



For references:

Yarovoj, Andrey. (2019) "Don Cossack Ethnosport: From Cossack Traditional Games to Cossack Show". *International Journal of Ethnosport and Traditional Games*, 2 (2), 48–62. DOI: <https://www.doi.org/10.34685/HI.2020.70.47.004>

DON COSSACK ETHNOSPORT: FROM COSSACK TRADITIONAL GAMES TO COSSACK SHOW

Andrey Yarovoj

Doctor of Cultural Studies, ORCID: 0000-0002-7312-0519

Azov-Black Sea Engineering Institute, Zernograd;

President of a Regional Public Organization

"Federation of Cossack Martial Arts – Shermitsy";

E-mail: jarovoj2005@yandex.ru

RUSSIA

Abstract

This article will examine the evolution of Cossack traditional games. First, a brief reference will be given on what the Don Cossack are in ethnic terms today, their numbers and how Soviet power influenced them. The concept of "culture of neo-Cossack" will be proposed. Particular attention is paid to the traditional sports of the Cossack, their substantial side, and ritual significance. It will be shown how, with the regulation of Cossack life, the competitions took on an increasingly paramilitary form, turning from all-Russian holidays of the people calendar into military (regimental and camp) exercises. In the description of the programme of traditional games, special attention is paid to equestrian competitions. After the events connected with the revolutionary upheavals, the Civil War and the military intervention of 1918–1922, and the subsequent process of dissolving, and, according to some estimates, the genocide of the Don Cossack, the degradation of competitive culture began, it went into the category of children's games and collective memory, the manifestation of which could be observed only at the level of closely related relations. In the Soviet period (in 1936), a partial rehabilitation of the Cossack took place, but at that time, traditional culture began to undergo changes associated with a radical change in lifestyle and everyday life – collective farm construction began, a cultural revolution took place. After the collapse of the USSR in the 1990s the process of the revival of the Cossack begins, which led to new forms of competition, often having nothing to do with traditional games, they served as indicative imitations of Shermitsy. In the work, special attention is paid to the symbolic side of the Cossack competitions, their role in the formation of the ethnic worldview and the preservation of ethnomotricité.

Key words: Don Cossack, ethnosport, ethnomotricité, neo-Cossack, Shermitsy, traditional sports and games.



Changes in Russian society lead to the disappearance and substitution of the traditional competitive culture of the Don Cossack. It is enough to point out the spread of the phenomenon of “Cossack” in many regions of the Russian Federation, which researchers are increasingly calling “neo-Cossack”, because it comes down to military-patriotic education and folklore performances. Lack of quality forms new patterns of behavior, physical activity, political and ideological orientation, which causes concern in the local communities of the Cossack of Don, Kuban, Urals and Terek, which still retain their original ethnic identity.

The object of our study was the traditional sports and games (TSG) of the Don Cossack in order to determine the main characteristics of these competitive practices and to formulate a basic model for solving the question of the authenticity of their modern representations. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to solve the following problems: firstly, to determine concept that adequately reflect the subject of research; secondly, to illuminate the issue of the genesis of the phenomenon; thirdly, to highlight and highlight the stages of development of competitions – from their inception to the present, in order to indicate the factors that have had a significant impact on their transformation, prosperity and degradation.

The source base of our study includes field materials collected by the author from 1994 to 2018 on the territory of the Lower and Middle Don and in the Zadonje. Memoirs of the participants of the competitions, whose socialization occurred at the end of the XIX – beginning of the XX centuries, previously published by the author in the materials of a number of conferences devoted to the studies of traditional Cossack culture¹. Field materials and a review of sources on competitive traditions were included in the collection “Code of monuments of the competitive culture of the peoples of the South of Russia”, published as part of the project “Formation of a database for creating a socio-cultural network “Traditions of the competitive culture of the peoples of the South of Russia”². Field material was collected on expedition trips by means of questionnaires and interviews, and includes the recording of horse and foot competitions, which were among the Cossack in the first half of the 20th century, as well as TSG of the Soviet period³.

Archival materials of the State Archive of the Rostov Region contain information about the holidays held in the 19th century and recorded both in periodicals and in memoirs of the local population. The archive contains the work of Kh.I. Popova, E.N. Katelnikova, V.D. Sukhorukova, I.I. Krasnova, P.N. Krasnova, I.S. Ulyanov, which describes TSG, indicates the place and dates of their holding, gives an assessment of their role in public life.

Literary sources containing information about TSG are contained in the works

¹ Yarovoj, A.V. Sovremennye kazach'i etnosportivnye sostyazaniya: opyt vozrozhdeniya shermicii // Itogi fol'klorno-etnograficheskikh issledovanij etnicheskoj kul'tury kazach'ih grupp Rossii za 2011-2012 gg. Dikarevskie chteniya (17): materialy Vserossijskoj nauchnoj konferencii, Zernograd, 11-13 oktyabrya 2013 g. Krasnodar: OOO RIC «Mir Kubani», 2014.

² Yarovoj, A.V. Tradicii sostyazatel'noj kul'tury donsogo kazachestva, zapisannye so slov informatorov v stanicah Rostovskoj oblasti // Svod pamyatnikov sostyazatel'noj kul'tury narodov Yuga Rossii. Sbornik materialov. Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo Yuzhnogo federal'nogo universiteta, 2012.

³ Yarovoj, A.V. Voinskaya kul'tura donsogo kazachestva: tradiciya i sovremennost' // Vojna i voennaya sluzhba v voinskih kul'turah Yuga Rossii. Materialy pervoj mezhvuzovskoj konferencii «Tokarevskie chteniya». Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo NMC «Logos», 2011.



of F.D. Kryukova, D.I. Petrova (Biryuka), M.A. Sholokhov, A.N. Skripova and others. Here you can find an artistic description of fist-fighting, horse riding and equestrian competitions, wrestling, and various original plays.

Scientific works on the subject of research, while units. Wrestling and fist-fighting among the Cossack were considered in the context of the military competitive games of Russian people⁴, they are mentioned in the excellent study of Boris Gorbunov, which currently requires clarification in the field of statistical data on the Cossack regions of Russia, and especially the Don Cossack Army⁵. The features of Cossack TSG are paid attention by modern researchers, regarding the Kuban and Orenburg Cossack⁶.

