

англійських парламентаріїв та управлінської бюрократії. Проаналізовано нову техніку дослідження, запропоновану британськими істориками для вивчення соціальних аспектів процесу державного управління Англії першої половини XVII століття та визначено наукову цінність окремих методів, зокрема біографічного методу (просопографії), для історичних досліджень. Простежено перебіг наукових дискусій, що розгорнулися в британській історіографії з приводу комплексного використання нової методики дослідження та виявлення її можливостей для об'єктивного пізнання минулого. Автор показує, що дослідницькі прийоми британських істориків дозволили подати нові інтерпретації характеру політичних процесів в Англії в першій половині XVII століття.

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MYKOLA SUMTISOV'S RESEARCH OF BREAD AND GRAIN SYMBOLISM IN THE FAMILY RITUALS OF UKRAINIANS

The young Ukrainian science of ethnology is going out on its thorny path of self-knowledge and self-research with great difficulties. The crisis of transition period, the crisis of social, ideological, value creeds leave their imprint on processes of scientific work and creative search. However, as the historical experience shows, a truth that was ascertained in hard times stands the test of time and does not even lose its scientific authority, but, on the contrary, strikes by its greatness and courage. That's the very description of Mykola Sumtsov's scientific heritage who was a researcher of encyclopedic knowledge, with a large-scale view on issues, whose contribution to the development of the Ukrainian ethnology can scarcely be overestimated.

Symbolism of bread and grain in the Ukrainian festivals and rituals of family cycle has been already investigated¹. The objective of the article is to show Mykola Sumtsov's considerations of that issue as he was the first to raise this scientific problem; to elucidate his thoughts, ideas and to compare them with other researchers' hypotheses including the contemporary ones.

Questions on symbolic functions of cereal foods, forms of usage of ritual bread in the family rituals and calendar festivals, ritual poetry occupy a prominent place among Sumtsov's interests. He devoted the separate work to the issue and he obtained a Doctor of Philosophy degree for it². Partially the researcher touched this problem in some of his other searches³. Writing the book "Bread in Rituals and Songs" (Khleb v obriadakh i pesniakhh) he worked up a lot of scientific literature. But it was dealt up mostly with general historical questions: the beginning of agriculture on the Slavic lands, problems of the Slavic primitive and ancient history, folk outlook, festivals and customs etc. Meanwhile there was no research that could sum up a lot of information about ritual use of bread at that time. Even later the researchers raised either separate questions⁴ or simply described ritual bread and various cases of its usage without deep scientific analysis⁵. Recently several works have been published, the majority of them are articles and their authors investigate different aspects of ritual usage of grain and cereal food in the Ukrainian festivals and rituals both of annual calendar cycle and family one⁶.

M.Sumtsov put forward very weighty arguments that among the Slavic peoples the Ukrainians were marked out in the first place because in their wedding celebrations the features of pouring with grain had been preserved completely at the end of 19th century. There was a very interesting custom described by P.Chubynsky, it was held before a bridegroom was going to his bride and was performed as follows: a bench was put in the yard, on it there was a dough-trough covered with a clean towel. On the dough-trough bread and salt were put. Beside the bench there was a bucket of water and a jug. A bridegroom with his boyars (bridesmen) were standing facing the bread. A bridegroom's mother went out of the house, she was wearing a turned out sheepskin coat and a hat. In the hem of her skirt she was carrying oats, nuts, sunflower and pumpkin seeds, coins, she had been saving all these things since the birth of her son. The bridesman gave a rake or a pitchfork to the mother and she mounted it like a horse. The bridesman took the pitchfork and led it round the dough-trough, a boyar hurried "the horse" from behind. At that moment mother was scattering oats. Making three circles, the bridesman led "the horse" to the bucket. The bridegroom imitated watering a horse by ladling out and pouring some water on the end of pitchfork.

Drawing some water in the jug again the bridegroom passed it to a boyar who tried to throw the jug over his head and break it completely. After that boyars broke the pitchfork (or rake) and threw it away. Referring to the results of P.Chubynsky's expedition the researcher noted that this ritual existed with certain variations in various localities of Ukraine⁷.

