

## **Yakut leader Tygyn as a phenomenon of ethnic culture**

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**Abstract** In the culture of the Yakut people, the image of the legendary leader Tygyn, who lived at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, is of great importance for the world' ethnography, folklore, and ethnic studies. Moreover, it is an interesting example of a study of leadership. Tygyn attempted to unite the scattered Yakut tribes into a single state formation - the chiefdom of his sort. His activities were suppressed by events related to the accession of Yakutia to the Moscow state.

Our paper shows how the legendary figure Tygyn became the image of the ideal leader for the Yakuts - their Khan, idealized military leader, as well as the descendant of divine ancestors. We recorded a significant cycle of historical legends about this charismatic leader. Our results and findings prove that charisma of Tygyn goes back to the mythology of the Turkic-Mongolian epic. The transition from traditional to charismatic legitimacy occurred in the Yakuts in the era of the meeting of the two power systems. The image of Tygyn is multifunctional in modern Yakut society and is key for its perception of leadership and leaders.

### **1 Introduction**

The Yakuts are the ethnic group of the modern Russia inhabiting its North-Eastern part. The Yakut population is now around 500 thousand people. The Yakuts were traditionally engaged in horse-breeding and cattle-breeding, and they were semi-nomads. The Yakut language belongs to the Turk linguistic family, but it also has the significant amount of Mongol and Tungus words. The modern ethnology considers the Yakuts to be successors of nomadic tribes from Altai foothills and Transbaikalia cattle-breeders. At the early 2<sup>th</sup> millennium ancestors of Yakuts relocated to valleys of Middle Lena by tribal groups. Here the Yakut ethnic group was formed. The ethnogenesis was most active at 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the midst of tribal wars. At the end of 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> the trend of tribal unification was formed that was expressed in the activity of the leader named Tygyn.

The Yakut society of the 17<sup>th</sup> century had no classical family with its features and functions as it gave its place to the nuclear family that settled down separately. Although in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Yakuts were divided according to the tribal principle, existence of the tribe was just implied. Tribal relationships, or rather the tribal terminology marked relationships of "domination-submission" among clans and lineages. The reason for the formless, uncertain nature of social group was the territorial dispersal, the specific form of the economy, the developed social differentiation. Such situation was mostly determined by the natural condition of the land and formation of the Northern cattle-breeding complex. Ancestors of the Yakuts could not relocate to the territory by whole tribal communities.

Purely tribal terms are literally translated from the Yakut language, and it made their understanding more difficult. However, such terms could show the crumbling hierarchy of the traditional tribal system. So, such terms as the "paternal family", "maternal family", "tribe" were used in the structure of the traditional Yakut society.

These terms show not so much the system of the shared bloodline as the position of the family in the social stratification. Many researchers relate it to polygamy that existed in the past among well-born Yakuts. So, “paternal family” is the main branch of the lineage and has the high social status and “maternal family” is its offshoot with the lower social status. Yakut folklore specialists describe maternal families as families where the person could not be socially mobilized in vertical, could not become high-placed, wealthy, but always played the role of slave and servant. Thus, to be more precise, so-called Yakut tribes were not only the union of paternal and maternal (older and younger) families but the territorial and ethnic union of several clans.

The leader of the clan was traditionally the head of the paternal family. He performed administrative and military functions, went to social gatherings and took part in courts, disputes. They were always well-off, respectable, “wealthy-looking old men” (Bolo 1994).

The power of Yakut leaders (toyons) was expressed in public, military and economic areas. Toyons were granted the public rule that was mostly expressed in governing inter-community relationships, relationships between two forms of the family within the clan, the common law (Gogolev 1988). The public power of the leader was demonstrated during Midsummer festivities called Ysyakh. The main function of the toyon at 16<sup>th</sup>-first half of 17<sup>th</sup> century was his role as a military leader. In 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries Yakut clans struggled for leadership that expressed in plundering raids of toyons and their troops. Folklore calls this period “kyrgys Yyete” (the century of battles). The process of integration during 13<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> resulted in the fact that one clan within every *tribe* took the leading position. That clan managed ethnic and social processes through its leader.

