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The Problem of the Sakha People's Ethnogenesis: a New Approach

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The subject of the research is the problem of ethnogenesis and early ethnic history of the Sakha people. The issue of the research is interaction of the Sakha people's ancestors with Turko-Mongol ethnic groups of the Baikal region, the comparative method being the methodology applied. The Sakha people's tribal composition and ethnonyms are subject to the comparison with the names of the medieval Turko-Mongol tribes of the Baikal region and modern Turko-Mongol peoples. The main result of the research is the conclusion about an organic connection between the Sakha people's origin with the ethnic history of the medieval tribes of Central Asia. The results of the research can be used in writing a new conception of Yakutia's history. The conclusions obtained are the following ones. Firstly, the analysis of the Yakut ethnonyms helped to trace ethnocultural parallels with the neighboring nations: the Buryats, the Evenks and the Evens, and the Yukagirs. Secondly, the main role in the ethnogenesis of the Sakha people was played by the Usutu-Mangun tribe, the carriers of Ust'-Tal'kinsk culture of the Southern Angara Region of the XII-XIV centuries. Thirdly, the Usutu-Manguns descended from the Buir-Nur Tatars, defeated by the Mongols' and Jurchens' united army. Therefore, the article presents numerous parallels between the Central Asian Tatars and the Sakha people. Fourthly, along with the Angara River Tatars the Barga, the Khori-Tumats, the Batulin people, and, probably, the Merkits, etc. played a vital role in the Sakha people's ethnogenesis.

Keywords: ethnogenesis, the Sakha-Yakuts, Turkology, study of the Mongolian language, ethnic and cultural contacts, the Tungus-Evenks, the Buryats, the Baikal region history, archeology.

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Research area: history.

Introduction to the problem

The problem of the Sakha people's origin has been the subject of research since the Northern cattle-breeders were first mentioned. In the end of the XVII century N. Witsen (Witsen, 2010), I. Edes (Ivanov, 1978), foreign travelers, got

interested in the Northern cattle-breeders' origin and their linguistic affiliation. They came to the conclusion that the Sakha people's motherland was the Baikal region, the Sakha constituting one people with the Mongols and the Buryats until they were forced out by the latter. Folklore

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information about the Sakha people's origin was gathered by G.F. Miller (Miller, 1999) and I. Lindenau (Lindenau, 1983), participants of the II Kamchatka expedition. According to I. Lindenau's materials (Ibid.), the Sakha people were formed around the Baikal steppes, the place where Ellei Bootur and Omogoi Baai, the legendary ancestors of the Sakha people, met.

Every historic period, associated with the rise of the Sakha people's national identity and large-scale expeditions with the aim to study the history of the region, advanced the interest in this problem. Almost all the researchers (ethnographers, folklorists, linguists, historians and archaeologists), who studied the Sakha people, expressed their opinions about their ethnogenesis. The discourse on this problem has recently focused on the issue of a native, local origin or an alien, migration nature of the Sakha people's ethnogenesis. Right up till the 90-s of the XX century all the authors proceeded from the point of view considering the Sakha people's southern origin. After the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) received its sovereignty in 1992 the issue of the Sakha people's origin became politicized. Such a politicized attitude to the scientific problem of ethnogenesis, focusing on autochthony of an indigenous people of a particular national republic in the modern area of residence, is generally characteristic of the entire post-Soviet space.

Conceptual foundation of the research

This raises the question of what ethnogenesis and an ethnic group formed are. What differs one ethnic group from another? How are the people educated? Normal ethnic identity establishes a fundamental difference between the Yakuts and the Tungus people, or between the Yakuts and the Buryats, considering these peoples to be completely different and

belonging to different language families. Geneticists say that every ethnic group has its genetic ancestor who lived several thousand years ago. They even claim mathematical precision in their studies and try to restore an ethnic picture of the past millennia. However, certain haplogroups' introduction to language families and groups in compliance with the Klyosov method was repeatedly criticized in scientific literature. For example, what does the assertion that the Yakuts belong to the Finno-Ugric haplogroup mean? The point is that the paternal haplogroup inherits only one haplogroup, erasing the lines of other paternal haplogroups; so, this leads to the idea that modern ethnic groups descend from one specific father-ancestor. Archaeologists base their guesses about the change of ethnic groups while tracing the changes in the materials of archeological culture. Formation of a new culture takes place in every historical epoch. It results from evolutionary changes in neighbouring regions and trade relations. Sometimes a new culture is formed without a radical change in the ethnolinguistic picture of the region. Linguistic materials give information on a certain people's language affiliation to various representatives of language groups. And what if a language is acquired as a result of the neighbours' cultural influence? Thus, language can change over thousands of years. In the course of cultural exchange folklore data also tend to change due to ethnic contacts. Nevertheless they say about an ethnic group's identity, determining ethos to be a people's ethnic code.

Thus, the habitat is one of the key factors in the people's formation. An ethnic group is formed in a particular cultural landscape that is in a geographic environment determining particular features of economic activities and everyday life and also material and spiritual culture traits formed on their basis.

Problem statement

The paper studies the problem of the Sakha people's ethnogenesis, and namely introduces a new approach to it that results from the analysis of ethno-cultural contacts and linkages with related Altai peoples within the frame of an integrated approach to the problem (folklore, archaeology, ethnology, oriental studies).

Methodology

The comparative method is applied to the research. The genesis of main ethnonymic groups of the Sakha people is studied in the course of the analysis of the issues of the origin of major tribal groups of Central Asia and Siberia in the middle ages and in modern times.

