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WHAT DUMY TELL ABOUT ZAPORIZHZHHA: UKRAINIAN HEROIC AND LYRIC-EPIC POEMS IN SPACE AND TIME

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INTRODUCTION

The historical memory of a nation can be retrieved from its traditional prose and poetry that perform important informative and mnemonic functions – historical legends and traditions, bylinas, sagas, historical and heroic songs, ballads, etc. Among these genres, there are unique ones, found only in the folklore of a certain nation, for example, duma in Ukrainian folklore (*duma*, pl. *dumy* “a sung epic poem”). That is why it is not surprising that they have always been attractive for folklore recorders and researchers. (The history and approaches to duma epic poems were elaborated by K. Hrushevska¹, S. Gritsa², M. Dmitrenko³ and other scientists). Despite the long history of collecting, printing and studying materials, the first complete edition was brought out by

¹ Грушевська К. Деякі питання про народні дум. *Українські народні думи. Том 2. Тексти №№ 14 – 33. Передмова Катерини Грушевської*. Харків – Київ, Державне видавництво «Пролетар», 1931. С. V – XXX.; Грушевська К. Збирання і видавання дум в XIX і в початках XX. *Українські народні думи. Том 1 корпусу. Тексти №№ 1 – 13 корпусу і Вступ Катерини Грушевської*. Київ: Державне видавництво України, 1927. С. XXIII – CCXX.

² Грица С. Думи в синтезі слова, музики і виконавства. *Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1. Думи раннього козацького періоду*. Відп. ред. Г.А. Скрипник., за заг. ред. К. Дмитренка та С. Грици. Київ: ІМФЕ НАН України, 2009. С. 33 – 118.

³ Дмитренко М. *Українські народні думи як феномен традиційної культури*. *Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1. С. 6 – 32*.

Kateryna Hrushevska (1927-1931)⁴. However, it was withdrawn from scientific use for a long time.

The important advancement in folklore studies was marked by the academic publication of *dumas*⁵ prepared by the scientists of the Institute of Art History, Folklore and Ethnology of the National Academy of Ukraine named after M. T. Rylsky. All the well-known records of verbal and musical texts with in-depth introductions, commentaries, and scientific findings were made public. The corpus compilation enabled the dissemination of the recorded verbal texts and musical pieces, historical findings and modern scientific approaches to the genre as a whole, its separate works and their variants, information on many issues related to the study of *dumy*. In addition, this complete scientific collection has become a powerful creative impetus for the further study of *dumy*. It has extended the perspectives of tackling still unexplored or disputable issues of folklore, elaborating the methodology of the research, active development of interdisciplinary and comparative studies on the heroic and lyric-epic works of different nations, the research of the heroic component of Ukrainian folklore as a constituent of the world epic and lyric-epic heritage. It has also provided an ample opportunity to address various aspects of the “*duma* and Zaporizhzhia” issue, questions of internal and external ties of heroic *dumy* with the unique male community, the revival of Zaporizhzhia customs and everyday life through the works of this genre.

The connection of *dumy* with the Cossacks has never been questioned by folklorists. Kateryna Hrushevska distinguishes a group “*Dumy* about the knighthood” focusing on the identity of the heroes, the morality of the Cossacks, and emphasizing that the knighthood of “the Kobzar’s epic is not just an expressive historical term, but a kind of indistinct ideal, that with certain variations, potentially belongs to any male militarycommunity»⁶. Various aspects of the connection of the *dumas* with Zaporizhzhia were mentioned, but mainly as passing references, in

⁴ Українські народні думи. Том 1 корпусу. Тексти №№ 1 – 13 корпусу. Вступ Катерини Грушевської. Київ: Державне видавництво України, 1927; Українські народні думи. Том 2. Тексти №№ 14 – 33. Передмова Катерини Грушевської. Харків – Київ: Державне видавництво «Пролетар», 1931. 358 с.

⁵ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1. Думи раннього козацького періоду. Відп. ред. Г.А.Скрипник., за заг. ред.. К.Дмитренка та С.Грици. Київ: ІМФЕ НАН України, 2009.

⁶ Грушевська К. Деякі питання про народні думи, с. VI.

the works about the history and everyday life of the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks. In 1822, D. Bantysh-Kamensky affirmed: „The Zaporozhzhets played the bandura (a Ukrainian musical instrument), sang songs: but these songs were similar to their cruel temper»⁷. I. Sreznevsky considered dumy as a result of creative activity in Zaporizhzhia and published them⁸. In his ethnographic notes A. Afanasyev-Chuzhbinsky tells a story of the former sichovik and remarks that within the community” ... there were sometimes gifted people who composed their talented dumy somewhere in the steppes»⁹, although he himself never heard one. He explains this by the fact that kobzar art is declining, since older talented dumy were made by the Siches` brothers (bratchyky), but now the elders, who modify works. A similar opinion was expressed by P. Kulish in the story about kobzar Rygorenko who adopted Cossack dumy, “knew numerous songs and dumy about the old days, and some of them passed to him. Rygorenko would have mastered them all, but the cossack died, he did not have time to share everything that he knew and, perhaps, put together with his own thoughts»¹⁰. For Y. Novitsky, the existence of dumy in the Sich was obvious. He thought that the works of this genre died in the region of the Lower Dnieper with the rest of the Cossacks: „Collecting the remains of antiquity in the Yekaterinoslav region, we have not come across the bandura players, we have not heard Dumas since 1874”¹¹.