Mention of Don Cossacks TSG is found in descriptions of calendar holidays, education systems and military training, education systems and military training⁷, as well as in studies of the social history of Don towns and their communities⁸. Stands apart the work of A.V. Chernaya, who systematized TSG of the Don population, based on materials from the second half of the 20th century with an excursion into the written sources of the XIX century⁹. A description of the functions and values of fist-fighting of the Don based on studies of the Upper Don tradition is contained in the work of M.A. Ryblova¹⁰. In addition to this work, the adversarial traditions of the Don people were no longer investigated as an independent subject of consideration; there is only one more modern study by T.S. Rudichenko, in which the contemporary problems of the traditional culture of the Don are studied¹¹.

These research objectives are related to the author's hypothesis, which can be

⁴ Novoselov, N. P. Voennye igry russkogo naroda i ih otnoshenie k epohe voennoj demokratii: dis...kand. ist. nauk. M., 1949; Aleksandrov A.V. Proiskhozhdenie russkoj poyasnoj bor'by v Sibiri // Problemy istorii filologii i kul'tury 4(30). Magnitogorsk, Izd-vo FGBOU VO «MGTU im. G.I. Nosova», 2010.

⁵ Gorbunov, B. V. Tradicionnye rukopashnye sostyazaniya v narodnoj kul'ture vostochnyh slavyan XIX — nachala XX vv.: Ist.-etnogr. issled. M.: RAN, Institut etnologii i antropologii im. N. N. Mikluho-Maklaya, 1997.

⁶ Aleksandrov, S.G. Fizicheskoe vospitanie detej i molodezhi kubanskogo kazachestva (ser.XIX-nach.HKH vv): Istoriko-etnograficheskij ocherk. Krasnodar: KGAFK, 1999; Pechnyak, V.A. Prostranstvo sostyazatel'nosti v kul'ture orenburgskih kazakov (po materialam etnoekspedicii 2012 g.) // Problemy istorii filologii i kul'tury 3(41). Izd-vo FGBOU VO «MGTU im. G.I. Nosova», Magnitogorsk, 2013.

⁷ Astapenko, G.D. Byt, obychai, obryady i prazdniki donskih kazakov XVII – XIX vv. Batajsk: Batajskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 2002; Ryblova, M.A. Kalendarnye prazdniki donskih kazakov. Volgograd: Izd-vo VolGU, 2016.

⁸ Astapenko, M.P.; Astapenko, E.M. Istorija kazach'ih kladbishch i voinskih zahoronenij goroda Cherkasska – stanicy Staroherkasskoj XVII–XXI vekov. Rostov-na-Donu: OOO «Mini Tajp», 2018; Bronevskij, V. Istorija donskogo vojska, opisanie Donskoj zemli i Kavkazskih mineral'nyh vod. SPb., Tipogr. Ekspedicii zagotovleniya gosudarstvennyh bumag, 1834; Korolev, V.N. Donskie kazach'i gorodki. Novoherkassk: Donchak, 2011.

⁹ Chernaya, A.V. Tradicionnye igry Dona: etnopsihologicheskij fenomen. Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo RGPU, 2003.

¹⁰ Ryblova, M.A. Kulachnye boi u donskih kazakov // Itogi fol'klorno-etnograficheskij issledovanij etnicheskij kul'tur Severo-Zapadnogo Kavkaza za 2000 god. Dikarevskie chteniya (7). Krasnodar: OOO RIC «Mir Kubani», 2001.

¹¹ Rudichenko T.S. Kul'turnye tradicii donskogo kazachestva v social'nom diskurse (konec XX nachalo XXI veka) // Yuzhno-rossijskij muzykal'nyj al'manah, №2, 2010.



formulated as follows: ethnosport competitions evolve from traditional games that are part of the rite to sports games of the postmodern that inherit the name, but no longer have the contents of the rite and characteristic signs of ethnomotricité. In this process of evolution, the following stages can be distinguished:

- **Cossack Traditional Games**, reflecting the system of adaptation to natural and historical circumstances, traditionally they are satisfied with the Don Cossack Army for military training;
- **Cossack Show**, modern Cossack competitions and festivals that are not related to tradition, which are an imitation or fake tradition.

The research methodology includes the author's concept of agonal culture, which includes the culture of the Don Cossack, understood as a special kind of social communication, containing standards of social actions and forming the value orientation of the participating individuals¹². Ethnosport theory of Alexey Kylasov¹³ was used as the main approach to the study, as well as proposed by him together with Valery Rastorguev provision on the process of commoditization of TSG – depersonalization under the influence of legislatively established standards in the organization of cultural and sports events¹⁴. An important decision in the comparative analysis was the study of Axel Köhler, who proposed a methodology for the analysis of the Scottish Highland Games and the Swiss Unshpunnenfest¹⁵. In the study of approaches to the study of TSG, the dichotomous method was used - a theoretical and praxiological measurement proposed by Kylasov¹⁶.

Don Cossack and neo-Cossack

By the beginning of the XX century in Russia there were eleven Cossack troops, the most numerous of which was the Don Army¹⁷. The Don Cossack represented an ethnic community, on the origin of which various theories are put forward: Turkic, Slavic, Circassian, runaway peoples¹⁸. In this case, the Cossack themselves consider themselves either as an independent people, which is typical for the Don people living in the Lower Don, or as part of the Russian (Great Russian) people, which is more typical for the Cossack of the Upper Don¹⁹. Don people speak a special dialect related to South Russian dialects and having particularities in phonetics, vocabulary, and

¹² Yarovoj, A.V. Ot kul'tury vojny k vojne kul'tur. Sociokul'turnye proekcii agonal'nosti v evropejskoj i evrazijskoj kul'turah. M.: Berlin: Direkt-Media, 2017. S. 64.

¹³ Kylasov, A. (2012) Ethnosport. The End of Decline (Sport: Kultur, Veränderung / Sport: Culture, Change). Published by LIT Verlag, 2015.

¹⁴ Kylasov, A; Rastorguev, V. (2017) Ethnosport in Event Tourism. International Journal Of Cultural Research, 1(26), 170–182.

¹⁵ Koehler, A. (2019) Patricians, Politics and Porridge Olympics – the Scottish Highland Games and the Swiss Unspunnen Festival and the Idea of the Noble Savage. International Journal of Ethnosport and Traditional Games, (1), 32–59.

¹⁶ Kylasov, A.V. (2019) Traditional sports and games along the Silk Roads. International Journal of Ethnosport and Traditional Games, (1), 1–10.

