

## DIDACTIC BALLAD OF HAIKA: SOME APPROACHES TO THE QUESTION OF UKRAINIAN-JEWISH BILINGUAL FOLKLORE<sup>1</sup>

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Professor Dov Noy made a brief but profound analysis of mutual influences between the Polish folklore and the Yiddish folklore in the genre of ballads in his article *The Polish and Yiddish Balladic Folksongs*<sup>2</sup>. This article and his conclusions have essentially expanded the understanding of the scale of these inter-influences. So, on this basis, we will also turn to the ballad, in particular to the plot that, in our opinion, lies in the epicenter of the cultural exchange in the sphere of song folklore between the Ukrainian and the Jewish peoples. Yet in the middle of 1930-th an outstanding researcher of Jewish musical folklore Moises Beregovski considered proved “a priori” existence of such inter-influences and cultural exchange in his article *Inter-influences in Jewish and Ukrainian musical folklore*<sup>3</sup>.

The point at issue is the fate of the Jewish girl (woman) who is deceived by seducers and whose deeds led to her death. It is well known that among the European nations and Slavs in particular the story of a girl, incited to go on a trip is very popular, and as a rule, the main character of such stories are national types. Ukrainians tell ballads about Ukrainian girls Galya, Gannusya, etc. In the case of the “Ballad of Haika”, the Ukrainian-language version of the legend has a Jewish girl Haika as the main character. Besides, in the refrain we encounter Yiddish words and phrases, which gives us ground to speak about bilingual variants of the plot. For the sake of objectivity we need to note that a few Russian<sup>4</sup> and Belarussian<sup>5</sup> variants of the same plot are also known. Even though the oldest of

the Russian variants of the ballad about inciting a tavern Jewish woman by a Don Cossack to flee with him were recorded and published much earlier (50 years) than the Ukrainian ones (in early 1790-s<sup>6</sup>), still they are unlikely to be original, since the place mentioned in the story ("Polish royal tavern"), just like the Jewish population at the time, still was located outside the Russian empire. Apparently, the Russian versions emerged as a result of repeated crossings by the Russian troops to the Polish Ukraine during wars against Turkey in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and in their interference with the affairs of the Polish crown; it was then that the Russians could get familiarized with the story that was common knowledge there. Neither can we ignore the possibility that those who came from Ukraine could bring this plot to the Russian land, since migration of the Ukrainian population was chiefly directed to the east. Thus, the time of emergence of the story of seducer enticing a tavern girl – hence the plot of the "Ballad of Haika" is dated not later than the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the Polish state was still in existence.

Researchers paid some attention to the plot "about Haika" in different times. Thus, in the research published in 1926 entitled *Ukrainian Songs about a Girl that Fled with Seducer*, its author K. Kvitka singles out a special group of variants of a Jewish girl on the basis, as he put it, of "aspects of literary expression common to these variants"<sup>7</sup>. One can find this plot in the reference book of plots and versions, compiled by Russian scholar S. Smirnov and headlined *Eastern-Slavic Ballads and Forms Close to Them* (1988)<sup>8</sup> and in the plot-and-topical reference book *Catalogue of the Ukrainian Song Folklore* (1994)<sup>9</sup> of Ukrainian folklore expert Lyudmyla Yefremova, although the above-mentioned works do not single out the versions of the "Ballad of Haika" (about a deceived Jewish girl) into a separate group; they only cite it among various groups of versions of the story about a deceived girl.

The plot of the Jewish girl incited to flee covers not only a group of variants of the "Ballad of Haika", but also similar versions about an unknown tavern Jewish woman, as well as versions of the "Ballad of Reizya", which form a local Galitian variant of the commonly known all over Ukraine "Ballad of Haika". To make our analysis easier to understand, we will limit ourselves to examination of versions of the "Ballad of Haika" only. Besides, they form an absolute majority of all variants of the story of a deceived Jewish girl (woman). We have 30 of such variants. Geographically, they come from Galychyna – 11 variants, Kyiv province – 7, Podillya – 3, Volyn – 2, Poltava – 2, Katerynoslav – 1, Kherson – 1,

Chernihiv – 1, Trans-Carpathians – 1, and from Kuban – 1. Records of these variants were made: in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – up to 1920 – 25 variants; after 1920 – five variants.

Variants of the “Ballad of Haika” can be split into 11 structural parts, according to which an analysis of the plot will be made (it needs to be noted that not all 11 structural parts are presented in each of the known variants: as a rule, either one or several are missing, but only all 11 parts give a full idea of the plot without abridgements and gaps).

### **1. The place of the beginning of the plot**

The beginning of the plot takes place in a tavern, sometimes named, sometimes obvious from the text of the ballad. In their turn, geographical places of the location of this tavern are divided into toponymically specific and non-specific.

