

Cossack Treasure in Ukrainian Folk Legends

Roman I. Shiyan
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Introduction

Ukrainian Cossacks were a military people who lived and functioned in territories that are now Ukrainian lands. At the time that the Cossacks existed as a group, however, these lands were within the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (after 1569 the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and Russian-controlled territories of the Lower Dnipro region (Zaporizhzhia) and Central Ukraine. The peak of Cossack strength and influence came during the mid-17th century, when the Zaporozhian Cossack Host began a rebellion against the Polish-Lithuanian government on Ukrainian lands, which resulted in the creation of an early-modern Ukrainian State, the Hetmanate (1648-1764) [Okinshevych; Zhukovsky 1988: 145-147]. The establishment of Russian control over the Zaporoz'ka Sich(1) and the Hetmanate by the end of the 17th century coincided with the decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This control grew considerably stronger over the next century, resulting in the eventual liquidation of the Cossack state (1764) and the Sich (1775).

Cossacks, especially those of the Zaporozhian Cossack Host, had a reputation as fierce warriors. It was also believed that they possessed vast treasure: the proceeds of their military raids. Historical texts and documents often supply specific figures,(2) thus providing verifiable information on Cossack riches. However, little attention has been paid to how the topic of Cossack treasure is presented in Ukrainian folklore, particularly legends. This article is meant to at least partially fill that gap.

How did the people of Southern Ukraine, particularly those living on former Cossack lands, view Cossacks and their treasure? This article looks at common tale types and motifs, found in some Ukrainian and Russian "treasure" legends, identifying those plots and motifs that are original to Cossack "treasure" lore.

Sources

At this point, a few words must be said about the publication of folkloric prose texts, particularly those which deal with the topic of Cossack treasure and, therefore, were considered in preparing this work. The first recognized collector and publisher of folk legends and stories (1840s-1850s) was the writer and ethnographer Panteleimon Kulish [Kolessa 1940s (?): 98]. He researched, collected, and published folklore materials [Pypin 1891: 192-194]. His major collection of folklore materials contains a significant number of prose texts about the Ukrainian Cossacks, including legends about Cossack treasure [Kulish 1994 (1856-57)]. From the 19th to the early 20th century, dozens of folk prose texts about the Cossacks were collected and published by Mykhailo Drahomanov [Dragomanov 1876], Pavlo Chubyns'kyi [Chubinskii 1878], Petro Efymenko [Efimenko 1882: 582-593], Ivan Manzhura [Manzhura 1890], Iakiv Novyts'kyi [Novitskii 1885: 350-353], Dmytro Iavornyts'kyi [Evarnitskii 1883: 497-519; 1886: 520-536] and Porfyrii Martynovych [Martynovych 1906].

Since the early 1990s, a number of older manuscripts containing folkloric texts about Ukrainian Cossacks have been newly published. For instance, two important collections of texts by Iakiv Novyts'kyi were published in 1991 and 1997 respectively. In addition, some important folklore collections have been reprinted, among which are, Panteleimon Kulish's famous *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* in 1994, and Dmytro Iavornyts'kyi's *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniakh naroda* [Zaporozh'e as it is Pictured in Survivals of Antiquity and Folk Narrative] in 1995. Some folkloric accounts of Cossack treasure can be found in all of these collections. However, most of the texts are found in the collections of Iakiv Novyts'kyi, with a somewhat smaller number in the work of Panteleimon Kulish and Dmytro Iavornyts'kyi.

In fact, the majority of the "treasure" texts discussed in this article was recorded between 1874 and 1885 by Iakiv Novyts'kyi (1847-1925) and came from the heartland of the former Zaporozhian Cossack Host such as the island of Khortytsia. Some of Novyts'kyi's recordings were first published in Mykhailo Drahomanov's *Maloruskie narodnye predaniia i razskazy* (1876). However, many of the narratives about the Cossacks remained unpublished during Novyts'kyi's lifetime. Some of those texts became available to the general public only at the end of the 20th century with *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and Stories] (1985), *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [Cossacks in Folk Memory] (1991) and

Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti [The Island of Khortytzia on the Dnipro, its Nature, History, and Antiquities] (1997) [Shiyan 2006b: 5]. These latter texts give us insight into how the informants and their audience must have viewed Cossacks and reveal the various issues associated with Cossacks a century after the demise of their organization.

Approach and Terminology

The Cossacks themselves must have composed narratives on various topics, including “Cossack treasure,” and these accounts were later utilized by members of other groups interested in the Cossacks. In fact, the bulk of folklore about Cossacks was recorded in the 19th century, at the time that the last members of this once powerful and numerous military community were dying out or being assimilated into the civilian community. Therefore, these latter accounts about the Cossacks largely reflect the views held by an audience other than Cossacks of what Cossack life must have been like. This is particularly true of the “Cossack treasure” legends [Shiyan 2006a: 35]. A legend, as defined in this paper, is a short oral prose narrative with an emphasis on supernatural topics, which is nevertheless perceived as a generally credible account of the past by its original community. Though they may employ certain migratory motifs, legends are local in origin, that is, they relate to events that supposedly happened in a particular locale.

In legends, fantasy is frequently present. At the same time, it does not define the plot of a particular narrative, but rather serves as an auxiliary element. Despite the presence of certain fantastic elements, the audience traditionally receives the legend as a somewhat reliable account of days gone by [Shiyan 2006a: 55]. In legends, one can find a combination of “historicity” and “fantasy” in which the two do not contradict, but rather complement each other. One of the legend’s important functions is its role in establishing connections between the events and people of old and the storyteller’s generation [Shiyan 2006a: 56]. Because legends involve the historical experience of people so centrally, they are particularly valuable for studying the representation of Cossacks in Ukrainian folklore [Dégh 1997: 485-493].

