THE UKRAINIAN WEDDING: AN EXAMINATION
OF ITS RITES, CUSTOMS, AND TRADITIONS

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
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For the Degree of
Master of Arts
in the
Department of Slavic Studies

by
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Finally, I am indebted to my parents, sisters and friends for their inspiration, encouragement and understanding. This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents who instilled in me the desire to learn about my Ukrainian heritage.
ABSTRACT

The Ukrainian wedding of the 19th and early 20th centuries is an integral and probably the most important rite of passage in Ukrainian society. The wedding ceremonies provide an orderly framework which couples followed when they decided to marry. Moreover, they allow for the formation of a new family unit, which in turn allows for the continuity of life. The Ukrainian wedding, however, is not simply a functional event, for the wedding ceremonies provide a wealth of information about the past and contemporary societies that inhabited the territory known as Ukraine.

This thesis provides a composite description of the 19th and early 20th century Ukrainian wedding, based on Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish sources published during this period. Chapter One is an introduction wherein the objectives of this thesis and the importance of the 19th and early 20th century wedding are explained. An outline of the thesis is also provided. Chapter Two examines the long and sporadic history of Ukrainian wedding research. In Chapter Three the first stage of the wedding, the preliminary pre-wedding ceremonies, is described. This period is made up of events that provide an opportunity for the groom's family to initiate the marriage proposal, for the bride's family to consider it, and lastly, for the community to approve the union. Chapter Four provides an account of events that are both functional and symbolic in nature. Chapter Five is a description of the wedding day, when the couple's union is sanctified by the Church and the community, and when the marriage is consummated. And, finally, Chapter Six examines the post-wedding phase, during which the community celebrates the consummation of the marriage. Chapter Seven will review the significance of the wedding ceremonies and restate the themes that reoccur throughout the wedding. In addition to the main text of this thesis, Appendix A discusses the presence of Ukrainian wedding traits in 13 of the 21 provinces inhabited by Ukrainians during the 19th and early 20th centuries.
I. Transliteration of Ukrainian and Russian

In the text and bibliography of this thesis, the Library of Congress system of transliteration has been followed with slight modifications: ligatures and diacritical marks have been omitted.*

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In both the text and the bibliography, Ukrainian and Russian family and given names are transliterated according to the transliteration table provided above.

In the text of the thesis, since the full name of some cited authors was not always available, only the first initial is used with the authors' surnames.

The names of some Ukrainian authors are transliterated from Russian because, in the second half of the 19th century, scholarly works written by Ukrainians were required to be published in the Russian language. To name a few prominent examples, P. Chubins’kyi appears as P. Chubinskii;
H. Kalynovs'kyi appears as G. Kalinovskii; and V. Okhrymovych appears as V. Okhrimovich'. It should be noted that Chubinskii's and J. Lozinski's works were written in the Ukrainian language; however, Chubinskii used the Russian orthography and Lozinski used the Polish orthography.

Polish names retain their original forms.

III. Geographical Names

Geographical names in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR) are transliterated according to the table of transliteration above. The doubling of consonants, however, is omitted. For example, Podillia appears as Podilia, and Polissia as Polisia.

Some well-known geographical names are rendered in the form generally accepted in English usage, even though they differ from their original forms. Some examples are:

Belorussia (sometimes Byelorussia or White Ruthenia)
Bukovina (Ukr: Bukovyna)
Dnieper (Ukr: Dnipro)
Dniester (Ukr: Dnister)
Galicia (Ukr: Halychyna)
Kiev (Ukr: Kyiv)
Podlachia (Ukr: Pidlashshia)
Sea of Azov (Ukr: Oziv)
Volhynia (Ukr: Volyn').

IV. Bibliographical Conventions

a) Bibliographical entries are cited according to the MLA Handbook for Writers Of Research Papers, second edition. Certain improvisations were necessary due to the absence of an adequate model in the MLA Handbook.

b) All the available bibliographical information has been provided for each entry in the List of Works Consulted.

c) The following abbreviations are used in the Endnotes and in the List of Works Consulted:

Kop - Polozheniia k sochineniiu "khlieb" v" obriadakh" i piesniakh"

Ks - Kievskaiia starina

Mue - Materiaialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnol'ogii

Ntte - Narodna tvorchist' ta etnografiia

Oso - O svadebnykh obriadakh", preimushchestvenno russkikh"

Psrl - Polnoe sobranie russkikh" letopisei

Rmz - Religionzo-Mificheskoe znachenie malorussoi svad'by.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will attempt to provide a composite description of the 19th and early 20th century Ukrainian wedding. The wedding of the 19th and early 20th centuries was chosen because in this period, more than in any previous one, Ukrainian wedding studies flourished. In fact, it was during this time that all ethnographic study was intensified because of the revival of the Ukrainian national movement. Both individual scholars and entire institutions recorded, collected, and interpreted Ukrainian folk customs. The results of this intense scholarly activity provide the basis for a comprehensive description of the wedding ceremonies at that time. Unlike the Soviet Ukrainian wedding, the ceremonies of the 19th and early 20th century wedding preserve both Christian and pre-Christian beliefs that are integral to the "traditional" Ukrainian wedding.

To produce this study, it was first necessary to determine which works pertained to the 19th and early 20th century Ukrainian wedding and then to obtain them. The sources utilized, written in Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish, were obtained from the University of Saskatchewan Library, various North American libraries, and the Lenin Library in Moscow. Having become familiar with the various
scholarly studies on the subject, it was decided that this writer would use a descriptive ethnographic approach, providing not only a detailed and clear account of the Ukrainian wedding, but also interpreting and presenting new insights for its understanding and appreciation.

In order to produce a composite description of the Ukrainian wedding, it was necessary to develop a system to classify the principal phases of the wedding and to subdivide the phases into individual rites and ceremonies. First, the classification systems used in Ukrainian wedding studies of the 19th and early 20th centuries were examined. Scholars such as M. Hrushevs'kyi, KH. Vovk, and V. Shcherbakivs'kyi broke down the wedding into three parts: svatannia (betrothal), zaruchyny (engagement), and vesillia (wedding). N. Zdoroveha, however, divided the wedding into the pre-wedding period, the actual wedding, and the post-wedding period. Further analysis of the wedding ceremonies themselves, led this writer to divide the wedding into four phases: the preliminary pre-wedding ceremonies, the preparatory phase, the vesil'nyi den' (wedding day), and, finally, the post-wedding phase. A more specific analysis of each sequential segment called for the division of the four phases into subgroups. For example, the preliminary pre-wedding ceremonies are subdivided into three major rites: dopyty (initial inquiries), svatannia (match-making), and zaruchyny (engagement). Numerous ceremonies
make up the second, preparatory phase, including the invitation of the bridal party, torochyny (the ornamentation of the embroidered ritual cloths), the making of the korovai (wedding bread) and other wedding breads, zaprosyny (invitation of the wedding guests), posad (transition ceremony), the adornment of the hil’tse (wedding tree), divych-vechir (maidens’ evening), and vinkopletyny (the making of wreaths). The wedding day itself may be divided into four segments: the preparations prior to the ecclesiastical service, the service itself, the many ceremonies that make up the bulk of the traditional wedding or vesillia, and, finally, the events that surround the wedding night. Lastly, the post-wedding phase includes perezva (post-wedding party), the bride’s breakfast, a ritual ablution ceremony, and other concluding events. Finally, the subgroups are further divided into individual traits.

It might be helpful at this point to provide a chapter by chapter outline of the thesis. First, to place this thesis and its principal sources within the context of Ukrainian wedding studies, chapter two examines the history of Ukrainian wedding research. In the main body of the thesis, chapters three through six sequentially describe the four phases of the wedding. Chapter seven reviews the significance of the wedding ceremonies and reiterates the reoccurring themes that run through them. It is important to make clear that his thesis attempts to produce a composite,
yet analytical, description of the Ukrainian wedding by analyzing and synthesizing diverse wedding studies. Some of these works provide accounts of Ukrainian weddings in individual villages and entire regions, others deal with wedding ceremonies that are common throughout Ukraine as a whole and, finally, some studies provide an analytical examination of the Ukrainian wedding. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with the wedding as it occurs in the various regions of Ukraine. Nevertheless, this matter will be dealt with briefly in Appendix A. In the appendix the presence of Ukrainian wedding traits during the 19th and early 20th centuries in 13 of the 21 administrative units inhabited by Ukrainians will be analyzed and tabulated.²

The writer of this thesis hopes that the compilation of many Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish descriptions of the Ukrainian wedding into one composite English-language study will stimulate future English-language studies of the Ukrainian wedding; provide detailed information about the Ukrainian wedding to scholars in other disciplines; and, finally, provide an English-language source that would facilitate comparative wedding studies.
Endnotes

1 Individuals who have studied Ukrainian nuptial rites utilized several systems of classification. Scholars such as M. Hrushevs'kyi, KH. Vovk, and V. Shcherbakivs'kyi think that the wedding is made up of three constituent parts: svatannia (matchmaking), zaruchyny (engagement), and the vesillia (wedding). Moreover, they conclude that various motifs are repeated throughout the three acts. In other words, the zaruchyny contains motifs from the svatannia, along with other rituals, and the vesillia is made up of motifs from the preceding two acts, along with many other rites.

N. Zdoroveha, however, utilizes a different system. According to her, the wedding has three periods: the pre-wedding period, the actual wedding, and the post-wedding phase. It should be noted that Zdoroveha concurs with the scholars mentioned above concerning the repetition of motifs throughout the three phases of the wedding.

2 For further information about the provinces examined in the charts refer to Appendix A.
CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN WEDDING RESEARCH

Because the Ukrainian wedding has retained many early Christian and pre-Christian beliefs, it has long served as an intriguing study for scholars in various disciplines. Individual scholars in social anthropology, folklore, and literature, and in fact, entire institutions have all considered the wedding in an attempt to collect, codify, and eventually interpret the many facets of Ukrainian wedding rites and customs. Before we begin to examine the wedding itself, it would be helpful to review the history of research in the field.

It is most convenient to divide past research into seven chronological sections: first, the era prior to any deliberate research into the wedding. This includes sporadic, but useful, references in historical chronicles, and in literary and religious texts; second, the beginning of, and the increasing interest in, Ukrainian wedding studies near the end of the 18th century; third, the more concentrated and systematic documentation of Ukrainian wedding customs at the turn of the 19th century; fourth, a further expansion of study from the 1840's to the 1860's; fifth, what is probably the most important period of study, from approximately 1870 to the end of the 1890's, in which an extensive codification of available information was
undertaken; sixth, a fluctuating interest in wedding studies in the first half of the 20th century and, after World War II, a revival of scholarly activity; finally, a brief look at the continuation of Ukrainian wedding studies by Ukrainian emigre' scholars, who have built on previous studies in an attempt to illuminate more fully Ukrainian wedding rites, customs, and traditions.

The oldest known information about Slavic weddings comes in the form of sporadic references in historical chronicles and literary texts dealing with the early Slavic tribes. These references show that the tribes' mating customs were in the initial stages of what we refer to today as "marriage." For example, the 11th and 12th century chronicle, Povist vremennykh lit (The Tale of Bygone Years), reveals the existence of bride purchase and bride capture. It says the Polianians, who lived on the banks of the Dnieper River, practiced bride purchase; the chronicle reads, "Amongst them the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what was given for her."1

The Drevlianians, on the other hand, practiced bride capture. The chronicle says they "lived like beasts; they killed one another, they fed on things unclean; no marriage took place amongst them, but they captured young girls on the banks of rivers."2 The chronicle shows that the Radimichians, the Viaticchians, and the Siverianians
had similar customs; they all lived in forests, like other [sic] wild animals, they ate everything unclean, and shameful things occurred amongst them between fathers and daughters-in-law. Marriages were unknown to them, but games were held in the outskirts of villages; they met at these games for dancing and every kind of diabolic amusement, and there they captured their wives, each man the one he had covenanted with. They had generally two or three wives.³

It is difficult to draw definite conclusions from such sporadic references, but the chronicles are able to give us a vague idea of early wedding practices. The medieval Hypatian chronicle of the Kievan realm, for example, contains information about the wedding practices of the nobility. One ethnographer, N. Zdoroveha, suggests that an interval between betrothal and marriage existed during the 12th century.⁴ To substantiate her claim, she cites this example from the Hypatian chronicle:

In the year of 6620 [1112] ... IAroslav, the son of Sviatopolk, attacked the IAtviazs and conquered them; he returned from the campaign and [someone] was sent to Novhorod, and took М'stislav's daughter, Volodymyr's granddaughter, for his [IAroslav's] wife, in the month of May on the 12th, and she was brought to him [IAroslav] on June 29th.⁵

The chronicle also notes that a wedding feast was held;⁶ it was attended by guests who sang, and drank a variety of drinks.⁷ Likewise, the Hustyn chronicle of the 16th and 17th centuries contains information about ancient wedding rites of the folk masses.⁸ The chronicle refers to Lado, the god of marriage, happiness, and goodness.
It notes that people "who wanted to marry brought sacrifices to him so that with his help their marriage would be good and loving."\(^9\)

We find the oldest accounts of the Ukrainian wedding primarily in religious documents such as Johannes Lasitzki's *De Russorum...* (The People of Rus'...), published in 1582.\(^10\) This rare book contains a description of a wedding in Volhynia, a region of Western Ukraine. Lasitzki describes the rite of *svatannia* (matchmaking), rituals related to bride capture, and the church ceremony itself.\(^11\) Documents of the 1640 Synod, which took place while Petro Mohyla was the Metropolitan of Kiev, also contain information and discussions concerning the wedding traditions and the rites of the folk people.\(^12\) Other religious works such as "Lithos" (Stone), and "Perspectyv" (Perspective) provide additional information about the wedding traditions of the common people.\(^13\)

Finally, we can also cull information about wedding customs from non-religious sources. For instance, the 15th-17th century judicial, city, state, and magisterial records of Kiev, Volhynia, and Podilia inform us about various wedding rites such as *svatannia* and *zaruchyny*, and also about the wedding procession.\(^14\) Other non-religious sources are the memoirs of foreign travellers and officials who travelled in Ukraine. One of the fullest accounts is *A Description of Ukraine*, written by G. de Beauplan.\(^15\)
De Beauplan recorded information found in no other similar works; for example, he describes a form of bride capture, as well as an instance where a girl betrothed herself to a man.\textsuperscript{16}

G. Kalinovskii produced the first deliberate ethnographic study of the Ukrainian wedding in 1777.\textsuperscript{17} Although less complex than later studies, Kalinovskii's \textit{Opisanie" svadebnykh" ukrainskikh" prostonarodnykh" obriadov''} mentions pre-wedding rites, the wedding itself, and the ceremonies after the wedding. Kalinovskii also points out that people customarily looked upon the wedding as an act which required community approval.\textsuperscript{18} This is an important observation, for it indicates that the community--not the Church or the State--held the power necessary to validate a marriage.

More concentrated and systematic documentation of Ukrainian wedding customs began at the turn of the 19th century. Modest studies and collections eventually led to works of a wider scope. For example, I. Fohorosh\textsuperscript{19} produced an ethnographic study of the contemporary remnants of ancient wedding rituals in Transcarpathia, a region of Western Ukraine.\textsuperscript{20} Other ethnographers published collections pertinent to the wedding. For example, M. O. Maksymovych's \textit{Malorossiiskiie pesni} (Little Russian "Ukrainiané Songs, Moscow, 1827) contains a number of wedding songs, and I. Kulzhyns'kyi's \textit{Malorossiiskaia derevnia} (Little Russian "Ukrainiané Village, Moscow, 1827) provides a
detailed description of wedding rites, illustrated with wedding songs. Finally, in 1835, Jan Lozinski, an ethnographer, produced what ethnographers considered to be the first synthesized analysis of Ukrainian wedding traditions. Lozinski's study, Ruskoje wesile (Ruthenian Ukrainian, Wedding), led him to conclude that the main wedding rituals and songs were performed, for the most part, uniformly throughout Ukraine.

In the period following Lozinski's study, especially from the 1840's to the 1860's, research throughout Ukraine expanded extensively as a result of the revival of the Ukrainian national movement. This revival produced a heightened popular awareness of Ukrainian wedding practices. Consequently, information concerning the Ukrainian wedding began to be incorporated into various kinds of publications. For example, journals, literary almanacs, and provincial records contain empirical information about the Ukrainian wedding. In addition, analytical works such as I. Sreznevs'kyi's Sviatilishcha i obriady iazycheskogo bogosluzheniia drevnikh slavian po svidetel'stvam sovremennym i predan'iam (The Sanctuaries and Rituals of Pagan Worship among the Ancient Slavs According to Contemporary and Recorded Oral Accounts), and A. Tereshchenko's Byt' russkago narodu (Life of the Russian People) considered the origins of wedding customs. Furthermore, publications like the journal Osnova (Foundation), published in St. Petersburg
from 1861-1862, contain information about wedding customs in individual villages in various areas of Ukraine. Folklorists also made a peripheral contribution to the field of wedding studies. For instance, M. Kostomarov and P. Kulish, who collected folk songs, and IA. Holovats'kyi, who collected songs and descriptive material, all shed light on the customs surrounding the Ukrainian wedding by including material related to the wedding in their collections. Finally, literary figures incorporated information about the Ukrainian wedding in their works. Taras Shevchenko, for example, makes reference to Ukrainian nuptial rites in his poem "Naimychka" (The Servant Woman), and the play "Nazar Stodolia." After this period of increased interest in wedding studies came a period of extensive codification of ethnographic materials. In fact, some of the most important works in the field were produced in the period beginning at the end of the 1860's and concluding in the 1890's. In 1869-1870, the Kievan section of the Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva (Imperial Russian Geographical Society) made the first attempt to codify ethnographic materials. With the help of an ethnographer, P. Chubinskii, the Society carried out an expedition through 20 regions of Ukraine, and, as a result, produced a seven-volume collection of ethnographic information: Trudy etnografichesko-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v zapad-
The fourth volume of this collection contains a synthesized analysis of Ukrainian wedding rites, as well as individual descriptions of weddings in the administrative units of Volhnya, Podilia, Kiev, and Kharkiv.

During the 1880's, individual scholars published several valuable works. For instance, N. Sumtsov, a specialist in literature and folklore, studied pre-Christian religions and the beliefs of the ancient Slavs. Sumtsov concluded from his research that "all Slavic weddings, as far as the basic traits are concerned, are similar and can be thought to originate from one ancient Slavic rite." Furthermore, another scholar, V. Okhrimovich, applied his knowledge of wedding customs to other fields. He was the first to study the social order on the basis of accounts of Ukrainian wedding rituals. His "Znachenie malorusskikh svadebnikh obriadov i piesen v istorii razvitiiia sem'i" (The Significance of Little Russian "Ukrainiané Wedding Ceremonies and Songs in the History of the Development of the Family) and "Znachenie malorusskikh svadebnikh obriadov i piesen v istorii evoliutsii sem'i" (The Significance of Little Russian "Ukrainiané Wedding Ceremonies and Songs in the History of the Evolution of the Family) are important sources for the study of the evolution of both the family and marriage in the territory.
of what came to be known as Ukraine. 

In addition to institutional and individual works, periodicals and journals were created specifically to study Ukrainian ethnography. Three of the most important journals were *Kievskaia starina* (Kievan Antiquity, 1882-1906), *Etnografichnyi zbirnyk* (Ethnographic Collection, 1896-1929), and *Materiialy do ukraïns’koi etnol’ogii* (Materials on Ukrainian Ethnology, 1899-1919, 20 vols.), the 19th and 20th volumes of which deal exclusively with the Ukrainian wedding.

In the first half of the 20th century, ethnographic research and, hence, Ukrainian wedding studies in the Ukrainian SSR, fluctuated erratically because of the two world wars and resultant political events and socioeconomic conditions. For example, the Soviet government began to impose repressive measures in order to impede the growth of Ukrainian cultural awareness. As a result, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, founded in 1918 to help direct ethnographic studies, was suspended in the 1930's along with the four institutions it oversaw: the Ethnographic Commission, the Vovk Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology, the Institute of Primitive Culture, and the Institute of Musical Folklore. In 1931, M. Hrushevs'kyi, the president of the Cabinet of Primitive Culture was one of the many victims of these measures. He was first put under house arrest, then released, but continued to be
interrogated, and was forbidden to leave the city. He died shortly afterwards in 1934. Other academics arrested at the same time were deported to concentration camps in northern Russia.\textsuperscript{35}

After World War II, scholars were permitted to resume ethnographic studies. Work began to be produced both by institutions and by individuals, and dealt not only with the traditional Ukrainian wedding, but also with the contemporary Soviet Ukrainian one. Now, however, all scholarly work was required to conform to Soviet political ideology so that it would serve propagandistic ends.

During this period, the Institute of the Study of Art, Folklore, and Ethnography published three volumes of \textit{Naukovi zapysky} (Scholarly Notes, 1947-1954), and a quarterly \textit{Narodna tvorchist' ta etnografiia} (Folk Creativity and Ethnography) began publication in 1957.\textsuperscript{36} The Institute also published a two volume work, \textit{Vesillia} (The Wedding), a valuable collection of accounts of Ukrainian weddings from the 17th century to the present.\textsuperscript{37} Another two volume publication is \textit{Ukrains'ki vesil'ni pisni} (Ukrainian Wedding Songs), which contains lyrics and musical texts of songs that accompany the wedding rites.\textsuperscript{38}

Works dealing with Ukrainian wedding rites have not only found their way into journals, but also into single-volume publications. One such work, \textit{Simeinyi pobut i zvychai ukrains'koho narodu} (Family Lifestyle and Traditions of
the Ukrainian People), by O. Kravets', deals with wedding and family traditions in Ukraine during the 19th and 20th centuries. Another work, by H. Pashkova, Etnokul'turni zv'iazky ukrains'cy ta bilorusiv Polissia (The Ethno-cultural Ties Between Ukrainians and Belorussians of Polisia), is a comparative historical analysis of Ukrainian and Belorussian wedding traditions. Finally, another representative work is N. Zdoroveha's Narysy narodnoi vesil'noi obriadovosti na Ukraini (Descriptions of Wedding Folk Rituals of Ukraine), which considers the origin and evolution of Ukrainian wedding rites.

The inclination to study the Ukrainian wedding followed Ukrainian emigrants to other parts of Europe, Asia, and the Americas. In general, upon their arrival in their newly adopted country, Ukrainian emigrants faced difficult social, economic, cultural, and political conditions, which all hindered intensive academic study. As the emigrants adjusted to their milieu, however, the climate for ethnographic studies improved, and soon publications dealing with the Ukrainian wedding appeared. Two prominent examples of emigré scholars who made contributions to wedding studies are V. Shcherbakivs'kyi who wrote "The Early Ukrainian Social Order as Reflected in Ukrainian Wedding Customs," and KH. Vovk, who wrote Studii z ukrains'koj etnokhrafii ta antropologii (Studies in Ukrainian Ethnography and Anthropology).
As we have seen, the Ukrainian wedding has been studied by numerous scholars throughout the last two centuries. But despite a climate conducive to the scholarly study of the Ukrainian wedding in adopted English-speaking countries, V. Shcherbakivs'kyi's "The Early Ukrainian Social Order as Reflected in Ukrainian Wedding Customs" is presently one of the few known English-language sources concerning the Ukrainian wedding. This lack of English-language studies, coupled with the unavailability of many early Slavic language source materials, has probably subdued scholarly interest in Ukrainian wedding studies. This thesis attempts to provide a basis for further study in the area by compiling and analyzing available source materials and, finally, producing a composite study of the Ukrainian wedding. As mentioned, the wedding has been divided into four stages: the preliminary pre-wedding ceremonies, the preparatory phase, the wedding day and finally the post-wedding ceremonies. Chapter three will deal with the pre-wedding ceremonies in which both the family and the community must consent to the betrothal of the prospective couple.
Endnotes

1 "The Tale of Bygone Years," as quoted in Maxime Kovalevsky, Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia (1891; New York: Burt Franklin, 1970) 6. This is Kovalevsky's translation.

2 Kovalevsky 6; this is Kovalevsky's translation.

3 Kovalevsky 6-7; this is Kovalevsky's translation.

4 N. I. Zdoroveha, Narodnoi ukrians'koi vesil'noi obriadovosti na Ukraini (Kyiv [Kiev]: Naukova dumka, 1974) 12.

5 The following is the transliteration of the quotation from the chronicle:

V" lito 6620 ... I'Aroslav' khodi na I'Atviazi, syn' Sviatopolch', i pobidi ia: i prished' s' voiny, posla Novgorodu i poia M'stislavliu dshcher' sobi zheni, Volodimeriu vnuku, misiatsa maiia v" 12, a privedena byst' iiunia v" 29.


The date 6620 corresponds to the Rus' medieval calendar. To arrive at the corresponding date on the Western calendar one subtracts 5,508. Subsequent transliterations will be introduced by the word "Transliteration."

6 "Ipativskaia litopis'," 3.

7 "Ipativskaia litopis'," as cited in Zdoroveha 12.


9 "Pribavlenie k" ipativskoi litopisi: hustynskaia
The full title of this work is De Russorum, Moscovitorum et Tartarorum religione, sacrificiis nuptiarum funerum ritu. Spirae libera civitate veterum Nemetum excudebat Barnardus d'Albinus. Anno MDLXXXII. This work was published in Latin in Vilno, 1582.

The following excerpt describes the church ceremony:

The priest, having accepted bread, reads from the scriptures: the psalm of David. Thereafter, he takes the groom by the hair and asks him: "Tell me, oh engaged one, oh brother, oh friend, can you be a good husband to this girl? Will you not punish her with birch rods? Will you stay with her in sickness and when she is weak?"

The bridegroom subsequently takes an oath that he will conscientiously perform his duties as husband. Then the priest turns to the bride with a similar question. He asks if it is not too much for her to marry (for here girls married at 10-11 years of age) and to be bothered with a family. She is also asked if she will be a faithful wife to her blind, lame, old husband? She replies affirmatively to his questions. Then the priest marries them immediately with new green twigs in the form of wreaths. On the ridge of the wreaths is written the following phrase: "Unite and multiply." During this rite, all those present light wax candles and a goblet with foaming honey is passed to the priest. He drinks from it in the couple’s name and then the couple empties it with the ardour of youth and gives it back to him. Once the wreath has been removed from the bride’s head, the people stamp their feet and begin to dance. This time the priest leads them in a dance, and everyone present follows in a long line behind him. The women immediately sprinkle burdock and flax in the temple and say, "May the god-protectors do whatever is necessary, so that it will always be good for the young couple." After the ceremony, the wedding continued with songs, dances, and the clapping of hands.
This is my translation of Zdoroveha's Ukrainian version of Lasitzki's *De Russorum...* (Zdoroveha 14). All subsequent translations in the thesis will be mine.


13 Zdoroveha 15.

14 Zdoroveha 16.

15 Oleksandr Kurochkin, "Do istorii svatannia na Ukraini," *Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia,* 4 (1971): 76. Hereafter, this journal will be cited as Ntte. De Beauplan was a French army engineer who worked for the Polish government, building fortresses in Ukraine. In 1650, his work *A Description of Ukraine* was published in France and since then has been published in many languages (Guillaume le Vasseur Sieur de Beauplan, *A Description of Ukraine,* (1650; New York: Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, 1959)).

16 It should be mentioned that the form of betrothal, where the girl engages herself to the boy is found also in Bulgaria (Vovk 223-224). Furthermore, Nechui Levyts'kyi mentions a similar practice in the Kiev region of Ukraine (Kurochkin 78). This form of engagement has been studied by various scholars. For more information on the various points of view on this subject, refer to Kurochkin 77-81.

17 Zdoroveha 18. Grigorii Kalinovskii, *Opisanie svadebnikh" ukrainskikh" prostonarodnykh" obriadov"*, (1777; Moskva [Moscow]: Arkhiv istoriko-iuridicheskikh" sviedenii otnosiashchikhsia do Rossii, 1854) 75-88.

18 Kalinovskii as cited in Zdoroveha 19.

19 I. Fohorosh's pseudonym was Ivan Berezhanyn (Jozef Markov as noted in Zdoroveha 20).

20 Zdoroveha 20.

21 Zdoroveha 21.

22 Zdoroveha 21. The work was published in Peremyshl in the Latin alphabet. In this work Lozinski examines the wedding traditions of the Lviv and Peremyshl regions, and the south west area of Volhynia.

23 J[an] Lozinski, Foreword, *Ruskoje wesile,* (Peremyszl
[Peremyshl]: n.p., 1835) N.pag.


25 Zdoroveha 22.

26 A[leksandr] [Vlas'evich] Tereshchenko, Byt" russkago naroda [7] vols. (Sanktpeterburg" [St. Petersburg]: Ministerstva vnutchennikh" diel", 1848). Volume four of this collection contains information about the origin of Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian wedding customs. It also contains descriptions of the wedding practices of the three Slavic peoples just noted.


29 Zdoroveha 24.

30 Kubijovyč 272. This ethnographic collection is referred to as P. P. Chubinskyi, Trudy etnografichesko-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai, ed. N. I. Kostomarov", 7 vols. (S. Peterburg" [St. Petersburg]: Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva, 1872-1878).

31 N. Sumtsov”, "K" voprosu o vliianii grecheskago i rimskago svadebnago rituala na malorusskuiu svad'bu," Kievskaiia Starina 14 (1886). Hereafter this work will be cited as Kvo.

32 Sumtsov", Kvo 18.

33 V. Okhrimovich", "Znachenie malorusskikh" svadebnykh" obriadov" i piesen" v" istorii evoliutsii sem'i.1" Etnograficheskoe obozrenie 11.4 (1891) 44-105. Hereafter, this article will be cited as "Okhrimovich', Part I". Likewise, V. Okhrimovich", "Znachenie malorusskikh" svadebnykh" obriadov" i piesen" v" istorii razvitiiia sem'i. II." Etnograficheskoe obozrenie. 15.4 (1892) 1-54) will be referred to as "Okhrimovich', Part II."