Toyons also had the great social and economic significance as big owners of land and cattle that could be more than ten thousands. The toyon's family included, apart from the toyon himself, his brothers, sons, nephews, foster-sons, slaves with their wives and children (up to 100 people).

Thus, the Yakut society of that period underwent the active process of formation of new social and political structures. The end of 16<sup>th</sup>-the early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries became the important period in development of the Yakut aristocratic power because that was the time of the accelerated disintegration of family bases. Tribal connections initially played the role of the additional structure and relationships of “supremacy-submission” were marked through tribal terms. Individual clans became the aristocracy inside the *tribe*. *It was also recognized by Soviet historians*. Power and might of those clans were, according to Tokarev, “the embryo form of wide intertribal unions. Military and plundering enterprises of toyons had, although in the most primitive form, the unifying trend” (Tokarev 1945). The *tribe* becomes the ethnic and political entity where the leading role belongs to the ruling clan.

## 2 Historical foundations of Tygyn's leadership

At the end of 16<sup>th</sup> - the early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the tribe of Kanggalasty led by the clan of Tygyn was recognized as the most power and authoritative tribe. Moreover, they occupied the central steppe district of the Middle Lena valleys that helped to develop the cattle herd farming, the economic and military advantage. Kanggalasty were considered to be “main bearers of those Southern cultural elements, including the Turk speech that strongly determined the main nature of the later Yakut culture” (Okhladnikov 1955). It is supposed that the ethnonym “kangalas” related to the name of kangly who formed the tribal union in the basin of Syr Darya at last centuries BC that was the enemy of the Hunnic State. Their ethnogenesis is related to kangly that was included into the Petcheneg-Oguz union (Gogolev 1993).

However, Kanggalasty were not the most numerous Yakut tribe. According to the data of 1665, the population of Yakut tribes was as the following: Megintsy – 3140 people, Boturustsy – 2810 people, Kanggalasty – 2260 people, Borogontsy – 2140 (Dolgikh 1960).

The power of the Kanggalas toyon Tygyn is described as following in historical legends: “he was seated on the special elevated bed. All travelers from far-away lands came to him as they were laying their bows on his knees, they left him with bows; in short, they behaved towards him like to the divine being” (Ksenofontov 1977). Could such sacralization happen during the life of Tygyn? The famous Soviet historian, academician A.P. Okladnikov is confident about it: “The person of Tygyn, the wise old man, sovereign and fearful warrior, elected by Uлуу Toyon (one of principal Yakut gods) himself, joined mighty images of epic warriors and divine beings as early as during his lifetime”. Moreover, the researcher explains this sacralization mostly by the “atmosphere of the ancient pagan religion and epic existing at that time” (Okladnikov 1955). However, the structure of the Yakut society described above explains sacralization of Tygyn, if it really took place at least in a lesser degree. The need in the sacralized leader was the political necessity for the young ethnic group.

The Kanggalas leader Tygyn was first mentioned in 1631 when he was called “the best taysha”. Russian Cossacks could not require the payment of the state tax (yasak) from him: “the princeling of the Yakol people Tynina... were fighting all over the days and did not give your Tsar yasal and they did not want to let us, your slaves, Tsar, leave their land”. It seemed that Tygyn had died or had been killed at that time as since 1932 Russian documents already mention his sons either by their names or collectively as “children of Tygyn”. So, in 1634, Cossack chief Ivan Galkin wrote that Kanggalas princes owned the greatest quantity of land and people, controlled other princes and didn't allow other princes to pay the state tax (Tokarev 1945). In 1636-1637 sons of Tygyn paid

the yasak for 1637-1638, gave their family members as hostages, started visiting the Lena stockade with the yasak, i.e. they showed their loyalty, the greater part of Yakuts stopped resisting and the principal Yakut territory could be considered to be the part of the Moscow state. Thus, the peace treaty with Kangalas toyons was the great success of the Tsar administration (Bakhrushina and Tokarev 1953). These historical facts prove that the power of Tygyn's clan spread outside its tribal territory.

In legends, during their meeting with Tygyn, Russian Cossacks tell him about the divine power and the might of the Moscow Tsar who is like the sun. They summon Tygyn to submit with all Yakut people, promise him mercy of the Tsar, wealth and state awards. In his turn, Tygyn refused it and challenges Cossacks to fight (Khudyakov 1890).

