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THE RITUALITY OF POST-WEDDING STAGE ON THE TERRITORY OF HOSHCHA DISTRICT, RIVNE REGION

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Wedding rituality is one of the main areas of family rituality. It's impossible to imagine the existence of traditional societies without it, as well as the modern socium. Ethnologists usually divide wedding rituality into pre-wedding, wedding-itself, and post-wedding stages; each of them is constructed of some ritual elements. They have their own peculiarities among the different peoples and ethnographic groups. In the article, based on the field ethnography data's gathered by the author on the territory of Hoshcha district of Rivne region (Bashyne, Dorohbuzh, Kolesnyky, Vilhir, Uhiltsi, Zarichne, Illin, Kurozvany), is described all-Ukrainian, all-Volhynian features and local peculiarities of post-wedding stage of population of mentioned areas of historic-ethnographic Volyn. The main elements of these customs and rites are described, and made a try of revelation of its semantic.

Key words: rituality of post-wedding stage, Hoshcha district of Rivne region, Volhynia, "obzhynky", "potrusyny", "rozpytky", symbols, rite.

The complex of rituals, characterized with carnival and demonstrative features, which have been occurring during the week, and were connected with initiation of bride to the family of bridegroom, is clearly traced in the structure of traditional Ukrainian wedding. This ritual part is named by researchers as the post-wedding stage. As it known, wedding ritual is a multicomponent system, which constituent parts are not only transforming with the passage of time, but also can move from one ritual stage to another. Besides that, as the Russian scientist Alexandr Gura notices, among the all wedding acts, rites and ceremonies we should single out obligatory (constant) and facultative elements (those, which take place only in some descriptions of wedding ceremony)¹. Such approach is important due to the detection of non-variant scheme of the wedding ritual on concrete territory.

Post-wedding stage, as the single structural unit of the Ukrainian wedding ritual, was firstly selected in the synthesis work by Valentyna Borysenko, where the author considers it as "a number of rites, performed during the week and connected with glorification of parents on the occasion of sons marriage (especially the youngest in a family), accession of daughter-in-law to husbands family"², which ended with the

¹ Александр Гура, "Опыт выявления структуры севернорусского свадебного обряда (по материалам Вологодской губ.)," в *Русский народный свадебный обряд: исследования и материалы*, ред. Кирилл Чистов и Татьяна Бернштам (Ленинград: Наука, 1978), 75.

² Валентина Борисенко, *Весільні звичаї та обряди на Україні* (Київ: Наукова думка, 1988), 84.

ritual fastening of two families becoming related. Thereby, V. Borysenko, having proposed her own definition of the post-wedding stage and systematization of its components, departed from trend, that dominated earlier in sources and historiography, and was based on the mechanical list of habits and rites of this phase. Original version of typology of the post-wedding stage on the territory of Central Polissya was offered by the researcher Iryna Nesen. As far as she considers, the character of acts in this part of the ritual is being transformed from ceremonial to playing³. The researcher selects two main types of playing plots, appropriate for this territory – agrarian and simulative, first of which is a replication of harvesting rites scheme and bases on the simulation of the main agricultural acts, and the second one represents a playful wedding of bride's parents.

Every wedding stage, as the sequence of rites, connected by the common ritual significance, has its starting and final point. In particular, the pre-wedding stage in Volyn traditionally started with the designation phase and concluded with the engagement; the wedding stage opened with the group of pre-marriage acts and reached its climax during the rite of “komora”. To my mind, concerning the post-wedding stage, it started with *checking of brides “honesty”*, which was determined by the semantic unity of this rite with the further acts of ritual part. As it was mentioned above, the main significance of the post-wedding rites consists in accession of daughter-in-law to husband's family, but beside that one can mention other meanings, which logically flow out from the previous: transition of bride to the matron's category and the entry of new family to the rural community. A similar thought was expressed by Bilyana Mandarich, while analyzing Belorussian and Macedonian wedding rituality in the context of communicative triad structure of Arnold van Gennepe⁴. In particular, she puts the post-wedding rituals to the third part of communicative structure – aggregation, which stated a new status and position of brides in the community⁵. Soviet scientist Kirill Chistov indicated that the final stage of Ukrainian-Belorussian-South Russian subtype of wedding started with “delegation” for the family of a bride and the announcement about the fact of marriage realization, namely from “*perezva*”⁶. However, to my mind, *perezva* is genetically connected with the “honesty” checking, because its result determined the context of relations between the families of bride and bridegroom in the post-wedding phase of ritual. Besides that, a factor of brides “honesty” or “dishonesty” definitely affected on the attitude to the new family from

³ Ірина Несен, *Весільний ритуал Центрального Полісся: традиційна структура та реліктові форми (середина ХІХ – ХХ ст.)* (Київ: АртЕк, 2005), 48.