- a. Toponymically specific: 1) in the little town of Berestechko<sup>10</sup>, 2) in Brest, a beautiful (glorious) place<sup>11</sup>, 3) in the town of Bereza<sup>12</sup>, 4) at the market in Lviv<sup>13</sup>,
- b. Toponymically non-specific: 1) in the field<sup>14</sup>, 2) at a wonderful stop in the forest<sup>15</sup>, 3) on a hill<sup>16</sup>, 4) on the outskirts of the village<sup>17</sup>, 5) in the middle of the village<sup>18</sup>, 6) in the town under a birch<sup>19</sup>, 7) on the bank of the river<sup>20</sup>.

### **2. Family status of Haika**

- a. Girl<sup>21</sup>.
- b. Daughter of tavern owners<sup>22</sup>.
- c. Widow's daughter<sup>23</sup>,
- d. Daughter of the widow tavern-owner<sup>24</sup>.
- e. Young wife of a tavern-owner<sup>25</sup>.

### **3. Seducers**

Men who deceive the main character with various promises are both named and unnamed people. With only one exception, they are always people of different nationality and religion as regards the Jewish girl Haika; as a rule, they don't even come from the same town as she.

- a. Named seducers: 1) Cossack (soldier) Yas Dembrovsky<sup>26</sup>, 2) Ivas Tarnovsky (Ternovsky)<sup>27</sup>, 3) Yas Terletsky<sup>28</sup>, 4) Ivanko Chernetsky<sup>29</sup>, 5) nobleman Kanyovsky<sup>30</sup>, 6) Vasylenko<sup>31</sup>, 7) Vanya<sup>32</sup>, 8) Yas<sup>33</sup>.
- b. Unnamed seducers: 1) Cossacks<sup>34</sup>, two Cossacks<sup>35</sup>, three Cossacks<sup>36</sup>, 2) Haydamaks with high caps<sup>37</sup>, 3) soldiers<sup>38</sup>, two soldiers<sup>39</sup>, 4) three uhlans<sup>40</sup>, 5) three noblemen<sup>41</sup>, 6) four coachmen<sup>42</sup>, 7) minor landowner<sup>43</sup>, 8) foreigners<sup>44</sup>, 9) Jews<sup>45</sup>.

#### 4. Motives for Haika to leave her parents' house

The decision to leave her parents' house is caused by either a multitude of attractive promises of seducers, or by love feelings that emerge between Haika and one of seducers; all this happens against the background of the fact that the gullible girl tends to make ill-considered emotional steps, for which in some versions she deserves the name "foolish"<sup>46</sup>. Promises of Haika's seducers:

- a. Promises that describe the advantages of life in their land. Seducers assure Haika that: 1) she will be better off there than in her mother's house because in their land pussy-willows bear pears, while all girls wear gold<sup>47</sup>, 2) that she will be better off than in her mother's house because here she wears a torn house-coat, while there she will wear only silver and gold<sup>48</sup>, 3) that it will be better for her to go with them rather than stay in the tavern with Jews<sup>49</sup>,
- b. Promises to treat tavern-girl Haika with wine<sup>50</sup>.
- c. Seducers promise to take the young wife of tavern-owner Haika to her mother<sup>51</sup>.

Love feelings:

- a. A seducer asks Haika whether she loves him and whether she will marry him, to which he gets a positive answer<sup>52</sup>.
- b. Haika asks a seducer whether he loves her<sup>53</sup>.
- c. A seducer and Haika fall in love with each other<sup>54</sup>.
- d. Haika loves the landowner and is willing to marry him<sup>55</sup>.

#### 5. Setting the time to flee

In most variants, Haika is the one who sets the best time to flee. She advises the seducers when to come and how many carts to bring in order to take away her

and her goods. In doing so, she relies on Jewish religious traditions, and these traditions are quite fully revealed in the story, sometimes even in very respectful terms. With only one exception, the time of fleeing is usually set for Saturday. So:

