





**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TEMPORAL
REPRESENTATIONS IN THE FOLK CALENDAR
OF ROMANIANS AND UKRAINIANS OF BUKOVINA**

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Abstract. *The study draws the readers' attention to the comparative analysis of the traditional concept of time for Romanians and Ukrainians in Bukovina, based on extensive research conducted by ethnographers during the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. Temporal representations are reflected at the structural level, investigating the units of measurement for time: year, season, month, days of the week, day-night alternation. The authors highlighted the ways of establishing the popular calendar, including the role played by climatic conditions, the seasonal evolution of flora and fauna in structuring the time.*

Keywords: *Time, Folk calendar, Romanians, Ukrainians, Bukovina, Year, Season, Month, Week, Day.*

Rezumat: *Analiza comparativă a reprezentărilor temporale în calendarul popular al românilor și ucrainenilor din Bucovina. Studiul supune atenției cititorilor analiza comparativă a conceptului tradițional de timp la românii și ucrainenii din Bucovina, în baza unor cercetări de amploare realizate de specialiștii în etnografie pe parcursul secolelor XIX-XXI. Reprezentările temporale sunt reflectate la nivel structural, investigându-se unitățile de măsură pentru timp: anul, sezonul, luna, zilele săptămânii, alternanța zi-noapte. Autorii au evidențiat modalitățile de constituire a calendarului popular, prezentând inclusiv rolul jucat de condițiile climatice, de evoluția sezonieră a florei și faunei în structurarea timpului.*

INTRODUCTION

Time, as a generic form of being that incorporates the length of interactions and the sequence of changes in its states, is an anisotropic condition for altering material reality's states. In this paradigm, it synchronises with various natural systems. The interdependence of time and forms of human activity requires taking into consideration the historical and social components of human relations. Among the elemental biological or psychological essences of time, one may also debate the ethnological and sociological expressions of time, which are based on the quantity of information about a particular people, location, and period of existence. In this case, time acts as one of the main categories (along with space) of the traditional picture of the world, combining mythological (cyclical nature) and historical (linearity of human life) perceptions of time. This world vision is structurally enshrined in the folk calendar. Due to the finite length of human existence, time used to be an essential social category with economic value and individual concern.

The practical component of the study led researchers to the concept of measurement gaps between units of duration and intervals between occurrences. Regular events serve as the benchmark for time units, such as the Sun movement in the sky or the Moon phases.

The calendar could be measured by appropriate units, independent and mutually subordinate, integrated and disjointed, having different characteristics, depending on the degree of integration. The research contrasts the temporal representations of Romanians and Ukrainians of Bukovina in their traditional culture.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW AND SOURCE BASE

Methodology. Many Romanian ethnologists investigated this topic in their publications. It is worth noting that Ion Ghinoiu's work¹, which is recognised for folk customs, is well known in the Romanian agriculture calendar for the whole year. In his writings on calendar holidays, he extensively studies the mythical component. The clear organisation of holidays in the calendar cycle is thoroughly described in Antoaneta Olteanu's work *Calendars of the Romanian people*², with

¹ Ion Ghinoiu, *Obiceiuri populare de peste an. Dicționar* [Folk customs during the year. Handbook], București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1997, 286 p.

² Antoaneta Olteanu, *Calendarele poporului român* [Romanian folk calendars], București, Paideia, 2001, 741 p.

details on all of its main components.

Mention should also be made of two works by Romulus Vulcănescu³, which analyse the mythological basis in the conventional worldview, including themes that became the target of this research. Folklore, and hence the emotional component, is scrupulously studied in the work of Nicolae Băieşu.⁴ In detailing the local features of the worldviews of the Romanians of Bukovina, the results of Antoniuy Moysey, one of the authors of this article,⁵ must be acknowledged. A comparative analysis of temporal representations with Ukrainian neighbours was conducted using the texts of Aleksandr Zashchuk⁶, George Kozholeanko⁷, Aleksandr Kurochkin⁸, Nikita Tolstoi⁹, Mykhailo Tyvodar¹⁰, and Igor Chekhovsky.¹¹

Source base. To study temporal representations of the Romanian population in a specific location, ethnographic anthologies of famous researchers of the

³ Romulus Vulcănescu, *Coloana cerului* [Vault of heaven], Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 1972, 270 p.; R. Vulcănescu, *Mitologie română* [Romanian mythology], Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 1985, 712 p.

⁴ Nicolae Băieşu, *Poezia obiceiurilor calendaristice* [Poetry of calendar rites], Chişinău, Ştiinţa, 1975, 464 p.

⁵ Antoniuy Moysey, *Mahiya i mantyka u narodnomu kalendari skhidnoromans'koho naselessly Bukovyny* [Magic and mantica in the folk calendar of the eastern Romanian population of Bukovina], Chernivtsi, Druk Art, 2008, 320 p.; Antoniuy Moysey, *Ahrarni zvychai ta obryady u narodnomu kalendari skhidnoromans'koho naselessly Bukovyny* [Agrarian customs and rites in the folk calendar of the Eastern Romanian population of Bukovina], Chernivtsi, Druk Art, 2010, 320 p.

⁶ Aleksandr Zashchuk, *Materialy dlya geografii i statistiki Rossii. Bessarabskaia oblasti* [Materials for geography and statistics of Russia. Bessarabian region], Sankt-Peterburg, 1862.

⁷ George Kozholeanko, *Etnografia Bukovyny* [Ethnography of Bukovina], Chernivtsi, Zoloti Lytavry, T. 1, 1999; T. 2, 2001; T. 3, 2004.

