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The socio-cultural image of Tuvan officialdom in the XIX and XX centuries

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is to study the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officialdom in the late XIX and early XX centuries. The methodological basis of the study is the principles of historicism, objectivism, and an integrated approach. As a result, since it is known that the effective functioning of the system of state power primarily depends on the people who carry out administrative activities, it is necessary to reconstruct the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials. Analyzing the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officialdom, it can be concluded that a special social group has been formed in traditional Tuvan society.

Keywords: administrative, state, society, jiangjun, ambynoyon.

La imagen sociocultural de la burocracia de Tuvan en los siglos XIX y XX

Resumen

El propósito del artículo es estudiar la imagen sociocultural de la burocracia de Tuvan a fines del siglo XIX y principios del XX. La base metodológica del estudio son los principios del historicismo, el objetivismo y un enfoque integrado. Como resultado, dado que se sabe que el funcionamiento efectivo del sistema de poder estatal depende principalmente de las personas que llevan a cabo actividades administrativas, es necesario reconstruir la imagen sociocultural de los funcionarios de Tuvan. Al analizar la imagen sociocultural de la burocracia de Tuvan, se puede concluir que se ha formado un grupo social especial en la sociedad tradicional de Tuvan.

Palabras clave: administrativo, estado, sociedad, jiangjun, ambyn-noyon.

1. INTRODUCTION

Tuvan officials at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries represented a special social group that fulfilled the most important functions to organize not only the socio-political and economic but also the cultural life of traditional Tuvan society. It was officials who were responsible for the official life of the Uryankhai region carrying out the interaction between the state and society. The purpose of the article is to study the socio-cultural image of the officialdom of Tuva in the late XIX - early XX centuries. The scientific relevance of the article is determined by the fact that the socio-legal and economic situation as well as the value-normative orientations of the mentality of the Tuvan officials in

the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a separate social group were not the subject of special study in domestic and foreign historiography (Khovalyg, 2014). The problems studied are reflected in research papers which can be divided into three stages by chronological features: 1) from the second half of the XIX - to the first decade of the 20th century; 2) from the 20's to the early 90's of the XX century; 3) since the beginning of the 90s - up to the present time.

The beginning of the study of Tuvan society was laid by Russian scientists, ethnographers, geographers, historians. The first stage consists mainly of works of an ethnographic and publicistic nature. Researchers and travelers described the administrative-territorial division, distinguished clan groups, studied traditions, customs, applied art, anthropological image, recorded folklore (Adrianov, 1886; Aiyzhy, 2013; Afrikanov, 1890). At the second stage, scientific understanding of the history of the Tuvan people begins (Aranchin, 1982; Iyesuitov, 1956; Serdobov, 1971). The merit of the works of Soviet scientists is: the expansion of the research subjects; inclusion of a wide range of sources in the study including previously unused archival documents; and also, the introduction of system analysis, the formational approach, the principles of historicism into the study of Tuvan society at the beginning of the 20th century, which allowed the first systematic exposition of the history of the Tuvan people. Despite the profound analysis of the social structure of society, the question of the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials was not developed by virtue of prevailing ideological attitudes, the formative and class approach (Dulov, 1956). Ultimately, the historiography

available at that time on the history of the Tuvan people allowed to generalize it which resulted in the creation of the two-volume "History of Tuva" in the early 1960s, which covered the period from ancient times to 1961 (that is, before the formation of the Tuvan Autonomous Republic). However, the problems of the formation and evolution of the officialdom of the Tuvan People's Republic, the socio-cultural image and its further transformation were affected to the minimum. The next stage in the historiography of Tuva is marked by a change in ideological and methodological paradigms which led to changes in the methods of research and historical description. At the same time, researchers gained access to previously closed sources which enable historians to reveal new facets of Tuva's historical development. The result was the emergence of works on interdisciplinary problems of ethno-politology (Moskalenko (2004), ethnography (Aiyzhy & Mongush, 2016a; 2016b; *Bulag*, 2011), and social history (Khovalyg, 2015; 2015b; Ochirova, 2015). Modern historiography is marked by the scientific interest of foreign authors in the ethnography and anthropology of the Tuvan people (Donahoe, 2004). An anthropologist Donahoe (2004) analyzed the legal status of landownership and land tenure of rural communities of the Tuvinians-Todjans referred to indigenous small peoples.

Thus, despite certain successes in the actual Tuvan and All-Russian and foreign historiography, the questions of the socio-cultural image of the officialdom of Tuva were revealed only in the context of describing the class structure of society, and then as auxiliary subjects. The chronological scope of the research is limited by the boundary of

the 19th - early 20th centuries when Tuva began to be drawn into the orbit of the Russian statehood from the outskirts of the Manchurian Empire. The lower boundary is conditioned by the functioning of the traditional officialdom of Tuva.

2. METHODOLOGY

The methodological basis of the study is the principles of historicism, objectivism, and an integrated approach. They allowed studying the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials, starting from the first years of independent existence, taking into account the interrelation of their activities with the events that took place at that time not only in Tuva, but also in Russia and neighboring Mongolia and China. The principle of historicism makes it possible, having studied the conditions for the emergence of the administrative apparatus in the era of the rule of the Manchurian empire of Qing, to consider its dynamics in the interconnection and interdependence from changing external conditions, to show an integral picture of the system of state administration. Scientific objectivity was ensured by studying historical literature and an extensive documentary base of the research topic in all its diversity.

