

УДК 793.32

Archetypical Symbols in the Modern Tuvan Culture

**Olga M. Khomushku^a, Choygan Kh. Sanchay^{a*}
and Maria S. Kukhta^b**

^aTuvan State University

36 Lenin Str., Kyzyl, Republic Tuva, 667000, Russia

^bNational Research Tomsk Polytechnic University

30 Lenin, Tomsk, 634050, Russia

Received 11.06.2019, received in revised form 01.07.2019, accepted 08.07.2019

Scientific relevance of dance culture is driven by studying specifics of traditional and modern dance correlation with new methodology. The article aims analyzing the mechanisms of archetypical symbols translation in modern stage dances of Tuva. For that, the following tasks involving the relation between archetype with totem being considered and representation of archetypical symbols in the structure of modern Tuvan choreography being revealed are achieved in this work.

The study allows concluding on morphological stability of the ancient Tuvan ideas preserved in the sacred kinetics of dances reflecting of the world's multidimensionality; on permanent relationship with traditional ideas about the spirits of ancestors and gods. The Tuvan worldview specificity, expressed through the dance culture, keeps this tradition alive.

Keywords: Tuvan dance, Tuvan culture, images, sacred geometry, archetype, modern stage dance, totem, symbol.

Research area: culturology.

Citation: Khomushku, O.M., Sanchay, Ch. Kh., Kukhta, M.S. (2019). Archetypical symbols in the modern Tuvan culture. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. soc. sci., 12(7), 1132–1145. DOI: 10.17516/1997–1370–0445.

Introduction

A great spiritual experience of the mankind can be seen in the symbolic perception of the world, most clearly expressed in the mythological, archaic, religious and mystical layers of the human culture. The content of archaic collective ideas, syncretic in the reality reproduction and symbolic in their expression, is the *world order image*. By the

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* Corresponding author E-mail address: choymasanchai@mail.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-5280-4911 (Khomushku); 0000-0002-6929-9050 (Sanchay); 0000-0001-8643-785X (Kukhta)

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means of universal symbols archaic collective representations becomes immanent to human consciousness and fixed in it as figurative constants. Owing to C. Jung, such permanent structures, that are an individual human representation of the world order symbolic structures and serve as a primary cultural scheme, have got the name of archetypes in the modern science. It is based on a *proto-form*, meaning the oldest, original and universal image. The most adequate means of expressing this form is **symbol** (Vasilkova, 1999: 356). A symbol (term, name or image) has a specially added value to its usual everyday sense. It matches the rational (intellectual-logical) and unconscious, which cannot be explained. The natural, cosmic (Divine) order is also being harmonized in the hierarchy of its meanings (according to the laws of universal similarity). Owing to this, archaic symbols give a person a “sense of expanding the essence of being”, taking him beyond the ordinary acquisition and consumption (Jung, 1991: 282). If a person loses this “expanding essence”, he immediately becomes miserable and dropped. Following Jung, “the reconstruction of archetypal ways of mental behavior can expand the horizon and improve the width of consciousness, in case a person succeeds in a conscious assimilation and interpretation of the lost and newly acquired contents” (Jung, 1991: 90).

In cultural studies and folk ceremonies, such “reconstruction of archetypal ways” is done through the myths of traditional cultures. Dance refers to mythological heritage (Sossiur, 1977) and it has its peculiarities of expression, complementing verbal and material form. It links with the worldview being a system of values through the cultural tradition. Our research has proved that specific gestures as semantic dominants and units acquire the status of “values” (Sanchay, Kukhta, 2019). Gestures — “meanings” reflect sacred natured geometric images. On the one hand, like any symbol, they have an external expression (specific visible forms, figures), and, on the other — the show the ideas, implied beyond the material world and lead the study to the origins of sacred (fundamental) truths that build any culture.

Archetypes in the Tuvans’ dance culture

Let’s analyze the dance called *челер-ой* (*cheler-oy*) focusing rather on archetypal symbols identification than on ritual and ceremonial heritage (crossing the river — *сүз кезерде йөрээл*, *devig* (“eagle dance”)) and the dance of the Mongolian tuvinians — *бий*, with archaisms inside. Interestingly in this regard, the origins of the round dance *cheler-oy* links some borrowed *lexical* elements from a Russian dance. Thus, how do archaic images find ways to be preserved in the genetic memory of cultural heritage?

