

TUNDRA YUKAGIR ETHNIC IDENTITY PECULIARITIES

ОСОБЕННОСТИ ЭТНИЧЕСКОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ ТУНДРОВЫХ ЮКАГИРОВ

TUNDURA YUKAGIRLERİ'NİN ETNİK ÖZDEŞLİK ÖZELLİKLERİ

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ABSTRACT

This article includes the results of ethnic identity empiric research of Yukhagir ethnos' representatives who live in Nizhnekolimsky district, Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya) (2012). The research has shown that ambivalent type of ethnic identity prevails among tundra yukhagir representatives (combination of positive, indifferent and fanatic identity).

All in all a low level of ethnic factors significance in Yukhagir's life is marked. The most important identity for Yukhagirs, in comparison with ethnic and regional identity, is civil (All-Russian) identity.

Key Words: Yukhagirs, Ethnic Identity, Civil Identity, Regional Identity, Positive Ethnic Identity, Ethnic Indifference, Ethnic Fanaticism.

АННОТАЦИЯ

В статье представлены результаты эмпирического исследования особенностей этнической идентичности представителей юкагирского этноса, проживающих в Нижнеколымском районе Республики Саха (Якутия) (2012 г.). В ходе исследования обнаружено, что у представителей тундровых юкагиров преобладает амбивалентный тип этнической идентичности (сочетание позитивной, индифферентной и фанатичной идентичности).

В целом отмечается невысокий уровень значимости этнических факторов в жизни юкагиров. Наиболее значимой для юкагиров, по сравнению с этнической и региональной идентичностью, является общегражданская (общероссийская) идентичность.

Ключевые слова: юкагиры, этническая идентичность, гражданская идентичность, региональная идентичность, позитивная этническая идентичность, этническая индифферентность, этнофанатизм.

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ÖZET

Makalede Saha Cumhuriyeti (Yakutya) (2012) Aşağı Kolıma Bölgesi'nde yaşayan Yukagirlerin etnik özdeşlik özellikleri ampirik araştırmaların sonuçları ortaya koyulmuştur. Araştırma süresinde tundura Yukagirlerinin etnik özdeşliklerin nötr tipi (olumlu, ilgisizlik ve fanatik özelliklerin birleşimi) belli olmuştur.

Genellikle Yukagirlerin hayatında etnik faktörlerin öneminin zayıf olduğu belli olmaktadır. Etnik ve bölgesel özdeşlemelere göre Yukagirler için vatandaşlık (Rusya Vatandaşı) özellikleri dahada önemlidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yukagirler, Etnik Özdeşlemeler, Vatandaşlık Özdeşleme, Bölgesel Özdeşleme, Olumlu Etnik Özdeşlemesi, Etnik İlgisizlik, Etnofanatizm.

Yukagirs are ancient aboriginal people who belong to paleo Asiatic group and live in North-Eastern part of the Russian Federation. Concerning Republic of Sakha, yukagirs are settled in Nizhnekolimskiy, Verkhnikolimsky, Srednekolimsky and Allaikhovskiy districts. The population of Yukagirs in the Russian Federation is approximately 1,603 people (2010). The Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya) numbers 1,097 people.

As an ethnos, Yukagirs are now represented in four groups isolated from each other, separated not only with vast territories but administrative boundaries of Magadanskaya Oblast', Chukotka and two groups in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya): Verkhnikolimsky districts – *oduls* (taiga and forest), Nizhnekolimskiy district – *vaduls* (tundra). Traditional activities of tundra yukagirs are nomadic reindeer breeding and draught dog breeding. As for taiga yukagirs – unmounted hunting and fishing. Modern yukagirs of Nizhnekolimskiy district hunt fur animals, fish, breed reindeers, breed horses. As for yukagirs of Verkhnikolimskiy district, they hunt, do gardening and breed cage animals.

Yukagirs, along with other smaller peoples, are experiencing hard times due to the change of habitual way of life, loss of beliefs, customs, culture and native language. Changes and transformations in cultural and domestic, family and marriage spheres and a system of traditional socialization institutions in a way influenced the awareness of their place in the world and ethnic identity.

Historical and ethnographic, linguistic and folklore researches of Iohelson V (Iohelson, 2005), Spiridonov N. (Spiridonov, 1996), Zolotareva I. (Zolotareva, 1968), Kreynovich Y. (Kreynovich, 1982), Gurvich I. (Gurvich, 1982), Okladnikov A. (Okladnikov, 1975), Tugolukov V. (Tugolukov, 1979), Kurilov G. (Kurilov, 2001), Zhukova L. (Zhukova, 2012), Prokopieva P. (Prokopieva, 2009) one way or another have a look at mentality peculiarities, world image and some psychological traits of yukagirs.

