

**MOLDOVAN ETHNOGRAPHIC SCIENCE (THE SECOND HALF  
OF THE 20TH CENTURY) ABOUT THE TRADITIONS  
AND FOLK CULTURE OF THE ROMANIANS (MOLDOVANS)  
FROM THE CHERNIVTSI REGION (UKRAINE)**

**Antoni MOYSEY, Yulia RUSNAK,  
Tetyana NYKYFORUK**

Bukovinian State Medical University  
e-mail: antoniimoisei@bsmu.edu.ua,  
julijarusnak@rambler.ru, kuryluk235@ukr.net

**Abstract:** *This paper aims to analyse the contribution of folklorists and ethnographers from Republic of Moldova to studying the traditional culture of the Romanian-speaking population in the Chernivtsi region (Ukraine). There are presented the general results of a large expeditionary campaign in the second half of the 20th century and the main conclusions of scholars such as G. Spătaru, N. Băieșu, E. Junghietu, G. Botezatu, A. Hîncu, and I. Filip. In their works, they have approached almost all aspects of spiritual culture: from the folk prose, sayings, riddles, poems of calendar rituals, to the folklore of children, melodic genre, folk theatre, customs and family ceremonies, spells, riddles, magic practice, musical instruments, and instrumental music, etc.*

**Keywords:** *folklore, traditional culture, spirituality, Republic of Moldova, Chernivtsi, Romanians.*

**Rezumat:** *Știința etnografică moldovenească (a doua jumătate a secolului XX) despre tradițiile și cultura populară ale românilor (moldovenilor) din Regiunea Cernăuți (Ucraina). Lucrarea urmărește să analizeze contribuția folcloriștilor și etnografilor din Republica Moldova la studierea culturii tradiționale a populației vorbitoare de limbă română din regiunea Cernăuți (Ucraina). Sunt prezentate rezultatele generale ale unei mari campanii derulate în a doua jumătate a secolului XX și principalele concluzii ale unor cercetători precum G. Spătaru, N. Băieșu, E. Junghietu, G. Botezatu, A. Hîncu și I. Filip. În lucrările lor, aceștia au abordat aproape toate aspectele culturii spirituale: de la proza populară, zicători, ghicitori, poezii specifice ritualurilor calendaristice, până la folclorul copiilor, genul melodic, teatrul popular, obiceiurile și ceremoniile familiale, vrăji, ghicitori, practici magice, instrumente muzicale și muzică instrumentală etc.*

**Résumé:** *La science ethnographique moldave (la deuxième moitié du XX-ème siècle) sur les traditions et la culture populaire des Roumains dans la région Tchernovtsy (Ukraine).* L'ouvrage ci-joint analyse la contribution des folkloristes et des ethnographes de la République Moldavie à l'étude de la culture traditionnelle de la population parlant la langue romaine dans la région Tchernovtsy (Ukraine). On y présente les résultats généraux d'une grande campagne déroulée pendant la seconde moitié du XX-ème siècle et les conclusions principales des chercheurs tels G. Spătaru, N. Băieșu, E. Junghietu, G. Botezatu, A. Hîncu et I. Filip. Dans leurs ouvrages, ceux-ci abordèrent presque tous les aspects de la culture spirituelle: de la prose populaire, paroles, énigmes populaires, poésies spécifiques aux rituels du calendrier, jusqu'au folklore des enfants, le genre mélodique, le théâtre populaire, les coutumes et les cérémonies de famille, des sorcelleries, des devinettes, des pratiques magiques, des instruments musicaux et de la musique instrumentale etc.

## INTRODUCTION

Traditional customs and rituals of the Romanian speaking population of the Chernivtsi region were formed during a large period of time. The population of this region was alternately a part of various states, and it was influenced by different religions and ideologies. The ethnic factor was also made up: in modern times, the Romanians, Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, Jews, the Polish, Armenians, and others actively interacted in the region. This factor explains the interest of scientists of different nations and from countries in the ethnography of the peoples who lived here.

After World War II the Chernivtsi region (northern part of Bukovina) was a part of the USSR and became a constituent unit of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; the southern part of Bukovina became the Suceava district of Romania. Since the 60s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the all-union policy was aimed at creating a "united Soviet people", so the intense russification was carried out. The Latin font in Romanian speaking editions was replaced by Cyrillic, the course was conducted to separate Moldavian language from Romanian, and all Romanian schools became Moldavian. These processes also influenced on the self-identification of the Romanian speaking population of the Chernivtsi region. Taking these facts into account, two ethnonyms of the East Romanian (Romanian speaking) population of the Chernivtsi region of Ukraine will be used in the work: "Romanians" and "Moldavians".

## THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE TRADITIONS AND FOLK CULTURE OF THE BUKOVINIAN ROMANIANS

The traditional folk culture of the Romanian population of Bukovina (the northern part of which is now part of Chernivtsi region of Ukraine, along with the northern part of Bessarabia and Herța district of the former Romanian kingdom) was studied the most by Romanian ethnographers. The following names should be mentioned: S. Fl. Marian<sup>1</sup>, I. G. Sbiera<sup>2</sup>, E. Niculiță-Voronca<sup>3</sup>, T. Pamfile<sup>4</sup>, A. Gorovei<sup>5</sup>, D. Dan<sup>6</sup>, L. Bodnărescu<sup>7</sup>, and G. Bostan in the post war period<sup>8</sup>. The ethno-cultural problems of the Ukrainian population of Bukovina were studied by Ukrainians such as P. Chubynskyi<sup>9</sup>, H. Kupchanko<sup>10</sup>, O. Manastyrskyi<sup>11</sup>, Austrian authors, e. g. Gabriel

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- <sup>1</sup> S. Fl. Marian, *Sărbătorile la români* [Romanian Holidays], București, 1898, Vol. I, 290 p.; 1899, Vol. II, 307 p.; 1901, Vol. III, 346 p.
- <sup>2</sup> I. G. Sbiera, *Colinde, cântece de stea și urări la nunți. Din popor luate și poporului date* [Christmas carols, star songs and wedding speeches. Taken from the people and return to them], Cernăuți, 1888, p 117.
- <sup>3</sup> E. Niculiță-Voronca, *Studii în folclor* [Folklore studies], București, 1908, Vol. I, 303 p.; Cernăuți, 1912-13, Vol. II, 450 p.
- <sup>4</sup> T. Pamfile, *Sărbătorile la români: Sărbătorile de vară la români. Studiu etnografic* [Romanian Holidays: Romanian Summer Holidays. Ethnographic essay], București, 1911, 234 p.; Idem, *Sărbătorile la români: Sărbătorile de toamnă și postul Crăciunului. Studiu etnografic* [Romanian Holidays: Autumn holidays and Christmas fast. Ethnographic essay], București, 1914, 216 p.
- <sup>5</sup> A. Gorovei, *Credințe și superstiții ale poporului român* [Beliefs and superstitions of the Romanian people], București, 1915, p 465.
- <sup>6</sup> D. Dan, *Comuna Straja și locuitorii ei (studiu istoric, topografic and folcloric)* [Straja commune and its inhabitants (historical, topographical and folklore essay)], Cernăuți, 1897, 112 p.
- <sup>7</sup> L. Bodnărescu, *Câteva datini de paști la români. Încondeiatul ouălelor de paști* [Some of the Romanian Easter rites. Coloring Easter eggs], Cernăuți, 1908, p 28.
- <sup>8</sup> G. C. Bostan, *Poezia populară românească în spațiul Carpato-Nistrean. Istoriografie, studiu comparat, texte* [Romanian folk poetry in the Carpatho-Dniester space. Historiography, comparative characteristics, texts], Iași, 1998, 280 p.
- <sup>9</sup> П. Чубинський, *Труди этнографическо-статистической экспедиции в Западно-русский край* [Proceedings of the ethnographic-statistical expedition to the West-Russian Territory], 2004, 128 c.
- <sup>10</sup> Г. Купчанко, *Некоторые историко-географическія сведения о Буковине* [Some historical and geographic information about Bukovina], in *Записки Юго-Западного отдела императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Съ картою Буковины*. Том. II., Кіевъ, 1875, с. 289–395.
- <sup>11</sup> Р. Кайндль, О. Манастирський, *Русини на Буковині* [Rusyns in Bukovina], Чернівці, 2007, 192 c.

von Spleny<sup>12</sup>, E. Fischer<sup>13</sup>, R. F. Kaindl<sup>14</sup>, and others; Russian scientists, such as P. Svin'in<sup>15</sup>, L. Berg<sup>16</sup>, A. Zashchuk<sup>17</sup>, V. Semionov-Tian-Shanski<sup>18</sup>, P. Nesterovski<sup>19</sup>, V. Butovich<sup>20</sup>, A. Afanasiev-Chuzhbinski<sup>21</sup>, K. Ermolinski.<sup>22</sup>

### THE MOLDOVAN RESEARCHERS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDYING OF THE ETHNO-FOLKLORIC PATRIMONY OF ROMANIANS IN NORTHERN BUKOVINA

Speaking about ethnographic and ethno-folkloric research in the Republic of Moldova in the 50s-80s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the following scientists should be noted: I. Ciobanu, G. Botezatu, M. Savin, A. Hîнку, N. Băieșu, E. Junghietu, V. Cîrimpei, S. Moraru, I. Buruiană, T. Colac, M. Mocanu, V. Hațac, H. Spătaru, and I. Filip. It is a period of comprehensive research and collection of ethnic and folklore materials for the "Folklore Archive of the Moldavian Academy of Sciences", the publication of the first major folklore collections (M. Savin, I. Ciobanu, G. Botezatu): *Moldavian folklore, Moldavian folk poems, Moldavian folk art* in 16 volumes<sup>23</sup> and

<sup>12</sup> Г. фон Сплени, *Опис Буковини* [Description of Bukovina], Чернівці, 1995, 110 с.