34 Kubijovyč 276-277.

35 Kubijovyč 819.

36 Kubijovyč 278.


40 H. T. Pashkova, Etnokul'turni zv'iazky ukraitsiv ta bilorusiv Polissia (Kyiv [Kiev]: Naukova dumka, 1978).

41 W. Stscherbakiwskyj, "The Early Ukrainian Social Order as Reflected in Ukrainian Wedding Customs," in Slavonic and East European Review, 31 (1952-1953). Hereafter, this author will be cited as Shcherbakivs'kyi.

CHAPTER 3
THE PRELIMINARY PRE-WEDDING CEREMONIES

The preliminary pre-wedding phase of the Ukrainian wedding is perhaps the most important of the four wedding stages. The ceremonies included in this phase provide a vehicle for the groom's family to initiate the marriage proposal, for the bride and her family to consider the proposal, and, finally, for the community to approve the match. These ceremonies can be divided into five groups: dopyty (inquiries), during which the suitability of the marriage proposal is determined; svatannia (matchmaking), when the immediate family confirms the agreement made at the dopyty; ohliadyny (inspection), during which the groom's financial situation is verified; zmovyny, when the details of the marriage contract and the wedding ceremonies are finalized; and, finally, zaruchyny (engagement), during which the community approves of the proposed marriage, and the irreversibility of the union is confirmed.
3.1 Dopyty

Dopyty is a preliminary ceremony of the Ukrainian wedding that determines the suitability of the match and, afterwards, allows the families of the bride and the groom to reach a temporary marriage agreement. It also allows the groom to withdraw honorably from negotiations if it becomes clear that the bride's family will not approve of his proposal.

Before the ceremony of dopyty can take place, the groom or his parents must choose a prospective bride. While doing so, they consider a number of criteria. For example, they first examine the social status of the bride's family. They also take into consideration the community's opinion of the girl: a hardworking, modest, honorable girl is usually preferred. In addition, while the groom is usually 18 to 25 years old, a marriageable girl is usually between 16 and 23.

Once the prospective bride is selected, the preliminary representatives of the groom and his family are chosen. These individuals, referred to as pustosvats or vyslannyks, travel to the prospective bride's home to determine the acceptability of their marriage proposal. For the most part, the groom's female relatives are picked. In Podilia, and the areas surrounding Kharkiv, Horodenka, and
Siedlce, the groom's mother is sent; in the area of Poltava the groom's mother and his sister go. In preparation for their departure to the bride's home, the pustosvats take bread, salt, and brandy. Once the pustosvats arrive at the bride's home, they start to inquire about the willingness of the bride's parents to marry their daughter to the proposed suitor. In some instances, the pustosvats may approach the subject in an indirect manner. In the area of Volhynia, for example, they pretend that their calf has run into the yard of the prospective bride. Such a pretense represents a preliminary marriage proposal. Once the pustosvats have revealed their intentions, they can take one of two possible courses of action. On the one hand, if the pustosvats sense that the match is not agreeable to the girl's parents, they may terminate dopyty by changing the topic of conversation. If this is the case, dopyty serves a functional purpose, because it saves the groom and his family the embarrassment of having their marriage proposal rejected during the next stage, svatannia.

On the other hand, if the pustosvats receive the slightest indication that the bride's parents approve of the proposed suitor, the pustosvats sit down and propose a toast to the hosts; the toast is usually in the parents' and the bride's honor and it symbolizes the desire that
the act of marriage may begin and end happily. After they have had a drink, the two sides exchange ritual bread. The exchange of bread and the toasts, indicate that both parties agree to the match. The pustosvats receive kerchiefs or embroidered ritual cloths to conclude the agreement. To celebrate the proposed match, the pustosvats and the bride's parents may go to a tavern.

3.2 Svatannia

The rite of svatannia has a functional purpose in that it confirms the union within the boundaries of both the bride's and the groom's immediate families.

Before svatannia can begin, the families of the bride and groom must choose two starostas: a starosta (matchmaker), and a pidstarosta (assistant matchmaker). Although each family chooses starostas, the groom's starostas play a dominant role. As an aside, the number of starostas may vary depending on the regional location; for instance, in the administrative unit of Volhynia, three starostas are chosen, whereas in the region of Poltava there is only one starosta. Moreover, in some communities there is a village starosta who officiates at all weddings.
At the groom's home a private family council presides over the selection of the starostas to ensure that the starostas are suitable representatives of the family, and that they will act in its interests.\textsuperscript{24} The prospective starosta is expected to be intelligent and clever,\textsuperscript{25} to be able to speak eloquently,\textsuperscript{26} to be a respected member of the community,\textsuperscript{27} and to be thoroughly familiar with the traditions associated with svatannia.\textsuperscript{28} Both starostas are male members of the groom's family (his uncle, a married brother, or some other relative)\textsuperscript{29} and are usually at least between 30 and 40 years old.\textsuperscript{30} Once the starostas are selected, the groom goes to their homes and asks them to represent him.\textsuperscript{31}

Sometimes the father approaches the starostas instead of the groom;\textsuperscript{32} this variation has an interesting parallel in the christening ceremony in which the father of the child is called upon to invite the child's godparents.\textsuperscript{33} Thus, it is evident that the father is instrumental in taking care of his child's economic interests, whether it be the invitation of the starostas, upon whose talent and ability the success of svatannia rests, or in the choice of the godparents, who play an important role in guaranteeing the financial security of the child.

At this point, the groom's mother plays an important role. If the prospective starostas agree to represent
the groom, they go to the groom's home where they are seated and hosted in the corner of honor under the religious icons of the household, called the pokuttia. Before they leave for the bride's home, the starostas and the groom's mother bless the groom. The fact that the mother, not the father, blesses the son suggests that the mother is responsible for the child's spiritual life. This is the first of many instances of role differentiation in the Ukrainian wedding. Women—with the exception of the starostas—tend to be specialists in wedding rituals; the men, on the other hand, are responsible for practical matters such as representing the groom and his family, and conducting financial negotiations for them.

After the blessing, the groom and the starostas are given staffs, bread, salt, and brandy. They then depart for the bride's home, usually late in the evening. Upon their arrival at the bride's home, they knock at the window or door. To gain entrance into the house, the starostas explain that they are either travellers on a long journey, or that they have lost their way in the dark; in both variations they ask to spend the night. The parents, however, do not allow the starostas into their home immediately. Initially, they suggest that the starostas are robbers and act as if they are afraid of them.
Eventually, the starostas are permitted to enter the house. The groom, however, either waits outside or sits near the threshold; he is a passive observer throughout the ceremony. As the starostas enter the house, they are careful not to go beyond an imaginary boundary designated by the main beam in the ceiling. This writer believes that the beam was recognized as the barrier to the sacred region within the house. To gain entrance into the sacred region, the starostas were required to present bread and salt to the head of the household, probably to ingratiate themselves with the domovyk (house spirit). After the offering, the starostas were thought to have gained the acceptance of the household spirit. According to O. Karpova, the presentation of bread is the moment at which the ceremony of svatannia actually commences. Once the bread is presented, the traditional dialogue begins.

The traditional dialogue is an integral component of the rite of svatannia, and during the 19th and early 20th centuries it was thought to be an indirect form of marriage proposal. The dialogue can take many veiled forms. For example, the starostas may say they have lost a calf, and ask if the bride's parents have seen it. They may mention that they want to buy a cow. They may propose that the following living beings be paired off: a cow and bull, a goose and gander, a duck and
drake, or an oak and birch. But the most popular form of the dialogue begins with the pretense that the starostas are hunters who have travelled throughout the world in the company of their prince, all the while following the traces of a marten. They may say,

We are German people and we have come from the Turkish land. Once at home, in our native land, the first snow fell. And I told my friend, "Why should we worry about the weather. Let us go and search for traces of an animal." So we went; we walked and walked and did not find a thing, when suddenly our prince met us (the groom is usually referred to as a prince). He shrugged his shoulders and told us the following things: "Hey there fellows, good hunters! Be so kind as to show me your friendship. I accidentally came across a marten, a beautiful young girl. Since that time I have neither eaten, nor drunk, nor slept. I am always thinking of how to get her. Help me catch her." So we went after the traces. We went to all the cities, and still we did not find the marten. As we entered this village we heard the snow fell again; we rose early in the morning and found the traces. We are sure that our animal went into your yard, and from the yard into the house, and that she sat down in the room. We must apprehend her here. Our marten is stuck here. This concludes what we have to say, and it is up to you to resolve the matter. Give our prince the marten--your beautiful young maiden. The question is whether you will give it or whether it should be allowed to grow up?

Ethnographic sources of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries indicate that the use of the traditional dialogue was waning. Scholars such as V. Ravliuk, P. Chubinskii, B. Hrinchenko, and G. Kalinovskii cite instances where the starostas do not bother with
the traditional conversation; instead, they openly state their intentions. They might simply say, "Well, svaty [future parents-in-law], we did not come here to sit, but to talk and win the girl's hand in marriage." 60

Once the starostas have finished their dialogue, it is up to the parents to reply to the proposal. But, before the parents announce their decision, the prospective bride must be called into the house. 61 In some instances, the parents may simply ask the girl to enter the house. In other instances, the starostas may say that they wish to search for the "marten" -- the prospective bride. 62 Once they have found her, they all return to the house. No matter what pattern is used, it is necessary for the girl to be present during the decision-making process.

If the parents intend to refuse the proposal, they may do so in one of two ways. 63 They may simply inform the starostas that they have not seen a marten, or that they have nothing to sell, depending upon the type of dialogue the starostas used. The second method the parents can use to reject the proposal involves a nonverbal gesture by the girl. If the parents decide that the lad is not suited to their daughter, then the maiden brings out glasses, brandy, and a pumpkin on a plate to present to the starostas. 64

This form of refusal, which could be a remnant of the ancient language of symbols, 65 was still common at the
beginning of the 19th century; however, towards the end of the 19th century a symbolic phrase replaced the actual gesture: "He was given a pumpkin [they refused his proposal]."66

If, on the other hand, the parents intend to accept the proposal, then the girl enters the house, stands by the hearth and scratches it.67 This act is common throughout Ukraine, and scholars provide several interpretations of its meaning. According to the scholars P. Chubinskii, J. Lozinski, and A. Malinka, the act of kolupannia pechi (scratching the hearth) or sydinnia na pechi (sitting on the hearth), is the girl's way of showing that she wants to marry the lad.68 According to E. Kaharov, the bride is bidding farewell to the spirit of the hearth.69 Vovk and Shcherbakivs'kyi, however, provide a different explanation. They think that this gesture represents a form of communication between the girl and the spirits of the hearth: by caressing the hearth the bride is appealing to the domovyk for protection.70 This is the most plausible interpretation because time and again throughout the wedding ceremonies, the bride expresses a fear of her imminent separation from her family. As the girl stands scratching the hearth, her parents ask her whether she consents to the union. If she does, then she says: "If father and mother say so, I will marry!"71 In the area of Subcarpathia
the starostas may ask her to pour them a drink. If she complies with their request, it is understood that she is in favor of the match.\textsuperscript{72}

Once it is evident that all are in favor of the marriage proposal, rites of agreement commence. One of the most important rites is the presentation of embroidered ritual cloths, called \textit{davaty rushnyky}.\textsuperscript{73} According to tradition, the bride brings out two embroidered ritual cloths on a plate to tie over the shoulders of each of the starostas.\textsuperscript{74}

The starostas may put the ritual cloths on themselves,\textsuperscript{75} or assist each other,\textsuperscript{76} or the girl's mother may tie them on.\textsuperscript{77} At this point the bride also gives the groom a decorative kerchief.\textsuperscript{78} She either ties it to his right hand,\textsuperscript{79} tucks it into the right side of his belt,\textsuperscript{80} or he may place it into his pocket.\textsuperscript{81} By doing so, the bride is indicating her willingness to marry.\textsuperscript{82} As we have seen, various gestures can express the bride's consent to the marriage. The presentation of embroidered ritual cloths to the groom's starostas and a kerchief to the groom, definitely signals the bride's agreement to the marriage.

Perhaps it would be helpful to digress a moment about the significance of the decorative ritual cloths. The embroidered ritual cloths are found not only at weddings, but also at births, baptisms, and funerals. One may also
find them surmounting icons, and hanging above doorways. In these instances, the ritual cloths generally represent amulets for protection against evil spirits. The symbolic meaning of embroidered ritual cloths found at weddings depends on the type of ornamentation found on them.\textsuperscript{83} On the one hand, if stylized versions of plants, birds, animals, or geometric designs are found on the cloths, one can assume that they are worn as an amulet for protection from evil. On the other hand, if the embroidered design on the ritual cloth is a stylized tree, then the embroidered ritual cloth is probably a remnant of the ancient worship of the sacred tree, which was considered by some to be the source of life.\textsuperscript{84} Thus, one can conclude that the decorative ritual cloths and kerchiefs serve a dual function in the wedding ceremony, for they keep away evil spirits and express the worship of the sacred tree.

The ritual cloths could also carry another more practical meaning. To return to the ceremony of davaty rushnyky, once the \textit{starostas} receive the embroidered ritual cloths and the groom receives the decorative kerchief, they give a sum of money corresponding to the value of the gifts. Then they say, "Thanks to you, father and mother, and to the young princess that she rose early and wove the material for the embroidered ritual cloths and kerchief."\textsuperscript{85} Another custom exists wherein the \textit{starostas} propose a
toast once they have had the ritual cloths tied over their shoulders. According to Vovk, the ritual cloths may be a remnant of the practice of bride capture. He suggests that if the starostas were caught while attempting to capture the bride, they would be restrained. This writer concurs with Vovk's opinion, for if one assumes that ropes or some other cloth objects were used to restrain the starostas, then it follows that the starostas would have offered something in exchange for their release. Thus, the starostas presentation of money or their proposal of a toast may at one time have represented a form of ransom.

The bride's parents signal their final agreement to the match with the ceremony of obminiaty khlib (to exchange bread). Karpova and Hrushevs'kyi view this exchange of bread between the bride's parents and the starostas as the final sign of mutual agreement with the starostas concerning the proposed covenant of marriage. In fact, Hrushevs'kyi believes that the exchange of bread is the decisive moment of the ceremony of svatannia and that all other acts are of secondary importance.

Once the rites of agreement are enacted, blessings are imparted. While holding bread and salt on their laps, the bride's parents sit on a bench near the hearth or the pokuttia, areas regarded as holy in Ukrainian homes.
The couple approaches the parents and bows before them three times. Each time they bow, the parents bless them saying, "We bless you with good fortune and health, with a long life and wisdom, and with a lucky fate." The blessing is followed by a repast during which, among other courses, the bread brought by the starostas is served. In addition, cheese and brandy are customarily included with the meal.

Following this intimate gathering, a community celebration, zapoiny (feast after the betrothal), essentially marks the end of svatannia. The bride and groom invite friends, neighbours, and relatives for a celebratory drink. Once everyone has gathered, the guests propose toasts wishing the couple the best of luck and, upon departing, drink to their hosts thanking them for the invitation.

The rite of svatannia changes the status of both the bride and the groom. Because the bride is now engaged, she wears a posy of flowers on the right side of her head until the wedding day. Furthermore, the couple's relationship becomes more intimate. Until the night of the wedding the groom may even sleep with the bride at her parents' home. It is impossible to determine the exact nature of their relationship at this point. F. Nikolaichik, an anthropologist and ethnographer, suggests that their relationship remains platonic until the wedding day.
While this may be true in some cases, many Ukrainians believe that svatannia is "the last act which finalizes the union, and ... is of real, not superficial importance; the church marriage ceremony and the folk wedding serve only as complimentary rituals." Therefore, it is probable that at one time many couples consummated their marriage upon the successful completion of svatannia. In any case, it is clear that the groom lives at the bride's home prior to the removal of the bride from her family. After the removal, the couple lives with the groom's parents.

3.3 Ohliadyny

The first post-svatannia event is ohliadyny (inspection), which takes place soon after the completion of svatannia. Ohliadyny provides the bride's family with an opportunity to verify the groom's financial situation, which will have a direct effect on the bride's future. Essentially, ohliadyny is a thorough inspection of the groom's property by the bride's parents and relatives:

The women begin to crawl and rummage about the entire place; they look around the yard, the garden, and the barnyard; they check if there is a lot of grain and straw; they inspect the cattle, and the storage room; they crawl to the cold-room, and the attic; they
feel around the sacks which are hanging and standing; and they poke around the bins and the scrap piles with sticks. They go to the neighbours and ask whether the groom is a good-for-nothing, or if his family is wealthy....

In fact, the groom's family sometimes borrows grain, horses, cows, and other goods for this occasion if they have exaggerated their financial situation.

If the bride's relatives are satisfied with the inspection, then the day for zaruchyny is set, and the parents of the bride and groom refer to each other as svaty (in-laws). If the family is not satisfied with the inspection, then the bread exchanged at svatannia is returned, and svatannia is dissolved.

3.4 Zmovyny

The second post-svatannia ceremony is zmovyny, the main purpose of which is to finalize the marriage contract and to arrange the details of the wedding. Zmovyny is a feast and celebration that takes place at the bride's home, but the groom's relatives are expected to supply the wine and brandy; the bride's family is responsible for providing all the food. This sharing of the responsibilities is symbolic of the life which the bride and the
groom are about to share.\textsuperscript{108} After the repast, the groom and his party receive gifts from the bride's family and in turn present the bride with money.\textsuperscript{109}

During \textit{zmovyny}, the groups decides on details such as the bride price, the financial compensation paid by the groom and his relatives to the bride's relatives.\textsuperscript{110} The existence of a bride price suggests that a girl about to be married was viewed as an asset by both the family she was leaving, and the one she was joining. The bride's family determines her value on the basis of the investment they made in rearing her. They also consider the fact that they will be losing a worker. Thus, it is evident that, to some extent, marriage was thought of as an economic transaction.

The groups also decide on other matters, including the bride's dowry.\textsuperscript{111} The dowry usually consists of clothing, and household items, but domestic animals and land may also be included. The final decisions made at \textit{zmovyny} concern the number of participants in the wedding entourage, and the type and number of gifts to be exchanged by the families.\textsuperscript{112}

Near the end of \textit{zmovyny}, the young people of the community arrive to begin singing and dancing in celebration of the upcoming marriage. In turn, the guests eventually move to the groom's home to be entertained
by his family. \textsuperscript{113} This marks the end of zmovyny and the post-svatannia events.

3.5 Zaruchyny

The final pre-wedding ceremony is zaruchyny, \textsuperscript{114} a large festive celebration during which the couple publically agrees to marry and receives the community’s approbation for the marriage. \textsuperscript{115} In preparation for the event, the bride’s home is decorated with sheaves of rye that are blessed with stalks from a sheaf which stands on the pokuttia. The sheaves are placed in the four corners of the main room, an adornment referred to as pokrasa. \textsuperscript{116} A similar sheaf of grain called the didukh, serves functional purposes on Christmas eve. This bundle is thought to embody the spirits of clan members who have died, and of those who have yet to be born. Thus, one can surmise that the pokrasa probably symbolizes the presence of the clan spirits, who act as witnesses throughout the wedding. Their presence during the wedding bears witness to the importance of clan unity among Ukrainians.

The ceremonies that make up zaruchyny are svatannia rites repeated for the community to witness and other rituals which publically unite both the couple and their
families. After the arrival of the groom and his party at the bride's home, the starostas recite the traditional dialogue exactly as they did during svatannia, discussed on pages 29-30. The bride then reenacts the presentation of embroidered ritual cloths to the starostas just as she first enacted it at svatannia.

The next rite of this ceremony is pidmina molodoi (the secret substitution of the bride). This playful rite begins with the starostas complaining that they have lost a flower, which represents the bride. Several men or women are brought before the starostas as substitutes for the bride. Eventually, the bride is brought forward to be "found." This ceremony is probably meant to confuse evil spirits who were believed to threaten the bride. R. Thonger provides a similar interpretation of a German ceremony, which resembles the Ukrainian pidmina molodoi. Sumtsov, on the other hand, believes that this custom stems from the practice of bride capture. He suggests that the bride was hidden and protected from those attempting to capture her; in fact, another person was offered in substitution for her. Unfortunately, the origin of this custom is not clear, but it is evident that the participants do not take it seriously. Nevertheless, it does reflect the genuine unwillingness of the bride's family to hand over the bride to the groom's men, even though
they know they must do so.

With the custom of *pidmina molodoi* completed, the unification ceremony begins. The groom, the bride, and everyone from their families place their right hand together on a pile. A *starosta* then ties their hands together with an embroidered ritual cloth and says, "This knot is tied not for a year, not for two years, but for a lifetime." The matchmaker then adds that the dissolution of such a union would lead to a dishonorable life. Obviously, this ceremony demonstrates the Ukrainian belief that marriage affects not only the bride and the groom, but also their families.

After this ceremony, the couple performs a second unification rite to signify engagement. First, the bride bows to the groom, drinks a toast to him, and presents him with a ring, which is sometimes in a glass of brandy. Then the bride gives him a kerchief, and either sews a flower onto his cap, or places a wreath on it. According to I. Chervins'kyi, this is a sign of his engagement to her. This writer believes, however, that the wreath is probably a remnant of the worship of the sacred tree --once thought to be the source of life--an object which will reappear in later stages of the wedding ceremonies. In turn, to conclude the unification ceremony, the groom presents gifts to the bride.
These rites of unification are followed by the parents' blessing. The parents sit on a bench, which is covered with a fur coat. A starosta ties the bride's and groom's hands together, leads them to the parents, and asks the parents to bless the couple. The couple then stands on an embroidered ritual cloth—which probably acts as an amulet to protect the couple from evil—and bows before the parents three times. The parents, in turn, bless the couple with bread and a stalk of rye. Following the blessing, the bride's parents begin to entertain their many guests, and the wedding chorus begins to sing. The festivities continue until late into the night. In some areas, such as the Kiev administrative unit, the celebrations go on for two or three days.

The wedding chorus warrants a short, explanatory digression because it serves as a "chorus" in that it accompanies and elaborates on the meaning of many wedding rituals. The existence of the chorus probably stems from ancient pagan cults. Although, to date, no information can be found about the role of the chorus during that time, its function at Ukrainian weddings in the 19th century is probably indicative of its role in the past. The chorus's role in the 19th and early 20th centuries was, first, to provide information about various wedding rituals as they occurred; second, it was to reflect the atmosphere
of the wedding and the feelings of the participants. For example, the chorus sings songs about mutual love, songs about married life, songs expressing the bride's sadness as she is taken from her parent's home, and songs with Christian and pre-Christian motifs. Third, the chorus was to remind the wedding participants of moral precepts and injunctions they were to follow. Finally, it was the chorus's duty to ensure that the fundamental rites were enacted according to a set of prescribed rituals that had been passed on from generation to generation.

3.4 Summary

The second stage of the Ukrainian wedding is one of the most important of the four stages. To repeat, the five preliminary pre-wedding ceremonies are dopyty, during which the suitability of the marriage proposal is determined, svatannia, in which the immediate family confirms the agreement made at dopyty, third, ohliadyny, during which the groom's financial situation is verified, fourth, zmovyny, when the details of the upcoming wedding are finalized and, finally, zaruchyny, during which the irreversibility of the union is verified by the couple,
their families, and the community. After these ceremonies, the agreement is considered a binding marriage contract. The pre-wedding ceremonies are functional in that they allow for the resolution of the practical details of the marriage contract, but the ceremonies are also religious because they stem from and perpetuate Ukrainians' pre-Christian spiritual beliefs. The women, with the exception of the starostas, are responsible for performing the religious rites, many of which preserve traits associated with tree worship, the veneration of the tutelary spirit, ancestor worship, the language of symbols, and the use of amulets as protection against evil. The men, on the other hand, are responsible for acting as representatives of the family and for negotiating financial arrangements.

The preliminary pre-wedding ceremonies reveal much about the nature of the Ukrainian wedding. For example, it is evident that marriage is seen in part to be an economic transaction. On the one hand, the bride's family must relinquish a productive member of their family. The groom's family, on the other hand, compensates them for their loss and in turn receives another worker and, more important, ensures the continuity of their own family. But, apart from financial considerations, the marriage covenant binds not only the bride and groom, but also creates an implicit bond between their families.
Endnotes

1 From this point on the act of *dopyty* (inquiries) will be referred to by its Ukrainian term.

2 Hereafter, the *svatannia* (matchmaking) ceremony will be referred to by its Ukrainian term.

3 From now on the rite of *zaruchyny* (engagement) will be cited as *zaruchyny*.

4 Other terms used instead of *dopyty*, with the same connotation are: *rozvidky* (Chubinskii 56; Zdoroveha 64), *rozpytvannia* (O. V. Karpova, "*Ukrains'kyi vesil'nyi obriad 'svatannia,'" Ntte 4 (1983): 70), *zvidyny* and *osvidchyny* (Zdoroveha 64).

5 Chubinskii 52, 632; A.N. Malinka, "Malorusskoe vesil'le," Etnograficheskoie obozrenie 34.3 (1897): 96.


7 It is interesting to note that the oldest girl in the family was supposed to be the first to marry (Zdoroveha 60-61).

8 Karpova 70.

9 Zdoroveha 64.

10 Karpova 70.

11 Chubinskii 679; Karpova 70.

12 Chubinskii 658.

13 Chubinskii 670.

14 Chubinskii 56, 553. Tereshchenko notes that women played a similar role in Russian and Belorussian pre-wedding ceremonies. Tereshchenko 2: 167,288,561.

15 Chubinskii 644, 670, 679.

16 Chubinskii 602.

17 Chubinskii 602.
Sometimes the bride will not accept the drink until she has seen the prospective groom. In this instance the groom is brought to her. If she is satisfied with him, then she accepts the drink.

It should be noted that in some instances the parents will not agree to the match during the visit of the pustosvats; however, they ask that the starostas be sent to them. In other words, they agree to the proposal in an indirect way (Chubinskii 56).

It is interesting to note that the Ukrainian spoken language contains several nomenclatures for the word "intermediary": starosta, svat, boiar, posol, divosnub, (Chubinskii 56), brans'kyi starosta, and dans'kyi starosta ([I. Chervins'kyi], "Svatannia, vesillia i rodyny u liudu rus'koho na Rusi Chervonii, opysane meshkantsem ts'oho kraiu. 1805," Shubravs'ka 1: 75).

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30 Malinka 96.

31 Karpova 70; Malinka 96; Chubinskii 555; Pravdiuk 16; Zdoroveha 65.

32 Kalinovskii 79; Gavriil" Sorokin", "Svad'by i svadebnyia piesni u malorossov" i velikorossov" m. Dmitrovki Aleksandriiskago u. (Khersonskoi gub.)," Kievskaya starina 30 (1890): 194.

33 Chubinskii 9.

34 Malinka 96; Karpova 70; Zdoroveha 65; Chubinskii 57-58.

35 Chubinskii 58, 556. In some areas, such as Volhynia, the parents bless the groom and the starostas (Zdoroveha 66).

36 The staffs symbolize the starostas' authority to represent the interests of the groom and his family (Kalinovskii 79; Pravdiuk 16).

37 Karpova 70; Pravdiuk 16; Malinka 97; Leonid Bilets'kyi, Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury (Augsburg: Ukrainsk'ke tserkovne vyd-vo, 1947) 129. It is important to note that the taking of bread has superstitious overtones. For instance, in the area of Kherson, the bread must be borrowed (Sorokin" 194); in Chernihiv, it must be joined to another loaf or bits of ash must be on the bottom of it ([N.A.] Rigel'man", "Malorossiiskaia svad'ba," Literaturnyi vecher" (Moskva [Moscow]: n.p., 1844) 72; Karpova 71).

38 Sumtsov" provides information concerning the ritual use of salt. He notes that during ancient times, when live sacrifices were offered, the people put salt on the sacrifice to make it tasty for the gods. In fact, salt was referred to as liubimym" bohamy (a favorite of the gods) (Andreev" as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 148). Sumtsov" notes further that salt was thought to have protective powers and that salt, because of its use with bread during rituals, like bread, became known as a symbol of wealth. (Sumtsov", Oso 148).

39 Karpova 70; Zdoroveha 65; 0. Roshkevych, "Obriady i pisni vesil'ni liudu rus'koho v seli Lolyn Stryis'koho povitu," 1886. Shubrav'ska 1: 73. It is interesting to mention that intermediaries at Bulgarian (Bogisic as cited in Vovk 228), British, Hungarian, and Italian weddings also carry bread and staffs with them (A. de Gubernatis as cited in Vovk 228).
40 Karpova 70; Pravdiuk 16; Zdoroveha 66.
42 Chubinskii 599.
43 Chubinskii 59, 557, 681.
44 Karpova 70; Zdoroveha 66.
45 Karpova 71.
46 Vovk 228; Chubinskii 581; Zdoroveha 66; Karpova 71.
47 Karpova 71.
48 Karpova 71.
49 Chubinskii 614; Karpova 71; Pravdiuk 17.
50 Chubinskii 671; Lozinski 3.
51 Chubinskii 62; Vovk 229.
52 Pravdiuk 17.
53 Malinka 97.
54 Chubinskii, 59, 557, 581-582; Pravdiuk 17; Vovk 228; Shcherbakivs'kyi 330.
55 Transliteration:

My liude nimets'ki ... idemo z" zemli turets'koi, raz" doma, u nashii zemli vipala porosha. IA i kazhu tovarishu: shcho nam" divit'sia na pogodu, khodim" lishen', shukat' zvirinogo slidu. Ot" i pishli. KHodi1i, khodi1i-nichogo ne znaish1i; azh"-hul'k"! nazustrich" ide nash" kniaz', (molodogo obyknovenno nazyvaiut" kniazem"), pidnima u horu plechi i hovoryt'nam" taki rechi: "Ei vi, khioptsi, dobri okhotniki! bud'te laskovi, pokazhit'druzhu men. Trapi1as' meni kunitsia, krasnaia divitsia. Ne im", ne p'iu i ne spliu od" togo chasu, ta vse dumaiu, jak ji dostati? Pomozhit', ii meni poimati." Ot" mi i pishli po slidam", po vsim" gorodam", a vse kunitsi ne znaishli. Ot" iak" u tse selo viiishli, tut" upuiat'
Vipala porošha: mi vrantsi vstali i taki na slid' napali. Virno shcho zvir' nash' ta pishov' u dvir' vash', a z' dvoru u khatu, ta i siv' u kimiratu. Tut' i musimo ego poimati. Tut' zastriala nasha kunitsia. Otse-zh' nashomu slovu konets', a vi daite dilu vinets': oddaite nashomu kunitsiu vashu krasnu divitsiu. Kazhit'-zhe dilom', chi viddaste, chi nekhai shche pidróste?"