3. DATA ANALYSIS, AND RESULTS

Tuvan officialdom as an integral part of the traditional Tuvan society and the administrative system of the Manchurian Empire Qing in the Central Asian region was formed and existed on the basis of a

purposeful government policy in the field of public administration. At the same time, a social group was formed in Tuva, characterized by its peculiarities, caused by the geopolitical situation of Tuva, as a center connecting: the boundless steppes of Southeast Asia and the Siberian taiga; Russian, traditional-nomadic, Chinese civilization; tribal, patriarchal-feudal and capitalist relations; various ethnic groups and tribes (here there was a dividing line between the Turkic and Mongolian "worlds"). All this left an imprint of originality, not only in the spiritual and material culture, but also on the mentality of the people, which in turn was reflected in the formation and functioning of the state apparatus. And since it is known that the effective functioning of the system of state power primarily depends on the people who carry out administrative activities, it is necessary to reconstruct the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials. The aim of the article is to reconstruct the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

4. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM OF 1759

Three stages have been identified in the history of development and evolution of officialdom: the first - from 1756-1758 – which is connected with the penetration and evolution of the Manchu-Mongolian administrative system of state administration into the territory of the Tuvan tribes; the second stage - since 1912 - with the liberation of Tuva from the power of the Chinese Empire Qing; the

third - since 1921 - the creation of the Tuvan People's Republic, the sovereign state of the Tuvan people. The administrative apparatus, as well as officialdom, as a special layer of Tuva's administrators, was formed at the end of the 18th century after the Tuvan tribes were conquered by the Manchu dynasty of Qing in 1757. For the state administration of the conquered peoples, the Manchus instituted the institution of governors. In Khalkha (Northern Mongolia) the administrative center in 1768 was Ulyasutai - where there was the residence of jiangjun. In Kobdo, the "Foreign Order" was created (Potapov, 1969). From the second half of the XVIII century the great jiangjuns got the meaning of the highest civil officials controlling local government, and submitting to Beijing for the approval of local government candidates for the title, rank or position. Two more khebei-ambans were appointed to help. Since the middle of the XIX century, due to the vastness of the territory, the number of khebei-ambans has been increased to six, of which two in Ulyasutai, two in Kobdo and two in Urga, the latter received the right of direct communication with Beijing. Thus, Ulyasutai jiangjun was in charge of all civil and military affairs on the subject territory.

Its structure was legalized in 1789 in the code of the Qing legislation "Lifanyuan tszeli" ("Code of the Chinese Chamber of External Relations"). Ulyasutai jiangjun was subordinate to the sixth branch of Li-fan-yuan (Chamber of External Relations) in Beijing. Having Khalkha and Tuva subordinated, the Manchus carried out an administrative reform in 1759 transforming princely possessions into khoshuns¹ - paramilitary administrative-territorial units, khoshuns were

divided into soumons², and soumons consisted of arbans³. In the case of a military gathering one arban had to put 10 men aged between 18 and 60 years into the soldiers list, and one soumon - 150 riders in full combat equipment. Six soumons formed one regiment, five regiments made up a division, and five divisions - a corps (Brunnert & Gagelstrom, 1910). In total, as a result of the reform, the Tuvan tribes were divided into five administrative-territorial units from 1759 to 1808: the Tesingol or the Oyunnar, the Hemgol or the Salchak (Salzhak), the Todzhinur or the Todzha and the Khubsugul, the latter was renamed Khasutsky in 1787 and crossed under the direct management of the Manchu-Mongolian administration in Ulyasutai, but its population still continued to incur separate obligations in relation to the Tuvan ambyn-noyon in the XIX century. Tuvan tribes living in the basin of the Ulug-Khem (Yenisei) and Khemchik rivers, partly to the south of the Tannu-Ola ridge and on both slopes of the Sayans, remained under the jurisdiction of the Mongol princes. In fact, two independent khoshuns were formed - Beise (Beise, in Tuvan - Beezi) and Daa (Khemchik). In 1764, for his misdemeanors against the Manchu dynasty, Prince of Daa Khoshun was stripped of his title and the Tuvan tribes were handed over to the khebei-amban who was in Kobdo, and the Zaisan Sharba (Shara) was approved as the ruler of Daa Khoshun. Since 1808 the Khemchik Khoshun or Daa Khoshun (other variants of writing - Da-khoshun, Daa-khoshun) finally became the fifth Tuvan khoshun.

The Mongolian princes also subdued the soumons of Maady and Choodu, later known as Daa-vana khoshun and Shalyk and Sartul

soumons which comprised the Nibazy khoshun at the beginning of the 20th century (Mannai-ool, 2004). Thus, at the end of the XIX century there were five Tuvan khoshuns which were directly under the control of the Tuvan ambyn-noyon and four khoshuns under the jurisdiction of the Mongol princes. Beginning from 1806 when the lands of every khoshun were precisely identified and the law established that only within their territory the population of the khoshun could roam, the arats who violated these borders were accused of seizing or using someone else's property and the authorities began to punish them.