¹⁷ Agafonov, O. Kazach'i vojska Rossijskoj imperii. M.: AOZT «Epoha»; Kaliningrad, 1995.

¹⁸ Korolev, V.N. Kazaki donskie // Enciklopediya kul'tur narodov YUga Rossii. T.1. Narody Yuga Rossii. Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo SKNC VSH, 2005. S. 114–115.

¹⁹ Krasnov, N.I. Nizovye i verhovye donskie kazaki // «Voennyj sbornik», 1858, № 2.



partly in grammar. The dialect, in turn, is divided into a number of dialects characteristic of the Cossack of the Upper and Middle Don, Seversky Donets and Lower Don. In the last dialect (Cherkasy), Ukrainian and Eastern, primarily Turkic influence are especially noticeable²⁰. It is noteworthy that the compilation of a vocabulary for the dictionary of the male subculture showed great importance for vocabulary of Turkic and Arabic origin²¹. In numerical terms, the Don population according to the first All-Russian population census of 1897 was 1,026,263 people. Their numbers decreased significantly after the Civil War of 1918–1922 and the ensuing policy of reprisal and ideological pressure of the Soviet system.

To the physical destruction was added the struggle with the cultural identity and ethnic identity of the remaining part of the Cossack, which caused concern of the Soviet Government. So, in a telegram to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front of Vladimir Lenin warned about the consequences of the measures that the Bolsheviks carried out in the Don region, namely, they abolished the name "village", renaming it "volost". In various areas of the region, local authorities prohibited the wearing of stripes and abolished the word "Cossack." In many places of the region, local peasant household fairs were prohibited. In the village appointed commissars of Austrian prisoners of war²².

The Soviet education system regarded the Cossack as nothing more than fugitive serfs who became the estate of the Russian Empire and stood guard over the Tsar's throne. Only on the eve of the impending World War II did the Soviet government change its policy towards the Cossack.

As a result of the events of the Civil War, the population decreased by 50.4%. In 1917, the number of donors was 1,507,178, and by 1926 there were only 702,402 left²³. According to the 2002 census, there were already 87,500 Don Cossack in the Rostov region and 20 600 people in the Volgograd region²⁴. According to the 2010 census, 29,236 people lived in the Don Cossack. in the Rostov region and 16,821 people. in the Volgograd region. Obviously, many simply ceased to identify with the Cossack, since there were no facts of mass extinction after the World War II.

At present, in addition to the Don Cossack, distinguishing themselves on an ethnic or sub-ethnic basis, a phenomenon has appeared that the historian S. Markedonov calls the capacious word "neo-Cossack"²⁵. This phenomenon is associated with the political processes of the 1990s. Cossack "in spirit" (public men of all levels and organizations) and Cossack in the service (various kinds of registry formations of Cossack in the public administration) can be attributed to neo-Cossack. After 1991, the identity crisis affected the worldview of the entire population of the former USSR, people began to look for new role models, and for some Russians, the

²⁰ Mirtov, A. Donskoj slovar'. Materialy k izucheniyu leksiki donskih kazakov. Rostov-na-Donu: Kubpoligraf, 1929; Korolev, V.N. Kazaki donskie // Enciklopediya kul'tur narodov Yuga Rossii. T.1. Narody Yuga Rossii. Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo SKNC VSH, 2005. S. 115.

²¹ Kazachij Don: Pyat' vekov vojskoj slavy. M.: Yauza, 2010. S. 84.

²² Lenin, V.I. Polnoe sobr. soch. T.50. M.: Politicheskaya literatura, 1970. S. 387.

²³ Kazachij Don: Pyat' vekov vojskoj slavy. M.: Yauza, 2010. S. 203.

²⁴ Raspredelenie lic, ukazavshih pri otvete na vopros o nacional'noj prinadlezhnosti «kazak» i «russkie kazaki», po sub"ektam Rossijskoj Federacii // Vserossijskaya perepis' naseleniya 2010 g.

²⁵ Markedonov, S. Neokazachestvo na Yuge Rossii kak politicheskij proekt. November 20th 2019, retrieved from: [URL:https://polit.ru/article/2005/05/27/cossack/](https://polit.ru/article/2005/05/27/cossack/)



image of a “Cossack” turned out to be attractive, combining freedom, future, anarchism and at the same time barracks, patriotism, “loyalty to the throne.” All this is bizarrely embodied in neo-Cossack – the mass path of the so-called “revive”. Within the framework of neo-Cossack, countless games and contests of a military-applied and patriotic nature arose that had nothing to do with TSG. Apparently the fashion here began to be set by the reenactors and cosplay who were engaged in the reconstruction of the historical costume and weapons of the Cossack. The most famous of their joint projects is the reconstruction of the Azov siege seat²⁶. The functioning of neo-Cossack over the course of two decades led to the formation of a subculture expressed in special clothes (uniform with a huge number of orders and insignia, a saber, a nagayka for a boot, etc.), special leisure (making up for Cossack, flogging of the chieftain and each other, participating in Cossack “var”, etc.) and the principles of education (Cossack-Christ warrior, patriot, etc.).

Don Cossack Traditional Games

The peculiarities of history and everyday life developed among the Don people a special culture of the agonal type, which was permeated by war and military affairs²⁷. The education of a purposeful, resourceful person, determined to actively engage in the struggle for primacy, “and which of us is the best,” was her immediate task.

Since the end of the XVI century in the documents of the Moscow kingdom, the collections of Cossack yurts on Monastyrsky Island, near modern Starocherkassk city, are known, which involved not only solving important issues of the internal life of the Army, but also identifying the best horsemen, shooters, wrestlers. The gatherings took place from the beginning of spring until Peter's day. Here, military inspections were held in the spring. As A.S. Kazachenko wrote: “Combined arms training was the only action that took place on the Yar. Yar was not a figurative, but in the literal sense, was a scenic military place. In the absence of an amphitheater, the military theater was extremely primitive, but still it was a real theater. By the appointed date, the entire army was gathering at Yar. As if in a fairy tale, an “amphitheater” was built out of nothing, although not stone, but with signs of the same regular circle geometry”²⁸. This place was sometimes called “Cossack Island”, it was forbidden to outsiders. In 1635, after the Kafa Pasha's attack with the Crimeans and Azovites, 31 persons were captured, who were executed because, according to the custom of the Cossack army, “there is no escape from that people” and they didn't give up the ransom on the island²⁹. In the descriptions of V.D. Sukhorukov in May, when the main army gathered with all the yurts, the second half of the day was devoted to playing games, which consisted of wrestling, shooting from rifles and bows at the target, horse maneuvers³⁰.

