

FOLKLORE

Symbolic of a festive and ritual costume in the cycle of Sloboda Ukraine calendar festivals

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Paper received 24.01.27; Accepted for publication 30.01.17.

Abstract. The paper is devoted to studying festive and ritual costumes of Sloboda Ukraine. Individual units and their using as elements of dressing and decorating anthropomorphic dolls are viewed. Special focus is aimed at festive clothing which is the part of ritual costume complex and a ritual attribute which is considered to be a usual thing in daily life and gets symbolic and magical meaning in calendar ritual scenes. It is also a peculiar sign.

Keywords: festive costume, calendar festival, ritual costume, a sign, a symbol.

The topical issue is discovering constituent complexes of a folk costume which was used by Ukrainians in ritual scenes of calendar cycle. In ritual costumes were present different attributes besides clothing, hats, shoes and accessories. Exactly these signs, so as anthropomorphic figures get symbolic meaning in ethnostaged scenes. Interaction between the beginning of the play and sacral and magical background of sacred ceremonies of calendar cycle in scenic time space of ethnostaging is considered.

The symbolic of a folk costume and its function were studied by both national and foreign researchers such as P. G. Bohatiryov, O. Voropay, L. M. Ivleva, N. M. Kalashnikova, N. M. Kaminska, A. A. Kikot, O. Yu. Kosmina, O. V. Kurichkin, G. S. Maslova, K. I. Mateyko, T. O. Nikolaeva, V. I. Chycherov, P. P. Chubynskiy etc. Using of ritual costume as the part of ethnostaged action in the cycle of calendar festivals in Sloboda Ukraine hasn't been widely and thoroughly studied in the national cultural practice.

The aim of the paper is to trace ritual using of a costume in calendar ritualism based on materials of Sloboda Ukrainians' folk culture.

Works of national and foreign scientists, materials of traditional culture researchers of 19th – 21st centuries and own ones (expeditionary ones) are used in this paper. The following research methods are used: structural and semantic, sociocultural, cross cultural and method of sources.

Clothing is an important component of nation's culture. Except for its main aim which is protection of human's body from environmental influence, clothing also has esthetical function. According to N. I. Gagen-Torn's, the ethnographer and folklorist opinion, 'clothing is a human's passport, which points at his pedigree, class, sexual identity and is a symbol of social significance' [3, p. 122]. Unlike everyday meaning, the term 'costume' in culturological context means not only clothing, but also a headdress, shoes, hairstyle, decorations and accessories. Traditional costume has been forming through thousands of years. Depending on historical events, climate circumstances the costume had been changing gaining new elements. That's why there is a worthwhile thought of N. B. Kokushavilli, about the costume that it's a 'universally accepted set of habits, rituals, traditions that are followed by certain social groups', 'the sign, the symbol and the image' [10]. A. A. Kykot has got the same opinion about

the costume. The researcher writes: 'The costume is the sign, the visual symbol of the exact country, era, identity image which is generalized and yet concrete' [9, p. 50]. Thus, the suit can easily determine the sex, age, family, social and professional status of the person and its ethnicity.

Scientists divide the following types of costumes: everyday costume, festive (gala) and ritual [2, p. 307-308; 19, p. 523].

The meaning of festive and custom (ritual) costume in the cycle of calendar ritualism of Sloboda Ukrainians is actualized in this paper. P. G. Bohatiryov writes in his work called 'Functions of a folk costume in Moravian Slovakia' that 'when everyday costume becomes festive and a festive one becomes ritual, it means that some functions get weaker and some ones get stronger, thus the new functions appear'. [2, p. 308].

It is important to highlight, that not all the parts of a ritual costume and their details used to have symbolic meaning. For example, in everyday clothing an apron prevented a skirt from getting dirty but in ritual cycle it had the role of a magical and symbolic sign. In Sloboda Ukraine, a housewife used to dispatch an apron on the ground after buying a cattle and led the cow over it to make sure that it knows it's 'new house' and is resistant to an evil eye. It was a specific joining of an alien territory with the new mansion. During the expedition to Velyki Hutory village of Shevchenkivskiy district of Kharkiv oblast it was discovered that on the second day of wedding used to greet each other with a handshake over an apron wishing to newlyweds 'not to be naked', namely, not to be poor (N. O.).

A festive costume was put on during the most special occasions of agricultural cycle such as first departure to a field, sowing, zashinky and end of a harvest - an obzhinky. At the beginning and at the end of agricultural work people used to take bread and salt with them because 'it's wrong to visit a field with empty hands' [6]. Bread and salt were also brought at the end of the work as the specific gratitude to a field for the collected harvest. Hostess or reapers officially tied the first zashinkoviy and the last obzhinkoviy sheaves decorating it with ribbons and kept it in a closet up to the New Year. Diring the Christmas celebration a sheaf which was called 'didukh' had been dressed like a man and officially placed in the corner [13, p. 50]. Over time, agricultural and magical

significance decreases in calendar ritualism. Rituals started getting entertaining functions, however, some of them still had their sacral or magical significance in families.