Chubinskii 581-582. Vovk notes an interesting form of the dialogue where the starostas pretend to be kozaks and to capture the bride. For more information on this speech, refer to Vovk 229. Incidentally, such traditional allegorical dialogues are also popular at Belorussian weddings (M. V. Dovnar-Zapol'skyi as cited in Pashkova 27).


57 Chubinskii 650.


59 Kalinovskii 79.

60 N. Markovich as quoted in Zdoroveha 67. Transliteration: "Shcho zh', svaty, my do tebe prvyshly ne sydit, a hovoryt' i svatat' divku."

61 According to folk tradition, the prospective bride is not to be in the house until after the traditional dialogue. She is usually sent on an errand or is at a social gathering (Zdoroveha 67).

62 Chubinskii 59-60, 557-558.

63 We should note that, up until the 20th century, it was thought to be bad luck to refuse a suitor (Chubinskii 613).

64 Ih. Hal'ka as cited in Zdoroveha 70; Pravdiuk 17; Sumtsov", Oso 185. A similar form of refusal, where the language of objects is a substitute for speech, is also practiced at French weddings. When a marriage proposal is to be refused, either a broom or a cooking-pot is put clearly on view in the room when the suitor comes to the house. (Martine Segalen, Love and Power in the Peasant Family (Great Britain: Camelot, 1980) 19.
For more information on the language of symbols, refer to M. O. Kovsen, *Ocherki istorii pervobytnoi kul'tury*, 2nd ed. (Moskva [Moscow]: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1957) 144-145.

Transliteration: "iomu daly (prykotyly) harbuza." Zdoroveha 70.

Zdoroveha 68; Karpova 71; Chubinskii 63, 593, 602, 614; Vovk 229; Chervins'kyi 76; Malinka 97.

Chubinskii 63, 593, 602, 614; Lozinski 3; Malinka 97.

Kaharov as quoted in Pashkova 28. Other Slavic peoples such as Belorussians, Serbs, Croats, and Poles have also retained similar customs in their engagement ceremonies (O. A. Pravdiuk, "Zahal'noslov'ians'ka osnova ukrains'koho vesillia," *Slov'ians'ke literaturoznavstvo i fol'klorystyka*, ed. H. D. Verves, 4th ed. (Kyiv [Kiev]: Naukova dumka, 1968) 99). Hereafter this work will be cited as Zouv.

Shcherbakivs'kyi 330; Vovk 229.

Provided in Polish: "To jak tatunio i mama skazut, to ja pidu!" Oskar Kolberg, *Pokucie*, Vol. 1 of *Lud, jego zwyczaje, sposob zycia*, 66 vols. (Krakow [Cracow]: Drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1882) 272. Some critical disagreement exists concerning the girl's participation in the decision-making process. According to Karpova, a girl never expresses her wish, but permits her parents to decide for her (Karpova 71). Kolomyichenko, however, notes that the bride states if she wants to marry the lad (P. Kolomyichenko, "Vesillia v seli Prokhory Borzens'koho povitu Chernihivs'koi hubernii," 1919. Shubravs'ka 1: 355). Malinka, echoes this point and indicates that if the girl and her parents disagree, then, in most cases, the parents' will was usually done (Malinka 97).

Zdoroveha 68.

Karpova 72.

Chubinskii 61; Rigel'man" 170-171; Karpova 72; N. IA. Dymnych, "Vesillia v seli Kremesh Horokhivs'koho povitu, Shubravs'ka 2: 7.

Chubinskii 583; Kalinovskii 80.

Zdoroveha 68); Pravdiuk, *Vesillia* 17.
Shcherbakiv's'kyi 330.

Zdoroveha 68; Dymnych 7. The kerchief was usually red, a color used by many peoples, because it is believed to have magical attributes (A.F. Ereimev as cited in Zdoroveha 127). It is also a symbol of fertility, the rebirth of nature, and an epithet of the sun (Vovk 304-305).

This occurs in the Boikian, Lemkian, and Volhynia regions (Zdoroveha 68; Karpova 72; Hrinchenko 393).

This occurs in the regions of Poltava, Podilia, Chernihiv, and Kiev. Pravdiuk, Vesillia 17; Chubinskii 583; Zdoroveha 68; Roshkevych 81).

This is true of the area of Volhynia (Zdoroveha 68; Chubinskii 61).

Pravdiuk, Zouv 98.

Embroidered ritual cloths are decorated with various motifs. One of the most important ornaments found on the decorative ritual cloths is the tree of life, the structure of which is connected with the solar system. The tree is depicted as a ladder joining heaven and earth. Ancient accounts of the tree note that each branch represents a day of the week. Three branches are positioned on each side of the trunk, and the last branch continues from the top of the trunk. On the top of the branches are symbolic representations of stars or flowers. Moreover, the largest star or flower is attached to the central branch, symbolizing the sun.

Other motifs found on older towels include a depiction of a woman with raised arms, along with peacocks. Supposedly, the woman represents the goddess-mother—Berehynia (Protectorress).

Other designs are forms of triangles and rhombi, stylized plants, birds, animal figures, and human figures. These representations symbolize amulets worn as protection against evil spirits (Jaroslawa Wynnycka, and Maria Zelena eds., Ukrainian Embroidery, Ukrainian text by Jaroslawa Turko, Trans. Yaryna Cybulsky, and Halyna Kluchko (Toronto: Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, 1982) 46; N. D. Manucharova, and S. I. Sydorovych, and I. F. Krasyts'ka eds., Ukrains'ke narodne mystetstvo: tkanyny ta vyshyvky (Kyiv [Kiev]: Vyd-vo Obrazotворчого mystetstva i muzychnoi literatury URSR, 1960) n.p.).

among Ukrainians, because it is associated with the creation of the world. For example, an old Ukrainian carol indicates that the sycamore is integral to the scheme of creation:

At that time there was neither the sky, nor the land,
But the blue sea existed,
And in the middle of the sea there was a sycamore tree.
On the sycamore tree sat three doves,
The three doves were deliberating,
Deliberating, how to create the world.

Tohdy ne bylo neba, ni zemli,
A no lem bylo synoie more,
A sered moria zelenyi iavir.
Na iavoron'ku try holubon'ky,
Try holubon'ky radon'ku radiat,
Radon'ku radiat, iak svit snovaty.


Besides the sycamore, other trees such as the ash, the maple, the lime-tree, the birch, the cranberry, the poplar, and the willow were venerated (Kylymnyk 22-24).

85 Transliteration: "Spasybi svatu, i svasi, i molodii kniahyni, shcho vona rano vstavala i na rushnyky i khustku priala." Zdoroveha 68.

86 Vovk 229; N. Duchins'kyi, "Svadebnye obriady v Ol'gopol'skom uiezdie," Zhvyai Starina (1897) 2.

87 Vovk 229.


89 Hrushevs'kyi 242. Iastrebiv records a statement by Palazhka Chubunykha that reflects the folk people's perception of the legal implications of the rite of svatannia.

"I did not marry Sava any old way, but in the following manner: Sava came with bread and brandy and with a starosta; he took me from my father and they drank brandy and shook hands - he can not leave me!"

ishla za Savu ne iak nebud', a tak iak slid:
Sava prykhodyv z khlibom i z horilkoiu i z staros-
P. Litvinova-Bartoche, "Vesil'ni obriad i zvychai u seli Zemliantsi Hlukhiv's'koho pov. u. Chernyhivshchyny," Materiialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnol'ogii, 22 vols. (Lviv: Vydannie Etnohrafichnoi komisyi, 1899-1929) 3: 172. The title of this work varies throughout the different volumes: vols. 1-7, Materyialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnol'ogii; vols. 8-10, Materiialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnol'ogii; vols. 11-20, Materiialy do ukrains'ko etnol'ogii. Hereafter, this publication will be cited as Mue.

90 Transliteration: "Blahoslovliaiemo vas shchastiam i zdorov'iam, vikom dovhyym i rozumom dobrym, dolei shchasly-voiu." Hlad'ko as cited in Zdoroveha 68.

91 Zdoroveha 68-69; Hrinchenko 393; Chubinskii 61, 559; Rigel'man" 171; Roshkevych 81.

92 Chubinskii 64-65, 559-560, 681-682. Similar celebrations are also held by other peoples. One example is at weddings on the British channel island of Guernsey. It is called a flouncing and held after the groom's marriage proposal is accepted (Tegg 50).

93 Malinka 100.

94 This is also a pre-marital custom in Northern Ireland, the Hebrides, Wales, Finland, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, the eastern states of America (Margaret Baker, Wedding Customs and Folklore (New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977) 23), England (Jack Goody, The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983) 152), and Germany (Vovk 230).

95 F. Nikolaichik", "Novvja svadebnia malorusskiia piesni v" obshchem' khodie svadebnago dieistviia," Kievskiaia starina, 5 (1883): 370; Vovk 229-230; Chubinskii 682. In some areas of Ukraine the couple did not sleep together until after zaruchyny. For more information on the origin of this custom, refer to M. O. Kovsen, "Ocherki po etnografii Kavkaza," Sovetskaia etnografiia 2 (1946): 126-134.

96 T. Osadchyi, "Brachnye dogovory u malorossov" Etnograficheskoe obozriene, 18.3 (1893): 125.

97 According to de Beauplan, another form of svatannia occurred in Ukraine during the 17th century, wherein the girl made her intentions known to the groom's parents. She usually went to the groom's home, told his parents that their son would make a good husband, and that she
would not leave until they gave their consent for the marriage. In most instances, the girl was successful (de Beauplan 466). For more information on this custom, as practiced by Ukrainians, Russians, and other Slavic and non-Slavic peoples, refer to Zdoroveha 39-41; Oleksii Dei, "Kil'ka fol'klornykh svidchen' pro svatannia divchyny do parubka," Ntte, 4 (1971): 81-83; Kurochkin 76-81; F. Volkov", "Svadebnye obriady v" Bolgarii," Etnograficheskoe obozriienie 27.4 (1895): 17.

Subsequently the post-svatannia ceremonies, ohliadyny (inspection), and the zmovyny (marriage contract) will be referred to by their Ukrainian terms. Other words used to refer to the inspection ceremony are: rozhliady (Kolomyichenko 356), rozhliadyny (Chubinskii 95, 581; Hrinchenko 393; Zdoroveha 70; Malinka 98), obzoryny (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 18; Ivan Bugera, Ukrains’ke vesillia na Lemkivshchyni, 2nd ed. (N’iu Iork [New York]: Howerla, 1977) 8; Zdoroveha 70), pechohliadyny (Chubinskii 95, 634), du(o)movyny, and umovyny. (Chubinskii 95).

The ohliadyny usually takes place if the groom is from another village (Malinka 98; Kolomyichenko 356).

Hrinchenko 393; Zdoroveha 70; Chubinskii 95, 634; Rigel’man” 178. The ohliadyny is always conducted by the bride’s family.

Transliteration:

Baby zakhodzhuiut’ sia lazyty i nyshporyty skriz’ po usii oseli, rozhliadaiut’ dvir, horod, kluniu, dyvliat’ sia, chy bohato khiba i sina, rozdyvliaiut’ sia khudobu, komoru, laziat’ do l'okhu, na horyshche, oblapuiut’ postavleni i povishani mishky, shchupaiut’, patykamy po zasikakh i zrizkakh, khodiat’ po susidakh rozpytuvats’ za molodoho, chy ne nikchemnyi vin, chy zamizhni vony liudy....

Litvinova-Bartoche 74; Chubinskii 581, 634; V. M., "Svadebnyia piesni v" Lubenskom" uiezdie, Poltavskoi gubernii," Kievskaiia starina 30 (1890): 130.

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 18.

Zdoroveha 71.

Zdoroveha 71. It should be noted that a custom corresponding to ohliadyny is common among other peoples. Among the Czechs, Poles, Germans, and English, however, this custom has a different purpose and occurs at a different point in the wedding than the Ukrainian ohliadyny. As
mentioned, among Ukrainians, ohliadyn occurs after svatannia and its purpose is to establish the groom’s financial position. The Czechs, Poles, Germans, and British, however, conduct inspection ceremonies prior to the engagement, the purpose of which is to establish the financial situation of the bride’s family (H. Biegeleisen as cited in Zdoroveha 70-71).

The other terms used to refer to this event are domovyny (Chubinskii 560.) and namovyny. (Aleksandra Szurmiak-Bogucka, Wesele goralskie (Krakow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1974) 11). Zmovyny either coincides with ohliadyny, or is held separately, depending on a given family’s financial situation. According to Malinka, a poor family could not afford to hold zmovyny separately from the ohliadyny (Malinka 98).

Malinka 99.

Rigel’man” 175; Kolomyichenko 356.

Malinka 99; Rigel’man” 175.

Malinka 99; Rigel’man” 175.

Malinka 99.

According to Kravets’, the value of the bride price had to at least equal the dowry, and in fact, was often twice the value of the dowry (Kravets’ 48). The institution of the dowry is common among the Romans (Tegg 74), the Egyptians (Tegg 79-80), the Turko- Mongols (Arnold van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, Trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1960) 119), the Samoyeds (van Gennep 126), the Bhotiya of Southern Tibet and Sikkim (A. Earle as cited in van Gennep 121-122), and the Bashkirs (P. Nazarov as cited in van Gennep 119-120). The Romans held a gathering similar to zmovyny, at which they settled the details of the marriage contract. The written contract was referred to as the sponsalia (Tegg 73-74). The Egyptians referred to the dowry as mahr, the details of which were decided at a ceremony that took place after the marriage proposal was accepted (Tegg 79-80). The Samoyed and the Turko-Mongols referred to the bride price as the kalym (van Gennep 119, 126). For some general information about the dowry and bride price, refer to Goody 240-261.

Chubinskii 95, 560, 583; Ravliuk 183; Malinka 99-100.

Malinka 99.
Other terms denoting zaruchyny are khustky (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 17; this term is used in the Chernihiv area), rukovyny, and rukodoiny (Zdoroveha 71). The meaning of the terms is explained in Lozinski's description of the act:

That agreement between the couple to a marital union is referred to as zaruchyny or rukovyny because the agreement between the people is confirmed by the shaking of hands.

Provided in Polish:

-Toła shoda mezy Molodiatamy nachrjawok malzen'skij nazywajesia Zaruczynamy abo Rukowynamy dla toho, ze wsia shoda mezy lud'my podaniom sobi ruk potwerdzajesia.

Lozinski 3.

The joining and tying of hands is a popular custom among many peoples, because it symbolizes the making of a covenant. For more information concerning the variations of this custom, see Urlin 19; Tegg 23-24, 81-82; Walter K. Kelly, Curiosities of Indo-European Tradition And Folk-lore, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1863) 292.

Zdoroveha 71-72.

Shcherbakivs'kyi, 331; Zdoroveha 73.

Zdoroveha 72.


This custom is also practiced by the Russians, Czechs, Serbs, (Sumtsov", Oso 27-28), French (Laumier as cited in Vovk 231), Italians, Swedes, and Germans (A. de Gubernatis as cited in Vovk 232).

Transliteration: "Toi sia hudzu' v'iazhne ni na rik, ni na dva, no na tsilyi vik." Ih. Hal'ka as quoted in Zdoroveha 72. In this instance, it is evident that the knot represents the indissolubility of the union. Daniels, Stevens, and Tegg indicate that the knot is a symbol of indissoluble love, faith, and friendship (Cora Linn Daniels, and C.M. Stevans, eds., Encyclopaedia of Superstitions, Folklore, and the Occult Sciences of the World, (Detroit: Gale Research, 1971) 1294; Tegg 303-304.)

Duchinskyi notes a similar ceremony wherein the formula recited by the starostas concerning the irreversibility
of the union states that monetary fines had to be paid if the contract was dissolved (Duchinskyi 2). Kravets' also notes that if a contract was broken, then a financial penalty was given to the party at fault (Kravets' 67).

A zaruchyny ceremony recorded by Chervins'kyi is interesting because it reflects a definite religious influence. In this instance, a loaf of bread is covered and placed on a table (the bread is probably used during the rite because it is considered holy). After the couple places their hands on top of the loaf, the priest covers their hands with his stole and reads a prayer. This concludes the ceremony (Chervins'kyi 77). It is interesting to note the influence of the Church on this rite: a priest plays the role which the starosta usually plays; a religious prayer is said instead of the formula dictated by ritual law; an ecclesiastical vestment is used instead of an embroidered ritual cloth.

121 This was popular in the Kharkiv region (Zdoroveha 73; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 18).

122 This was typical of the Lviv region (Zdoroveha 73; Chervins'kyi 77). According to Chervins'kyi, the groom wears the wreath home, pretending not to notice it. Once he arrives at home, his mother takes the wreath off and throws it into the oven as a sacrifice to the gods.

123 Chervins'kyi 77; Chubinskii 66, 660.

124 For further explanation of the wreath and its association with tree worship, refer to Hastings 12: 451b, 452b.

125 The rite of zaruchyny in the area of Transcarpathia is different from the one noted in the text. It is unique in that it establishes the groom as the head of the household, and it contains magical rites; consequently, a description of this variation will be provided. According to Holovats'kyi, first the starosta has the groom remove his hat. The bride then places it on her head and the starosta removes it. As he does so, he says, "So that you know, Maria, the husband is the head of his wife," Tak zheby ty, Mar'ie, znala, zhe muzh hlava zhone (Holovats'kyi as cited in Zdoroveha 75). Then the couple holds hands and exchanges kerchiefs, in which silver coins are wrapped. Then the mother or some other relative removes her apron and places it on the ground. The couple stands on it, and while holding hands turns around three times. As they do this, the starosta pours an unknown liquid on their heads, whispers a secret formula, and blesses them. Then the mother takes the apron and jokingly hits the couple with it. This concludes the rite.

The magical act of turning round three times probably
stems from an ancient Slavic ritual. A. Tereshchenko notes that in Belorussia at the end of the 18th century girls were captured, taken into a forest, and led around a lake or an oak tree three times. This legalized the act of marriage (Tereshchenko 2: 48). Thus, it is possible that the act of turning around, as recorded in this Transcarpathia zaruchyny ceremony, stems from the Slavic rite noted by Tereshchenko.

126 Vovk 233-234.
127 Zdoroveha 73.
128 Chubinskii 92; Zdoroveha 74.
129 Zdoroveha 74; Chubinskii 593. Litvinova-Bartoche describes a variation of the zaruchyny ceremony. This event takes place at the groom’s home, and it is based on a magical rite which represents the unification of the two families (Zdoroveha 74). Once the bride’s party arrives at the groom’s home, the bride’s mother presents the groom’s mother with two cakes wrapped in a kerchief. The groom’s mother waves the cakes over a table three times and recites the following incantation: "As this bread is holy, honorable, and majestic, grant oh God, that our children be honorable, majestic, prosperous, and live a long life" (Iak sei khlib s’viatyi chesnvi i velychnyi, dai Bozhe, shchob i dity nashi buly chesni, velychni, blahopolushni i mnholitni [Litvinova-Bartoche 76]). The groom’s mother then replaces the bride’s mother’s cakes with her own and presents them to the bride’s mother. This ritual symbolizes the newly formed bond between the two families. It is important to point out that this magical rite is led by the mother, not the father. This verifies the role women play in religious functions as ritual specialists.

130 Vovk 231.
131 Shcherbakivs’kyi 331.
132 Vovk 232.
133 Zdoroveha 74. For examples of zaruchyny songs, refer to Chubinskii 67-71; Berezovs’kyi, et al. 1: 86-98; 2: 10-22.
134 It is interesting to note that many of the zaruchyny rituals associated with pre-Christian religions were introduced into the Christian marriage ceremony; for instance, the priest ties the couple’s hands together and leads them around the small altar three times (Zdoroveha 76).
The preparatory phase of the Ukrainian wedding is a two day period between the preliminary pre-wedding ceremonies and vesillia (wedding). Some events in this phase appear to be mainly functional, for example, torochyny during which embroidered ritual cloths are readied to be given to the guests on the wedding day. Most of the ceremonies in this phase, however, have an additional dimension: they reflect themes implicit in Ukrainians' conception of the institution of marriage. For example, the baking and decoration of the korovai (wedding bread) produces food for the wedding, but, much more importantly, the korovai's individual symbolic decorations are also meant to invite the gods to be present in order to bless the union, and to reflect the importance attached to fertility and the generation of life, themes integral to the act of marriage. As we discuss the preparatory phase, the ceremonies will reflect other important themes: the veneration of the generative principle, the trauma of the bride's separation from her friends and family, and the bride's and groom's transition from carefree youths to responsible adults able to form a family unit.
4.1 The First Day of the Preparatory Phase

The first day of the Ukrainian wedding's preparatory phase is usually Friday\(^2\) and is referred to as prybyral'nytsia (the day of arrangements).\(^3\) Only two events take place on Friday: the invitation of the wedding party and torochyny.

4.1.1 The Invitation of the Bridal Party

The bride and groom separately approach the people whom they have chosen to be members of their wedding parties.\(^4\) To invite the members, each goes to the person's home and offers bread to the master of the house. They then ask that he allow his son or daughter to be a member of the wedding party.\(^5\) If the master concurs, the son or daughter is invited to torochyny, which is to take place later that day.

4.1.2 Torochyny

The purpose of torochyny, which takes place at the bride's house, is to attach decorative trimming to embroidered
ritual cloths that are to be given as gifts to the groom's family by the bride's family during the wedding celebrations. The trimming must be attached to the ritual cloths so that they will be long enough to tie over the recipients' shoulders. The bride's druzhkas are to adorn the towels, but before they can begin, the starosta must bestow a blessing upon them. After the blessing, they attach trimming to the embroidered cloths and sing special songs while doing so.

When the groom, his starostas, his boiars, and a group of musicians arrive, they each kiss a loaf of bread that lies on the table. Then, as a gesture of good will and respect to the hosts, each member of the groom's party presents a kolach (ritual bread) to the hosts. Like the starosta's offering of bread at the beginning of svatannia, it is likely that the presentation of bread represents an offering to propitiate the house spirit. After the offering, the musicians begin to play.

When the druzhkas are finished lengthening the ritual cloths, they sing to the groom to inform him that they want a drink: "From the forest nuts were flying/ The druzhkas wanted brandy,/ They have already finished lengthening the ritual embroidered cloths,/ But they still have not drunk any brandy." This is the first of many times during the wedding that songs play a significant role; here they serve as a means of communication. The starosta is expected
to meet the druzhkas' demands. He does so after he has toasted the bride's father, and thereafter treats everyone else to a drink. This toasting ceremony is called mohorych. After mohorych, the group dines and then dances. This marks the end of torochyny and the first day of the preparatory phase.

4.2 The Second Day of the Preparatory Phase

On the second day of the preparatory phase, usually a Saturday, a variety of complex events occurs. First, the korovai, the wedding bread, is prepared along with other ritual breads. Second, zaprosyny takes place, during which the bride and groom invite their wedding guests. Third, the bride's posad (transition ceremony) is enacted. Fourth, the wedding tree, called the hil'tse, is decorated. Fifth, in the evening, during divych-vechir (maidens' evening), the bride's girlfriends sing songs to lament the passing of her youth and the possibility of a hard life ahead among her future in-laws. Sixth, wedding wreaths are woven in a ceremony called vinkopletyny. Seventh, the bride prepares a gift to be given to the groom, and he reciprocates with a gift to the bride. To conclude the evening, the couple participates in a
The korovai, the principal wedding bread of the Ukrainian wedding, is more than just a product for consumption. In fact, the symbolism surrounding it is rich, diverse and, because of its long history, has been adapted frequently to reflect the belief system of those who have used it in ceremonies. First, the korovai symbolizes unity. When the bride, groom, their families, and the wedding guests partake of the bread, they profess to and sanctify the newly formed union of the couple and the families. Second, the korovai reflects the veneration of the generative principle, an important and reoccurring theme of many wedding rites. The objects that adorn the bread—doves, cones, and ducks, for example—are all fertility symbols meant to express the wish for the couple's future fecundity. Third, the decorated korovai becomes a symbolic representation of the cosmos and is thus the participants' attempt to recognize and to worship the natural forces that they perceive to influence their lives. The decorations also include dough representations of the sun, moon, and stars. Furthermore, when the korovai is placed in the oven with
other wedding breads, they are arranged to resemble the solar system. Fourth, there is some indication that the korovai is a relic of the sacrificial offering of animals to the gods. Sumtsov writes that although originally live sacrifices were offered to the gods, with the development of agriculture, bread was offered in sacrifice instead of animals. This sacrificial bread was adorned with dough representations of the animals sacrificed in the past. This supposition can be corroborated by examining the etymology of the word korovai. Vovk and Sumtsov think the Ukrainian word korovai is related to the Sanskrit word, kravya, meaning "meat." The word for "cow" in Slavic languages seems to stem from this root: korova in Ukrainian, krava in Old Slavonic, and krowa in Polish. The Sanskrit kravya also seems to be the root for the word "blood": krov in Ukrainian, korov in Old Slavonic, and krew in Polish. Fifth, and finally, because of its connection with sacrificial offerings, the korovai is meant to serve as a means for human beings to communicate with the gods they worship. When the korovai is offered up to the gods, they are thought to consume the incorporeal component of the bread while the mortals partake of the material component. In this way, the gods are invited to be present at the wedding rites so that they might bless and sanctify the union.

A discussion of the korovai in the context of the
Ukrainian wedding can be divided into two sections: first, the procedures for making the korovai and, second, the ceremonies surrounding its distribution, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. We will deal first with the preparation of the wedding bread.

Before the korovai can be made, the korovainytsias, the women who make it, must be selected. It is thought that the women selected must meet certain criteria to ensure that the couple have a good marriage. Namely, each must be a respected young or middle-aged wife with a good married life and a husband living at home at the time of the wedding ceremony. Either the bride’s mother, a married sister, or in some cases the bride herself is responsible for inviting the korovainytsias. A song sung by the chorus describes the event: “Marusia's mother/ Goes to her neighbours,/ She asks her neighbours:/ 'Oh my neighbours,/ Come to my place,/ To my house,/ To my child/ To knead the korovai.'”

The role as korovainytsia is only one of the many roles women played in Ukrainian rituals in the 19th and early 20th centuries. We should digress a moment to introduce this theme of the Ukrainian wedding that will reoccur in our discussion of the wedding ceremonies: the fact that women played an important role in the transmission of rituals from one generation to another. They were what we will call "ritual specialists." As noted in
various ethnographic studies, women were midwives, practitioners of folk medicine, diviners, members of the hearth cult, and the sole participants in the wedding chorus. As we will see, their role as korovainytsias is a good example of their specialized function within the community.

After being invited to act as korovainytsias, the women dress in festive attire and gather the ingredients necessary to make the korovai. This is significant because, according to Pravdiuk and Okhrimovich, the fact that the korovainytsias must provide the bread's ingredients stems from the ancient concept of communal existence. In addition, the exact ingredients and the quantities required are necessary knowledge for those who can hold the position of korovainytsia.

Once the korovainytsias have collected the ingredients, they set out for the bride's home where, after a blessing from the starosta, they begin to make the korovai. The ingredients are prepared in a kneading bowl which is placed on a bench in the center of the main room of the house. As the women make the bread dough, they sing songs about the task at hand. For instance, a passage from one song lists the ingredients used in the korovai:

Grain that is seven years old,
Water from three wells,
Seven groups of sixty eggs,
A gallon of yeast -
Our holy korovai.

This excerpt shows that these are not ordinary ingredients:
some have been stored for a magical number of years and others must be taken from specific sources.

Once the dough is made and removed from the kneading bowl, a number of specific procedures takes place. First, five joined candles and a knife with a large candle attached to it are placed in the kneading bowl. The kneading table is placed on the kneading bowl and then two bundles of straw are placed crosswise on the kneading table. Flour is then sprinkled on the kneading table. After this is finished, the women begin to make the two layers of the korovai.

The first layer of the korovai, called the pidoshva, is a flat piece of dough made from rye or wheat flour. The second layer, the korovai proper, is a round portion of dough placed on top of the pidoshva. Once the two sections are positioned, the bride's father begins adorning the center of the dough with coins. The bride's mother then covers the dough with a towel, makes an indentation with her elbow in the center, and places dough representations of the sun, the moon, doves, and pine cones in and around the indentation. As mentioned, these representations symbolize fertility, love, and marital unity. This song describes the procedure: "The women korovainytsias,/ Have made a nice korovai,/ In the center they put a moon,/ Around it, stars,/ Birds of paradise." Once the adornment is completed, the dough is set aside to rise.
After receiving a blessing from the starostas so that the korovai may be placed in the oven, the korovainytsias call for a kucheriavyi (curly haired lad)\textsuperscript{39} to prepare the oven by sweeping it out. The kucheriavyi, who because of his curly hair is thought to bring good fortune,\textsuperscript{40} often uses a wreath to sweep out the hearth,\textsuperscript{41} for it is believed that the wreath will bring the couple wealth.\textsuperscript{42} With this done, the kucheriavyi places the korovai into the oven with a long-handled baking implement.\textsuperscript{43} When the korovainytsias remove the baking implement from the oven, the boys in the house attempt to grab it from them. If they are successful, they sing, jump, and dance around the room, and then they are treated to a drink. If the korovainytsias succeed in keeping the baking implement away from the boys, they sing and dance around the room.\textsuperscript{44}

While the bread is baking, the korovainytsias perform two magical rites and sing a variety of songs. The first short magical rite requires the korovainytsias to wash the dough from their hands and spill the water onto the threshing floor. As they do so, they recite an incantation: "They carried the water to the threshing floor,/ And they beseeched God:/ 'Oh God, nurture the rye, the wheat,/ The pink flowers,/ So that the children will love each other.'"\textsuperscript{45} The second rite is performed when they return to the bride's home. Both the men and the women who are present stand around the kneading bowl and lift it into
the air three times, each time knocking the ceiling beam. As they knock, they express the hope that the bread will rise well and turn out nicely. Then they kiss each other and, while dancing and singing, carry the kneading bowl through the house. This magical ritual seems to represent a request made to the domovyk to help make the korovai a success.