The Ukrainian ethnographers gave evidence that there was a wide range of manners and customs of grain usage at the Ukrainian wedding. Namely, there were a repeated pouring of newly weds with grain, pouring oats on the cover of a dough-trough, decorating the branch (hiltse) with ears of rye, presence of an unthreshed sheaf at the place of bride and groom, binding of matchmakers with rye straw-bands, pouring grain into the bride's high boot, making a marriage bed on rye sheaves, making the wedding ritual porridge etc. All that use is connected with folk creeds in grain as a reliable means that ensures strength, health of a young couple, prosperity of their farm, strengthening ties of relationship between the two families. However, the creed in the magic power of grain to reproduce life was most forcefully manifested in these rituals and it was expressed in the formula family-plant-family. In general, usage of grain at the Ukrainian wedding was most completely practiced in the regions of well-developed agriculture, namely, in the central region⁸.

On the other hand, Sumtsov noted that the ritual of showering with grain was often connected with road: there was showering with grain before the couple's departure for church, before the bridegroom's departure for the bride's house, before the bride's moving in her husband's house etc⁹. Later the Russian ethnographer L.S.Lavrent'ieva also underlined the very motive of road as the leading one in the rituals of showering with grain¹⁰. Thus, she stressed that in the wedding rituals, as a rule, the ritual of showering was not held on own territory, but on the borderline "own"–"alien", very often on the most extremely dangerous parts of the road. So, she confirmed M.Sumtsov's idea that usage of grain in the rituals was connected with notion about road, and she added that these rituals marked the beginning as well as the end of the road¹¹.

Grain is also used in birth customs and a funeral ceremony. The issue of grain and porridge usage in birth customs was partially investigated by my separate article¹². This article deals with some new aspects. Thus, there was a particular custom in Ukraine when after the child-birth a midwife buried the afterbirth under the stove in the house and strewed that place with rye¹³. Later in the evening the midwife distributed special bunches to everybody present, these bunches included ears of rye or wheat in the winter and periwinkle, basil and guelder-rose in the summer. It was done for health and prosperity of a child¹⁴. Flax seeds and rye ears are of good help at difficult birth according to folk beliefs. In that case their decoctions were given to the lying-in woman. In 1996 during the ethnographic expedition to the radioactively polluted regions of Polissia which was arranged by the Ministry for Population Protection from the Chernobyl accident consequences the author of the article managed to record recollections about that oats-water made by a midwife and given to a woman in child-birth¹⁵. The informants gave evidence that the custom was widely practiced in 30 – 40s of 20th century. A midwife also warmed up a woman in child-birth in hot grain to make the child-birth easier. Thus, usage of grain during child-birth was of great practical value and confirmed profound knowledge of the Ukrainians in folk medical care, their experience and skills to practice it.

In the water for a woman in child-birth oats straw was added¹⁶. Berries of guelder-rose and rye (in the Borzenska Ukraine it was oats¹⁷) were used in such rituals as zlivki¹⁸ (it means that a woman in child-birth washed midwife's hands).

Data about usage of grain for a child's bath is found also at the end of 20th century: during the field expedition research in the Zhytomyr region occasional recollections about usage of sanctified grain were found, especially rye: "Rye was thrown. That's the sanctified corn standing in the corner, then they knead, knead it and pour that corn under the nappies, and bathe a child then" (it is recorded by the author 19.08.96 in the village of Meleni, Korosten, Zhytomyr Region).

Among other family customs and celebrations usage of wheat grain and bread is typical for a funeral ceremony. In particular, they strewed with grain the bench on which the deceased was lying, they put a funeral candle that was burning the whole night into a glass (jar, bowl) with grain (wheat, rye). When a coffin was carried out of the house, the path to the gate was strewn with grain. In this case it must have played the role of a guard.

Summing up the information about ritual usage of corn in family customs, the ethnographer underlined the fact that wedding celebrations occupied the leading place for completeness of its use. On this basis he made a suggestion that the ancient Slavs used it ritually only at a wedding.

In M.Sumtsov's opinion the ritual usage of grain is closely connected with usage of ritual porridge. He thought the two customs symbolized rain falling to the ground as grain and making it fertile¹⁹.

Ritual porridge is an essential element of the Ukrainian bridal customs. It was cooked from various peeled grains: buckwheat, millet and later barley.