<sup>13</sup> *Населення Буковини* [Population of Bukovina], Чернівці, 2000, 160 с.

<sup>14</sup> Р. Ф. Кайндль, *Гуцули: їх життя, звичаї та народні перекази* [Hutsuls: their life, customs and folk legends], Чернівці, 2000, 208 с.

<sup>15</sup> *Описание Бессарабской области. Составлено ведомства государственной коллегии иностранных делъ надворным советником Павлом Свиньинымъ, 1816 года, 1-го Июня* [Description of the Bessarabian region. The department of the state collegium of foreign affairs was created by the Court Counsellor Pavel Svinin, 1816, 1st June], in *Записки Одесскаго общества истории и древностей*, Одеса, 1867, Т. 6, с. 175–283.

<sup>16</sup> Л. С. Берг, *Бессарабія. Страна, люди, хазяйство. Съ картою и 30 рисунками* [Bessarabia. Country, people, economy. With a map and 30 drawings], Прага, 1918, 248 с.

<sup>17</sup> А. Зашукъ, *Матеріали для географіи и статистики Россіи, собранные офицерами генеральнаго штаба. Бессарабская область* [Materials for geography and statistics of Russia collected by General staff officers. Bessarabia region], Санкт-Петербургъ, 1862, 515 с.

<sup>18</sup> В. П. Семенов (Тянь-Шанский), *Россія. Полное географическое описание Нашего Отечества. Настольная и дорожная книга* [Russia. Full geographic description of our homeland. Reference and travel book], Санкт-Петербургъ, 1910, 983 с.

<sup>19</sup> П. А. Нестеровській, *Бессарабскіе русины* [Bessarabian Rusyns], Варшава, 1905.

<sup>20</sup> В. Н. Бутовичъ, *Матеріали для этнографической карты Бессарабской губерніи* [Materials for the ethnographic map of Bessarabia province], Кіевъ, 1916, 59 с.

<sup>21</sup> А. Афанасьев-Чужбинский, *Поездка въ Южную Россію. Очерки Днестра* [A trip to South Russia. Sketches of the Dniester], Санкт-Петербургъ, 1863, 440 с.

<sup>22</sup> К. Ермолинскій, *Сборникъ статистическихъ свѣдѣній по Хотинскому уезду, Бессарабской губерніи* [Collection of statistical information about Khotyn, Bessarabia province], Москва, 1886, 410 с.

<sup>23</sup> Г. Савина, И. Д. Чобану, *Фолклор молдовенеск* [Moldavian folklore], Кишинэу, 1956;

others; the first complex theoretical and textual works (*Chrestomathy of Moldavian folklore*<sup>24</sup>, etc.); new theoretical works (as, for example, about the typology of ballads of V. Hațac, A. Hîncu and etc.); the launch of the regional study of ethnography and folklore, etc.

This article is an attempt to investigate the contribution of Moldavian scholars in the study of the traditional culture and everyday life of the Romanian speaking population of the Chernivtsi region in the second half of the 20th century, which has not yet been introduced into the scientific circulation of Ukraine, and has not been closely studied in Romanian historiography.

The Moldovan scholars' achievements lie not only in the fixation of folklore texts in the territory of the Chernivtsi region in the second half of the 20th century. Their works attempt to deep into the roots of some customs and rituals, as in the case of magic rituals in pre-Christian times, the "hajduk" and "recruit folk drams" in the Middle Ages. The ethnic and folkloric material accumulated in the expeditions is currently stored in the Central Scientific Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova, in the fund No. 19 entitled *Materials of scientific expeditions conducted in the period 1946-1985 on the territory of the Moldavian and Ukrainian SSR*. The results of field research, in particular, are kept here as well. They were carried out in 28 settlements of the Chernivtsi region: Bairachi, Văleni, Buda Mare, Godinești, Horbova, Mihoreni, Movila, Molnița, Târnauca, Hreățca and Herța (Herța district), Voloca, Stăneștii de Sus, Dubivka (Oprișeni), Cupca, Tureatca (Hlyboka district), Crasna, Cireș, Ciudei, Pătrăuții de Sus, Igești (Storozhynets district), Boian, Dinăuți, Malinești, Rachitna (Novoselytsia district), Șișcăuți (Sokyriany district) and Colincăuți (Khotyn district).<sup>25</sup> The subject of the investigation of the spiritual culture of the Romanian speaking population of the region is diverse: folk prose, sayings, riddles, poetry of calendar rituals, children's folklore, song genre (historical, mourning, shepherd's, hajduks', recruits' songs, dumas, etc.), folk theatre, family customs and ceremonies, spells, divination, magic

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Г. Г. Ботезату, М. Г. Савина, Г. А. Тимофте *Поэзие популярэ молдовеняскэ* [Moldavian folk poetry], Кишинэу, 1957, 470 п.; *Creația populară moldovenească* [Moldavian folk art], Chișinău, 1973-1983, 16 vol.

