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THE VOLHYNIAN TRADITIONS OF THE DAILY BREAD BAKING PROCESS (on the Materials from Hoshcha and Ostroh Districts of Rivne Region)

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In the article, based on the field ethnography data's gathered by the author on the territory of Hoshcha (Bashyne, Kolesnyky, Vilhir, Uhlitsi) and Ostroh (Bukhariv, Zavoziv) districts of Rivne region, folk traditions of daily bread baking at the territory of northern part of the hisroric-ethnographic Volhynia are under examination. The author concentrates on the preparing stage of the bread baking process, exactly on the methods and ways of the flour grinding and storing, dough leavening, choosing of firewood etc. Traditional bread backing is in the indissoluble connection with memorial rituality of Ukrainians and basis on the folk conceptions about the other world. First of all it was connected with folk conceptions about baking stove as an entrance to the other world and a place of habitation for the souls of dead ancestors. In the other hand, bread baking was treated as an action of a very high semantic degree. So, for its positive conclusion, it was acceptable to win the souls of ancestors round.

Key words: bread, dough, stove, traditions, Volhynia, leaven, Hoshcha and Ostroh districts of Rivne region.

Volhynia is a region of ancient agricultural traditions, one of the probable motherland for Slavic. But, the folk culture of this land's people wasn't an object of a scientifically investigation until nowadays. Besides this, Hoshcha district is a little motherland of outstanding scientists, historians, ethnologists, one of the founders of the Lviv's school of ethnology, the first director of the Chair of Ethnology in the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv – Stepan Makarchuk.

So, the article is based on the field ethnography data's gathered by the author on the territory of Hoshcha (Bashyne, Kolesnyky, Vilhir, Uhlitsi) and Ostroh (Bukhariv, Zavoziv) districts of Rivne region¹ – a northern part of the hisroric-ethnographic Volhynia². The main attention was paid to the stage of bread baking process, which forwarded its exact baking (it means – thermal treatment).

Local inhabitants baked their daily bread mostly from the rye or wheat flour, or it mixture. But in the folk nutrition of Hoshcha district at the first third part – first half of

¹ Польові етнографічні матеріали до теми “Хліб в традиційній культурі українців”, зафіксовані Зюбровським Андрієм Вікторовичем у Гошанському та Острозькому районах Рівненської області, 4–10 липня 2009 р., Архів Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка (далі – Архів ЛНУ імені Івана Франка), ф. Р-119, оп. 17, спр. 307-Е.

² Степан Макарчук, *Історико-етнографічні райони України* (Львів: ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, 2012), 64.

XX century exactly the rye bread consumption had taken the advantage. Certain factors caused such state of affairs.

For the first, the rye bread, due to the traditional taste stereotypes of the local population, considered as the most delicious. Besides this, local peasants believed that daily bread made from rye flour stayed fresh and did not stale much longer as made from any other corns. Some of volhynian mistresses ascertains that the rye bread keeps it's freshness even for a period of two weeks.

As chance offers, I'd like to notice, that such belief has a realistic base. The stalling of bread caused by the process of starch retrogradation – it's over drying and transition from the amorphous and gel structure into the crystalline phase. But, according to the scientist's researches, especially made by Vira Drobot, rye bread contains considerable quantity of complicate pentose* sugars, which highly slows down the stalling process³.

For the second, during the Intermilitary period at peasant private households acreage crops of rye were much more extant than other corns. The thing of this phenomenon, according to respondents notifications, was on the high productivity of rye and it's low capriciousness to the weather conditions.

Such beliefs about rye bread positive taste qualities and it's stale resistance ability also spread on the other parts of Volhynia, for example, at the territory of so-called Galician Volhynia⁴.

The acreage under crops of wheat has been expanded only in the period after the World War II, especially on the collective farms fields. It caused that the part of wheat bread grew into daily local nutrition during the second half of XX century. However, local peasants sowed wheat also at earlier times. The wheat flour was the main ingredient for (mainly, made from) the sour dough small pastry with stuffing ("pyrizhky") and different ritual breads (for example, such as the wedding bread called "korovai" or Easter bread – "paska").

