



TYOLOGY OF SACRED MOTIFS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF PLACES

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the typology of sacral motif associated with the construction of places, and also provides examples of Russian legends.

Stories about the establishment of villages and villages, the first settlers. The next historical stage in which the historical memory of Buryatian Russians is concentrated is the settlement and development of the territory of modern Buryatia by Russians. From the point of view of the researcher, the depth of historical memory, 350 years. So much for the ethnic group's historical memory. Perhaps we are on the brink of this narrative cycle disappearing from oral existence. But these legends are to some extent recorded by collectors and thus remain in history as examples of cultural memory. Especially Russian legends about the settlement and development of Eastern Siberia reflect and understand the historical process of the integration of the Siberian region into the Russian state within the whole cycle. The establishment of villages and villages, the sufficient completeness of the plot and reasons known to folklore traditions in the stories of the ancient Russian people about the first settlers, the presence of archaic forms of legends: these are the reasons for the establishment of villages, with one, two or a group of settlers; the reasons for voluntary, forced or forced relocation, the reason for the first meeting of the Russian settlers with the Buryats, etc.

The heroes of the legends recorded in the territory of modern Buryatia represent different social groups of the first settlers:

- 1) Cossacks who left the pioneer detachments due to illness or old age and settled in new lands, as well as Cossacks who were sent to protect newly established prisons and took root in a new place;
- 2) exiles whose sentence is defined as "Living in Siberia", as well as those exiled to a settlement after serving their sentence;
- 3) voluntary settlers who went to Siberia in search of free land; 4) nobles who fled from persecution and oppression by the authorities and the official church or were forcibly displaced;

5) deserting settlers who hid from military service and fled to Siberia; and finally
6) monks located near the healing springs, and over time the population grew there. We identified the main types of symbols characteristic of the legends of the first Siberian settlers. These symbols are the main components of the systematizing factors of the myths of the first settlers.

The legends representing the earliest layer of the thematic group under consideration include the following archaic plot-forming motifs: the foundation of a village by a settler; establishment of a village by two/three unrelated settlers; founding of a village by two/three brothers.

The founding of a village by the first settler is the most common motif in the regional East Siberian repertoire. The role of the founders of settlements is played by both voluntary immigrants and forced immigrants - those with prior convictions and exiles. As a rule, this situation (voluntary or forced relocation) is emphasized in Siberian legends, which means that the storytellers are not indifferent to this situation. At the narrative level, this is expressed in the presence of optional or forced displacement factors in the composition of legends. For example, the founder of the village of Shigaevo, named after the village located in the Kabansky district of the Republic of Buryatia, voluntarily came to these places from Irkutsk. "The Shigaevs lived a rich life. <... > engaged in animal husbandry, <... > were artisans». Falelev P.P. said that in 1897, the village of Mali Kunaley "is almost three hundred years old. It was created by Russians. At one time, they voluntarily moved here from Western Russia. Filimon Faleley came here first ". From another legend written about in the village of Mali Kunaley, Bichursky District, Republic of Buryatia, we learn a little more about the first settler Faleley: "Tatar Faleley came and got married. The Falelev dynasty arose. <...> Then many others began to come». In the legends containing the reason for the voluntary relocation, as a rule, the social status of the settler (farmer, herdsman, craftsman) is indicated, as well as his nationality, if it is known that the first settler was not Russian. In the Bichursky district of the Republic of Belarus, several legends were written, in which the first settlers were the Smolin family - immigrants from "Buryats or Mongols", who were baptized and "mixed" with Russian settlers. But the memory of the Smolin family having Mongolian roots remained: "The Smolins are Mongols, they migrated"; "The Smolins were here before us. They came from the Buryats, they mixed there ". In addition, local residents consider "Mongolian Smolin" and "Tatar Faleley".

In the narratives about the plot-forming factor of establishing a village with a settler (in addition to the voluntary resettlement motif), there is also a forced/violent resettlement motif. As a rule, exiled or expired convicts are told in such stories as the founders of the village. "We are all exiles. If he commits a crime, he will be exiled here". The same type of narration is expressed in the narration "About the name Chitkan" . Explaining the origin of the name of the village of Chitkan, Barguzinsky district, Republic of Belarus, Zverkov L.T., born in 1887, said: "Old people say: before there was no village, before there was nothing beyond Baikal - taiga. And then, they say, a certain Chita appeared. In the old days, people were exiled, they built churches, they were driven here. And one Chita lived there curiously. <...> And he found a place for himself, built a hut, and began to live, so became Chitkan - the old people spoke ". Here, the main focus is not on the names of the first settlers, but on the region where the exiled first settlers came - Chitinsky. The first settlers, even if, according to legend, founded the village, still belonged to a specific group, it is the generalized symbol of the group. N.A. As Krinichnaya

points out, "<...> one sign does not always have its own identity, on the contrary, it is often necessary to see the symbol of a community, a plurality".

