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TUVA SPECIAL

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Associate Guest Editor : **Marianna Kharunova**

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Editor's Page

History of tribes and peoples, which inhabited the territory of present-day Tuva throughout millennia, has attracted the interest of chroniclers, travelers, and scholars since ancient times. Results of scholarly investigations made it possible to determine place of Tuva in the world history, role and significance of cultures and civilizations created by ancestors of contemporary Tuvans. Discoveries allow one to see unity of our world and to trace an intricate interrelationship between peoples and countries, the relationship of eventful history of Tuva with that of the world being an integral part of this global historical interrelationship.

Archeological evidence suggests that the territory of present-day Tuva had been inhabited since ancient times. Stone implements found in the central part of present-day Tuva date back to the period of 400,000 to 100,000 years ago. They were discovered in the course of Sayan-Tuvan expedition organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences led by Alexander Grach. A vivid evidence of ancient life in Tuva are petroglyphs found on the cliffs of Mugur-Sargol and Chinge (Chaa-Khol District of Tuva), Bizhiktig-Khaya (Barun-Khem District) depicting horned masks, archers with mushroom-shaped heads, chariots, loaded bulls. Archeological data at hand clearly demonstrates Tuva's long history of inhabitation.

One more vivid example that can be a testament of unique cultures created on the territory of Tuva in ancient time is Scythian period (eighth to third centuries BCE), which is one of the best studied periods of ancient history of Tuva. This period is represented by archeological monuments found in nearly all districts of Tuva. Of particular interest among them is Scythian burial mound Arzhaan-1 excavated in 1971-74 by archeological expedition led by Mikhail Gryaznov in collaboration with Tuvan archeologist Mongush Mannai-ool. This burial mound, the earliest "elite" burial site ever known by archeologists, dates back to the ninth to eighth centuries BCE.

Absolutely sensational was the discovery of Scythian burial mound Arzhaan-2 – burial of a Scythian chieftain – dating back to the latter half of seventh century BCE. This monument was excavated by joint Russian-

German team led by Konstantin Chugunov, H. Parzinger, and A. Nagler in 2001-2003. More than 20 kilograms of gold jewellery, made in "animal style" of the highest level of artistic refinement and perfection, were found at Arzhaan-2. The finds at Arzhaan-1 and Arzhaan-2 made it possible to suggest that the early period of Scytho-Saxon epoch and the time of the emergence of "animal style" date back to the early eighth century BCE, rather than to the seventh to fifth centuries BCE, and that the area from where Scytho-Saxon culture emerged and developed is not only Black Sea northern coast, but also Inner Asia, i.e. Tuva.

According to historians, it is in the Scythian epoch when there happened transition from settled pastoral-agricultural economy to nomadic stock-breeding, a more progressive economy, which has survived up to present time, i.e. for 2,500 years. In Scythian period, Tuva presented itself one of the most important centers of nomadic civilization of Eurasian steppes. Tuvan tribes, therefore, made a considerable contribution to the formation of a unique culture of the steppe peoples of Eurasia.

No less significant in the history of Tuva are monuments of Old Turkic runic inscriptions (or Orkhon-Yenisei script) – a writing system used from eighth to tenth centuries CE. At present there are more than 150 monuments with ancient Turkic runic inscriptions. They can be found in Mongolia, Tuva, Khakasia, Altai, and Kyrgyzstan. Of them, some 90 monuments are in Tuva.

Dutch linguist Vilhelm Thomsen decoded Old Turkic runes on November 25, 1893. The first decoded word was Tengri (God-Sky). The first experience of decipherment of the Orkhon-Yenisei script was described by well-known Russian Orientalist V.V. Radlov in 1894-95. The decoding of these inscriptions made it possible to acquaint the world with ancient Turkic runic script, and it is quite difficult to overestimate the significance of the decipherment of Turkic runes for the study of state organization, cosmogony and culture of ancient Turks.

Inscriptions on stone columns and rocks are messages of the most glorious Turkic nobles (khagans and military chiefs) addressed to their tribesmen. They tell about their wealth and military deeds. These inscriptions bear witness to the existence of continuous written tradition and spread of the Turkic literary language over a vast territory of Central and Inner Asia and South Siberia.

Another bright example of interrelations of Tuvan history with global historical processes is the history of the Mongol Empire (from the eighth to the fourteenth century CE). In its heyday, the Mongol Empire comprised

vast space of Central Asia, South Siberia, Eastern Europe, Middle East, China, and Tibet. Mongol conquests are connected with the name of Subetei (1175-1248), Genghis Khan's most capable general, who was originally from Uriangha tribe, ancestors of Tuvans. Subetei did not lose a single battle, he took part in military campaigns from Central Asia through Central Europe (Poland, Hungary, Czechia, Italy).

The history of Tuva is also closely connected with Russian history. Introduction of new liturgical forms into Russian Orthodox service, known as Patriarch Nikon's reform, initiated by the 1645 Moscow Council, divided the faithful of Russian Orthodox Church into those who agreed with the changes and those who wished to maintain old rites. The ones who opposed the reform, afterwards came to be known as "Old Believers", and were severely persecuted by the Muscovite government, had to migrate to other lands, including unknown Tuva, beginning from 1862.

Russian and Tuvan histories were interwoven in the course of further events that occurred in the twentieth century. In 1914, Tuva accepted Russian protectorate. The year 1921 saw the establishment of the Tuvan People's Republic with all-round assistance of former USSR. In 1944, Tuva became a part of the former Soviet Union. Since 1991, Tuva has been a constituent member of the Russian Federation.

Throughout the twentieth century, Tuvan traditional society experienced processes of modernization which led to dramatic transformation of nomadic way of life. Despite their socio-economic transformations, Tuvans try to preserve their traditional culture, language, and religious beliefs – shamanism and Buddhism. While, in the early twentieth century, the total indigenous population of Tuva was about 60,000 people, the present-day population of Tuva is more than 320,000 people, of whom 82 % are Tuvans.

This Special issue of *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* which is exclusively devoted to Tuva-its history, religions, society, literature, economy and politics, is the product of active academic collaboration between the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation and the Tuvan academics and specialists.

Marianna Kharunova

TUVA: THE CENTRE OF ASIA

K. WARIKOO

Covering an area of 170,500 sq. kms. and bordered by Mongolia in the south, Altai to the west, Khakassia, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk and Buryatia republics of Russian Federation in the north, Tuva is recognised as the geographical centre of Asia. Notwithstanding the domination of Mongolia over Tuva from 13th to early 18th centuries and subsequent Chinese sovereignty over Tuva till 1911, Tuva and its people retained their indigenous traditions, culture and religion. Over 80 per cent of the total population (300,000) are Buddhists. In spite of being adherents of Mahayana Buddhism, Tuvans continue to believe in native shamanism. Tuvans often go to shamans for healing their ailments and to seek remedies to their problems. And shamans do visit Buddhist monasteries to offer prayers. Both beliefs co-exist here following the basic principles of respect for and harmony with nature.

I arrived at Kyzyl, the capital city of Tuva on the evening of 29 October 2016, travelling by taxi from Abakan, the capital city of Khakassia. Many taxis ply daily between Abakan and Kyzyl with passengers. The 450 kms long highway is well maintained and snow clearing machines clear the snow promptly. The highway is lined by pine and *beruza* trees and the snow on trees and around makes it a picturesque sight. One can see a snow capped mountain top, which is called Sleeping Queen, because it looks like a body with face, nose, lips and limbs in sleeping posture. The local legend is that a girl who wanted to marry her boyfriend, could not do so as her parents did not consent to it, turned into a stone. On arrival at Kyzyl, I checked in Otygen hotel, which is situated on the banks of Yenessi river. The river flows majestically with lots of ice sheets on its surface.

Next day on 30 October 2016, Dr. Marianna, Director, Tuvan Institute of Humanities along with her husband Dr. Ramil, Dean, History faculty,

Tuvan University, Kyzyl visited me at the hotel. We went for a walk to the nearby park namely Centre of Asia, where a few monuments have been built. A long pole has been erected at the centre, with statues of various animals (of Chinese calendar), installed around the pole. This structure is reported to have been designed and built by a famous Buryat architect. This place is considered to be the geographical centre of Asia.

Moving on further, we reached the new building of Tuva theatre. Buddhist symbols have been added to the roof top of the building. A statue of Lenin still remains at the square. Later we visited the National Museum of Tuva, which is well organised and maintained on modern lines. History of Tuva beginning with Stone Age and ancient times till present time is showcased in 15 separate halls. Its special feature is the massive gold necklace(s), bracelet and golden beads of Scythian kings, which were excavated from a *kurgan* and preserved here. Wild life of Tuva -yak, wolf, reindeer, ibex, goat etc., are displayed in a separate hall. One hall is devoted to the Soviet war in Afghanistan (1979-1989), in which 200 Tuvan soldiers had participated, out of whom 6 were killed. Their photographs are displayed to recall the contribution of Tuva in this war.

After the disintegration of former USSR, there has been unprecedented resurgence of indigenous language, culture, beliefs and Buddhism in Tuva. About 20 Buddhist prayer houses (*dugan*) and 15 Buddhist monasteries (*khuree*) have been built in Tuva. The visit of Dalai Lama to Tuva in 1992 gave big impetus to the revival of Buddhist practices, publication of Buddhist texts, construction of monasteries and so on. The people of Tuva came in huge numbers to have a glimpse of Dalai Lama. During this visit Dalai Lama offered prayers at Hayirakan mountain about 105 kms. from Kyzyl and suggested a spot for building a replica of the ancient Buddhist shrine along with the carving of ancient Buddha rock engraving, so that the ancient shrine is recreated. Work has already begun on this site and is expected to be completed by the end of 2019. This site is located up in the mountains where water cannot reach and flood the new rock-cut Buddhist shrine. Tuvans hold this mountain as sacred and there are many mystic legends associated with Hayirakan. Tuvans come to this place offering prayers to Buddha and take back with them fistful of the sacred land's earth.

Overlooking the capital Kyzyl and located on the right bank of the Yenisei river, stands 1,002 meters high mountain Dogee. Tuvans consider

this mountain sacred and offer prayers. There are numerous pyramids built of stone with a pole in the center, hung *chalama* (band of cloth), *kadako* (silk scarves) as well as the remains of fire on this mountain. In the year 2006, the Buddhist mantra *Om Mani Padme Hum* was built of stones on the hill Dogee. The 120 metres long sacred mantra was painted with 500 kgs. of white colour and sanctified.

Construction of a new central Buddhist monastery in Kyzyl began in 2014 at a spot identified by Dalai Lama. Dr. Kaadyrool Bichildey, former Minister of Education and Science of Tuva and a Buddhist himself, has been leading the movement for restoring the historical, cultural, linguistic and Buddhist heritage of Tuva. Many Tuvan Buddhists make their donations to raise funds for these projects, which also get support from the government of Tuva. The federal government of Russia is tolerant of this process and many Tuvans feel free today as they can practice their religion and culture. A festival of music and culture *Ustuu Hurae* began to be held in 1999, when reconstruction of the ruins of an ancient Buddhist temple in Chadan was started. The festival, usually held in August, showcases the simplicity of life in tents, natural atmosphere, music, tolerance and kindness in Tuva.

Tuvan shamans have also become popular now, with many tourists visiting them from abroad. Shamans' hymns and *algyshes* (wishful songs) have been translated into German and English languages. Shamans also perform their ritual ceremonies. The cult of *ovaa* (spirit guardians of a place) and *eeren* (protectors of the family), both being shamanist traditions, have been adopted by Tuvan Buddhists. Shamanism is flourishing alongside Buddhism. There is a central shamanist organisation in Kyzyl, with local branches in different parts of Tuva. In 1993 first Tuvan-American conference of Shamanism was held in Tuva with participants from USA, Canada, Finland besides Tuvan academics and members of shaman society *Dungur* (drum). The Tuvan government has also set up a research centre for the study of shamanism, providing land and buildings for the shamanist organisation.

In the Chaa-Hol district, about 100 kms. from Kyzyl, there is an ancient image of Buddha (13th century AD) in a carved rock niche. After the Sayano-Shushensk hydel power station became operational, the rock niche submerged in the dam water. However, the niche with a bas-relief image of Buddha and his two pupils, has been recreated on the hill, 99 metres above the sea to protect it from any flood waters. This has been possible due to Bicheledey's efforts. He has also spearheaded the

campaign for the preservation and promotion of Tuvan language, history and culture.

First November is now celebrated as the Day of Tuvan language. The Forum on Tuvan language was organised by the Tuvan Institute of Humanities, Applied Social & Economic Researches, Kyzyl with the support of Tuvan Ministry of Education & Science on 1-2 November 2016. Teachers of Tuvan language and literature from all regions of Tuva Republic participated in this Forum. Vice Premier and Education Minister of Tuva Republic who remained present all through the inaugural session, stressed the need for the preservation of Tuvan language, culture and history and for promoting the usage of Tuvan language in the society. They lamented the existing tendency among the youth to speak only in Russian language. Ten years ago, 90 per cent students chose Tuvan language in their exams. But now only 10 per cent do so. Besides, there is the problem of scarcity of teachers to teach Tuvan language. Now the government of Tuva is taking steps to promote bilingualism in Tuva. As per language law adopted in 1990s, both Russian and Tuvan languages enjoy equal status. Tuvan Academy of Culture has been established. Tuvan language belongs to Altai family of the Turkic language group. It is also good neighbour of Mongolian language. Earlier Tuvan language had old Mongolian script. Later it adopted Latin script. After joining the former Soviet Union, it adopted Cyrillic script. Local experts believe that Cyrillic script does not fit Tuvan language, as it does not reflect all sounds. Tuvans believe that moves for the preservation and promotion of Tuvan language and heritage should not be viewed as any separatist tendency.

Second part of the Forum on Tuvan Language was held at Shaganar, about 100 kms from Kyzyl, where many teachers and specialists of Tuvan language had assembled. A symbol of Tuvan letter has been erected at Beldir Keji, near Shaganar. Prof. Bicheldey, former Director of Tuvan Institute of Humanities, Applied Social & Economic Researches, later Minister and Vice Premier of Tuva and a Deputy at Russian Duma (for two times) and now Director, Cultural Centre of Tuva administered an oath to the Tuvan faculty, language teachers and students at the monument of Tuvan letter, Beldir Keji. The oath read: "I will care about my mother tongue-Tuvan language. Tuvan language is my pride! I will be faithful to my Tuvan language- I will do my best to develop it, I will pass it to the future generations! I give an oath that I will respect and remember anywhere and anytime my Mother tongue Tuvan language!". A Buddhist

monastery, a symbol of Tengrism and an image of Buddha have been built here. A huge cultural complex is coming up at this place, which is expected to be completed by the year 2018. In short, Tuva is experiencing an organised revival of its indigenous language, culture, traditions and beliefs of Buddhism and shamanism.

Tuva was incorporated in the former Soviet Union in 1944, after overcoming Chinese claims over it. As per official data, in 1929 there were 25 Buddhist monasteries (*khuree*), 4,813 lamas and 487 shamans in Tuva.¹ During the Soviet period, religion remained suppressed and Buddhist monasteries were closed and destroyed. In 1937, there were only 5 monasteries, 67 lamas and 30 shamans in Tuva, the practice of religion and beliefs being confined to individual homes. The lamas and shamans suffered due to the Soviet anti-religious policy. However, both managed to continue their religious activities underground.

In early 1990s, when USSR was breaking and East European countries were seceding, there was some sentiment among the Tuvans for independence from Russia. However, local sources revealed that this sentiment was generated and provoked by numerous Protestant Christian missionaries from the west. Now no such tendency exists in Tuva. Birth rate among the Tuvans is high, second after Chechens in the whole of Russia. On an average every Tuvan has three children. There is free education and health care. Tuvans feel that they are better off today than in the Soviet period, when their religion and culture were suppressed. One Tuvan Sergey Shoigu is the Defence Minister of Russian Federation. He is reported to have succeeded in having appointed a Tuvan as Head of Tuva Republican government, which could otherwise have gone to a Russian. Due to Shoigu's efforts, the Federal Russian government established a National Defence College in Kyzyl, where both Tuvan boys and girls are admitted. It is one of the seven such prestigious Defence Training colleges in Russia. Graduates of this college go for further studies/training or take up their careers in Russian defence services.

November 4, the National Day of Unity in Russia, was celebrated with much fervour in Tuva as well to demonstrate unity and harmony among different nationalities living in Tuva- Tuvans, Russians, Cossacks, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Armenians, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Altaians, Khakass etc. Several hundred families have inter-ethnic marriages in Tuva. A festival was organised to showcase traditional culture and cuisine of different nationalities. Later on a programme was held at the theatre, where Russian

national anthem was played and Russian history was screened. Tuvan Member of Parliament and Federal Representative of the Russian President, who has an office at Kyzyl, in their speeches highlighted national unity. Musical groups of various nationalities – Tuvan, Russian, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Cossack, Armenian, Altai etc. performed and played their national instruments. People of Tuva braved heavy snow to participate in this national festival of importance and hall was full to its capacity.

Resurgence of Buddhism in Buryatia, Tuva (in Siberia) and Kalmykia Republics of Russian Federation accompanied with the urge of Buddhist devotees in Russia to visit the Buddhist centers of pilgrimage in India, is bringing this otherwise peripheral region closer to India in civilisational and ideological terms. On an average about 1,000 Buddhist devotees, mainly youth, from Russia (Kalmykia, Buryatia, Tuva, Moscow, St. Petersburg etc.) visit India each year to make their pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, Varanasi etc. or to attend the sermons by Dalai Lama at Dharamshala. The Kalachakra ceremony by Dalai Lama attracts even more devotees. Many young students from Tuva and Kalmykia visit India to study Buddhism and Tibetan language. Many people particularly in Tuva and Buryatia have Indian names like Rita, Sanjay, Sanjeev, Ramesh, Padma, Indira etc. This author found a young Russian in Altai named after Indian sage Vasishta. Indian classics *Panchtantra* and famous stories of Birbal, the wise minister of Mughal emperor Akbar, have left their imprint on the folklore of Tuva and adjoining regions, mainly due to the penetration of Buddhism and Buddhist lamas from India. Currently, over fifty Buddhist lamas from India, mainly Tibetans trained in Karnataka, Dharmshala etc. are staying and offering their services in various monasteries in Tuva and Buryatia. Revival of Buddhism in Siberia has direct relevance for India for restoring its lost linkages. India on its part needs to restore and turn its vast fund of ancient historical Buddhist sites into centres of international cultural tourism. This will attract tourists as well as pilgrims from our neighbours in Eurasia. Siberia is a corridor through which cultural and civilisational interaction can be reinforced to form a cultural axis between India and Russia.



BUDDHIST MANTRA *OM MANI PADME HUM* BUILT OF STONES ON DOGEE HILL, KYZYL



PROF. K. WARIKOO STANDING IN FRONT OF THE MONUMENT OBELISK- CENTER OF ASIA



THEATRE BUILDING, KYZYL



STATUE OF LENIN AT THE SQUARE, KYZYL



YENISIE RIVER



BURGAAN DAA BUDDHIST SHRINE, CHAA-HOL, TUVA



**DALAI LAMA IDENTIFIED THIS SPOT FOR BUDDHIST SHRINE AT FOOTHILLS OF
HAYIRKAN MOUNTAIN, TUVA**

REFERENCES

1. Cited by Kara-ool, Chairman of the Government of Tuva in his welcome speech at the international conference on Buddhism (7-9 September 2016) held in Tuva.

ANCIENT TUVINIAN COSMOLOGY AND TENGRISM

EDUARD B. MIZHIT

Questions related to Tuvan ancient cosmology, although addressed by researchers, mostly occupy not central but a secondary position. In our opinion, this is due to incorrect interpretation of some religious rituals and rites of ancient Tuvans, which were seen as fragments and scattered echoes of cults and beliefs. But closer examination of the myths and directly related rituals and ceremonies gives us reason to believe that the whole set of religious beliefs of ancient Tuva is a logically coherent, unified and coherent system, resting on an ancient myth about the origin of all things. "Primitive myth has only one content - cosmogony." Asserts, O.M. Freudenberg.¹ According to him, the mythological origin of logic is in its essence phenomenon: Proceeding from these considerations, we need to study and reconstruct the spiritual foundations of the ancient Tuvans. After all, "reconstruction of the spiritual universe of people of other eras and cultures"² as a way to a holistic approach to the study of the manifestations of spiritual, social and physical aspects of their being, allows us to look at the whole culture of a people as marked by the ideological basis of a single system and style. It is indisputable that a dominant place in the spiritual universe takes the paradigm to explain the emergence of (cosmogony) and device (cosmology) – the universe. This system of beliefs implies the whole picture of the universe in which a person defines his place and builds its relations with the world. The validity of this provision is based on the scientific definition of what "... is the core of any model of the world outlook, reflecting primarily the space-time coordinates of being"³ "A model of the universe served as a powerful tool for self-aligning human space. It allowed him to see himself as a point which emits and receives various impulses in the space of the world"⁴.

Questions of cosmology of Central Asian peoples have been studied or addressed in varying degrees by major researchers such as G.N. Potanin,

N.F. Katanov, F.J. Cohn, V.V. Radloff, A.V. Anokhin, N.A. Alekseev, S.I. Weinstein, S.A. Tokarev, M.B. Kenin-Lopsan, M. Eliade, N.V. Abaev and others, whose works were used by us in the preparation of this article. And it is important to note the presence of common motifs in cosmological representations of various peoples inhabiting the Sayano-Altai mountains has been revealed by the above scholars. The most common identity of cosmogonic myths is threefold division of the universe into the upper, middle and lower worlds, each of which is subdivided into several tiers. Cosmogonic myths of ancient Tuvans indicate the presence of the supreme creator god (*Chayaakchy Burgan*), who is called *Denger (Tengri) Denger-Khaiyrakan* (Denger-gracious Khan), *Ada-Deer* (Sky-Father), etc. It is also an important fact that in ancient Tuvan spiritual tradition expression *MongĀ Kok Deer* (Eternal Blue Sky) was strictly taboo, which in our opinion caused some vagueness of this issue in the testimonies of many travelers and explorers. But that the ancient Tuvans worshipped Tengri as the creator of all things, is not questioned now.

At first, we refer to the very cautious scientific article, *Mythological Dictionary*, published in 1990 by the publishing house "Soviet Encyclopedia": "Tengri (Altaysk. Tengri, Tenger; Shorsk. Tengri; Khakass. Tigr, ter; Tuvan. Denger; Chuvash: Tour; Yakutsk. Tangara, Mong. Tenger; Buryats. Tengeri, teengri; Kalm. Tenger). The term *Tengri* belongs to the most ancient mythological foundation of the peoples of Central Asia, and perhaps has been presented in the language of the Xiongnu (3rd BC and earlier). Idea of *Tengri* was formed on the basis of animistic beliefs of the heavenly spirit host, and the sky was conceived and its immediate manifestation, and its habitat. Tengri as impersonal divine masculine, the destinies of man, nation and state, stands in the ancient mythology. Perhaps even in pre-Turkic era almost there were unchanged figures of Tengri among medieval Mongols (*Monge Tengri* - eternal heaven). Later, a single image of a benevolent, all-knowing, rightly divine sky (God) was to the greatest extent preserved by Khakass and Mongols. Worship personified deity Tengri Khan was observed in the Western Turks-Savirs (7th c.). Khan Tengri was conceived of having enormous size, reflecting the cosmic scale of the heavenly god, heaven itself identically, and the title "Khan" pointed to a dominant position - in the universe or the pantheon of gods. These views have been very persistent. In Mongolian shaman lyrics one finds the name Khan Tengri. The title of "Khan" is typical of the later incarnations of the Eternal sky. Although in later traditions name *Tengri* is sometimes attached to the supreme god of heaven,

it often refers to God (as in the Buddhist, Manichaeic, Islamic texts). The place of the supreme god in the shamanist mythology among the Turks, and especially the Mongols is usually occupied by other characters (Ulgen, Hormusta), and the term *Tengri* is assigned to the class of the heavenly gods. The distribution of the celestial gods in the sky tiers (more characteristic of Turkic mythology) in the hierarchical principle and communication with its various regions (the Mongolian peoples) reflects the dichotomy of light and dark, benevolent and demonic⁵.

We believe that the cult Sky, Tengri actually has very ancient roots in history. First, the worship of the god of the sky and heaven, bearing a distinct monotheistic character was recorded by ancient inhabitants of Central Asia - Saks, who were followed in the European historical tradition by the name Scythians. According to Herodotus, it was the first man and heaven bless the progenitor of the Scythians Targitai and his sons to reign, after which they acquired the status of "Royal Scythians". Also it is important to note that the ancient Scythians, Saks contributed not only to the creation of the philosophical foundations, but also in the formation of the Tuvan ethnic group, whose name is preserved as part of the self-designation of many tribal groups of modern Tuva, in particular, Salchak.

There is no doubt that some of the oldest ancestors of Tuva and all Central Asian peoples - Huns worshiped Heaven and called themselves "Sons of Heaven". And neighboring nations anointed them "heavenly puffed up with pride". "Huns every spring sacrificed to their ancestors, the sky, the earth and spirits. Twice daily *shanyu* worships morning - the rising sun in the evening - the moon. Activities began, "according to the position of the stars and the moon". If, in addition to consider *shanyu* title - "born of heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, delivered", it will be clear that one of the objects of worship was space; since Huns had an idol depicting him space was already personified⁶.

Monuments of runic writing are the most important source for reconstruction of ancient mythology of not only ancient Turks but also in southern Siberia⁷

The one line inscription in honor of Big Cul Tegin (BCT) clearly and unequivocally indicates the presence of the worldview of ancient Turks about the creation of the universe. Many researchers in particular, I.V. Stebleva and of the Monuments of ancient runic writing draw attention, saying that "The inscription in honor of *Big Cul Tegin* narrative begins with the image of the mythological past of the people of the Turks: "When the blue sky above and the bottom of brown earth were created, human

children have arisen between them (or were created)⁸. Along with the idea of creation of the universe, man's place in the universe is also clearly established at the top - the sky - which is both a god and the abode of god, at the bottom - the land, and in the middle - people. For authors of Orkhon texts world is sharply divided into divine (divine origin Hagan, approval and mercy of the sky in all usefulness for Turkish people Hagan endeavors - the wars, campaigns to pacify rebellious people) and humans⁹.

Noting that ancient Turks clearly understood "divine" as heaven, the authors of the monograph *The traditional worldview of Turks of Southern Siberia: Signs and rituals* think that... no mercy provided firmament as such, but the sky is conceived as the supreme deity of the pantheon - Tengri¹⁰. Many studies show the sky above as a supreme god, creator and organizer of the Universe, whose creative efforts not only created the universe and all the people, but also other deities, as a whole which are preserved in the religious beliefs of the Turkic peoples, especially Tuvan and others later in southern Siberia. "Tengri, sometimes in conjunction with other deities in the world primarily determines the fate of the people; Tengri "allocates time (life)", but with the birth of the " sons of men " knows Umai, and their death - Erklig"¹¹.

Umai deity and Erlik (Tuvan: *Erlík-Haan*) are directly related to a three-layer dividing the universe in the Upper World, Middle World and the Lower World, where the upper world is the abode of Tengri, the Middle World is the world of humans and other living beings, who manage land and water deity Umai, and lower world - the habitat of evil spirits and their master *Erlík-Haan*. The image of *Erlík-Haan* in Tuvan myths is ambiguous: he is portrayed by some judging weighing good and evil deeds of men after their death and determining their posthumous fate. According to information given by V.V. Radloff about Altai myths "Tenger Kaira Haan (Tengri, Tuvan: *Denger-Khaiyrakan*), chief of the gods, the beginning of all things, the father and mother of the human race, created creature like myself and called him a man (*kizhi*). Subsequently, furious at the man for disobedience, ... a person named Kaira Haan Erlik and banished him from the realm of color. Overthrow Erlik not over yet. For more and more sins lead in trying to catch up with his creator and even rise above it, God cursed and chased him down and down into the underworld of darkness until ... chased him into the deepest circle of the earth, where the moon does not shine nor sun, which does not penetrate shining stars..."¹².

According to hereditary Tuvan shaman Kalba living in Soumont Tselgel Bayan- Ulgii aimag of Mongolia, "Kurmustu, Khairkhan, Bai

(Rich) Alday - so called Kurmustu which in many Tuvan myths Tengri is also called Kurbustu Haan. Bai Alday is respectfully referred as Kurmustu. Kurmustu created the universe. Sky has many layers. We have three sky. The black sky, the white sky, blue sky. In the blue sky we live. In the skies there are white moon and sun. In the black sky are *aza-shulmus* (devils). Heaven cannot be seen by simple person it is visible only to shaman¹³.

Here we are again confronted with the unambiguous statement that Tengri is the creator of all things, which are part of various deities. Thus, according to ancient beliefs of Tuvians and Turkic peoples in general, the entire universe and everything in it is a creation of Tengri.

Mythical cosmology of ancient Tuvans has a peculiar vertical space model associated with division into heaven, earth and underworld. The presence of a vertical model of the universe further indicates worship of shaman tree (equivalent to the World Tree) and the cult of high mountains (the equivalent of Space Mountain). According to Eliade "tip of Space Mountain is not only the highest point of land, but also its "navel", the place of creation"¹⁴.

From various examples we know that, according to ancient mythology of Tuvians, Upper and Lower worlds, too in turn, have many layers. Tuvan myths mention about the presence of celestial 9 layers, which inhabit the deity - dengerler (Tengries). According to one version of heaven there are 9 Tengri creations, on the other - his children. In Tuvan prayer texts still exists a stable formulation: "*Tos deerim! Dolaan Burganym*" (Nine of my heaven! Dolaan my God!). Apparently, these celestial layers are symbolically present in the architecture of the palace of the supreme god, who in Tuvan heroic epic nine is called palace. It also states that the palace cannot overtake nine horses. One can assume that it is (of course the language of symbols) for the same nine heavens, or rather, their personification. There are also multiple layers of the lower world. Informant Tonmi Hoyyta, son of Soumont Tsengel densely populated by ethnic Tuvans, explained that "the world Erlik is called by many different words. The world or the abyss of hell (the Underworld) has 70 layers. Man caught under the seventieth layer underworld can be born and disappear"¹⁵.

Worldview of Tuvan shamans, in turn, characterizes the distance of the Creator. He is above the ninth heaven, where in his travels cannot get any shaman. It is no coincidence that we do not find mention in the historical literature about the participation of Shamans in ancient Turkic Huns and ceremonies in honor of Tengri. Apparently, the rites of worship

of Tengri were public events, and the cult went by Hagan, who also served as governor, and priest. But in later testimony there are cases where shamans participated in ceremonies *Denger dagyyr* (Consecration of the sky). Thus, the relationship of Tengrism and Shamanism, in our opinion, remains poorly understood, and the question of whether the shamans practiced Tengrism remains open.

Another important feature is the cosmology of the ancient Tuvan view that Tengri made the world alive. So the shaman Kalba stated that God created the whole world alive. Everything that surrounds us - trees, rocks, earth, water, heavenly bodies, every little blade of grass, a tiny grain of sand, etc., are living, sentient, thinking beings. And all this has its spiritual masters just as a man has a soul - *sunezin*. Identical views were recorded by us in the message from our informant Gongora, son of Shanagash Duktugbey. "There are invisible to the human eye being established creator. This *saptyki* - perfume - owners of the land and water. Ancient shamans communicated with them. *Saptyku* worship presented them with gifts in the form of food, drink, making the sprinkling rite. They worship and ask them to withdraw from people all sorts of trouble, protect the land and water by natural disasters do not cause harm to people of the area"¹⁶. As can be seen from the given message, perfume - owners of the land and water are non-independent entities, created and installed by the creator of the universe. Reverent worship of ancient Tuvan high mountains, water sources and other sacred places is nothing but a religious worship of the one living creature and Tengri.

Comprehensive study of Tengrism, which was for millennia a major factor in spiritual, cultural and social life of the Turk-Mongol peoples, the factor determining their relationship with nature and the cosmos, has in recent years received a new impetus. Modern research has increasingly broadened and deepened the understanding of the phenomenon of Tengrism the spiritual culture of the Central Asian peoples. The authors of the monograph *Tengri civilization in the spiritual, cultural and geopolitical space of Central Asia* argue that in Tengri first principle of all things is "non-existent", "emptiness", while there is beginning of "the first man in heaven". The Heavenly Man is the beginning of everything. Second, the first principle, which gives life to all - is the first principle in life, it is life itself. Thus, the concept of Tengri - is in any case not just Sky, is not just a God of heaven and not just God the creator. Tengri, probably is "Proto-Home" which is unattainable and unknowable. It is Absolute Truth, Absolute Spirit, which cannot have a rational definition"¹⁷.

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that the religious understanding of the system and related cosmological beliefs of ancient Tuva in line with polytheism and pantheism are wrong. All myths say the opposite, namely that everything in the world focused on the submission to the will of Tengri as light, good and just the beginning of the world and life, that Heaven-Tengri manages all his creation, which is a single living organism.

Thus, denoting and describing only the most basic parameters of the cosmological views of ancient Tuva, we have identified and shown that the ancient Tuvan cosmology is essentially Tengrism cosmology.

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WHEREABOUTS OF THE SOUL AMONG TUVANS

MONGUSH KENIN-LOPSAN

Tuvans say, *Kizhi sunezinnig* or everybody has a soul. The man and his soul make one integral whole. If the soul guards the person properly and is all the time with him, he feels better. But if the soul leaves a person even for a moment, he is sure to fall ill and die. Old Tuvans firmly believe that a man with the soul is bound to live a long and healthy life and the one without it will get weaker and in the long run will go East.

Having the person and his soul together means physical life and existence. Their separation is a sign of the coming end of life. However when a person dies, his soul stays alive. That is a brief description of the soul and its coexistence with the body among Tuvans. During life and after death, the soul of a child, an adult and of a dead person stays in different places.

WHEREABOUTS OF A CHILD'S SOUL

The Tuvan saying *Chash urug Burgan* means a Baby is the Deity. Or here is another one: "If babies are growing, the tribe's life will go on. If babies are dying, it is the end of the life of a tribe". This is the way ancient Tuvans thought about their children and tribe's life.

Every child has a soul, in Tuvan *urug kudu*. The soul of the unborn baby is inside his mother. The soul of a child of less than three is in *bukuleesh* (the top of the head) or in *kavai* (a cradle), in *chorgek* (swaddling clothes), in *chuchak* (a coat), in *bopuk* (shoes), or in *oinaaraktar* (dolls). Every baby has his chief guardian *urug kudu*. A small statue of a man-prophet, made out of wool and leather is always kept in the head-part of the cradle. To protect the child's soul, the skin of a squirrel must be used. The soul of children from three till thirteen years is in different places. Usually it lives in boots, head-gear, in a coat or in a waistband. Sometimes it stays inside

one of the cattle presented to him: in a kid, a lamb, a fowl, a calf, a young deer or a camel. The greatest protector of a baby's soul is the Mighty Spirit of *Emegelchin Eeren*, which used to live in every yurt.

Urug kudu (baby's soul) is very delicate and sensitive and could easily get scared, so people say. If you unexpectedly wake up a baby in a cradle, the soul would immediately go away. The child may fall ill if his clothes are given to anyone else, since his soul may go away with the clothes. Cattle presented to the baby must not be sold to anyone, since they became closely connected with the soul. Such is the way Tuvans think about the baby's soul.

WHEREABOUTS OF THE ADULTS' SOUL

Every grown-up has a soul. It can stay in different places. Depending on the place where the soul lives, the man's life could be good or bad, such is the shamanistic philosophy of ancient Tuvans. Every Tuvan from 13 until his death has two souls. The first one is the main one (*kizhining kol sunezini*), the other one is the grey soul (*kizhining bora sunezini*).

Tuvans believe that the whereabouts of the soul decide whether the man's life will be long or short. If the main soul is on the left hand, the man is sure to live long. If it is on the right one, he will be frequently ill and die relatively young.

