

УДК 392(477.85)

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ARCHAIC RELIC PHENOMENA
IN THE SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF THE
EASTROMANIAN
POPULATION OF BUKOVYNA
(ON THE MATERIALS OF THE FIELD
ETHNOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH)

АРХАЇЧНІ РЕЛІКТОВІ ЯВИЩА
У ДУХОВНІЙ КУЛЬТУРІ СХІДНОРОМАНСЬКОГО
НАСЕЛЕННЯ БУКОВИНИ
(НА МАТЕРІАЛАХ ПОЛЬОВИХ ЕТНОГРАФІЧНИХ
ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ)

Ключевые слова: Буковина, духовная культура, реликтовые явления, румыны Буковины, обряды вызывания дождя, зимние драматические обряды, похороны засухи, папаруда.

Мойсей Антоний. Архаические реликтовые явления в духовной культуре восточнороманского населения Буковины (на материалах полевых этнографических исследований).

Исследование и сохранение культурного достояния народов Украины на данном этапе имеют научное, культурное и экономическое значение. Буковина, как этнографическая зона, находится длительный исторический период на стыке цивилизаций: восточнославянской и схи́днороманської. Такое географическое и этнолингвистические разграничение территории, населения ведет к тому, что традиционно-бытовая нравственность и устное поэтическое творчество хранятся здесь гораздо устойчивее, чем в центральных областях. Также, длительное совместное пребывание населения региона на стыке двух культур выработало своеобразные стереотипы мышления, морально-этические нормы поведения и т. Буковина в этом аспекте, имеет один из лучших уровней сохранения народных традиций в Украине. Данная констатация распространяется и на консервацию определенных дохристианских традиций. Среди них: архаические приемы измерения и счета времени года; комплекс «волчьих» дней, направленных на защиту от хищников; реминисценции возрастной инициации молодежи; коляднички обходы; зимние драматические обряды; комплекс обрядов вызывания и предотвращения гидроатмосферных катаклизмов.

Introduction. Research and preservation of the cultural heritage of the nationalities of Ukraine has important scientific, cultural and economic meaning now. This is possible, because of rapid development of the tourism industry in Europe. Bucovina is a region of great interest in this branch of industry. It takes the territory of modern Ukraine (Chernivtsi region) as also the part of Suceava County (Romania), it is an ethnographic territory staying for a long period of history at the crossroads of two civilizations: Eastern and east-romanian. It has developed unique patterns of thinking, moral and ethical standards, its traditions and so on. It is in these areas which are located on the fringes of national territories, traditional home customs and oral poetry remain much more stable than in the central areas. The reputable ethnologists such as O. Kurochkin and M. Tolstoy came to this conclusion. Bucovina as ethnographic area has one of the best levels of preserving folk traditions. This statement applies to the conservation of certain pre-Christian traditions. Among these archaic

methods of measurement and annual account of time; complex of so called "wolf" days aimed at protection from predators; reminiscences age of initiation of young people; carol rounds; winter dramatic rituals; complex rituals and invocation and preventing from nature disasters.

Historiography and search base of research.

The interest of researchers to the question of the genesis and evolution of relic phenomena of spiritual culture has led to numerous of the genesis and evolution of relic phenomena of spiritual culture has led to numerous theoretical studies of A. Van Gennep,¹ E. Durkheim², M. Eliade³, V. Cabe⁴, E. Taylor⁵, D. Freser⁶ and others. Archaic relic phenomenon in the spiritual culture of the Eastern Romanian population of Bucovina is the object of our study for some time.

The study is based on materials of ethnographic field research conducted by the author in the 1997-2016 of the. Romanian villages in the Chernivtsi region of Ukraine and Romania Suceava County. Some materials, including photographs, published for the first time.

The basic material. Traditional folk calendar of the Eastern Romanic population of the province has maintained its basic position in the current calendar system (seasonality, taking into account the solstices and equinoxes, new year, the economic cycle rituals, etc.) And have not lost the magic basis of many customs and rituals. In the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth century the natural cycle (pre-Christian) concept of time remained relevant. Within the year, week, day has its own favorable and unfavorable, everyday and sacred time periods. The nature of time determined by the lunar and solar cults and depended on the location of the stars in the sky.

In the folk calendar of Moldovans and Romanians in Bukovina remained separation, the two holidays: St. And St. George. Dmitry who says that once a year of two great seasons. In particular, this separation was observed ranching, livestock, shepherds, and employees. This tradition exists in Bulgarians, Serbs and Macedonians, partly in the Eastern Slavs.