Often in the bread baking used a mixture of several corns' flour, mostly rye and wheat, more rarely – rye and barley. Local peasants almost never baked the pastry made from the pure barley flour. Barley flour contains much fibre and less gluten. So, the bread, made of it, was crumbly, hard, with cracked crust and had a bad taste, caused by presence in barley flour a great quantity of sharp pellicles ("osti", "ostiuky"). The bread baked from the pure barley flour – "yachnyk" – at the investigated territory was a symbol, a synonym of starving and hard times⁵.

* Pentose – a component of hemicelluloses, an intermediate between cellulose and starch, part of the corn.

³ Віра Дробот, *Технологія хлібопекарського виробництва* (Київ: Логос, 2002), 225.

⁴ Андрій Зюбровський, "Народні хлібопекарські традиції населення Брідщини в кін. XIX – XX столітті: підготовчий етап випікання хліба (за матеріалами експедиції у Бродівський та Радехівський райони липня 2011 р.)," *Брідщина – край на межі Галичини й Волині* 7 (2014): 143.

⁵ Андрій Зюбровський, "Традиційна основа випікання хліба на Рівненщині (за матеріалами польових досліджень Гощанського та Острозького р-нів Рівненської обл. у липні 2009 р.)," *Народознавчі зошити* 5–6 (2010): 780.

But, as a chance offers, I'd like to notice that barley scones, as a main daily bread, was widely spread on the territory of Ukrainian Carpathians⁶, where rye and wheat gave a bad crops in consequence of hard mountain climate. At the long periods of wars, bad times, starvation, poor harvest as admixtures to the bread flour used even a non-corn substances were used – grinded acorns, dried goose-foot. In similar way peasants in other Ukrainian lands did. From the uncorn admixtures to flour can be listed such as potatoes, beetroot, fern, pumpkin, grinded oak and pine bark, etc⁷.

Peasants of Hoshcha district could be able to grind corns in a various ways. The most prevalent, and the most primitive at the same time, device was the millstone. It's construction hadn't any peculiarities comparatively to analogues through the whole Ukrainian ethnic lands or other Slavic countries. But, to tell the truth, millstones at the territory of investigation at the period before World War II have already got disused (but still stored by peasants). It caused by wide spreading of water, wind, steam, and, later, electrical mills. However, during the World War II a prevalent part of water (both wind and electrical) mills was closed or ruined. That's why the volhynian householders began an intensive re-usage of mill stones.

Taking into consideration extreme conditions of war times, at the investigated territory sometimes occurred unusual schemes of the millstone construction. For example, respondents describe such a millstone, where instead of the buhrstone used a round timber or parts of a broken cast-iron pot is used.

The main distinction of milling craft at Hoshchanshchyna was a considerable quantity of wind mills and mills with the horse gear. The last one's from named was sufficiently rare grinding devices, especially at the territory of Volhynia and, practically, for the most of the territory of the South-Western Historic-Ethnographic Macro-region of Ukraine.

For the daily bread baking local peasants used the flour of a poorest quality, so called "razove boroshno". It contained a considerable quantity of particles with a great deal of melanin. That's why the bread, made of it, became with a very dark crust and crumb (even those made from the wheat flour). "Razivka" was the only sort of flour could be made by the mill stone (also as in the mills with the horse gear).

On the water, wind and steam or electrical mills corns could be grinded in more precocious way, so it gave more whiter and pure flour. The locals called it "pytliovane" or "gerkhovane boroshno". But such conditions of grinding caused a greater fallout of by-products – chuff (local denomination – "grys"; it used to feed cattle and pigs). So, at the period before the World War I, and, somewhere, even until the 50-s of XX century, poor Volhynian peasants has been making a very limited capacity of the first sort flour and used this high-quality flour only for making ritual or holiday's pastry, or other non-daily dishes from dough.

