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WINTER CALENDAR AND HOUSEHOLD RITUALS OF POKUTTIA IN THE WORKS OF POLISH ETHNOGRAPHERS OF THE LAST THIRD OF 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY

**Зимова календарна обрядовість українців покуття у працях
польських народознавців
останньої третини XIX – початку XX ст.**

In the article there have been analysed the works of leading Polish ethnographers of the last third of the 19th – 20th cent. – such as Leopold Waigel, Oskar Kolberg, Ksawery Mroczko and Józef Schnaider, who have left their impact in a research of traditional culture of Ukrainians of Pokuttia, and their winter calendar rituals in particular. There were characterized specifics of works of mentioned scientists, spectrum of the issues, devoted to traditions and rituals of winter cycle highlighted in their works. The special attention was given to the territorial attachment of works of Leopold Waigel, Oskar Kolberg, Ksawery Mroczko and Józef Schnaider, as well as to local peculiarities of traditions and rituals of different parts of Pokuttia as an ethnographical region of Ukraine.

Keywords: winter calendar ritual, Ukrainian, Pokuttia, Polish ethnographer, Leopold Waigel, Oskar Kolberg, Ksawery Mroczko, Józef Schnaider.

У статті проаналізовано праці провідних польських народознавців останньої третини XIX – початку XX ст. – Леопольда Вайгеля, Оскара Кольберга, Ксаверія Мрочка та Юзефа Шнайдера, які зробили внесок у дослідження традиційно-побутової культури українців Покуття, зокрема їхньої зимової календарної обрядовості. Охарактеризовано особливості праць зазначених науковців, спектр питань, присвячених звичаям та обрядам зимового циклу, які вони висвітлили. Особливу увагу звернено на територіальну прив'язку матеріалів Л. Вайгеля, О. Кольберга, К. Мрочка та Ю. Шнайдера, а також на місцеві особливості звичаїв та обрядів на різних теренах Покуття як етнографічного району України.

Ключові слова: зимова календарна обрядовість, українець, Покуття, польський народознавець, Леопольд Вайгель, Оскар Кольберг, Ксаверій Мрочко, Юзеф Шнайдер.

Introduction. A prominent feature of every nation is it's own traditional culture, which has been developing throughout whole ethnical history. Traditions and rituals are its culture important components, which in most European peoples

including Ukrainians have two layers – pre-Christian and Christian. For ethnologist research of the first layer is one of the key priorities, as it includes the archaic elements, study of which can help to reconstruct the initial meaning of rituals.

Pre-Christian motives are best remained in a winter cycle of calendar rituals of Ukrainians. Unfortunately, these days this area of people's culture, despite great amount of works devoted to it, is unevenly highlighted from a point of view of ethnographic zoning.

In particular, unlike the winter rituals of boikos, lemkos, hotsuls or polishchuks, calendar rituality of Pokuttians remains not enough investigated. However, it is important to point out that from the last of Third of nineteenth century Pokuttia remained in a sphere of scientific interest of ethnographers. Pokuttia as an ethnographic region of Ukraine includes the territories of Horodenka, Kolomyia, Sniatyn, Tlumach, the north-eastern corner of Bohorodchany, Nadvirna and Kosiv districts of Ivano-Frankivsk region (Hlushko, M. 2009, pp. 192–193; Kyrchiv, R., 2015, pp. 201–202).

The purpose of the presented article is to analyze the works of Polish scholars of the late nineteenth – early twentieth century, which contain information about the winter calendar rituals of Pokutians as an ethnographic group of Ukrainians. It is proceeded from the fact that these works are extremely important for the reconstruction of the realities of the traditional culture of Pokutians of the nineteenth – first third of the twenties century.

The achievements of Polish ethnologists of the nineteenth century to the study of the entire spectrum of the traditional culture of Ukrainians was thoroughly studied by the famous Lviv ethnologist Zoryana Boltarovych in her monograph, as it was published in 1976 (Boltarovych, Z., 1976). Historiography of the ethnographic study of Pokuttia in general is now characterized in the works of Roman Kyrchiv (Kyrchiv, R., 2015) and Lilia Tryniak (Tryniak, L., 2018).