<sup>24</sup> G. G. Botezatu, *Folclor moldovenesc: Crestomație* [Moldavian folklore: Chrestomathy], Chișinău, 1966, 366 p.

<sup>25</sup> Arhiva Științifică Centrală a Academiei de Științe a Moldovei [Central Scientific Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova], No. 19: *Materialele expedițiilor științifice de teren efectuate în perioada anilor 1946-1985 pe teritoriul Republicilor Moldovenești și Ucrainene* [Materials of field scientific expeditions carried out during the period 1946-1985 on the territory of the Moldovan and Ukrainian Republics], file 81, 83, 86, 99, 101, 106, 238, 239, 240, 248, 274, 290, 339, 344, 356.

practice, musical instruments and instrumental music, etc.

We consider it expedient to personify the contribution of each of the mentioned scientists in field research in order to elaborate the topic raised in this article, investigate it, comprehend it theoretically and publish the accumulated materials.

**Nicolai Băieșu** (1934-2015) was born in Caracușeni Vechi of Khotyn district. In 1952 he graduated from the pedagogical school in Chernivtsi, later from the Faculty of History and Philology of the Kishinev State University (1956-1961). He worked at the Institute of Language and Literature of the ASM (folklore section), the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the ASM, the Institute of Philology. The range of scientific interests: folklore of calendar rituals, children's folklore, history of folklore. He studied Romanian intangible cultural heritage in Bessarabia, Transnistria, northern Bukovina, and Carpathian Ruthenia. In 1970 he defended his PhD thesis, in 1994 he gained a doctor's degree, and he was a professor since 2004. He published about 800 scientific works, including 30 books (6 monographs) during his creative career. The most famous works are *Moldavian folk poetry of the New Year's rites* (1972), *The Poetry of Calendar Rites* (1975), *Children's Folklore* (1978), *Ritual Folklore and Life* (1981), *Folk Art: The Theoretical Course of Romanian Folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria and Bukovina* (in co-authorship, 1991), *Pan's holidays* (vol. I in 2004; vol. II in 2006) *Ethnographic Traditions of Winter Holidays* (2008), *Rites and folklore of Winter Holidays (Typology. The Corpus of Ethnographic and Folklore Texts)* (2004).

In his works, the scientist used the field material collected in the Chernivtsi region, in particular during his expeditionary research conducted in the villages of Storozhynets: Crasna, Cireș, Ciudei; Hlyboka: Voloca, Oprișeni, Cupca; Novoselytsia: Dinăuți; Herța: Târnauca; Khotyn: Colincăuți; Sokyriany districts: Șișcăuți. N. Băieșu studied folk labour traditions, which were spread in the Romanian-speaking population of Bukovina and came to the conclusion that spring customs and rites are more prevalent than winter ones. The scholar paid special attention to the study of the cycle of labour traditions and holidays: March 1/14 is the first day of spring, Alexius of Rome's Day (March 17/30), Annunciation, Introduction, Easter, St. George's Day, Papparuda Doll, and others, as well as children's folklore. In his studies, the researcher often recorded unique labour folk rituals associated with the completion of agricultural work, such as "The Last Snip" („Ultimul snop"). The rich experience of expeditionary searches allowed Băieșu to approach professionally the question of carolling rituals classification.

Traditional rituals of "plugușorul" (the little plough), sowing, "sorcova", etc. are characterized in the N. Băieșu's monograph *Moldavian Folk Poetry of the New Year's Rites* (1972). A special attention is paid to the poetry of the New Year's ritual

calendar.<sup>26</sup> The theoretical part is not separated from the ethnographic context; samples of poetic texts and photographs are added. The material was collected during field research in the 60's and 70's of 20th century. The material from a number of villages of Novoselytsia, Khotyn, Herța, Hlyboka districts of Chernivtsi oblast: Stalinești, Probotești, Malinești, Movila, Târnauca, Mahala, Mămăliga, Cupca, Pătrăuții de Sus, Carapciu is presented in the work. Bukovinian variants of carols, walking "with music", "bear", etc. are widely covered. The work is written on a very high professional level, using variety of sources and historiographical base. It represents a significant contribution to the study of winter agrarian rituals.

An analysis of the historiography of the problem, texts, comments, melodies is presented in *Poetry of the Calendar Rituals*<sup>27</sup> (1975), as a continuation of the topic begun in his previous work. The work contains Bukovinian material, which is related to the existence of carols of various subjects, wishing (*urătura*, "hăitura"), New Year's customs and rituals: matrimonial divination, sowing, "sor-cova", "kiraleisa", spring, summer and autumn agrarian rituals, pluvial ceremonies of "kaloyan", "paparuda", "Drăgaica" rites and others. The rich material devoted to agrarian subjects is worth mentioning.