Legends can be grouped into one or more tale types. A “tale type” is a “narrative plot identified by a name and a concise description of its contents” [Apo 1997b: 785]. For example, there is a tale type “Birth of a child from eating an apple” (675*) [Aarne; Thompson 1961: 237]. Types

are abstract constructions, and are normally identified “based on several concrete text variants or versions of the plot” [Apo 1997b: 785]. Each plot contains one or more motifs.⁽³⁾ Stith Thompson’s definition of a “motif” is “a unit of content found in prose narratives or in poems,” a detail, “of which full-fledged narratives are composed” [Aarne; Thompson 1955a: 10; Apo 1997a: 563]. Using the previous example, a tale type such as “Birth of a child from eating an apple” (675*), may consist of a sequence of related motifs, such as the “Supernatural origin of hero, magic conception” (Z 216) and the “Hero born out of wedlock” (Z 255) [Aarne; Thompson 1955b: 564-565]. This standard definition of “motif” has been discussed and critiqued by more recent scholars of folklore; however, it serves our general purposes here [Apo 1997a: 563].

Tale Types and Motifs of Cossack Treasure Legends

The topic of Cossack treasure in Ukrainian folklore is more complex than it might first appear. To begin with, these legends comprise several related types and motifs: “treasure” as such, hidden or buried treasure, and abandoned treasure. The topic “Cossacks and their treasure” is not limited to the popular motif of Cossacks hiding their valuables (gold, silver and so forth) in the ground. Despite the popularity of this motif, “Cossack treasure” goes far beyond the notion of monetary “treasure” and includes the various advantages of having Cossack status, which was considered to be a “treasure” in its own right.

In her study of the genesis of structure in Russian historical folk prose, Neonila Krinichnaia discerns four major structural-chronological categories of stories about treasure, found in Russian folklore: category 1 includes stories about “enchanted treasures”; category 2, comprises stories spawned by the social-utopian illusions of peasants, for whom the acquisition of hidden treasure represented a possible way towards economic improvement; category 3 consists of stories about treasure as customary burial donations; and category 4 talks about “treasure” as such [Krinichnaia 1987: 109]. I have used this typology developed for another East Slavic culture because it provides a practical point of reference.

Novyts’kyi’s collections of legends are mostly Krinichnaia category 1: “enchanted treasure” legends. They typically provide a description of the place, where the “treasure” had been hidden, as well as explain why it had never been found or retrieved. The following is an example:

Записано від Степана Штепи (28 грудня 1877 р.): Низче острова Хорґівського, над Старим Дніпром, єсть урочище Лазні, там поверх

скелі — Клад. Приміта така: лежить камінь, а на йому мова ‘Есть и како, хто візьме, — буде кай.’ Годів тридцять тому назад слова були замітні, а тепер камінь заріс мохом. Кажуть, клад заклятий.

Recorded from Stepan Shtepa (December 28, 1877): [Below the island of Khortytsia, over the old course of the Dnipro, there is a grove called Lazni, and there, above the cliff is a treasure. The mark (of the treasure) is as follows: [above the treasure] there lies a stone with an inscription on it: “It is [and will be], — and the one who takes it will be cursed.” Some thirty years ago those words could still be read, but now the stone is covered with moss. People say that this treasure is enchanted] [Novitskii 1997: 47].

Among the most interesting motifs found in Cossack treasure legends, are those about “guardian spirits.” These motifs are quite diverse. In the following text we find the motif about the hidden treasure being revealed to a select few by a spirit-guardian, a mounted Cossack:

Записано від Степана Власенка (15 червня 1884 р.): В голові острова Хортица, то вид Кічкаса есть величенька могилка, вся обкладена камінням. Літ тридцять тому назад там, темної ночі було часто показується клад: еще вискоче на могилу козак з шаблею, та так огнем і засяє. Козак золотий, а під ним кінь срібний. То, кажуть, золоті і срібні гроші. Ті гроші або взято, або показуються та не всякому.

Recorded from Stepan Vlasenko (June 15, 1884): [At the head of the island of Khortytsia, close to [the colony of] Kichkas, there is a big mound, fully covered with stones. Some thirty years ago, treasures used to be revealed, often during starless nights: a Cossack, armed with a saber, would ride up onto the mound and glow as bright as fire. The Cossack is made of gold and his horse is of silver. As [people] say, those are golden and silver coins. That money is either taken or is revealed to a select few] [Novitskii 1997: 46].

In the legends about Ukrainian Cossacks, the guardian spirits are almost exclusively anthropomorphic. They often represent the old or original masters of the hidden treasure:

Записано від Степана Штепи (28 грудня 1877 р.): На острові Хортицькім, супротив Дубового островка, що під Вознесенським берегом, есть два вибалочка; між ними запорожці сховали полкову козну — дванадцять бочонків, в льоху і казначей козацький сидить замуrowаний.

Recorded from Stepan Shtepa (December 28, 1877): [On the island of Khortytsia, straight across the island of Dubovyi (Oak), which is near the bank of Voznesenka [village], there are two small ravines; between those ravines the Zaporozhian Cossacks hid the regimental treasures of their Host

— twelve barrels with treasure. In that hole also sits the immured Cossack treasurer, guarding that treasure][Novitskii 1997: 48].

As this text suggests, treasures hidden by Cossacks were entrusted in perpetuity to their guardian who served as a treasurer and a sentry. Even though the fate of the guardians may be perceived as a sort of a punishment (reference to a guardian being “immured”), it is just as likely that these immortal figures are simply fulfilling a duty rather than being punished. Other legends about “Cossack treasure” specifically feature immortal Cossacks destined to guard the treasure for a number of years. If the occasion presented itself, they could pass their duty on to an unwary passerby, committing the latter to the burial mound for generations to come:

Записано від старого чоловіка Бугайди (7 вересня 1878 р.): Багато кладів сховано по скелях та балках, під дубами, а найбільш у Висчій голові та по могилах; будуть вони лежать, поки світ сонця. Стережуть їх, кажуть, запорожці, замуrowані в льохах, і виходять на світ божий в сорок год раз. Але вийде тай заклика зустрічного чоловіка в льохах, як той піде, — він зачне за ним залізні двері и був такий... Давно, дуже давно діялось — з могили вийшов запорожець з шаблею і став ходити по острові. Довго ходив і побачив чоловіка. Він до його, а той злякався та від його. Запорожець догнав і каже: не бійся, чоловік ти бачу убогий, а я можу допомогти грішми: ходім до могили, я там живу. Чоловікові і страшно, і охота достать грошей. Не довго думавши пішов. Той открив льох і каже: бачиш барило з червонцями — бери стілько тобі треба. Чоловік за гроші, а запорожець за двері — грякнув і загорнув ход землею. Зробив своє діло і пішов ходити по світу. Таких людей, кажуть, і смерть не бере.