That what Spiridonov N. Says while describing taiga yukagirs: “Oduls differ from other inhabitants of subpolar region (chukchas, koryaks, voguls, samoeds etc.) in their appearance, slender body, lightness, and extreme mobility.” (Spiridonov, 1996: 35). “Oduls are the strongest and fearless in respect of fatigability and cold and hunger resistance. However they are prone to get sick, precisely with epidemic diseases.” (Spiridonov, 1996: 35). As for yukagir women, they have different abilities such as “an ability to sew quickly and neat, embroider and an ability to work hard”. Yukagir men usually have such traits as “lucky, hunter, runner, greedy for food” (Okladnikov, 1975: 75).

Restore and save ethnic identity and ethnic self-consciousness of smaller peoples is one of the most urgent goals of modern society. Because of this specific character of ethnic identity of peoples living in North-Western Russia research becomes more important.

Theoretical aspects of Russian people ethnic identity research are provided in works of such scientists like Drobizheva L. (Drobizheva, 2009), Tishkov V. (Tishkov, 2003), Stefanenko T. (Stefanenko, 2001), Soldatova G. (Soldatova, 1998) etc. Ethnic identity of smaller peoples is not studied well enough (Turaev, 2008), (Buchek, 2004), (Brachun, 2011). Yukagirs ethnic identity peculiarities almost aren't studied at all.

***The aim** of our research was to study ethnic identity peculiarities of Yukagirs who live on the territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya).*

The object of our research was yukagirs who live in Kolimskoye village and Cherskiy settlement of Nizhnekolimsky ulus. During the research 41 people were examined, among them 14 men and 27 women.

Complex historical development, assimilation processes, native language loss, interethnic contacts peculiarity left a mark on the specific character of ethnic identity of yukagirs. Yukagirs of Nizhnekolimsky region assimilated with evens, chukchas and yakuts, most of them speak Yakut language, know Even language, however only several people speak their native language. Some yukagirs acquired identity together with yukagir ethnos during later ontogenesis. They earlier identified themselves with evens and chukchas, particularly when they were a part of interethnic families.

We made several **assumptions** on the basis of primary ethnographic observations and interviews:

Yukagirs ethnic identity has diffusive, undetermined, fuzzy character, that's why the most urgent identification for yukagirs is identification with vast social (Russian) community.

During the empirical research O. Romanova's ethnic identity research scale was used, "Types of ethnic identity" scale by G. Soldatova etc. "Who am I?" test by M. Kun and T. McPartland, the same test in modification of Z. Sikevich, that reveals ethnic "Me" intensity and ethnic status importance extent.

Ethnic identity research scale by O. Romanova includes 21 assertions, each of them respondents need to answer with 5 different answers. Question orientation: feeling of belonging to their ethnic group (questions № 1, 6, 10, 14, 21); nationality significance (questions № 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13); interrelations of ethnic majority and minority (questions № 8, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20); use of one or another language (questions № 3, 15) (Romanova, 1994).

"Ethnic identity types" scale by Soldatova G. etc. Includes 30 assertions, one of each has 5 answer variants. According to every identity types number of points is to be calculated: ethnic nihilism (clauses: 3, 9, 15, 21, 27); ethnic indifference (5, 11, 17, 29, 30); norm (positive ethnic identity) (1, 7, 13, 19, 25); ethnic egoism (6, 12, 16, 18, 24); ethnic isolationism (2, 8, 20, 22, 26); ethnic fanaticism (4, 10, 14, 23, 28) (Soldatova, 1998: 103-198].

"Who am I?" test by M. Kun and T. McPartland defines personality identity. Subject of experiment has 20 empty lines each of them need to be filled with answers for the question "Who am I?" Z. Sikevich's test modification defines ethnic "Me" intensity and the degree

of ethnic status importance for a subject. Test includes 3 questions. Questions determine ethnic “Me” intensity degree, individual and personality self-identification and presence of ethnic prejudices (Sikevich, 1999).

According to ethnic identity research methods by O. Romanova it was discovered that subjects had “Normal identity”. Significance of nationality is not hypertrophied or hypotrophied. Younger subjects of experiment think that there should be equality in the relations between ethnic majority and minority. As for older subjects (more than 35 years old), think that ethnic majority should not have any benefits (see table 1)

Analysis of separate answers has shown that 65,9% test people are interested in history and culture of their ethnies, 65,9% do not like hearing something offensive about their ethnies 73,2% of test people feel deep pride when they hear about spectacular achievements of their ethnies and 82,9% would prefer the same nationality they have if they were asked to change it.

Table1

Yukagirs research results according to O. Romanova’s methods (average scores)

Scales	Men from 18 to 35 years old	Men older than 35 years old	Women from 18 to 35 years old	Women older than 35 years old	Average score (yukagirs)
Scale 1. Sense of belonging to ethnic group	4,5	5,9	7,08	6,6	6,3
Scale 2. Importance of nationality	5	6,1	5,3	6,2	5,76
Scale 3. Interrelations of ethnic majority and minority	4,3	2,5	6	3,5	4,2
Scale 4. Use of one or another language	1,2	0,8	2,1	1,1	1,34

Research results according to “Types of ethnic identity” scale have shown that the first rank is occupied with positive ethnic identity (norm), the second rank is occupied with ethnic indifference and the third rank – ethnic fanaticism (see table 2).