The soul does not necessarily stay in the body. For instance, the man's soul can live in *ogbe churt* (camping site of the grandfather), in *og* (yurt), in *chadyr* (a shelter of branches), in *kholge a'dy* (a riding horse), in *eeren* (spirit), in *dansa* (a pipe), in *taakpy khavy* (tobacco-pouch), in *boo* (a rifle), in *sydym* (lasso), in *ottuk* (steel), in *bizhek* (a knife), in *baldy* (an axe), in *padar ayak* (a wooden bowl), in *ezer* (a saddle), in *chugen* (a bridle), in *ton* (a coat), in *bort* (head-gear), in *kymchy* (a lash).

The woman's soul can be found among adornments or other house belongings: in *syrga* (an earring), in *chustuk* (a thimble), in *syrtkyk* (a pillow), in *ine* (a needle), in *chavaga* (an ornamented adornment for plaits), in *katkan siir* (an outtwisted sinew), in *khuun* (a bucket), in *ton* (a coat), in *bort* (a headgear), in *shai sogaazhi* (a mortar to pound tea), in *sogaash dazhy* (a pestle), in *khachy* (scissors), in *kyshkash* (a poker), in *ozhuk* (a tripod), in *ot* (fire), in *eeren* (helping-spirit).

Kham kizhining sunezini or a shaman's soul usually occupies some particular place. According to field data, shaman's soul finds itself usually close to or even inside his shamanic things: in *dungur* (a drum), in *orba* (a

rattle), in *bort* (a head-gear), in *ton* (a shamanic overcoat), in *ogbe churtu* (grandfather's camping place), in *khamnyng eerenneri* (shamanic spirits), in *seri* (a shed) where the dead shaman lies. Tuvans have had a deep respect for shamans, were afraid of them and believed them. The shaman's soul could stay anywhere. If the shaman's soul is offended, it can bring a great misfortune or even death to those, who pronounce out loud the name of a living or a dead shaman.

CALLING OUT A SOUL

When a soul goes away from the body, the life is in danger. The most powerful shaman is asked to use all his magic to call back the soul that has left his living person. Old Tuvans believe that only shamans are able to do this as they have close connection with *Deer Khayirakan* (a Sky Deity) and with *Cher Eezi* (Earth Spirits). Shamans were and are treated by Tuvans with respect as they can see, hear and even foresee as ordinary people are unable to do.

A ritual to call a soul is usually made in a sick person's yurt. It can take place either during the daytime or at night. To call out a soul it is necessary to accompany the ritual by *algysh* (a special shaman's praying song). The magic words are the only force that can defeat the Evil, promote the Good and make the soul that has gone away come back to the man whom it left.

Shaman's *algyshes* (praying songs), calling gone away souls, are very diverse. These *algyshes* will tell the disease story, the cause of the soul's going away and the way to save the man. A lost soul would get back to the man in the form of a hair. If the shaman does not manage to bring the lost soul back, the man is sure to die. After the soul is back in the man, he feels better and soon recovers. There are *algyshes* which are like poems telling the soul's story how it left, how it was called and finally returned.

Both a baby and an adult have souls. And the soul can leave both a baby and an adult. Old Tuvans think that the shaman is the only one to catch the lost soul.

THE SOUL AFTER THE MAN'S DEATH

When a man dies, his soul stays on the Earth. Tuvans had a generally adopted way of meeting a soul of the dead with the help of a shaman. Seven or forty nine days after the death the kinsfolk invite a shaman to

make a cult ritual of the Fire. This ancient ritual is called *ot kypsyk* (making fire). The place of the fire is chosen by the shaman. The shaman himself makes the fire and the dead man's relatives make an offering to the Fire (they feed the Fire spirit with boiled meat, butter and milk products). The shaman does not have his shamanic things with himself and is just standing by the fire. He is to tell the relatives that the soul has come and it is here to have a magical conversation. The soul speaks of the testament for his relatives, with whom he is angry and what difficulties it is having now. The shaman is the only one to see the dead man's soul near this fireplace and to keep conversation with it, retelling it then to relatives. The soul has usually different aspects.

The ritual of meeting a dead person's soul is now given a new life. Again after seven or forty nine days relatives ask a shaman to speak to the dead man's soul by the fire. Tuvans have a special cult devoted to the dead person. After his death his grey soul stays in a yurt. The farewell ritual to the grey soul consists of the following: a *karachal kizhi* (an ordinary person) beats on the yurt with the red lash while going in the opposite direction to the Sun. At the same time a shaman beats his drum following the same way. Then reaching the doorway he seems to be catching the grey soul, then presses it close to the wooden plate *daspan* and asks that ordinary man to see it off the yurt. The man takes the *daspan* with the grey soul out and leaves it far away from the dead man's yurt.

After the shaman's meeting with the dead man's soul 49 days after the death the relatives can go on living in the places they used to live before the tragedy. If one of them feels frequently ill or cattle go on dying after the death of a husband or a wife, the relatives call for a shaman again in autumn. When the leaves go yellow the shaman would make the last farewell fire, where only a selected group of relatives can be present. The shaman again meets the dead man's soul by that autumn fire and asks it to go out of the yurt and to leave his folk in peace and welfare.

Several years later the same soul can appear in different anthropomorphic or zoomorphic forms in front of some of his relatives or shamans. Sometimes relatives hear a familiar voice of the dead and its soul pronounces out loud the name of the one whom it wants to take with itself. So the dead man's soul flies freely in space and does not leave its native places for ever. The soul can appear in the form of some mythical being on an old camping site, where an old yurt used to be, near an old grass shelter, close to an old water-cross or a high pass. The soul can acquire the form of a horrible giant and can show up on the river bank,

on the forest lawn or near the salty soil place.

These ethnological materials recorded from the people of different age groups living in different districts of Tuva, give us enough ground to state that a man has a soul *sune*. I do not claim to give full information in my report on such a complex topic. The report is based wholly on Tuvan materials, a list of informants is appended to it.

TUVAN MYTHS ABOUT THE SOUL'S WHEREABOUTS

A baby has a *kut* (a soul), so people say. The embryo's soul is within its mother. The baby's soul usually finds itself in the following places: in the top of the head, in a cradle, in swaddling clothes, in a coat, in shoes, in a doll, in a feeding bottle. The soul of a baby lying in a cradle is closely watched and guarded by the junior spirit of *Urug kudu* (a baby's junior spirit), which is usually made of wool and a skin. The *Urug kudu* spirit stays where the cradle's arc peak is. The soul of each baby under 3 years has a definite place to stay¹.

The soul of each baby from 3 up to 13 years old can stay in different places such as: in headwear, in a coat, in a waistband, in cattle which was presented to him on the day of its first hair-cut. It can be a small goat, a lamb, a foal, baby deer or the young camel. Every baby has a patron by the name of *Dalbyn-ool Emegelchin eeren* (the Spirit of Emegelchin). And in old times the Spirit of *Emegelchin* had to be present in every yurt².

The baby's soul is extremely sensitive and touchy and can easily get scared. If one unexpectedly wakes up a dead sleeping baby, the soul leaves his body. If one hands over baby's personal clothes to someone else, it immediately falls ill. One must not sell the cattle presented to the baby, as together with animals a baby's soul goes away, so people say. One must not leave a baby sleeping in a cradle without anyone looking after the child, as its soul can flee. The gone-away baby's soul can be called back by a powerful shaman³.

A baby has a soul. And a grown-up has a soul, so people say. Grown-ups have two souls: the grey one and the main one. Depending on where the soul is the human life can be good or bad. If the soul lives together with the man and is somewhere near him or in him, the man feels good. If the soul stays away, the man feels bad and depressed. It has usually form of a flying hair, so people say. After a man dies, its grey soul goes on staying in a yurt. And only a shaman can make the dead man's grey soul leave the yurt and go away⁴.

Human life's duration wholly depends on his soul. If the soul lives on the left hand side, the man will live a long life. If the soul prefers the right hand side, then the man's life will be short. Every person has his own soul, so people say⁵.

The man's soul is closely connected with his personal belongings. The soul of a man can be in a grandfather's camping site, a yurt, a shelter of branches, a horse, the spirit of eeren, a pipe, a tobacco pouch, a rifle, a lasso, a steel, a knife, an axe, a wooden bowl, a saddle, a bridle, a coat, a headgear, a lash, a bow, an arrow.

The soul of woman can stay in: an earring, a thimble, a pillow, a needle, an ornamented adornment for plaits, an out twisted sinew, a bucket, a coat, a headgear, a mortar to pound tea, a pestle, scissors, a poker, a tripod, fire, eeren (spirit), a cast iron bowl⁶.

A shaman's soul is quite different from that of ordinary people. It stays close to his shamanic things such as: a drum, a rattle, a ritual coat, a headgear, a grandfather's camping site, his own spirits (eereener), a shed (seri – his burial place). One who offends a shaman's soul, will find oneself in big trouble, so people say⁷.

A soul's hiding place is known only to shaman. Only he knows the place where the run-away soul has found its refuge. When a man dies, a shaman knows where his soul stays: he can speak to it and hear it speaking, passing over everything it stays and bequeaths it to relatives⁸.

A shaman has good relations with the Sky Deity and with the Earth Master. They can help him to determine where the man's soul is wandering. Coming to the sick man's yurt, a shaman starts his ritual making the soul come back. After its return the sick man gradually recovers⁹.

Algyshes with the help of which a shaman calls back a man's soul are developing different topics. Shaman's *algyshes* pronounced to cure an ill person whose soul has run away are extremely poetic. The man's soul returns in the form of a flying hair. Only a shaman is able to bring back the run-away soul. After the ritual, the shaman would tell everybody the reason of the soul's escape¹⁰.

After a human being is conceived within a woman, there appears simultaneously its soul (*kut*) and the mother's soul protects the embryo's soul, so people say. Every baby has a soul. Every grown-up has a soul. When a child's soul goes somewhere, the baby cries all night and does not eat. When a grown-up's soul goes away, the man is all the time asleep and feels extremely tired and worn out. A shaman brings back baby's or grown-up's souls and they get well. A shaman is predestined to call a

prodigal baby's or grown-up soul, so they say¹¹.

After one dies, one's soul stays on the Earth. A shaman can meet this soul. He is invited to make the 7 days fire ritual (7 days after the death). In the course of conversation he gets to know what caused the person's death and tells it to the dead man's relatives. The next ritual takes place 49 days after the death. The soul's complaints and requests would be retold to the relatives gathered at the ritual. If the dead man's misfortune goes on, then the shaman makes fire in the time of yellow leaves, in autumn. The soul is still near the native places, so people say, the man's life will be short. A baby's soul (*kut*) is guarded by eeren *Emegelchin* (the Spirit of *Emegelchin*). When a baby is asleep, its soul is looked after by the junior spirit (eeren *Urug kudu*). When a grown-up is asleep, his soul is under *Chedy Khaan syldys* (The Great Bear) protection, so people say¹² (Anna Biche-ool).

TUVAN SHAMANS' ALGYSHES ABOUT THE SOUL

Person whose Soul has run away (Sotpa Sat)
When the night comes and you go to sleep,
You are having bad dreams and uneasiness.
You are running in your sleep,
You are giggling in your sleep.

And the sky is watching you closer
And its stars are sparkling only for you
And then suddenly you burst into tears
Wetting your pillow.

And when the dawn breaks in its due hour
You wake up depressed and worried.
You seem to have lost all your strength,
Your walk is unstable, you almost fall down.

Where is your grey horse, your holy horse?
You, its master, have covered long distances with it.
You did not give it to anybody else even for a moment,
Did you nevertheless let it go?

Why did you do that?
After you get hold again of the holy horse,
I will start my ritual,
I will be catching up with the run-away soul

Which is now wandering in far-away places.
I see that your soul is too far off now,

And that is why you are weak and tired.
If I manage to force it back with my ritual,

Your heart will beat in a happy rhythm.
Accompanied by the beautiful sound of my drum,
Your run-away soul will get back.
And you, a man without a soul, tired and weak,
You will get strong and happy again.

A SHAMAN CAUGHT THE RUN-AWAY SOUL (KHERTEK TOIBUKHAA)

When the sun is setting red against the sky,
Loud voices begin to come where the slope is.
It is the place where fabulous mermaids get together,
They have a good time, accompanied by resounding and terrible sounds.

It is the red dragon which is howling horribly and
Roaring all over the peaks of the Kyzyl-Taiga ridges
Near the red monster's daws I see
A lash, made of red meadow-sweet.

You, my man, once you have passed that steep slope.
And quite by chance you let your lash fall down
And thus it disappeared taking with itself Half of your life.

I am addressing you, khartaachy Kurbustu, listen to me.
I am addressing you, kuchuten Kurbustu, listen to me.
I ask you, the Giant, to send that lash back down to the Earth
Together with the lightning you are sending from your Heavenly peaks.

You, khartaachy of the sky, azalar people, be merciful!
You do not need that lash, and just drop it down.
The man whom the lash belonged to has a large family
And that lash is the main thing his whole life is dwelt upon.

You, the soul of the horse-herd, I am addressing you with these words.
You, the soul of the horse-herd, make a horse out of the wind.
Or turn yourself into the wind
And come to the Kyzyl-Dag Mountain.

The man, you left, is a horse-herd with many children.
The man, you left, has hardly begun to live.
Let him have a good and calm life.
Let him live under the Moon and the Sun light.

His soul is coming back. Oh, get hold of it.
His soul is coming back. Have a quick look at it.

And you, the lost soul, come fast like a wind,
And you, the lost soul, come fast like a wind.

The horse-herd, here is the soul, be quick to catch it.
The horse-herd, guard dosely your soul turned into hair.
The horse-herd, I have brought you're your soul, the Wanderer.
The horse-herd, I have found your soul in the Sky of Denger.

Kurbustu – the Sky, the Sky Lord
Khartaachy – a leader, a giant
Kuchuten – a giant

A SHAMAN'S ALGYSHES WHICH CALLED THE SOUL OF A WOMAN WHO DIED SEVEN DAYS BEFORE (SAT KAVAAKAI)

Here is present your dead husband.
Here are present your dear children.
Here is present your folk.
Here is that tasty food, they have brought you.

In a hidden place, on the steep bank
They made the red fire, which is flaring up and up.
They are sprinkling milk *araga* (vodka) over the fire,
They are giving *aarzhy* and *byshtak* to the fire with reverence.

I am standing here on the steep bank where the soil is red
I am calling you and waiting for your soul to come
All your people get gathered here,
They are standing silent waiting for your soul's coming.

Oh, did you come unnoticed?
Let us smoke and exchange pipes.
Look, all your people have come here.
Look, they have brought some food and put it here for you.

Soul, where were you? What places did you visit?
Soul, what did you see in that far-off land?
Soul, what hardships did you overcome?
Soul, do not look back, tell me it just now.

Soul, what are you carrying with yourself
And who is that one sitting on your back?
Soul, what do you need him for? I ask you not to do any harm.
Soul, do not take the deceased's youngest son.

Soul, you'd better take a kid.
Soul, did you enjoy *araga*?

Soul, did you enjoy that tasty food?
Soul, please, leave here the dead woman's youngest son.
Soul, you'd better go where you have come from.

Araga – araga, traditional strong drink
Aarzhly – dried cottage-cream
Byshtak – cheese

**SHAMAN'S ALGYSHES WHICH CALLED THE SOUL OF A TUVAN MAN WHO
DIED FORTY NINE DAYS BEFORE ((SHOZHAI SURUNMAA))**

I got over sixty passes,
I swam over sixty river crossings
And I stopped here in a forest glade
Purifying myself with burning juniper.

Your widow, your old mistress of the yurt
Has brought here a bucket full of oreme.
She has brought here one sack filled with boiled meat,
She has brought here one bucket filled with araga.

You, the deceased, do not go away.
You, the deceased, come here to speak.
You, the deceased, who is that one you brought with yourself?
Whom does that black horse with the white spot on the forehead belong
to?

Are they those guys that beat you cruelly last night?
Evidently it's them who beat you last night?
They beat you ruthlessly to death
Are you revenging yourself on those who insulted you then?

Look, they are young and full of life.
Look, they did that harm by mistake.
And you, the deceased, take this tasty food,
And you, the deceased, be merciful to their young lives.

Those who split human blood without mercy,
Should be punished, are you saying this?
Those, who beat an old man with detest and cruelty
Should take leave of the red breathing, are you saying this?

The old dead man's soul is angry
And making its invocation,
And the lives of those cruel guys
Are rolling down into a deep black pit.

The old man who died has gone to
The graveyard outraged and angry
Those guys who committed that evil deed
Have gone unstable to the graveyard, too.

Appendix (List of Informants)

- 1) Aleksei Bajir (1904-1985) born in the locality of Aldyy-Ishkin of the Dzun-Khem kozhuun (Sut-Khol kozhuun at present), spoke fluent Mongolian and Russian. During his last years he worked as a consultant in the National Museum of Tuva named after Aldan-Maadyr.
- 2) Victor Kok-ool (1906-1980) born in the locality of Khajirakan of the Ulug-Khem kozhuun, was son of a famous woman-shaman Dongak Dolchan. He was the People's Artist of the Tuvan ASSR and a playwright. During his last years he worked as a consultant in the National Museum of Tuva named after Aldan-Maadyr.
- 3) Sat Kavaakai (1917-1986) born in the locality of Khondergei of the Dzun-Khem kozhuun was a story-teller.
- 4) Bora-Khoo Mongush (1892-1970) a story-teller and a hunter, spoke fluent Mongolian and Chinese.
- 5) Lama Oorzhak born in May 1910 in the locality of Khondelen of the Barun-Khem kozhuun, was one of the first Tuvan drivers.
- 6) Khertek Toibukhaa (1917-1981) born in the locality of Khondelen of the Barun-Khem kozhuun, was a stone carver and a State Prize Winner of fine arts named after I.E. Repin.
- 7) Shozhal Surunmaa (1915-1986) born in the locality of Ustuu-Yimaty of the Mogen-Buren sumon of the Mongun-Taiga kozhuun was a great story-teller.
- 8) Norbu Salchak (1901-1968) born in the village of Teeli of the Bai-Taiga kozhuun was a stone carver.
- 9) Kendenchik Kuular (1904-1976) born in the locality of Ak-Aksy of the Sut-Khol kozhuun was a well-known performer of shaman's *algyshe*s (prayer songs).
- 10) Bakykaan Dongak (1898-1975) born in the locality of Bedik-Khavak of the Khondergei sumon of the Dzun-Khem kozhuun was a story-teller and the first poetess of Tuva.
- 11) Sotpa Sat (1901-1976) born in the locality of Orten-Tei of the Barun-Khem kozhuun was a story-teller.
- 12) Seveen-Oidup Ondar born in 1924, in the locality of Kysyl-Taiga

of the Sut-Khol kozhuun, knows Tibetan and was a story-teller.

- 13) Anna Biche-ool (Chirtakai Oyun) born in 1916 in the locality of Shangan-Aksy of the Elegest sumon of the Tandy kozhuun was a writer and an expert of Tuvan folklore.

ENDNOTES

1. The information was provided by Aleksei Bojir.
2. The information was provided by Victor Kok-ool.
3. The information was provided by Sat Kavaokai.
4. The information was provided by Bora-Khoo Mongush.
5. The information was provided by Shozhal Surumaa.
6. The information was provided by Khertek Toibukhaa.
7. The information was provided by Norbu Salohak.
8. The information was provided by Kendenchik Kuular.
9. The information was provided by Bakykaan Dongak.
10. The information was provided by Sotpa Sat.
11. The information was provided by Seveen-Oidup Ondar.
12. The information was provided by Anna Biche-ool.

RELIGIONS IN TUVA REPUBLIC: HISTORICAL REVIEW

MARINA V. MONGUSH

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Tuva is situated in the centre of the Asian continent, on the Russian Federation's border with Mongolia. According to the 2002 census, 244,000 ethnic Tuvans lived in the Republic. This is a significant majority (around 70%) of the population, unlike in most ethnic-based Republics in the Federation, where Slavic population dominates over the titular nation. The Tuvan people have both Turkic and Mongolian roots, though their language is predominantly Turkic.

Until the twentieth century, the majority of Tuvans lived as nomadic livestock herders. Their official religion is Buddhism, while they also have a traditional belief in Shamanism. Until the middle of the ninth century AD, the present-day Tuva was a part of the Turkic and Uyghur Khanates. It was conquered at the beginning of the thirteenth century by the Mongols and again in the eighteenth century by the Manchurians. After the collapse of the Manchu Qing Empire in 1911, Tuva — at that time was called in Russian the Uryankhai krai — became a Russian protectorate. In 1921, the People's Republic of Tannu-Tuva was formed, which was effectively a Soviet satellite state. In October 1944, Tuva became part of the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the USSR in 1991 Tuva remained in the Russian Federation, as the Republic of Tuva¹.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The original religion of the Tuvans was Shamanism. The second major religion of them, Buddhism, arrived later in the thirteenth century; it never supplanted Shamanism, but alongside Shamanism was declared one of

the two state religions in the eighteenth century. After the overthrow of the Manchurian dynasty in China in 1911, Tuva became a protectorate of the Russian empire. The Russian authorities did not interfere in the religious life of the region or challenge the authority of the religious leaders, and during the time of the Russian protectorate new Buddhist monastic centers were established.

In 1921 the Tuvan People's Republic was proclaimed, in its union with Soviet Russia. Its constitution guaranteed the right of citizens to profess any religion of their choice. Soviet influence was gradually expanded in the republic; but in the early years it took a mild form, partly because of the powerful influence of China in the region.

From 1921 to 1928 the Tuvan government actually took Buddhism under its protection. The Soviet authorities were alarmed, and they had to interfere into this process. Many young Tuvans were taken to Moscow for special education and on their return they took over control of the people's religious life.

In 1929 an anti-religious policy was put in place. However, religious adherence was strong. There were at least 28 monasteries, and out of a total population of 60,000, 4,800 were lamas. The 1931 census revealed that there were 725 shamans in Tuva. Anti religious excesses on the part of the government threatened to alienate the population and by 1933 the authorities were adopting a more moderate approach: religious beliefs were, for example, proclaimed to be no longer an obstacle to party membership. Systematic anti-religious persecution, with the aim of eradicating all religion in the republic, nevertheless began in earnest in 1936. The property of religious institutions was nationalized and clergy were deprived of all political and property rights. By 1937 there were only 5 monasteries and 67 lamas left in Tuva.

In October 1944 Tuva was finally annexed to the Soviet Union as an autonomous *oblast* of the Russian Federation. In 1961 it became the Tuvan Autonomous Republic. At the time of collectivization, which took place much later in Tuva than elsewhere in the USSR, from 1949 to 1954, lamas were still offering resistance, and were even attempting to regenerate Buddhist life. Some surviving lamas met to conduct prayer services. These unofficial gatherings became known as "praying yurts". They were led by the most authoritative and educated lama Kenden Khomushku. In early 1950s he moved to the Ivolginsk Datsan in Buryatia and from there continued to lead the Tuvan Buddhists.

Lamas and shamans alike suffered harsh treatment as enemies of the

people. Nevertheless, both religions refused to die out completely, and perhaps even reinforced each other's survival. About 100 lamas were still surviving in 1960. In that year the Tuvan authorities organized a gathering of lamas at which they were forced to adopt a resolution to put a stop to all religious activity. Kenden Khomushku was forbidden to enter Tuva. Nevertheless some lamas continued their religious activity underground and Kenden Khomushku sometimes visited the country illegally. The traditional religions thus survived communism in Tuva better than most religions elsewhere in the Soviet Union and religious traditions remained a living element in Tuvan national consciousness.

In Tuva today one of the central conflicts in the development of religiosity in the post-Soviet Russian Federation is revealed perhaps more sharply than anywhere else. This is the conflict between "restoration" and "innovation", between those who want to restore what they see as the traditional religious structures of the country and those who welcome the range of alternatives now on offer. Since Tuva came so late into the Soviet Union and anti-religious measures were muted at first, the population's memory of how things used to be is livelier than in most other parts of the Russian Federation².

REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM

The government of Tuva today officially recognizes three religions: Buddhism and Shamanism for the Tuvans and Orthodoxy for the Russians. In 1995 Tuva was one of the first regions of the Russian Federation to adopt its own law on religion, drawn up in consultation with representatives of the Buddhists, shamans and Orthodox. The law confirmed recognition of these three faiths. It made no provision for any kind of mechanism for state support, but concern for the future of the three faiths prompted the government to adopt a plan for the "Development of traditional religions of the peoples of the Republic of Tuva" in the year 2000.

Among the Tuvan political elite there is a widespread idea that it is Buddhism that needs to be restored as the ideological basis of Tuvan statehood. Government funding has been forthcoming for the construction of Buddhist temples. The systematic revival of Buddhism was given a boost in 1992 after the first visit of the Dalai Lama to Tuva. At that time an agreement was signed between the government of Tuva and the Tibetan Government in Exile. In 1993 the spiritual representative of the Dalai Lama

in Russia and Mongolia, Geshe Jampa Thingley, visited Tuva. Since then he has been visiting the republic on regular basis. Another popular Tibetan spiritual master is Bogdogegen, who also visits Tuva rather often. Many Tuvan young people get spiritual education in the Tibetan monasteries in South India³.

One of the distinctive features of Tuvan Buddhism is the result of its centuries-long coexistence with Shamanism. It has adopted some shamanistic traditions: the cult of *ovaa* (spirit-guardians of a place) and *eeren* (protectors of the family), for example. In earlier centuries shamans would often take part in Buddhist ceremonies alongside the lamas and in the monastery there used to be a special category of spiritual individuals — the *burkhan-kham* (lama-shaman)⁴.

There is widespread feeling in Tuva that Buddhism should be confirmed in its role as the basis for social, political and cultural life, as the consolidating factor in the development of society. Buddhist clergy hope to succeed in imbuing politicians with high moral qualities and the Buddhist values of tolerance, charity and openness. The fact that few Tuvans know much about the essence of their traditional faith does not free them from the responsibility of identifying themselves as Buddhists, which is the most important first step. Fuller religious understanding will come with time, either to today's Tuvans or to their children.

Buddhism as taught and practiced in Tuva, in contrast to Buddhism in Buryatia and Kalmykia, nevertheless remains traditional: its distinctive feature is its faithfulness to the Tibetan Gelug school and its recognition of the undisputed authority of the Dalai Lama. Contacts are practically exclusively with Tibetan Buddhists. Buryat Buddhists, who are active in other parts of Russia, have not so far made any inroads in Tuva. Representatives of other Buddhist traditions, including Ole Nydal, masters of Theravada and followers of Dzen Buddhism, have visited Tuva, but none of them has won any following. There are no contacts with Western Buddhism.⁵

ACTIVITY OF NEOSHAMANS

Meanwhile, Shamanism is flourishing as vigorously as Buddhism in today's Tuva — perhaps more so, since its roots proved harder to eradicate in socialist times. Traditional paganism among the Tuvans had no organized form; it was preserved and passed on as a part of folk culture. Formal pagan organizations are a new phenomenon of the post-Soviet period. Now there is a centralized shamanistic organization in Kyzyl and local

branches in various parts of Tuva. They are registered separately, but are all parts of the same phenomenon: coordinating centers for what is a growing mass movement.

A significant figure who had genuinely ‘shamanic roots’ was Oleg Toiduk, who unfortunately died very young, at the end of the 1990s. He was forty-six years old. His story shows how shamanic lineages have survived the Soviet period. Glory and fame came to him suddenly. In his own words, the most important events of his life were as follows:

“My parents had twenty-one children. My father Erenchin was a famous shaman. He was a healer: he set broken limbs, replaced dislocations, repositioned the child inside pregnant women, and often officiated at births himself. When I was twelve years old, my father started to teach me the shaman’s craft. I resisted for a long time, because I thought it was a relic of the past. But my father was firm and passed me all his knowledge. And it was only when I was mature that I knew there was no way away from the shamanism that my ancestors had practised⁶.

Toiduk came into possession of the heritage that had left him. He inherited a series of unique elements, such as the shamanic *eerens* — patron spirits that could take the form of the tusk of a wild boar, or the claws and nose of a bear. Toiduk also received the *kuzungu*, or shamanic mirror, and the *khuvaanak*, a collection of forty-one pebbles gathered from the beds of different rivers and streams. Toiduk also had the *dungur*, the shamanic drum; the *demcheek*, or rattle; and the *ochur*, or symbolic materials. These all are items with connections to attributes of Buddhist cults. With the help of the *dungur*, Toiduk was able to drive evil spirits out of mad men, and the *demcheek* and *ochur* allowed him to heal the sick. He was the only shaman of the modern era who could lick red-hot iron. According to Toiduk himself, this latter ability, which all shamans in the past possessed, not only had a psychological effect on the sick, but was also an effective method of fighting the evil spirits who caused various diseases. Toiduk said that “when he performed such an action, he received a great amount of new energy”⁷.

Toiduk was not only a healer, but also a fortune-teller. He usually told fortunes with the aid of the *kuzungu*. Once he was called on by a woman, who was planning to visit her absent son, and she asked him to ‘see’ what her road to Moscow would be like. Toiduk gave a categorically negative answer, which caused the lady to change her mind about travelling. Only a couple of days later the lady’s mother died, and her brother died in tragic circumstances a week after that. The shaman, foreseeing a series of unfortunate events, had protected the woman from

being on the road, far away from her loved ones, at the moment these sad events occurred⁸.

Another example of Toiduk's accurate prophecy comes from one who witnessed what happened. As they described it, Toiduk was one of a group of people standing around, talking amongst themselves. Suddenly he turned to the man next to him with the following warning: 'You shouldn't drive a car in the near future. You smell of iron. You might be in a car crash.' To which the man, an excellent driver, replied, 'Impossible, I drive very well.' A week later he was in a car accident along with his whole family. They were all killed. The story of the shaman Toiduk is typical — his predilection for the shamanic way of life is beyond doubt. Lots of people declare that similar things happen often in modern-day Tuva, as they did in former times as well.

During the 1990s Shamanism in Tuva benefited from international interest, both from academics who prize this well-preserved ancient faith as an object of study and from enthusiasts seeking a new source of mystical contact with nature in the context of the post-modernist Western culture. In 1993 the first Tuvan-American conference of shamans and professional researchers of Shamanism took place, with participants from America, Canada, Finland as well as Tuvan academics and members of Shaman society *Dungur* (drum). A result of the seminar was a resolution by the government of Tuva, setting up a research center for the study of Shamanism, under M. Kenin-Lonsan, at the Tuvan National Museum⁹.

Shamanism today is recognized as one of the three traditional religions of Tuva and has a certain amount of support from the state, although not as much as Buddhism. The government has made land and buildings available for the shamanistic organizations, including two buildings in Kyzyl. A small group of shamans works there for a few months at a time before being replaced by other shamans from the regions. One of these building includes a center attached to the *Dungur* society for teaching children about Shamanism. At the moment there are about 200 shamans in Tuva, just a few of them are considered to be real shamans.

Meanwhile researchers justifiably note that one ought not put an equal sign between traditional Shamanism and the contemporary Shamanism, which is being actively revived today. In order to distinguish the one from the other, some propose that the modern version be called "Neoshamanism". This occurred under the influence of the research of American anthropologist Michael Harner, who introduced the term "base Shamanism", or "Neoshamanism". The differences between traditional

Shamanism and Neoshamanism are as follows¹⁰.

First, if in traditional culture Shamanism was accessible only to those, who were clearly and obviously chosen by spirits, or to whom this gift was transferred by inheritance, today's Shamanism has become accessible practically to anyone, who is sincere and accepts the basic conditions of Shamanism.

Second, if in the past a person did not choose the shamanic path for himself (herself), he (she) was selected for it by spirits (refusal of this gift led to illness), now this path is chosen voluntarily.

Third, if in traditional society shamanic practice occupied a central place in the life of a person, everything else remained on the second and third levels. In the contemporary situation the person decides himself, what place shamanic practice will take in his life. As a rule, it fits completely with other aspects of life. This is easily seen from the aforementioned example of M. Kenin-Lopsan, who is a Shamanism researcher, a practicing shaman and a popular Tuvan writer at the same time.

Fourth, if in the past a shaman could work only in his own tribe and his power depended directly on a concrete geographical place, today he can practice independently and does not need to be attached to a specific geographical place or ethnic group.

At the same time, a new tradition has been born on the basis of Neoshamanism urban Shamanism. Its existence, primarily in the cities, far from the nature and the places of power, is paradoxical for shamanic practices.

Another distinctive feature of Neoshamanism is its incredible openness to the external world, which, in the past, was ignored. This is expressed in the public performance of shamanic rituals and the teaching of the shamanic "craft". This has led to the appearance, among the Tuvan neoshamans, of representatives of other nations, who as a rule, had no shamanic past. One of the clearest examples of this is the activity of a graduate of the Moscow University's Department of Psychology, Vera Sazhina, who practices as a shaman in Moscow and Tuva, having everywhere her own clients. She has opened a Shaman organization in the Ulug-Khem district of Tuva in memory of her teacher Kh. Khuurak, who was a well-known shaman. V. Sazhina has a good command of Tuvan and she usually performs shamanic rituals in Tuvan. Another example is Moscow psychologist Roman Nesterov, a graduate of the same Department of the Moscow University. He was accepted in the clan of his teacher S. I. Kanchyyr-ool, and after Kanchyyr-ools death in 2007, Nesterov inherited his shamanic attributes¹¹.

It is an interesting phenomenon that Shamanism became tightly connected with throat singing — *khoomei*. There are many cases today, when one and the same person is simultaneously a throat singer and a shaman. For example, Tuvan performer Nikolai Oorzhak has opened a throat singing training course for everyone who wants to sing in this style. During this course, Nikolai Oorzhak also acquaints his students with the world view of Shamanism and some shamanic ritual practices.

FREE CHOICE

Half of Tuvans see themselves as Buddhists, half as shamanists. Sometimes, at the individual level, there is a case of someone abandoning one of these religious traditions of her own free will. The case of Belek-kys Salchak (born 1955, inhabitant of Kyzyl) illustrates this clearly. At the beginning of the 1990s, Belek-kys Salchak opened a small private shop in Kyzyl, selling alcoholic drinks. Her business went well, she had a high turnover of stock, her family was materially well off. But she met with an accident, and could not look after herself for a long time afterwards. She went to a shaman who told her that the cause of her trouble was her neighbour, who had the 'evil eye' and 'a black tongue' — the shaman promised to remove the negative influence on Salchak. However, Belek-kys's health did not improve, and she ruined her relations with her neighbour. Then she turned to a Tibetan lama for help. After he had heard her story and performed a divination with the help of special books, he advised Belek-kys to rid herself of her bad karma — she should stop selling alcoholic drinks to the populace and take up a more healthy business. Belek-kys followed the advice and opened a small cafe, which made her an adequate return. Her health gradually stabilised. According to Salchak's testimony, it was this event which brought her finally into the Buddhist fold. She has had no contact with shamans since then, and advises her relatives to do likewise.

Another example is the case of Valentina Balchii-ool (born 1934, inhabitant of the Barun-Khemchik kozhuun), a teacher by profession. A large sum of money — which she had been saving to buy her son a car — vanished from this woman's flat. The shaman to whom she turned for help told her that her fellow-villager had stolen the money when he had come to stay with her. The description the shaman gave of the theft was accurate even in its details. Having named the guilty man, the shaman advised Valentina to 'wipe him out,' and described a possible scenario: an unfortunate 'accident,' from which no clues could be traced back to

Valentina. Valentina categorically refused to do this, a notion she had never entertained. 'What are things coming to if people finish each other off with the help of a shaman?' she wondered.

Because the ways and means by which shamans and lamas offer help differ widely, there is sometimes friction between them, as well as disagreement and rivalry. The Tibetan lamas, when they came for the first time and started to work in Tuva, were highly astonished to be met by men 'from the White House' (i.e. from government), who asked them to 'deal with' their political rivals. The Tibetans had to spend a long time explaining the Buddhist doctrine of karma, by which any bad action, even if carried out in thought alone, brings a negative result to its instigator.