Among the works devoted to individual ethnographers, it should be emphasized Iryna Zbyr's research on the figure of Oskar Kolberg and his four-volume work "Pokuttia" (Zbyr, I., 2010; Zbyr, I., 2014), L. Tryniak's research on

K. Mroczko's contribution to the study of this ethnographic district of Ukraine (Tryniak, L., 2016) and the article of the scholar about winter holidays in the works of Polish researchers of the second half of the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries (Tryniak, L., 2017).

The scientific novelty of the suggested article is that it analyzes in a comparative way with an emphasis on local specifics the source material on the winter calendar rituals of Ukrainians of Pokuttia from the published works of the leading Polish researchers of the ethnographic district of Ukraine – Leopold Waigel, Oskar Kolberg, Ksaweryi Mroczko and Józef Schnaider. Parallels were also drawn with the current state of living of the described realities of the Christmas-New Year cycle of holidays in the territory of Pokuttia.

The main sources of the research were the materials of the works of these Polish ethnographers, developed using comparative-historical and typological methods.

To achieve the goal stated above, it is planned to decide the following tasks:

1) to characterize the main works of L. Waigel, O. Kolberg, K. Mroczko and J. Schnaider, that contain information about the winter calendar rituals of Pokutians; 2) based on the received information determine what exact cultural realities of the winter cycle of Ukrainians of Pokuttia were emphasized by Polish ethnographers of the last third of the nineteenth – the beginning of the twentieth century; 3) to analyze the authentic ethnographic material concerning the local features of winter rituals and which was recorded by Polish researchers in the settlements of modern Ivano-Frankivsk region: the villages of Horodnytsia, Potochyshe, Chortovets (earlier known as Chortivets), Iaseniv-Pilnyi (now Horodenka district), Voskresintsi, Dzhurkiv, Spas (earlier known as Ispas), Nazirna, Pyadyky, Sheparivtsi, Velyka Kamianka (previously known as Kamianky), Kornych, Korshiv, Pechenizhyn (now Kolomyia district), Liucha (now Sniatyn district), Herasymiv, Khotymyr (now Tlumach district).

Main part. One of the first researchers of the calendar rituals of the Ukrainians of Pukuttia was L. Waigel (1842–1906), an author of the work “Scethes

on the city of Kolomyia” (“Rys miasta Kołomyi”) (Waigel, L. 1877; Waigel, L. 2008). In particular, the third part of this work presents the author’s field materials from Kolomyia and surrounding villages Pyadykiv, Nazirna, Sheparivtsi, Voskresintsi and Liucha.

Among other things L. Waigel also described Christmas Eve traditions and rituals. For example, he shows, that in the villages of that time Kolomyia district the floor on the Christmas Eve was covered with straw, hay was set on the table and its remains were thrown under it. In the village Liucha a yoke was put under the table too “to welcome oxen in the households”. Local Pokuttia people were also practicing making “didukh” (a Ukrainian Christmas decoration; made from a sheaf of wheat, it is a symbolic sacrifice taken from the autumn harvest). The custom to throw “kutia” (one of twelve Christmas Eve dishes of grains) up on the wall was there among the beekeepers to ensure bees swarming in the coming year. L. Waigel also described the local Christmas eve dishes and a tradition to bring “koliada”. This tradition meant that after a festive meal two or three kalaches, or “knyshes” (the festive bread) and a bowl with all Christmas dishes were taken to treat relatives’. In particular, in the village Nazirna “koliada” was brought by a boy or a girl who also received a return gift or money from their relatives. Also L. Waigel characterized the tradition of caroling among Pokuttians of Kolomyia district. The researcher also recorded the rite of renewal “Didukh” from the house on the third festive day of Christmas. Straw of the sheaf of wheat was put to the nests of poultry and its grain was fed to get better productivity of eggs laying (Waigel, L. 2008, pp. 90–91).

According to L. Waigel, the straw that was brought in the house for Christmas, usually had to be burned in the garden. It had to promote the fertility of fruit trees as well as to protect them from pests. The researcher also included the Jordan (name of last Christmas holiday) Eve, which is known in that region as “a hungry kutia”. In comparison with the Christmas Eve this holiday had its peculiarities: the host didn’t throw kutia to the ceiling and kids were not sent to meet their relatives with a “koliada”.