5. FORMATION OF OFFICIALDOM AS A SEPARATE SOCIAL GROUP

In the course of the administrative reform, the Bugdijn-darga Institute (the Supreme Ruler), subordinated to the Ulyasutai jiangjun, was introduced to centralize the management of the Tuvan Khoshuns by the Manchus. In 1762 the ruler of the Tesingol Khoshun was awarded the seal, which symbolized his elevation over other Tuvan khoshuns. The post of Bugdijn-darg (the Supreme Ruler) and the title of Ambyn-Noyon, that is, the head of the special formed supreme administration of all Tuvan khoshuns were approved by the seal. However, the problems of an organizational and linguistic nature soon emerged. The appointed rulers of the Tuvan rulers were poorly versed in administrative management and did not know the Mongolian language. Therefore, the Chinese administration, the Supreme Ruler of all four khoshuns, appointed the Khalkha prince in the rank of Meiren-

changy¹. The presence of the chief ruler was determined near the border guards of Erzin and Samagaltai. At the same time, it was decided to send the talented children of Uryanghai khoshun's rulers to study at the schools created in Kobdo and Ulyasutai. This decision significantly affected the socio-cultural image of the higher Tuvan officials. Thus, the heads of the Tuvan khoshuns began to speak the Mongolian language. The Mongolian language became the official language in Tuva which led to the gradual penetration of Mongolian words into the language environment of the Tuvan people. In 1787 for the first time the Tuvan zaisan Dashi was approved as the Ambyn Noyon of all Tuvan khoshuns in the rank of Meiren-changy. Since the title and position was inherited, for two centuries the Tuvans were ruled by his descendants, the tribal rulers of the Tesingol Khoshun. According to various estimates, the number of Tuva's ambyn-noyons is 12 people. If we consider the ambyn-noyon Agban Demchi appointed by the Russian administration in 1916, then there are 13 of them. The last ambyn-noyon was Sodnam-Balchyr who ruled from 1916 to 1921. Ambyn-noyon possessed all the administrative, military and judicial power in the territory of five Tuvan khoshuns, the only exception was grave crimes the investigation of which was entrusted to Mongolian or Chinese officials from Ulyasutai, sometimes even from Kobdo. Bugudé-darga was also responsible for all cross-border relations with neighboring nations, for example, trade, hunting, and guarding the boundary marks that divided the territories of the Russian Empire and the Manchu Empire Qing located on the Sayan Mountains and the signs that divided the territory of Tannu-Tuva and Khalkha.

During ambyn-noyon's administration a staff of middle-ranking officials was created. The state management was transferred to the chagyrykchy which was responsible for the management of the affairs of the office and all administrative functions were also assigned to him. The staff consisted of two assistants of ambyn-noyon in the rank of chalan who was in charge of civil affairs and Meeren (Meiren) in whose responsibility the military and judicial functions were combined. Traditionally, state administration was divided into civil and military. And directly the fulfillment of the powers of civilian and military commanders was entrusted to the assistants of ambyn-noyon. The study of sources shows that this practice has developed for two reasons: the first - as a result of the inability of the acting ambyun-noyon to manage; the second is caused by long trips to Beijing, to Ulyasutai or to chysh (diet). The trips were mandatory, due to the fact that the Ambyn-Noyon was obliged to deliver fur tax in Ulyasutai personally. Also, the "Code" of the rulers of all levels and ranks obliged to take a personal part in all ceremonial events, for example, the imperial hunt where they were to come with all the gifts and presents. According to the established rules, all the cases considered at the Diet were sent directly to the vault. Meeren played a secondary role in comparison with the chalan, his duties consisted of the following main functions: review of the Khoshun troops; Monitoring the training of soldiers, the health of horses and weapons; equipment of people for service and so on. He was personally responsible for the full equipment and readiness of the troops for combat operations, escort of Chinese officials sent to check border guards and solemn reviews. In Tuva the meeren served as a district judge. He also acted as manager of foreign

affairs: he was responsible for relations with the Mongols, Russians, Chinese and other peoples living within the Tuvan khoshuns.

Thus, for ambyn- noyon a management apparatus was formed consisting of the Supreme Ruler, his assistants in civil and military affairs, the head of the chancery, several clerks and adjutants, personal guards and small officials who performed police functions. In the same way a management staff was formed at the khoshun level. An official in the position of ugerda¹ was appointed at the head of the khoshun, with two assistants if necessary, the head of the office, the meeren, the chalan, the clerks, the guards, the policemen (Khovalyg, 2016a). Ugerda performed all administrative and judicial functions within the limits of the khoshun subordinated to him. Ugerda had the right to appoint and dismiss the chiefs of soumons (changy), determine the boundaries of soumons, regulate pastures, and manage the arats attached to the khoshun's chancery. Meiren is an official in charge of court cases. His duties included also the delivery of the Alban, collected in the territory under his jurisdiction, to the ugerda and accompanying the tax to the Ambyn-noyon. Failure to fulfill this obligation resulted in a fine in the form of deprivation of rank and office. Khoshun-chalan is an official with administrative functions. Chalan is an official of special assignments under the administration who receives the rank and is deprived of it at the discretion of the ambyun-noyon. The functions of the chalan were temporary, lasting only until the fulfillment of the assignments entrusted to him. The whole administrative life of the whole khoshun was concentrated in the management of ugerda. Khoshun diets were regularly conducted, to

which all the officials of the khoshun and soumons administration were required to attend. Management at the soumon level was different from the previous ones due to the fact that the main administrative work was concentrated in the soumon. Changy was appointed as the head of the soumon. The staff of the changhy consisted of hundu¹, chalan, boshka, secretary - bizheechi (scribe). Changy, the chief of the soumon, with the rank of squadron commander, was responsible not only for tax collection in the subordinated soumon, but also for the order, economic activities of the soumon population. Chalan served as Changy in his absence, when changy delivered the tax to the stake of the ugerda or departed to the khoshun diets. Hundu was a judicial officer in the jurisdiction of the subordinated soumon who was considering civil cases. For example, Kon (1934) writes that without the approval of Changy and Hundu the divorce was not valid, and moreover, even if the marriage itself was not formally registered by the officials, but was regulated by the customs and traditions adopted in every khoshun. Boshka directly subordinated to Hundu – they were tax collectors who also performed police functions, for example, they captured and delivered criminals to changhy and hundu.