An important factor in determining the start of the new season in Bukovinian of the Eastern Romanic population (as in the traditions of the Eastern Romans in general) are the weather conditions and the results of observing the behavior of animals and birds. For example, in Bukovina Spring was determined by the onset (output) from the ground snakes and reptiles, early activation flies and red butterflies, flowering snowdrops, arrival swallows, storks. Conversely, when the birds flew away it was considered the approaching winter.

The historical influences are observed of different calendars in the folk calendar Romanians. Agricultural one was on 9 March and was associated with the day of the vernal equinox and death Dokia woman, identified with the Neolithic goddess Terra Mater (Mother Earth); Sheep - on April 23, connected with Syndzheorzem (St. George), the god of vegetation, patron of horses, cows, sheep and planted fields identified with autochthonous god - Thracian Knight; vineyard new year (February 2) and others. To this one the biblical New Year was added which is celebrated on September 1 after the creation in 5508 BC. used by the church and princely courts to the XVIII century for dating acts and documents.

The most influential was the civil New Year, which was celebrated at the winter solstice, the Romanians it was dedicated to Santa Krechuna (Moș Crăciun), who had a relationship with both Dacian and Roman calendars. In particular Dacian heritage is associated with grandparents' cults (cultul moșilor) - such as Krechun mosh, mosh Azhun and others, and the wolf, all woven in sheep and wolf cult folk calendar days, reflected in various forms of funeral rites birds as the embodiment of the soul that left the body. Very common, including in Bukovina, the ritual invocation of rain *Kaloyan* as *paparudy*; custom gay vigil for the dead in which joking, playing, attended masks,

etc. - all these rites bears the imprint of spiritual culture Dako-Goths.

The advent of Christianity in the pagan rituals and beliefs has led to the spread of syncretism in the national outlook. A contamination representation of pagan gods and Christian saints, pagan symbols with Christian symbols took place.

Today it defines the church calendar system holidays; their sequence forms the priorities of modern public ritual calendar. The big Christian holidays concentrated around them a large number of customs and rituals, magical practices, beliefs, signs and more.

The high level of preservation of folk traditions in Bukovina ethnographic area can be illustrated by a number of unique ancient customs and rituals: a) ritual funeral anthropomorphic dolls Kaloyan (drought funeral) ceremony remains *paparuda* that have already disappeared in some Romanian territories; b) a set of winter dramatic rituals, which are archaic, mystic and massive events and are unique ethnographic phenomena for Ukraine, Romania and the Republic of Moldova.

The ritual funeral drought (Kaloyan). Based on archival materials, printed sources and ethnographic expeditions the information was discovered about holding this ceremony in 39 Romanian villages in Bukovina (Suceava County 18 and 21 of the Chernivtsi region). Ritual doll was called Kaloyan, drought, doll, Pelehiye, Late or the funeral ceremony dolls and was held during a drought. It was performed by the girls aged 5 to 16 years. The material for the dolls served as clay, rags, hay, shavings, corn cobs, cane, and wood or bought doll. Height of dolls ranged from 15 to 75 cm. Dolls were buried on the edge of the village, crossroads, near the well, in the mountain or drowned in the river. After the funeral wake the girls arranged: Kaloyan treats, wake Kaloyan. Dolls can dig in 3-5 days and burn. Ashes dispelled in the field, torn to pieces and thrown into the river. At the heart of the rite are two central reasons: sending a messenger to deity (Kaloyan) and deities that die and come to life (Mother of rain). The formation of local titles has had a significant impact another motive recent origin - a mother who seeks and mourning disappeared child. In the Eastern Roman population of Chernivtsi region (in more than 10 villages) ritual is held to this day. In some areas it has lost its magic meaning, the second half of the twentieth century. turned into entertainment, game for children.

The most common text of prayers addressed ritual doll, was: "Caloiene, Iene, / Caloiene, Iene, / Dute-n cer si cere / Să sloboadă ploile, / Zilele și noptile / Să deschidă porțile / Să curgă ca gârlele / Ca să crească grânele ». / "Kaloyan, Jan, / Kaloyan, Jan, / in heaven pray / Release rain / Day and night, / To the gates opened / And as rivers flowed, / bread to grow." In this prayer appears Kaloyan "envoy" to heaven communities with the aim of inducing rain.

