberia and on the territory of Sayan-Altai in the 4th century, emerged the ancient Khakas state under the name Khaghyas (Khaghias), which was the name of one of the most numerous Khakas tribes.⁴

But long before that as per records, approximately in the year 201 BC, the Siberian tribes were attacked by warlike Huns, who came from Central Asia. Having defeated the Altai and Tuva tribes and also the Dinlin-Ghyanghun (Khakas) coalition, the Huns conquered the whole Sayan-Altai territory and the area of Trans-Baikal⁵. The tribes of Sayan-Altai had to endure the pressure of Huns for 160 years till the latter returned back to Central Asia in 40 BC. Only after the final expulsion of Huns from Siberia to the 6th century AD, the tribes remaining on the territory of Sayan-Altai formed the ancient Khakas state Khyagas (the present day Khakas). Some historians refer to this state as an ancient Kyrgyz one, as it was governed by a noble Kyrgyz family clan.

Throughout its existence the Khakas state successfully developed the levels of its economic, state and cultural organization. There were towns built with cultural public places, schools; there appeared the runic writing system. The conditions for consolidation of various tribes occupying the

same territory got much better.

But this period of prosperity of the Khakas (Kyrgyz) state was interrupted in the year 1207 AD by the Mongol invasion. The Mongols conquered all the "forest peoples", who inhabited the areas from South Siberia to Baikal and from Kosogol to the west-Siberian steppes. Together with these territories, the Sayan-Altai Highlands and the Federation of Principalities of the ancient Khakas state were also invaded.⁶

The period of the Mongol domination over the tribes of South Siberia and Sayan-Altay lasted till the beginning of the 18th century. The plunderous policy of Mongol governors destroyed the economy and culture of the ancient Khakas state, particularly its writing system, which was the most important cultural domain of the indigenous peoples. In 1293 AD, the ancient Khakas state vanished having lost the ability to protect itself against the Mongol force. But Khakas tribes suffered not only from the excesses of Mongol governors but also from regular plunderous attacks of Dzungar Khanate troops and of the Mongol state of Altyn-Khan.

This state of things for the tribes of Southern Siberia kept unchanged up to the end of the 17th century. The period of Khakas and Altay tribes' struggle against Mongol and Dzungar invaders is fully portrayed in the folklore, heroic legends, and epics of these tribes. V. E. Mainagasheva, a senior researcher of the Khakas Scientific-Research Institute of Language, Literature and History and a famous folklore researcher of Khakassia and Russia, has been carrying out research of these literary forms for many years. To Russian and foreign philologists, Mainagasheva is well-known for her scientific comments and translation into Russian of two Khakas heroic epics *Altyn Arygh* (Moscow, 1988) and *Ai-Khuuchin* (Novosibirsk, 1997).

Plots of epics as a rule follow the same theme: somewhere at a seaside, or a bank of a river, or at the foot of some huge mountain there stands a *churt* (a dwelling, a *yurt*). Uncountable herds of cattle are at grass in the neighbourhood. The owners are usually dining at a golden table, it is a feast, everyone is happy... All of a sudden they hear some noise, a cry..., and on the top of the mountain they see a huge rider. This rider has evil intentions and lays claim to the owners of the dwelling... and thence starts fighting. "Hero fighting is depicted as a long-lasting one and full of dramatic events and severe challenge", writes V.E. Mainagasheva in her foreword to the Khakas heroic epics *Ai-Khuuchin*.⁷

The struggle of Khakas tribes against Mongol invaders and other

enemies who wanted to possess Sayan-Altai territory was really long-lasting and exhausting. In 17th century, the Khans of Siberian tribes, unable to endure the pressure and plunder of Mongolian authorities any longer, asked the Russian state to make the territory of Siberian tribes a part of Russia and protect the tribes against plunderous raids of Mongols and Dzungars. The Russian state fulfilled the request of the tribes' rulers and began to build burgs along the border of Turkic-speaking tribes' settlements and send Cossacks there in order to protect the native inhabitants from raids and plunder. For instance, in March 1707, Tsar Peter the Great ordered 400 Cossacks to stay in the burg of Abakan 'living there till further orders' and organize free settlements of 'volunteers' comprising of retired military men and their relatives. The year 1707 is considered to be the date of entry of Khakassia into the state of Russia.

Having become a part of Russia, 'the Kyrgyz land' consisted of four principalities, which had been formed on the territory and on tribal basis. Though these four principalities being part of the state looked as a union, different from other country's territories, these didn't have any economic or cultural relations between each other. This explains the absence of the processes of language and cultural consolidation of the tribes and they continued to exist as independent tribes. On the other hand, due to increasing immigration of the Russians, there appeared wide and various contacts of the native population with the newcomers.

By the year 1746, Russian population constituted 24 per cent of the total population of the Krasnoyarsk district.⁸ Blending of the Khakas and Russian people influenced their languages and cultures. Khakas tribes began to adopt some elements of the Russian culture and use them changing their original native way of life. For example, on getting acquainted with Russian house-building methods and technologies, the Khakas people started building four or five-side (four or five-wall) houses with windows. These houses like the Russian ones had stoves for heating and cooking. Traditional seven or eight-wall *yurts* were used as accessory buildings or for living there in the summer time. Assimilating Russian methods of building houses, the Khakas people had either to translate into the native language the names of house details if there existed coinciding notions or to borrow if there were no such words. For instance, the notion 'window' was translated as *kozenek* as the stem *koz* means 'an eye'. But such notions as 'floor', 'ceiling', 'wall', 'porch', 'mud room', 'stove' had to be borrowed, because *yurts* had no such details. For building houses Russian people used special carpenter tools, which were unknown to native people, so

the Khakas people acquired also such notions and names as 'saw', 'chisel', 'drill', 'adz', 'nail' and so on.

The Khakas people, like the Russians, started using horses in team for carrying heavy loads. For that they also had to borrow the names of the horses' team elements (horse-collar, breeching, saddle, reins). Originally the Khakas people used horses only for riding that resulted in careful and detailed working out of harness. The loads were carried only on oxes and that required other type of harness, the names of which have vanished from the language now oxen haven't been used for carrying loads for many generations.

Adopting some elements of Russian culture (types of clothing, shoes, ways of cooking, arts, musical instruments, etc.), the Khakas people enriched their own culture and language. The Russians in their turn also found out many useful things in the Khakas culture and borrowed that. For example, the Russians learned ways of cooking products of domestic livestock breeding, as the Khakas people, being original breeders, were good at it. The Russians also had to borrow several Khakas terms concerning domestic livestock breeding, which the Russian language lacked.

With the increase of Russian population on the territory of Khakas principalities, the contacts between Russians and the Khakas people were widening followed by the mutual influence of their languages and cultures. In the middle of the 18th century, the proportion was one Russian to two Khakas men but at the beginning of the 19th century the number of Russian population exceeded that of the Khakas people.⁹ In the 19th century the interaction of the two languages strengthened that the Khakas people were involved in the state life, the Khakas language enlarged its vocabulary with Russian administrative, state lexicons. And on accepting Christianity in the last quarter of the 19th century there appeared religious terminology.

As most of the contacts between the Russians and the Khakas people were in oral form at that time, so the borrowed Russian words because of the difference in phonetic systems of these two languages underwent phonetic changes acquiring the Khakas phonetic image.

With the increase of Russian population on the territory of Khakassia and the emergence of Russian and Cossack villages there appeared the Khakas-Russian and Russian-Khakas bilingualism. The Russian language began to assimilate non-written languages of native peoples, who lived on the territories outside the borders of the four principalities such as Tomsk province and even inside the 'Kyrgyz land', and in these areas

where Russian population had become a majority as in the area of Tuba principality (on the right bank of the river Yenisei). There was no body left speaking any native language on those territories. The fact that those people ever existed, is proved by the survival till present time of the toponymy from their language. However, 'the Kyrgyz land' being gradually populated by other nationalities after its entry into the Russian state, the process of consolidation of Turkic-language tribes became more active.

In the 19th century the heads of various expeditions to Siberia being sent for examining its nature and inhabitants wrote in their reports about Khakas tribes and called this nationality by the name of Yenisei or Minusinsk Tatars. But linguists continued to describe each Khakas language separately. For instance, the fundamental work of internationally renowned researcher of Turkic languages, a Khakas man, N. F. Katanov, titled *The Research Experience of the Uranhai Language* (1903), contains information about all Turkic languages. But the tables comparing various Turkic languages do not mention "the Khakas language". The Khakas language was represented by six tribal languages: Kachinsk, Koibal, Beltyr and Shorsk dialects.

Historians of the Soviet period stick to the opinion that consolidation of Khakas tribes was over by the end of the 19th century and the name "the Khakas people" started being used on that basis. Officially the ethnic name "the Khakas people" as the name of the Khakas nation being first suggested by a famous Khakas scholar S.D. Mainagashev was accepted at the second Congress of the Khakas people in 1918.¹⁰ There appeared such phrases in mass-media as 'the Khakas people', 'the Khakas language', 'the Khakas culture', 'the Khakas district' and other. The process of formation of the Khakas nationality throughout the period of the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century is well described in the research works of such well-known Russian historians as L.P. Potapov (*The Origin and Formation of the Khakas Nation*, Abakan, 1975) and Professor L. R. Kyzlasov (*Siberian Land: History and Modern Times*, Issue 1, Abakan-Minusinsk, 1994), V. R. Krivonogov (*The Khakas People: Ethnic Processes in the Second Part of the 20th Century*, Abakan, 1997) and many others.

Further processes of ethnic consolidation and inter-ethnic integration on the territory of Khakassia took place under the most difficult conditions. The 20th century started with two revolutions – the February Bourgeois Revolution (1905) and the October Socialist Revolution (1917). The latter changed the structure of society in Russia. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, Lenin being its head, the country (former USSR)

immediately after the end of the civil war underwent considerable social changes. Development of indigenous culture suffered. There existed a plan of Cultural Revolution which focused on equalizing the cultures of distant nationalities with the cultures of nationalities living in the central part of Russia. All distant nationalities which were completely illiterate, had no writing systems. Thus the Soviet government set as the first task to invent writing systems for all illiterate nationalities. The Khakas alphabet was approved in 1926. This year is considered to be the year of birth of the new Khakas writing system based on the Russian alphabet. As soon as the writing system appeared local authorities organized groups of scholars to create school textbooks in the Khakas language. Khakas children were now taught in their native language. For spreading literacy among the adult population in villages the government created special offices of illiteracy liquidation, which played a very important role in the improvement of the general cultural level of nationalities.

In 1929, the Khakas writing system was shifted from Russian script into Latin. This was because the Muslim Turkic Republics replaced their complicated Arabic writing system by the Latin one, which was much easier for learning. In 1939, the Turkic Republics changed their Latin script to the Russian one. The Khakas writing system also returned to the variant based on the Russian alphabet. In the first years after the Socialist revolution, the former USSR had a law, obliging all parents with no exception to send their children to school. As the Khakas people became more literate and culturally conscious, and their way of life underwent many changes, the Khakas language enlarged its vocabulary greatly with borrowings from the Russian language.

Apart from the pre-revolutionary period, during the period of Cultural Revolution, Khakas language was enriched by the Russian language as a result of oral interaction and mainly through reading books, teaching at school, art and cinema. The Khakas vocabulary was enriched with words related to culture (club, cinema, school, book, theatre, etc.), to machinery (tractor, combine, airplane, radio, etc.), to science (grammar, case, biology, physics, atom, electricity) and so on. Russian words came to the Khakas language especially easily through translations of Russian educational, political and fiction literature, which were rather numerous. Together with Russian words the Khakas language acquired the sounds which the Khakas language lacked. It was also important to mind the combination of sounds in a word, as it was decided that words borrowed from Russian and through Russian should be pronounced and written

according to Russian spelling.

Sixty to eighty years of the 20th century were rather difficult for the Khakas culture and the functioning of its national institutions. The Khakas book-publishing office was deprived of its independence and was merged as a branch of the Krasnoyarsk regional publishing office, the Khakas Autonomous Region being at that time a part of the Krasnoyarsk territory. It made it difficult to publish in the Khakas language.

The Khakas national theatre out of an independent cultural establishment was reformed into a Khakas company at the Russian drama theatre. The publishing plan of the Khakas book-publishing office was reduced and all forthcoming translations and publications of Russian and foreign fictions in the Khakas language were stopped. These actions of Soviet authorities were based on the idea of creating one whole Soviet nation on the territory of the USSR, and that nation was not to be divided on any national identity.

These sixty to eighty years of the 20th century are considered to be the years of 'stagnation', the period, during which the Soviet government made a lot of mistakes in national politics, resulting in the decline of native languages and cultures of national minorities. Some part of the Khakas people even lost interest in their native language; they did not want to study it. Khakas schools started changing their curricula to that of Russian schools and the medium of teaching was only Russian. There was a strong tendency of reducing the spheres of the Khakas language functioning and its assimilation by the Russian language. This process was strengthened by the almost full Khakas-Russian bilingualism of the Khakas population. By the 1990s, the situation with the Khakas language became even worse. According to the population census of the 1989, 23.1 per cent of the Khakas people mentioned their native language as Russian, and the population census of 1994 showed that this per centage had gone up to 26.6.

The language situation in Khakassia in 1980-1990 is analysed in depth by Professor T.G. Borgoyakova in her two monographs: *The Minority Languages: Problems of Surviving and Developing* (Abakan, 2001) and *Sociolinguistic Processes in Republics of Southern Siberia* (Abakan, 2002). But the 1990s were historic years for Russia with many historic events: first of all there was the collapse of the USSR and then there was the period of reorganization which affected the life of the Russian population. In 1992, Khakassia became a republic, being a part of the Russian Federation, and that allowed the Republic to handle various issues of national and language

politics independently. The same year, the law on Languages of the peoples of the Republic of Khakassia (22 December 1992) was adopted. Under this law, the Khakas language is recognized as the state official language together with the Russian language, and that contributed to its further unlimited development. To actualize this law, several documents were worked out: The State Program of Saving and Development of Languages of the Peoples of the Khakas Republic for 1994-2000; The Program of Revival and Spiritual Development of the Khakas Ethnic Group for 1996-2000; The Program of National Development and International Cooperation in the Republic of Khakassia for 1998-2000.

On the basis of the law "Languages of the peoples of the Republic of Khakassia" and the worked-out Programs the Khakas book-publishing office and the Khakas national drama theatre resumed their status of independent establishments.

Considerable changes took place in the system of national education. A concept of national multi-cultural school was developed and put into practice. Its curriculum has a complex of subjects in history, culture of native people, economics and nature of the region. The approved programs contain measures for improvement of teaching the Khakas language and literature at school and also for creating opportunities for studying the Khakas language by anybody who wants to study it. Russian schools have special classes for that purpose. There are lessons of the Khakas language on TV. Russian republican newspapers publish material of such lessons and there are textbooks of the Khakas language for adult-learners.

Measures for advanced preparation of teachers for national schools have been taken. In 1996 on the grounds of the Faculty of National School, the Khakas State University opened the Institute of Sayan-Altai Turkology which has three departments: the Khakas Philology department, the Russian Philology department, and the Department of Psychology and Pedagogy, which prepare teachers for the Khakas infant school.

The problems of saving and development of the Khakas language are not only in the interest of the Republican authorities and state establishments. Much attention to the native language is paid by social establishments like the Council of Khakas Elders, the League of Khakas Women, and the Congress of the Khakas people. Such social activities as "Mother Tongue" also help revive and respect the native language by organizing competitions and contests in the knowledge of language, folklore, songs, music etc. All this generates active interest in the native language, respect among the Khakas people who lost the ability to speak

their own language. In the town of Sayanogorsk, being generally a Russian town, an initiative group of Khakas medical workers created the Center of the Khakas language, where courses of Khakas language and culture are taught. The authority of the town approved this initiative: the Center got a place and financial support for its members. This Center has been functioning for three years now.

The recent time is characterized by the active work of Khakas people in various cities of Russia. The basis for this organization is mainly students who study in educational institutions of these cities. The organization is joined also by those fellow-countrymen who live in the city. One of the main tasks of the associations of fellow-countrymen is to keep connections with the native land, people, language and culture. It is known that the Khakas associations of fellow-countrymen work in Krasnoyarsk, Tomsk and Moscow.

All these measures have changed the language situation in the Republic of Khakassia. The Khakas people, particularly the young people, have started to respect their native language more. This is also evidenced by serious publications in the Khakas language and about the Khakas language and culture. For several last years, much work was done in translation of the Old Testament into the Khakas language. *Bible for Children* was published in the Khakas language. In 2006 there was published an illustrated book *The Khakas Food* and in 2008, a big Khakas-Russian dictionary was published. Its first edition was published in 1953.

The history of studying the Khakas language began in the 18th century, when in 1721 the expedition of D.G. Messerschmidt found a stone with Runic writings on the territory of Khakassia. In 1857 Europe saw the book *Versuch einer kojbalischen und karagassischen Sprachleher* by A. Kastren. At the beginning of the 20th century there appeared the fundamental research by N.F. Katanov *The Experience of Investigating the Uryankhai Language*. N.F. Katanov details the Uryankhai language in comparison with materials he had about all Turkic languages and their dialects, six Khakas tribes' dialects being among them. Systematic research of the Khakas language began with the opening in Khakassia in 1944 of the Khakas Science-Research Institute of Language, Literature and History. The second center of the Khakas language researches is the Chair of the Khakas Philology in the Institute of Sayan-Altai Turkic Languages at the Khakas State University named after N.F. Katanov. The researches of the Khakas language are also carried out by scholars of Turkic languages from Moscow (the Institute of Language Studies Russian Academy of

Science), from Novosibirsk (the Institute of Philology of the Siberian department of Russian Academy of Science) and others. Hundreds of monographs are published concerning the problems of the Khakas language and a large number of dissertations are defended. Khakas language was formed on the basis of two major dialects – Kachisk and Sagai and functions as the language of mass media, language of fiction and scientific literature, teaching in primary schools, the language of stage art etc. In senior classes of secondary school and higher educational institutions there are classes and lectures only in Khakas subjects.

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LITERATURE OF KHAKASSIA

V.A. KARAMASHEVA

The research of Khakas literature involved the study of the world outlook, cross-literary relations, cultural and historical, social and political conditions of its origin and development. The October Socialist Revolution became a new starting point in the cultural life of the country. The government policy in the sphere of culture served as an impulse to form and develop professional literature among the peoples who did not have any written script before.

On the one hand, the official policy in the sphere of culture created some mechanisms to form the national professional literature which was marked by the appearance of the written script, the development of book-printing, financing, literary education, etc. On the other hand, it impeded its growth as the creative activity of all writers had to develop in prescribed political and ideological framework. Thus one can see that the progress of national literature has been far more complicated, dramatic and controversial.

The Khakas people are ancestors of once highly-developed Turkic tribes known by the Yenissei written language which was considered lost till recently. But latest research in this field refutes such statement. Before the 1930s, the members of the Kyrgyzs aristocratic clan, the ancestors of the last Khakas dukes, had mentioned their ancient literature (the Yenissei runic written script) and handed it down.¹

A new written language of the Khakas people appeared in 1924. First newspaper in the Khakas language *Khyzyl Aal* (1927) was closely connected with it. The newspaper played an important role in the formation of the literary language and the reader's artistic taste. The first works of the Khakas writers, the poems and stories of A. Topanov, P. Shtygashev, V. Kobayakov, M. Arshanov, were published in this newspaper. M. Kokova, K. Samrina contributed their first critical reviews

on the newly born literature.