⁸ Aleksandr Kurochkin, *Kalendarnyye obychai i obryady* [Calendar customs and rituals], in N. S. Polishchuk, A. P. Ponomarev (Eds.), *Ukraintsy* [Ukrainians], Moskva, Nauka, 2000, p. 391-430.

⁹ Nikita Tolstoi, *Ocherki slavyanskogo yazychestva* [Essays on Slavic paganism], Moskva, Indrik, 2003, 624 p.

¹⁰ Mykhailo Tyvodar, *Tradytsiynе skotarstvo Ukrayins'kykh Karpat druhoyi polovyny 19 – pershoyi polovyny 20 st.: istoryko-etnolohichne doslidzhennya* [Traditional cattle breeding of the Ukrainian Carpathians of the second half of the 19th - first half of the 20th century: historical and ethnological research], Uzhhorod, Karpaty, 1994, 340 p.

¹¹ Igor Chekhovsky, *Demonolohichni viruvannya i narodnyy kalendar ukrayintsiv Karpat-s'kohi rehionu* [Demonological beliefs and the folk calendar of Ukrainians in the Carpathian region], Chernivtsi, Zelena Bukovyna, 2001, 304 p.

traditional Romanian culture of Bukovina were used: Simion Fl. Marian¹², Dimitrie Dan¹³, Artur Gorovei¹⁴, Tudor Pamfile¹⁵, and the representative of a sociological school, Dimitrie Gusti¹⁶. The monographic studies of local villages by Vasile Diaconu¹⁷, Dragoș Tochiță¹⁸, and Ioan Iețcu¹⁹ were a great source of knowledge as well. It should be noted that the fundamental study included in the collection *Holidays and customs*²⁰ provides answers to questionnaires used in constructing the Romanian Ethnographic Atlas, and is thus a crucial source for such research.

FOLK BELIEFS ABOUT THE LIMITS OF THE YEAR / SEASON

The season, or the time of year, is the most extended unit of time in a year, as established by folk tradition. The off-season borders are blurred and preserve regional individuality in popular tradition. In the second half of the 19th century,

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- ¹² Simion Fl. Marian, *Sărbătorile la români. Studiu etnografic* [Romanian Holidays. Ethnographic study], Ediție îngrijită și introducere de I. Datcu, București, 2001, Vol. I–III.
- ¹³ Dimitrie Dan, *Credințe populare bucovinene* [Bukovinian folk beliefs], in "Gazeta Bucovinei" [Bukovinian Gazette], 1894, No. 30, p. 1–2; No. 63, p. 1–2; No. 67, p. 1–2; No. 70, p. 1–2; No. 74, p. 1–2; No. 79, p. 1–2; No. 84, p. 1–2; No. 97, p. 1–2; No. 99, p. 1–2; 1895, No. 2, p. 1–2; No. 5, p. 1–2; No. 12, p. 1–2; No. 17, p. 1–2; No. 19, p. 1–2; No. 23, p. 1–2; No. 30–31, p. 2; No. 32, p. 1–2; No. 37, p. 1–2; No. 40, p. 1–2; No. 43, p. 1–2.
- ¹⁴ Artur Gorovei, *Credinți și superstiții ale poporului român* [Beliefs and superstitions of the Romanian people], Ediție îngrijită de I. Datcu, București, Grai și Suflet, Cultura Națională, 1995, 334 p.
- ¹⁵ Tudor Pamfile, *Sărbătorile la români. Studiu etnografic* [Romanian Holidays. Ethnographic study], Ediție și introducere de I. Datcu, București, Editura Saeculum I.O., 1997, 431 p.
- ¹⁶ Filon Lucău-Dănilă, Dumitru Rusan, *Fundu Moldovei, o așezare din ținutul Câmpulungului bucovinean* [Fundu Moldovei, a settlement in the Câmpulung district of Bukovina], Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Societatea pentru Cultură "Dimitrie Gusti", 2000, 461 p.
- ¹⁷ Vasile Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor pe Suha Bucovineană. Obiceiuri și credințe* [Ethnography and folklore of the Sukha-Bukovina valley. Customs and beliefs], Iași, Unirea, 2002, 490 p.
- ¹⁸ Dragoș Tochiță, *De la lume adunate și-napoi la lume date. Culegere de folclor din Pătrăuții de Sus și Pătrăuții de Jos* [From the people gathered and back to the people given. Folklore collection from Pătrăuții de Sus and Pătrăuții de Jos], Suceava, Alt Univers, 2005, 94 p.
- ¹⁹ Ioan Iețcu (coord.), *Părteștii de Jos 1415-2000. 585 de ani de atestare documentară* [Părteștii de Jos 1415-2000. 585 years of documentary attestation], Suceava, Cuvântul nostru, 2000, 408 p.
- ²⁰ Ion Ghinoiu (coord.), *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsurile la chestionarele Atlasului Etnografic Român* [Holidays and customs. Answers to the questionnaires of the Romanian Ethnographic Atlas], București, vol. I, 2001, vol. II, 2002, vol. III, 2003, vol. IV, 2004, vol. V, 2009.