In folklore and Cossack documents of that century other Yakut princes Loguy and Mymak act in most responsible moments of the national history as indecisive, immersed in the self-defeating mood, even as traitors. While Tygyn and his sons are described in the chapter of the active resistance: "After that Yakuts, as they gathered with Tygyn, standing on the hill at the lake Saysary, started shooting with their bows. Yakuts were shooting back for a very long time, they did not surrender... Tygyn, being invulnerable by bullets, was fighting long enough (Meletinski 1984). Such view on the Kangalas toyon helped to recognize him later as the general national leader.

We showed that the specific clan can be found inside the tribe. One of most important social functions of those clans was stratification both inside its tribe and outside it. The special attention in historical legends is paid to this facet of Tygyn's activity.

Thus, the pre-state structure of Yakuts had such features of chiefdom as separation of one ruling hereditary group, emergence of sacralization of the leader of this group, standards of genealogical relationships, social and proprietary inequality. All of this allows to determine it as transitional from the stage of community to chiefdom.

Although it is believed that chiefdom is not the universal stage of the emergence of the state (Bondarenko 1993), we thought fit to apply this term to the social structure of Yakuts as main features of state formation are not traced down in it but expressed relationships of power and domination are present in it.

Under such conditions the social institution of leadership acquires the new cultural and determined role. The Yakut culture expressed it with historical legends about Tygyn. The leader (forebear) had been represented before it in the genre of Olonkho heroic epos. That's why it is seemed that the following consequences is possible for his image in the traditional culture of Yakuts: the mythic character – the epic hero – the hero of legends. The issue of mythological basis of the Yakut heroic epos is researched well in the scientific literature. Researchers pay the special attention to the main character of Olonkho – the warrior of the Middle World. Summarizing their works, we can shortly point out the following mythological features of his image:

1. The character has the divine origin or is born in a miraculous manner.
2. He is raised outside his family, i.e. the motive of departure (fleeing) of the hero.
3. The hero sometimes has the ugly or zoomorphic appearance, so-called motive of the persecuted hero.
4. He is related to the center of the world through the global tree (Aal-LuukMas).
5. The hero passes trials (initiation) and then know his destiny and gets the name.
6. The warrior has the magic horse intended to him.

These mythological features are characteristic to the Turk and Mongolian epos as a whole. But, while they go into background and much narrowed for other nations, they are mostly preserved in Olonkho as in the archaic artifact.

Doubtless, historical legends about Tygyn are based upon the abundant mythological material. It is not an accident that the life of Tygyn is cyclized, his birth, initiation, military expeditions and death are mostly described. These cornerstones of the human life are principle myth-forming components of his biography. Main characters of the legend about Tygyn, such as his sons and Tygyn's son-in-law – a lone warrior, Tygyn's horse also have the mythological nature. The mythological nature is expressed not only in plots and motives of legends but "mythological motives are in this case play the role of conscious archetypes" (Jung 1996). These plots and images express the function of the legend as the component of the mythological thinking in the transitional period when the leader acts as the heritage of the myth in first historical descriptions. Legends describe the history of the nation as they assess it themselves.

In rituals and mythology of Yakuts, the soul of the warrior, shaman, a high-placed person is closely related to the image of the global tree (the axis, the center of the world). The plot of finding the future warrior, the forbear at the global tree is often found in the Yakut heroic epos. After the death of the shaman the hide of the sacrificial horse and the costume with the tambourine hanged on this artificial center of the world must help the soul to pass to the another world by the shortest way. The function of the global tree is expressed when the soul comes and leaves the Middle World. It is its particular cradle, path related to the cosmogonic center of the world and the central axis that connects worlds.

The motive of suspension of the hero is originated from the worldviews on the human as the dweller of the Middle World placed between the Upper and the Lower worlds, the heaven and the Earth common for all the Turk-speaking nations. In the early Tibetan religion of Bon that played the great role in formation of concepts for the Central Asian shamanism, the heaven and the Earth are connected with the long rope (Sagalaev 1984). It is possible that this rope serves as the connecting element not only between the heaven and the Earth but, like the global tree, was considered to be the central axis of the world.