In the 1920s-1930s certain conditions to raise the cultural level of people were offered. The work on wiping out illiteracy among people was organized. New schools were opened. There appeared new textbooks written in the native language such as *The Soviet Power*, *The Second Book for Reading*, *A New Way*, *The School for the Khakas*, *A Textbook for Village Komsomol Members*, *The ABC for Grown-ups*. Published during the period 1926-1930, these original textbooks and reading-books included the works of the first Khakas writers striving for educational and cognitive aims. Much attention was paid to the propagation of new ideals, description of certain aspects of life and man's activity, landscape descriptions which revealed everyday life and social conflicts.

The works of the first Khakas writers are rather many-sided in their ideas, content and genre peculiarity. Thus, in 1924 I. Kokov's play *The Shaman That Overheard Is Wise* was staged. In Moscow there appeared a collection of poems *The Book of Songs* (1928), the plays *Literacy Drives Away Need* (1928), *The Woman's Gain* (1928), and the stories of A. Topanov. In Novosibirsk G. Kuchendayev published his short novel *Life of a Major* (1932) together with *Aidao* (1934). In Abakan the essays, stories and poems of V. Kobayakov were published. In 1940 M. Kokov published his short novel *The Merry Meeting* and his drama *Akun* (1941). In Khakas literature, the formation of various genres went on simultaneously. In 1931, the Khakas National Theatre was founded. One of the main tasks of literature was to make up the theatre's repertoire.

This period is characterized by disintegration of consciousness, the 'loss' of folklore tradition. The word *loss* is used here in its figurative meaning as it concerns the transplantation of oral folk arts' elements into the body of the newly written literature. The creative adoption of folk poetic tradition was one of the main ways of its formation.

Equally with folklore, other most important conditions that determined the formation and development of young literature have been the adoption of Russian literary tradition which helps Khakas literature to work out its own principles of reality depiction. They include the orientation towards national spiritual experience, paramount attention to ethical issues, historical truth of the events described and understanding outlook of the people. The 1920s-30s went down in the history of Khakassia as a period of enlightenment which enabled the birth of national written literature.

The essay, the feature-story and stories about social, economic and

cultural reorganization of national life marked the beginning of Khakas prose. Though the first stories of Khakas writers were rather naturalistic and suffered from excessive description, they possessed certain features indicating their striving for true depiction of reality. Such stories are Muklai's *Change of Power* (1927), V. Kobayakov's *Shot; Defeat of the Armed Robbers; Cauldron; Another Man's Barn; Christening* published in 1935; and M. Kokov's *Abdoo* (1939).

The Khakas short novel was born and developed in its 'canonical' form, i.e., in the form of an autobiographical short novel with a lot of heroic, didactic and adventurous motives [G. Kuchendayev's *Life of a Major* (1932), V. Kobayakov's *Aido* (1934), A. Kuzugashev's *The Wolves' Pack* (1935), and M. Kokov's *The Merry Meeting* (1941)].

The 1940s turned out to be lost years for Khakas literature. In 1930s a lot of talented writers such as V. Kobayakov, G. Bytotov, D. Kazanakov, V. Subrakov, K. Samrin, N. Spirin, K. Todyshev, A. Kuzugashev were subjected to repression. In 1941, the founders of the national literature M. Kokov and P. Shtygashev died. In 1942, M. Arshanov died. Thus, at the stage of its formation the young Khakas literature was rendered lifeless.

However, during the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) there developed social and political journalism, poetry and drama. In 1949 the Khakas Department of the Writer's Association was opened, and its first secretary was N.G. Domozhakov. The 1950s-1960s are considered to be the flourishing period of Khakas prose. Literature admits the generation of talented writers such as M. Chebodayev, S. Charkov, I. Kostyakov, N. Tinnikov, T. Baltyzhakov, F. Burnakov and G. Topanov. Their works were marked by unusual receptivity to novelty and their artistic mastery. This period was marked by constant depiction of industrial and rural problems, changes in the minds of ordinary people, the problem of agricultural growth, the professional and cultural growth of specialists (M. Chebodayev's stories *Krepin; At the Cross-Roads; In Late Autumn*; I. Kostyakov's stories *Manideck; A Swarthy Girl*; F. Burnakov's story *On the Way to the Village*; G. Topanov's story *Swift Streams*, etc.).

In the 1970s-90s, the typological frames of the story became much wider. There appeared a lyrical, humorous and psychological story which was oriented to a much deeper philosophical understanding of life problems, and which turned to more detailed analysis of existence (as in the analytical story). For example, M. Turan *The Poplars; Unbraided Plaits*; etc., K. Nerbyshhev *Unknown Soldier; A Child That Lives On Endearment*; etc., A. Khallarov *A One-Horned; The Third Stop*; etc., I. Topoyev *An Old*

Man, Relatives; Fashion; etc.

In the development of a short novel there was a twenty-four year break (from 1940 till 1964). In the 1960s-70s, the number of genre and type variety of the Khakas short novel became larger. Some works appeared which were devoted to industrial problems such as T. Baltyzhakov's *Oris*, S. Charkov's *On the Banks of the White Iyuss River*. There was also a lyrical short novel *A Babbling Stream* by K. Nerbyshev. It touched upon the problems of war, childhood and love.

In addition to the typological variety, the short novel of the 1980s-1990s was marked by the appearance of the social and psychological, didactic short novels such as N. Tirnikov's *Kavris' Songs*, V. Tatarova's *The Cry of a Scoter*, S. Karachakov's *An Old Eagle*, a war-romantic short novel - G. Topanov's *Khara Khus*, an adventure short novel - F. Burnakov's *The Heavenly Fire*, R. Topoyev's *Traces On the Window-pane*, a short novel of everyday life - G. Kazachinova's *Toi*, a historical short novel - M. Turan's *A Branchy Poplar*, V. Tatarova's *On the River Irenak*, a short novel of manners - A. Khallarov's *Akai* etc. An optimistic and life-asserting character of these works arouses special mood and lively tone which reveals the heart of the author and his attitude to the subject of the book.

In 1960s there appeared some conditions for the development of a true novel genre. In 1960 N. Domozhakov's novel *In a Far-Distant Aal* was published. Later on, in 1966 I. Kostyakova's novel *A Silk Belt* appeared. Quite a remarkable event in the literary life of Khakassia was a publication of K. Nerbyshev's novel *Near the Blue Cliffs* (1983). As a result, the theme and range of issues described in Khakas prose got wider. However, modern Khakas prose still lacks 'novel thinking'. The history of Khakas prose proves that national writers try to find new means of ideological, psychological and aesthetic influence on the readers.

The poetry of 1920s-1930s reflected all historical transformation of that period. It was the most available form of reality depiction as the structure of the poem was borrowed from oral folk arts. The poems of the first Khakas poets were the continuation of the folk *yirs* (songs), *takhpakhs* (improvised competitions). That is why the poets entitled their pieces as songs. For instance, A. Topanov's *A Shepherd's Song; A Woman's Song*; V. Kobayakov's *A Song of the Partisans; A Song About the Steppe*; K. Samrin's *A Song of a Sheaf Binder; A Pilot's Song*; M. Kokov's *A Song of a Conscript*; M. Arshanov's *A Victory Song*; K. Todyshev's *A Ploughman's Song* etc.

In 1928, the first collection of A. Topanov's poems *A Book of Songs* was published. The lyric poetry of P. Stygashev, S. Balakhchin, A. Spirin,

I. Ayeshin, G. Raikov became widely popular. The first Khakas poem *Sarkaa* (1935) by A. Manargin and Ivan Kokov's poems including *The Past And the Present* also gained popularity. During that period there appeared *The Owl*, the first fable in Khakas. Its author was V. Kobyakov. Though later on, this genre was not paid much attention to.

The use of Russian literary tradition was also widespread. For instance, A. Topanov translated D. Bedny's song *Seeing Off*. It was set to music and became very popular among people. K. Samrin used a 'staircase' technique of V. Mayakovski in his poems. Khakas poets tried to vary thematically their works in addition to the basic themes of the time (revolution, civil war). They turned to the themes of glorifying motherland and nature. Contrasting depiction of life was a typical feature of the young Khakas poetry. The period of the 1920s-1930s is characterized by a keen feeling of the turning point, its publicist character and active search for forms of self-expression.

During the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) the genre of an epistle became widespread. It gave some excitement to its sounding and a confidential tone of its intonation (M. Arshanov *My Epistle*, N. Domozhakov *The Mother's Epistle to Her Son*, I. Kotyushev *To Kill a Mad Dog; Go Ahead, Siberians!* I. Kapchigashev *Glory to the Way We Passed!*). This genre was very popular during the war-time and met the vital problems of the day. The theme of motherland, friendship and war are lyrically united in the poetry of M. Arshanov (*Don't Open Your Predatory Mouth; A Victory Song*), N. Domozhakov (*The Patriotic War; Galina; Moscow*), I. Kotyushev (*It Is Thundering; A Falcon*, etc.), I. Kapchigashev (*At the Cemetery; The Flower of Khakassia*, etc.). The last theme sounded human. The poets strongly drew the reader's attention to the anti-human, abnormal and cruel nature of the war. In their poems they expressed hopes that the war would end soon and the victory would be gained.

The variety of lyrical motives during the post-war years (the 1950s-1960s) can strike anyone. Reflections on life, man's fate, national history, moral problems, and the theme of nature, love and friendship, the restoration of the destroyed economy, the cultivation of virgin soils attracted much attention of the poets (I. Kostyakov, I. Kapchigashev, I. Kotyushev, M. Kylchichakov, N. Domozhakov, M. Chebodayev, M. Bainov, N. Tinikov, V. Ugdyzhakov).

During the 1950s there appeared a big genre of the long poem together with the ballad and the fable in Khakas literature (N. Domozhakov's dramatic poem *Akh-Tigey; A Larch-tree Mountain*; the lyrical poem *On the*

Wheels; M. Chebodayev *Kara-Tagh*, the lyrical poem *Farewell*; *With Best Wishes*; M. Bainov *Travelling Through the Time*; *The Thoughts of the Steppe*; *A Song About Light*; *Flowing Rivers*; *A Song of Love*; *Somewhere in the Distance*; M. Kilchichakov's ballads *Burial Mounds*; *The Ballad of Logs*, etc.). This process was connected with new, talented people. Some of them graduated from M. Gorky Literary Institute, others graduated from the Abakan State Pedagogical Institute. The poetry of the 1950s-1960s is full of deep and serious reflections. It reflects the authors' system of ethical and philosophic ideas. Morality and labour are united concepts. Man's inner beauty becomes apparent in his ability to create.

During the 1970s-90s, Khakas poetry, as the most dynamically developing literary form, roused a keen response which was indicative of man's consciousness and assessment of the events. The genres of intimate, civil and philosophic lyric poetry as well as the genre of the fable went on developing (M. Kilchichakov *A Butting Sheep*; *A Chatting Magpie*, etc., N. Tinikov *The Goat's Kid*; *The Dog's Barking*; etc., I. Topoyev *Clever Fish*; *An Angry Hare*, etc.). There also appeared a new genre for Khakas literature – *rubai* (M. Kilchichakov, G. Kicheyev).

N. Domozhakov, I. Kotyushev, I. Kostyakov, M. Kilchichakov, V. Ugdyzhekov, K. Nerbyshev, M. Chebodayev, M. Bainov, V. Mainashev, V. Tatarov, G. Kicheyev, N. Tinikov, E. Tygdymaeva, A. Kotozhkov, V. Barashkov, I. Tispirovkova, A. Khallarov, A. Maitakov, I. Miyagashev, S. Mainagashev can be referred as such poets who are capable of seeing the existing things in the limitless depths of life, feeling the speed of life in the noise of the snowstorm and the smells of melted snow; being capable of seeing something essential in the awesome darkness of the night, in the cemetery silence of the past, in the scent of wild thyme, in the whisper of the first snow, in the singing of a wood-grouse, in the cuckooing and in the song of flowers.

The Khakas long poem intensively developed during the 1970s-1990s. It resulted in publishing the dramatic poem *The Stones That Returned to Life*, the lyrical epic poem *Khara Khus* by M. Kilchichakov, the poems *An Autumn Birch-Tree*; *Chilbigen*; *Chatkhan*; *Maga*; *Tagh Esy* by V. Mainashev, the legend *Khan-Tonis Riding a Dark-Grey Horse* by M. Bainov. The long poem in Khakas literature resembles the poets' bare nerve. They are free from indifference and are able to discover the essence of society, man and nature. The peculiarity of the Khakas poetry of the 1970s-1990s is connected with the poet's desire to understand the essence of the universe and the world as a whole.

The young Khakas literature lacked time for 'practice', lacked enough time for mastering larger literary forms. Since its birth, it had to perform its basic function of artistic representation of mastering the reality and bringing it to perfection at the same time. Minor dramatic forms suited those tasks mostly.

The propagandist play is one of minor forms of drama characterized by a single plot, a single problem with all stylistic devices focused on one event, one situation, one episode.

The Khakas playwrights of the 1920s-1930s are I. Kokov - *A Skillful Shaman-Woman* (1924), A. Topanov - *Literacy Drives Away Need* (1928), *The Woman's Gain* (1928), *Class Enemies* (1933), *From Arms to a Tractor* (1933), A. Spirin - *Arguing* (1930). M. Kokov wrote the first multi-faceted drama *Akun* (1941) in the Khakas language. These playwrights tried to describe how opposing groups wanted to maintain their own understanding of the events, their moral patterns of behavior and political views. They proved that the dramatic nature of the Civil War and collectivization was a result of the fatal coincidence of social, class and internal contradictions in the national world structure at a certain stage of its development. The opposing sides saw the way out of the deadlock in struggle and victory. It is necessary to say that in spite of acute problems which the playwrights described in their works, almost all plays contained humour and laughter (a comic situation). Comic elements became important in the plays of the 1920s-30s.

During later decades the role of class approach became less important. The principles of the historical method, realism, objectivity and psychological analysis got priority. Some amateur literary circles from Askiz and Ust-Chul settlements and the 'Blue-Shirt Men' society from Abakan contributed to the development of Khakas drama and theatre. Guided by the tradition of the Khakas oral poetic art and Russian classical literature, Khakas drama searched for new artistic forms.

During the war years (1941-1945), chiefly one-act plays of A. Topanov developed. Specific mention may be made of *A Young Hero* (1941), *A Tale of a Cockroach Who Put His Foot In It* (1941), *Blood for Blood* (1942), *Steel Hearts* (1942), *For the Sake of Motherland* (1942), *A Tale of A Cockroach Who Put His Foot In It Again* (1942-1943), *A Son of the Khakas People* (1943), *The Red Soldiers of the Don River* (1944), *Revenge* (1945). However, in 1942 a poly-act comedy *A Fooled Khorkhlo* was written and staged. At the same time, there was a tendency for a much deeper and detailed description of the events and their artistic generalization, the creation of typical images

and characters in the imagination of a writer.

The common features of A. Topanov's plays in the 1940s was their heroic character, the problem of man and an exploit, a mixture of all feelings in hatred for the enemies and a desire to gain victory. During the War, these plays full of real facts turned out to be at the vanguard of the artistic representation of reality. They played an important role in the preparation of the post-war literary process.

In general, the plays of the 1950s-1960s differ from the plays of the previous period in their much wider scope of events and deeper motivation of characters. The artist is no longer in a hurry to show his character from his better side. The reader gets an opportunity to judge for himself, without any pressure and prejudiced attitude of the author. He draws more attention to the things of real life. In addition to it, he tries to penetrate far beyond the limits of routine life uniting spiritual needs with the inner world of the contemporary. The plays of such character are G. Topanov and L. Cherentsov's play *In the Steppe* (1949), M. Kilchichakov's plays *Shoots* (1952), *The Bear's Ravine* (1955), S. Charkov's plays *Shadows* (1954), *At the Foot of the Sayan Mountines* (1960), *Aidon* (1960), G. Sarazhakov's play *The Road to the Space* (1961). It is necessary to mention that in the Khakas drama of that period S. Charkov was the first to turn his attention to the genre of psychological drama (*Aidon*).

Revealing the depth and complexity of everyday life, the playwrights try to create a true-to-life picture of the post-war life. But their attention is focused not on the plot itself and routine details but on the inner world of a personage.

In the 1970s-1990s the playwrights of the new generation staged their plays for the first time. For instance, G. Sarazhakov's *Oh, Girls!* (1973), S. Artonov's *The Posterity of the White She-Wolf* (1973), G. Kotozhekov's *The Tricks of Aidolay* (1977), V. Shulbayeva's *The Unfinished Song* (1975), *The Antlers of a Young Siberian Stag* (1977), *Not Only Love* (1980), *The Freaks of Fortune* (1983), *Live, Friend, And Remember!* (1985), *A Deep Ford* (1990), *When the Cherry Blossom Bloomed* (2003), *Where Is My Blue Dawn?* (2006), M. Turan's *Kamat* (1985), A. Kyzlasova's *A Sacred Place* (1987), *The Girl's Plaits* (1991), *The Cradle of the Mountain Spirits* (1994), A. Chapray *Abakhai Pakhta* (1990), *Chanar-Khus Riding a Grey-Liver-Chestnut Horse* (1991), *Lyubovik ∞, or Ilkhan and the Rubber Shoes* (1993), *The White Bull* (1991), K. Charkov's *Chingiskhan's Love* (1994), *A Tear of Fire* (1995), Y. Topoyev's *Strong Heroes* (2000), *The Last Khan* (2000), I. Topoyev's *My Support* (1998), *Ikenty's Torments* (1995), *A Good Life* (2007), *The Devil's Power of Money*

(2000), *The Magic Chatkhan* (2006), *True Friends* (2001), *We Weren't Born Yesterday* (2001), *The Rich and the Pauper* (2002) etc.

The search and discovery of the drama of this period is connected with the authors' wish to understand the reality with profound philosophical and artistic depth. In the 1970s-1990s the repertoire of the Khakas drama was enlarged with social drama, farce, tragic-comedy and tragedy. The contemporary social and moral drama is mainly based on revealing the inner, spiritual resources of the character regarding the problem of the historical memory, relations between generations, personality and society, the fates of nations and the country. The national and common problems of mankind extension, the preservation of language and culture find expressive artistic portrayal in the plays of V. Shulbayeva, A. Chepray, A. Kyzlasov, I. Topoyev, etc. Such tendencies in Khakas drama become stronger in the crucial periods of the society – the 1980s-1990s. The literature of this period is characterized by the understanding of a new artistic world picture, the new interpretation of personality. It is the drama of a new epoch which refers to the plots of myths and legends favouring the social and philosophical meaning of plays. It shows the presence of the folklore thinking in the artistic mind.

The period of the Khakas literature development (the 1920s-1990s), as described in this article, signifies the whole epoch. That is why its history reflects the characteristics of the whole Russian multinational literature. They are the formation of the Soviet power, the Revolution, the Civil War, patriotism and the exploits of the people in the Great Patriotic War, selfless labour of people during the post-war period, understanding the depth of the inner world of a person, return to national origins and search for spiritual values at the end of the 20th and the beginning of 21st centuries.

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SHAMANISM IN KHAKASSIA

L.V. ANZHIGANOVA

In recent years not only anthropological aspect of shamanism has been analysed by researchers, which has rather a descriptive nature, but the shamanism phenomenon is also being discussed as an object of interdisciplinary subject of study. Scientists try to define its essence, historical and modern types, geographical spread and prospects of the development of this phenomenon.