⁴ Биляна Мандарич, “Анализ белорусской и македонской свадебной обрядности в рамках коммуникационной триадической структуры Ван Геннепа,” *Етнічна історія народів Європи* 10 (2001): 45.

⁵ Там же, 47.

⁶ Кирилл Чистов, “Типологические проблемы изучения восточнославянского свадебного обряда,” в *Проблемы типологии в этнографии*, ред. Юлиан Бромлей (Москва: Наука, 1979), 227.

the side of rural community, at least in the period of existence of “komora” rite, namely to the beginning of the 20th century⁷. Post-wedding rites ended with the traditional visit of bride parents by the newlyweds.

Carnival and shameless character of the post-wedding acts and rites on the investigated territory – Hoshcha district of Rivne region – is brightly represented by the mummers and playful “wedding of parents”. Information about the last one is fully unavailable in the sources of the second half of the XIX – beginning of the 20th century, but according to my field ethnographic material this rite is present on the territory of Volhynia till now. “Wedding of parents” is usually held only in case of a marriage of a last child, therefore a side of bridegroom, as well as the side of a bride can be honored. On a predominant part of the investigated lands this rite simulates harvesting, that is emphasized by its specific name – “obzhynky”, which one can meet not only in Volhynia, but according to I. Nesen evidences, also in the south parts of Central Polissya⁸. The rite has different forms of revelation (lifting of the “heroes of festivities” on a bench, driving the wheelbarrow to the basin), but the general peculiarity is laying wreaths, made of rye ears and flowers, on the parents: *“That is called – to make the “obzhynky”. In time of a wedding. People take a beautiful chair, cover it with a nice veil, put the parents together, weave the pretty wreaths for the parents. As many children, – all the children buy presents for parents, those, who are married, and those, who are marrying. They come to the parents, kneel to their parents, and if a girl in the couple is their daughter, in that case a son-in-law thanks them for good education of his wife. And vice versa – daughter-in-law thanks. And so they kiss these parents, and then wedding guests raise up the parents, and congratulate them”* (Buhryn)⁹; *“When the last child has wedding, the old women weave the wreaths. Put the parents on a bench and congratulate them: “Congratulations for your children, but today you also have a holiday, – your last child is having marriage”. After congratulations, the wreaths were laid on the parents. The brides come closer and give thanks to parents, worship, kiss with the parents and give them presents. Then the brides go away, and some groggy men raise the parents”* (Vilhir)¹⁰.

After the celebration these wreaths were put on a chimney, and then everyone, who wanted to get the alcohol prize, should remove the wreaths out of there: *“If there was a wedding of a last child, on this occasion one could weave a wreath and put it on a chimney. Alcohol was also put there. So, some guests climbed the*

⁷ Оксана Кісь, *Жінка в традиційній українській культурі (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)* (Львів: Інститут народознавства НАН України, 2008), 117.

⁸ Несен, *Весільний ритуал Центрального Полісся*, 51.

⁹ Польові етнографічні матеріали до теми “Весільна обрядовість”, зафіксовані Немецом Віктором Ришардовичем у Гошанському та Острозькому районах Рівненської області, 3–16 липня 2009 р., Архів Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка (далі – Архів ЛНУ імені Івана Франка), ф. Р-119, оп. 17, спр. 300-Е, арк. 18.

¹⁰ Там само, арк. 115.

chimney” (Bashyne)¹¹; “*Sometimes there were such specialists, who could climb the roof, without any ladder. And then they put a wreath on a chimney, and the parents were landed on a bench and raised with congratulations*” (Vilhir)¹²; “*So, in a time of the last wedding there were “obzhynky”, as people say. There is such a tradition to weave a wreath. It was then put on a chimney, usually with a bottle of alcohol. And those guests, who felt themselves strongly clever, could climb and take this wreath*” (Kolesnyky)¹³. To my mind, throwing the wreaths on a chimney, as a place, that is beyond the pale of a mastered space, can be considered as a symbolic expression of reproductive function loss by the parents, and this function needed the symbolic restoration in the way of acting the rite of a “wedding”.