In northern Polissia there was a typical custom of porridge beating that was evidence of the end of the wedding. The porridge was mainly millet or buckwheat. The custom was performed in the following way: on the third day

of the wedding celebrations the wedding guests chipped in making porridge. While the porridge was being cooked in the stove, a cook “sold” it, as a rule, the godfather “ransomed” it. The pot was extracted out of the stove, tied with rushnyky (Ukrainian folk embroidered towels) and pulled along the board up to the table where it was smashed. The groomsman “sold” a lump of porridge to all present. In another version the porridge was pulled down along the board on the rushnyk. The groomsman raised and smashed the pot accompanied by a song:

Oh porridge, porridge, our parting.
We were seating together until the pot was smashed,
And as the pot was smashed, we broke up, we home went²⁰.

The bride sowed lumps of that porridge round the whole farm first and then distributed the rest among the guests. As you see, in this ritual its symbolism is clearly revealed, i.e. to contribute to fertility of every living thing. According to the data of field researches, in the Kyiv Region this custom was still observed in 80s of the last century²¹.

Porridge (as a rule, millet) performed a particular role in birth rituals, precisely in christening celebrations²². It was called “midwife’s porridge”. In general, this custom was widely observed in northern regions of Ukraine: in Polissia, partially in Volyn’. It was made by a midwife (string-cutter) and brought to a woman in child-birth. We note that making a porridge was an essential element of midwife’s caring for a woman in child-birth.

The main moment of the custom was a ransom of porridge and a smash of a pot. It was done on the table by a rolling-pin or by the corner of the table, or smashed by “tumbling down on the table”. In some areas a local custom was fixed to tumble down a pot with porridge twice on the table and only to smash it the third time. All the guests were “haggling” for the right to smash the pot. As a rule, the largest sum of money was donated by the godfather of a child. The pot was also smashed by godparents, a midwife, some of kinsfolk or some of the guests who donated more money. Chiefly making porridge and the accompanied actions were within the competence of midwife. She cooked it at home, brought it decorated with guilder-rose, she was in charge of that porridge. Smashing the pot, the midwife kept saying: “Oh... so that midwife’s belly should peel off like the porridge, like the large pot” (field notes of the author). The porridge had to be a stiff mixture to remain intact when the pot was smashed and in order to cut it with a knife. The crocks were put on the heads of the guests as they strongly believed that they contributed to birth of children. The guests took a lump of porridge for their own children. In general, the porridge should be cut and eaten up quickly for the child to toddle quickly. It was also believed that the crocks should be preserved to sow pumpkin from them – “in that case pumpkin seeds will be hard”. In all these rituals connection of porridge with idea of fertility, propagation is clearly traced back.

We’d like to note that smashing a pot was an obligatory element of rituals connected with porridge at christening celebrations in Polissia and the Left-bank Ukraine. In L.Artyuch’s opinion, in the family celebrations porridge must be a symbol of continuation of genealogy²³. N.Havryliuk has the same view. To her mind, usage of porridge in birth rituals and celebrations traces back to ancient sacrifice to gods that were patrons of marriage and fertility²⁴. K.Cherviak thought that “midwife’s porridge” implied not only magic meaning, but it was of legal importance – in that way a newly-born joined his clan and was recognized as a member of his peasant commune²⁵.

Porridge was a widely spread funeral dish in Ukraine. It was called, in most cases, “kolyvo”, also names “kutia”, “kanun” were met. In the regions of the Carpathian Ukraine it was made from barley, oatmeal or maize, later from rice. Besides porridge, in this region kolyvo was cooked for a funeral repast, it was a dish of ritual importance composed of well-boiled wheat groans mixed with honey or sugar²⁶. In other regions of Ukraine kolyvo was traditionally cooked from wheat groats²⁷ for a funeral repast, in the Kyiv Polissia particularly from millet or barley. The dish brought up to date is composed of rice, but the components were altered considerably later.

M.Sumtsov explained the wide usage of porridge via its role in ancient times as an object of offering, first and foremost, to earth and the sun that can be traced in some moments of ritual usage. Thus, at the Lemky’s wedding celebration the couple threw the porridge behind them²⁸. At the christening festivities after the pray simultaneously with lowering and raising a child above the table the child’s godfather or godmother repeated the same ritual with porridge. At Christmas the first spoon of kutia (dish composed of boiled wheat groats with raisins, poppy-seed and honey) is tossed up to the ceiling. The first case is an evident example of porridge offering to earth, in M.Sumtsov’s opinion. The two others are to the sun.