Shamanism was presented in somewhat biased manner in the 19th century by some travellers - Pallas, Gmelin and others. They considered shamans to be charlatans and swindlers. Unfortunately, we also come across such a standpoint in modern scientific literature. I. S. Gurvich states that to prove constantly their power, shamans use "tricks in the dark, hypnotism". In the opinion of scientists, they use "personal shamanistic ritual as a peculiar way of suppression of personal ailment and self-affirmation".¹ Certainly, there were unfair or sick people, but they were quickly exposed. The execution of various functions by shamans was probably successful and gained confidence of their followers. Moreover, stronger shamans went down in history and often became respected ancestors of the clan. According to N. F. Katanov, the burial of a shaman even at the end of the 19th century was carried out on a podium based on four poles, "the way the great people are placed even nowadays."²

Being the representative of other world religious systems, shamanism was seen as a religion of "dark power", of the devil and so on. Missionaries maintained their hard line even up to physical destruction of shamans, based on their own confessional interests. Such a negative attitude to traditional religion of Siberian people on the part of the official Church and state is prevalent even today since the most ancient religious system did not rank among the nationally recognized religions.

The researchers look for closer relations of shamanism with the world

esoteric knowledge and with the eastern religious-philosophical systems - Hinduism, Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism and others). Such a standpoint was supported, for instance, by Georgi, D. Banzarov and others. In the opinion of I. Urbanaeva, "shamanism of our ancestors is the manifestation of a universal esoteric philosophy and appeared on its base the original spiritual practice of mastering the reality - a sphere of transcendental, found in everyday human experience, ... and shaman is a practitioner, first of all, mastering the world of something fantastic, indemnifying with the help of knowledge herewith, got through a concrete line of spiritual succession, by means of communication from teacher to teacher."³

The attempts of O. Olmarzh, F. Grebner and others to limit shamanism to North and Siberia are in contrast with the researchers of shamanism such as M. Eliade, M. Harner, S.T. Tokarev, A. Mindella, R. Walsh and many others. After studying and mastering the practical work of shamans, M. Harner affirms: "Shamanic methods are extraordinarily similar in all parts of the planet."⁴ However, shamanism in its historical form is better preserved in Siberia, in the Far North and the Far East of Russia. During the past few years, both the Russian and foreign researchers evinced interest in the spiritual practical work of native people of these regions. Shamanism arouses special interest in native people as well as active practitioners of rituals.⁵

In Khakassia, studying and practicing of the traditional religion began at the end of 1980. Since then it has been possible to draw some conclusions and to reveal main tendencies in the development of the Khakass shamanism. Professor V. Y. Butanaev opines that "traditional shamanism has completely left the life of the Khakass people now."⁶ However, the historical and modern practice does not agree with this extreme position. Well-known researcher of the traditional Khakass culture affirms that "Shamanism could accept other religious systems, absorbing their new elements."⁷ Moreover, this complex system of correlation of sacral and common reality has its own regularities of the historical development. Shamanism is a religion capable of evolving and changing in the given historical situation. The developed state system, for instance, the Khakass Khanate of ancient times, requires the development of corresponding ideological appearance. This certainly leads to comparison with other types of world perceptions, upholding one's own or accepting the other.

Heroic time of the creation of a native state required its heroic ideology as well, in which the most important values became Tengri as a sovereign

deity, "divine state", "folk with beautiful eyes and solar bosom", Khagan as a personification of celestial will, and valor, power, glory, feat, faithfulness, honour were considered the most valuable qualities of a person. Shamanism as a religion of warriors of a sacral world was claimed at that time in its highest form - Tengrism. With the loss of their state, the Khakass people returned to classical form of shamanism, where the Sky and the Land were balanced that created the harmony of the world, society and a person. Restoration of harmony became the condition for survival of the community. However, the shaman remained warrior in these conditions: his every journey was a way to the dangerous unknown, and this required flexibility, courage and high intellect.

As for the openness of shamanism as a system, it is said to be fixed among people all over the world. Its world outlook and religious components could not but enter the national, and then the world religion. Forms of work with individual and mass consciousness are similar in the practical work of shamans as well as the activity of cults in the developed religions.

The main factors to unite shamanism with national and world religious systems are ethical norms which are common to all mankind. It is also known that it was shamanism particularly that gave them some peculiarities of ritual practice - fumigation, sprinkling, movement in a circle etc. The theory of reincarnation and meditation unite it with Hinduism, Buddhism and Zen Buddhism. In shamanism as well as in Taoism, the fundamental principle of the world is the Law (the way of the world, Tao). Confucianism and shamanism have something in common with the cult of the Sky, ancestors, mountains and with the social system. At the same time, shamanism has its specific character: it is a religion, in which the shaman falls into a changed condition of consciousness for establishing sacral relationship between a person and society with supernatural reality for the solution of different problems. That is why modern scientists realize that serious analysis of philosophical and world outlook of shamanism is dictated by change of consciousness not only of the bearers of these traditions (shamans, in the first place), but also of extensive audience involved in mass ritual practices.

Moreover, national ethnic identification also stimulates interest in searching the religious roots of one's own culture, promoting the achievements of the nation as an integrating force. One of the factors (along with political, social and cultural) of shaping ethnic solidarity is the activity of shamans, however, paradoxical it may sound at first sight. They hold mass rituals, promoting the shaping of nation's integrity -

calendar holidays, clan meetings, worship to Clan Mountain, *tigir-taihi*, *sug-taihi* and others.

It is necessary to mark that in the traditional society it was the shaman who embodied the relationship with the holistic society, and he was a sample of such unity. For the shaman there were no borders in his journey to other worlds, other space-temporary measurements. He himself embodied this unity, possessing the ability to change into an animal, control elements, manipulate the time and so on. N. F. Katanov has recorded legends about the well-known shamans Kechok and Topchan, their battle in the appearance of black and blue oxen, transformation into a raven and so on.⁸ Information about the battles of modern shamans reflects similar phenomena, which are realized in the sphere of sacral reality.

The shaman himself presented the integrity of the body and soul. The skill to possess and master a body and consciousness was demonstrated by different categories of shamans. The well-known Tuvinian scientist and hereditary shaman M. Kenin-Lopsan gives the following categorization of shamans, "who took the shot; took the blow of the knife; delivered non-existent things; could see, hear and know; put out a fire by the body; besides who had the third eye; caused fire, rain; caused lightings; could be reincarnated..."⁹ During the ceremony we often become witnesses of rain, snow and wind making; many Khakass shamans possess the gift of clairvoyance; V. I. Kishteev holds ceremonies in ritual clothes even in frosty weather. There is a feeling that the temperature of his body greatly increases. Shamans use the whole world in their activity. They visit different regions of the world rather often, and the information, reported by them, is quite reliable.

M. Harner notices that "there is new knowledge about the fact that physical and emotional health are closely bound, and that emotional factors can play the important role at the beginning, development and in treatment of the disease... It is possible that science will definitively find that unconscious memory of the patient is driven by sounds, is programmed by ceremony for activation of immune systems of the body against the disease."¹⁰ In his practice the shaman really uses the integrity of the patient, acting upon the body through consciousness, using hypnotherapy, visualization, positive attitude to reality, psycho correction, the personal line of the patient on recovery, psycho rhythmotherapy and so on. Khakass shamans use the practice of "opening of the way" broadly enough.

The well-known Khakass culture expert G. G. Kotozhekov noted that "in absence of the theatre of Siberian people, the mystery of shamans

became the brilliant theatre of one actor, who could keep in tension the group of ten or more people – participants of supernatural mystery for hours.¹¹ As a result, the relationship of shamanism and art is a subject of study. According to V. N. Basilov, “the relationship between shamanism, spoken poetry and music goes back to ancient times, when ritual practice and artistic creative activity existed in unity and were different manifestations of one and the same type of activity. It is possible to expect that in the past the talent of a poet and musician was considered as a necessary part of their abilities, which spirits-protectors provided the shaman with”.¹² The modern culture (painting, music, theatre, dance, decorative and applied arts) of the Khakass people is penetrated by symbolism of shamans and often reflects their perception. Moreover, some artistic groups that do not belong to the Khakass culture, actively use shamanic themes in their own production and work.

So shamanism became the original “brand” of Khakassia and it also increased with the growing interest in the historical and cultural heritage of this ancient land, where the shamanic symbolism in the developed form is already present in the so called “okunev culture” (3000 years BC). It is also known that the shaman tradition has never been broken thereafter, in spite of the attempts to spread here Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism and Christianity (in 18th-19th centuries). The belief that the Khakass could be burkhanists is not historically confirmed. Modern sociological investigations carried out by this author in 1996-2005, show that even though respondents - Khakass people are adherents of Christianity, their answers to the world outlook questions can be called shamanic.

On the other hand, the difficulty of the rebirth of shamanism is connected with the object of its activity - a sacral reality, its “ontological vagueness”. In this connection in the environment of shamanists three main approaches are inevitably formed:

1. Believers in the existence of sacral reality correlate their world outlook and activity with power of other worlds; here inevitably the traditional layer of shamanism will dominate; it can play the positive role in the realization of the survival strategy by the ethnic group, the extreme position here can become the orthodox conservatism.
2. Modernizational direction, which is sure that the object of the shamanic activity is person’s consciousness – the only sacralized

reality; here shamanism is close to science and psychotherapeutic practice; in the extreme form under such an approach the dissolution in psychology and the loss of world outlook specificity threatens shamanism.

3. Finally, the most complex, but the most productive one can be the attempt of joining these two directions: recognition of the right for existence of sacral reality, dimensionality, difficulty of the universe, the forms of its life, its causal dependencies, synchronism of existence, resounding interactions with depth of human consciousness; such standpoint allows to combine traditional with modern, to find the contiguity of science and religion as two forms of cognition of the world and a person.

The serious problem for theorists and practitioners of shamanism is the question as to whether shamanism is a religion. Due to its flexibility shamanism can exist as a kind of belief (on the stage of a clan development, for instance, or in the period of the so called "ethnic break"), or in the form of a state religion (for instance, Manichaeism or Tengriism). It is known that traditional belief in scientific literature about necessary features of the religion is reduced to the presence of the system of beliefs, developed rituals, established institute of the cults.

As for the first feature, it is possible to meet with such extreme utterances because of "playing and theatrical manner of behaviour and look of the shaman... original and constantly updating nature of his practice... shamanism can not be theoretically defined, can not create the main doctrine, clergy and liturgy".¹³ Indeed, every shaman has his own attributes of his activity: their own spirits-assistants, their own manner of relationship with them, their own holy song, and their every journey is always unique owing to the variety of concrete reasons of shamanistic ritual. However, it does not mean that shamanism doesn't have the system of the united world outlook. In our opinion, the traditional world outlook is shamanic. It is not amorphous, but strictly ranked and holistic regularities of the world are fixed in it and its own principles of existence and cognition of the universe are worked out. Successful attempts to formulate the dogma of shamanism as a traditional world outlook in the second half of the 20th century were realized abroad and in Russia as well as in Khakassia. Here the most interesting, for instance, are the works of A. I. Kotozhekov.

The ritual practice of shamanism is also strictly specified as any other religious system. Each step, word and thought of a traditional person not

only in rituals and rites, but also in everyday life, are directed to non-violation of balances and harmonies of the world as a whole and person with it. The more detailed reconstruction of cult practice is constantly realized by Khakass shamans, at the same time technologies of getting information in conditions of forcibly interrupted traditions of the 20th century are different: archival and ethnological sources, as well as getting information directly in a changed condition of consciousness.

The shamans-priests in different historical times could occupy different social niches: from Khagans to clan protectors. There was a closed (consisting only of a teacher and a young shaman) educational institute and initiations of shamans, without which they could not achieve success. In comparison with other cult ushers, shamans had a fundamental difference: to serve Buddha, Christ or Allah could anyone, who needed and became familiar with religious dogmas and practice.

The shaman has less liberty: he inherited his gift, discovery of which occurred, as a rule, suddenly, in the manner of a heavy disease. V. V. Radlov witnessed: "If a person destined for shamanism opposes the will of his ancestors and refuses to perform a ritual, he is subjected to terrible torments, which ends in the loss of all emotional power, i.e., he becomes feeble-minded and indifferent to everything, or falls into wild madness and usually soon takes his own life or dies during the strongest fit".¹⁴ It is necessary to say that practically all modern Khakass shamans passed this way, having faced classical way of entering the "profession".

The gift to be a shaman is a manifestation of the will of ancestors, whose main problem is to take care of welfare of the clan, ethnos and the world. The shaman is sent to people for performing conservative functions, at the same time he sacrifices his own life, which now does not belong to him, it is ordered by spirits and people. The state system - the Republic of Khakassia (since 1991) - has witnessed the revival of shaman practices in modern conditions. Quite often during the rite in the prayer to the Sky there is the request about prosperity of the Republic, and about its population. Also a new phenomenon is that shamans unite in social institutes with registration in state organs: The Society of traditional religion of the Khakass people - of shamanism (the leader - V. I. Kishteev, registered in 1994, re-registered in 2007), "Khan Tigir" (the leader - T. V. Kobezhikova, registered in 1995) and the religious group of Tengrians of Abakan (the leader - A. I. Kotozhekov).

So three main features of a religion (the system of beliefs, the developed ritual, the institute of the cult ushers) in Khakass shamanism lead to the

conclusion that in modern conditions it is possible to speak about shamanism as a religion in Khakassia, executing social functions, and capable of becoming one of the factors of ethnic resurgence.

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MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE KHAKASSIANS

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Aal was a major settlement of the Khakas people in the 18th-19th centuries. It was in fact a half-nomadic settlement of a small group of householders. According to researchers, at the beginning of the 20th century Khakassians lived in about 520 *aals*. The average *aal* included 10 to 15 houses. There was a rare *aal* of 40 to 60 houses.

Till now the Khakas settlement is described as *ulus*¹ in Russian literature. But the literal meaning of this word in Khakassian and Turkic-Mongolian corresponds to "a people", "generation" or "society". At the beginning of the 19th century, Siberian *ulus* meant "administrative kin", while it was the name of *bashlyk* (the head) that usually gave a name to a settlement, e.g., Shaloshin *ulus*, Mungatov *ulus*, etc. .. Later on the inhabitants of *aal* were called *ulus* and this name was changed to *aal* proper. So eventually the term *ulus* reduced its original sense in Russian. That's why we use the Khakassian *aal* to describe "a half-nomadic settlement".

There was a process of the *aal* expansion in the last decade of the 19th century. While there were 32.1 per cent *aals*, each containing less than 5 houses in 1897, its percentage declined to 15.3 per cent in 1909-1910. 2.6 per cent of all Khakas householders lived there. On the other hand, the *aals* of more than 50 houses comprised 2.5 per cent in 1897. In 1909-1910, this number increased up to 4.9 per cent. And 20.7 per cent of all households lived in these settlements.

The *aals* used to be named after *aals'* headmen. If a headman died and they elected another one, the name of the settlement would change. Thus, the *aal* of Chastajakov changed into the *aal* of Onkhakov as Onkhak Iptyshev followed his father Chastajak. The *aal* of Appakhov was renamed into Apchanayev after Appakh's son Apchanay Asochakov. In the second half of the 19th century, they started using geographical names due to the fact that many *aals* changed their way of life into settled one. For instance,

the *aal* of Kyzlanov was given the name of Is Kharchyzy being the confluence of the rivers Bolshoi Yes and Maloi Yes); the *aal* of Iresov Aar alty (meaning the foot of Mount Aar); the *aal* of Kadyrov – Kunre (named after the place Kunre) etc.

In the 18th-19th centuries *yurta* was the main dwelling of Khakassians. It was best suited to the nomadic life. A traditional *yurta* was of a frame-house type. It is easy to be dismantled and shifted from one place to another. The walls were of sliding lattice (*tirme*) and of door frame. The cupola was constructed of curved poles (*ukh*) fixed with lower ends to the lattice and upper ends stuck in the flue (*kharaachy*). The average diameter of the *yurta* is 7 to 10 meters (10 to 12 arshins), the height is 2.5 meters. One link of the lattice *tirme* was made of 20 to 30 pine laths joined together with small raw horse leather straps. The average *yurta* consisted of 6 *tirmes*. The *yurta* was covered with birch bark in summer and with thick felt in winter. Two curved round wooden hoops (*hurchag*) pressed the bark sections sewn together with lisle horse-hair threads to the walls of the *yurta*, or they were tied by a horse-hair rope (*chile*) round the bark. It took half an hour to set the frame of the *yurta*.

In the first half of the 19th century, a felt *yurta* cost 75 to 150 roubles, a bark birch *yurta* – 30 to 35 roubles. At the end of the 19th century, a felt *yurta* cost 30 roubles, a bark birch one – 15 roubles. One had to pay 3 roubles to have one lattice (*tirme*) made (there were six *tirmes* in a typical *yurta*). The birch bark was stored in the month of June which is *tos aiy* in Khakassian, i.e., the month of birch bark laying in. Rolled up birch bark was boiled to obtain flexibility. Then the rolls were sewn together with horse-hair threads into big stripes. The birch bark cover of the *yurta* served only one season.

In 1830-1840 AD, there were 4,310 felt *yurtas*, 1140 birch bark *yurtas* and 125 wooden houses in the four Khakassian territories. The number of wooden *yurtas* and houses increased by the end of the century. There were already 4,047 wooden *yurtas* and 4,939 wooden houses in 1890 AD. By mid – 19th century, felt dwellings had been almost forced out by wooden multi-angular *yurtas* called *agas ib*. They had six, eight, ten angles. *Bais*² had twelve angular *yurtas*, sometimes even fourteen angular ones. Log walls were built of 8 to 10 rows. The average height was up to 3.5 meters (11.48 feet), while the diameter was 10 meters (32.81 feet). The roof was usually covered with larch bark. The master was paid in kind with a cow or two bulls for building a wooden *yurta*. Since many Khakassian families took to settled way of life, they came to live in the houses of the Russian

four-angular type. But in summer, they lived in the wooden *yurta* which was in the yard in front of the house. The *yurta* was given a new name – *chaigy ib*, that is summer house.

The Khakassian national costume is a historically developed complex showing various fashion styles formed within periods of its long history. It is nationally marked and has no direct analogues with the costume complexes of neighboring ethnic groups of Southern Siberia. Every day clothes were of locally hand-made cloths and factory-made cotton. The factory-made cotton clothes were quite cheap and were used by the poor. Festive clothes were sewn of silk. Cotton and silk was brought to Khakassia by merchants from China and Bukhara. There were fabrics with big (*ulug oiiglyg*) and tiny factory-made trceries. They were called “masculine” and “feminine” and were used for male and female clothes correspondently. Khakassians preferred red, dark blue, green, brown and black for their costumes. They didn’t like yellow, as it stood for a kind of spirit called the Mistress of malaria (*tudan asi*) and jaundice (*saryg hat*).

The male underwear was basically a shirt (*ir kergenegi*), the female underwear was a dress (*ipchi kergenegi*). The cut of the male shirt resembled the female dress cut, but it was much shorter and there were gussets (*chyynchah*) put in the mid of the back. The shirt had also laps (*aan, inmen*) on the shoulders, a cut on the chest and a turn-down collar fastened one button (*tirs marha*). Two gussets (*sabyg*) were sewn in each side (of the two) of the figure. Due to the tucks made from the front and behind the collar, the shirt was very loose in the hem. Loose sleeves with close gathers at the laps (*aan pazy*) were bordered with narrow cuffs (*morkam*). Square gussets (*kholyh*) were put in under arms. The laps, cuffs and hem as well as the figure were of one and the same cloth.