In the State Archives of the Russian Federation a document is kept on which it is possible to judge those posts and titles and signs of their differences that were adopted in Tuvan society at the beginning of the 20th century. The ranks were divided into secular and spiritual. The following ranks were concerned secular ones: noyon, tusalakchi (helper), tszahirokchi (chagyrykchy), meiren (meeren), tszangin (changy), hundu, tszalan (chalan), scriber (bizheechi), darga. To the

spiritual ones - bandido-hambo-lama, hambo-lama, da-lama, sordzhy, gelin (helin) (SA RF, 1992. archive R 1701, series 1, file 24a, sheet 77). Thus, the formation of Tuvan officialdom took place under the conditions of the subordination of the Qing dynasty. In Tuva a patrimonial bureaucracy has developed with the features specific for it such as the personal authority of the leader, patronage and personal loyalty of subordinates.

6. DISCUSSION

6.1 The socio-cultural characteristics of Tuvan officialdom

Formed in the late XVIII century the administrative apparatus successfully functioned in the late XIX - early XX centuries. The total number of officials in Tuva at the beginning of the XX century totaled 182 people (SA RF, 1992. archive R 1701. series 1, file 24a, sheet 76). The share of Tuvan officials at the beginning of the XX century in relation to the total population of Tuva was 0.35%. The number of population of Tuva, cited by historians and ethnographers, does not converge, since they in turn are based on different sources: data of Resettlement Department in Uryankhai region formed after the establishment of the Russian protectorate over Tuva, official data of the Tuvan administration in Ulyasutai, the materials of ethnographic expedition reports, so therefore the averaged data were 51 756 people (Khovalyg, 2007). Out of the total number of managerial personnel, officials of the highest ranks were no more than 5-6 people, out of the

number of active rulers. This is the Amybin-noyon and the ugerda by the number of khoshuns. The number of others was distributed as follows: duzalakchy - 4, chagyrykchy - 20, meiren - 33, chanchyn - 48, hundu (elder boshka) - 50, chalan - 15. Also in Da-Van khosuuns (Maady and Choodu khoshuns) there were: zaisan - 2, hundu - 2 and changy - 2 (SA RF, 1992. archive R 1701. series 1. file 24a, sheet 76). The social and legal position of Tuvan officialdom was based on formal legal imperial norms and the corresponding socio-psychological attitudes. The legal basis was, as already stated earlier, "The Code of the Chinese Chamber of Foreign Relations." The Code regulates the hierarchy of higher ranks, ceremonial clothing, the size and timing of remuneration, the procedure for appointing higher princely titles to the posts and inheritance, the type and size of punishments and other issues that determine the social and legal status of officials.

The socio-economic component of the socio-cultural appearance of the Tuvan official is made up of signs that characterize the material situation, the insignia, and the way of life. The main signs of the difference of the Tuvan officials were ceremonial clothes: a dressing gown made of Chinese silk, with stripes; headdress, with attached chingze¹, sleeveless jacket. In the all-imperial hierarchy, all Tuvan officials were part of the military service, since the territory of the Tuvan tribes is located on the border with the Russian Empire. And the main official duty of Tuvan officials, in addition to collecting and delivering fur tax to Ulyasutai, was guard duty. The signs of distinction differed according to the title and rank of the official. The highest step in the social and professional hierarchy was occupied by ambyn-

noyon. Initially, Tuvan ambyn-noyon was granted the title of *gun* - prince of the fifth degree. After the suppression of the uprising of the Sixty Knights in 1883-1885 ambyn-noyon was awarded the princely title *beile* - the prince of the third degree. The title and position of the ambyn-noyon were inherited. The main signs of the difference between the ambyn-noyon were: a ceremonial robe made of Chinese silk with a five-fingered dragon; a headdress with *chingze* on a stand made of bronze with the image of peacock feathers, also a two-point peacock feather attached to the headdress. Since 1766 he was supposed to have a red flag. The material allowance of the ambyn-noyon consisted of the salaries he received from the Beijing Treasury and the fees collected by the Oyunnar khoshun who did not have his own hard work, but obeyed the immediate Bugdijn-darga ambyn-noyon. In connection with the increased level of responsibilities and motivation for increasing loyalty to the Chinese administration, from 1809 onwards, the state treasury began to give out salaries to the executives, for example, ambyn-noyon began to receive: 1) for the performance of the amban position - 77 ½ liang of silver; 2) for the princely title of a *beile* - 800 liang of silver and 13 pieces of brocade and silk fabrics. Thus, 877 ½ liang of silver and 13 pieces of brocade and silk fabrics were supposed to be used for the ambyn-noyon.

The next step in the hierarchy was occupied by the *ugerda* - the rulers of the khoshuns. We remind you that in Tuva at the beginning of the 20th century there were five Tuvan khoshuns who submitted to the ambyn-noyon, and the Oyunnar khoshun did not have its own *ugerda* as it was managed by the ambyn-noyon. Consequently, in Tuva at the