Discussion

Appropriate haying lands and pastures were found by the Yakuts in three vast valleys of the Middle Lena, the valleys being Ensieli, Tuimaada, Erkeeni with their forest-steppe landscape. A large part of Yakutia's territory cannot be used for cattle breeding because of its crysolitic landscape. S.I. Nikolaev-Somogotto divides the territory of Yakutia into lands that are good for cattle breeding – 'doidu sire' (homeland) – and lands that cannot be used for this – 'iurekh basa' (distant rivers). The first type of land resembles the former homeland and is good for pasturing cattle and gathering summer grass. Cattle-breeders had to develop river and taiga lands stubbing up the roots to release them from forests and digging the canals to drain lakes (Nikolaev, 2009).

Thus, the area for cattle breeding and, consequently, the Yakuts' habitat gradually expanded. At the same time assimilation of the surrounding Tungus and Yukagir population as well as their transition to the Yakut language and cattle breeding economy took place. As for the Yakuts, who lost their cattle, they went over to hunting and reindeer herding way of life;

the Yakuts, dwelling in the lake areas, became fishermen. Thus, the Yakuts of the XVII century and those of the modern XIX-XX centuries are not quite the same as per the territory of their habitat and housekeeping. Permafrost conditions and unworthiness of most of its territory for cattle breeding should be considered by those researchers who advocate for the Yakuts' autochthonous origin and their appearance before the Russians arrived at Vilyuy and Northern areas.

The Turkic cattle breeders' first appearance in the Lena area, in its upper streams and down to the Middle and Lower Lena river can be dated back to Old Turkic time (Alekseev, 1996). The country of the Guligan tribe belonging to the Tiele people (they are Kurykans in the Orkhon inscriptions), the area of their habitat reached the Polar circle, the territory from which they brought mammoth bones. The researchers also link the Guligan people with Hanghaidesert area, the name being associated by the researchers either with Lake Baikal or with the Gobi (Kiuner, 1961). It is worth while emphasizing a comparative accuracy of the Chinese information about the ethno-territorial geography of the North. Thus, according to the Chinese annals of the Ming dynasty, the Hamnigan Evenks live in Khingan, and at the same time the area of their habitat stretches up to the Lower Yenisei.

The Khori people are generally thought to be the Kurykans' descendants. According to the Buryat legends, Khoridoi-Mergen, their progenitor, and Bargu Bator, the Buryats' ancestor, went to Yakutia where they lived by hunting only and had only one dog. Khoridoi-Mergen even died on the Lower Lena (Baldaev, 1970). According to the Yakut legends, the ancestor of the Khorolor tribes of Northern regions came there before the Chukchi people, the tribes being associated with the cult of the Raven and the story of the Flood (Ksenofontov, 1977). These statements argue for

the antiquity of the appearance of this tribe in the North and their relation with the Paleoasians.

The Kurykans, the Khori people's ancestors, probably went far to the North, searching for mammoth bones and fur (Okladnikov, 1955). Therefore, some finds of iron objects and cattle breeding complex in the archaeological cultures of Yakutia in the early middle ages may indicate the penetration of these cattle breeding groups from the South (Alekseev, 1996). But is it worth associating the beginning of the Sakha people's ethnogenesis with them? If numerous Khorolor people as those belonging to the Sakha people are associated with the Kurykans, the beginning of the Sakha people's ethnogenesis should be definitely dated back to the VI-VII centuries when these Kurykans are mentioned in the resources.

It is known that the Khori people returned to the Baikal region after a long wondering at the beginning of the XVII century. B.R. Zoriktuev, a Buryat researcher who analyzed this issue, made a skeptical conclusion about the Buryat Khori people's resettlement on the Middle Lena at the beginning of the XVII century (Zoriktuev, 2011). These are the Borogontsy people who can be thought to be the descendants of Uluu Khoro, the Sakha people's third legendary ancestor who stayed at the Moryu Lake. According to other data, the Borogontsy people descend from Barga Baatyr, the son of Omogoi or Ellei. In Buryat genealogies Barga-Bator is a father of Gur-Buryat and Oleta, Horidoi-Mergen, personifying the following ethnic groups: the ancestors of the Buryats, the Oirats and the Khori people. There are also Buryat genealogies, considering Barga-Bator to be the Yakuts' ancestor (Rumiantsev, 1962).

The sources of the XIII century consider the Barga to be the major tribe of the Bargudzhin-Tukum "forest peoples". Moreover, the whole Baikal region was called by their names – Barga or Bargudzhin-Tukum. The Barga included the tribes

of the Tumats, Oirats and Tulas people (Rashid-ad-Din, 1952). The Barguzin Evenks' folklore and the borrowed legends of the Barguzin valley old-timers consider the Barga to be a powerful agricultural people, the aboriginal population of the valley. According to the legends, the Evenks and the Yakuts lived in the valley beside them (Shubin, 1974).

The old Barga, who, according to the researchers, migrated from the valley of Barguzin in the early XVII century, live in Inner Mongolia. Their language is so close to the Buryat language, that they might be a part of the Buryat ethnic group, who took the name of Barga, as all natives of the Baikal region were called with this name. The Barga are considered to be descendants of a Tiele tribe (Baiyrku or Baeggu) (Zoriktuev, 2012).

The name of the Baeggu-Baiyrku tribe is close to the name of Baiagantai ulus which is a part of Sakha. Baiyrku was considered the most Northern Tiele tribe. The Baiagantai people are considered the most ancient population of Amgino-Aldan basin, Kerdei (close to Khoridoi, a Buryat eponym) was thought to be their ancestor. They were the first of the Sakha people who opened up the basin of Oymyakon and Tompa (Bolo, 1994). Thus, the Baiagantai people can also be linked with the Khoro people.