The female dress required 7 meters (22.97 feet) of cloth. Two stripes were for the front part, two for the back and a stripe for the sleeves. Unlike the male shirt, the dress had two narrow gussets (*chyynchah*) sewn into the middle of the back and a wide gusset (*sabyg*) in each side of the figure. The back hem was longer than the front one and made a small train (*khuzuruh*). There was a cut pocket under the right gusset. First they sewed the collar to the figure, than the sleeves. The laps, gussets, cuffs, border (*kirbe*) along the hem and angles of the turn-down collar were of the collar different from one of the figure. The straight cut (*paar*) was fastened one round pearl button (*tana*) at the collar. The laps, cuffs, border of the festive female dress were decorated with national patterns. Moreover, pieces of different collar (*odyrynchy*) were added to the borders of the cuffs and hem.

Waist clothes of Khakassians included underwear breeches (*ystan*) and outer trousers (*chanmar*). All Turkic peoples had common names for them (*ystan*, *chanmar*). Daily trousers were sewn of dark cotton, while festive trousers – of velvet. There were two types of cut for male waist clothes. Trousers with square put-in pieces (*tahtai*) were the most common. The trouser-legs were cut of two folded length-wise right-angle cloths between which the bottom of four triangular gussets sewn together in pairs was put in. The square put-in pieces (*tahtai*) were sewn from the front and behind over the gussets. The interval between the stretched trouser-legs was up to a *sazhen* (700 ft). The trouser-legs and put-in pieces *tahtai* were tucked in and sewn at the upper border making a belt (*chaga*). The trousers were fixed with the help of a white woolen lace passed through the sewn belt. Cut pockets on sides were an obligatory detail of the festive male trousers. There were also silken or brocade red stripes sewn over the pockets. They emerged from under the shirt hem in the form of a two-pin fork.

Woman's drawers (*serber*) would be sewn of dark blue Chinese cotton. The cloth resembled red calico or coarse calico, whether white or painted. The drawers' cut was the same as that of trousers, that is the square put-in piece *tahtai* was an essential element. The trouser-bottoms were tucked into the boots as they shouldn't have been seen by men, especially by father-in-law.

Oriental male robes (*chimche*) were very popular among Khongorians³. As daily clothes they were made of broadcloth, while being festive they were of velvet or silk. The robe was lined with flax or dark blue nankeen, with ermine and kolinsky in the pre-taiga areas. The laps of the robe were straight.

A long collar, cuffs of the sleeves and breast were trimmed with black velvet. The male robe as well as other male outer clothes were essentially girded with a woolen girdle (*khur*), the two ends traditionally tied up and let down from the front. On the left of the girdle there was a knife in the wooden, tin ornamented sheathes, while at the small side of the back there was chained a silver steel⁴ (*otyh*) with coral incrustations.

Married women had to wear sleeveless jackets (*segedek*) over festive costumes (robes and fur coats of straight cut). Girls and widows were forbidden to wear such clothes. *Segedek* was sewn wide open with a straight cut. The laps met in the middle and were tied at the collar. Loose arm-holes, collar and laps were ornamented with an opalescent border (*cheyek*). Two rows of *cheyeks* were sewn around the arm-holes, one row

– along the laps and collar. The *segedek's* frame was made of four cloth layers glued with paste. Due to it the form of the frame was quite firm. Such a frame is called *chaba*. Originally it was made of thin leather. This fact comes back to the original meaning of the term *chaba*, which is “skin, fell”.

The detachable was of two types: detachable and straight. The latter was of silk. The back had plant-like ornaments. Velvet was used to sew a detachable *segedek*. It consisted of a bodice with lining and a skirt sewn to the bodice. The back was decorated with three, five or seven appliqués *pyraat*. There were gathers under each appliqué and tassels on two sides. The skirt gathered at waist could be of silk, brocade, velvet with fringe along the hem. Khakassian *segedeks* resemble women sleeveless jackets of Altai people (*chegedek*) and Kalmyks (*tsagdek*). These type of clothes are likely of Oirat origin.

The female festive robe (*tuzalyh*) was straight with gathers on the hem. The hem was quilted on sides and from behind at the knees with sinew threads forming “trammels” (*tuzalyh*) of small gathers. The legs seemed to be tied and the woman could have fallen. These are the “trammels” (*payir*) that give a name to the robe. *Tuzalyh* was sewn of silk or velvet with cotton lining. It had a naval jacket high collar. The left lap with a right-angled ledge (*payir*) closed the right lap. The lapels and cuffs of the sleeves were bordered with otter four fingers wide. There were loops at both sides under the sleeves. The loops were used to tie silk handkerchiefs and long decorative tobacco-pouches.

Tuzalyh was ornamented with unique opalescent embroidery (*cheyek*) which had a main decorative function. *Cheyek* was in fact narrow interlaced laces of colored silk, which were closely sewn on, row after row, the seam “over the border”. The laces were hand-made: first three men spun three threads of one color in a straight line. Then three spun threads were interlaced. And the ready made laces were sewn on the clothes, with two laces of one together. As a result the embroidery was composed of seven colors resembling the rainbow: crimson, orange, white, blue, green and scarlet. The row of the embroidery was a thumb wide. In the earlier times they made three rows of *cheyek*. From the beginning of the 20th century they came to make only one. *Cheyek* was used to decorate a naval jacket high collar (*moidyryh cheyegi*), a right-angled ledge (*payir*) of the left lap (*paar cheyegi*), the shoulder part of the sleeves and the hem over the gathers (*tuzalyh cheyegi*). The robe *tuzalyh* had to be worn with the sleeveless jacket *segedek*.

On holidays, women wore a wide open caftan⁵ called *sikpen* or *haptal*. It was made of thin black broadcloth. There were two types: detachable and straight. The surplice collar was covered with red silk or brocade. Pearl buttons (*tana*) or light chestnut shells were sewn on the lapels and the borders were decorated with pearl buttons (*uzumchuk*). There were three, six or nine (three rows of three) pearl buttons *tana* sewn on the left front of *sikpen* under the lapel. The cuffs of the sleeves and flaps of the pockets were made of black velvet or velvet and decorated with silk patterns. It may be pointed out that the borders of the *sikpen* cuffs as well as the cuffs of other female clothes were made with beveled ledge in a form of a horse hoof. This was typical of the clothes used by women living in the valley of the river Yenisey. The beveled form was called *omah*. These cuffs were very convenient for modest, shy girls to use them to conceal their faces from importunate guys. In the north of Khakassia, in the valleys of the rivers Big and Small Eyus, the borders of the cuffs were straight. The form *omah* is typical mostly of the clothes of the Buryats and Kalmyks⁶, which depicts ethno-cultural relations of the Khakassians and Mongols.

The back of the straight *sikpen* was decorated with plant-like ornaments. The connecting seams of the arm-hole were decorated with the stitch *erbe*. Silk threads of the stitch crossed to make an oblique net. Bright colors of the plant-like ornament are characteristic of the Khakassian embroidery, though it differs from clan. Stylized trifoliate (*us azyr*) dominated in the Kachints ornaments, the Kyzyl Khakassians and Sagaits pictured natural stem flowers (*ot puri*). First seamstresses cut stencils (*ulgu*) of birch bark or paper, and then transferred ornaments to the cloth.

The detachable *sikpen* was ornamented with appliques *pyraat*. A silken square cloth was stretched over the cardboard and sewn down the back. The applique looked like a three horn crown. The ornamented row runs to three, five, seven *pyraats*. Each applique was trimmed with chain stitch, after that with the stitch *erbe*, which further was bordered again with a chain stitch. There was also pattern "five petals" (*pis salaa*, *pis azyr*) embroidered above the applique. It resembled lotus. This pattern might have been borrowed from the Mongolian ornaments. The Mongols worshipped lotus as it made people happy.

Moreover, the back was gathered into four length-wise pleats trimmed with the stitch *erbe*. The tassels were not sewn here. Beautiful appliques *pyraat* contributed much to the vanity of the seamstresses who were eager to show their craft in public.

In winter, Khakas people wore sheepskin coats *ton*. In early times,

the fur coat was most likely the functional clothing for all seasons. Not only common Turkic term *ton* but also ethnographic facts prove this. For example, many poor people wore sheepskin coats in summer. The heat made them free their hands from the sleeves, and the coat was fixed with the belt so that the trunk was naked. This way of wearing the fur coat is called *piltirbes*.

Male sheepskin coats were cut detachable. The back of the hem was longer than the front. The longer back hem made horse-riding more convenient for men. The collar was turned-down, and the laps were straight. The left lapel (*paar*) always closed the right one (*ichor* – literally meaning “inner lapel”) and was tightly buttoned one button (*chaga marha*) at the collar. The borders of the lapels and the cuffs of the sleeves had fur trimming (*khuma*) usually of otter. The detachable back was made with deep arm-holes (*kholtorym*). The left shoulder-blade part was cut broader and longer, while the right one was made three fingers (*usilig*) narrower and shorter. A narrow ledge on the back of the male clothes was called *chulchuk*. Men were prohibited to wear sheepskin coats without *chulchuk*. There were also six gussets put in lower side, the back widening towards the hem. Under the sleeve there was sewn a tracery pendant (*nandyh*) of a two horse-heads shape. It served for the laps to be fastened while walking on the snow or mounting a horse. A special buttonhole on the lap was called *ilbik*. The pendants *nandyh* are very likely to originate from the archeological items of unknown purpose, which date back to the Karasuk culture.

Women wore two types of sheepskin coats: one with a detachable back and a straight one. Daily female clothes were uncovered sheep-skin coats (*suu ton*) with a straight back and a small train. The lapels were trimmed with fur (*khuma*). The collar was turned down, and the laps were straight. In the earlier coats the collar was high; in the later ones it was turned-down. The stitch *erbe* decorated seams of the back and arm-holes. At the end of the 19th century *suu ton* cost 6 to 25 roubles. One Khakassian coat was made of 9 sheepskins: the back of the coat of three skins, the chest of three, the sleeves of two and the collar of one).

Khakas people wear leather high boots in summer and fur high boots in winter. Daily summer boots were called *sagirs* (*sazan maimah, kern erdik*). They were sewn of smoke soaked raw cattle leather (*sazan, kern*). The sole, sometimes even the whole *sagirs* were made of thick skin (Khakassian *sagyr*) of the horse. This gave the name to the boots, which was used in the language of the Russian old-timers. The *sagirs* had leather counters

with birch bark put in between. The sole was fixed with a double thread. High tops of the male boots were tied up with a leather belt *poos*. The female *sagirs* used copper buckles *toga poos* for this purpose. Married women didn't tie up their boots.

Summer high boots (*machang maimah* or *nymzah maimah*: literally meaning "soft boots") were made of tanned calf leather. They used the decoction of dry pulverized purple willow bark to obtain yellow color or larch bark to obtain red color. The vamp and the top of *machangs* were cut detached. The sole was of one layer tanned leather resoled with wooden nails. Long tops of the male boots were tied up with a small belt. The female *machangs* were embroidered at the middle of the toes.

In winter Khakassians wore fur high boots *olandai*. These were sewn of sheepskin goatskin, with the fur inside. Two skins were used for a pair of *olandais*. They were cut wholesome with one seam running along the front from the toe up to the border of the top. The latter was trimmed with silken threads. *Olandais* had no heels. The sole was of tanned leather. The tops tied up with the belt (*poos*). Men wore these boots with the rubbers (*moltiryh*) on, which sometimes were fixed to the boots with a special bayonet. The vamps of the female *olandais* were trimmed with tanned carved vamps *kaimit*. The toes of the vamps resembled a hoof-like ledge (*omah*). Between the sewing on the right side was decorated with patterns up to the top. They had felt quilted socks (*kiis uh*) on while wearing *olandais*. Fur soft leather high boots bordered with colored cloth were also worn with *olandais*. Felt, fur skins and sweat absorbing grass *ozan ot* were used as inner sole.

On holidays Khakassians wore festive high boots (*sallyg erdik*, *erdik khatyg*: literally meaning "hard boots"). They were cut of curried wild goat skin, with fur inside. The boots had right-angled turned-up toes, low heels and a thick sole of many layers. The sole was two or three fingers wide, of five or seven morocco leather layers – red, dark blue, green, white, yellow and black. The colored layers of the sole are called *sal*. The vamp seams of female high boots (*sallyg erdik*) were decorated with trumpery or beads. They produced a special decorative effect when the rider was on horse-back.

The most popular summer head-dress was a black felt cap (*kiis perik*), which was made of sheep and cow wool. The laps (*kuree*) were turned up. These caps had been completely forced out by factory made ones by the beginning of the 20th century. In winter, men wore round caps (*khuruskha perik*) with a lambskin cap-band and a lambskin top. The crown

of the cap was cut of four gussets (*tala*). Khakassian caps and hats had felt base, which kept the shape firm. The felt type hats are very typical of the clothes of Turkic peoples.

On black frosts men had lynx *malakhais*⁷ (*us perik*) on. The cap band and the valve were sewn at the back of the head. They were made of lynx or fox. In 1737 AD, the Russian account stated: "They have *malakhais* of fox, lynx, wolf and sheep on, with silken, cotton foreheads. There were also bear *malakhais* without cloth forehead. The fur valves of the *malakhai* hang down the shoulders, covering the ears and the neck. The angled crown was covered with broadcloth, a red tassel (*chala*) at the very top." But *malakhais* were already out of use in the beginning of the 20th century.

On holidays rich Khakassians wore beaver caps (*kamchat perik*) or sable (*kis perik*), round caps with a 15 cms wide cap-band of beaver or sable. The cap-band was trimmed with black cloth. The short crown was raised 5 to 7 cms higher than the cap-band. It was cut of four black velvet gussets. The lining was cut of white lambskin or astrakhan. There was also a felt base put in between the lambskin lining and the velvet crown. One should have given a horse to buy the cap *kamchat perik*. Some records give the description such head-dresses: "The cap is round; the cap-band is of Kamchatka beaver, the crown of crimson velvet stripes. The cost of this cap was 100 rubles". "Two round caps of Kamchatka beaver; the cost is 90 rubles each". In 1873 beaver caps cost 30 roubles.

In the first half of the 19th century women used to wear caps *khapchyh perik* knitted of woollen threads. These were summer festive caps. The cap was of a narrow sack shape (25 cms wide and 65 to 75 cms long) with red and blue stripes. There was a red tassel at the top. Decorated with geometric ornament the lower border was tucked up giving an effect of a cap-band. So the border resembled the tuck *kuree* on the Khakassian headscarf. The hair of the woman was arranged into the cap. The "Asian cap" cost 10 rubles. At the end of the 19th century it was forced out by Russian factory made headscarves.

Married and old women wore festive fur caps in winter (*khapchyh perik*). These were sewn round with an otter and beaver cap-band. It was bordered with black lambskin. In North Khakassia, in the valleys of the Chulym, the Small Eyus and the Big Eyus they made the otter cap-band with the cut for the face. But the ears and the back of the head were covered. A high velvet or velvet crown was sewn of four five angled gussets, which made a right-angled top. The crown resembled a sack (*khapchyh*) 30 to 40 cms long. The four sides of the crown and the top

were embroidered in colored patterns. The crown had a pearl button and a red tassel (or red and blue stripes) on its top. The lining was of lambskin. There was also a felt head-size round detail put in between the lining and the crown to keep the shape firm. Being on head the crown hang over and changed its position depending on the wind (it resembled the weathercock). This cap, the sheepskin coat *khat aannig ton* and the sleeveless jacket *segedek* made a festive female dressing, which they wore on a wedding day, funeral repast, on visits and on Sunday. The girls were prohibited to have this head-dress on.

The girls wearing many plaits (*surmes*) decorated them with various pendants. They tied coral and beads tassels (*chachah poos, ninchi poos*) to the front plaits (nine of each side) hanging down the shoulders. But the major decorative function was of the back plaits (three or five), due to the plait decoration *tana poos*.

Married women wore coral earrings (*khos yzyrga*). These were made of copper fine wire, turned up in the form of a ring. The lower part had three coral beads (*suru*). There were another small beads put in between. There was also half a ruble coin with a silken tassel hanging at the tip of the earring.

On holidays married women and matchmakers also wore a pair of temporal pendants (*ulur ysyrga*: literally meaning "big ear rings"). One ear ring had three big coral beads and three small ones. These were threaded on a copper wire, which twisted upward in the form of a bow (*kharaachy*). There were ornamented silver plates (*uzuron*) put in between coral beads. The plates clang to the beads up and down. The pendants had silver coins at the tip (a ruble with the picture of the two-heads eagle). These were also decorated with silken tassels. The two pendants joined together at the breast with a figured silver chain (*samzylga*). The pendants were fixed with cloth loops (*khandyrga*), one tip tied to the bow, the other one clung to a small plait (*khos surmes*) plaited at the temple for this purpose.

Khakassians bought coral from Siberian Tatars who imported the same from Central Asia. A big bead cost a bull or a horse. The poor bought cheap artificial coral *khuiga*. It differed from original coral in its soft structure and red color. The Khakasians have been keeping the tradition of using coral since medieval ages.

The major food of Khakassians as well as of other cattle-breeding peoples of Southern Siberia and Central Asia was meat in winter, dairy goods in summer. In autumn a house owner slaughtered a horse or a cow

and about 30 sheep. On a slaughter day fresh meat (*tamah*) was cooked. All the neighbors were invited to taste it. The best slabs of meat (*ursun*) were cooked in the first cauldron. The right part of the carcass was considered to be the best. These are two upper ribs, thigh-bone, humerus, breast-bone, the first vertebra, lamb lower jaw (not cattle jaw), tongue, liver, lungs and the heart. The left part was usually cooked for the dead at the funeral repast.

Khakassians as well as other cattle-breeding peoples of Southern Siberia and Central Asia followed an ancient national etiquette to distribute slabs of meat at the meal. The worthiest slab of Khakassians was the lamb hind part (*kerchik*). It was given as a gift to the most respectable guest. When it was presented, they cut off the tip of the fat tail not to let happiness leave the house.

The most respectable guest was given a shoulder-blade to eat. The most respectable woman who visited the house was given a breast-bone (*khoi tozi*). It was for instance the matchmaker at the wedding. Men were forbidden to eat the breast-bone. The man who slaughtered the cattle was given an orifice (*moosta*) to thank him for his work. The man who slaughtered a sheep was given a breast-bone (*ters khara kirsen*). It was cut off with the skin, then salted and fried on the fire. The breast-bone was thought a delicacy (*cheestig tamah*).

Meat stored up for spring is called *uuche*. To do it one salted a half of the horse carcass in the tub. They froze it having added pepper, garlic and oil to it. In April when a warm wind was blowing slightly melted meat was taken out of the tub, then jerked and smoked. The meat was boiled a little in salted water first. Then it was cut into long narrow stripes and jerked in the sun. The jerked meat was called *salyg*. After that the meat stripes were hung at the flue (*tunuk*) or at two cross-beams (*khurtus*) above the hearth. The smoked meat was called *ystaan it*. It was cut into pieces, mixed with cereals and cheese (*khurut, pichiro*) and put into sacks.