It should be noted that in the local traditions of Buryatia, although it exists, the reason for the foundation of a village by brothers is very rare. And it is found, as a rule, in the local folklore traditions of the Semey Old Believers. One such text was published in 1939 by L.E. Recorded by Eliasov. "Felomey and Aristarkh Rijakov from the family were the first to cross Baikal from the family. They were two brothers. <...> When other family members came here, the Rizhakovs formed the Kunalei, and there their family successors originated". The reason for the foundation of a village by brothers among the ancient people of Buryatia, which is syncretic from the point of view of living together, is given in the following text: " They were exiled here because they spared bullets and did not let people live. Three families settled here: the Emelyanovs, the Ipatievs and the Ananins. <... > The Ananins were three brothers: one went back to Russia, one went to his family, one stayed here. All three families built one house at each end so as not to interfere with each other. They cleared the land, sowed bread, and built a family." is complicated by the motive, that is, there is a tradition of three persons and it is twofold: three-person kinship and three persons, not united by blood kinship, but united by the common function of building a settlement. However, we emphasize once again that in the legends of Russian elders, the reason for the construction of villages by brothers was not widespread. Perhaps this is explained by the prevailing historical reality.

The reason for the construction of the village by the neighboring settlers was in 1900. F.K. It is also mentioned in Kavisina's story. He reports about the first inhabitants of the village of Mali Kunalei, who first built houses in the village: "There were a total of one hundred houses for the population. "Karpushinsky hut, Khomkhlovskaya hut, Kavizinsky hut and a shed were the first in Mali Kunalei." Consequently, the first inhabitants of the village were families with surnames Karpushins, Khomkholovs and Kavizins. The tradition of three signs in the legends of the first settlers confirms the archaism of the motifs that make up these legends, it reminds us of ancient tribal legends about the settlement of brothers who founded related tribes and add to neighboring settlements. In the legends about the first settlers, the time of the appearance of the Russians in Transbaikalia is indicated approximately: "Little Kunalei is almost three hundred years old. It was founded by the Russians". According to folk traditions, the appearance of the Russians in Transbaikalia was in the second half of the 17th century, that is, a hundred years before it actually happened. And here it should be understood that this is not a simple ignorance of history or distortion of historical facts, but a revision of their folklore - the main thing is not when the Russians appeared in Transbaikalia, but how long they lived here. This is what we call the folklore tradition. This is what BN Putilov said about it says: "And this is not due to ignorance of reality, the whims of oral rumors, nor even deliberate ideological tasks, nor the conscious aspirations of individuals or communities, it is due to the nature of folklore, its essence, the basic laws of its life".

Myths based on the motives of "establishment of a settlement of monks". In the local folklore traditions of the ancient people of the Tunka Valley, there is a legend that the monasteries were the founders of the village. We have two interpretations of the legend that tells of the founding of a settlement called Nile Desert by monks. Both interpretations of the legend were recorded in the same place, with a small time interval, from different performers who were excellent bearers of Tunka folklore traditions in their time. Both texts are variants of the etiological

tradition, telling the story of the reason why people lived in that particular place. According to legend, monks founded Nilova Desert after one of the monks discovered hot (healing) springs in this area. The tradition has a historical basis. Mineral springs in the Tunka valley were discovered by Buryat hunters at the beginning of the XIX century. In the 1830s, the Tunka border guard Cherepanov became aware of the springs, and he informed Rupert, the governor-general of Irkutsk. In 1840, by order of the governor, the first water analyzes were carried out, and in 1845, the governor donated these facilities to the archbishop of Irkutsk and Nerchin Nil - Nil archbishop. In this incredibly beautiful place, Venerable Neil decided to create a Skete (or "desert" in another way) for the monks. It was also established by the archbishop of the Nile Desert in order to convert the people living around the Buryats to the Orthodox religion. At the same time, he considered economic and treatment goals. In the opinion of the archbishop of the Nile, in addition to religious service in a wide area, the desert was supposed to take care of the flowering of mineral springs and serve the spread of agriculture and horticulture among the nomadic population. In 1850, a beautiful, brick-decorated church was built in the name of St. Neil, the Stolben miracle worker, under the leadership of Bishop Neil with his own funds.