In a similar situation shamans would not bother themselves with morals, they prefer their own ways of providing help. Therefore, the person to whom one turns in cases of need — the shaman or the lama — is an entirely individual matter and also depends on the nature of one's business. However, this does not affect the equilibrium that exists between the two religions on the sphere of confessional relations, and to talk of a general lack of agreement between the two tendencies has no grounds in fact.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX AND OLD BELIEVERS

Russian Orthodox and Old Believers are present in Tuva, but their numbers are small. The first Orthodox mission in Tuva was organized in 1868. The first Orthodox church in Kyzyl was built in 1911. It was subsequently destroyed, but in 1929, at a time when such a thing would have been impossible in the Soviet Union, it was replaced by a new church, which continued to function throughout the Soviet period. Institutional Christianity was preserved under the Communist regime more effectively in Tuva than in most other places in the USSR.

Nevertheless, Orthodoxy has always remained of minor significance in Tuva, which is practically the only region of the Russian Federation where Orthodoxy has experienced no revival in the 1990s. The Orthodox in Tuva are confined to two parishes, in Kyzyl and Turan, and five communities. In practice, Orthodox life centers on these parishes, which have several hundred members who attend the regular services on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings, and up to 1,000 attend services at festivals.

A high proportion of the congregation are young people. The church runs a Sunday school, which is attended by children and adults. Tuvans

make up ten per cent of the congregation, they are people who previously had no faith rather than converts from Buddhism or Shamanism. The church does not do missionary work among the Tuvans. There is a children's Bible in Tuvan and a translation of the Gospel of St. John, but there is no sign of any prospective Tuvan priest yet. The church runs no monastic communities or organized charitable activity. In spite of this, the position of Orthodox church in Tuva is firm and stable.

Old Believers started coming to Tuva at the end of the nineteenth century, escaping from the persecution at the hands of the Russian authorities. At the time of collectivization and Communist persecution many Old Believer families went into hiding in inaccessible places, while others, men and women, withdrew into the forests to live alone as hermits. There are still many such hermits today, and they enjoy great spiritual authority among the local Old Believers, who often turn to them for advice.

NEW RELIGIONS

Despite the quantitative advantage of traditional religious organizations, non-traditional confessions have had a significant effect in the Tuvan world. Among them the religious organizations of Protestant orientation have conducted the largest-scale activity, and have branches not only in large cities, but also in the distant regions of the republic, where predominantly Tuvans live. Consequently, a contingent of believers here is made up of native people. In contrast to the Orthodox and Old Believers, the Protestants see missionary work as a high priority. According to the degree to which they have become widespread among them the following associations are most influential.

The South Korean Christian church of the Evangelical *Sun bok Ym* faith was organized in May 1995. It is led by a minister from South Korea. Several hundred people, 99% Tuvans and about 70% people of young and middle age regularly attend divine services. In 1997 a new religious community, "Way to the Truth", created a division in the church. The Tuvan Nationality minister became its leader. Tuvans constitute the overwhelming majority. Both of these organizations are Pentacostalist.

The church is active in charitable work, distributes humanitarian aid from South Korea and assists children's homes through a special fund. Church members pray for the local authorities and consider themselves patriots. The church sets great store by wealth and health, forbids smoking and alcohol, and has a strict approach to morality. The pastor explains in

his sermons that, like the Tuvans, Koreans were also Buddhist once, and lived in poverty, but that now they have accepted Christianity they are starting to flourish. Church members are travelling around Tuva opening branches of church in the districts; in these churches services are conducted in the Tuvan language only. The church's missionaries see one of their basic tasks as working with young people and the relatives of believers.

The religious community of *Jehovah's Witnesses* was officially registered in 1993. It is a fairly large association and is also led by a Tuvan. Baptism is a crucial moment for the followers of Jehovah's Witnesses. It is not performed immediately, but after the passing of some time, when the new follower shows himself (herself) to be an active servant. There are over 100 Jehovah's Witnesses in Tuva; more than half of them are Tuvans.

The Missionary society *The Christian* was registered in 1993. It belongs to the Russian Union of Christians of Evangelical faith and is also a fairly ramified and influential religious organization. This organization has a whole network of "daughterly" associations in practically all districts of the Republic, even in places such as Tes-Khem and Erzin, where the positions of Buddhism are traditionally very strong.

There are about 20 associated churches and groups in various places in Tuva and the congregations of all of them are almost entirely Tuvans. About 10 % have high education. For the first years the Tuvans watched the church growing, but then there was a breakthrough: the church has succeeded in breaking down the stereotype, whereby Christianity is seen as the Russian religion. The congregations have started supporting people who know the Tuvan language and traditions well, and services are being conducted in Tuvan. On one occasion there was trouble with the authorities, when a converted female shaman started destroying sacred sites, upsetting the local people.

Analyzing the activity of this society, researchers note the well-established system of instruction for its followers (they are regularly carried out at conferences, in schools and other forms of study), and also the generous financing, which helps to rent accommodations and give material support to followers, as well as to secure necessary literature and the payment of services for translations of publications into the Tuvan language. The Bible has already been translated.

However, the list of confessions active in Tuva is not limited to the orientations mentioned above, since there are a number of other unregistered religious organizations. There is a Muslim community among them, for example, which brings together mainly representatives of the

Tatar diaspora. There is also a small group of Krishna followers. They all exhibit varying degrees of activity.

In contrast to other regions of Russia, none of the confessional orientations represented in the Republic, has political ambitions. The experience of holding elections at the federal and regional levels has shown that local politicians did not use the religious factor in Tuva. Also, no facts have been noted indicating that religion led to inter-ethnic tension and conflicts. The increase of religious consciousness, observed among the recognized nationalities of the Russian Federation, is connected, above all, with the processes of national and cultural revival, which, in turn, serves as an indicator of ethnic unification.

CONCLUSION

To the question on the propagation of new religions in Tuva, significant part of the population (42.38%) categorically answered that “only traditional religions should exist”; 14.23% consider that “any religions should be allowed to spread” and 17.23% answered “any religion can spread with traditional priority”. In this case the preoccupation apropos of the retention of traditional culture nevertheless makes it possible for the majority of those interrogated to preserve sufficiently tolerant position with respect to other confessions. So, more than half (54.71%) of the people answered that “it does not matter, to what religion a person belongs, if he (she) observes moral commandments”¹².

Relations between various confessions in Tuva are generally good. Lamas and shamans, as well as representatives of Tuvan intelligentsia are, however, alarmed by the rapid proliferation of Protestant churches and sectarians. They deplore incidents such as the burning of portraits of the Dalai Lama. They believe that the activities of the more aggressive denominations should be limited by legislation. They are particularly critical of American and Western missionaries, who, they say, often recruit followers not by preaching, but by offering material goods.

The government of Tuva follows a policy of religious tolerance, and there have been very few instances where the secular authorities have intervened to curb the activities of religious enthusiasts.

Thus, the contemporary religious structure in the republic of Tuva is a result of a historically prolonged and complex process. Its complexity is determined by poly-confessionality, which is characterized by two tendencies: revival and development of traditional religious beliefs and

the growing influence of new, predominantly Protestant religious directions, that were not previously widespread in the Republic.







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ABOUT TUVAN FOLKLORE

ORUS-OOL SVETLANA

History of the study of Tuvan folklore, in our opinion, should be divided into four periods in terms of temporal sequence: pre-revolutionary (the end of 9th century- the beginning of 20th century), pre-Soviet (1930s), Soviet (1940-1980 years) and modern (1990s till nowadays).

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The first recordings of Tuvan folklore were done at the end of 19th century and early 20th century by Russian scientist-orientalists V.V. Radlov, G.N. Potanin, N.F. Katanov, F.J. Kon and others.

Fundamental contribution of folklore of Tuva, Altai, Khakassia, Shor and other nations was made by the founder of oriental studies V.V. Radlov (1837-1918) in his ten-series *Images and Literature of Turkic tribes* in the original language. During an expedition to the Altai, V.V. Radlov stayed for 4 days in the village of Kara-Khol Bai-Taiga district where he recorded 4 verses of several proverbs, also in two tales *About hero Kyuzhyut-Modugn* and *Pagai-Churu*, part of Tuvan version Geser. It should be noted that the pre-revolutionary scientists conducted genre distinctions between heroic epics and tales, so their writings designated tale as tales.

In 1879, the famous Russian explorer and scientist G.N. Potanin during a three-month journey through Ovyur, Kara Holand Tere-Hol (Uriankhai region) recorded several heroic tales which still exist in Tuva: Kangyvay-Mergen, Tun-Caraty-Khan, Ertine-Mergen, Aldyn-Chaagay, Tanaa-Kherel, Hemra-Mergen, Bai Boraldai as well as about 30 tales and legends.

First scientist of Khakassia N.F. Katanov (1862-1922) in 1889 undertook a scientific expedition to central Uryankhai region and Khakassia, where he could collect a rich collection of folklore, which was printed in the ninth volume of Radlov series called *Adverbs of Uryankhai*

(Soyots¹), Abakan Tatars and Karagas. This edition included 1,410 edition texts of different genres of Tuvan folklore: heroic tales, myths and legends, fairy tales and riddles. This work has full certification: the dates and locations of records, artist's name, age and occupation. All genres of Tuvan folklore were presented in the original language with an accurate reflection of phonetic and morphological features of a living language.

In 1902-1903 in Tuva the expedition of the East Siberian Department of the Russian Geographical Society worked, which was headed by exiled revolutionary F.J.Kon. It collected many ethnographic materials and folklore texts-14 verses of songs, 5 myths, 4 stories, 2 legends, 2 heroic tales (*The Tale of a good fellow Haity-Kara* and *The Tale of Tsar Czerny*).

Despite the incompleteness of comments and concise certification (the texts were documented just briefly by V.V.Radlov and N.F. Katanov), the Tuvan folklore has attracted the attention of scientists as primarily as ethnographic and linguistic materials. These works are now of great scientific value for Tuvan philology. From the folklore materials which was collected by the pre-revolutionary scientists, we learn what type of genres of Tuvan folklore and monuments, stories, fairy tales and epic version existed in the past and what kind of them have for centuries, carefully passed down from generation to generation. Unfortunately, many of them are not currently preserved in the memory of modern storytellers and singers.

PRE-SOVIET PERIOD

The occurrence of Tuvan folklore refers to the beginning of 1930s after the creation of national writing language, competitions were organized for recording and publication of folklore texts on the pages of national newspapers *Shyn* (Truth), *Areveshyny* (True revsomol), *Hostug Arat* (Free Arat). Various genres of Tuvan folklore began to publish in these newspapers and magazine Dawn of the revolution (*Revolyustun Arat*).

In the absence of established written literature along with translations from the Russian language, folklore texts appeared to be the most valuable material for the dramatic reading. The first heroic tales such as *Tana Kherel with a horse Dash –Hurenom* and *Noble Kara Kogel* in collections *Chyyndychogaaldar* (Selected Works) and *Tooldar* (Tales) were published by writers – O.Sagaan-ool and S.Pyurbyu. Some folklore texts were included in the first national textbooks *Bichiiturguzukchular* (Young builders), *Bistinazhyl* (Our Work), *Ooreniili* (Let us learn).

Of course, in the early stages of the Tuvan folklore, these publications didn't meet modern requirements of textual work as editing principles were not respected: gatherers passed only a summary of the narrative, had a poor fixation technique. Despite these unbalanced development records and the absence of a specific program of collection, they evoked intense interest in Tuvan native poetry.

SOVIET PERIOD

After entry of the Tuvan People's Republic into the USSR in 1944, and the creation in 1945 of the Tuva Research Institute of Literature and History (now the Tuvan Institute of Humanitarian Research of the Government of the Republic of Tyva) the collection and recording of folklore has been implemented on a sustained basis. Collection activities are organized involving enthusiasts (writers, teachers, artists); individual trips for researchers, annual folklore expeditions, meetings of national story tellers and singers are organized, in which technique of recording folklore simultaneously from many artists has been mastered. Also they hold conversations with activists-gatherers of the number of rural intelligentsia and practicing performers. As a result, a significant layer of folklore and their variants was identified and recorded. During 70 years of the institute 9 meetings were held. There are specialists who have received higher education at universities in Moscow, Leningrad, Irkutsk and Abakan. The initial foundations of textual criticism have come, its principles have been formed. Sector employees of Literature and Folklore Institute A. Kalzan, D. Kuular, M. Hadahane, O. Daryma, Ch. Kuular and other works of folklore were recorded on a professional basis for the first time.

Also the folklore Foundation was created, which consists of manuscripts and tape recordings of all genres of Tuvan folklore works; the materials on the oral culture were prepared in accordance with archival requirements. Currently the Folklore Fund Institute has 2,230 cases (each containing several pieces of different genres), distributed in 315 volumes.

Important place in Folklore Fund Institute is taken by the phonogram archive. Unfortunately, due to insecurity of Institute recorders in the second half of the 1950s, it was not possible to conduct phono record. First tape fixation Tuvan folklore was made only in 1959. Total Phonographic Archive today includes 898 tapes with all genres of Tuvan folklore, including about 120 records of heroic tales recorded from 65 artists, more than 200 units of throat singing in different styles (*Khoomei, sygyt, kargyraa*,

borbannadyr, ezengileer) and tunes on national instruments.

The vast majority of records, are widely known in the country and were collected almost in all *kozhuuns* of Tuva. Among them there are repeated recordings made by different collectors in different years from the same story teller and singer, and rare material has been recorded from the story tellers, narrators and students besides collecting samples of records in Tuvan folklore in Mongolia and China.

The recording of musical folklore of Soviet-American expedition in 1987, collected by musicologists T. Levin, K. Sherlock (USA), E. Alekseev, Z. Kyrgys is especially distinguished from the materials of Fund in terms of quality and scientific level. Almost in all the settlements of the republic of Tuva samples of folk music were recorded on magnetic films amounting to more than 270,000 meters. Tapes allowed accurately fix the artistic features of creativity known in Tuvan arrators O. Chynchy-Hoo, M. Agyldyra, S. Shokshuya (recorded its full version *Geser*) and others.

Along with collecting the work, the Institute publishes the finest examples of folk art. Since 1947, the Tuvan folklore monuments are published in collections *Tyvatoolda* (Tuvantales). Although the existing publication of materials of Tuvan folklore already constituted a solid basis for a comprehensive study, these are unequal in terms of their academic preparation for printing. Because publication in the years 1940-1980 in some cases was implemented without their express textual study and preparation. Some works of heroic legends and tales were published in literary adaptation, mixing different versions and words recorded by different narrators in one text. For ideological reasons the texts were subjected to forced folk processing, particularly the episodes with shaman and lamaist attributes were removed. Much of the material does not have a satisfactory certification, introductory articles, commentaries and notes. It was not well thought-out system of selection of texts for publication, which, of course, greatly reduces their scientific value for the study of language and poetics of folklore. Sometimes publications were done by amateur collectors who were not specialist folklorists. The oral monuments of Tuva in the scientific sense have been voted far from equal. It is necessary to consider that these publications were calculated basically for the general reader, so documentary fidelity text was not the goal of compilers. Their main aim was to present as much as possible of different folklore genres to the reader.

In comparison with the works of folklore of other peoples of Siberia, by that time known in the scientific publications, during the years 1940-1980. Tuvan folklore just began to enter the scientific revolution. Russian

reader, for example, became acquainted in translation with only six works of the heroic epic of Tuvinians. The existing practice of translation, admitting as a semantic literalism and unwarranted free translation is far from an adequate scientific folklore translation, designed to convey particular oral poetic tradition of the Tuvan people. Because of this problem, adequate transfer of scientific Tuvan texts into Russian language remains the actual problem of Tuvan folklore today.

Some work on the study of Tuvan folklore has been done. A number of articles were written in major scientific and popular character of fairy tales (S.A.Saryg-ool and I.A.Vcherashnyaya), legends (D.S.Kuular) songs (Yu.Sh.Kyunzegesh), the mysteries (A.S.Toguy-ool) and others. Tuvan folklore was also covered in the works of A.K.Kalzana, C.C.Kuular (*Tuvan folklore*) Collection and publication of Tuvan folklore, and in the master's and doctoral dissertations of Z.S.Kyrgys, V.Y.Suzukei, S.M.Orus-ool and others.

L.V.Grebnev wrote the first scientific monograph on Tuvan folklore. In his work *Tuva heroic epic* (the experience of historical and ethnographic analysis) the historical and ethnographic characteristic of Tuvan epic has been represented. The author proposes a classification of Tuvan heroic legends, discusses their artistic features, points to a number of common themes in the epics of Sayan-Altai peoples, determines the time of the formation of Tuvan epic and analyzes the data about culture and daily life of the Tuvan people at different stages of historical development. The peculiarity of L.V.Grebnev is that he approaches the subject as historian, ethnographer and a linguist, all combined a significant achievement in Tuvan folklore studies is the collective work *Tyva ulustunchogaalyaac* (Folklore of Tuvan people edited by Kalzan). Its first part contains articles exploring the ideological and artistic features of all genres of Tuvan folklore, written by researchers from the Institute and the poet S.Pyurbyu. In its preface, Kalzan attaches great importance to the historiography of Tuvan folklore studies. This work provides the aesthetic concept of national storytellers and highlights makes an objective evaluation of the pre-revolutionary scholars and travelers in different stages of Tuvan folklore studies and marks the new tasks of the study of Tuvan folklore.

MODERN PERIOD

In the 1980s, Tuvan folklorists began to prepare for the four volumes of 63 bilingual volume series *Monuments of Folklore of Siberian and the Far East* (Novosibirsk). Three volumes of the series have been published: *Tuvan folk*

tales (1994, compiled by Z.B. Samdan), *Tuvan heroic tales* (1997, compiled by S.M. Orus-ool) and *The myths and legends of Tuvinians* (compiled by N.A. Alekseev, D.S. Kuular, Z.B. Samdan, J.M. Yusha). In the publication of these volumes, the compilers have fully complied with all the basic principles of the series. The texts are provided with philological and musicological articles, comments, notes, which shows a variety of scientific information related to the unknown historical and cultural realities, involving a rich base of the sources, as well as dictionaries, indexes, note application.

The phonogram of the legends and fairy tales as an attached record in the book shows the traditional manner of melodic recitation and Tuvan epic tale. All recorded samples of folklore works represent different schools of storytellers in the Republic of Tuva. Tuvan folklorists prepare for the publication of the volume: *Songs and ritual poetry of Tuvinians*, *Folklore of Tuvinians Todzhans* in the series *Monuments of Folklore of Siberia and the Far East* (Novosibirsk). Since 1990, the folklore section of Tuvan Institute has undertaken the editing of series *Monuments of Tuvan folklore* in Tuvan language. Five volumes of the heroic legends, ritual poetry collections, children's folklore, fairy tales, tongue twisters, myths and legends have been published.

The peculiarity of folklore texts included in this series is in their documentary accuracy, no literary processing, and most importantly in the preservation and explanation of the characteristic features of the Tuvan language, its dialects, archaisms, etc. All texts have been reconciled with the original, published in its complete form, with necessary introduction, comments, notes and in compliance with the scientific principles of textual work. The main criterion for this has been the principle of authentic transmission of the oral text.

The systematic collection, study of the works of Tuvan epic, publication of epic collections for the general reader created the necessary conditions for the preparation of academic publication of heroic tales. So, the folklore section together with the department of folklore of the Institute of World Literature named after A. Gorky, Russian Academy of Sciences is preparing the publication of Volume *Tuva heroic epic Ton-Aralchyn Khan* (3 different-version) by (S.M. Orus-ool) for academic publication in *Epic peoples of Europe and Asia*.

The qualified scientific personnel have been prepared, who defended their folklore specialization for Ph.D. dissertations *Tuvan folklore in the context of Central Asian oral poetic traditions* (D.S. Kuular), *Tuvan heroic legends (textology, poetics, style)* (S.M. Orus-ool), dissertations – *Themes*

and motifs of framed stories in Tuvan fabulous tradition by A.S. Dongak, *Traditional folk ritual poetry of Tuvinians: structure and semantics* by J.M. Yusha, *Mythological traditions in of Tuvan heroic tales (stories and images)* by L.K. Khertek. Besides, a series of monographs on the theory of music and songwriting of Tuvinians was issued.

Folklore of Tuvinians has attracted international attention. German folklorist Eric Taube published in German *Tuvan National songs. Folk poetry of Western Mongolia* in Leipzig (1980), in Russian - *A collection of Tales and legends Altai of Tuvinians in Russia* (Moscow, 1994) and others. A collection of Tuvan heroic epic was published in the Turkish language namely *Tuva Destanlari* (Tuvan epics, Ankara, 2007).

The collection of oral folk poetry is a prerequisite for high-quality publication and is of crucial importance. Because our material is basically archaic and on the verge of extinction, there is an urgent need to undertake comprehensive expeditions and surveys to collect folklore and to pay attention to the balanced development and systematic record of the folklore in various districts of the republic of Tuva. It is also necessary to collect and record different variants of tales and epics, minor genres, children's folklore, anecdotes, oral histories, ritual folklore, modern folklore, and so on. At the same time it is necessary to organize repeated expeditions to areas, which have preserved folk traditions. The nature of change and existence of folklore, identification of stable and volatile moments of the text, style and poetics of folklore, its state in the era of scientific and technological progress, etc. are to be considered in the development of folklore studies.

We should consider one of the major problems in the development of modern folklore studies, i.e. summarize the experience of folklore collection activities (for example, to write and publish a study entitled *Expeditionary work for 70 years*, where it is necessary to sum up the collection of Tuvan folklore) and develop problems of collection, methods of recording and archiving the folklore materials. Folklore materials that have been already collected and are being collected now, should eventually provide a quality publication of all genres of Tuvan oral poetry.

Manuscript Fund and the archive of phonograms provides the Institute materials of scientific publications and serves as a base for research. It holds a large amount of the records of Tuvan folklore, many of them still unknown to anyone, practically unexplored, and most importantly - samples of folk music without notes. Folklorists in future will have to process and put into scientific circulation the stored strata of

ancient texts, records of talented performers - storytellers, singers and storytellers khoomeiji, most of whom have already passed away.

The present level of folklore studies presents new and more complex tasks. One of the urgent problems of modern folklore is the study of unknown and inaccessible archival folklore texts. Therefore, systematization of folklore materials is associated primarily with textual science, for the preparation and publication of texts. It requires textual examination for comprehensive verification of folk authenticity, a more thorough study of texts intended for publication, based on original archival materials, while respecting the basic principle of practical textual criticism - the authenticity of the text.

Clearly, without a thorough textual study of a monument, Tuvan folklore studies cannot exist as a genuine scientific discipline. The problem of study and publication of folklore in their artistic riches requires serious attention from the folklorists. Tuvan folklore studies is experiencing an acute shortage of specialist textologists who would maintain the work with the monuments of folklore on serious scientific basis on the traditions established in the fundamental works of Russian scientists.

NATIONAL IDEA OF THE TUVA REPUBLIC IS FOLK CULTURE*

AILANA K. KUZHUGET

ABSTRACT

The article examines topical issues of folk culture of the Republic of Tuva. The author explores the genesis of folk culture of Tuva and comes to the conclusion that the crucial significance belongs to the development of the creative personality – a medium of folk culture. The article raises the question of the need to strengthen educational work on the formation of a creative personality.

Keywords: *Tuva Republic, folk culture, creative personality.*

Analysis of the traditional culture of various peoples, and people of Tuva in particular, has shown that, unfortunately, the natural process of disappearance of some types of artistic crafts (in particular, the production of saddles, bridles, chests, sewing of traditional clothing and shoes) is inevitable, and is determined by the modernization of society and changes in household life. The first thing to vanish is elements, which are closely related to everyday life. More importantly, spiritual values of people also become part of history.

No culture can (and could before) develop on its own. The process of interaction with other cultures permanently goes along with the existence of any culture since its inception. During early 1920s, the process of centuries-old communication and cultural interaction between Tuva, Mongolia and China, and indirectly, through them, with other Asian countries, as previously neighboring Turkic peoples of Siberia, ceased. Meanwhile, ties

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of the Tuvans with eastern neighbors remained extremely strong and long. Art historians and culture experts of Tuva note that this influence was reflected in all kinds of Tuvan folk art: in music, folklore, arts and crafts, sculpture, and in general in the mentality of the Tuvan people.

However, this problem has never been a subject of deep scientific research. In Soviet times, the orientation of scientific research was directed exclusively to the study of the influence of Russian Soviet culture on the Tuvan culture, but even in this field the approach was quite formal, declarative and political. How has the Tuvan culture changed, what positive and negative elements have emerged there – is also an under-researched problem.

Nowadays more topicality is gained by the study of spiritual culture of the traditional society, the study of its components, its potentials associated with mentality, an attitude to nature and people. Vitality of the spiritual culture can be explained by its self-sufficiency, its synergy. Performing annual rituals with reference to the objects of nature, people achieved psychological satisfaction, and learned to live in harmony with the world and in harmony with themselves.

Spiritual culture of the traditional society teaches the ability to achieve psychological comfort in life, to enjoy simple human emotions – love for women, children, friendship, and to live in harmony with nature and with ourselves. It is not necessary to replace these universal values with material excess.

Our recent period of the last decades has shown that blind adherence to the experience of the developed (Western) civilizations is not always positive. Tuva has already gained similar experience. It is well known that in terms of economy the production impact of Western technology has accelerated the development of the oriental societies, but in the spiritual field problems of the current crisis have only become deeper, have turned into a real humanitarian catastrophe. It is for them to decide, no one can help here.

Unfortunately, government officials, the authorities and also in Tuva ignore appeals of scientists – anthropologists, philosophers, literary critics, art historians. This potential of the republic is almost not used at all. Cultural policies are formed by formal cultural officials, not scientists, without consultation with experts. There is no strategy for the cultural policy; there is no monitoring of the cultural development of rural and urban populations. Holiday concerts and awards at various festivals are, according to officials, the most important indicators of cultural

development of the republic.

Modern Tuvan society ought to realize the importance of the social and psychological problems, ought to develop integrated programs for overcoming the deep spiritual crisis, which will certainly produce an impact on the economy of the republic. Tuva is among the most backward regions of Russia, not only in economy and production, but also in the social sphere, health care. The republic has one of the lowest levels of life expectancy and one of the highest proportions of the population living below the poverty line. According to the census of 2002, in Tuva “the average life expectancy of both sexes was 55 years (men – 49.4, women – 61.9), in rural areas – 53.7 years (men – 48.4, for women – 60.4”.

There are two forces that can help our society to find a path out of the deep crisis: the government in cooperation with science (and humanities), and spiritual values of the folk culture, only these forces can provide a powerful impetus for development. This way has been used by the countries of South-East Asia, where the state united its society, and its culture provided important moral and psychological support for people to survive in difficult economic conditions. We hear a lot about the national idea, and yet experience of the modernized oriental countries has proved that this role is to be played by the national culture itself.

We cannot isolate the national culture, but we ought to preserve its basic values. Religion as an important part of any culture is one of them. The institution of Tuvan family is being destroyed, diminishing the importance of the father as head of the family. Customs and rules of national etiquette, proper attitude to older people and children, and traditions of education are forgotten or stored formally, without understanding. Wedding and funeral rituals are being modified, excluding national ethical standards.

Culture is not just a song, dance, and even the ancient throat singing, but ethnic and spiritual values. Keeping the old traditions in an old way makes no sense, the world is changing and the people working on the computer cannot see it the way their ancestors did a hundred or more years ago, but both of them: the ancestors and living people are people of one nation, representatives of one people. It is the spiritual values that are supposed to unite them. Otherwise, the culture is becoming a genetically modified food product, a mutant.

Soon this process may become irreversible. Scientists – social experts always say that the culture is in danger in Russia in general, and in the national republics in particular. Special attention, at the state level, now

ought to be paid to education of the creative personality. This requires certain education reforms. No doubt, it is a departure from the traditional, in particular, the Tuvan education, requiring obedience and prohibiting standing out. However, we ought to understand that this is an asset, which was developed by the western society, and this asset is to be implemented today by representatives of other Asian cultures. At the same time the creative personality does not exclude the person's awareness of his (her) moral responsibility to the community, people, the country, a person of high intellect and culture.

Seeking solutions to purely economic problems is impossible without solving the problems of spiritual development of the modern Tuvan society. The Eastern civilization understood that in the 19th century (e.g. in Japan for over a hundred years schools conducted lessons of morality). The Western civilization is now about to discuss this, whereas it is high time we thoughtfully tackled the problem. New cultural programs ought to be developed in the Republic of Tuva – these are effective and actually working cultural programs, taking into account cultural features of the mentality and national character.

INDIAN PLOTS IN THE EPIC AND MYTHOLOGICAL- FOLKTALE TRADITIONS OF TUVANS

SAMDAN ZOJA BAIROVNA

Contact of Tuvan epic and mythological-folktale narrative with the folklore traditions of other people is one of its bright striking features. Genetic, territorial, direct, indirect and other contacts are recognized in the narrative tradition of Tuvans. Borrowings are reflected either in the form of inclusions of the alien details and motifs, in the form of existence of entire plots and even cycles.

The largest stratum of borrowed plots represents processing works delivered in Tuva from India and Tibet through Mongolia. Oral stories about the written transcriptions of famous monuments of the East widely existed in Tuva.

How did this process of borrowing happen?

Scientific publication of texts of Tuvan narrative folklore in volumes of bilingual 60 -volume academic series of *Monuments of folklore of Siberia and the Far East: Tuvan folk tales* (1994), *Tuvan heroic tales* (1997), *Myths, legends of Tuva* (2010), as well as the book *The Ainu Chylbyga kanchap syrypkanyl?* (Why does Chylbyga swallow the moon?) in series *Aas chogaal turaskaaldary* (Monuments of Folklore) confirms not only the prevalence and continued existence of the ancient tales of Tuvians but also opens up opportunities for a theoretical understanding of issues related to Tuvan narrative folklore¹.

The most important factor for the preservation of archaic culture of Tuvans, like other peoples of traditional societies, is the fact that the formation of writing centers coincide with the centers of origin and existence of the greatest monuments of epic poetry. Among these centers, researchers isolated the Sayano-Altai and the wider area Central Asian nucleus centers of epic.

Epic tradition and epic consciousness of ancestors of Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia and neighboring areas of southern Siberia, according to G.O. Tudenov, the specialist in literature and folklore were formed and simultaneously generated zonal epic community before the Orkhon-Yenisei runic writing and literature in the 7th century BC². Comparative study of the epic tales of Turko-Mongol peoples and Orkhon-Yenisei runic monuments texts of 6th – 9th centuries leads scientists to the conclusion that the ancestors of these people had along with the oldest written text, the developed epic consciousness and a strong tradition of archaic epic³. Central Asian center of origin of writing and epics, to which were attached Tuvans due to historical conditions, plays an important role in the study of the epic and mythological and folktale heritage of Tuva.

With the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia began an era of Chenghis Khan. However, there was widespread Lamaism, as a branch of Buddhism, only in the 16th century, after the conclusion in 1577 AD of a new alliance between the Buddhist church in Tibet and Altyn Khan. It was through Mongolian lamas that Lamaism penetrated Tuva widely in the second half of the 18th century, after its conquest by the Manchus. The influence of Buddhism was spread all over in the border areas of Tuva and Mongolia, as well as in places where there existed Buddhist monasteries before. Carriers and performers of these stories were mostly priests - lamas, scribes, ministers of religion or their descendants.

Direct or indirect borrowings or distant echoes of Buddhist beliefs were influenced by the works of the book of origin, but were spread through oral tradition of Tuva. The Buddhist doctrine expounded "Translation broadcasts of Buddha" - *Gandzhur* (108 volumes) and the comments on it *Dandzhur* (225 volumes), besides illustrating the principles of Buddhism extraction *Kanjur*, collections "Sea of parables" (Oyun dlhr) etc. Individual motifs or names of saints and deities of the Buddhist pantheon such as Sakyamuni (Tuvan Shigemuni), Ananda (Ananda Tuvan), Ochirvani (Tuvan Ochur - Maan) existed in this time.

Many oral epics which existed in Tuva, penetrated from the Mongolian written sources⁴. Among them there were the original versions of *Geseriada*, *The Tale of Khan Harangue*, *Djangar*⁵ and translated mainly from the Tibetan, Sanskrit languages - collections of stories and fairy tales *Panchatantra*, *Bigarmizhid Khan*, *Arji-Bordji-Khan*, *Magic dead-man*⁶ Storybook *Magic dead-man* also known as *25 Vetal stories*, *Rolanga Stories*, *Siddhi-Kur*; existed in Tuva besides similar stories: *Seven wizards and Prince*,

*The Naran-Gĩrele Prince and Saran-Gĩrele, Ananda-carpenter and Ananda-painter, King with donkey ears, Dancing frog and talking parrot*⁷ .

Tuvan versions have other names and there is a noticeable creative reworking of the plot. At the end of the Mongolian version of the tale of seven brothers-wizards, they used their extraordinary abilities saving the princess, giving her in marriage to one of the princes, then killed her out of jealousy. In one Tuvan version Khan's daughter chooses the groom's brother - shooter who broke up with his dart and lost his magical powers. Another version of Tuvan tales *Seven Brothers*⁸ has etiological ending and cosmogonic content - dangyna turns seven brothers in the Big Dipper, and herself - in the moon. In Mongolian versions of the story *The Naran-Gĩrele Prince and Saran-Gĩrele* and Tuvan tales *Khan, who defeated the truth* are the same only at the beginning and end of the intrigues of the Khan's wife, but in the main part of the plot they are very different from each other. Story about the intrigues of senior wives is popular in Tuva and is called *Khan Handyrba*⁹. In the Mongolian version of *Dancing frog and talking parrot* the king wears a dress of magpie skins and amuses heroine by this, and in Tuvan tale *Fisherman Bagai –ool*, Khan puts bearskin fur coat¹⁰.

Some stories from the famous cycle of Indian stories - the so-called Birbaliany have reached us. Echoes of these funny short stories about wise and clever Birbal entered the Tuvan folklore in the form of individual motifs, which later developed into the intricate plots. Thus, the plot of the story *Get ox milk*¹¹ has been transformed into a popular Tuvan tale-riddle about a wise girl *Sumeldey, went for milk*¹². The fairy tale *Khan, who defeated the truth* had didactic motive - how to differentiate truth from falsehood.

Indian stories from the *Panchatantra* (in Persian *Kalila and Dimna*) probably spread in Tuva as Mongolian versions. We verify this by comparing the Tuvan plots (*Cat-mentor, The Lion and the Ant*) with the Mongolian manuscript of Burdukov, which was published by academician Vladimirtsov¹³. Tuvan version corresponds to the first story of *Mice and cats* from this collection. It has no motif with bells, which is, for example, in the Syrian and Arabic versions. Here the action takes place in the steppe, to be exact in the hollow (*oh bazhy*), where mouse builds a straw nest for cat. There is an etiological ending in the Tuvan version.

Above mentioned examples show, that written monuments of the East penetrated Tuva in oral form of borrowing. Academician Vladimirtsov revealed the pathways of Buddhist stories of Indian origin among the peoples of Central Asian region and rightly emphasized a greater role of steppe scholars and lamas¹⁴. Most illiterate storytellers, who had a

phenomenal memory heard these stories from some scholars, who knew the old Mongolian script and retold them word by word. So, retellings found their fertile ground for wide diffusion through gifted and retentive story-tellers.

Perception of a foreign plot in a particular environment is not a random phenomenon. Academician Veselovskij pointed to the theoretical possibility of a national allocation in the international one and noted that “the assimilation of new fabulous material is unthinkable without known predisposition to it in the receiving environment”. He wrote: “We cannot deny the people exposed to an influx of fabulous, the rights and desires of choice: one is remembered better than the other, because it’s interesting, there are favorite fairy-tale characters around which cyclize the aliens and their stories”¹⁵.

Naturally, folk tales of Mongol and Indo-Tibetan origin settled down in Tuvan environment due to long term and close contacts of Tuva. Mongol neighbors once were part of the unified state entities with similarities in economic structure, way of life, material and spiritual culture. So widespread existence of borrowed plots in Tuva is evidence of the living process of inter communion and mutual enrichment of Tuvans and other peoples’ cultures, including the peoples of India.

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EDUCATION OF CONSCIENCE IN FOLK PEDAGOGICS OF TUVAN PEOPLE

G.D. SUNDUY AND A.D. ONDAR

Education of conscience becomes a relevant question. There is an urgent need for new research in the context of the assessment of spirituality, morality and ethnic culture including Russian society¹. The purpose of the article is to reveal the content of education of national conscience of folk pedagogics of Tuvan people. The territorial scope of the study covers all areas of the Republic of Tuva, Mongolia and China, where there are dispersed groups of Tuvans.