beginning of the 20th century there were only four ugerda. The signs of distinction were the following: a ceremonial robe, headdress decorated with burgundy chingze and one-eyed peacock feather attached on a stand with patterns in the form of peacock feathers cut out on it. The salary of the ugerda was 65 lans. The position of the ugerda, although it was hereditary, was affirmed in Ulyasutai by jiangjun on the proposal of the ambyn-noyon. In Tuva at the end of the XIX century ugerda did not have princely titles. However, the exception was Haidyp - the ugerda of the most populated Daa Khoshun located in the west of Tuva. Haidyp managed not only to return the post of ugerda¹⁴ (State Archive of the Russian Federation, archive R. 1701, series 1, file 24a, sheet 219), but also thanks to the system of selling posts that existed in China he could acquire the title of prince, apparently gun's title, and the seal, and became directly subordinated to Ulyasutai jiangjun. Contemporaries spoke of Haidyp as an exceptionally intelligent and talented person who was striving for the independence of his khoshun from the ambyn-noyon (Grumm-Grzhimailo, 1926). The material allowances of senior officials consisted of the salaries they received during the period of direct service. The salary was paid once a year and the Ulyasutai jiangjun was obliged to report regularly to the Chamber of State Property in Beijing at the end of the year. At the third level in the hierarchy of ranks and titles of Tuvan society, there were officials of the khoshun administration: chagyrykchy - an assistant of the ambyn-noyon or an ugerda in the functional duties which included the direct instructions of the leadership. The signs of distinction of duzalakchi and chagyrykchy

were a headdress, where a chingze of red color was attached to a copper stand with a peacock with a single-point peacock.

Further downward, there were the meeren and the chalan. A sign of the difference between the meeren and the chalan was mainly the headdress, however, if the meeren had a transparent blue chingze attached to the stand and a peacock with a single-pointed peacock, then the chalan's chingze was of the transparent blue color attached to the headdress, without a stand and without a peacock feather. The officials of the administration were paid for their time in the office. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to establish the size of the monetary allowance from the treasury of the office, and also it is still a question if the so-called khoshun treasury was created in general, however, it is known that the Undurug was regularly collected - the tax for the maintenance of the office of the ambyn-noyon and the Khoshun Chancellery. In archival documents, the undurug is calculated in the liangs and in the natural recalculation, proceeding from the cost of large and small cattle. From the analysis of the appeals of officials who came to the name of ambyn-noyon, it can be concluded that not all officials used the right of feeding from the subordinated khoshun. Although it was customary in Soviet historiography to emphasize that the official was regularly fed on the levies levied on the population. For example, Kon (1934) mentions that the main source of income was the official position - fees were profitable in court proceedings that were systematic. One of the officials took half the bricks of tea or one ram before questioning, and sometimes a cow or even a horse were demanded for the call of a defendant to the court. Mintslov (1915),

who was travelling around Tuva at the beginning of the 20th century, wrote: "Twenty sheep are collected for a stolen sheep, and the vast majority is deducted in favor of the judge". As a result of official activity, the economy and husbandry of officials gradually increased, for example Chambal-changy had about 300 horses, 70-80 heads of cattle and 500-600 sheep. Ak-chalan - about 900 horses, about 150 heads of cattle and up to 100 sheep, and there are many such examples. However, as it was already said, there were also officials who during their service not only did not get rich, but even went bankrupt. And here as well, we can see that much depended on the nature of the relationship that has developed with the ugerda, and with the ambyn-nyon. The khoshun ranks of the Duzalakchi, Chagyrykchy, Meiren and Chalan were inherited and affirmed by the Ambyn-Noyon according to the representation of the Ugerda. And this was happening everywhere despite the fact that according to the "Code" all the posts of the Khoshun and Soumon administration were elected and subsequently confirmed by the ugerda, except for the Duzalakchy (civilian assistant). To appoint the Duzalakchi, the rulers of the Khoshuns had to submit lists of candidates, among which the ugerda claimed a duzalakchy. "The Code" urgently requires to be guided by the spiritual qualities of the appointed person, his ability to lead a position during the choice of an assistant: "To elect to this position <...> people with excellent abilities and exemplary morality, so that they can send the position assigned to them with the desired success".

Soumon officials like Changy, Cheizen (zaisans), Hundu, Boshka, Demchi and head of the arban - darga belonged to the officials

of middle-rank. Distinctions included headgear with attached chingze without supporting stand. Stands and feathers were allowed to be worn by high-ranking officials, since such distinctions had to be deserved. Changy was supposed to wear a transparent chingze of white color, hindu – of milk color, boshka - also milk color. The ruler of the arban, arban-darga, was supposed to wear a headdress with chingze cast from copper (SA RF, 1992. archive R 1701. series 1. File 24a, sheet 122-123). The rest of the officials were not allowed to wear chingze. It is curious that the study of the lists of the population census and the livestock of the soumons of Khemchik Daa Khoshun show that the management officials were not always the richest people in comparison with the rest of the well-to-do families who did not have ranks and posts.

It should also be said that in Tuva, as well as throughout the empire of the Qing Dynasty, the division of ranks and posts was carried out on the principle of civil and military managements. Officials were divided into military and civilians. Each rank was divided into two ranks. So, it can be assumed that in Tuva all the above-listed ranks and posts were subdivided not by functional duties, but by title and rank: for example, the documents mention the official of the 5th degree Konchuk-Dorzhu (SA RT, 1992. arch. 115, series 1. file 117. sheet 11) from the administration of Ambyn-Noyon, his duties included assisting and analyzing the affairs of various khoshuns. And already in accordance with their rank, their duties and powers were determined. Military and civil officials were required to wear

ceremonial clothes in accordance with the degree they occupy in the hierarchy of ranks and posts.