The analysis of *cheler-oj* has explained (Sanchay, Kukhta, 2019) that symbols and totems associated with the collective unconscious archetypes are transmitted in a dance-form. The dance composition forms a solar circle in which a sacred vertical is made and expressed by the winged deity-totem (Trotter), as well as a sacred horizontal marked by dancing.

Thus, the spatial composition of the dance forms a symbol of circle in which the vertical is implicit. Lexical elements of *cheler-oj* include the working leg touching the ground with the toe, then — the heel, repeated by turns; running in a circle by sidesteps; the outside performers come to their partners standing ahead, and then the act is repeated. The dance “alphabet” forms the text expressing deep meanings referring to archetypal symbols. This text, unlike any written one formed of strong units, complies with other rules (Lotman, 1973). Signification results from specific projection in space.

By further developing Lotman’s research, we note that linear text, iconic and spatial images represent an act of communication where transmitted information is encoded by the addresser and decoded by the recipient. The letter, image and space of the dance all them are a text, a message. Thus, there are different relations between such concepts as sign and text. For the first case, the sign means primary, something that exists before the text made up of signs. In the second case, the text is primary. The sign is either equated with the text, or defined as a result of some secondary process. In a certain respect, the sign system without signs (operating with values of a higher rank — texts) is not a paradox, but a reality, i. e. one of two possible types of semiosis (Kukhta, 2004: 146).

Dance symbols and language in the pre-stage period

Once the dance text is being transmitted, the addressee (the one who receives the text) perceives it visually, the message unfolded in space and time by the addresser through eurhythmic.

Through dance compositions, we may answer how in ritual Tuvan dance the message is articulated, regarding the base of verbal components in dance elements. The dance called *men*¹ is not mentioned in modern culture, none of the old-timers can recall it. Still, this work says that information about the Tuvan dance has been

¹ In Russian-Tuvan Dictionary (ed. D.A. Mongush), there are *тевери, танцылаары* meaning *dance; плясатьтап, or плясатьтап кириттер* — to start dancing; *плясатьтаар, тевер, танцылаар* — плясать танцы; *тевер кижү* — dancer, alongside with *танцылаар, плясатьтаар* (Ondar, 2016: 4).

preserved in oral form. The word itself may tell us that dance *men* connects with totemic representations (Sanchay, Khomushku, Kukhta, 2019). Another arrangement is the rite of crossing the river *сугкежердейөрээл* has been recorded and described by the researcher of Tuvan music (Kyrgys). The rite includes bouncing on the spot with one-leg twists on oneself, followed by the other leg accompanied with simultaneous rhythmic taps. Similarly to *челер-ой* described above, the sacred geometry of the dance contains a circle, vertical and horizontal.

Table 1 includes hands and feet gestures seen as movements bearing the main semantic essence, which contributes to the symbols-images being transmitted.

Table 1. The types of gestures

	<i>Суг кeжepдe йөрээл</i>	<i>Тен</i>	<i>Дeвиг</i>	<i>Челер-ой</i>	<i>Буй</i>
Eurhythmies and legs work	+	+		+	
Eurhythmies and hands work			+		+
Special gesture			adoration	partners hold each other hands	shoulder blades touching ground

The dance movements in the rite of crossing the river *суг кeжepдe йөрээл*, *men* and *челер-ой* are indicated only in the eurhythmies and legs work, the hands eurhythmies can be seen only in *девиг* and *буй*. The movements of certain parts of the body per se do not say anything, but, as our studies show, they are semantic units of the dance text. The gestures point to a recognizable symbol image, common for the cultural environment. For example, the elements accentuated by the legs imply the reflection of a totem animal. Kinesics of feet links to the motif of magical trampling that includes some archaic practices. Trampling and kicking are personification of sacred animals, in which special importance is given to the legs movement, as a dynamic part of the body bearing semantic essence (Sanchay, Khomushku, Kukhta, 2019). But even after clarifying the nature of rhythm, accents and other nuances, the description does not become simple but for the dance visualization. To show the dance text's sign nature the object should not be projected on the plane, like an iconic pattern. Thus, the sign and text can be fixed through translating and simultaneous modeling of the articulated text "here on-line". The translated dance signs do not

play concrete forms as some sculptures do, although in the basis of a well-known posture of adoration, *orant* pose — both hands raised up to the sky — this expression can found in the dances of many peoples. The oral text of the myth can be written in graphic alphabetical. The dance can be recorded on a film tape. Still, traditionally, the dance information is transferred from a person performing the dance pattern to another person, by repetition of the dance pattern. This is the only way for the dance text being fixed and translated.

