



**Andrius Ziubrovskis** – istorijos mokslų daktaras, Ukrainos nacionalinės mokslo akademijos Etnologijos instituto Istorinės etnologijos departamento mokslo darbuotojas, Taraso Ševčenko mokslo bendrijos narys.

*Moksliniai interesai:* istorija, etnologija, liaudies kultūra, liaudies mitybos ypatumai, su duona ir duonos kepimu susijusių tikėjimų ir papročių atsiradimas, lauko tyrimų metodai.

*Adresas:* Svobody g. 15, Lvovas, 79000 Ukraina.

*El. paštas:* anzjubr@gmail.com

**Andrii Ziubrovskiy:** Ph. D. (History), research fellow of the department of historical ethnology of the Institute of ethnology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, member of Shevchenko Scientific Society.

*Research interests:* history, ethnology, folk culture, folk nutrition peculiarities, bread related beliefs and bread baking rituality genesis, field research methods studies.

*Address:* 15 Svobody Avenue, Lviv, 79000, Ukraine.

*E-mail:* anzjubr@gmail.com

## **Andrii Ziubrovskiy (Andrii Zûbrovskij)**

*National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine*

# RATIONAL AND IRRATIONAL FOLK CONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE BREAD BAKING FLOUR IN DAILY NUTRITION CULTURE OF UKRAINIANS OF SOUTH-WESTERN HISTORIC-ETHNOGRAPHIC MACRO-REGION OF UKRAINE

### **Anotacija**

Straipsnio tikslas – ištirti racionalų ir neracionalų požiūrį į duonai kepti naudojamus miltus, kaip į Ukrainos pietvakarių istorinio etnografinio makroregiono kasdienės gyventojų mitybos komponentą. Daugiausia dėmesio skiriama ritualinės tvarkos, reguliuojančios duonos kepimą iš miltų, tyrimui.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: miltai, krepšys, skrynia, duona, gelda tešlos, sietas, lietus, dulkės, mirusiųjų protėvių sielos.

### **Abstract**

The article is devoted to the analysis of rational and irrational conceptions about the bread baking flour, its substitutes and admixtures, as a component of a daily nutrition culture of dwellers of South-Western Historic-Ethnographic Macro-region of Ukraine. The main attention was paid to the analysis of ritual orders which regulated bread baking flour dealing with.

KEY WORDS: flour, bag, chest, bread, dough trough, sieve, riddle, rain, dust, souls of the dead ancestors, “spir”.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.15181/rh.v23i0.1788>

Bread was the basis of Ukrainians' everyday meal. According to its outstanding role, the pastry had been seen in peasants' outlook as a sacred object. That is why, the related to bread's semantic and semiotic status was given to the main ingredient for bread baking – cereal flour, which was associated with a significant group of rational and irrational peoples' conceptions.

The result of baking directly depended on the quality of grain the flour was made of and from adequacy of grinding technique or certain conditions of storing. Thus, the bread baking did not succeed when an ingredient was used the flour ground from grain sprouted in the ear, overheated during grinding or fouled when stored. The pastry made from such flour became unrich, with sticky and underbaked crumb<sup>1</sup>. This had been happened because of gluten quantity reduction in the flour as a result of its malting. Also I would like to notice that for success baking completion, according to peasants' conceptions, handle with flour should also comply with certain ritual orders and restrictions.

The species and varietal composition of flour, used by Ukrainians, depended on local agricultural specifications of concrete area. Thus at Volyn (as well in Holmshchyna (Borisenko 1997, 216) traditionally dominated baking of bread from rye or rye-wheat flour mixture (Archive 2010a, 17, 31, 68, 130; Archive 2010c, 2–3, 43; Zúbrovskij 2010, 776); in Podillia – from wheat or wheat-rye flour mixture (Artúh 1994, 284); in Ukrainian Carpathians (Boikivshchyna, Lemkivshchyna, Hutsulshchyna) – from oats and barley (Archive 2010b, 2, 33, 61; Archive 2011a, c. 2, 67; Gontar 1998, 350; Gontar 2006, 366) and corn meal (mainly in Hutsulshchyna) (Gontar 1987, 205). Consumption of corn, oats or barley bread (usually unleavened) was typical not only for highlands, but also for some

<sup>1</sup> Respondents report about this the following: “*Á znaú, šo časom muka tuhla buvaê, či zerno ákes' sporčene, šo ne mona [hlíba spekti]*” (village Zabara Shumsk district Ternopil region) (Archive 2010a, 113); “*Znaête, ák to bula muka taka vo izroše: spekla toj hlíb, a vin vijšov z zakaľcem – tak-o ák palec, take sire bulo, take klejke, gnile*” (v. Tadani Kamianka-Buska ds. Lviv rg.) (Archive 2012, 27); “*Ákšo na korni zerno poroste, to z togo zerna bude lipka muka – [tisto] bude ridnuti. Í hlíb bude lipkij*” (v. Merva Horokhiv ds. Volyn rg.) (Archive 2010c, 117); “*Porošene žito bulo. To z n'ogo ne mona hlíba spekti. Bo vin garno tak: í zamisiš jogo, í vishodit' tobi garno. A sadi v pič – tože garno viroste. A ák vijmaêš z peči, kladeš: vin raz – í verh donizu upav. A vseredini tisto take, šo mona koniki lipiti z n'ogo. To vono ne jde, bo vono solodke, bo vono porošene, to vono ne jšlo na hlíb čogo*” (v. Mosty Zdobuniv ds. Rivne rg.) (Archive 2010d, 106).

foothills (Pokuttia, Pidhiria) and lowland (lowland Transcarpathia, plain districts of Bukovina) areas of investigated territory Golubovič 1918, 59; Čičula 1918, 28; Kožolânko 1999, 331; Rubiš 2007, 317). The same variety of baking flour species as at the territory of Ukrainian Carpathians and its foothills regions was inherent mainly for Southern Slavs, especially for Montenegrins and Bulgarians. Unleavened bread also dominated in the folk nutrition of these nations (Rovinskij 1897, 533; Vakarelski 1965, 60).