The songs sung while the korovai bakes reflect the mood of the rite. Some songs restate the worship of the generative principle and thus hint at eroticism: "Beyond the log, beyond the oak log,/ There are the goats' horns./ Korovainytsias, good women,/ Lifted up their legs." Other songs express the hope that the korovai will turn out well: "Our stove has/ Silver shoulders,/ The wings of an eagle,/ So that the korovai will turn to a golden brown." Finally, some songs reflect the korovainytsias' fear that someone will steal the korovai. One song reads, "She sat on the corner of the stove,/ To guard the korovai,/ So that the boys would not steal it,/ And take it across the river." Another such song has apparent Christian overtones: "We two korovainytsias,/ are going to sleep on the stove,/ to guard the korovai,/ so that the angels won't come and take it." These songs show that the women are responsible not only for the making of the korovai, but also for protecting it.

When the korovai is finished baking, more songs are
sung that seem to show that, during the wedding, the usual means of communication is often replaced with lyrical passages. First, when the korovai is still in the oven, the women sing about the large size of the korovai and joke that the oven must be chopped open in order to remove it: "Where do those blacksmiths live,/ Who forge golden axes./ Blacksmith, dear blacksmith,/ Forge me a little axe;/ We will chop the oven open,/ In order to take out the korovai."53

Once the wedding bread is out of the oven, it is placed on the kneading table, which has been strewn with straw and covered with a table-cloth. The korovainytsias then sing a song asking the korovai where it was. For instance, they would sing, "Where were you,/ What did you hear,/ Holy korovai?"54 As this excerpt indicates, the people believed that the korovai had been on a journey, probably, this writer thinks, to visit the house spirit, who was thought to reside in the hearth. The korovainytsias also sing many songs praising the beauty of the korovai. One example is, "Oh, God has helped us-/ The korovai has turned out well for us:/ As bright, as beautiful/ As the moon,/ As the bright sun."55

Next, the korovai may be painted either red or gold,56 and branches may be stuck into it.57 After it is decorated, a starosta or a korovainytsia places the kneading table—with the korovai on it—on top of his or her head and carries
it into the pantry. To continue their protective role, the korovainytsias accompany the person who carries it. After they return from the pantry, the korovainytsias sing about where they have hidden the korovai: "We drank and worked quickly,/ And built the pantry,/ And hid the korovai." Other more erotic songs follow while the korovainytsias are treated to a meal in appreciation for their work; they also receive shyshkas (buns shaped like pine cones), kerchiefs, and ribbons for a job well done.

4.2.2 Other Wedding Breads

In addition to the korovai, many other ritual breads are made for the wedding. The most popular are: dyven', shyshkas, lezhen', hrebin', and borona. The dyven' is a round loaf that resembles a ring. According to Vovk, the word dyven' comes from the word dyvytysia (to look); he thinks that this loaf is called dyven' because the bride looks through it prior to the couple's departure to the groom's home on the wedding day. On the other hand, Sumtsov thinks the round loaf is a remnant of the sun cult. He adds that the dyven' is probably a later, complimentary form of the korovai that originated from
the epithet associated with the korovai: dyvnyi (wonderful). Shyshkas are also made to be distributed during zaprosyny, when the couple invites their guests, and on the wedding day. Shyshkas are medium-sized buns that resemble pine cones, and thus could be remnants associated with tree worship. But it is probable that they also relate to the veneration of the generative principle. This connection is substantiated by the fact that a large shyshka is adorned with cranberries, red wool, and ribbons after the wedding night (indicative of the deflowering of the bride), and this suggests that certain shyshkas are symbols of the male penis.

Other ritual breads include the lezhen', the hrebin', and the borona. The lezhen' is an elongated loaf that contains eggs and money; it is probable that the eggs are meant to symbolize fertility and the money to represent wealth. The bread is given to the couple the day after the vesillia as they rise from the wedding bed. The hrebin', which resembles a comb, and the borona, which resembles a harrow, are given to the bride’s mother and father respectively. These breads are indicative of male-female role differentiation, because the comb symbolizes a woman’s function, and the harrow is connected with a man’s task. Incidentally, such role differentiation is evident from infancy. A boy’s umbilical cord may be cut with an axe, in the hope he will be a skilled workman.
another custom has the boy’s cord cut on a book, so that he will be literate.\textsuperscript{72} A girl’s cord, on the other hand, may be cut on a distaff to ensure that she will become a spinner.\textsuperscript{73}

4.2.3 Zapisory

While the korovainytsias are making the korovai,\textsuperscript{74} the bride and groom, along with their druzhkas and boiars, are separately inviting the wedding guests;\textsuperscript{75} this is called zapisorny. Before discussing the invitations themselves, we should look at the couple’s special attire and the ceremony preceding the invitations.

The bride and her senior druzhka, for example, carry embroidered ritual kerchiefs.\textsuperscript{76} It is probable that the decorative kerchiefs act as amulets against evil spirits. Likewise, the bride and her druzhkas all dress alike probably to confuse the evil spirits which are thought to hover around bridal parties.\textsuperscript{77} Finally, in some instances, the bride and all the druzhkas tie a weaving instrument to one hand and a kolach (ritual loaf) to the other.\textsuperscript{78} The weaving instrument is yet another indication of explicit role differentiation.

This differentiation is also seen in the boiars’
attire: each carries a staff, a symbol of authority. The staffs are ornamented with various geometric and stylized patterns and, like the embroidered ritual cloths, the staffs probably serve as amulets against evil forces. The groom and his bojars also dress alike. In fact, because the roles of these groups are so similar, to avoid confusion, we will concentrate on describing only the actions of the bride and her party.

One special ceremony must take place before the bride and her party can invite the wedding guests. After the druzhkas have gathered at the bride's home, they go into the yard where they sing a song asking the bride's mother to bless them with holy water: "Sprinkle us, mother,/ With holy water,/ Send us on our way, mother,/ In a fortunate hour."

As they sing, the mother sprinkles them with water, which serves as a means of purification. Also, just as water is used at other purification ceremonies such as ablutions of the dead and sprinkling and bathing ceremonies after childbirth, water is a means of protection against evil. Again, we should point out that the mother's part in this ceremony suits her role as a female ritual specialist.

The bride's invitations follow a specific procedure. When the party enters a house, the bride bows to each person in the home, and one of the druzhkas puts a ritual loaf on the table. The bride and druzhkas then recite
the invitation three times in unison: "My father and mother invite you (sometimes they list all the brothers and sisters), and I invite you for bread, salt, and to the wedding." The bride then repeats the invitation once more herself. Once the invitation has been recited, gifts such as bread, chickens, or money are given to the bride. Then they leave for the next house and, on the way, sing songs such as, "The fortunate hour has arrived./ Marusia has sent for her family:/ Her sisters and brothers are coming/ To give Marusia in marriage." The above procedure is repeated when they reach the next house until the bride has invited all her guests. When all of the guests have been invited, the bride and her druzhkas return to the bride's home to take part in the ceremony of posad.

4.2.4 The Ceremony of Posad

The operative theme underlying the ceremony of posad is the couple's transition from youth to maturity. Actually, three different posads are enacted during the Ukrainian wedding: first, the bride's and groom's individual posads, which are to signify their new maturity and their capability to form a family unit; second, the couple takes part
in a public posad; and third, the bride’s posad is enacted on the wedding day. In this section we will deal with the individual posads and, again, we will discuss only the bride’s posad to avoid confusion.

Upon their return to the bride’s home after zaprosyny, the bride’s druzhkas enter the house, leaving the bride to wait at the threshold while the "posad" is readied, the name given to the pokuttia during this ceremony. Once the posad is readied, the bride and her druzhkas go to the entry room where the druzhkas ask for and receive a blessing from the starostas. After the blessing, a starosta makes a sign of the cross three times with his staff on the open doorway, a gesture which is probably an act of reverence to the household spirit who is thought to reside near the threshold. The bride is then free to enter the main room of the house; her passing over the threshold is a rite of transition.

Once in the room, the bride first kneels reverentially before her parents and relatives and is then led by a starosta around the table three times by means of a kerchief. As she walks around the table, she bows each time to the posad. Lozinski suggests that the domestic spirit resides in the corner, and by bowing to the corner the bride honors it. The bride is then seated on the posad, which, like passing over the threshold, is meant to symbolize transition.
As the bride is led around the table, the group sings,

The brother leads his sister behind the table:
My sister, your braid is golden,
As he leads her, he instructs her:
Sister of mine, your braid is golden;
You will have a father-in-law for a father;
Sister of mine, your braid is golden;
You will have a mother-in-law for a mother,
Sister of mine, your braid is golden.93

And once the bride is seated on the posad, the druzhkas sing a variety of songs, including,

The doves were flying
in three rows,
and at the front was a cuckoo;
all of the doves alighted in the meadow,
and the cuckoo sat on a cranberry tree,
all of the doves started to warble
and the cuckoo started to cuckoo.
At the front goes Marysia,
and all of her bridesmaids go behind her,
all of the bridesmaids sat down on benches,
but Marysia sat on the posad,
all of the bridesmaids started to sing,
but Marysia began to cry.94

These songs mirror the bride's separation from her family and friends, and thus emphasize the theme of transition behind the ceremony. In fact, a 19th century historian, N. Kostomarov, describes a tradition in the age of royalty of Ukrainian history when an individual assumed office by sitting on a throne.95 The actions in posad emphasize the fact that the bride too is in the process of assuming a new "office": that of a mature married woman.

Once the ceremony of posad has taken place, the bride's mother serves a meal to the bride and her druzhkas. The group then awaits the arrival of the groom, his boiars
(the groom's best men) and the branch the groom has selected for the bride's hil'tse.

4.2.5 Hil'tse

The hil'tse is a decorated tree branch inserted into a ritual loaf to be placed prominently on a table for the duration of the wedding. Both the bride and the groom have a hil'tse; the only difference is that the groom's boiars make his hil'tse, whereas the bride's druzhkas make hers. Again, we will deal only with the construction of the hil'tse at the bride's home; then we will discuss the symbolism of the hil'tse itself.

It is the groom's responsibility to provide the bride with a branch for the hil'tse. Once he has chosen a branch with an uneven number of stems from a pine, fir, cherry, apple or pear tree, he and his boiars cut it off. The branch is to be cut down before midday, which is believed to be the blessed time of the day.

The branch is then delivered to the bride's home where it is decorated according to time honored customs. First, the oldest druzhka asks a starosta to invoke a blessing. The parents and everyone present may also
be asked to bestow their blessings.106

Once the blessing is invoked, the druzhkas begin making the ornamental corsages which will be used to adorn the stems of the branch. These tiny bouquets are arranged with periwinkle, cranberries, oats,107 feathers,108 black-eyed susans,109 cornflowers,110 herbs,111 garlic (which is thought to have apotropaic powers), and coins (which are thought to bring the couple wealth).112 These items are tied together with colored wool, silk, or ribbons.113 As these sprigs are being made, the group sings songs which reflect the magical significance behind the items used in the garlands: "We wove the hil’tse/ We placed three herbs on it:/ Rue, and mint,/. And spreading periwinkle,/ Fragrant basil,/ Cranberry twigs,/ So that the young ones will love each other."114

When the bouquets are finished they are attached to the branch. According to the ethnographer, N. Zdoroveha, the bride usually attaches the first bouquet,115 called the "first flower," to the top of the tree. Sometimes, however, the first flower is placed on the top branch by the mother, father, brother, or one of the druzhkas.116 After the first flower is in place, everyone joins in to decorate the hil’tse,117 and in the meantime, songs are sung describing the tree: "Hil’tse--little tree, from a fir tree,/ With red cranberry,/ With spreading periwinkle,/ With fragrant basil!/ Hil’tse--little tree
As mentioned previously, once the tree is decorated, it is then inserted into a ritual loaf to serve as a table ornament during the wedding. The *hil'tse* is yet another component of the Ukrainian wedding that bears witness to the reverence for the generative principle. There are differing views, however, as to the significance of the *hil'tse*. One opinion is that the *hil'tse* symbolizes the founding of a new family. Therefore, the phrase *vyty hil'tse* (to weave the wedding tree) signifies that a new nest is being built for the couple. Another interesting interpretation is presented by M. Baker, who studied the use of wedding trees by various European peoples. She thinks that the wedding tree is a phallic symbol and substantiates this assertion by noting that both the pine tree and cone were phallic symbols in the Roman cult of Venus. Finally, one of the most popular points of view is that the *hil'tse* is one of the lost relics of some ancient tree cult, which, as we have seen, probably influenced not only the designs on embroidered ritual cloths, but also the *shyshkas*. G. Scott, an anthropologist, verifies the connection between the tree cult and the generative principle.

Sex worship has prevailed among all peoples of ancient times, sometimes contemporaneous and often mixed with Star, Serpent, and Tree Worship. The powers of nature were sexualized and endowed with the same feelings, passions, and performing the same functions as human
beings.\textsuperscript{124}

It is obvious many interpretations of the hil'tse's symbolic meaning exist. But whether the hil'tse is a symbol of the couple's new nest, a phallus, or the sacred tree, it is clear that the theme behind its use, the generative principle, is integral to the wedding ceremony.
4.2.6 Divych-Vechir

Divych-vechir (maidens' evening), which takes place on the eve of the wedding,\textsuperscript{125} is an event that brings out another theme implicit in the wedding ceremony: the distinct difference between the bride's and the groom's experience as they enter into the institution of marriage. Only the bride's girlfriends attend the occasion, at which the bride bids farewell to them, to her family, and, symbolically, to her maidenhood.\textsuperscript{126} Throughout the night the girls sing songs to lament this separation:

I was in the orchard, weaving wreaths,
I was dancing with my girlfriends.
All my girlfriends are dancing,
They have their braids,
- Oh, you engaged one, go on, go on,
Because you walk around in tears.\textsuperscript{127}

Other songs lament the bride's future life with her in-laws:

At my father-in-law's place
it is worse than hell,
I do not see God's world
It is equivalent to slavery,
I should never have married,
I should have stayed at home.\textsuperscript{128}

As these songs imply, the institution of marriage calls upon the bride to forsake all that is familiar and dear to her. She may be called upon to live under the harsh rule of a mother-in-law, and treated as a drudge and as a stranger by her husband's family. Other songs illustrate
this theme of separation with images of the girl drowning in the sea, or a branch being broken from a tree. These motifs emphasize the theme of the bride's severance from her family and, in fact, suggest a kind of death. The groom, on the other hand, will remain close to his parents, continue to be a member of the family into which he was born, and will provide his family with an extra helper and a means of perpetuating the family lineage. Obviously, the bride's and groom's experiences differ; the songs of divych-vechir are meant to underscore this fact.

4.2.7 Vinkopletny

Vinkopletny is a ceremony in which wreaths are woven to be worn by the couple on the wedding day. The ceremony is usually conducted exclusively by women and made up of two phases. The first phase consists of gathering the periwinkle and other herbs from the garden to be used in the wreaths. The druzhkas and the svakhas (middle-aged, married women), accompanied by musicians, usually collect the material. To do so, they take along a sieve covered with an apron, and a loaf of bread with a padlock, held by a knife, on top of it. The lock is probably meant to ensure marital unity. As the group goes into the garden to collect the material, they sing songs about the significance
of the material.

Good day, little garden!
What sort of herbs do you have?
One of the herbs I have is--periwinkle,
A second herb I have is--garlic,
The third herb I have is--sweet basil.
They make wreaths from periwinkle,
Garlic is attached to the wreaths,
And under sweet basil they get married. 130

The periwinkle symbolizes both love and marriage 131 and also the bride’s beauty and innocence. 132 Garlic is attached to wreaths to protect the wearer against the "evil eye," 133 and cranberry (not mentioned in the quotation) is used because of its association with love, luck, and beauty, in addition to representing the girl’s innocence and faithfulness. 134 Once the svakhas have gathered these necessary ingredients, they return to the house where they prepare for the second phase, the weaving of the wreaths.

In the second phase, the svakhas first spread the periwinkle on the table and place the loaf of bread, with the padlock and knife attached, into the sieve. They then tie two threads onto the lock and weave periwinkle along the threads. The length of the threads was believed to be crucial, for if no excess thread remained once the wreaths were completed, then it was thought that either the bride or the groom would die. If, on the other hand, extra thread remained once the garlands were woven, the couple was to live a long and happy life. 135

Once the weaving begins, the svakhas sing asking God to bless the couple’s future: 136 "Bless us oh God,
And you, God's mother,/ Come to help us/ To weave the wreath/ For this darling little head/ And for a good fortune." To help this come true, the women rub the periwinkle with honey, which is associated with beauty, and attach garlic to it, to protect the wearer against evil. Coins are then attached to bring the couple good luck. Finally, the completed wreaths are placed on a kolach and blessed by the bride's parents.

Vinkopletyny is yet another aspect of the Ukrainian wedding that stems from the veneration of the generative principle. On the basis of a study of wreaths in the context of the Ukrainian wedding and calendar festivals such as the agricultural feast day Kupalo, this writer has come to the conclusion that the wreath is an ancient relic of the worship of the sacred tree. On the other hand, Sumtsov associates the wreath with the sun cult. Actually, these two conclusions are not at all disparate, for, among early agricultural societies the theme of reverence for the generative principle is the catalyst for the worship of both the sacred tree and the sun: both represent continuity and fertility.

4.2.8 The Couple's Exchange of Gifts

Traditionally, the bride's gift to the groom is a
The packaging of this shirt yet again attests to the influence of sacred tree worship—and, by extension, the veneration of the generative principle—on Ukrainian ceremonial practices. After the shirt is placed on the table, the druzhkas roll it into the form of a horn; they then tie it with ribbons and insert periwinkle and other herbs among the ribbons. A branch with three stems, strewn with periwinkle, oats, and ribbons, is then inserted into the center of the bundle. Finally, they attach to the bottom of the stem a white kerchief, representing a letter written by the bride to the groom. Thus, the shirt has been packaged to represent a tree, and the songs the druzhkas sing during the procedure bear witness to the underlying generative theme: "Marysenko, sew a shirt for Ivas',/ wash it in the quiet Dunai,/ hang it out to dry on the fruitful cranberry branches,/ iron it out on little tables made from yew-trees.

A different version of the packaging of the groom's gift is found in the area along the Dniester river. In this area, the bride's mother plays the principal role in packaging the gift, not the druzhkas. She first bakes a ritual loaf and attaches it to the shoulders of the shirt, along with three leaves of periwinkle, three leaves of sweet basil, and three heads of rye. As she does this, she recites the following magical incantation:

...sweet basil, so that you will always smell sweetly for the groom like basil,
periwinkle, so that you will always be as dear to the groom as a flower, heads of grain so that they will have a good life, and ritual bread so that they will never be short of food.\textsuperscript{145}

Once the shirt is packaged, it is given to appointed messengers to take to the groom. The druzhkas, who accompany the messengers, sing as the entourage departs for the groom's house: "Messengers, loved ones!/ Depart quickly,/ From this lord's dwelling/ To the king's court."\textsuperscript{146}

When the group arrives at the groom's house, drinks are exchanged between the groom's and the bride's representatives. The bride's messengers then pretend to read the white kerchief "letter" attached to the shirt; the groom's representatives do the same.\textsuperscript{147} The bride's messengers eventually buy their entrance into the house with brandy and, once in the house, approach the groom and sing, "Rejoice, oh King!/ We are bringing you a shirt/ for Sunday, for the early morn/ to wear to the marriage ceremony,/ during the fortunate hour."\textsuperscript{148} A groom's starosta then takes the shirt from the bride's messengers to present to the groom. Once he has received his gift, the groom bestows his gifts to the bride upon the bride's messengers. They usually consist of boots filled with apples, candies, and nuts. The messengers are then greeted by the svakhas and offered food and drink.\textsuperscript{149} Finally, the bride's people return to her home.
4.2.9 The Couple’s Posad and the Final Events of Saturday Evening

The couple’s posad enables both the bride’s and the groom’s families to sanctify the couple’s union. Since the ceremony takes place in the corner of honor, known as the posad, it is thought that the tutelary spirit also witnesses and blesses the match. The ceremony is not complicated. First the groom seats himself on the posad; his family sits on his right. The bride is then seated on the groom’s left and her family concludes the arrangement by sitting on her left side.¹⁵⁰

Once posad has taken place, a few festive ceremonies conclude the evening. First comes a gift giving ceremony called posah.¹⁵¹ As gifts are given to the bride and the groom by both of their families, the chorus sings songs such as, "Give gifts to me, my dear family,/ As of Saturday evening;/ When I become rich,/ I will be able to repay you./ When I am well off,/ I will thank you."¹⁵² Both the bride and the groom receive gifts and the bride’s gifts help make up her dowry.

When posah concludes, a mock ransom ceremony is enacted. The bride’s senior druzhka sews a flower onto the groom’s cap,¹⁵³ puts the cap on her head and refuses to give it to the groom. The groom’s druzhko must then pay a ransom for the hat, which usually consists of brandy and money.¹⁵⁴
The cap is then returned to the groom. This ceremony seems to represent the družka's attempt to stake claim to the groom. Naturally, she fails to do so. To conclude the evening and the preparatory phase of the wedding, supper is served to the entire group.155

Summary

Like other phases, some of the ceremonies of the wedding's preparatory phase are mainly functional. Torochyny, for instance, is held to prepare the ritual embroidered cloths that will be given as gifts on the wedding day. But most of the ceremonies, such as vinkopletyny, hil'tse, and the korovai, both functional and rich in symbolic and spiritual significance, are held prior to the wedding day to explicitly emphasize the special nature of the institution of marriage.

These preparatory ceremonies allow us to surmise much about the folk culture of Ukrainian society during the 19th and early 20th centuries. We see that many customs contain remnants of ancient religions such as the tree cult and tutelary worship. It is also clear that some people believed in a spirit world, populated by both evil spirits, like those who brood over the bride's entourage.
as they invite guests to the wedding, and good spirits, like the tutelary spirit who protects the household. With the exception of the starostas, women in general, and especially the bride's and groom's mothers act as specialists in ritual procedures. On the other hand, men, in general, are in charge of economic transactions and act as representatives of their families. This confirms the existence of definite role differentiations in Ukrainian society.

More important, however, these preparatory ceremonies show us how Ukrainians understood the institution of marriage. First, as we saw in the cases of the shyshkas and the hil'tse, the wedding was meant to celebrate the generative principle. After all, marriage is the one institution that ensures the further propagation of the groom's family. But, second, especially in the bride's case, marriage also means separation from her family when she joins the groom's family. Third, and finally, as we saw in the ceremony of posad, marriage marks the couple's transition from carefree youth to responsible, mature adulthood.
1 Hereafter, the vesillia (wedding) will be referred to by the Ukrainian term. Other rites of this phase will also be referred to by their Ukrainian terms.

2 It should be noted that the preparation of the meat products for the wedding usually took place on Thursday. Litvinova-Bartoche notes that it was not proper to buy meat for a wedding: the people had to butcher their own stock. She thinks that this custom is a remnant from the time when live sacrifices were made (Litvinova-Bartoche 82).

3 Zdoroveha 78.

4 Zdoroveha 78; Chubinskii 95-96, 615.

5 Chubinskii 95-96, 615.

6 It should be noted that some of the ritual cloths prepared at torochyny are distributed to the wedding guests on Monday (Zdoroveha 78).

7 Hereafter, the bridesmaids will be cited as druzhkas. The best men will be referred to as boiars.

8 Transliteration: "Z" liski horishki letili/ Druzhki horilki khotili,/ Vzhe rushniki potorochili,/ A shche horilki ne pili." Chubinskii 97.

9 Chubinskii 96-98, 615-617.

10 Chubinskii 215, 604, 634, 683; Kolomyichenko 365; Malinka 100; V. M. Verkhovynets', "Vesillia v seli Shpychynsi Skvyrs'koho povitu Kyivs'koi hubernii," 1914. Shubrav's'ka 1: 220; I. Demchenko, "Vesillia v mistechnu Monastyryshche Lypovets'koho povitu Kyivs'koi hubernii," 1903. Shubrav's'ka 1: 147. Nevertheless, the korovai may be made on Friday (Praudnik, Vesillia 18) or on Sunday morning (Chubinskii 594, 600).

11 On the basis of the information available to this writer, an arbitrary order was established. This was done to allow for the preparatory phase to be discussed within a chronological framework. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the arrangement of the events varies from one region to the other.

12 It should be noted that a korovai is used for brides who are marrying for the first time. At the weddings of
widowed and divorced women there is no korovai (N.F. Sumtsov", Polozhenia k" sochineniiu "khlieb" v" obriadakh" i pies-niakh"," (Kiev" [Kiev]: n.p., 1884) 61. Hereafter, this work will be cited as Kop).

13 Sumstov", Kop 131.
14 Sumtsov", Kop 124.
15 Vovk 243-244.
16 Vovk 244.

17 Hearn discusses a similar idea concerning the sacrificial use of bread. For more information, see William Edward Hearn, The Aryan Household (London: Longmans, Green, 1879) 34-35.

18 Sumtsov", Kop 60-61. It is interesting to note that a majority of the rituals and songs are connected with the making of the korovai. This is also true of other Slavic peoples, especially Bulgarians (Zdoroveha 80). We should stress that a korovai is also made at the groom's house. The entire procedure is similar to the preparation of the korovai at the bride's home.

19 Zdoroveha 78; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 18; Verkhovynets’ 220; Kubijovyc 336; L.F. Artiukh, "Vesil’ne pechyvo ukraintsivta rosiian," Ntte 5 (1979): 80; Demchenko 147. They may also be referred to as korovainychky, shyshkarnytsi, shyshkobhainytsi (Zdoroveha 78). Usually an uneven number of women is chosen; often it is seven (Shcherbakivs’kyi 28; Vovk 244).

20 Zdoroveha 78.
21 Pravdiuk, Vesillia 18; Chubinskii 215; Vovk 244; Zdoroveha 78.

22 Vovk 244.
23 Chubinskii 560.

24 Malinka 101; Verkhovynets’ 220. A relative or some other woman may also go to invite the korovainytsias. She is usually referred to as the prokhal’nytsia (the one who invites [Vovk 244]).

25 Transliteration: "Marusina Mati/ Po susidontsi khodit’,/ Susid" svoikh" proyt’:/ Da susidon’ki moi, / Pribud’te k" meni, / ÛDa do moiei khati, / Da do mogo ditiati/ Korovaiu bgati." Kulish as cited in Chubinskii 215.
For Pravdiuk's point of view on how this custom is associated to ancient clan relations, see Pravdiuk, *Vesillia* 18. Okhrimovich's theory on how the entire family's participation in the making and partaking of the korovai is indicative of communal existence is found in Okhrimovich', *Part 2*: 26-27.

Various scholars have analyzed the symbolism of the kneading bowl. According to Sumtsov", the kneading bowl is a symbol of the sun. To substantiate this he cites the following excerpt from a song: "From behind a forest, from behind three forests/ A gold kneading bowl rises," Za lisom, za trylisom/ Zolotaia dizha skhodyt' (Nowosielski as cited in Sumtsov", *Oso* 146). According to Humenna, the kneading bowl is holy because of its relationship to wedding breads, which are considered holy. Furthermore, the kneading bowl serves a similar purpose as a pulpit, in that the couple are led around it to legalize their marriage (Dokiia Humenna, *Mynule plyve v pryideshnie* (N'iu Iork [New York]: Ukrains'ka vil'na akademiia nauk, 1978) 281). A kneading bowl also plays a role in Russian, Polish, and Serbian weddings (Shein' as cited in Sumtsov", *Oso* 146).

Transliteration: "Semilitnaia pshenitsia,/ Iz' trokh krinits' voditsia,/ Sim" kip" iaiets',/ Drishchei harnets'—/ Nash" sviatii korovaiets'." Chubinskii 222.
of the first layer and then five cones are placed around it. The top layer, with the dough figures, is then encircled with a dough trim. Lastly, five joined candles are inserted into the center cone, or they may be placed around the korovai. They are then lighted and placed into the oven with the korovai (Chubinskii 336). Chubinskii also records the making of a korovai into which dumplings are placed (Chubinskii 584).

38 Transliteration: "Korovainochki-zhonocki,/ Khoroshii korovai gbali,/ V" seredinu misiats' klali,/ Okolo - zoron'kami,/ Rais'kimi ptashen'kami." Chubinskii 231.

39 Chubinskii 236; Zdoroveha 81; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 19. The boy is also referred to as either the virnianyi (faithful one [Vovk 247]), or virmenyn (Armenian) (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 19). For an explanation of the names assigned to the lad, refer to Potebnia as cited in Vovk 247. Young lads also play roles in other Slavic and European weddings. For more information on this point, refer to Sumtsov", Oso 201-202.