Recorded from “Old man” Buhaida (September 7, 1878): [There are many treasures hidden in the cliffs, ravines, under the oak-trees, with most of them being on the “Hanging Head” and in the burial mounds; and those treasures will lie there as long as the sun shines. People say that those treasures are guarded by Zaporozhian Cossacks immured in the pits who are allowed to come out only once in forty years. And when such a guardian meets a passerby, then he invites the latter into the pit, and if the passer-by follows, — then the Zaporozhian Cossack will lock the iron gates behind that passer-by and that will be it... A long time ago it happened — a Zaporozhian Cossack, armed with a saber left his crypt and began wandering throughout the island. He was wandering for a long time and met a man. That man got scared and was trying to escape the approaching Zaporozhian. The Cossack caught up with that man and said: Do not worry, oh man, I see that you are poor, and I can help you with money: follow me to the burial mound. That man was frightened, but he was also tempted by the money. Finally, he went without any further thought. The Zaporozhian opened the pit and said: do you see that barrel with the golden coins — go and grab as much as you need. That man

went for the money and the Cossack closed the doors and covered the entrance with earth. After he did that he went on wandering the earth. They say that people like that Cossack never succumb to death](4) [Novitskii 1997: 49-50].

Записано від Степана Штепи (22 грудня 1877 р.): Год тридцять тому назад зійшовся я з стареньким чоловіком і розбалакався про клади. Чув, каже він, людям случались гроші, та не всякий брав їх, — і почав розказувати. Раз, каже, в Спасівку, один дід рибальчив в Дніпрі. Ніч була дуже місячною. Повернув він каюк до островського берега, вибрав сітки і став дрімать. Коли чує — шось шелестить чагарем, а далі виходить чоловік, голова лиса, вуси довгі і одежа на йому козацька. Став і дивиться на діда. Зляку у діда мороз пішов поза шкірою. Не втерпів він і обізвася: шо ти за чоловік і чого тобі треба? — Я, каже, запорожець, сто год стеріг клад, а тепер время вийшло, іди і забери. Дід і откажує: як же ти мене знаєш, коли я тебе вперве бачу. У нас, каже, була така умова с козаками, шо через сто год кого першого побачу, тому суд і гроші: ходим з мною. Знаєш шо, чоловіче, — відмовив йому дід, — іди собі з богом, відкіля взявся, — грошей твоїх мені не треба. Повернувся козак і пішов собі на гору. Діда взяв ще більший острах, перехрестився тричі і повернув каюка на вознесенський берег. Через тиждень дід почув, шо на Старому Дніпрі рибальчив чоловік з Розумовки і тієї ночі його не стало. Він, кажуть, був падкий до грошей, послухав запорожця і буде сидіти в льоху до служного часу.

Recorded from Stepan Shtepa (December 22, 1877): [Some thirty years ago, I met an elderly man with whom I had a chat about hidden treasures. According to him, some people found this money, but not everybody dared to take it, and he went on to tell the story. On the Holy Day of Transfiguration, an old man was fishing on the river Dnipro. The night was lit with moonlight. He rowed towards the bank [of Khortytsia], drew the nets from the water, and began napping. Suddenly, he heard a rustling in the reeds, and soon afterwards a man came out of those reeds, his head shaved, with long moustache and dressed in Cossack-style clothes. That stranger began looking at the old man. And the old man felt a shiver pass down his neck. The old fisherman lost his patience and asked: What sort of man are you and what do you want from me? — I am a Zaporozhian Cossack and I have been guarding the treasures for a hundred years and now the time of my duty is done and you may go and take that treasure. The old man replied: and how do you know me, because I have never met you before in my life. The Cossack said that we, the Cossacks, had reached an agreement that in a hundred years, I would pass the money to the first person, whom I would meet: follow me. You know what, man, the old man replied, go to where you have come from, and may the Lord guide you, I don't need your money. The Cossack turned around and went up the hill. The old man experienced an even a more dreadful fright; he protected himself with the sign of the Holy Cross thrice, and rowed towards the bank near the village of Voznesenka. A week later, that old man heard a rumor that a man from Rozumovka had been fishing on the Old Dnipro and vanished that very night [when the old fisherman met

with the Cossack]. That man from Rozumovka, who had vanished, had been known for his love of money, so he must have listened to that Zaporozhian Cossack and now will be sitting in that crypt till his term is over](5) [Novitskii 1997: 50].

Legends about Cossacks guarding “hidden treasure,” constitute a separate type that I will call category 5 “Immortal Cossacks: remarkable longevity of culture heroes.” This type of legend is comprised of various motifs of immortal Cossack-guardians who watch over hidden treasures. In the available Ukrainian variants, a Cossack-guardian is not buried in the burial mound, but rather is confined in it and fulfills his duty by guarding the hidden treasure for a specified term (from forty to a hundred years). After that, the guardian is awarded the opportunity to pass his duty on to another person. This plot is quite different from other “treasure tales,” particularly Russian ones in which the treasure is left in the mound with a sacrificed dead body of an animal or a human [Dashkevych 1991: 534-536]. In treasure legends about Ukrainian Cossacks, in contrast, a guardian is entrusted with the treasure by his brethren and is practically never sacrificed.