**Grigore Botezatu** was born in 1929 in Baraboi, Bălți District. He has been a Candidate of Philology since 1966, and worked at the Institute of History, Language and Literature, and from 1979 to 1999 at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the ASM. Botezatu was active in field expeditions of the second half of the 20th century on the territory of the northern parts of Bukovina and Bessarabia. The range of his scientific interests: "hajduk's" folklore and the folk prose. The folklore collected by him was reflected in the textbook *The Theoretical Course of Romanian Folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria and Bukovina* (1991), and in the monograph *Folklore from the Land of Beeches* (1993) (both co-authored). The archive contains photographs from 1968, where he is depicted along with Motrescu family from Bukovina, and also from 1982 in Crasna, Storozhynets district. His works *Hajduk Folklore from Moldova* (1967), *At the springs. Fairy-tales, folk poetry and folklore research* (1991), as well as his participation in the compilation and editing of numerous folklore collections, in which materials from the Chernivtsi region also found their place, are worth studying.

In his first monograph *Hajduk Folklore from Moldova*<sup>28</sup>, Botezatu expands

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<sup>26</sup> Н. Бэешу, *Поезия популарэ молдовеняскэ а обичеюрилор де Анул Ноу* [Moldovan Folk Poems on New Year], Кишинэу, 1972, 236 п.

<sup>27</sup> Idem, *Поезия обичеюрилор календариче* [Texts of Calendar Rituals], Кишинэу, 1975, 464 с.

<sup>28</sup> Г. Ботезату, *Фолклорул хайдуческ ын Молдова* [Hajduk Folklore from Moldova], Кишинэу, 1967, 182 п.

the range of used material and adds folklore from Bukovina in the consideration of epic poetry (heroic poems, historical songs, ballads, “doina” songs, and drama). Therefore the author turns to the folklore anthologies of the Romanian researchers of the ethnography of Bukovina: S. F. Marian – *Romanian Folk Poetry* (1873) (song about Corbii and Darie hajduks), *Funeral among the Romanians* (text of the hajduk song) and E. Niculiță-Voronca – *Rites and Beliefs of the Romanian People* (1903). He finds the most of material in D. Furtună's research *Ancient songs of the Prut valley* (1927): 8 songs about Codreanu hajduk, a legend about him, in which he is recognized as the son of the ruler of Moldova, originally from Bukovina, who went to the forest avengers as a result of court intrigues. In Furtună's works, Botezatu also found the information about Bujor hajduk who was very popular in this area, as well as Tobultoc hajduk who originated from a village near Khotyn. Many of hajduk's songs are associated with the live of Darie hajduk, a contemporary and friend of Bujor. According to this researcher, such songs exist only in Bukovina. G. Botezatu found a lot of material in S.F. Marian's collection of Romanian folk songs. The folklorist elaborated a monograph based on his materials, gathered during the field research on the territory of Chernivtsi region. The wonderful songs about Darie and Toader Tobultoc were found in Crasna and Pătrăuții de Sus of Storozhynets district. One of them has a social content, and is well correlated with the present: “Voi balauri fără minți / Sugeți sângele din toți / Și ne ziceți nouă hoți” (You are mindless dragons / Squeeze all dry / Calling us thieves.<sup>29</sup>

**Efim Junghietu** (1939-1993) was born in Petrești, Ungheni district. He graduated from the school in his native land, and later from the Kishinev State University. From 1963 he began working at the Institute of Language and Literature of the ASM. While being a student he participated in folklore expeditions and as a collaborator of the folklore section of the Institute he took part in the field research, which became a systematic component of his scientific activity. For thirty years, he collected folk material from Moldova and Ukraine (Chernivtsi, Zakarpattia, Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kirovograd regions). His scientific interests were lyrical folk songs, genres of folklore short forms (proverbs, sayings, and riddles), verse letters, folk literature. His colleagues describe him as a very captious and disciplined researcher who made his observations on paper, on a magnetic tape, on a photo, made sketches of the most interesting objects of folk architecture and sketched the findings. Along with his colleagues, he collected all material related to the folklore from the Chernivtsi region in the Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova. He co-authored the monograph *Folklore from*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