During poor harvests, crop failures or mostly every year's period of "perednïvka" (the time length between the middle of spring and the first third / half of the summer – before the harvest time) the grain stocks have been exhausted. Therefore, some admixtures made from dried, pounded or grinded plants were added to the baking flour to increase its volumes. It were such cultivated plants as potatoes, carrots, beetroots, grain bran (Lipinskaâ 1987, 293), "mâkina"<sup>2</sup>, lentil (Rokossowska 1889, 177), pumpkin pulp, hemp of sunflower oilcakes, grained corncobs (Gordîenko 1979, 75); among wild growing plants – pounded bark of pine and oak, ferns, acorns, wild buckwheat, saltbush<sup>3</sup> (the bread baked with flour with saltbush admixture was called by Hutsulshchyna dwellers "mataržênik") (Zaklinskij 1918, 47). During the famine of 1933 at Poltava region baking flour was admixed even by such unusual additions as cooked sorrel, acacia flowers, tree's bark, powder from fish, dried and pounded in a mortar (Gordîenko 1979, 75–76). Ukrainian Carpathians was a region with extremely strong and permanent lack of quality baking ingredients. During often crop failures at these lands baking flour had been grinding from chopped rye's straw, knees of rye's stalks or flax fetal heads (Zubrickij 1898, 2). Of course, the bread, made with such flour was devoid of any gustatory

---

<sup>2</sup> "Mâkina" – flour grinding waste, contained a lot of grain pellicles, but no gluten. So, the bread baked with flour of high quantity of "mâkina" was hard and uncrumbled. As a result, from such kind of flour mistresses more frequently made unleavened scones. However, rejection of dough fermentation did not this bread taste qualities: "Â ì z mâkin korža ìla. A takij plâcok, še pekli. Teper svinâm daûť, a kolis' ìli – ne bulo šo ìsti. A to pšenicû obdirali kolis', âk hto mav. Ì to takì nazivaûťsâ mâkini. Oto teper petlûť, to osipaêťsâ take" (v. Zabara Shumsk ds. Ternopil rg.) (Archive 2010a, 94).

<sup>3</sup> "Oj, Bože, ì lobodu! Hto šo. To ž todi buv golodnij rik [1946 A. D.]. To ž ne bulo ničogo. Ì žoludì [do borošna] dobaavlâli, ì lobodu dobaavlâli. Hto šo mîg, to use dobaavlâli" (v. Bukhariv Osroh ds. Rivne rg.) (Archive 2009, 82.)

and nutritive qualities<sup>4</sup>. There were starvation periods also in lowlands areas, even in XX century especially during and after the World War II. The absence of high quality flour forced peasants to bake the pastry with improper for local nutritive tradition cereals or legumes: “*Kolis’ buv golod. Â Vam skažu, z čogo pekli! Mali tako-o vo mîj tato âkus’ še sumišku mali: goroh, take-vo âkeś, oves. Vzêli zmololi, bo ne bulo nič. Î spekli palnicû. Še susidam rozdavali. Čorne gîrke bulo. Ale îli, bo šo mali îsti*” (village Streptiv Kamianka-Buska district Lviv region) (Archive 2012, 71); “*Oj, golod buv. Â rodilasâ v toj golod, â golod znaû. Â bula odna u mami. To voni brali kolis’ v stupah tovkli pšono. Proso tovkli. Šo bačili, take vo šukali, šob de spekti âkogo pîdpalka*” (v. Litovyshche Shumsk district Ternopil region) (Archive 2010a, 92).

The periods like “perednivka” (or another crop less time) were known also by the others grain growing nations. For example, Belarusians during hard time baked bread with grated potatoes (Lipinskaâ 1987, 293); Latvians in spring baked pastry with dried ferns, stalks and grain pellicles (Ulanowska 1891, 202); Poles in lean years produced flour from the bran with admixing of grounded acorns, hazelnut buds, dried cabbage, peas, onions (Siarkowski 1893, 17; Kubiak 1981, s. 11).

Sometimes, baking of bread from unclean flour was specified only by the tradition. This was due, primarily, to the fact that, according to peasants’ conceptions, the flour contained “spîr” – an universal for the whole Eastern Slavs spiritual category. It meant both prosperity and wealth in general so the wealth multiply and magnification or profit. “Spîr” was not a specified object or phenomenon: it could be a successfully baked bread, increase milk yield, cattle offspring, cattle itself, food, fruitful harvest etc.