spring began either on March 1st or at the end of the days of Baba Odochia (Baba Dochia), namely on St. Alexei (March 17th) and lasted until St. Onufrii (June 12th),²¹ according to the folklore of the Romanians of Bukovina. Summer lasted from St. Onufrii day to the Second Day of Mother of God (September 8th) or St. Paraskeva day. According to popular belief, “summer turns to autumn” from the day of Pantelius-traveler (Pintelei-călătorul) – July 27th. Autumn begins with the Second Day of Mother of God and lasts until St. Nicholas day (December 6/19).²² Winter starts from the day of St. Nicholas, or Ovid (Vovidenie) or Christmas fasting (Arbore, Vatra Dornei, Calafindești, Vicovul de Jos - Suceava County).²³ Such a gradation of time units is fixed in folklore: “Am un copac cu douăsprezece ramuri, în fiecare ramură câte patru cuiburi, în fiecare cuib câte șapte ouă, în fiecare ou câte douăzeci și patru de pui” / “I have a tree with twelve branches, in each branch four nests, in each nest seven eggs, in each egg twenty-four chicks.”²⁴

Seasonal boundaries are about the same for Ukrainians in Bukovina as for Romanians. The transitivity of the Epiphany feast, which corresponds to the shift from Winter to Spring, was investigated; Spring lasts until the Holy Trinity (in the Carpathians – until the Ascension)²⁵; summer lasts until the day of St. Macrina, sister of St. Vasyl the Great²⁶; autumn lasts until the Saturday of St. Demetrius (Grandfather’s)²⁷, or Presentation of the Virgin Mary or The Entry of the Most Holy Theotokos into the Temple (*Cuciurul Mare – Storojineț, Chernivtsi*).²⁸ In Lenkivtsi (Chernivtsi district), the population says that “winter goes to Nikolai with a nail”, so the real frost occurs after St. Nicolas day.

In the Romanian folk calendar, the year’s division into two holidays, St. George and St. Dmitry, continued to demonstrate that the preceding year featured two major seasons. In particular, livestock breeders and other country people, such as shepherds and hired workers, observed this customary split of the year. This tradition exists among Bulgarians, Serbs and Macedonians, and partly among Eastern Slavic people.²⁹

²¹ Dimitrie Dan, *op. cit.*, 1894, nr. 84, p. 1; 1895, nr. 43, p. 1; Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 72.

²² Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 72; Ion Ghinoiu (coord.) *Sărbători și obiceiuri ...*, T. IV, p. 371-376.

²³ Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*; Tudor Pamfile, *op. cit.*, p. 215-216.

²⁴ Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Mikhaïlo Tyvodar, *op. cit.*, p. 378-379.

²⁶ George Kozholeanko, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 181, 245, 280.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

²⁸ Igor Chekhovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 152-153.

²⁹ Nikita Tolstoi, *op. cit.*, p. 27-28.

Weather conditions and the behaviour of animals and birds often determine the beginning of a new season. For example, in Bukovina, the spring onset coincided with the emergence of snakes and reptiles from the ground, the beginning of the activation of flies and red butterflies, the blooming of snowdrops, the arrival of swallows and storks. Conversely, people believed that winter was approaching when the birds flew away.³⁰

FOLK NAMES OF MONTHS

Months. Weather conditions and the state of vegetation caused folklore names of months in the Romanian calendar. Sometimes they follow the Roman tradition:

- *Indrea* – December, ancient name 'Andrei' (Andrew);
- *Gerar* – January, frosty;
- *Faur* – February, from Latin 'febr(u)arius';
- *Mărțișor* – March, willow bud or from Latin 'martius';
- *Prier* – April from Latin. 'aprilis';
- *Florar* – May, = floral;
- *Cireșar* – June, cherry-month;
- *Cuptor* – July, the oven, from Latin 'coctorium';
- *Gustar* – August, from Latin 'august';
- *Secerar* – August, harvest;
- *Răpciune* – September, the name of the herb potion;
- *Brumărel* – October, from "brume" – frost, diminutive;
- *Brumar* – November, from "brume" – hoarfrost, frost.

The features of the months can be found in folklore, as shown by the Bukovinian proverb: "Fie orișicât de rece, / Numai făurar de-ar trece" / "It doesn't matter how cold it is, / if February passes". Or: "Prier priește / Dară și jupește" / "Prier (April) is favourable / But it also peels the skin out" which means that although there is mild weather in April, there is also the possibility of sudden chilling and frost.³¹

The names of months also describe the people's worldview, which depends on the natural conditions of Ukrainians in Bukovina as well as other regions of Ukraine. For example, January (*crackling, snowman, glacier = triskun, snihovyk, l'odovyk*), February (*twirling, wintering, bokogriy = kruten', zymbor, bokohriy*), March (*Hutsul maret, birch, sochen, juicer, dripper = maret's u hutsuliv, berezol'*,

³⁰ Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 73.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

sochen', *sokovyk*, *kapel'nyk*), April (*April*, *red*, *snowman*, *chirping*, *Aquarius* = *tsviten'*, *krasnets'*, *snihozhin*, *dzyurchal'nyk*, *vodoliy*), May (*May*, *herbalist*, *songbird* = *may*, *travnyk*, *pisennyk*), June (*red*, *worm* – associated with the ripening of berries, fruits, flowers = *krasnyk*, *chervets'*), July (*July*, *hay*, *mowing*, *thunderstorm*= *lypets'*, *sinokis*, *kosen'*, *hrozovyk*), August (*kopen*, *cuttings*= *kopen'*, *zhyvets'*), September (*September*, *howl*, “*Baba’s summer*”= *veresnets'*, *revun*, «*babine lito*»), October is the month of yellow leaves (*podzernik*, *October*, *wedding-month* = *podzernyk*, *kostrychnyk*, *vesil'nyk*), November (*podolist*), December (*gloomy*, *urinary* = *khmuren' mochavets'*). As a result, a similar phenomenon may be observed: all the names of months indicate the natural coherence of Ukrainian tradition with nature and the seasonal work of farmers.