Legendary Khorolors, belonging to the Mongolian speaking Khori-Buryats, according to the majority of researchers, formed numerous clans and naslegs of the Khoro people on the whole territory of Yakutia. In the legends of the North the people of the Khoro tribe hallow the Crow, central Khoro clans thought their progenitor to be the Eagle and the Swan. In the Central Lena there was even the graves of the Khoro clan's members, their costumes were closer to the Tungus clan's costumes than to the Buryat ones (Zoriktuev, 2011). Thus, the Khorolors are not the Khori-Buryats, assimilated by the Sakha people,

but a certain Tiele people, probably close to the Kurykans and the Khori people, who are their descendants.

It was G.N. Rumyantsev, who associated the 'khor' ethnonym, found in Tibetan sources along with other nominations of nomads – 'sak', 'sog', with the Mongolian speaking Shiwei (Rumyantsev, 1962). Chinese sources of the Tang dynasty pay great attention to the Amur tribes called Shiwei (Bichurin, 1950). The Shiwei people are considered to be the Xianbi's descendants, Tatar-Mongolian tribes' ancestors (Kiuner, 1961). Ice fishing and taiga kind of horse breeding were their typical activities.

The large Da-Shiwei are considered to be inhabitants of modern South Yakutia. They spoke "incomprehensible" language that was likely to be Tungus (Ibid.). The Da-Shiwei were probably identical with the Dakhan tribe, the Great people. There were only few horses and cows and lots of sables (Bichurin, 1950). Thus, Chinese sources contain the information about northern cattle-breeders in the early middle ages. The presence of the Mongolian speaking Shiwei in the Amur region in the early Middle Ages might result in the possibility of their penetration to Yakutia.

According to Lu Maotsai, these were Da-Shiwei, dwelling in Southern Yakutia, whom the representatives of the four ruling Uighur clans, headed by the last Khan Enen-Tegin, fled to. G.V. Ksenofontov linked the migrants' latest wave from the South to the Middle Lena with them, the migrants being the Kangalassy people (Ksenofontov, Rukopisnyi fond...). Yet, at this time the Da-Shiwei already dwelt in the territory of the Amur region, forcing other Mongolian speaking Shiwei tribes out.

Therefore, the Turkic-speaking Uighurs could be involved in the ethnogenesis of the Tungus and the Mongols, and then in the formation of the Sakha people. This is evidenced by similar Mongolian ethnonyms ('kiyat',

'hatagin', 'sartaul', 'ugulyat', 'naiman', 'bayaut', 'dzhalair'), the names of the Tungus clans ('koyat', 'khatygyn', 'sortol', 'yugyulyat', 'maimaga', 'bayagir', 'iologir') (Tugolukov, 1980). Some of these Tungus clans turned into the name of the Yakut naslegs and families: 'yugyulaat', 'sortol', 'hatygyn', 'maimaga' (Ivanov, 1982).

Comparing the Yakut Khoro people with the Zabaikalsk Khori people, the Tumat and Batulin issues in the ethnogenesis of the Khori and Sakha peoples should be mentioned. Moreover, the combination of a duplicate name Khori-Tumats in the Sacred Legend of the Mongols, as well as references to the nomadic unit "the Kori and the Batulin people" in the Cossack replies led to the opinion on a phratrial division of a single Khori tribe, preserving its value in Galzut and Sharaldai clans' membership in the Khori people. At that one part of the names of the Khori tribe is of a Turkic origin (Tsydendambaev, 1972).

According to G.F. Miller's materials, a larger part of the Sakha people's clans is divided into phratrias of the Khrori people and the Batulin people, hallowing the Eagle and the Swan as their progenitors (Elert, 2001). The materials of the II Kamchatka expedition and I. Billings' Northern expedition contain an opinion about the identity of the Yakut and Buryat Khori and Batulin people (Ivanov, 1978; Etnograficheskie materialy, 1978).

It should be assumed that the most accurate folklore information about the time and place of the Sakha people's ancestors' arrival from the South was collected by the participants of I. Lindenau's II Kamchatka expedition. According to them, Omogoi Baai, the Sakha people's progenitor, belonged to Bootulu, the strongest clan of those places. The Namtsy and Baiagantai peoples descended from them. They were brought by Densi Tarkhan Tegin, Omogoi's descendant (Lindenau, 1983). The Balutin people, who were the Khori people's members, were associated with

the assimilated Khori-Tumat people (Rumyantsev, 1962) and the Naimans (Tsydendambaev, 1972).

The Batulin people, Batlai's descendants, seven Nagatai clans became the members of the Bulagats; they are the Kudinsk Buryats' ancestors (Nanzatov, 2005). The name of the Batulin people is similar to the name of the Oirat tribe Batut-Bagatut, a composite tribe in the Olet-Bagatut union. The Doida-Bagut tribe, membering the Kalmyks, is considered to be the Barga's descendants. The term 'doida' is associated with the Yakut word 'doidu' (homeland). Interestingly, the Barga formed Batlaevskaya village on the Don (Erdniev, 1980). This makes it possible to associate the Yakut and Buryat Batulin people and the Barga.

The representatives of the uluses, where they tend to pronounce 'a', may be referred to the Batulin people, or Omogoi's descendants. According to I. Lindenau, these are the Namtsy people (Lindenau, 1983), Tattintsy people (former Zheksagontsy people) – the descendants of the Batulin people of Kereekene shaman, or, probably, the Bayagantai people with Baaragai Baatyly, their progenitor (Bolo, 1994). Batulinskaya volost' (small rural district) was a part of the Baturussk ulus (Dolgikh, 1960). The word 'baaragai' ("vast, enormous") has a similar meaning with the 'barga' ethnonym that has the same etymology.