Table 2

Yukagirs research results according to “Types of ethnic identity” methods (average scores)

Types of ethnic identity	Men	Women	Average scores	Rank
1) Ethnic nihilism	5,36	4,6	4,85	6
2) Ethnic indifference	11,42	11,56	11,3	2
3) Positive ethnic identity	16,9	15,9	16,3	1
4) Ethnic egoism	4,4	6,6	5,9	4
5) Ethnic isolationism	5	6,2	5,8	5
6) Ethnic fanaticism	8,29	8,6	8,5	3

The number of people being tested with one or another type of ethnic identity (see chart 1) also show that “Positive identity” type (39 people, which is 14 men and 25 women) and “Ethnic indifference” (23 people which is 8 men and 15 women) occur more often.

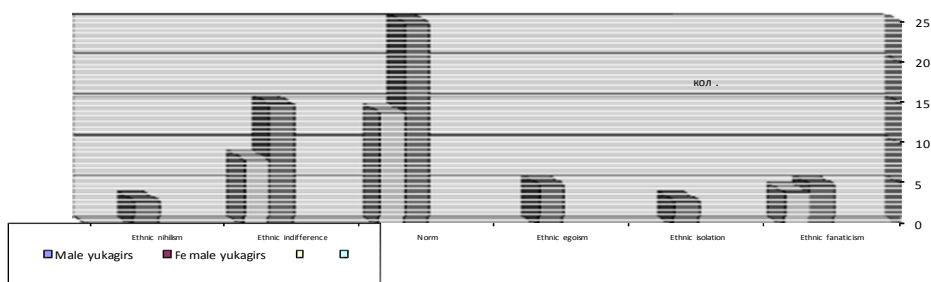


Chart1

Number of testees according to types of ethnic identity

The most preferable type of identity in polyethnic society is “Positive ethnic identity” because on the basis of this type adequate perception of own ethnic group, aspiration for integration and interethnic tolerance are formed.

At the same time half of testees are also diagnose to have “Ethnic indifference” type, i.e. diffusion of ethnic identity, expressed in ambiguity of ethnic identity and irrelevancy of ethnicity. The results of the research show the ambivalence of cognitive and emotional processes connected with identification with own group or presence of inner disorders in the system of ethnic group’s self-consciousness. Despite declaration of positive ethnic

identity, a part of yukagirs show contradictory types of ethnic identity: indifference and fanaticism, which may be a symptom of identity crisis.

As V. Tugolukov states, yukagirs treat the question of their nationality indifferently and to the same extent are willing to be “evens”, “evenks” or yukagirs (Tugolukov, 1979: 35). According to the opinion of V. Shadrin, the majority of classic ethnic markers of yukagirs are fuzzy (Shadrin, 2011).

The results of “Who am I?” test show that only ethnic identity amounts to only 6,8% in the structure of social identity of yukagirs which also confirms indifference and weak actualization of ethnic factor in this group.

The results of “Who am I?” test of Z. Sikevich show that (Sikevich, 1999) more than half (63,4%) of respondents identify themselves as Russians. One fifth part have global identity in the forefront in comparison with civil self-identification. First and foremost they fell themselves as citizens of the world (22%). Only every tenth feel himself as a representative of the Republic he lives in (9,75%). 4,9% have “territorial and ethnic” consciousness (“feel myself as yukagir”) (see chart 2).

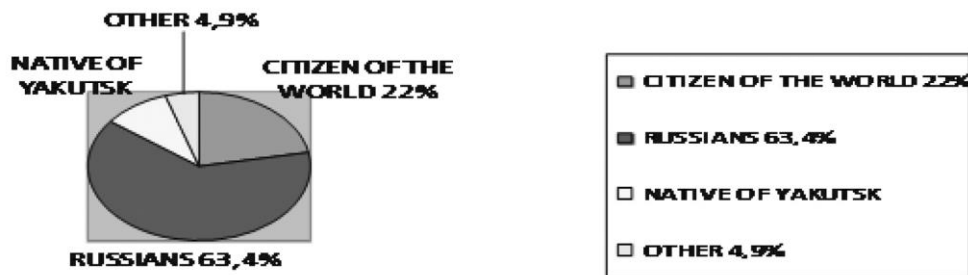


Chart 2

Distribution of answers to the question: “Who do you mostly feel yourself as?”

Peculiarities of individual and personality ethnic self-identification who that 63,4% of asked yukagirs have stable ethnic self-identification. The other part of answers is equally distributed between respondents with double self-identification (17,1%) and respondents without ethnic identification (19,5%) (see chart 3).

Chart 3

Distribution of answers to the question: «Do you have a sense of belonging to any nationality with your language, customs and traditions?»