As you can see, the collections of the Don people initially belonged to the

²⁶ Osada Azova. November 20th 2019, retrieved from: URL: <http://eventsinrussia.com/event/10359>

²⁷ Yarovoj, A.V. Agonal'noe prostranstvo v kazach'ej kul'ture // Gumanitarnye i social'no-ekonomicheskie nauki. Rostov n/D., №3, 2007.

²⁸ Kozachenko, A.S. Prostranstvennaya kul'tura kazakov Nizhnego Dona konca XVI – XVII vv. Rostov-na-Donu: Donskoj izdatel'skij Dom, 2000. S. 39.

²⁹ Novosel'skij, A.A. Bor'ba Moskovskogo carstva s tatarami v XVIIv. M.-L.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1948. S. 239.

³⁰ Suhorukov, V.D. Obshchezhitie donskih kazakov v XVII i XVIII stoletiyah. Novocherkassk: Oblastnaya Vojska Donskogo tip., 1892. S. 66.



beginning of spring, and more precisely to the end of March, when the flood began and the cold (Cossack) water flooded the Don floodplain. The completion of the gatherings was timed to coincide with the time of the descent of warm (Russian) water – Peter's Day. At a later time, places associated with history, the Cossack used as gathering places for the holidays³¹, at such places the chieftains also appointed a show of youngsters. The borders of the yurt lands were also such places, where Cossack from nearby villages gathered for tournaments.

The work of Ryblova is devoted to Cossack calendar holidays. Ryblova, who believes that the Cossack culture did not become a continuation of the peasant Russian culture, but was formed as opposed to it, as a military, male, marginal culture, which denied the norms and principles of the status zone³². Moreover, Ryblova proceeds from the fact that the cycle of calendar holidays formed by the Don Cossack, on the one hand, retained the all-Russian basis, and on the other, had many specific features related to the peculiarities of the natural environment and the economic way of life of the Cossack, with their status of military service class. At the same time, it is important for Ryblova to include the Cossack holidays in the East Slavic tradition, since in this case it is possible to use the achievements of semiotic and folklore schools and directions for further interpretation of the Cossack rites. This statement of Ryblova is very controversial, since it does not concern the heritage of the steppe peoples (Nogai, Kalmyk), whose presence in the culture and language of the Lower Don Cossack is not in doubt. As a comparative material, we used works related to the culture of the steppe peoples³³.

In 1818, yesaul E. Katelnikov wrote that “Village's gatherings were on Trinity Day and on Maslenitsa [Shrovetide]. The neighboring villages, with their atamans and old people, with banners, gathered at the top of the border with the vodka for all. They did Shermitsy and fist-fighting”³⁴. Note that the content side of the competition was almost identical in all the villages; it was also reflected in children's games³⁵. So, in the vicinity of Starocherkassk, children went beyond the front garden of the city, split into two parties, and built a camp from reeds. All in military armor. In paper hats and frogs, with popular sabers, with small wooden peaks. Each party has its own leader. Banners of colored paper, rattles, tambourines and plates for solemn songs. According to this sign, both parties are removed from the camp, converge, fight. The victors pursue the vanquished, beat off the banners, capture people and solemnly, with the trophies of

³¹ Bronevskij, V. *Istoriya donskogo vojska, opisanie Donskoj zemli i Kavkazskih mineral'nyh vod*. T.3. SPb.: Tipogr. Ekspedicii zagotovleniya gosudarstvennyh bumag, 1834. S. 189.

³² Ryblova, M.A. *Kalendarnye prazdniki donskih kazakov*. Volgograd: VolGU, 2016. S.7.

³³ Zhukovskaya, N.L. *Kochevniki Mongolii. Kul'tura. Tradicii. Simvolika.* / Uchebnoe posobie. M.: «Vostochnaya literatura». 2002; Sejdametov, E.H.; Kadyrov, R.R. *Pogrebal'nye obryady tyurkov v srednevekov'e* // *Nauka, obrazovanie i kul'tura*, 2016, №5(8). S.14–17.

³⁴ Katel'nikov, E. *Byli donskoj stanicy* // *Donskie kazaki v pohode i doma*. Rostov-na-Donu: HPTMP «Donskoe slovo», 1991. S. 35.

³⁵ Bronevskij, V. *Ukaz. soch.* S.138; Abaza, K.K. *Kazaki: Doncy, ural'cy, kubancy, tercy: Ocherki iz istorii i starodavnego kazackogo byta v obshchedostupnom izlozhenii, dlya chteniya v vojskah, sem'e i shkole* / Sost. Konst. Konst. Abaza. SPb.: V. Berezovskij, 1890. S. 126; Krasnov, P.N. *Istoriya vojska Donskogo. Kartiny bylogo Tihogo Dona*. M.: Veche, 2007. S. 310; Nomikosov, S.F. *Statisticheskoe opisanie Oblasti Vojska Donskogo*. Novocherkassk: Obl. pravlenie Oblasti Vojska Donskogo, 1884. S. 317.



their exploits, at the sound of tambourines and plates, enter the city to receive praise from the elderly³⁶. This game repeats *Shermitsy*, which was already equestrian arranged by adult Cossack. Cossack gathered at a certain place with the ataman and the elderly, on the best horses, fully armed – with pikes, long guns, sabers, powder flask, bows and so on. An extensive camp was set up in the middle of a flat valley, on which military games continued for two weeks and a month, in the presence of an army chieftain. One crowd of young men tried the rapid speed of horses. The other, at full gallop, shot at the target. There, the daredevils, throwing stirrups over the saddle, standing, rushing at full speed on wild horses, fighting off with a saber or aiming a gun. Or by sending a cloak to the ground and throwing a whip on it, a coin, etc. grabbed them all at once. The hunters of unity departed and, having jumped on each other, started the battle with lashes. Then a new sight opened up. Most of the soldiers in full armor rushed to the river in a crowd, and all summer, having thrown themselves into the water, sailed to the other side ... Fist fights were fought with the evening³⁷.