Table 2 represents how the archaic symbol of the circle is manifested in dance compositions. We have enriched this list with the shaman dance — *хамның самы* and *цам*. Since that, it becomes clear that as an archaic symbol the circle is in all the considered compositions of the pre-stage period.

Table 2. Twists or round movements as dance

	<i>Суг кежерде йөрээл</i>	<i>Хамның самы (shaman dance)</i>	<i>Девиз</i>	<i>Цам (cham dance)</i>	<i>Челер-ой</i>	<i>Буй</i>
Circle in the composition	alternate one leg twists with further changes	intensive circling	final element as circling	circling around oneself	going around in a closed circle	conditional gesture of four-direction sprinkling in a circle

Table 3 shows the dance movements that imitate animals (totem animals). At first glance, the symbolic content of *суг кежерде йөрээл* has failed to reveal any totem signs-symbols, since there is no obvious visual movement-imitative image. But that magic stomp with twists “does not forget” about the totem. In this case, legs kinesics has relation to a motif of magic trampling, implies archaic practices of mental and physical impact on the human mind, accompanied by instrumental shouts. For example, Mongolian dance *девецех* is famous for its magical trampling around a sacred tree accompanied by beating tambourine “till a hole comes up on the ground”. This emphasis shows the intensity of the legs work. In this regard, a Mongolian researcher B. Renchin writes that *девецех* “stomping” is a name for the dance step around the sacred Shaman Tree. The Mongols did the same actions while wedding ceremonies, as witnessed by some Mongolian authors: “At the behest of the up-world, until the surface smoothes, until one tramps a hole in it, they were stomping at the wedding” (Samzhid, 2014). A distinctive feature of intensive movements is their life-giving

function. The image of fertility is dominating; therefore, the earth is a bosom that gives birth to plants, animals and people. The image of totem has an active part in the female principle. Worshipping the sacred tree, people believed that the spirits of the earth and water would give a pass to them. As a result, the dance structure is featured with mythological symbols: the circle as a solar symbol, stomping — dance gestures representing totem, and the tree around which the dance is taking place symbolizes the sacred vertical.

Table 3. Imitative movements in the structure of dance compositions as a visual image

<i>Суг кежерде йөрээл</i>	<i>Хамның самы</i>	<i>Девиг</i>	<i>Челер-ой</i>	<i>Буй</i>
	variety of images	Birds (eagle, falcon, hawk); cloven-hoofed (bull, mountain goat, mountain argali)		Movement imitation of a horse

The analysis of Table 3 results in the fact that the dance lexis in the rite of crossing the river and *челер-ой* still accent on the legs. The technique of animal-imitation is marked through a sacred stomping. Approaching to a magical trance *суг кежерде йөрээл* sets the future situation for a positive scenario. While dancing the myth becomes alive, in which, by referring to the sacred sky, water spirits, mother-earth, the participant believes that the heaven, earth, and water spirits are benevolent. The sacred geometry becomes evident; the symbols of heaven and earth are read.

Table 4. Totem images in compositions

	<i>Суг кежерде йөрээл</i>	<i>Хамның самы</i>	<i>Девиг</i>	<i>Челер-ой</i>	<i>Буй</i>
Cloven-hoofed		+		+	+
Birds	+	+	+		

Visual structure of animals' habits is common for the eagle dance, bull dance and falcon dance; besides, the shaman dance *хамның самы* contains a large number of eurhythmies and mimetic images of animals, both through tramping, and visual imitation of the totem animals' habits as well (Table 4).

Table 5. Combination¹

	<i>Суг кежерде йөрээл</i>	<i>Хамның самы</i>	<i>Девиг</i>	<i>Цам</i>	<i>Челер-ой</i>	<i>Бий***</i>
1. Hands work			+			+
2. Legs work	+	+			+	+
3. Twists*	+	+		+		
4. Circle** in space	+	+	+	+	+	+
5. Combination with movements of hands, legs, twists, movement around in space		+		+		+
6. Moving forward in space		+	+	+	+	+
7. Imitative movements		+	+			+

* Twists — rotations around oneself using the whole body;

** Circle — movement in space;

*** In *бий* a large number of combined movements are done on one place, sitting or standing without the move forward in space.

In Table 5 one can find the set of dance lexis and movements enriched with certain symbols of each composition.

Thus, cultural and historical analysis has revealed that tradition does not forget anything, but finds a way to retain spiritual values, clearly exemplified through the phenomenon of the round dance *челер-ой*. This part of the work has concluded that the compositions represent a system of symbols in which dance kinetics is a reservoir of information patterns belonging to Tuvans' cultural heritage.