*the Land of Beeches* (1993) and *The Theoretical Course of Romanian Folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria, and Bukovina* (1991). In addition, the ethnographic material from Bukovina, northern Bessarabia, and Herța district are used in his main works: *Words with the meaning. Proverbs and Sayings* (1964, in co-authorship), *Who Dances and Does not Cry* (1966), *Doinas and Songs* (1968), *Let's Remember* (1972). A three-volume series was published on the basis of folklore from Moldova and Ukraine: *Moldavian Folk Art, Folk Love Songs* (1977), *Exclamations, Memories and Verse Letters* (1978, in co-authorship), *Proverbs and Sayings* (1981). The other three books were published in the series „Pearls”: *Who said “doină-doină”*. *Doinas and Lyrical Songs* (1981), *Small Waters are Gathering in Large Rivers. Proverbs and Sayings* (1984), *That's the Way We Dance* (1985). For example, he was responsible for the presentation of exclamation and songs of various genres (shepherd, drinking song, hajduks' and recruiting songs, satirical and humorous songs) in the collective monograph *Moldavian Folklore* (1976).<sup>30</sup> In his investigations, the researcher used the exclamations from the village of Dimca of Hlyboka district, which are used while the bride's dowry was brought, and from Ceahor village of the same district, e.g. the song of a young wife.<sup>31</sup> E. Junghietu collected all the hajduks' songs in the villages of Hlyboka: Oprișeni and Stăneștii de Jos; and Herța districts: Horbova. The printed materials show a systematic expeditionary work in the village of Oprișeni, where satirical, playful, recruits and soldier songs are collected. Etymology and the legend of the village of Vașcăuți, the great epic texts about the poor Serb, the Novak's son Gruia, Khotyn, Bujor, Darie, and Toltoc are of particular interest.<sup>32</sup>

**Gheorghe Spătaru** (1933-1997) was one of the most talented Moldovan ethnographers, who were engaged in the study of the traditional culture of the Romanian speaking population of Chernivtsi region. In his scientific work, the carnival ritual of the Romanian speaking population of Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria occupies an important place. A lot of material, which was collected by the researcher about the folk theatre in Herța district, is due to the fact that he was born in Humăria (now the part of the Horbova village) of this district. Spătaru graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology of the Kishinev State University (1956-1961) and worked as a member of the Republican Institute of Ethnography and Folklore and the Institute of History and Theory of Art. He is the author

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<sup>30</sup> Г. Г. Ботезату, Н. М. Бэшу, В. М. Хацак, Е. В. Жунгиету, А. С. Хинку, І. Д. Чобану, В. А. Чиримпей, *Молдавский фольклор* [Moldavian folklore], Кишинев, 1976, 288 с.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101,112,114, 130-134.

of several monographs such as *Moldavian National Drama* (1976), *Folk Theatre with Historical Themes in Moldova* (1980 in Russian), *Folk Theatre* (co-authored in 1981), *In the World of Folk Theatre* (1985). The expeditionary material collected by the researcher in Bukovina creates a clear idea of all existing forms of folk theatre: dramatic dances „The Lark” («Ciocârli»), „Hajduk” („Haiduceasca”), „Russian” („Ruseasca”); folk dramatization (performances): „goat” («capra»), „bear” („ursul”), „horse” („căluțul”), „deer” („cerbul”), „bugai” („buhaiul”), „he-sheep” („berbecul”), „stork” („cocoștârcul”), „Malanca”, etc.; historical folk dramas: „warlike”: „Gruia and Novac” („Gruia și Novac”); hajduk: „Jianu”, „Bujor”, „Codrenii”, „Hajduks” („Haiducii”); soldier: „Soldiers” („Soldații”), „Turks” (Turcii), „Mălăncuța”, etc.; dramas about the partisans: „Partizans” (Partizanii); fantastic folk dramas: „Mărțișor”, „Brumărel”, „Gaia”, „Paparuda”, „Făt-Frumos”, etc. Gheorge Spătaru's works are based on materials from about 3-5 villages from each districts of Bukovina, where Romanians lived compactly: Storozhynets (Crasna, Cireș, Ciudei), Hlyboka (Voloca, Cupca, Molodia, Tureatca), Novoselytsia (Forosna, Mămăliga, Dranița, Boian, Vancicăuți). The greatest attention was paid to the villages of Herța district: Bănceni, Văleni, Buda Mare, Herța, Godinești, Horbova (Humăria), Mihoreni, Movila, Molnița, Târnauca, Hreățca etc. The most information was taken from his native village Horbova. Spătaru recorded also the unique carnival customs and rituals of this region. In the villages of Marșinți and Boian of Novoselytsia district, he discovered a dramatized „hajduk” dance („haiduceasca”), defining it as one of the initial stages of folk drama „Hajduks”. According to his observations, „buhai-carol” was common in the territory of Moldova, and „buhai-tube” was spread in its northern regions and the Chernivtsi region. In addition, „hăiul” is connected to the walking with „buhai”. The carnival rite „stork” was observed in Crasna, Poieni, Mogoșești and Pasat.<sup>33</sup> This is one of the rare reports of this rite on the territory of Bukovina. Gh. Spătaru also recorded the rite „shaft” („tânjala”) in Chernivtsi region for the first time. The researcher has approached very closely to such a multi-faceted carnival performance as „Malanca”, which was spread on the territory of Chernivtsi region. He described 19 characters, which were popular in 1970-1971. The material is of interest for tracking the evolution of this carnival performance, the study of the processes of its transformation. In this context, it should be emphasized that at present (2018) more than 350 characters and 3-5 thousand spectators participate in Crasna carnival. Spataru's monographs contain a series of photographs of carnival rite, common to the

<sup>33</sup> Г. И. Спатару, *Драма популярэ молдовеняскэ. Антоложие* [Moldavian Folk Drama. Anthology], Кишинэу, 1976, с. 56-59, 66.