In oral tradition, the image of Archbishop Nile has undergone folklore remotivation, but he is present in both interpretations of the tradition. In 1959, Sofin M.D. In the interpretation of the legend recorded from the words of the monk Nile, it is said that "while on the run" in the Tunka valley, "he found hot springs <...> in the area where the Nile desert is now located", after which the monks founded settlements there: "they they built a road, a bridge, a church, a synagogue to the springs, they started doing agriculture." I. K. According to Beketov, the healing springs were discovered by an anonymous monk who was sent by the abbot of the Irkutsk monastery to serve as a priest in the church of Neil Turon. "The monk described the springs, Nile came to the springs, sprinkled them with holy water and ordered to build a small monastery there. And these monks gradually began to live in Nilovka, they had a monastery. They built houses so that vacationers would have a place to find shelter." As you can see, the affiliation of the name Nile in the texts is different - in the first case, it is the name of the monk who discovered the hot springs, and in the second - the abbot of the Irkutsk monastery. But the name itself does not disappear and is not replaced by another, because it carries a certain semantic load.

Thus, the reason for the establishment of settlements by monks was the discovery of hot springs. The motif of discovering hot springs is one of the main reasons in the myth of the establishment of settlements by monks.

However, in both interpretations of the legend, the performers do not talk about the sanctity of the hot springs discovered by the monks. At the same time, traditionally, hot springs, due to their exclusivity (hot water coming out of the ground), like other "marked landscape elements", belong to sacred places that deserve public attention. Images of the monks who discovered these springs are associated with hot/holy springs. It is not for nothing that monks find hot springs (holy places) in legends. After all, in folk traditions, monks have a marginal status, people belonging to two worlds, these are "unburied dead". This status allowed the monks to find healing springs, consecrate them and make them the property of the common people. The realist motif of the monks' discovery of the hot springs is closely related to the mythological concepts and is carried through the common cultural meanings in the texts.

The legend, recorded in 1959, includes the motives of finding healing sources and the establishment of a settlement by monks, as well as the mythological motive of hiding in a cave:

"then he found a home in one cave, where he lived." It is no coincidence that this motif appears in the story. The motif of finding refuge in a cave is related to the image of a guilty monk.

In mythopoetic tradition, the cave is known to be a sacred refuge. He is included in the mythological complex of "life-death" and occupies a borderline position between them. Therefore, folk ideas about the possible physical and spiritual resurrection of the hero are connected with the image of the cave. Hiding in a cave, the guilty monk Nile gets a chance for spiritual resurrection-all sins are forgiven for Nile's discovery of hot springs, he is "reborn" into a new life. At the level of the narrative system of the legend, the sanctity of the cave is confirmed by a particularly hot spring near the cave: "<...> and there was such a spring near the cave that the temperature of its water was thirty-five to forty-two degrees." Thus, the sanctuary is formed by not one, but two natural sacred objects - hot springs and a cave. They are accompanied by cultural sacred objects built by monks - a church, a chapel.

In 1963 I. K. In the version of the legend recorded from Beketov, as mentioned above, there is no shelter motif in the cave. The nameless monk does not need to be spiritually cleansed, his image is initially interpreted as positive, which corresponds to the main criterion of peasant morality - hard work. "And this monk, apparently, was a hard worker, he wandered in the taiga in his free time. But he walked not with a gun, like a hunter, but with a stick and a bucket. By hitting the bucket with a stick - he would drive the animal away from him and collect berries in the bucket." Compared to the first interpretation of the legend, this version seems more vivid, saturated with everyday details. However, this "everyday life" reinforces the importance of the event that gave rise to the event - the discovery of the holy place and the establishment of a settlement near it. The profane and sacred worlds interact with each other, and monks are mediators between these worlds.

From a pragmatic point of view, both interpretations of the legend contain important information about the fact that people began to come to the hot springs over time: "They came to the hot springs in the past, and they still come now"; "we built houses to be a place for vacationers to find shelter." Nevertheless, in both interpretations of the myth, the motive of healing with the help of a sacred source is not developed, because the motive of the sanctity of the previous source is not sufficiently developed. This is explained by the functional purpose of the texts - not about the springs and their properties, but about who and why the inhabitants founded the settlement. Therefore, the most archaic motifs are present in the legend in the "initial" state. At the same time, their presence in the story gives it a mythological character.

Both interpretations of the legend of the settlement plot by the monks represent a collection of motifs and images of different levels related to mythological images. The motif of the discovery of healing springs is related to the plot-forming motif of the establishment of a village by monks in these texts. These motives are related to each other as action and its result. In both interpretations of the legend, there is a toponymic motif: the area where the fugitive monk Nile discovered springs with healing properties, or Father Nile from the Irkutsk monastery consecrated these springs - "The Nile came to the springs and sprinkled them with holy water", they called the Nile Desert. However, the storytellers themselves do not pay attention to this, because the pragmatic purpose of the text is to convey other information. Thus, despite the fact that legends about the organization of settlements in ancient local traditions are filled with realistic content, they also contain ancient motifs that make up "motivic thinking", which makes it possible to memorize and transmit the text.

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