⁶ Таїса Гонтар, *Народне харчування українців Карпат* (Київ: Наукова думка, 1979), 49.

⁷ Гаврило Гордієнко, *Хліб наш насущний. Монографія про хліб* (Філадельфія: Накладом автора, 1979), 75; Андрій Зюбровський, "Народні традиції випікання хліба українців Південно-Західного історико-етнографічного регіону наприкінці XIX – на початку XXI ст." (Дис. канд. іст. наук, Інститут народознавства НАН України, 2015), 79–80.

At home local peasants stored flour separately, divided by the criterion of its sort and purpose into the burlap bags, wattle straw (“solomianyky”) and wooden hollowed (“kadub”, “kadubets”) baskets or chests. Such flour storage devices used completely as at the whole territory of Volhynia, so in other Ukrainian ethnic lands⁸.

The material of these jars (wood, straw, burlap) preserved the flour from the influence of the excessive level of humidity and, as a result, saved it from fouling and kept fresh for much longer. The wooden devices had both some extra function: they secured flour from the pests (rodents, especially).

The flour was the main ingredient for bread and many other dishes, which were the basis of the local peasant folk nutrition. So, reasoning from it, local peasants treated the flour with great honor. Even its storage escorted with some rituals and rites. Thus, for example, in some villages of Hoshcha (Vilhir) and Ostroh (Bukhariv) districts until the end of XX century such kind of tradition was kept: into the jar or bag with flour dedicated for daily bread baking mistresses put some small dough bakery in a shape of crosses, sometimes consecrated at church on Easter.

This pastry has been usually baked at the period in the middle of the Lent, on Wednesday of its fourth week (so-called “Seredopostia”, “Seredokhresna Sereda”). According to ethno linguistic scientist Tatiana Agapkina, such a riot was one of the most spread and uniform traditions for the whole Eastern Slavic area. Also she considers that the riot of making pastry crosses on the fourth week of the Lent gave a term for the whole that period – “Seredokhrestia”⁹.

The cross shaped pastry, according to local respondents should translate (and increase) to the flour a conceptual category, so-called “spir”. The “spir” is a universal for the whole East Slavic nations concept, that is in my opinion, both a prosperity in general, so a profit. The “spir” wasn’t something appointed: it could be successfully baked bread, growing yield of milk, good crop, cattle offspring, cattle in general or cow as itself, food etc. In the bread baking process the “spir” displays as specific dough “growing” ability: when the dough while fermenting increase its volume, considerably exceeding capacity of flour, used for its leavening¹⁰. Mistresses renovated the mentioned cross-shaped pastry for every year: the old one’s was fed to chicken – it was considered, they better subsisted and less died.

As usual, the ordinary volhynian family backed bread once a week; in big families – twice; rarely, when the number of family members was more than seven or eight people – every two days or even every day. The prevailing majority of local mistresses considered Saturday as the best day for bread baking. The reason of such a choice

⁸ Гаврило Гордієнко, *Хліб наш насущний. Монографія про хліб* (Філядельфія: Накладом автора, 1979), 75; Андрій Зюбровський, “Народні традиції випікання хліба українців Південно-Західного історико-етнографічного регіону наприкінці XIX – на початку XXI ст.” (Дис. канд. іст. наук, Інститут народознавства НАН України, 2015), 81–82.

⁹ Татьяна Агапкина, “Средопостие,” в *Славянские древности: этнолингвистический словарь в 5 т.*, ред. Никита Толстой (Москва: Международные отношения, 2012), т. 5, 152.

¹⁰ Андрій Зюбровський, “Народні традиції випікання хліба”, 110.

was that in such a way of affairs the family was secured with the fresh bread for the Sunday meal, which has been percept as like a “holiday’s meal”. On the investigated lands, as like as on the whole Ukrainian ethnic lands, were forbidden to bake at holidays and Sundays¹¹. By these days was prohibited any kind of work, except enforced was prohibited.