The smart clothing had big significance during festivals of the calendar cycle. Sloboda schedrivka has the following words: *'Whether is the master at home? / I know that he is at home, / He sits at the end of the table, / He's wearing his darling fur coat...'* [13, p. 67]. Usually, the master doesn't has to sit at the penance in outwear. The sacred corner used to be considered as the sacral place in a house and it was treated with honor. Moreover, people in Sloboda Ukraine were wearing mantles instead of fur coats. Women were wearing the white ones and men – the black ones (*N. O.*). In the ritual song the master is depicted in a fur coat. Probably, it is said about the 'wooliness' which symbolized wealth.

Festive clothing could be frequently used as ritual one. First of all, it applies to holidays of an annual cycle. Handmade ritual clothes had special magical and semiotic significance. It is mentioned in vesnyankas recorded in Sloboda Ukraine: *'Vesnyanochka-panyanochka, / Where did you spend the winter? / - In the garden on the maple / Spun for the shirt'* [16, p. 142]; *'- Vesnyanochka-panyanochka, / Where did you spend the winter? / - In the garden's shadow / Spun a shirt'* [16, p. 144]. Such costume or its details gained symbolic meaning. To make a costume complete, a girl should also have embroidered it: *'Oh, spring, spring, vesnyanochka / Where is your little daughter? / She's somewhere in the garden sewing a shirt, / With silk and white threads for the Sunday'* [14, p. 91].

For the Midsummer girls were wearing only embroidered shirts. As the shirt is not a completed ritual costume, it was tied with a belt which had the role of a charm. For strengthening of a magical and protective meaning of a belt, it was stuffed with plants such as tarragon, garlic and lovage as the additional protection from mermaids, dryads and witches which were active during the Midsummer.

To get cleared from everything bad which accumulated throughout the whole year and to protect themselves, girls used to jump over the fire. Kupala songs which are sung in Kharkiv region have the following words: *'A girl on the Midsummer / Was jumping into the fire, / She was unclean, / Then she became clean. / Keep off, keep off / The Unholy one, / I will burn the shirt, / As soon as I go home'* [7]. The text of this song proves that the costume consisted only from the shirt. If there was a skirt, it would also be burnt. This is proved by I. A. Sherstyuk's information about the fact that Russian and Ukrainian girls of Kyrgyzstan population for the Midsummer festival used to "embroider linen shirts with white silk. Such rite is depicted in the song: *Ivan's / Daughter Ulyana, / Is sitting in the garden / Embroidering the shirt... / Oh, Kupalo Ivana... / With silk and white threads / On the holy Sunday... / Oh, Kupalo Ivana...* Midsummer shirts were put on only once a year when people would visit church the day before Midsummer. These shirts were either burnt in fire or hidden for the next year" [25, p. 137]. Maybe, people would have embroidered signs and symbols for the exact action or ritual.

Presented clothing would also gain a symbolic meaning. Marriageable girls used to present to boys embroi-

dered shirts on the festival which were charmed for successful wedlock.

Clothing could also be personalized when it was left in a house instead of a person, who was temporarily absent (chumaking, earnings, military service etc). Ill person's clothing would be burnt in fire on the great festivals (such as Holy Thursday and Midsummer). It personalized clothing as a sick man.

Costume's inseparable part are decorations which have 'the role of a charm and talisman and anyway, had the role of a symbolic sign which scares away the wicked powers and protects human. Even when decorations' ancient significance is lost, their symbolic role doesn't change' [9, p.15].

Color scheme also had the role of a symbol [22, p. 138]. The most used colors were white, black, red and green. The red color was predominant in folk culture. The famous folklorist M. F. Sumtsov wrote that 'in the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century... we discover nation's partiality to the bright colors, especially, to red" [20, p. 19]. This color was so favorite that the word "red" means "beautiful". In the folk poetry this epithet was added to describe heavenly bodies, girls and boys and a loaf' [20, p.20]. 'The red color is the most widespread mean of protection from the evil eye' [2, p. 316].

The green color stands for the life beginning both in the nature and in human's life. 'The green color is present in all rituals of calendar cycle through its material embodiment such as trees, branches, wreath and grass' [23, p. 146]. In calendar and ritual clothing the most used color scheme was black and white or the bright clothing.

The rules standards of using of clothing were intentionally broken in ritualism. During the performance of ritual scenes it could be put on the wrong way about which considered to be a bad luck. In Sloboda Ukraine during the Crepe week "the goat" was dressed in a jacket which was turned inside out with the wool on top. The wooliness meant wealth. The character was covered in straw over the jacket. A mask and real horns were also applied. A costume was frequently filled up with hyperbolized details, i.e. "a tail made from patches was attached to a costume was so long, that it dragged on the ground" [8].