Answers variants	Percentage
1. Yes, I have sense of belonging to the certain nationality.	63,4
2. Have a sense of belonging to more than one nationality ¹ .	17,1
3. No, I don't have any sense of belonging to any nationality.	19,5

Therefore we may single out three groups of yukagirs on the basis of criteria ethnic identification intensity: 1) Individuals with stable ethnic self-identification (3/5 of respondents); 2) Individuals that don't have pronounced ethnic self-identification (1/5 of respondents); 3) Individuals with double (unstable) ethnic self-identification (1/5 of respondents).

The answers to the third question show that the majority of respondents rarely fix their attention on anthropological signs of ethnicity (46,3%). Ethnic factor is actualized rarely (7,32%) (See table 4).

Table 4

Distribution of answers to the question: «Do you pay attention to the nationality of surrounding people?»

Answers variants	Percentage
1. Don't usually pay attention.	46,3
2. Pay attention if I don't like them.	46,3
3. Pay attention anyway.	7,32
4. Other	-

Taking into consideration that more than a half of respondents feel themselves as citizens of Russia, we may conclude that civil and global human identity for yukagirs is more important in comparison with ethnic and regional identity. For a considerable part of yukagirs ethnicity of a person in the process of communication is not significant. We also can see signs of transethnicism, absence of emotional belonging to ethnic group which indicate identity crisis. All in all a low level of ethnic component actualization in the life of yukagirs takes place.

All in all, our results agree with studies of V. Turaev, the were conducted among evenks. As the author points out, ethnic identity boom that are being recorded in recent years among many Russian peoples is not typical for most evenks. There is not conflict between civil (state) and ethnic identities. They have ethnic self-determination more rarely than they call themselves Russian citizens. Ethnic identity is inferior to other types of

identity, however it hasn't lost its significance to evenks. In many villages a percentage of people who don't care about a person's nationality and percentage of families with combined ethnic types is almost the same. Ambivalent type of ethnic identity which is mostly typical for ethnically mixed families is also typical for them (Turaev, 2008).

Therefore ambivalent type of ethnic identity prevails among representatives of yukagir ethnos: positive ethnic identity, ethnic indifference and ethnic fanaticism. Self-identification with a certain community is all in all preserved, but it's not very important and urgent. Observed growth of ethnic indifference becomes apparent in diffusion and uncertainty of ethnic identity, irrelevant ethnicity and belonging to a certain ethnic group with the lack of emotional feelings.

We may define three groups of yukagirs according to the criteria of ethnic self-identification intensity: 1) Individuals with stable ethnic self-identification (3/5 of respondents); 2) Individuals who have pronounced ethnic self-identification (1/5 of respondents); 3) Individuals with double (unstable) ethnic self-identification (1/5 of respondents).

The majority of yukagirs does not pay attention to ethnicity of a person and in the process of communication is oriented at the international sets. All in all we can mark a low level of ethnic factors significance in yukagirs' life. The most significant identity, in comparison with ethnic identity, is civil (All-Russian) identity, i.e. group affiliation is a characteristic of yukagir ethnos. Group affiliation is an entry to a bigger social community, regional identification ("a citizen of Yakutsk") is not pronounced.

In this case ethnic identity of yukagirs along with other native smaller peoples of the North, cannot be reduced to cognitive and emotional processes of "being a part" of a community, "unity", "identification" with it. Ethnic identity is a more complex process that includes basic meaning-of-life determinants (Brachun, 2011: 21).

Ethnic identity of yukagirs is comprised of traditional kinds of activities, family and everyday relations, labor stereotypes, specific character of intercultural interactions, language and assimilation processes. Unfortunately, yukagir language for the majority of yukagirs has lost the meaning of sign that determined ethnic identification. In the long run not only cognitive and emotional aspects of personality should be studied but also other aspects.

Our research was more of a pilot character and it is vital to widen selection in future. Received results may be connected with the imperfection of instruments that shows only surface signs of identity. Further research is required using more complex methods of high quality.

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EPOS AND AN ANCIENT FESTIVAL OF SAKHA PEOPLE

ЭПОС И ДРЕВНИЙ ПРАЗДНИК НАРОДА САХА SAHALAR'IN

KADİM BAYRAMI VE DESTANI

Aitalina BORISOVA-Tatiana PROTOPOPOVA

ABSTRACT

This article investigates historical-cultural interpretations of real but over time forgotten events related to heroic epos-*olonkho* and ancient feasts-*isseakh* of Sakha people. Destination of *Aii* God, composition structure of *olonkho*, sacred content of round dance *osuokhai* and blessings *algys* are revealed. We compare collective perfections archetypes of *olonkho* and *isseakh* concerned with ancient cult *Aii*. Primary concern of narrators-*olonkhosuts* and their style of performing *olonkho* are elicited. *Olonkho*, *osuokhai* and *algys* are indispensable constituency of present-day Yakut feasts.

Keywords: *Olonkho*, *osuokhai*, *algys*, Heavenly *Aii* Gods.