40 Malinka 102.

41 Kolomyichenko 365.

43 Chubinskii 238.

44 Chubinskii 238-239, 673; Vovk 248.


46 Zdoroveha 81.

47 Vovk 248; Chubinskii 239,561,684-685; Zdoroveha 81; Malinka 102; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 19; Rigel'man" 182-183; Kolomyichenko 366. Zdoroveha, Malinka, and Verkhovynets' note that, as the women dance with the kneading bowl, a man or a korovainytsia takes the baking implement and strikes it on the corners of the house. Unfortunately, they do not provide an explanation of the custom (Zdoroveha 81; Malinka 102; Verkhovynets 226). It is the present writer's opinion that this gesture is an act of reverence for the house spirits, who are thought to reside in the corners of the home (For more information on this point, refer to Hastings 4: 847-848).

48 Vovk 248.
Transliteration: "Za kolodoiu, za dubooiu, / Tam" kozinii rogi./ Korovainitsi, dobriie zhoni, / Pozadzirali nogi." Chubinskii 242.


Transliteration: "...my dvi korovainytsi, / idemo spaty na pechi, / shchob korovai sterechy, / aby ianholy ne pryishly ioho zabraty." A. Wereszczsynska as quoted in Vvak 249.

Transliteration: "De tyi kovali zhyvut', / Shcho zoloti sokry kuiut' / Kovaliu-kovalen'ku, / Skui meni sokyron'ku; / Budemo pich rubaty, / Korovaia dobuvaty." Vvak 249.


Chubinskii 82.

Chubinskii 82.

Chubinskii 246, 673. The korovai is dealt with in various ways once it is placed on the kneading table. In some instances, the people may form a circle around kneading bowl, dance, and sing. According to Zdoroveha, this version—preserved in the Chernihiv and Volhynia areas—is the most archaic (Zdoroveha 82). In other instances, the kneading bowl is placed on the table, and the people bow down before it (Abramovych as cited in Zdoroveha 82). If this is the case, then the following song is sung: "Praised and glorified, / And placed on the table! / On the table-altar/ Our korovai stands extolled," Slavliano da prislavliano, / Da na stoli postavliano! / Na stoli-prestoli/ Slaven" nash" korovai stoit'. Chubinskyi 247. For further information of the symbolism behind the table, refer to Sumtsov", Oso 193-194.

This ritual bread is baked in the southern and central Dnieper areas (Artiukh 81), and in the region of Poltava (Sumtsov, Oso 140).

N. F. Sumtsov”, *Religiozno-Mificheskoe znachenie malorusskoi svad'by*, (Kiev" [Kiev]: Kievskiaia starina, 1885) 14. Hereafter, this work will be cited as Rmz.


For further information on the other types of breads baked for Ukrainian weddings, refer to Zdoroveha 83-84; Chubinskii 236; Borysenko 37-38.

German brides and grooms also invite their wedding guests personally (Thonger 52).
Transliteration: "Kropi nas", mati,/ Sviachenoiu vodoiu,-/ Viprovozhai nas", mati,/ Shchastlivoiu godinoiu."
Chubinskii 134.

Chubinskii 99, 619.

Zdoroveha 85.

Chubinskii 134, 619.

Transliteration: "Prosyly bat'ko i maty (inodi perelichuvaly shche i usikh brativ i sester), i ia vas proshu na khlib, na sil' i na vesillia." Zdoroveha 85-86. Bulgarians and Germans use a similar formula when inviting guests to a wedding (Bogisic and A. de Gubernatis as cited in Vovk 240).

Chubinskii 134, 619; Zdoroveha 86; I'Aroshyn's'ka 217. The German bride also receives gifts as she invites her wedding guests (Thonger 52).

Transliteration: "Shchastlivaia ta godina nastala,/
Marusia po rodiinu poslala:/ Idut' sestrichki i brati/
Marusiu zamizh" oddati." Metlynsky as cited in Chubinskii 134.

Another tradition of zaprosyny retained until the end of the 19th century in individual villages of the Kherson region, involves the bride being led throughout the village by means of a embroidered ritual cloth (Zdoroveha 86).

Zdoroveha 92.

Chubinskii 144; Pravdiuk, Zouv 98.

Chubinskii 147, 619; Malinka 107.

Lozinski 30.

Lozinski 30-31.

Provided in Polish:

Brat sestryczku za stol wede,
sestro moja, kosa twoja zowtenkaja,
zawodzaje, nauczaje:
sestroz moja, kosa twoja zowtenkaja;
maj swykociaza batejka;
sestroz moja, kosa twoja zowtenkaja;
maj swykroszku za matinku.
Lozinski 31.

Provided in Polish:

Letily haloczki
wo try radoczki,
a zazula po peredi,
wsi haloczki na luhach sily,
a zazula na kalyni,
wsi haloczki zaszczebetały,
a zazula zakowala.

Ide Marysia po peredi,
a wsi druzoczki za neju,
wsi druzoczki po lawkach sily,
a Marysia na posazi,
wsi druzoczki zaspiały,
a Marysia zaplakala.

Lozinski 31. Ceremonies similar to posad are also found in the weddings of Slavic peoples (Niederle and Dovnar-Zapol'skyi as cited in Zdoroveha 91), including Bulgarians (Sumtsov", Oso 156).

N. Kostomarov as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 156.

Other terms used to refer to the hil'tse are: derevtse, vil'tse, rizka (Zdoroveha 87; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20), il'tse, derevechko (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20), and kvitka, troichatka (Zdoroveha 87). The hil'tse can also be decorated on Friday evening (Shcherbakivs'kyi 332), or on Sunday after the church ceremony (Zdoroveha 87).

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20; Chubinskii 635.

Zdoroveha 87.

Zdoroveha 87; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20; Malinka 103; Chubinskii 99.

Zdoroveha 87; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20.

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20; Chubinskii 99; Zdoroveha 87; Sumtsov", Rmz 14.

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20; Chubinskii 99; Sumtsov", Rmz 14.

Vovk 234; Zdoroveha 87. This was usually the case in the area of Pokutia (Zdoroveha 87).
It should be mentioned that the hilütše is often used during wedding marches (Zdoroveha 89).

According to Zdoroveha, the oldest detailed description of the decoration of the hilütše was recorded by Lozinski (Zdoroveha 87). Lozinski writes: "In the center they attach a branch with three stems, each stem has oats, periwinkle, and other herbs wound around it, and an apple is stuck on each of the stems" (Lozinski 81).
121 Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20.

122 Baker 82. The wedding tree is also used at the weddings of other peoples such as Czechs (Sobotka as cited in Vovk 234; Pravdiuk, Zouv 98; Artiukh 83; Baker 83; Sumlork and Erben as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 176), Bulgarians (Pravdiuk, Zouv 98; Artiukh 83; Sumtsov", Oso 177), Serbs (Buslaev" as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 177), Belorussians (Pravdiuk, Zouv 98), Russians (Pravdiuk, Zouv 98; Sumtsov", Oso 176), Poles (Artiukh 83), Slovaks (Artiukh 83), British (The wedding tree was popular among the upper classes, during the days of Queen Elizabeth I [Urlin 219], Swiss, Normans, French, and Dutch (Baker 82-83).


125 Kubijovyc 336; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 21; Zdoroveha 88; Borysenko 42. The other terms used in reference to the events of this evening differ from one area of Ukraine to the other. The term divych-vechir is used in the administrative units of Kiev and Chernihiv: zuchchyky, druzhbiivs’kyi tanets’, husky, and vinky are native to the areas of Subcarpathia and Transcarpathia; vinkopletynny, and vinka are in use in the areas of Khmel’ and Ternopil; holovytsia is employed in Vinnytsia; druzhbyny and pidvesilok are found in Kharkiv; dvyvt-vechir, and dyvyi vechir are used in Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhia; vechorynka is used in Donetske (Borysenko 42).

126 Pravdiuk, Vesillia 21; Kubijovyc 336. According to Zdoroveha, this evening gives the bride and groom an opportunity to bid farewell to the youth of the village (Zdoroveha 88). On the contrary, other sources indicate that this evening is for the bride and her friends. This seems to make the most sense, especially if one considers that the bride is the person leaving her family and friends. Furthermore, she is the one who will experience a change of status. These changes warrant a farewell evening. The groom’s position, on the other hand, remains relatively stable compared to the bride’s. Therefore, it makes little sense for him to host a farewell evening.

127 Transliteration:
Ia v sadochku bula, vinochky plela,
Ia z podruzhkamy huliala.
Ia z podruzhkamy huliala.
Vsi podruzhky huliaiut',
Kison'ky maiut'.
A mene vzhe ne pryimaiut'.
A mene vzhe ne pryimaiut: - Ta oi idy, idy ty, zasvatana,
Bo ty khodysh zaplakana....

Berezovs'kyi, et al., 266.

Transliteration: "Koly v svekra/ Hirshe pekla,/ Svita ne vydai,/ Shche i nevolia./ Bulo b meni ne ity zamizh,/ Sydit' doma." Berezovs'kyi, et al. 283.

The act of gathering the periwinkle has become a separate ritual in the Boikian area (Vovk 237).

Transliteration:

Dobryi den', horodochku!
Shcho v tobi za zilechko?
- Iedno maiu zilechko - barvinok,
Druhe maiu zilechko - chasnychok,
Tretie maiu zilechko - vasyl'ok,
Iz barvinochku vinky v'iut',
A chasnychkom nakychuiut',
A pid vasyl'kom shliub berut'.

Roshkevych 74.

Zdoroveha 84; Vovk 236.

Sumtsov", Oso 184.

Naumovych as cited in Vovk 237; Sumtsov", Oso 185; Vovk 251; Scherbakivs'kyi 333.

Kylymnyk 118. The use of wedding wreaths is common among all Slavic peoples (Sumtsov, Oso 84). Of course, wedding crowns are also used by other peoples. They play a role in the wedding ceremonies of Germans (Thonger 53), Greeks (Tegg 67, 173; Urlin 243), Jews (Urlin 108), Abys- sinians (Tegg 173), and Romans (Urlin 243).

Usually two svakhas, one from the groom's side and one from the bride's side, make the wreaths (Roshkevych 79).

Transliteration: "Oi blahoslovy, bozhe,/ Ta i ty, bozhaia maty,/ Khody nam pomahaty/ Vinochok uvyvaty/ Na liubu holovochku/ Ta i na dobru dolechku." Roshkevych 73. Some of the other songs which are sung at this time can be found in Roshkevych 73-79.

Wreaths of rue and mint are also made for the druzhkas (Zdoroveha 85). Moreover, Pravdiuk notes that wreaths are also made for the boiars (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20).

Kupalo is essentially an agricultural celebration held to worship the generative forces of nature.

Some of the other songs which are sung at this time can be found in Roshkevych 73-79.

Zdoroveha 85.

Zdoroveha 85. Wreaths of rue and mint are also made for the druzhkas (Zdoroveha 85). Moreover, Pravdiuk notes that wreaths are also made for the boiars (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 20).

Scandinavian and Scottish brides also give their fiancées shirt to be worn on the wedding day (Urlin 88; Baker 29).

Lozinski 47. Chubinskii also provides a similar description. (Chubinskii 183).

Provided in Polish: "Szyj Marysenko Jwasiowy sorochenku,/ wypery jeju na tychym Dunjaenku,/ wysuszy jeju na bujnych kalynonkach,/ perekaczaj jeju na tysowych stolokach." Lozinski 47. For other songs sung as the shirt is packaged, refer to Lozinski 47-49.

Transliteration:

vasyl'ok, aby mu vse pakhla,
jak vasil'ok, bervinok, aby mu bula
myla, jak kvitka, kolosky, aby im
bulo zhytie, a kolachyk, aby ne
zhiedaly khliba.

Iv. Voloshyns'kyi, "Vesilie v Daleshevi, Horodens'koho pov.," Materiauly do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnol'ogii. 19-20: 13
Provided in Polish: "Radujsia koralejku! nesemo ty koszulejku, na nedila na ranejko, wbratysia do slubojku, w szczaslywym hodynojku." Lozinski 51.

Chubinskii 214, 593, 636; Lozinski 52. For a different description of this event, refer to IAroshyns'ka 219-221.

Chubinskii, 563-564. It is a common custom among many peoples for the groom to sit on the right and the bride on the left. This is the practice among Christian Churches (Tegg 16-17). Tegg explains that the right is the most honorable place and is assigned to the man because he is the master. If this is the case, then this custom is probably of recent origin. Moreover, it appears like a tradition that was formulated as a result of the influence of the patriarchal ideology.

Kalinovskii, 80; Chubinskii 564.

Transliteration: "Darui mene rodinon'ko, Z' vechora y' suboton'ku; IAk' ia sia zapomozu, Oddati ti mozhu, Budu sia harazd' mati, Budu ti diakuvati!" Chubinskii 160.

Chubinskii 564; Malinka 107.

Chubinskii 197.

Chubinskii 564. During the evening, the musicians play a song called the providna (leading song). As this song is played, a starosta leads the couple by means of a kerchief into the yard where they dance (Chubinskii 212, 621). This dance has probably retained elements of bride capture. Moreover, it may be a means of reinforcing the union which the couple are entering into and of presenting the new couple to their families.
CHAPTER 5

THE WEDDING DAY

The vesil'nyi den' (wedding day) takes place on a Sunday and is the culmination of all the wedding ceremonies. On this day the couple's union is finalized during vinchannia (ecclesiastical service), but more importantly by vesillia (wedding). Likewise, the union of the bride's and groom's families is celebrated by the distribution of the korovai, and by the bestowal of traditional gifts between the two families. For the couple to be united, however, the bride must finally leave her family. Financial matters are now settled to compensate the bride's family for their loss. On this day the bride also undergoes a transition from the life of a single maiden to that of a married woman. This is done ceremoniously by incorporating the bride into the fellowship of married women, and physically during the consummation of the marriage on the wedding night, the day's climax.

5.1.1 The Preparations at the Bride's Home

The first rite of preparation on Sunday morning is rozpletyny (unplaiting of the braid). As in other ceremonies
such as funerals or christenings, community participation in *rozpletyny* is thought to be necessary to formally acknowledge the ceremony. The bride’s family, neighbours, and *druzhkas* are in attendance for the ceremony, possibly to show that the entire community agrees to give her in marriage.

To begin the ceremony, the bride must be seated on a bench\(^3\) or kneading bowl,\(^4\) which is covered with a pillow,\(^5\) furs, or a table-cloth.\(^6\) The *druzhkas* then ask the *starostas* for their blessing; they say, "Bless, oh God/ And father, and mother/ Your child to have her braid unplaited."\(^7\) After the blessing, the bride’s brother begins to unplait the bride’s single braid.\(^8\) Other family members may be asked to finish the unplaiting.\(^9\) Once the bride’s braid is unplaited, the *druzhkas* comb her hair and sing songs, one of which suggests that the braid is symbolic of the bride’s maidenhood and, by extension, her innocence and virginity:

Oh, my blond braid!
I have loved you for many a year;
Every Saturday I combed you,
Every Sunday I adorned you,
In one evening I did away with you.\(^10\)

After the bride’s hair is combed, it is decorated. The hair is first smeared with butter and honey,\(^11\) then adorned with coins, bread crumbs, and garlic.\(^12\) These items are thought to have magical qualities: the coins are meant to guarantee the couple’s financial security;
the bread crusts are supposed to ensure that the couple will have enough to eat; the garlic is meant to protect the bride against evil; the honey is possibly meant to ensure the bride’s sweet and loving nature. The bride’s hair is braided again and placed on her head in the form of a wreath. This is the usual hair style of a young maiden and, in fact, it is the last time she will wear it in this fashion.

Once the ceremony of rozpletny is completed, the bride is dressed in traditional wedding apparel. This costume includes, in addition to the nuptial costume, the boots given to her by the groom during the gift-giving ceremony the day before, and the wreath made during vinkople­tyny. The bride then awaits the arrival of the groom and his party.

5.1.2 The Activities at the Groom’s Home

The groom must also prepare himself for the wedding ceremony. First, he dresses in his wedding attire which includes the embroidered shirt given to him by the bride. The groom’s mother puts a wreath on the groom’s head, then sprinkles a few grains of rye in one of his shoes, and places a brass coin in the other. The objects in his shoes, probably meant to bring wealth and fertility,
are to remain with the groom until they are removed later on that night by the bride in the wedding chamber. 18

The groom is then required to take part in proshchi (forgiveness ceremony). First, the groom's parents bless him with bread, salt, and an icon, 19 and then the groom's starosta makes the sign of a cross with his staff in the doorway. This is likely a reverential gesture to the domestic divinity. 20 The starosta then leads the groom by means of a kerchief into the yard, where the groom bows to and kisses every person present. 21 By doing this, he receives a symbolic pardon from his entire family for any of his past transgressions.

Once the rite of proshchi is finished, the groom's mother enacts her role as a ritual specialist: she blesses the groom with holy water, while the chorus sings, "Sprinkle us, mother,/ With Holy water/ At this fortunate hour./ Scatter the rose,/ Strew the road/ For the bride and the groom/ To God's home." 22 After the mother's blessing, the groom and his entourage leave for the bride's house.

5.1.3 The Couple's Blessing and Proshchi

When the groom and his party arrive at the bride's home, they are greeted by the bride's parents with bread,
As soon as the groom and his entourage enter the dwelling, the couple's proshchi ceremony begins. The procedure of this rite varies throughout Ukraine; we will deal with one of the oldest and most solemn variations as it takes place in the Boikian area.

A starosta first asks both the bride's and the groom's families to sit on benches. Once seated, a long cloth is placed on the family members' laps, and everyone is given a loaf of bread. A starosta then performs a recitation, part of which reads, "As these two children stand before their own mother, before their own father, before their uncles, before their nanasheckiv (godparents); maybe they took something from someone; maybe they did not listen to one of you, I ask you to forgive them and bless them!" Thus the couple is reconciled with their families. Incidentally, a similar ritual text is recited by a dying person, which leads one to surmise that people about to go through certain rites of passage are expected to seek reconciliation with the other members of their community.

Once the starosta has finished his recitation, the family members repeat "Bih sviatyi" (May the Holy God [forgive and bless you]) three times. The couple then bows to their parents thrice, and kisses their faces, hands, and feet three times.

When proshchi is finished, a starosta makes the sign of the cross over the threshold, and leads the couple
into the yard by means of a kerchief. After the couple and their entourages are seated on the wagons, the bride's mother blesses the entire wedding party by walking around the group three times while sprinkling grain, water, and sunflower seeds on them. The water is meant to purify the participants and the grain and seeds are associated with fertility and abundance. After the mother's blessing, the procession departs for the church.

An additional magical ceremony takes place in the Hutsul area before the group leaves for the church. The Hutsul bride, who is seated on a horse, looks through a dyven' (ring shaped ritual loaf) to the four corners of the earth. As she looks to the west, her mother proclaims, "May you be as fortunate as the sun"; as she looks to the east, her mother says, "May you be as beautiful as a star"; as she looks to the north, her father says, "May you never know cold or misery"; finally, as the bride looks to the south, the druzhkas and boiars say, "May both of you experience peace everywhere." Then everyone, except the bride and the groom, concludes with, "And may you experience the fullness of life, love and warmth in your bosom." As the couple and their entourage depart for the church, firearms are discharged to frighten away evil spirits which are thought to hover over wedding processions.
5.1.4 The Wedding Procession

The exact make-up of the wedding procession varies throughout Ukraine. For example, although the bride and groom usually go to the church together, in some regions they go separately. The procession may walk, ride on wagons, or go by horseback, depending on the distance to the church from the bride's home.

Finally, on the way to the church musicians play music and the entourage sings songs about the upcoming ceremony. For example, one song reads,

Thrice Ivasen'ko, swore,
In front of the Holy pictures,
Before all of the saints,
Before these good people:
I will not betray you, Marysen'ko.

The music and singing continue until the group reaches the church. When it arrives, however, the merriment ceases, and the mood becomes solemn as vinchannia begins, which we will consider shortly.

Following the ecclesiastical service, the couple and their wedding parties leave the church, and the bride and groom take leave of one another to go to their own homes for supper. As the wedding party departs, it sings humorous songs, most of which deal with the priest's payment for the service:

And thanks be to you, oh priest,
You did not take much money,
Oh, two thalers,
And two sewn kerchiefs!
And thanks be to you, oh priest,
You did not keep us long:
You did not charge a large fee.\(^{36}\)

5.2 The Ecclesiastical Service

5.2.1 The History of the Ecclesiastical Service

The ecclesiastical marriage ceremony (vinchannia) was added to Ukrainian wedding practices in the 10th century, after the arrival of Christianity to the Kingdom of Rus'.\(^ {37}\) During the 11th century, marriage services were performed for the nobility, but, as yet, had no place at the weddings of the masses. By the 16th century, the ceremony was included in the marriage practices of ordinary people, but even then there was sometimes a gap of one or two years between vesillia, and vinchannia. In fact, it was a common practice for the couple to live together after the wedding festivities, even if the ecclesiastical service had not yet taken place.\(^ {38}\) There is no doubt this practice upset the clergy, for one document during this time reads, "many people of Rus' live together against Church canon: women knowingly do not marry, and the officials put up with such behaviour."\(^ {38}\) Nevertheless, the Church continued to emphasize the fact that the church ceremony--not
vesillia--was the primary decree which consecrated the union.39

During the 19th century, however, the ecclesiastical service began to be held on the same day as vesillia. Thus, the church service gained a place in the traditional wedding ceremonies. Nevertheless, the people's opinion about the primacy of vesillia remained unchanged, for they thought that the ecclesiastical service was without legal power. The traditional wedding, on the other hand, was considered to have the power to validate the marital union.40 The same is true of other Slavic peoples. J. Hastings states,

It is interesting ... to notice that for a long time the people attached far greater importance to these domestic wedding ceremonies than to the rites prescribed by the Church. Historical documents testify that, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, not only the common people but also the more cultured classes regarded the ecclesiastical ceremony as a purely religious act without any legal significance. A marriage became legal only after the precise performance of all prescribed observances inherited from the ancestors and consecrated by the family tradition; and this conviction is still to be found among some of the Slavic Nations.41

Interestingly enough, the same can also be said of other European peoples. J. Goody notes that "Formal marriage in front of the church door may be only a second and less important phase of a marriage that was effectively begun either at a public betrothal or at a private uhandfasting," followed by sexual intercourse."42
Obviously, the prescribed ecclesiastical service had little initial effect on the people's established set of ritual laws and their perception of marriage. In time, however, the church wedding became a more common occurrence and the masses slowly began to acknowledge its importance and significance. On the basis of the statements made by J. Hastings and J. Goody, one could conclude that the same process took place in other Slavic and European nations.

5.2.2 The Superstitions Associated With the Ecclesiastical Service

From the ethnographic point of view, the church ceremony was not at all related to the traditional rituals of the wedding. Consequently, ethnographic reports of the 19th and early 20th centuries contain almost no information about the actual church ceremony. Nevertheless, the records do contain many superstitions associated with the church service. We will discuss only a few.

First, there are a number of superstitions concerning the bride's supposed attempts to assert her future supremacy in the marriage. For example, as the couple enters the church, the bride tries to step on the groom's foot.
Similarly, when the couple approaches the embroidered ritual cloth that they stand on during the service, the bride attempts to place her foot on the cloth before the groom can. In addition, when the priest ties the couple's hands together with an embroidered ritual cloth, the bride attempts to place her hand on top of the groom's hand. If the bride is successful with any of these acts, it is thought she would be the head of the household.

Another superstition deals with the bride's friends. As the bride stands on the embroidered ritual cloth during the ceremony, the senior druzhka asks if she can place a foot on the ritual cloth. If the bride complies with the druzhka's request, it is believed that the druzhka will marry within a year's time.

Finally, many superstitions concern the couple's future. For example, to ensure their financial security, coins are placed under the embroidered ritual cloth on which the couple stands. Most superstitions, however, hinge on preserving the couple's marital bliss. For example, in the Stanyslaviv area, the couple is not allowed to have anything tied, or have knots of any kind on their persons; if they carry knots, it is thought they will not live well together. Likewise, before the couple enters the church, the bride's sister puts an open lock on the threshold. She watches the lock as the couple walk over it and then throws it into a river, saying,
"May the life of this couple be locked forever." Finally, after the ceremony, again to ensure marital bliss, the couple leaves through the side door. This practice is similar to baptismal customs when a child is taken by different routes when going to and coming from the baptismal ceremony. For example, on the way to the church, the child is carried out of the house through a door, and later returned into the house through a window. Circumlocutions of this kind are meant to confuse evil spirits and thus protect the baptized child and the married couple from both death and misfortune.

Finally, one practice is meant to prophesy the couple's future. During the church ceremony, the druzhko holds a candle over the groom's head and the senior druzhka holds a candle over the bride's head. If either of the candles goes out, it is thought that either the bride or the groom will die soon; if either of the candles burns dimly, then it is thought the couple's married life will be unhappy; if the candles burn brightly, however, then the couple is to have a happy life together. Again, the baptismal service contains a parallel superstition. The Hutsuls believe that a child's life is determined by how difficult it is to blow out the candles used in the church baptismal service. This parallel leads one to conclude that the candle is a popular device for foreshadowing the future.
Again, ethnographic records provide much information about the superstitions surrounding the ecclesiastical service, but very little about the service itself. Vesillia, on the other hand, is well documented because most people considered it to be the primary affirmation of the couple's union. Now we will turn to the individual rites of vesillia, all of which take place on Sunday afternoon and evening after the ecclesiastical service.

5.3.1 The Organization of the Groom's Wedding Procession

After the ecclesiastical service, it is the groom's responsibility to invite the participants of his wedding procession, which usually consists of about 50 members. The invitation of the participants in the procession, who are called poizhdzhanyns, marks the beginning of vesillia. To invite a poizhdzhanyn, the groom goes to the prospect's home, puts a shyshka on his or her table, and formally invites the participant. This procedure continues until all the poizhdzhanyns are invited.

After the poizhdzhanyns arrive at the groom's home late in the day, they are served supper. After supper the svakhas remove the boiars' caps and sew insignia made of periwinkle and red ribbon onto them. To retrieve
the caps, the boiars must pay the svakhas a ransom.\textsuperscript{63}

The insignia themselves could be yet another remnant of the early reverence for the sacred tree, and the fact that all the boiars wear them attests to their steadfast devotion to the groom.

After the druzhko gathers money from everyone\textsuperscript{64} to help supplement the bride price,\textsuperscript{65} the wedding train must take part in an elaborate ceremony before departing for the bride's home late in the evening.\textsuperscript{66} Incidentally, according to KH. Vovk, this departure time harkens back to ancient military practice, when cavalcades left for dangerous missions at sunset so that they could carry out surprise attacks in the dark.\textsuperscript{67}

The first part of the departure ceremony is based on a ritual walk and an oath-taking ceremony. A starosta, followed by the groom, leads the procession around a table three times.\textsuperscript{68} During the first and second circuits around the table, the participants drink a spoonful of brandy out of a bowl on the table. On the third around, they drink straight from the bowl.\textsuperscript{69} This ceremony is a unification rite which gives the members of the procession the opportunity to profess their allegiance to the groom.\textsuperscript{70}

Following this rite, the parents bless the groom. First, a bench is taken outside and a kneading bowl is placed on it.\textsuperscript{71} A cloth covers the kneading bowl and bread is placed on the cloth. The parents then sit on the bench
While the groom kneels before them to be blessed. After the blessing, a boiar gives the groom's mother a rake, which she sits on and pretends to ride like a horse around the kneading bowl three times. One boiar leads the mother and another boiar follows from behind, pretending to whip the imaginary horse. Even though these actions are an integral component of this ceremony their significance seems to have been lost. In any case, as the mother circles the kneading bowl, she sprinkles oats, nuts, sunflower seeds, holy water, and coins on the participants in the wedding train. These items have symbolic significance: the oats, nuts, and sunflower seeds are associated with fertility; the holy water is a purifying agent; the coins are symbolic of wealth. Incidentally, these coins, a gift from the groom's godparents on the day of his christening, were saved by the mother until the day of his wedding. This attests to the role godparents play in guaranteeing the groom's financial security. To conclude this ceremony, the druzhko pretends to water the "horse." He passes the water container to a boiar, who throws it over his shoulder to break it. Next, either the mother or the druzhko breaks the rake in two halves and throws one half to the right and the other half to the left.

We should mention now that throughout the entire ceremony the mother wears a bear or a sheepskin coat. There are varying opinions concerning the significance
of the fur coat. According to V. Okhrimovich', the coat represents an animal given in sacrifice to the gods. The mother wears the coat because, in ancient times, she acted as the priestess who offered sacrifices. On the other hand, D. Humenna argues that, by wearing the fur coat, the mother transforms into the clan's animal totem and is thus full of magic force. Likewise, V. Petrov, a 20th century ethnographer, says that a person might wear the fur coat of a bear in order to transform himself or herself into the creature and acquire its traits. Actually, in this writer's opinion, the significance of the fur coat may be best understood by combining these points of view, for the mother sometimes acts as a priestess and sometimes as a protectress. In some instances, like a priestess, she performs magical incantations in which references are made to the fur coat. The connection between the coat and the groom's future wealth is explicit in this song, sung by the chorus: "Glory be to God and the Spirit,/ Mother came out in a fur coat./ May my son-in-law be as wealthy,/ As this fur coat is hairy." In other instances, the mother may act as the protectress of her clan, and attempt to scare away the groom who threatens to take away her daughter. A song substantiates this: "For what reason/ Has the mother-in-law donned a sheepskin coat?/ She wants to frighten her son-in-law,/ In order not to give her daughter "away in marriage"; But the
son-in-law is not afraid,/ He stands up to his mother-
kin-law." As the songs show, once the mother dons the
fur coat, she acquires the power to perform both magical
incantations as a priestess, and practical functions as
a protectress.