- a. Haika sets the day of fleeing: 1) on Saturday, justifying it in this way: early on Saturday Jews will be at school [here, synagogue because school in Ukrainian – “shkola” is clearly a reflection of the Yiddish “shul” which is used for synagogue but literally means “school”, author’s note], people will be in the field<sup>56</sup>; early on Saturday Jews will go to school and Haika will be home alone<sup>57</sup>; early on Saturday father and mother will go to school<sup>58</sup>; early on Saturday father and mother will go to school and leave her the key from the pantry<sup>59</sup>; early on Saturday father and mother will go to school, and we two – to the pantry<sup>60</sup>; early on Saturday mother will go to school and leave her the key from the pantry<sup>61</sup>; early on Saturday Jews go to school, and young Haika has keys from the pantry<sup>62</sup>; on Saturday on Sabbath all Jews are at school, and I, the young one, stay at home<sup>63</sup>; don’t come early on Friday, for father and mother will be home; better come early on Saturday for father and mother will go to school and leave me the key from the pantry<sup>64</sup>; don’t come late on Friday, but rather early on Saturday, for early on Saturday all Jews are at school, and my mother will leave too<sup>65</sup>; don’t come on Sunday, but rather on Saturday, for my mother will go to school and give me the key from the pantry<sup>66</sup>; 2) on Friday, motivating it this way: early on Friday mother will go to a weaver and leave the small keys<sup>67</sup>.
- b. On Saturday, taking advantage of the fact that her parents are at school, Haika turns to her seducer, asking him to take her away: all people are in the field, parents are at school, this is Saturday – the best day of the week, so come to the tavern and take me away<sup>68</sup>; father and mother went to school and left her the keys from the pantry<sup>69</sup>.
- c. It just happens so that seducers accidentally come on Saturday and after finding out that Haika’s parents had gone to school, seduce her and take her with them<sup>70</sup>.

It is interesting that in that one case when a Jew is said to be a seducer, nothing is said about setting a good time for fleeing – can it be so because it was necessary to persuade only Christians of the convenience of Saturday<sup>71</sup>?

## 6. Fleeing

This structural part is interesting for the list of goods that seducers and Haika took away with them. The traditional list consists of various valuables and money: silver and gold, pearls, as well as such household things that are present in practically every Jewish home, unlike the surrounding homes of Ukrainian peasants: pillows, feather-beds, and chests. All the goods, together with people, are loaded on two, three, sometimes four carts (cars, wagons, carriages), which poorly corresponds to the above-mentioned motive of search for a better life. So, here are groups of things that are being taken away:

- a. Silver and gold, pillows and feather-beds<sup>72</sup>.
- b. Belongings, silver and gold, pillows and feather-beds<sup>73</sup>.
- c. Chests (trunks, boxes), feather-beds, silver and gold<sup>74</sup>.
- d. Chests, feather-beds, golden money<sup>75</sup>.
- e. White pillows, silver and gold, colorful chests<sup>76</sup>.
- f. "Kinder" (?), chests and feather-beds ("kinder" is not girl Haika, for she also sits in another cart)<sup>77</sup>.
- g. Chests and feather-beds<sup>78</sup>.
- h. A feather-bed ("pereperychka"), silver and gold<sup>79</sup>.
- i. Silver, gold, white feather-beds<sup>80</sup>.
- j. Gold and silver (silver and gold)<sup>81</sup>.
- k. Silver and pearls (in different carts!)<sup>82</sup>.

## 7. Warnings on the way

During her long travel, Haika has doubts in the sincerity of her seducer(s) and so she, sensing the danger that awaits on her:

- a. Becomes sad (no longer joyful)<sup>83</sup>.
- b. Starts a dialogue with her seducer, trying to clarify where are the palaces, servants, etc. promised by him, to which she gets a very general answer or such an answer that promises her nothing good: 1) palaces are where the blue sea is<sup>84</sup>, 2) courtyards are behind those mountains<sup>85</sup>, 3) courtyards are where blue mountains are, servants are where pussy-willows and pears are [here and in other places the phrases rhyme in Ukrainian, author's note]<sup>86</sup>, 4) courtyards are the great mountains, sheep are the rocks in the water<sup>87</sup>, 5)

courtyards are forests and mountains, servants are hornbeams and oak trees, 6) courtyards are where the deep sea is, servants are where high meadows are<sup>88</sup>, 7) great courtyards are woods and the sea<sup>89</sup>.

- c. The seducer is the one who turns to Haika and uncovers his deception show her what is awaiting on her: 1) possessions in the water under the bridge<sup>90</sup>, 2) wide sea, tall trees will be your courtyards forever, high pine-trees will be your shops forever, red stone is where you will lye forever, amen<sup>91</sup>.
- d. Feeling the warning 1) of her inner voice (force from above – ?)<sup>92</sup> or 2) from the seducers who advise her to go back home, Haika refuses to go back in fear of the anger of her parents (one of both).

### 8. Sad end

- a. Seducer(s) drown(s) Haika: 1) in Danube (“quiet”, “deep”)<sup>93</sup>, 2) in the sea (“blue”, “deep”)<sup>94</sup>, 3) in some other water basin<sup>95</sup>, 4) under the bridge<sup>96</sup>.
- b. In fear of her parents’ anger Haika drowns herself in the Danube after choosing from two alternatives offered by her seducer: to go back home or to drown<sup>97</sup>.
- c. Haika is tied to a pine-tree by her long hair and is thus then burnt<sup>98</sup>.
- d. Haika is tied to an oak-tree in a dark forest and seems to be left this way<sup>99</sup>.

