

Cultural studies

SLAVIC ELEMENTS IN THE CALENDAR RITES OF THE ROMANIANS OF BUKOVYNA

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Abstract: *This study is aimed at identifying the most noticeable Slavic elements in the calendar rites of Bukovyna. It analyzes material collected by Romanian researchers in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century (E. Niculiță-Voronca, T. Pamfile, L. Bodnărescu, A. Fochi, A. Zașciuc), documents from the Central Scientific Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova, the New Linguistic Atlas of Romania, Moldova and Bukovyna (1987), as well as personal observations recorded by the authors of the study in Ukraine and Romania during ethnographic expeditions. In the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna, some clear Slavic elements can be identified, such as some names of calendar holidays, Ukrainian elements in such rites as koliada, the Christmas star, shchedruvannya. Ukrainian motifs of musical folklore in winter rites, as well as the use of the names of Ukrainian opryshky and haidamaky, the adaptation of the “walking with vertep”, the use of the term vidma of Ukrainian origin, the penetration of the name and main text of the Ukrainian Malanka etc.*

Keywords: calendar rites; Bukovyna; Romanians of Bukovyna; acculturation; Slavic elements.

INTRODUCTION

The present study is territorially limited to the Chernivtsi region in the Ukraine and Suceava county in Romania. This area includes the historic

Bukovyna, part of northern Bessarabia, and the Gertsya region. From an ethnic point of view, it is the Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldovan border.

The current main trends of interethnic contacts between Ukrainians and Romanians in the Bukovyna ethnic contact zone resemble the main trends in several border territories in Europe. We can talk about commonalities and differences in the process of their functioning. For example, in contrast to the Ukrainian-Polish border, where the main criterion for identifying the ethnicity of communities is religion, in Bukovyna the language factor is definitive in the ethnic identification process of Ukrainians and Romanians. However, it should also be mentioned that there are several mixed villages in Bukovyna, whose population, as with the Ukrainian-Polish border, is bilingual. As is the case with the Ukrainian-Polish and the Ukrainian-Russian borders, the ethnic border does not coincide with the state border in Bukovyna. Comparing the Ukrainian-Romanian ethnic border with other European border regions, the interethnic contacts evince the peaceful cooperation between ethnic groups, which shapes the discourse of both ethnic groups. In this context, it is appropriate to mention Lorraine (*Lothringen*, in Germany), Switzerland and other European territories which are ethnically diverse. For example, interethnic contacts take place in a tolerant manner in Switzerland, where Germans, Italians, Romansh, and others live together peacefully.

Historically, the territory of Bukovyna has been a contact zone between the Slavic and Thracian civilizations. As historical conditions varied, the dominance of one ethnic group over the other alternated. Arguably, ethnic interaction has been constant, intensifying in certain historical periods. The process of ethnogenesis of both communities has taken place simultaneously. The mass settlement of the Slavs in this area in the 5th – 6th centuries were periods of rapprochement. This process had a marked influence on the formation of the Romanian language, into which a mass of Slavic words penetrated. Several centuries later, the independent Moldavian principality was created (14th – 15th centuries). From the 13th century to the late 18th century, Bukovyna was part of the Moldavian principality. Moldavian culture and language was dominant during these periods. From 1775 to 1918, Moldavia was a part of Austria (as of 1867, the Austro-Hungarian Empire), and the German language and culture were persistently cultivated. From 1918 onwards, Moldavia became part of Romania, and the Romanian language and culture became dominant. During this period, the contact zone was part of one state, which influenced the formation of the peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups. With the implementation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Bukovyna was divided into two parts: the southern part remained a part of Romania, and the northern part was integrated into the USSR. Nowadays, this territory is a part of the

Ukraine, and the Ukrainian language dominates. Nevertheless, in both parts of Bukovyna, the coexistence of the Romanian and Ukrainian populations continues.

The present study is aimed at identifying the most prominent Slavic elements in the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna. The methodology of the article is based on the principles of historicism. Methods such as analysis, synthesis, and comparative analysis are supplemented by the study of archival documents, field work, the study of an ethnographic miscellany of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries and by mapping.