6.2 The system of training of Tuvan officialdom

An important component of the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials is education. The legal basis for obtaining a secular education by officials was the "Code of the Chinese Chamber of Foreign Relations" (Li-fan-yuan tsze-li) which regulated the activities of colleges and teachers administered by the Chamber of External Relations located in Khalkha (Pozdneev, 1896). Chapter VI of the "Code" carefully regulates the organization of the schools which were arranged according to the charter of the Beijing University. There were 8 junior teachers, selected from 8 Mongolian Beijing corps, divided into two wings with 4 people in each of them. When a vacancy arises for a junior teacher, the Chamber has the right to demand from the ruler the corresponding administrative unit from which the retired teacher arrived, and to send new candidates for a competitive selection. The criterion for determining the professional suitability of future teachers was a qualified translation of texts from the Mongolian language to the Manchu and Chinese languages. As a result of the competitive selection, the winners were honored to be presented to the emperor. Eight teachers for the Mongolian language were appointed in the schools with eight Mongolian corps, i.e. from each corps one by one. The candidate must pass the exam, and the best one is determined by the appointment of the Chamber, which is also obliged to take on

the comments of those candidates whose translations are better than the rest, in order to use them in the administrative service if necessary. In all, eight schools pupils are supposed to be taught the art of archery both on foot and on horses. To do this, it is also necessary to appoint teachers from eight corps. Candidates are taken among the usual people with no rank who know the Manchu and Mongolian languages well and are excellent at shooting archery on foot and on horseback.

Pozdneev (1896) made notes about the school established in Kobdo during his expedition in Mongolia. When the Kobdo's Li-fan-yuan was established, in 1768, there was a school for the preparation of scribes, arranged according to the calculation for 15 young people. Children enter the school at the age of 12 and stay in school until 18-19. They are located in state yurts, for the maintenance of their food and clothing khoshuns send 18 lans (36 silver rubles) per year for each student. Children are taught the Manchu and Mongolian literacy in school, beginning with the Manchu alphabet, and then they are already acquainted with the Mongolian alphabet. Then follows the memorization of dictionaries and translations of the works of "Enduringe-tatsihyan" and "San Tzy-tsing", reading of the Manchu "Sy-mu" and, finally, the laws, in the volume of exclusively criminal decisions. At the school there were supposed to be two teachers, with the rank of Tszangins, who are sent from the Olet and Mingat Khoshuns for this purpose, they serve their duties on a monthly basis, and receive 800 lans a year for their work (Pozdneev, 1896). The entire southern half of the fortress of Kobdo was almost busy with these activities and duties. The school for the training of civilian and military

officials was also available in Ulyasutai. It was arranged in the same way as in Kobdo. "All the Uryanghai non-residents receive their education in Ulyasutai,- we read in the works of Pozdneev (1896), - they are sent, usually at the age of 13-14 years, after which, living under the Yamuna of Ulyasutai jiangjun, they study the Mongolian language and writing here; they also study the Manchu language, but speaking it is not obligatory". Studying the numerous correspondence of officials, we can draw certain conclusions about secular education in Tuvan khoshuns. It is known that in Tuva special colleges for the preparation of clerks were not established, but under certain administrations and chanceries, officials' talented children could be trained by the writers of the Mongolian letter, who received separate salaries for this. In the orders of the ambyn-noyon, the rulers of the khoshuns had special instructions on the training of young people, capable and responsible, for the transfer of office affairs to them. Each khoshun was obliged to send one chalan and three scribes to the office of the ambyn-noyon every year to carry out their official duties. But sometimes, in connection with the shortage of clerks, the management could only send one that can be read from the attitude of the ugerda of Hemchik Daa Khoshun Sarai: "Although it is customary to send one changy and three scribes, we can send only one scribe because there are very few scribes in the khoshun "(SA RT, 1992. arch. 115. series 1, file 127, sheet 22).

Thus, Tuvan officialdom at the end of the XIX beginning of XX centuries was one of the most educated social groups, not counting the Buddhist clergy. Regardless of rank, officials became the most

important component of traditional Tuvan culture, thanks to which there was a significant growth of the educated part of the population, as evidenced by the appearance of chronicles written in the Mongolian language. The first historical works were created back in the second half of the XIX century, the authors of which were supposedly representatives of the officialdom, since they had access to documents of khoshun and soumon chancellery. For example, Ambyn-Noyon Olzei-Ochur (reign of 1866-1899) was the author of two historical works (Samdan, 2001), the sources of which were the records and documentation of Ulyasutai jiangjun. The increased level of cultural inquiries of Tuvan officials in Tuva also indicated that there was a need for regular reading of printed periodicals. In the early XX century Ambyn-noyon Kombu-Dorzhu subscribed and once a month received the Mongolian newspapers "Mongolyn Sonin bichig" (Mongolian newspaper), "Niyslel hureeniy Sonin bichig" (Urginian capital newspaper) (Khovalyg, 2015). In conclusion, it should be noted that in Tuva at the beginning of the 20th century the process of forming a system for training of competent officials of upper and middle ranks was taking place, but the bulk of Tuva's population received spiritual education rather than a secular one. But there were cases when young people who received spiritual education were appointed to serve in the administration, but this was considered an exception rather than a norm. However, there are cases when Buddhist priests, having resigned from themselves, entered the service in the administration. For example, a certain Ortun-meiren, having received education in Urga, refused to be a priest, and entered the service in the khoshun administration (Grumm-Grzhimailo, 1926; Kon, 1934).