In folk bakery concept “spîr” had a clearest manifestation as dough specific peculiarity to grow in volume, significantly exceeding volume of its flour ingredient (Grînčenko 1901, 77). Efforts to increase “spîr” in baker of Eastern Slavs (Russians – the most) sometimes manifested in life and health threatening forms. Mikola Zabilin reports that in some Russia to increase the “spîr” level of bread and household in general, the dough

<sup>4</sup> “*A Drabančič Grić še malim vidîv, âk strijna îla hlîb z golovok, a pak verla nim o stînu, tak îj smakuvao*” (Zubric’kij 1898, 2).

was made with flour infeced with black or puple horns (ergots)<sup>5</sup> – a specific type of parasiting fungus, that had a folk name “sporinâ” (Zabylin 1880, 433–434). So, there has been a verbal imitation-assimilation “sporinâ – spîr”: more “sporinâ” = more “spîr”.

Consumption of bread infected by ergots caused convultions, spasms, depression of the central nervous system, screams, moans, limbs numbness, and at the worst case – gangrene, paralysis and death (Gordîenko 1979, 31; Zabylin 1880, 433). The sickness caused by this fungus had a folk name “the evil convulsion” or “rafaniâ”, scientific term – “ergotism”. One of the symptoms of this disease was human`s skin reddening, just like after burns. That`s why, in Medieval Europe it was called “St. Antony`s fire” – monks of the Order named after this saint was famous to treat mentioned desiase (Gordîenko 1979, 31).

As chance offer I would like to add, that poisoning of rye with ergots in Europe gained epidemic nature. In France in 994 more than 40 thousands people became victims of ergotism, in 1129 – 12 thousand; in Germany the cases of ergotism stated in 1577, 1641, 1710, 1867, 1884 (Gordîenko 1979, 31). There is no clear statistics data about the mass of ergotism poisonongs at the territory of Russia, the same as analogues cases in Ukraine. However, we can assume at least sporadic cases despite the fact that Ukrainians in the past baked bread with flour grind from uncleaned grains (possibly with harmful organic impurities) even in relatively fruitfull years. In particular, ethnologists report about Volyn dwellers of the end of XIX century following: “The rye, threshed by flaits, throws over by a shovel, and when it is purged from pellicles it is already prepared [to be grinded] for bread [flour]. Do not separate any nut of dirt in order to have no loss in volume, and partly to lack of [clening] equipment” (Kibort 1897, 282). According to Dmitro Zelenin in Pskovsk province of Russia at the end of XIX century the bread was baked of flour admixed with a high quantity of chaffs, which contained the most volume of ergots, due to traditional tastes and ritual conceptions of local dwellers even during years with the most fertile crops. In other Russian lands there was a proverb about this tradition: “Hleb sporit’ – rebât morit’” (Zelenin 1991, 143) – it

---

<sup>5</sup> Purple ergot (*Claviceps purpurea*) – parasitic fungus, class of marsuptial fungus; it damaged the ovary more than 100 cultivated and wild grains. It parasites mostly on rye.

meant that people can be unhealthy or even die when consume bread baking with “sporinâ”.

By the way, the poisoning of bread with ergots was one of the main reason of the most well-known witch trial, which took place in 1691–1692 in Salem (Massachusetts, USA). Due to ignorance of the true causes of the epidemic on charges of witchcraft 16 women were hanged (Gordiênko 1979, 31).

On the territory of South-Western Historic-Ethnographic Macro-region of Ukraine there were few brands of bakery flour: two kinds of rye flour (best grade and first rate); three kinds of wheat flour (best grade – “vikšij”, “lûksus”; the first and the second rate) (Zúbrov's'kij 2010, 777); one sort of oats and barley flour. The lowest sort of flour, no matter of what cereal species, the wholemeal – “na raz”, na “êden kamìn” (Archive 2010a, 5). This kind of flour was the most ancient. Actually of this sort flour (the most frequently called “razove”) most of peasants all over Ukraine baked bread until the edge of XX century. It was often made directly at home on the hand mill.

The finest flour (“pit'lovane”) was made in limited quantities. It was usually used for baking some ritual pastry. The fine flour could be made in follow ways: 1) by several times grinding (if grin on mill stone); 2) in the water of wind mill by grinding on shafts (“na valcâh”) – different sorts of flour separated while grinding using the system of sieves; 3) before grinding on hand mill the grains was pretreated in a mortar – pellicles, embryo and aleuronic layer, which contained the most of melanin and caused the bread darkening was separated from grains and flour became whiter.

The permanent lack of grains caused, that peasants grinded the flour in minor volume: from equal capacity of cereal while grinding it turned out was considerably less, than coarse flour. The fine flour was usually made from wheat. It waste flour (chaff, bran) were given to livestock (in particular – pigs) (Archive 2010a, 57) or used in bread baking. So, the bread shovel was powdered with chaffs while bread setting into the stove; or the heating level of the stove was tested spilling the bran on the hearthstone.

In the house the flour stored separately for varieties and purpose without mixing. Bags and wooden chests served as package (Archive 2010a, 13, 36; Archive 2010b, 9, 62; Archive 2010c, 3–4). The second of them was considered as better package, because the flour could petrify (“*stati*

*stoupom*”) while stored in bags (Archive 2010c, 35; Archive 2011b, 82). However, flour during its storage in chests was safe from pets but impressionable to be contaminated with black flour beetles (“*kozak*”, “*vovčki*”) (Archive 2010c, 4, 46).