Archetypes in the modern stage dance

Let us further consider archetypical codes in the modern stage dances. We suggest looking at the modern choreography through the pre-stage form of Tuvinian kinetic heritage.

Those choreographers who arrived in the beginning of the 20th century had no easy task to stage a national dance (Sanchay, Kukhta, 2019; Ondar, 2016). First, one needs a certain guidebook or a set of dance elements. With regard to the art of choreography, there was no material with necessary body for recreating the stage dance. As a result, they thought that “Tuvans have no everyday life dance”, in other words — “the database” was empty”. Given the theoretical basis described above and allowing conscious handling of cultural codes, as well as the richest experience of one

¹ In this work, a combination is a set of the symbolic elements considered in the structure of compositions.

of the authors¹ in choreographic practice, we are keen on observing how cultural code is manifested in the performing arts of Tuva.

In this work, we will omit the aspect of the Tuvan stage art development, for this issue is considered in the dissertation of I. Ondar (Ondar, 2016). In the modern dance choreographies we are interested in how archetypes are being articulated (Khomushku, Kukhta, 2016). The presence of archaic symbols on their reconstruction and expression represents our research subject here. A myth-based plot regarded by the producer can be crucial, and it is all more interesting how the author managed to uncover and embody the codes hidden in it. We will choose certain choreographic works in which we will identify and analyze cultural codes. The choice of the works is obvious for the logic of their appearance on the stage as the earliest and later samples of choreographic art, staged by professional directors. This is the most famous and earliest stage dance production “Clinking Tenderness”, the first ballet performance “Khaya-Mergen”. Later works are the concert items, the small-form composition called “The Parallel”, the performances “*Өл-ле ыяшты хараача дээш ...*” (“By breaking, bending a tender willow”) and “The Crane Rock”.

Let’s first analyze a female stage dance by A. V. Shatin — “Clinking Tenderness” (1944). The performance is based on four basic geometric figures. The first of them is meander; the second one is two diagonal inter-directed lines from opposite corners, forming a triangle, a point, the base of which is crowned by a female soloist. The third figure is the image of the multi-armed Shiva, while the fourth — is a circle in the sun. The meaning that goes beyond the dance itself — is that it models the basic coordinates of the world order. Thus, the first figure of the performers on the stage² is the meander, which symbolizes the choice of a person’s fate. Also this figure means the sacred plane of the earth — the horizontal (Malikov, 2012). In Buddhism, meander means infinite reincarnation, rebirth and reincarnation. The pointing up triangle represents the sacred vertical, i. e. the World Tree or the World Mountain. The third figure is the dance peak: Shatin, impressed with Buddhism in Tuva, visually embodied a symbol belonging to the pantheon of Buddhist deities. The sacred figurativeness of these symbols in the end is the rotation of each unit participating in the dance, and the central person-soloist, reinforcing the scene, forms an axis that holds the entire structure and unites the whole

¹ Sanchay Ch. Kh.

² The performers are ordered in two front lines to the viewers which form either a chequy pattern, or two lines that goes one behind another.

universe. Thus, the manifestations of the sacred symbols geometry of the vertical, horizontal, and the deity image are evident.

This work signifies the first model¹ of performance, which became a pattern for the *compositions* of a new phenomenon in Tuva — *stage dance*. The shamanic ritual *хамның самы*, mysterious *цaм* and *девиц* dances presuppose the ceremonial action in which the composition obeys *traditional canon*, conditioned by religious regularity. Stage dance is subject to the laws of art scene. It implies: 1. a special *technique for movements*, within the given style, character, able of internal development; 2. being a special technique of human body movements, dance involves the *pattern construction* due to the movement, building of scenes from the participants — *dancers*; the dance pattern also involves a variety of weaves, fancy development, one figure smoothly influences the other; 3. as a choreographic text, the *dance content* is revealed by building a figurative language through the movements, drawing in space; the dance composition can lack the plot and consist of pure dance techniques, so as the dance means the dance itself; 4. the number of dancers may be unlimited; 5. stage dance necessarily implies a *spectator* — those to whom the performance is addressed; 6. everyone can become a dancer who is keen on mastering the art of dance techniques. Thus, the stage dance is not a religious practice with respect to ceremonial compositions; it does not limit the time of performance (not tied to sacred time), and is not limited to the place (sacred spring or hill-mountain). Indeed, it does not restrict a person (a shaman, wrestler, cham dance participant), as well as the content is not linked to any sacred event (traditional holiday or death and illness).

