

PAGINA TÂNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR

Aleksy ROMANCHUK

BULAESTIAN "COFFINS WITHOUT BOTTOM"
AND THEIR ROMANIAN ANALOGIES: THE QUESTION OF ORIGIN

Rezumat

„Sicriele fără fund” al bulăieștenilor și analogiile lor românești: către problema originii

O caracteristică interesantă a sicriului la ucrainenii din satul Bulăiești reprezintă fundul său, care se face din șipci transversale, peste care se pune o cantitate mică de stuf. Informatorii au catalogat această construcție ca „sicriu fără fund”. O analogie directă putem găsi la moldoveni (fapt ce a cauzat apariția acestei tradiții la bulăieșteni) și români, dar și la bulgari sau găgăuzi. Dar bulgarii, nici găgăuzii nu pot fi considerați ca sursă a acestei tradiții pentru români și moldoveni. Mai mult, presupunem că vectorul influenței a fost invers. Căutând sursa tradiției „sicriului fără fund” la români și moldoveni atragem atenția la tradiția sicriilor de zabrele din stepele Eurasiei, care este caracteristică, împreună cu tradiția sicriilor în formă de rame, pentru grupurile cumanilor și tătarilor Hoardei de Aur. Totuși, nomazii ca și ungurii, avarii sau hunii, nu pot fi considerate surse ale acestei tradiții. Este necesar de a căuta alte surse a apariției acestei tradiții la români și moldoveni.

Cuvinte-cheie: ucrainenii, Moldova, vlahii, geneza etnică, sicriile de zabrele.

Резюме

Булаештские «гробы без дна» и их восточнороманские аналогии: проблема происхождения

Характерную и необычную особенность конструкции гроба у булаештских украинцев составляет дно из нескольких редко набитых поперечных планок; на эти планки затем стелился камыш. Информаторами эта конструкция понималась как «гроб без дна». Аналогичная конструкция фиксируется у румын и молдаван (которые, очевидно, и стали источником традиции для булаештских украинцев), а также болгар и гагаузов. Имеющиеся данные позволяют думать, что восточнороманская традиция повлияла на болгарскую и гагаузскую. В поисках источника традиции «бездонных гробов» у самих восточных романцев наше внимание привлекает степная традиция так называемых решетчатых гробовищ, представленная, наряду с гробовищами-рамами, у поздних кочевников половецкого и золотоордынского времени. Однако ни представители Золотой Орды, ни половцы, исходя из историко-археологических соображений, в качестве источника традиции для восточных романцев приняты быть не могут, как и венгры, авары, болгары и гунны. Необходимо искать иной исток данной восточнороманской традиции.

Ключевые слова: украинцы, Молдова, волохи, этногенез, решетчатые гробовища.

Summary

Bulaestian "coffins without bottom" and their Romanian analogies: the question of origin

The peculiar feature of the construction of Bulaestian coffins consists of the bottom made of some rarely nailed transversal laths; the reed is spread on the laths. The informers understood this construction as "a coffin without a bottom". A similar construction is known among the East Romanian (it evidently provoked the appearance of the same Bulaestian tradition), as well as among the Bulgarians and the Gagauz. However, neither the Bulgarians, nor the Gagauz cannot be thought as the source of the tradition for East Romanians. Instead, the existing data make us suppose that the East Romanian tradition influenced the Bulgarian and Gagauz ones. Looking for the true source of the tradition, the author considered the so-called lattice coffins (as well as frame coffins) which were well known to some medieval and early nomads of the Eurasian Steppe. Taking into the account the whole set of the archaeological data, the Cumans and the Golden Horde's peoples, as well as the Hungarians, Avars and Huns cannot be accepted as the true source of the East Romanian tradition of "coffins without bottom" either. Thus, we have to look for another suitable candidate for the role of such source.

Key words: Ukrainians, Moldova, Volokhs, ethnogenesis, lattice coffins.

Studying the funeral rites of Bulaestian Ukrainians [11; 12; 19; 20], I found an interesting fact concerning the tradition for the Bulaestian type of coffin. I suggest denoting this type of construction as "coffins without bottom". It is about the fact that Bulaestian coffins were made (until recent times; though, rarely but this type of coffin is used even nowadays) in such a way that instead of the solid bottom made of hard boards, some thin trims nailed across the bottom were used. Some reed was spread out upon these trims. Thus, the bottom of traditional Bulaestian coffin is lattice (or, as the respondents defined, this bottom is /наблан|ках/).

The same tradition exists in another Ukrainian village, Ivancha, which is situated in the neighborhood, in the Orhei district.

We should emphasize here that in both the Bulaesti and Ivancha villages this detail of coffin con-

struction is considered by the native people namely as “coffin without bottom”. Thus, in the Bulaesti village a respondent, V. M. Romanchuk (born in 1940), says that modern coffins bought in the cities are “with bottom”, but in early times when people made coffins themselves, they were “without bottom”. A. F. Melnichenko (he was born in 1927), a respondent in the Ivancha village, at my direct question “In which way the bottom in the traditional coffin was made?” answered in the same manner that “the bottom was not made”. Therefore, once again we should reiterate that from the semantic point of view, the Ukrainians of both villages really understand this traditional type of coffin as a “coffin without bottom”.