Asking the question about the fighting qualities of the Cossack, General Krasnov wrote that "all Cossack, wherever they lived, before every Sunday and holiday, flocked to the villages, mostly on horseback, so that horseback riding in domestic life was an inevitable need of the Cossack, and everyone was accustomed to it from infancy ... Having listened to various tales from military life, young people mounted horses and drove out of the village, where they tried to present what he told them in action, and divided into two sides, they made an example of a battle. Very often, Cossack servants joined them, who, for their part, instructed them. These home maneuvers were often combined with shooting at the target with a horse and on foot, and with other warlike exercises; they were not only on Sundays, after the village camp, but they were always repeated as soon as the Cossack came together, especially on horseback..."³⁸

In the descriptions of the English traveler of the beginning of the XIX century this game looked like this: "The Cossack practiced maneuvers, scattering across the steppes, luring the enemy into an ambush, at the end competitions were arranged with weapons and horse-riding"³⁹. At the Monastery tract in the description of A. Rigelman in the 18th century, Cherkask Cossack "every year at this cemetery on a cheese week on Saturday, they make commemoration of the dead, where almost everyone, except the oldest and smallest, go out and they serve for services over these deceased they drink, sing, and then they run and ride on horses and make it a real venue for their execution, in which the case and not without killing those accidental from horse racing happens"⁴⁰.

You can see that the content of the competition was long-distance racing, the rear jump (target), *Shermitsy* – an equestrian game reminiscent of maneuvers, foot fencing games for children and youth, competitions in archery and rifle shooting, in

³⁶ Suhorukov, V.D. *Obshcheyehitie donskih kazakov v XVII i XVIII stoletiyah*. Novocherkassk, Oblastnaya Vojska Donskogo tip., 1892. S. 62.

³⁷ *Ibid.* P. 66.

³⁸ Krasnov, I.I. *O donskoj kazach'ej sluzhbe*. SPb.: Voen. tip., 1852. S. 23–24.

³⁹ The story of a wanderer; founded upon his recollections of incidents in Russian and Cossack scenes, by Robert Dyer. London, 1826. P. 146–147.

⁴⁰ Rigel'man, A. *Istoriya ili povestvovanie o donskih kazakah*. M.: Universitetskaya tipografiya, 1846. S. 45.



possession of weapons, especially peak. Competitions were ceremonial in nature. Here is how, for example, V. Sukhorukov describes the jump to the target: "In the open place was a target – a bundle of reeds perpendicular to the target, and a point from which to jump was assigned in fathoms 200 from it. The jump began. The first is carried by an arrow a gray-haired old man. Having thrown the reins at the very bunch, he applies it with his short gun, and the bunch is lit. Behind him, a young man flies, having jumped off the horse and holding on to the mane with one hand, grabs the gun from the waist with the other, shoots a bunch and in an instant – on the horse. Others in the wake jump over the fire⁴¹.

In addition to exercises with weapons, the belt wrestling was popular, which in the Lower Don was called "breaking", "for buckles". In some villages fist-fighting took place, both collective and in the form of martial arts with different rules, where it was possible to beat only in the head, or only in the corps, or "for whatever reason". All competitions were ceremonial open air and constituted an important part of the celebration. The most ancient of them were the spring holidays, which merged with Shrovetide; memorial rites, which took place in different villages on old towns, graveyards; Cossack gatherings for the patronal holidays⁴². With the development of the troop organization, some competitions in the jump and target shooting are detached, which are organized as the final stage of preparing the Cossack for service or annual camps⁴³. The regulation on the management of the Don Army in 1835 regulated many issues of life and training of the Cossack, turning them into a closed military estate⁴⁴, on the other hand, conservation of military skills and abilities that rapidly disappeared from the culture of the Don, with the advent of a new, agricultural life, took place.

The symbolic meaning of competitions held over the graves of their ancestors is the birth of a new world. The horsemen jumped over the fire ignited by the shot; the mark for firing was an egg; equestrians and footmen staged a battle, and the best riders showed a dare in possession of weapons and a horse. At the same time, the best warriors glorified their yurts with skill, from them they elected yesauls and leaders of detachments. The birth of a new world, the arrival of dead ancestors into this world, was the basis for shifting the emphasis from the calendar holiday to the commemoration of the dead. The riders staged a long-distance jump to a mound, played real battles and competed in horse and foot form, identifying the strongest⁴⁵. The strongest batyrs and courage, as they called them on the Don, were responsible for the well-being of the Cossack communities, they were proud of them, they carried a special, Cossack stereotype of behavior, which the Don called "denouement" or "Chagomansky grip". Describing it, informants drew attention to the landing of a Cossack on a horse, to the manner of riding in a saddle, to gait, to the ability to use weapons, his own body and horse. What expresses the ethnomotricité phenomenon.

On the other hand, the steppe tradition also influenced the formation of Cossack

⁴¹ Suhorukov, V.D. Obshchezhitie donskih kazakov v XVII i XVIII stoletiyah. Novochoerkassk, Oblastnaya Vojska Donskogo tip., 1892. S. 67.

⁴² Krasnov, I.I. O donskoj kazach'ej sluzhbe. SPb.: Voen.tip., 1852. S. 23.

⁴³ Yarovoj, A.V. Sistema obucheniya vladeniyu shashkoj v kul'ture donskih kazakov // Istoricheskoe oruzhievedenie. №5-6, 2017/2018.

⁴⁴ Polozhenie ob upravlenii Donskogo vojska. CH.1, 2, 3. SPb., 1835.

⁴⁵ Krasnov, P.N. Istoriya vojska Donskogo. Kartiny bylogo Tihogo Dona. M.: Veche, 2007. S. 227.



competitions, since the backbone of the Don Cossack at an early stage was of Turkic origin. The inheritance of the customs of commemoration of the ancestors and the accompaniment of this custom by competitions has either a Mongolian or a steppe foundation⁴⁶. A comparison of the burial rites of the Nogais, Zaporizhzhya Cossack and Donets, which, in fact, are identical, is significant. The commemoration of the ancestors was also accompanied by the customs of the selection of soldiers for a campaign, which was already based on a personal competition, while the gatherings at the sacred place began to take the form of mass reviews of regiments, which were necessarily accompanied by collective competitions (two teams) or round-robin hunts. These collections of the Don Cossack are similar to the traditions of the nomadic peoples of the Middle Ages, if we compare the customs of the Mongols of the imperial period and the Don.

The traditional games of the Don Cossack in their ancient manifestations were always ritual in nature, which is why they were banned by the Soviet government, which also prohibited the very name "Cossack". Competitions with weapons went into the category of children's games and collective memory, although even before World War II it was possible to find an old officer who was engaged in wooden weapons with children, the children themselves played Cossack games without accepting nonresident ones. This situation persisted for a long time in farms and villages, where the majority lived the Cossack population.