All over the territory of South-Western Historic-Ethnographic Macro-region of Ukraine the same as in other Ukrainian ethnic lands until the World War II (or even longer) for flour storing large carved trough-alike capacities – “*kadubi*” or “*sipanki*” – and willow straw weaved “*solom’âniki*” were used (Archive 2010a, 57). These flour containers can reach a height of half of the statue of an adult. Sometimes “*solom’âniki*” were used only for grains storing: due to its loose structure corns did not went bad or moisture (Zûbrovskij 2010, 777).

In the house the flour kept in granary or attic (Archive 2009, 90; Archive 2010b, 9; Archive 2010c, 35; Archive 2011b, 117). The last of them often took an advantage as the best storage being drier place, because the flour rotted faster primarily in high humidity environment: “*Nagorì, na strihah. Nagorì muka ne portilasâ. Navif ì pšenična muka, ote âk petlûût, to vs’o nagorì trimaût*” (v. Zabara Shumsk ds. Ternopil rg.) (Archive 2010a, 113).

Peasants was not attempted to store the baking flour for a long period. They favored freshly ground flour (Archive 2010a, 113). Significant amounts of flour consumption caused with necessity to provide nutrition family with numerous members. Despite this farmers tried not to store considerable volume of flour, faring overrun of grains, which spared for spring sowing (Archive 2010c, 15). Pokuttia dwellers rightly considered that flour was going bad in spring (Golubovič 1918, 52). Obviously, the reason of flour spoiling was in bad condition of staled grains it was grind-ed from, or in influence of the air humidity increasing with spring thaws.

D. Zelenin identified for Russians three types of flour defined in the base of an criterion of sieving degree – unsieved, sieved with the riddle and so-called “*sitne*” (sieved with dense sieve); for Belarusians – six kinds of flour (Zelenin 1991, 143). Such a typology was not inherent for Ukrainians of South-Western Historic-Ethnographic Macro-region of Ukraine.

The prime aim of the flour sitting was to clean it from different inorganic and inedible components (small stones, pieces of wood) that got there when grinding. Except this, sitting improved flour’s baking quali-

ties: from the flour were removed remains of aleuronic layers, pellicles, embryo – the parts of grain which had no gluten, so, reduced dough baking qualities. Farmers of studied region used riddle and sieve to sift flour. The bottom of the first one was made from thin (2–3 mm) bast strips, the second – with horse hair (Kibort 1897, 283; Moszyński 1928, 68). The choice of sitting device between riddle and sieve depended on prosperity of the family. Poor peasants sieved flour for daily bread baking less often (more often – riddled), for the purpose of saving even negligible volume of flour, accounted for waste: “*Hto buv bidnišij, to siâli na rešeto, a hto vže bogatšij, to na sito. To tam troški de ġrisu, âk na sito siâti, ostavalosâ [na siti], to vže vîn bilšij – hlib toj*” (v. Bondarivka Radyvyliv ds. Rivne rg.) (Archive 2010c, 228).

The flour sifting was regulated by certain temporal and spatial requirements. Thus, in Volyn and Polissia it was prohibited to sift while leavening or kneading and riddle flour directly into the dough trough or its cover (“*viko*”). Sometimes respondents did not specify the concrete reason of this prohibition, but claimed that doing so was banned with custom: “*Ne mona, kažuť [na dižu siâti]. Treba bulo votdêlno v nočovki. Â siû sobi v nočvi. Âkijš' običaj takij u lûdej v nas tut*” (v. Nova Moshchanytsia Zdolbuniv ds. Rivne rg.) (Archive 2010d, 42). Frequent motivations of this order – riddling into the dough “it is a sin”, “the bread would not succeed” (Archive 2010c, 230; Kopernicki 1887, 203; Rokossowska 1899, 153; Kondratovič 2009, 124). The second one ban explanation had some rational basis. The bread dough has been leavening gradually: the flour was poured into the water little by little. If the water will infuse into the flour in the dough the leaven could come out lumpy. It could complicate kneading and may cause baking failure. Besides this, the flour sieving directly into the dough trough significantly complicated dosing of flour required capacity. As a result the consistence of leaven solution was disrupted<sup>6</sup>. That is why sometimes respondents even consider that the bread will be tastier if the flour while leavening will not be sieved directly into the dough trough: “*Nu, to*

<sup>6</sup> “*Nu, a âk kurite nad dižeû, âk nočvi ê: sobi posišš, ta j prisipleš. A tak zvidki znaête, skiłki vsiâti. A tak vže znaê bilš-menš žinka, âk uže siê zavše, to vže znaê normu: normu vodi, normu muki na rošinu ì normu na zamis*” (v. Suimy Zdolbuniv ds. Rivne rg.) (Archive 2010d, 42); “*Na dižu âk vže siâti: tam rošini ê, voda. To treba v čomuš nasiâti, a todì sipati potroški. Âk nasipleš tudi – âk potim budeš mišati*” (v. Zelene Horokhiv ds. Volyn rg.) (Archive 2010c, 284).



*sîati ne mona, âk hlib pekti v dižci. Nu, šob hlib vkusnišij vdavausâ, âk ne sîati na dižu*” (v. Stiilo Horokhiv ds. Volyn rg.) (Archive 2010c, 169).