It should be noted that in his exploration L. Waigel first drew attention to the important role of the “Trinity” candle on Epiphany. During a meal this attribute had to be there on the table, and the next day it was taken to be solemnly consecrated with holy water. In the village Nazirnyi when people were back from water consecration the house host was making the cross of “Trinity” on the ceiling with candle smoke, and in the village of Liucha the house hosts were welcoming the priest with the “Trinity” candle who would come with Jordanian blessings. Then the host would see him off to the house of his neighbors and the neighbors would welcome him in the same way. As for the Jordan water, right after it was consecrated, it was drunk and sprinkled on the cattle. L. Waigel also recorded the belief, that in the Jordan night the water turns into a wine for a while. In a village Nazirna the researcher recorded the usage of garlic in Jordan. Thus, on this day the peasants greased the “heart” of the church bell with garlic from the Christmas Eve table, believing that this will prevent thieves to steal, as they would run away because of sound warning of the church bell (Waigel, L. 2009, pp. 92–93).

The importance of materials collected by L. Waigel is also evidenced by the fact that they are used by a leading Polish ethnographer of the nineteenth century. O. Kolberg (1814–1890) in his four volume work “Pokuttia. Ethnographic image” (“Pokucie. Obraz etnograficzny”) (Kolberg, O. 1882; Kolberg, O. 1883; Kolberg, O. 1888; Kolberg, O. 1889). However, the materials, collected by O. Kolberg himself during 1867–1880 in Horodenka, Tlumach and Kolomyia districts, were the groundwork of this four-volume publication. A prominent place in O. Kolberg’s “Pokuttia” is given to the calendar traditions of local natives. Thus, the researcher describes the holidays of the calendar year in chronological order from Christmas till Nicolas day of winter. In accordance with O. Kolberg’s records, there were parties held in Pokuttia accompanied with different entertainments. “Komashnia” (“Insects”) was one of them there and it intended specifically for the hosts of the house where they have been gathering to spin and have fun in a period before the Christmas fast. The researcher notes out that there was “sobitka”, a party with dancing and singing, organized specifically in a period

before the Christmas fast in villages of Dzhurkiv, Korshiv and Kamianka (Kolberg, O. 1882, p. 77, 79).

O. Kolberg also gives the detailed description of fortune telling on the eve of St. Andrew's Day, emphasizing that the boys were not allowed to appear at these parties. On this day the main aim of the girls was to learn about their future and marriage with the help of pulling the string across the path, counting pegs in the fence, touching the sheep in a dark stable or divination on varenyks (dumplings), known in this area as "pyrohy". The researcher wrote that girls of the village Ispas were making together the varenyks (dumplings) of the same size, then placed them on the table and left the house, letting the fed cat entered it. It was believed that the girl, whose varenyk the cat ate first, would get married the fastest among the other girls having participated in it. O. Kolberg recorded similar predictions in a village Chortovets, however each of the girls there was making nine dumplings, and later placed them on the board or a mangle they let a dog into the house (Kolberg, O. 1882, p. 78, 79).

Detailed descriptions of Christmas Eve and Christmas ceremonies were recorded by O. Kolberg in the villages of Chortovets, Horodnytsia, Spas, Pyadyky, Nazirna, Voskresintsi, and Liucha. In the village Spas they began dining with a prayer, but before it, the host took a few embers, threw incense on them and smoked around the table, and each of those present were to be engulfed in smoke. Then everyone sat down to dinner, started it with tasting the kutia, and finished the meal with cabbage and toasted flour and "kreplyks" ("ears" – boiled dough pieces folded in a shape that reminds ears). In the village of Chortivets the Christmas Eve rituals did not differ from the typical Pokuttia ones. Here the researcher recorded information about the burning of "didukh" on the third day along with hay, which had been placed on the Christmas Eve table.

The mentioned attributes were burned before sunrise on a fire placed in front of the gate. A significant part of the first volume of the work "Pokuttia" consists of folklore materials, in particular carols recorded by the researcher in the villages of Spas, Yaseniv-Pilnyi, Chortovets, Kornych, Sheparivtsi. O. Kolberg notes that

carols were performed severally for the host, the hostess, the young man and the girl of the family (Kolberg, O. 1882, pp. 81–82, 87, 96–121). Folklorists noted the special value of carols with historical motives, in particular about the fight against foreign invaders (Yuzvenko, V. 1961, p. 93).