D. Yavornytsky considered the Cossacks as the creators of dumy and emphasized the prevalence and authority of the kobzars in Zaporizhzhia¹². The scientist recorded several dumy on the former borders of Volnostey (Liberties) which he collected from the unknown performers, but he did not come across works of that genre in the sites of

⁷ Бантыш-Каменский Д.Н. История Малой России от водворения славян в сей стране до уничтожения гетьманства. Київ: Час, 1993. 245 с.

⁸ Срезневский И. Запорожская старина. Ч. 1. Харьков: Университетская типография, 1831 ; Срезневский И. Запорожская старина. Ч. 2. Харьков: Университетская типография, 1833.

⁹ Афанасьев-Чужбинский А. Поездка в Южную Россию. [Изд. 2]. Санкт-Петербург, 1863. Ч. 1. Очерки Днепра. С. 15.

¹⁰ Записки о Южной Руси. Издал П. Кулиш : в 2-х томах. Т. 1, 2. Київ : Дніпро, 1994.С. 199.

¹¹ Новицкий Я.П. Народная память о Запорожье. Предания и рассказы, собранные в Екатеринославщине. 1875 – 1905 г. Рига: “Спридитас”, 1990. С.4.

¹² Яворницький Д.І. Історія запорозьких козаків. У трьох томах. Т. 1. Київ: Наукова думка, 1990. С. 238.

the former Sich and zimivniki (a type of settlement of Cossacks in Zaporizhzhia beyond the bounds of Sich).

Thus, it is an unusual situation: on the one hand, there is a lot of evidence that there were dumy in Zaporizhzhia, and on the other hand, there are no records of works of this genre on the territory of historical Zaporizhzhia. A number of questions arise about the causes and consequences of such a phenomenon, about the nature of the preservation in the versions of common Dumy plots dealing with the memory of Volnosti Zaporizhzhya and the steppe knighthood, as well as about the factors of transformation of the dumy created by the Cossacks in Zaporizhzhia.

Talking about the necessity to solve the problem of the development of the genre in space and time, it is necessary to take into account that 1) the formation of the folklore studies took place during the extinction of this genre, therefore, to a large extent, dumy were recorded according to the performers, not the creators, the practice was rapidly changing that led to the changes in the Kobzar repertoire and a decrease in its dumy, especially the heroic ones; 2) modern studies of dumy have to deal with the archaic phenomenon, which is being reconstructed on the basis of other models instead of the samples used in the living communication. The form of translation can be considered as oral-written-oral, significantly affects the perception of the work by the modern performers and listeners.

Moreover, it is necessary to consider the peculiarities of life-style, ethos, and the ritual system of the Cossacks in order to clarify the specificity of associations between dumy and the male military community. The analysis of dumy in the context of the Zaporizhzhia cultural tradition will help to establish their external and internal textual ties with Zaporizhzhia, to identify their primary semantic and axiological dominants, to provide the objective analysis of the widely known works and their variants (the analysis of primary semantics is impossible without relating the variants of dumy to the place and time of their record), and also to find out how the people's historical memory is preserved and what factors influenced its transformation.

1. The chronotope of Zaporizhzhia in the heroic dumy

The observations of culturologists and folklorists of the steppe knighthood indicated the impoverishment of the folk repertoire of the Lower Dnieper and the absence of dumy during the 19th century. The

question was also raised about why it was so. Nowadays interesting and relevant thoughts about this subject were expressed by P. Zhitetsky. According to his observations, the political changes that took place in the various Ukrainian lands during the 18th century changed the listener. The interest to dumy decreased significantly, and their performance became less frequent. Gaydamaky departed regards their ideals from the Cossacks and their activities did not favor the creation of dumy, therefore, the performers and the works of traditional Zaporizhzhia lands were gradually moving to the Cossack Hetmanate, where cossackdom partially survived and "sits on its own soil". Duma was completely doomed there ("they found their final resting place")¹³. In his opinion, the extinction of the genre was stimulated by its transition from the Cossack habitat to the «demotic»¹⁴. The scientist shortly addresses this issue, but his thoughts are focused on the role of the environment in the development of folklore.

In these reflections, it should be noted that in fact the creation of epic dumy in Zaporizhzhia (as well as in the other Cossack lands) ceased already in the 18th century, dumy were less spread (considered as a temporary phenomenon, a pure product of Zaporizhzhia when it came to a significant part of the heroic dumy plots), although for some time several small centers of the Cossack spirit and life were still in place. Their disappearance marked the disappearance of dumy.

The creators of Zaporizhzhia dumy were warrior singers, the listeners were Sich society members. Actually, the creators and listeners belonged to the same community, they were carriers of a single ethnic group, had a common system of values, which was important for the perception of dumy. And the Sich brothers` interests were not necessarily shared by others. In addition, the creators lived the same life as the listeners, so everyday issues, especially the social habits which were commonly known, were not mentioned in dumy or in historical songs, unlike it is typically done in heroic and lyric-epic poems in other cultures.

The powerful culture of the community was disappearing with the destruction of Zaporizhzhia. The kobzars, who lived with the Zaporizhzhia army, spread its glory even after the defeat of the Sich. Some of them had to travel with the other Cossacks to the Danube and

¹³ Житецкий П. Мысли о народных малорусских думах. Киев: Издание редакции журнал «Киевская старина», 1893. С. 172 – 174.

¹⁴ Житецкий П. Мысли о народных малорусских думах. С. 175.

then to Kuban districts, where the repertoire was largely “conserved”, so the heroic duma lasted longer. Some of the Cossacks returned to their families and taught others to sing (not create!) duma. Others took refuge in the new conditions created on the territory of the former Volnostey, and remained on the remote scattered zimivnikah. Their number was insignificant, even less was the number of the kobzars in a new environment, which was different in terms of gender and ethnicity and required adaptation to the new languages. Therefore, people hardly learnt about the heroism of the former masters of the region in contrast to the direct descendants of the steppe knights from Zaporizhzhia. In fact, in any culture, the glory of the ancestors is better remembered by the direct descendants than by younger and more distant generations.