Comparing with ritual usage of wheat grain and porridge baked bread is a phenomenon of a later stage. However, the ethnographer marked that in quantitative respect it was more complete. The exception is, in some way, birth rituals. The particular features of them are usage of porridge. It bears the main religious and mythical imprint. The ethnographer made a suggestion that in ancient times the ritual porridge was mainly used at birth rituals and was an offering to gods-patrons of marriage and fertility²⁹. In this case, the researcher thought, bread

played mainly a custom and legal role. As L.S.Lavrent'eva noted, the following kind of vegetable diet as bread absorbed the whole complex of beliefs connected with grain and food, in general. That's why in ritual actions bread often performed functions of other foods, exactly it substituted them and it resulted in emerging great number of versions of ritual usage of bread³⁰.

In M.Sumtsov's view, among the Slavic peoples the Ukrainian wedding celebrations can be distinguished due to the level and completeness of ritual usage of bread where it was widely used³¹. In this respect, the first place is occupied by korovai (the wedding bread). The first documentary fixed recollection about it is dated back by the scientist to the beginning of 16th century³². Sumtsov marked that the name "korovai" as exclusively the wedding bread was typical only for Ukrainian and Belarusian wedding celebrations. The modern researcher Ya.Schapov investigated that korovai as an essential element of wedding meal existed in the 11th century³³.

In using korovai at the wedding M.Sumtsov distinguished two aspects (well-defined stages): baking and consumption. They have their own meanings and are accompanied by ritual songs different in content. In Ukraine korovai is baked from the best flour, mainly wheat, occasionally from spring-rye. In the ethnographer's view, the characteristic feature of the Bukovina type of traditional Ukrainian wedding celebrations is baking four korovais³⁴.

The time and place of baking have local versions in Ukraine. Predominantly, it is baked at the wedding eve or on the wedding day at the bride's or groom's place. Exceptionally married women take part in the process of baking a korovai, girls can bake other pastry. The senior korovai-maker is in charge of it. Korovai is put into the oven by the couple who lives in harmony and complete agreement or a man who is characterized as "curly" in songs. Before the korovai is put into the oven they knock at the oven three times. The wedding bread was decorated with branches, various pastry, gilt nuts etc. After it a typical custom with a dough-trough was held: women carried it, raised to the ceiling on their hands, sang the appropriate ritual songs.

The ethnographer stressed the wide usage of the wedding bread. It is an integral part of all stages of the wedding festivities. Bread was essential to make a match, the acceptance of bread was a kind of preliminary agreement to marriage. The guests were invited to the wedding with bread, the couple was blessed by division of bread over their heads. A young daughter-in-law entered her husband's house carrying a loaf of bread in her hands, her mother-in-law met her with bread etc. Among other kinds of wedding pastry at first perepecha (overbaked), kalaches (kind of dough roll), lezhni (lazy-bones), shyshky (cones) were called.

The legal function of korovai is shown up in the custom to bake it only for the first marriage.

The modern ethnology develops more complex structure of the wedding bread. It is distinguished by the time of making, form, decoration, functional importance. On that basis separate types of the wedding pastry and their variations are made out. The consideration of all these peculiarities allowed to divide the Ukrainian wedding ritual bread into four main types. The first one is "korovai" itself, a high round loaf decorated with flowers, cones, pastry birds etc. Besides, on the considerable territory of Ukraine, namely in western and southeastern regions, the wedding bread is baked in the form of a tree or branches and it has the appropriate names – korovai, hiltse (branch), teremok (tower), dyven', divuvannia (girlhood), rizhky (hornlets). Various pastries of right-angled, oblong, plaited forms decorated with periwinkle, guelder-rose, ears of rye or wheat belong to the third type. Their names are the following: kalach, lezhen' (lazy-bones), bat'ko (father), pokrasa (adornment), para (couple), poliubovnyky (sweethearts), great wedding shyshka (cone) etc. Another type is numerous, small kinds of cookies with various names: shyshka, verch, kalachyk, huska (goose), holubka (dove), kachka (duck), sova (owl), borona (harrow).