On the day of St. Melania, in accordance with works of O. Kolberg, “malankuvannya” took place in Pokuttia – the process of mummers playing. The consistency of the group that went to malankuvannya was different. The researcher gave an example of the “Malanka” from the villages of Chortovets and Spas. O. Kolberg also described the rite of “bychky”, during which on New Year's Eve the boys walked around the village with small figures, carved out of wood called “bychky”. On the doorstep of the house its participants said: “Welcome on bychky!”. The children then were busy looking at figures of celestial bodies (sun, moon), livestock and poultry (cows, sheep, horses, geese), agricultural items and tools (pots, applicants, rakes), etc. A boy explained to the children the meaning of each figure, and then the hostess treated the group members with small loaves of bread “cuckoos” or money. A similar action, called “zherebtsi”, was taking place in the village of Gorodnitsy. In this case, the boys were writing on pieces of paper – “heaven”, “hell”, “sin”, “happiness”, “misfortune”, “money”, “field”, “soil”, “apiary”, “swarm” and others, – and asked members of the families they visited to take a piece of paper with a word for themselves. At the same time, the boys were sowing the grain, wishing the host happiness, health and a bountiful harvest for the whole year (Kolberg, O. 1882, pp. 121, 122, 125, 126, 129, 130). At the current stage of the existence of traditional rites, during field research on the territory of Pokuttia, we managed to record only the rudiments of this rite, which is preserved only in some settlements.

O. Kolberg covered the Jordanian customs and rites on the basis of materials from the vicinity of Obertyn, namely the villages of Chortovets and Harasymiv. According to the researcher notes, people fasted all day before Jordan (on the “Second Holy Evening”). O. Kolberg drew attention to the protective functions of crosses made of wax or tar, which were glued or painted on the doors of houses

and barns to protect themselves from evil spirits during the year. The ethnologist provided the original texts of Jordan songs “shchedrivky” from records in the villages of Chortovets, Horodnytsia, Potochishche, Garasimov, Khotymyr, Yaseniv Pilny, and Tlumachi (Kolberg, O. 1882, pp. 132, 134–141). As the researchers noted, Kolberg, unlike his predecessors, clearly distinguished them from carols (Yuzvenko, V. 1961, p. 93).

Highly appreciating Kolberg's work, Ivan Franko pointed out that a significant flaw in the author's methodological approach was the lack of proper certification of collected field ethnographic materials (Tserkovniak, I, 2017, p. 518). Despite this, as Zoryana Boltarovych rightly noted, at that time it was the only monograph that covered a very wide range of issues of culture and life of the population of Pokuttia (Boltarovich, Z. 1976, p. 90).

In the second half of the nineteenth century the territory of Pokuttia was studied by K. Mroczko. In his work “Sniatynshchyna. Contribution to regional ethnography” (“Śniatyńszczyzna. Przyczynek do etnografii krajowej”) (Mroczko, K. 1897) along with other topics he described in details the calendar rituals of local natives emphasizing on the winter cycle of holidays. According to K. Mroczko's materials there were 12 dishes on Christmas Eve in the Sniatyn region. The researcher also clarified the ritual attributes of the holiday. In particular, the hay, which was laid on the festive table and under it according to the folk beliefs of the people of Sniatyn, fed to cattle was supposed to promote their health, and those who wore it under the armpit were to be protected from “fornication”.

Straw was one of the obligatory attributes – children crowded on it before the Christmas Eve meal, imitating the sounds of domestic animals, believing it would make the household better. Later, people wrapped the straw around fruit trees or burned it, jumping over the fire. There was a belief among that the ashes of this straw helped to prevent convulsions (Mroczko, K. 1897, pp. 37, 38).

In the villages of Illintsi a strictly even number of people had to sit down to the meal on Christmas Eve, according to K. Mroczko's materials. At the beginning

of having the meal, before tasting the “kutia”, the host called on the souls of deceased relatives and various troubles that may have happened to one of the family members during the year: “you were healthy without us, and we were healthy without you”. K. Mroczko also cited the most common divinations on Christmas Eve, in particular on the harvest and marriage. The researcher also recorded several texts of folk carols, which according to his observations were the most popular among the locals (Mroczko, K. 1897, pp. 38–41).

On New Year’s Eve, according to works of K. Mroczko, children walked with curved wooden dolls – “zherebtsi”. They entertained the little kids with these kinds of toys in the houses they visited. Along with the “zherebtsi” there were also “malankuvalnyky”, but they used to go only to the houses where the girls lived. In the publication. K. Mroczko, like his predecessors, described the structure of Malanka and the brawls that were made in the house or in the yard. The researcher emphasized the common belief among the Pokutians of the Sniatyn region in the ability of livestock to talk on New Year’s Eve. However, it was believed that hearing the conversation of domestic animals at that time foretold the close death of the owners. A popular New Year’s event was the lighting of ritual fire. For example, in the village of Potichok in the period between the Christmas Eve and the New Year, all the rubbish was swept under the bed and on New Year’s morning it was burned at the gates of the bypass (Mroczko, K. 1897, pp. 44, 46).