The colonization of the former Zaporizhzhya Volnostey occurred due to the Ukrainian resettlement from other regions, at the same time the lands were given to the Germans, Russian villages were created, therefore a new cultural environment was formed that might not be perceived by the kobzars and their culture. These factors led to the gradual spread of duma tradition to other lands.

The role of the kobzars and attitude to them changed with the disappearance of the male community. Their social position was changing – not a military singer (troops do not exist), but a beggar, looking for a place and means of living. The listeners also changed: a significant part of the free Cossacks turned into serfs, and consequently their lives, work, life, concerns, moods, motives of their own creativity changed, the kobzars had to focus on the tastes and preferences of a new audience, and therefore changed their repertoire.

The absence of the heroic, the change of its place in the system of spiritual values, changes in aesthetic preferences, gradually forced out heroic duma from kobzars’ repertoire. These works were a vivid reference to the past, but they could no longer fulfill their former campaigning role – the appeal to the Sich; the memory of the past, primarily about freedom and heroism, was often painful. The affirmation of the principles of obedience, patience, reconciliation with reality was more promoted by spiritual poems, psalms, didactic songs, therefore they gradually occupied a dominant position in the repertoire of beggar-kobzars alongside with those pieces that provided earnings – humorous and dance songs.

Thus, the heroic duma gradually traveled from Zaporizhzhia to nowhere, since throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries the number

of records of the works of this genre was constantly decreasing, and so was the range of plots.

The *duma* changed significantly, like any genre, that is living in time and space, changing its axiological dominants as in “*Duma about Alyosha Popovich*”, in which the heroic motives gradually grew into the moralistic one. At the same time, it is noteworthy that the heroes are the Cossacks in many recorded *dumy*, the chronotope is clearly Zaporizhzhia, many attributes of everyday life and customs in Zaporizhzhia are preserved. A significant part of heroic *dumy* remains „Sich-centric.” According to the research of the predecessors, but primarily on the texts of the works, it can be argued that the internal movement in many heroic *dumy* is aimed at Sich which was recognized by the heroes and performers as the center of their own space: the Cossacks return right here (Samoilo Koshka, Kozak Golota, Alexei Popovich Ivan Boguslavets) after their battles, exploits, captivity. However, the external movement of the genre, the nature of its distribution are diverted from Sich.

The *duma* underwent changes in the process of the transition to the new environment of performers’ and listeners’, but at the same time it retained some well-established moments that remained practically unchanged in different *duma* versions and, at first glance, were not sense-making for the new environment. As a rule, these were references to geographical realia, everyday life attributes and ceremonial traditions of Zaporizhzhia, which sometimes differed from the *dumy* that were common for new performers and listeners.

The *Duma* “About Fedir Bezrodny” in various ways maintains its internal connection with the everyday life of Zaporizhzhia, the everyday and ritual tradition that manifests itself in the definitely Zaporizhzhia space and system of toponyms, and in the name of the hero, as well as in the echoes of customary law and funeral rites of the male community.

First of all, the connection between the *Duma* and Zaporizhzhia appears in a chronotope, the main signs of which are the Lower Dnieper with the corresponding toponyms and landscape elements from the time of the active confrontation between Cossacks and Tatars.

Almost all versions of the *Duma* “remembered” that the battle in which the hero was wounded took place in the Dnieper Niza, near the Dnieper, on the territory of the Bazavlug Lug (the word *lug* “meadow” is always lower-cased, although this is an integral toponym), since “Bazavlug, Bazavlutsky plavni, Velyka Plavnia, Lug Bazavlug – the

lower half of the Velyky Lug from Mykitinogo Rogu to Kamyanogo Zatonu»¹⁵. In addition, in some cases, the word „Bazavlug” is used as a hydronym – the name of the river, emphasized in the commentaries to one of the дума versions: "Bazavluk is a river flowing from Verkhnedneprovsk county of the Yekaterinoslav province and flowing into the Dnieper on the border of the Yekaterinoslav and Kherson counties", which also corresponds to the realities of the Velyky Lug¹⁶.

Almost all the records mention the Dnieper saga, that is also the evidence of the memory of дума variants about the scene and, probably, the creation of the дума. According to the academic “Dictionary of the Ukrainian language”, the word “saga” in Ukrainian means “river gulf”, “channel; river sleeve; staryca”, “a hollow among the sandy sediments of the river”, so the Dnieper saga is the Bazavlug river, which flows into the Dnieper, and other numerous branches and tributaries¹⁷, and these are typical phenomena for the historical Bazavlug.

In other думы, there are references to the places that are associated with Zaporizhzhia, but are unknown to performers from other regions. In all versions of the “Otaman Old Matyash” Duma, the action takes place “On the mouth of Samara-Bog, Semena of the Cossack Rig. Semenov Rig is mentioned three times near the “mouth” of the Bug as one of the marker of the border between Cossacks and Turks. D. Yavornitsky, who claimed that there was a border Zaporizhia picket «in Semenov Rig, at the mouth of the Bug, 200 horsemen and up to 40 reed huts»¹⁸. Actually, in the Duma we are talking about a small Cossack detachment and the proximity of enemies. At the same time, in almost every known version of the Duma, Samara, a river that is located far from the Bug estuary, is mentioned: “On the mouth of Samara-Bog, Semenov Cossack Rig”, “... On the mouth of Samara-Bog, the family Cossack Rig ...»¹⁹. P. Martynovich’s undated entry records: the performer does not know what Semenov Rig is: “There was such Cossack River as Semen Rog. Semena Rog the river was the Cossack river...»²⁰. Although the combination of the two hydronyms – Samara and Bug – already indicates

¹⁵ Чабаненко В. Великий Луг Запорозький. Історико-топонімічний словник. Запоріжжя : ЗДУ, 1999, с. 12.