Essentially the same applies to the folklore of Ukrainians, which combines temporal ideas about the months. Hutsul tales belong to the Bukovina region: “January is cutting above, and you stay close to the stove. January cuts and freezes, and the owner carries firewood from the forest”; “February lets in water; Marot picks it up; February asks if you’re wearing shoes”. Ukrainian sayings and other phraseological units related to months: “Dry March is a wet May, there will be paradise in the barn!”; “Warm April is a wet May, there will be paradise in the barn!”; “Give it to the oxen, and run to the stove yourself” (May); “In July the yard is empty, the field is full of gifts”; “December has come – cold weather has brought.”³²

FOLK SIGNS AND YIELD PREDICTIONS DURING THE YEAR

The farmer’s knowledge of nature and his surveillance habits create a system of signs and divinations in his worldview, which should help him predict future weather disasters and accidents during the year, a particular season and, in general, a better life. These signs were and continue to be an integral part of the worldview of the Romanians of Bukovina. Among these, those that focus on the behaviour of animals, insects, plants, fixed folk signs and others should be highlighted.

The behaviour of the bear on *Sritenia* (the Meeting) determined the duration of winter or the rapid approach of spring³³; people believed that “when ants build large anthills in autumn, winter will be hard” (*Câmpulung Moldovenesc – Suceava*); “If wasps have made a nest in the ground – you should expect a warm

³² “Hutsul's'kyi kalyendar” [Hutsul’s calendar], Issue 14, 2009, p. 3-25.

³³ Dimitrie Dan, *op. cit.*, 1894, nr. 79, p. 1-2; Filon Lucău-Dănilă, Dumitru Rusan, *op. cit.*, p. 387; Ioan Iețcu, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

winter, and if in beeches, spruces or other trees it might be cold”³⁴; Vedennia fest has such proverbs: “If hail falls on Easter – the year will be productive”; “The weather during the day will be the same throughout the winter” (*Tătăruși – Suceava*).³⁵ In autumn, the winter duration was determined by the length of up-rooted parsley³⁶ and the height and width of the pig’s spleen³⁷. The Romanians of Bukovina also had a way of predicting the weather on charcoal³⁸.

The Ukrainians experienced a similar situation: on Stritennia, it was said, “if a rooster does not drink water on the ground, an ox will not graze grass on Yuri”; “On Evdokia water flows, on Yuri grass grows”; “If it rains on Yuri, there will be bread even for a fool”; “On Yuri comes frost – means that oats will be made a lot”; on Talalei-Ogirochnyk (02.06) it was mentioned: “if the earth is dry on this day, there will be a harsh winter, and if it is wet, there will be a mild winter”; on Eustachia (03.10) it was popular to predict future weather by the winds: the northern one foretells winter-cold, the southern one forecasts heat, the western one predicts rain, and the eastern one good weather; on St. Kozma and Demyan day people cut branches from the oak: when the oak has no juice predicts that there will be a harsh winter and when the ground on Kozma freezes, there will be a warm winter.³⁹

WEEKDAYS IN THE IMAGINATION OF ROMANIANS AND UKRAINIANS OF BUKOVINA

The folk tradition of Romanians regarding the days of the week is clearly defined and has a functional essence. Monday and Thursday are pretty positive and have close characteristics; Tuesday and Saturday are also similar but have some negative meanings. The first pair means the favourable days when you must start planning or doing anything initially, while the second represents the bad days. The third pair includes Wednesday and Friday, which are considered the best working days, particularly Friday, which in the worldview of the Romanian farmer holds even the same quality and importance as Sunday. Unlike the Ukrainians of Bukovina, who imagine that the days of the week have masculine and feminine genders, the Romanians believe that the days are entirely feminine, each dedicated to and inherent in one of the saints. According to the folk tradition,

³⁴ Vasile Diaconu, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

³⁵ Artur Gorovei, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

³⁶ Dimitrie Dan, *op. cit.*, 1894, nr. 74, p. 2.

³⁷ Dragoș Tochiță, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³⁸ Antony Moysey, *Mahiya i mantyka...*, p. 64-73.

³⁹ “Hutsul's'kyy kalyendar” [Hutsul’s calendar], Issue 14, 2009, p. 5, 7, 11, 13, 21, 23.

it performs or motivates or prohibits performing certain types of work. For Ukrainians, every day of the week has its qualitative characteristics, correlated with other calendar days. Monday is a difficult day, Wednesday and Friday are women's days, and Sunday is a day of obligatory rest.