According to the functional peculiarities the wedding bread is conventionally divided into the following types: bread of matchmaking that symbolizes agreement to marriage or refuse; pastry for inviting guests and giving presents korovaimakers; bread for blessing and greeting the couple; korovai for giving the couple's families as presents and its subtype for bridesmaids; bread for exchanging between the two families and its subtype for "ransoming" the bride; the wedding pastry, intended only for the bride's and the groom's parents and bread for sanctifying the couple's bed³⁵.

In general, the researcher of the Ukrainian wedding ritual V.Borysenko distinguishes a special so-called "korovai ritual" in its structure³⁶.

The usage of bread is a characteristic feature of other family rituals. Thus, in the ethnographic works you can come across the data, that at the end of the 19th century in the Nizhyn Ukraine, there was a special kind of bread – loaves (palianatsi), that were cooked for birth festivities. With them the midwife performed magic aiming, first of all, at providing the mother with enough milk³⁷. At christening festivities other obligatory cereals foods were rye or buckwheat vareniki (dumplings), buckwheat pancakes. In the Hutsulska Ukraine the ritual bread "kolachiki" was baked for birth festivities³⁸.

The guests were invited to the birth celebrations with bread, the godfather and godmother used to come with bread. For the christening festivities a midwife baked loaves (palianitsi) and partially took them with herself. The parents thanked the midwife with palianitsi. At Christmas and Easter a woman in child-birth gave to the midwife

“pies”, three, five or seven loaves (palianitsi), rolled up in the head-scarf. At holidays children whose births she assisted went to the midwife with kutia, pies, kalaches etc.³⁹.

In the funeral ritual bread was put at the head of the dead, on the cover of coffin etc. It was of an obligatory nature to come to the funeral with some bread: “As a person dies they can’t leave without bread”⁴⁰. For the funeral repast (vmerlini) in Polissia special loaves (palianitsi) were baked, they differed in a smaller shape⁴¹. According to M.Sumtsov’s data, in the Pereyasliv region during the movement of funeral procession some of the dead’s kinsfolk distributed boubliks (thick ring-shaped rolls), honey pikelets. Particularly, in this sense, a funeral of unmarried youth is marked out. For the funeral ceremony korovai and cones (shyshky) were obligatory baked and divided among all present.

Summing up, we have the right to state that the ethnographer summarized huge factual material about forms of usage of ritual bread and its symbolism, guided by the works of his predecessors and contemporaries, he theoretically substantiated its usage in the family rituals of the Ukrainians, investigated ritual songs connected with bread, determined its religious and mythical function as well as custom and legal importance. The scientific novelty of works “Bread in Rituals and Songs” was that fact that the ethnographer initiated the all-round research of symbolism of bread, grain and farinaceous foods in the festivals and rituals of the Ukrainians.

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² Сумцов Н. Хлеб в обрядах и песнях. – Харьков, 1885.

³ Сумцов Н. О свадебных обрядах, преимущественно русских. – Харьков, 1881; Він же. Религиозно-мифическое значение малорусской свадьбы // Киевская старина. – 1885. – № 3; Він же. К вопросу о влиянии греческого и римского свадебного ритуала на малорусскую свадьбу // Киевская старина. – 1886. – № 1.

⁴ Дикарев М. Малорусское слово “паляница” и греческое “πελαουξ” // Киевская старина. – 1899. – Т. 67. – № 10 – 12 (октябрь, ноябрь, декабрь); Харузина В. Свадебное печенье “роща” // Этнографическое обозрение. – 1914. – № 3 – 4; Ястребов В. Свадебные обрядные хлебы в Малороссии // Киевская старина. – 1897. – Т. LIX. – № 11 (ноябрь) etc.

⁵ Вовк Хв. Этнографические особенности украинского народа. Раздел VII. Пища // Украинский народ в его прошлом и настоящем. – Т. II. – Петроград, 1916; Гнатюк В. Народня пожива в Галичині // Матеріали до українсько-руської етнології. – Т. 18. – Львів, 1918; Левченко М. Несколько данных о жилище и пище Южноруссов // Записки Юго-Западного отдела Географического Общества. Т. 2 за 1874. – Киев, 1875; Маркевич Н. Обычаи, поверья, кухня и напитки малороссиян. – Киев, 1860; Милорадович В. Житье-бытье лубенского крестьянина. Пища // Киевская старина. – 1902. – № 6.