¹⁶ Житецкий П. Мысли о народных малорусских думах, с. 110.

¹⁷ Словник української мови: в 11 томах. Том 9. Київ: 1978, с. 8.

¹⁸ Яворницький Д.І. Історія запорозьких козаків. Т. 1, с. 316.

¹⁹ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 817, 819.

²⁰ Там само, с. 823.

that the memory of the battlefield is preserved, but over the time it is associated with the river, known to kobzars of the Kharkov school, from which most of the *duma* versions are recorded. During the second half of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth centuries the performers of the *duma* couldn't imagine where the mouth of the Bug was, which is also often called Bog, and what the toponym "Semenov's Rog" meant, which, according to many records, was known to "grandfathers", after whom Y. Novitsky and D. Yavornitsky recorded poems in the sites of "Zaporizhzhia ashes" legends and traditions.

The *Duma* and the Cossack place names of the Black Sea coast are remembered. In various versions of the *Duma* "Samiylo Kishka" that place is called as Constantinople, Trapezon city, Kefa city, Kozlov city, estuary, through which it was necessary to go to the mouth of the Dnieper. I remembered the *Duma* "About Samiylo Kishka" and that "In Tendra island Semyon Skalozub stood with an army at the outpost ...»²¹. According to D. Yavornitsky, Tender was a fishing place and a reliable shelter for the Cossacks, who were persecuted by the Turks²².

The *Dumas* "remembered" the traditional Cossack handicrafts, which the kobzars of the second half of the 19th century might have forgotten or never known. It's about the boothouse that is mentioned in the "Duma of the Cossack Golot". In two versions, quoted by P. Kulish, there are references to the "results" of the competition of Golota with Tatar:

He then cared well,
Tatar boots pulled
On their Cossack legs;
Tightening clothes
He put on his Cossack shoulders;
The velvet stick removes
He puts on his Cossack head;
Tatar horses under the bridle took
In the city of January,
He drinks and walks there,
Kiliimske praises, praises the field ... »²³.

It runs about how Cossacks get their loot after defeating the Turks in the *duma* "Otaman Old Matyash": "Cossacks on horses mounted, and

²¹ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 522.

²² Яворницький Д.І. Історія запорозьких козаків. У трьох томах. Т. 1, с. 390, 404.

²³ Українські народні думи. Том 2. Тексти №№ 14 – 33, с. 10.

they defeated the godless Basurman. They took away silver-gold from Turkey ...”, „And they already beat them, and they got a lot of gold for themselves»²⁴.

The tradition of “dovanites” prey²⁵, for example, in the thought “Samiylo Kishka”, repeatedly mentioned in the Dumy, is described by O. Rigelman:

“The first part was taken, made to the church:
On the holy Mezhhigorsky Spas,
At the Terekhtemirivsky Monastery,
On the holy Sichovaya Veil was given,
Kotor was built by a long-time Cossack treasure,
So that for them getting up 6 and laying down the Merciful God
prayed.

And the other part was divided among themselves.
And they took the third part: they sat down,
They drank and walked,
From the seven-edged squeaks rattled ... »²⁶.

This and other versions mention monasteries, generously financed by the Zaporizhzhia community, because they treated the wounded, looked after the old Cossacks who did not have families and etc. The Sich Church of the Intercession is also called as the greatest shrine of the Zaporizhzhia community.

Frankly speaking, the Cossacks distributed the booty in a somewhat different way in the Duma “Otaman Old Matyash”: “They, the Cossacks, drove up to the garden in January. And there they sat in a circle near the city, and they shared the gold piecemeal. And they shared anyway! So that no one would be angry!»²⁷. And this could be the result of the geographical dissemination of the duma, which remembered about Semenov Rog and a small Cossack unit at the picket as well as about the booty as a common property of the community. At the same time, the nature of the distribution is more similar to the Haidamak rather than Zaporizhzhia customs, that is, it may have transformed in the Duma under the influence of the later ethos.

²⁴ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 822, 824.

²⁵ Рігельман О.І. Літописна оповідь про Малу Росію та її народ та козаків узагалі. Вст. ст., упорядк. та примітки П.М. Саса, В.О. Щербака. Київ : Либідь, 1994, с. 729.

²⁶ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1. С. 524.

²⁷ Там само, с. 82.

2. Zaporizhzhia rites and traditions in dumas

As mentioned above, the folklore epic and the lyric-epic poems are hardly oriented towards the depiction of everyday life, ordinary things, but the transmission of knowledge about unusual and extraordinary events; the well-known, to which the everyday tradition belongs, is ignored, but the heroic duma preserved some realities of life and rites in Zaporizhzhia.

The analysis of the widely-known plots proves that they preserved references to the customs and traditions of the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks, therefore the subject of the duma research was the poem about which Kateryna Hrushevska remarked the following: “The Duma of Bezrodny” is extremely poor in content, the rotating circle is a rather shallow question of ordinary law – issues of jura (an armour-bearer of a Cossack petty officer) in Cossack center: transfer of weapons and a horse to a jura from his dying master²⁸. The researcher’s conclusions can be questioned, since the content of the Duma is not so simple: it is not only about the transfer of weapons and property (textual analysis shows that this motive has received serious modifications), but about the death of the Cossack, and the posthumous honor, and the loyalty of his armour-bearer literally “to death”, about Zaporizhzhia rites of burial, which differed from the rites in other regions of Ukraine.