As a result of a long evolution of people's worldviews, there are now two ways to count the days: from Monday to Sunday and from Sunday to Saturday. The origin of these Slavic names for the weekdays is interpreted as the number of the days following Sunday. Monday is the first day after Sunday, Tuesday is the second day. Wednesday is the average in a series of "Sundays". Thursday is the fourth, and Friday is the fifth day. They also have notions of "good" and "bad" days. The same day was evaluated as positive for one sign and harmful for another. For example, women's or men's day, first or last, fasting or modest, was also considered in their concurrence with church holidays – Christmas, Epiphany, Annunciation, natural or life events.⁴⁰

Monday was thought to be an excellent day to start any business. One needed to rejoice so that the joy would linger all week, and they fasted on Monday for good luck.⁴¹ In Kupka of the former Hlyboka district, people believed that fasting would bring happiness, save a person from eye diseases, and the cattle would also be healthy. At the same time, bans are typical for Monday. You cannot borrow or give something away from the farm because there will be losses all week long. In the Suha River valley, it was believed that if money was borrowed on Monday, the family would quarrel for a week⁴²; nor could the ashes be taken out of the house, for the birds of prey would steal the chickens⁴³; modest food with a high risk of disease for humans and animals (Suceava County) was not recommended⁴⁴. Bessarabian Romanians in the 19th century would not offer fire, cheese or butter on this day to avoid poverty. It was also forbidden to make calculations, which could lead to loss.⁴⁵

Ukrainians in Bukovina were also banned from participating in a transaction on Monday. In some parts of the region, starting a business on this day was considered a bad sign. It was considered a difficult day.⁴⁶ Even today, in the Vikno

⁴⁰ *Hodyna narodoznavstva. „Narodnyy kalendar”* [Hour of ethnography. "Folk Calendar"], http://www.library.sokal.lviv.ua/crb scenarij_narodnyy%20kalendar.html

⁴¹ Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75-76.

⁴² Artur Gorovei, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁴³ Eugenia Aglaia Iacob, *Oameni și datini din Roșcanii Sucevii* [People and customs from Roșcanii Suceava], Iași, Princeps, 2006, p. 239.

⁴⁴ Artur Gorovei, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁴⁵ Aleksandr Zashchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 485-487.

⁴⁶ George Kozholeanko, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 43.

village of Chernivtsi district, it is believed that money cannot be borrowed on Monday because there will be no money for the whole week. Such a ban is still maintained in Chernivtsi.

Tuesday has probably the most bans: starting important work;⁴⁷ going on a long journey because it will bring misfortune; weaving fabric; washing oneself (especially one's hair); sewing shirts; getting engaged, having a wedding, etc. Aleksandr Zashchuk recorded the same prohibitions among the Romanians of Bessarabia in the middle of the 19th century. They were justified by the belief that, on this day, God began to create Heaven and Earth.⁴⁸ Together with Monday and Thursday, Ukrainians considered Tuesday a man's "masculine" day. Still, unlike the first two, it was firmly established in the folk calendar as a sign of the easy, lucky, cheerful and happy day. It was considered the best time, in particular, for sowing, harvesting, carting, threshing, cloth polishing.⁴⁹

On Wednesday, it was forbidden to wash, eat non-vegetarian food, which might cause disease and various misfortunes for people⁵⁰, and remove the ashes from the house.⁵¹ The attitude to Wednesday is ambivalent in the folk calendar of Ukrainians. As on Friday, people used to fast (fasting on Wednesday would enable access to the kingdom of heaven), and fasting days were often called the easiest. In addition, it was believed that Wednesday was a special day when God created the Sun, Moon and Stars. As a result, the Sun will appear for at least 5 minutes, and only on Wednesday. However, a considerable collection of bans has been documented in several communities. It was impossible to wash hair and comb the braids because "Wednesday has 40 daughters, and each will pull a strand of your hair out", "Wednesday has 77 sisters, it is necessary to give each a strand of hair."⁵²

Any work on Thursday was allowed; the prohibitions applied only to the period of Holy Thursdays between Easter and Ascension.⁵³ Thursday was called men's day in the Ukrainian villages of Bukovina, and it was considered a favourable and easy day for all kinds of human affairs.

Friday was considered the holiest day of the week in some parts of Bukovina. It was forbidden to sew, wash, sweep, and take out the house garbage and perform fieldwork on Friday because they believed that St. Friday would punish

⁴⁷ Artur Gorovei, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75-76.

⁴⁸ Aleksandr Zashchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 485-487.

⁴⁹ *Hodyna narodoznavstva...*

⁵⁰ Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75-76.

⁵¹ Eugenia Aglaia Iacob, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁵² *Hodyna narodoznavstva...*

⁵³ Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75-76.

such 'outlaws'.⁵⁴ In Hăinești, eggs were not taken from the henhouse that day because it was thought that 'the outlaw' would get smallpox.⁵⁵ For Ukrainians, Friday restrictions concerned mainly weaving and, above all, spinning. There was also a personification in the image of Paraskeva Friday. Ukrainians believed that she could appear to the women who had turned that day at night, push the spindles through the window, and threaten them not to spin again. There was also a ban on baking bread. But in general, this day had a positive meaning; it was clean, easy to start anything.⁵⁶

Saturdays may well be worked, but not for sewing shirts since they believed the shirt owner would die shortly.⁵⁷ This ban also existed among the Romanians of Bessarabia.⁵⁸ On Saturday, they were wary of travelling⁵⁹, as well as bleaching and anointing with clay so as not to "grease the mouths of the dead with clay" (*Straja, Suceava*). In Kupka, the former Hlyboka district, they tried not to start a new job on Saturday.⁶⁰ For Ukrainians, Saturday was considered unlucky for needlework because "the world was rolling", smearing the house, washing clothes were discouraged activities. It was not allowed to cut nails on Saturday: "you will come across an evil force on Sunday"; it was a "good deal" to wash your face on this day: "you will be good-looking to all the people!"⁶¹

Sunday was a day of rest and celebrations. It was also a good time for wedding ceremonies, games and no work time. Such rules were taken into account even at the state level of governmental regulations and confirmed by historical evidence. At the beginning of the 18th century, the chronicler Ion Neculce says in his work titled *Some words heard from old and ancient people but not recorded in chronicles* about how Stephen the Great (1457-1504), who used to go to the liturgy, felt a powerful voice ordering to harness the oxen to the plough before

⁵⁴ Vasile Diaconu, *op. cit.*, p. 339, 352; Eugenia Aglaia Iacob, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75-76.