Romanian speaking population of Bukovina: the group „Bujoreni” from Voloca in Hlyboka district, the group „Goat” and „Malanca” from Horbova (Humăria) of Herța district, and “Jieni” from Ciudei of Storozhynets district and others.

**Iulian Filip** was born 27 January 1948 in the village Sofia near Bălți of the Republic of Moldova. From 1974 to 1987 he was researcher at the Folklore Department of the Institute of Moldavian Language and Literature, Academy of Sciences of the MSSR. His first work – *Folk Theatre*<sup>34</sup> (1981) co-authored with G. Spătaru – contains folklore texts, which were collected during the period of 1948-1975 on the territory of all ethnographic zones of the Prut-Dniester interfluvium. The second book (*Do you accept the „horse”? - The Folk Theatre*<sup>35</sup>) was published in 1983. Due to his fundamental knowledge of folklore, especially in the field of folk theatre, he became a co-author of the most professional ethnographic and folklore collections of that time. So, in 1991 he wrote a chapter devoted to the folk theatre, which was included in the collective monograph *Folk Art (the theoretical course of Romanian folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria, and Bukovina)*<sup>36</sup>; in 1993 he took part in compiling the collection *Folklore from the Country of Beeches*<sup>37</sup>. In the mentioned chapter, he described the unfavourable conditions for holding winter carnival rites in the villages of northern Bukovina. It is about the period of the totalitarian regime domination when a strict struggle was carried out against folk beliefs and prejudices. The scientist witnessed a dialogue, during which he was impressed by the perseverance and persistence with which a simple man protected his right to have a holiday. The colonel of the police took off the *bear* mask from the man and began to scold him, as he was not at work. The man showed the law-enforcement officer a medical certificate, in which it was stated that he had passed the blood, and therefore he had the right to two days off: „I paid my blood for the right to celebrate St. Basil's Day”.<sup>38</sup> As the researcher noted, it is the love to national values that can explain the fact of the impressive concentration and preservation of the whole complex of a theatrical repertoire of Romanian folklore. The author also emphasized that nowhere, except for Bukovina and Northern Moldova, on both sides of the Prut, the entire complex of folk drama has survived.

<sup>34</sup> Г. И. Спатару, Ю. И. Филип, *Театрул популар* [Folk Theatre], Кишинэу, 1981, 272 с.

<sup>35</sup> Ю. Филип, *Примиць «Кэлуцул»? – Театру популар* [Do you accept the "horse"? - The Folk Theater], Кишинэу, 1983, 156 п.

<sup>36</sup> *Creația populară (Curs teoretic de folclor românesc din Basarabia, Transnistria și Bucovina)* [Folk Art (Theoretical course on Romanian folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria, and Bukovina)], Chișinău, 1991, p. 256-295.

<sup>37</sup> G. Băieșu, G. Bostan et alia, *Folclor din Țara Fagilor* [Folklore from the Land of Beeches], Chișinău, 1993, 530 p.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112-147.