In the aforementioned texts it is interesting to note how the informants refer to the sources of their information: “people say...,” and “some thirty years ago I met an elderly man who told me...” It appears that at least some of the informants were preoccupied with establishing the “truthfulness” of their accounts by referring to another “authority.” By doing this, the informants most likely meant to dissuade audiences’ skepticism towards the story and its specific motifs.

Legends “spawned by the social-utopian illusion of the peasants, for whom the acquisition of hidden treasure represented a possible way to economic recovery” (Krinichnaia, category 2), are also found in the corpus of legends analyzed in this article [Krinichnaia 1987: 109]. This type comprises a number of specific motifs, for instance, “Cossacks as masters of hidden treasures” and “Cossacks as affluent people”:

Записано від чоловіка на ім'я Кравець (?) [Текст вперше надруковано у збірці Драгоманова]: Клади більш кляли Запорозьці: як зганяли їх відцїлі — то вони думали, що назад вернуться — та покляли і позаклинали. Вони не як і заклинали, тікі давали обчеству присягу, що один ніхто не може взять, а через нестїльки год, на стїки той клад клався, можно кому сторонему сказать. От, кажуть, ішов запорожець та казав, що там, де тепер Нехвороща построїлась, вони повен колодязь золота самого насипали.

Recorded from Kravets (?) [first published in Drahomanov's collection]: [The treasures were mostly hidden by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, when the Cossacks were driven from these lands. Anticipating their return, the Cossacks buried the treasure and put spells on it. Well, they did not actually cast spells, but rather swore before their Cossack brethren that no one man alone was to take it, and only in so many years could a sworn Cossack be permitted to reveal the secret about the treasure to a stranger. People say that once upon a time, a Cossack was passing through our village saying that where today's Nekhvoroshcha is located [probably a village located near the old Cossack monastery — *R. S.*], the Cossacks had filled a well with gold] [Dragomanov 1876: 78].

Legends about Cossack hidden treasure often contain a mixture of facts and rumors about Cossack life. For instance, legends feature the motif of Cossacks kidnapping children in Ukraine in order to fill their ranks, later subjecting them to a harsh treatment, often meant to teach them a lesson of some sort. There are also stories about Cossacks leaving their lands after the disbandment of their organization:

Записано Новицьким від невідомого оповідача [Текст вперше надруковано у збірці Драгоманова]: За Стрільчий острівок давно між людьми балачка є, що там закопані гроші. Запорожці, кажуть, викопали на острівку яму, поклали туди свій скарб: талирі золоті та срібні, залізо, ружжя и де що инше; тоді взяли й засипали піском; потім взяли хлопця, літ 12, котрого украли на Україні, положили на тім місті, де скарб, і давай его бить лозинням. Вибили добре, тай питають: 'а що, знаєш за що бємо?' — 'Не знаю,' каже хлопця, а само плаче сердешне. Запорозьці давай упяць бить хлопця. Перестали і упяць питають: а що знаєш за що бємо? — 'Ой, татусенькі, рідненькі, тій Богу не знаю,' каже хлопець. Вони его в третє давай пиріщить. Кричало, кричало бідне хлопця, а далі аж охрипло. 'Годі, кажуть запорозьці,' і давай упяць питать: 'скажи, сучий сину, за що бємо? Як не скажеш, упяць одреп'їжемо.' — 'Знаю,' каже хлопця: це б то за те, щоб знав де клад заховали.' — 'Ну,' кажуть запорозьці, 'подивися ж кругом, та й іди собі з Богом, може найдуться добрі люди.' Вирвалось хлопця та між людьми давай роспитувати шляху на Україну. Чи вже довго йшло, чи не довго, а до батька допиталось. Це було, кажуть, зараз після того, як січ зруйнували. Годів через десятків там стіко, с Київської губернії гнав по Дніпрі плоти старий дід; став він біля нашої слободи, пішов на стрільчий острівок і давай кладу шукать; шукав, шукав, нічого не знайшов, бо те місто тепер загорнуто каміннями; а дали прийшов у слободу і давай роспитувать: 'чи ніхто грошей не відкопував.' В слободі ніхто й не знав про гроші. Давай тоді дід розказувать всю сторію, бо він був сами той, котрого запорозьці били. Дід ше розказував і за приміту, де гроші. На тім боці Дніпра, каже, як раз супротів острівка стрільчого, стояв колись старий, старий та товстий дуб; на дубові була гилка товста, котра як раз показувала на острівок саме на те місто, де клад. Де які старі люди ше зазнають того дуба, а міні, признається, і не взамитку;

тепер, оно бачите (указываетъ пальцомъ) як раз на тім місті виросла груша.

Collected by Novyts'kyi from an anonymous informant [first published in Drahomanov's collection]: [There has been a lot of talk among the people that there is money hidden on the island of Strilchy. It is said that the Zaporozhian Cossacks dug a pit on that island and filled it with their treasure: gold and silver talers, iron [slabs?], weapons and some other items. Then they had it covered with the sand. Then taking a lad of some 12 years of age, whom those Cossacks had kidnapped in Ukraine, they put him in the very place where the treasures were hidden, and began to beat him with the tree branches. They beat him hard and then asked: "Do you know, why we are beating you?" — "No, I do not," was the lad's reply and the poor boy started crying. The Zaporozhians gave him another beating. When they stopped beating him they asked that lad again: do you know why we are beating you? — "No, my most benevolent loving masters, I swear to God that I do not know why," that lad replied. The Cossacks gave him yet another beating. That poor lad screamed so hard that he lost his voice. "Enough is enough," the Zaporozhians said, and asked him again: "Tell us, you son of a bitch, why are we beating you? Tell us or we shall beat you again!" — "I know why you are beating me," the lad finally replied. "You are beating me so that I would remember where you hid the treasures." — "All right then," the Zaporozhians said, "Take a look around, and go with the Lord and maybe you will find some good people [to take care of you]." That lad ran away and began asking among the people for the road to Ukraine. We are not sure how long he was wandering, but he found his way to his father's place. People say that this story happened soon after the Sich had been demolished. Dozens of years later, an old man was taking rafts from the Kyiv guberniia down the river Dnipro; he stopped at our village, went to Strilcha and began looking for the treasures; he was looking and looking and found nothing, because that place was covered with stones; later on he came to the village and began asking: "Has anyone dug up any money?" No one in our village had any knowledge about the money. Afterwards, the old man began telling the entire story, because he was that very lad whom the Zaporozhians had been beating. Also, that old man told us about the signs which were to help find that treasure. On the other bank of the Dnipro, he said, directly opposite that island of Strilchy, used to grow a very thick and old oak-tree; it had a thick branch, which pointed at the very place where the treasures had been hidden on that island. Some old people still remember where that oak-tree used to be, but, frankly speaking, I have no recollection of it; you see (he is pointing at that place with his finger) a pear-tree grew on that very spot] [Dragomanov 1876: 229-230].