The ritual is especially common among Moldovans in Odessa area, in Romania and the Republic of Moldova, also known Bulgarians (Herman, Kaloyan), Gagauz and other nations.

Mother of rain - during the ceremony carrying two dolls: male - Father sun (in white dress) and women - Mother rain (in black). The ordinance could be made to induce and cessation of rain. They buried the rain Mother and Father of the Sun putting it on top of a crane or a well. Text laments had a completely different direction: "Mother died of rain, sun and father alive again." In case of rain induce dolls could be changed vice versa, and changed into mourning (the southern part of Bukovina).

Paparuda means bypassing farms by the youth of the protagonist - "pure" girl was decorated with green branches and leaves, which were accompanied by peers performing the ritual songs and dances for the purpose of inducing rain. The first mention of conducting the rite called pepeluha is contained in the Description of Moldova (1716) by Dymitriy Cantemir. In the XIX - early XX century. paparudy procession consisted of groups of girls 7-12 years old. Subsequently involved older girls and guys, with time - a gypsy girl were involved in the rituals. For the role paparudy high and skinny girl, her face smeared with ash was usually chosen. The main character of the was decorated with different local greens, dressed in a gown with colorful ribbons. In the courtyard paparuda ritual was singing a song whose main motive was to induce rain. The hostess poured out her head and gifts to cold water believing that it had to encourage heavy and prolonged rain. The ritual ended with drowning green clothes in the river and arranging collective meal from products collected from villagers. Since the beginning of the twentieth century. occasional ceremony was held during droughts in some areas a week after Kaloyan, then it gradually disappeared; paparudy remains fixed in the 90-ies of the XX century in the Chernivtsi region.

The ritual is common in Moldovans and Odessa region, in Romania and the Republic of Moldova, also known as the southern and eastern Slavs (down, peperuda driving bush, birch), Greeks, Albanians, Gagauz, Indians and other nations.

The most common text rite was such: «Paparudă, rudă, / Vină de ne udă, / Să pornească ploile, / Să crească grâiele!» / «Paparude, red, / Come and oblyy us / To go rain / And bread grew!».

Today, the traditional culture of the Eastern Roman population of Bukovina remained a complex dramatic rituals, concentrated mainly in the Christmas-New Year holidays calendar cycle, although it had a similar distribution and Shrovetide, carnival and other cycles.

As for the origin of all complex dramatic winter rites Romanians and Moldovans should distinguish between different categories of time of their

elements. In our opinion, the oldest one is the subject of zoomorphic rituals in which the main actors are goat, horse, deer, bear and other wildlife. The roots are from the primitive times of human existence. According to E. Tylor, savage animals were honored by force, courage or cunning, attributing them to the soul, capable to live after death of the body and keep the old harmful or useful characteristics and properties. Subsequently, this idea coincides with the idea that the animal may be embodied divinity, which sees, hears, acts - even from afar and whose power remains unchanged after the death of the body.

From this point of view some researchers see in rites zoomorphic elements not only agro-magical worldview but also a long tradition of hunting.

Let take a glimpse to the winter dramatic ceremonies where zoo and anthropomorphic characters come from archaic times, goat, horse, bear, bull, deer, grandparents, Malanka.

Goat (capra). The ritual goat evenly distributed throughout the residence as the Eastern Romanic and Ukrainian population of Bukovina. The ritual is performed mainly on the eve of the New Year, although there is evidence of its existence on Christmas Eve or during the period between Christmas and New Year.

Frequently two ways of action. In the first, simplest, it involves two actors: guides and goat promised husband. Until guides CAROLS (recites), masks pulls the rope jaw goats to the beat of Christmas carols. Then they switch places. In another way, the action turns on the popular drama (is a kind of scene), which involves 5-10 characters. The scenario in this case consisted of the following episodes: grandfather sells goat - goat sick - it is trying to heal, according to various versions: doctor, quack, gypsies, gypsy, future grandfather himself - goat rises and begins to dance. In ritual motive emerges clearly dying and resurrected god.

Head goats, usually made of wood (the work of national artist) and put it on a stick. The horns of thick wire or aluminum tubes are attached, to head of the wild goat horns sometimes used for this real. The very future head covered with goat, sheep, rabbit or fox fur. Top design sowed blanket Kalmyk white jacket inside out and so on. Guides wore feminine skirt. Goat was adorned with colored ribbons, flowers, bits of paper, mirrors, bells, beads and more. In Kostychany village and Novoselytsia district eyes goat were made of shiny buttons or beads, tongue from a piece of pink skin, horns and head bands adorned with colored paper and hung in his beard bell.