By the way, M. Tserteleva, the first publisher of Ukrainian Dumas, wrote about this work: “This is a wonderful, but poetic depiction of the funeral and commemoration of the Kurin Otaman²⁹”. This Duma, of course, needs to be listened to, if only because it is one of the first acts of recording and commenting on Duma material: a variant dated by 1814, the time when the knowledge of Zaporizhzhia customs could still be transmitted directly from the Sich brothers.

Since we are talking about the need to study the internal historical memory of the duma, preserving the early knowledge of Zaporizhzhia traditions, it seems advisable to turn to the most complete publication of the Ukrainian folk Dumas, which contain all the well-known records of the Duma “Fedir Bezrodny” and its multiple versions provided in this collection: the plot is given under number 6, versions are arranged chronologically under 6.1 through 6.14.

²⁸ Українські народні думи. Том 2. Тексти №№ 14 – 33, с. 2.

²⁹ Цертелев Н.А. Опыт собрания старинных малороссийских песней. Санкт-Петербург: Тип. Крайя, 1819, с. 50.

Among the version of this Duma, there are those that explicitly mention Fedir's membership in the Zaporizhzhia community. Moreover, it is emphasized that he is "kurin otoman"³⁰, «good knight, wise clerk»³¹, and therefore refers to the military foreman. According to this record, it seems that the duma performer could be influenced by the history of the study of the work, because at one time M. Maksimovich suggested that the prototype of Fedir Bezrodny could be the military clerk of the times of Khmelnytsky Bezrodny, whose name was Homoy³². And although there is no direct mentioning of these facts, the duma performer remembers the hero as one of the best and most experienced Zaporizhzhia warriors (namely, they were chosen by the kurinym and the otaman). The Duma remembers this in details related to the traditions of the Zaporizhzhia army: he knows well other Cossacks and the otamans know about the customs of the Cossacks, about him as a glorious warrior, about the fact that they buried him in the same way that the representatives of the foreman were buried, in all known versions, his "servant" is mentioned next to the wounded hero (options 6.1, 6, 3), nameless "jura" (options 6, 4; 6.13), "jura Yarema" (variants 6.5a, b; 6.6; 6.7; 6.8; 6.11; 6.12; 6.14, b, c) and "jura" (options 6.9; 6.10). Most versions refer to traditional Cossack relations between an experienced Cossack and jura, who literally was not a servant, but a squire and assistant. In the publication of N. Tsertelev, it was stated: "A chura, or jura, is a squire. Under the Cossack foremen there were inseparable, faithful to the last end squires, from young Cossacks"³³. They, jury, had to study military affairs and at the same time take care of their teachers and follow their instructions.

The name of the hero attracts attention, since in the records of various variants the second part is numbered with both upper and lower case letters, which means that the recording device, respectively, by Kobzars, was perceived either as part of the name (surname, nickname), or as a characterization of the character. The fact that the word "Bezrodny" was not always perceived as part of one's own name (surname or nickname), but more often as a characteristic, and to some extent emotionally

³⁰ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 403, 404, 424, 430, 434, 442

³¹ Там само, с. 481.

³² Сборник украинских песен, издаваемый Михайлом Максимовичем. Киев, 1849. Ч. 1, с. 25; Украинские народные песни, изданные Михайлом Максимовичем. – Москва: В университетском издательстве. 1834, с.5.

³³ Цертелев Н.А. Опыт собрания старинных малороссийских песней. С. 50; Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 406.

colored from a neutral attitude to sympathy, is evidenced by the existence of the variant names of the hero, which described him as 'bottomless', and 'barren'. It is, in fact, about synonymic substitutions. The combination of the name with the nickname or the epithet "Bezrodny" should emphasize the typicality of the situation, which cannot be reduced solely to the death of the hero and the transfer of the things to the jura. The nickname is the interpretation of the fate of the hero, his story and motivation (sometimes interpreted in a peculiar way by performers and listeners). The appearance of such a nickname, and then a surname, could be primarily caused by the Zaporizhzhia tradition of referring to a person by mentioning the dominant features of behavior, character, appearance, deeds, some memorable things, etc., about which all the kobzars, after whom the notes and the recording devices were taken, as well as listeners knew.

The nickname "Bezrodny" conveys a rejection of family life during initiation into the Cossacks. Interesting evidence of how the Cossacks gave nicknames, later possibly related to surnames, is found in the memoirs of the famous Nikita Leontyevich Korzh³⁴. Such cases are also mentioned in modern legends about Zaporizhzhia. There are scientific studies on the formation of Zaporizhzhia nicknames³⁵.

Young children often came to Zaporizhzhia, there were cases of abduction of children who were brought to Sich or to zimyvniki³⁶, so some of the Cossacks could not remember their origin, hence the prevalence of the "Bezrodny" variant, i.e. 'without kinship', 'some such that doesn't remember his family ties'. Hence, Hvedir can be interpreted as 'an orphan rootless, or rootless, idle, without tribe'³⁷. N. Kostomarov agreed with this characteristic, believing that the hero of this Duma is an

³⁴ Устное повествование бывшего запорожца, жителя Екатеринославской губернии и уезда, селения Михайловки, Никиты Леонтьевича Коржа. Одесса, 1842, с. 34 – 35.

³⁵ Українське козацтво: Мала енциклопедія. Кер. авт. колект. Ф. Турченко; відп. ред. С.Р. Лях. Вид.2-е, доп. і перер. Київ: Генеза; Запоріжжя: Прем'єр, 2006, с. 290 – 291.