Another motif found in the category 2 legends is the motif about the "location of a hidden treasure." Legends about the Cossack treasures often include the motif of a treasure either hidden under a tree or indicated by a tree's branches pointing to it. In the previous text collected by Novyts'kyi, as well as in some other variants, this is an old oak tree(6) [Dragomanov 1876: 230]. Yet another popular motif, found in category 2

texts and in Ukrainian Cossack legends, is “a treasure is hidden under a stone door (or under a boulder), pillar, etc.,” sometimes accompanied by an inscription (e.g., “Dig here”)(7):

Записано Новицьким від невідомого оповідача [Текст вперше надруковано у збірці Драгоманова]: ...як поїли розбійники куліш, повставали, помолились Богу, подякували і кажуть чабанам: отут, хлопці, шукайте гроший; тут, кажуть, на всхід сонця, біля могили, закопано грошей дуже багато: один лех з золотом, а другий з ломом. Приміти, кажуть на леху, що з грішми, лежать чотири каміня, на дверях як раз, зверх землі; на леху, де лом, нема приміти...

Collected by Novyts'kyi from an anonymous informant [first published in Dragomanov's collection]: [...After the brigands had eaten, they rose and praised the Lord, expressing gratitude to the shepherds and then told them: you lads, start digging here for the money; here, on the eastern edge of the burial mound, much money was hidden: one pit is full of gold, and the other one is full of pieces of disassembled golden jewelry. The signs revealing the treasure are four big rocks above the doors, which cover a pit filled with coins; and there is no sign above the pit with the pieces of broken jewelry...] [Dragomanov 1876: 228-229].

Krinichnaia category 3 stories about a “treasure” which is a funerary donation to the deceased have no equivalents in Cossack treasure legends. There are three possible reasons for this. First, it is possible that such texts existed, but were not found by folklore collectors or the author of this article. Another reason that at least partially contradicts the previous one might be the belief, shared by Christians, that the afterlife does not require placing materials, such as valuables, weapons and tools, into the grave. Though actual Cossacks could have been — and some, indeed, were — buried with valuables (e.g., crosses, rings, weapons), Ukrainian storytellers might have not known about this Cossack practice or might have not taken it into account, thus omitting this motif in their narratives. The third possible reason is that texts about burial donations could have merged with texts about Cossacks as guardians of hidden treasures and have lost their distinctiveness. These possible reasons require further research.

As for Krinichnaia category 4 legends, in which the treasure is portrayed as “real,” the corpus of Cossack treasure legends contains one fragment featuring memories of a person, who actually found some money. It is preceded by a legend about Cossack treasures, featuring the “remarkable longevity of culture heroes” motif:

Записано від Якова Руденького (8 серпня 1881 р.): Клади ховали запорожці, ляхи і турки; тут находили гроші всяких царів. У запорожців був такий звичай. Аще викопают льох, сховають гроші і питають: а хто ж їх буде стерегти? Як тіко який охочий обізвався — упхнут його в льох і замурують. І сидить козак 40 літ не пивші, не ївші, поки строк не вийде. Добре ж, як поїде кому передать гроші, а як ні, то оп'ять іде в льох на 40 год. Колись було страшно і ночувать на Хортиці: приходе запорожець і будить: 'ходім до мене, візьмеш гроші, вони судились тобі.' Хто послуха — піде і останеться замурованим 40 літ, а запорожець іде собі по миру... Тіко мало було охотників до таких грошей. Ховали гроші і запорожці — сидні без закляття; цих брать не страшно, і хто находив — робився хазайном і богатів... В Вознесенці були люди, шо гляди, ні з сього, ні з того розбагатів... Найбільше находили гроші в урочищі Сагайдачнім і на Хортиці, тіко попадались між нашими талярами турецькі і лядські, їх збували шинкарам. На своєму віку я найшов п'яні золоті, та нікому і не сказав.

Recorded from Iakiv Ruden'kyi (August 8, 1881): [Treasures were hidden by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Poles and the Turks; people here found the money of various rulers. The Zaporozhians had the following custom. When they dug a pit and hid money in there, they would ask: and who will be guarding it? As soon as a volunteer came up — other Cossacks would throw him in the pit and cover the entrance. And that Cossack would spend 40 years without food or drink until his term was over. It would be great if he found somebody to pass his duty on to, and if not, then he would go back for another forty years in that crypt. There was a time when it was frightening to spend a night on the island of Khortytsia: a Zaporozhian Cossack used to come to people and wake them up saying: "Follow me and I shall give you money. This money is destined for you." Those who accepted [that offer] would go— and stay immured for forty years and the Zaporozhian would wander the land... However, there were a few people who were eager for money. Some money was hidden by the Zaporozhians without any spells, so it was not frightening to take it. People who found that money became rich landowners... In the village of Voznesenka, there were people who became rich rather unexpectedly... Most of the money was found in the Sahaidachnyi ravine and on the island of Khortytsia, but among our thalers were coins from Poland and Turkey, and people were getting rid of those at the inns. Long ago I found such coins, but told nobody about them] [Novitskii 1997: 51].