Semi-finished dry meat, cereals and cheese was called *porcha*. It could be stored up all the year round, but was mostly used up to the autumn cattle slaughter. They used it to cook a delicious soup (*porcha ugre*). A necessary portion of the meat was put into boiled water. Then instead of salt, sour curds was added. Khakassians believe salt badly affects the eyesight. The Khakassians preferred soups *ugre*, various broths *mun* and boiled meat as a meal. The most favorite soups were cereals soup *charba ugre* and barley soup *kerche ugre*, which used to be served for dinner.

Lamb was the most popular meat for Khakassians. They cooked the

dish *kharban* (wild goat was also used). First the flesh and the suet was cut into small pieces in a wooden trough. Then the cut meat and noodles were boiled in the cauldron, with dry onion (*kerbirgen*) added. *Kharban* and the broth were served together.

The dish *khuramyr* was cooked using properly washed sheep small intestines intertwined with the suit into tight plaits, and then frozen. *Khuramyr* was boiled while a soup was being cooked. While serving it was cut. Meat-jelly (*khuiga*) was cooked of fire-singed extrimities, with salt, onion and pepper added to one's taste.

They used sour cream to fry meat. First it was boiled in water, and then poured with sour cream. The fried meat is called *khaargan it*. One should say, Khakas people use sour cream to fry meat, fish, mushrooms, eggs, etc.

Lamb flesh was used to make barbecue (*sisteen it*). The barbecue wasn't considered a worthy dish. But liver barbecue (*sokhachy*) had a ritual meaning. It was made at the heavenly sacrifice (*Tigir taiti*) and at the wedding. *Sokhachy* was made in the following way. First pieces of the liver were slightly burned at the spit. Then they are taken off the spit, wrapped up with suet and after that strung on the spit again. While frying *sokhachy* on the live coals the liver was soaked with the suet.

Khakassians could do various sausages. The simplest sausage was *chochyh*. The properly washed rectum of a sheep was turned out with the suet inside and then boiled in a soup. The sausage *kharty* was a delicacy. The horse rectum was used to make it. The rectum was washed and turned out with the suet inside. Then it was filled with meat and boiled. *Kharty* was served ring-shaped and cool. The sausage of the cow rectum (of the bear rectum in pre-taiga districts) is called *khoskhanah*. The rectum was also washed and turned out. They minced suit and onion into a wooden trough. The bear suet was more precious. Salt and pepper were added to one's taste. This minced meat was used to fill the rectum. Both ends were tied, and the sausage was smoked over the hearth of the *yurta*. The smoked sausage *khoskhanah* was a good treatment for worthy guests.

The sausage *khyima* was also an essential cooking during slaughter period. The stuffing was crumbled fat flesh and horse suet (*khazy*). Then onion and pepper were added. Intestines were filled with this meat. *Khyima* was tied up at several points to make small sausages. It was boiled in the cauldron while a soup was being cooked. The horse suet doesn't thicken. That's why they ate *khyima* holding it vertically by the hands to cut it exactly under the tied-up points not to pour the broth. *Khyima* is considered

a worthy dish (*cheestig tamah*).

One of the most favorite and festive dishes was blood sausage (*khan-serl*). It had to be cooked exactly on the day when the cattle were slaughtered. The exception was swine, which they started breeding only at the end of the 19th century. The blood was gathered into a bowl, the blood clots (*kirspek*) were wrung out by hands. Then they brought it into the *yurta* to settle. An upper layer of the settled substance was watery blood (*ah khan* – white blood), a lower layer was thick (*khra khan* – black blood). The two layers were separated and poured into different bowls. The watery blood was for a sausage called *symai khan*. They added milk or broth and salt to it. Then they use it to stuff rectum (*chochyh*), duodenum (*achyh poon*) and small intestines (*sugichege*). The intestines were tied up and boiled in water.

A sausage cooked of thick blood is called *tiris khan*. They add milk, salt, minced suet and onion to it. *Tiris khan* is cooked in the blind gut (*tuyuh poon*) and in the stomach hose (*khoty*). They use a special wooden long needle (*sii*) to fill the stuff evenly in the blind gut and in the stomach hose. This needle is also used to try the sausage by pricking to see if it has been cooked. The blood sausage is boiled very quickly. Blood sausage is the most favorite dish of the cattle-breeding peoples in Southern Siberia.

The Khakassians as well as other cattle-breeding peoples had very good dairy cuisine. Dairy goods and dishes were called *ah tamah* – white meal. Khakassians had differential attitude to them. A popular Khakassian belief says that if one pours out milk on the ground it will be impossible to keep milk cattle away from diseases. Skin of boiled milk (*ereme*) was a favorite dish. Fresh milk was slowly boiled in a big cauldron. While boiling they put milled roots of the Siberian red lily (*sip*) or adder's-grass (*pis*). These plants made for a thick skin three fingers wide (*usilig*). It was carefully taken off, mixed with milled bird cherry, *talkan*⁶ or even cowberry (*nirlig ereme*). In the end the skin was pressed and frozen. *Oreme* was a worthy dish to treat respectable guests. They served it cut.

Sour cream was used to cook a popular dish called *potkhy* (*oreme potkhy*). The sour cream had been slowly warmed in the cauldron till it boiled. Then some wheat flour, eggs and airan (a national drink) were added to it. The sour cream gruel was slowly stirred while being cooked. When much butter appeared on the surface, it was complete. *Potkhy* is a worthy dish too. There is a Khakassian superstition that men must not scrape away and eat the burnt crust of the sour cream gruel. Otherwise married men would have a hard life, and the young would not have good

feeling on their wedding day. There was not such a belief for women.

Airan was the most popular Khakassian summer drink, which was made of sour cow milk. *Airan* was a great value for Khakassian meals. Khakassians say: *Airan* is national health. It is a universal drink. It is served to everyone who came into the *yurta*; it is used for rites; it slakes thirst and satisfies hunger perfectly. To get some other goods, *airan* was distilled into dairy vodka (*airan aragazy*). They drank dairy vodka on holidays, both to treat guests and to make religious rites. Young men and women were forbidden to drink it. Women were allowed to drink alcohol only after having given a birth to the second or third child, in order not to spoil a child.

There were curds *pocha* left in the cauldron after distilling *airan*. The curds were usually strained off through a cloth sack and separated from the whey (*saryg sug*). The strained-off curds are called *aarchy*. The curds were used to make dry curd fritters (*khurut, pichiro*). There was one or two sacks of *Khurut* stored up for one house. *Khurut* was a dish, which didn't go bad. Khakassians had it instead of bread. In winter it was served to guests with tea. They mixed it with butter. Herdsmen and shepherds took it for their day meal. When hunters ran after a beast, one flat cake of *Khurut* was a day food portion for them. If *Khurut* was soaked with water and mixed with sour cream, the dish was called *khaimah*. It is a very nourishing dish taken with tea.

Another kind of curd fritters made of *aarchy* is called *pichiro*. To make it they wrung out the curds by the hands so that the curds passed through the fingers. The wrung-out stripes were laid on special mats (*aatys*) to get dry in the sun. For this purpose they constructed a cross-beam on two pillars near the *yurta*. Every family laid in on sack of *pichiro* for winter. The curd fritters were kept in special leather sacks sewn of wholesome animal skin.

Khakassian cuisine uses generous bounty provided by the nature in Khakassia. The plant fruits had a common name *chir tamagy* – earthen food. From early spring till late autumn they dug out eatable roots, picked herbal flowers and berries. In August, they picked bird cherries (*nymyrt*) to store up them dry. Bird cherry was used to cook a dish *nymort potkhy*. First the bird cherries were milled or ground. Then they boiled sour cream in the cauldron. When it boiled, they added talkan and milled bird cherry. Then they put butter into the dish. This was particularly used for funeral repast.

The delicacy was also a dish *nymyrt khayah*. Milled bird cherry was

mixed with melted butter, talkan and pounded curd fritters (*pichiro*). All the ingredients were properly mixed and frozen in the blind gut (*poon*). This dish was served for respectable guests. It was presented to the parents of a bride. They cooked *nymyrt khayah* in nine cauldrons for a wedding.

To conclude, it is necessary to point out that the distinctive Khakassian costume originates from the area of Khakassia, which is confirmed by historical evidence and folklore. In the late medieval period Mongolian culture greatly influenced the Khakassian costume. The elements of the clothing of the Russian peasants were added to the Khakassian clothes, after Khakassia had joined Russia. Silver was the major metal used for decoration. This led to the naming of Khakassian culture as "silver culture".

The way the Khakassians organize meals belongs to the Central Asian model. The base of the cuisine is dairy and meat dishes and food of picking, agriculture, hunting and fishing. The cooking of dairy dishes is highly developed. Khakassians cooked different cereals and crop soups. They could lay in meat, dairy and plant food. The etiquette of hospitality included special dishes. Various dishes of the Khakassian cuisine show distinctive national culture of the Khakassians, based on ancient traditions.

NOTES

1. *Ulus* is a settlement or nomad camp of some nationalities in Siberia.
2. Rich land owners in Central Asia.
3. The Khongorians is a Khakassian clan.
4. Formely used for striking fire.
5. A long outer garment
6. Buryats and Kalmyks – peoples of Central Asia
7. Fur cap with large ear laps.
8. *Talkan* is flour milled of fried grains of barley, corn and wheat; popular with peoples of Central Asia, Southern Asia, the Volga; served with tea, water, milk or used to cook cereal.

KHAKASS TRADITIONAL EMBROIDERY

I.K. KIDIEKOVA

Cattle-breeding- and agrarian life style of ancient Khakass people determined the choice of objects and materials of the embroidered products as well as the structure of their ornaments. The circle of the embroidered objects is not wide, and these have not been exposed to significant changes for a long period of time which testifies to the patriarchal style of folk daily routine. The embroidery was put on the objects used for decoration of the house, for example, a curtain (*kozege*). The embroidery was also present on felt products which served depending on their size and form as a bed, a mat, a bedding or wall carpet (*kiis*).

The embroidery along with metal decorations and leather embossments was also a part of ornamental decoration of the riding-horse. It was widely used in saddle-cloths (*chaprah*) made of felt, leather or fabric. Embroidery played the most noticeable role in decoration of shoes, hats, women's clothes, small bags (*nanchyh*), tobacco pouches, sheaths fastened to the man's belt. A remarkable example of folk art – woman's and man's shoes (*tuup odik*) – was made of tanned blacked leather.

There are several basic complexes in Khakass ornaments, each of them is an ensemble of related similar ornamental motives, connected to this or that circle of household utensils and particular methods of production. Each complex holds the traces of different periods in the ethnic history of Khakass people and their historical-cultural bonds with other nations. The most ancient complex contains the simplest geometrical figures: stripes of parallel and slant lines, triangles, zigzags, arcs, herring-bone patterns, crosses, small squares, rhombuses, concentric circles, rosaces, stars. They are represented in wood and leather engraving, edging of sewn-in details in clothes, sewn-on motives. These motives can be found in the edgings of saddle-cloths, on the necks of leather and wooden vessels, on the lower edge of dresses, outer clothing. Two parallel lines and a zigzag

between them "complete" the space of finger-rings, metal horse-brasses, sheaths.

The second ornamental complex in Khakass art is curvilinear patterns. They consist of helixes, horn-shaped figures, *sibirik* pattern (roll wave pattern), palmettes, triangles, complicated heart-shaped compositions. The ornaments of the second group can be found on leather products, wood engravings, in the decoration of saddle-cloths, shoes. The basic methods of making ornaments are: sewing on a motif, chain stitch, silver embossing. This complex is the most popular in the Khakass ornament.

The third complex combines the stylized plant ornaments and is used in embroidery, the most developed and widespread kind of folk art. These ornaments were used to decorate household utensils, from saddle-harness decorations to clothing. This complex is bound up with the previous one; some elements are combined with each other.

The fourth complex has a pictorial character – these are the elements of flora and fauna: pictures of horses, simplified figures of birds, men, an image of a sacred birch-tree. Such ornamental compositions appear in cliff drawings, in ornamental art of Khakass people.

The study of Khakass ornaments with the help of comparative material enriches the data about the Khakass ethnic history. The ornaments of the first complex are, on the one hand, the oldest in the ornamental art of Khakass people. The range of motifs refers to Palaeometal Age. On the other hand, the motifs of the first complex are vividly represented in ornamental collections of Turkic-Mongolian people of the South Siberia and Middle Asia. The ornaments of all these people are connected with the technique of wood, birch-bark and bone engraving and are used as additional and "finishing" ornaments.

The second ornamental complex is the most popular complex among Turkic people. It had the strongest influence on the formation of the original ornamental style of Khakass people. This complex relates Khakass people with all Turkic-Mongolian world. S.V.Ivanov points out ornaments of this type "are wide-spread among steppe nomads in the Middle Ages". This complex has been formed on the territory of Khakassia in Tashtyp epoch already.

The third ornamental complex determined the formation of Khakass ornamental style (a specific manner of making ornaments, composition, colour scheme of the embroideries). Alongside with the fourth complex it contributes to national originality of Khakass ornaments.

As a kind of art, the ornament had been developed in several

thousands years. Some Khakass ornaments have preserved the ancient meaning and the numerous symbols revealing the considerable antiquity of their origin. We suppose that *Ymai hoos* – an ornament-mascot, tree of life and *Ot inee hoozy* are the most frequently used Khakass ornamental compositions which preserved their names in folklore.

In the beginning of 1970s the most popular ornament was *Ymai hoos* – the ornament of goddess Umai – an image well-known to all South-Siberian nations. This ornament has many variants:

1. a three-branched central ornament is divided into two equal, greatly “widened” plant compositions;

2. a multi-petal ornament is split in two parts and united in a new multifoil, meanwhile the first ornament appears to be inside the heart-shaped contour;

3. on the back of the fur-coat two equal branch compositions fringe the deep armhole of the sleeve so that the ornament is split in the centre again.

No matter how various the ornaments *Ymai hoos* are, the presence of the central motif from which the bottom identical parts of pattern originate, is constant. The location defines the size and the configuration of the ornament. Separate elements of *Ymai hoos* can have independent meaning. For example, trefoil on the collars of a female dress, clothes of children, on *nanchyh*, on the back side of mittens, on female decorations *pratah* (pentagonal applications on the back of the fur coats, shaman female wear), in metal objects. On shoulders and cuffs *Ymai hoos* is represented with all elements, i.e., as a completed composition.

It is possible to follow the changes of this ornament within last 30 years. In D.G. Messerschmidt's drawings, *Ymai hoos* is sketched on metal and wooden things. In A.V. Adrianov's collections *Ymai hoos* is the most popular ornament, including birch-bark patterns. The embroidered items in the Khakass collections of the museums, their comparison with the ornaments of embroidered clothes stored at Khakass homes reveal even the particular style of a master who created *Ymai hoos*. In the embroidery of Kachin people, specially collected for the World Fair in Paris in 1900, *Ymai hoos* is more geometrized because it is made with sinew threads on leather. In the embroidery on a fabric *Ymai hoos* acquires vegetative character and has some details (leaves, additional figures).

The ornament *Ymai hoos* is found in cliff drawings of Khakass people. Such ornaments can be seen on cliff surfaces of village Kazanovka (museum-conservation area of Kazanovka, the Khakass Republic), on a

rock near the river Ninya (ulus Aevo). It is possible to trace the origin of this ornament to mythology.

The Central Asian origin of *Ymai hoos* is suggested by some cliff drawings and some monuments of applied art of the Bronze Age of Southern Siberia. The image of the woman in an erotic pose is repeated four times among the cliff drawings of the Minusinsk basin. This was pointed out by E.B. Vadetskaja (1970), M.L. Hlobystina (1978) and J.A. Sher (1980). J.A. Sher has assumed that this image can be quite enriched with ethnographic and mythological parallels.

The long list of female deities of different nations is studied by Z.A. Abramova. She mentions the Yakut goddess Ajsit, who gives fertility to women, protects children and is known as a woman sitting with her legs widely apart. The image of Mother with the legs put apart and the hands "scattered" can be identified as "a ceremony of entreaty about fertility". It is possible to search for decoding the contents of this composition in mythological monuments of Indo-Aryans, the *Rigveda* and the *Ramayana*. The centric pattern of Khakass ornament is regarded by the needlewomen of the 19th-20th centuries as mascot. The image of *Ymai*, Mother, is characterized by multiplicity and variety of the ornaments. No matter how many additional vegetative and other details this ancient image acquires, *Ymai hoos* continues to live its special life.

The three-leaved ornament *The Tree of Life* completes so-called "tree like" compositions in the Khakass embroidery. The generalized figure of a tree in a Khakass folk art is found on *chalbah tos*, bells (the bottom world), *kozege* (curtain), in wood carvings, on metal decorations (finger-rings). In embroidered products the image of "the tree of life" is represented by the trunk branching in two parts with a final three-leaved element. Almost all repertoire of ornamental patterns is included in tree like compositions. The researchers of Khakass folk art paid special attention to this particular pattern. E. R. Shneyder points out "the prevalence of motive of a trunk with symmetrically located branches. Sometimes this is a plain trunk, more often it consists of separate ovals, rhombuses and small heart-shaped figures. The top, sometimes the bottom, is topped by fan-shaped bunch of petals." The researcher suggests that this motif comes from ancient geometrical forms, "originating from the image of a bird together with a tree. E. K. Jakovlev treats "the tree of life as a vegetative pattern from freely "scattered" leaves. I. Johansen identifies "the tree of life" as a "technological" element", which helps to extend a composition of a pattern upwards and to finish it according to the form of a product.

In cliff drawings "the tree of life" is also found. For example, "the Horse at a World's Tree" described by J. A. Sherom. This motif of Karasuk culture is repeated three times in cliff figures of the mountain Tepsei in Minusinsk basin. The drawings represent two horses which stand opposite to each other and are adhered to a vertical column which has a V-shaped top. The ancient artist executed this drawing in a generalized manner: the outlines of the horses are already transformed into an ornamental pattern. This proves their multiple repeatability and rituality. The researcher associates this tethering-post with an image of a World's Column, i.e., the world consisting of 3 parts: the top, the middle and the bottom. The closest analogies to such an original plot we find in old Chinese myths: "the tree with a long trunk ran directly into a cloud, only on the top several bent branches grew in an umbrella-like form". In the *Rigveda* the sacrificial column plays a role of a mediator on which the spirit of a victim goes upwards to the corresponding deity. In Khakass epic the image of a tethering-post is also multipurpose. It used to be a sacrificial column shaped like horns of animals.

On Khakass bells, the picture of a tree and a three-branched ornament can be seen very frequently. Probably, its purpose can be connected with an idea of sacrifice. M.P. Gryaznov considered that a preliminary victim was the large horned cattle because it prevailed in the household of Karasuk culture. "The Sacred Tree" always took a special place in the ceremonial practice of Khakass people: "... and they did not worship a tree, but having placed it they worshipped gods". N. F. Katanov mentions a fragment from the prayer of the hillside sacrifice: "According to the custom of ancestors, a rich birch with a silver bark and gold leaves having the top of 9 branchings!" In Khakass ornaments, the structure of a sacred tree is preserved. According to Khakass beliefs this is a sort of ornament-mascot.

The composition of *ine hoozy* (an ornament of the goddess of fire) is one of the most mysterious ornamental patterns. This pattern was named so by Nanan Kyzlasova, who studied quinquefoliate figure with "burning" branches on the back of *segedek*. The ornament is located on the shoulders and in middle of a waist. This ornament can be seen as an independent composition on tobacco pouches, female waist bags (*iltik*), on female headgears, collars (*sikpena*). The only headgear with an otter fur marge, a velvet triangular crown ending with three branches from the central extended figure is found in Iltik Kyzlasova's family.