³⁶ Мышецкий С.И. История о козаках запорожских, как из древних лет зачинались, и откуда своё происхождение имеют, и в каком состоянии сей час пребывают. Москва, 1847, с. 17 – 18.

³⁷ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 425, 441.

orphan, rootless and tribal-free Cossack³⁸. At the same time, this epithet stimulates the idea that the jura becomes Fedir's heir, but for the Sich Cossacks it was a natural phenomenon and didn't require any motivation. According to A. Skalkovsky, the idea that the inheritance of the Cossacks could be transferred to a family or a jura, part of the inheritance could be given to monasteries, churches and religious needs³⁹. So the jura was one of the possible legitimate heirs, regardless of whether the family was in his mentor.

It is interesting that there are versions that claim that "being without a family, or of unknown origin" is a temporary state, beyond Zaporizhzhia, Fedir has his relatives, but before his death, the only person close to him who is perceived as a native is his jura, since no one in the family is in trouble to help him, maybe he himself refuses this help. "You are to me, servant, on the wrong side, father and dear mother...»⁴⁰.

Sometimes the hero is „bezdolny” (unfortunate) – with the meaning „unlucky”, but this is not motivated from the point of view of the fact that Fedir is often referred to as kurin otaman, which means that he is an experienced warrior and respected by other Cossacks. It is probable that the epithet "bezdolny" was the result of the transmission of the text beyond spatio-temporal boundaries of the historical Zaporizhzhia, this variant of surname (nickname) – is the result of the appearance of the work outside the Zaporizhzhian environment. Among the later performers, there is the epithet "bezplodny" (barren) as another synonym of "being without a family, or of unknown origin" (that was functioning beyond the borders of Zaporizhzhia).

Depending on how the hero is referred to or characterized, the content dominants of the *duma* are formed, and their discrepancy allows us to perceive the *duma* either as a story about the death of a warrior, which even after a severe injury teaches jura (*armor-bearer, squire and pupil of elder officers*), or as a work about the tragic death of a lonely person.

The problem of heritage is solved in different ways in various versions, and it is possible to distinguish some elements that were either unrelated or formed by the contamination of separate variants. All the

³⁸ Костомаров Н. Историческое значение южно-русского народного песенного творчества. *Н.И.Костомаров. Исторические монографии и исследования*. Кн. 8., Т. 21. Санкт-Петербург, 1905. С. 755.

³⁹ Скальковский А.О. Історія Нової Січі або останнього коша Запорозького. Дніпропетровськ: Січ, 1994. С. 178.

⁴⁰ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 403.

motives are reflected in the versions recorded after O. Veresay, and in the records after S. Grytsa by G. Tkachenko: motive A – transferring of the material part of the heritage, which includes horses, clothing and weapons; B – examination of riding skills and, perhaps, something else, which certifies the right to be a Cossack and not a jura, „suitable ... to be among Cossacks”; C – hope for posthumous commemoration and prayers; D – transference of knowledge and behavioural skills in the steppe, edification how to behave in order to survive and become one of the Cossacks: listen to the steppe and be able to hide in it, watch birds and animals, distinguish sounds – all that was a part of the Sich science; E – instructions on how to give a signal to the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks, how to behave according to Zaporizhzhia etiquette when it is necessary to deal with the Cossacks.

Each of the mentioned motives is represented differently in various versions, but in general, over time, these motives are reduced to teaching and passing on inheritance. The description of the heritage itself, in particular its components, also varies. One should pay attention to the fact that heritage is not only a material dimension. The main point is to check the knowledge and skills which a Zaporizhian warrior should have.

Despite the existing statements that the Duma reveals the themes of transferring the elders' experience to jury and teaching young Cossack, these motives (D and E) are not represented in every known variant. Thus, in the record by V. Lomykovsky, a hero passes to his jura such things as a silk tyagyna (*Cossacks' outer garments*) and fine horse, therefore, only A motive is represented – inheritance. In versions 6.3 and 6.4, there is no inheritance or teaching at all. Version 6.14 is limited to the motives of A and B in their reduced forms.

In the version of M. Tsertelev, the material legacy of Bezrodny is not mentioned at all (motive A), the teaching is connected to the behavior in the steppe (motive D) and with the request to call the Cossacks. An experienced Cossack teaches a young man to listen to the steppe and serve faithfully to the community: „...Koly ty budesh virno probuvaty, budut tebe kazaky povajaty” (*When you'll serve there faithfully, the Cossacks will respect you*)⁴¹.

The nature of the material inheritance often corresponds to the performers' ideas of wealth, thus, before all they mention a horse (an

⁴¹ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 405.

absolute value for a Cossack and a peasant), then some rich garment, and some weapon in in the last place. Some records don't mention it at all⁴². In the community of warriors, weapon could not be forgotten; its value could be neglected only when they stopped using it, in the society of transmitters, not the creators of the *duma*.

It is curious that Veresay didn't know much about weapons, as evidenced by his comment: "Saber, sword – all the same." He projects modern realia on the past: " Teper kazhut – heneral, polkovnyk, a to buy Koshovyi, shcho yoho za batka malo viisko; tak yak teper Tsar – kazhut, batiushka "(*Now they say – General, Colonel, and that was Kosh otaman, that the army took him as father; since now they say Tsar – they say, father*)"⁴³, and therefore he modernizes the realia of Zaporizhzhia.