Investigating the interaction of different cultures becomes more relevant as globalization intensifies. Thus, such research provides pertinent examples of cultural interactions and their results in terms of traditional knowledge and practices, including rites. The novelty of this study consists in its analysis of neighbouring cultures by relying both on already existing archival and bibliographic material and on new information resulting from ethnographic expeditions carried out by the authors. Since the topic of the study is narrow and specific, its historiography is covered by the work of authors such as Gh. Bostan, A. Kurochkin, Gh. Kojoleanco and by several papers published by the authors of the present article.

The source base of the study consists of material collected by Romanian researchers in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries (E. Niculiță-Voronca, T. Pamfile, L. Bodnărescu, A. Fochi, F. Zașciuc), material from the Central Scientific Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova, *The New Linguistic Atlas of Romania, Moldova and Bukovyna* (1987) and personal observations recorded by the authors of the article on the territory of Ukraine and Romania during ethnographic expeditions.

BUKOVYNA ETHNOGRAPHIC ZONE – PRESERVATION OF PRE-CHRISTIAN CUSTOMS AND RITUALS

Our study confirms the specificity and uniqueness of the Bukovyna region with regard to the preservation of a large number of beliefs, customs and rituals inherent in the system of the people's calendar of the Romanians of Bukovyna. Local folk traditions were formed as a result of a thousand-year acculturation process in the border zone of two civilizations –Slavic and Romanian. The globalization of modern social life and the process of chaotic diffusion of traditional national values throughout the world have not yet managed to prevent the scientific community from understanding the essence of the impact of interethnic coexistence through the study of the Bukovyna ethnographic zone.

In Bukovyna, some remnants of pre-Christian traditions can be found. Among these, there is a set of so-called *wolven days* involving rituals meant to provide protection from predators, consisting in the practice of protective censuring, the application of magical signs such as cruciforms, spells to remove fear etc. In some areas of Bukovyna, the oral folk tradition preserves archaic methods of measuring the time of year using natural phenomena, with the timeframes of the annual cycle of agricultural activity as guides and reference points. The repetitive ritual of the shepherd's holidays still exists, consisting in the rite of sprinkling holy water on the sheepfold, the expulsion of sheep through the smoke from the living fire, the shepherd's ritual of sacrificial cheese, and others. Concerning the agricultural cycle, we shall mention the weather bulb calendar, rites related to barren trees etc. Ritual bonfires are still being lit, customs and beliefs associated with the souls of deceased relatives are still being practiced, and there are still cases of initiation of young people into adulthood. Traditions of carolling and dramatic winter rites are gaining new impetus and a wide range of pluvial customs is still enacted.

The uniqueness of the Bukovynian ethnographic zone is confirmed by the numerous ancient customs and rites that are actually practiced to this day. Of these, we shall mention the magical ritual of burying the anthropomorphic *Caloian* doll (burial of the drought) to bring about rain, the remnants of the rite of *Paparuda (Dodola)*, which have already vanished from the Romanian ethnic space. The ensemble of dramatic winter rites of the Ukrainians and Romanians of Bukovyna in terms of archaic splendour and the scale of celebration is an ethnographic phenomenon unique to the Ukraine, Romania and the Republic of Moldova. Rituals of maiden and bachelor initiation (for both the Romanian and the Ukrainian cultures) can still be found. Ukrainians in Bukovyna light ritual bonfires during Easter, while in other Slavic ethnographical zones, the ritual is usually practiced on *Ivana Kupala Night* and other holidays. The specificity of the ethnographic border zone is also reflected in the celebration of such popular holidays among Slavs as *Maslyana* and *Kupala Night* — they are not typical for Ukrainians in the region. Several transitional, reworked calendar customs and rites were formed in this area, and were later adapted to the local customary norms of behaviour, way of life etc.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE CALENDAR RITES OF THE UKRAINIANS AND ROMANIANS OF BUKOVYNA

A comparative analysis of the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna and their Ukrainian neighbours revealed a large number of common features in the performance of rituals of agricultural and pastoral cycles. These include such rites as the first ploughing of the field, rituals concerning barren trees, and the custom of first bringing the cattle to pasture

on St. George's Day. Common rites are also included in the celebration of Christmas. These are: leaving the remains of ritual dishes for the souls of deceased relatives, the singing of carols, walking with a star (walking with musicians and singers led by a leader holding a gold or silver star), *Herod* (live *Vertep*), *shchedruvannya* (singing winter-blessing songs), *posivannya* (traditional songs, inviting spring), dramatic rites (bringing the goat, bear, foal or *Malanka*). In addition to the common set of Easter rituals of a purely ecclesiastical nature, based on one's confessional identity, there are also such rituals as the act of throwing water, swinging on a swing, prohibitions and restrictions during Lent, a list of ritual dishes etc. (Moysey, 2010: 225).