Among historical analogies of an image of the Fire Goddess, there is the drawing "Feeding of Fire" on a knife or a dagger of the 17th century

Museum of Kazanovka, the Khakass Republic). In the centre of a trapezoid surface is the burning fire. Two female figures wearing fire-shaped headgears are standing nearby with cups in their hands. Fire is represented as a trefoil with extended "fire-like" figure. In the Khakass costume the elements of an image of fire goddess are not so often as in the costumes of Mongol-speaking people. The female headgear - a simplified representation of the fire image - can be found traced in the applied art of Tuvinians, Mongols and Buryats.

The products under analysis refer to various kinds of art and are separated from each other by several thousands years. In spite of it, there is a close semantic connection between them. Otherwise they could not be so similar. All this proves that Khakass ornaments are traceable to most ancient period of development of mankind, having absorbed eventually all ideas of various peoples about the world around. Thus, the ornament is the most advanced kind of Khakass applied art. It was the embroidery where Khakass people.

In the 19th-20th centuries the geometrical ornament was mostly developed by Kachin people (*haas*), as well as ornaments *nurut* (Buryat). Sagay people appreciated a branched ornament (*azyr hoos*), numerous variations of *Ymai-hoos*, *Ot ine hoozy*, treelike ornaments. The most popular ornaments among Koybal people were vegetative ornaments with flower compositions. Kyzyl people gave preference to cosmogonic ornaments. There are distinctions between every group of Khakass people. The differences can be explained by "the specific phenomena in the outlook of people which were embodied in their picture of the world.

The complex approach in studying the sources of a folk art and the correction of the data drawn from archeology, ethnography, linguistics and other adjacent sciences are especially necessary in the analysis of the ornament. For example, the ornament cannot be studied separately from the product. The Khakass ornament closely is connected with the form of a product and location of the ornament. In the embroidery there are numerous symbols containing canonized semantic value, transferred with the help of various figures, which testify to their ancient origin. Since each kind of clothing or utensil was characterized by special ornamental motifs, one can assume that the form of the ornaments is closely connected with the origin of clothing decorations.

There are common principles and methods in ornamental motifs of Khakass embroidery and in the ornaments of ancient cattlemen of the Central Asia. The motifs making a basis of an ornament can be subdivided

into geometrical, vegetative, zoomorphic, and anthropomorphic. Each of these motifs is represented equally enough and is connected to a thing.

Compositional techniques, the combination of motifs and their arrangement on a surface of decorated objects reveal direct link with ancient times and have close parallels with art of peoples who lived near and far away from Khakasia. There is similarity in the ornament of Turkic and Mongolian-speaking people of Siberia: Tuvinians, Altay people, Yakuts, Buryats. This proves mutual historical contacts and interdependence of these nations.

The semantics of the Khakass ornament reveals religious, moral and aesthetic ideas as well as the peculiarities of Khakass daily routine. The developing relations between a man and his environment, his outlook, the dependence of an ornament on human economic activities and social relations characterize the level of development of ethnos. National Khakass embroidery represents the continuity of development of traditional culture in Khakass-Minusinsk basin from antiquity up to the time of the formation of a modern Khakass ornament.

THE KHAKAS ETHNOS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

V. BUTANAYEV

The Khakass people – also known as *Tadar* or *Hoorai* – are the descendants of the Yenisei Kyrghyz people. Up to the 20th century, the Khakass population was mainly settled on the left bank of river Yenisei. The majority of the Khakasses were illiterate and did not know the Russian language and culture.

According to the 1926 All-Union Demographic Census, the population in Khakassia was about 88,906 people, out of which 82,970 people belonged to rural areas and 5,936 were from urban areas. The number of the Khakasses increased up to 48,300 people (according to some data, it was 44,200 people), which included 1,901 urban people. In 1928, there were 16,554 farms in the *okrug*, (where 95,453 people worked), among them there were 9,155 Khakasses constituting 55.3 per cent of these farms. The majority of the Khakass population lived in the district of Azkiz (94 per cent of the farms) and the minority – in the district of Bograd (5 per cent of the total number of the farms).

In 1930 the density of the Khakass people in the autonomous region decreased to 53 per cent (45,310 persons). In 1934, the population of Khakassia was 102,920 people, among them 37,244 Khakasses. In 1935, the population increased up to 183,022 people (39,767 Khakasses – 21.7 per cent). According to Kyshpanakov's researches, between 1932 and 1936 the number of Khakasses declined by 14.2 per cent. The decline in the number and density of Khakasses was due to the eviction of the dispossessed *bais*, political repressions, immigration from other territories to Khakassia, evacuation, exiles, and the repression during the war (the Germans, the Kalmyks, the Baltic people). Besides, thousands of Khakasses did not return from the front.

At present, the population of Khakassia is 540,800 people - urban population is 384,000 (71 per cent) and rural population is 156,800 (29

per cent). There are 8 districts, 5 towns, 12 urban-type settlements and 254 rural settlements. The number of Khakasses in Khakassia makes up 65,500 people according to the 2002 Census, or to be more exact only 12 per cent. In comparison with the 1989 Census the population increased by 104 persons (1 per cent only). The majority of Khakasses live in the countryside: 61.7 per cent from the total population of Khakasses and 25.3 per cent of the total population of Khakassia. Urban population is 38.3 per cent that makes up 6.5 per cent of all the population of the Republic.

Though the total number of the Khakas population is increasing, there is a decline in their density in the ethnic territory due to the large inflow of people from outside in connection with the industrial development of the republic. So, if in 1910 in the Khakas department the native people made up 98 per cent, then in 1989 there were only 12 people. At the same time processes of emigration increased. According to the 1989 Census out of 81,000 Khakasses more than 18,000, i.e. 21 per cent lived outside the republic. This disturbing factor testifies to the hard position of the Khakasses, especially specialists, in their homeland.

Some small groups of Khakasses live outside the republic in the contiguous territories of the districts of Uzhur and Sharypov of Krasnoyarsky krai and neighboring Tyva. According to the 2002 Census the number of Khakasses in Krasnoyarsky krai is 4,489 people, in Tyva, it is 1,219. In total 75,622 representatives of the Khakass ethnos live in different territories of the Russian Federation. Thus there has been a reduction in the number of Khakasses in the period between the Censuses of 1989 and 2002 by 2,878 persons (according to the 1989 Census, it was 78,500).

Khakasses live in the upper reaches of the Tashtyp river and the Matur river, and they which speak the Shor dialect. Up to 1917, they were officially concerned with the Kuznetsk district government. Despite the cultural and economic relations with the Sagai ethnic groups of the Tashtyp river valley, their language and genetic affinity with the taiga inhabitants of the Kemerovo area still plays a great role. A large number of the marriages are contracted by them with the Shor people. On the territory of Khakassia (especially in the villages of Bakyksa and Shora) 1,200 representatives of the Shor ethnos live (0.2 per cent of all population). Having moved in Khakassia, in the second generation, they began identifying themselves as Khakasses. Not only affinity of languages, culture, appearance, but also the general self-name *tadar* promotes their

ethnic identification.

During the last hundred years, the Khakas ethnos increased by 153 per cent. For the same period, the growth of the number of the Altains made up to 150 per cent, the Tyvinians – 470 per cent. The density of the Khakasses in the structure of the population of Khakassia in the 20th century decreased from 98 per cent to 12 per cent. It was due to the inflow of aliens, basically Russian population. During the first decades of the Soviet rule, when the process of industrialization began in Russia and industrial development of Khakassia began, the increase of the population occurred due to the immigration of labour. Inflow of Russian migrants went on during the evacuation of the population of the USSR at the time of the Great Patriotic War and during the development of the virgin soils in 1950s.

Whereas in 1990, there was a natural increase of Khakasses by 867 persons, in 1993-1994, the process of a loss of indigenous population began. The process of ageing of the Khakas population also set in. The number of people older than 60 years, is increasing. In 1992 in the villages of the Askizsky district, the percentage of children of Khakasses declined by 42.4 per cent in 1986. In the Tashtypsky district, it went down by 40 per cent, and in Abakan by 23 per cent. In 1995, the situation improved a little as the Khakass population went up by 0.06 per cent. In 1996, 162 children per thousand were born, whereas 118 people died. In 1997, 175 children were born as against 122 people dead.

In connection with the complex demographic situation, the character of the modern migratory process is a matter of concern. Already at the end of the 1980s, each fifth Khakass lived outside the historical native land. Among the Khakasses there are people who achieved appreciable success in the selected specialties, such as admirals, colonels, doctors, engineers, geologists, lawyers. In comparison with the other Turkic people of Southern Siberia (the Altaians, the Tyvinians), the Khakasses have the highest density of the persons living outside the republic. Nowadays, according to the 2002 Census, 13.5 per cent of the total number of the Khakasses live in different regions of the Russian Federation. One seventh part of the Khakas population live outside Khakassia.

Traditional Khakass settlements – *aals* – have changed. In 1928, there were 292 Khakass *aals* out of the total 567 settlements (43 per cent) and 84 *aals* (12.5 per cent), where Khakass and Russian population lived together. Now not more than 100 such settlements exist. The collectivization campaign of 1929-1930 and reorganization of collective

farms into state farms in 1957 caused the damage. During the Soviet rule in the course of the social and economic changes, the Khakass population became the national minority in their primordial territory. The whole generation has grown without knowing the native language, culture and with deformed national consciousness.

ADMINISTRATION OF KHAKASSIA IN THE 19TH-20TH CENTURIES

V. BUTANAYEV

In 1822 as a result of M. Speransky's reform the territory of Khongorai (the historical name of Khakassia) became a part of the neogenic Yenisei province of Eastern Siberia. Divided formerly into different *uyezds* (districts), the Khakassian lands were united into one province with four steppe Dumas: Kachin, Kaibal, Sagai of Minusinsk district and Kyzyl of Achinskij district. They followed the laws of the district government. In 1855 the Kachin steppe Duma was divided into the Abakan and Ijus alien board because of disagreements and disputes of *chaizans* (patrimonial heads). However in 1864 at the instance of the population the Kachin areas were united in one department, but as the Abakan alien board.

In 1893, the Sagai and the Kyzyl steppe Dumas were abolished and reorganized into the Askiz and Kyzyl alien board by the decision of the district police administration. The last one, unlike the Dumas, followed the *zemskaia* board and mainly performed judicial police functions. The chief of the board was the head and there were two delegates.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Khakass region, which had the historical name Khongorai, was divided into 3 national boards: the Ust-Abakan alien board (the centre is the village of Ust-Abakan), the Askiz alien board and the Kyzyl alien board (the centre is the village of Bozhje ozero).

In 1910-1913, the organization of the use of Khakasses' lands was subjected to the general reforms of Stolypin's agrarian policy. On 28 October 1911 by the decision of the Yenisei provincial board, Khakasses were listed as the settled people instead of the nomadic people, and they were to follow the laws of the country administration and court. The *volost* government was introduced instead of the alien board. On 4

February 1912, the Governor General approved this decision. The Ust-Abakanaja, Askizskaja and Kyzylskaja *volosts* were constituted in place of the alien boards. In 1915 the *volost* of Ust-Fyrkalskaja was formed in the northern part of the *volost* of Ust-Abakanskaja. In 1915, the *volost* of Sejskaja, a part of the *uyezd* of Minusinsk, was reorganized from the *uyezd* of Kuznetsk.

In 1917 the Khakass region consisted of 7 *volosts*: Askizskaja, Sejskaja, Senjavinskaja, Ust-Abakanskaja, Ust-Esinskaja, Ust-Fyrkalskaja and Kyzylskaja. Almost all the *volosts*, with the exception of the *volost* of Kyzylskaja, were a part of the district of Minusinsk. At the end of the 19th century, the total area of the Khakasses' steppe settlements, apart from the public forests, was about 35,000 sq. kms and the territory stretched out 425 kms from north to south.

According to the 1920 Census, the total population of the Khakass region was 49,991 people, out of which 5,128 people lived in the *volost* of Seyskaja, 10,221 people in the *volost* of Ust-Esinskaja, 7,261 people in the *volost* of Askizskaja, 3,782 people in the *volost* of Senjavinskaja, 8,274 people in the *volost* of Ust-Abakan, 5,256 people in the *volost* of Ust-Fyrkaly, and 10,069 people in the *volost* of Kyzyl.

On 14 November 1923, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) passed the resolution to unite seven Khakas *volosts* into the Khakass National District. It was established in January 1924 and 77,329 people lived there. Khakasses constituted 75 per cent of the total population. In March 1924, four districts were established instead of the *volosts*: the Charkovskij district (formerly the Ust-Abakanskaja, Senjavinskaja and Znamenskaja *volosts*), the Chebakovskij district (formerly the Ust-Fyrlaskaja, Mountain Achinskaja and Kyzylskaja *volosts*), the Askizskij district (formerly the Askizskaja and Ust-Esinskaja *volosts*) and the Tashtyp district (former the Sejskaja and Tashtypskaja *volosts*). According to the report of the Executive Committee of the Khakass District Council, 81,780 people, who had 14,619 farms, lived in Khakassia by the end of 1924.

In 1925, The Khakas National District became a part of the Siberian region. The Khakas National District consisted of 5 districts: the district of Tashtyp, the district of Askiz, the district of Charkov, the district of Chebakov and the district of Bograd. The district of Bograd was joined at the instance of the Russian population. In 1923 at the Congress of the Soviets of the *volost* of Znamenskaja (the future areas of the district of Bograd), its representatives declared that "according to the project of the

zoning all alien population is allocated in a special alien district, and it was better that the Znamenskaja *volost*, having mixed population, should be an alien district”.

On 20 October 1930, the Presidium of the CEC took a decision “to reorganize the Khakas National District into Khakas Autonomous Oblast as a part of West-Siberian Krai”. Thus, Khakassia became a part of the RSFSR.

In January 1935, Khakas Autonomous Oblast became a part of Krasnoyarsky Krai. That year the district of Beja was formed as a result of the fragmentation of the districts of Askiz and Minusinsk; the district of Sarala was formed out of the district of Shyra. This district was renamed as the district of Ordzhonikidzevskij in 1955.

The Constitution of the USSR of 1924 and the Constitution of the RSFSR guaranteed Khakas Autonomous Oblast the right of direct representation in the supreme authorities of the USSR and RSFSR. According to the Constitution of the RSFSR Khakas Autonomous Oblast became a part of the RSFSR. The Oblast had its delegate in the Council of Nationalities of the GEC of the USSR and at the All-Union and All-Russian Congresses of Soviets. The supreme authority of Khakas Autonomous Oblast was the Congress. Special attention was paid to involve/associate the representatives of native people in the government in Khakassia. During the first regional Congress of Soviets in 1930, there were 57 Khakasses of 120 delegates and they had the right to cast vote; at the second Congress in 1934, there were 72 Khakasses of 199 delegates. At the Congress in 1936, there were 104 Khakasses of 271 delegates. The first chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee was J.A. Balakhchin, a Khakass.

In August 1990, the Soviet of People’s Deputies of Khakas Autonomous Oblast decided to reorganize Khakas Autonomous Oblast into Khakas Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The governing body of Khakassia made the request to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR to recognize Khakassia’s new status and its separation from the Krasnojarskij Krai. This was approved by the Russian Parliament and the law of “Reorganization of Khakas Autonomous Oblast into Khakass Soviet Socialist Republic” was passed on 3 July 1991.

According to the Constitution, the legislature is represented by the unicameral Supreme Council of the Republic of Khakassia, consisting of 75 deputies. The executive power is vested with the Government of the republic of Khakassia, which is headed by the Chairman, selected by all the population of the Republic which exercises their vote.

Elections of deputies of the Supreme Council and the Chairman took place for the first time in December 1996. As a result, new Supreme Council, consisting of 75 deputies, was formed. Vladimir Shtygashev was elected as the Chairman of the Supreme Council. Alexey Lebed, a Deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, became the Chairman of the Government.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF KHAKASIA

D. M. KARACHAKOV

The development of economy in Siberia and its regions has always been a strategic objective of Russia. In the 18th-19th centuries, the first comparatively large mining plants were built on the basis of the explored ore mineral resources. After the establishment of the Soviet state system and foundation of the USSR a more active development of the territory of Siberia began. Ferrous and nonferrous metal ores, gold, coal, wood, furs and agricultural stocks were being explored and exported from Siberia.

New economic circumstances arose at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century. An extreme shortage of raw materials caused great concern over the process of industrial development of Siberia. By that time, putting natural resources of this vast region into economic operation had been regarded as a part of the common worldwide process of the realization of major investment programmes.

Economic development of Khakasia in the period 1950s-1980s was primarily connected with engineering. Such factors as availability of the explored raw material resources vital for the national economy, and considerable increase in public financing of the development of these resources contributed to the growth of capital construction. The main branches of industry of the then autonomous region were supplemented with new enterprises; the major part of the working plants and factories was extended and provided with new equipment.

Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric power station became a famous energy project all over the country. The preliminary design of this station was completed in 1963 and confirmed by the Council of Ministers of the USSR in June 1965. To construct a dam of this hydropower station, one needed twice as much concrete as it was used to build Bratskaya hydroelectric power station.¹ In the period of the ninth five-year plan, preparations for damming of the Yenisei were underway. The volume of

concrete-laying and ground and rock excavation increased considerably. The damming of the river took place in a solemn atmosphere on the 11 October 1975.

The major part of the hydroelectric power station building survey and design work was being done in Leningrad. In the same place, two thirds of the equipment for the station were being produced. Guided by the experience of the previous projects, Leningrad designers put forward a number of essentially new solutions, which had helped to put the first units of the hydroelectric power station into operation before the construction was completed and the height of the dam reached the design elevation mark.² The first hydroelectric generator of Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric power station with the capacity of 840,000 KW was operationalised on 18 December 1978. At the end of 1980, the fifth generator was put under industrial load. Within the period of the eleventh five-year plan (1981-1985) all ten hydroelectric generators of Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric power station were started.³

With the end of the construction of one of the unique waterside structures in the country and the world, Khakasia became one of the main centers of power generation. Even in the difficult period of 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century, Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric power station remained a successfully operating plant and generated constant state and republic revenues.

The period 1950s-1960s was marked by successful development of ore mining industry in Khakasia. It was possible due to the exploration work done on the territory of the region and sound public investment made in new construction projects. In August 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR passed the resolution "On the Development of Iron and Manganese Ore Industry", which provided for building and launching the Teisky and the Abakansky iron ore mines in Askizsky and Tashtypsky districts in 1958-1965. The Abakansky iron ore mine was being rapidly built; its first stage development yielded results in 1959. The Teisky iron ore mine was put into operation much later than it had been envisioned.⁴ Thus, beginning with the 1960s, the autonomous region became one of the significant iron ore suppliers of metallurgical plants of Siberia. In the 1960s-1970s there was an increase in nonferrous metal ore mining in Khakasia. The "Kommunar" Mine and Sorsk molybdenum plant were operating successfully. Tuimsky nonferrous metals processing plant was built.