A significant number of variants preserved the mention of how the Cossacks recognized each other in the steppe, on neutral or enemy territory. Fedir teaches his *jura* that during the meeting with the Cossacks he needs to "shlychok na kopiiu iskladaty" (*to put shlychok – old conical headgear – on the spear*), so that a small flag is made. The need for a flag for the *jura* is motivated by Cossack customs: there was no uniform by which one could recognize a Zaporizhzhian Cossack. Since clothing could be (and it was) the subject of the spoils of war, they dressed as they liked, the outfit could be Tatar, Turkish, and Polish. Researchers have repeatedly pointed out that each Zaporizhian *kurin* could have its own flag or *khorúgv* (*banner*), with the help of which the Cossacks distinguished "their own people"⁴⁴ from others. Therefore, this reflected the knowledge and understanding of Cossacks' customs. In addition, the Dumas preserved the memory of *shlyk* as part of the Zaporizhian Cossacks' costume and its similarity to the flag.

Commenting on the *Duma* "The death of a Cossack in the valley of Kodyn", M. Kostomarov remarked that it contains a formula, which is characteristic of the other work: "Shabliamy nadiilkamy yamu kopaly, v semypiadnu pyshchal prodzvonyly, slavu kozatsku uchynyly, shapkamy prypolamy semykipnu vysypaly, na mohyli praporok ustromyly, slavu kozatsku uchynyly" (*With sabres and scabbards dug a pit, fired the pyshchal (musket) of seven spans, claimed the glory of a Cossack, with hats and flaps seven heaps poured forth, stuck a flag on the grave,*

⁴² Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 420; 425; 435; 438 – 439

⁴³ Там само, с. 409.

⁴⁴ Старина малороссийская, запорожская и донская Николая Семеновского. Санкт-Петербург, 1846. С. 32.

claimed the glory of the Cossack)⁴⁵. Even if this passage is borrowed from some version of the Duma about Fedir Bezrodny, the recurrence of formula is associated with the burial tradition of Zaporizhzhia and gives evidence of the preservation of the memory about traditional Zaporizhian forms of life.

A comparative analysis of different versions suggests that this formula was also variable, many of the known texts have preserved the mentioning of the common features of the funeral ritualism, recorded the common stages of the burial rite (the Duma depicts alerting the Cossacks, the washing of the deceased, the burial and commemoration) and actually fixed the mentioning about the distinctive character of the Zaporizhzhia ritual. The memory about that ritual remains also due to the fact that in many versions the hero is buried by the Cossacks, „Dniper Cossacks”, Cossacks of the Dnieper Zaporozhzhian Host, and their actions are led by the „father Kosh, the otaman”.

In the Duma there is also a mentioning that the Cossacks were buried, wrapped in a red kytaika (*silk or cotton fabric made in China*): „... the young body was found, put on a red kytaika...”; „...his body, of young Cossack, was taken away on the red kytaika”⁴⁶, etc.

The red kytaika is often mentioned as a necessary attribute of the ritual in historical and class Cossack songs, where the well-established formula for death was the line “chervoni kytaike lychenko vkryte” (*face covered with red kytaika*). The remains of the red burial cover were found in the grave of otaman Ivan Sirko, who died in 1680 p. Under the red kytaika dead Cossacks were buried in Ukraine even in the XVIII century⁴⁷. Taras Shevchenko’s coffin was also covered with a red cloth. It is specified in the comments to variant 6.10 that: “in the previous line, the word „krasnu” (*red*) is crossed out in other ink. It is written atop „chervonu” (*vermilion*)”⁴⁸. Thus, this was important, because the color had a symbolic meaning.

With the decay of the rite and the mythopoetic worldview, the change of the color of the fabric is possible, thus in some of the variants of historical songs, the „green kytaika” appears. There are also indications

⁴⁵ Костомаров Н. История козачества в памятниках южно-русского песенного творчества. Н.И.Костомаров. *Исторические монографии и исследования*. Кн. 8., Т. 21. Санкт-Петербург, 1905. С. 781.

⁴⁶ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 409, 419.

⁴⁷ Залізник Л.Л. Первісна історія України. К.: Вища школа, 1999, с. 138.

⁴⁸ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 498.

of a another color of the burial cloth. Thus, in versions 6.11 and 6.12, there are „blue kytaika”. Apparently, Kobzar knew that he was changing the color, that is why in the comments it is indicated that white, black and red „ne polahaietsia na smert. Vse holube. Chervone na vesilli polahaietsia” (...[it is not] accepted for death. Everything is blue. Red is supposed to be at a wedding)⁴⁹, for this reason „they put on the blue kytaika”. By the way, Kobzar N. Bondarenko constantly focused his attention on the moments of the rite familiar to him, thus in the version recorded from him, it is noted that „death cloth”, which Cossacks could hardly have had during the campaign, and the peasants prepared it (as well as a significant part of the elderly people now) in advance.

Among the specifically Zaporizhian elements of the rite, it is constantly repeated that the land was dug with sabers, since the Cossacks, of course, did not take any agricultural equipment with them on military campaigns. They carried earth in hats, and in many versions, they are called “shlyks”. It is known that shlyks were used by the Cossacks as pouches, they were quite spacious and Cossacks could carry the necessary small things, so it is not surprising that they were used for carrying earth.

In the non-Zaporizhian chronotope, the original rite features of the steppe knights, except for the above mentioned, were gradually forgotten and replaced with a description of the rite known to the Kobzars. Thus, in the most ancient records there is mention that after the burial “Yz semypiadnykh pyshchal postrilialy”, “V semy piadny pyshchaly hremaly” (*They shot off the the pyshchal (musket) of seven spans; ... fired the seven spans pyshchal (musket)*)⁵⁰. In other versions, this motif is lost, but shooting from weapons in the days of Zaporizhzhia was a common phenomenon. According to the testimony of S. Mishetsky, and later Rigelman, the starshyna (*elder officers*), the grandfathers „... after death acquired such honor that when they were buried, the others launched a cannon and fired the guns more than for other simple Cossacks”⁵¹.