One form of social consciousness of Tuvan people is a tradition *suzukteer* realizing the spiritual and moral formation of a person, especially in childhood. Cultural history of Tuvan people left multiple viewpoints on the nature of the original concept of *suzuk*. It should be noted that the term *suzuk* has no universally accepted definition in Tuvan language. Some people mention *suzuk* as faith², others - like customs and traditions³. A third approach to this concept is a purely religious point of view, linking it with the assimilation of the moral law Tengri and octal system of Buddhism. Analysis of the use of the word *suzuk* in oral folklore and literature was shown as a special area of the human spirit, providing moral human behavior in everyday life. In the scientific literature and revealing the historical past of the country, we know about teams of Tuvan volunteers of Second World War - called "international *suzuksherii*", i.e. within the meaning of military assistance voluntary.

Historical and pedagogical analysis of literature and research data determines *suzuk* as a set of moral values, the formation of a fair relationship of a person to himself and to others, to nature, to labor, to native land, to culture, to the objects of the external world, to society, etc. Actually its verb-form *suzukteer* is very often used in everyday life of Tuvan people

and also is widely represented in the works of folklore and modern literature. It represents a modal action with multiple meanings (to enable, to sanctify, to spiritualize, to nurture, to divinize, to educate, to edify, to bless). Thus, the tradition *suzukteer* is a process of education (ethnic and cultural pedagogics) with its specific structure, rules of construction and development, which is able to make modeling system according to cultural values, the real spiritual state where is situated the person himself and the society⁴.

Tuvan folk pedagogics pays great attention to traditional conscientious settings that are passed from generation to generation. There are several types of conscientious attitudes of Tuvan people:

- *To themselves and others*: In this context, a person acts as only a part (a child) of nature. As a thinking being a living person must maintain fair relationships to himself and to others;
- *To his dwelling - yurt*: Careful use of his dwelling is the basis of fostering a sense of patriotism. One who is able to defend his own home can protect the homeland;
- *To folk art*: Each adult member of the family, clan and society is obliged to teach children to respect folk art masterpiece works, treat them with care;
- *To knowledge*: Everyone must have respectful attitude towards knowledge, enjoy all the possibilities for their assimilation, preservation and development;
- *To individuals*: Everyone should be treated respectfully and carefully especially a pregnant woman; a child under 12 years (especially an orphan, and a talented, gifted child); media talents: a shaman, a narrator, a wrestler, a blacksmith;
- *To certain types of domestic and wild animals*: Everyone should know and defend bellwether, a good horse; an animal with a calf; a blue wolf, paired birds (cranes, swans), an eagle;
- *To material values*: Everyone is obliged to protect the cultural and historical monuments, ancestral lands, participate in charitable events of society;
- *To the nature and the environment*: Everyone is obliged to protect nature, including specific objects (springs, pastures, etc.);

- *To work*: Everyone is obliged to make fair work.

The system of conscientious settings include ethnic cultural – etiquette⁵. In this context, it will be interesting to mention “etiquette of *aal*” - code of conduct, compliance with which begins outside the *aal*⁶. Each rule of behavior has its own decoding and provides a basis for moral behavior of a person.

For example, etiquette of *aal* prescribes guests enter the territory of *aal* silently, without causing alarm neither cattle, nor the owners of *aal*. And the owners are required to meet a guest about the tethering post, to help him get off the horse and take care of the rest of his horse. Before entering into the yurt, guest must leave the edged weapon out of the wall of yurt, remove from the belt sheath etc. This gesture is a friendly intention of a guest. Communication in a yurt begins with a traditional dialogue for all Central Asian nomads. Hunting etiquette prescribes the same post at the hunting lodge of essential goods, sharing prey not only among the hunters, but with people met on the way home and neighbors. As one can see, feature of conscientious settings and etiquette rules is their multiplicity, expressed in chain of relationships. Each of them has its own parts taking origin from the general system of spiritual and moral relations.

Thus, the education of conscience in Tuvan folk pedagogics has a long history, but in terms of content, it still retains its pristine appeal and continues to influence the spiritual and moral formation of the personality. It is natural that in practice of education of conscience each historical period made its contribution, perhaps, it made role to successful formation of spiritual and moral formation of a person.

Education of conscience in modern conditions requires a radical revision, and the object of its study conceived in the future is much broader: to affect relations in various manifestations of life of children, the theory and methodology of spiritual and moral formation of a person, adapted to modern social and cultural situation⁷.

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TUVAN LITERATURE

DONGAK URAN

Tuvan literature of peoples of Tuvan Republic (Russia), is in Tuvan, Russian and other (Mongolian- German) languages. Emergence of Tuvan literature was preceded by folklore: heroic tales (maadyrlyg *tooldar*), different genres of fairy tales (*tooldar*), myths, legends and stories (*toolchurgu chugaalar*, *toolyg chugaalar*), songs (*yry*, *kozhamyktar*), ritual poetry (*algyshtar*, *joreelder*), patters (*dyrgen chugaalar*) and minor genres of folklore - the riddles (*tyoyzyktar*), proverbs (*yleger domaktar*) and sayings (*chechen soster*).

Tuvan first written monuments were created under the influence of the Mongolian chronicle tradition on old Mongolian language. Literary process of the new time began in the second half of the 1920s, during the Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of Tuva (1921-1944). The first literary works were published in Mongolian language. Since 1930, after the creation of Tuvan language written in the Latin alphabet, first books published in Tuvan language were: a storybook *How the fetters were broken* (*Kincini caza šapkanı*) in 1931; books for younger pupils *Little builders* (*Bicii turguzukcular*) in 1931, *Our work* (*BistiK azył*) in 1934, *Let's learn* (*Oorenili*) in 1936, etc.

The first works of Tuvan drama: improvised plays, works of collective authors (*Ham-ool*, *Khan's Law*, *Chechen-kys*), as well as propaganda plays of Alexander Palmbah (*Let's destroy the kolhozs enemy - Kolhozka saat kylyrlarny uzutkaalyKar*, 1931); *Salchak Toka* (*Woman*, 1935), *Victor Kok-ool* (*Do not forget jute*, 1935) appeared in the second of half of the 1920s. Theatre studio of the Learning Combine (*Uchebnyj kombinat*) created in 1936 influenced the development of drama in Tuva.

The founders of Tuvan literature are Viktor Kok-ool, Stepan Saryg-ool, Sergei Pyrby, Salchak Toka, Oleg Sagan-ool, Baykara Hovenmey etc. Their plays, poems, short stories and novels published in the pages of national newspapers and magazines, in collections of works, consolidated the

phenomenon of literary art in Tuva and created the basis of modern Tuvan language. Since 1946 literary almanac *Ulug-Hem* was published in Tuva.

Tuvan prose narrative genres are represented by short story (*chechen chugaa*), essay (*ocherk*), story (*toozhu*) and novel (*roman*). In 1930s small forms of early prose were written as a fictionalized memories, stories for children's reading, anonymous satirical newspaper articles. There were genre distinctions of short story, story and the novel in the 1930-1960s, after which the works of larger forms appeared. In the second half of the 1950s to early 1960s books authored by S. Toka (*In the bark hovel*), S. Saryg-ool, O. Sagan-ool, S. Surun-ool, S. Purbu were published in Tuva. Their subject matter is diverse: past and present of Tuva (*Man of sumon* of O. Sagan-ool, 1951; *A Tale of Ergeppej* by S. Purbu, 1959), incidents from the life of hunters (*Shynappays stories* by S. Purbu, 1958), the difficulties of heroes personal life (*Stories* by S. Saryg-ool, 1955; *Stories* by S. Syuryun-ool, 1959). In 1960s novels of Mongouch Kenin-Lopsan, Oleg Sagan-ool, Kyzyl-Enik Kudazhi, Stepan Saryg-ool appeared.

The most famous prose works of Tuvan literature of recent decades of 20th to early 21st centuries are *Arats Word* by S. Toka, novels of M. Kenin-Lopsan (*The Rapid of the great river* in 1965, *The Pride of Woman* - a Russian translation of *The Fate of Woman* in 1971, *Yurt of herdsman* in 1980, *Bujan Badyrgy* in 1999, *The Lost girl* in 2001), dilogy by S. Saryg-ool *Angyr-ools Tale* (the Russian translation of *The Tale of a blonde hairs boy*), tetralogy by K.E. Kudazhi *Restless Ulug -Khem* (black, red, silver, gold volumes from 1973s to 1990s), the novels about his contemporaries of O. Sagan-ool (*Irrepressibles*, *Native people*). Moral problems were raised by stories and novels of S. Syuryun -ool (*Oath to mother*, *Raven*, *speaking Tuvan*, etc.), a prose of Michael Duyungar (*Wolfs night* in 1991) and others. Stories and novels of Edward Dongak (*Marals incantation* in 1986), Ondar Seglenmey (*Fight for life*), Mongush Kozheldey (*In the distance of home*) were devoted to historical topics. Genre diversity of Tuvan prose was complemented by satirical stories of Monguch Vasilij (*And laughter, and sin...*, 1975) and lyrical novels of Monguch Dorzhu (*Ears*, 1989).

Considerable literary events of recent years have seen publication of historical novel of Bady-Baiyr Taraachy *Kaigal* (1994), a historical novel about Tuvan wrestler of Irgit Badra *Kuderek, bearing the title Lion* (1996). Documentary detective story of Kyzyl-Enik Kudazhi *Crying* (1999), stories of Shangysh Monguch devoted to the theme of moral crisis and its social consequences, the collapse of family values and national traditions.

Poetry as the most popular form of verbal creativity is remarkable for

thematic and genre diversity. Poems of first professional poets (Stepan Saryg -ool, Bajkara Hovenmey, etc.) and later Tuvan Soviet poets were characterized by pathos of social transformation. There were civil motives and love lyrics in verses of Sergei Pyurbyu, Yuri Kyunzegesh, Monguch Dorzhu, Vladimir Seren-ool, Alexander Darzhay, Zoya Namzyray and others. There has been an update of artistic means of poetry in the 1990's: expansion of images (Anton Uerzhaa, Nicholaj Kuular, Alexei Begzin-ool), refusal of canonized forms of folk poetry (traditional 8-syllabic and 12-syllabic verse sizes) and a selection of new rhythmic structures. Kuular Cherlig-ool, Maria Kuzhuget used rarely previously 9-syllabic size, Edward Mizhit used verse and prose poem.

Tuvan children's literature includes works of Leonid Chadamba, Stepan Saryg-ool, Eker-ool Kechil-ool, stories of Ondar Biche-ool, Hovenmey Oydan -ool, *Stories of grandfather Hooreer* by Monguch Olchey-ool, Ondar Seglenmeys tales, Saaya Taspays legends, riddles-stories of Alexander Shoyun, children's story *The Mystery of blossoming willow* by Catherine Tanova etc.

Tuvan classic drama includes the comedy of S. Toka *Tongur-ool* and K. Kudazhi *Dolumas tricks'*, tragedy of V. Kok-ool *Hayyran bot*, plays of S. Pyurbyu *Red stream*, O. Sagan-ool's *Awakening*. The most famous contemporary playwrights are Vladimir Seren-ool, Catherine Tanova, Clara Sagdy, Chylgychy Ondar, Edward Mizhit and others. Plays of O. Chylgychy *Bloody footprints* (1991), *Fodder, hat and Love* (1987); E. Mizhit's *Who are you, Subedei -hero?*, *Whirlwind of Kara-Dag*, plays for children by Catherine Tanova (*Magic arrow*) were successful with the audiences.

Creation of bilingual poet E. Mizhit widely known outside Tuva, is distinguished by artistic originality, deep insight into the world of lyrical hero, comprehension of serious philosophical questions (cycles *Revised time*, *Seven Lights* and others).

Cycle of verse libre, prose poems of E. Mizhit have been published in the magazines Youth (*Junost*), Land of Siberia (*Zemla Sibir*), *Literary Studies* (*Literaturnaja ucheba*), *Ulug-Khem*. Russian-language literature of Tuva presented the historical novel of Pakhomov, ballads and poems of Svetlana Kozlova, lyrics of Anatoly Emelianov, Eugenij Antufev, Galina Princeva, Prose of Vyacheslav Buzykaev is part of the contemporary literary process of Tuva. Novel of bilingual writer R. Ludup *Silence* was published in 2012.

Since the second half of the 1980s, poems of Tuvan authors from Mongolia have been printed in the pages of literary and artistic almanac *Ulug -Khem* and newspaper *Shyn* (True). Chinag Galsan (Irgit Chynak

oglu Kalzan) - a famous writer in Europe, has been writing in German, Mongolian and Tuvan languages. A Tuvan national, born in Soumon Sengel of Bayan-Ulgii aimag of Mongolia, a graduate of the Leipzig University, Chinag is author of more than twenty novels, a number of collection of poems. His work *The Tale of lightning years (Tuvan History)*, *Lights and Shadows of the universe*, *Dream Sky*, written in the Mongolian language, trilogy *Blue sky*, *Mother Earth*, *Ak -Dag* written in German, acquaint the reader with the history, culture, oral traditions and life of Altai Tuva.

BUDDHIST BOOK COLLECTION IN TURKISH LIBRARY OF N.F. KATANOV

Z.M. MONGUSH

ABSTRACT

A unique library of Orientalist, Turkologist N.F. Katanov was bought by the Prime Minister of Turkey a century ago. The author presents a brief history, the cause of the sale and the current condition of this collection. She tries to describe the collection's content, arrangement and place on the catalogue. She also lists main editions on Buddhism available in the library.

Keywords. *Library, Hilmi Pasha, century, Turkey, Istanbul, university, catalog, Buddhism, St. Petersburg.*

In 1914 Turkish Prime Minister Hilmi Pasha acquired and transported to Constantinople (Istanbul) a vast collection of oriental books of outstanding Turkologist, expert on oriental studies, Kazan University Professor Nikolay Fyodorovich Katanov. Being the author of 256 scientific works published in various languages in his lifetime, he was the first researcher of the Uriankhai (Tuva) language and the first author of *The Bibliography for Books about the Uriankhai People and their Land*. Katanov's sourcebook included printed materials about Tuva and its people published in various languages in the period from 1768 to 1902.

His fundamental work of 1,600 pages, *The Experience of Studies of the Uriankhai Language with the Indication of its Kinship to Other Turkic Languages*, (Kazan, 1903) became a part of the golden heritage of domestic and world Turkology. According to researchers of N.F. Katanov's scientific legacy, he used sources in more than 100 European and oriental languages in his printed works.

At the time of its sale, his unique library contained 7,000 books in 22

languages. Poverty forced Nikolay Fyodorovich to part with his treasure, and the sale was not easy. "I offered it to the Academy of Sciences but they refused to buy. I offered the Siberian Governor General to buy it for the Irkutsk University, to establish a department of Oriental studies and to make my library the core of a library of the Oriental Studies Department of the Irkutsk University. The Siberian Governor General passed the request to the Education Ministry but the offer was declined. Then I addressed the Turkestan Governor General with the same proposal for Tashkent University. The then Governor General Kaufmann addressed the Education Ministry and they rejected the offer. Then I turned to Leipzig, its prominent book publishers and they wanted to buy all my books but at that moment Prime Minister Hilmi Pasha and his workers came from Turkey to Kazan. They were staying at merchant Yunusov's house and learned that my library, which mostly contained oriental books and dictionaries, was for sale. Hilmi Pasha immediately addressed me regarding the library. I parted with the library and I felt as if I had buried a very close person,"¹ he wrote.

Over 100 years have passed since then. Irrespective of different periods in the national history, the Turkish scientific community cherished this treasure (the library was moved from one storage to another only thrice during this century). It is currently stored at the Istanbul University's Turkology Institute. The Institute was founded in October 1924. Cosy premises with a small reading room were allotted for the library on the institute's second floor. Institute employees value and keep every book with great care. The library occupies four eight-tier shelves by identification number. The same identification numbers are listed in the e-catalog, which gives the Turkish-language description of each book. Most of the library has books published in Russian and Turkic languages in Kazan. There are books on practically every field of knowledge but, predominantly, in language studies, ethnography, history, religion, archaeology, art, numismatics and bibliography. There are scientific, teaching, fiction and reference books. There are lots of books on oral folklore of Turkic languages translated into Russian by Nikolay Fyodorovich Katanov.

Being an ethnographer and a very religious man, he stored, studied and collected in his library books on main world religions. He was baptized on the St. Nicholas Day when hundreds of non-Russian children received the same name in their baptism. The Khakassian family of the Katanovs who lived in South Siberia had two sons called Nikolay, the senior and

the junior, but his childhood name was Pora, which means “grey” in Khakassian.

He wrote in his auto-biography in a later period, “Like my parents, I worshiped fire, mountains, water and the sky as patrons of people and domestic animals. Like my parents, I believed that the Russian Kudai (God) lives in heaven and he will come down to the Earth and bring happiness to everyone. Like Tatars from my tribe who recognize the spirit of the sky and the spirits of fire, mountains and water, I, like my tribesmen and my parents, believed it was quite possible to be a Shamanist and a Christian at the same time”².

Twenty-seven articles of the scientific legacy of Nikolay Fyodorovich are dedicated to religions. An article, *Shaman's Drum and Beater as Described by Minusin Tatars*, was one of his first printed works. He wrote articles about Muslims and their belief during his work in Kazan.

He graduated from the St. Petersburg University and spent four years (1889-1892) living and working amongst Buddhists for studying the language and lifestyle of people of Siberia, Mongolia and China. He enthusiastically communicated with monks, astrologers and lama healers and visited temples and monasteries. He developed an interest in Buddhism although he did not publish any work on Buddhism.

Scientist Katanov was not indifferent to the topic of religion. His library contains over 100 books about Islam, Christianity, Shamanism and Buddhism. Some of these editions are gifts from authors, publishers, translators and editors. There are over 20 Buddhist books in his collection plus off-prints, some of which contain valuable articles, information and inscriptions. An off-print from the magazine *Pravoslavny Sobesednik* issued in 1911, *The Buryat Institution of Pandito Khambo-Lama and its Relation to Lamanism*, carries an inscription in the author's hand “To esteemed Nikolay Fyodorovich as a keepsake from author Geormopakh Amdin, dated April 6, 1912”. Buddhist editions in the Turkish library of Katanov were mostly printed in St. Petersburg. One of the earliest printed editions about Buddhism in Siberia is called *Buddhism regarding its Followers in Siberia* (St. Petersburg, 1858) authored by N. Yaroslavsky.

Mongolia and Tibet are the centers of Buddhism spread into Central Asia. Books on philosophy, medicine and astrology reached Buddhist monasteries of Buryatia, Tuva and Kalmykia from Tibet via Mongolia. Young Buryat, Kalmyk and Tuva boys went to monasteries of Mongolia and Tibet for studying, they covered long distances, often on foot, within several months. Many Russian experts on oriental studies from the St.

Petersburg University studied Buddhism in the late 19th century. The scientific school, which went down into the history of Russia, became the most powerful scientific school of oriental studies.

The library stores such St. Petersburg editions as *Mongol-Oyrat Laws of 1640*, *By-Laws of Galdan-Hun-Taiji and Laws Written for Volga Kalmyks under Kalmyk Khan Donduk-Dashi* (St. Petersburg, 1880) by K.F. Golstunsky, St. Petersburg University Professor and expert on Mongolia. There are also books by Orientalist A.V. Pozdneyev, which cover the history and status of Buddhism in Mongolia, the system of teaching, the life and work of monks and monasteries: *The Cities of Northern Mongolia* (St. Petersburg, 1880), *The Mongolian Chronicles Erdeniyin Erih* (St. Petersburg, 1883), *Essays on the Lifestyle of Buddhist Monasteries and Clerics in Mongolia* (St. Petersburg, 1887), *Essays on Buddhism* by expert on China V.P. Vasilyev (St. Petersburg, 1889) and *On Some Books related to the History of Buddhism in the Kazan University Library* (Kazan, 1890). There is also the first Moscow edition of a Russian-language book about Buddha, titled *Buddha, his Life, Teaching and Community*, (Moscow, 1884) by acclaimed orientalist G. Oldenburg.

The library contains domestic Buddhist editions, such as *Population, Meaning of Clan for non-Russians and Lamaism* (St. Petersburg, 1898) by N. Razumov and I. Sosnovsky, *Regarding Lamaism. The Briton's Voyage to Tibet* (St. Petersburg 1904) by Ye. Ukhtomsky and *Buddhism Myths in Tibet and Mongolia* (Kazan, 1910) by A.V. Popov. In addition to Russian-language books on Buddhism, there are also books in foreign languages, among them a unique edition with numerous photographs *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* by L. ĩustane Yvahdell (London, 1895).

N.F. Katanov collected his library while he was a student of the Krasnoyarsk public school (1876-1884) from which he graduated and the St. Petersburg University (1884-1888) and while he worked at the Kazan Emperor's University (1894-1914).

He bought rare and unique books during his trips to Siberia, Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan, Mongolia and the Uriankhai territory (Tuva) in 1889-1892 on the orders from the Russian Geographic Society and the Academy of Sciences. This is proven by his *Letters from Siberia and Eastern Turkestan* addressed to his teacher V.V. Radlov in St. Petersburg³.

The library was preserved the way it was before its transportation to Turkey. Books from Turkologists from all over the world are stored separately. Russian Turkologists from all over the country contribute their books to the library. The number of persons seeking an access to the Katanov library grows year upon year. In the words of I.F. Kokova, a

researcher of the life and creative work of N.F. Katanov, “the Katanov Library was much luckier than its former owner”⁴. The industrious and modest scientist, a wise and positive person who diligently served domestic science died in poverty in February 1922, two months before he turned 60.

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THE WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF ANCIENT TURKS AND THE TUVINIAN POETRY

LYUDMILA S. MIZHIT

The descendants of the ancient Turkic ethnic groups of Central Asia - the Tuvinians have a long history and a distinct spiritual and material culture. Being the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Tuva preserves the burial mounds of Scythians (called *Arzhaan-1*, *Arzhaan-2*) and Huns, stone sculptures and steles with the inscriptions *bAng taĭ* (eternal stone) of the ancient Turks, Ughurs and Kyrgyzs from ancient times to our days on its territory - the ancient land that is rightfully considered the cradle of many peoples of Eurasia.

And accordingly, the Tuvan literature, art and culture are closely linked with the written heritage of the ancient Turks. Old Turkic inscriptions on the stone steles should be considered not only in the system of culture, language, religion and the traditional philosophy of the peoples of Central Asia, but a phenomenon of ancient literature.

Monuments with inscriptions, first found about 290 years ago (the first stele with mysterious symbols was found in 1721 A.D. by Messerschmidt in the valley of the river Uybat) these could not be read by scientists during long period till the end of the 19th century. Prominent specialist in Turkic philology, Academician V.V. Radloff worked tirelessly to decode it. He correctly identified a third characters of the alphabet by the time when the Danish linguist W. Thomsen in 1893 AD unraveled the mystery of these letters. He was able to decipher keywords *turuk* (Turk), *tenri* (Tengri), *kul tigin* (Kul-Tegin). It turned out to be the writing of ancient Turks, who had their own statehood and writing. It was a great discovery, which lifted the veil on the mystery of the ages, and led to rewriting of established history of ancient times, the history of ancient Eurasian empire in the 6th-8th centuries A.D.

Currently there are more than 140 monuments of ancient inscriptions, about 90 of them are on the territory of Tuva¹. In this connection, the Republic of Tuva has since 1993 (100th anniversary of the deciphering) been regularly organizing the scientific conference devoted to ancient Turkic runes that come specialists from all over the world.

Orkhon monuments of written language such as historical-heroic poem *Small inscription in honor of Kul-Tegin*, *Big inscription in honor of Kul-Tegin*, *The Inscription in honor of Tonyukuk* (all dated to the 8th century) are located on the banks of the Orkhon river in Mongolia. Ancient Turkic monuments, found along the Upper and Middle reaches of the Yenisei river on the territory of Tuva, Khakasia and Minusinsk basin are mostly samples of epitaph lyrics of ancient Turks, related to the historical periods: the ancient Turkic (552-744AD), Uyghur (745-840AD), ancient Kyrgyzs (9th - 12th centuries)².

Runic inscriptions of the ancient Turks, being one of the fundamental layers of Turkic literature, have artistic merit - epic principle, complex space-time continuum, the characteristic style and the internal organization of the text, etc., According to R. Baimov, it "proves the high level of artistic thinking of the ancient Turks"³.

The influence of ancient Turkic written monuments, as literary texts, exists in modern literature obviously. However, it is difficult to assert that the Orkhon-Yenisey monuments have had a direct impact on the modern literature due to the fact that the ancient Turkic written language was lost, after having existed for several centuries, and as the evolution of written cultural tradition was interrupted. Today one can say that historical-genetic influence never interrupted the oral tradition, historical and linguistic memory of Turkic peoples, so that, for example, in the works of Tuvan literature, images and motifs of ancient Turkic literature are still preserved.

Concepts such as *KEk denger* (Blue Sky), *Denger-Ada* (Sky-Father), *Cher-Iye* (Mother-Earth), *hyn* (sun), *ay* (moon) and others are not only rich in genre system folklore, shamanistic *algys*h (song), but in modern poetry and prose. However, it is worth noting that such stylistic motives epitaphs lyrics ancient Turkic as *(a)d(i)r(i)lt(i)m* (I'm separated) and *bĭkm(e)d(i)m* (I didn't enjoy), etc. were forgotten.

Thanks to the deciphering, translation and publication of the Orkhon-Yenisei monuments writing, modern Tuvan writers felt poetic and aesthetic affinity with the artistic legacy of their ancestors and began to borrow and revive the genre and stylistic features of epitaph lyrics, aesthetics and

rhythm of ancient works. For example, the artistic experience of ancestors was used in the 1990s in the genre of crying spells *Halak* in the poetry of A. Darzhay, epitaph lyrics of Y. Kyunzegesh, A. Uerzhaa, in praise of the legendary heroic ancestors - *Kok-El* (name of the area), *Bagyrny nhylyzhy* – (Sword Bagyra) of Y. Kyunzegesh, *Kezerning baldyzy*, - *Keser Mace* of E. Mizhit, etc.

Literary monuments of the Orkhon-Yenisey region are important for the study of the origin of Tuvan literature and culture.

Literary analysis of monuments of ancient Turkic literature (from the middle of the 20th century) has been done in the works of famous scholars V.M. Zhirmunsky, A.N. Bernshtam, A.M. Scherbak, who believe that the ancient Turkic monuments are the prosaic works, and Yenisey inscriptions are described as “primitive and simple texts”⁴. Stebleva considers the Orkhon-Yenisei inscriptions as poetic texts constructed within the poetic canon; A. Bombachi, A. von Gaben include inscriptions of the ancient Turks in general literature and so on⁵. Thus, the above scholars, no doubt, find ancient Turkic runic inscriptions monuments as literature. The only question is, whether it is prose or poetry. This paper examines triad in epitaph lyrics of ancient Turks, identifies similarities and signs of continuity with the modern Tuvian triad poetry *ozhuk dazhy* (stones hearth), which, in our opinion, may be the basis for deciding the poetic texts of ancient Turkic poetry.

While comparing the poetic features of ancient Turkic texts with the Tuvan poetic material, ancient Turkic prose texts are not only poetic (split into lines), but also stylistic having syntactic features with inherent poetic work. Unlike modern Tuvan poetry, the ancient Turkic epitaphs (as in the inscriptions in honor of Cul tegin, Tonyukuk, guess-work book, etc.) do not observe syllabic isosyllabism. In the definition versification of old Turkic poetry texts, scholars have different opinions: A.M. Xherbak refers to the syllabic system⁶, F.E. Korsch - to syllabic-tonic⁷, I.V. Stebleva - to the tonic-temporal system⁸.

In our view, ancient Turkic inscriptions are free verse consisting of unequal poetic verse lines on artistic intonation and phrasal structure poems. I.V. Stebleva is quite right in asserting that the “ancient Turkic verse was alliterative type ...alliteration at the beginning of verse performed rhythmic (recorded meter) and composite (strophic) function”⁹. Naturally, being the first monuments of ancient Turkic writing, this poetry does not have rhyme, as such in the modern sense. In our opinion, it is necessary to consider features of alliteration and rhyme in Turkic poetry, and in these

texts one can find the beginnings of rhyme. In Tuvan poetry there is inherent alliterative rhyme, i.e. “initial rhyme”. It should also be noted that the Turkic poetic tradition has a characteristic genetic tendency of parallelism. Besides the researches of V.M. Zhirmunsky, A.N. Veselovskiy and others the idea of a rhythmic-syntactic parallelism about concurrency in Turkic poetry has been put forward by N.S. Trubetskoy: “most of parallelism gravitate either towards *full semantic tautology* or towards *exclusively syntactic analogies*, and more complex figurative comparisons are relatively rare”¹⁰ (*emphasis added* L.M.). These qualities of Turkic verse, in our opinion, are typical of the ancient Turkic poetry that dictates the specifics of ancient Turkic verse - the finite rhyme, mostly in the form of tautology. Characteristic feature of Tuvan poetry and that of other Turkic- Mongol peoples is that initial rhyme in them is rare. The main typological commonality with contemporary Tuvan poetry lies in the fact that they felt the inner rhythm of the verse, parallelism and tautological rhyme.

Here are typical Orkhon-Yenisei examples of the inscriptions transcribed by C.M. Simchit, translated into Russian from original by S.E. Malov:

ill(i)g bod(u)n (e)rt(i)m:
il(i)m (a)mti k(a)ni:
k(e)mke il(i)g k(a)zg(a)nur m(e)n.
k(a)g(a)nl(i)g bod(u)n (e)rt(i)m
k(a)g(a)n(i)m k(a)ni.
ne k(a)g(a)nka il(i)g kucu)g birr m(e)n

I was a people constituting a tribal Union,
 now, where is my tribal Union?
 For whom I extracted (other) tribal alliances?
 ... I've had people who had Kagan, where is my Kagan?
 Which Kagan I give my work and strength?

...(i)g(a)ny(i)g b(a)y kilti
(a)z(i)g uk(u)s kilti

(...Poor people he made rich,
 the few he has made numerous)

...b(e)gl(i)k uri ogl(u)n kuul bolti,
s(i), l(i)k kiiz ogl(u)n kun bolti:
...my ool uruu er Kul the bold.
Selig Kys uruu Kys Kul the bold

(...thy strong male offspring became slaves,
 your pure female offspring became slaves)

...not sleep at night,
 not having a rest day,
 spilling its red blood,
 forcing to flow his black sweat
 I gave people his work and force...)

Based on these examples, one can say that syntactic analogy is characteristic of the ancient Turkic verse characteristic mainly as a kind of semantic tautology, i.e., it observed the beginnings of rhyme. The phenomenon of isosyllabism can be found : in the *Small inscription in honor of Cul tegin* (verses 1, 6, 7, 9) in *Big inscription in honor of Cul tegin* (verses 2, 8, 9, 13, 15, 16, 23, 24, 27, 29) in *The Inscription in honor of Tonyukuk* (verses 14, 54) etc. These have characteristic syllabic system of versification, which is characteristic of the poetry of Turko-Mongol peoples of Southern Siberia (Tuva, Altai, Buryatia, Shor, Khakassia, Yakutia). The examples of metaphors, similes, phraseological units and proverbs abound. In these ancient texts sound organization (rhythmic repetition, assonance, dissonance, etc.) is close to Tuvan modern poetry.

In the following Yenisey inscriptions (inscriptions monuments of the Uyuc-Turan, Elegest, Baryk and others) poetic qualities can also be seen:

deerde hunge, cherde uluzumga pökpeditim.

(I didn't enjoy the sun in the sky, their loved ones on earth)

Aldyn ok havyn belimge bagladym. Deer uktug el-churtumga pökpeditim.

(Golden quiver belt I wear.

I did not enjoy native land of heavenly origin)

Chavysty Kymylmen bedik kyldym, silerge pökpeditim.

(I Kumul, made low to high, I did not enjoy you)

Kök tengride boltum...

(I found oneself on the blue sky...)

It should be noted that the artistic value of the Yenisei monuments has not been fully appreciated. For example, without delivering into the emotional world of ancient Turkic poetry it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to catch all the tragedy and poetic words *(a)d(i)r(i)lt(i)m* (Tuvan *adyryldym*) of the Yenisei epitaphs that have been translated into Russian speaking little phrase "I separated", whereas in the context of the inscriptions, in addition to the bitterness of parting and farewell, plaintive sigh and even sob is audible. This word in Tuvan language sounds just and carries depending on the context the same meaning. It should also be

noted that the word *(a)d(i)r(i)lt(i)m* is used in the texts as a metaphor – such as the ancient Turkic words *olum* (death), *alur* (to die), *ket* (to leave, disappear, to die). The emotional tone, coloring, stylistic eagle words *(a)d(i)r(i)lt(i)m*, in the words of U.N. Tynyanov, “is a very important factor in the deployment of lyrical plot, the tone that word defines the essence of the poem”¹¹. Metaphorical use of words is done as *kunÁ(u)y(i)m* (my princess), *bakm(e)d(l)m* (not enjoy), etc.

A characteristic feature of the style of ancient epitaphs is a lament for the heavenly bodies, which will forever be extinguished from heroes inscriptions:

Blue teride kyn, ai azyidym

(The sun and the moon in the blue sky I did not feel) .

(Trans by S.G. Klyashtorny and I.U. Sambuu)¹².

As in ancient inscriptions, in contemporary Tuvan poetry also large semantic role is played by images of light. For example, in the poems of the C. Purbu, C. Codagy, R. Ludup the image of the mother is compared with the Sun and the Moon (also with Buddhist deities):

*Hunum, Aiym, Sagaan dariygi, Nogaan dariygi,
Hurgeldey huren chechee - kuzhur Avai!
Chymysh-bachym nyncha nazin durguzunda
Chyryk cherge chunu cherle korbedin deer...*

(My sun, the moon, my White Tara, Green Tara,
Flower huregeldey brown - my dear mother!
What only you did not see in white light
For his age, filled with labor and care...)

(K. Kudazhy)

One can also find a lot of poems, similar in style and rhythm, images and motifs coming from the secret depths of the heart, recreating crying, miserable sob associated with loss, separation from a loved one. For example:

*Ori kustun hola saryg buruleri
Oruk-holun chulazy boop chyryp turlar.
Oran tandyn, avaiym see, soolgu belee.*

(Late autumn copper-yellow leaves
As Lantern illuminate your way.
This is the last you the gift of thy land, Mom).

(R. Ludup)

On the basis of editions and translations from the ancient language of the monuments of Orkhon-Yenisei, in the works of V.V. Radloff, S.E.

Malov, I. A. Batmanov, A.C. Kunaa, Z.B. Aragachi (Chadamba), D.A. Mongouch and others a three-line poetic form has been identified. Verse form of inscriptions of these monuments was determined visually by scientists without poetic reconstruction. Of course, one may take into account the fact that the inscriptions were carved on stones. In Tuvan poetry, there emerged new genre triad in the late 20th century. Inscriptions of the ancient Turks are studied by us as one of the possible origins of the genre *ozhuk dazhy*.

Yenisei ancient Turkic inscriptions on the steles, named by S.E. Malov “graveyard poetry”¹³ are of small text, describing the glory and valour, life values of ancient warriors and expressing regret and bitterness of parting with life. Data epitaphs contain mostly appeal from the first person on behalf of the deceased noble, gallant hero. He probably left memory about the character closest to him, man, who knew his biography, important dates of his life, heroic deeds, and family.

Data epitaphs written mostly in one art form indicate the existence of a common old Turkic literary tradition marking the grave of the illustrious commanders, heroes of poetic texts. Perhaps there were special poets, who created the texts of epitaphs, covering the life of worthy people of this historical era, feeling the deep suffering of man while going away into another world:

*Ciz okunch eb bokmedim.
Tokuz yashda toglyk kanka tapdym erdim.
Bilmedim bunym ... On ermish.*

(By you and sad house I didn't enjoy.
At nine I began to serve Toglyk Khan.
I did not know their sorrows... was Ten)¹⁴.
(Trans. by Z.B. Calamba)

Feature style and expression, the poetry of these lines, in our opinion, is obvious. Despite its brevity, Yenisey inscriptions have mainly identical texts as follows:

1. Specify the name of the hero, his formation (not all epitaphs), the title, rank and age;
2. Have marked heroic acts;
3. There is lyrical regret parting with this world, with family, loved ones and property.