After 1930, the traditions of competitions were preserved in the forms of teaching children and youth to the elderly and the new Soviet holidays on May 1 and November 7, as well as the preserved Maslenitsa⁴⁷. At these festivities, not only the Cossack, but also the new populations that settled in the Don region, demonstrated competitions in horse racing, horse riding and cutting of vines (as a form of military-applied sport, it remained until the 1970s). Hiking took the place of children's games and entertainment for young people (playing checkers, war), belt wrestling practically disappeared with the development of sports options for wrestling, but persisted in remote farms and Cossack families as an element of training or as entertainment on the Sabantui (holiday on the occasion of the completion of the harvest in the traditions of the Cossack). With a sharp decrease in horse stock in the 1980s. Equestrian competitions at Soviet holidays disappear. If in 1950 in the Rostov Region there were 846,991,950 horses, then in 1993 there were 2,545 of them left⁴⁸.

The main form of preservation of traditional military culture in the second half of the XX century are the memory of the elderly, children's games and folklore festivals of various levels – from district to regional, replacing the traditional holidays on the Don. Traditional competitions in the form of horse racing and equestrian games are still preserved as the content of Soviet holidays.

On the eve of World War II, dance groups practice the use of checkers as a juggling subject, which, with the help of amateurs and masters of oriental martial arts

⁴⁶ Zhukovskaya, N.L. Kochevniki Mongolii. Kul'tura. Tradicii. Simvolika. M.: «Vostochnaya literatura», 2002. S. 71–80.

⁴⁷ Ocherki istorii i kul'tury kazachestva YUga Rossii: kollektivnaya monografiya / Pod red. G.G. Matishova, I.O. Tyumenceva. Volgograd, izd-vo Volgogradskogo filiala FGBOU VPO RANHIGS, 2014. S. 516–536.

⁴⁸ Konevodstvo YUga Rossii. November 20th 2019, retrieved from: URL: http://www.horse-rostov.ru/news/konevodstvo_spiral_istorii.php#



in the early 2000s turned into a “flanking by a checker” – a very strange phenomenon that officials from the Ministry of Sports of the Rostov Region included as a discipline in the “Spartakiada of the Don Peoples”, where it began to take the place of the so-called national sport of the Don Cossack. Juggling with a saber was picked up by various groups of neo-Cossack and became a kind of marker of this movement. Here, not even a dance with arms comes out on top, but something akin to a shadow fight, where the speaker must demonstrate the ability to rotate a saber, intercept and toss it, striking with his hands and feet, while doing somersaults and somersaults, according to the ball evaluation system. Another discipline of non-competitive competitions was the “chopping”. The organizers' desire for sportization, including women's competitions – inconceivable in traditional society, leads to the destruction of the ethnic status of games. Such competitions are presented as the “Cossack Olympiad”, which leads to the loss of cultural memory and the complete degradation of the phenomenon, which notes Alexey Kylasov⁴⁹.

Work on the collection and systematization of competitions of the Don Cossack began in the early XIX. It resulted in seminars and competitions in traditional fencing, wrestling and fist fighting, which existed in the Zadonsky steppes⁵⁰. The craving of the natural Cossack to the place of commemoration of their ancestors led to the fact that, based on the few remains of the indigenous population of Starocherkassk, the funeral rite was restored at the Monastery tract, while the living participants of the last funeral service, which took place in 1942, were supported⁵¹.

On the territory of the Russian fortress of St. Anne, built in the 30s of the XVIII century large scale vermin began to take place, bearing in mind that since the time of the ataman Platov horse riding and horse racing were organized here⁵². The fortress as a venue for traditional horse racing was indicated by local residents. The content of modern Shermitsy was: a prayer service, the restored order of consecration of military weapons, a ceremony of riding a horse, horse and foot competitions. The prize fund was traditional and included a saddle, a checker, elements of clothing. It was formed by the Cossack, the organizers of the games. Equestrian competitions involved the demonstrative construction of lava and a demonstration of the combat elements of the tactical formations of the Cossack in battle, after which competitions were held in the possession of weapons: threw darts, shot from a bow, and chopped target drafts. The main criterion for victory was the ability to overcome your opponent, who simultaneously performed the same exercises. On foot they competed in a fencing fight on drafts and peaks, felling of a strip of targets, wrestling and fist-fighting. For children, they restored the game of aidanchiki (alchiki), weight-throwing (who throws

⁴⁹ Kylasov, A. (2012) Ethnosport. The End of Decline (Sport: Kultur, Veränderung / Sport: Culture, Change). Published by LIT Verlag, 2015. P. 99.

⁵⁰ Yarovoj, A.V. Sovremennye kazach'i etnosportivnye sostyazaniya: opyt vozrozhdeniya shermicii // Itogi fol'klorno-etnograficheskikh issledovanij etnicheskoj kul'tury kazach'ih grupp Rossii za 2011-2012 gg. Dikarevskie chteniya (17): materialy Vserossijskoj nauchnoj konferencii, Zernograd, 11-13 oktyabrya 2013 g. Krasnodar: OOO RIC «Mir Kubani», 2014.

⁵¹ Astapenko, M.P.; Astapenko, E.M. Istoriya kazach'ih kladbishch i voinskih zahoroneniij goroda CHerkasska – stanicy Starocherkasskoj XVII–XXI vekov. Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo Mini Tajp, 2018. S. 405.

⁵² Astapenko, M. P. Ostanetsya vечно monumentom. Rostov-na-Donu: Rostovskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1984. S. 66.



someone over). The main component in Shermitsy at the Monastery tract is a requiem for the dead ancestors. These games of the Cossack in the terminology of Kylasov correspond to the "games of a believer"⁵³. Here, prayer, a place of memory, one's own participation in the rite are the mechanism for assembling his identity.

Thus, for the Don, the authenticity of the rite is an important element of the life affirmation of the people, the assembly of the meanings of its entire culture. Carrying out such a rite outside the historical place of being is completely unthinkable. In a substantial aspect, traditional horse and foot races retain elements of ethnomotricité.