In this regard, the following words of the cultural first ancestor of Yakuts Ellyay are interesting: "I am also created, I live due to the order of Chyngys-Haan and Odun-haan, being connected with the mother earth with a thin hair string and being attached to the whole Universe by a thin thread. I was the blood of the man of the Khan title, I was the child of the nobleman, I was the offspring of the respectable man, I was the successor of the high-placed man" (Ksenofontov 1977). Ellyay's words express the sacral link between the heaven and the leader. This link has the material image of symbols of the central world axis - "string", "thread". The rope connects the leader not only with the heaven but with the Earth. So, the ancient mythology describes the leader as the central connecting element of the Earth and the heaven, he is the part of not only the microcosmos – the ethnic group, but also the part of the macro cosmos – the Universe. The leader (in the later Yakut tradition, Tygyn) is one of the value constant of the world view and has the central place in it. Patronage of Uluu Toyon, the mediator god that has the median position between the Upper and the Lower World is also related to these ideas.

Heritage of the myth in the history is the person of the forebear, the founder of the historical tradition that is often related to both the myth and the history. In the Yakut culture that person was Tygyn who receives the charisma from the god as the blood clot at the type of the lance in legends in the conventional epic form. It allows us to believe that mythologization of the leader happened not only in the mythological epoch but in XVII century, that was crucial for the Yakuts, when there were trends for transition to chiefdom. Mythologization of Tygyn also happens after joining the Moscow State. Sacralization of the leader was the reflection of processes of active political genesis and ethnic integration.

The basis for Olonkho initially formed in the Southern Siberia and the Central Asia (Gogolev 1995). At the same time, the stereotypical ideal image of the Sakha leader started forming within this genre. Then this image is developed in the historical legends of Yakuts.

Legends are considered by experts as the valuable historical source. They really mostly contain the reality and tell about the certain, often true events and persons. However, legends, despite their historicity, mostly remain artifacts of folklore, one of forms to preserve and to develop the ethnical conscience, paradigms of mythological thinking. They belong to texts of the cosmological nature, to so-called schemes of the mythic and historical tradition, and they form the time range of this society. That's why the historical legend combines the diachronic and synchronic aspects (Myths of the world 1987).

The link between legends and mythology is expressed by the fact that true events in them are designed with ready-made plots and motives that are the kind of stereotypes. The main ethnographic fund for generation of plots, motives and images in legends were myths and rituals (Sokolova 1984). But the function of "transformation of the chain of events meaningless from the mythic and poetical viewpoint into the set of meaningful, i.e. canonic plots, in attribution to historical persons such features that allow them to be significant characters in the folklore and mythological aspect as well" is more important. That's why the link between legends and myths is found on the deeper level – in the function of the legend that is not much preserving the memory about the event as brining it under one traditional scheme due to which this event acquires the status of the value (Myths of the world 1987). Everything said above relates to Yakut historical legends that are related to the epos in plots and in the function of the mythological correction of the history. The general trend of dependence of images of forebears and tribal chief on myths is expressed in them.

Legends of various nations are often focused around the specific historical name. It becomes their constructive factor. Yakut legends have two main characters – Ellyay and Tygyn, and the image of the forebear Ellyay has the legendary nature. That's why we may believe that Tygyn is the only historical character surrounded by the great cycle of legends. Due to concepts of the link between legends and myths mentioned above we may try to find out mythological sources of this cycle.

The origin of Tygyn in legends is related to forebear of Yakuts Ellyay and god Uluu Toyon. The epic hero is closely connected to pantheon of gods. In Olonkho, throughout the plot gods continue patronizing the hero but they do it indirectly, because his life is already predestined from above. N.V. Emelyanov believes that the heavenly origin of the epic hero is related to archaic myths about chiefs of tribes, forebears and cultural heroes as well as to more developed mythological concepts about the origin of divine or sacred rulers (Emelyanov 1990). Such link has, most probably, the semantic and genetic nature where the primitive myth about the divine (heavenly) origin of the forebear transformed into various plots about leaders. The feature characteristic of the myth is preserving of the constant form (composition) and filling it with the various contents depending on the social and ideological demand (the plot). There are several versions of the story about the birth of Tygyn:

1. Tygyn's father was killed by the Tungus and his pregnant wife was taken away. When she comes back, Tygyn's grandfather tries to kill her. His old wife stops him with words: "If a boy is born, he will be the man in place of the killed man" (Historical legends and stories of the Yakuts 1960);
2. The Tungus exterminated the whole family of Elyay. Only his four-years-old grandson remains alive. He is brought up by a poor old woman (Ksenofontov 1977);
3. Tygyn's parents are unknown. He was found as a baby in the cradle suspended to the tree at the bank of the river (Ksenofontov 1977).