However, several calendar rites have not spread to other ethnicities, retaining their ethnic identity. We are talking about the Romanians' holidays and rituals in Bukovyna: thus, *Sfântul Toader* (St. Theodore) is celebrated in the first week of Lent. In some Bukovynian villages, horses are brought out to pasture for the first time, calves are shorn. This ritual was enacted to protect livestock from disease; *Mărțișor* is a traditional spring meeting holiday (Romania, Republic of Moldova) which is celebrated on the 1st of March. On this day, people give each other boutonnières in the form of flowers, made of white and red threads. *Baba Dochia* is a mythological character. According to legend, she shakes the snow off her 12 shrouds and thereby causes changeable weather in March; *Arminden* is celebrated on the 1st of May and holds symbolic congratulations for the first day of spring. Also, it is meant to help avoid natural disasters. In the villages of Bukovyna, *Arminden* is reified as a bare tree decorated with ears of wheat. For nine Thursdays after Easter, a ritual for the protection against hail is enacted, the so-called *Joimărițe*, i.e. a terrible mythological female creature, who on Holy Thursday checks what young women and girls have done over the winter. She is the patron of weaving and checks on young women's diligence. *Caloian* is a pluvial rite, which consists of the ritual burial of an anthropomorphic doll during a drought; *Paparuda* is a tour made by the youth of peasant farms. The main character is a pure lady decorated with green branches and leaves. She performs songs and dances to summon the rain. *Gaiduk* folk performances (*Gruia și Novac*, *Bujor*, *Păun*, *Joian*, *Codreanu*, *Coroi*, *Pintea*), the dramatic rite *Brâncovenii* and other rites are not typical for the calendar rites of the Ukrainians of Bukovyna.

Conversely, the Ukrainians have their own customs and rites, such as the *puppet vertep* at Christmas time. *Puppet vertep* implies the existence of a portable theatre. The nativity scene house consists of two tiers, while the nativity scene is divided into two parts: religious and secular, corresponding to tragedy and comedy. *Didukh* is a Christmas symbol that looks like a sheaf of rye or wheat. Considered to represent the spirit of the grandfathers, *Didukh* is placed in a corner of the room on Christmas, decorated with colourful

ribbons. It symbolizes the spirit of the guardian of the economy, the key to a bountiful harvest, prosperity, and wealth. *Warming* or *burning the grandsire* implies that at the end of the Christmas holidays *Didukh* must be burned off. This fire brings about the end of winter and the beginning of agricultural activities. Moreover, the spirits of the ancestors can return to heaven. Another specific custom that is worth mentioning is *Kalita*. *Kalita* is the name of a ritual cake prepared for St. Andrew's Day. The game is a contest of who will bite *Kalita*. The girls kiss the winners and adorn them with periwinkle wreaths. We have mentioned above only a few examples of winter customs that are uncommon for eastern Romanian people.

At the same time, we observe mutual borrowings in this area. According to the purpose of our study, we will focus on the Slavic elements in the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna. One of the obvious borrowings consists in the names of calendar holidays, namely: *Stratenia*, *Stretenia* (Ukr. *Sritennia*); *Teplea Alecsa*, *Alecsi-Boje* (Ukr. *Sviato Teplogo Oleksy*); *Blagoștene*, *Blagoveștenia* (Ukr. *Blagoviscennia*); *Probajele*, *Probajine*, *Probajeni* (Ukr., *Preobrajennia Gospodne* – The Transfiguration of Christ), *Ispasul*, *Stroborul*, *Procoava*, *Ovidenia* and others. In this case, we see the influence of church tradition. Both Romanians and Ukrainians belong to the same denomination, i.e. the Orthodox religion. Church books were written and read in Old Slavonic in the churches attended by Romanians, so the names of the mentioned calendar holidays were circulated in Slavonic.