The resulting cast of the traditional Cossack holiday was replicated in the Rostov region and went beyond it. Now Shermitsy is carried out from Kaliningrad to Vladivostok, however, except for the name, this phenomenon does not contain anything traditional there. If you appeal to the teachings of Jean Baudrillard about simulacra⁵⁴, Shermitsy spread exclusively due to its unique name. Now Shermitsy conduct museums, restaurants, district administrations. The organizers of such Shermitsy pursue a purely commercial interest, increasing the attractiveness of the museum or restaurant to visitors and especially tourists. Having copied the basic model from traditional Shermitsy, the leaders of the "project of show" do not understand that their phenomenon has no connection with tradition, that the rite of remembrance or the celebration of the meeting of spring cannot be correlated with the Anglo-Saxon model of sport, according to which they "align" Cossack games with violation all conceivable traditional rules and regulations. The names of such simulacra contain typical sports terms: "international tournament", "national games", "championship"⁵⁵. They call their competitions "Olympiads." For us it remains unclear what is more here – the post-Soviet mentality or banal ignorance?

A few words should also be said about the imitations of other Cossack competitions that spread in the Russian Cossack, these are the so-called "Cossack spas", "Cossack var", "Cossack hand-to-hand fighting", "hand-to-hand fighting of the plastuns" and others. Creative athletes are engaged in such competitions, the martial arts invented by them have no future, because they are equally alien to Anglo-Saxon sport and the traditional games of the Cossack.

Conclusion

The restored competitions of the Don Cossack are not rooted in the modern way of life and are preserved exclusively by the will of natural donors, creating a romantic image of the past in order to educate the spirit of their ancestors.

The process of commercializing Cossack games, turning them into a sporting event, consisting of various championships, leads to the emergence of sports federations, sports clubs of Cossack martial arts, the emergence of grand masters, which alienates competitive practice from the original tradition, making it alien to the traditional value system.

Summing up the results of our research, we can define the existing modern forms of representations of traditional sports and games of Cossack:

⁵³ Kylasov, A. (2012) *Ethnosport. The End of Decline (Sport: Kultur, Veränderung / Sport: Culture, Change)*. Published by LIT Verlag, 2015. P. 96.

⁵⁴ Baudrillard, Jean (1976) *L'Echange symbolique et la mort*. Paris, Gallimard.

⁵⁵ *Mezhdunarodnye kazach'i igry shermicii*. November 20th 2019, retrieved from: URL: <http://shermicii-rostov.ru/>



- **Cossack Traditional Games** – ceremonial competitions, which are an integral part of the ritual complex, are held as part of public holidays and places of traditional life;
- **Cossack Show** – organized Sport for All events, according to the Anglo-Saxon model as Olympiads and championships, with the participation of professional athletes, most often they are imitations and costume shows to support the tourism business, restaurant industry and profane patriotic education.

References

1. Abaza, K.K. Kazaki: Doncy, ural'cy, kubancy, tercy: Ocherki iz istorii i starodavnego kazackogo byta v obshchedostupnom izlozhenii, dlya chteniya v vojskah, sem'e i shkole / Sost. Konst. Konst. Abaza. SPb.: V. Berezovskij, 1890. S. 126.
2. Agafonov, O. Kazach'i vojska Rossijskoj imperii. M.: AOZT «Epoха»; Kaliningrad, 1995.
3. Aleksandrov A.V. Proiskhozhdenie russkoj poyasnoj bor'by v Sibiri // Problemy istorii filologii i kul'tury 4(30). Magnitogorsk, Izd-vo FGBOU VO «MGU im. G.I. Nosova», 2010.
4. Aleksandrov, S.G. Fizicheskoe vospitanie detej i molodezhi kubanskogo kazachestva (ser.XIX-nach.HKH vv): Istoriko-etnograficheskij ocherk. Krasnodar: KGAFK, 1999.
5. Astapenko, G.D. Byt, obychai, obryady i prazdniki donskih kazakov XVII – XIX vv. Batajsk: Batajskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 2002.
6. Astapenko, M. P. Ostanetsya vечно monumentom. Rostov-na-Donu: Rostovskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1984. S. 66.
7. Astapenko, M.P.; Astapenko, E.M. Istorija kazach'ih kladbishch i vojskih zahoronenij goroda Cherkasska – stanicy Staroherkasskoj XVII–XXI vekov. Rostov-na-Donu: OOO «Mini Tajp», 2018.
8. Baudrillard, Jean (1976) L'Echange symbolique et la mort. Paris, Gallimard.
9. Bronevskij, V. Istorija donskogo vojska, opisanie Donskoj zemli i Kavkazskih mineral'nyh vod. SPb., Tipogr. Ekspedicii zagotovleniya gosudarstvennyh bumag, 1834.
10. Gorbunov, B. V. Tradicionnye rukopashnye sostyazaniya v narodnoj kul'ture vostochnyh slavyan XIX — nachala XX vv.: Ist.-etnogr. issled. M.: RAN, Institut etnologii i antropologii im. N. N. Mikluho-Maklaja, 1997.
11. Zhukovskaya, N.L. Kochevniki Mongolii. Kul'tura. Tradicii. Simvolika / Uchebnoe posobie. M.: «Vostochnaya literatura». 2002.
12. Kazachij Don: Pyat' vekov vojskoj slavy. M.: Yauza, 2010.
13. Katel'nikov, E. Byli donskoj stanicy // Donskie kazaki v pohode i doma. Rostov-na-Donu: HPTMP «Donskoe slovo», 1991. S. 35.
14. Koehler, A. (2019) Patricians, Politics and Porridge Olympics – the Scottish Highland Games and the Swiss Unspunnen Festival and the Idea of the Noble Savage. International Journal of Ethnosport and Traditional Games, (1), 32–59.
15. Kozachenko, A.S. Prostranstvennaya kul'tura kazakov Nizhnego Dona konca XVI – XVII vv. Rostov-na-Donu: Donskoj izdatel'skij Dom, 2000. S. 39.
16. Konevodstvo YUga Rossii. November 20th 2019, retrieved from: URL: http://www.horse-rostov.ru/news/konevodstvo_spiral_istorii.php#