Following this ceremony, the procession departs for
the home of the bride. On the way they sing a number
of songs, not only for the sake of entertainment, but
also to comment on the wedding events. For example, as
the procession leaves the yard, the poizhdzhanyns sing
about the warnings of the groom's mother concerning his
meeting with the bride's mother:

Oh, the mother provided her son with
the things necessary for the journey
And she instructed him:
Oh, do not drink, my son,
The first drink,
For the first drink
Is magical;
But spill it, my son
On the horse's mane.
And the horse will shudder,
And shake off the charms;
The horse will canter,
And spill the charms.\textsuperscript{83}

The participants also sing lyrics likening the procession's
quest to a military attack:

On Sunday morning,
There was a roaring over the entire village,
There was a roaring, a drumming,
The boiars were awakened.
Get up, boiars, get up,
Saddle the horses.
Dress yourselves.
For we will leave in the morning
To the bottom of a high fortress,
We will break the padlocks,
We will get Marysen'ka.  
And they did not break the padlocks, 
But they captured Marysen'ka.\textsuperscript{84}

Other songs sung on the way mention that the groom's mother bakes bread nine times for the expedition and that the groom's father gives the groom 100 horses and 20 wagons for his entourage.\textsuperscript{85} The singing continues until they arrive at the home of the bride's parents.

\section*{5.3.2 The Groom's Arrival at the Bride's Home}

When the groom and his entourage arrive at the bride's home they take part in \textit{pereima} ceremony. Near the bride's home, her male relatives man a barricade at the gates of the yard to stop the groom's procession.\textsuperscript{86} This interference is an indication of how unwilling the bride's family is to hand over the bride, even though the couple has been married by the Church. This would seem to be added proof that most people believed \textit{vesillia} took precedence over the ecclesiastical wedding service.

As the groom and his wedding train approach the barricade, the bride's relatives raise their sticks in the air.\textsuperscript{87} The groom and his entourage attempt to break the gates, and a bout of sham fighting begins.\textsuperscript{88} Once the raiders realize they are fighting a loosing battle, they begin
to negotiate with the bride's relatives, who expect some kind of compensation for the separation of the bride from them. This again emphasizes that economic transactions are an integral component of the Ukrainian wedding.

During the negotiations the groom's two starostas jump over the barricade, enter the yard, and meet the bride's starostas at a table with bread and salt on it. While facing each other on opposite sides of the table, the two pairs of starostas exchange ritual bread and kiss three times. This short ceremony is one example of the many unification rites scattered throughout the Ukrainian wedding.

Once this ceremony is concluded, the starostas place the ritual bread on the four corners of the table and drink toasts to each other. One of the groom's starostas then enters the house where he greets the bride's mother, bows before her, and presents her with either beer or pear juice. The mother accepts the offering, samples some of the drink, and then passes it around to the other guests. When the mother utters the phrase, "Myloty prosym" (Welcome), the negotiations going on at the barricade outside cease. The groom then presents the bride's defenders with ritual bread, money, and brandy. He and his party are subsequently allowed to enter the yard.
5.3.3 Greetings from the Mother of the Bride

When the groom and his procession enter the yard after pereima ceremony, they are greeted by the bride's mother who is wearing a fur coat.93 When the mother greets the groom, she offers him a drink of oats and water. The groom, all the while heeding his mother's lyrical warning before he departed for the bride's home, pretends to accept the drink, but actually throws the drinking glass over his shoulder. As he does so, his druzhko attempts to break the glass with a staff.94 Superstitions surrounding this act vary. It is believed that the couple will have a son if the glass breaks, a daughter if it does not.95 It is also thought that a broken glass means the couple will have children,96 or that the couple will have a good life.97 An unbroken glass would mean the converse.

To end her greeting the bride's mother sprinkles the groom with oats and holy water. She is thought to be purifying him and endowing him with fertility. The bride's mother then offers each person a drink and invites everyone into the house.98 Before the groom and his group can enter the house, however, a rite of unification must be performed.
5.3.4 The Unification Rite

The rite of unification takes place on the threshold of the bride's home and is carried out by a bride's svakha and a groom's svakha, female members of their respective wedding parties. These women act as representatives for the bride and groom. Each of the svakhas is supplied with bread, salt, and a lighted candle and, to begin the ceremony, the groom's group faces the bride's group on either side of the threshold. Then the svakhas place their feet on the threshold, join the flames of their candles, kiss, and exchange bread. Then the chorus sings songs about peace, such as, "Peace made peace with peace, / Two svakhas kissed each other / On the first threshold, / Yes, in the severe frost, / And yes they have joined their candles together, / So we will lead the children into the house!" This concludes the unification ritual, a ceremony which symbolically reconciles the two families.

5.3.5 The Sale of the Bride

Once the groom and his entourage enter the house, the group prepares for the sale of the bride. First, the bride sits on the pokuttia and places her head on
the table. After this her head is covered with a kerchief and bread and salt are placed on the kerchief. Her brothers sit beside her with clubs in their hands. The clubs are symbols of their authority, and, as we saw during pereima, the clubs are meant to defend the bride symbolically.

The bride's brothers approach the groom's druzhko and starostas, and ask the groom's representatives to identify themselves. The druzhko and starostas reply, "We are coming from Turkey to serve the Russian tsar...." The groom's men then ask the brothers which cavalcade they represent; the spectators tell the starosta and the druzhko that the bride's brothers are their warriors. A bout of sham fighting begins in a mock attempt to overpower the bride's brothers. Meanwhile the chorus sings, "Oh, you, robbers, you want to steal the young maidens!"

The sham fighting ceases when the groom's men supposedly realize they cannot overpower the bride's brothers; at this point negotiations for the bride begin. The groom's representatives first indicate to the bride's brothers that they want what is covered by the kerchief. The brothers inform them that it is very expensive and pull away the cloth to reveal the bride. Bargaining for the bride then begins in earnest and, as it progresses, the druzhkas sing,

Brother and dove!
Take an axe,
Chop, cut—do not surrender your sister  
Do not give her up for a coin, nor for two  
Nor for four coins,  
So that you will not be ridiculed.  

Obviously, this song shows that the druzhkas are unwilling to give up the bride, and, more importantly, it verifies the close relationship between the bride and her brothers. The brothers are expected to be their sister's protectors and to fight unceasingly to keep her from the groom's family.  

The brothers, however, do not heed the song's advice: they sell their sister and thereafter run away in shame. Then the chorus sings, "The brother is a Tartar, a Tartar, / He sold his sister for a thaler. / For a golden arrow/ "He soldé his sister, a young maiden." The brothers' flight after selling their sister is probably, as KH. Vovk suggests, a recreation of the fear brothers would have felt in earlier times when the sale of the bride was not simply a ceremony, but a distinct possibility.  

In any case, after the brothers have run away, the groom sits by the bride, removes the kerchief from her head, and kisses her. This indicates that she belongs to him. Drinks and gifts are then distributed to celebrate the sale.
5.3.6 The Distribution of the Gifts

During the gift-giving ceremony, the families of the bride and groom exchange gifts. The gifts from the groom and his relatives are handled by his svakhas and druzhko. The general procedure is the same for the bestowal of all the gifts. First, a svakha places a ritual loaf on top of the gift. The druzhko then calls out the recipient's name and the person steps forward to accept the gift. As the gifts are handed out, a scribe records them on the main beam of the ceiling. This may have been a means by which the bride's family verified compliance with the agreement reached with the groom's family at zmovyny.

Incidentally, the bride's mother always receives boots, probably as part of the bride price. When the mother receives the boots, she lifts them in the air to show the crowd, puts them on, dances in them and sings,

Are these the boots,  
Given to me by my son-in-law?  
And for these boots  
He took my daughter?  
You, for this decrepit hide  
Of an old nag,  
Have taken my beloved  
Child.

After the presents from the groom's family have been distributed, the bride's family presents the groom's family with the embroidered ritual cloths prepared during torochyny. The bride's mother gives the ritual cloths to the druzhko,
who calls out each recipient's name and hands out the embroidered ritual cloths.\textsuperscript{119}

Following the distribution of the gifts, the svakhas create a scene to collect money from the groom's entourage. Each stands on a bench holding a sieve and sings, "The sieve is rumbling/ It wants something:/ One and a half gold coins/ From the prince-groom himself."\textsuperscript{120} The groom's people throw money into the sieve and, once the svakhas have received a satisfactory sum, they step down from the bench.\textsuperscript{121} This concludes the distribution of gifts; the druzhko then prepares for the distribution of the korovai.\textsuperscript{122}

5.3.7 The Distribution of the Korovai

To begin the solemn, strictly prescribed ritualistic distribution of the korovai, the druzhko first washes his hands and recites the Lord's prayer. He then enters the storage room to get the korovai which sits on the kneading table; traditionally, the bride's headpiece and two embroidered ritual cloths lie on top of the korovai.\textsuperscript{123} Before the druzhko brings the korovai out of the storage room, he says, "Hospody, Isuse Khryste" (Oh Lord, Jesus Christ); a starosta replies, "Amin'"
(Amen), and bestows three blessings on the druzhko, after which the druzhko brings the korovai into the main room of the house.

The druzhko then asks a starosta to bless the cutting of the korovai; the starosta says, "Bless this honorable bread so that it may be distributed among the people!" As the druzhko cuts the korovai, he passes the pieces to a boiar who places each piece on a plate, calls out the recipient's name, and gives it to the person. The recipient then gives money to the couple in return for the wedding bread. The pieces are distributed to everyone present, according to seniority within the wedding processions: first the bride and the groom each receive one-half of the shyshka that adorns the korovai, next the bride's parents are served a piece of the korovai, and so on.

Once the korovai has been distributed, the druzhko asks three times if everyone has partaken of the korovai. This indicates that it is important that all members of both families and all the wedding guests share this divine offering as a symbol of their firm union. Following the distribution of the korovai, the bride is incorporated into the fellowship of married women.
5.3.8 The Bride's Incorporation into the Fellowship of Married Women

Up to the day of vesillia, the bride has been a single girl. On the day of the wedding, independent of the ecclesiastical service, she is officially incorporated into the fellowship of married women. The bride, however, still acts, and to a great extent probably is, unwilling to forsake her position as a carefree single girl.

First, the bride's hair is changed to signal her transformation. Her hair is sometimes rebraided from the single braid of a maiden to the double braids of a married woman.\(^{133}\) In the Hutsul area, in Podilia, and in Western Volhynia, on the other hand, some of the bride's hair is cut off.\(^{134}\) M. Dovnar-Zapol'skyi, a scholar, suggests that this practice is a remnant of bride capture because cutting the bride's hair symbolizes the bride's transition from being under her parent's rule to that of her husband.\(^{135}\) In this writer's opinion the cutting of the bride's hair simply indicates her separation from the maidens' community. This interpretation is substantiated by a song:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I must forsake my rings, forget about the dances,} \\
\text{Oh young as I am, I must be the lady of the house.} \\
\text{I must forsake my rings, my braid must be cut,} \\
\text{Oh young as I am, I must wear a woman's headdress.}^{136}
\end{align*}
\]

The bride certainly does not look forward to her new position
as "mistress of the house."

Once the bride's hair is either rebraided or cut, she receives and dons the headdress of a married woman. Either the bride's mother, brother, druzhkas, svakhas, or the groom puts on the headpiece. The person who performs the ceremony waves a kerchief over the bride and then places it on her head. To emphasize her unwillingness, the bride removes the kerchief until it has been placed on her head for the third time. The kerchief is then wrapped in the fashion of a married woman. As this is going on, the chorus sings,

Oh where will you, white geese, fly away to,
Oh where will you take my maidenhood to?
You will carry my maidenhood away to the rivers,
You will carry my maidenhood away forever.
Hannusia was walking through a cherry orchard,
And a white blossom fell on her head,
It can neither be blown, nor shaken off;
It must be worn until death.

This song reflects the sadness and permanency of the bride's incorporation into the fellowship of married women. Moreover, it expresses the trauma of the separation that the bride associates with marriage.

5.3.9 The Activities Prior to the Couple's Departure

After the incorporation of the bride into the fellowship of married women, a large supper is served. The starostas
first deliver a blessing, and then the wedding guests (excluding the bride and groom) are seated and served various dishes including cabbage, peas, meat dumplings, cornmeal with milk, pork, chicken, borshch, liver, and, in the area of Podlachia, pheasant. Drinks are also served. The bride and groom do not eat with the guests, but in the komora (storage room). They usually eat from one plate, symbolizing their union. In addition, they are served dishes symbolic of marital union, for example, two roasted doves, which suggest faithfulness, love, a harmonious life, and fertility. While the bride, the groom and the other guests eat, the boiars take the druzhkas by the hands and they all go to the senior druzhka's house. They are served food and drink and later return to the bride's home.

Before the bride bids farewell to her friends, the druzhkas and svakhas conduct a lyric conversation:

**Druzhkas:** We are hurt Marysia, that you have gathered us at your home; and now we are leaving you, and saying goodnight. Do not sit, Marysia, with the married women, Come with us young ladies, We will give you a wreath of pearls.

**Svakhas:** Do not go, Marysia, with the girls, Sit with us, married women. We will give you a bonnet with strings.
These songs again express the theme of the bride's separation from her friends and from her status as a maiden. On the one hand, the druzhkas are reluctant to have the bride leave them. The svakhas, on the other hand, welcome the bride into their numbers. After the lyric conversation concludes, the bride offers each druzhka a drink and receives money in exchange.\textsuperscript{154} The bride and the druzhkas kiss one last time and then the druzhkas leave for home.\textsuperscript{155} A boiar immediately sits next to the bride to ensure that she does not leave with her girlfriends.

As soon as the druzhkas have gone, a kneading bowl is carried into the yard, placed on a bench, and covered with a clean cloth. After bread and salt are placed on the cloth, the druzhko leads the couple with an embroidered ritual cloth out of the house. They are followed by the other members of the wedding party. As the entire procession dances around the kneading bowl three times, the musicians play a march and the wedding chorus sings a song to describe the scene: "Oh, whose family was it/ That walked around the kneading bowl/ With violins, with dulcimers,/ With the young boiars?"\textsuperscript{156} While the group is in the yard, the bride undergoes a quasi-initiatory test. A piece of wood is thrown in front of the bride and her reaction determines the kind of wife she will be: if she steps over the piece of wood, she will be lazy; if she kicks it aside, she will be a good housewife; if she picks it
up and throws it aside, she will be a good, hardworking housewife. Once this ceremony is over, the bride and groom prepare to leave for their new home.

5.3.10 The Preparations for the Couple’s Departure

Underlying most of the events that occur while the couple begins to leave the bride’s home is the continued opposition of the bride’s family and friends to her separation from them. Preparations begin when the druzhko gives the boiars the command, "It is time, boiars, to see to the horses." The boiars then ready the wagons that will be used to transport the couple. The svakhas stand in front of the wagons and lament the bride’s imminent departure in a song: "Goodnight, goodnight,/ And not for one hour, and not for the entire night,/ And not for the entire night, and not for the whole year,/ And not for the whole year, but for a lifetime." This song indicates the permanence of the bride’s separation from her family.

Before the bride and groom seat themselves on the wagon, they are blessed by the bride’s parents. The couple approaches the parents, who sit on a bench behind a table mounted with icons. They bow to the parents and to the
icons three times and then kiss the parents and the relatives. The parents respond by wishing the couple a good trip, and giving them two icons.160 The bride and groom then mount a wagon that has been loaded with the bride's dowry.161 Once they have done so, the bride's mother gives the bride a black hen to place at her feet during the trip; the hen will be used in a ritual upon the bride's arrival at the home of the groom's parents.162

When the bride is seated, the groom walks around the wagon three times and strikes it with either a whip or a stick.163 As he does this he says, "Abandon the ways of your father, and accept my ways."164 This ceremony indicates that the bride will live under the new, probably more restrictive, authority of the groom and his family compared to her carefree youth with her family. After the groom's walk, the wedding procession climbs into wagons and, as the bride's mother leads the group through the gates of the yard,165 firearms are sounded, ostensibly to ward off evil spirits.166 In some instances, echoing back again to ancient bride capture, the druzhko might pretend to bolt off in a wagon with the bride. To prevent this the bride's family removes the linchpins from the axles of the wagons prior to the group's departure.167 In other cases, the procession starts out without enacting this charade. In any case, the entire procession sings to pass the time it takes to travel to the groom's home.
5.4.1 The Arrival at the Groom's Home

As the newly-wedded bride and groom enter the gates of the groom's home, they undergo a purification ritual. Just before the procession approaches, the boiars ignite a small fire through which the procession must ride. This ritual is meant to act as a protective force against any witchcraft which might be directed at the couple. Second, it must take place if the bride is to be incorporated into the groom's family and to be accepted as manumariti (her husband's possession).

When the bride and groom reach the house, they are greeted by the groom's parents. His mother wears a sheepskin coat and holds a kneading table, covered with a kerchief and grain; his father holds bread and salt. A series of actions makes up the greeting ritual. After the couple bows before the parents, the father either blesses the newlyweds or rubs honey on their lips. The mother, acting as a priestess, sprinkles grain behind them and says, "With what, my child, have you come?" The bride replies: "With bread, salt, and with all my possessions." The parents' actions symbolize their wishes for the couple's wealth, health, fertility, and happiness.

As these rituals progress, the chorus provides a lyrical background describing the situation. One song expresses the groom's desire to know if his mother approves of his
wife. It reads, "Are you happy, mother of mine,/ That two of us have come/ To your yard?" Other songs deal with the wife's role in her new home, a predominant theme among songs about family life. A song says she will be "a maid for the house/ a worker for the fields,/ a keeper of the keys to the komora (storage room)." After the parents have greeted the couple, the bride and groom move to enter the dwelling and, as they do so, the bride attempts to cross the threshold before the groom's mother; it is believed that the first one to step over the threshold will rule the household. Furthermore, if the bride fears that she will face a harsh life in her mother-in-law's home, she simultaneously takes the black hen that she received previously, throws it under the hearth and, while glancing at the hearth, recites, "Is the hole in the oven deep? Will mother die before the year is up?" The women of the groom's family attempt to thwart the bride's effort, for it is believed that the mother-in-law will die soon after the wedding if the bride performs this ceremony. The black hen is probably the bride's offering to the domovyk and is meant to win his support for her request. A meal is then served while the boiars carry the bride's belongings into the komora. After the supper the "wedding night" begins.

5.4.2 The Wedding Night
The wedding night is an important and the most erotic event of the Ukrainian wedding. Appropriately, the many rituals surrounding it stress the veneration of the generative principle. The wedding night can be divided into three segments: first, preparation of the couple and the komora (storage room), second, the defloration of the bride, and third, the celebration following the defloration.

The druzhko and the svakhas prepare the komora by gathering straw to make the wedding bed. As the svakhas ready the bed, they sing a song that describes the materials used to make the wedding bed: "Some straw for under their sides,/ Some hay for under their joints,/ Some rye for under their heads,/ So that Marusia will not be beaten." After the bed is made, rye, bread, salt and an icon are placed at its head, and a sheepskin coat is placed on top of it. The coat is probably meant to enhance the couple's fertility.

Once the wedding chamber has been prepared, the druzhko asks a starosta to bless the couple. After the starosta has done so three times, the druzhko leads the couple into the nuptial room. Meanwhile, the svakhas sing about the defloration of the bride:

"Oh, mother, mother,
They are leading me to the pantry."
Be silent, my child,
They will give you some honey.
"Oh, mother, a kozak
Is crawling on top of me."
Be silent, my child,
He will not slit your throat,
"Oh, mother, he is already taking out a knife..."
Be silent, my child, he is contemplating God's will. 189

This song depicts the erotic atmosphere associated with the nuptial chamber ceremonies.

After the bride and groom enter the komora, they undress. The bride is then thoroughly examined by the groom's svakhas to make sure she does not have any sharp objects or bird's blood which might be used to simulate defloration if, in fact, the bride has already been deflowered. 191 After the bride is examined, the svakhas give her a clean white shirt to wear, and leave the room. The bride then removes the groom's boots and takes the money that was placed in his boots earlier by his mother. 192 When she takes the money, the bride is expressing her agreement to become the groom's wife and to accept his rule over her. The druzhko stands guard at the door to the storage room as the marriage is consummated and, outside the storage room, the mood becomes more erotic as the group sings epithalamia such as, "Do not go, young girl, to the field:/ There a bull will pierce you./ With a long rod,/ You will not be a maiden." 196

Incidentally, if the groom is impotent, then it is believed that a spell has been cast upon him. To break the spell, the groom rips the bride's shirt and removes
the nails from specific places around the house, such as the threshold and the wagon wheels. Like similar steps taken during a difficult childbirth, these measures are believed to dispel magic charms. If these actions fail, and the groom is still impotent, then either the starosta or druzhko has sexual intercourse with the bride; another alternative has the groom or an old woman deflower the bride artificially.

When the marriage is consummated, the groom knocks at the door and the svakhas enter the wedding chamber to remove the bride's shirt. At this point it is determined whether or not the bride was a virgin. If the bride is a virgin, a chervone vesillia (red wedding) is celebrated, the most ecstatic and erotic event of the wedding day. First, the svakhas show the bride's bloodstained wedding shirt to the groom's parents and to the druzhko. After the druzhko and the svakhas have covered the icons in the room to shelter the saints represented on the icons from any acts that might be considered sacrilegious, they stand on a bench to display the bride's shirt to everyone. As they do this, they proclaim wishes that the couple's children will be virtuous. When the people at the gathering see the bloodstained shirt, the orgiastic mood of the celebration reaches a climax as everyone sings erotic songs and dances suggestive dances to celebrate the consummation of the marriage.
As the celebrations continue, messengers are sent to the bride’s parents to inform them of the red wedding. The couriers take with them the wedding shirt, a bottle of brandy decorated with cranberries, and dumplings made of fish, cheese, plums and poppyseed. On the way to the parents’ home, the group sings songs in praise of the bride and her parents:

Thanks to you, father,
For the bushy rue,
For the fragrant sweet basil,
For your virtuous daughter.
That she did not wander about at night;
She remained virtuous.
The boys begged her—she refused;
The buyers wanted to make a purchase—she did not sell it;
She tied her legs up with silk,
And saved it for Ivan.

The group also sings about the successful defloration of the bride: "The proud bridesmaids are going there,/ They are carrying a flag as red as fire,/ And on the flag are letters,/ These are the thoughts of our Marusen'ka." Incidentally, as this song indicates, the color red is associated with the bride’s defloration and, as we will see, the color is part of many wedding decorations and is mentioned in many wedding songs. When the messengers arrive at the bride’s home, they present their gifts to her parents. The parents then reciprocate with embroidered ritual cloths and kerchiefs. After the messengers have been treated to a meal, the group returns to the groom’s home where the celebrations continue throughout the night.
Incidentally, before we go on to describe the post-wedding ceremonies, we should mention that specific, decidedly unpleasant measures are taken if the bride is not a virgin. First, the groom hits the bride with a whip and says, "You should have admitted it immediately, and not wasted the people's time—go, you slut, and beg the people to forgive you." After the bride does this, she is locked in the storage room for the entire night while the chorus sings disrespectful songs about the bride and her family. In the meantime, messengers are sent to the bride's parents to chastise the parents for raising an unvirtuous daughter. The envoys put straw wreaths around the parents' necks; spread water and tar on the walls of their home and break their ceramic pots and their hearth. All the while they sing songs such as, "Oh, one can tell, one can tell, From where they took the slut/ We spread tar on the house,/ And on the walls and benches." To end this destruction and derision, the parents ask the messengers for forgiveness. This usually satisfies the envoys and they leave the bride's parents alone.
As we have seen, the wedding day is a day of profound change for the bride and groom and their families. Of course, the couple is officially united on this day, and this is a cause for celebration in itself, but the couple's families are also bound together through ritual law on this day. The rite of unification, the sharing of the korovai between the two families, and the exchange of gifts makes the union of the two families explicit.

Traditionally, however, the bride's family has mixed feelings about the marriage union. Implicit in the happy union of the families is the separation of the bride from her family, her friends, and her carefree maidenhood. Throughout the pre-wedding ceremonies, the preparatory phase and even now on the wedding day, the bride and her family act as if they are reluctant to give up the bride. This reluctance, shown in pereima ceremony and the brothers' constant protection of the bride, probably stems from the early practice of bride capture. Despite their reservations, the separation takes place, and, to mark the transition the bride undergoes a change of hair style and an induction into the fellowship of married women.

Towards evening the sorrow of the bride's separation is forgotten as the group anticipates the consummation of the marriage, which is the couple's final act of transition
on the wedding day, and the culmination of the wedding ceremonies. The parents and the community celebrate the bride's defloration because the bride and the groom are taking part in the generation of life and thereby continuing the longevity of the groom's family and, indirectly, the community. As we have seen in earlier phases, items symbolic of fertility and growth make up the wedding attire, decorations and food. The significance of these items implicitly suggests a veneration of the generative principle. After the bride's defloration, however, the celebratory songs and dances become explicitly erotic. We will discuss these songs and dances in more detail in the next chapter.

Before we continue, however, we should briefly discuss what the ceremonies on the wedding day tell us about the folk culture of the 19th and early 20th century Ukraine. First, as we have seen in other phases, the roles of males and females are, for the most part, predetermined during the wedding ceremonies: the women usually perform ritual activities with the exception of the starostas, whereas the men handle and enforce the financial negotiations. On the wedding day, the men in the bride's family physically protect the bride, a practice which shows the family's attempt to protect what was theirs. A second point we should mention is the extreme importance placed on virginity. If the bride is not a virgin when she gets married, both she and her family are chastised and, one
might say even persecuted, until both the bride and her family beg for forgiveness. The bride’s virginity is a sign of her virtuousness and of the moral atmosphere in which her parents reared her.

Finally, like in earlier phases, superstitions infuse the ceremonies on the wedding day. Obviously, during the 19th and early 20th centuries, some Ukrainians believed that the traditional ceremonies would allow them to divine and perhaps influence the future through magic.
Endnotes

1 Chubinskii 454.

2 Rozpletyny often occurs on Saturday evening during posad.

3 Chubinskii 251; Roshkevych 83.

4 Chubinskii 251; Zdoroveha 95.

5 Zdoroveha 95.

6 Demchenko 180; Chubinskii 617; Zdoroveha 95; Shcherbakivs'kyi 334.

7 Blahoslovi, Bozhe/ I otets', i mati/ Svoemu ditiati/ Kosu rosplitati. Chubinskii 252.

8 Chubinskii 251, 674; Roshkevych 84; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 22; Zdoroveha 95; Demchenko 180; Shcherbakivs'kyi 334. If the bride does not have a brother, a young man plays the role normally assigned to the bride's brother.


10 Transliteration: "Koso moia rusaia!/ Ne rik", iak" tebe kokhala;/ Shcho subiton'ki chesala,/ Shcho nedilen'ki krasila,-/ Za odyn" vechor" znosila." Chubinskii 140.

11 Shcherbakivs'kyi 334.

12 Chubinskii 251; Shcherbakivs'kyi 334; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 22; Zdoroveha 97. It is interesting to note that if only one of the bride's parents is alive then half of her hair is unplaited; if the girl is an orphan her hair if left loose and tied with a ribbon (Chubinskii 585).

13 Chubinskii 252.

14 Chubinskii 252. As the bride rises from her seat, the druzhkas try to sit in her place; it is believed that the first druzhka to occupy the seat will be the next to marry (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 22; Chubinskii 261).

15 For a description of the traditional wedding costume worn by the bride, refer to Zdoroveha 97-98, and Chubinskii 585.
16 Lozinski 61.

17 Ravliuk 195.

18 Malinka 111.

19 Malinka 111; Chubinskii 586.

20 Zdoroveha 100.

21 Shcherbakivs'kyi 334; Chubinskii 250.

22 Transliteration: Kropi nas", mati/ Sviachenoiu vodoiu/ I dobroiu hodinoiu./ Lomite rozhen'ku, / Stelite dorozhen'ku/ Molodii i molodomu/ Do Bozhogo domu. Chubinskii 249.

23 Chubinskii 656.

24 For a description of several variations of this ceremony, refer to Zdoroveha 98.

25 Transliteration:

IAk otykh dvoie ditei
stalo pered svi materi
ridnoi, pered svoho tata
ridnoho, pered svoikh
vuichychkiv, pered svoih
nanashechkhiv (khresnykh
rodychiv); mozhe vony komu
shcho dihnaly, mozhe vony
koho ne uslukhaly, proahu
prostyty i blasoslovyty!

Roshkevych 84.

26 Refer to Shekeryk as quoted in Hnatiuk 256.

27 Roshkevych 84-85.

28 Chubinskii 261.

29 Pravdiuk, Vesillia 22; Zdoroveha 100.

31 Baker 106. Baker notes that as they go to the church the wedding procession often makes noise to scare away spirits.

32 Chubinskii 262. If they go to the church separately, the groom arrives at the church before the bride and awaits her arrival.

33 Lozinski 64. For further information on the procession’s appearance, refer to Chubinskii 262. Moreover, for an account of the Bulgarian wedding procession, which is similar to the Ukrainian one, refer to Baker 89.

34 Provided in Polish:

Prysiahal Jwasen’ko
try razy, razy,
pered obrazy,
pered wsimy Swjatymy,
pered lud’my dobrymy:
ne zradzu tia Marysen’ko!

Lozinski 68.

35 Kalinovskii 80; Zdoroveha 102-103; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 23. Originally, the bride and groom went to their own homes following the church ceremony (Zdoroveha 103). Nevertheless, during the 19th and 20th centuries two other variations exist: the groom goes to the bride’s home, dines there, and then departs for his own home (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 23; Verkhovynets’ 238; Chubinskii 638); the groom may go to the bride’s place and remain there until evening, at which time he and the bride go to his home (Zdoroveha 103). No matter which variation occurs, the same ceremonies take place; it is only the order of the ceremonies that differs. Since the oldest variation has retained the most logical order of the three variations, it is described in the body of this work.

36 Transliteration:

Da spasibi zh" tobi, popon’ku,
Ne bagato vziav" kopon’ku,
Qi dva taleri bitiie,
Da dvie khustochki shitiie!
Da spasibi zh" tobi, popon’ku,
Ne bagato nas" derzhav",
Ne veliku platu vziav".