⁵⁵ Petru Herescu, *Superstiții* [Superstitions], in „Șezătoarea” [Parties], 1894-1895, p. 49-50.

⁵⁶ *Hodyna narodoznavstva...*

⁵⁷ Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75-76; S. Mihăilescu, *Superstiții* [Superstitions], in „Șezătoarea” [Parties], 1893-1894, p. 195-198.

⁵⁸ Aleksandr Zashchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 485-487.

⁵⁹ Simion Fl. Marian, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75-76; S. Mihăilescu, *op. cit.*, p. 195-198; Simion Teodorescu Kirileanu, *Credinți populare asupra gospodăriei* [Folk beliefs associated with farming], in "Gazeta săteanului" [Farmer's newspaper], 1897-1898, p. 505.

⁶⁰ Petru Ciobanu, Reveca Prelipcean, Vasile Slănină, *Cupca, un sat din Bucovina. Monografie istorică. Partea I (anii 1429-1944)* [Kupka, a village in Bukovina. Historical monograph. Part. 1 (1429-1944)], Câmpulung Moldovenesc, 2004, p. 310.

⁶¹ *Hodyna narodoznavstva...*

church on Sunday morning. The ruler was furious and ordered that the villain be brought before him. But it turned out that the more affluent brother did not give the poor man time to plough on any other day. The prince ordered that the plough be given to this man. Neculce's narrative demonstrates how seriously Romanians took the respect of traditions.⁶²

Similarly, Ukrainians were banned from doing any work around the house on Sundays, and their most common motivation was: "that is a sin". One of the probable repercussions of breaking the rule may be injury, illness, unhappiness in the family. But in some places doing certain types of work was considered not only permissible but also ritually necessary. This included the first cattle grazing on the field, the beginning of ploughing, construction, and so on. In addition, it was on Sunday habit of collective neighbourly assistance called "toloki", during which almost all types of work must be done. Various parties and dances were arranged on such Sunday evenings.⁶³

St. Joimăriță, in the mythological representations of Romanians, appeared in the image of a disgusting straight-haired woman with a large head and teeth who lived in a secluded forest. She punished young women who worked on the day assigned to her. The Romanians of Bukovina thought Good Friday was a grandmother, a goodhearted older woman. According to folk tradition, saint Tuesday is one of the most dangerous creatures. She looks like a goat with a human head. She could change her image and become anyone, including a young man, a grandmother, or somebody else. She lives in the mountains and severely punishes young women who laboured her day (drinks blood and tickles to death).⁶⁴

Simion Fl. Marian documented a special prayer from the Romanians of Bukovina, popularly called „the prayer of the week” (*Rugăciunea săptămânei*), in which the inhabitants of Tereblecea village of the former Hlyboka district were addressed every seven days.⁶⁵

The structure of the days. Romanian peasants got used to a certain number of periods during the day. Thus, according to folk tradition, it was conventionally divided into:

- Sunrise;
- Forenoon (time after sunrise and until dawn, when the sun rose “on the

⁶² Ion Neculce, *O samă de cuvinte* [Some words], in „Letopisețul Țării Moldovei” [Chronicle of the Moldavian principality], Chișinău, 2006, p. 269.

⁶³ *Hodyna narodoznavstva...*

⁶⁴ Simion Fl. Marian, *Botanică românească ...*, p. 92–94.

⁶⁵ Idem, *Sărbătorile la români ...*, Vol. I, p. 79.

one spear”);

- Small breakfast – about 8-9 a.m., when the sun rose “three spears up”;
- “*amproor*” – about 9-10 a.m.;
- Large breakfast - breakfast time before lunch;
- noon – 12 o’clock;
- small dinner – at 16.00;
- dinner – at 20.00–21.00 o’clock.

The day’s structure for the Ukrainians of Bukovina was similar to the Romanian population. Farmers used to traditionally determine the day or night by the singing of roosters. The second song had the meaning of the third hour a. m., the third one and the cooing of geese meant the beginning of dawn. They used to tell time by the stars. The evening star (*luceafărul*, shepherd’s star) announced the night, and the morning star marked the beginning of a new day.⁶⁶

Some people also knew the “forest clock”, applicable to them in practice. One of its variants was recorded in 1887:

- *the tit chirps at half-past one or two in the morning;*
- *the birch bark (black-headed) sings between the two o’clock and a half past two;*
- *the lark sings from half-past two till three o’clock;*
- *the birch (red-breasted) sings between three and a half to four;*
- *the blackbird sings between half-past three and four;*
- *the tit chirps from half-past four to five;*
- *the sparrow chirps between five and six o’clock.*⁶⁷

Many customs and beliefs are associated with periods of the day. Aleksandr Zashchuk paid attention in his research to the following ideas of the Romanians of Bessarabia in the 19th century. A woman was not allowed to weave threads or work with wool; otherwise, “the family would not be together”, nor did she sweep the house, put out waste products so that fate would not separate her from her family and household. Before drinking the water brought home at night, three pieces of burning sticks were thrown into the water because of the belief in an evil spirit living there. The burning embers, together with the prayer, destroyed its evil influence. When a Moldavian young man saw the moon, he would show coins to the moon and say: “Same as we have met, leave me, please!” If he had no money at that time, he might have had less money for the rest of the year.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79-81.