If the costume elements were put on back to front, it means that their everyday meaning was changed. Different shoes were also put on. Torn or too small or too big clothes were also the part of traditional clothing. Participants would be dressed in costumes of an opposite gender. Dressing a woman in male and a man in female costumes was aimed at a play scene [5, p. 159]. In this context it was easier to perform the role of an opposite gender because the performer was not himself. An anti-behavior was peculiar to the dressed characters. A mask would put its wearer beyond the social morality. According to V. Ya. Propp's opinion, "a mask gives freedom to actions which would be considered to be a depravity in different time and without masks" [18, p. 118]. All atrocities which were committed in a costume disappeared after taking it off.

People would cover themselves in straw and tree branches, would also paint their faces or cover them in mask and put fur coats in every season to stay unrecognized. Main Functions of symbolic "were connected with

productive and apotrope magic on what the dressed ones' clothing, made of fur, leather, plant materials (such as straw, reed mace, wood, elm, tow etc.) points on" [12, p. 115]. A mask used to be made in need and out of creaky improvised materials. In this way mask had been changing from festival to festival so the whole ritual costume needed to be changed. 'Masks are disclosed only when they are present in culture's corresponding text, that is in particular ritual or festive situation. This is the moment where the transmission and consolidation of information, which is encrypted in them, happens' [11, p. 16]. The natural "makeup" was used in dressing. Eyebrows and face were painted with soot, cheeks and lips were painted with red beet. Face, hands and feet were painted with chalk of flour.

'Specific form of ignoring of ethical norms was tradition of partial and sometimes complete exposure which was present in ritual scenes... Ritual exposure symbolized two opposite trends: the convergence of a human with devilry and protection from it in the same time' [22, p. 138]. In Kharkiv region for accomplishing especially important ritual actions which are connected with summoning the rain or protecting village from an epidemic, women used to expose their bodies partly or completely, but without men's presence.

'Understanding the sacral energetic of costume's parts, their mystical role and symbolic perception of colors, ornaments and decorations are inherent to the folk culture. One of the most important categories of scientific analysis of Ukrainian ritual costume is "a symbol" category [9, p. 143]. That's why the whole ritual costume or its details or accessories were conferred with symbolic meaning which highlighted its pertinence and significance in a ritual. The exact detail strengthened performance of one or another action.

Ritual costume can work only in complex. If there was a missing detail, it meant that the costume was not complete and couldn't perform the required ritual mission. Duality is inherent to ritual costume [1]. Duality of a costume can be seen in opposition of a new one to an old one. Usually, people tried to use new dishes and put on new costumes for rituals, but 'it's unknown if the new thing corresponds to sacral example' [1, p. 2].

Dressing is defined as ritual transformation in a character with help of clothing, masks and attributes. By putting on any kind of a ritual costume performer turned into an exact character. He also changed his voice timbre or the manner of behavior which was both marker and addition to a ritual costume. A character couldn't move on its own or add some moves. In the same context we can use duality of things: mobility and immovability.

Ritual costume was used as a marker of transition during the great annual festivals. The New Year and Christmastides, the Crepe week, the Pentecost, and Midsummer festivals. Also, costumes were used in the cycle of agricultural and household festivals which were confined to the beginning of the ending of farm works. For example, in Sloboda Ukraine on the New Year and Chistmastides people were wearing the following costumes, such as the Goat, Melanka, the Old man, the Old woman, the Doctor, Mikhonosha, the Bear, the Gypsy man, the Gypsy woman, the Jew, the Devil; on Crepe week people were wearing costumes of the Goat; on the Pentecost and Midsum-

mer they were wearing costumes of Hoha (Koha), the Poplar, the Mermaid, Marynonka, Ulyanytsya, Kateryna, the Young boy, the Young girl; and on obzhynky they were wearing a costume the Queen.

We get to know character's costume from the text of a ritual song. For example, on Crepe week during leading of "the goat" people in Sloboda Ukraine would sing: '*In our street / There is a Goat in a skirt. / / And in our market / The Goat in a sundress. / / And in our Kozynka / The goat in svytnytsya...*' [17, p. 61].

It's important to highlight, that in the cycle of winter and transitional winter and spring holidays (the Crepe week) the boys were to be dressed. In spring and summer cycle the girls were to be dressed.