While further analyzing the poetic features of ancient Turkic epitaphs, here are some examples illustrating the proximity of the Yenisei epitaphs

with modern form *ozhuk dazhy*.

The ancient *tercet*:

*Kanymka, Elimke bekmedim
Kuyda kunchuyumka adyryldym
Kansyz caldym*

(I didn't enjoy my Khan, my State
I separated from my princess in the tower
I left without a father)
(Translated by I.A. Batmanov)¹⁵.

Ozhuk dazhy:

*Ezhik chocta shoochanyn heree bar be?
Eshkiishtin-daa kheme chocta heree bar be?
Etken sostun bodal chocta heree bar be?*

(E. Mizhit)

(Do I need a lock, if there is no door?

Do I need oars, if there is no boat?

Do I need words, if there is no thought?)

In these three verse triplets - as the stones of hearth - each is separate, i.e. it contains a certain thought, and at the same time - together constitute a unity, i.e. being subordinate to the main poetic thought. Consequently, the three verses are linked in subordination to the common goal of expression. This triad forms a certain structure, where a parallel description of the phenomena of nature deepens the drama of the characters' feelings. Here also there is an analogy in stylistic and structural elements.

Similarly, in the above *ozhuk dazhy* and ancient Turkic *tercet*, despite the dominance of free verse, there are the following compositional characteristics of the rhythmic organization (however, in ancient texts organization was at an early stage of development).

- 1) syntactic parallelism - characteristic style;
- 2) anaphoric alliteration (initial rhyme);
- 3) rhyming grammatical type (final rhyme, in other epitaphs meet and assonance and rhyme-echo);
- 4) pass-through alliteration (recording: alliterative sounds - k, m) .

Comparison of ancient Turkic treatise with Tuvan shows their identity in compositional aspect. Comparison of ancient Turkic triplets and Tuvan triads shows their identity in compositional aspect.

II monument *Ikhe - Askhete*

Uze tengri erklig m...

Adrylmys olgime yglayu bertim

Chn... er bedizmish.

(At the top strong sky
mourn the deceased ...
... the hero builded (monument) .

(Trans. by V.V. Radloff)

Ozhuk dazhy:

Buzure, Idegel, Ynakshyl -

Bzreldig Ush ydyk tandym .

Chazhyym chazhyp chalbardym.

(A. Darzhay)

(Faith, Hope, Love -
Here are three of my Holy mountains.
Worship, sprinkling holy milk).

Analysis of the composition of the inner triplets about that the first line is the exposure, which gives introduction to the topic. The second line reveals the poetic image of the poem. The final line turns the poet's attitude to developing subject. Thus, three lines form a single dialectically inter-related (start - development - end) and are harmoniously balanced whole. In the poetics of these triplets, is observed the principle of deep thoughts, culminating in a clear conclusion.

So, in the process of analysing small triplets, we found that *ozhuk dazhy* and Yenisei triplets have some common features in the rhythmic organization, structure and composition. Naturally, we should not forget that ancient Turkic epitaphs have easier organization than *ozhuk dazhy*.

Monuments of Orkhon-Yenisey script with three-line inscriptions were recorded in Tuva, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan and Khakassia. To date, more than 20 monuments of epitaph lyrics, decorated in the form of triplets, have been found. And out of 60 considered by us (published) monuments, there are a lot of inscriptions with 3 lines, more than 2, 4, 5 lines. This fact

suggests that the miniature form of *tercet* existed in the written culture of ancient Turks and came to us in the form of eternity frozen in texts. They continued to live orally in the form of weeping, lamentations, blessings, which probably constituted an indivisible whole.

The above suggests that the ancient Turkic trans-tissue miniatures can be considered as one link in the evolution of trans-technik forms, pronounced in contemporary Tuvan poetry in the form of the genre *ozhuk dazhy*, as has been noted by I.V. Stebleba, "achievements of the ancient culture of the people do not disappear completely, but in some form are manifested in the cultures of later epochs"¹⁶.

In our view, the existence of a Tuvan literature poetic form *tercet ozhuk dazhy*, which is artistic and aesthetic and has stylistic characteristics similar to the ancient Turkic triplets, recorded mostly in the basin of the Yenisei River, confirms the continuity of traditions of ancient and modern literature. Epitaph poems of ancient Turks stand at the beginning of the evolution of the tercet genre system Tuvan poetry.

Consideration of the works of contemporary Tuvan literature in the context of the written heritage of the ancient Turks also confirms the idea of continuity of the traditions of artistic literature. Research and translation into modern Turkic languages, analysis of the poetics and style monuments of Orkhon-Yenisey script requires further in-depth study for the preservation and transmission to future generations of the ancient Turkic artistic culture - one of the most ancient and with a deep and strong root system of world cultures.

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MYTHOLOGICAL CHARACTERS OF TIBETAN ORIGIN (*SAPTAK*) IN TUVAN SHAMANISM

KYZYL-MAADYR SIMCHIT

The Tuvans are one of the ethnic groups that live at the center of Asia. Their language belongs to the Turkic family, but by culture they are closest to the Mongolic peoples. In terms of religion, most Tuvans today are Buddhists, but a sizeable part of the population are shamanists. There is significant interaction (syncretism or symbiosis) among the Tuvans between shamanism and Buddhism, in particular the Tibetan or Gelugpa tradition.

Shamanism is a system of traditional beliefs and rituals that can be found in many parts of the world, including Tuva. With roots going back to ancient times, Tuvan shamanism has many practitioners to this day. Like any religious system, Tuvan shamanism includes a fairly large number of mythological beings, a “pantheon” of sorts. Each mythological being has its own status. In general, they can be divided into higher (heavenly) beings and lower (underworld) beings. These stand in a different relationship both to the shaman, whom the spirits have chosen for themselves, and to shamanists, those who come to the shaman for ritual services. But there is no commonly accepted classification of the shamanistic pantheon; various researchers have made different attempts to classify these beings according to the interests of their own specific discipline.

In the present article, we examine the names of various characters in the Tuvan shamanistic pantheon that have their source in the Tibetan language. The criterion for judging these names to be originally Tibetan is that their phonetic form is recognizable as coming from the Tibetan language, even if the form has changed significantly since then. Research into the names of such mythical beings is quite important for the study of the language, folklore, and culture of various Central Asian peoples, such as the Tuvans and Tibetans.

The first term that we examine is *saptak*. This generic term is one of the ways in which Tuvan speakers designate the guardian spirits of the world, or *oran eeleri*.¹ In southeastern Tuva, *saptak* serves as a euphemism for the word *ee* 'owner' that refers to guardian spirits, and is pronounced *satpak* (with metathesis of the two middle consonants). A derived adjectival form of this word (*saptaktig*) is found in the *Kis-Xalur* volume of Tuvan myths:

Kogey-Sini saptaktig cer-dir

(The Kogey Mountains have their own guardian spirit)²

Sometimes the term shows up in shamanic folklore. Take, for example:

kodan čurttuK satpaandan cul?

ödek xonaš satpaandan cul?

(What is the *satpak* of one's homeland, and what did he create?

What is the *satpak* of the campsite, and what did he send?)³

The term entered Tuvan by way of the Mongolian language, where its form is *savdag* 'guardian spirits of an area, such as a lake, mountain, river, etc.'. For example:

geriyn savdag 'house spirit'

lus savdag 'nymph'

oyn savdag 'forest spirit'⁴

The Mongolian word *savdag* itself came from Tibetan *sa-bdag* 'owners of the land'. Manzhigeev, writing about shamanism among the Buryats, defines *sabdag* as the Lamaistic designation for local guardian spirits that had previously been honored by the shamanistic population⁵. In this, the term is the Buddhist equivalent of the shamanic Buryat word *euen*. The term *saptak* does not occur in the lexicon of any Turkic language other than Tuvan.

We also examine two terms for beings that we have classified as belonging to the underworld category. The first of these is *diiren*. This is a fairly popular character in Tuvan mythology. Its distinguishing characteristic is that a person who can beat a *diiren* in chess or cards will soon afterward become rich or have his wishes otherwise fulfilled. According to Tuvan folklore collector A.D. Arapchor, one can encounter a *diireK* at the intersection of nine roads at sunset⁶. These beings take the form of men, or sometimes of beautiful women. Very often they ride a red horse and wear a Tuvan national costume made of red silk. In some myths, they have a copper or brass nose and sometimes change into a wolf or

other creatures, which shows their affinity to the spirits called *albīs* and *sulbus*.

According to B.I. Tatarintsev, the author of the *Etymological Dictionary of the Tuvan Language*, the Tuvan word *diiren* came from the Mongolian *tiyren* 'demon, evil spirit', which in turn came from the Tibetan *theu-rang* 'one-armed, one-eyed divinity that was, according to tradition, born from the fat of the cosmic turtle; personifies various weather phenomena; reside in the lower levels of the sky'⁷. Besides its primary demonological meaning, this word also has a secondary meaning in Tuvan: 'person who suffers from sleeplessness'⁸. The lexeme *diiren* also has the derived verb *diirenneer* 'to possess unseen power; to turn into a spirit'.

The second designation of an underworld being that we investigate in this article is *oraalan*. This variety of unclean spirit is encountered only rarely in Tuvan shamanic folklore. For example:

oraalan, buk, azalarni oon-bile optap kaar men
'I will outwit the *oraalan, buk*, and *azalar* with it'.⁹

According to M.B. Kenin-Lopsan, the well-known researcher of Tuvan shamanism, the *oraalan* is a very bothersome evil spirit, but it can be defeated or driven out of a yurt or from a *buga-kham* campsite¹⁰.

In Buryat mythology, the *oroolon* is a shapeshifter or vampire. The Buryats had a widespread belief in a certain shapeshifting female shaman, whose soul could take the shape of a tailless pig (*oroolon khakhay*) or a hornless cow (*oroolon uneen*) while she slept. Shamanists believed that this shamanness would attack people whose death was ordained for the near future¹¹.

The lexeme *oroolon(g)* is also found in the Mongolian language, where it is used to refer to unclean female spirits says that this word comes from the Tibetan term *ro-lang*, meaning 'vampire'¹². Folk tradition in Tibet has many tales associated with Rolang, a corpse that returns to life, the Tibetan equivalent of Sanskrit *Vetala*. With the help of *Rolang*, people can obtain a long life and be freed from poverty¹³.

In Tuvan, this lexeme can be used as an anthroponym (a nickname). Thus, in the latter half of the 20th century, there was a certain person named *Oraalan Sambu* (bothersome *Sambu*) in the Tes-Khem region of Tuva. According to Tuvan folk etymology, the word *oraalan* is associated with the verb *oraazir* 'to annoy, bother, or importune someone'.

Thus, there are not that many designations of purely Tibetan origin in Tuvan shamanism. However, it is possible that Tuvan shamanic folklore

may have yet other mythological characters that are at least semantically derived from the Tibetan culture. For example, the character *KoKguvay* entered Tuvan folklore from the Tsam mystery cult, but is known in the Tibetan language by a different name: Tibet-*dur-bdag*¹⁴. This question remains open for further research.

It is of course very difficult to establish that these words were borrowed into Tuvan directly from the Tibetan language; it is more likely that they were borrowed via Mongolian. Nonetheless, it is surely of interest to students of Tibetan culture to find Tibetan mythological characters in the geographically distant Tuvan language.

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THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF TUVA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY*

VALENTINA SUZUKEI

Tuva is one of the most striking and original cultural centers of the Altai-Sayan region, remarkable for its diversity of musical forms and genres, and for the melodic richness and distinct national color and timbre of its traditional sound production. Tuva's rich legacy of instrumental music merits special attention. Beginning in ancient times, the musical culture of the Tuvans has evolved exclusively in the context of a nomadic way of life characterized by specific cultural and economic conditions. The musical tradition of the Tuvans maintained an organic continuity and did not undergo any radical change until the second decade of the twentieth century.

The twentieth century was the first in the entire centuries-long history of the Tuvans to bring about a revolutionary transformation of musical life. This transformation occurred both as a result of the change from a nomadic way of life to a sedentary one, and as a result of the introduction of new musical forms and ideas. This social transformation had both positive and, to a greater degree, negative results. One of the main reasons for the unpremeditated destruction of tradition, which seriously degraded the foundations of Tuvan culture, was an *a priori* judgment that it was "primitive." As a consequence, the condescending treatment of the culture as "undeveloped" or, more precisely, "backward" – stuck in a mere primordial state of existence, facilitated the idea that it was necessary to provide aid for its "rehabilitation." Thus emerged the idea of "professionalizing" folk music, which became widespread from the first days of the foundation of Soviet power in Tuva.

It is imperative to highlight the consequences of misdirected efforts to professionalize traditional music. One consequence was that folk musicians began to evaluate their own music-making through the unfamiliar standards of academic music, and finding themselves wanting,

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developed a low self-image. The result of this experience was a mutation not only of instruments but of all the aesthetic-normative bases of the traditional sound system upon which the ethnic “sound ideal” had been oriented. Paradoxically, these transformations still have a place in the established educational system of culture and arts at all levels: in music schools, colleges, and conservatories, in institutes and in academies of culture. And this is one of the principal problems in modern systems (ethnic, ethno-artistic) of professional music education for the bearers of traditional culture, which today requires a fundamental review.

In the present day, against the backdrop of the events of the 1990s, which brought a major reconstruction of socio-economic and cultural systems in the post-Soviet republics, there is an urgent need for a re-examination of the gains and losses that have occurred in the ethnic cultures of the national republics of the former USSR.

In the post-perestroika era a process began among various ethnic republics of the former USSR to return to their own historical roots. These processes have not passed over Tuva. The professionalization of Tuvan music in essence was and is an attempt at adaptation, or more precisely, an attempt at remaking traditional music within the parameters of European classical music theory. The process of professionalizing Tuvan music brought with it an attempt to translate musical instruments and instrumental music from the drone-overtone system of tuning to the tempered tuning system. However, Tuvan music first debuted on the world stage in its pure, non-professionalized form in records produced by the Moscow Sound Recording Factory in 1934 at the request of the government of the Tuvan People’s Republic (TPR). Since that time, Tuvan music has commanded massive interest as an extraordinary example of creative human fantasy in the realm of sound. Tuva’s particular achievement in the sphere of musical culture, or more broadly, sound culture, is considered a unique contribution to the evolution of human culture.

The nomads’ experience of acoustical immersion in the sounds of their natural environment and the subsequent transformation of this experience into an artistic and creative consciousness gives rise to a unique effect: a considerably broader conception of music and musicality than that imparted by classical European theoretical musical knowledge.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the traditional musical culture of the Tuvans as a specific form that reflected life, domestic work, material and spiritual culture, history and worldview was an original aesthetic phenomenon that presented a complex sound-world

corresponding to an ethnic sound-ideal. This traditional musical culture, or what one could call the process of understanding the world in sound, embodied people's conception of the characteristics of sound, various ways of making it, and the organization and effect of this or that kind of sound on the surrounding world and on individuals.

THE TRADITIONAL TUVAN CONCEPTION OF SOUND

Understanding the specifics of Tuvan music carries a necessary condition: an ability to comprehend the world, and especially the nature of Tuva, with the eyes and ears of a nomad – an essential skill for perceiving the atmosphere of Tuva, its “aroma,” colors, sounds, and subtle nuances, sometimes barely perceptible in the ephemeral sound world of nature. It should be noted that what the author of this work is calling for is in fact quite far outside the classical research methods of theoretical musicology. Indeed, the concepts and physical variables that are principally developed and manipulated in Tuvan music lend themselves poorly to the conventional approaches of European music theory and musicology.

European music theory arose from a Christian worldview opposed to the traditions of the East. This worldview places man against nature, where man and nature are two opposite forces, contradictory and hostile to one another. “The Christians despised the earth: what is a creature compared to the creator? What are sun, moon, and earth compared to the spirit of man? Earthly life loses purpose for him who believes in God, who believes in eternal heavenly life,” wrote L. Feuerbach in *The Essence of Christendom*. “Christianity separated man from all association with nature and through that fell into extremism, finding even in the remote comparison of man with animal an insult to human dignity.”¹

The formation of the Tuvans' traditional complex of sound perception was influenced in the pre-revolutionary period by early forms of pre-shamanic beliefs (totemism, fetishism, animism), shamanism, and somewhat later syncretized with the genetically related philosophical-religious worldview of Buddhism. It must be emphasized that “the propagation of Lamaism in Tuva was characterized by its interweaving with local shamanic cults.”²

Shamanic mythology is based on the cosmogonic conception of the universe (macrocosmos) as a three-tiered area with upper, middle, and lower worlds. Each world, accordingly, is populated with a pantheon of deities, spirit-lords, and a pandemonium of evil spirits and supernatural

forces. The shamanists' mythological complex of cosmogonic perceptions reflects the nomadic sense of sacred space and nourishes the feeling of an indissoluble connection with nature. This idea of the indivisibility of man and nature developed in the ancient past and exists among other peoples of Central Asia.

The traditional shamanistic conception of microcosmos and macrocosmos is tightly interwoven with a belief in supernatural forces inhabiting the Upper, Middle, and Lower worlds, and presents the main basis for determining a person's place in objective reality. The awareness of an indissoluble connection with the natural world is a core value of shamanic cults, which sacralized the guiding mechanism of people's daily lives. This mechanism was also founded in animistic conceptions connected with the deification of nature, and veneration of the living world and the terrible strength of nature.

Under these conditions, it becomes clear why images of nature occupy a central place in the artistic creations of the Tuvans. Singing a materially perceptible picture of the natural environment is not ideal contemplation, as Europeans have often perceived it, but a social manifestation of shamanic ideology rooted in an animistic perception of deified nature.

The Tuvans' audio and visual perception of the environment has left a significant imprint on their sound cognition. In instrumental music, it is exactly the three-dimensionality, multiplicity, and spatiality of the flow of sound that imparts such a subtle timbral color to the expressive language of Tuvan folk music, thus allowing reality to be perceived keenly and artistically. Thus a holographic rather than photographic image is created of the native environment that simultaneously incorporates concepts from the realm of spiritual culture as well as metaphysical and social ideas. Thus the traditional music of the Tuvans is influenced by domestic-economic and philosophical-psychological factors, by the forces of nature and climate, philosophy and psychology, economics and social life.

LAIC AND CEREMONIAL FOLKLORE

The Tuvans' auditory perception of their environment has been reflected in their musical culture and has significantly influenced the originality of their creative expression in the sound arts. The nomads' perception of environmental sounds and noises allows them to interpret every reproducible sound, not always by means of a precise pitch, but through timbre.

A good musical ear – a fundamental characteristic of a good musician as well as a good listener – also implies the skill to reproduce or perceive sounds rich in timbre, which impart a special color and meaning to the performance of music. The timbral characteristics of sound are usually correctly and unambiguously deciphered by members of a traditional culture, and in many cases, timbre also serves as an organizing principle for musical form and genre. Nevertheless, many musical instruments of the Tuvans were cast aside as “primitive and dated trappings of the past” for the reason that it was impossible to play classical European music on them, as a consequence retarding the development of national professional art in the period of the foundation of socialism. Aside from this, ruthless ideological struggle took place under the banner of uprooting the remnants and vestiges of feudalism. This banner was convenient, for what was not understood was briskly swept aside under the pretext of having primitive attributes of the past. National instruments were suppressed on the grounds that they represented counter-revolutionary intentions. Other instruments were reconstructed, modernized, or “improved” with the aim of facilitating the performance of harmonically-organized music.

Viewed through the prism of traditional domestic activity, the nuances and subtleties of Tuvan “sound culture” become clear. The seasonal herding cycle of the nomads, the daily pasturing of cattle, and the self-appointed mission of protecting the grasslands and allowing them to grow anew make for constant communication between man and animal. From their observations of the natural world, Tuvans have assembled a very precise and original sound calendar that plays an important role in the lives of nomads. While the lunar calendar marks the passing of standardized time – hours, days, years, and so on – the sound calendar is precisely calibrated to local climatic conditions and helps to maintain herders’ close connection to the natural world. This sound calendar divides the year into four quarters, each connected to a different pasturage, and provides aural cues that inform nomads when it is time to move their herds from one pasturage to the next. All genres of ceremonial folklore are organized according to the sound calendar and linked to a specific pasturage and its corresponding camp.

VOCAL MUSIC

Tuvans’ love of music, and especially of song has been repeatedly noted by pre-revolutionary authors. “The Tuvan satisfies his need for music

everywhere he has the opportunity: he sings on the road, in leisure and at work," wrote the Russian merchant N.F. Vesyelkov at the end of the nineteenth century. "Of all the Turkic tribes, the Tuvans are the most tuneful. In my observation, the Soyot are ninety-five percent singers, noted A.V. Anokhin, a well-known collector of musical folklore of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Western Siberia. Popular vocal genres include *kozhamyktar* (quatrains), *kyska yrlar* (short songs), and *uzun yrlar* (long songs).

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

The traditional musical culture of Tuva is distinguished by its variety of musical instruments, and by the important role of musical instruments in spiritual, expressive, and material culture. Traditional folk terminology includes a systematic array of terms for evaluating musical instruments, instrumental performance, and instrumental music. Both musical instruments and instrumental music express a distinctive sound-ideal that is reflected in the sound-producing potentialities of instruments and in the specific manner of their realization.

The Tuvan instrumentarium includes a large number of musical instruments that are performed in different genres of folklore. There are instruments to accompany lyric songs and heroic epics, instruments that reproduce hunting calls and signals for calling domesticated animals, and instruments in shamanist and Buddhist ceremonial practices.

Instruments Used in Work

In Tuvan "intonational culture" (the musical-semantic domain based on Asaf'ev's theory of "intonatsia") instruments played outdoors systematically represent the natural sound world in the sphere of social and psychology activity.³ In the majority of cases these instruments can be made quickly, and be made to produce sound through simple physical procedures. The materials used to construct the instrument are also simple: the stalks of farinaceous plants (wild oats, barley, feather-grass), stems of buckwheat or umbellate (angelica, wild parsnip) plants, pieces or branches of trees, bark, leaves, etc. In many cases, making such instruments takes no more than one or two minutes.

Many of these instruments can be made only at a certain time of year. Instruments made from vegetable matter are particularly dependent on the season, for example, the *terezin-ediski* or kinds of *murgu*, which are

made generally in the fall in as much as the stems that are the source material reach the necessary firmness simultaneously with the ripening of cereal grains. Another instrument, a variant of the *shoor*, made from willow bark, is made only in early spring at the time when the sap begins to run (*chuluk uezi*), and the bark is easy to remove whole.

One of the distinctive peculiarities of these instruments is their impermanence, right down to single-use, as for example, with instruments made from leaves. In the majority of cases, the materials from which they are made are very fragile, and over time, with the drying of stalks and stems, their sound qualities worsen or are completely lost.

Ceremonial Instruments

Beginning in the eighteenth century, Buddhism gained significance in Tuva as the official religion. Nevertheless, shamanism retained a strong influence. A particular feature of Tuvan Buddhism was its interweaving with the local shamanic cults, and syncretism with shamanic beliefs and practices. The parallel existence of Buddhism and shamanism is reflected in many ceremonies and religious holidays, often conducted with the joint participation of lamas and shamans.

Musical Instruments

The Tuvan instrumentarium includes a large number of musical instruments that exist in stable forms and are used primarily in artistic, as opposed to ritual or applied technological, forms of music. Such instruments are used to accompany lyric songs and heroic epics, as well as to perform a highly developed instrumental repertoire that is a testament to the richness of the instrumentarium, and to its important role in the historical development of national culture and music.

The majority of Tuvan instruments are stringed instruments, i.e., *chadagan*, *igil*, *byzaanchy*, *doshpuluur*, and *chanzy*. But aerophones and idiophones are also prominent in this group of developed instruments existing in stable forms. For example, *shoor* (end-blown flute), *limbi* (side-blown flute), *demir-xomus* (metal jew's harp) and *kuluzun xomus* (bamboo jew's harp) belong to this group (the metal jew's harp was also formerly used in the ritual practice of shamans). These instruments are considered by the Tuvans as natively Tuva, despite the etymology of their names, their construction, and the non-native materials from which some are made (e.g., *byzaanchy*, *chanzy*, *limbi*). These factors suggest that such musical instruments were brought to Tuva long ago, and are evidence of

the Tuvans' historical and ethnocultural connections to other peoples in Inner Asia. Over time, changing political, social, and economic conditions among the Tuvans also changed the role of musical instruments, and not all of their older social, aesthetic, and religious functions were maintained. An interesting aspect of Tuvan music is the imitation of musical instruments. The *shoor*, *demir-xomus*, and *limbi* all offer examples of such imitation.

Instrumental Music

Traditional musical instruments and instrumental music comprise a major component of Tuvan musical culture that fully displays the creative use of sound. The principal feature that distinguishes Tuvan instrumental music is that it is rooted in a drone-overtone system of sound production. That is, overtones (harmonics) are sequenced to form melodies set against a fundamental drone pitch. Drone-overtone music represents a unique sound system with its own specific rules that has to date not been thoroughly studied by musicology.

In drone-overtone sound art, the fundamental semantic meaning is carried not by the pitch organization of the sound material, or even by the rhythm, but by timbre. As the fundamental parameter of Tuvan musical aesthetics, timbre represents one of the most striking qualities of instrumental music. It is indeed the prominent role of timbre in Tuvan music that accounts for the large number of instruments on which pitch is not fixed, either in space or in time. These conditions influence morphological features of instruments such as non-standardization of size and the absence of frets on stringed instruments. Moreover, bowed instruments do not have a fingerboard on the neck in as much as only harmonics are played on them.

The ergonomic, morphological, and acoustic characteristics of instruments that reflect the drone-overtone system are all oriented toward representing the Tuvan sound world. A significant difference in the size of different instruments of the same type does not cause any inconvenience for a folk performer, nor does it affect the structure of the sound. The size of traditional musical instruments is mainly a function of the size of its performer, who, in the majority of cases, has made the instrument himself.

The role of timbre and texture in musical style are clearly demonstrated not only in instrumental music, but in the art of "playing" the throat: *xöömei*. As a sound structure, *xöömei* represents a purely drone-overtone approach to sound production. Outside of this structure, *xöömei* simply

does not exist. It is precisely in *xöömei* that the specific features of the Tuvan sound-ideal are brilliantly presented in their most refined form – a complex sound world reflected in the aesthetics of instrumental music.

Xöömei can be called “singing” only because the fundamental tone is emitted from the vocal cords as a result of applying pressure in a particular way. In its sound structure, and in the logical development of its musical substance, *xöömei* is much more similar to instrumental music. This similarity is confirmed by the shared use of the drone-overtone system. A.V. Anokhin was the first to understand that *xöömei* represented a musical phenomenon that required a hitherto unknown music theory to make sense of it: “the throat-singing of the Tuvans stands *outside all established theories* (my emphasis V.S.), and perhaps constitutes a unique phenomenon in the arena of vocal art.”⁴

***Khöömei* (Throat singing)**

As a specific genre of folk music in the general system of Tuvan cultural values, *xöömei* (its different styles *borbangnadyr*, *sygyt*, *ezengileer*, *kargyraa*) is an autonomous and highly specific phenomenon. While *xöömei* is produced by the human vocal apparatus, its sound has nothing in common with what is typically considered to be “singing.” In our time, it is still not completely understood how a single performer can produce two sounds simultaneously – a drone and an overtone melody. Still not understood in the secret art of throat-singing is the location of the second sound source. No one doubts that the drone originates in the region of the performer’s vocal cords. But where and how the whistle-like melodic overtone sounds are produced, and how their pitch changes are regulated – these questions remain to be answered.

The art of *xöömei* has been passed down to the contemporary generation as an empirical system of cognizing sound space developed by their ancient ancestors. The structure, closure, and logical completeness of the system is what has allowed it to be preserved and transmitted from one generation to the next through the centuries. The real functioning of this sound system appears in practice in the sound structure of Tuvan *xöömei* and instrumental music.

THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF TUVA IN THE SOVIET PERIOD (1921-1991)

The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 also drew the Tuvans into the orbit of the worldwide revolutionary movement, and served as a

historical boundary beyond which cardinal changes were introduced into the centuries-long nomadic way of life. In as much as the founding idea of the Great October Revolution was above all the irreconcilable class struggle of the subjugated workers with their exploiters, Tuva's pre-revolutionary culture was also interpreted from the perspective of this struggle. For that very reason, from the entire rich musical legacy of the people, the songs that best served the "call to arms" were those that sounded themes of protest against the feudal yoke – songs about hard labor, and laments about the callousness and cruelty of the *noyons*, or feudal lords, who oppressed the poor *arat*. Great importance was attached to song texts, since only in these songs could one find concord with revolutionary ideas.

In particular it was the song genres *kyska yr* (short song) and *kozhamyk* (quatrain) that best expressed the relationship of the people to the events taking place around them. All other genres of Tuvan traditional music culture were too specific and foreign-sounding to be deployed in the service of revolutionary ideas. For that reason, it was easier to dismiss them as "primitive" or as religious vestiges of the past.

The Beginning of Professionalization

Along with the large-scale sedentarization of nomads and deep rupture of the nomadic way of life, professional musical life began to take shape in the republic beginning in the 1940s. Educating Tuvans in reading musical notation and other aspects of the European system of music education was considered as a necessary step in the evolution of Tuvan culture. When people spoke about the professionalization of Tuvan music, in fact what they meant was academicization, i.e., the total substitution of one sound system for another. But in the 1940s, no one suspected or could admit the idea that Tuvan music had its own sound system with its own theoretical basis.

Amateur Arts Activities in the Tuvan People's Republic (TNR)

The majority of musical genres that had not been professionalized in the first years of socialism were actively included in the concert programs of amateur arts groups that were organized throughout Tuva. Naturally, these genres were also "reformed" in accordance with revolutionary principles. It was during this period that Tuvan musical culture underwent a major loss in the area of traditional instrumental music. Reconstructed and modernized, Tuvan musical instruments were retooled to the

specifications of European instruments, in the process losing their traditional, purely instrumental repertoire and gradually becoming merely accompanying instruments for vocal performance. In the following years, instruments were used only for playing song melodies. During this period, academic music specialists assimilated traditional Tuvan music, in particular, songs. At the same time they familiarized themselves with a range of foreign music.

THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF TUVA IN THE SOVIET PERIOD (1944-1991)

The unification and merger of Tuvan culture with the “great” Soviet socialist culture at last took place. This event had been intensively prepared by the cultural politics of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the TNR during the previous 10-13 years of its existence as the world’s second socialist government. From the moment that the TNR joined the USSR, an analogous model of culture was formed in which music was divided into “professional” and “amateur.” And thus Soviet Tuva also had a “professional” and “amateur” musical culture that didn’t allow any other form of musical activity. The only kinds of performance that Tuva was missing to fill out its Soviet-style musical life were opera and ballet.

Professional Music in Soviet Tuva

By the beginning of the 1980s, the work of establishing a professional school of composition in Tuva had been essentially completed. This was largely made possible by the creation of the Union of Composers of the Tuvan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1978. In this period composers created such genres as songs, symphonic works, Cantata-Oratorio genres, Chamber music works etc.

Amateur musical arts in Soviet Tuva

A wide network of amateur choirs and orchestras was established within the republic-wide system of culture “clubs.” These ensembles and orchestras included both Tuvan and Russian folk instruments that were played together in one and the same group.

The System of Music Education in the Republic

The uniform system of standardized state music education created in the Soviet era corresponded to the ideological directives of that time. The

totalitarian regime's bent for unifying culture throughout the territory of the super-state found a basis in theories of cultural development. New forms of culture, created in great haste, were called upon to serve as a visible embodiment of results hitherto unseen in the history of humanity, for example, the leap of many "backward" Eastern peoples from feudalism to socialism without the intermediary stage of capitalism. The oral system that had been used to train carriers of traditional culture was ignored, and the Soviet system of European notation-based music education was instituted in its place in training folk musicians in state institutes of culture and art.

THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF TUVA AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (1991-2000)

After the break-up of the USSR in 1991, Tuva, as one of the fully entitled subjects of the Russian Federation, became known as the Republic of Tyva, with all of the attributes of state power: a president elected by the populace, parliament, constitution, and so on.

Following the weakening and disappearance of communist ideology in the life of the Russian public, a spiritual vacuum was created that needed to be filled. After the break-up of the USSR, there arose a sense of freedom that brought about the realization by different peoples of a desire to find and return to their own roots. Culture and religion began to play an important role in this, since they offered the possibility of finding a new purpose in life, as well as serving as a basis of morals and interpersonal relations.

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF TUVAN MUSICOLOGY

The socialist cultural politics that reigned at the beginning of the twentieth century did not allow the idea that a "backward" culture like that of Tuva could have its own theory, which led to the loss of a valuable layer of traditional culture, namely, its instrumental music. Aside from that, beginning in the first years of Soviet power, attempts to modernize traditional musical instruments amounted to making bad copies of European instruments. This was from the start an unpromising and unproductive practice that distorted not only the foundation of traditional culture but also undermined the authority of European music itself.

A theoretical summary of the way Tuvans conceive musical sounds

as the smallest structural elements of a musical language points to the necessity of studying the characteristics of natural sounds that inform the development of instrumental music. The specifics of the ethnic sound-ideal as a complex sound world are reflected in the aesthetics of instrumental music.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF TUVAN MUSICAL CULTURE

The prominence of the drone-overtone texture in Tuvan instrumental music leads to a host of theoretical problems. One of these involves theoretical generalization about the internal organization of a distinctive musical system that exists in the aural tradition of a people and in the expressive language of its national music.

The actual performance practice of traditional instruments shows that the instrumental music of the Tuvans functions on the basis of the natural scale. Moreover, Tuvans repeatedly use the effect of a reinforced natural scale (on account of the imposition of micro-irregularities, or nonlinear oscillations). With such a reinforced dispersion of the fundamental tone due to the (extroverted) centrifugal dynamic of the emitted sound, the overtone is not separated from the fundamental, as occurs in European music in the use of flageolet (when the fundamental pitch is not heard). In the drone-overtone system, the extraction of the melodic overtone occurs only against the background of a drone pitch. If you remove the drone, all overtones will disappear, including the melodic ones.

Introverted (centripetal) and extroverted dynamic characteristics of a basic sound unit in music have not hitherto been discussed in world music practice either by musicians or musicologists, and is being introduced for the first time in this work. The difference between the two systems is intuitively sensed by musicians, whose understanding of sound production corresponds to the method of sound production on the instruments they play. And here there has been – and continues to be – a lack of understanding particularly about the modernization of traditional instruments.

Oral tradition, without resorting to developed theoretical concepts, fixed its achievements in the system of the phonic complex of musical instruments and in the specifics of traditional performance styles.

The more theoretically developed European classical tradition trained

and trains musicologists who, in their analytical assessments, never examine the fundamental sound unit as such. All theoretical conclusions were based on – and continue to be based on – the conception of intervals between non-overtone sounds corresponding to the European sound-ideal.

HISTORY OF THE TUVAN SOUND SYSTEM

One of the natural, yet most complex questions concerns the origins of the specific musical structure at the root of Tuvan instrumental music. Nomadic culture did not leave written sources. Nonetheless, on the basis of many indirect sources, it is possible to speculate about the epoch in which the musical system of the nomads was formed.

The Turks – the descendents of ancient nomadic cultures of Central Asia – are one of the greatest consolidated ethnoses, today populating a significant part of Eurasia, from northeast Siberia to the Mediterranean Sea, and the world of Turkic musical culture – rich and diverse – has long served as an object of attention for scholars.

As far as instruments, instrumental music, and *xoomei* are concerned, Tuva itself represents a completely original epicenter of drone-overtone music, clearly distinguished from Central Asian types of sound culture.