The Tumats as a separate clan were found in Ust'-Yansk and Allaikhovsky districts and also in Zhigansky and Verkhoyansky districts. During the first half of the XVII century the Yakut population of the Middle Vilyuy, who did only hunting, fishing and gathering, were called the Tumats (Ibid.). Because of the lack of horse breeding they were called "hiking Yakuts", poverty and probably vassal dependence on the militant Tungus clans gave rise to their 'villein horde' nomination (Nikolaev, 1958; Tugolukov, 1985).

Only the Togus people were horse riding among archival "Tumats". The names of the "foot-mobile Yakuts" were Kyryk, Kyrgys, Togus, Yergyuyet, Olesy. They coincide with the names of the Sayano-Altai clans (seoks): kyryk, kyrgyz, tagus, irgit, olyet (Gogolev, 1993). The Sakha people also include Modut, Tyube, Kebeeyi, Ergit clans which should be associated with the Tumats. The names of these small clans coincide with the Sayano-Altai seoks: Madan, Tuba, Kobyi, Irgit.

The legendary Vilyuy Tumats are identified with the region's natives – the Dyirikinei people, "tigiileekhsyraiaakhtar" (shield faced) and "tyalbuolbuttar" (those who became the wind). This evidences the folklore substitution of the Tumats' place by the representatives of the Tungus clans such as the Solomon, Yugyulaat, Nyurbachaan ones. I. Evers and P. Granovsky, Russian officials, mention the legends about the Tumat soldiers' arrival at the Middle Lena as they did not want to submit to the Mongols (Ivanov, 1974). Thus, Turkic speaking Tumats are the Sakha people's truly known ancestors. The Tumats' transformation into the Sakha people's enemies is worth analyzing. According to the Yakut legends, before Omogoi's arrival the Tuimaad area was inhabited by a strange, warlike Tumat people, who were ousted to the Vilyuy (Bolo, 1994). Moreover, the Vilyuy Sakha people's ancestor is considered to be the grandmother Dyaargaakh, who is, according to one version, a Tumat woman whose tribe was destroyed by the Tungus of the Nyurbachaan clan. According to another version, on the contrary, she was from the Nyurbachaan clan, destroyed by militant shield-faced Tumats (Ksenofontov, 1977).

The 'Tumat' ethnonym is found in the composition of the Teleuts of Kemerovo oblast, in the Khakass people's traditions, in the Tuva people's ethnic composition and in the toponyms of Todzha, Northern Mongolia and Transbaikalia and also in the name of Tumat

people of Inner Mongolia. The historical Tumats, who violently resisted the Mongol troops, could not converse with them without an interpreter (Kozin, 1941). The Tumats are believed to be the descendants of the Tiele tribe Dubo, living in the mountain and having a Samoyedic origin. Being the Dubo people's descendants, the Tumats can be considered the ancestors, having the ethnonyms 'tuba', 'tofa', 'tuma' (Serdobov, 1971).

It was a man from the Tumot tribe who gave rise to the Evenk Principality of Ekhe in Manchuria in the XVII century (Melikhov, 1974). The Russian nomination of the Sakha people – Yakut – is considered to be a reproduction of the Evenk 'yako', 'ekod'. This was supposedly how they pronounced the name Sakha because of the lack of the letter *c* in their language. Among the Transbaikalian Tungus people there are the Zhakut, Ekhe, Yako clans. Among the Barguzin-Bauntovsky Evenks there were the 'ekogir', 'nyekogir', 'yakogil' ethnonyms (Ushnitskiy, 2013a).

Along with the Yakuts and the Barga the Barguzin Evenks' folklore also mentions other enemies, the enemies being the Vokarai people with the faces in "iron masks" (Voskoboinikov, 1967). They are identified with the historical Mektits, who, according to Marco Polo, lived in the Bargu valley, rode reindeer and horses (Polo, 1997).

The Mektits is the Mongolian name of the Mohe people who are considered the Manchu's ancestors. These are probably they who subjugated the forest Tungus' ancestors and spread the Tungus language in the taiga zone. The Amur Mohe group was called the 'sakhalyan' or 'Black river' Mohe as the Amur is called "the Black river" or "Sakhalyan". The name Sakha is probably related to the Tungus-Manchu word 'sakharcha', 'sakhalyan' with the meaning "black, north, hunting" (Sidorov, 1984).

The Vakarai people dwelt throughout the North-East of Siberia. This is evidenced by the 'Vagariil', 'Vagorin' toponyms (Tugolukov, 1980). For the Yukaghirs 'vagariil', nominating a sturdy, strong hero, was one of their self-designations. However, modern Yukaghirs have Lamutsk (Even) origin. Therefore, V.I. Iokhel'son called them Yukaghirized Lamuts (Iokhel'son, 2000).

We have already mentioned the similarity of the Yakut ethnonyms with the Yukaghir ones: Bootulu – Odul, Yokaghir (from the Yakut-Evenk 'clan') – Yakoghir (Yukaghir in the Evenk language), the Omogoi eponym – Omok (from the Yukaghir 'Omo' that means 'clan') (Ushnitskiy, 2013b). It's probably an accidental resemblance. If they are linked, then it is the evidence of the presence of the Sakha, the Yukaghir substrate, in the Baikal period of life. For example, I.V. Georgi considered the Yukaghirs to be the Sakha people's ancestors (Georgi, 2005).