⁶ Артюх Л. Поминальні страви на Поліссі // Полісся України. Матеріали історико-етнографічного дослідження. Випуск 1. Київське Полісся. 1994. – Львів, 1997. – С. 313 – 318; Кутельмах К. Поминальні мотиви в календарній обрядовості поліщуків // Там само. – С. 172 – 203; Свирида Р. Хліб у зимовій обрядовості Київського Полісся // Там само. – С. 308 – 312 etc.

⁷ Чубинский П. Труды Этнографическо-Статистической экспедиции в Западно-Русский край, снаряженной императорским русским географическим обществом. Юго-Западный отдел. Материалы и исследования. – Т. IV. – СПб., 1877. – С. 314.

⁸ Борисенко В. К. Весільні звичаї та обряди на Україні. – Київ, 1988. – С. 75 – 77, 100, 120.

⁹ Сумцов Н. Хлеб в обрядах и песнях. – С. 31.

¹⁰ Лаврентьева Л.С. Символические функции еды в обрядах // Фольклор и этнография. Проблемы реконструкции фактов традиционной культуры. – Ленинград, 1990. – С. 39.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Мандебура О. Символіка зерна та каші в родильній обрядовості українців в дослідженнях Миколи Сумцова // Національні та етносоціальні процеси в Україні. Друга всеукраїнська науково-практична конференція молодих науковців. Матеріали. – Чернівці, 1997. – С. 146 – 149.

¹³ Малинка А. Родини і хрестини // Киевская старина. – 1898. – № 5. – С. 263.

¹⁴ Чубинський П. Труды Этнографическо-Статистической экспедиции в Западно-Русский край. – Т. IV. – С. 12.

¹⁵ Записано автором 15.08.96 в с. Розсохівське Народицького р-ну Житомирської обл.

¹⁶ Маркович Аф.В. Родыны, хрыстыны и похрестыны. Опыт этнографического описания с народных уст // Первісне громадянство та його пережитки на Україні. – Київ, 1926. – № 1 – 2. – С. 78.

¹⁷ Маркович Аф.В. Родыны, хрыстыны и похрестыны. – С. 81.

- ¹⁸ Малинка А. Ор. cit. – С. 259, 267.
- ¹⁹ Сумцов Н. Ор. cit. – С. 44.
- ²⁰ Борисенко В.К. Весільні звичаї та обряди на Україні. – С. 82.
- ²¹ Романюк П.Ф. Из опыта картографирования свадебного обряда Правобережного Полесья // Полесье. Этнолингвистический сборник. Материалы и исследования. – Москва, 1983. – С. 202.
- ²² Мандебура О. Ор. cit. – С. 146 – 149.
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Олеся МАНДЕБУРА
Київ

МИКОЛА СУМЦОВ – ДОСЛІДНИК СИМВОЛІКИ ХЛІБА І ЗЕРНА В РОДИННИХ ОБРЯДАХ УКРАЇНЦІВ

Видатний український дослідник Микола Сумцов (1854 – 1922), професор Харківського університету, академік – вчений з енциклопедичними знаннями, масштабним баченням проблеми, чий внесок у розвиток української етнології важко переоцінити. Питання про символічні функції хлібної їжі, форми побутування обрядового хліба в сімейних обрядах та календарних святах українців, пов'язану з ним обрядову поезію посідало чільне місце в наукових інтересах М.Сумцова. Він присвятив цьому питанню окрему працю, за яку йому була присуджена ступінь доктора наук (Сумцов Н. Хлеб в обрядах и песнях. – Харьков, 1885.). Вчений, спираючись на праці своїх попередників та сучасників, узагальнив величезний фактологічний матеріал про форми побутування обрядового хліба та його символіку, теоретично обґрунтував його використання в обрядах родинного циклу українців, дослідив пов'язані з хлібом обрядові пісні, визначив його релігійно-міфічну функцію та звичаєво-правове значення. Дослідник фактично започаткував комплексне дослідження символіки хліба, зерна та борошняних виробів у святах та обрядах українців.