The musical culture of modern Turkic-speaking peoples has been presented in all its richness and variety of sound material. Nevertheless, in the ancient archaic layers of these cultures, many elements of an enduring unity unique to these cultures continue to be kept. Such a long-standing endurance, which has not been subject to destruction over the march of centuries, allows us to propose that in the period of their historical commonality, i.e., in the period of the nomadic empire of the ancient Turks (6th-8th century), a particular type of musical civilization was founded, formed on the basis of a conscious and active ideology. A somewhat more manifest support of this idea lies in the fact that “many themes, styles, heroic epics (accompanied by music), and various musical-poetic genres prove to be all-Turkic and can be traced back to the earlier and later nomads of Eurasia.”⁵ Moreover, that period in all likelihood can be connected to the formation among the Turks of a special manner of absorbing a sound-space “with a love for thick, nasal timbres rich with overtones... and an abundance of drone forms.”⁶

In very ancient musical genres such as throat-singing, epic tale-singing, performance on the *khomus-kubyz-gopuz*, *kuraye-shoor-sybyzgy*, *igil-ikili-kylkoboz*, etc., a single principle was used to produce specific sounds

that carried in them features common to the Central Asian Turks. Musicology and music theory have yet to fully understand this sound system, in part, perhaps, because the ancient Turks did not leave written evidence about it.

Nonetheless, the sound material itself – the music of Turkic peoples – can serve as an empirical “sound” document, preserving through successive centuries one important source about the ethnogenesis of these peoples. Moreover, in the absence of extensive theoretical generalizations, oral tradition has the ability not only to transmit but to reproduce the principles through which a sound-space is assimilated, and to preserve and demonstrate the principles of sound organization inside the system itself.

CONCLUSION

Until the 1920s, Tuvan traditional music preserved the specific character of nomadic culture. The twentieth century has gone down in history as a time of worldwide revolutionary correctives. The Tuvan people, inspired by the idea of a socialist society, enthusiastically embraced the idea of building a new culture, firmly discarding everything that was branded as “primitive vestiges of feudalism.” Beginning with the period of the Tuvan People’s Republic, in connection with changes in social conditions, traditional musical culture also began to change.

Beginning in the 1930s, state cultural politics focused on the cultural backwardness of non-Slavic ethnic groups throughout the former Soviet Union. In Tuva, the destructive influence of state cultural policies on traditional music centered on the Europeanization of musical instruments and musical repertoires as part of the attempt to integrate Tuva into a unified cultural front with a socialist orientation. Music in Tuva changed accordingly: there was a sharp decrease in work-related and ritual folklore, as well as in traditional instrumental music. By contrast, new genres of composed music appeared, including arrangements of folk music.

The last decade of the twentieth century, marked by the break-up of the USSR, weakened the ideological pressure that drove class-based cultural politics and affected science and scholarship. The indisputable value of traditional music was recognized, as were the specifics of its conceptual basis and aesthetics, knowledge of which is essential to approach traditional music as an object of research.

The extraordinary phenomenon of Tuvan musical culture consists of

the fact that, notwithstanding the relatively small number of carriers of traditional culture, and notwithstanding the ubiquity of Eurocentrism that came with the building of socialism, and even notwithstanding the massive “attack” of mass culture and its novel means of audio and video recording, Tuvan music has begun to have its own significant effect on the world music community. This specific experience in the sphere of musical (or more broadly, sound) culture should be valued as the Tuvans’ unique contribution to the development of world culture.

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TUVA AND RUSSIA: 100 YEARS TOGETHER

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INTRODUCTION

In the year 2014, the Republic of Tuva celebrated the 100th anniversary of union with Russia. This date is important for both the public at large and for scholars who studied and go on analyzing this historical path traversed by the republic as a member of a great power. The work of investigators in respect to general conclusions has just started because, as we know, it is typical of history to be reconsidered once and again, especially in epochs of changes. And the twentieth century appeared to be the most tragic and crucial of times for all of Russia and Tuva.

The article seeks to generalize the main developments for both sides by giving answer to two questions: “How did Tuva benefit from the union with Russia?” and “How did Russia benefit from Tuva”. The historical and philosophical interpretation of the developments and processes is presented in terms of advantages and disadvantages.

HOW DID TUVA BENEFIT FROM ITS UNION WITH RUSSIA?

External Protection

The establishment of the protectorate of the Russian Empire over Tuva (then Urianghai Region) in 1914 was preceded by a succession of events, negotiations, diplomatic decisions and moves.

In the late nineteenth century, the Urianghai Region virtually became a territory that political scientists call “a frontier” (broad border) – territory of social border, a result of current spontaneous expansion. In contrast to a linear, strictly established border, “a frontier” is characterized by high

permanent mobility, irregular and mosaic settlement and the exploration of lands; poor control, no control or nominal control by the state over the border and transboundary contacts¹.

A “frontier” position between some powerful states is advantageous for a small territory that wants to survive and preserve its interests. This was the time when the regional interests of Russia, China, Japan and Mongolia clashed. Tuva took advantage of this and the outcome was determined by the choice of Tuva’s political elite which was in agreement with the choice of the population.

The choice of the population was in favor of closer relations with their northern neighbors. The early Russian-Tuvan contacts date back to the 17th century, beginning with trading exchange. But the main developments began with the 1860 Peking Treaty, when Russia was allowed to make free commerce in the Urianghai Region, which brought an end to the economic and cultural isolation of Tuva. In Tuva, there appeared Russian merchants followed by peasants, gold-prospectors and workers. Tuvans, as noted by V.G. Datsychen, in their turn freely moved to the Usinsk boundary district of Russia in search of earning their living in Russian settlements and gold-prospecting places, and stayed there².

For Tuva, Russia’s protection in the beginning of the 20th century was of great importance because, after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, Tuva was an area composed of separate *kozhuuns* (districts) with several clans-tribal unions whose leaders were governed according to the remnants of the Chinese administrative system arranged through Mongolia. This area, rich in natural resources and with a population having no potential to resist outer influence, was a tasty morsel and an easy catch for any invader. For China, Tuva was a source of raw materials and a buffer zone—a territory for possible military invasion into Russia and Kazakhstan. Tuvans were faced with the question of survival. Failing in their own strength to protect themselves and their fellow tribesmen from external threats, the *noyons* (local princes) rushed about searching for a protector over Tuva who, with its own interests being preserved, could guarantee the survival and cultural development of Tuvans. The Mongolian variant was strenuously pushed by Mongols and a number of Tuvan princes, however, gave way to the Russian variant because in the long run the inhabitants of the Urianghai were scared away by the prospects of the loss of their autonomy and the threat of cultural assimilation. It may sound ironic but the representatives of an entirely different faith—Russian orthodoxy—appeared to be more convenient for Tuvans in this respect.

One may question whether the Tuvan People's Republic would be able to survive independently in the 20th century (as, for example, Mongolia), and whether it would be able to withstand the collapse of the socialist system at the end of the century. However, there are few of those who will question the fact that the union with Russia made it possible for Tuva to survive, to preserve and develop the socio-cultural integrity of its population, and to develop its economy.

Political Development

As showed by the further course of historical processes, Tuva's choice in favor of Russia became crucial for Tuva as this choice contributed to the shaping of processes maturing in the life of Tuvan society. Of the ranks of Tuva's political elite consisting of princes and high-ranked lamas, those who concentrated resources, influence and people around them came to the foreground. This enabled Tuvans to respond to the challenge that followed the October Revolution in the Russian empire. Civil war in the country of the Soviets that began soon afterwards could have had a sad effect on the fate of Tuva. However, Tuva already had their own leaders who were able to make political decisions. There was heated controversy about the fate of Tuva among Soviet and Tuvan politicians. In the end, Tuvan local leaders, supported by their counterparts from Moscow, managed to come to an agreement about the establishment of Tuvan statehood, constitutional fundamentals of the state, and a system of governance. 1921 saw the proclamation of Tannu-Tuva People's Republic.

Russia gave the chance to the traditionalistic elite of Tuva to become organized, preserve its people per se, and to develop self-government basics. However, later on, Moscow began to train the political elite of the republic to be completely oriented to closer relations with the Soviet state. No matter how disadvantageous the instruction provided by the KUTV (the Communist University of the Workers of the East—smithy of pro-communist leaders for Asian regions) was, no matter how much Salchak Toka (the KUTV graduate), who now and then carried Sovietization to extremes, was blamed for his tough governance, nevertheless, one cannot but admit the fact that Russia governed Tuva with the hands of Tuvans, thereby making it possible for the republic to have its own political elite.

Let me emphasize the fact that it is the representatives of the native population—Tuvans, who have led the republic since 1914 up to the present day. Of course, it was a rule of the Soviet system of governance to place ethnic republics under the control of Moscow; the representatives of other

nationalities worked in the government of Tuva, including the first deputy governor. However, let me emphasize once again that it must be admitted that the native population of Tuva (the majority of whom were always Tuvans) was actively involved in the system of political governance of the republic, which enabled them (and enables them up to the present time) to realize their responsibility for the fate of their land³.

Socio-Economic Development

The economic developments in Tuva can fit in a wavy scheme of shock construction, stagnation and collapse, which was the same throughout the whole Soviet Union. Tuvans, to whom the Russians showed several new production facilities, methods of management and branches of production, made a great leap in economic development, as it was told at that time, from one stage of development to another one.

Russian peasants in Tuva and then the Tuvan peasants founded the first peasant committees of mutual social aid, in addition to machines and agricultural workers' unions. New enterprises, state and cooperative commerce, banks, state farms, and first production associations of peasants sprang up in Tuva.

At the beginning, the socio-economic innovations did not affect the basics of traditional society, whereas later Tuva witnessed the implementation of a rapid-tempo goal: to change the republic from an agrarian to an agro-industrial one in a short time. Tuva witnessed the appearance and development of its own industry: gold and coal mining, salt production and construction materials production. Public education and health services and other non-production services were being developed. A huge amount of capital investments was poured into Tuva to help the youngest country to be incorporated into the USSR. According to G.Ch. Shirshin (the former First Secretary of the Tuvan Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1973 to 1991), the capital investments in Tuva's economy and social sphere from 1946 to 1990 increased 240 times⁴. With such investments, Tuva made considerable progress. In late Soviet times, Tuva was often compared with Switzerland.

The economic boom and introduction of new types of production activity contributed to an increase of the population (a decrease in the death rate and migration from other regions) and stratification in Tuvan society. The children and grand children of herders were trained in educational institutions and lived in different conditions: in villages,

industrial communities and towns. The policy aimed at the formation of a community of Soviet citizens equal in rights, with all its drawbacks and elite exceptions, nevertheless, contributed to the ethnic consolidation of Tuvans and development of their self-consciousness.

A dramatic deceleration of socio-economic development of Tuva in the 1990s was connected with the total collapse of the Soviet system. The same crisis hit all the territories in the former Soviet Union.

Socio-Cultural Development

Russian pedagogues and intellectuals of different spheres of culture made invaluable contribution in the cultural development of Tuva. They helped Tuva to put its cultural development on professional rails.

An alphabet based on Cyrillic characters for the previously unwritten Tuvan language was created and adopted by 1930. Mass illiteracy amongst the population was liquidated rapidly. Schools and theatres sprang up in Tuva. Professional literature and music began to develop. Newspapers and magazines began to be printed. Books and school textbooks were being published in Tuvan language.

A social stratum of intelligentsia—artists, actors, musicians, composers, writers, teachers, journalists, and scholars was developed among the native population of Tuva. Their laborious efforts allowed the Tuvan cultural identity to be affixed and shaped to be expressed in such areas of art that Tuvans had not been familiar with (for example, circus and cinema).

Marxist theoretical ideas induced the practitioners to concentrate most attention on economic development—the basis, and the superstructure—culture—was considered to be a minor component, changing in accordance with the changing basis. Nevertheless, culture was considered an important part in the solution of the tasks of ideological influence. Art, literature and theater were used to champion socialist ideas and, therefore, investment in them was considerable and strategic. The Soviet policy encouraged and supported local ethnic forms of Soviet life-style and the positive image of a Soviet citizen, which was of great importance for ethnic consolidation.

Problems

The aforementioned processes, being complex in their nature, cannot be unambiguously positive, as they cannot but have negative consequences. Naturally, they were accompanied by problems, mainly the systemic problems inherent in the nature of the Soviet state.

The political governance was authoritarian and subordinate to Moscow. The leaders of the republic, as well as the central authorities, carried out economic, social and cultural policies to the extremes, and oppressed their own people, including the physical elimination of those who had views different from officially established norms. The economic sphere of social life was too reshaped under compulsion, without due attention to traditional economic forms, such as the agricultural activity preferred by the local population. A number of cultural traditions remained neglected or even forbidden by official policy, but, nevertheless, they continued to exist if only in private. The development of a professional culture distorted many-centuries-old forms, genres and styles of folk art, some of them having been lost.

Since the 1990s, Tuva, like many ethnic republics, has been trying to revive the unique culture of its native population and to build such a system of self-administration which, being in accord with the principles of federalism, will allow Tuva to preserve the socio-cultural identity of its population—not only of Tuvans but also of Russians and others. Despite the migration process in different years, especially the outflow of the so-called Russian-speaking population in the 1990s, Tuva remains a multi-cultural republic all the same. At the beginning, in the conditions of economic and social anarchy, survival was based on archaic, spontaneously revived social practices and relations. Now, it is possible to speak about a more conscious policy in the conditions of relative stability, a policy that lays down the foundations for further development.

Both the benefits and drawbacks that can be enumerated are constituents of a real historical process. When the 100th Anniversary was celebrated as a grand occasion for the republic, one can speak first about the benefits of this event. Yet this is not only because that is the final appraisal of a century-long path, but also because it is necessary to ask the questions of future development.

HOW DID RUSSIA BENEFIT FROM TUVA

Geopolitical Goals

Taking of Tuva first under the protection of Russia in 1914 and then, thirty years later, its incorporation in 1944—all this corresponded to the ideological ideas of Russian imperial internal geopolitics. The most important of them were the integrity and power of the empire, first—the

monarchic—and then—the Soviet empires. The unity of the Russian empire was viewed as the unity of two constituent parts: (a) the core in the form of the Russians (b) surrounded by other peoples. Since the state was huge and included territories with various peoples professing various religions, it was, of course, difficult to maintain this unity. To solve these tasks the policy of bringing together the *inorodtsy* (non-Russians) and the Russians was called upon, but the lack of a theoretically aligned regional policy of autocracy resulted, as stressed by A.V. Remnev, in inconsistent government actions⁵. On the whole, the study of the peculiarities of imperial policies, especially in Siberia, is just starting, and Tuvan studies would provide interesting materials for analysis.

How did a small Inner Asian territory, invaded by China and having been as its oppressed outlying district over one hundred and fifty years, come to be so much involved in the orbit of the Russian empire that the 1914 protectorate became a stage of unifying process and its logical end being the incorporation into the USSR. To answer this question, we should turn again to geopolitical questions.

In the mid-19th century, China's position was weak against the united forces of western states. Change in the structure of commerce with Great Britain, financial crisis, opium wars, the concession of Hong Kong to England, and the opening of Chinese ports for foreign trade all resulted in the fact that vulnerable China also had to put up with the claims of Russia, first of all, economic ones.

For Russia, Tuva was an object of colonization and economic exploration. Tuva was also considered a transit territory for trade with Mongolia and for the protection of Siberia and the Russian Far East because of Chinese threats to the Circum-Baikal Railroad. Tuva was considered to be a part of the "Buddhist axis" (with continuation through Mongolia, Tibet and India). However, this geo-policy of Russia was not implemented⁶.

On the whole, the protectorate of Russia over Tuva declared in 1914, after the 1911 fall of Manchu Dynasty, i.e. passage of Tuva from colonial to semi-colonial dependence (which is the essence of a protectorate) resulted from imperial redistribution of the world in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Mongolia, another former colony of the Manchu China, also found itself in this vortex of world alignment. However, Mongolia had a more advantageous position from the point of view of China, as well as Japan. That is why, the confrontation between these countries was much more intense, and Russia had to accept this. Nevertheless, it is at the expense of Tuva that the Russian empire could continue its active

foreign policy towards Asia.

The change of regime in Russia did not interrupt the process of integration between Russia and Tuva. The latter continued to be supported by its northern neighbor, including in the establishment of Tuva's statehood. The Soviet power continued Russian imperial policy of expansion and influence on their neighboring territories and their assimilation (what in the long run led to the appearance of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics). The same was with Tuva. Its population began to be so much close to the Russian people that the invasion of the USSR by fascist Germany in 1941 was seen by Tuvans as the invasion of their own motherland and Tuva immediately reacted with the mobilization of resources, military force and every possible aid to the front. The Soviet Union got thereby one more ally in the Second World War. Though Tuva's contribution was not decisive, it demonstrated that such little allies could be as much selfless as the Soviet people⁷.

Economic Tasks

The geopolitical alignment of forces of empires in the region was based on economic influence. Tuva and Inner Mongolia were a new profitable market. Great interest in Tuva was shown by goldmine owners, merchants, wealthy peasants, and land owners who settled en masse in Tuva. Large-scale exploration of Tuva and its mineral resources had no time to begin because of revolution in Russia followed by civil war and foundation of the sovereign Tuvan People's Republic in 1921.

At the beginning, when establishing forms of economic co-operation with Tuva, the Soviet power focused on already traditional exports (furs, wool, leather, gold, and so on)⁸. Later, the incorporation of the Tuvan People's Republic into the USSR made it possible to increase the number and enlarge the list of exports. Agriculture and the extraction of mineral resources occupied a highly important place in the economy of the Tuvan Autonomous Republic. Close economic links were established with the southern districts of Krasnoyarsk region, in particular with the Sayan area production complex.

Despite considerable mineral resources of Tuva, their effective use for the benefit of Tuva's population, as well as for the country, remained to be problematic because of the inappropriate structure and operation of the economy of the Soviet state⁹.

Socio-Cultural Development

More than 40,000 Tuvans (the population of Tuva at the moment of declaration of protectorate over Urianghai Region) and 95,400 Tuvans and Russians (the population of the Tuvan People's Republic when it joined the USSR in 1944) did not contribute much to the replenishment of the country's population. Nevertheless, imperial policy aimed at involvement of new territories and additional populations with other cultures and faiths in the civilizational field was applied to Tuva as well.

The Russian-Soviet world was made up of the Russian cultural world with other cultural worlds integrated into it: Finno-Ugric, Ugric-Siberian, Samoyedic, Turkic, Northern, Mongolian, Tungus-Amur, Islamic and European worlds¹⁰. Despite the fact that by the end of the 20th century, Tuva came to be one of the least integrated parts of the USSR in cultural, linguistic and religious respects (the same as with Dagestan), it has become an integral part of the multicultural Eurasian state. That is why the addition of Tuva into Russia became an important page in the history of the expansion and quantitative enrichment of the Eurasian cultural world.

Problems

The support of the new region which appeared in the USSR in 1944 was not considered to be a burden for the state, even during the hard, post war time. Admission of a new territory was considered to be one more victory and geopolitical achievement. Tuva came to be mentioned in the context of problems only at the moment of crisis of the Soviet system of statehood when the whole multi cultural country was severely tested. Political scientists began to talk about Tuva with concern in the early 1990s, when the republic witnessed serious ethnic tensions and was mentioned as a hot spot on the map of the country and as a territory having a real potential for secession from Russia.

Those were short-time developments, whereas the problems of an uneasy economic situation, Tuva's heavy dependence on the federal budget, and crime amongst the population was prevalent for a long time in the perception of Tuva from the "center" and other parts of Russia. For justice's sake, it should be also said that Tuva was not the only one to have endured and to be still enduring economic problems, preconditioned primarily by systemic factors, and to experience an uneasy outside attitude towards the republic.

CONCLUSION

Thus, let me stress once again that the prospects of the advance of Tuva and Russia in the context of the jubilee date are the benefits and achievements of the hundred-year common path; whereas, the discussion of the problems should be done in order to avoid them in future and not to let them progress.

In my opinion, it is the well-shaped worldview–mentality–of the population, primarily in Tuva, who identify themselves as Russian citizens that should be considered the focus of these achievements. And if among Russian citizens there can be found some who pretend not to know that Tuva is a constituent part of the Russian Federation and that among 140 nationalities living in Russia there are also Tuvans, this does not mean that the country should reject one of its territories and a part of its history.

Tuva is not just a part of Russia requiring attention as an economically problematic region. It is a part of the country that carries a great economic potential as a territory rich in natural resources, and a geopolitical potential as a transit territory for the advancement of co-operation with Mongolia and China, and a cultural and tourism potential as a region with a peculiar culture and unique ecology. The question of the organization of an effective regional administration is not a question of the survival of the region itself but it is a question of its thought-out governance and support of local power for implementation of all-Russian tasks.

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THE TUVAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE USSR: HISTORY OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION

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In October 2014, 70 years of the incorporation of the Tuvan People's Republic (TPR) into the USSR were completed. Until now, there is no consensus of opinion on the question who initiated the incorporation of Tuva into the USSR. There exist two versions. According to the first version, it is the leaders of the TPR headed by Salchak Toka who took the initiative. Salchak Toka, being a political leader of Tuva, contributed much to the incorporation of Tuva into the USSR. This is evidenced by declassified archival documents. These are Toka's personal notebooks in which he gives a detailed description of his discussions with prominent politicians of the USSR of that time.

Of interest for us is one of those discussions which took place during the meeting of Salchak Toka with V.M. Molotov on June 17, 1944. That is what the leader of Tuva said: "Over last 23 years after national revolution, with brotherly help of the Soviet people ... Tuvan people have made great economic, cultural, and political progress. On the basis of vital interests of Tuvan people, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the TPRP charged me with requesting the Government and the Party of the USSR to reunify Tuva with the USSR. I tell about reunification because Tuva was taken into Russian State in 1914"¹. Thus, the TPR headed by Salchak Toka did initiate the incorporation of Tuva into the USSR. This version seems to be the most credible one as it is supported by archival documents.

According to the second version, the incorporation of Tuva into the former USSR resulted from the foreign-policy course of the USSR. This conclusion is based on the analysis of the foreign policy of the USSR in 1930s made itself apparent in the annexation of Baltic countries, Bessarabia, Western Ukraine and in the attempt to annex Finland militarily.

The Soviet Union tried to restore previous influence of Russian empire, including its influence in Tuva. There are all grounds to believe that the move to annex Tuva was secretly initiated by Moscow².

In my opinion, the interests of political elite of the TPR and global goals of the Soviet leadership could coincide. It can be explained by a number of circumstances. First, one of the important results of foreign policy of the USSR in relation to Tuva in the mid-1920s and 1930s was its influence on the establishment and development of the political system of the TPR. In addition, the major part of political elite of the TPR was trained in educational institutions of the USSR. These people championed the ideas of socialist development of Tuva and further closer relations with the Soviet Union.

On June 5, 1944, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the TPRP, in the course of preparation for incorporation into the USSR, approved the report "On political and economic state of the Tuvan People's Republic" which was sent to Moscow³. The report gave a short outline of agriculture, industry, financial situation, culture, health service, educational institutional network in the TPR and political situation in the republic.

In my opinion, of importance is the following information of this report. "According to the 1944 census [of employed population], as of January 1, of 37,000 people, 30,700 people or 83 % are employed in livestock sector. The number of people employed in industry, trade, transportation sector and state bureaucracy is 6,300 people or 17 % of the whole employed population. 54,384 hectares were sown in 1943. The Tuvan People's Republic has accomplished the task of providing itself with bread"⁴. Before 1938, the TPR annually imported more than 2,000 tons of bakery products from the USSR. Now, the goal of the republic is to create reserves of bread⁵.

On June 26, 1944, the Central Committee of the TPRP and the Government of the TPR sent to the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) a request of incorporation into the USSR. The request was addressed to V.M. Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, and G.M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B). It said: "As early as 1941, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the TPRP officially requested the incorporation of the TPR into the USSR. In 1943, this request was made again during a talk with You, comrade Molotov, but this question was put off for external political reasons. If, for any reason, You think that the incorporation of the TPR into the USSR is not advisable at present, we ask You to approve some transitional arrangements which will provide all necessary conditions for incorporation of the TPR into the USSR in

right time"⁶. A.K. Tyurin, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Envoy of the USSR to the TPR, and Ya.K. Kalinichev, Advisor to the Central Committee of the TPRP commented that the above request was right and timely⁷.

The Central Committee of the CPSU (B) complied with the TPRP request. To make integration of governmental institutions, party organizations and social organisms of two countries, it was necessary to make a number of arrangements, among which were the following: 1) to open Soviet-Tuvan border for a free economic and political communication between governmental institutions, social organisms and population of the TPR and governmental institutions, social organisms and population of the USSR; 2) to introduce a unified Soviet passport system for Tuvan citizens and to change Soviet foreign visas of the Soviet citizens permanently residing in the TPR into Soviet passports; 3) to reinforce the southern frontier guards of the TPR with Soviet frontier guards⁸, etc.

Salchak Toka prepared a report on the activities and membership of the TPRP as of 1944.⁹ At that time, it had 6,807 members. Of them, 2,168 were women. The majority of the party members were herdsmen. There were 6,174 of them in 1943. As the possibility of incorporation of the TPR into the USSR was approached, organizational work for this event became more active from both sides. On August 7, 1944, there was a session of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the TPRP in Kyzyl. The session was attended by Toka (General Secretary of the Central Committee of the TPRP), Bazyr-Sat (Secretary of the Central Committee of the TPRP), Chimba (Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the TPR), Anchimaa (Chairman of Presidium of Small Khural of the TPR), Talganchik (Secretary of the Central Committee of the TPRP), Namchak (Secretary of the Central Committee of the TPRP), Polat (Secretary of the Central Committee of the TPRP), Shoma (Member of Politburo of the Central Committee of the TPRP), Tovarishchtai (Minister of Internal Affairs and Member of Politburo of the Central Committee of the TPRP), Tadar-ool (Minister of Animal Husbandry and Agriculture of the TPR). The session was held with the participation of Ya.G. Kalinichev (Advisor to the Central Committee of the TPRP) and A.K. Tyurin (Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Envoy of the USSR to the TPR)¹⁰.

After hearing consent of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and the Soviet Government on the question of incorporation of Tuva, the Politburo resolved to convene the 9th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the TPRP on August 15, 1944 and then Session of Small

Khural of the TPR in order to discuss and to make a decision on this question in accordance with instruction of G.M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B)¹¹.

The 7th Extraordinary Session of the Small Khural, held on August 16-17, 1944, attended by 176 people unanimously approved the Declaration "On Incorporation of the Tuvan People's Republic into the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics". Kh. Bazyr-Sat read the text of the document out¹².

In accordance with the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, a Soviet delegation headed by I.V. Vlasov (Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR) took part in the 7th Session of Small Khural and in the TPR 23rd Anniversary Celebration¹³. I.V. Vlasov read a telegram of Joseph Stalin. The telegram contained words of gratitude for 17,000 heads of cattle donated by Tuvan people for liberation of Ukraine. There was also a greeting message from Mikhail Kalinin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on the occasion of the 23rd Anniversary of the TPR. By order of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in accordance with the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of August 11, 1944, the members of the Soviet delegation presented the herders and employees of the TPR governing bodies with orders and medals of the Soviet Union. The Tuvans were decorated with orders and medals for their aid to Red Army.

The main outcome of the Soviet delegation work was analysis of political and economic situation in Tuva in connection with incorporation into the USSR. One of the main points was the question about 'politico-moral state' of the Tuvan people that was recognized as satisfactory. "The toilers of the TPR support in every possible way the measures of national-revolutionary party and national-revolutionary government of the country aimed at economic and cultural development of Tuva and at strengthening of brotherly friendship with peoples of the Soviet Union¹⁴. At the same time, there was a revival of activity of 'counter-revolutionary elements' among which were the former feudals, lamas, and shamans and former White guards, *kulaks* (wealthy peasants) who had escaped from the USSR in the period of collectivization. According to the information of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the TPR, their total number was 1,194 persons¹⁵.

Let me give some information from analytical materials of the Soviet delegation in order to give a general idea of the situation in Tuva on the eve of its incorporation into the USSR. On 1 January 1944, the population

of Tuva was 95,000 people: of them, 80,000 (85 %) were Tuvans and 14,000 (14.4 %) – Russians. From 1934 to 1944, the population increased by 9,956 (by 12.4 %).

There were 22,039 households in the TPR.

households of independent *arats* (herders) – 13,543 or 62.3 %;
 households of the members of agricultural partnerships – 3,438 or 71.1 %;
 households of workers and employees – 3,115 or 11.7 %;
 households of Soviet citizens – 1,059 or 4.6 %;
 households of collective farmers – 793 or 3.9 %;
 other (households of lamas and shamans) – 91 or 0.4 %.

The main part of the population were nomadic herders¹⁶. In addition, it should be noted that there was an increase of the number of workers in the capital of the republic. In 1941, their number in Kyzyl was 1,531, employees – 800, *arats* and independent farmers – 20 each, artisans – 72.¹⁷

“... We should note that the Tuvan currency is stable thanks to low fixed prices of commodities. The current exchange rate between the currencies of USSR and the TPR is 1 aksha – 1 ruble 31.4 kopeks. This exchange rate makes the welfare standards of Tuvan toilers worse because the nominal exchange rate between the two countries is not equal to the ratio of aggregate price levels between the two countries. The exchange rate should be 1 aksha = 4 rubles”¹⁸.

The analysis of the existing legislation in Tuva carried out by the Soviet delegation made it possible to conclude that it was based on the principles of the USSR Constitution except tax code. Taxes in the USSR were progressive, whereas taxes in Tuva were directly proportional and there were considerable tax remissions for poor herders. Such a principle of taxation did not contribute to the development of economy and it required to be brought in correspondence with tax policy of the USSR.¹⁹

Thus, the Soviet Government needed to invest a considerable amount of money in Tuva to show advantages of ‘socialist path’ of development. M.I. Kalinin, during his talks with Salchak Toka, stressed that “it is necessary to do all we can so that the incorporation of the TPR into the USSR will improve the life of *arats*, but not to make it worse”²⁰.

The adoption of the Declaration “On the Incorporation of the TPR into the USSR” by the 7th Extraordinary Session of Small Khural legitimized this political event. Finally, the delegation of the TPR consisting of S.K. Toka (head of the delegation), S.T. Chimba (member of the delegation, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the TPR) and O.Ch. Lopsanchap

(member of the delegation, herder) went to Moscow and handed the Declaration over to the Presidium of [the USSR] Supreme Soviet.

On the eve of this historic event, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet issued a Decree on decoration of Soviet specialists working in Tuva 'for outstanding service in assisting in economic and cultural development [of Tuva], and in assisting in preparation of national cadres of the TPR²¹. 28 specialists were decorated with Orders of the Red Banner of Labor, Orders of Red Star, Orders of Badge of Honor and with medals "For Labor Valor" and medals "For Labor Distinction". The Order of Lenin was awarded to Yakov Grigoryevich Kalinichev (Advisor to the Central Committee of the TPRP) and to Aleksei Kuzmich Tyurin (Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Envoy of the USSR to the TPR).

On October 11, 1944 the Tuvan People's Republic was incorporated into the USSR as an autonomous oblast of the RSFSR. However, the TPR, previously existing as independent state, could have been taken into the USSR as an autonomous republic of the RSFSR, as was the case with Buryatia and other relatively big national regions. The incorporation of the TPR in the USSR as an autonomous oblast inevitably involved destruction of all state bodies of the TPR, including the Supreme Khural. This was, in Moskalenko's opinion²², one of the principles of the USSR common practice of incorporation of new countries, which enabled the USSR to preserve centralized state and party system subordinated to the interests of Moscow.

Abbreviations

CADPOSO SA RT – Central Archive of the Documents of Party Organizations and Social Organisms, State Archives of the Republic of Tyva

CPSU (B) – Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

MA TISH – Manuscript Archive of Tuvan Institute for the Study of Humanities

TPR – Tuvan People's Republic

TPRP – Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party

RSASPH – Russian State Archives of Social and Political History

SA RT – State Archives of the Republic of Tyva

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20. SA RT. Fond 50, folder 2, dossier 3, sheet 24.
21. CADPOSO SA RT. Fond 2, folder 1, dossier 7, sheet 7.
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TUVANS IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE USSR IN THE 1920S AND 1930S

RAMIL SH. KHARUNOV

It is not easy to study. This statement was true in the past millennia and it is true in our days. At present, it is hard to imagine how young Tuvans, who had no idea of city life-style and who had a bad command over Russian, managed to complete a full course of studies in educational institutions of the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s.

The foundation of the Tuvan People's Republic (TPR) in 1921 and consequent development of its public structures brought about the need in skilled personnel. It is only a large network of educational institutions that could provide Tuva with qualified managers, teachers, doctors, servicemen and jurists. At the beginning, the TPR had no inner reserves to solve this task. The lack of necessary conditions for training local cadres in Tuva led to the fact that the majority of specialists necessary for the republic were trained abroad.

Two groups of Tuvans went to study outside Tuva in 1925: 10 people went to Moscow to be trained in the Communist University of the Workers of the East (CUWE) and 17 people went to Ulaanbaatar to be trained in Party School. Thus, there were two lines of personnel training.

It was natural to send Tuvans for training in Mongolia because Mongolia was much closer to Tuva in cultural and religious respects. A small stratum of literate Tuvans were able to use Mongolian and Tibetan script and very few people could write in Russian. In spite of this fact, only 35 Tuvans were trained in Ulaanbaatar while the major part of specialists were trained in educational institutions of the former Soviet Union.

Focus on the USSR was not coincidental. From the first day of its independence, Tuva was under the patronage of Soviet Russia and these two countries were connected with each other by many commercial,

financial, cultural, and political ties. Therefore, the fact that many young Tuvans were sent to be trained in the USSR was a logical process. Of no small importance for Tuva was the fact that all training costs were met by the USSR.

Tuvans were trained in different cities of the Soviet Union: Moscow, Leningrad, Kazan, Tambov, Voronezh, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Gorno-Altai, Ulan-Ude, Omsk, Chita, and other cities. The main centers of training were the CUWE (Moscow), the Mongolian Workers' Faculty in the town of Verkhneudinsk (now Ulan-Ude), and the Tuvan Specialized Agricultural School in the town of Oiro-Tura (now Gorno-Altai).

The training of Tuvans in educational institutions of the USSR was distinguished with some developments that occurred because of dramatic transformations in inner (spiritual) and outer (material) spheres in the life of the Tuvan society. Spiritual sphere being deeply rooted in centuries-old culture of Tuvan people could not be transformed in such a short historical period. This led to a rupture between material life of the Tuvans and their inner spiritual world.

Tuvan people somehow got accustomed to a new level of material culture. However, it was much more difficult for the Tuvans to get accustomed to transformations that occurred in their spiritual life. It was a challenge for Tuvan people to make a rapid transition from their traditional intuitive world cognition to scientifically rational world cognition, from their traditional values to Russian and through them to West-European values.

INSUFFICIENT EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF TUVAN STUDENTS

The level of preparation of all Tuvan students did not satisfy the requirements of educational institutions of the USSR, which was the most difficult thing in training Tuvan students. The major part of Tuvan students were previously prepared for higher education in the illiteracy liquidation centers or they learned themselves how to read and write (some of them were illiterate). Such an 'ill-assorted' composition of students, impossibility to use Russian in training Tuvan students from the beginning of studies made the training process complicated.

This problem was solved in various ways: Tuvan students were trained in separate Tuvan courses and groups; they were provided with interpreters, or Tuvan-speaking teachers got involved in the training process; special teaching methods were used. The CUWE opened a

preparatory course for minority nationalities (Tuvans, Mongolians and others). The students were trained with special methods and teaching aids, which made it possible to begin teaching in Russian at the fourth year of studies.

A teacher should be careful and at the same time exigent with his students and they will make better progress. A clear introduction of new material, everyday help and encouragement, constant revision of material and frequent oral and written tests were highly important things for each teacher who trained Tuvan students. Gradual and consistent increase of requirements helped Tuvan students to make good progress. It was necessary for the teachers to supervise and guide every student being under teacher's charge but it does not always work. What's more, the available classroom equipment and visual aids were not often properly used in training process for improvement of academic progress.

