DOI 10.23947/2414-1143-2022-30-2-52-59 UDC 398.8

## GENDER ASPECT OF THE COSSACKS' SONG TRADITIONS OF KUBAN AND STAVROPOL TERRITORY

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The authors investigate the peculiarities of gender in the folklore of the Cossacks of the Kuban region and the Stavropol Province, analyzing the songs of the Cossacks, taking into account male and female speech-making peculiarities. The relevance of the research lies in the necessity of more detailed study of the Kuban and Stavropol Cossack song traditions as a linguistic group, interaction with which would provide valuable information for illumination of the current folklore of the regional Cossack group in the historical space of the southern provinces of the Russian Empire. The gender aspect in the speech-making of the Cossacks of the Stavropol Province was especially relevant due to the fact that the majority of the population came from immigrants from other provinces, where female song traditions were developed. The gender potential of the songs of the settlers of Volga province is especially worth mentioning, where the moral tunes were widespread in common, family songs with borrowing of characteristic elements of marching songs. The source base of the study is represented by ethnographic and written types of historical sources, among which the most valuable are ethnographic expeditions of L.A. Jacoby and A.D. Bigdai, as well as the works of contemporary historians and governors of Stavropol. Within the framework of this study, we use a set of special-historical and linguistic methods. The results of the study can be used as a theoretical basis for the creation within the framework of increasing the level of intercultural communication between the Cossack communities in the North Caucasus Federal District, as well as for the purpose of educational activities on the culture of Krasnodar territory and Stavropol territory.

Key words: Kuban, Stavropol, gender, folklore, song, tradition, everyday motive.

## [О.С. Макарова, С.А. Молчаненко, А.С. Гончаров Гендерный аспект песенных традиций казаков Кубани и Ставрополья]

Авторы исследуют особенности гендерной стороны в фольклоре казаков Кубанской области и Ставропольской губернии, анализируя песни казаков с учетом мужских и женских речетворческих особенностей. Актуальность исследования заключается в необходимости более детального изучения песенных традиций казаков Кубани и Ставрополья как языковой группы, взаимодействие с которой предоставит ценные сведения для освещения актуального фольклора региональной казачьей группы в историческом пространстве южных губерний Российской империи. Гендерный аспект в речетворчестве казаков Ставропольской губернии был особенно актуален в связи с тем, что основная часть населения складывалась из переселенцев других губерний, где были развиты женские песенные традиции. Особенно стоит выделить гендерный потенциал песен переселенок Волжской губернии, где были распространены нравственные напевы в бытовых, семейно-бытовых песнях с заимствованием характерных элементов походных песен. Источниковая база исследования представлена этнографическим и письменным типами исторических источников, среди которых наибольшую ценность представляют этнографические экспедиции Л.А. Якоби и А.Д. Бигдая, а также труды историков-современников и ставропольских губернаторов. В рамках данного исследования мы используем комплекс специально-исторических и лингвистических методов. Результаты исследования можно использовать в качестве теоретической базы при создании в рамках повышения уровня межкультурной коммуникации между казачьими сообщества на территории СКФО, а также с целью проведения воспитательных мероприятий по культуре Краснодарского края и Ставропольского края.

Ключевые слова: Кубань, Ставрополье, гендер, фольклор, песня, традиция, бытовой мотив.

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When the Stavropol and Kuban provinces were settled by the Black Sea Cossacks, former Zaporozhians, and the Don habitant (descendants of runaway peasants), the folklore of the local population began to include all new cultural forms of speech-making [15]. Historically, the close connection of Cossack and peasant song traditions has caused the actualization of everyday life, family motifs and worldly elements in the structure of folk art. Service officers and Cossacks who married peasant women, daughters and sisters of highlanders, Nogaians, Greeks and Armenians, as well as captive Turks settled in Stavropol region [14]. In the last quarter of the 18th century, due to the ethno-cultural diversity, the linguo-cultural basis of the military and historical songs is formed. Of course, one should also take into account the intercultural communication of the highlanders, brodniks and Russian peasants on the borders of the Tmutarakan princedom, which influenced the early emergence of the South Russian accents from the Old Russian speech pattern [13].

Social facts about resettlement from stanitsas and villages of Volga province were recorded by I. Biryukov in the appendix of "Terskiye Vedomosti" reflecting also a special folklore structure of songs, peculiar to the peasantry rather than to the Cossacks [8]. This is indicated, for example, by the clearly artificial insertions of marching scenes. The songs of the Stavropol Cossacks contain mentions of Volga trips to Kuban [2]. The speech-making of the Cossacks is revealed through the recreation of a historical event (a campaign) with the use of household motifs typical of the Stavropol inhabitants:

«Так шли – то, прошли Волжские казаки: Шли они из походу, Из того ли походу Со реченьки со Кубани...» [3].