In the second half of the 19th century, A. Zașciuc noted that most peoples of Bessarabia borrowed many customs from the Moldavians, and they, in turn, borrowed from their neighbours, mostly the Ruthenians (Ukrainians), with whom they almost assimilated in the northern regions. Zașciuc also drew attention to specific borrowings in the spiritual sphere. Thus, carols sung on the first day of Christmas, walking with a star, *shchedruvannya* (generosity songs, blessing songs) for the New Year enacted by Romanian Moldavians, in his opinion, come from the Ukrainians; this also applies to beliefs in *rusalki* (water nymphs), who are considered to be drowned girls or the souls of unbaptized babies (Zașciuc, 1862: 450, 484, 487).

An important contribution to the study of the commonalities and differences in the traditional culture of the Romanians and Ukrainian population of Bukovyna was provided by Prof. Gh. Bostan. The scholar identified common components in fantastic and novelistic stories, as well as fairy tales about animals. He argued that different elements of mutual borrowing in chronology became popular in national repertoires: the Ukrainian *Malanka* among Romanian Moldavians, Moldavian wedding orations among Ukrainians, Ukrainian fairy tales among Moldavians, Moldavian fairy tales among Ukrainians, the interpenetration of poetic

features etc. (Bostan, 1985: 83, 131). According to the scholar, the Romanian *plugușor* ritual had a local influence on Ukrainian agricultural Christmas carols (*shchedrivky*) in Bukovyna and northern Moldova (Bessarabia), and Ukrainian motifs of musical folklore interacted and intertwined with Moldavian *zoomorphic games* (goat, horse), household scenes (*Did* and *Baba*), *Haiduk* performances (*Bujor*, *Jianu*). The folklorist concluded that the Moldavian *Haiduk drama* in Bukovyna was significantly enriched with motifs and images of Ukrainian folklore (characters like Oleksa Dovbush and Ustym Karmaliuk) (12-16).

In certain areas, Romanians have borrowed the *Walking with Vertep* custom from their Ukrainian neighbours, consisting in children walking and carolling with a model of a church or stable. *Vertep* is a portable puppet theatre representing the mystery of the Nativity of Christ. The theatres were large boxes, about the height of a human adult, covered with cloth or lined with coloured paper and often with paper representations of saints.

T. Pamfile and E. Niculiță-Voronca give examples of the borrowing of the name *vidma* (*witch*) from the Ukrainian language (Niculiță-Voronca, 1998; Pamfile, 1916: I, 129). In Romanian mythology, this character appears under the names *strigoi*, *strigoaică* and *strigă*. In their writings, T. Pamfile and L. Bodnărescu mentioned other common mythological characters – *moroi* – the souls of unbaptized stillborn children who roam the village at night and drink the blood of children and young girls (Bodnărescu, 1908: 17; Pamfile, 1916: I, 131).

DRAMATIC WINTER CARNIVAL RITES

As for *Malanka*, Romanians borrowed this term from Ukrainians as an umbrella term for the carnival in general. In addition to the term, some motifs of the *Malanka* carol were borrowed as well. In the Bukovynian ethnographic zone, *Malanka* is a complex of the same type of dramatic rituals, formed along the interethnic Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldovan border. Thus, *Malanka* is widely spread in the Republic of Moldova, across the Ukrainian districts Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Khmelnytskyi, Chernivtsi, Vinnytsia, Kharkiv, and Kyiv, and across the northern districts of Romania. The initial localization of the rite was concentrated, according to the hypothesis of Professor Gh. Bostan, in Podnistrovya (Mohyliv-Podilskyi raion) and northern Bessarabia (Ataky, Oknița). To confirm his theory, the researcher cites the textual support of the rite among Ukrainians (“Our Malanka was in the Dniester”, “Malanka-Podnistryanka”, “...took water from the Dniester”), as well as from Moldavians (“Malanochka from *Hârlău*/ Strolled in Mohyliv”) (Bostan, 1985: 42). Professor A. Kurochkin, who researched the *Malanka* rite in the whole Ukrainian ethnic range, holds a similar opinion. According to him, the most complete versions of the rite