The tradition of putting flags on the graves of Cossacks is also mentioned in the Duma: „they made a high burial mound and stuck flags

⁴⁹ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 441 – 442.

⁵⁰ Там само, с. 404, 405.

⁵¹ Мышецкий С.И. История о козаках запорожских. с. 43; Ригельман О.И. Літописна оповідь про Малу Росію., с. 125.

at the head”⁵². In the work by M. Sementovsky, there is an indication that on the graves of the Cossacks crosses with small flags were put as a sign of their innocence⁵³. According to A. Skalkovsky, the small flag was placed on the grave of the unmarried Cossacks as a symbol of their virginity⁵⁴. In other regions of Ukraine, according to P. Chubinsky, a cross was placed on the boy’s grave and tied with a rushnyk (*a ritual cloth embroidered with symbols*)⁵⁵. D. Zelensky recorded the custom of tying a “khustka” (*headscarf or just scarf*) over the graves of Ukrainian boys⁵⁶. There is no mentioning about the cross on the grave of the Cossacks in the Duma, but there are attempts to combine the forgotten „prapirok” (*small flag*) and the traditional cross: „I v holovakh dubovyi prapirok postavlyt” (*and [they] set the oak flag at the heads*)⁵⁷. Kobzar V. Gorlenko noted that „prapirok” is a „pole”⁵⁸. In later versions, the flag is forgotten and a white khustka (*scarf*) becomes the sign of the grave of the Zaporizhian Cossack: „Na kopio znak pamiat polozhyly, bilu khustku prychepyly” (*[they] put on the spear the memory sign, [they] attached white scarf*)⁵⁹. Thus, gradually this specific feature of Zaporizhzhia folklore is neutralized and it starts to coincide with what was in other regions.

In one of the variants of the Duma „The death of a Cossack on the burial mound of Kodyn” there is a description of the Cossack burial, which includes all the mentioned elements of the rite: „Cossacks – good fellows arrived at the valley of Kodyn ... [they] found the Cossack, who was shot and wounded, with sabres and scabbards dug a pit, shot off the pyshchal (musket) of seven spans, claimed the glory of a Cossack, with hats and flaps seven heaps poured forth, stuck a flag on the burial mound, claimed the glory of the Cossack”⁶⁰, that confirms the stability of the elements of the Zaporizhzhia funeral ceremony, which were

⁵² Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 409, 423.

⁵³ Старина малороссийская, запорожская и донская, с. 4.

⁵⁴ Скальковський А. О. Історія Нової Січі, с. 276.

⁵⁵ Чубинський П. Мудрість віків : Українське народознавство у творчій спадщині Павла Чубинського. Кн. 2. Київ : Мистецтво, 1995, с. 205 – 206.

⁵⁶ Там само, с. 321.

⁵⁷ Українські народні думи: у 5-ти т. Т. 1, с. 421.

⁵⁸ Там само, с. 424.

⁵⁹ Там само, с. 429.

⁶⁰ Українські народні думи. Том 1., с. 147.

remembered by Kobzars for a long time after the destruction of Zaporizhzhia.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis and comparison of different variants of the Duma "Fedir Bezrodny" proves that this work has the original connection with Zaporizhzhia household tradition, despite the fluidity of the text and its adaptation to the knowledge about the past and the taste of transmitters of folklore traditions, especially the Kobzars. This work reflects the memory about Zaporizhzhia chronotope with specific components of the landscape and toponyms, about Zaporizhian tradition of communication between experienced Cossacks and juras, about the nature of the transmission of experience and heritage, in which a significant role is played by the experience, and not only the material component, about the specific features of the Zaporizhian funeral rite, which is caused by the long-lasting interest of performers and listeners to the history of Sich knighthood.

Zaporizhzhia seemed to spread its works to other Ukrainian lands, and these works maintained internal connection with the Lower Dnieper Ukraine long after the extinction of the tradition in the former Zaporizhzhia Sich. This connection revealed itself in the characterization of the heroes and their activities as well as in the internal topos of the Cossack's Dumas, in representation of Sich morality and customary law of Zaporizhzhia. Moreover, in national consciousness these works were always associated with Zaporizhzhia even when the Cossackdom was annihilated, and Zaporizhzhia was destroyed.

SUMMARY

This article, based on the material of heroic Dumas and various versions of the "Fedir Bezrodny" plot, considers the issue of historicism specifics of works in this genre and the nature of preserving and transforming the memory of the historical Zaporizhzhia and Cossacks in them. The author proves that most of the well-known plots of the Ukrainian heroic lyric-epic dumy are fundamentally Sich-focused, but the texts were recorded in a post-Zaporizhzhia time and space. The destruction of the Sich and the spreading of the Zaporizhian community have changed both the role and functions of Kobzars (Zaporizhian Kobzar – pauper) and the audience environment (free Cossack – serf), which caused an active transformation of Dumas, and therefore their vanishing from the Kobzar's repertoire. During the 19th century, the

Dumas still well „remembered” the geography, landscape, toponymy of Zaporizhzhia and the Black sea, some specific realia of life (Zaporizhian nicknames, the Institute of juras and the rules of communication between an experienced Cossack and the young, the signs, by which the Cossack’s troops were recognized, etc.) and ritualism (first of all, the specific features of the funeral rite) of the Cossacks. At the same time, during the performance of the Duma by various Kobzars, the toponyms of different regions could overlap, the details necessary for the peasant, but not for the Cossack could appear or could be accentuated as well as the semantics of particular components of the rite could be modernized or changed.

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