In his research, K. Mroczko also described the rituals of Epiphany. In particular, he mentioned the preparation of a fasting dinner before of the Jordan, as well as the conviction of local residents that the water consecrated at this time had a healing effect and could protect a person from all evil. Like L. Waigel, K. Mroczko paid special attention to the role of the trinity candle as one of the apotropaics during the festive period. He pointed out that in the Sniatyn region the “trinity” had been called a three-armed wax candle, which the owners would fix in a candlestick specially made for it and would decorated with dried flowers: lovage, basil, yellow marigold and viburnum berries. The trinity was then wrapped in a white handkerchief, hemp yarn and necklaces. At the Jordan holiday with the

trinity people would go to the river for water consecration. It was lit during the whole church service and during the immersion in the already consecrated water. After coming back home, the owner could burn out three crosses on the bastard, burned out some hair on different sides of the head of his wife and children. The husband's actions were carried out by his wife. During this process it was necessary to jump up. According to the beliefs of the Pokuttians, this ritual was to protect the family and livestock from evil spirits and wolves throughout the year. K. Mroczko, like other researchers, notes the apotropaic function of wax crosses, which were glued to the walls in homes and outbuildings. In the village of Stetseva the researcher recorded the custom, when before dinner the host and the hostess went three times around the house with bread and ate a little of the loaf standing at each corner of the house. Instead, in the village of Potichok such perambulation was carried out with bread and stuffed cabbage. Anyway, K. Mroczko could not find out the semantics of this rituals, because according to the researcher himself the respondents refused to explain its meaning so that their actions would not lose their magical power (Mroczko, K. 1897, pp. 37, 51).

K. Mroczko also analyzed the most common Christmas carols in the Sniatyn region, comparing them with the texts of carols and pointing out their similarity in content and phonetic composition (Mroczko, K. 1897, pp. 48, 49).

The research of the Polish ethnographer Jozef Schnaider (1874–1959 “People of Pechenizhyn” (“Lud peczenizyński”) (Schnaider, J. 1906; Schnaider, J. 1907) “deserves special attention, as there were shown the main spheres of traditional culture of the inhabitants of Pechenizhyn. Schnaider’s work, which consisted of two parts, was translated into Ukrainian only recently (Schneider, J. 2017). In the second part the ethnographer described the calendar customs and rites of the Christmas and Epiphany holidays. J. Schnaider gave a fairly complete list of customs and rites that were observed in Pechenizhyn on Christmas Eve. First of all, the owner drove an ax into the house near the wall and closed all the doors – so that no one would gossip about the family. When laying the table, hay was placed under the tablecloth, and garlic, seeds and potatoes wrapped in a cloth were placed

in it. All this had to be on the table until the New Year. Subsequently, these Christmas apotropaea were kept all year round, and used as medicine for livestock.

During dinner, the host, tasting the “kutya”, greeted the family with the holidays and wished to take care for the next ones. After that, he threw the “kutya” to the ceiling, saying: “May we have many horses, oxen, sheep, cows!”. A large amount of wheat left on the ceiling after such actions foretold prosperity, otherwise the owner said: “Oh, my sacrifice isn’t accepted”. Beekeepers tried to catch wheat, saying: “Bees have come to me, they would probably run away from someone”. During dinner, the girls pulled hay stalks from the tablecloth, determining how tall the flax would grow. According to a popular belief, it wasn’t allowed to get up from the Christmas Eve table to drink water, as that in this case there would be no geese in the household. The value of the information recorded by Schnaider is that it is extremely difficult to record similar verbal formulas, motivations of holiday rituals among modern ethnophores of the Pokuttia.

J. Schnaider also gives examples of some actions that contradicted the norms of public morality. The point is that after the dinner, some of the landlords’ wives sent the landlord to steal something so that he could do it the whole year and not be caught. Spoons, that were used for eating on Christmas Eve, were tied with hay and placed under the tablecloth to keep the horses healthy. They were untied only the day after, when returning from church. Going to church, they threw money into the water, by which they later washed up to be happy and healthy (Schnaider, J. 2017, p. 41).