The first post-wedding Monday on the territory of Hoshcha district was usually dedicated to “potrusyny” – a rite, which consisted in scattering straw in the yard, or threshing it by guests, with the further dances: “*“Potrusyny” – as people said. You know, at that moment the guests were slightly groggy. And they took the straw and jiggled it on the yard, those men and women, who came on the “potrusyny”. We had a stack of a straw, and it was raining at that day. And this guests mashed and jiggled the straw, so we couldn’t even gather it*” (Kurozvany)¹⁴; “*I saw the guests, dancing on a straw. That was something like a joke. [And then this straw] carried out by forks to the barn*” (Uhiltsi)¹⁵; “*A straw was taken and threshed like using machine*” (Kolesnyky)¹⁶. The straw in the traditional culture, as a harvesting symbol, is endowed by the producing properties, but it is also considered to have a semantic of secondary and useless. Probably, the above-mentioned dance on a straw should promote abundance of a family, and was also one of the markers of the wedding ending, because it was performed in its finishing phase. Nowadays, the ritual acts, which form the essence of “potrusyny”, are almost unfixed in the researched region, however such a nomination is constantly present, but its genesis is explained by the respondents in other context: “*because everything is shaken out, everything is eaten, and that’s all*” (Uhiltsi)¹⁷.

The similar situation can be stated concerning the “rozpytky” – so named the first post-wedding Monday on the territory of Hoshcha district. According to version of some respondents, such a nomination is connected with a fact, that “*there is nothing, all the remains, - sat and drank, and that’s finish*” (Bashyne)¹⁸. However, to my mind it’s not a single factor, that caused the appearance of this nomination. On Monday morning, a delegation of relatives of a bride carried her breakfast to a place, where

¹¹ Архів ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, ф. Р-119, оп. 17, спр. 300-Е, арк. 77.

¹² Там само, арк. 89.

¹³ Там само, арк. 95.

¹⁴ Там само, арк. 35.

¹⁵ Там само, арк. 50.

¹⁶ Там само, арк. 94.

¹⁷ Там само, арк. 56.

¹⁸ Там само, арк. 76.

she had stayed at night: “*Rozpytky*” – *people from the side of a bride go to a house of bridegroom and carry breakfast for her*” (Buhryn)¹⁹; “*There was such a rite on Monday, that guests from the side of a bride carried breakfast for her, because maybe she wouldn't be given some food to eat. Women cook and carry breakfast there, to the house of bridegroom*” (Zarichne)²⁰. Besides that, these relatives should find out a result of bride checking for “honesty” after the first wedding night, in other words – “rozpytatysya” about this. Among the other nominations of this day, fixed in the Hoshcha district – “dyakovshchyna”, “diverge borschch”: “*Because a family of a bridegroom thanked a family of a bride. Mother carried breakfast for her daughter*” (Buhryn)²¹; “*There was still wedding on Monday – diverge borschch, they say*” (Kolesnyky)²².

A rite of stealing hens by the go-betweens of a bridegroom in a household of a bride was widely spread in the Hoshcha region, as well as in the other parts of Volhynia: “*The second day, on “rozpytky”. The hens were stolen, it was such a law, and no one said anything*” (Bashyne)²³; “*The go-betweens from the bridegroom came and got the hens. For example, I was on the wedding, there were my relatives, my aunt, or uncle. And I know, that I should give a hen. So the go-betweens can catch the hen, cause they have my permission*” (Kolesnyky)²⁴. In the traditional wedding a hen is associated with bride²⁵, therefore, a stealing of hens can be considered as something like imitation of girls “abduction” – one of the oldest types of marriage.

The rite checking of bride as a housewife was the essential element of the post-wedding stage in Hoshcha district: “*A bride was forced to sweep a house: from one side to another, guests threw her money*” (Kolesnyky)²⁶; “*It was on Monday. Boys carry garbage to the house and force the bride to sweep. And she couldn't sweep it generally, because the boys scattered garbage again and again. So, they tormented her in such way*” (Kolesnyky)²⁷. Actually, the bride was enlisted to familiarize a new locus in this manner, and that's why, as for me, a ritual significance of this act was in accession of bride to a family of bridegroom.

“Hosti” – a visit of bride to her parents, which she made together with her husband in the first post-wedding week, so usually it was the last act of the post-wedding stage in Hoshcha district: “*So, in the second Sunday after wedding – so called*

¹⁹ Архів ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, ф. Р-119, оп. 17, спр. 300-Е, арк. 17.

²⁰ Там само, арк. 22.

²¹ Там само, арк. 45.

²² Там само, арк. 102.

²³ Там само, арк. 77.

²⁴ Там само, арк. 102.

²⁵ Софья Бушкевич, “Курица,” в *Славянские древности: этнолингвистический словарь в 5 т.*, ред. Никита Толстой (Москва: Международные отношения, 2004), т. 3, 62.