АННОТАЦИЯ

В данной статье исследуются историко-культурные интерпретации реальных, но забытых с течением времени событий, связанных с героическим эпосом-*олонхо* и древним праздником народа саха-*ысыах*. Раскрываются предназначения небесных божеств-*айыы*, композиционная структура *олонхо* и сакральное содержание танца *осуохай*, а также благословения-*алгыс*. Сопоставляются коллективные представления-архетипы *олонхо* и *ысыах*, связанные с древним культом *айыы*. Выявляется особая роль сказителей- олонхосутов, и их стилей исполнения эпоса. *Олонхо*, *осуохай* и *алгыс* являются неизменными составляющими современных якутских праздников.

Ключевые Слова: Олонхо, Осуохай, Алгыс, Небесные Божества Айыы.

ÖZET

Makalede Saha- Isıların eski ve kahramanlıkla ilgili ama günümüzde unutulmuş olan *Olonho* destanın tarihi-gerçek olayları incelenmiştir. Gök tanrıları olan – *Aiyu'nun*, *Olonho'nun* kompozisyon yapısı, *Osuhay* dansının dinsel anlamı, hayır dua olan *Algıs'in* anlamları açıklanmıştır. *Aiyu'nun* kadim kültüne bağlı arketip olan *Olonho* ve *Isıah'in* toplumsal ifadeleri karşılaştırılmıştır. *Olonhocuların* özel rolü ve söyleme tarzı belirlenmiştir. *Olonho*, *Osuhay* ve *Algıs* günümüz Yakut Bayramları'nın ayrılmaz parçalarıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Olonho*, *Osuhay*, *Algıs*, Gök Tanrıları *Aiyu*.

Olonkho-epos¹ is an ancient object of history and culture of Sakha people. It is the whole spiritual, historical and cultural system, where ancient historic events, people's creation, ethic and esthetic views of the Sakha people had been interlaced. These images of the "objective spirit" by V.Diltay are the display of intellect and unity of culture world, proposing reflective forms. Understanding, intuitive penetrations, "feelings", "livings", are very important meanings on interpretation of the past culture (Diltay, 1995: 9).

Wonderful models of the epos and folklore have been kept in the depths of the Yakut culture, where the man took new feelings for the spiritual growth. Heroic character of *Olonkho*, the way of performing unique narrator- *olonkhosuts*, melodious, recitative language, all these signs are the epos signs in which there are generalized huge historic experience of Sakha people in the artistic forms of unusual force and this generalization is one of the essential signs of epos. During centuries heroic epos was passed from generation to generation, preserved and reproduced by heart. It was impossible simply to know *olonkho* by heart, it was necessary to live into the image, to put in the part of its own spirit. Just, that is why narrator- *olonkhosuts* were surrounded with special honor, now, they are used by huge respect among people. Masters- narrators are never learn by heart the texts, they have no ready poems, they "live" in epos. These great improvisers, having beautiful voices, musical and artistic talents, being able to reproduce by their voices emotional character of events – triumph, joy, sorrow. The Sakha people remember the names of well-known *olonkhosuts*: M.N.Androsova-Ionova, I.N.Vinokurov-Tabakhyrov, S.A.Savvin-Kyokhaian, S.A.Zverev-Kyyil Yola, N.A.Abramov-Kynat and etc.

Performing of *olonkho* is closely connected with the rituals and traditions of the Sakha people. Yakut *olonkhosuts* were honorable guests during summer festival *isseakh*, weddings. Often *olonkho* performed at night, when people, finishing their business, with pleasure listened masters- narrators. Grateful listeners can be immersed in the world of the heroic poems.

The first collectors and investigators of folklore and *olonkho*: S.A.Novgorodov – the author of the first ABC-book "Sakhaly suruk-bychyk" and reader «Aagar kinige», where with works of Russian writers there were 20 epic works and examples of the ritual poems, these works were the first popular accounts of oral folk works; A.E.Kulakovsky – outstanding Yakut ethnographer, folklorist, the author "Uraankhai Sakhalar" and "Elleyaada", S.V.Yastremsky, one of the first investigators of *olonkho*, writing "Examples of the Sakha folk literature", P.A.Oiunsky – the founder of the Yakut soviet literature, scientist-philologist, recreated "Niyrgun Bootyr Stremitelny", A.A.Popov – well-known ethnographer, the author of "Yakutsky folklore", "Dolgansky folklore", G.U.Ergis – scientist- folklorist, the author of "Ocherky po Yakutskomy Folkloru", I.V.Pukhov – Yakut – folklorist, the author of long standing works "The ideas and examples of *olonkho* by D.M.Govorov "Myuldiu Bege" and "Yakut heroic epos *olonkho*. The main examples", folk writer D.K.Sivtsev-Suorun-Omolloon, folklorists: S.I.Bolo – well-known folklorist and collectioner of Sakha oral folk works, the author of the collection "Historic legends and stories of Yakuts", A.A.Savvin – collectioner of the folklore and ethnographic materials, and some other scientists.

¹ In 2005 UNESCO have declared *olonkho* – the heroic epos of the Sakha people as a nonmaterial masterpiece of mankind.