The mythological motive of the indirect danger is found at other Turk and Mongolian nations. So, in the Kyrgyz tale, the mother pregnant with Genghis Khan was thrown in the water (Propp 1976). These stories contain the myth about "removal of the baby" where the baby is initially threatened with death but as it luckily escapes it, it is raised without parents. Historically true facts of the intertribal struggle between ancestors of Yakuts are described with the mythological scheme.

The special place in the global myth about "removal of the baby" has the motive of immersion to the water. The comparable study of this motive around the global folklore shows the consistent pattern: future chiefs of their nations are immersed into the water (Moses, the Persian king Cyrus, the Babylonian king Sargon I, Oedipus etc). According Propp, the motive of immersion into the water, passage through the water is related to the ritual of initiation (consecration, enthronement). For example, for Sargon, passage through the water proves authenticity and sacral legitimacy of his kingly power. In the primitive ritual, passage of trials contained the moment of the ritual temporary death. In mythology the water is used as the symbol of death (Propp 1986). In this sense, Jung calls the water journey the transcendental function of the myth (Jung 1996).

The story about upbringing of the hero is widely represented both in Olonkho and in historical legends. In legends Tygyn is raised by: 1) his father's parents; 2) a poor old woman; 3) unknown people. No version tells that he is raised by his parents. Here we see the global motive about the persecuted hero who is raised far away from his family.

The version about a poor old woman is the most archaic story. Propp believes that legends undergo the gradual replacement of the totemic image of the feeding beast with the nursing woman but the image of the hero's own mother is concealed behind her image (Propp 1986). The image of the feeding beast is contained in Olonkho too. The totem animal, who gives birth and raises the warrior, is the horse (Olonkho "The Horse's Son DyyrayBege", "The Horse's Son DyyrayBergen", "The Horse's Son Atalami the Warrior" etc). Images of animals are also found in the epos and legends of other Turk-speaking nations. In legends about the origin of the Kyrgyz a dog, a mufelon, a she-wolf, a roe deer feed forbearers of individual tribes. Such child is often happened to be found near the animal that would then disappear. For example, Dzhylykaydar (the end of XVIII-the early XIX centuries) was lost by his mother during river crossing, he was found when they saw a white horse from a distance. When people approaches, it disappeared and a baby in the cradle appeared in its place. He grew into an unusual person, the chief of Bugu tribe (Abramzon 1977).

The part of Olonkho describes how a helpless baby, the future warrior, fees on life-giving drops from the sacred tree AalLuukMas – ilge, where an ancient woman – the spirit of the lady of the Earth lives. The motive of the nursing woman in Olonkho is represented by this spirit that is crossed with the image of the global tree. Like the Yakut Olonkho, the hero of Altai "Maaday Kara" is raised by the old woman – the lady of the Altai land (Maadai-Kara 1973). In some versions Tygyn is raised by his grandfather. This specific motive is characteristic for the Hosunn epos (Gurvich 1977). So, in the story about Tygyn's upbringing, some moments of Saha ethnic genesis are reflected.

What is the function of the mentor in the archaic myth? May be, the Dolgan legend "The Foster Child of the River" where the child is adopted by the lord of the grandmother river can answer this question. Afterwards, he becomes the forebear (Dolgan 1937). Two mythic images are combined in this story: the water as the symbol for passage of initiation, and the mentor. The woman played the special role in ancient initiation rituals. This role of the old woman is preserved in the Yakut ritual of initiation to hunters. The fact that initiation is carried out by the woman, according to Alekseev, proves the archaic nature of the ritual (Alekseev 1965; 1975; 1986; 1992). Thus, function of the mentor is not limited with nurture only and upbringing of the future leader. The process of upbringing is often just suggested in the myth and even omitted in some stories (we see the already grown-up hero). Even more important is the function of the mentor who carries out the process of initiation, determining future tasks of the hero.