Lopsanchap, a teacher of the Tuvan Specialized Agricultural School, said at the teachers' meeting in 1938: "The students come to our school from out-of-the-way corners of provinces and much work should be done with them. They are not able to learn all material without teacher's help or to cope with all school activities themselves"¹. Good results were achieved in educational institutions in which much time was spent for individual work with each student.

'OVERGROWN' STUDENTS

The difficulties also arose from the fact that Tuvan students were 'overgrown'. For example, the age of Tuvan students sent to be trained in Specialized Agricultural School ranged from 15 to 30 years. This adversely affected the work of 2nd Degree Boarding-School in the town of Oirot-Tura (Gorno-Altai) in Oirot Oblast. The principal complained that the Tuvans aged over 20 years sent to be trained in the boarding-school disorganized life in the boarding-school because being overage juveniles they needed a different approach to deal with in comparison with younger students and it was much more difficult to re-educate and teach them. In such cases, they tried to group students according to their age.

DIFFERENT CLIMATE AND FOOD INFLUENCE

Many problems emerged because of different climate and food. Tuvans are 'endemics' of their own territory. This can be explained by the fact that geographically Tuva is firmly closed from neighboring regions by mountain ranges and deserts. In addition, there existed a special law of Ch'ing Empire (Tuva was under Ch'ing Empire until 1911) according to which nobody in Tuva was allowed to leave their own nomadic camps without permission of top officials even if they wanted to visit their relatives². The breach of this law could entail punishment up to death penalty. Not surprisingly, Tuvans were born and lived without leaving the boundaries of their native nomadic camps. After the liberation of Tuvans from Chinese rule in 1911 and the foundation of the Tuvan People's Republic in 1921, Tuvans had freedom of movement, but the Tuvan students who came to the USSR had to face the consequences of long isolation from the outer world. During an inspection in the Oirot-Tura Specialized Agricultural School in 1935, the inspector of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture noted: "[They] eat scarcely any vegetables, [they] accept only potatoes and carrots. The quality of food is absolutely insufficient. In addition, they ate exclusively meat, milk, and butter in their homeland (they have never eaten bread before they came to the [Soviet] Union). A sudden change in food (decrease of meat, milk, fats) and a considerably different climate adversely affected the level of health of the majority of students. In such conditions, a slightest pulmonary disease could progress and pass into an active tuberculosis"³.

All educational institutions of the USSR had to face similar difficulties while training Tuvans. In October 1935, the scientific conference held by sanitary sector of the CUWE presented the results of medical observation over the group of Mongolian and Tuvan students. The observation of Mongolian and Tuvan students made by Central Tuberculosis Institute showed that the number of tuberculosis cases among these students was very high. The primary medical check-up of the students of this group showed that 45-50 % of students were infected with tuberculosis according to Mantoux test and up to 80-90 % according to Pirquet test⁴. 4 out of 128 observed Tuvan students died of tuberculosis. In addition to tuberculosis, Tuvan students had many other diseases. For instance, the medical check-up of students of Mongolian Workers' Faculty showed that there were only 8 healthy Tuvans out of 36. Medical commission found out the following diseases: gastric catarrh, heart disease, rheumatism, syphilis,

tuberculosis, bronchitis, neurosis, etc.⁵ Incidence of high disease among students was explained not only by difference of climate and food but also by social background of students: the majority of them came from the 'masses of poor peasants and herders'.

Medical and prophylactic measures (preliminary medical selection of students in Tuva and vaccination) helped reduce disease incidence among Tuvan students considerably. In addition, increase of meat, mineral salts and vitamin supplements in students' food as well as established everyday norm of milk equaling no less than half a liter contributed much for the improvement of the situation⁶.

INSUFFICIENT LEARNING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

In spite of all the efforts made the USSR Commissariat of People's Education to provide appropriate living conditions for international students, it was not possible to do it at once due to difficulties in economic development of the USSR. In the period of establishment of educational institutions, especially in the 1920s, learning and living conditions were insufficient: poor meals and accommodation facilities, insufficient material supply. All this caused indignation and aggression of students. For example, in 1933, the Tuvan students of Oirot Pedagogical Vocational School complained about their poor living conditions saying that "if the authorities fail to provide them with better meals and uniform, they will not stop their disorderly conduct and stealing"⁷. The only one way out of such situations was to increase funding of the institutions. For example, after the unrest in Oirot Soviet Party School in January 1935, "it was resolved to ask the regional authorities to increase funding of the Tuvan group"⁸.

TRANSITION TO SCIENTIFICALLY RATIONAL WORLD COGNITION

The most difficult thing for Tuvans was to make the transition from traditional intuitive world cognition to scientifically rational world cognition, the transition to Russian and West-European cultural values. The familiarization of Tuvans trained in the Soviet educational institutions to modern scientific knowledge was very rapid and it was difficult for them to get accustomed to intellectual work. That is what Stepan Sarygool, well-known Tuvan author, wrote about that time: "... it was not easy for me to be a student. I was used to carrying heavy things, ploughing,

sowing, pasturing cattle, cleaning up, and cooking food. But all of those things were completely different from what I had to do as a student. Learning how to write seemed to be the most difficult thing in the world for me. I sighed, my face and back was dripping sweat, my fingers grew dumb under strain, bent my head this way and that – no other work made me be so tired”⁹. Here’s a prominent example from a lesson of political economy in specialized agricultural school. The example shows a practical way of thinking of a Tuvan student. When asked what number is one fourth of hundred “the student was puzzled, but when the same question was asked in a practical way: what is one fourth of hundred *rubles*? – the student immediately answered: 25 *rubles*”¹⁰.

Shaizada Babich, a Bashkir enlightener, expressed well the state of a person being trained in a high school or even in a university without going through previous schooling stages: “Thousands of thoughts. My head is spinning. I don’t know what to do”¹¹. A large number of Tuvan students were expelled from the educational institutions. At the beginning, more than a half of Tuvans sent to the USSR for training came back home without completing the full course of studies. Of the first 10 students of the CUWE, only 2 completed the full course in 1919. In 1936, 11 out of 44 Tuvan students (the first group of Tuvans who entered Mongolian Workers’ Faculty) graduated from this Faculty. According to recollections of A. Kh. Aldyn-Kherel who were trained in the Leningrad Teachers’ Training Institute named in honor of Gertsen, only 15 out of more than 40 Tuvan students graduated from the institute. Only the most gifted, ambitious, and persistent people managed to finish their education.

DIFFERENT CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

One more difficult thing the Tuvan students had to face was a different cultural environment and unusual city life-style among foreign people. Tuvans were considered representatives of a ‘culturally backward nation’. In spite of internationalist slogans, it was impossible to avoid domestic nationalism. Here’s what students of the CUWE told about this. Student Lakhvazhap said: “The USSR, and the CUWE in particular, treat Tuvans and Mongolians badly, think little of us, don’t respect us, ..., why do they not respect us but respect other foreigners in the USSR? If this goes on this way, it will come to a bad result”¹². Student Udara said: “In the USSR, they offend Mongolians and Tuvans all the time, call them “chinks” and always look askance at them”¹³. Of course, to bridge this cultural gap in a

short time was impossible. When Tuvans came to the USSR, they brought with them their own worldview and their own long-accustomed order of life. Those Tuvans who were not able to study well or to overcome their home-sickness responded to all the requirements with animosity and aggression.

DIFFICULT POLITICAL SITUATION

All the above problems were aggravated with a difficult political situation. Students could be easily expelled from any educational institution because of their doubtful social origin or a wrong class approach. Tuvan students trained in the USSR had different opinions about political situation in Tuva. For example, in 1935, the students of Oirot Soviet Party School made some 'counter-revolutionary' statements in the course of discussion on the resolutions of the 3rd Plenary Session of the Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party about the party split. Student Suruma said: "Trotsky, however, was right saying that it is impossible to build socialism in a peasant country; all the more, it can be applied to Tuva. We do not know yet whether or not Tuva will choose socialist way of development", and the student Lagpa said: We think that there will have to be an overturn in Tuva in 1937, breaking with the USSR and passage to patronage of Japan"¹⁴. In this connection the Specialized Agricultural School provided students with the following lectures: 1) Colonial policy of Japanese militarism; 2) Trotsky as a vanguard of counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie; 3) Zinoviev anti-Soviet group and its bastards; 4) Leninist theory of non-capitalist way of development.

The political situation in Tuva changed dramatically in 1938, when a part of Tuva leadership headed by Sat Churmit-Dazhi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the TPR, were shot. His son, Lagbuzhap Churmit-Dazi who was student of Specialized Agricultural School, and some other students, 'members of counter-revolutionary group' (Tangyt-ool, Chimsi, Sokka), were shortly afterwards expelled from the school. He was imprisoned upon his return to Tuva and died in prison¹⁵. The tense political situation as a result of oppressions adversely affected Tuvan students trained in the USSR.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the training of Tuvan students in educational institutions of the USSR was characterized by the following developments:

- The educational level of Tuvan students did not correspond to the requirements of the institutions they were sent to;
- Tuvan students were 'overgrown' for training;
- Different climate and food;
- Insufficient learning and living conditions, especially in the period of formation of educational institutions;
- Problem connected with transition from traditional intuitive world cognition to scientifically rational world cognition, familiarization of Tuvans with Russian cultural values and via Russian values to West-European values;
- Different cultural environment for Tuvan students, unusual city life-style among foreign people;
- Difficult political situation in the USSR and in the TPR connected with the fight within the Party and political oppressions.

In spite of considerable difficulties in the 1920s and 1930s, the TPR with the help of the Soviet Union managed to create their own national cadres and to make the first and important steps towards social and cultural progress.

The Tuvans sent to be trained in the USSR did not all manage to finish their studies. Nevertheless, thanks to the appearance of a stratum of educated people in Tuva, intelligentsia was mentioned for the first time in the ranks of 'toilers' along with herders and workers in the article 1 of the 1941 Constitution of the TPR¹⁶.

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THE PECULIARITIES OF THE MODERNIZATION OF THE TUVAN SOCIETY

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This article considers the peculiarities of two stages of modernization in Tuvan society since the end of the nineteenth century till the 1980s. The main historical events related to modernization under question are described. The results and significance of each stage are determined. The author also makes an attempt to determine peculiarities of the present-day stage of modernization in Tuva.

Having completed the first decade of the twenty-first century, Russian society is faced once again with the necessity of modernization in all the spheres of its life. One should keep in mind that modernization processes in Russian empire and later in the former Soviet Union were characterized by irregularity resulting from general differences in the development between central territories and ethnic periphery. Nowadays again, the modernization of Russia depends on historical, socio-economic, and cultural conditions of the development of certain regions.

The most difficult circumstances present under conditions of a free economy are the requirements of modernization and development for the economically weak and subsidized entities, among which is the Republic of Tuva. In this regard, there is an urgent need for research of historical experiences of previous stages of modernization in order to better understand their influence on further social development. The term "modernization" defined by T. Parsons as totality of economic, political and psychological transformations and changes, is used here.¹

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the history of Tuva has become connected with the global process of modernization of traditional societies. In our opinion, one can delineate two stages of modernization already passed by Tuvan society: 1) end of the nineteenth century to middle

of the twentieth century and 2) middle of the twentieth century to the late 1980s. Let us consider these two stages one after another.

Being under the rule of Ch'ing Emperor from 1757, Urianghai Territory (Tuva) was actually an open border area between two empires: China and Russia. It is under the influence of these two powers that a gradual decay of traditional social system of Tuvans began. Russia played a special role in modernization processes in Tuva. Considerable concessions made by the Chinese authorities as a result of conclusion of Russo-Chinese Trade Treaty (1860) and Rules of Land Trade with China (1862) contributed to the beginnings of Russian trade in Tuva. This made it possible for adventurous Russian settlers to commence economic exploration of this land. The establishment of relations between population of Tuva and newly arrived Russian merchants as well as the necessity to settle commercial disputes led to the foundation of Usinsk Border District upon the authorization of Alexander III on December 30, 1885.

The relations between Tuvans and inhabitants of neighboring Minusinsk Territory gradually became closer as they were based, above all, on mutual economic interests. Since the 1860s, there began an active settlement of Russian population in Tuva. There were two possible ways for Russians to penetrate and settle in Tuva: from Altai and through Usinsk District. The latter way was studied more in detail by F.Ya. Kon, G.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, R.M. Kabo and V.I. Dulov. The Russian settlers founded 16 trade enterprises on the sides of Piy-Khem, Ulug-Khem, Khemchik rivers². In their turn, Tuvans moved more frequently outside Sayan Mountains to hunt, trade and look for a job.

By the beginning of 1917, Tuva had about 40 Russian big settlements and 90 small settlements. A total of 1,200 Russian families were settled in Tuva in pre-revolution period³. Both in Tuva and in other parts of Siberia, a considerable place among Russian settlers, along with manufacturers and merchants, was occupied by peasants. A peasant plow was one of the most important "factors" of colonization. 50 % of the Russians who settled in Tuva were poor peasants looking for a better life and land⁴.

Trade relations and beginning of industrial exploration of Tuva resulted in expansion of external contacts of Tuvans and establishment of economic links with Russian settlers. Foundation of settlements by Russians brought elements of settled lifestyle in Tuva: living and utility structures, haymaking, tillage. There appeared new types of production: milling, woodcutting, gold-mining and salt-making.

Side by side with Buddhist *khuree* (temples), where *khuuraks* (novices)

received education and practiced Tibetan medicine, the Russian settlers built schools and hospitals. The shoots of cultural influence were put out through their activities.

Penetration of Russian trade capital in Tuva became a contradictory process from the point of view of its influence upon the traditional economy of Tuva. On the one hand, this contributed to the development of commodity production, which, in its turn, led to the emergence of capitalist relationships in patriarchal and clan society. The development of economic relations between Tuva and Russia helped to overcome the economic isolation of Tuva. Undoubtedly, it was a positive thing.

But, as an economic occurrence, this process had an opposite side – a social one. The trade was often of usurious character. Unfair charge and doubling of late payments led to the impoverishment of the majority of the local population. “Give to a Soyot [Tuvan] something for a ten-kopeck coin, and sell him something for fifty kopecks – he will say nothing!”, so the merchants said⁵. For example, in 1915 the *arats* (nomadic herders) of Todzha *khoshun* (administrative unit in pre-revolutionary Tuva) only 500 households owed the merchants 5 million squirrel skins⁶. Taking into consideration that the population of Tuva had a burden of local taxation, the economic situation of poor Tuvans became worse.

Thus, the beginning of the first stage of modernization processes in the Tuvan society was connected, above all, with an active development of Russian-Tuvan relations. The 1911 revolution in China, resulting in the collapse of Chinese Empire, led to the further strengthening of Russian interests toward Tuva and ended by the declaration of the Russian protectorate over Tuva in 1914.

Typical of that period was the natural rate of the development of modernization processes readily apparent from objective necessities of the society. There was a gradual interaction of two cultures: nomadic culture of Tuvans and sedentary culture of colonists. Ch.K. Lamazhaa rightly points out that accepted opinion about industrialization as a starting point for modernization is mistaken. Traditional social structures can undergo a considerable transformation in the process of influence of trading capital upon them and can be reinforced by economic contacts of the population⁷.

What should be noted at this stage is the historical importance of protectorate of Russia over Tuva. The historians believe that the Russian patronage made it possible to consolidate Tuvans in the boundaries of the main ethnic territory. In the future this development would be one of the

factors of the creation of the Tuvan People's Republic (TPR). The existence of the TPR from 1921 till 1944 became the next phase of the first stage of modernization of the Tuvan society. It was the time that "was marked by changes in management, in economic life, in people's minds, in cultural consciousness and was reflected in political life"⁸.

The formation of state structures of the TPR was supported by administrative bodies of the Russian Self-Administering Workers' Colony (RSWC), with more than 12,000 people settled in Tuva in 1922⁹. The citizens of the RSWC were at the same time the citizens of the RSFSR. As a result, in Tuva, as in Russia, the dictatorship of the working people was proclaimed. With the help of the councils of the RSWC, there began home construction activity and cultural educational and medical institutions were built.

The contribution of the Siberian Bureau of Central Committee of Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in the formation of the main element of political system of the TPR such as Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party (TPRP), Tuvan Revolutionary Union of Youth (TRUY), trade-unions, women councils, pioneer organization was considerable. With the help of the RSWC bodies and in accordance with the agreement of June 27, 1923, a special military unit was set up on the basis of partisan detachment commanded by S.K. Kochetov till 1925. The Tuvan People's Revolutionary Army was founded with the support of the Executive Committee of the RSWC. Advisors were sent to the Tuvan Army and it was provided with arms and equipment¹⁰.

It is the trade and economic links between the RSWC and Tuva that contributed to close co-operation of the former USSR and Tuva. The external economic doctrine and economy of the young Tuvan state was shaped under the influence of Soviet Russia. Following the example of the USSR, Tuva used non-tariff tools as effective means of protectionist policy in order to defend its national interests. These protectionist measures resulted in a gradual exclusion of foreign and private capital. Thus, the 1926 Constitution of Tuva, as in the USSR, introduced monopoly on foreign trade as "a tool of economic securing of the existing political system in the Republic"¹¹. In the late 1920s, as a result of this policy, the foreign companies, excepting the Soviet ones, were forced to finish their activity in Tuva.

Former USSR provided considerable help in training skilled personnel. A Plenipotentiary for the Mongolian and Tuvan cadres was appointed to the People's Commissariat of Education. A special role in training

professional personnel for Tuva was played by the Joseph Stalin Communist University of the Workers of the East (CUWE) opened in 1921 in accordance with the resolution of All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities. Prominent Tuvan politicians such as S.K. Toka (the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the TPRP), S.T. Chymba (Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the TPR), Kh. Basyr-Sat (Secretary of the Executive Committee of the TPRP for Propaganda), O. Tadar-ool (Minister of Animal Husbandry and Agriculture of the TPR), N.CH. Tovarishchtai (Minister of Internal Affairs of the TPR), M. Maady (Secretary of the Executive Committee of the TRUY) graduated from the CUWE¹².

Not excluding Moscow, Tuvan students were trained in educational institutions of Leningrad, Kazan, Tambov, Voronezh, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Gorno-Altaysk, Ulan-Ude, Omsk, Chita, Abakan and other cities. It should be concluded that the Tuvan political elite was educated in educational institutions of the USSR. Afterwards, these people championed the ideas of socialist way of development and closer relations with the USSR.

Beginning from 1928, the representatives of research institutions of the USSR came to Tuva on several occasions in order to render practical assistance in the development of research work: Expedition of People's Commissariat for Public Health of the RSFSR (1928-1934), Scientific-Research Association for the Study of National and Colonial Problems (1930-1932), Agricultural Academy named in honor of Lenin (1934-1936). Their help made it possible to create an agricultural experimental station, a network of meteorological stations and medical posts.

Political influence of the USSR on the social processes in Tuva determined the imitation of the reforms. The mixed economy of Tuva in the late 1920s was considered to be an obstacle in the way of the construction of socialism. That was the reason why the 1929 eighth Congress of the TPRP proclaimed a course for collectivization and, consequently, nomadic lifestyle became its main obstacle. The first steps were made in order to transfer *arats* to a settled way of life. It is after the incorporation of Tuva into the USSR that the collectivization assumed a mass character. However, the main type of productive activity organization before 1944 remained private individual *arat* enterprises which amounted to 13,412. There were also such types as agricultural partnerships (118), individual farms of the Soviet citizens (155), *kolkhoz* (collective farms) (21) and *sovkhos* (state farms) (7)¹³.

Unfortunately, the relations between the TPR and the USSR in the

formation of Tuva's state system did not avoid tragic events connected with political repressions which concerned mainly the leading statesmen and reflected the struggle of a "new pro-Soviet" political elite against "old statesmen"¹⁴. Mongush Buyan-Badyrgy (hereditary *noyon* of *Daakozhuun*, a prominent statesman and one of the founders of the Tuvan state) was arrested on suspicion of counter-revolutionary activity in 1921 and shot in spring 1932. In October 1938, Churmit-Dazhy Sat (Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the TPR), Khemchik-ool Tyulyush (Chairman of Small *Khural* of the TPR), Danchai Oyun (Chairman of the Directorate of Tuvan Bank), Pirinlei Kara-Sal (State Prosecutor), Sungar-ool Kuular (Plenipotentiary Representative of the TPR in Mongolian People's Republic), Sengiizhik Oyun (Deputy State Prosecutor) were shot¹⁵.

The scale of repressions in relation to other groups of intellectuals such as teachers, doctors, writers, culture and art workers was smaller. The foundations for advance in the development of traditional Tuvan culture were thereby preserved.

In my opinion, the interesting point from the socio-cultural point of view seems to be the development of Tuvan society beginning from the end of the nineteenth century till the 1930s. Ch.K. Lamazhaa believes that, in spite of considerable political changes in Tuva, transformational processes in Tuva of this period are generally characterized by their logical development based on traditional culture and its own identity¹⁶.

In fact, the main type of economic activity of Tuvans up to the middle of the twentieth century was nomadic pastoralism with preservation of complex of moral values and traditional culture. The further transformation of the Tuvan society would assume a qualitatively different character, being characterized by a loss of contact with traditional culture.

The analysis of relationships between the TPR and the USSR enabled S.V. Shostakovich as early as in 1929 to make the following conclusion: "... since the republic [Tuva] not only harmonizes its economy with economy of the Soviet Union but also in all of its political and economic undertakings relies upon the support of the USSR, it is obvious that, coming nearer by its status to a state-client in the process of its non-capitalist way of development, it will be inevitably involved in the Great Federation of Soviets – the USSR"¹⁷. Today, we realize how right the scholar's conclusion was.

Thus, the first stage of modernization of the Tuvan society is characterized by a certain trajectory of development oriented to Tsarist and then to Soviet Russia. Having arisen naturally from objective necessities

of the society, the modernization processes gradually became a purposeful policy of the Tuvan People's Republic with an active political, economic and cultural support of the former USSR. The main result of this stage was the birth of Tuvan statehood accompanied by development of political system and a new infrastructure, a gradual spreading of a settled way of life along with preservation of nomadic lifestyle, foundation and development of Kyzyl city that became the capital of Tuva.

One of the key factors that influenced the quality of modernization processes was human factor. The Tuvan society itself was initiator of system changes, i.e. it was the source of transforming energy. "... In the period of Tuvan modernization ... the representatives of all of existing layers of the society were involved; traditional religion was involved for modernization as well. This made the transformation not so rapid, but this made it possible to preserve the fundamentals of the existing society and the most important – the identity of the traditional society"¹⁸.

Along with the representatives of traditional elite of noble origin and clergymen educated in monasteries, there appeared skilled cadres: teachers, doctors, scientists, engineers, servicemen, actors, etc. R. Sh. Kharunov, who considered the history of the formation of Tuvan intelligentsia in his monograph, notes that "tireless inner energy of the Tuvan society of the 1920s-30s and the enthusiasm of 'the epoch of changes' contributed to a rapid development of many phenomena unusual for Tuva, among which is the formation of intelligentsia. The thirst for education was so great that people called this time "great thirst to grasp the unknown things through education"¹⁹.

The quality of the changes occurring in society was determined by the 'quality' of people who learned new things, strived for new things, thought in a new way and created new things. They were active participants of transformations and gradually changed their own world.

The second stage of modernization in Tuva is connected to the Soviet period beginning from 1944 when the Tuvan People's Republic joined the USSR as an Autonomous Oblast. Consequently, the administrative bodies of the TPR, the party and social organizations were being re-organized in local administrative bodies. The Bureau of Tuvan Regional Committee of All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was founded on October 18, 1944. Ministries and directorates of the TPR were re-arranged into departments and directorates of the local Executive Committee of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast. The questions of foreign policy, defense, trade, credit and financial systems were handed over to administration of the

Government of the USSR. The diplomatic legation of the TPR in the USSR was transformed into permanent legation of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast to the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR. On November 1, 1944, the first session of Tuvan Regional Executive Committee set up the Council of the Workers' Deputies of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast. Before the elections to new administrative bodies, the powers of deputies of local councils were exercised by the former members of the Small and Great *Khurals* of the TPR²⁰.

In addition to re-organization of administrative bodies, the question of the fate of the members of the Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party, was important. In the conditions of one-party political system, the members of the TPRP were obliged to join the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Of 7,518 people, 3,574 were not allowed to join the party. The main reasons of the refusal were political passiveness, repression of relatives, possession of big private property²¹. Yu. L. Aranchin noted that the refusal for admission for almost half of the members of the TPRP can be scarcely considered quite reasonable²². But such things as possession of private property acceptable in the political conditions of the TPR appeared to be impossible in the USSR. That is why, there happened a kind of purge of Tuvan elite whose social origin did not correspond to the ideological requirements of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

The principles of the re-organization of the TPRP was an example for re-organization of other social structures such as the Tuvan Revolutionary Union of Youth, trade-unions and others. The reasons of refusal were not only lack of discipline and bad work but were also connected with 'alien elements', 'socially alien origin' and the like.

The priority in re-organization of the administrative bodies, party and social organizations emphasizes the key role of ideology in the political system of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast as a part of the USSR. The activity of political structures had to provide ideological basis for further socio-economic reforms connected to the idea of the construction of socialism through socialization of the means of production. Before its incorporation into the USSR, Tuva was a pastoralist republic and its economy was based on private individual *arat* enterprises. In the conditions of the Soviet system, the target set up for Tuva was reorganization of economy involving passage to sedentary way of life and liquidation of private property. Cardinal re-organization of private ownership into collective ownership was to be done. The necessary theoretical preparation of Tuva population for this re-organization was carried out in the newspapers, in party night schools,

in primary party organizations, in reading-yurts, and in study groups.

From the first years of its existence, the budget of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast was subsidized, due to the TPR's extremely poor economic development index. However, despite the fact that Tuva's economy was based on nomadic herding, the republic provided itself with bread. In my opinion, subsidizing the budget of Tuva was not only the result of the internal economic demands of Tuvan society, but also the consequences of political goals and objectives set for Tuva to achieve and, consequently, the necessity of a forced conversion of population to sedentary way of life and organization of collective farms or, by the highest standards, ultimate change of traditional Tuvan way of life.

Analysis of academic literature, archival and other sources enables one to conclude that Soviet modernization in Tuva was carried out as a result of the implementation of a purposeful socio-economic policy. By the middle of the twentieth century, the Soviet Union had experienced an acceleration of economic and cultural development within the ethnic republics. For example, all arrangements for the Soviet construction of Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic and Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic were made in 1935, and for Kyrgyz and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics in 1937²³. The implementation of social and economic transformations was based on principles of regularity and integrity. One can delineate two directions that changed drastically the life of the Tuvan society in the second half of the twentieth century. The first direction is the development of social and economic infrastructure (construction of industrial, cultural and consumer services objects). The second direction is training skilled personnel.

The first direction contributed to amelioration of life. In historical literature, the period of social and economic development of Tuva from 1944 to 1953 is considered to be the time of 'completion of socialist transformations'²⁴. It is connected with the fact that by 1953, the process of conversion of Tuvans to sedentary way of life had been virtually finished.

A high-speed development of Tuva was secured by considerable investment. In 1945, the investment amounted to 1.7 million rubles, in 1950 – 14 million rubles, and in 1970 – 73 million rubles²⁵. The increase of budget expenses for social and cultural purposes in the period 1945-1970 made it possible to create a wide network of secondary and specialized schools, institutions of higher learning and academic institutions²⁶. It should be noted that the total volume of investment in public housing and construction of cultural and consumer services objects was higher in Tuva

in comparison with those in the RSFSR²⁷.

An active development of urban infrastructure led to the growth of urban population and spread of urban life style. In 1945, the urban population amounted to 6.4 thousand people, in 1981 – 117.3 thousand people. Apart from Kyzyl, the capital of Tuva, the status of a city was assigned to Turan, Chadan and Shagonar in 1945, and to Ak-Dovurak in 1964.

Despite the high speed of Tuva's social and economic development, the shortage of professionals, along with other objective factors, in the beginning, resulted in insufficient use of the assigned government funds. For example, out of 5 million rubles, assigned in accordance with the 1945 government construction program, only 1 million 570 thousand rubles were used in ten months²⁸. In the sphere of education, out of 4 million rubles, assigned for construction purposes, only one million rubles was used²⁹.

The second direction of state socio-economic policy—personnel training—was aimed at making new infrastructure work. A considerable contribution in social, economic and cultural development of Tuva was made by specialists from other parts of the USSR. 1945 alone saw the arrival of 89 specialists: 21 livestock experts (4 with higher education), 12 veterinarians (2 with higher education), 22 teachers with higher education, 34 doctors³⁰.

The priority question to be solved was implementation of the law on general compulsory elementary education of children. To this end, from September 1, 1945, obligatory learning of the Russian language, beginning from the second grade children, was introduced in all Tuvan schools. Elementary education was introduced in the 1949/1950 school year, the 7-year education – in the 1951/1952 school year. The implementation of the above projects required, above all, training of qualified teachers. By 1971, there were 3,233 teachers. Of them, 945 worked in towns (61.6 % with higher education) and 2,288 – in villages (39.6 % with higher education).

The development of mineral resource and processing industries in Tuva created conditions for formation of skilled industrial workforce. In 1946, industrial and office workers represented only 24.1 % in social structure of Tuva, whereas in 1970 – 85.6 %.

The problem of medical manpower shortage was being solved in the framework of All-Union program in two ways: involvement of specialists from other regions and training of local personnel. From 1945 to 1950,

179 doctors were sent to Tuva by order of the RSFSR Ministry of Public Health, and from 1951 to 1995 – 193 more doctors came to Tuva³¹. There was a considerable quantitative and qualitative change in the medical personnel structure. In 1963, paramedical personnel included 1,074 people and there were 375 physicians.

Elimination of the most dangerous contagious diseases and a drastic reduction of general disease incidence led to population growth. In 1945, Tuvans amounted to 81,000 people³². According to the 1959 census, the number of native population of Tuva reached 1,18,000 people³³. The total population of Tuva amounted to 1,71,900 people. 54,073 (54.1 %) of them were children, adolescents and young people before the age of 20. Nevertheless, the life expectancy in Tuva remained low and was 58 years. The same figures in the USSR, Western Siberia and Eastern Siberia were higher: 69, 67 and 66 years respectively.

The number of employed Tuvans reached 41,400 people (42.2 % of the total native population). Of them, 7,400 people were workers, 3,000 – employees, 30,900 people – collective farmers. The overwhelming number of Tuvans (32,300 people or 78 %) were involved in agriculture. Small number of Tuvans worked in industry (1,400 people), in transport and communication service enterprises (250 people). In 1959, Tuvans amounted to 31.7 % of all people employed in the institutions of education, science and art. A relatively small number of Tuvans worked in healthcare sector (520 people or 1.2 of a total of the employed Tuvans).

The existing employment structure had a historical background. Throughout their entire history, Tuvans were nomadic pastoralists and hunters. Even in the mid-twentieth century, the traditional population settlement pattern was preserved in Tuva: 4/5 of Tuvans lived in rural areas, and 60 % of pastoralists had a traditional dwelling – a yurt.

Another important reason was the fact that the skilled manpower involved in industry, construction, transport and communication sectors activities was sent to Tuva from other parts of the USSR. In migration exchange with other parts of the country within the period from 1959 to 1970, Tuva had a higher rate due to the number of people who came to work in 'Tuvakobalt' and 'Tuvaasbest' enterprises. It was not until the 1970s that there occurred a considerable decrease of migration flow.

The modernization processes of the mid-twentieth century, carried out in line with the Soviet socio-economic policy, led to fundamental change in the life of the Tuvan society. The traditional economy gradually transformed into diversified economy. The development of infrastructure,

which included industrial enterprises and cultural, scientific, healthcare, educational and consumer services institutions, led to the transformation in population employment structure, which, in its turn, changed the social structure and the sphere of social relationships.

It should be noted that the social status of woman has changed. Tuvan women became rightful participants in social and political life. This changed the previous way of understanding the role of women in social system. The organization of pre-school education institutions played a great role in this question. By 1959, number of employed Tuvan women reached 35.6 % of the total number of Tuvan women. But “at the same time, the processes connected to ‘liberation’ of women led to a number of destructive consequences for family stability: re-orientation to professional activity done with sacrifice to the woman’s roles of wife and mother, public education of children instead of family up-bringing, change in inter-generational links”.

The second stage of modernization was thereby to some extent a logical continuation of the previous one because it consisted in the development of the previously existed elements of social and political system: agriculture, industry, public health services, education, culture, party and social organizations, etc. But this involved a certain breakdown in the spiritual development since there also happened fundamental changes such as the liquidation of private property, the atheist making of social consciousness, the introduction of Soviet education, criticism and oblivion of traditional forms of economy and culture.

The practice of unification of ethnic cultures prevailed in the state policy of the USSR. Ignoring the value of traditional culture led to simplification and lowering of the spiritual experience, evisceration of moral principles and social norms of life. On the whole, cultural traditions began to be interrupted. Cultural and historical succession of generation was being broken. New generations alienated to some extent from their historical past and cultural roots were being brought up.

It is the material sphere of the social life that underwent the most rapid change. The spiritual sphere, being the basic element of centuries-old culture, could not be transformed completely in such a short historical time. It is along this way that there happened a rupture between external manifestation of Tuvans and their internal world.

Reflecting upon the Soviet stage of Tuva’s modernization, Ch. K. Lamazhaa writes: “A true dilemma consists in the necessity to take into consideration cultural specifics of an ethnic group and at the same time to

satisfy the demand for a rapid development going from the external challenge. How can we deal with this? How can we combine the tasks of modernization, i.e. transition to new things with preservation of traditional, old things that have to be changed per se?"³⁴.

Yet, the experience of Soviet-type modernization with all advantages and drawbacks is very important for Tuva and it calls for further investigation. Taking into account the present-day necessity of society in modernization, we should better understand the goals of modernization and identify the 'driving forces' which are to lead the system renovation.

In my opinion, the historical experience of the previous stages of modernization points to the fact that one of the conditions to overcome in the existing system crisis in Tuva is the 'human factor'. With relatively good living standards, incomparable, for example, to those in the post-war period, a certain part of the population invariably tends to join the ranks of derelicts, alcoholics and criminals.

One should keep in mind that 'human capital' is the main wealth of society. Therefore, when modernizing economy and developing new technologies, we cannot underestimate the modernization of basic social institutions such as family, system of general education, science, and culture. The main target of the contemporary stage of modernization should be *man* and his socialization which means that necessary conditions should be created for adequate personal socialization. It is obvious that social institutions, having passed through the 1990s crisis, have insufficient inner potential for an appropriate social reproduction. It is highly important to revive and develop the basic values that determine spiritual sustainability of a society.

It is difficult to say what ratio of the role of society to that of the state should be at the contemporary stage of modernization. How much time do we have to overcome the present-day economic and spiritual crisis in our society? These and many other questions concerning the issues of modernization are to be answered by scholars, politicians, economists, public figures and all those who are really concerned for the future.

Abbreviations

CSA RT – Central State Archives of the Republic of Tyva.

CADPSO CSA RT – Center of Archive Documents of Party and Social Organizations of Central State Archives of the Republic of Tyva.

RSASPH – Russian State Archives of Social and Political History.

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PROBLEMS OF TODJA DISTRICT OF TUVA

MARINA V. MONGUSH

ABSTRACT

The author investigates features of the way of life of the reindeer breeders, their status, social and economic situation, crisis in reindeer breeding, creation of tribal communities, poaching problems and Chinese expansion.

Keywords: *the Tuvans, national minority, nomads of Central Asia, reindeer breeders, poaching, hunting, small ethnic groups of Siberia, the Chinese expansion.*

INTRODUCTION

The investigation of Central Asia and Siberia is one of the priority areas of the Japanese National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku). As a specialist on these regions, I was given the opportunity in 2009-2010 to be a visiting professor at the Museum. I worked in collaboration with Professor Yuki Konagaya, who is one of the leading experts on the nomadic peoples of Asia. We were working on the project "Tuvans of Russia, Mongolia, and China: a comparative study." One result of our cooperation was the monograph *One People: Three Fates* (in Russian) about Tuvans living in these three countries¹.