A number of other aspects connected with women's Cossack worldview and perception of the world are present in the speech-making of Baklanovskaya village (Volga and Kuban themes). Among a number of variants and invariants of the song "Down Along Mother, Along the Volga" we can single out some of those that stand out for their lexical-semantic and stylistic features [3].

Invariant:

«Вниз по матушке было, по Волге, ой, По широкому было ши да по раздолью, Разыгралася на море ши да невзгодушка...»

The first variant (Volga):

«Ой по Волге-то, вниз, по матушке, По широкому, ой, да по раздолью Разыгралась-то на море да невзгодушка...» [3]. The second variant (Kuban):

«Вниз по матушке было, по Волге, ой, По раздолью, по широкому было ши Разыгралася на море ши невзгодушка...» [1].

The third variant (Kuban-Stavropol):

«Вниз по Волге было, вниз по матушке, По широкому раздолью было ши, На море разыгралася скорбь, невзгодушка...» [12].

On the example of the third variant, created in Stavropol, we see especially prominent intrasyllabic chants of the Cossacks of Stavropol (broad chants), linguistic constructions and, in particular, the concept "grief", point to the female gender role in the formation of the song. The combination of a chant with a compact-sounding chant in a chest register is a secondary feature [16]. The samples of the first and second variants, which are quite close to the whole structure of the invariant, indicate insignificant differences, the male gender role consisted in the preservation of stylistics and semantics: It was important for the Cossacks to preserve and transmit not cultural or axiological concepts, but toponymic and historical concepts through which the folk axiology is revealed. The female role in folklore allows us to talk about the restorative function through the actualization of everyday life, family motifs [4].

In the post-reform period of the 1960s and 1970s. Stavropol Cossack folklore continued to develop within the framework of men's song traditions. G.N. Prozritelev wrote that at this time songs about famous atamans became particularly popular in the Stavropol Territory. Thus, many marching, historical songs include narrative elements about the personalities of Stepan Razin and Yemelyan Pugachev [6].

The traditional chants and recitatives are divided into masculine and feminine aspects: The men's songs actualise the Razinsky cycle with its characteristic Stavropol Cossack household description, while the women's songs sound motives of consolidation and integration of various Cossack groups. As a rule, the Cossacks, who had no time to oversee the work of the peasants during the military campaigns, left the supervision to their wives. This predetermined that the synthesis of Cossack and peasant folklore in the Stavropol Province was connected specifically with female singing, speech-making and the female type of songs [6].

Song lyrics in the 70s also has a pronounced gender aspect. In the Stavropol Province, folklorist L.A. Yakobi links cultural concepts to women's songs, which reflect the Cossack's special inner world, her world view, and her worries about her husband, who always risked his life in military service:

«Ой, да канареечка, Моя канарейка, Спой, да пропой, Пропой, моя канарейка, Ой да, пропой песенку, Али ты мою. Ой, да ваши мужья Служат за Кавказом, В чужедальней, Дальней стороне...» [10]. The repertoire of women's ensembles of Stavropol in the 19<sup>th</sup> century contained mostly songs of everyday life or neutral content, with dance motifs. As a rule, the description of everyday life was supplemented with the content of family relationships, women's position in the village or stanitsa, honouring their husbands or stanitsa elders.

As an example, a song from the village of Rasshevatskaya shows a picture of the world of a Cossack woman who lived in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The hard life during her youth is revealed in the verse, showing the experiences of a woman who finds herself in a new unfamiliar social environment after marriage. Apparently, one element of the household was passed on due to the prevalence of such cases in neighboring families:

«Батько-свет,
Ой ты, Батько-свет,
Заслонил весь
Белый свет,
А как матушка заря
Рано замуж отдала.
На чужую сторону,
У большую семью...» [9].

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century representatives of the first cultural stratum accumulated new concepts, axiological forms of words, speech patterns. Due to the trade of the Stavropol Province with the Black Sea region, the Cossacks were interested in studying the dialect of the Black Sea and the Cossacks. This contributed to the mass inclusion of Ukrainisms into folklore. In the mid-nineteenth century the song traditions of the Zaporozhye Cossacks are adapted: "The girl cried, sobbed", "Zozulia", "Wind dme do te", "Three heroes left", "The boy goes on a march", "You not my mother", "Pobachit", "Came to us guests", "Chi native-service", "Black khmara" [5].

As an example of borrowed song traditions in the folklore of the Cossacks of Stavropol Region one can mention an old song of Zaporozhye Cossacks 'Battle of Yellow Waters', which was actualized in the middle of the 19th century:

«Чи не той то хміль, Що коло тичин в'ється? Ой, той то Хмельницький, Що з ляхами бьється. Чи не той то хміль, Що по пиві грає?.. Ой, той то Хмельницький...» [5].