²⁶ Архів ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, ф. Р-119, оп. 17, спр. 300-Е, арк. 94.

²⁷ Там само, арк. 103.

“hosti”. A bride with a husband pay a visit to her parents” (Dorohobuzh)²⁸; “She and her husband go to her parents. Drink a little, but the other guests didn’t gather” (Bashyne)²⁹; “Hosti, – in a week after the wedding, at last. Newlyweds came to the parents of a bride” (Kolesnyky)³⁰. This act also showed up in a form of a feast, which was made by the bride for her parents on the territory of a bridegroom: “A bride made a feast in her house for the guests of a bridegroom, because his parent’s didn’t come to her house, they entertained their guests. Only youth came at the beginning, go-betweens, godparents, but cooks didn’t come. And later the bride should make a feast for his parents, and that was the first time for them to come to her house” (Vilhir)³¹.

So, a review of the post-wedding stage on the territory of Hoshcha district in the second half of the 20th century gives grounds to excrete such elements in its structure as: “obzhynky”, “potrusyny”, “rozpytky”, ritual checking of a bride as a housewife, stealing of hens, and “hosti”. Most of them can be drifted to the group of rites, which significance is in accession of a bride to a family of bridegroom (“rozpytky”, ritual checking of bride as a housewife, stealing of hens), and the other part (“obzhynky”, “potrusyny”) probably belongs to the rites of agrarian and simulation type, which are characterized by a producing symbolic.

ОБРЯДОВІСТЬ ПІСЛЯВЕСІЛЬНОГО ЦИКЛУ В СЕЛАХ ГОЩАНСЬКОГО РАЙОНУ РІВНЕНСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ

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Інтегральною складовою традиційного українського весілля є комплекс обрядодій демонстративно-карнавального характеру, що відбувалися протягом тижня і були пов’язані з прилученням молодої до роду молодого. Дана ритуальна частина означається дослідниками як післявесільний цикл. Як відомо, весільний ритуал є полікомпонентною системою, елементи якої не лише інтенсивно трансформуються з плином часу, а й наділені здатністю переходити з одного обрядового етапу до іншого. Відтак, із всієї сукупності весільних актів, обрядів і церемоній нам слід виділити обов’язкові (константні) і факультативні елементи (ті, що зустрічаються лише в деяких описах весільного дійства). Цей підхід є важливим з точки зору виявлення інваріантної схеми весільного ритуалу конкретної території, що в нашому випадку є актуальним для історико-етнографічної Волині.

У статті, на основі польових етнографічних матеріалів, зібраних автором у селах Гощанського району Рівненської обл. (с. Башине, Вільгір, Дорогобуж, Зарічне, Іллін, Колесники, Курозвани, Угільці), охарактеризовано загальноукраїнські, загальноволинські риси та місцеві особливості

²⁸ Архів ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, ф. Р-119, оп. 17, спр. 300-Е, арк. 46.

²⁹ Там само, арк. 77.

³⁰ Там само, арк. 103.

³¹ Там само, арк. 91.

післявесільного етапу весільної обрядовості населення зазначених теренів історико-етнографічної Волині. Описано головні елементи вказаних звичаїв та обрядів і зроблено спробу розкрити їхню семантику.

Аналіз післявесільного циклу на теренах Гоцанського району Рівненської області другої половини XIX – XX ст. дає підстави стверджувати, що основним його значенням було прилучення молодої до роду молодого, її перехід до категорії заміжніх жінок і, як наслідок, – входження нової родини до сільської громади. На досліджуваній території в завершальній фазі весільного ритуалу стабільно фіксується цикл карнавально-сміхових обрядодійств, що пародіюють шлюбні церемонії. Комічне “весілля у весіллі” у різних локальних варіантах відоме як “обжинки”, “зажинки”, “вінчання батьків”, “старече весілля” тощо. Головними дійовими особами гротескного обряду зазвичай виступають батьки наречених, які “віддають останню дитину”, або “фальшиві молоді”. Структура і обрядовість післявесільної частини з плином часу зазнавала змін у бік спрощення і послаблення магічної функції, трансформації характеру дійств з ритуального в ігровий. Як переконливо доводить польовий етнографічний матеріал, для післявесільних обрядів Гоцанщини є властивим велике розмаїття локальних форм побутування розважальних елементів, як більш раннього походження, так і новотворів.

Ключові слова: післявесільний етап весільної обрядовості, Гоцанський район Рівненської обл., Волинь, “обжинки”, “потрусини”, “розпитки”, символіка, обряд.

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