⁶⁷ “*Revista pădurilor*” [Journal of Forests], 1887, p. 240-241.

⁶⁸ Aleksandr Zashchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 485-487.

GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF THE FOLK CALENDAR

The scientific research and articles about the genesis and evolution of the folk calendar from the study of ethnographers such as Ion Ghinoiu, Antoaneta Olteanu, Romulus Vulcănescu, Ion Ciubotaru, Ion Cuceu, Nicolae Băieșu, Gheorghe Spataru, Iulian Filip, etc. recorded several significant external influences on the Romanian calendar. The Dacian calendar has the most visible impact, although there is little recorded evidence about it. Jordan, a Gothic historian, was the sole documented source that acknowledged the Dacians' astrological expertise. It claimed that Deceneus (Dacian high priest and adviser to King Burebista) demonstrated the theory of the 12 signs of the zodiac, showed the motion of the planets and all the astronomical mysteries: how the moon's orbit increases and decreases, how many times the Sun is larger than the Earth.

This information supplements sources of archaeological origin. Scientists have found the most interesting archaeological facts near the capital Sarmisegetuza in the sanctuary of the Getae-Dacian calendar. Some researchers compare it to the Stonehenge complex (UK). A unique building has been preserved in the open area above the capital, having a round shape and consisting of 180 stone pillars. According to some scientists, this stone complex used to serve as a Sun-movement observatory. The circle is divided by thirty thicker columns into 30 groups. Examining the structure of this original calendar, the researchers concluded that the year of the Dacians consisted of two half-years of 180 days, or 12 equal months, each of which was divided into five periods of 6 days. Even more striking is the composition of stone pillars inside a circle of 68 wooden items, with a horseshoe-shaped structure of 34 wooden elements in the centre. This device allowed the Dacian astronomers to make adjustments every 34 years, reducing the error to a small value (1.77 days in 34 solar years). Due to its similarity to modern European chronology (T. Zlatkovskaya, H. Daicovici, etc.), many researchers believe that the Dacians independently created their calendar. However, it should be emphasised that this theory has been subjected to criticism.⁶⁹

Due to the lack of information, researchers are not unanimous about the Dacian calendar nature and some of its features. The fundamental issue, which has long been debated, is whether the Dacian calendar belongs to the solar, uranium-solar, lunar, or lunisolar planetary systems. Recently, the prevailing position is that the Dacian calendar belongs to the lunisolar system. Thus, Dan Oltean's argu-

⁶⁹ Dan Oltean, *Religia dacilor* [Religion of the Dacians], București, Saeculum, 2002, 479 p.

ments are based on the results of archaeological research, namely on the criteria of proportions, orientation and types of temples in the analysis of sanctuaries of this period and on the consideration of the holidays in the Romanian folk calendar. The coherence between the lunar and solar calendars is based, in his opinion, on the Meton 19-year cycle, which is confirmed by the quantitative structure of the Sarmisegetuza sanctuary № 6, the Costești sanctuary № 4, and inscriptions on the sanctuaries' walls. It did not go unnoticed that the Dacians used their calendar simultaneously as the Babylonians, Greeks, Jews, Celts, Muslims and others, demonstrating that it was nothing unusual about this phenomenon.

As with the Celts and other calendars, the Dacian lunar year was divided into two seasons. The appearance of the new moon in the western sky and the full moon in the eastern sky used to cause the calendar's major holidays. Each year their number fluctuated within the range of 24. They have included two major solstices. The solar calendar was also divided into two seasons.⁷⁰

For the Dacians, the beginning of the year was on December 22nd. The Dacian New Year differed from that of the Greeks, who celebrated it on the summer solstice, and from that of the Celts, who observed it on November 1st and were quite similar to the Romans. From 153 BC, the Roman New Year was moved to January 1st. And, as a result of Caesar's calendar reform in 46 BC, the date of January 1st has been accepted as the first day of the year.

Different calendars' historical influences can be observed in the Romanian national calendar. The agrarian one began on March 9th and was associated with the day of the Vernal Equinox and the death of Baba Dochia, associated with the Neolithic goddess Terra Mater, the shepherd Mother of the Earth. Sângeorz (St. George) day was postponed to April 23rd. The God of Vegetation, patron of horses, cows, sheep, and sown deer, was associated with the indigenous God – the Thracian Knight. The viticulture New Year has been celebrated on February 2nd, etc. The biblical New Year, which was celebrated on September 1st in honour of the world's creation in 5508 BC, was included in this list of feast days. Until the 18th century, the church and the prince's court used BC to date acts and documents.

The New Year, which Romanians celebrated during the winter solstice, was the most prevalent social event. It holds the impact of Moș Crăciun (Santa Clause), who had a position in both the Dacian and Roman calendars. The Christian world has celebrated the New Year on Crăciun Day for more than a millennium. It was used in Rome until the 18th century, France until 1564, and Russia before 1699. People in the Romanian principalities celebrated it until the 19th century.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

The Dacian civilisation did not vanish. It left an imprint on the Romanian people's traditions and culture. One of the most unforgettable reminiscences of the Dacian calendar is the celebration of the Zilele Babei Days (Old Woman's Days). It generally occurs at the start of the agricultural year (first days of March). Some researchers find Dacian rituals about mountains in celebrating "Nedei". According to the special rite, people, men and women, stand up on the day of the Summer Solstice. They used to light the road with torches and climb up to the mountain together in the evening, stop-near the top and light a fire, sat there till morning, going to the highest top of the hill to see the sunrise. After that, they danced, eat a favourite food, and celebrated with songs.