It is very interesting because, as I can see, for the Ukrainians in general this feature is unknown (I am thankful for consulting my Ukrainian colleagues, especially to I. V. Gorofyanyuk, T. P. Pirus, and V. A. Kosakyvsky). Hutsuls, for example, according to the information fixed back in the XIX century, made coffins “of three long boards” [15, p. 243], i.e. with two boards on the sidewalls and the bottom constructed of a third large board.

The tradition of “coffins without bottom” is not mentioned for the East Slavic area in general (see, for example: 8, p. 71; 2, p. 533; 3, p. 155; 16, p. 43, 81). Describing the Slavic tradition of coffin’s construction, N. M. Afanasieva and A. A. Plotnikova emphasize its closeness and tightness as a key feature. According to A. A. Plotnikova, «The most characteristic feature of Slavic keening over the dead is the darkness of the new “home”... In Macedonian lamentations the grave and the coffin are ... the dark house with “no windows and no doors”. In Russian riddles the coffin is “a house without windows and without doors”» [18, p. 208].

However, the complete analogy for Bulaestian “coffins without bottom” exists among the Bulgarians [3, p. 151], as well as among the Gagauz [7, p. 80]. This is evidently the same type of lattice coffin.

Besides the Bulgarian one, I did not find any other analogy in the Slavic context. Thus, the Bulgarian tradition of “coffins without bottom” looks like a “black sheep” among the Slavic ones too. More probably, it appeared in the Bulgarian funeral complex by the influence of the non-Slavic component of their ethno-genesis.

At the same time, neither the Bulaestian tradition, nor the Ivancha one cannot be explained by the Bulgarian or Gagauz influence. We should look for some other explanation.

This explanation is provided by the fact that the complete analogy (or, it would be better to say, the homology) of the Bulaestian and Ivancha traditions

(as well as the Bulgarian one) of the “coffins without bottom” exists in the Moldavian and Romanian tradition, as well. These are Romanians and Moldovans that have the same tradition of “coffins without bottom”, or lattice coffins, as the absolutely dominant type of coffin.

Let me cite the classical monograph of S. F. Marian that is a compendium of the funeral traditions of Romanians and Moldovans. This monograph was written in the XIX century and reflects the specific features of the Romanian language of those times: “În fundul ăscricului se pună în cele mai multe părți numai niște ching ușore curmezișă, depărtate unele de altele, pe cari se pune puțină stufă. În Transilvania, după cum arată și următorul fragment de bocetă, este datină de a nu se infunda ăscricul de totă la picior, ci a se lăsa ună locă deschisă, care se numește ușa...” [17, p. 236]. That is, among the Romanians and Moldovans “in most places\almost everywhere the bottom of coffin is made of some distant from each other trims that are nailed across the bottom, with a little reed put upon them”.

Thus, taking off the intrigue, the Romanian data allow us to explain the origin of “coffins without bottom” tradition among the Ukrainians of Bulaesti and Ivancha villages at least. However, the more important and large-scale question appears here: what is the origin of such evidently rare and unusual tradition among the Romanians themselves?

Well, the first supposition we should check here is the possibility that this is a result of Bulgarian influence for Romanians. Nevertheless, I think that we can reject this supposition. The Bulgarians even in the times of the First Bulgarian kingdom, when their power in the region was maximum, controlled the territories to the north of Danube only from time to time and at a very limited distance. The Balkan-Danube culture settlements occupied only the south part of the Dniester-Prut interfluvium; some researches even say that exclusively to the south of so-called Lower Trajan Wall [1, p. 18], that is not quite right (look: [13, p. 163-164]). The Dridu culture (the Romanian researchers interpret this culture as a Romanian one, while the Bulgarians denote it as the culture of the population of the First Bulgarian kingdom occupied the territory of the North-East Muntenia and the North-West of Romanian Moldova – but no more than that.

Besides, the ethnographic data draw the more complicated picture as it follows from the cited above information of Kh. Vakarelsky. The coffin, “ковчегът, named also сандък, ракла, sometimes кивур... is not everywhere required. Until the end of XIX century in some places the buried had been

wrapped up into the carpet or only fenced by boards, pieces of wood or stone plates”[4, p. 197]. By the way, similarly “the Serbians and the Croatians largely buried their dead wrapping them up in carpets”, without coffins [3, p. 155].

Clarifying the information about the Bulgarians, Kh. Vakarelsky also wrote that among the Bulgarians the tradition to bury without coffins was alive to the end of the XIX century and even later– “predominantly in the West Bulgarian lands”[3, p. 152]. The data he cited here concerns the Western and especially South-Western Bulgaria (Kyustendil (the great part of papers), Blagoevgrad, Sofia, Makedonska-Kamenitsa, and Pianets regions). In addition, the Thracia – i.e., the South Bulgaria.

Concerning Thracia, Kh. Vakarelsky points out that at the moment when the ethnographical investigations of the region had started, the researchers found out that the young people were buried in coffins while the old ones without coffins, according to the “old custom”.