The first part of this account deals with the "Cossacks as affluent people," "enchanted treasures" and the "remarkable longevity of culture heroes" motifs.(8) It might have been composed as a separate legend which was later combined with Ruden'kyi's personal memories of finding treasure (Krinichnaia, category 2).

International Motifs and Motifs Unique to Cossack Legends

Thus, we have seen that among the texts dedicated to “Cossack treasures” one can find three of the four categories identified by Krinichnaia and her colleagues [Krinichnaia 1987: 117]. The study of Cossack treasure legends also shows that they incorporate many fantastic motifs from the international repertoire. For example, the motif of a Cossack as the guardian of hidden treasure echoes the following motifs: “Remarkable longevity of culture heroes” (A 570), “Treasure pointed out by supernatural creature” (N 538), and “Captivity in the mound” (R 45) [Aarne; Thompson 1955a: 124; 1955b: 273], “Fearless person and his friends play cards in the church” (326 E), and “The dead person worries about his treasure” (326 J). These are found in Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian texts [Chistov 1979: 119]. On the other hand, the “remarkable longevity of culture heroes” motif found in legends about Cossack treasures, is a motif unique to the development of the Cossack theme in Ukrainian folklore.

A comparison of “Cossack” folktale types and motifs with their international counterparts offers us a better picture of the application of those types/motifs as well as showing how typical or original that application might be. Nevertheless, there is more to be learned from Cossack legends. In fact, the composers of legends about “Cossack treasures” reached a different and higher level of conceptualization regarding the very notion of “treasure,” even though this conceptualization is not always well articulated. What most likely occurred in the folk legends about Ukrainian Cossacks was the fusion of the idea of Cossack “material treasure” with the idea of Cossack “treasure of another kind.” These texts thus give rise to another original category called “Cossack lifestyle as treasure” or category 6.

Cossacks and their descendants viewed gold, silver, land and weapons not only as a material treasure, but also as symbols of their achievements and an attribute of their lifestyle. It is projected that the same applied to the privileges which came with the Cossack lifestyle, such as personal freedom and other liberties. At the time legends about Cossack treasure were being collected, this concept was yet to be fully developed in folk legends. However, there is ample evidence that, by the 19th century, all of this concept’s important elements were already in place.

First of all, in Ukrainian folk legends about Cossack treasure, this “treasure” is conceptualized as more than just precious metals. Such a

conceptualization represents the first step towards this new and broader notion of “treasure”:

Записано від Степана Штепи (28 грудня 1877 р.): Низче скелі Вошивої, де німецький вітряк, єсть Вербова балочка, вона на гору вийшла вилками, а посередені шпилік, на цьому шпиліку, кажуть, закопане запорозьке добро: золото, срібло, лом всякий, рушниці і пушки. Тут, кажуть, запорожці сховали скарб тоді, як москаль такував Січ.

Recorded from Stepan Shtepa (December 28, 1877): [Below the Vshyva cliff, where the German windmill now stands, there is the Verbova ravine, which in some places creeps onto that cliff, and there is an apex on that cliff, and in the middle of that apex, people say, Zaporozhian Cossacks hid their treasures: gold, silver, pieces of jewelry, guns and cannons. People also say that the Cossacks hid their treasures there when the Russians were attacking the Zaporozhian Sich] [Novitskii 1997: 48].

It is important to note that in this account, the treasure hidden by Cossacks is described as including “guns and cannons,” the weapons of the Cossacks and symbols of their special military status. These symbols, or “occupational tools,” are coupled with gold, silver and jewelry, the proceeds of raids and, perhaps, rewards received from various rulers for services provided by the Cossacks. All this “material treasure” is hidden by the Cossacks to deprive their enemies of a chance to acquire it.

In yet another account both the hidden treasure and the land which holds it are portrayed as synonyms of “Cossack treasure.” In this text Cossacks first buried their treasure in their land, later returning to it to die and be buried close to their hidden treasure:

Записано від Кузьми Лупая (19 лютого 1885 р.): На Хортицьким острові, біля Савутіної балки, єсть високий майдан: там гайдамаки сховали клад. Давно, бог его зна і коли, моему деже, під Уманью на четверо коней грошей і всякого добра і стали тікати; коли ось і погоня за ними біжить. З ними був дід колдовник. Шо ще стануть ляхи добігати, дід махне хусткою — і перед ними зробиться річка. Їдуть вони та й їдуть, коли опять погоня. Дід вдруге махне хусткою і стане ліс, шо й голови не просунути. Ляхи наткнуться — тай назад. Доїхали ті гайдамаки до Дніпра — і перевезлись на Хортицю. Чи довго вони жили тут, чи ні — сховали в майдані гроші і затоптали кінями. Після зруйнування Січі запорожці подалися під турка, а за ними посунули і гайдамаки. Стіко, кажуть, не жило їх там, а під старість умирать сюда вертались; так вернувся і той запорожець, шо оце я вам розкажую. Гайдамацьких грошей, кажуть, страшно брать: вони нечисті.

Recorded from Kuzma Lupai (February 19, 1885): [On the island of Khortytsia, near the ravine of Savuta, there is a high clearing: the

Haidamaky(9) hid their treasures there. Long ago, God knows when, [?] they took booty near the town of Uman and put money and other valuables on four horses and began to flee; and a pursuit party was closing in on them. Among those brigands was an old man— a sorcerer. As soon as the Poles were closing in, the old man waved his kerchief— and a river appeared before the Poles. The brigands were riding and riding, again the pursuers drew near. The old man waved his kerchief again and a dense forest emerged, so dense that one could not stick his head between the trees. The Poles came upon it and fell back. The Haidamaky rode towards the river Dnipro and crossed over to the island of Khortytsia. There is no telling how long they lived there, but they hid money in the clearing and rode horses over to that site. After the demolition of the Sich, the Zaporozhians went under Turkish protection, and the Haidamaky followed them. They returned in their old age to die in their native land; and the Zaporozhian Cossack that I have been telling you about, returned as well. People do not dare take the Haidamaky's money: it is unclean] [Novitskii 1997: 47].