The Horse (Căluțul). In the origins of the ritual of walking the ridge Romanian ethnologist R. Vulkenyesku sees the dance of ancient hunters of the era of horse domestication⁹. On the one hand like a goat, bear and other zoomorphic figures, grasshopper is a symbol of fertility, on the other it acts as an intermediary between the world, a sym-

bol of the sun.

Ritual evenly distributed throughout the residence of Eastern Roman population of Bukovina. Instead, it is known in Ukrainian tradition only between the rivers Prut and Dniester within Chernivtsi region. At the center of the largest concentration of Bessarabia ceremony is part of the region of Khotyn, Novoselytsya, Kelmentsi and Sokyryany areas.

The ritual is conducted mostly before the New Year, although in some areas it is held in Bukovina Christmas Eve (p. Prypruttia Novoselitsk region). Number of grasshoppers could range from one to ten. On the basis of these materials it was found that in this area of ethnographic several options for common rite were presented. First, the simplest one, in which horse and several escorts participated; grandfather led the horse by the rope, the rest of the characters danced with girls. Second, action becomes a popular piece, the central plot is pricked gypsy horse. For the third, cavalry march simulated to war.

Normally, the head of the ridge as the very structure (frame) made of wood or plywood. In some regions the skull a real horse was used. In this context it is worth mentioning that, unlike the Romanians it had a rather bulky design that required from the rider a certain skill. Its "head" was wrapped with a white cloth; with the frame to the ground occur in the form of white linen skirt. It was decorated with colored ribbons, stars, paper flowers, beads; mirror hung on the "neck" collar tied cinch others.

Rider was dressed in all white, cling to his feet bells. Also the guys, who ran the toy-horses, were in military uniform - officers, captains, majors. In Prypruttia rider wore a white shirt and red hat.

Bear is a typical winter zoomorphic masks in rituals carnival of the eastern Roman population, whose origin goes back to the magical practices of hunting tribe. In Bukovina and in the north of the Republic of Moldova people still remember how it happens in the thirties of the twentieth century. During the winter holidays men walked with domestic bear. In the late nineteenth century Romanian researcher Dan D. in describing social stratification of Gypsies of Bukovina who allocated special group *Ūrsari* (bear guides) who drove the beast in the villages, earning on it. Bears were attributed with apotropeic force and certainty that it can be used to cure sciatica.

Subsequently a man in bear skin (sometimes in the skins of other animals that were her substitute) replaced a real bear later in the casing inside out and so on. The most ancient is a dress in straw where is most clearly visible link with the agrarian magic.

Ritual bear evenly distributed throughout the residence of the Eastern Roman Bukovina and Ukrainian population. The centre of the greatest concentration of ritual masks and costumes bear in Ukrainian is *Vyzhnytsya*, *Storozhynets* and

Hlyboka regions.

One of the first references to the ritual of bear walking in Bukovina is found in the writings of Romanian researcher Yelena Nikulitse-Voronka. The researcher described a type of dressed bear, which at present is extremely rare, but only in some Romanian villages. This is the straw bear, which is sometimes set on fire and threw in the snow to extinguish the flames, by Yelena Nikulitse-Voronka research.

Similarly to the ridge and goats, walking with the bear could occur as a separate performance - Gypsy with a bear on a leash played a performance involving a wide range of characters; or bear one of the characters played *Malanka* a large group. The age of participants are of 17-19 years. In Bukovina competition are held between bears.

In Bukovina mask-bear costume is of several types: 1) bear skin; 2) from the skins of other animals, like to a bear; 3) straw clothing and mask; jacket inside out and bear mask. In one village you can see all kinds of masks simultaneously, such as in *Krasnoilsk Storozhynetsky* region at the carnival.

Old woman and old men (*moşneagul și baba*).

The Mask of Grandfather is widespread throughout the Carpathian-Balkan region. Groups of clowns, the main parties which are grandparents, nowadays almost there. Rite as a holistic performance has degraded, and the main characters - grandparents - in fact are presented in most dramatic rituals of the Eastern Roman population of Bukovina.