Special emphasis was laid on the work of the Sorsk plant – one of the largest mining plants of Siberia in the 1960s-80s. At the beginning of the 1960s, the workers of the ore mill of the plant with the help of the staff of the specialized research institute managed to introduce a new technique of iron ore mining. It allowed to increase the efficiency of production dramatically and save hundreds of thousands of roubles of the public funds. A national school of the best practices among mining operation plants of the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy of the USSR was working on the basis of this plant. The Sorsk molybdenum plant became the ground for new ore mining equipment testing and application. Within 1959-1968 the output of copper concentrate increased 25 times, the production of molybdenum concentrate by 3 times, and the general working efficiency grew 2.7 times. In 1966, the workers of the Sorsk molybdenum plant received the Order of the Red Banner of Labour for successful adoption of new equipment and production techniques of that time.⁵ In the subsequent period, the plant was being constantly provided with modern equipment; it increased mining of the ore valuable for the national economy, and remained the leading plant of the region and the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy of the USSR.

Till the 1960s, the machine-building industry and metal works manufacturing in Khakasia had been represented by small enterprises belonging to different branches of national economy and producing metalware, repairing automobiles, tractors, agricultural machinery, etc. Repair enterprises served mainly the domestic needs of the autonomous region and were under the authority of the departments, in the hands of which necessary equipment was concentrated. The repair enterprises were poorly equipped with machines and special facilities. That is why, that the complex repair of machinery had to be done at the plants of other Siberian cities.

Machine-building as a branch of industry of national significance developed due to the formation of the Sayansky territorial industrial complex in Khakasia and southern regions of Krasnoyarsk territory. According to the approved programme of development of the territorial industrial complex, the construction of a number of large plants belonging to the complex "Abakanwagonmash" was provided. These plants were supposed to meet the needs of the country in main-line freight cars and container cars. Thus automobile machine-building industry was meant to become one of the branches of specialization of Abakan industrial unit of the Sayansky territorial industrial complex.

In 1969, the construction of a resting base of the new project site began, and in 1971 the builders of the trust "Abakanwagonstroy" proceeded to the construction of engineering buildings of the new plant. The staff of the trust had to overcome great difficulties. Just as in many project sites, the problems of preparing construction documents plans were not being properly solved. Much time was spent on endorsement of different papers by administration and various departments.

But in spite of these obstacles connected with the bureaucratic system of the national economy management in the 1970s–80s, the new plant was getting on its feet. In 1975 the first facilities in the form of support shops were introduced, and in 1980 the economy of the country got 1,300 mainline freight cars and 5,000 containers were produced by the complex "Abakanwagonmash". In 1985, these figures went up to 1,600 cars and 23,700 containers respectively.⁶

In the 1960s–80s, great energy was applied to eliminate the backwardness of light and food industry in Khakasia. While exploring the prospects of these industrial branches, one took into consideration such factors as availability of rich but still inactively used raw material resources, redundancy of unemployed women, and significant changes in the system of manufactured products and foodstuffs consumption.

Because of the insufficient development of capacities in processing industry, the autonomous region continued heavy export of wool, leather, valuable sable, blue fox, ermine, musquash, red fox furs, etc. At that time footwear, tissues, leather, knitwear and garments were being imported. The Abakan meat packing factory was the largest and the most famous among food industry in the country. According to the planned distribution, smoked sausage, canned meat, etc. were being exported to big cities of the western part of Russia.

When analyzing the prospects of economic development of the autonomous region in connection with the formation of the Sayansky territorial industrial complex, one attached great importance to the task of intensification of regional processing industry. At the same time, construction of large plants was underway. In 1966 the first facilities of the Chernogorsk worsted-cloth factory were put into operation. It was followed by launching the knitting factory "Khakasia" in Abakan in 1967, the shoe factory "Sayany" in 1968, the artificial leather factory in 1974, and the primary wool treatment factory in 1975.

Within a comparatively short period of time Khakasia became one of the centers of light industry in Siberia. This branch of industry gained a

leading position not only in terms of the number of employed workers, but also in its gross output. Food industry in Khakasia also got its further development. In Sayanogorsk and Chernogorsk new bakery plants were built, in Askiz - a cheese-making plant, in Abakan - a brewing plant. Modern high-capacity production lines were launched at the meat-packing factory and confectionary plant.

Thus, the consideration of growth of different branches of national economy shows that in comparison with other regions of the country, the economy of Khakasia in the 1950s–80s was developing, on the whole, successfully. It was the period when the largest industrial plants, which determined the economic image of the autonomous region before the radical reforms of the early 1990s, were built.

The growth of economic potential of Khakasia was possible due to the formation and development of the Sayansky territorial industrial complex (TIC). Today, when Russia has switched over to a market economy and is searching for new forms of regional economy organization, it is very important to consider the positive experience gained earlier, during the Soviet period. Therefore an examination of the influence of the Sayansky territorial industrial complex (TIC) formation on the industrial development of Khakasia, becomes necessary.

In the 1960s–80s the establishment of the Sayansky territorial industrial complex in Siberia was an important part of the economic strategy of the Communist Party and the country. Putting new rich natural and economic resources into operation within the national economy was regarded as a necessary condition for the rise of country's economy as a whole. It was supposed to improve the production efficiency.

The enormous dimensions of the Siberian constructions in the Soviet period were widely and frequently discussed. It was one of the most popular issues in economic, historical and especially popular science literature. Indeed, the building of new large plants of national significance on the territory of Khakasia and other Siberian regions was a unique phenomenon in the domestic and world's practice. It required the involvement of big financial and material resources, heroic efforts on the part of workers, engineers and technicians.

Needless to say that serious scientific and technical preparation was necessary for the prospective economic development. For that purpose, the central research and design-survey organizations were involved. In the 1950s–early 60s, expeditions of the Council of Productive Forces Examination (CPFE), the department of scientific institutions of the Siberian

Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the departments of geology were working on the territory of all Siberian republics and autonomous regions. In 1962, a research laboratory was opened in Abakan. It was developing an integrated plan of the growth of productive forces in Khakasia, Tuva, and the southern regions of Krasnoyarsk territory.⁷ In 1960 under the direction of the Siberian department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Gorno-Altaiisky institutional set up of productive forces for integrated study and application was founded. In the mid-seventies an economic laboratory of the Institute of Economy and Industrial Production Engineering of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences was established in Tuva.⁸

Regional meetings and national scientific conferences played a great role in generalization of the results of productive forces development study. In summer 1958, such meetings took place in Ulan-Ude, Kyzyl, Yakutsk, Krasnoyarsk and Chita. The closing conference organized by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR together with the State Planning Committee of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation was held in Irkutsk in August 1958. The national scientific conferences on the productive forces development in Siberia were also of great importance; these took place in Akademgorodok in Novosibirsk in May 1969 and in June 1980.⁹

On the whole, the studies of the territories of the Siberian national regions conducted in the 1960s–70s played an important role for science and economic practice. The achieved results made it possible to considerably extend and in a number of cases to fundamentally reconsider the existing ideas of natural resources and economic potential of these regions. In the years under consideration one would not only give economic-geographical evaluation of mineral and raw material resources, but also ground the projections of productive forces placement and development, and study feasibility of the new construction and the territorial industrial complex formation and growth projects.

However, in conditions of essentially important decisions being made only in the central departments, the greater part of the existing projects were contradicting to the concept of integrated development of the territories, and did not take into account the positive experience of foreign countries. Not all the questions of economic development of the regions were sufficiently studied. Many recommendations of scientific institutions, concerning the problems of environment protection and social sphere, remained unclaimed and were not taken into consideration in the

formulation of the short-term plans of the enterprises and industries development.

At the end of 1991, Russia entered into a new period of its development, characterized by radical reforms in all spheres of life. According to the programmes approved by the federal government, the conditions for a market economy development were created in Khakassia as well. The formation of new economic patterns began, the committees of estate administration were being established, the state property was being rapidly privatized and so on.

Forming the mechanisms of economic liberalization revealed the disparities existing in the regional economy and uncompetitiveness of the major part of industrial production. Many plants (especially the ones in light industry) were closed. Investment decreased dramatically and the production in mining industry dwindled.

To conclude, in the second half of the 20th century, Khakassia like many other regions of Siberia, was rapidly developing. In that period its mineral and raw material resources condition was actively examined, and the feasibility study of new large plants and construction projects was done. Three industrial complexes were formed on the territory of Khakassia: the Abakan, the Chernogorsk and the Sayanogorsk industrial complex.

By the end of the 1980s, the major plants of the production complex, provided the country with industrial products. In Abakan the following plants were put into operation: the knitting and shoe factories, the rail car building plant, the experimental-engineering factory and the provender mill, the artificial leather and primary wool treatment factories. The Saynogorsk industrial complex Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric power station, the aluminium factory, the stone processing factory, etc. In the 1990s of the 20th century, very important changes took place in the regional economy. As a result of the transition to a market economy, heterogeneous economy was formed, competitive atmosphere was created and many enterprises collapsed.

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF KHAKASSIA

V.A. KYSHPANAKOV

Economic potential of Khakassia was being harnessed throughout the 20th century during the Soviet period. However, economic development of Khakas-Minusinsk area had begun long before the October Revolution of 1917. In 1732 AD, copper deposits were discovered and later in 1740 the Lugavskoye brass works was constructed here. The next period of copper-smelting development in Khakassia was at the end of the 19th-20th centuries when in 1908 and 1911 on the basis of the deposits "Julia" and "Ulen'skoye" two big brass works were constructed. In the mid-19th century, in the Western Sayan mountains, the Abakan deposits of iron ore were discovered. And in 1867 Abakan ironworks was constructed here. Around the same time, in the north of Khakassia major fields of gold ore were found. Here gold-mines were established. In early 20th century one more branch of extraction industry, connected with coal extraction, started being developed in Khakassia. Later, coal industry became a key economic branch of the region's economy.

The territory of Khakassia is rich in forest resources. However, the timber industry did not develop to a great extent during the pre-revolutionary period. Among other branches of the economy salt-mines developed faster. But by the early 1920s, these could not withstand competition with the Ural works and stopped working. The pre-revolutionary period of industrial development of Khakassia was characterized by focal placing of enterprises, and their narrow specialization in the extraction of natural resources. However, it was typical for Siberia on the whole. At the same time, one may state that industry in Khakassia started developing earlier and faster than in other areas of Southern Siberia.

Before the October Revolution of 1917, the region's economy had a multistructured character. It involved the patriarchal-feudal, patriarchal-

patrimonial, small-scale commodity economy and private-capitalist modes, which closely intertwined among themselves. And if the latter one dominated in a mining industry, the agriculture was basically small-scale (e.g. stock farming).

The next stage of economic development of Khakassia is related to the Soviet period when the economy developed according to five-year state plans. During the first five-year plans the economic potential of the Republic was rising. New branches of industry appeared: timber industry, woodworking industry and large-scale food industry. The producer's cooperatives and local industry developed. A number of enterprises were constructed, which gave a new push to the development of productive forces of Khakassia in pre-war time: Sarala Central Power Station, Chernogorsk Power Station, Ust-Abakan woodworking industrial complex, etc. Only during one decade (1930-40), industrial output increased by 18 times.

The industrial development of Khakassia was due to active development of natural resources of eastern areas of Russia. Secondly, it was due to improvement of the transport network of the territory. By the late 1920s, building of the railway line from Achinsk to Abakan had been completed. This railway line led to the establishment of new enterprises of timber, coal, metal mining and woodworking industries. The railway line facilitated the flow of emigrants to Khakassia. As a result, the population increased, especially in the urban areas. By 1940, the population of Khakassia had increased by 2.4 times more (it reached the level of 1926) and the urban population increased by more than 21 times. In the period 1930-40, two towns (Abakan and Chernogorsk), and eight working settlements were formed.

In the 1950s-60s, intensive road construction was undertaken in Khakassia. The South-Siberian trunk-railway became operational, which played a big part in the development of natural resources of western Khakassia. It facilitated the using of forest and iron ore resources in Abaza and Teya, construction of large modern enterprises, extraction and processing of iron ores, and woodworking industrial complexes. New branches of industry appeared: iron ore, copper-molybdenum, hydrolytic, textile, knitting trade, shoe and meat-packing industries. The light industry constituted the leading part.

Since the early 1970s, Khakassia entered its new phase of economic development. The government of the country made a decision to organize one of the largest industrial areas of Eastern Siberia in the south of

Krasnoyarsk region. It was the Sayan territorial and industrial complex and the Khakas autonomous region had all the prerequisites: a compact territory, availability of various building materials and ore minerals (gravel, sand, marble, granite, iron and non-ferrous ores), rich forest and water resources.

In a rather short term (1970s till the first half of 1980s), new branches of industry appeared here: hydroelectric power, aluminium, extraction and processing of non-ferrous metals, transportation engineering, stone processing, and structural elements industries. Such powerful industrial giants as the world's largest Sayano-Shushensk Hydroelectric Power Station, the Sayan aluminium works, the Abakan car production factory, etc. were constructed. Such an industrial structure of Khakassia defined the character of its development for many years and led to its economic stability.

The economic crisis of the 1990s, following the break-up of the Soviet Union, gravely influenced the economy of Khakassia which in 1991 received a legal status. Traditional economic linkages among the enterprises of other regions were broken. As a result, unemployment began to increase, and social tension grew. Many enterprises in Khakassia became bankrupt. The light industry actually stopped to work. Agrarian sector of the Republic got into a tense situation.

In that period of transition to the market relations, "the locomotives", pulling the economy of Khakassia, were the leading branches: hydroelectric power industry, aluminium and coal industries. Great institutional changes took place: privatization was carried out, new patterns of ownership appeared, foreign-economic activity developed. Today, according to the Khakas Statistics Institution, private enterprises account for 70 per cent of all enterprises (see Figure 1).

In the recent years, the economy of Khakassia gradually, but with difficulty, has begun to get out of this crisis. Gross regional product in the years 2000–2005 increased by 2.4 times. Investments are one of the factors of economic growth. According to the rating of investment appeal, Khakassia takes a medium place among regions of Russia. One of the reasons for such a position is an unsatisfactory economic situation of enterprises. As for the financial investment patterns, short-term financial investments prevail (see Table 1).

Figure 1
 DIVISION OF ENTERPRISES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TYPES OF OWNERSHIP

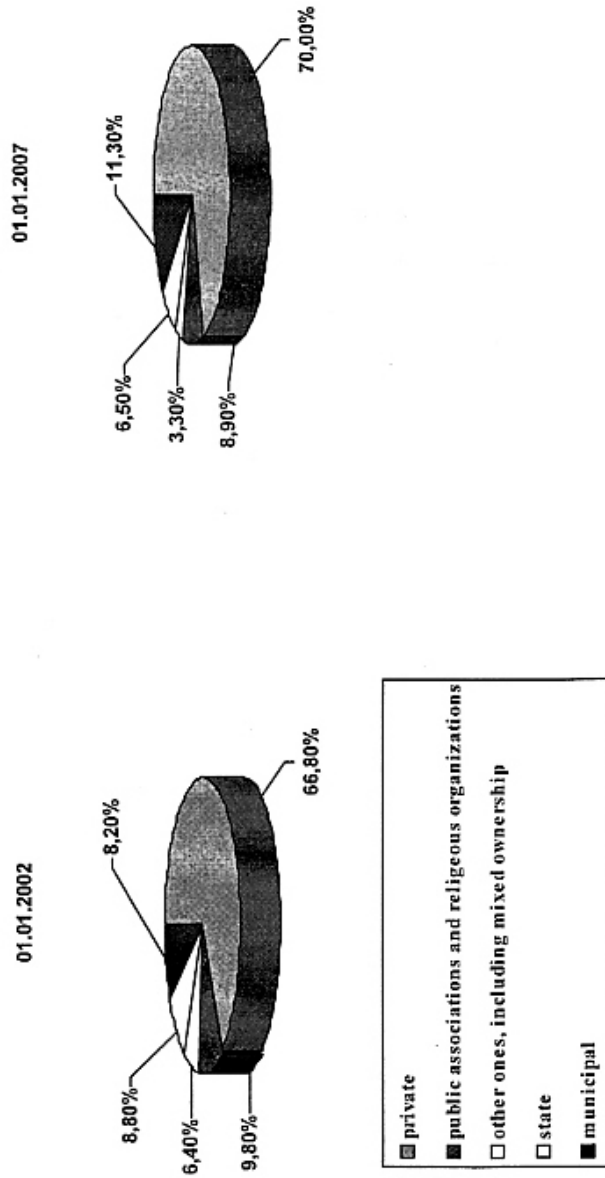


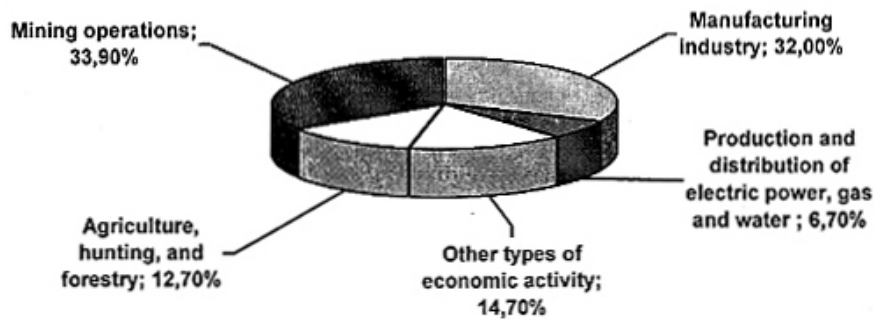
Table 1
FINANCIAL INVESTMENTS OF ENTERPRISES (%)

	1999	2000	2002	2004	2006
Long-term financial investments	93.9	69.5	59.6	17.9	30.8
Short-term financial investments	6.1	30.5	40.4	82.1	69.2

Source: *Economy of the Republic of Khakassia in 2006. Part II, Collected Articles, Abakan, 2007, p.215*

The basic financial investments were deposited in mining and manufacturing industry (see Figure 2)

Figure 2
STRUCTURE OF FINANCIAL INVESTMENTS OF ORGANIZATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN 2006



The leading branch of economy of Khakassia is industry holding 38 per cent of its share out of the gross regional product in 2005. The branch structure of industry is presented in Table 2.

The leading branches in the economy of industrial sector of the Republic are the organizations of metallurgy, electric power industry, mining industry, and food industry. Industry of Khakassia supplies the public market with electric power, coal, iron ore, molybdenum concentrate, gold, aluminium, aluminium foil, marble facing products, lumber, and meat and dairy products. The most difficult situation arose in the Republic in agriculture sector. There was 6 per cent fall in the share of agriculture out of the gross regional product in 2005. The reforms in agriculture in the 1990s and at the beginning of early 21st century resulted in great structural changes. Former state farms (state agricultural enterprises) were transformed into enterprises of new forms of management. Farms began

Table 2
BRANCH STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION
 (IN ACTUALLY OPERATING PRICES, IN % TO A RESULT) *

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Industry, including:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Power Industry	14.9	21.4	20.9	22.9	20.4
Fuel Industry	4.6	10.0	9.8	10.6	11.1
Ferrous Metallurgy	1.4	1.8	3.7	3.7	4.4
Non-ferrous Metallurgy	53.7	45.7	45.7	41.7	43.7
Engineering and Metal-working Industry	4.1	2.9	3.0	6.1	7.7
Timber and Wood-working Industry	0.9	1.7	1.2	1.3	1.4
Constructional Material Industry	2.8	2.8	1.6	1.7	1.6
Light Industry	3.1	2.8	2.7	2.1	0.6
Food Industry	10.8	7.6	9.2	7.8	6.5
Other branches	3.3	3.0	2.0	1.7	1.4

Source: *Economy of the Republic of Khakassia in 2006. Part II, Collected Articles, Abakan, 2007, p.52.*

to develop. But the process of their formation went through a lot of difficulties. Unfortunately, as in the Russian economy, the transformation in the agrarian sector in Khakassia resulted in the destruction of once powerful resource potential, and, as a result, it has led to the decline of production.