Mermaids (“rusalka”) in their “songs” addressed primarily to girls and performed on Whitsunday notified that flour sifting directly into the dough trough it is a sin<sup>7</sup>. Obviously, it could be some kind of a warning for girls (who often made a work of flour sifting (Zûbrovs'kij 2013, 63–64), that could protect them of becoming nixies. I would like to mention that, according to Ukrainian beliefs, a girl died in Whitsunday Week becoming a mermaid (Vinogradova 2009, 499). This Week often occurred at the period when grains were not ripened yet and stocks of flour and grain were almost exhausted (it was a mentioned period of “*perednîvka*”). As it was noted, the flour sifting directly into the dough trough may cause baking failure. So, at the period of limited nutrition resources it could negatively outcome for the family live hoods, including the girl guilty in bad bread baking. In other words, the mermaid in her song was tried to save the girl from a fatal consequence of bread baking failure caused by sifting directly into the dough trough. So, there was a logical chain: to sieve flour into dough trough – bread baking failure – starvation – death – becoming a nixie (“rusalka”).

The other option of this prohibition genesis is also probable. The studied ban should be considered as an already reduced taboo which prohibited exactly leavened bread baking: do not sift into the dough trough means “do not leaven the dough / do not make leavened bread in the dough trough”. In my opinion, described restriction appeared in times of unleavened bread dominated in Slavs nutrition. This prohibition in the past was actualized at the time intervals dedicated to the dead ancestors honoring (Whitsunday or else). The relic unleavened scones were a type of bread the most related with memorial beliefs (Valencova, 1999, 498). The unleavened dough has been making not in the dough trough but in wooden tray (“nočvi”). According to the analysis of Volyn dwellers responding there were some references to the unleavened bread baking technology directly in the texts which descript the prohibition of sifting directly into the dough trough. Namely, the respondents noted that flour should not be sifted into the trough but into the tray: (“nečki”): “*A mi ne*

---

<sup>7</sup> “*Ne mij nižka v nižku / Ne sîj muki na dižku – / Bo bude griška*” or “*Ne mij noga v nižku / Ne sîj muki na dižku*” (Galajčuk 2008, 353).

*sîali na dižku. Na nočvi. Nečki takì buli, nočvi. Tudi nasivali, a tam brali ì tudi (u dižku – A. Z.) sipali. Ne sîali na dižku, sîali na nočvi*” (v. Staryky Horokhiv ds. Volyn rg.) (Archive 2010c, 112); *“Na dižku ne sîali. Mi mali takì, kazali, “necêta”, “nečki”. Takì derevâni, tože vidovbanì z kruglogo takogo grubšogo dereva. A vže sîali muku v nih*” (v. Kolmiv Horokhiv ds. Volyn rg.) (Archive 2010c, 238). The peculiarities of unleavened dough preparation technology give a possibility to made it without using any specific jars at all – directly on the table’s surface, for example. A reference to this have been also found in another “mermaid’s song”. In text of which, the question it was prohibited to sift flour into the dough trough because it should be done on the table’s surface: *“Ne sîj muki na dižu, / Bo stîl è”* (Galajčuk 2016, 139).

The genesis of explored taboo, in my opinion, was in follows. The domain of daily bread baking, as one of the sectors of traditional culture associated with kin’s life support, was tightly related to the memorial rituality. It means that human beings somehow tried to involve souls of the dead ancestors or help in successful baking. Probably, this group of folk beliefs formatted in the days of unleavened bread domination, which was in the middle of the I Millennium A. D. In this period also have been formatted memorial conceptions of Slavs. So, in the reason of that at those times appeared the folk belief that the dead “feeds” exactly with unleavened scones.

As another argument of my theory I would like to cite some Ukrainian beliefs, according to which it was forbidden to bake leavened bread on holidays, Sundays and Fridays – the days more or less related to the dead commemoration. However, on the territory of Volyn and Middle Dnieper there were ways to avoid mentioned taboo. There, in case of emergency need, the leavened bread has been baked likening to unleavened: loafs were made small and flattered, their surface was rounded using not water but flour (it caused the surface has becoming white after baking – scones alike); the baked pastry was called with terms characteristic to the unleavened scones (not “*chlib*”, but “*palânicâ*”) etc (Rokossowska 1899, 155; Zúbrovskij 2015, 108–109).

Also in everyday’s baking in the past there was a custom of ritual feeding of the dead ancestors. This riot preserved until the early XX century (locally even loner) at the territory of Polissia, Middle Dnieper and in

some areas of Poland. Its essence was in that while leavened bread was baking it was necessary to bake unleavened (or likened to it) scone(s), which consumed immediately (was given to children, cow etc.) (Ciszewski 1887, 28; Zaglada 1931, 144). It was considered that household will come to troubles if this scone will not be baked.

Listed factors were in the core of prohibition of flour sifting directly into the dough trough. The flour was riddled into the tray (or under the table's surface) to create an illusion of unleavened bread baking, because this type of pastry positively perceived with dead ancestors souls – they should help with baking. So, in such fraudulent way the possible negative impact of ancestors' ritual feeding miss implementation (the pastry was leavened) was neutralized.