Concerning the ritual costume, L. M. Ivleva has an interesting opinion about the playing aspect of dressing. O.V. Kurochkin distinguishes ritual and magical rite's sense. V. I. Chycherov combines folk rituals with satirical drama. 'Dressing is a special act of transformation, when it comes down to changing player's appearance. Here-with, external changes considered being the beginning of a play' [4, p. 37]. In the context of our question, their synthesis is an important point. The dressed one could do whatever he wanted to. 'Traditional New Year's dressing... despite being altered and reconsidered, still keeps its authentic form until its core and specific feature is the ritual' [11, p. 20]. That's why, according to V. I. Chycherov, 'in New Year's plays were combined... both magical rituals and folk satiric drama. Folk ritualism didn't remain in the frame of an elementary magical action' [24, p. 210].

In the cycle of calendar ritualism instead of dressing a person in a costume of one or another character, people would make a scarecrow, which is an imitation of a ritual character. Masks were mostly used during the New Year, Christmastides or the Crepe week. During the spring and summer cycle of calendar ritualism the dressing was taking place which involved the making of a scarecrow or replacing a character by a tree branch.

Ritual characters had attributes with them, which enhanced the significance of an action during its performing. Belonging of ritual characters could be easily identified by their ritual complex and attributes of their costume composition. When character holds a sack, it means that he is Mikhonosha who collects everything he earned. If a character holds a thermometer - then he's the Doctor; if he holds a stick - then he's a doctor; if he holds cards - then that person is the Gypsy woman; if he holds a lash - then he is the Gypsy man. Sometimes attributes define one or another character. Exactly with their help characters' roles are defined. In this sense, ritual attributes would gain ritual and magical significance.

An obligatory ritual attribute of calendar festivals on Christmastides was "a star"; on a Crepe week there was "kolodka"; on the Midsummer there were a tree branch and a thistle; on Forty saints there were "larks"; on Veneration of the Cross Wednesday there were "the crosses"; on Easter there were Easter cake and Easter Eggs; on Ascension there were "drabyanky"; on harvest there was a reaped sheaf; on Maccabeus there were "makivnyki" etc. Attributes which were specially made for festivals out of different materials closely joined the ritual complex. With help of such features it was easy to distinguish festivals

and rituals. During the celebration baked goods were consumed and artificial attributes were ritually destroyed: they were broken, burnt, sunk in a river or were kept up to the next festival.

Along with characters in Sloboda Ukraine, anthropomorphic attribute was also dressed in a ritual costume: a reaped sheaf was as "didukh" in a form if a man which was put in the corner on Christmastides; on Crepe week "Kolodka was decorated with flowers" [21, p. 11], and also was covered in a cloth like a baby and tied to single boys and sometimes to girls who didn't get married for a long time. In Dvoricynsk region oak's branch was wind around with a straw which had the role of a Goat. On the Midsummer anthropomorphic doll Marynonka, Ulyanytsya were made like scarecrows by dressing a tree branch or made of cereal sheaf, flowers and grass [15, p. 41]. Out of wheat or rye sheaves dolls used to be made in Mykhaylivtsy village of Tuypsk region in Kyrgyzstan. Old-timers of the village who are the frontiersmen from Kharkiv, Kyiv, Poltava, Katerinoslavsk (Dnipropetrovsk) regions of Ukraine, and Voronezh and Kursk regions (Russia). 'On Ivana Kupala a doll was made of a wheat or rye sheaf and dressed in a dress and a wreath. It was "placed" at the table in a holy corner putting treats in front of her, and

then others were to seat at the table and eat. After finishing the meal, the doll was sunk in a river or burnt [25, p. 138].

Consequently, festive and ritual costumes, its complexes, details, embroidery and color had ritual and magical significance. In everyday life costume's elements had household functions and in ritual action were as a sign with an expressive symbolic. Along with a costume in Sloboda Ukraine attributes also had ritual significance which are the inherent part of a sacral (ritual) costume. In realization of a dressed character during ritualism syncretical combination of the game beginning and ritual and magical contents of a ritual action are present. In modern cultural practice a sacral beginning lost its corresponding significance. Costume gained profane and esthetic features. To turn a costume into a particular code in ritual scenes that was perceived by spectators as an essential part of a ritual, it was necessary to demonstrate sacral meaning with help of methods of ethnotheatricalization. It is possible only if calendar ritualism is recreated by folklore and researching and performing bands, and is reproduced by performing ensembles, authentic, folklore and theater groups.

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Символика праздничного и обрядового костюма в цикле календарных праздников Слобожанщины

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию праздничного и обрядового костюма Слобожанщины. Рассматриваются отдельные единицы одежды, их использования как элемента наряда и отделки антропоморфных кукол. Особое внимание уделено праздничной одежде, которая является частью обрядового костюмного комплекса, ритуальным атрибутом, что в повседневной жизни воспринимается как обычная вещь, а в календарно-обрядовом действе приобретает символическое значение, является своеобразным знаком.

Ключевые слова: праздничный костюм, календарный праздник, обрядовый костюм, знак, символ.