Rashid-ad-Din identified the Mekrit tribe with the Merkits, but in the European travelers' notes these tribes are mentioned separately. The Merkits' heroic resistance to Genghis Khan's army and a great role of the Merkits in the formation of the Mongol Empire lead to the topicality of the research of the Merkit issue while focusing on the Sakha people's ethnogenesis. Indeed, the linguistic analysis indicates the proximity of the Sakha language to that of the Merkits. For example, L.N. Gumilev believed in the Samoyedic origin of the Merkit tribe (Gumilev, 1993). In his scientific monographs S.I. Nikolaev, a Yakut ethnographer, traces quite interesting Sakha-Samoyedic lexical links in the terms of taiga origin, these monographs being in contrast to his later articles (Nikolaev, 2009).

The theme of the Merkits or the Mekrits raises the issue of the Tungus-Manchurian substratum's participation in the Sakha people's ethnogenesis. The specific character

of the Yakut language and its phonetic features can testify in favor of Turkification the horse-riding Tungus. It could be combined with a simultaneous influence of the Mongolian language (Ubriatova, 1985). Penury of cultural terms and an archaic character of the Olonkho epos suggest the Sakha people's Neolithic ancestors who took up cattle breeding and assimilated the Turkic peoples' cultural lexicon (Nikolaev, 2009).

In this connection it is interesting to establish the origin of 'uraangkhai', the Sakha people's ancient self-designation. The Transbaikalian Evenks' term 'uraangkhai' is used to nominate a human. The Transbaikalian Evenks – the Khamnigans – have a Mongolian origin. According to N.V. Kiuner, all the variants of the 'uraangkhai' ethnonym in Chinese sources of ancient times traced back to a well-known tribe Hee, dwelling in the North-Western Manchuria and North-Eastern Mongolia (Kiuner, 1961).

Two tribes were known in the first half of the XIII century, the tribes being the Uraangkhai people or the Uryankhit people: steppe and forest ones (Rashid-ad-Din, 1952). It can be considered a fact that the forest (or sain) Uryankhits are the ancestors of the Soyots' or Tuvinian Uraangkhai people (Serdobov, 1971). The steppe Uraangkhai people, to whom famous commanders Dzhel'me and Subudai and his son Uryankhhatai belonged, is a different thing. Thus, Uryankhhatai was portrayed naked, with a bandage of tree leaves only. In European engravings the Tungus people were depicted approximately the same style. The homeland of the Subudai's native tribe is known, the place being a mountainous area to the east of Lake Baikal (Yurchenko, 2002). These are probably the Yabloneviy (Apple) and Stanovoy mountain ranges in the Eastern Transbaikalia. It was this place where the Undugun culture with its Tungus appearance was found in the XIII century.

Almost all Yakut ethnonyms show their relation with the Tungus-Manchurian ones. So, the name of Namsky ulus is associated with the name of the Evenk clans – the Namyats, the Namyasins, – the names originating from the Tungus 'nam, lam' meaning "sea". However, the ethnonym 'Nam' can be explained with the Mongolian words ('nam' meaning "calm" as well as "a squadron, an advanced detachment") (Tugolukov, 2013). According to genealogy, Namsky ulus was started by an old man Nam, Omogoi's grandson, Baargai Baatyly's son. The informative content of this message is proved by the fact that Mymakh, a father of the Namtsy people's as well as all the Sakha peoples' leader, was called Nam (refer to Mamyk Namov). In many genealogies Lamynkha Silik is stated to be an ancestor of Namsky ulus (Ksenofontov, 1977). This eponym reveals the Tungus ethnonyms – 'lamungkha', 'namunka' – with the meaning "seaside, shore".

The theme of ethnocultural contacts between the Sakha and Tungus peoples is inexhaustible. The theory of a Tungus origin of the Sakha people is developed by S.A. Tokarev (1941). A.M. Pevnov claims that the Evens' ancestors experienced the Mongols' linguistic influence on the Middle Lena, the Mongols gradually forced them out that resulted in their settlement in the north even before the Turks' migration to the Lena (Pevnov, 2015). In their turn, as noted by E.I. Ubriatova, the Yakuts assimilated the Mongolian speaking population of the Middle Lena (the territory of the present Namsky and Ust'-Aldansky uluses) (Ubriatova, 1985). The theme of Eveno-Yakut contacts can be continued. Thus, the name of Meginskiy ulus is probably linked with the Even name 'mene' with the meaning 'settled'.

Even the Kangalassy people, Ellei's descendants, are associated with the Nanagirs, a Tungus clan. Moreover, the 'Kangalas' clan name was so popular among the Amur Tungus that it

resulted in the conclusion about them being a tribe. Therefore, the 'Kangalas' ethnonym traces back to 'nanagir' – 'hanagir', linked with the Evenk word 'khangalas' (goose). However, in the XVIII century seven Tungus clans lived in Kangelassky volost and made up the "Nomadic Council" (Tugolukov, 2013).

At the same time the Kangelassy people, Ellei's descendants, are considered to be the Kypchak component carriers. The Khangalassy people is the name of the largest Yakut tribe, who violently resisted voivode's power on the Middle Lena. As a result, these were the Kangelassy people (English transcription of the ethnonym) who mostly developed the Olekma, Vilyuy (the Nyurbinsky and Suntarsky uluses), the Indigirka (Momsky and Abyisky uluses, Kolyma region). Tygyna, the cult of the Yakut clans' leader, is associated with them. According to numerous legends, they originate from Ellei. According to I. Lindenau, he met with Omogoemiz from the Bootulu clan in the Baikal region (Lindenau, 1983).

The Kangelassy people come from the carriers of the 'kangly' ethnonym. The Kangly are mainly found among the Kypchak tribes. The Kypchak version of the Sakha people's origin is grounded by A.I. Gogolev (1993). Iu.A. Zuev links the cart "Kheichezhtsyshiwei" with the Kangly. They lived in the territory of lake Buir-Nur in the VIII century, the place where the Central Asian Tatars lived later, in the XI-XII centuries. Thus, Iu.A. Zuev connects the ethnogenesis of the Central Asian Tatars with the Kangly mainly (Zuev, 2002). According to the legends, Ellei, who gave birth to the "Toyon-Uusa", a Khangalassy people's clan, descended from the Tatar tribe (Ksenofontov, 1977).