The performance in the form of the ballet work “*Khaya-Mergen*” (1979) — is the first national heroic legend-based ballet of Tuva with the choreography done by the Leningrad dancer V. Kamkov, music — by P. Gecker and performance art made by T. Ostrovskaya (Ondar, 2016: 122). Unfortunately, the recording of this performance has been damaged, so we will try to analyze it basing on the memories preserved in the documentary, as well as by interviewing the participants of the performance². So, the legend arises from the myth-cosmology — the hero fights his antipode, wins in a series of battles, upon which, the world is saved and the harmony is restored. The hero takes a hard path of trials, returns happiness to the people and asserts justice. According to the mythological scale he establishes the order, but does not die, to be born

¹ The performance by A. Shatin “Clinking Tenderness” was the third following “Dekei-oi (1943) and “The Youth” (1943) (Ondar, 2016: 98).

² E.M. Salchak was the leading she-dancer in this performance. V.S. Nanaktayev was that time the artistic director of “Sayany”.

again as a heroic deity. The era of social realism, in turn, adjusts the story of the hero. According to that ideology, he is noble and stands for the freedom of ordinary people against evil enslavers. The story about the life of the hero brings another significant moment — a personal story — the evil Khan-Kucha captured the hero's beloved along with everyone. That means that love is a motive essential for the modern mythologized story. As for the ancient meaning, the protagonist's name is also interesting. Thus, the name of the main character, Khaya-Mergen, keeps the memory of certain epochs — a heroic and prehistoric one, which is older. *Khaya* means a rock related to *хая-көжээ* or *кижи-көжээ* (tuv.), which can be translated as stone steles or stone sculptures — in reference to the monuments of the medieval period of the Turkic Kaganate, known as ancient warriors, bogatyrs, heroes or defenders. *Mergen* means “being apt” or a “hunter” that links us to the prehistoric totemic period. Thus, the archetype, above all, is manifested in the hero's name.

The author's performance¹ titled *“The Parallel”* (2001) is a poetic metaphor. In a choreographic miniature, two sacral zones are designated — Earth and Sky. Living on the ground, a couple plays a ritual sacred rite by sprinkling *аржаан суг* (water taken from a spring), which represents the motive of sacrifice. In the sky one can see a couple of birds. There is a movement of these couples changing around their The birds are sacred image, symbolizing the sacred movement in the things order, which asserts the inviolability of the time cycle and its cyclical nature of, as well as the eternal desire and movement of the two halves towards each other. Thus, the sacred symbols in the chronotope are manifested clearly and in their real scale.

Another example is a one-act performance *«Өл-ле ыяшты хараача дээш ...»* (“By breaking, bending a tender willow”) (2003) choreographed and scripted by the author². In short, this is the story of young people who met at youth games and fell in love with each other. Meanwhile, the young man had a more successful and rich opponent. According to the Tuvans custom one can marry a girl he is the first to ask her parents. If her parents, in turn, consider that the union is profitable, then they do not ask the girl's desire and the wedding is appointed. Therefore, the author used the lines from the Tuvans' song folklore in the title, which eloquently speaks about the fate of unwillingly made marriage: “They bent and break a tender willow; they will say it's your yurt³”. Events are unfolded through the traditional play and everyday rituals of the

¹ Ch. Kh. Sanchay.

² Ch. Kh. Sanchay.

³ The yurt polls in Tuva are made of willow twigs.

Tuvans, i. e. the sacrament of initiation into the youth summer games — *ойтулааи* — and wedding rituals with all its stages. The character and the key figure by which the story is retold is the image of an old man and shaman in one person — *тоолчу*. It is the image of the shaman-narrator that joins the story, sustaining the element of traditional narrator. A hard psychological moment between the rivals is solved by dance imitation of the horse racing, in which the girl's lover loses. The inner feelings of the girl are expressed through a choreographic metaphor — a flock of birds flies south, while one of these birds has its wings clipped. So it stays on the ground, seeing the birds out and being in inconsolable grief. As a result, totemic archaisms serve as a choreographic synonym for symbolic meanings.

For the author, quoting the rites and showing them completely on the stage is not a self-fulfillment prophecy. Appealing to playing, household and wedding rituals is a bright and artistic method which describes the traditional culture of Tuvans to reveal the idea of the play by the means of expressive choreographic art. The story ends dramatically for the main characters. The lovers are not reunited. The girl resigned herself to the fate by submitting to her parents' will, which means that the tradition of the people is alive and confirms its laws.