Kulish as cited in Chubinskii 275.
The name Rus' is used "to denote the land of the Polianians—the triangle of the Kiev region formed by the Dnieper, the Irpen, and the Ros; further, it is applied to the entire territory of the Kievan state" (Kubijovyc 3).

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 23.

Transliteration: "mnogie liudi Rus' nezakonne meshkaiut' zheny poimuiuchi ne venchaiutsia, a uriadniki za takovykh' stoiat". Akty Zapadnoi Rossii as cited in Pravdiuk, Vesillia 23.

Vovk 225.

Hastings 8: 472.

Goody 213.

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 22.

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 23; Chubinskii 623.

Chubinskii 271; Zhoroveha 102.

Chubinskii 271. Similar superstitions are practiced by the Swedes (Baker 93), and the Germans (Thonger 54).

Chubinskii 272.

Kolomyichenko 358; Chubinskii 271, 657.

Ravliuk as cited in Pravdiuk, Vesillia 23. Stanyslaviv is also referred to as Ivano-Frankivske.

Similar superstitions exist in France (Paul Se'billot as quoted in Segalen 27).
57 Shcherbakivs’kyi 336; Rigel’man” 204.

58 Zdoroveha 105. For a detailed description of the nuptial procession’s appearance, and each participant’s duty, refer to Zdoroveha 109-110; Chubinskii 315.

59 Pravdiuk, Vesillia 25. Hereafter, the Ukrainian term will be used in reference to the participants in the wedding procession.

60 Vovk 259.

61 Malinka 113.

62 Zdoroveha 107; Vovk 260; Shcherbakivs’kyi 336. Similar cockades were also used at French, and English weddings (Vovk 260).

63 Verkhovynets’ 244.

64 Zdoroveha 105; Chubinskii 313; Vovk 260.

65 Vovk 260.

66 Chubinskii 313; Vovk 260; Verkhovynets’ 245.

67 Vovk 259.

68 Malinka 113; Chubinskii 313-314; Shcherbakivs’kyi 336.

69 Chubinskii 314; Shcherbakivs’kyi 336; Humenna 144; Zdoroveha 104.

70 Hrushevs’kyi 247.

71 Chubinskii 314; Vovk 261; Shcherbakivs’kyi 337; Malinka 113.

72 Chubinskii 314; Malinka 113.

73 Chubinskii 314.

74 Malinka 113; Verkhovynets’ 245. Mothers in France also receive coins after the birth of their sons to keep and eventually sprinkle them on their sons on their wedding day (Urlin 60).

75 Shcherbakivs’kyi 337; Zdoroveha 108; Chubinskii 314; Shukhevych 53. Parents were selective when choosing godparents for their children. One of the most important considerations was the financial status of the godparents.
It was thought that wealthy godparents would bring a child luck and guarantee its financial future (IAshchurynskii as quoted in Kuzelia 45).

76 Shcherbakivs’kyi 337; Vovk 262; Chubinskii 314.

77 Rigel’m’an” 197.


79 Humenna 148.

80 Viktor Petrov, Ukrains’kyi fol’kl’or. (Miunchen [Munich]:Ukrains’kyi vil’nyi universytet, 1941? ) 60-61.

81 Transliteration: “Slava Bogu i Dusi, Viishla mati v’ kozhusi, tsei kozhukh mokhnatyi, Tak bude ziat’ bogatii.” Chubinskii 300.

82 Transliteration: "Iz" iakoi prichini Teshcha vbralasia v" ovchini? Khoche ziatia zliakati, Shchob dochki ne dati; A ziat’ ne boit’ sia, Proti teshchi stanovit’ sia." Chubinskii 340.

83 Transliteration:

Oi maty syna vyriazhala
Ta i nakazovala:
Oi ne pyi, synku,
Pershuiu charku,-
Bo persha charka;
Charovanaia:
Ale vysyp, synku
Konykovi na hryvku.
A konyk se zdryzhe,
Ta i chary striase;
Konyk bude hryt, Chary rozszypaty.

Sumtsov”, Oso 151.

84 Transliteration:

V’ nedilen’ku rano,
Po vsim’ selu zahrano,
Zahrano, zabubneno,
Boiary pobudzheno.
-Vstan’t’ boiary, vstan’t’,
Konyky posidlaite,
Samy sia ubiraite,
Bo poiemo rankom’
Po-pid’ vysokim’ zamkom’,
Budem' zamky lamaty,
Marysen'ku dostavaty.
I zamky' ne zlamaly,
I Marysen'ku dostaly.

Chubinskii 321.

85 Vovk 263. A similar occurrence also takes place as the groom and his procession depart with the bride later on in the evening.

86 Zdoroveha 111-112. This was typical of the region of Transcarpathia and Polisia.

87 Shcherbakivs'kyi 338.

88 Chubinskii 330; Humenna 147; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 25.

89 Chubinskii 330; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 25; Shcherbakivs'kyi 338.

90 Chubinskii 331; Shcherbakivs'kyi 338.

91 Chubinskii 331.

92 Chubinskii 568; Malinka 115. For information on a variation of this ceremony that takes place in Podilia, refer to Chubinskii 332-333; Shcherbakivs'kyi 339. Similar pereima rites are found among all Slavic peoples (Sumtsov", Oso 14-15), the Welsh (Tegg 41), Germans (Hamerle as cited in Vovk 265), Italians (A. de Gubernatis as cited in Vovk 265), and the French (Laumier as cited in Vovk 265).

93 Okhrimovich', Part 1: 69; Shcherbakivs'kyi 335.

94 Zdoroveha 113; Shcherbakivs'kyi 338; Chubinskii 638.

95 Kalinovskii 81.

96 Chubinskii 626.

97 Pravdiuk, Vesillia 26.

98 Malinka 115; Chubinskii 332, 626.

99 Chubinskii 332.

100 Kalinovskii 81; Shcherbakivs'kyi 338; Zdoroveha 112.
Transliteration: "Mir" z" mirom" mirovalisia,/ Dvi svanechki tsilovalisia/ Na pershom" porozi,/ Da na liutom" morozi,/ Da zlepili svechki do kupki,/ Da zvedemo ditki do khatki!" Chubinskii 332. Germans, Greeks, Romans, and Hindus perform similar ceremonies (Vovk 267).

Chubinskii 342; Kolomyichenko 373.

Chubinskii 342, 588.

Transliteration: "Mi ... idem" z" tureshchini rus'komu tsariu sluzhiti...." Chubinskii 342.

Chubinskii 342. The history of the practice of wife capture has been studied by many scholars. They agree that bride capture was widely practiced among the Slavs, and, more specifically, among Ukrainians. For example, Dargun states that "the Slavs are conspicuous among the Aryans for wife-capture and its survivals as are the Aryans, for the same reason, among the great divisions of mankind" (Dargun as cited in George Elliot Howard, A History of Matrimonial Institutions, 3 vols. (New York: Humanities, 1964) 160). For more information on Dargun's classification of peoples, who practice bride capture, see Howard 164. Further evidence of capture is provided by Hastings. He notes that "among the Muscovitae and Rutheni, as we learn from the Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus (Rome, 1555) of Archbishop Olaus Magnus, marriage by capture was quite common" (Hastings 5: 750).

Moreover, Westermarck notes that "marriage by capture also occurred among the Slavs in early times. The Cossacks of Little Russia and the Ukrainia practised it still in the seventeenth century" (Kovalevsky, Dargun, Macieiowski, and others as cited in Edward Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, 3 vols. (New York: Allerton, 1922) 252). Furthermore, de Beauplan notes that in Podilia capture was maintained to be a method of obtaining a wife. De Beauplan, however, mentions that he had never witnessed this method, although he had heard of it (De Beauplan 467). Lastly, Sumtsov" recorded the occurrence of wife capture among Slavs in 1815. His description of the incident is similar to de Beauplan's (Sumtsov", Oso 5).


Chubinskii 343; Verkhovynets' 249.

Transliteration:
Bratchiku ta holubchiku!
Voz’mi sobi sokirochku,
Sichi, rubai - sestri ne dai
Ne dai za grish", ne dai za dva,
Ne dai za chotiri,
Shchob" sia z" tebe ne kpili.

Chubinskii 347.

109 Chubinskii 345, 588; Demchenko 194; Vovk 270; Zdoroveha 114.

110 Transliteration: "Tataryn bratik, tataryn./ Prodav sestrytsiu za taliar’./ Za zolotuiu strilochku/ Svoiu sestrytsiu divochku." Hrinchenko 404. Sometimes, the brother is not willing to sell his sister and the groom’s representatives remove him by force (Okhrimovich’, Part 1: 86).

111 Vovk 270.

112 Chubinskii 345, 588-589, 690; Zdoroveha 115; Rigel’man” 230.

113 Chubinskii 627.

114 Chubinskii 627.

115 Shcherbakivs’kyi 339.

116 Kalinovskii 82; Verkhovynets’ 251.

117 Chubinskii 610.

118 Transliteration:

Chi se tii choboti,
Shcho ziat’ dav’;
A za tsi choboti
Dochki vziav’?
Ta za tsiu poganuiu
Shkapinu
Uziav” moiu kokhanuiu
Ditinu.

Chubinskii 610. According to Vovk, all of the gifts given to the bride’s family make up the bride price (Vovk 273).

119 Chubinskii 362-363, 627; Kalinovskii 83.

120 Transliteration: "Resheto torotoche,./ Choho-s’,
vono khoche:/ Pivtora zolotogo/ Da i od" kniaziia molodogo."
A lyric dialogue may take place before the korovai is distributed. This lyric conversation occurs between the groom's svakhas and the bride's druzhkas (Rigel'man" 218-219). Their songs reflect the mounting hostile mood between the families because the groom will soon depart with the bride (Humenna 153). Once the singing is over, the bride's and groom's choirs reconcile and the korovai is distributed (Rigel'man" 219). Alternatively, this lyric dialogue may take place during the distribution of the korovai (Malinka 119-121), or during the incorporation of the bride into the fellowship of married women (Vovk 275-276).

In the Poltava area, the druzhko cuts and distributes the korovai (Chubinskii 382).

The incorporation ceremony may also take place on Monday, after the bride has been deflowered (Vovk 278; Chubinskii 577).

Transliteration: "Blahoslovit' sei chesnyi khlib na myr rozdat'!" Hrinchenko 408.
Tre meni, moloden'kii, kybavku nosyty.


137 Chubinskii 365.
138 Ravliuk 201.
139 Verkhovynets' 235.
140 Demchenko 199; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 27; Chubinskii 640.
141 Chubinskii 591. If the groom performs this ceremony, he usually places his cap on the bride's head. According to Humenna, he is indicating that he will rule over his wife (Humenna 159).
142 Chubinskii 365; Zdoroveha 117; Shcherbakivs'kyi 339; Ravliuk 201; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 27.
143 Transliteration:

Oi kudi vi, bili gusi, polinete,
Oi kudi vi divuvannia zanesete?
Ponesete divuvannia azh" na riki,
Ponesete divuvannia azh" na viki.
A khodila Gannusia popid vishnev" sad,
A na ii golovon'ku bilii tsvit" upav".
A vzhe azh" logo ni zdmukhnuti, ni strusyti,
Treba logo azh" do smerti iznosit.

Chubinskii 200.

144 Similar ceremonies are practiced by Greeks (Bottiger as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 157), Jews ( Rossbach as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 157), Germans ( Weinhold as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 157), Slavs ( Pravdiuk, Zouv 98), and the Chinese (Klemm as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 157).
145 Chubinskii 384.
146 Kalinovskii 83.
147 In the area of Podlachia, a roasted rooster is served. It is prepared in a unique manner: a ladder is erected on a hill, a live rooster is tied to the ladder, and a fire is made at the base of the ladder. Once the rooster is roasted, it is referred to as bazanta (pheasant) (Lozinski 112).
148 Chubinskii 385; Zdoroveha 119.
149 Chubinskii 385.
150 Zdoroveha 119.
151 Chubinskii 396, 590; Rigel’man” 236.
152 Shcherbakivs’kyi 340.
153 Provided in Polish:

**Druzhkas:** Zal nam Marysiu na tebe,
szczo ty nas posberala do sebe;
a teper wid tebe idemo,
dobranocz dajemo.

Ne sidy Marysiu s Babamy
chody s namy, Pannamy,
damo tobi winoczok s perlamy.

**Svakhas:** Ne idy Marysiu s Diwkamy,
sidy s namy Babamy,
damo tobi czypoczok s sznurkamy.

Lozinski 105.

154 Chubinskii 396.

155 Malinka 123.

156 Transliteration: “Oi chiia zh” to rodina/ Kruhom”
dizhi khodila/ Z” skripkami, Z” tsimbalami,/ Z” molodimi
boiarami? ” Chubinskii 400.

157 Chubinskii 400. Similar initiatory rituals are practiced
in France (Segalen 31).

158 Transliteration: “A pora, boiare, do konei.”
Chubinskii 396.

159 Transliteration: “Na dobra-nich”, na dobra nich”/
I ni na idnu godinu, i ni na vsiu nich”,/ I ni na vsiu
nich”, i ni na “ves’ rik”,/ I ni na ves’ rik”, a na ves’
vik”. ” Chubinskii 400.

160 Chubinskii 420-421.

161 Chubinskii 420, 658; Shcherbakivs’kyi 340. The
practice of transporting the bride’s dowry and trousseau
on a wagon as part of the wedding procession is also found
among the Germans (Thonger 52).
Several variations of this ceremony exist. For instance, the procession may drive over smoldering straw; the bride and the groom may walk through burning straw; or the couple may be met with burning torches (Chubinskii 428). Furthermore, water may also be poured on the procession’s path (Zdoroveha 121).

Similar practices are found among Belorussians (Shein as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 91), Poles (Sumtsov", Oso 91), and the Chinese (Tailor as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 92).

Transliteration: "Z chym ty, dytyno moia, pryikhala?"; "Z khlibom-silliu, z usim dobrom." Litvinova-Bartoche 144.


Provided in Polish: "do doma poprjatnyciu/ do pola robitnyciu/ do komory klucznyciu." Lozinski 126. For
further information on the misfortune of women as reflected in Ukrainian folk songs, refer to Ivan Franko "Zhinocha nevolia v rus'kykh pisniakh narodnykh," in Vybrani statti pro narodnu tvorchist', ed. O. I. Dei (Kyiv [Kiev]: Akademiia nauk Ukrain's'koi RSR, 1955).

180 Malinka 125.


182 Chubinskii 434; Shcherbakivs'kyi 341.

183 Malinka 125; Chubinskii 434; Verkhovynets' 262. In Volhynia the bride is seated on the pokuttia and her headpiece is removed with a pitchfork and thrown into the fire. This is reminiscent of the ancient worship of the hearth (Zdroroveh 122). In Transcarpathia a boy is seated on the bride's lap once she is in the house. This is done to ensure that she will provide future heirs. It is also common for the mother-in-law to give the bride beets, bones and clay to eat. She does this to see if the bride will get angry quickly (Pravdiuk, Vesillia 28).

184 Chubinskii 434.

185 Most researchers of Ukrainian wedding studies disregard this event. Vovk explains this act on the basis of European intellectuals' works. He claims that the goal of the komora ceremony is to deflower the bride (Vovk 332). This is necessary for the "marriage pact," pactum conjugale to be realized. He substantiates his theory by asserting that it was the tradition among primitive man that a woman had to be deflowered before she could be given to a man (Liebrecht, Letourneau, and Kovalevsky as cited in Vovk 332). He notes further that, during Christian times, a marriage was acknowledged only after it was consummated (Eldest. Du Meril as cited in Vovk 332).

186 Transliteration: "Pid" boki solomki, / "Pid" kolintsia sintzia, / "Pid" holovki zhita, / Shchob" ne bula Marusia bita." Chubinskii 435.

187 Chubinskii 341, 436; Shcherbakivs'kyi 314.

188 Chubinskii 436.

189 Transliteration:

"Oi, mamtsiu, mamtsiu,
Do komori vedut".
- Tsit', doniu,
"Тобі меду дадут".
"Ой, мамциу, козак"
На мене ліже."
- Тсіт', доніу,
Ти не заризг.
"Ой, мамциу, взьє і ножок" віймає..."
- Тсіт', доніу, ти бохе думає.

Chubinskii 437.

190 Chubinskii 438; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 29.

191 Kolomyichenko 386; Chubinskii 443; Vovk 295.

192 Zdoroveha 122; Chubinskii 438. In Transcarpathia, during the 19th century, the groom removed the bride’s shoes (S. Witwicki as cited in Zdoroveha 122).


194 Chubinskii 438.

195 Shcherbakivs'kyi 341.

196 Transliteration: "Не ідь, дивчине, в поле:/ Там тебе буяй школе./ Довгую тихуну:/ Не будеш дивчину." Maksymovych as quoted in Vovk 288.

197 Vovk 295; Chubinskii 443.

198 IAshchurzhyns'kii as quoted in Kuzelia 21.


200 Vovk 295, 332; Malinka 126. A similar practice also occurs in France (Vovk 295).

201 Malinka 126; Shcherbakivs'kyi 342.

202 Demchenko 204.

203 Chubinskii 449-450.

204 Malinka 126; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 29.

205 Kalinovskii 84.

206 Chubinskii 450, 576.
Pravdiuk, Vesillia 29.

Transliteration:

Spasibi tobi, tatochku,
Za kudriavuiu m"iatochku,
Za zapashnii vasilek",
Za tvoiu uchtivu ditinu,
Shcho vona po nocham" ne khodila,
Pri sobi snotok" nosila.
Prokhali khloptsi - vona ne dala,
Kupovali kuptsi - ne prodala;
Shovkom" nizhen'ki zviazala,
Za vsikh" tomu Ivanku derzhala.

Chubinskii 451.

210 Transliteration: "Tuda idut,·

ne volovodyla idy,
Pravdiuk, Vesillia 30.

Malinka 126.

Kalinovskii 84.

Transliteration: "Ty b zrazu pryznalas' i liudei
ne volovodyla - idy, khialiavysche, i prosy liudei."

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 30.

The bride may make a confession to the people and
ask them to forgive her prior to entering the storage
room: "Forgive me, good people, I am a sinner before
God and before you--forgive me, good people," Prostit',
liude dobri, ia grishna pered" Bogom" i pered vami--prostit',
liude dobri. Then the people reply, "May God forgive
you, you are not the only one in this world... after you
there will be other people," Nekhai tobi Buig" proshchaie,
ne ti odna v" sviti... po tsemu liude budut'. Once this
has occurred the wedding night continues; however, there
is an absence of celebration, dancing, and the songs show
disrespect towards the bride and her family (Chubinskii
456).

Chubinskii 457.

Chubinskii 459; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 31.

Transliteration: "Oi znati, znati,/ De vzialii khialiavu,/ Obmazali degetem" khatu,/ I stini, i lavi."
Chubinskii 459.

218 Chubinskii 459; Pravdiuk, Vesillia 31.
CHAPTER 6

THE POST-WEDDING PHASE

The post-wedding ceremonies constitute the final phase of the Ukrainian wedding. The ceremonies of the wedding day continue into Monday when perezva (post-wedding party) and, in some regions, a bride's breakfast and a ritual ablution takes place. From Tuesday until the following Sunday the celebration is limited to suppers hosted by various wedding participants.

6.1 The Second Wedding Day

On Monday, the day after vinchannia and vesillia, the celebration of the consummation of the marriage continues. After some final events at the groom's home, perezva begins, during which the wedding participants publically celebrate the consummation; they eventually return to the groom's home to eat, sing, dance, and, in some regions, additional rituals take place to conclude perezva.

Before describing perezva, we should first mention a number of ceremonies that take place in selected areas of Ukraine. In central Ukraine, the druzhkas serve the bride a breakfast of fat, cream, pancakes, candies and...
gingerbread. In turn, the bride distributes among the druzhkas the verch, a wedding bread brought from her parent's home.

In the Transcarpathian and the Boikian regions, the ancient tradition of ritual ablution occurs. The bride, the groom, the wedding guests, and musicians all go to a stream to carry out the ceremony. First the bride is given a container of rye and other grains. She fills the container with water, and spills some of the contents on the groom's hands. The groom washes his hands and wipes them with the bride's clothes. The groom then pours the water mixed with grain on the bride's hands, and she wipes her hands with the groom's clothes. This custom is meant to symbolize many things. First, the use of water suggests purification; the grain suggests fertility; the fact that the bride and groom mirror each other's actions symbolizes their marital unity, as well as the bride's incorporation into the groom's family.

When this ceremony is concluded, the bride conducts a second purification ceremony in the farmyard. First, she sprinkles everyone with the same mixture of grain and water, or pours it into their hands. She also sprinkles the mixture around the farmyard. Her actions are meant to bestow fertility upon the groom's family and also to bless the couple's new home.

It is important to mention that the ceremony of ritual
ablution was gradually replaced by a church ceremony. The Church always opposed the folk ceremony. For example, a statement from Metropolitan Kyrylo's laws in the 13th century reads, "we hear, that in the area of Novhorod the bride is led to water, and we forbid this; if anyone does it, then they are to be cursed." The Church's opposition led to the adaptation of this pre-Christian ritual to a quasi-Christian ceremony.

The events that occur throughout Ukraine on this second wedding day celebrate the successful consummation of the marriage. As mentioned in the last chapter, the color red is prominent during the wedding ceremonies. Red is associated with the defloration of the bride and, thus, virginity and fertility. After all, a red stain on the bride's wedding shirt is evidence of the bride's virginity prior to the wedding night and of the successful consummation of the marriage. To conclude the celebrations at the groom's home, therefore, the bride wears a red skirt and a red ribbon in her headpiece and she hands out red ribbons to the members of the wedding party. The boiars put on red belts, and the entire group drinks red colored brandy. The most important item, however, is the korohva, a red kerchief, skirt, or piece of cloth which is attached either to the front of or on the roof of the groom's house. In fact, during the 17th century, the bride's nightshirt itself, and not merely a representation
of it, served as the korohva.\textsuperscript{13}

Once the korohva has been placed on the groom's house perezva officially begins; the wedding procession then moves into the village to display the korohva publically and thereby provide proof of the bride's virtuousness and praise the girl's parents and relatives for properly rearing the bride.\textsuperscript{14} Eventually the crowd arrives at the bride's home, where, according to tradition, the groom first thanks the bride's mother for properly rearing her daughter and then invites the bride's family to his home. On the average, about 50 members of the bride's family return to the groom's home.\textsuperscript{15}

When the bride's relatives arrive at the groom's home, they are greeted by a "mock bride": a woman,\textsuperscript{16} or the druzhko, who wears rags, a wreath of nettle on his or her head and whose face is smeared with ashes.\textsuperscript{17} When they see the impersonator, they exclaim: "This is not our girl; It is a different one."\textsuperscript{18} In time, the actual bride appears outside the house to kiss her relatives in greeting. This humorous substitution is probably meant to set the mood for the rest of perezva.

After the bride has greeted her relatives, they are treated as honored guests. First, the bride presents them with symbolic mementos of her defloration. The men are given red ribbons to tie over their shoulders, and the women receive ribbons to wear in their headpieces.\textsuperscript{19}
After the bride's family has been invited into the house, a supper is served in their honor. Then perepiii, a gift-giving ceremony, takes place. The couple first approaches each guest to offer a drink. The guest, in turn, gives the couple a gift while drinking a toast to the couple's health. While perepiii is progressing, the wedding chorus sings songs such as,

On clan, rich clan,
As you drink, present horned cattle,
And you, sisters, present heifers,
And you, sisters-in-law, present lambs,
And you, godmothers, present chickens,
And you, guests, give a coin.

As this song states, the couple's future rests heavily on the financial support of their families and guests.

After the end of perepiii, the festive mood of perezva becomes more erotic as the ecstatic participants perform suggestive songs and dances. Unfortunately, little specific information is available about this climactic portion of the ceremony. According to KH. Vovk, the lack of information is due in part to overly modest ethnographers who were unwilling to describe such suggestive material and in part to severe Russian censors, who considered such material to be of little scholarly importance. Some materials, however, can be found in P. Chubinskii's collection of ethnographic material, in M. Maksymovych's compilation of Ukrainian folk songs, and in Vovk's work, where unpublished materials concerning this portion of perezva are used.
These works provide a partial description of *perezva* ceremony's erotic climax. Although there is little to go by, it is clear, especially in the light of the importance attached to the defloration of the bride, that the songs and dances stem from the reoccurring theme of the veneration of the generative principle. We do know that the people drink brandy straight from a bowl and sometimes splash the brandy around with their hands. While they drink, they sing erotic songs, most of which deal with sexual intercourse. One song reads,

```
Give me, girl, some of your poison!
I can not give you any, my beloved kozak;
I must ask my mother,
whether I can give it to a kozak.
Oh, give it, satisfy his request!
Open your arms, spread your legs,
And lift up your skirt.25
```

Other songs have preserved elements of an ancient phallic cult.26 One song describes women placing a phallus into a kneading bowl, calling it *bat'ko* (father) and respectfully placing it on the oven. In another song women suggest that the *druzhko* should have *vulvam osculare* (oral sex) with them. In the song, he accepts their proposal and says that the female genital organ is his mother.27 The song could refer back to the time when female genital organs—not the phallus—were worshipped as the source of life.

_Perezva_ ceremony also includes erotic dances. Information can be found about three of the dances. One dance, called
the zhuravel’ (crane), is made up of erotic movements such as the participants grabbing each other’s genitals. According to Maksymovych, another dance, the khaliandra (the Gypsy dance), is quite similar. A third unnamed dance, is a circle dance performed by women. While holding pestles between their legs, these women use their other hand to cover and again uncover the pestle with a wooden container. These movements suggest sexual intercourse, which is obviously connected with the veneration of the generative principle. This preoccupation with fertility and procreation is understandable given that the consummation of the marriage has just taken place.

6.2 The Final Wedding Days

During the remaining days of the week following the Sunday wedding ceremonies, from Tuesday until the next Sunday, the wedding celebrations continue, but at a subdued pace. On Tuesday an event called tsyhanshchyna (Gypsy raids) or lovchi (masters of the hunt) takes place. A group of men dresses up in costumes, and masquerades throughout the village, stopping at the home of each wedding guest. At each house they might ask for or steal chickens, geese, piglets, flour, fat, money, and other farm goods. The men then auction off the livestock and dry goods, so
that they can buy brandy to continue their celebrations. On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday the starostas, the groom, the druzhko, and the couple's parents all host perezyvkas (small wedding parties). These parties are of little ritual significance. On Saturday and Sunday, however, ceremonial rituals are held. On Saturday the wedding guests gather at the groom's and the bride's parents' homes. If the bride is the last daughter in the family to marry, then a wreath is placed on her mother's head. If the groom is the final son in the family to marry, then a wreath is placed on his father's head. This ceremony is probably meant to praise parents who have reared and married off their offspring. On Sunday the bride hosts the final event of the Ukrainian wedding, velyki pyrohy (large dumplings). After the bride prepares dumplings, she and the groom take them to her parents' home to take part in a supper to mark the end of the wedding ceremonies.

Summary

Unbridled celebration of the consummation of the marriage and therefore, indirectly, celebrations of the generative principle, characterizes the first day of the
post-wedding ceremonies. During perezva, the korohva, a symbol of the bride's defloration and virtue, is paraded through the streets for the whole village to see and to celebrate. Later, after the bride and groom receive gifts from their families, the celebration, which includes erotic songs and dances, reaches a feverish pitch and becomes what we might consider today as disorderly and excessive. But we must remember the people are not celebrating the defloration of the bride as an end in itself; rather they are celebrating the couple's ability to procreate. These erotic songs and dances could even be considered as an attempt to positively influence the couple's fertility.

The remaining days of the post-wedding ceremonies are decidedly tame when compared to Monday's activities. The most important ceremonies are the tsyhanshchyna or lovchi which allows the male wedding participants to continue their celebrations, and the velyki pyrohy, when the bride prepares dumplings and thus embarks on her role as housewife.
Endnotes

1 Zdoroveha 125; Holovats'kyi as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 100.)

2 Zdoroveha 125; M. I. Parlah, "Vesillia v seli Bukovets' na Mukachivshchyni," (1930-1933; Shubravs'ka, Vesillia 2: 246.

3 Rossbach as cited in Sumtsov", Oso 103. For contrasting points of view, see Sumtsov", Oso 103-104.

4 Zdoroveha 125. The ritual ablution also appears in a modified form. The couple and their guests go to a well, where the bride draws some water. She takes the water home, and then she, the groom, and the guests wash in it (Zdoroveha 125).

5 According to Sumtsov", these archaic water ceremonies are common among Slavic and Indo-European peoples (Sumtsov", Oso 100).

6 The religious rite, which is performed in church, is referred to as vyvid (the act of leading forth). The couple and the boiars go to church, taking gifts with them. Upon their arrival at the church, they present the gifts to the priest. Then the priest goes to the entrance of the church to read a prayer. Next, he leads the couple into the church, where he reads a prayer for the act of covering the bride's head. As he prays, he also places a white veil over the bride's head. Once he has done this, he blesses the couple with water to conclude the ceremony (Kalinovskii 85; Vovk 307).


8 In areas where a church is far away, the people perform the religious ceremony near a well (Vovk 308).

9 Shcherbakivs'kyi 342; Pravdiuk Vesillia 29.

10 Malinka 126.

11 Pravdiuk, Vesillia 29; Shcherbakivs'kyi 342.

12 Vovk 304.
De Beauplan 468. In Mediterranean countries the stained nightdress and sheet are hung from the window of the nuptial chamber for all to see (Baker 127).

Zdoroveha 126.

Kolomyichenko 388.

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 30.

Zdoroveha 124.

Transliteration: "To ne nasha divchyna, to iakas' vidminna." Zdoroveha 124.

Zdoroveha 124.

Pravdiuk, Vesillia 30.