As the next stage of our cooperation, we arranged for an international research expedition to Russia, Mongolia, and China to see with our own eyes how Tuvans live there and make an ethnographic film about them. Minpaku was the initiator, organizer, and sponsor of this unique international project. The expedition took place during July and August of 2012.

In this paper, we introduce material that was gathered about the reindeer breeders in Todja district of Tuva. Our studies are based on the results of our fieldwork and the research of Russian (Sat 1987; Its 1991;

Rassadin 2000; Mongush 2010b) and American (Donahoe 2001; 2008; Wheeler 2000; 2001) scholars.²

THE TODJA REINDEER BREEDERS

Todja is a unique area where the geographical and climatic conditions are most adapted for practicing reindeer breeding. This is also the biggest of the 17 *kozhuuns* of the Tuva Republic. Its territory is 44,800 sq. km, that is 26.2 % of the total area of the republic. The population density is 1 person per 10 sq. km. Additionally the Todja people are one of the most interesting and actively studied ethnographic groups of the Tuvan population.

It was the most extreme part of the trip for us. We traveled 200 km. on horseback to reach the reindeer-raising pasture grounds. Our guides were local – a reindeer breeder, Sergey Kyrganay, and his two sons, Andrey and Danil. Implementation of our trip would have been impossible without their help and knowledge.

We visited their summer pasture grounds which are situated high in the mountains in a place called Aaldyg Azhyk. We were impressed by literally everything: the majestic and boundless taiga, picturesque landscapes, emerald meadows, the simple life of the reindeer breeders, their stoical character and ability to overcome any difficulties that they have to face in their everyday live.

An old man named Kyrganay explained to us why his household consisted only of men: “A few years ago I became a widower. After the death of my wife, my two daughters died also, so only the three of us remained. All the female duties were heaped onto our shoulders.” There are fifty head of reindeer in their herd; two dogs help to herd them. Deer were grazed along a valley of the Oyna River, one of the tributary streams of the Ak Hem River, which flows into the Yenisei. Kyrganay’s family has no horses, the role of transport animals belongs to the reindeer. They use saddles like those used for horses. There were also no cows. Instead of cow’s milk, reindeer breeders consume deer milk which differs in its high fat content. When milked the female deer yields no more than 500 ml of milk at a time. To prove this one of Kyrganay’s sons showed us this process. We brewed tea using this milk and tasted it. There is difference between cow’s milk tea and that made with the milk of cervines, the latter being thicker and more nutritious.

When Kyrganay's spouse was still alive, she made oil and cheese from the milk. The oil was generally consumed by the family, and the surplus cheese was sold. It brought in a small income to the family treasury.

According to the elder Kyrganay, in the Soviet period the Todja people had over 12,000 head of reindeer. They had collective farms and farms where these animals were raised. The republican government supported channelized farms in every possible way, paid a monthly salary to reindeer breeders, organized points of sale for the products of reindeer breeding (hides, meat, cheese, oils), and the local population were provided with vehicles for transportation of products, etc. Today reindeer breeders do not get paid salaries, nor are they provided with transport or medical care. There is only one thing that the government provides, which is a small subsidy for reindeer breeding development which started in 2001. In the beginning it was 350 rubles for one deer, but it was raised to 500 rubles in 2004. Today Kyrganay receives 2,000 rubles per deer annually. This money hardly suffices for a living wage. In order to survive, people also have to be involved in hunting, fishing, and gathering.

While staying with Kyrganay's family, we were filming their everyday life and conducting interviews with each family member. Though we spent a short time among them, it was enough to get an idea of the modern life of reindeer breeders and the problems which they face, about their special status, and many other things.

Status of the Todja people

In 1993 there was an official "separation" of the inhabitants of Todja from the other part of the Tuvan population and they received the status of a small indigenous people within the Russian Federation. This was prompted by the following circumstances. According to many Russian and foreign researchers, the Todja people from historical, cultural, and ethnic points of view are closer to other ethnic groups occupying the East Sayan Mountains, than to the Tuvans living in central, western and the southern steppe zones of Tuva, though in household consciousness they are perceived as a part of the Tuva ethnos.

The existence of favorable conditions for reindeer breeding in Todja led to there being four closely related groups of reindeer breeders and hunters, occupying four sectors of the Sayansky intersection. These are the Todja people in the southwest sector, the Tophas in the Irkutsk region in the northwest, Dukha or Tsaatans in northwest Mongolia in the southeast sector of the intersection, and the Soyots in the Republic of

Buryatia in the northeast sector. All these people occupy a narrow transitional zone between the Siberian taiga and the steppes of Inner Asia and represent a kernel of the Southern Siberian and Mongolian reindeer-breeding complex³. All of them speak very close dialects of the Tuvan language, though it is necessary to note that the Tuva language nevertheless is the first language for all Todja people. Their local dialect, which researchers consider to be “the most isolated and interesting of all Tuvan dialects”⁴, gradually has been disappearing and giving way to the more standard central dialect which extends through the mass media and the education system. Besides having the status of a small indigenous people of the Russian Federation, the Todja people are also considered to be an ethnographic group of the Tuvan population.

Population numbers

During the Soviet period, official statistics ignored the Todja reindeer breeders and they were not considered to be a separate ethnographic group, which is why it was impossible to establish their certain number. However, according to the local statistics of 1997, there were 1,454 in the Azass administrative area, 1,379 in Iy, 228 in Systyg-Hem, and 158 Chazylar. They made up about 5% of all Tuvans.

At the moment there are 4,442 Todja people; their main concentration live in four settlements located in the northeast part of Tuva. These are the villages of Adyr-Kezhig, with the population of 1,127 people; Iy with 1,141; Ham Syra with 156; and Systyg-Hem with 187. More than 200 reindeer breeders are registered as living in the taiga, in territories which are a part of the Iy and Azass rural administrations. The number of inhabitants of Toora-Hem, an administrative center of Todja, constitutes 2,727 people⁵.

Crisis in reindeer breeding

The traditional reindeer breeding of the Todja people belongs to Sayan type and they use a horse saddle with stirrups and three girths for riding deer. Usually the deer are freely grazed without a hunting dog or the continuous supervision of shepherds. The results of much research has shown that the Sayan type of reindeer breeding which has developed in this region arose under the influence of horse breeding among the Turkic-Mongolian people⁶.

During the Soviet period, after the end of the 1940s when three collective farms were created in Todja, reindeer breeding as a type of

economic activity developed and extended much more widely than it does now. However, in the 1980s reindeer-breeding farms made an unsuccessful attempt to generate income by the annual cutting of antlers for sale in the markets of East Asia. Unfortunately, this practice appeared to be pernicious for the health of the animals, and it led to a mass extinction of the reindeer. This reached a maximum in 1996 when 400 head died, and after that the cutting of antlers was stopped. At that time it appeared that reindeer-breeding farms were not capable of surviving independently.

Disintegration of the USSR affected them in the most adverse way. The reindeer breeders who heretofore had been provided for by the state suddenly lost their most basic necessities: snowmobiles, motor boats, canvas tents, guns for the protection of herds from wolves, cross-country transport equipment for the export of products and the organization of the economic activity of communities, the equipment for processing and storage of products of the taiga trade, combustion and lubricating materials, combined forage, etc. The points of sale for taiga products were also liquidated. Veterinary help declined as well, and national methods of treatment were completely lost. A number of trade enterprises and organizations that earlier served areas of accommodation for reindeer breeders' essentials ceased their activity. Moreover, reindeer breeders did not receive a salary for a long time. Amid the circumstances of an economic crisis and runaway inflation, they had to kill deer to survive or to receive cash from the sale of venison. In aggregate, all these factors led to a catastrophic impoverishment of the Todja people and a sharp reduction in cervine herds, from 14,000 head in 1982 to 1,100 in 2001⁷.

Economic and social situation

According to the Ministry of Health of the Tuva Republic, the birth rate in Todja in 1995 had decreased in comparison with 1994 by 42.6 %, and mortality increased by 30 %. In 1995, the natural increase was 25 people, and in 1996, 23 persons. The incidence of disease in the local population grew sharply.

Moreover, the transition to a market economy sharply aggravated the employment situation of the population. This became especially true in small settlements where in connection with the reform of the agrarian sector there was a huge reduction in the number of work places. The majority of those in the list of employment seekers were young people under 30 years of age. Unemployment led to an outflow of highly skilled experts and youth to the city. According to figures from 2002, only 659

Todja people held permanent jobs.

Thus, the Todja people appeared to be on the verge of disaster; the question of their survival and preservation as original ethnographic group with the features of their economic livelihood and culture became ever more acute. Due to this situation, in June 1995 the President of the Tuva Republic issued a decree, "About measures for reindeer breeding development in the republic." This decree meant that the deer that were livestock in agricultural enterprises and communities were their collective property, and their privatization was prohibited. The communities were temporarily forbidden for three years from handing deer over to the state, killing them for economic needs or for giving out as wages in kind.

Some international organizations have been helping the Todja people. For example, the French non-governmental organization "An action against hunger" visited them in 2000-2001 and delivered food and clothes for the children of reindeer breeders. The American non-governmental organization "Totem Peoples Preservation Project" has worked in the region since 2000. This organization tries to help the reindeer breeders to improve the health of cervine herds, it delivers medicines to them necessary for veterinary supervision, carries out other necessary deliveries, and also organizes the training of veterinarians.

Creation of tribal communities

In 2004, the Parliament of the Tuva Republic passed a law, "On the tribal community of the indigenous minority Todja people" which urges solutions to the problem of establishment and support for the state protection of the primordial habitat of the Todja inhabitants, and also their traditional way of life and livelihood. This law provided to Todja people legal protection which they did not have before. According to it, the community governs through a general meeting, a council of the community, and a chairman of the board; it has the right to develop a charter and hold property; some communities can unite into unions (associations) and have the privilege of using natural resources in places of accommodation; communities also have the right to observe religious practices, and create their own cultural centers. Questions of community land use and its property are regulated by the Ground and Civil codes. An association of communities of Todja people called "Tos Chadyr" was also created; the president of this is a local reindeer breeder named Svetlana Demkina. The association consists of about 1,100 individual members and five tribal communities: "Systyg-Hem," "Ulug-Dag," "Odugen," "Kham

Sara," and "Tere-Hol." Our informants—the Kyrganays are members of the "Odugen" Community.

For the coordination of activities of reindeer-breeding farms at the federal level, the Association of Indigenous Minority Ethnic groups of the North and the Far East of the Russian Federation was created; its chairman is Sergey Haryuchi (Yamal). The main objective of the Association consists in preservation of the number of deer, in carrying out selection work, and creation of a breeding herd in regions where the local population traditionally is engaged in reindeer breeding. There is a special technical training college in Toora-Hem for future reindeer-breeders, and this occupation still is considered honorable and desirable. Some young people can be educated at the prestigious Institute of Reindeer in Yakutsk, in the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia.

Poaching problems

It is necessary to note that notable distinctions between the Todja and other ethnic groups in their relation to natural resources and especially to hunting for wild animals sometimes lead to inter-ethnic friction. For example, Todja people accuse Russians of illegal hunting and shooting indiscriminately at all the animals they come across. They make the following argument: If a Russian sees five *maral* (red deer), he will kill all of them and take the antlers and the genitals, and leave all to the rest to rot; a Todja person will kill just one animal and not touch the others. However, this problem exists not only between the Todja people and the Russians, but also between the Todja people and other Tuvans, who come to Todja from other districts for commercial hunting and fishing⁸.

According to B. Donahoe, the very important resources for Todja people are wild animals, which are their main source of animal protein and also provide income from the sale of furs. These are now being exhausted by poachers engaged in the illicit trade in animal carcasses in the black market. Among other threats are destruction of their dwelling environment by the mining industry connected with gold mining and timber cutting, and also the temptation of receiving easy profit from hunting tourism organized for foreign clients. From this researcher's point of view, in order to resist these threats, it is necessary to provide reindeer breeders with guarantees that they can continue to be engaged in hunting for life support, that their lands will be protected by the law from privatization and further use for industrial purposes, and that hunting will be forbidden to those who are not natives of Todja. Otherwise, the

disappearance of reindeer breeding and the way of life related to it will lead to a reduction of non-recoverable biological diversity and loss of a unique cultural heritage.

Chinese expansion

There is another extremely serious problem in the Todja region. In April 2006, an auction sale of licenses for development of the Kyzyl-Tashtygsky field of polymetallic ores in Todja took place. It is known that this field contains large reserves of zinc and lead which are in demand in the world market. The Chinese company JSC Lunsin paid Russia 740 million rubles for the right to develop this field over the next 25 years.

In August of the same year, a meeting of heads of the Republic with representatives of this company took place in the House of Government in Tuva. Representatives of the company reported to the Tuvan authorities at the beginning of design works. The Chinese party assumed obligations to consider the strictest ecological requirements shown by the Tuvan party. However, both parties reached a consensus that the activities of JSC Lunsin in Todja will bring mutual advantage for both sides. It will help social and economic development of the district and workplaces organizations, including training for local young people⁹.

When we arrived in Todja, development of the Kyzyl-Tashtygsky field was already actively under way. We got acquainted with four Chinese working there. From their words we learned the following: About 1,000 Chinese experts of many varied backgrounds were participating in the project. All of them work under contracts whose length depends on the circumstances. Contracts usually last for 2 or 4 years.

Our informants came to Todja because of high salaries. However, they refused to specify its amount since their contract requires nondisclosure. They have the following living conditions: They live in a hostel with a kitchen, gardens, and hothouses where they grow all the vegetables they need. Internet, TV sets, radio and mobile communication are available to them. Once a year each worker has 50 days of vacation to visit his relatives in China.

A Chinese town with infrastructure will be built in Todja. It will help Chinese workers to come here with their families. Their children will go to the kindergarten and study at the school. In this sphere they have done much. We actually saw how they were building residential and public houses. Many of these are being completed.

According to the local workers in this field, they are constructing a

processing factory where they will dress ore. In order to do this they will use salts of hydrocyanic acid; all this will be dumped together into a settler and be filtered there, and the remaining waste from production will be dumped into the local Ak-Hem River, from where it will flow into the Yenisei.

Ecologists from Kyzyl, who came to Todja in 2011 to study this question, have rigorously ascertained that when the processing factory starts to operate at full power, it will not be possible to avoid an ecological disaster. Todja's fauna will start to die out, all plants will become poisonous, the incidence of disease in the local population will sharply increase, and the earth will become barren.

Besides this, the Chinese also extract large quantities of gold which they melt into ingots and send in containers to China. Local people perceive it as the plunder of natural riches by the Chinese who have received permission for this from the Tuvan and Russian governments. According to elderly informants, the strong earthquakes which were taking place at the end of 2011 have grown out of the barbarous invasion of strangers into the subsoil of Tuva. The disappearance of a large mountain, razed to the ground in connection with mining, which previously had been considered to be a sacred object, was considered by the old men to be an irreplaceable loss, and the anger of the spirit owner of this mountain and other districts seemed quite justified.

Initial promises by the Chinese to create workplaces for the local population, and through that to promote social and economic development in the district, in reality turned out to be fiction. What they actually did was to buy two cars for the local administration, and then employed some tens of Tuvans and Russians as unskilled workers. Later many of them left the project. There were some serious reasons why they did this. We listed them in the order in which they were cited by our informants. First, the Russian (including Tuvan) workers got small salaries; second, what they were fed was disgusting (the remains of the food after the Chinese had eaten); and third, they felt that they themselves were traitors participating in the predatory plunder of the natural riches of their homeland. According to recent data, no more than 30 Russians remained working with the Chinese, they have to continue working for the maintenance of their families.

From the Todja people's point of view, the activity of the Chinese company in their territory is serious threat of not only an ecological, but also of a strategic character. According to them, "disinterested"

investments of the Chinese industrialists in Tuva can have repercussions in the future. Having obtained a serious advantage in the region, it will be simpler for China to undertake development of other fields, and also for geological exploration. And when the railway to Kyzyl is constructed, representatives of the People's Republic of China can lobby for stretching it to Mongolia. The distance between Mongolia and China is rather short, and it is directly in the path of the Chinese expansion in the conditions of increasing globalization.

CONCLUSION

In any case, the data gathered shows conclusively enough that the modern ethnic development of the Todja people is complex and multi-faceted in character. First, having lived in a mixed ethnic environment for a long time, the Todja reindeer breeders have to mix with other peoples and accept their languages and culture. However, in spite of this, they still retain such important components of ethnicity as their ethnic consciousness, and some features of traditional culture, which allows them to be identified as Todja people.

There is also a serious problem of the Chinese expansion in the Todja district. All these questions presented here offer promising avenues for future investigation, and could serve as an initial foundation for further analysis.

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ETHNO-CULTURAL TOURISM IN TUVA

MALYSHEVA EVGENIYA OLEGOVNA

ABSTRACT

The basic element of tourist system is a tourist destination. The article deals with the concept of a tourist destination, as an area of social and cultural space in the conditions of interaction of tourists and the local population. It also discusses the importance of ethno-cultural tourism in the Republic of Tuva. The author considers competitive advantages and prospects of developing ethnic tourism in Tuva. Models of developing ethnic tourism are based on tourist and ethno-cultural resources.

Key Words: *Tourism, tourist destination, ethno-cultural tourism, traditions, way of life, culture of the Tuvan people.*

Tourism is inextricably linked and developed on the basis of travel and discovery. It was conducted by navigators, explorers, geographers, historians who collected a wealth of material in the form of descriptions, diaries, observations. People felt the need for acquaintance with the life, culture and customs of other nations. Thirst for adventure, risk, adventurism are driven by a man, as active travel provides a sense of identity and restores emotional balance.

Human needs are closely related to the world around him, current events and their results undeniably are the main goal that remains the satisfaction of people of increasingly complex human needs. According to A. Maslow human needs have a level of ascent from simple to higher. Human society has evolved from the primitive (existential) needs for food, water, security to initiation to culture, the arts, and the search for spiritual food in socio-cultural space of the region. Today, a modern tourist brings not material capital, but a wholesome of knowledge, and experience, which sociologists call cultural capital. The social component in the living space of human life is critical to form new social and cultural needs. Tourism meets the needs of both locals and tourists alike.

Tourism is inextricably linked with the territory. More recently the notion of hiking destination appeared in Russia. Destination is a place of travel point. In foreign literature, this term is used frequently and has various definitions. Destination is a place of travel point in the region, the geographical area, socio-geographical area that tourists visit for a specific purpose (leisure, recreation, business, sightseeing tours, etc.).

In Multilingual Russian dictionary, destination is treated as a final destination, where the traveler goes, where the tourist area is very popular. Professor Leyper, who introduced the concept of tourist destination in the tourism economy, treated it as a geographical area, which is attractive to tourists, and where tourist flows are directed. According to the Russian scientist M.A. Morozova, tourist destination is a geographical area, with its appeal to tourists, satisfying the following conditions: the existence of a specific set of services necessary for tourists, and this should be one set and the quality of services that tourists expect while buying a tourist product.

Tourist product is intangible, its socio-economic nature being associated with the principle of direct and inverse transformation. Social investment in people through tourism contributes to the quality of human resources through recreation in the attractive places that are transformed into an economic component. Competition between suppliers of travel services increases the development of new attractions and entrepreneurial activity in development.

Tourist destination is, first and foremost, a social space, where there is a blurring of ethno-cultural and ethnic differences between people, and which to some extent increases demand for ethnically oriented tourist product. From the point of view of sociology, tourist destination is an area of social interaction between tourists and the local population in a constantly changing reality. Tourist destination should attract tourists with its uniqueness, originality, novelty (nature, culture, people, life and so on.). For example, the Republic of Tuva - land "terra incognita" offers a trip to the tourists to the edge of the nomadic and Scythian tribes, shamanism, i.e. by promoting ethno-tourism. So one can treat geographical area, as a tourist destination which is attractive for tourists in cultural, historical, religious and other aspects. Destination is a social space where the processes of acculturation, integration and assimilation between tourists and locals occur.

Tourist destination of the Republic of Tuva is focused primarily on ethnic and cultural tours through its unique cultural, historical and natural

heritage. Ethnographic tourism includes specific, targeted research for scientists. The main participants of ethnographic tours are people professionally engaged in ethnography. In turn, ethnic tourism introduces travelers to the customs, traditions, rituals, architecture, folklore and other people's holidays. Ethno-cultural tourism involves familiarization with the tourist features of traditional material and spiritual culture, including the real ethno-cultural environment.

Ethnic and cultural tourism includes ethnographic and ethnic forms of tourism, having pronounced ethnic, linguistic and cultural components. In Tuva ethnic and cultural tourism is promising. The importance of this type of tourism for Tuva is obvious. On the one hand, ethnic and cultural tourism can contribute to meeting the ethno-cultural, socio-psychological, aspirations, overall cognitive needs of tourists, and to promote intercultural interaction. Ethno-cultural tourism finds its resemblance to international tourism, both contributing to the establishment and expansion of cross-cultural, including ethnic and cultural contacts. It also contributes to the revival of the traditional culture of ethnic groups, by increasing interest in it through tourist visits. On the other hand, Tuva has all the conditions for the development of this type of tourism.

The Tuvan people is formed by Tuvinians, Soyots, So Yeon, Urynkhai (old name), Taino - Tuvan and Russians. There are 40,000 Tuvans in Mongolia and 3,000 in China. Tuvans are mostly Buddhists, lamaists and shamanists. Tuvans are Turkic-speaking tribes of Central Asia, who penetrated into the territory of modern Tuva no later than the middle of the first millennium, and mixed here with Keto-speaking, Samoyedic-speaking and possibly Indo-European tribes. From the 6th century, Tuvan tribes entered the Turkish Empire. In the middle of the 8th century, Turkic-speaking Uyghurs, who created in Central Asia, a powerful tribal alliance - Uyghur Khanate, defeated the Turks, conquering its territory, including Tuva. Some Uyghur tribes gradually mixed with the local tribes and had a decisive influence on the formation of their language. In the 8th - 9th centuries several Mongol tribes moved to Tuva and were gradually assimilated by the local population. At the end of 8th and in early 9th century, when Tuva was ruled by the Manchu Qing dynasty, it completed the addition of Tuvan ethnos. In 1914 Tuva (Russian name - Uryankhai region) came under the protectorate of Russia.

Traditional occupations of western and eastern Tuvans are significantly different. The basis of the economy of western Tuvans until mid-0th century was nomadic herding. They breed small livestock,

including yaks (in the highlands to the west and south-east of the country), as well as horses and camels. They were also occupied in agriculture (millet, barley) which is almost exclusively based on irrigation with gravity irrigation method.

Traditional occupations of eastern Tozhu Tuvans, wandering in the mountain taiga of the eastern Sayan are hunting and reindeer herding. Hunting wild hoofed animals provided meat and skins of family throughout the year, and the fur trade was predominantly of commodity character and was carried out in late autumn and winter (the main objects of hunting are deer, roe deer, elk, wild deer, sable, and squirrel).

According to the decision 255 of the Russian Government dated 24 March 2000, Todzha Tuvans belong to the indigenous peoples of Siberia. The basis of life of these peoples is to preserve the traditional livelihood systems and forms of economic activities such as herding, hunting, fishing. The most ancient and important type of economic activity of hunters, reindeer herders Todzha was gathering pine nuts etc. They also engaged in the processing of hides and skins and tanning bark. It was known blacksmithing.

Yurt served as the main house for Western Tuvans. Yurt is circular in plan, is collapsible and easy to fold slatted frame made of wooden slats held together by leather straps. At the top of the yurt is the smoke hole, which also serves as a window (light hole). Yurt bark is covered with felt. The door made of wood and a piece of felt is usually decorated with stitches. In the center of the yurt is located the hearth. The yurts had paired wooden trunks and the front walls were usually decorated with painted ornaments. The right side of the yurt (in relation to the entrance) is considered feminine and the left was for men. The floor is covered with patterned quilted felt mats. A tent having the skeleton of sloping poles served as traditional dwelling of the eastern Tuvans reindeer herders (Todzhans). Its wings in the summer and autumn were of birch-bark, and in winter bark sewn from elk hides is used.

The ethno-cultural complex "Aldyn-Bulak" 55 km from the town of Kyzyl showcases the elements of traditional culture and provides a special flavor and originality of the field placement of the Republic of Tuva. The tourist can stay in the national Tuvan yurt, try national dishes, put on national costume, learn about the traditional Tuvan activity, for example to make cheese, milk a cow, ride a horse.

Traditional clothing, including shoes and felts are produced from hides and skins mainly of domestic and wild animals. Shoulder dress was

of tunic swing. One of the most common headgears for men and women is sheepskin hat with a wide domed top with head coverings that are tied at the back, and blackhead covering the neck. Shoes are basically of two types. Leather boots *kadyg idik* have a characteristic curved and pointed cape, multilayer tomentose-leather soles. The tops are cut out of raw hide of the cattle. Festive boots are decorated with colored stripes. Soft boots *chymchak idik* have a soft sole leather of cow without bending the tops of the cape and the treated skin of domestic goat.

Clothing of eastern Tuvan reindeer herders had a number of significant features. Favorite summer clothing shoulder served "hash tone", which were cut out of the worn deerskin or autumn wild goat rovduga. He had a straight cut, extending to the hem with straight sleeves having deep rectangular arm holes. There is another style - figure cut out of one whole skin thrown over his head, as if wrapped around the body. Hats are sewn from the skins of animals with wild animals. Sometimes the hats made of duck feathers and skin were used. In late autumn and winter shoes of the outside fur (*byshkak idik*) are used.

Women's jewellery comprised of rings, earrings, bracelets and ornamented silver coinage. Plait adornments of silver jewellery in the form of a plate and decorated with engraving, chasing and precious stones are much appreciated. They hung low 3-5 beads and black tufts of filaments. Both women and men wore braids. Men shave front part of head and the remaining hair is braided into a single plait.

National cuisine is one of the most important elements of ethnic and cultural tourism. Dairy products (especially in summer) prevail in the traditional Tuvan food, including dairy drink *hoytpak* and mare (the eastern Tuvan - reindeer milk), various types of cheese: sour, smoked (*kurut*), unleavened (*pyshtak*). They eat boiled meat of domestic and wild animals (especially lamb and horse meat). The food is not only meat, but also by-products such as, blood and pets. Vegetarian food comprises porridge from cereals, oatmeal, stems and roots of wild. Tea (salted with milk), as an important place in daily food. Natural and eco-friendly food prepared according to old recipes, can be a unique attraction for tourists.

Tuvan culture is itself exotic and available for ethnic tours.

Paleolithic Ulug - Horum in Tuva is a massive mound of stones. On the territory of Ovyursky District, there are four archaeological sites of scientific and educational value, such as the ancient Paleolithic humans, the location of the Neolithic period, ancient burial grounds.

Monuments of the Rock Art (Bizhigtig - Khaya, and a statue of Genghis

Khan). Bizhigtig-Khaya in Tuva means “rock with inscriptions, cave paintings.” Smooth rock wall is covered with petroglyphs of a huge vulture, masks, deer, bulls, mountain goats, a caravan of pack animals, warrior hat, helmet, traders in oriental costumes. These drawings have been created by several generations in succession. Next to the mountain in the desert is an ancient warrior of stone. It is called Genghis Khan, having powerful shoulders, confident and somewhat arrogant facial expression. This monument is about 500 years old.

There are over ten sites of rock art with hundreds of drawings in Tuva, located near Kyzyl Small Bayan-Kol, Syyn-Churek, Orta Sargol, Bizhigtig-Khaya, petroglyphs of Chirgaki Khemchik in the river valley, Saryg-Dash and right banks of the Yenisei River. Stone steles carved with runic “funerary poetry”, a story about the life of the ancient commander, were erected on the territory of the Sayano-Altai mountains during the Turkic Khanate (8th – 12th centuries). Over 100 such steles have been found on the territory of Tuva. These ancient writings provide key to the unknown pages of history of Tuva. These inscriptions were decoded for the first time in 1893.

For the first time Tuva has opened large resources for the development of religious tourism. In recent years, there has been quick revival of Buddhism of the Lamaist form in Tuva. New Buddhist temples with monks providing education in Buddhism have been set up. Until recently, the eastern Tuvians conducted a so-called bear festival. Traditional beliefs are a system of Tuvan shamanism belonging to Siberian shamanism.

There are special color tours to Tuva for shamanistic rituals. Traditional rituals are intertwined with and based on the surrounding nature. Every mountain, tree, lake or river have their own spirits. The world is divided into three worlds -Upper, Middle, Bottom. Shamans are divided into different categories, linked to their origin. Real shamans originate from shaman-ancestors, the spirits of the land and water, sky, the evil spirits *albys* and *aza*. But the real shaman is only one, who has a hereditary origin. Shamanism is one of the oldest forms of religious belief of Tuvians, suggesting the existence of spirits that inhabit the mountains, forests, water, the sky and the underworld. Shaman is an intermediary in human communication with the spiritual world. Tuva is one of the few parts of the world where shamanism has been preserved in its original form.

At present the level of development of ethnic and cultural tourism in Tuva is at an early stage, but it is progressing with each passing year.

Status of ethno-cultural tourism in Tuva is determined by the following conditions:

- a) The limited resources of information about ethnic and cultural tourism sites (low representation of ethnic culture of Tuva in the structure of the global information space);
- b) Lack of advertising and promotion of regional ethnic and cultural brands, although national culture, traditional Tuvan way of life, life of Russian Old Believers, shamanism and throat singing evince great interest among the travelers;
- c) The limited capacity of the state to stimulate the development of tourism industry;
- d) Non-optimal ratio of price and quality of tourist services;
- e) The shortage of hotel rooms in economy class and other objects of tourist infrastructure;
- f) The remoteness of the republic from international railways, weak development of aviation services and expensive travel;
- g) Lack of quality tourist information system;
- h) Poor use of significant tourist potential of the republic;
- i) Insufficient use of modern methods of service of tourists on the tourist enterprises;
- j) Underdevelopment of the hotel sector and low level of tourism infrastructure development;
- k) Inadequate funding for the restoration and maintenance of tourist objects as well as landscaping and recreational facilities;
- l) Lack of information and tourist centers, travel guides, atlases road information about tourist sites, signs on the roads of the monuments, nature reserves and other places and the legends associated with them.

Despite the weaknesses and constraints in the development of tourism in Tuva, there are a number of strengths:

- a) Rich tradition of hospitality;
- b) The presence of favorable conditions for the development of ethnic and cultural tourism;
- c) Prosperous environmental situation;
- d) Global trend of increasing demand for pristine natural areas;
- e) Growing popularity of ecological and ethnic tourism and travel;
- f) International and Russian policy for the conservation of small indigenous peoples and civilizations;

- g) Revitalization of the executive authorities of the Republic in relation to tourism.

A characteristic feature of ethnically oriented tourism of Tuva is that it develops through interaction with other types of tourism, particularly interactions with environmental, esoteric, rural, pilgrimage, religious tourism. Combination of ethno-cultural and ecological tourism enables the tourists to be acquainted with traditions and the natural surroundings of the peoples of Tuva. Tuva Republic has advantages for the development of eco-tourism, due to its clean air, rivers and lakes. Virgin taiga is rich in its inhabitants. All routes pass through the beautiful untouched nature and the places - natural monuments, natural (national) parks, nature reserves, wildlife sanctuaries, where there is the opportunity to swim in a lake or river to gather wild berries, mushrooms, medicinal herbs etc.

The development of eco-tourism would provide the tourists with organic food, accommodation facilities, as well as the organization of leisure and agricultural activities that have significant impact on the improvement of the village through the use of existing private housing stock, increasing business activity of rural population, develop social infrastructure thereby increase employment.

State Nature Biosphere Reserve "Uvs Nuur Basin" is the object of eco-tourism. Uvs Nuur Basin is a trans-boundary site being located on the territory of Mongolia and Russia, which was included in the World Heritage List in 2003. The region has preserved a unique set of adjacent, closely interacting contrasting ecosystems - from taiga to desert. Glaciers, snow, mountain tundra alpine and subalpine meadows zone pass into the vast mountain taiga belt, which gives way to forest-steppe, steppe, semi-desert, and even loose sand ridges, creating exceptional beauty and diversity of the natural phenomenon. Territory of Ubsunursky is located in the area of interaction between the Euro-Siberian and Central Asian flora and fauna complexes. Lack of industrial sites allow to save Uvs Nuur Basin as a natural laboratory for studying the processes of the biosphere.

Objects of cultural heritage and archaeological sites are located here. Most of the mounts are older than the Egyptian pyramids. Thousands of rock drawings and stone sculpture remains of medieval settlements and Buddhist chapels form the unique natural and cultural landscape.

In Tuva, there exist conditions for the development of esoteric tourism, which is a new and unique direction of tourism. In Tuva there is strong energy and magically powerful sacred places. Esoteric tourism offers

routes to sites of accumulated special energy providing a man his spiritual creative energy. It purifies the soul and body and helps in discovering something new in his life. Esoteric tourism in Tuva offers rituals together with shamans or lamas. Shamans conduct consecration ceremonies in sky, taiga, fire, spring, shamanic tree *ovaa*, river, stone monuments. Tourists can not only take a break from everyday life, recharge their batteries and join the ancient practice of shamanism. With the help of ancient knowledge and spiritual practices, they get an opportunity to know inner world.

Exotic tourism can be easily developed and popularized in Tuva. Exotic tourism is linked with the desire to see, learn and experience something unusual. It is the climatic conditions, unusual flora and fauna. Tuva region is an exotic place for tourism due to its exotic nature, landscapes and reliefs. "Azas" reserve can be used for the development of exotic tourism. The reserve was established in 1985 to preserve and study the natural state of typical and unique ecosystems of Todinskoy basin and its mountains, the protection of the gene pool of flora and fauna as part of Tuva in Southern Siberia. The main protected species are Tuva beaver. Reserve landscape is extremely diverse and beautiful. The phase of the destruction of ancient mountain glaciation formed bizarre glacial landforms: cars, troughs, moraine structures and numerous lakes, the largest of which are Azas, Manna-Khol, Kadysh. In the center of the reserve flows lake Azas, in the vicinity of the Red grow dozens of plants, rare species of insects, birds and animals. It is the largest lake in taiga Todja basin, the only lake in Tuva, where white lilies - water lilies bloom.

Tuva has great potential for rural tourism development. Rural tourism in Tuva involves familiarity and harmony with nature with the way of life of people and does not violate the balance of nature. This is not only a cognitive rest, but also the acquisition of rich experience, knowledge of Tuva, its culture, traditions and customs of peoples. Tourists can participate in the daily affairs of the host family: caring for animals, feed the flock of sheep or herd of *sarlyks* (yak), or deer, collect and install a yurt in seasonal migrations, to cook, to produce dairy products, including *Arago* (milk vodka) and participate in the daily activities of other people's living in Tuva. Preserving the traditional foundation of the life of herdsmen and of conservatives attracts tourists to get acquainted with an unconventional way of life in rural areas of Tuva. In the taiga rivers and lakes there are all conditions for fishing tourism. Grayling, goldilocks, taimen are the main fishes of Tuva. Hunting is the hallmark of the local population, a kind of national symbol Tuvan ancestors were nomadic and semi-nomadic.

Hunting skills have been handed down from generation to generation. Tuvan hunters are known to be great fishermen. The expediency of development of rural tourism lies primarily in the fact that it contributes to the well-being of rural residents, contributes to the reduction of unemployment, development of small business and rural infrastructure (roads, transportation, water supply, improvement of the region, trade). It is based on the historical elements of people's life and way of life. Trends for the revival of interest in original folk culture, manifested in recent years, not only in Tuva but also in the West, should not only be taken into account, but also taken as a basis for development of a new tourist offer.

There is an understanding that diversity of traditional cultures is one of the strategic resources of tourist activities. Ethno-cultural tourism is becoming one of the major social and economic trends in Tuva. Tourism in Tuva is diverse and is associated with a variety of objects from natural to the esoteric. Along with nature, tourists can get acquainted with the culture, lifestyle, traditions, Tuvan religion in its original form. Tuva is a little touched area of human activities, and this destination is attractive to tourists from all over the world. The traditional culture is better preserved here than in urban cities. Ethnic culture is uniquely Tuvan and generates demand tourism. Knowing the roots of material and spiritual culture of ancestors is a common phenomenon of this society and also for the tourists.

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