In the account by Klym Belik, the concept of “native” land is expanded to mean Cossack land and is portrayed also as Christian and “sacred”:

Записано від Кліма Белика [вперше надруковано Кулішем у 1856-57 рр.]: Козаки підь Мазепою змінили та й пішли підь Турка. Турокъ давъ імь землю и все. Коли жь умерь козакъ, а земля й викинула; умерь другий — и другого викинула, третій — викинула й // третего. Такъ вони тоді: ‘Эй, братці сердечний! Вернімось, бо насъ тутъ и земля не приймає.’ А Царь Петро вже зазиває. ‘Вернітця,’ каже, ‘не буде вамъ ніякої кари, ні упоминку.’ Такъ вони й вернулись. То їхавъ разь батько поузъ Савурь-Могилу, а тамъ великі шляхи йдуть: одинь у Московщину, а другий у нашу сторону. То міжъ тими шляхами, коло тії Савурь-Могили камінь великий лежить. А зъ нимъ ходивъ тоді на Дінь Василь Куценко, письменний. Такъ батько каже: ‘Иди, лишь, Василю, прочитай, що на тімь камені написано.’ А той пішовъ та й прочитавъ: ‘Проклять, проклять, проклять, хто буде одъ Запорозцівъ одбіратъ землю, поки світъ сонця!’ Государь таке закляттє положивъ.

Recorded from Klym Belik [first published by Kulish in 1856-57]: [During the reign of Hetman Ivan Mazepa the Cossacks betrayed the Russian Tsar and took refuge under Turkish rule. The Turks allotted them land and everything needed to settle in a new land. When a Cossack died, the land would not take him; when a second one died— the land would not take him, too, and the third one as well. So, the Cossacks said: “O, dear brethren! Let us return to Christian land for here the pagan land does not accept us in peace.”

And Peter the Tsar started calling them: “Come back,” he said, “and you will suffer neither punishment nor mention of your guilt.” So, they returned. Once my father was riding near the Tomb of Savur and over there great highways

stretch before you: one leads to the Muscovite land, and the other one leads to our land.

So, between those highways lies a huge piece of rock. And in his trip to the Don [Cossack land,] my father had a companion who could read, Vasyl Kutsenko. So, my father told him: “Vasyl, go and read to me what is written on that rock.” Vasyl did as he was told and read the following: “Damned, damned, damned will be the one, who plots to take the land from the Cossacks as long as the sun shines there!” A sovereign placed this spell [on the Cossack land]... [Kulish 1994 (1856-57): 156-157].

Motifs such as “land as treasure” and “Cossack privileges as treasure” are widespread in Ukrainian folk legends about Cossacks. This fact supports the notion of “Cossack treasure” in folklore as more complex than references to “hidden material treasure” in international folklore, as illustrated by Krinichnaia’s typology. Indeed, legends about Cossacks include references to Cossack lands, Cossack liberties, and other privileges, portraying these as “treasure” in their own right.

For example, in an account by Dmytro Bykovs’kyi there are references regarding Cossacks living on formerly desolate lands and then reclaiming land from the Turks by military force:

Записано від Дмитра Биковського (12 червня 1894 р.): ...Стала ходити чутка, що живуть десь запорожці — таке військо, що й не приступиш. Орудував ними кошовий-характерник. Земля тоді була дикою, кишів звір, гад та птиця. Жили так запорожці, поки одвоювали у турка землю: од Орілі та до моря шириною, од Бога-річки та до “Горілого пня” довжиною...

Recorded from Dmytro Bykovs’kyi (June 12, 1894): [...The rumors spread that somewhere there lived Zaporozhians — an army that could not be overwhelmed. They were led by a Chieftain, who himself was a kharakternyk.(10)

Back then the land was unattended, abundant in beasts, serpents and birds. The Zaporozhians had been living over there before they reclaimed the following lands from the Turks: from the river of Oril down to the sea in width, and from the river of Boh to the “Burnt Trunk” in length... [Novitskii 1991: 87-88].

What I find very important in this text is that the oral tradition preserved the exact borders of the old Cossack lands, long annexed by the Russian imperial government. In yet another account by Bykovs’kyi, the informant described how once upon a time the humbled Tsar had issued the document which proved land ownership by the Cossacks: “...He (the Tsar — *R. S.*) gave the requested document to the Cossacks which defined the boundaries of the Cossack land as one hundred miles

above and one hundred miles below the rapids...”[Novitskii 1991: 88-89].

The next account comes from Osyp Shut’ who establishes a connection between “land” and “freedom”:

Записано від Йосипа Шутя (14 вересня 1888 р.): ...спершу запорожці звалися киями, і не тут жили, а десь у лісах, під Києвом. Киями звалися від того, що ходили на розбій з кийками. Якийсь, кажуть, князь Амлин чи що, став забирати їх в своє військо і сказав: ‘Як допоможете мені перемогти турка — дам вам степи, балки, байраки і весь низ Дніпра: будете жити вільно.’ Зібралися вони всі, скільки було, і звоювали турка. Амлин тоді дав їм Дніпро і степ нижче порогів, і стали вони запорожцями. Було в них сорок куренів і сорок тисяч війська, та Катерина зігнула і віддала землю німцям...