### 9. Didactic morals

Even though the ballad story carries in itself a didactic objective, in many variants the didactic moral is formulated separately, is attributed either to the seducer or his victim, and is oriented either to the victim or to the wide public.

Moral oriented at the victim:

- a. By Haika: 1) When Haika is scared of going back home and drowns: let my braid be carried by the quiet Danube, feet – eaten by sheat-fish, hands – by vipers (pikes)<sup>100</sup>; let my braid be carried by the Danube, hands be eaten by vipers, my white body let be eroded by water<sup>101</sup>. 2) When Haika is drowned by her seducer: I’d rather eat bagels of my father and mother than get drowned in this deep Danube<sup>102</sup>; I’d rather knit socks at my dear mother’s than rot in the Danube; I’d rather eat gogolkes [Jewish buns – “kugls”, “gugls”] than swim in the Danube<sup>103</sup>; I’d rather eat “gugls” at home than swim to the

Danube<sup>104</sup>; sand is eating out my eyes, water is taking down my braid, ravens are devouring my hands<sup>105</sup>.

- b. By seducer: 1) Neutral, generally didactic meaning: you did not want to listen to your father, so you will swim with fish<sup>106</sup>; you'd rather eat your father's chalas than be swimming in the Danube after fishes<sup>107</sup>; it is better to eat bagels than swim in the Danube<sup>108</sup>; you could not drink honey and wine, so now you will have to live in this sea<sup>109</sup>; let roach eat your breasts, let sheat-fish eat your legs<sup>110</sup>. 2) With elements of national contraposition or revenge: swim since you did not know our habits nor our faith!<sup>111</sup>; this is for you to know the Zaporizhia Cossacks, that you would not betray us to bad people<sup>112</sup>; you, little Jew, will swim in the water, while we, the Cossacks, will be lords<sup>113</sup>.

Morals oriented to a general public:

- a. By Haika: those who have daughters should watch over them and never let them go for a walk after sunset<sup>114</sup>; those young ones who want to live on this earth should never let Cossacks incite them<sup>115</sup>.

## 10. Epilog

In several variants, after Haika drowns, seducers go back to the tavern and after hearing that tavern-owner's young wife has fled, tell him that they saw somebody like her near the Danube. When the tavern-owner assumes that they were the ones who took his wife away, they reply that he is wrong, for would they have come back to him had they been to blame for anything<sup>116</sup>?

## 11. Refrain

Refrain in many versions of the "Ballad of Haika" is the link that lets us point to the bilingual nature of the Ballad, though with caution. In spite of the fact that a few versions have no refrain, it is present in most of them. It can be seen in many variants, from the shortest possible to a very long one. Most often, refrains follow each phrase. Sometimes they are independent phrases, other times they combine independent phrases and repetition of the second half of each phrase. Sometimes refrains are repeated after every few phrases. Two groups of refrains can be singled out: such that are formed of combinations of exclamations and often twisted Yiddish words, sometimes with preserved semantic connection,



and such that are formed of pure sounds, which in combination often make a refrain (just like separate parts of refrains of the first group), close in their sound to refrains that are characteristic of Hassidic songs. So, here is the general picture of the most typical examples:

- a. Refrains with pieces of Yiddish vocabulary [Ukrainian parts of the refrains translated into English, author's note]: 1) ah vey! mom, zug, zug, dear one! tir bom, ah vey! tiri, tir bom, ah vey! tatele, mamele, vus is dus? ah vey, vey, vey, vey!<sup>117</sup>; 2) ah vey, zug zey no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no<sup>118</sup>; 3) oy vey, father, zug, zug, mother<sup>119</sup>; 4) ah vey, mother, zuk, zuk, father, tir bom, ah vey, tir bom, ah vey! tiri, tiri, tiri, bom, bom, ah vey, vey, vey, vey, vey, vey, vey, vey!<sup>120</sup>; 5) oy vey, little Jew, sugel, kugel, loved one, and drey sabash, and drey gugel, and drey Chaim, rom, bom, bom!<sup>121</sup>; 6) oy vey, little Jew, oy, jug loved one! za drey shabash, za drey gugel, za drey goy, oy vey, trom, bom, bom!<sup>122</sup>.
- b. Refrains formed of exclamations and combinations of sounds: 1) uy, huy!<sup>123</sup>; 2) gay, gay, dun, dun<sup>124</sup>; 3) oh vey vey! oh oh oh! tir ley ley, tyoh, tyoh, tyoh!<sup>125</sup>; 4) oy vey, vey, oy bom, bom, and nu, nu, nu...<sup>126</sup>; 5) oy vey, vey, zum, zum, zum, tra-la-la-la-la<sup>127</sup>; 6) oy hop-gop, oy gotz-gotz, oy hop-hop, hopulnky, oy gotz-gotz gotzulenly<sup>128</sup>; 7) ta dri-dri-dram, ta dri-dri-bam<sup>129</sup>; 8) ta drid bom, ta drid bom, tra ra ra ra, rom, bom, bom!<sup>130</sup>.