17. Korolev, V.N. Donskie kazach'i gorodki. Novocherkassk: Donchak, 2011.
18. Korolev, V.N. Kazaki donskie // Enciklopediya kul'tur narodov Yuga Rossii. T.1. Narody Yuga Rossii. Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo SKNC VSH, 2005. S. 114–115.
19. Krasnov, I.I. O donskoj kazach'ej sluzhbe. SPb.: Voen. tip., 1852. S. 23–24.
20. Krasnov, N.I. Nizovye i verhovye donskie kazaki // «Voennyj sbornik», 1858, № 2.
21. Krasnov, P.N. Istoriya vojska Donskogo. Kartiny bylogo Tihogo Dona. M.: Veche, 2007. S. 310.
22. Kylasov, A.V. (2019) "Traditional sports and games along the Silk Roads". International Journal of Ethnosport and Traditional Games, (1), 1–10. DOI: <https://www.doi.org/10.34685/HI.2019.1.1.006>
23. Kylasov, A. (2012) Ethnosport. The End of Decline (Sport: Kultur, Veränderung / Sport: Culture, Change). Published by LIT Verlag, 2015.
24. Kylasov, A; Rastorguev, V. (2017) Ethnosport in Event Tourism. International Journal Of Cultural Research, 1(26), 170–182.
25. Lenin, V.I. Polnoe sobr. soch. T.50. M.: Politicheskaya literatura, 1970. S. 387.
26. Markedonov, S. Neokazachestvo na Yuge Rossii kak politicheskij proekt. November 20th 2019, retrieved from: <URL:https://polit.ru/article/2005/05/27/cossack/>
27. Mezhdunarodnye kazach'i igry shermicii. November 20th 2019, retrieved from: URL: <http://shermicii-rostov.ru/>
28. Mirtov, A. Donskoj slovar'. Materialy k izucheniyu leksiki donskih kazakov. Rostov-na-Donu: Kubpoligraf, 1929;
29. Novoselov, N. P. Voennye igry russkogo naroda i ih otnoshenie k epohe voennoj demokratii: dis...kand. ist. nauk. M., 1949.
30. Novosel'skij, A.A. Bor'ba Moskovskogo carstva s tatarami v XVIIv. M.-L.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1948. S. 239.
31. Nomikosov, S.F. Statisticheskoe opisanie Oblasti Vojska Donskogo. Novocherkassk: Obl. pravlenie Oblasti Vojska Donskogo, 1884. S. 317.
32. Osada Azova. November 20th 2019, retrieved from: URL: <http://eventsinrussia.com/event/10359>
33. Ocherki istorii i kul'tury kazachestva Yuga Rossii: kollektivnaya monografiya / Pod red. G.G. Matishova, I.O. Tyumenceva. Volgograd, izd-vo Volgogradskogo filiala FGBOU VPO RANHIGS, 2014. S. 516–536.
34. Pechnyak, V.A. Prostranstvo sostyazatel'nosti v kul'ture orenburgskih kazakov (po materialam etnoekspedicii 2012 g.) // Problemy istorii filologii i kul'tury 3(41). Izd-vo FGBOU VO «MGTU im. G.I. Nosova», Magnitogorsk, 2013.
35. Polozhenie ob upravlenii Donskogo vojska. CH.1, 2, 3. SPb., 1835.
36. Raspredelenie lic, ukazavshih pri otvete na vopros o nacional'noj prinadlezhnosti «kazak» i «russkie kazaki», po sub"ektam Rossijskoj Federacii // Vserossijskaya perepis' naseleniya 2010 g.
37. Rigel'man, A. Istoriya ili povestvovanie o donskih kazakah. M.: Universitetskaya tipografiya, 1846. S. 45.
38. Rudichenko T.S. Kul'turnye tradicii donskogo kazachestva v social'nom diskurse (konec XX nachalo XXI veka) // Yuzhno-rossijskij muzykal'nyj al'manah. №2, 2010.
39. Ryblova, M.A. Kalendarnye prazdniki donskih kazakov. Volgograd: Izd-vo VolGU, 2016.



40. Ryblova, M.A. Kulachnye boi u donskih kazakov // Itogi fol'klorno-etnograficheskikh issledovanij etnicheskikh kul'tur Severo-Zapadnogo Kavkaza za 2000 god. Dikarevskie chteniya (7). Krasnodar: OOO RIC «Mir Kubani», 2001.
41. Sejdametov, E.H.; Kadyrov, R.R. Pogrebal'nye obryady tyurkov v srednevekov'e // Nauka, obrazovanie i kul'tura, 2016, №5 (8). S.14–17.
42. Suhorukov, V.D. Obshezhitie donskih kazakov v XVII i XVIII stoletiyah. Novocherkassk: Oblastnaya Vojska Donskogo tip., 1892. S. 66.
43. Chernaya, A.V. Tradicionnye igry Dona: etnopsihologicheskij fenomen. Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo RGPU, 2003.
44. Yarovoj, A.V. Sistema obucheniya vladeniyu shashkoj v kul'ture donskih kazakov // Istoricheskoe oruzhievedenie. №5-6, 2017/2018.
45. Yarovoj, A.V. Agonal'noe prostranstvo v kazach'ej kul'ture // Gumanitarnye i social'no-ekonomicheskie nauki. Rostov n/D., №3, 2007.
46. Yarovoj, A.V. Voinskaya kul'tura donskogo kazachestva: tradiciya i sovremennost' // Vojna i voennaya sluzhba v voinskih kul'turah Yuga Rossii. Materialy pervoj mezhvuzovskoj konferencii «Tokarevskie chteniya». Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo NMC «Logos», 2011.
47. Yarovoj, A.V. Ot kul'tury vojny k vojne kul'tur. Sociokul'turnye proekcii agonal'nosti v evropejskoj i evrazijskoj kul'turah. M.: Berlin: Direkt-Media, 2017. S. 64.
48. Yarovoj, A.V. Sovremennye kazach'i etnosportivnye sostyazaniya: opyt vozrozhdeniya shermicii // Itogi fol'klorno-etnograficheskikh issledovanij etnicheskoi kul'tury kazach'ih grupp Rossii za 2011-2012 gg. Dikarevskie chteniya (17): materialy Vserossijskoj nauchnoj konferencii, Zernograd, 11-13 oktyabrya 2013 g. Krasnodar: OOO RIC «Mir Kubani», 2014.
49. Yarovoj, A.V. Tradicii sostyazatel'noj kul'tury donskogo kazachestva, zapisannye so slov informatorov v stanicah Rostovskoj oblasti // Svod pamyatnikov sostyazatel'noj kul'tury narodov Yuga Rossii. Sbornik materialov. Rostov-na-Donu: Izd-vo Yuzhnogo federal'nogo universiteta, 2012.
50. The story of a wanderer; founded upon his recollections of incidents in Russian and Cossack scenes, by Robert Dyer. London. 1826. P. 146–147.