In Bucovina ethnographic area *Malanka* is a set of similar equal dramatic rituals formed in inter-ethnic Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldavian borderlands, area of distribution of which the north of the Republic of Moldova, *Ivano-Frankivsk*, *Terнопil*, *Khmelnysky*, *Vinnytsia*, *Odesa*, *Kirovohrad*, *Cherkasy*, *Poltava*, *Dnepropetrovsk*, *Kharkiv*, *Kyiv* region) and Bukovina. Primitive Rite focused its localization according to the hypothesis prof. G.K.Bostana in Dniester (near *Mogilev-Podolsky*) and northern Bessarabia (attacks, *Ocnita*). In support of his words, the researcher suggests text support rite in Ukrainian ("Our *Malanka* in the Dniester was", "*Malanka-podnistryanka*" "... in the Dniester water has"), as well as Moldovan ("*Malanochka* of *Hârlău* / walking in *Mogilev*")¹².

Our analysis carried *Malanka* detours allows to state that the Romanian villages in Bukovina present dramatic ceremony could take place without the traditional words or songs. Moreover, it was observed that most Romanian villages has no universally accepted text *Malanka*, while others performed Christmas ritual words such as goats, bears and more. It is presented only the name of the group of dressed people - *Malanka*. The most notable here is the southern part of Bukovina.

Regarding the term *Malanka* is worth noting that Moldovans and Romanians from Bukovina bor-

rowed from the Ukrainians only the most dramatic definition to determine the action as a whole. Thus, in most Romanian villages, according to the source material, that name performed purely Romanian performances, such as bear, goat, Haiduk performances and more. Romanians and Moldovans Bukovina didn't borrow from Ukrainians main characters of the rite - Basil and Malanka. This clearly shows the composition of the Romanian (Moldovan) Malanka throughout the Bukovina.

In this context it is worth noting that now the carnival in Krasnoilsk involved more than 350 clowns and three to five thousand spectators.

Analyzing the Romanian and Ukrainian versions of holding this rite, it should be noted some differences. Thus, in Romanian rituals malanka has no such characters as Basil and Cossacks, while they are the main characters and the most popular Ukrainian Malanka. In addition, the Ukrainian Malanka has no traditional Romanian actors: Hayduk, captain, kings and queens, Turks and Turkin hunter, merchant and others. And say, is more typical for the Romanian version Malanka character such as grasshopper. Common is the grandparents, bride, Roma and Gypsy, Jew and Jew, goat, lady, bear and others.

There is one dramatic difference in the conduct of the ceremony. Thus, Romanians and Moldovans for Malanka is a characteristic only meaningful composition for individual episodes ceremony. In them there is a clear order of certain scenes drama performances. Rotate pieces performed plays with a bear, horses, goat, etc., signal the beginning and end of which gives the head of the group. Every single episode has its ritual words. Instead, a typical Ukrainian attempts to create a holiday, which dominates the ceremonial mess. Some episodes Ukrainian Malanka occur simultaneously and synchronously, spraying the attention of the owners. If Romanians and Moldovans main goal is dramatic ritual wish the owners well-being, happiness, yield; it seems that the Ukrainian version shall prevail humour motives. The very character Malanka with its appearance and actions must show carelessness young girl who does everything awkwardly, scatters cushions, pours water suit, dirties benches with clay and other items of housekeepers, kissing, etc. are presented.

Pluhshorul (Plușorul) of Romanians and Moldovans in Ukraine - Christmas carols of children (6-15 years), which described the process of plowing fields, harvesting and baking bread. Attributes: bell, bull (music. Tool), tsypilno, ancient ritual of going to a real plow sometimes continued until the mid-twentieth century. Further it had been replaced by miniature wooden plow (XX c.).

Conclusions. Our studies allow conclusions to confirm the adequacy of the number of domestic and foreign scientists about the specificity and uniqueness of the Bukovina region as a zone for the reservation of huge number of beliefs, customs

and rituals inherent in the system of national calendar of the Eastern Roman population of Bukovina. These traditions infused with millennial process of acculturation in the border zone of two civilizations - Slavic and Eastern Roman. The globalization of modern social life, the process of laundering traditional national values in the world, yet closed to the scientific community the possibility of penetration into the essence of the general process of inter-ethnic coexistence through research of the Bukovina ethnographic zones.