As for the time-calendar flour sitting prohibitions on the territory of Volyn this action was interdicted for the period of Christmas holidays (“or else pasture lands can be harmed”) Kravčenko 2009, 60). At Polissia for the whole Christmas week the bread was baked from unclean flour (whole meal) in order to provide “fruitfull rye's harvest” (Strahov 1991, 21). As chance offers I would like to notice, that in Poland it was banned to sow grain from cloth with flour was on, or to pour sowing grain into the bags previously used for flour storing (Siarkowski 1879, 256). The motivation – for fertile rye's crops. Obviously, such orders appeared on the base of magical imitation conceptions. Grain crops could be harmed with excessive atmospheric precipitations. The last ones, according to beliefs, were initiated by flour sifting, because any imitative actions conducted during sacred periods could affect real impact to the surrounding environment.

With the imitative magic relics there were related some other bans. Thus, on the territory of Middle Dnieper and Slobozhanshchyna it was prohibited to sieve the flour on holidays, Sundays and Fridays, or else the soul of violator is going to be dusted in afterlife (“*na tîm svîti oči porošiti buduť*”, “*budeš na tîm svîti u pilu*”) (Miloradovič 1991, 190). Probably, in this group of conceptions the flour was assimilated to the dust.

The flour sifting with sieve or riddle also accelerated the dough fermentation process and, consequently, caused the bakery more crumbly. The sieving caused the flour became more aerated, that had a positive impact on yeast funguses reproduction. This in general improved both quality of dough and bakery.

Sieve and riddle took a considerable role in eastern Slavs` domestic, calendar, occasionally (rain inducing, hail banishing) rituality and divinations. Associatively related to the “top”, sky, sun, clouds, rain, the sieve and the riddle in rituality served as a repository of “gifts”, as a symbol of fertility and wealth (Toporkov 2009, 432). They were dedicated to sifting, to separation necessary from useless (meal from “non-meal”; good from bad); they comprehended as universal talisman, protection against poverty, misery and enemy forces (Toporkov 2009, 432–433)<sup>8</sup>.

There were behavioral taboos and regulations of flour sifting. Thus, on this stage of bread baking process spread general requirement of restrained behavior and ritualized silence. While sifting it was considered as unacceptable to beat the tray by hands or sieve, “otherwise the witch is going to be glad” (Miloradovič 1991, 190). The rational basis of this belief is following. The beating in tray may causes it will capsize. So, the sifting work will be wasted.

The data presented in the article gives an opportunity to make some conclusions. So, the main purpose of the flour related traditions and customs was to normalize the rules of its selection, storing and preparation for being used in baking. Compliance of these rules, according to peasants` beliefs, provided success of baking, both in rational and spiritual point of view.

The baking flour consuming was ordered with strict ordinance of its economy. This was one of key factors which caused the fact that daily bread was baked from the lowest kinds of flour (the wholemeal, “*razivka*”). This meal was unclean, with different inclusions and unseparated flour waste components (chaffs, bran, pellicles, embryos, and aleuronic layers). Such orders purchased prevention of possible flour volume losses. Moreover, it was typical not only for Ukrainians but for other Eastern and Western Slavs.

Flour storing means demonstrates constructional and terminology homogeneity throughout the territory of South-Western Historic-Ethnographic Macro-region of Ukraine and of its analogs on other Ukrainian ethnic lands. As everywhere among Ukraine, this studied areas population

---

<sup>8</sup> Such conceptions were characteristic not only for Eastern Slavs. Thus, Polish peasants in the past put into the riddle a bread loaf and processed cornfields with it, considering this as helpful means from hail beating (B. W. K. 1894).

preferred thick wooden containers, which gave the flour a much better protection from pests and impact of excessive moisture.

As for ritual beliefs and conceptions related to flour, they appeared in ancient times, probably, in the middle of the I Millennium A. D. It was the period of unleavened bakery domination in folk nutrition. Also, it was the times of Slavs spiritual culture formation. That is why flour related ritual-ity tightly connected with Ukrainian and Slavic pre-Christian memorial, meteorological, demonological and world outlook conceptions.