Vovk 311. The propii is native to Eastern Ukraine. A similar ceremony is practiced by the Germans (Thonger 56).

IAroshyns'ka 228; Roshkevych 119; Chubinskii, 463-464, 579, 631-632; Malinka 130. Sometimes the couple sit at the table, and the guests approach them (Zdoroveha 124).

Transliteration:

Oi rode, rode bahaty, 
Perepyvai tovarets' rohatyi, 
A vy, sestrytsi, telytsi, 
A vy, zovytsi, iahnytsi, 
A vy, kumochky, kurochky, 
A vy, peretriitsi, po kopiitsi.

Verkhovynets' 267.

Some of the materials gathered by Chubinskii during his monumental expedition throughout Ukraine were excised from his collection of ethnographic materials because they were deemed immoral (Vovk 314).

Transliteration:

Dai meni, divchyno, svoho trutu! 
- la ne mozhu tobi daty, mii liubyi kozhache; 
mushu v materi spyaty, 
chy mozhna kozakovi daty. 
- Oh, davai, prokhannia zadovol'ny! 
Rozkryi ruky, rozhorny nohy 
ta pidiimy spidnytshi.
A. Wereszczynska as cited in Vovk 314-315.

26 Vovk 313.


28 Vovk 314.

29 Chubinskii 460; Zdoroveha 125.

30 Malinka 132.

31 Zdoroveha 128.

32 Chubinskii 465; 580; Malinka 132; Pravdiuk, Vesillia
31.

33 Zdoroveha 128; Vovk 318.

34 Zdoroveha 128; Chubinskii 580.

35 Zdoroveha 128.
CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY

It is hoped that this study of the 19th and early 20th century Ukrainian wedding has resulted in new insights for the understanding and appreciation of this rite of passage. In addition to its practical function, the wedding ceremonies of the 19th and early 20th centuries reveal traces of Ukrainians' past religious beliefs. For example, both the hil'tse (the wedding tree) and the ceremonial wreaths (which the bride and groom wear on the wedding day) are probably vestiges of the ancient worship of the sacred tree, which was once thought to represent the source of life. Furthermore, at various junctures throughout the wedding ceremonies, the wedding participants attempt to propitiate, but more often revere the domovyk, the household tutelary spirit thought to reside in the hearth and near the home's threshold. Finally, the pokrasa, a decoration of the house with sheaves during the preliminary pre-wedding ceremony zaruchyny, is a remnant of ancestor worship. The sheaves were thought to embody the family's ancestors and their presence in the main room of the house symbolizes the ancestors' approval of the marriage.
The wedding ceremonies, then, allow us to catch glimpses of past beliefs and customs, but, more importantly, because these customs have been adapted gradually to suit the culture of each successive generation, the wedding ceremonies also provide insights about the folk culture of the 19th and early 20th century Ukraine. For example, there is a definite differentiation of sex roles during the wedding ceremonies. Whereas the men normally conduct the financial matters and act as protectors of the family, the women, frequently, act as ritual specialists: they possess the special knowledge needed to perform the intricate procedures for the many wedding rites, incantations and adornments. In addition, women execute many of the ceremonial functions in the 19th and early 20th century society. They are the midwives, the diviners, the sole members of the hearth cult, the wailers at funerals, and the practitioners of folk medicine. These are all roles which require special knowledge of the "trade" a particular woman might practice. This knowledge is passed on from one generation to the next. Therefore, even though women are dispersed through marriage, and are no longer members of the clan they were born into, they are still linked by their participation in ritual ceremonies, and ritual becomes the vehicle for bonding women of a clan.

We also learn from wedding customs that some Ukrainians
in the 19th and early 20th centuries believed that spirits, both friendly and hostile could influence their lives. To protect themselves from evil spirits, the wedding participants practiced various precautions such as the inclusion of apotropaic items in the preparation of adornments. To venerate and propitiate the friendly spirits, the participants presented offerings in the hope that the spirit would bring them good luck. Similarly, the superstitions surrounding the belief in spirits influenced everyday life in the 19th and early 20th century Ukraine. For example, after a woman has given birth she is considered to be vulnerable to evil spirits until she has undergone a purifying ritual ablution.

Although the wedding ceremonies have been transmitted through many generations, Ukrainians seem to have continued to stress the same basic themes associated with the wedding. First, ceremonies such as posad emphasize that inherent in the act of marriage is the bride's and the groom's transition from youth to maturity. Once married, the couple is expected to fulfill the responsible task of forming a new family unit.

A second theme that reoccurs in many wedding ceremonies is the traumatic separation of the bride from her family and friends. As we saw, both the bride and her family act as if to oppose the couple's marriage. Although much
of the opposition is purely ceremonial, the fact remains that the bride—not the groom—must abandon her family and then live with her in-laws.

A third theme that permeates the entire wedding—especially on the wedding day and during the post-wedding ceremonies—is the veneration of the generative principle. By somehow employing or alluding to objects that they believe to be associated with reproduction, the wedding participants hope to ensure the couple’s fertility and thus the continuity of life. For example, the dough figures of the korovai are an attempt to influence the couple’s fertility; the hil’tse has its origin in the worship of the sacred tree, thought to represent the source of life; the songs on the night of the wedding attempt to create an erotic atmosphere; and, finally, the dances in perezva celebrate the couple’s successful consummation of the marriage and, by extension, the procreation of life that will likely follow. This repeated emphasis on the generative principle should come as no surprise because one of the principal ends of the marriage ceremonies is to allow a man and woman to unite, procreate and eventually form a family unit.

Finally, as the actions that attempt to influence the fertility of the couple imply, some Ukrainians in the 19th and 20th centuries did not view themselves simply
as passive objects subject to fate. They seem to have thought that by performing magical rites and incantations and also by employing items thought to possess magical qualities, they could influence their future lives. For instance, the korovainytsias perform an incantation after they have begun to bake the korovai; they say, "So that the children will love each other." Likewise, when either the groom's or the bride's mother dons a bear or sheepskin coat, she is thought to possess the ability to control the future; the bride's mother incants, for example, "May my son-in-law be as wealthy,/ As this fur coat is hairy." Such incantations and rituals were thought to be essential to the health and well being of the newly-wedded couple.

By studying the Ukrainian wedding of the 19th and early 20th centuries, we learn about ancient marital customs and religious practices, and contemporary wedding ceremonies. Hence, the Ukrainian wedding of the 19th and early 20th centuries is a complex mosaic that is the result of the continuous modification of and addition to marriage practices and religious beliefs through the ages. But, in addition, the significance of Ukrainian wedding ceremonies teaches us much about the Ukrainian people living during the period in question, their concept of marriage, their relation to the world around them, and their approach to life. This aspect of the wedding was, for the most part, beyond the scope of this thesis. It constitutes a future study
at a later date.
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APPENDIX A

The Presence of Ukrainian Wedding Traits
During the 19th and Early 20th Centuries in
Thirteen Administrative Units Populated by Ukrainians

To compare the presence of ceremonial wedding traits throughout the Ukraine, descriptive studies of the wedding have been collected from books and journal articles concerning the Ukrainian wedding. Unfortunately, descriptive wedding studies were available from only 13 of the 21 administrative units inhabited by Ukrainians and when more than one study was available from a given region, the one offering the fullest account of the wedding was selected. For reference, here is a list of the 13 descriptive studies used:

"Vesil'ni obriady i zvychai u seli Zemliantsi Hlukhivs'koho pov. u Chernyhivshchyni" by Litvinova-Bartoche;
"Malorusskoe vesil'le" by A. Malinka;
"Vesil'ni obychai bukovyns'ko-rus'koho narodu v Naddnistrians'kykh okolytsiakh" by IE. IAroshyns'ka;
"Vesillia v seli Shpychyntsi Skvyrs'koho povitu Kyivs'koi hubernii" by V. Verkhovynets';
"Svad'by i svadebnyia piesni u malorossov" i velikorossov" m. Dmitrovki Aleksandriiskago u. (KHersonskoi gub.)" by Gavriil Sorokin";
"Obriady i pisni vesil'ni liudu rus'koho v seli
To measure the presence of wedding traits in a given administrative unit, it was first necessary to develop charts based on the composite model of the Ukrainian wedding described in the body of the thesis. The composite model of the wedding was then divided into four sections to allow for a more specific analysis of each sequential segment of the wedding corresponding to the chapter subheadings in the text of the thesis. These segments were subdivided further into the traits associated with them. The charts on pages 207-245 demonstrate the presence of individual traits in a given area according to the descriptive
study from that region. Of course, no single wedding description was expected to contain every trait that appears in the comprehensive model.

First we will compare the percentage of traits present in the 13 administrative units, according to five categories. The five categories, with the total number of individual traits in each, are,

1) The Preliminary Pre-wedding Ceremonies 49 traits
2) The Preparatory Phase 76 traits
3) The Wedding Day 176 traits
4) The Post-wedding Ceremonies 25 traits
5) The Wedding as a Whole 326 traits

Then we will group the regions into territorial divisions to examine which regions have secured the greatest number of wedding traits. It should be mentioned that the data recorded in the charts may be studied in a variety ways. For example, it would be useful for a comparative study of the presence of "traditional" Ukrainian wedding traits of the 19th and early 20th centuries in Ukrainian weddings in Canada today. It was beyond the scope of this work, however, to undertake an exhaustive study of the data. The approach used in this appendix, the ranking of the percentage of traits present in the 13 administrative units during the 19th and early 20th centuries, is only one example of the many possibilities. Nevertheless, it is useful because it reflects the variations in the
13 regional locations' performance of Ukrainian wedding ceremonies.

I. Categorical Comparison by Categories of the Presence of Traits in the Individual Administrative Units

A specific proportion of the total number of traits catalogued in the five separate categories were present in each of the 13 regions. For example, in the first category, the administrative unit of Chernihiv had 28 of the 49 total traits associated with that category. Thus $28/49 \times 100 = 57\%$ of the wedding traits were present in the Chernihiv region. The region obtaining the highest percentage will be ranked first; the area with the second highest percentage will be ranked second, and so on.

I. i. The Preliminary Pre-wedding Ceremonies

The following chart ranks the percentage of the traits present in the individual administrative units (49 traits catalogued in this category).

1. Chernihiv 57%
2. Kharkiv 45%
3. Poltava 43%
4. Kherson 41% 9. Minsk 20%
5. Podilia 35%  Galicia 20%
6. Horodno 29%  Volhynia 20%
7. Kholm 27%  10. Kiev 12%
8. Transcarpathia 24%  11. Bukovina 4%

I.ii. The Preparatory Phase

The following chart ranks the percentage of traits present in the individual regions (76 traits catalogued in this category).

1. Podilia 54%
2. Poltava 49%
3. Chernihiv 47%
4. Kharkiv 34%  9. Horodno 17%
5. Bukovina 32%  10. Kholm 12%
6. Kherson 30%  11. Transcarpathia 11%
7. Kiev 26%  12. Galicia 9%
8. Volhynia 22%  13. Minsk 5%

I.iii. The Wedding Day

The following chart ranks the percentage of traits present in the individual regions (76 traits catalogued in this category).
present in the individual administrative units (176 traits catalogued in this category).

1. Chernihiv 58%
2. Poltava 47%
3. Podilia 41%
4. Kiev 38%
5. Kholm 36%
6. Kherson 32%
7. Kharkiv 30%
8. Volhynia 28%
9. Horodno 26%
10. Galicia 25%
11. Minsk 24%
12. Bukovina 18%
13. Transcarpathia 12%

I. iv. The Post-wedding ceremonies

The following chart ranks the percentage of traits present in the individual regions (25 traits catalogued in this category).

1. Chernihiv 80%
2. Poltava 72%
3. Kiev 52%
4. Podilia 44%
5. Kherson 40%
6. Bukovina 32%
Volhynia 44%
7. Kholm 20%
8. Horodno 16%
Minsk 40%
Transcarpathia 16%
Galicia 40%
9. Kharkiv 9%
I. v. The Wedding as a Whole

The following chart ranks the percentage of traits present in the individual administrative units (326 traits catalogued in this category).

1. Chernihiv 57%
2. Poltava 47%
3. Podilia 44%
4. Kherson 33%
5. Kharkiv 32%
6. Kholm 28%
7. Volhynia 27%
8. Horodno 24%
9. Galicia 22%
10. Minsk 21%
11. Bukovina 20%
12. Transcarpathia 14%

II. Comparison of the Presence of Traits From the Wedding as a Whole in the Territorial Divisions

To compare the presence of traits from the wedding as a whole in the territorial divisions, the 13 administrative units were first grouped into five territorial divisions.
The total number of traits present in a given administrative unit is then expressed as a percentage of the 326 wedding traits catalogued in the charts (see Column A). The percentages of the administrative units making up each territorial division were then averaged to arrive at a percentage for that division (see Column B). Finally, the administrative unit obtaining the highest percentage of wedding traits, in each territorial unit, was pointed out (see Column C).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territorial Divisions</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Left-Bank Ukraine:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chernihiv</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poltava</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharkiv</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right-Bank Ukraine:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podilia</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiev</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volhynia</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Ukraine:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kherson</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwestern Ukraine:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kholm</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horodno</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minsk</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Ukraine:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galicia</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukovina</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcarpathia</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A multitude of factors influence the presence and absence of customs in any culture and an exhaustive analysis of the many social, economic and political events that have influenced each individual region's preservation of wedding customs is certainly beyond the scope of this study. We should mention briefly, however, a number of the factors that have affected the percentage of traits present in any given area. First, the descriptive studies of the Ukrainian wedding were collected from diverse sources, they were written from dissimilar scholarly viewpoints, and they varied in length and quality. For example, a scholar's subjective decision not to include material that he considered unimportant, would probably result in a lower percentage of traits for the province in question.

Furthermore, the ethnic composition of any one administrative unit correlates with the region's ability to retain wedding traits. In regions of central Ukraine, for example, Ukrainians constituted the majority of the population and these regions were, therefore, more apt to retain Ukrainian wedding traditions, Chernihiv, for
example, was 87.6% Ukrainian (1933 census) and also attained the highest percentage of all the wedding traits as a whole (see page 198). On the other hand, a Ukrainian area that borders on another ethnic territory is more apt to have been subjected to border shifts, colonization processes and some denationalization. Kholm, for example, consisted of 32% Ukrainians, 26% Polonized Ukrainians, 26% Poles, among other ethnic groups. As a result, Kholm placed sixth among the regions when the retention of traits was compared. The ethnic composition of a particular administrative unit, then, obviously influences an area's ability to retain the many traits of the wedding ceremonies.
Endnotes

1 In this case, Minsk refers to an area of the Minsk administrative unit, which was inhabited by Ukrainians during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

2 Kubijovyc 235. The 19th and early 20th century census was not available to this writer.

3 Kubijovyc 240-241.
List of Charts

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Chart 31 - Arrival at the groom's home
Chart 32 - Wedding night

The Post-Wedding Phase
Chart 33 - Second wedding day
Chart 34 - Final wedding days

Map 1 - Administrative divisions 1815-1914
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>●</td>
<td>Trait present</td>
<td>Ohliadyny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>△</td>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>Proshchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲</td>
<td>Bread and salt</td>
<td>Poizhdzhanyyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲</td>
<td>Kerchief</td>
<td>Chernihiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲w</td>
<td>Kerchief and a weaving device</td>
<td>Horodno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>●</td>
<td>Alcoholic beverage</td>
<td>Kharkiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■</td>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>Kherson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>△</td>
<td>Chicken</td>
<td>Kholm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>△</td>
<td>Axe</td>
<td>Kiev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲</td>
<td>Candle</td>
<td>Minsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❄</td>
<td>Grains</td>
<td>Podilia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Korovai</td>
<td>Poltava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>Korovainytsia</td>
<td>Volhynia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Hil'tse</td>
<td>Bukovina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DV</td>
<td>Divych-vechir</td>
<td>Galicia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Dopyty</td>
<td>Transcarpathia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Svatannia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZA</td>
<td>Zaruchyny</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZM</td>
<td>Zmovyny</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAITS SURVEYED</td>
<td>PROVINCES</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term for the act</td>
<td>D D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional items</td>
<td>△ ·</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional dialogue</td>
<td>· · ·</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange of bread</td>
<td>·</td>
<td>(Sign of agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other methods</td>
<td>(Sign of agreement)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toasting ceremony</td>
<td>·</td>
<td>(Form of refusal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal phrase</td>
<td>(Form of refusal)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic refusal</td>
<td>(Form of refusal)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart 2 - Svatannie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits Surveyed</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard term employed</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation of the starostas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment of the starostas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessing of the groom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late arrival of the groom and starostas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional items</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeting of the starostas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional dialogue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride scratches the hearth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starostas receive ritual towels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom receives a ritual kerchief</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starostas receive ritual kerchiefs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange of bread (Sign of agreement)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other methods (Sign of agreement)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 2 - Svatannia continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic refusal (Form of refusal)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal phrase (Form of refusal)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toasting ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabitation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traits Surveyed</td>
<td>Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard term employed</td>
<td>OH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of inspectors at the groom's</td>
<td>• • •</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspection of the groom's farm</td>
<td>• •</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAITS SURVEYED</td>
<td>PROVINCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard term employed</td>
<td>ZM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom's family arrives at the bride's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families' mutual responsibilities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of the gifts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finalize financial arrangements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other arrangements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment of the guests</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's family goes to the groom's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ZM: Zmovny
### CHART 5 - Zaruchyny

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard term employed</td>
<td>ZA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adornment of the bride's parent's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of the groom and his entourage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional dialogue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation of the towels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution of the bride</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unification of the two families</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engagement of the couple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents bless the couple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of the gifts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traits Surveyed</td>
<td>Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple invites their wedding parties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torochyny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of the groom and his entourage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toasting ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 7 - Making of the korovai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard term for the korovai employed</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term korovainytsia employed</td>
<td>k k k k k k k k k k k k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selection of the korovainytsias</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation of the korovainytsias</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korovainytsias provide ingredients for the wedding bread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival and entertainment of the korovainytsias</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta's blessing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritualistic making and adornment of the korovai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kucheriavyi sweeps out the hearth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kneading 'bowl ceremony'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korovai is hidden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the storage room</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korovainytsias receive gifts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traits Surveyed</td>
<td>Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shyshka</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lezhen'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borona</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traits Surveyed</td>
<td>Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride and druzhkas invite guests to her wedding</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items taken by the bride and druzhkas</td>
<td>△ △ △</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom and boiars invite guests to his wedding</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items taken by the groom and the boiars</td>
<td>△ △</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' blessing</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purification ceremony</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guests are invited in the name of the bride's/groom's parents</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride receives gifts from the invited ones</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invite relatives</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invite community members</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traits Surveyed</td>
<td>Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's/groom's posad</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta blesses the bride/groom</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride/groom enters the main room</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride/groom is led by a kerchief</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride/groom sits on the posad</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple's posad</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurs at the bride's parents' home</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
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<tr>
<td>Groom sits on the posad; his family sits on his right</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride sits on the posad; her family sits on her right</td>
<td>● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAITS SURVEYED</td>
<td>PROVINCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard term employed</td>
<td>H H H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom selects the branch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branch is cut before noon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of the groom and his entourage at the bride's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta's blessing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making of the magical bouquets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adornment of the branch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branch is placed in a ritual loaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAITS SURVEYED</td>
<td>PROVINCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard term employed</td>
<td>DV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druzhka's arrival at the bride's home</td>
<td>● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>● ● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAITS SURVEYED</td>
<td>PROVINCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gathering of the periwinkle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women receive a drink</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta's blessing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attach garlic to the periwinkle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attach coins to the wreaths</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents bless the wreaths</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 13 - Vinkopletny
### Chart 14 - Couple exchanges gifts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits Surveyed</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bride's gift to the groom - a shirt</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers deliver the gift to the groom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom's gift to the bride - boots</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's representatives return home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 15 - Final events of the preparatory phase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Couple exchanges gifts</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act of ransom</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repast</td>
<td>● ● ●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebration</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: ● indicates the presence of the trait in the respective province.
CHART 16 - Preparations at the bride's home prior to the church service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rozpletyny</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinsmen are present</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedding participants are present</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others are present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride is seated on a fur coat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta endows a blessing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother unplaits the bride's hair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinsmen participate in the unplaiting of the bride's hair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedding participants assist in the unplaing of her hair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair is smeared with butter and honey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair is adorned with coins, garlic and bread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair is styled in the fashion worn by maidens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride adorns wedding apparel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride wears the boots from the groom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wreath is placed on the bride's head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 16 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proshchi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent's blessing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAITS SURVEYED</td>
<td>PROVINCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom adorns wedding apparel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wears the shirt, a gift from the bride</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items placed in the groom's shoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents bless the groom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proshchi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother blesses the groom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom and his entourage leave for the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bride's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 17 – Preparations at the groom's home prior to the church service
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of the groom and his party at the bride's home</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents greet the groom and his party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items present</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term used for the forgiveness rite</td>
<td>PR PR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starostas lead the act</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal recitation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowing to the threshold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple are led by a kerchief</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessing of the couple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure for church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 19 - Wedding procession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple goes to church together</td>
<td>• • • • •</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple goes to church separately</td>
<td>• • • • •</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transported by wagon</td>
<td>• • • • •</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transported by horseback</td>
<td>• • • • •</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On foot</td>
<td>• • • • •</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>• • • • •</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 20 - Ecclesiastical service—superstitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bride steps on the groom's foot</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12  13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins are placed under the embroidered ritual cloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superstitious beliefs associated with knots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortune telling by means of candles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the church through the side doors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superstition—marriage of the bridesmaids</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart 21 - Groom's wedding procession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits Surveyed</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation of the participants</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term used for the participants</td>
<td>PO PO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items used by the participants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of the participants at the groom's home</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repast</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insignias worn</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ransom ceremony</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual walk</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' blessing</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's blessing (fur coat)</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procession's late departure to the bride's place</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHART 22 - Arrival of the groom and his party at the bride's home

**TRAITS SURVEYED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barricade—physical structure</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guards</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sham fighting</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiations</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal entrance of the groom and the starostas</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread rite</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toasts</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom's starostas greet the bride's mother</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother receives an offering</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiations cease with payment</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procession enters the yard</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**CHART 23 - Bride's mother's greeting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits Surveyed</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother greets the groom's procession (fur coat)</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother offers the groom a drink</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom disposes of the glass/druzhba breaks the glass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother blesses the groom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother gives the groom's party a drink</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 24 - Unification rite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits Surveyed</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Takes place at the threshold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carried out by representatives of the two families</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items employed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional procedure, followed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song about peace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Takes place at the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>threshold</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carried out by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>representatives of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the two families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional procedure,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>followed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song about peace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHART 25 - Sale of the bride

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom and party enter the bride's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride sits on the pokuttia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride assumes the standard position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother(s) sits by the bride</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items used by the brother(s)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sham fighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother(s) sells the bride</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom sits by the bride</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinks supplied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 26 - Distribution of the gifts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of the groom's gifts to the bride's family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's entire family receives gifts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's mother receives boots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts are recorded on the ceiling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of the bride's family's gifts to the groom's family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom's entire family receives gifts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svakhas demand money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Chart 27 - Distribution of the korovai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits Surveyed</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta imparts a blessing</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druzhko places the korovai on the table</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta delivers another blessing</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korovai is cut</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korovai is distributed</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druzhko checks whether all have a piece of the korovai</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guests give money</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 28 - Incorporation of the bride into the fellowship of married women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's hair is cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headdress is placed on the bride's head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride is unwilling to wear the headpiece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 29 - Prior to the couple's departure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits Surveyed</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Repast</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking and singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courses include roasted game</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiars go to the first druzhkas home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repast at the druzhkas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiars and druzhkas return to the bride's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride bids farewell to the druzhkas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogue sung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride gives the druzhkas a drink</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride shows signs of unwillingness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druzhkas depart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiar sits next to the bride</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kneading bowl is taken outside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druzhko leads the couple outside by means of a kerchief</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procession follows the druzhko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 29 - Prior to the couple's departure continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance around the kneading bowl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Chart 29 shows a survey of traits among provinces. The table lists two traits: dancing around the kneading bowl and singing. The data is marked with dots for provinces 5 and 9.
CHART 30 - Preparation for the couple's departure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Svakhas sing at the wagons</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents bless the couple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents give the couple icons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagons are loaded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride is seated on a wagon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black hen is given to the bride</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom performs the supremacy rite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom's procession pretends to ride off</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's people hinder them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 31 - Arrival at the groom's home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purification ceremony</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother greets the procession wearing a</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fur coat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents greet the procession</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items used during the greeting ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey rite</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother sprinkles grain</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple enters the dwelling</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of household act</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magical rite to expell the mother-in-law</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceremony at the pokuttia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiars bring the bride's belongings into the house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repast</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 32 - Wedding night

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of the storage room</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw used to make the bed</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rye used to make the bed</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Icons placed near the bed</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fur coat placed on the bed</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread and salt are placed near the bed</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta blesses the couple</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple is led into the pantry</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride is undressed and examined</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride is dressed in a white shirt</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride removes the groom's boots</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druzhko deflowers the bride</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An old woman deflowers the bride</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage is consummated</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's shirt is removed</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart 32 - Wedding Night Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits Surveyed</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disrespectful songs are sung about the bride and her family</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's parents are chastised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers damage the bride's parent's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svakhas show the the groom's parents and druzhko the shirt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt is shown to the crowd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedding takes on an orgiastic mood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers go to the bride's parent's home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers take the wedding shirt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's parents receive gifts from the messengers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's parents give the messengers gifts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers return to the groom's place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All night celebration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHART 33 - Second wedding day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red color is used for decoration</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korohva</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's breakfast</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual bathing ceremony</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church ceremony</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term used for mutual visiting</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom's people arrive at the bride's parent's home</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repast</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom's people return to his home</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's people arrive at the groom's home</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mock bride</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride presents her family with mementos of her defloration</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's people enter the dwelling</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roast pheasant is served</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repast</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 33 - Second wedding day continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's mother gives gifts to the groom's family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple offers drinks to the guests</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guests give the couple gifts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribe records the gifts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandy ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erotic songs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 34 - Final wedding days

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAITS SURVEYED</th>
<th>PROVINCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsyhanshchyna</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perezyvka</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velyki pyrohy</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The definitions provided for the terms listed in this glossary are specific to this thesis.

Boiar - a male member of the groom's entourage; the groom's best man.
Borona - a wedding bread that resembles a harrow.
Chervone vesillia - a "red wedding."
Davaty rushnyky - the presentation of embroidered ritual cloths.
Didukh - a sheaf of grain thought to embody the spirit members of the clan, those dead and those unborn.
Divych-vechir - the maidens' evening.
Domovyk - the house tutelary spirit.
Dopyty - the ceremony of inquiries.
Druzhka - a female member of the bride's party; the bride's bridesmaid.
Druzhko - the groom's senior bestman.
Dyven' - a ring shaped loaf.
Hil'tse - the wedding tree.
Hrebin' - a bread that resembles a comb.
Kolach - a ritual bread.
Kolupannia pechi - scratching the hearth; the phrase sydinnia na pechi (sitting on the hearth) is also used.
Komora - the storage room.
Korohva - the wedding banner.
Korovai - the main wedding bread.
Korovainytsia - a woman who makes the wedding breads.
Kucheriavyi - a curly-haired youth.
Lezhen' - an elongated loaf that contains eggs and money.
Mohorych - a toasting ceremony.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obminiaty khlib</td>
<td>to exchange bread.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohliadyny</td>
<td>the inspection of the groom's and his family's assets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perepii</td>
<td>a gift-giving ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perezva</td>
<td>a post-wedding party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perezyvka</td>
<td>a small post-wedding party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pidmina molodoi</td>
<td>the ceremonial substitution of the bride.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pidoshva</td>
<td>the bottom layer of the korovai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pidstarosta</td>
<td>the assistant matchmaker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poizhdzhanyn</td>
<td>a member of the groom's wedding procession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokrasa</td>
<td>a form of adornment where a sheaf of grain is placed in each of the four corners of the main room.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokuttia</td>
<td>the corner of honor under the icons in the home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posad</td>
<td>a transition ceremony; also refers to the actual spot, the corner of honor, where this ceremony occurs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posah</td>
<td>a gift-giving ceremony; also refers to the bride's dowry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proshchi</td>
<td>a forgiveness rite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prybyral'nytsia</td>
<td>the day of arrangements, usually Friday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pustosvat</td>
<td>a person who carries out the dopyty, usually a female relative of the groom's family. The term vyslannyk is also used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rozpletyny</td>
<td>the unplaiting of the bride's hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shyshka</td>
<td>a bun shaped like a pine cone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starosta</td>
<td>the matchmaker; the individual who conducts most of the wedding ceremonies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svakha</td>
<td>a middle-aged woman who participates in various wedding rituals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svaty</td>
<td>in-laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svatannia</td>
<td>the matchmaking ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torochyny</td>
<td>- the ornamentation of the embroidered ritual cloths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsyhanshchyna</td>
<td>- Gypsy raids; another term also used for this event is lovchi (masters of the hunt).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velyki perohy</td>
<td>- an event where the bride serves her parents dumplings that she made herself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verch</td>
<td>- a wedding bread served by the bride to her druzhkas on Monday morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesillia</td>
<td>- the wedding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesil'nyi den'</td>
<td>- the wedding day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinchannia</td>
<td>- the ecclesiastical service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinkopletyny</td>
<td>- the making of wreaths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyty hil'tse</td>
<td>- to decorate the wedding tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zapoiny</td>
<td>- the feast after the matchmaking ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaprosyny</td>
<td>- the invitation of the wedding guests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaruchyny</td>
<td>- the engagement ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zmovyny</td>
<td>- an event at which various details concerning the wedding are finalized.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>