Rashi-ad-Din links the rest of the Tatars with the Angara river or the Ankara-Muren river. In his later work Abul'gazi, a XVII century author, clearly states the presence of numerous

Tartar tribes in the Angara region in the XIII century (1906). He identifies them with the Alakchin people, as Rashid-ad-Din dwells on "piebald horse-riders" (1952). The presence of the Alakchin piebald horse-riders in the territory of the Baikal region in the XIII century has always been linked with the information about 'boma' (piebald horse), or 'ala' in its translation into the Turkic languages, that was mentioned in the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty (VI-VIII centuries AD) (Maliavkin, 1989).

In this regard, it has remained important to establish the similarities between the description of the Boma-Alats in the Chinese chronicles and the materials of the Kurumchinsk archaeological culture (VI-VIII centuries BC) in Transbaikalia. This is basically agriculture in the Kurumchinsk culture. After that one can specify the parallels between the Boma-Alats and the Kurumchinsk people, hypothetically associated with them, with the Yakut material culture. This is evidenced by the birch-bark goods, the cult of koumiss; developed forging and metallurgy, traditional house with upright logs of the Yakut "balagan" (booth) type (Ushnitskii, 2010).

In Rashid-ad-Din's work the matter is about five areas of "piebald horse-riders", the Usutu-Mangun tribe also dwells there. This ethnonym means "the Mongols of the waters". In both Chinese and Western works of the XIII century along with the "imperial" Mongols they also mention the wild Tartars or the Mongols (Carpini, Rubruck, 1997). They are also called "water" Mongols (Yurchenko, 2002). One of the fields is called Mangu. Iu.A. Zuev interprets it as derived from the word 'mengu' ('silver' in the Turkic languages) (Zuev, 2002). The name of Meginsky ulus as a part of Sakha is comparable with them.

These are the Usutu-Manguns and the Tumats whom the Ust'-Tal'kinsk archaeological culture of the XIV century is linked with. It is believed that in the beginning of the XV century

the Ust'-Tal'kinsk people fully settled on the Middle Lena (Nikolaev, 2004), where "burials with horses", which are characteristic of them, become the main element characterizing the Yakut burial tradition (Bravina, Popov, 2008).

Thus, according to the Sakha people's folklore texts, their ancestors stayed in the Baikal region on their way from the ancestral home to the modern territory. According to folklore data, the Sakha people's ancestors had long lived together with the Buryats, being one people (Bolo, 1994). Indeed, after a comprehensive study of the issues of the Sakha people's origin (anthropology, linguistics, archaeology) I.V. Konstantinov came to the conclusion about a long common habitation of their ancestors with the Western Buryats (Konstantinov, 1975, 2003).

Representatives of modern peoples are usually offended by the researchers' conclusions about the descent of one people's ancestors from another. An obvious historic fact about the Kazakhs' descent from the nomadic Uzbeks can serve an example of this. In its turn, most of the nomadic Uzbeks' and the Nogais' tribal names correspond to the medieval Mongols' well-known ethnonyms. Representatives of all the peoples want to seem older than their neighbors; that is a clear fact. This proves the necessity to dwell on the idea of the Sakha people's and the Buryats' ancestors' common ethnic roots. Moreover, the Ust'-Tal'kinsk culture had already spread around the Baikal region in the XII century (Nikolaev, 2004), even before the defeat of the Central Asian Tatars by the Jurchen and their allies: the Keraites Toghrul Wang Khan and Temüjin Genghis Khan.

The fact of the Usutu-Mangun tribe's epoch in the Angara region is interesting. The Secret legend doesn't mention them. Yet, it mentions the Buryats' tribe, presenting a white eagle to Jochi (Kozin, 1941), the eagle being the medieval Buryats' totem. As for the Yakut clans, a large

part of them worshiped the Eagle as their ancestor, the other part worshiped the Swan, and only the Betyuntsy people had a Wolf totem (Elert, 2001). The Ust'-Tal'kinsk people had already developed the whole territory of the Baikal region in the XII century, i.e. before disintegration of the Tatar tribes' union in Inner Mongolia. It was at the Dolgan stage of the Ust'-Tal'kinsk archaeological culture of the southern Angara region – XIV century. A new Ust'-Udinsk stage begins in the XIII century, when in Ust'-Tal'kinsk environment there was an apparent disintegration of the clan and the primacy of the family began.

Rashid-ad-Din tells about the appearance of the fugitive Tartars together with the rest representatives of tribes from the Jamukha Confederation: the Saldzhuits, the Khongirads, the Khatagins, the Jalairs and the Dorbens (1952). They participated in the ethnogenesis of the Tuvans-Salchaks, Buryats -Khongodors, Sakha-Khatalyns, Evenks-Yologhirs, Oirats-Durbens. Abul'gazi, an author of the XVII century who, however, referred to 14 ancient sources, mentioned about the settlements of numerous Tatar tribes on the Angara near the city Alakchin, the tribes being rich in silver and having piebald horses (Abul'gazi, 1906). Therefore, some part of a former numerous Central Asian people of the Tartars could actually move from the area of Buir-Nur Lake in the Angara region.