Epos is created during decomposition of the tribal system. This is the collective creation of the whole people. Epos describes the ideal life, ideal heroes. People stand up for family values. They actively fight for their happiness. And although writing sources are nothing proving realization by Yakut people their unity, epos eloquently testifies it. Singing the praises of feat of the first inhabitants of the Middle world, defenders of the tribe, and being the expression of self-awareness and self-feeling of the tribe, clan, *olonkho* supports the interests of the tribal solidarity, peaceful creative life of the tribe.

The compositional structure of *olonkho* subject is identical in all stories and consists of the next main parts:

1. Exposition: the epic beginning – description of the country, in which the Hero lives, description of the Sacred Tree; description of the hero's dwelling, his riches, his arms; the Hero's portrayal.

2. Plot: the ground for the epic campaign or feat.

3. Development of the action: the epic campaign, getting over the obstacles.

4. Culmination: fighting with the enemies, victory over him, epic contest and struggle during Heroic seeking in marriage.

5. Further development of the action: reverse way of the Hero to his country; getting over the difficulties in his way and intrigues of the conquered enemies and their kinsfolk.

6. Denouement: return of the Hero to his country and traditional final lines as the main Hero with his wife (kinsfolk, children) happily and richly live till nowadays, increasing the Kin of Uaankhai Sakha (Emelyanov, 1980: 5,11-12).

Epos is beginning from the description of the Primordial Ocean – Araat Baigal, which was disposed to the western part of the domicile of the Hero of the Aii tribe and represented Mythic Sea, although some of Sakha consider, that possibly narrators- *olonkhosuts* thought of Lake Baikal.

As to the life of the epic Gods, *olonkhosuts* intend, that everything has its own destiny: Gods, any natural or social appearance, all sorts of thing, at last every man. The fate of the God defines his functions, “sphere of activity”, the degree of the power and the place in the hierarchy of Gods.

The Sakha people honour Aan Alakhchyn Khotun – the patroness all the alive and all the growing. Her inhabitant – the Magic Tree Aal Luup Mas. The image of this Tree in the epic consciousness of the people represents the symbol of Cosmos, Immortality and Cognition. It embodies the archetype the ideal image of vegetation as a whole (Elyade, 2000: 325). The Sacred tree Aal Luup Mas joins all three Worlds – the thinking and moral Creature, which care about welfare the whole living in the Middle World. The life-giving moisture of the abundance drips from its branches. Near foot the white milky Lake-the symbol of the World Ocean is growing white. When the entrails of the Tree are opened the beneficial God-Mistress of the Natural Boundary-Universe, blessing the Hero. This Tree is the bright image of Heaven Grace, Happiness and Abundance. The Roots of the Tree go down till the Lower World, from there being frightened, arched grow backwards, in order to serve as the Pillar for hanging crockery with creams for Master and Mistress, the Lords of the cattle. The peak of the mighty Tree reaches the bright country of Urun Aii Toyon and become his tethering-post (Istoria Yakutskoi ASSR, 262).

In the radiance Heavens of Urun Aii Toyon – The Lighting Creator – The Lord and his Majestic Ajyna Sier Khotun:

They gave rise at the beginning of the Times

The radiant tribe of Aii –

Beautiful bogatyr – sons,

Beautiful daughters,

With leashes behind their back

They live in sunny uluses.

Their stirring persons are shamans,

Udagans are serving for them (Nirygun Bootur Stremitelny, 1957: 9]

“With sunny leashes behind their back” is the persistent epithet of the human tribe. This

Epithet goes back to the ancient Faith Aii, when it was considered, that the God – Sun rules by people with help rays – “leashes” and leads them along the way of Good, Truth and Beauty. Respectful and reverential attitude of people to the Sun-God one can see in the different appearances of life. During summer festival “*isseakh*”, blessings – *algys*, in the dance-song *osuokhai*, which is performing on to the direction of the movement of Sun.

The people believed the all-powerful Gods-Aii, in sacrifices, in attribution soul to the natural elements. In the Pantheon of Gods of Sakha people each God is responsible for some kind of human activity. The Supreme God in *olonkho*, mythology and ancient religion of Sakha people Urun Aar Toyon – the White Great Lord or Urun Aii Toyon – the White Creative Lord:

On the wide low circle

With eight layers, fiery white Heaven

On the peak of the three thiered

Clear Heaven...

In grey hair white, as milk,

In high cap from three sables,

Adorning diamond feather,

They say, he mounts the throne,

They say, he rules over,

The White Urun Aar Toyon.

And his splendid wife Adyna Sier Khotyn:

Like shining day,

Like radiant fire,

With the face, eclipsing The Sun,

With the cheeks clearer then silver,

Playing vivid blush,

As dawns and evening-glows... (Oiynsky, 1975: 9].