As L. Kvitka said back in the 20-s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, analyzing the variants of the Ballad "of Haika" that were known to him, the use of the Jewish vocabulary and typical exclamations like "oy vey!" in refrains may cause, in analogue with jokes, an impression of the refrains' travesty, comical nature; however the live performance of those variants that L. Kvitka heard firsthand, was of very respectful and serious character<sup>131</sup>.

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A few words must be said about the music of the Ballad. Having no special musical training for detailed analysis of the recorded melodies of different versions of the "Ballad of Haika" (we know 14<sup>132</sup> of them), we will quote an expert in the field of Jewish musical folklore Lyudmyla Sholokhova. She examined the notes to the texts, and in five<sup>133</sup> melodies she found some elements (like, for instance, changed Dorian fret), which is typical for the Jewish folk melodies, while other melodies are typically Ukrainian. In the manuscript of her monograph *Ukrainian Folk Song*

*Lyrics and Epics: Melotypology and Catalogization*, another expert in folklore and music Lyudmyla Yefremova from the Maxym Rylsky Institute of Fine Arts, Folklore and Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine notes that several melodic types of the “Ballad of Haika” possess “features of ‘oriental’ melodic”<sup>134</sup>.

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The following is the author’s concept of the origin and formation of the plot of the “Ballad of Haika” as a result of cultural influences and borrowings. This concept should answer the question whether the plot of the Ballad is just an example of the “Jewish topic” in the Ukrainian folklore, or whether in its basis it is a successful Jewish adaptation of the Ukrainian story of the deceived girl, which came back into the Ukrainian surrounding in this adapted version.

- 1) Ukrainians have their own, extremely popular, presented in more than a hundred variants, didactic plot of the Ballad, with the national character (Galya, Gannusya, etc.), who was taken away from her parents’ house by deceit and who was some way killed; that is why the creation in the Ukrainian surrounding of another developed story with the main character of another – Jewish – nationality, who gets the same compassion as their own, looks “illogical”, if one can speak about logic in folklore in general. \*
- 2) Such a plot could emerge among the Jews and present a “Jewish adaptation” of the Ukrainian story under the influence of great popularity of the main story of the surrounding Ukrainian population and through the introduction into it of their own national character (Haika, Reyzya) and elements of their national lifestyle, with preservation of the original language (Ukrainian), with addition of a refrain in Yiddish (or such that bears no semantic meaning, but is typical for Hassidic songs) and sometimes – a melody with some characteristic Jewish features. The linguistic borrowing of the story by the Jews from Ukrainians is totally possible, for the Jews spoke the language of the nation they lived around quite well.
- 3) Due to its Ukrainian-language origin, the adapted Jewish story was easily borrowed “back” by Ukrainians. It was promoted by some “piquancy” that they saw in it, while the lack of knowledge of Yiddish may have led the Ukrainians to the “spoiling” of the Yiddish refrain, which in many cases simply lost its

semantic integrity. On the Ukrainian soil, this story is most likely to continue to live its own life, with new variants appearing here and there.

- 4) All the known variants of the “Ballad of Haika” were recorded from Ukrainians, which seems to not neutralize the possibility of the above-declared concept, since the lack of records of the “Ballad of Haika” among the Jews can be explained with the fact that:
  - a. Jewish collectors of the Jewish song folklore recorded only religious bilingual plots, like Hassidic songs, which is clearly seen from the famous classical collection of Ginzburg and Marek *Yiddish Folksongs in Russia*<sup>135</sup>. Meanwhile, the secular plot of the “Ballad of Haika” apparently drew no attention of those collectors and was probably attributed by them to the Ukrainian folk heritage.
  - b. Ukrainian collectors of folklore naturally made their records in the ethnically Ukrainian environment, avoiding the Jewish one.

With full realization of the hypothetical nature of the presented concept (it is hard to prove it with 100% assurance, although it is as hard to disprove it, if it is possible at all), despite the degree of its adequacy, which is a debatable issue, we can say without doubt that the didactical plot of the “Ballad of Haika”, examined in its many variants, is a clear proof of the essential mutual influences between the Ukrainian and Jewish (in its local, territorially Ukrainian variant) cultural traditions.

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<sup>2</sup> Figure before colon means the number in the List of Documentary Sources and Publications at the end of the article. 30: Pp. 263–275.

<sup>3</sup> 10: P. 30.

<sup>4</sup> 11: № 216–225. Pp. 296–307.