Among weekdays, there was the strictest taboo that interdicted bread baking at any Friday (rarely – at twelve holiday Fridays). From motivations prevailed those had a religious – Christian – stem. Thus, for example, peasants believed that bread couldn’t be baked on Friday, because that day Jesus Christ was murdered, tortured or buried; or because Friday – fast day, etc. The same or similar beliefs were spread on the other Ukrainian lands¹².

The bread baking was an event of a great importance for the traditional volhynian household. That’s why this action has been charge to the most skill (often – the oldest) mistress. She has been making her role until she was physically able to done it. Then she was changed by the younger and healthier woman. For example, it can be built such kind of imagine chain, which illustrates the order of heredity for baking duties: grandmother’!mother’!daughter; mother-in-law’!daughter-in-law.

Girls have been taught some aspects of bread baking process from the childhood (6 or 7 years old). It was a great shame from relatives to a girl (and, especially, her mother) when she got married and was disabled to bake bread. And even more, a women, who can’t bake good bread got negative marks from the whole village society opinion.

From this point of view such a ritual can be significant. When bride came to the house of her bridegroom she has had an examination organized by her mother-in-law and other future relatives. So, they enforced young mistress to bake bread almost at once after coming. Good backed bread demonstrated for all not only the level of her cooking abilities, but was a kind of a marker which prognoses her future status at married women’s commune.

Local mistresses leavened bread, as usual, in the evening, the day before baking. The industrial made yeast weren’t in use until the middle of 60-th – the early 70-th of XX century. Instead of them for bread leavening and improving of dough fermentation has been used some parts of dough left from the previous baking, so-called “kvaslyna” or “pit(d)chynka”. This substance contained a high quantity of reproduced natural (“wild”) yeast funguses, which got there from corns and water and made the dough leaven. A small spherical clot, not bigger than a half of bread loaf, of this overleavened dough kept at the dough trough between baking. The “kvaslyna” during it storing was salted or covered with the flour or water in order to preserve it from over drying or contrariwise becoming mould.

¹¹ Андрій Зюбровський, “Визначення часових параметрів традиційного хлібопечення українців у кінці XIX – в першій половині XX ст.,” *Народознавчі зошити* 1 (2015): 107.

¹² Там само, 108–109.

Sometimes mistresses added to the bread leaven broth of hops with a purpose to increase the fermentation process. However, somewhere beware of hops additions – it could change bread's taste making it bitter. Also to the bread leaven added a few grated potatoes. It increased contents of starch in the dough, so the bread was less crumble.

When the mistress hadn't any leaven catalyzing substances, she made a sponge ("opara") – water and flour mixture. This solution fermented by self-will for two or three days. Later some quantity of flour has been added into opara, leavening dough on such a way.

The dough trough with the brew established on a pillow – thus the dough ferment much faster. By doing these mistresses secured trough from chilling – it could considerably slow down the fermentation process. The bread sponge fermented, as usual, for the night: from six to twelve hours (it depends on the indoor temperature and the stuff quality. From 1/3 to 2/3 of dough capacity dedicated for bread baking was admixed into the dough solution in the morning. Then the mistresses began to knead the dough.

The main criterion for kneading duration was the dough consistence. In other words, the dough should be kneading until it can be possible to made from it spherical loafs, which could its form until and during the baking.

As chance offers, I'd like to notice there were some other criterions of the dough kneading length. For example, it was considered that dough should be mixing until it won't stick to mistress's hands and wallsides of the trough dough; or until in the dough appeared some bubbles, caused by the start of bread refermentation¹³. But, need to say, any other features of dough kneading length weren't in use of local peasant's bread baking.

Local mistresses, while kneading, added to the dough various flavoring and aromatic stuff. One of the most widespread was table salt. Local peasant considered unsalted bread as untasty. Even more, local mistresses gave a little bit of salt even into the sweet bakery dough.