It may be noted that the change of the pattern of ownership did not automatically cause an improvement of economic indices. These farms just could not develop in the absence of economic and legal prerequisites. Also it was quite difficult for agricultural enterprises to work in difficult economic conditions (cut in prices, high interest rates of credits, etc.). Volumes of investments into agriculture abruptly decreased, and there was little state support. All these premises led to the change of the structure of agricultural production (See Table 3).

For the considered period, investments into the agrarian sector of economy were constantly declining. If in 1991 investments into the economy of Khakassia were 12.5 per cent, then in 1999, it was just 3 per cent. In 2000, the proportion of investments into the basic capital of agriculture was 3.6 per cent, in 2004, 1.3 per cent and in 2006, only 0.4 per cent. Now there is low agricultural production. The proportion of the unprofitable enterprises makes over 50 per cent and the breakeven of all economic activity makes 9.3 per cent (2006). On the whole, 3.8 per cent of coal, 2.6 per cent of electric power, 0.3 per cent of lumber, 0.15 per cent of

Table 3
STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURE DISTINGUISHED ACCORDING TO
THE CATEGORIES OF ECONOMY, IN %*

	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Economic categories, including:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Enterprises of Rural Economy	33.8	29.9	27.8	32.0	34.0	32.8
Residential Economy	63.9	67.5	69.8	64.5	62.4	61.2
Farming	2.3	2.6	2.4	3.5	3.6	+6.0

Source: *Economy of the Republic of Khakassia in 2006. Part II, Collected Articles*, Abakan, 2007, p.71

hard brick, and 0.9 per cent of meat were produced in 2005 in Khakassia.

Small scale business is actively developing. In 2006, the number of small scale enterprises was 2,400 or 26.1 per cent of the total number of enterprises and organizations of the Republic. However, as also in the whole of Russia, the majority of these enterprises are occupied in the service sector (over 50 per cent), where capital turnover is faster. In agriculture, for example, they make only 3.5 per cent from the whole number of small-scale enterprises.

In Siberian region, Khakassia is marked out by a well-developed transport system and power system. In the Republic there is a large railway junction, an airport and a river port. Khakassia has railway communications with Moscow, Novokuznetsk and Irkutsk. The level of electrification of railways of common usage makes 45 per cent. The density of the highways' network is average.

In foreign economic activity, the basic proportion of commodity trading is with foreign countries (those which were never the republics of the USSR - over 80 per cent). The remaining part belongs to the CIS countries. Export items include coal, mineral fuel, ferrous and nonferrous metals. Imports include equipment and chemical products.



Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation

The Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation is a national level multi-disciplinary research, cultural and development facilitative organisation set up by eminent area specialists, environmentalists, development experts, litterateurs and cultural personalities, which has been registered as a non-governmental and non-profit body under the Indian Societies Registration Act, 1860. Founded in 1989 at New Delhi, the Foundation has been initiating, coordinating and promoting the systematic and micro-study of various issues pertaining to the Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan regions in South and Central Asia or parts thereof, connected with its environment, biodiversity, regional development, human resources, history and culture, art and literature, social structures, economics, human rights, peace processes, geopolitics etc. The objective is to make a scientific appraisal of the issues confronting the Himalayan and adjoining region and to make specific policy-oriented studies and need-based recommendations as the means to promote the human, educational and economic advancement of the peoples of the region besides preserving and enriching their ethno-cultural, literary and historical heritage. The Foundation has evolved as a vibrant national centre specialised on the Hindu Kush-Himalayan and trans-Himalayan region in South and Central Asia.

The Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation completed sixteen years of its fruitful existence in the year 2006. During this period numerous environmentalists, academics, areas specialists, cultural personalities, regional development experts, population and settlement analysts, tourism, adventure and communication professionals and social activists have associated themselves with the Foundation. The Foundation and its members have been involved in multi-faceted activities such as organising seminars, workshops, group discussions, lectures, field studies, cultural programmes/exhibitions, drama and musical festivals, publication of quarterly journal, monographs and books. In recognition of its contribution, the United Nations accredited in July 1995 the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation as "NGO in Special Consultative Status with ECOSOC, United Nations," thereby bringing it at par with well established international bodies and providing it access to the United Nations and its agencies/bodies.

The Aims and objectives of the Foundation as described in Article 3 of its Memorandum of Association are:

- i) To initiate, co-ordinate and promote the study of various problems of the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan region from the Hindu Kush in the northwest to Arunachal Pradesh in the east and also in the adjoining region of South and Central Asia, connected with and in regard to its environment, geography, living and non-living resources, art and culture, history, society, economies, geopolitics, human rights, etc.
- ii) To take all possible steps for promoting the cause of the preservation and promotion of cultural, literary and historical heritage of the Himalayan States of India.
- iii) To encourage contacts and exchange of knowledge and culture of the Himalayas and adjoining areas, with a view to promote national integration and social justice.
- iv) To undertake, organise and facilitate the holding of conferences, seminars, lectures, cultural shows and workshops from time to time.
- v) To sponsor member researchers to different literary, academic or technical institutions in the country or abroad for study, training or undertaking specific research projects.
- vi) To provide both financial, technical and intellectual assistance to individuals or groups of individuals engaged or interested in taking up specific research projects.
- vii) To cater to the needs of writers, research scholars and institutions both government and academic, by providing information, documentation and reference services.
- viii) To undertake, facilitate and provide for the publication of Occasional Papers/ Monographs, a research journal, newsletter and also of standard works, original texts, translations, commentaries or even the manuscripts completed by scholars all bearing relevance to the aims and objects of the Foundation.
- ix) To take up the task of identification, acquisition, editing and publication of old records or manuscripts which would throw light on the history, literature and cultural heritage of the Himalayan and adjoining regions.
- x) To establish an appropriate organisational network or chapters in different parts of the country or even abroad and to strive for

providing all possible amenities including the library and hostel facilities to scholars interested in promoting the cause of the Foundation.

SEMINARS/CONFERENCES

The Foundation has organised following National and International Seminars:

- (1) **Society and Culture in the Himalayas:** Three-day National Seminar held on 9-11 December 1991 at School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The Seminar attracted wide participation from specialists and literateurs from the Himalayan states of Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.
- (2) **Emergence of New Order in Central Asia:** Two-day International Seminar held on 21-22 January 1993 at School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
- (3) **Cultural Heritage of Western Himalayas and its Future:** Two-day International Seminar held on 23-24 March 1994 at India International Centre and School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi. More than one hundred delegates from Jawaharlal Nehru University, Universities of Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu, Kashmir, Nainital, Bangalore, Vishwabharti and the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and a number of literateurs, writers and artists belonging to the region participated.
- (4) **Human Rights: A View from Geneva:** One-day Seminar at India International Centre, New Delhi on 2 May 1995.
- (5) **India and Central Asia in Time and Space:** Four-day International Conference organised in collaboration with Indian Council of Cultural Relations at India International Centre, New Delhi, 17-20 December 1995. Twenty three eminent scholars from Central Asian Republics, Russia and Mongolia participated in the Seminar.
- (6) **Linguistic Heritage of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh:** Panel discussion (at India International Centre, New Delhi on 4 March 1996).
- (7) **Refugee Situation in India:** One day Seminar at India

- International Centre, New Delhi on 13 May 1996.
- (8) **Approaches to Conflict Resolution in South and Central Asia:** Seminar at Palais-des-Nations, Geneva on 22 March 1997.
- (9) **Central Asia on the Threshold of 21st Century:** Lecture by Prof. Turkaya Ataov of Turkey followed by panel discussion on 20 May 1997 at India International Centre, New Delhi.
- (10) **Eurasian Landbridge: Imperatives for India:** Lecture by Helga La Rouche, President, Schiller Institute, Germany followed by panel discussion organised at India International Centre, New Delhi on 2 October 1997.
- (11) **Hans Christian Ostro Remembered: Organised a composite programme on 7 October 1997 at Abhinav Theatre:** Jammu in memory of the Norwegian theatre director Hans Christian Ostro who was killed by the terrorists in Kashmir:
- (i) Staging of a play *Andha Yug* written by noted writer Dharamvir Bharti and directed by eminent Kashmiri theatre director Mushtaq Kak
 - (ii) Seminar on **Impact of Terrorism on Society and Culture.**
- (12) **Uzbekistan on the Threshold of the 21st Century and Threats to Regional Security and Stability:** Imperatives for India Panel discussion held at India International Centre, New Delhi on 9 December 1997.
- (13) **Hans Christian Ostro Remembered:** Organised a special programme on 10 March 1998 at India International Centre auditorium, New Delhi in memory of the Norwegian theatre director, Hans Christian Ostro, who was killed by the terrorists in Kashmir:
- (i) Video screening of Hans Ostro's work in theatre/dance in India and Norway,
 - (ii) Unveiling of a portrait of Hans Ostro (made by Suman Gupta of Jammu) by Mr. Arne Walther, the Ambassador of Norway in India,
 - (iii) Symposium on **Fundamentalism and Terrorism: Threat to Culture and Art,**
 - (iv) Staging of a play *Pratibimb* (Reflections) written by Mahesh Elkunchwar and directed by Mushtaq Kak.
- (14) **Mercenaries: Challenge to Democratic Order:** Seminar at Palais

des Nations, Geneva on 30 March 1998.

- (15) **Ethno-Cultural Heritage of Gujjars:** Three day National Seminar at Jammu University, Jammu, 8-10 May 1999 organised in collaboration with the National Museum of Mankind (Bhopal) and Gurjar Desh Charitable Trust, Jammu. The Seminar-cum-Exhibition consolidated and projected the distinct ethno-cultural heritage and life style of the Gujjars and Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir, analysed their problems and deliberated upon the possible solutions. A unique feature of this Seminar was the enthusiastic participation of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim Gujjar representatives from Himachal Pradesh.
- (16) **Child Labour and Rehabilitation: Some Issues:** Two day National Seminar/Workshop at India International Centre, New Delhi, organised on 30-31 July 1999 with the support of ILO (Delhi). More than 100 NGO representatives, social scientists and population experts participated in this Seminar. The Seminar provided a forum to government agencies, policy planners, experts, academics, manufacturers, educational planners, NFE teachers, released children, NGOs and social activists to come together and share their experiences and views. Representatives of UN agencies like ILO, UNICEF, UNDP, World Bank, UNESCO, National Human Rights Commission, Ministry of Labour, Textiles and Education, Giri Institute of Development, Institute of Public Opinion, Delhi.
- (17) **The Kargil Conflict: Dimensions and Responses:** One day Seminar at India International Centre, New Delhi on 2 August 1999.
- (18) **The Afghanistan Crisis: Problems and Prospects of Peace:** Three-day International Seminar held in collaboration with Indian Council of Social Science Research at India International Centre, New Delhi on 19-21 November 2000. Prominent strategic planners/area specialists from India and abroad participated.
- (19) **Fifty Years of Conflict in Kashmir, Ladakh, Baltistan and Aksai Chin:** Seminar Organised in collaboration with Indian Council of Social Science Research and a Film presentation on the Kashmir Himalayas titled *The Siachen Conflict (1949-2000)*, directed and produced by Serbjeet Singh at India International Centre, New Delhi on 22 January 2001.
- (20) **Cultural Heritage of Indian Himalayas:** Three-day International

Seminar was organised by the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation in collaboration with Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manava Sangrahalaya, Bhopal, 3 to 5 March 2001. Prominent academics, social scientists, scholars, literateurs, artists and writers belonging to the Himalayan region as well as other parts of the country participated in this three-day Seminar.

- (21) **Bamiyan: Challenge to World Heritage:** Two-day International Seminar in collaboration with the Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA), Leh, at India International Centre (17-18 September 2001).
- (22) **Cultural Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir:** Organised a three-day National Seminar and Exhibition on Cultural Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir and a three-day Workshop on Heritage Conservation, accompanied by exhibition of paintings and sculptures by well-known artists and painters at Abhinav Theatre Complex, Jammu (29 February – 2 March 2004) with the support of J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages and PATH (NGO) both in Jammu, thereby projecting the rich and variegated ethno-cultural heritage of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, besides, actively engaging in the dialogue of various cultures.
- (23) **Bangladesh Today:** Round Table Discussion organised at India International Centre, New Delhi on 22 December 2005.
- (24) **Organised a two-day national seminar on Network of NGOs for Peace and Conflict Resolution** with special reference to Women Studies in association with the M.K.P. (PG) College, Dehradun, Uttaranchal on 11-12 March 2006 at the College premises, Dehradun.
- (25) **Energy and Transport Linkages between Central Asia and South Asia:** Organized a three-day International Seminar on Energy and Transport linkages between Central Asia and South Asia in association with Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi from 25 to 27 November 2006. Prominent participants in this Seminar included 17 leading academics, area specialists and energy specialists from Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey, China, Russia, Japan, Israel, USA, Netherlands, Hydrocarbon Development Institute of Pakistan, Islamabad (Pakistan), Energy Charter Secretariat, Brussels (Belgium), and over 100 Indian specialists.
- (26) **Religion, Culture and Harmony in South Asia:** Organised a Seminar in association with Interfaith International at Palais des

Nations, Geneva on 23 March 2007.

- (27) **The International Festival – Sounds of Eurasia, Ulan-Ude, Russia:** Organised an Indian Cultural Festival as part of *The International Festival – Sounds of Eurasia* at Ulan-Ude, Republic of Buryatia, Russia from 25 to 30 September 2007, in collaboration with the East Siberian Academy of Culture and Arts and the Ministry of Culture and Mass Communications, Buryatia Republic of the Russian Federation. The group of Indian musicians included Mrs. Savita Bakshi – *Sitar*, Mr. R.K. Majumdar – *Santoor*, Mr. Anil Kaul – *Tabla*, Mr. Rakesh Anand – *Flute/Bansuri* and Mr. Ravinder Kaul – Comperer, which was led by Prof. K. Warikoo, Secretary General of Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation. It has been for the first time that any Indian cultural group has visited Buryatia/East Siberia.
- (28) **Hungarian Explorers and Travellers in India:** Organized a one-day International Seminar on *Hungarian Explorers and Travellers in India* in association with Hungarian Information and Cultural Centre, New Delhi and Hungarian Geographical Museum, ERD on 4 October 2007 at New Delhi.
- (29) **Religion, Culture and Security in Central & South Asia:** Organized a three-day International Seminar on *Religion, Culture and Security in Central & South Asia* in association with Department of Political Science, University of Kerala, at Trivandrum, from 29 February to 2 March 2008. Prominent participants in this Seminar included 11 leading academics and area specialists from Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, China, USA, Tajikistan and Singapore and over 100 Indian specialists from University of Kashmir, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Kerala University, Madras University and University of Rajasthan.

DOCUMENTARIES

- (1) **Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir**, 30 minute Documentary Film (supported by the Department of Culture and Tourism, Government of India) completed in 2000.
- (2) **Architectural Heritage of Temples of Jammu**, 30 minute Documentary Film (supported by the Department of Culture, Ministry of Tourism and Culture,) completed in 2002.

- (3) **Shrines and Pilgrimages of Kashmir**, 40 minute Documentary Film (supported by the Ministry of Culture) completed in 2006.

EXHIBITIONS

- (1) **The Colossal Buddhas and the Ancient Buddhist Heritage of Bamiyan**: Six-day Exhibition (15-20 September 2001) of unique photographs paintings, lithographs etc. organised in collaboration with the Archeological Survey of India at the India International Centre Art Gallery (Annexe) on the theme *The Colossal Buddhas and the Ancient Buddhist Heritage of Bamiyan*.
- (2) **The Mountain Mysteries**: Organised an exhibition of paintings by well-known Indian artist Suman Gupta entitled *The Mountain Mysteries* at the Palais des Nations, United Nations Office at Geneva (Switzerland) from 5 to 16 August 2002. The exhibition which was presented under the patronage of the Mission of Mongolia in Geneva to mark the International Year of Mountains, was attended by several diplomats, UN Officials, delegates participating at the UN Sub-Commission for Human Rights, art critics and art lovers from Geneva and adjoining cities. The exhibition was inaugurated by Mr. Sergei Ordzhonikidze, the Director General of the UNOG at the Palais des Nations.
- (3) **Hungarian Explorers and Travellers in India**: Organized an exhibition of photographs and publications on *Hungarian Explorers and Travellers in India* in association with Hungarian Information and Cultural Centre, New Delhi and Hungarian Geographical Museum, ERD on 3 October 2007 at New Delhi.

Prof. K. Warikoo who is Founder Member and Secretary General (Hon'y), Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation is the Director, Central Asian Studies Programme, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He has held important positions of (i) Member, National Security Advisory Board (2003); (ii) Member, Executive Council (1998-2005), Maulana Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata; (iii) Member, JNU Academic Council and JNU Court. Having travelled extensively in the Central Asian Republics, Xinjiang, Tibet, Kansu and Yunan Provinces of China, Mongolia, Europe and USA, Prof. Warikoo has also been International Observer, Parliamentary Elections in Uzbekistan (26 December 2004), Presidential Elections in Kazakhstan (4 December 2005) and Presidential Elections in Uzbekistan (December 2007). Awarded the UNESCO Hirayama Silk Road Fellowship in 1992, Prof. Warikoo received NAIRAMDAL Friendship Medal of Mongolia in 2002.

Prof. Warikoo is the Founder Editor, *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* (Quarterly Journal published since 1997). His important books are:

- i. **Himalayan Frontiers of India: Historical, Geopolitical and Strategic Perspectives.** (Editor), UK, USA and Canada, Routledge, 2009, xv, 220 pp.
- ii. **Cultural Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir.** (Editor), New Delhi, Pentagon, 2009, 338pp.
- iii. **Cultural Heritage of Kashmiri Pandits.** (Co-Editor), New Delhi, Pentagon, 2009, xxviii, 363pp
- iv. **Afghanistan: The Challenge.** (Editor), New Delhi, 2007, 377pp.
- v. **Central Asia since Independence.** (Editor) New Delhi, 2004, xii, 356pp.
- vi. **The Afghanistan Crisis: Issues and Perspectives.** (Editor) New Delhi, 2002. xxx+523pp.
- vii. **Bamiyan: Challenge to World Heritage.** (Editor) New Delhi, 2002. 317pp. 64 Photographs.
- viii. **Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir.**(Editor) Bhopal, IGRMS, 2001. 318 pp.
- ix. **Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh : Linguistic Predicament** (Editor). New Delhi, Har Anand, 1996. 225 pp.
- x. **Central Asia: Emerging New Order** (Editor). New Delhi, Har Anand, 1995. 351 pp.

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- xi. **Society and Culture in the Himalayas** (Editor). New Delhi, Har Anand, 1995. 317pp.
 - xii. **Afghanistan Factor in Central and South Asian Politics**. New Delhi, 1994. 80pp.
 - xiii. **Ethnicity and Politics in Central Asia** (Edited by K. Warikoo and Dawa Norbu). New Delhi, South Asian Publishers, 1992. 292pp.
 - xiv. **Central Asia and Kashmir: A Study in the Context of Anglo-Russian Rivalry**. New Delhi, Gian, 1989. 270 pp.
 - xv. **Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh: A Classified and Comprehensive Bibliography**. New Delhi, Sterling, 1976. 576 pp.

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