After his initiation Tygyn grows up fast and acquires qualities of the leader. The motive of the miraculous fast growth of the warrior is characteristic for Olonkho: "*after one day – into a one year old// after two – into a two years old, //after three – in a three years old toddler he grew, // so, he was growing so surprisingly*" (Er Sogotokh 1996). Such motive is present everywhere in the global folklore and reflects general worldviews of the primitive person. The leader, the hero, the redeemer is born at the moment of the trouble and immediately takes on his case. He is born as a grown-up because he is an adult who has come back from another world or who has to replace him. Such idea is found in words of Tygyn's grandmother: "If a boy is born he will be a man in place of

the killed man” (Historical legends and stories of the Yakuts 1960). But as the woman cannot give birth to an adult, the motive of transformation of the child into the adult – unusually fast growth appears (Propp 1986). Initiation is here the borderline moment. Before it, Tygyn is developed as usual and he is not different from his mates, after it he grows up fast because it is his second birth.

In mythological concept of cyclic exchange between death and revival, the leader personifies the pole of life and victory over death. He cannot die as a mortal so he is murdered (the ritual murder) or replaced in any other manner (Myths of the world 1987).

How is Tygyn killed according to Yakuts' ideas? There are some versions: 1) he died in captivity as a martyr (Khudyakov 1890); 2) he dies as a hostage between 1634-1639 (Lindenau 1983); 3) he is treacherously run down by logs in the Russian fortress (Yakut scientific center 2019); 4) he died as he was offended by a Cossack (Historical legends and stories of the Yakuts 1960). The story about running down was popular among scholars of Yakutia in the 1960-1970 and, perhaps, it was also borrowed from folklore. Tokarev believes that historical Tygyn was really killed or died at the early 1630s (Tokarev 1945). Mythological character of legends is also expressed in the fact that the leader shows magical qualities at the moment of his death. He is impregnable for Russian weapons his warriors are killed around him but Tygyn waves off bullets and compares them with flies (Historical legends and stories of the Yakuts 1960). Nikiforov (1994) believes that such motive was not unrealistic: “the initial speed of the bullet from a smooth-bore harquebus was slow if compared with modern weapons and the Yakut armor had improved for a long time and could resist the hit of the bullet that spent its force... Warriors who were killed around Tygyn and his favorite son did not have the expensive armor” (Nikiforov 1994). But impregnability of the hero has multiple analogues in legends of other nations. In Russian historical legends such motive is characteristic for bandits – social avengers: “*they are shooting at him, but he is just laughing, bullets are jumping off him, he is catching them and throwing them back... These qualities are not born with him, he received them from the god or with the help of the magic*” (Sokolova 1984).

The death of historical Tygyn must be the significant event of that time. Why did not the ethnic mind preserve its more or less authentic description but so many versions exist? In mythology the death of the ruler must have the ritual nature. Moreover, the chief is the role and the person who plays it cannot have the “biological” time, that's why Tygyn was 300 years old in legends. Chiefs do not die, they leave for the world of ancestors. We may suggest, that the mythological function covered historical facts in legends with this plot. Tygyn died but it is unknown how he died, that is equal to the scheme of immortality. The unknown does not exist or has the insignificant nature, such is the logics of the mythological mind.

### **3 The phenomenon of leadership in the Yakut ethnic culture**

Of course, historical legends about Tygyn are based upon the abundant mythological material. It is not an accident that the life of Tygyn is cyclized, his birth, initiation, military expeditions and death are mostly described. These cornerstones of the human destiny are principal myth-forming components of his biography. The principal characters of this cycle, children, the lone warrior, the horse, has the mythological nature too. But “mythological motives in this case play the role of conscious archetypes” (Jung 1996). These stories and images express the function of the legend as the component of the mythological thinking during the transitional period when the protest leader is the heritage of the myth in first historical descriptions. Legends describe the national history in the same way as it assesses it itself.