After dinner, the boys went caroling, for which they received bread – “kukutses”. Instead, the older boys sang carols at Christmas to thank them you they were invited to the table for a treat. In his research, J. Schnaider cited the unique texts of folk carols, which were sung separately to the owner, the girl, the young man and near the house, as well as described in detail the traditional addresses to carolers and wishes to a girl or a young man. The researcher also emphasized that the carol was always accompanied a violin (Schnaider, J. 2017, pp. 42–46). According to the further presentation of the material in “People of Pechenizhyn”,

on the first day of the holidays a girl who was insulted by someone would take some cabbage, wheat, flour, beets, eggs, cream, etc., and before sunrise scattered it all at the crossroads saying in a row across roads: “So that the bones of that person are scattered as I scatter it”. On the second day of the holiday, a sheaf, which stood at the table on Christmas Eve was lit. On the Feast of 2,000 Babies, women were forbidden to spin because they were said to be weeping for their children, whom Irod had executed. J. Schnaider also describes peculiar New Year’s customs and rites. For example, on Malania day, a girl or her mother poured melted butter on their chest, which flowed on the dumplings that were by their feet aside. When the boys came to celebrate the holiday, these dumplings were placed in a prominent place so that the boys could steal them. These actions were aimed at ensuring the commitment of the boys to this girl. A number of divinations were also common in Melania. The girls with the help of dumplings sought to predict their marriage, the houselords with the spoons spread out under the bench would predict longevity, and the embers from the oven guess would help to the future harvest. That same night people washed themselves with water and money, believing that it would help to get rid of various skin diseases. The Pokuttia people of Pechenizhyn also believed that at midnight on New Year’s Eve the water turned into wine for a while and that the cattle talked to each other (Schnaider, J. 2017, p. 47).

The next thematic block of J. Schnaider’s work concerns the Jordan Eve. This eve in Pechenizhyn, as the researcher points out, was called “Vidoshchi”. People usually fasted before it, ate nothing until they could start their holy dinner with holy water. On that day, a specially decorated wooden cross was hung on the gate or well. During the water festival of Jordan, the boys fired their rifles, the women washed themselves with water, and each member of the family lit a “sponge mushroom” for the “trinity” and carried it home. Bringing a smoldering sponge to the house, it was thrown into the stable to protect it from witches – so that evil spirits and witches would not harm the cattle. It could also be used to smolder children so that they would not be afraid of anything. Every landlord who went to church with the “trinity” returned and burned the cross on the beam. After

the Jordan holiday, washing was forbidden for two weeks, in order not to harm themselves and cattle from Christmas to Jordan sewing and spinning were also avoided. It was believed that those who violated this prohibition would have their hands grew stiff (Schnaider, J. 2017, p. 48).

Conclusions. Dedicated to the Pokuttia works of Polish ethnographers of the last third of the ninetieth – early twentieth centuries (L. Waigel, O. Kolberg, K. Mroczko, J. Schnaider) are descriptive by their nature. Most of these ethnographic studies have a narrow territorial scope. In particular, the works of L. Waigel and J. Schnaider are dedicated to the Kolomyia region, while K. Mroczko's is dedicated to the Sniatyn region. Only O. Kolberg used the works of his predecessors and, supplementing them with his own materials, tried to make a general description of the traditional culture of the inhabitants of Pokuttia.

A prominent place in these works is given to the winter calendar rituals of the Pokuttians, in particular, the Christmas and Epiphany cycle of holidays. Researchers mentioned other winter holidays occasionally or overlooked them altogether. Among the issues described by Polish ethnologists of the last third of the ninetieth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries in the context of characterizing the customs and rites of Christmas, New Year and Epiphany and their eves, economic motives of ritual prevail. In addition, most of the ethnographers that were studied paid special attention to Jordanian rituals, with an emphasis on the role of "trinity" candles, as well as carols and Christmas carols that accompanied the Christmas and Epiphany cycle.

Given that the materials of the works of L. Waigel, O. Kolberg, K. Mroczko J. Schnaider make it possible to reconstruct the winter calendar rituals of the Pokutians of the ninetieth century, to link certain realities to specific settlements, therefore, to reproduce the local specifics of these rituals at the micro level, they are of paramount importance for modern Pokuttian studies.

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