The Sakha people's oral sources, telling about the flight of Ellei, the Sakha people's progenitor, with Tataar-Taim's father after the extermination of the "Tataars" who lost the war against the "Nuuchcha" people, have not yet become the object of the research (Ksenofontov, 1977). The Buryats who appeared on Lake Baikal and were pursued by the "Nuuchcha" wandering people had exactly the same legend (Tugolukov, 1985). The Buryat ethnonym was first mentioned in the "airiud-buiruud" combination of the Tatar tribes, who left for the Baikal region forests during the

times of the first khans of the Khamag Mongol state (Kozin, 1941). These were definitely Oirat-Buryats, who apparently were one people divided into two phratrias in ancient time.

In this regard the folklore data on the tribal belonging of Omogoi, the Sakha people's second ancestor, seem interesting. According to the oral history, he was a brother of Ellei of the "Tataar" people, who earlier arrived in this region, a rich cattle owner, a lord of the "Byraaskai" tribe (Ksenofontov, 1977). The Buryats, mentioned in the Sacred legend, could belong to the Oirat tribe. So could the Bargu-Buryats later.

The Mongolian clans' active participation in the ethnogenesis of the Sakha people makes it vital to return to the issue of initial affiliation of the Yakut language to the Mongolian languages and its subsequent turkization. In this respect, V.V. Radlov's point of view does not seem to be outdated (Arkhiv MAE SpB RAN, F. 12. Inv. 7. File 32).

In general, the problem of the Sakha people's ethnogenesis is linked with the genesis and ethnic history of the medieval nomadic tribes of Central Asia. Therefore, it is impossible to solve the problem of the Sakha people's ethnogenesis without taking common Turkic and Mongolian problems into account. So, the problem of the relation of the Sakha people's ethnogenesis with the Srostk archaeological culture of the Irtysh region and Western Siberia and the Kimaks as the culture beams was repeatedly raised in the studies of the Yakut archaeology and material culture as well as of folklore texts (Vasil'ev, 1995; Ushnitskiy, 2003, 2000).

In this regard it is necessary to mention that the Ust'-Tal'kinsk archaeological culture has ethno-cultural parallels with the Kimak-Kipchak one in the similarity of a burial rite, the rite being the burial with a horse (Nikolaev, 2004). It is all the more surprising that the Central Asian Tatars, according to Iu.A. Zuev, were the Eastern branch of the same Kimaks. Ethnocultural parallels are

revealed through the symbolic images: reverence of silver-gold, snake-dragon (these are the symbols which the 'usutu-mangun' ethnonym is related with) (Zuev, 2002). The Central Asian Tatars' participation in the Kimaks' ethnogenesis is dwelt upon in their genealogical legend (Kumekov, 1972).

In his time S.M. Akhinzhanov put forward the hypothesis that the 'urankhai' ethnonym was the Kimaks' real name. It is found in the toponyms of Kazakhstan (Akhinzhanov, 1989). Therefore, it is interesting that the Buir-Nur Tatars' ancient ancestors descended from the South Shiwei, who came from the Ulukhou tribe (Bichurin, 1950; Kiuner, 1961). Thus, the Ulukhou's ancestors (or, in English transcription, the carriers of the 'urankhai / uryankhai' ethnonym) were the representatives of the tribe known under the name Hee (Kumohee) in Chinese sources (Kiuner, 1958).

Self-designation of the Sakha is also linked with the Central Asian Tatars. Thus, the Kindan' nomination of the nomadic Tatar tribes of Northern Mongolia of the XI-XII centuries ('tsubu') comes from the Tibetan nomination of the nomads sog-po (or sak, sog) (Kliashstorny, 1993). Strahlenberg mentions that, according to the Yakuts, Ellei – Dying Sakha, the Sakha people's ancestor, came from the country next to Tangut (Strahlenberg, 1730).

The Tartars got their fame in the history due to being forced to participate in the Mongol campaigns as the advanced guard (Carpini, Rubruck, 1997; Yurchenko, 2002). Interestingly enough, Irkutsk archaeologist V.S. Nikolaev found the necropolises of the Ust'-Tal'kinsk tribes' leaders, active participants of the Mongol campaigns (2006). French archaeologists, studying Yakut burials with a horse in different regions of Yakutia, came to the conclusion that a squad of horse riders, who participated in the Mongol campaigns, came from the south (Amori..., 2012).

The Yakut legends about their progenitors provide with the interesting information about Genghis Khan's "flame war" (Istoricheskie predaniia..., 1960), when the tribes of Mongolia and Transbaikalia got to motion in search for new places of settlement. In later legends there are facts about the participation of the Sakha people's ancestors in the Mongol campaigns, "when the Sakha people's ancestors submitted to the Mongols and were forced to participate in their campaigns and walked in front of their troops, taking the brunt of the battles; that led to a significant decrease in their number" (Ovchinnikov, PFA RAN, F. 94. Inv. 1. File 3.).

The presented picture of the early ethnic history at the background of a broad historical panorama of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia and South-Eastern Siberia would be incomplete without the analysis of the most important objects of material culture, the objects being the Yakut triad: the serge hitching post, the balagan-shelter, the choron koumiss cup. Along with other elements of material culture these elements – grivnas (golden or silver necklaces), funeral log cabins, sacrifices of horses – date back to the Scythian-Siberian world of ancient nomads of southern Siberia (Gogolev, 1990, 1992).

The genesis of the serge hitching post comes to the deer stones of the Bronze Age, preserved in the ethnographic present of the Hungarian and Kazakh cultures. It is most clearly presented in the ancient Turkic archaeological culture. These are the so-called kul'py-tasa (Azhigali, 2002). The Yakut choron koumiss cup is typologically close to Scythian boilers (Kisel', 2003). The Yakut dwelling (balagan) is genetically close to the remains of the dwellings of the monument in Torgozhak camp of late Karasuk era (Savinov, 1996).