Recorded from Osyp Shut’ (September 14, 1888): [...from the outset, Zaporozhians had been known as Kyui and did not live here, but somewhere in the woods near Kyiv. They were called Kyui because they committed acts of robbery armed with wooden poles (kyi). People say that some prince Amlin, or something, began to call them to join his army and told them: “If you assist me in overcoming the Turks — then I shall give you the steppes, ravines and woods and the entire land in the low waters of the Dnipro: you will live as free men over there.” So, they assembled everybody they could and overwhelmed the Turks on the battlefield. Upon this victory, Amlin gave them Dnipro and steppe below the rapids and they became known as Zaporozhians. They had forty regiments and a forty thousand-strong army, but Tsarina Kateryna chased them away and gave away their lands to the Germans...] [Novitskii 1991: 89-90].

It is likely that this account establishes parity between the notions of landownership and personal freedom and proves that the informants may indeed have viewed it as a significant element in the Cossack system of values. Similar to material treasure of another kind (gold, silver and the like), land and personal freedom could be achieved in battle, but could also be lost under various precarious circumstances, e.g., war and betrayal. It is interesting that this account makes reference to a historical precedent, the liquidation of the Cossack Host during the reign of Catherine II of Russia.

It is possible to affirm with a great degree of certainty that, besides the classic types and “treasure” motifs found in international folklore, folk prose about Ukrainian Cossacks introduces an original “lifestyle as a treasure” motif category. There is considerable scholarly potential for studying this topic further since it occupies an important place in Ukrainian folklore and potentially holds a key to the people’s mentality and their value system.

In conclusion, informants and their audience who lived on old Cossack lands continued taking an interest in the Cossacks. They perceived them as brave, freedom-loving, rich, enigmatic people and even sorcerers. These views took the form, in part, of treasure legends. Even though certain types and motifs found in these Ukrainian treasure legends are similar to the types and motifs in international folk legends, there are also original plots and ideas, related to how Ukrainians must have perceived Cossack life. Particularly notable are the original “remarkable longevity of culture heroes” and “treasure of another kind” tale types and motifs. These appear to be unique to the “Cossack treasure” legends.

The Cossacks’ supernatural powers are underscored by motifs of enchantment and immortality, introduced in the legends. The question of whether those Cossack features were held to be true remains open. However, those features were likely not perceived as absolutely improbable. The fact that “historical” Cossacks were entitled to various privileges for their service finds its reflection in Ukrainian folk legends as well. The ideas of Cossack service to the honorable cause of defending the land from enemies or service to a ruler and reward for their service merge into an important theme, frequently overshadowing other topics.

As for the Cossack “treasure of other kind” motif, it goes far beyond the notion of treasure in its simple sense, meaning something material and with monetary value. According to the idea conveyed by folk legends, the notion of “Cossack treasure” includes not only proceeds from their raids and rewards from rulers (money, weapons and even land ownership), but also the privilege of free living and honorable service. In my opinion, this is representative of how people in 19th century Ukraine tended to view Cossacks and their treasure.

NOTES

1 The Zaporozhian Cossack Host (Військо Запорозьке низове) was the original base of this rebellion. Its main encampment and administrative center was known as “Zaporoz’ka Sich” (Запорозька Січ). See Subtelny, Orest and Vytanovych, Ivan. 1984. “Cossacks,” *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, ed. by Volodymyr Kubijovyč. Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press. V. 1, pp. 593-594.

2 For example, in 1753 Cossacks received 4,660 silver rubles as an allowance for military service from Moscow; in 1773 Cossacks received 7,415 silver rubles worth in copper coins from the same source. See Evarnitskii, 1990[1892]. *История запорожских казаков* [The History of Zaporozhian Cossacks]. СПб: Тип. Скороходова; перевод. Київ: Наукова думка. Т. 1, pp. 446-447. Considerable amounts of money were also obtained through military raids (however, the number of those raids dropped significantly during the last decades of the Cossack Host's existence), and trade and taxation of non-Cossack subjects of the Host. See Дмитрий Эварницкий, *История запорожских казаков*, Т. 1, pp. 391-393, 411-427.

3 In some cases, I identify a "tale type" by its central motif, indicating that this particular motif also gives the "tale type" its name. For instance, "remarkable longevity of culture heroes" can be a folklore motif; however, once it is found in a number of texts with a similar plot, I assign those texts to a "remarkable longevity of culture heroes" tale type.

4 Regarding the motif "Culture hero still lives" (A 570) see Aarne-Thompson, *Motif-Index*, V. 1, p. 124.

5 Also, see the motifs "Captivity in the mound" (R 45) and "Treasure pointed out by supernatural creature" (N 538) in Aarne-Thompson, *Motif-Index*, V. 5, pp. 113, 273.

6 For instance, in yet another variant collected by Iakiv Novyts'kyi and published in Drahomanov's collection (1876), the following description of a hiding place is given: "On [the island of] Khortytsia, near the ravine of Shantseva, there is a Red Oak which is tall and has many branches; it is by far the oldest and the thickest [oak tree around]... [People] say that there are Zaporozhian [Cossacks'] treasures hidden beneath this oak tree."

7 For this motif's use in international folklore see the motif N 535 in Aarne-Thompson, *Motif-Index*, V. 5, 115. Also see Неонила Криничная, *Русская народная историческая проза*, pp. 111-112.

8 See the types 650-699 "Supernatural power or knowledge" in *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*. Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (FF Communications № 3), trans. and enlarged by Stith Thompson, 2nd ed. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1961, pp. 225-239. For the "remarkable longevity of culture heroes" see the motif A 564 in Aarne-Thompson, *Motif-Index*, V. 1, p. 124.

9 Haidamaky were brigands and freedom-fighters in the 18th-century central and southern Ukraine, persecuted by both Polish and Russian authorities. Haidamaky were often associated with Cossacks both in history and folklore.

10 Kharakternyk (характерник) is sometimes translated as “sorcerer” (чаклун, чарівник). See “Характерник,” *Словник української мови* [A Dictionary of Ukrainian Language], ред. С. Головащук. Київ: Наукова думка, 1980. In this work I expand the meaning of this term to the “invincible warrior-sorcerer,” considering other roles/actions performed typically by kharakternyk in Ukrainian legends.

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