I. Filip drew attention to the fact that dance with zoomorphic masks can spontaneously appear on different family and calendar holidays, mixing with other kinds of folklore. He gave the play of little children „family” or „hajduks” („de a haiducii”) as an example. The children's game „hajduks” was recorded by a researcher in Oprișeni of Chernivtsi region (respondents: V. Munteanu, H. Munteanu, V. Pahon, D. Posteuică, I. Turanschi). The game was played in their free time (on holidays or on Sunday), mostly in the woods. According to its rules, the children were divided into two equivalent groups; everyone should have wooden swords or sticks. After an improvised fight, the winners received the right, and thus became the hajduks, and each one chose the name of one of the famous hajduks: Codreanu, Anghel, Pinte, Coroi, Gruia (one of them became captain). The defeated were called „boyars” and they were tied to a tree. Sometimes one of the losers, the „landowner”, was covered with a sheet. A large beet was placed on top, and he was told that they had put the mine on top, if he did not tell the truth, it would explode. I. Filip underlined the names, composition of participants, clothes and the function of characters in describing the winter carnival traditions. He also studied the folk theatre, which existed in the Romanian speaking population of Bukovina. In particular, there are records of walking with *Malanca*, *Codrenii*, a bear and a goat in Crasna; *Malanca*, a bear in Cireș, Storozhynets district; *Gruia lui Novac*, *Bujor* in Văleni, Herța district; *Păcală and Tândală* in Oprișeni; *Malanca*, a horse in Voloca, Hlyboka district; *Malanca* in Dinăuți, Novoselytsia district, etc. in his writings. The composition of the characters in the carnival ceremonies, according to I. Filip, is of particular importance: a goat (Crasna): a goat and a shepherd; a horse (Voloca): a horse guide and a grandfather; a bear (Cireș): a bear and an ursarul; a bear (Crasna): a bear, a smith, a musician; *Gruia lui Novac* (Văleni): *Voichița*, *Novăceasa*, *Gruia*, *Novac*, *Emperor*, *Anița* (alewife), two Turks; *Bujor* (Văleni): a New Year, an Old Year, *Bujor*, *Bujorița*, two hajduks, a captain, a hunter, a shepherd; *Codrenii* (Crasna): *Codreanu*, a grandfather, a captain, a hunter, *Sortolina*, and others.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the researcher has presented *Malanca* in Crasna. According to the author's description, it consisted of more than 40 characters: 10 bears; 10 emperors; 6 empress; 3 ladies, 2 horses, commanders, doctors, devils, photographers, hairdressers, bakers, brides, and more. *Malanca* is accompanied by a huge crowd in the road that becomes an active component of the play, a source of new improvisations. The researcher even compared it with the Latin American carnival according to its external features. I. Filip described the composition of the Cireș *Malanca*, which has about 15-20 characters: a grandfather, a woman, gypsies, bears, etc.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26, 33, 48, 54-57, 105-111, 129-139.

**Andrei Hîncu** (1929) was born in the village of Mateuți, Orhei district. He graduated in 1957 from the Faculty of History and Philology of the Kishinev State University, and from the Institute of Language and Literature of the ASM, where he worked later for half a century. The range of scientific interests: the genesis of rituals and their ethnographic forms, poetry of family ceremonies, folk ballad, folklore history, problems of the theory of folk art. His famous monographs are: *Folk Ballad „Miorița”* (1967); *Epos of the Ballads in the Moldavians* (1977); *The Poetry of Family Rituals* (1981); *Genres and Types of Romanian Folklore* (2003), and his collection of articles is called *Problems of the genesis of Moldovan folk poetry* (1991). A. Hîncu was the compiler of two volumes from the series „Moldavian folk art” - *Balada* (1976) and *Folklore of Family Rites*, etc. He left 4 volumes of manuscripts from the series „Ethnographic Treasure of the Romanians of Moldova, Bukovina, and Transnistria” - *Balads, Family, Wedding, Funeral*. He was also a co-author of the collections *Folklore from the Land of the Beeches* and *Folk Art: the Theoretical Course of Romanian Folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria and Bukovina*. In his publications on Moldovan (Romanian) folklore, he turned to material gathered in the territory of Chernivtsi region. For example, in the collective monograph *Moldavian Folklore*<sup>40</sup> (1976, in Russian) he was responsible for introducing family ritual poetry and ballads, estimating the quantitative and qualitative indicators of family folklore and classifying it by way of performance and by their functional purpose. In the corpus of authentic folklore, he used the material from the villages of the southern part of Bukovina: Ilișești (wedding ceremony), Stroiști (after bathing), as well as from the Chernivtsi region: exclamations from village of Dimca of Hlyboka district and from Mahala of Novoselytsia district (the song „What's the Best on Earth”).<sup>41</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The importance of the contribution of Kishinev folklorists and ethnographers in the study of the traditional cultural heritage of the Romanian speaking population of the Chernivtsi region lies in the gathering of rich field material, which was obtained in the expeditions of the second half of the 20th century. It was represented according to the territorial-administrative principle and submitted in proportion to folklore from different regions of Moldova and Ukraine. The

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<sup>40</sup> Г. Г. Ботезату, Н. М. Бэешу, В. М. Хацак, Е. В. Жунгиету, А. С. Хинку, І. Д. Чобану, В. А. Чиримпей, *Молдавский фольклор...*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 27-42.

researchers created their own source for Romanian ethnography in the northern part of Bukovina. Their publications show a good knowledge of Romanian historiography and source study of the problem, data from the territory behind the Prut in Moldova. It should be noted the widespread use of the mentioned materials in their numerous publications, as well as the fact that the theoretical understanding of the genesis and evolution of their ethnographic phenomena correspond to the current level of scientific understanding of the problem. As the traditions tend to change or disappear over time, the data accumulated by Moldovan researchers may also be used to develop various diachronic studies of the folklore heritage of Romanian speaking communities in the Chernivtsi region. The publications, which are devoted to the Moldovan (Romanian) oral folk art and translated into other languages, create a magnificent image of folk traditions. Yet, the implementation of complex studies, and the mechanical reproduction of the ethno-cultural heritage should be combined with the lexicological, semantic and etymological analysis of this authentic texts.