These circumstances presuppose active participation of the Scythian-Siberian component in the Sakha people's ethnogenesis. In modern

science the Scythian-Saks tribes are usually referred to the Indo-Europeans, or rather to the Western Iranians. Meanwhile, in the middle ages the Iranians (and namely the Sogdians) also lived in Central Asia. In the ancient Turkic khagans' times their large diaspora was concentrated in Ordos. Having mingled with the local nomadic population, their descendants became nomads (Klyashtorny, 2000). The Sogdians' participation in the ethnogenesis of Buir-Nur Tatars is evidences by their Kindan' nomination 'tszubu' coming from the Tibetan 'sog-po' (Zuev, 2002).

Among the Mongolian peoples the Sogdians, as well as all of the Central Asian peoples, were known under the name 'Sortols'. This ethnonym is also found in the Yakut folklore. This is the name of the warlike people living in Verkhoyanye and the Vilyuy in the old days (Okladnikov, 1955). There are no Sortols among the names of the Tungus clans of Yakutia and the Yakuts of the XVII century. Yet, in the XX century Sortol is the name of a clan in Central Yakutia and on the Vilyuy River as well as in the village with the same name (Ivanov, 2002). In Buryatia the Sortols of the Dzhida river are considered to be late migrants from Mongolia. It was in the Kurykans' time when the Sogdians' colonies, engaged in trade and agriculture, dwelt in the Baikal area (Okladnikov, 1955). The Sogdians, known under the name of Sartauls, lived on the Upper Lena up to the XV century (Dashibalov, 2003). Moreover, these were this people with whom famous Kurumchinsk large settlements, such as Mankhai, Idyga are associated.

With this regard the origin of the Yakut religion Yuryung Aar Toyon is of much interest. The Turko-Mongol peoples have not got such religion. The word 'Aar' corresponds to the Indo-Iranian term 'Arya' ("noble, sacred") (Gogolev, 1993) and the name of the Armenian Supreme Deity – Ara the Beautiful. The cult of Yuryung

Aar Toyon is associated with the reverence of the Sun and the Eagle, its symbol (Khompuruun Khotoi). The reverence of the Eagle as an ancestor in its image of the Deity of the Sun is observed in the ancient Aryans' mythology (Shternberg, 1925). The name of Dyesyegei Toyion, the Sakha people's second deity, shows its similarity to Dyaus, the deity of the Kalasha, an ancient Indo-European people.

Thus, the relict Scytho-Siberian traditions are fixed in the genesis of the Yakut culture. They probably date back to the Xiongu era of Ordos, when the Scythian Iranian tribes lived there in the Bronze Age, the tribes having connections with the the Pazyryk culture beams.

Conclusion

The facts mentioned suggest that the Sakha people's origin should be associated with the tribes' movement caused by the rise of the Mongol Empire. This is evidenced by folklore and archaeological materials, the Sakha people's language. The Tumats, Khoro and Batulin peoples having connections with the Buryats' ancestors, Barga, Tatars or the Usutu-Mangun

tribe played a major role in the Sakha people's ethnogenesis. The Merkits or Mekrits might probably play their role in the Sakha people's ethnogenesis, too, doing this through the Tungus or Ural (Proto-Yukaghir) substrate (Ushnitskiy, 2013b).

The foregoing proves a need of a collaborative research of the problems of the ethnogenesis of the common ancestors of the Sakha people and the Buryats, the former Sakha and Mongols, without any nationalist prejudices. In this sense the collaborative research in genetics, archeology, linguistics, folklore, ethnography and historical sources seems urgent. Only in this case the issue of the ethnogenesis of the Sakha and the Buryats can reach a new level of modern scientific research.

So, it is necessary to focus on the centuries-old, violent ethnic history of the Sakha people in Central Asia with the participation of Turkic, Mongol and Iranian elements. This ethnic core along with the dissemination in the territory of Yakutia assimilated the Tungus and Yukaghir tribal groups, having significantly changed the genetic picture.

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Проблема этногенеза саха:

НОВЫЙ ВЗГЛЯД

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Предметом изучения является проблема этногенеза и ранней этнической истории саха. Темой исследования выступает взаимодействие предков народа саха с тюрко-монгольскими этносами Байкальского региона. В качестве методологии исследования применяется сравнительно-сопоставительный метод. Родоплеменной состав и этнонимы саха сопоставляются с названиями средневековых тюрко-монгольских племен Байкальского региона, сравниваются с современными тюрко-монгольскими народами. Основным результатом работы является вывод об органической связи происхождения саха с этнической историей средневековых племен Центральной Азии. Результаты исследования могут быть применены в написании новой концепции истории Якутии. В итоге изучения проблемы получены следующие

щие выводы. Во-первых, изучение якутских этнонимов позволило установить наличие этнокультурных параллелей с соседними народами: бурятами, эвенками и эвенами, юкагирами. Во-вторых, основную роль в этногенезе саха сыграли носители усть-талкинской культуры Южного Приангарья XII-XIV вв. – племя усуту-мангун. В-третьих, усуту-мангуны происходили от буир-нурских татар, разгромленных объединенной армией монголов и чжурчженей. Поэтому в статье представлены многочисленные параллели между центральноазиатскими татарами и саха. В-четвертых, в этногенезе саха наряду с приангарскими татарами большую роль сыграли баргуты, хори-туматы, батулинцы, возможно, меркиты и т.д.

Ключевые слова: этногенез, саха-якуты, тюркология, монголоведение, этнокультурные контакты, тунгусы-эвенки, буряты, история Прибайкалья, археология.

Научная специальность: 07.00.00 – исторические науки.