White Urun Aar Toyon and his splendid wife Adyna Sier Khotyn are the Gods, becoming the ancestors of “the Clear tribe Aii – Uraankhai Sakha”. The main Gods of the

Upper “abaahy” – monstrous and terrible Uluu Suoryn Toyon and “unrestrained fierce, angrily obstinate” Kuokhtuia Khotun, according their desire “there are countless number ruinously bloody deaths” (Oiyinsky, 1975: 733). From all honouring Gods Uluu Suoryn Toyon is the Spirit – the Master of the Lena rock carving Pillars and the God of the most powerful shamans (Новиков, 2001: 10).

Three Gods of Aii: Odun Khaan, Chyngys Khaan and Dylga Khaan Toyon looked after the

Fortune of people, the Kun Desegei Toyon was the God of horses and granted people for life and prosperity.

In *olonkho*, as in antiquity the Universe was interpreted as greatly meaningful, obligatory “personal mounting, however, directing no personal origin, that is the Fortune” [Losev, 1994: 230] – Dylga Khaan Toyon. Thus, it was considered, that the Heaven and the Earth have been appeared after White Urun Aii Toyon has called the council of the highest Aii – Uluu Toyon and Dylga Khaan Toyon. In this council the ancestor of the evil creature – “abaahy” did not take part in.

All the appearances of Nature, Heroes of *olonkho* are formed of majestic, fantastic images. The narrators of *olonkho* consider their country the focus of the Universe, and the other countries as outlying districts. *Olonkhosut*, his wonderful interpretations and performing of *olonkho* are realized in such art as the theatre. Theatre is a natural continuation of the traditions of *olonkho* – the Great “Theatre of the one actor”. *Olonkho* is organically embodied and synthesized with the idea of the theatre. Musical and dramatic realization of *olonkho* is characterized with original styles of the performing art: “dyeretii”, “toyuk”, “degeren”. Its are the foundation of the syncretic genre of *olonkho*, which is the school of the bringing up of the professional performers- *olonkhosuts*.

In *olonkho* after grand battles, winning devil forces, *aii* people arrange the Great Festival *issekh* – beautiful action, which acquired new meaning, now. If in the past it had religious and ritual notion, at present *issekh* is traditional, theatrical festival of summer meeting. Formerly *issekh* was a part of the reality, event, continuing vital process. But the reality, according to the representations of ancient peoples, consisted of the mutual actions visible and invisible worlds [1, c.41], their influence upon human existence. Once *isseakh* had religious content – treat and propitiation of gods that to gain over. The aim of *issekh* was not only to harmonize mutual action of people and nature, but to prove esthetic influence upon the participants of festival.

Especially there were solemn *isseakh*, connected in *Aii* cult. Its divided in 3 groups (Romanova, 1994: 160):

- *aii-isseakh* or *isseakh* with blessing. These *isseakhs* had patrimonial character and carried out the open air; *Urun Aii Toyon* was the object of blessing;

- *isseakhs* which were in *urasa* (in conical elm ornamental summer dwelling) in honor the main gods and sacred spirit of ancestors; the main ceremony was sprinkling by *kumis* (mare’s milk); only men took part in this ceremony;

- *isseakhs*, connected in cattle-breeding cult; *isseakh* of “the first foal *kumus*” by *Vilui Sakha* – *kumis* festival. These *isseakhs* were family festivals. The object of blessing was *Jesegei aii* – the God of horse cattle; *isseakhs* “upon ox”. The object of blessing was *Inakhsut Khotun* – The God of cattle-breeding. Especially there was interesting the

description of the ancient *isseakh* in *urasa*. The ceremony of calling the names of Main Gods, and especially respecting ancestors were carried out in *urasa* – summer elm dwelling (according to Ksenofontov).

The honorable place, which have taken possession of the arranger of the *isseakh* was over against the door, directing to the east of the Sun. Respected and of noble race guests were invited, but women and children had not allowed in. During ceremony nobody had right to pass through the door of *urasa*, where at first “the White” shaman had consecrated *kumis*, and than pronounced praying. The priest-assistant splashed *kumis* by special sacred wooden spoon for spirits of ancestors. The sacrifice of *kumis* to the *main Gods* was that shaman had held the *choron*-cup in his hands and named the Gods, calling them in order their importance (Romanova, 1994: 117).

It was supposed that the Gods must touch invisibly the sacred drink. In the sign that some drops of the drink- *kumis* spilled the going out fire, they light ritual fire. After the ceremony, divined, applied to ancestors with blessing to help them. Only after that ceremony, going out *urasa*, one could to touch lightly *kumis*².

Isseakh have had stable, carefully worked dramatic scenery. The investigator A.A.Biliukina has considered that it has had exposition, plot and denouement, development of the action, culmination and epilog as in drama. At that time each components of the ritual had been canonized. Ritual actions have had philosophically founded logical consequentialness. Through codified details of the subject there was opened the system of the view of an ancient sakha. *Isseakh* was well organized social cult festival. Many participants of the performance were the spectators of the surprising action, influencing an inner outlook, imagination and confession of the man. This ritual action strengthened faith of the man to the life, power of the people’s society and his union with the animating nature. In drama there were personages, imaginary generalizing human characters, their collision and the struggle of ideas, moving the world. Artificial solution of the conflict had given birth to clearing of spectators. If in the ritual the man in his faith relied on external help of the God’s power, that in drama through clearing he turned to his inner outlook, to his creative source. The common appearance of the ritual cult of *isseakh* and drama was its turning to spirituality of a man, to acknowledgment his high predestination in the world (Biliukina, 1992: 41).