The cult of Grandfathers (cultul moșilor) is associated with the Dacian heritage, such as Moș Crăciun, Moș Ajun and others. The same role is played by the Wolf symbol, which is integrated into the entire cult of Sheep and Wolf-days in the folk calendar and is represented in numerous funeral rituals. It is close to the symbol of the bird, which means the soul's manifestation as it departs the body. Quite common is the rite of inviting rain Caloian, as well as Paparuda. They are well-known in the Bukovina region also. The custom of cheerfully watching over the deceased, during which members of the feast joked, played, were dressed in unusual clothes, etc. All these mentioned rites bear the imprint of the spiritual culture of the Getae-Dacians.

The Ukrainian traditional calendar has received an all-Slavic influence. In addition, it has experienced various substantial alterations during its history. Today it is a fusion of the religious (Orthodox), civil and the actual national calendars, as the Romanian national calendar. Holidays often coincide or around the same time as in the church-calendar tradition. However, they have a different genesis, functions and orientations, fused by centuries-old folk tradition into a single set of rituals, stable stereotypes of behaviour, as well as a holistic system of beliefs, signs, and meteorological premiums.⁷¹ Archaeological finds show that the folk calendar in Ukraine formed over thousands of years as a result of many factors.⁷² Social and historical changes have led to the emergence of individual texts, mythologies and semantics of different "historical depth". Innovations and borrowings led to rethinking, recoding of previous calendar artefacts, and forming multi-

⁷¹ Olena Chebanyuk, *Narodnyy kalendar u tradytsiyniy kartiny svitu ukrainsyv* [Folk calendar in the traditional picture of the world of Ukrainians], in „Narodna tvorchist' ta etnografiya” [Folk art and ethnography], No. 6, 2008, p. 41-42.

⁷² Andrei Zelinskii, *Konstruktivniye printsypy drevnerusskogo kalendaria* [Constructive principles of the Old Russian calendar], in "Kontext. Literaturno-teoreticheskiye issledovaniya" [The context. Literary theoretical studies], Moskva, Nauka, 1978, p. 62-65.

ple temporal layers.⁷³

There was a system of worldview knowledge in the dimension of the season in the oral folk tradition of the Eastern Romanian population of Bukovina. In the late 19th century, Simion Fl. Marian noticed: "If we ask the Romanian on the third Monday after Easter when the Green Holidays will be this year, he will answer clearly without hesitation: it will come in four weeks and six days" from today. According to common belief, an older type of calendar holiday was employed in the tradition of Bukovinian Romanians until the 1930s and 1940s of the 20th century. Along with the mass distribution of printed church calendars, raising the general educational level of the population, there was no need to use archaic methods of counting the time of a year.

The Ukrainians of the Carpathians region used in everyday life the calculation of time by weeks, based on holidays, as noted by researcher Olena Chebanyuk. For example, they had an Easter week, a Christmas, Green Sunday, Shrovetide, Epiphany, etc. These feasts were also synthetic and multifunctional formations that people employed until the middle of the 20th century. This point of view is founded on ideological and practical everyday syncretism, which formed due to the historical process.⁷⁴

Time in traditional Romanian culture was frequently perceived in philosophical terms. Various proverbs about time support this point of view. For example: "Time is born of time", "Time will find everything and destroy it all", "Time has no limits", "Don't waste time so that it doesn't lose you", "A man, who is constantly looking for time, loses it". This also applies to the famous analogy of human existence to 10-week periods. And proverbs such as: "Time passes, not returns", "You will not catch up with the healed time", "The time will pass, and we would no more be here", "Time is not an ox: you do not push it", etc. are widespread among Ukrainians.

CONCLUSIONS

As a consequence, it is possible to infer that the traditional calendar of the Romanians of Bukovina, as well as the Ukrainians of this region, is the outcome of a historical worldview and culture. This refers to both broad information relating to astronomical observations and detailed research of natural processes and applying this knowledge in daily life. The practical value of this knowledge is closely connected with their main occupations: farming and cattle breeding. Gaps

⁷³ Olena Chebanyuk, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

in people's understanding of natural phenomena were filled with magic and faith in mighty saints responsible for certain days of the week. People took various taboos extremely seriously when these situations were brought to their attention. Even though the folk calendar of Romanians and Ukrainians of Bukovina is based on the Christian worldview, order and hierarchy, a significant part of the folk calendar is an organic component of folk tradition: interpretation of holidays, fasts, seasons and their ritual content. The lengthy practice of perceiving time as a real-life category gave rise to a philosophical attitude toward it.

Different influences cause the specific differences in the calendar system of Romanians and Ukrainians of Bukovina throughout history. The Romanian calendar tradition has received many influences from the Dacians, Greeks, Romans and other practices. Although they reside in the ethnic contact zone, all of the primary aspects of the all-Ukrainian area have been kept in the calendar as temporal representations of the Ukrainians of Bukovina. There is also a pan-Slavic influence. These effects are visible in the name of the month. In traditional perceptions, the everyday mythology, names, and interpretations of the saints who patronise them differently have left an imprint on the days of the week.

Because of the same Orthodox religion and the homogeneity of economic activity in the traditional calendar of Romanians and Ukrainians of Bukovina, the majority of temporal representations coincide.

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