“The Crane Rock” (2017) is a choreographic one-act performance based on E. Mizhit's script, B-M Tulush's music and choreography made by K. Semenov, a Moscow choreographer. Today it is the last major work, delivered by “Sayany”, a professional band of Tuva. The narration of the story begins with the traditional introduction — this is a musical-poetic beginning accompanied by the morin khuur. The magical melody slowly immerses the viewer into a poetic legend of lovers. As the rumor says, their memory is immortalized with the image of birds on a rocky cliff. A picturesque valley favored by cranes stretches opposite that cliff, reminding of lovers who threw off that steep cliff, not willing to submit to the evil.

Thus, the plot of the legend, apparently, is the author's fiction, based on the tradition of oral folk art. The performance begins with a prologue in the form of a Tuvan narration. Mysterious birds on the rocks represent the signs-symbols of antiquity; the rock carvings are perceived as an idea to read this love story about the ones who wished to pay their lives instead of obeying the will of the one who wanted to separate them.

Let then think, what archaisms are present in the content. First of all, the use of birds by the authors' interpretation is a poetic metaphor of sublime love and fidelity. In this case, the image works, correctly matching the archetypical symbol. The second thing associated with the archetype is the sacred vertical. The image of the birds, as

said in the story, is on a rocky elevation, on the cliff. Another archaism of the myth-making plot is the invasion of the hero's antipode, which by its appearance destroys the hero's peaceful life, thus, the hero dies and reincarnates in the form of deity. What does the modern interpretation bring to the plot of the legend? Firstly, the motive of love is introduced; secondly, the image of negative character, designed to create chaos with the myth-cosmogony scale, is decided in an amateurish manner. The plot with archetypical symbols is understood as a drama with the idea of earthly, human passions. In the end, the girl and the young man turn into birds, and moreover, rise to the skies. As a result, archetypical symbols are manifested geometrically and figuratively.

Table 6. The symbols in the modern choreography

	Clinking Tenderness, 1944	Khaya-Mergen, 1976	Өл-ле ыяшты хараача дээш, 2003	The Parralel, 2001	The Crane Rock, 2017
Legend-based plot		+			
Images done through the choreography	+ Shiva		+ Birds, horse and shaman-narrator	+ Birds	+ Birds
The hero's death					+
Love motive		+	+	+	+
The image of shaman			+		
Quoting the rite		Puberty rites: rite of passage into hunter, archery and horse riding	Marriage rituals, rite of shaman, puberty rites: summer youth games, ridings	<i>чалбарыг</i> — sprinkling	Puberty rites: урууң people riding their horses, youth games <i>чинчи</i> <i>чажыраары</i>
Sacral geometry symbols	+		+	+	+
Horse markings		+	+		+
Bird markings			+	+	+
Buddhism symbols	+				

Conclusion

Thus, though the chosen methodology, an analysis of some Tuvan choreography in the format of semiotic potential has been done, resulting in a possibility to trace the mechanism of archaic symbols translation. The considered compositions and performances have an imaginative constant, a continuous interconnection — transformation occurs with a change of images, but the traces of the former ones remain implicitly, transmitted from generation to generation.

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Архетипические символы в современной танцевальной культуре тувинцев

О.М. Хомушку^а, Ч.Х. Санчай^а, М.С. Кухта^б

^а*Тувинский государственный университет
Россия, 667000, Республика Тыва, Кызыл, ул. Ленина, 36*

^б*Национальный исследовательский
Томский политехнический университет
Россия, 634050, Томск, пр. Ленина, 30*

Актуальность исследования танцевальной культуры тувинцев обусловлена необходимостью изучения специфики корреляции традиционного и современного танца с использованием новых методологических подходов. Целью статьи является исследование механизмов трансляции архетипических символов в современных сценических танцах Тувы. Для достижения цели решаются следующие задачи: рассмотреть связь архетипа с тотемом; раскрыть специфику трансляции архетипических символов в структуре современной хореографии тувинцев.

Исследование позволяет сделать вывод о морфологической устойчивости древних представлений тувинцев, сохраненных в сакральной кинетике танцев, отражающих многомерность мира, устойчивую связь с традиционными представлениями о духах предков и богах. Специфика мировоззрения тувинцев, выраженная через танцевальную культуру, позволяет не прерывать живую нить традиции.

Ключевые слова: тувинский танец, тувинская культура, образы, сакральная геометрия, архетип, современный сценический танец, тотем, символ.

Научная специальность: 24.00.00 — культурология.