## List of References

- Archive 2009 – Архів Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка, ф. Р-119, оп. 17, спр. 307-Е: матеріали зібрав А. Зюбровський 4–10 липня 2009 р. у Гошанському та Острозькому р-нах Рівненської обл.
- Archive 2010a – Архів Інститут народознавства Національної академії наук України, ф. 1, оп. 2, од. зб. 683: матеріали зібрав А. Зюбровський 2–5 червня 2010 р. у Шумському р-ні Тернопільської обл.
- Archive 2010b – Архів ІННАНУ ф. 1, оп. 2, од. зб. 684: матеріали зібрав А. Зюбровський 27–29 червня 2010 р. у Турківському р-ні Львівської обл.
- Archive 2010c – Архів ІННАНУ ф. 1, оп. 2, од. зб. 685: матеріали зібрав А. Зюбровський 7–19 липня 2010 р. у Горохівському р-ні Волинської обл.
- Archive 2010d – Архів ІННАНУ ф. 1, оп. 2, од. зб. 686: матеріали зібрав А. Зюбровський 27–29 серпня 2010 р. у Здолбунівському р-ні Рівненської обл.
- Archive 2011a – Архів ІННАНУ ф. 1, оп. 2, од. зб. 687: матеріали зібрав А. Зюбровський 22–25 червня 2011 р. у Воловецькому р-ні Закарпатської обл.
- Archive 2011b – Архів ІННАНУ ф. 1, оп. 2, од. зб. 688: матеріали зібрав А. Зюбровський 7–13 липня 2011 р. у Бродівському та Радехівському р-нах Львівської обл.
- Archive 2012 – Архів ІННАНУ ф. 1, оп. 2, од. зб. 689: матеріали зібрав А. Зюбровський 4–8 липня 2012 р. у Кам'янка-Бузькому р-ні Львівської обл.
- Artúh 1977 – Л. Ф. Артюх. Українська народна кулінарія. Київ: Наукова думка.
- Artúh 1994 – Л. Ф. Артюх. Їжа та харчування. *Поділля: Історико-етнографічне дослідження*. Київ: Видавництво НКЦ “Доля”, 282–323.
- V. W. K. 1894 – В. В. К. Pamięć o zmarłych. Wisła. Miesięcznik geograficzno-etnograficzny, t. 8, z. 4. Warszawa, 816–817.
- Borisenko 1997 – В. Борисенко. Повсякденна їжа та ритуальні страви. *Холмищина і Підляшшя: Історико-етнографічне дослідження / відп. ред. Валентина Борисенко*. Київ: Родовід, 215–222.
- Šičula 1918 – А. Чичула. Народня пожива в Дрогобицькім повіті. *Матеріяли до української етнології*, т. XVIII. Львів, 12–31.
- Ciszewski 1887 – S. Ciszewski. Ludrolniczo-górnicy z okolic Sławkowa w powiecie Olkuskim. Cz. II. *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej*, t. 11. Kraków, 1–129.
- Galajčuk 2008 – В. Галайчук. Демонологічні уявлення населення Середнього Полісся про русалок. *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична*, вип. 43. Львів, 320–381.

- Galajčuk 2016 – В. Галайчук. *Українська міфологія*. Харків.
- Golubovič 1918 – І. Голубович. Народня пожива в Снятинськiм повіті (Покуте). *Матеріали до української етнології*, т. XVIII. Львів, 48–70.
- Gontar 1987 – Т. О. Гонтар. Харчування. *Гуцульщина: Історико-етнографічне дослідження / відп. ред. Ю. Г. Гошко*. Київ: Наукова думка, 203–214.
- Gontar 1998 – Т. Гонтар. Харчування лемків. *Лемківщина: Історико-етнографічне дослідження: у 2-х т.* Львів: Інститут народознавства НАН України, т. I: Матеріальна культура, 347–359.
- Gontar 2006 – Т. Гонтар. Їжа карпатських українців. *Етногенез та етнічна історія населення Українських Карпат: у 4 т. / гол. ред. С. Павлюк*. Т. II: Етнологія та мистецтвознавство. Львів: Інститут народознавства НАН України, 366–384.
- Gordiєnko 1979 – Г. Гордієнко. *Хліб наш насущний. Монографія про хліб*. Філадельфія.
- Grinčenko 1901 – Б. Д. Грінченко. *Изъ усть народа. Малорусские рассказы, сказки и пр.* Черниговъ.
- Kibort 1897 – J. Kibort. Szlachcic łapciowy na Wołyniu. *Wisła. Miesięcznik geograficzno-etnograficzny*, t. 11, z. 2. Warszawa, 270–286.
- Kondratovič 2009 – О. П. Кондратович. *Народний календар Волинського Полісся від свята до свята*. Луцьк.
- Kopernicki 1887 – I. Kopernicki. Przyczynek do etnografii ludu ruskiego na Wołyniu z materyjałow zebranych przez P. Zofiję Rokossowską we wsi Jurkowszczyźnie. *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej*, t. 11. Kraków, 130–228.
- Kożolânko 1999 – Г. К. Кожолянко. *Етнографія Буковини*, т. 1. Чернівці.
- Kravčenko 2009 – В. Кравченко. Обрядове печиво. *Кравченко В. Зібрання творів та матеріали з архівної спадщини / упоряд. О. Рубан*. Т. 2. Київ: ІМФЕ ім. М. Т. Рильського НАН України, 60–67.
- Kubiak 1981 – I. Kubiak, K. Kubiak. *Chleb w tradycji ludowej*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza.
- Lipinskaâ 1987 – В. А. Липинская. Пища и утварь. *Этнография восточных славян: Очерки традиционной культуры / Под ред. Ю. В. Бромлея*. Москва: Наука, 292–312.
- Milogradovič 1991 – В. П. Милорадович. Життьє-бытьє лубенского крестьянина. *України: народні вірування, повір'я, демонологія / упор., прим. та біогр. нариси А. П. Пономарьова, Т. В. Косміної, О. О. Боряк*. Київ, 170–341.
- Moszyński 1928 – К. Moszyński. *Polesie Wschodnie. Materjały etnograficzne z wschodniej części b. powiatu mozyrskiego oraz z powiatu rzeczycznego*. Warszawa: Wyd-wo Kasy im. Mianowskiego.
- Rokossowska 1889 – Z. Rokossowska. О свіecie roślinnym, wyobrażenia, wierzenia i podania ludu ruskiego na Wołyniu, we wsi Jurkowszczyźnie pow. Zwiąhelskim. *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej*, т. 13. Kraków, 163–199.
- Rokossowska 1899 – Z. Rokossowska. Chleb. Jego znaczenie w przesądach, lecznictwie o codziennym życiu, zebrane na Wołyniu, we wsi Jurkowszczyźnie pow. Zwiąhelskim. *Wisła. Miesięcznik geograficzno-etnograficzny*, т. 1, z. 1. Warszawa, 153–158.
- Rovinskij 1897 – П. Ровинскій. *Черногорія въ ея прошломъ и настоящемъ*, ч. 1. Санкт-Петербургъ.
- Rubiš 2007 – Ф. Рубиш, В. Рубиш-Чучвар. *Великі Лучки: історико-етнографічне дослідження*. Ужгород: Патент.