6.3 The value-normative guidelines of the mentality of Tuvan officials

In order to study the mentality of Tuvan officials in traditional Tuvan society, materials were collected about the most interesting and vivid representatives of the rulers of Tuvan khoshuns. Their characteristics clearly illustrate the value-normative guidelines of Tuvan officials, which were developed during one and a half century of the rule of the Manchu dynasty Qing in Central Asia. The first of the highest Tuvan officials was the Ambyn Noyon Kombu-Dorzhu, the penultimate ruler of the Tuvan khoshuns. The title of Ambyn-Noyon was inherited, but the question of its influence and significance depended entirely on the personal qualities of the ruler of the Tuvan khoshuns. For example, the well-known Ambyn-Noyon Kombu-Dorzhu, who ruled at the beginning of the 20th century, is characterized as "a weak and insecure man unable to unite all the Tuvan khoshuns" (Grumm-Grzhimailo, 1926). Despite such a negative assessment from the part of contemporaries, Ambyn-noyon Kombu-Dorzhu was characterized as a clear supporter of rapprochement with Russia in all documents, realizing that people will not see help for progressive development from China and Mongolia. The absence of the qualities of a charismatic leader prevented him from uniting the people under his power as the legitimate ruler of the Tuvan Khoshuns. However, despite the negative assessments of contemporaries, it is Kombu-Dorzhu who manifests such qualities as flexibility and foresight, as well as understanding that as an ally of rapprochement with the Russian Empire, in case of luck, he can count on restoring his

authority and power. Opposite qualities were possessed by Haidyp - the ugerda of Daa khoshun. Mongush Haidyp was born in 1859 in Daa Khoshun in a princely family. His uncle on his father's side was ugerda Duger, appointed the ruler because of the fact that the son of the late ruler was too young. After him, the former changy Sarai was appointed the ruler, but he did not receive support in the khoshun, besides, the legal successor had already successfully established himself in the service. Haidyp, who held the post of meeren in the administration of Daa Hoshun, in 1890, achieves the position of ugerda (State Archive of the Republic of Tuva, arch. 115. series 1, file 127, sheet 12, 16, 18-21). In the same year Haidyp was awarded the princely title of gun and the seal which symbolized independence from the Ambyn-noyon. Thus, the ugerda Haidyp became the ruler of Daa Khoshun and obtained the right of independent rule. In historical literature, this step of Haidyp is evaluated positively, although it is not a question of strengthening the integrity of Tuva, but, on the contrary, of its decentralization. Haidyp's value-normative guidelines were formed under the influence of Buddhism, imperial legislation, customary law, the traditional belief system of Tuvan ethnos. It was Haidyp ugerda who regularly invited Buddhist priests of higher rank to teach Tuvan clergymen to the basic ceremonies and rituals, and to conduct the consecration ceremony of Tannu-Ola range (Mongush, 2001). Haidyp ugerda, which the people called Buruul-noyan (literally, the gray-haired noyon) was the initiator of the construction of the Upper Chadan Khuree in Daa Hoshuna on his own funds and the funds collected in the khoshun, he provided the construction of the Upper Chadan Khure¹ (Buddhist temple).

In general, it should be noted that all Tuvan princes supported the construction of Buddhist temples, monasteries, and provided them with regular assistance. It was the Amybin-noyons that began to actively spread Buddhism: Buddhist priests were regularly invited to conduct religious rituals and prepare Tuvan clergymen; for this purpose, the Khuurak boys were collected from all Tuvan soumons (Grumm-Grzhimailo, 1926), the invited Buddhist priests taught them the Mongolian, Tibetan languages, the basics of Buddhist knowledge (Mongush, 2001). The higher Tuvan officials played an important role in strengthening and spreading Buddhism in Tuva (SA RT, 1992. arch. 115. series. 1, file 84, sheet 7, Arch. 115. Series 1, file 24, sheet 8, 21, 27, 32, Arch. 115. Series 1, file 54. Sheet 10). At the turn of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century, the social belonging of the highest officials became heterogeneous. If previously the title and position passed by inheritance, and as the rulers of the khoshuns there were approved direct heirs belonging to the former generic rulers (zaisan), then from the second half of the XIX century there is a departure from this tradition. It is known that, bypassing the legal successor of Daa Khoshun, the Ambyn-Noyon submitted for the approval of the governor of one of the most numerous administrative and territorial centers of Tuva changy Sarai. However, the khoshun population did not support Sarai due to the lack of legitimacy of his authority. In connection with which the post of ugerda was returned to the legitimate heir - Haidyp. The next interesting example of the inheritance of the title and the affirmation of the post of an evil can serve as a biography of the famous statesman of Tuva Mongush Buyan-Badyrgy (1892-1932 gg.). Mongush (2001) Buyan-Badyrgy is a

representative of the transitional type of Tuvan officials because despite the upbringing and education received by him, according to established traditions, unlike other Khoshun rulers he was born into the arat family, and was adopted by Haidyp, the ruler of Daa Khoshun. Haidyp protected the adoptive son's rights by a testament approved by Ulyasutai Jiangjun, about the transfer of the title and position of the ugerda of Daa Khoshun Buyan-Badyrgy. His worldview, formed during the years of study and education, grew stronger in the first years of an independent government. But its independence on the one hand cannot be exaggerated, since, undoubtedly, the top officials became the mainstay. It should be mentioned here that the Hindu Shaajankho, at the request of Haidyp, despite the existing hierarchy of ranks, became an adviser to a young (16-year-old) ruler (National archive of the Tuvan Institute of Humanitarian Research, arch. 1131, sheet 13). Finally, as a politician who exerted a significant influence on Tuva's political development, he was fully formed during the years of the establishment of Russia's protectorate over Tuva and during the Civil War.