As bread flavoring stuff mistresses used caraway seeds (*Carum carvil L.*). But this ingredient wasn't obligatory, because it often happened that some members of family could dislike its odor.

The mistress intensely heated the bake stove, before she had shaped bread loafs from the dough. As a better fuel for the stove while baking, local peasants considered firewood from hard and smokeless breeds of the trees, such as oak, hornbeam, brinch. But, it was considered, that the best of them was hornbeam firewood: while burning out it produced a considerable quantity of embers – so the hearthstone became hot enough.

¹³ Андрій Зюбровський, "Народні традиції вчинення та змішування тіста для повсякденного хлібопечення українців Південно-Західного історико-етнографічного регіону в кін. ХІХ – на поч. ХХІ ст.: особливості технології та обрядово-звичаєвого супроводу," *Сборник научных трудов SWorld 2*, т. 34 (2013): 96–97.

Somewhere on investigated lands any firewood from oak trees could be used. It was considered that it hard to kindle and dies out before making enough embers. Local mistresses didn't use firewood from foliage and needles trees, especially soft timber, for daily bread baking. For example, pine, while it burning, did not only heat the hearthstone equally, but also produced much volume of soot and smoke. The soot accumulated on the inner space of the stove and later it could drop on baking bread or into cooking dish.

But, mistresses were forced to use in baking every available fuel, reasoning from firewood deficit, which starts at the late XIX – the early XX century. Some respondents informed that sometimes, at hard times after World War II, even straw was used as a fuel for bread baking stove. It was very unlikely for usual house holding of investigated areas.

And, as chance offers, I'd like to notice, that usage of low-quality firewood not only prolonged the baking process but made it uncontrolled and unprognosticable¹⁴. It was the main reason why local peasants chose firewood for bread baking in such a captiousness way.

While the stove was heating, the mistress shaped the bread loafs. It could be done in a few ways.

First of them expected raw bread loafs stud out for some time before they have been set into the stove. In this method, for bread forming, often were used some casts. So, this way of bread preparing rather belongs for recent times: the bread baking casts came into general usage after the first third of XX century. The second way of bread sharpening is more ancient, because it didn't expect usage any metal or wooden casts for dough. According to this method, dough bread loafs were set on the stove just after forming.

The bread loafs could be shaped also in two ways. Some mistresses formed loaf just by shaking and belching dough from one hand to another. The others, done it by rolling the dough on the specially made wooden plate, set on the table. It was called the "stilnytsia".

The mistress checked, how hot the stove was, before the bread has been set. For this purpose she used a few ways and methods, such as:

1. The less precise was a method that based on the stove temperature defining due to the quantity of firewood or time of its burning;

2. To the hearthstone strewed a handful of flour, bran or flour and salt mixture. When the substances were glowing – the bread could be set; when burning – the stove was overheated;

3. The most experienced mistresses visually defined the stove readiness for baking. When the stove arch was heat until red or white lightening the bread could be set. But

¹⁴ Андрій Зюбровський, "Випікання повсякденного хліба українців Південно-Західного історико-етнографічного регіону в кінці XIX – на початку XXI століть," *Народознавчі зошити. Серія історична* 2 (2014): 254.

some women considered that when the stove working surface heat until the white lightening, bread could burn out while baking.

These folk beliefs had a realistic base. They were called to help mistresses to establish the temperature in the stove at the level up to 250°-350 °C. This is even less than in modern industrial baking stoves, – about 250°C¹⁵. So, the temperature at the traditional baking stove was more than enough to bake bread to be done.

The adducted data give me an opportunity to make some conclusions.

The folk daily bread baking traditions on the territory of the Hoshcha and Ostroh districts of Rivne region had much more in common and less in different with its analogues on the other Ukrainian ethnic lands. Such a homogenous of this part of Ukrainians folk culture witnesses about its ancient origin, which starts, probably, at the middle of the first millennium A.D.