- Siarkowski 1879 – Wład Siarkowski. *Materyjaly do etnografii Ludu polskiego z okolic Kielc. Cz. II. Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej*, t. 3. Kraków, 3–61.
- Siarkowski 1893 – Wład Siarkowski. *Potrawy, ciasta i chleby ludowe w okolicach Kielc, Pińczowa i Jędrzejowa. Wisła. Miesięcznik geograficzno-etnograficzny*, t. 7, z. 1. Warszawa, 73–79.
- Strahov 1991 – А. Б. Страхов. *Культ хлеба у восточных славян. Опыт этнолингвистического исследования*. Мюнхен.
- Toporkov 2009 – А. Л. Топорков. *Решето. Славянские древности: Этнолингвистический словарь: в 5 т. / под общ. ред. Н. И. Толстого*. Т. IV. Москва, 432–437.
- Ulanowska 1891 – S. Ulanowska. *Łotysze Inflant Polskich, a w szczególności z gminy Wielońskiej powiatu Rzeżyckiego. Obraz etnograficzny. Cz. I. Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej*, t. 15. Kraków, 181–282.
- Vakarelski 1965 – C. Vakarelski. *Etnografia Bulgarii*. Wrocław: PTL.
- Valencova 1999 – М. М. Валенцова. *Кислый–Пресный. Славянские древности: Этнолингвистический словарь: в 5 т. / под общ. ред. Н. И. Толстого*. Т. II. Москва, 497–500.
- Vinogradova 2009 – Л. Н. Виноградова. *Русалка. Славянские древности: Этнолингвистический словарь: в 5 т. / под общ. ред. Н. И. Толстого*. Т. IV. Москва, 495–501.
- Zabylin 1880 – М. Забылин. *Русский народ. Его обычаи, обряды, предания, суеверия и поэзия*. Собр. М. Забылиным. Репринтное воспроизведение издания 1880 года. Москва, 1990.
- Zaglada 1931 – Н. Заглада. *Харчування в с. Старосілля на Чернігівщині. Матеріяли до етнології*, т. 3: *Матеріяли до монографії с. Старосілля*. Київ, 83–196.
- Zaklinskij 1918 – Б. Заклинський. *Народня пожива у Косівськiм повіті (Гуцульщина). Матеріяли до української етнології*, т. XVIII. Львів, 41–48.
- Zelenin 1991 – Д. К. Зеленин. *Восточнославянская этнография*. Москва: Наука.
- Zubric'kij 1898 – М. Зубрицький. “Тісні роки”. *Причинки до історії Галичини 1846–1861 рр. Записки НТШ*, т. XXVI. Львів, 1–8.
- Zúbrov'skij 2010 – А. Зюбровський. *Традиційна основа випікання хліба на Рівненщині (за матеріалами польових досліджень Гошанського та Острозького р-нів Рівненської обл. у липні 2009 р.)*. *Народознавчі Зошити*, № 5–6. Львів, 776–783.
- Zúbrov'skij 2013 – А. Зюбровський. *Реалістичні та ритуально-світоглядні вимоги до жінки-господини як основного виконавця процесу хлібопечення українців кінця XIX – XX століття. Етнічна культура в глобалізованому світі*. Одеса, 62–77.
- Zúbrov'skij 2015 – А. Зюбровський. *Визначення часових параметрів традиційного хлібопечення українців у кінці XIX – в першій половині XX ст. Народознавчі Зошити*, № 1. Львів, 106–112.

**Andrii Ziubrovskiy (Andriĵ Zûbrovs'kij)****RATIONAL AND IRRATIONAL FOLK  
CONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE BREAD BAKING  
FLOUR IN DAILY NUTRITION CULTURE OF  
UKRAINIANS OF SOUTH-WESTERN HISTORIC-  
ETHNOGRAPHIC MACRO-REGION OF UKRAINE****Summary**

The article is devoted to the analysis of rational and irrational conceptions about the bread baking flour, its substitutes and admixtures, as a component of a daily nutrition culture of dwellers of South-Western Historic-Ethnographic Macro-region of Ukraine. Local peculiarities of species and varietal composition of flour dominating in concrete ethnographic district's daily bread baking are characterized. It is considered the specific of construction and terminology of the flour's main storage containers and its preconditioning means, both with rational empiric conceptions which regulated the processes of flour storing and using. The main attention was paid to the analysis of ritual orders which regulated bread baking flour dealing with. The author considered that the main group of these beliefs appeared the same time with archaic layers of Ukrainian spiritual culture. That is why these rituals tightly related with memorial, demonological, meteorological Ukrainians' conceptions. The main purpose of folk behavioural orders, beliefs and stereotypical conceptions about bakery flour was to provide the most length of flour storage, as extremely needed product for kin's life support. Also they were called to provide succeed baking of bread both in rational and ritual points of view.