In the Yakut historical science Tygyn has always been paid the considerable attention of researchers, this process was uneven and depended on many factors. We can summarize the following stages of study of Tygyn's issue by the historical science:

1. Records and publications about Tygyn, usage of the data about him in ethnographic and historical works (the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> – the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries).
2. The massive collection of legends about Tygyn, setting of the issue concerning his political activity (the 1920s-1930s).
3. Solving the issue about the historical nature of Kangalas Tygyn based upon the archive data (the 1940s).
4. Suggestion of the theory about Tygyn being the carrier of the idea about the tribal union (the 1950s).
5. Mass editions and scientific publications of legends including ones of Tygyn cycle (the 1960-1970s).
6. The scientific analysis of individual mythological stories and motives from Tygyn cycle. Evaluation of his image from the viewpoint of the new thinking, correlation with the subject of nation-building (the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> – the early 21<sup>st</sup> century).

The massive collection and publishing of legends about historical Tygyn, setting of the issue concerning his political activity, solving the issue about the historical nature of Kangalas Tygyn based on the archive data significantly helped to preserve, revive and make his image relevant in the ethnic and political conscience of Saha during the whole 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The historical science solved the issue concerning the historical nature of Tygyn mostly positively, but existence of two aspects, mythological and historical, in ideas about him, as well as the less developed issue of the social structure in Yakutia of 17<sup>th</sup> century hindered the constructive evaluation of birth the role played by Tygyn himself and later ideas about him. So, the issue concerning his political role is still unsolved. Such situation with the issue concerning the national leader was related to the social and political conditions of each individual historical period and the level of the Yakut national social and political development. His name is now closely associated with the subject of Yakut nation-building that's why one of the most important modern scientific trends is addressing the internal contents of his image.

The paradigm of the *leader* passed from the level of the head of the leading clan to the level of the general ethnic leader. The so-called compensating process is going on when Tygyn loses charismatic qualities and acquires qualities of the legal, rational power type. So, motives of sympathy to him expressed by the Russian Tsar, the title of "prince" appear in legends of 19<sup>th</sup> century. They appeared in historical legends and in the national political consciousness quite naturally because Yakuts learned nation-building from Russians (Vinokurova 1994). In the literature this general process was always linked to the ideology of the so-called local feudal elite. However, concepts of the leader initially appeared from depths of the ethnical mind, from mythology. The image was not created artificially in any political purposes, it appeared as early as at the stage of the ethnic development when ethnic and political minds coincided and the ideology in the form of mythology and religious beliefs was the integral part of the ethnic culture. The family of Tygyn that might be directly interested in the narrow political ideologization died out as early as in 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In this case, one may speak not about the political ideologization but about the situation when "*the tense ethnic mind helps to ideologize other forms of spiritual culture (language, religion, rituals, ethnic and genetic legends, epos, historical songs; at the later stage – literature, art, national and political theories and movements etc.), thence help to preserve or to update these or those ethnic signs*" (Chistov 1986). Okladnikov wrote about such form of Tygyn's ideologization that happened not from above but was caused by tension of the ethnic mind. The leader became one of the most important ethnic-forming and ethnic-integrating traditional values.

## 4 Conclusions

According to our view, the image of the Yakut leader Tygyn is not a political myth, it is the archetype of the political culture and the political conscience that combines simultaneously the ethnic and the political nature. His person was not used in political purposes, but it has always existed in the national mind. Preserving this balance may help to preserve traditions of the Yakut nation and to further improve its political culture.

Therefore, Tygyn is now the single person that combines the mythological character and the personality of the historical Kangalas forbearer. In the past, the Saha, using the epithet "Tsar", expressed their attitude to his desire to create the higher structure of the power.

It was thought to be the unrealized potential of power relationships for Yakuts. Nowadays the name of Tygyn is related to the subject of nation-building both in the historical and modern aspect. The name of Tygyn is actively used in the social life now, his name is given to the most socially significant institutions, republican athletic games, his image is the inspiration for various works of literature, theater and cinema, songs devoted to him are performed. His title of Darkhan got the political status of the head of the Republic of Saha (Yakutia) and has become the popular male name in modern Yakutia.

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