have been registered in Transnistria and the surrounding areas. The richness of carnival paraphernalia, the composition of performers, the accompanying folklore in its verbal, musical and dance expression unveil their structural development. In this area, the rite retains its archaic features up to the present (Kurocikin, 1995: 107-108). Material resulting from our field research confirms the findings of Gh. Bostan and A. Kurochkin. In several Bukovynian villages, *Malanka* songs used to be sung with the melody of the *Malanka-Podnistryanka* song: it is heard in Berehomet, Vashkivtsi of Vyzhnytsia district; Boyanchuk, Kostryzhivka, Malyi Kuchuriv of Zastavna raion; Davydivka, Nova Zhadova of Storozhynets raion; Dnistrivka of Kelmentsi raion; Zhylivka of Novoselytsia raion, Kruglyk, Nedoboivtsi of Khotyn raion; Revno, Striletskyi Kut, Shyshkivtsi of Kitsman raion. These are Ukrainian villages where the influence of the all-Ukrainian space is strongly felt. This melody was also recorded by N. Băieșu in Dynivtsi, Novoselytsia district, in 1971 (carols sung at Christmas) (TsNAANRM, 1971: F. 19, R. 238, 70). In the villages of Hertsa and Hlyboka raions, the motif is preserved, although the text varies (Bostan, 1998: 101). *Malanka* emerges as a clear influence from the neighbouring Ukrainian space.

Thus, it can be confirmed that this motive has only been adopted by the Romanians of Bukovyna of Novoselytsia, Hertsa and Hlyboka raions of Chernivtsi region of Ukraine and in the northern regions of the Republic of Moldova. Conversely, it is not typical of the Storozhynets region of the Ukraine and of Suceava county in Romania. Moreover, even for the Romanians of Bukovyna residing in the Novoselytsia, Hertsa and Hlyboka raions, this motif is not the main one in texts on *Malanka*.

The southern border of the spread of *Malanka* is the north of historical Moldavia: the Suceava and Botoșani counties of Romania; in Botoșani, the term *Malanka* as the name of the carnival group is recorded only in one village, Călinești (Fochi, 1976: 307). In this context, it should be emphasized that the term *Malanka* is often found in mixed Ukrainian-Romanian or Romanian villages located alongside Ukrainian villages: Pătrăuți, Hănțești, Volovăț (NALR, 1987: 66, 86, 105).

Differences within the territories of these areas are also visible in the mapping of *Malanka*, which is used by the Ukrainians and Romanians of Bukovyna alike as the name of the dramatic winter rite. The *mapping* shows that the centre of the widest spread of the term is the entire territory of the Chernivtsi region, in both Ukrainian and Romanian-speaking villages. In Suceava County, as one moves from the north towards the south, the term gradually disappears. The southern boundary of the spread of the term *Malanka* is the line Suceava – Gura Humorului – Câmpulung Moldovenesc (Moysey, 2010: K 5-16).

Regarding the text of this rite, in addition to the motif “Malanochka from Hirleu/ Walked in Mogilev”, the Romanians of Bukovyna used to sing the common motif “Let Malanka into the house,/ Because it is raining in the yard” since the second half of the 19th century. They also described *Malanka* as a hard-working and beautiful girl (“She will heat the stove/ And sweep the house,/ And wash the dishes”). The material we have collected shows that this motif is the most common among Romanians in Bukovyna. It is registered in Dynivtsi, Boyany, Malynivka, Marshyntsi in the Magala Novoselytsia district, Kupka in the Dymka Hlyboka district, Budentsi, Lower Petrivtsi and Upper Petrivtsi of the Storozhynets district, Kolinkivtsi Khotyn district of Chernivtsi region. It is also most common among Ukrainians in Bukovyna in the villages of Bagna and Vashkivtsi in the Vyzhnytsia district, Revne and Streletskiy Kut in the Kitzman district, Zhylivka in the Novoselytsia district, Gordivtsi, Kruglyk and Nedoboivtsi in the Khotyn district, Boyanchuk and Maliy Kuchuriv in the Zastavna district, Zhadova in the Storozhynets district, Dykhtynets in the Putil district, and Brailivka in the Kelmenets district.

Our analysis of field work material allows us to state that this dramatic rite may have been performed without traditional words or songs in the Romanian-speaking villages of Bukovyna. Furthermore, it has been recorded that in most Romanian-speaking villages it takes place without the usual *Malanka* text, while the words of other New Year's rituals, such as *the Goat*, the *Bear* etc., are performed. There is only the name of the band – *Malanka*. The most relevant territory in this case is the southern part of Bukovyna.