Round dances were indefeasible part of the *isseakh*, dances-*ungky* with singing *osuokhai*, in which leader of a choir had pronounced every line of a song and repeating by dancing people. In his book “Aii kyhite” N.E.Petrov have been explained, that the word *ungky* is derivative from the verb *ung* – to pray, to worship, closely connected with the notions: *unguu-suktuu*, *suguruiuu-kerdehuu*, translated as prayer, solemn, respectful address and worship, request (Petrov, 2000: 7). As addressing to The Great God *Urung Aar Toyon* and other Gods, that they have blessed people on good things, directed in the preservation of the clan. *Osuokhai* – the dance of the worship to the Sun, when the performers, national singers, calling the names of *Aii*, had blessed them and requested Good and Welfare for the gathered people. As a rule, all the movements of the solemn processions, *osuokhai* dance, round song, all the ritual movements and others had happened in the direction of the Sun movement, or from the east to the west (for example, during consecration of a fire, sprinkling by *kumis* in the *balagan*-house, and others). To follow the

² Archives of the Yakut Scientific Center, Fund, 4, List, 1, File, 129, Page, 19-28.

Sun, according to the God's signs it means to get blessing from the heaven, to make according to ethic laws of the clan or tribe. How truthfully there were the words of M.Sheler, that, it was possible the Nature World (roughness and evil) and the World of Liberty (Culture) Morality might be separate if the Great Force of Beauty(Art's Force) had not connected its. The values have become "real" only in the Goods. In the valuable things its were not "real". In the Good Value is objective as a rule and real simultaneously. With each new Good there was taken place original development of the real World (Tugarinov, 1988: 52).

Olonkho-epos and *osuokhai*-circular dance you can imagine as "stopping past live", which is necessary to research in the integration of such sciences as history and culture.

Olonkho and *osuokhai* are coexistence as indestructible notions of cultural memory, spirituality and sociality, spreading its in cultural life of people.

The main thought, which have contained in the ancient yakut ritual was the worship the Heaven Gods *Aii* in which the motive of the blessing to pass through the dance, dancing plastics. The culmination of the dance was in the "flight to Gods *Aii*", when the participants of the dance have performed the jumps, trying to jump higher as it possible(Lukina, 1991: 18-23). Poetical rhythm of the *osuokhai* dance has served the foundation for new yakut songs and help to showing new talented performers of songs. Besides, *osuokhai* has been the testimony of the deep influence of the *Aii Doctrine*, which contained in its rhythms and songs. This unique archetypical model of the dance, has been like round dances of the other peoples in the world, including their respect and the worship Heaven Gods and as the original hymn to the Sun. In spite of the influence of the different cultures the *osuokhai* had preserved its original. Today the *osuokhai* has been the unique kind of the archaic round dance, which organically inscribed in the modern conditions "As an art intuitively has comprehended changes, occurring in the collective unconsciousness" (Yung, 1995: 31). An art – it is not simply the copy of the reality, but it is creative thought of the reality/ The objective reality must to pass through the man's spirit and to refract in it. Thoughts and feelings of the artist, his relation to the depicting life, inevitably impressed in the product of the art, representing as "elaborated", transformed image of the reality. This idea has been contained in the term "creativity" (Sheler, 1996: 293).

According to the historical traditions the first festival-*isseakh* in *Tyumaada land* was organized by *Elley Bootyr*, where he had been pronounced the words of *algys* – the blessing in the accompaniment of the dance- *osuokhai*, performing ceremony, which was the part of the yakut religion.

The ritual dance – *osuokhai*, excerpt its religious meaning; have created useful vibrations for the man's organism. Proving recovering effect, which takes away the tire, psychic stress, the ritual dance – *osuokhai* provided esthetic pleasure, giving optimism and energy, strengthened a sense of the ethnic community and the protection of the individual.

The dance-song – *osuokhai*, *olonkho*, *algys* are certain attributes of festivals of the modern sakha people. Very frequently in festivals, weddings, jubilees, social means there are invited "algystchyt"- the men, who has the gift of the performing ancient ceremonies, which they are performing in the new interpretations now.

In 2001 year it was built Artchy House – the House for the performing of the ceremonies of worship high Gods-*Aii*, simultaneously predestined for folklore festivals and fates. Every year there are organized competitions of the performers of *osuokhai*, children

meetings “*toiyuksyt*”- performers songs-*toiyuk*, festivals of national dance collectives, yakut songs “Etigen Khomus”- singing vargan, musical mysteries, devoted to the Great festivals.

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