<sup>5</sup> 20: № 411, № 490–491, № 606.

<sup>6</sup> 11: № 222. Pp. 304–305, № 223. Pp. 305–306.

<sup>7</sup> 19: Pp. 14–16.

<sup>8</sup> 25: Pp. 35–36.

<sup>9</sup> 17: P. 4. № 08-КБ–04.

<sup>10</sup> 7: № 25. Fol. 18; 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22, № 23. Pp. 22–23.

<sup>11</sup> 2: Fol. 58; 3: Fol. 29; 13: № 892. P. 213; 26: № 434. P. 138.

- <sup>12</sup> 14: Part 2. № 46. Pp. 172–173.
- <sup>13</sup> 1: № 7. Fol. 11–13.
- <sup>14</sup> 9: P. 289; 15: № 526–Б. P. 267; 19: P. 15.
- <sup>15</sup> 8; 9: P. 290; 15: № 526–Б. P. 267.
- <sup>16</sup> 9: P. 288.
- <sup>17</sup> 4: № 145. Fol. 138.
- <sup>18</sup> 22: № 82. Pp. 171–172.
- <sup>19</sup> 9: Pp. 290–291.
- <sup>20</sup> 23: Pp. 275–276.
- <sup>21</sup> 14: Part 1. № 29. Pp. 204–205, part 2. № 46. Pp. 172–173; 16: № 112. P. 61; 21: № 181. P. 151; 27: Pp. 187–188.
- <sup>22</sup> 1: № 7. Fol. 11–13; 2: Fol. 58; 3: Fol. 29; 4: № 145. Fol. 138; 8; 9: Pp. 288–289, pp. 289–290, p. 290, pp. 290–291; 13: № 892. P. 213; 15: № 526–А. P. 266, № 526–Б. P. 267, № 526–В. Pp. 267–268; 16: № 113. Pp. 61–62; 19: P. 15; 22: № 82. Pp. 171–172; 23: Pp. 275–276; 29: № 23. Pp. 22–23.
- <sup>23</sup> 5: Fol. 5–6; 7: № 25. Fol. 18; 16: № 114. P. 62.
- <sup>24</sup> 12: № 476. P. 122.
- <sup>25</sup> 14: Part 1. № 31. Pp. 205–206; 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22.
- <sup>26</sup> 23: Pp. 275–276.
- <sup>27</sup> 5: Fol. 5–6; 14: Part 2. № 46. Pp. 172–173.
- <sup>28</sup> 29: № 23. Pp. 22–23.
- <sup>29</sup> 14: Part 1. № 29. Pp. 204–205.
- <sup>30</sup> 7: № 25. Fol. 18.
- <sup>31</sup> 1: № 7. Fol. 11–13.
- <sup>32</sup> 4: № 145. Fol. 158.
- <sup>33</sup> 27: Pp. 187–188.
- <sup>34</sup> 9: Pp. 288–289; 15: № 526–Б. P. 267.
- <sup>35</sup> 14: Part 1. № 31. Pp. 205–206; 19: P. 15; 28: № 22. Pp. 21–22.
- <sup>36</sup> 9: P. 290, Pp. 290–291; 22: № 82. Pp. 171–172.
- <sup>37</sup> 15: № 526–А. P. 266.
- <sup>38</sup> 9: Pp. 289–290.
- <sup>39</sup> 13: № 892. P. 213.
- <sup>40</sup> 2: Fol. 58.
- <sup>41</sup> 16: № 114. P. 62.
- <sup>42</sup> 16: № 113. P. 61.
- <sup>43</sup> 16: № 112. P. 61.
- <sup>44</sup> 8.
- <sup>45</sup> 15: № 526–Б. P. 267.
- <sup>46</sup> 15: № 526–А. P. 266.