Thus, according to source material, in Romanian-speaking villages, only Romanian performances - such as *The Bear*, *The Goat*, *Haiduk* performances etc. – were held under this name. The Romanians of Bukovyna did not borrow the main characters of the Ukrainian rite – *Vasyl* and *Malanka*. This is clearly visible in the composition of the Romanian *Malanka* throughout Bukovyna. Consequently, it is recorded that in the Bukovynian ethnographic zone this term currently covers a set of similar dramatic rites, which include characters from various groups of outfits (for example *goat*, *horse*, *bears*, *old woman*, *old man*, *Haiduk* and historical performances).

Walking with a Goat is one of the most common rites of the Romanian population of Bukovyna. The mapping we performed shows that the goat ritual is evenly distributed across the territory of both the Romanian and Ukrainian populations of Bukovyna. The ritual is held mainly on New Year's Eve, although there is evidence related to its performance on Christmas Eve or between Christmas and New Year.

Based on the source material, it was found that there are two types of performance in this ethnographic zone. The first type, the simplest, involves

two participants: a guide and a goat. While the guide is carolling (reciting), the dressed man pulls the goat's jaw by the rope in synch with the carol. Then they change places. In performances of the second type, the action turns into a folk drama (there is a kind of stage), in which five to ten actors take part. The script, in this case, consists of the following episodes: the grandfather (old man) sells a goat, the goat gets sick, they (i.e. the doctor, the witch-doctor, the gipsy lady, sometimes the grandfather himself, according to the respective version) try to cure it, the goat finally gets up and starts dancing.

Analysing the main episodes of performing the *goat* ritual in Ukrainian- and Romanian-speaking villages of the Chernivtsi region and the Republic of Moldova (the goat's sale, illness, treatment, healing and dancing), Prof. Gh. Bostan stated that such a development of *the goat play* among Romanian Moldavians is observed only in the villages of the Chernivtsi region and in the northern parts of the Republic of Moldova. This gave him reason to claim that the Bukovynian and North Moldavian versions of the play were enriched with new fragments due to long-term contact with the widespread identical Ukrainian folk performance (Bostan, 1985: 38-39).

Comparing the Ukrainians' and Romanians' material on the ritual of *Walking with a Goat*, it is worth noting that the main characters are identical (the *Goat* and *Did*, the *elder* who leads it), and that the main episodes are similar. However, there is a difference in the texts and accompaniment of the *goat*. For example, Ukrainians have a common ritual recitative of agrarian nature: "Where a goat walks, there rye sprouts,/ Where it doesn't, there it withers,/ Where a goat steps, there will be rye in sheaves,/ Where a goat touches its horn, there will be rye in a stock" (Zahaipin of Kolomyia district). In some cases, the calendar is also different: Ukrainians often perform this ritual both on New Year and on Christmas. In the Hutsul region, for example, *Walking with a Ram* was typical of Christmas. The Ukrainians of Bukovyna have a custom of *Walking with a Living Goat* at Epiphany (Kamyana, Hlybochok, and Snyachiv in the Storozhynets raion). The Gipsy and the Jew played a leading role in this rite (Kojoleanco, 2004: III, 108).

There was no mass borrowing by the Ukrainians from the Romanians' *Haiduk* and military folk performances (*Banda lui Bujor*, *Joianul*, *Gruia* etc.), performances with a historical (*Constantin Brâncoveanu*) and folklore (*Făt-Frumos*) content. Instead, the names of the most famous Ukrainian *opryshki* and *haidamaky* characters (U. Karmalyuk, O. Dovbush, V. Dzhuryak) took their place in the repertoires of Romanian plays. This fact reflects the common interests in the anti-serfdom struggle of the people.

Conclusions

The long coexistence of Slavs (in this case Ukrainians) and Romanians in Bukovyna led to the interpenetration of folk rites. This process

was facilitated by their common religious affiliation, similarities in running their household, mixed marriages and mutual visits during the holidays.

The acquisition of certain rituals was mutual. Summing up the results of the study, it can be stated that in the calendar rites of the Romanians of Bukovyna some explicit Slavic elements can be distinguished. These include: names of calendar holidays, Ukrainian elements in such rites as carols sung on the first day of Christmas, *Walking with a Star*, *shchedrivannya*, Ukrainian motifs of musical folklore in dramatic winter rites and their use of the names of Ukrainian *opryshki* and *haidamaky* (*Ukrainian insurgents*), the imitation of the rite of walking with *vertep*, the use of the Ukrainian term for “witch”, the adoption of the name and main text of the Ukrainian *Malanka* etc.

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