Today Bucovina can be a ground for the expeditionary research of traditional culture of the certain national minorities of Ukraine. It represents to the scientists the further penetration into the essence of the general trends in the processes of interpenetration of cultures of different peoples in limitrophic groups in multi-ethnic regions of contact. Bucovina can present a strong potential action of various unique traditional cultures to the whole world that are entitled to be popularized as across Ukraine and abroad.

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Мойсей Антоній. Архаїчні реліктові явища у духовній культурі східнороманського населення Буковини (на матеріалах польових етнографічних досліджень). Дослідження і збереження культурних надбань народів України на даному етапі мають наукове, культурне та економічне значення. Буковина, як етнографічна зона, знаходиться тривалий історичний період на стику цивілізацій: східнослов'янської та східнороманської. Таке географічне та етнолінгвістичне помежів'я території, населення веде до того, що традиційно-побутова звичаєвість і усна поетична творчість зберігаються тут набагато стійкіше, ніж у центральних областях. Також, тривале співперебування населення регіону поміж двох культур виробило своєрідні стереотипи мислення, морально-етичні норми поведінки тощо. Буковина, в цьому аспекті, має один з найкращих рівнів збереження народних традицій в Україні. Дана констатація розповсюджується і на консервацію певних дохристиянських традицій. Серед них: архаїчні прийоми виміру і рахунку річного часу; комплекс «вовчих» днів, направлених на захист від хижаків; ремінісценції вікової ініціації молоді; колядницькі обходи; зимові драматичні обряди; комплекс обрядів викликання та відвернення гідроатмосферних катаклізмів.

Отже, когнітивне ядро даної статті, що стала наслідком польових етнографічних досліджень, є залишкові у духовній культурі східнороманського населення Буковини. Зокрема, календарно-обрядовий цикл та його вираження в предметній обрядовості, сакрально-символьному значенні архаїчних вірувань та хронотопному світогляді. Зокрема, у народному календарі румунів і молдаван Буковини зберігся поділ року за двома святами: св. Георгія та св. Дмитра, який свідчить, що колись рік складався з двох великих сезонів. Така традиція існує також у болгар, сербів та македонців та у східних слов'ян.

У статті охарактеризовані найбільш поширені обряди, якими можна проілюструвати унікальні давні звичаї: ритуал похорону антропоморфної ляльки калоян (похорон засухи), рештки обряду папаруда, які вже зникли на деяких румунських територіях; комплекс зимових драматичних обрядів, що є унікальними етнографічними явищами для України, Румунії та Республіки Молдови.

Ключові слова: Буковина, духовна культура, реліктові явища, румуни Буковини, обряди викликання дощу, зимові драматичні обряди, похорон засухи, папаруда.

Мойсей Антоній – доктор історичних наук, завідувач кафедри суспільних наук та українознавства Буковинського державного медичного університету. Коло наукових інтересів: історія української культури, історія України, традиційна культура населення Буковини, взаємовпливи в сфері традиційної культури українського та східнороманського населення Буковини, процеси етнокультурної ідентичності в прикордонних регіонах. Автор 175 наукових праць, в тому числі 5-х монографій.

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Received 29-10-2015

Advance Acces Publisher: December 2015

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APPLICATIONS



Photo № 1. Reconstruction paparuda rite. Bukovyna. Photo by A. Moysey



Photo № 2. Ritual anthropomorphic dolls of Kaloyan rite. Bucovyna. Photo by A. Moysey



Photo № 3. Konyky (horses). Kulykivka village, Hertsayivskiy district (2016). Photo by A. Moysey



Photo № 4. Konyky (horses). Mamalyha village, Novoselytskiy district (1967)



Photo № 5. Koza (Goat) Tarnavka village, Hertsayivskiy district (2011)



Photo № 6.
Malanka(1954)
Krasnoyilsk village ,
Storozhynetskiy
district

Photo № 7.
Kalfa (1997)
Kupka village, Hlybotskiy district



Photo № 8.
Malanka
Rosha-Stynka
(2009)Chernivtsi
Photo by A. Moysey

Photo № 9.
Krylatyj vedmid (Winged bear)
Krasnoyilsk village,
Storozhynetskiy district



Photo № 10.
Vedmid (Bear)
(2011)
Krasnoyilsk
village ,
Storozhynetskiy
district
Photo by
A. Moysey



Photo № 11.
Straw Bears with
Owls masks
Tarnavka village,
Hertsayivskiy
district (2011).
Photo by A. Moysey