- <sup>47</sup> 8.
- <sup>48</sup> 19: P. 15.
- <sup>49</sup> 9: Pp. 289–290.
- <sup>50</sup> 15: № 526–Б. P. 267.
- <sup>51</sup> 14: Part 1. № 29. Pp. 204–205; 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22.
- <sup>52</sup> 5: Fol. 5–6; 7: № 25. Fol. 18; 14: Part 3. № 46. Pp. 172–173; 15: № 526–А. P. 266; 22: № 82. Pp. 171–172; 29: № 23. P. 22–23.
- <sup>53</sup> 14: Part 1. № 29. Pp. 204–205.
- <sup>54</sup> 4: № 145. Fol. 138.
- <sup>55</sup> 16: № 112. P. 61.
- <sup>56</sup> 19: P. 15.
- <sup>57</sup> 15: № 526–Б. P. 267.
- <sup>58</sup> 7: № 25. Fol. 18.
- <sup>59</sup> 1: № 7. Pp. 11–13; 14: Part 3. № 46. Pp. 172–173; 29: № 23. Pp. 22–23.
- <sup>60</sup> 5: Fol. 5–6.
- <sup>61</sup> 22: № 82. Pp. 171–172.
- <sup>62</sup> 8.
- <sup>63</sup> 9: Pp. 289–290.
- <sup>64</sup> 14. Part 1. Pp. 204–205.
- <sup>65</sup> 16: № 112. P. 61.
- <sup>66</sup> 15: № 526–А. P. 266.
- <sup>67</sup> 23: Pp. 275–276.
- <sup>68</sup> 4: № 145. Fol. 138.
- <sup>69</sup> 27: Pp. 187–188.
- <sup>70</sup> 9: Pp. 290–291.
- <sup>71</sup> 15: № 526–Б. Pp. 267–268.
- <sup>72</sup> 8; 19: P. 15.
- <sup>73</sup> 14: Part 1. № 29. Pp. 204–205.
- <sup>74</sup> 1: № 7. Fol. 11–13; 5: Fol. 5–6; 7: № 25. Fol. 18; 9: Pp. 288–289, pp. 289–290, pp. 290–291; 15: № 526–А. P. 266, № 526–Б. P. 267; 21: № 181. P. 151; 28: № 23. P. 22–23.
- <sup>75</sup> 14; Part 2. № 46. Pp. 172–173.
- <sup>76</sup> 23: Pp. 275–276.
- <sup>77</sup> 16: № 113. Pp. 61–62, № 114. Pp. 62–63.
- <sup>78</sup> 2: Fol. 58.
- <sup>79</sup> 22: № 82. Pp. 171–172.
- <sup>80</sup> 9: P. 290.
- <sup>81</sup> 4: № 145. Fol. 138; 14. Part 1. № 31. Pp. 205–206; 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22.
- <sup>82</sup> 27: Pp. 187–188.
- <sup>83</sup> 14. Part 1. № 31. Pp. 205–206; 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22.

- <sup>84</sup> 27: Pp. 187–188.
- <sup>85</sup> 14: Part 3. № 46. Pp. 172–173.
- <sup>86</sup> 29: № 23. Pp. 22–23.
- <sup>87</sup> 23: Pp. 275–276.
- <sup>88</sup> 1: № 7. Fol. 11–13.
- <sup>89</sup> 5: Fol. 5–6.
- <sup>90</sup> 14: Part 1. № 29. Pp. 204–205.
- <sup>91</sup> 9: Pp. 290–291.
- <sup>92</sup> 8.
- <sup>93</sup> 1: № 7. Fol. 11–13; 5: Fol. 5–6; 7: № 25. Fol. 18; 9: Pp. 290–291; 14: Part 1. № 29. Pp. 204–205, № 31. Pp. 205–206, part 3. № 46. Pp. 172–173; 22: № 82. Pp. 171–172; 23: Pp. 275–276; 27: Pp. 187–188; 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22, № 23. Pp. 22–23.
- <sup>94</sup> 4: № 145. Fol. 138; 8:.
- <sup>95</sup> 21: № 181. P. 151.
- <sup>96</sup> 19: P. 15.
- <sup>97</sup> 2: Fol. 58; 9: Pp. 288–289, pp. 289–290; 15: № 526–A. P. 266, № 526–B. Pp. 267–268.
- <sup>98</sup> 15: № 526–B. P. 267; 16: № 113. Pp. 61–62, № 114. P. 62.
- <sup>99</sup> 9: P. 290.
- <sup>100</sup> 9: Pp. 288–289, pp. 289–290; 15: № 526–B. Pp. 267–268.
- <sup>101</sup> 15: № 526–A. Pp. 266–277.
- <sup>102</sup> 5: Fol. 5–6; 27: Pp. 187–188.
- <sup>103</sup> 29: № 23. Pp. 22–23.
- <sup>104</sup> 7: № 25. Fol. 18.
- <sup>105</sup> 23: Pp. 275–276.
- <sup>106</sup> 1: № 7. Fol. 11–13.
- <sup>107</sup> 22: № 82. Pp. 171–172.
- <sup>108</sup> 23: Pp. 275–276.
- <sup>109</sup> 4: № 145. Fol. 138.
- <sup>110</sup> 19: P. 15.
- <sup>111</sup> 14: Part 3. № 46. Pp. 172–173.
- <sup>112</sup> 9: P. 290.
- <sup>113</sup> 14: Part 1. № 31. Pp. 205–206.
- <sup>114</sup> 16: № 113. Pp. 61–62, № 114. P. 62.
- <sup>115</sup> 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22.
- <sup>116</sup> 14: Part 1. № 31. Pp. 205–206; 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22.
- <sup>117</sup> 16: № 113. Pp. 61–62.
- <sup>118</sup> 8.
- <sup>119</sup> 4: № 145. Fol. 138.
- <sup>120</sup> 3: Fol. 29.