The concentration and high quantity of different omens, taboos, rites and beliefs exactly on the preparing stage demonstrates the peculiarly importance of this stage of bread baking process.

The Volhynia is an ancient grain growing region, one of the probably motherland of Slavic. That's why bread was the main, even sacral, meal for peasants. Even more, it was as a symbol of prosperity, good health, as a life itself. So, that was the reason of appearance for such a great quantity of different beliefs and traditions. The main purpose of those were to ensure the successful baking of bread, as in a realistic point of view so in a spiritual conception.

ВОЛИНСЬКІ ТРАДИЦІЇ ПОВСЯКДЕННОГО ХЛІБОПЕЧЕННЯ (на матеріалах з Гощанського та Острозького районів Рівненської обл.)

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Печений хліб для волинян, так само як і для всіх українців, був однією з найбільших матеріальних цінностей. Він становив основу селянського харчування. Проте повсякденний хліб українці сприймали не просто як харчовий продукт – він був своєрідною квінтесенцією їжі, символом добробуту, заможності, працьовитості, окреслював соціальний статус і авторитет сім'ї у сільській громаді. Хліб був центром буття хлібороба, відправною точкою формування його світогляду. Задля вдалого виготовлення продукту такої великої матеріальної та духовної ваги, як хліб, селянин послуговувався усіма доступними способами: як раціональними (створеними внаслідок багатовікових емпіричних знань народу), так і тими, що мають ірраціональний характер.

¹⁵ Віра Дробот, *Технологія хлібопекарського виробництва*, 215.

У статті, на основі польових етнографічних матеріалів, зібраних автором у селах Гошанського (сс. Башине, Колесники, Вільгір, Угільці) та Острозького (сс. Бухарів, Завозів) районів Рівненської обл., розглянуто традиції випікання хліба щоденного вжитку на теренах північної частини історико-етнографічної Волині. Увагу зосереджено на підготовчому етапі випікання хліба, а саме – на способах виготовлення та зберігання борошна, вчиненні тіста, виборі дров тощо.

Народні традиції, пов'язані з технологічними аспектами випікання хліба повсякденного вжитку волинян, в їхніх загальних рисах виявляють сіпльність із аналогами на всій рівнинній частині Південно-Західного історико-етнографічного регіону України, а також на інших українських етнічних землях, ширшому слов'янському ареалі – із хлібопеченням східних та західних слов'ян (головно з поляками, білорусами та росіянами, у народному харчуванні яких провідну роль теж відігравав вчинений хліб). Наявність однорідних явищ у технології та термінології повсякденного хлібопечення на широкому слов'янському масиві свідчить про їхнє давнє походження, початки якого сягають I тис. н. е.

Технологічно виготовлення вчиненого хліба було складним і тривалим. Ферментація та сходження тіста – біохімічний процес, реальні причини якого були селянам невідомі. Результати заквашування тіста в умовах традиційного господарства часто були непередбачуваними, що утруднювало вдале виготовлення такого виду печива. Внаслідок цього, населення Волині при випіканні вчиненого хліба застосовувало значну кількість різноманітних прийомів і приписів як раціонального, так й ірраціонально-магічного змісту, покликаних забезпечити вдале випікання печива.

Народне хлібопечення перебуває в тісному та нерозривному зв'язку з поминальною обрядовістю українців, а також ґрунтується на народних уявленнях про потойбічний світ. Це пов'язано, по-перше, з тим, що піч, де виготовляли печиво, українці вважали як місцем перебування душ покійних предків, так і входом у потойбіччя. По-друге, випікання хліба трактували як акцію настільки високої семіотичної ваги, що для її вдалого перебігу необхідним вважали залучення допомоги потойбічних сил (душ покійних предків). Тому будь-які невдачі під час випікання хліба розцінювали як неодмінний провісник негараздів, відмову потойбічних сил у допомозі.

Ключові слова: хліб, тісто, закваска, піч, традиції, Волинь, Гошанський та Острозький райони Рівненської обл.

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