7. CONCLUSION

Thus, the value-normative guidelines of the highest officials were formed under the influence of Buddhism, Tuvan traditions and customary laws, as well as imperial laws and regulations. Tuvian officials performed mediatorial functions, playing the role of a link between the state and the people. Analyzing the socio-cultural image

of Tuvan officialdom, their social and legal status and financial position, the system of administrative management of khoshuns, the traditions of direct inheritance of higher positions (ambyn-noyon, ugerda, duzalakchi, chagyrykchy, meeren, chalan, changy, hundu), taking into account the dependence of all the rest of the population on their will and power, it can be concluded that a special social group has been formed in traditional Tuvan society. The official was required to demonstrate such qualities as charisma, diligence, efficiency, accuracy, organizational abilities, loyalty, certain independence in the performance of various assignments. And of course, the principle of vertical social mobility was not always and not for everyone, but it was an opportunity to join knowledge, culture, and raise its social status. In Tuva in the early XX century there appears a patrimonial bureaucracy, the basic order of substitution of posts remained localism, and as a way of the maintenance of officials - feeding. The Tuvian officialdom carried out its activity, relying on the established general imperial norms and rules, but each of them introduced certain moral norms and values, establishing the psychological climate in a given social group and its perception by the rest of society. The main merit of the Tuvan officials was the role that it played in the creation of a sovereign state. And in the difficult years of the historical choice of ways of development from 1912 to 1921 it were the outstanding representatives of the officialdom of the Tuvan traditional society who became the state-forming core that managed to preserve order and tried to find its way for further development.

Notes

¹ The Uryanghai Territory - the so-called territory of modern Tuva in Russian documents from the 17th century, " the Uryankhais" – in this way the Mongols named the Tuvan tribes, more detailed information about the etymology of the term "Uryankh", "Uranga" is written by G.N. Potanin in his work "The Essays of North-Western Mongolia". St. Petersburg. 1883. pp. 662-664.

¹ Jiangjun (Chinese) - the post of jiangjun, established in 1733 during the wars with the jungars, corresponds to the post of governor-general, and his rank is equal to the general's one.

¹ Hebei-amban (Mong.) – as Khalkha was divided into several aimaks, ruled by princes, and they were subordinated to the Ambans, they solved the affairs of aimaks advisoryly, it can literally be translated by the phrase "councilor", "member of the Council". Amban (Manchu.) (Translated into the Mongolian by the word *sait*) is a title for persons appointed by the Beijing government to higher government posts. The supreme rulers in the towns of Urga, Kobdo and Ulyasutai, in these cities two Ambans were supposed to be - one of the Manchu, and the other of the Mongols.

¹ The exact date of publication of the work of Pozdnev (1896) “Mongolia” which is kept in the Russian State Library is unknown.

¹ Khoshun (Mong.), kozhuun (Tuv.) - in modern Tuvan language, the word in the form of a kozhuun is still used to refer to the municipal district.

¹ Soumon (in Tuvan - Sumu) - in the modern Tuvan language the word soumon, sumu is used to refer to a rural settlement.

¹ Arban (Mong.) - a dozen, ten-yard, here: a small unit of military-administrative division. In Tuvan arbans there were more than 10 yards, sometimes more than 20.

¹ Ambyn-noyon (Tuv.) - from Amban (Manchu.) (Translated into Mongolian as a *sait* - a title for persons appointed by the Beijing government to higher government offices and Noyon (Mong.). Noyon (noyan, noin) - an ancient Mongol princely title which means a powerful prince. Ambyn-noyon is a title which was the name for the supreme ruler in Tuva, to whom the Tuvan khoshuns were subordinated, the title of the Tuvan ambyn-noyon was inherited.

¹ Meeran-changy (Tuv.) or Meiran-dzangin (Mong.) - Chief of the Khoshun Brigade, division commander.

¹ Ugerda - as well as ogurt, ogurda, uherida, uher-da, according to Potanin - uhyrda. Ugerda (in Chinese tszung-guan) is a ruler who enjoyed the rights of the dzasak (in Mongolian - the ruler of the principality who was not awarded the princely degree, but enjoyed full authority in the territory under his jurisdiction); however, the post was considered not hereditary, but elective - with the subsequent approval of jiangjun.

¹ Hundui (hundu, kunduy - xiao-qi-xiao) - corresponds to the rank of junior officer.

¹ Boshka (Boshoku, Boshko) - corresponds to the rank of a police officer, a small official who performed police functions (capture and delivery of criminals).

¹ Chingze (tuv.) - An oval shaped ball made of precious and semiprecious stones. All management ranks were supposed to wear balls (chingze) of different dignity attached to the stand on their caps and hats. Chingze was attached to the headdress on a special stand. A peacock feather (odaga) was also attached to the cap, depending on the rank, single-point or two-point.

¹ In the State Archive of the Russian Federation, archive 1701, series 1, file 24a, sheet 219 the genealogy of the Daa-Khoshun Noyons is kept, according to which the ruling line of the Haidyp clan was interrupted in connection with the infancy of the heir in the middle of the 19th century and during one generation

ordinary officials were the rulers of Daa Hoshun, approved by the jiangjun on the proposal of the ambyn-noyon.

¹ The temple was built according to a Tibetan pattern, clay was used for the construction, all the other temples in Tuva were built of wood. Construction lasted two years and was completed in 1907. English traveler D. Carruthers, who visited Tuva and Mongolia in 1909 - 1910 described the temple in his work "Unknown Mongolia. V. I. Uryanghai Autonomous Region", Petrograd, 1914, a photograph of the temple that was destroyed during the years of struggle against the "old legacy of feudalism" of Tuva is preserved as well.

¹ Khuurak (Tuv.) - Probationer, this word was used to name boys who received an initial Buddhist education.

¹ Zaisan (Chinese tszai-xiang) - the initial use of this title, along with the titles as taibi, taishi rises to the time of the Yuan dynasty in the history of the Mongols (XIII-XIV centuries). These are the rulers of the aimaks, beginning from the second half of the 15th century - they represented the institution of clan chiefs.

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