Typical motives of southern provinces were reflected in the speech of women-cossacks from poor families and peasant women, who got into prosperous Cossack families, where not all members of the family in law felt sympathy for the bride. Unjustified social expectations caused negativization, which in one way or another manifested itself in domestic scenes. This led to the consolidation of the most significant emotional concepts in the speech-making and then in the song traditions:

«Отдавали молоду во чужую сторону, Во чужую сторону, не в согласную семью. Вот и свекор говорит: "К нам ведмедицу ведут", А свекровья говорит: "К нам люту змею ведут", А диверья говорят: "К нам непряху ведут", А золовки говорят: "К нам неряху ведут!" Муж на лавочке сидит, на меня косо глядит…» [12].

It is fair to say that most of the military-household and marching songs of the Cossacks of the Stavropol and Kuban regions have the feature of appealing directly to the personality of the reader or listener (whereas, for example, Don and Terek songs appeal more to the "folk spirit", to the collective or to a cultural community). By reducing the distance between the author and the reader or listener, apperception is faster, and the products of songwriting associated with past events are more vividly reflected in the linguistic consciousness:

«Слушай, казачок, Как все было давеча... Оседлавши коня, Быстрого, быстрого, Я помчался на бой, Полетел легче сокола...» [12].

The active type of speech-making unites all the lyrical songs and tunes, with all the variety of themes. Characteristic of the historical formation of Stavropol Cossack folklore was the theme of overcoming household, family and everyday life difficulties. Decisive and courageous denouements, peculiar to Terek folklore, are passed on to the folklore of the Stavropol Cossacks, both female and male. Thus, for example, we can cite several excerpts from songs from the village of Kislovodskaya, which were later adapted by the people of Stavropol:

«Хоть косися ты, А хоть и не косися, Я тебя уж не боюсь! Сама смелая казачка, Сама себе я на уме...».

An example of this is a passage from the same song:
 «Уж я мужнину грозу
 В узелочек завяжу,
 В уголочек положу,
 А сама гулять пойду...» [11].

It is fair to note that speech-making and folklore were the means of realization of the internal motives and attitudes, on their basis we can distinguish a representation of the language picture of the world, but, taking into account the extant sources, we cannot restore the historical past by taking folklore as the main sources, because the real foundations of the Cossack family never gave such freedom to a woman not only in pre-revolutionary Russia, but also in the time of the young Soviet Republic formation, when the women of the Southern Russian villages received in 1918-1924 relative freedom of speech and action [7].

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries there are motives of "long parting" in women's song traditions, which convey the experiences of the parting of the Cossack woman with a serving Cossack. L.A. Jakobi points out that it was these motifs that formed the basis of the ballad's dissemination as a new genre for the Cossacks of Stavropol Territory. Then the picture of the

woman's world included new emotional concepts, and the psychological situation in domestic scenes received new dramatic elements [11].

As an example, one can take an excerpt from the song "The Dragoon Went" ("Soldiers Were Going"):

«Мать сына просила: "Прости, сын, жену". "Тебя, мать, прощаю, жену — никогда!" Заблестела сабля во правой руке, Скатилась головушка с неверной жены…» [11].

The hero of the ballad is a serving Cossack (soldier) who returns home after serving his time. What is interesting in terms of folklore is that the fidelity of the beloved woman is at the center of the narrative. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the harshness towards an unfaithful woman, typical for Tersk folklore, was already fully actualized in the folklore of the Cossacks of Stavropol [6; 9]. The plot of this song tells about a meeting of a Cossack with his mother, who did not recognize him, and about a murder of his unfaithful wife at his mother's slander. Dramatic tension is enhanced through direct speech and emotional concepts. The representation of the soldier's world in the ballad genre is a unique phenomenon for the speech-making of the Stavropol Cossacks, whose emergence was caused by the increasing role of women in the everyday life of villages and stanitsas of Stavropol Territory.

So, in the second half of the 19th century the gender aspect in the speech-making and folklore of the Stavropol Cossacks becomes significant in the formation of new family motifs. The worldly elements of the songs stand out against the background of typical everyday life and landscape songs. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>- beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century women's tunes were included into the repertoire of southern, south-eastern villages' ensembles. The songs of the Cossacks of Stavropol and Kuban provinces reflected the picture of the world of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a special way of life, structure of everyday life and routine. The Caucasian War gradually incorporated elements of war songs in everyday life motifs. Analysis of the most popular works allows us to conclude that the Kuban, Kuban-Zaporozhian folk poetry and actual folklore of the Cossacks of Stavropol in the period under study were saturated with deep images. The size, rhymes of the Cossack song are simple and uncomplicated. But all this gives it an extraordinary versatility of form, elevating it to the height of actual folklore and real poetry.

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18 May, 2022