- <sup>121</sup> 19: P. 15.
- <sup>122</sup> 21: № 181. P.151.
- <sup>123</sup> 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22.
- <sup>124</sup> 29: № 23. Pp. 22–23.
- <sup>125</sup> 16: № 112. P. 61, № 114. P. 62.
- <sup>126</sup> 15: № 526–Б. P. 267.
- <sup>127</sup> 26: № 434. P. 138.
- <sup>128</sup> 9: Pp. 288–289.
- <sup>129</sup> 23: Pp. 275–276.
- <sup>130</sup> 15: № 526–Б. Pp. 267–268.
- <sup>131</sup> 19: P. 16.
- <sup>132</sup> 1: № 7. Fol. 11–13; 3: Fol. 29; 4: № 145. Fol. 138; 8; 9: Pp. 288–289, pp. 289–290; 12: № 476. P. 122; 16: № 112. P. 61, № 113. Pp. 61–62, № 114. P. 62; 19: № 14. P. 36; 26: № 434. P. 138; 29: № 22. Pp. 21–22, № 23. Pp. 22–23.
- <sup>133</sup> 3: Fol. 29; 8; 9: Pp. 288–289, pp. 289–290; 19: № 14. P. 36.
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### **Abstract (Ukrainian)**

Ще в середині 30-х років минулого століття видатний дослідник єврейської народної музики й пісенного фольклору Мойсей Береговський у статті "Взаємні впливи в єврейському і українському музичному фольклорі" вважав наявність таких взаємовпливів очевидною "a priori". Автор запропонованої тут читачеві студії обрав для аналізу сюжет, що персбуває, на його думку, в самому епіцентрі культурного обміну між українським та єврейським народами у сфері пісенного фольклору – дидактичної балади "про Хайку" – підмовлену до мандрівки звідниками єврейську дівчину (жінку), авантюра якої обертається для неї смертю. Серед європейських народів і слов'ян, зокрема, сюжет про підмовлену до мандрівки дівчину є надзвичайно популярним і, як правило, головною дійовою особою варіантів такого сюжету виступає національний персонаж. Так, у українців це – українки Галя, Ганнуса тощо. У випадку ж україномовного у своїй основі сюжету балади "про Хайку" головним персонажем є єврейка, до того ж у приспівках часто трапляються слова та вирази мовою їдиш, що дає підстави стверджувати з певною обережністю про його білінгвізм.

Як результат усебічного аналізу 30-ти відомих авторів пропонованого дослідження варіантів пісенного баладного сюжету “про Хайку” за 11-ма умовними структурними частинами, читачам пропонується авторська концепція його (сюжету) походження, головними положеннями якої є такі.

1. Українці мають свій, надзвичайно популярний, з національним персонажем (Галя, Ганнуса тощо), представлений понад сотнею варіантів дидактичний баладний сюжет про дівчину, обманом вивезену з батьківської оселі й далі позбавлену в той чи той спосіб життя, тому можливість створення в українському середовищі побічного розвинутого сюжету з головним персонажем іншої – єврейської національності, якому так само співчують, як і своєму, виглядає “нелогічно”, наскільки взагалі можна говорити про логіку у фольклорі.

2. Сюжет балади “про Хайку” міг виникнути в єврейському середовищі під впливом великої популярності основного сюжету (“про Галю”) оточуючого українського населення як єврейська адаптація останнього методом введення в нього свого національного персонажу (Хайка) та елементів народного побуту зі збереженням мови першопослови (української), з доданням рефрену мовою їдиш (або такого, що хоч і не має смислового навантаження, але є характерним для хасидських пісень) і, інколи, мелодії з окремими характерними для єврейського народного мелосу рисами. Лінгвістичне запозичення євреями сюжету від українців видається цілком можливим, адже євреї достатньою для цього мірою володіли мовою народу, серед якого проживали.

3. У свою чергу, завдяки збереженій україномовності вже трансформований в єврейському середовищі у баладу “про Хайку” сюжет міг із легкістю бути запозичений “назад” українцями, чому мала би сприяти деяка в їхніх очах його “пікантність”, а переважне незнання українцями мови їдиш з неминучістю призвело до “псування” рефрену, який у більшості випадків утратив смислову цільність. На українському ґрунті цей сюжет, цілком вірогідно, продовжував жити повноцінним життям, обростаючи новими варіантами.

Усвідомлюючи гіпотетичність представленої ним концепції, автор доходить висновку, що розглянутий у його багатоваріантності дидактичний баладний сюжет “про Хайку” є яскравим свідченням значного взаємовпливу української та єврейської (в її локальному, територіально українському варіанті) культурних традицій.