Thus, even in recent times, the tradition of lattice coffins was specific not for the Bulgarians in general but for some Bulgarian groups only. Based on the cited data, these are the Bulgarians of the North-Eastern Bulgaria. As we know, it was the North-Eastern Bulgaria that firstly had got the independence from the Ottoman Empire and became the political core of the modern Bulgarian state. The Balkan dialects of the Eastern Bulgaria dialectal area became the key component of the modern Bulgarian literary language. Apparently, the same reasons and the same model explain the spread of tradition of lattice coffins in the Bulgarian area.

Therefore, taking into account the cited data we should even suppose that the Romanian influence caused the appearance of the tradition of lattice coffins among the Bulgarians. Moreover, if we remember that during the times of the Second Bulgarian kingdom (it appeared just in the North-Eastern Bulgaria) the Romanians (Vlachs) played the key role in this state. The ruling dynasty of Asens were of Vlach origin; it is not in vain that the Romanian researchers name this state as the Vlach-Bulgarian kingdom. The synchronous written sources tell about Vlachs as a predominant ethnic element during the rebellion against the Byzantine Empire, as well as they see the Vlachs as the predominant element of the new state. The Western European chronicles (written in the Latin language) named this new state as Blacia. According to their information the proper Vlachia was situated just in the North-Eastern Bulgaria, between the Balkans and the Danube; the territories of Western and South-Western Bulgaria were marked

by them (for example, by G. Rubruk) as the Bulgaria Minor[22, p. 27-30].

Thus, the Bulgarian data have great importance for solving this issue; it is very probable that the source of the tradition was the same (or very close) for both the Romanians and the Bulgarians. Anyway, the Bulgarian data evidently are not “the answer” we are looking for; the origin of the Bulgarian tradition is also a question.

Looking for the answer, we surely should take into account that the very close technology of lattice coffins (as well as the technology of the so-called frame coffins) was well known to Eurasian Steppe cultures of the Golden Hoard and previous Cuman epochs [14, p. 194; 9; 10; 6]. It is even more interesting if we remember about the Modavan traditions to dig the tomb pit “a little sideways” [5, p. 69]; this is clear analogy of the very popular steppe funeral tradition of slaughter (in Russian: “podboy”).

However, could we explain such a key characteristic of Romanian funeral rites as the “coffins without bottom” because of Cuman or Golden Hoard influence? I do not think so.

The proves are quite clear, I suppose. Yes, the interactions between Romanians and the Golden Hoard population or Cumans were very intense and close. The ruins of Golden Hoard cities near the Old Orhei, Costesti and Lozova, the information in Slavic-Moldavian chronicles about the “Tatar camps at the Prut river”, the large-scale Turkic toponymy in the Dniester-Prut interfluvium (up to the northern part of the region, including the territories of modern Edinets and Bricheni districts of the Republic of Moldova) and in the South-Eastern Muntenia present indisputable evidences of these interactions. The information contained in the chronicles about the Pechenegs (as the Hungarian auxiliary troops) in the Fagaras, or about the so-called Cuman episcopacy in the South-Eastern Carpathian region are additional proof.

However, for all that these interactions seem insufficient to cause such an important and cardinal innovation of funeral rites in the almost all-Romanian area, including Transylvania, and the mountain territories of the Carpathian region. With a few exceptions, the burials of late nomads of Pechenegian-Cuman times did not penetrate even the Siret basin. It is needless to say this about the territory between the Siret and the Carpathians, I think. In Muntenia these burials were concentrated at the Danube lowlands, “avoiding” namely the Sub-Carpathian zone [21, p. 298]. The Turkic toponymy “repeats” this regularity; it is concentrated in the southeastern periphery of Romanian area. Namely in this south-

eastern periphery, we can see numerous intense interactions between Romanians and steppe nomads (Pechenegs, Cumans and Tatars).

Moreover, it is important to emphasize that the tradition of lattice and frame coffins was not characteristic for all late nomads -Turks, but only for some groups of Golden Hoard population and Cumans; the Pechenegs were not the followers of such tradition.

Among the Cumans and the Golden Hoard population the tradition of lattice coffins was not the predominant tradition as well; moreover, it was quite a rare tradition for them too.

My analysis (the results and argumentations are exposed in the larger paper that I have prepared for "Stratum plus" Journal, vol. 5 of 2019) leads to the conclusion that the Romanian (as well as the Bulgarian) tradition of "coffins without bottom" cannot be explained neither by the Cuman or Tatar influence, nor by the influence of earlier nomads (Hungarians, Avars, or Huns). Thus, we should look for some other explanation. More probably, this explanation is the one that I have mentioned earlier [20, p. 80, note 1].

Bibliography

1. Атанасов Г. Г., Руссев Н. Д. Онглос: первая резиденция болгарских канов на Нижнем Дунае и болгарское присутствие севернее Дуная в VII–X вв. In: Болгарский Форум I. Материалы международного Болгарского форума, 19–21 июня 2010 г., Болгар. Казань: Фолиант, 2011, с. 15-34.
2. Афанасьева Н. Е., Плотникова А. А. Гроб. In: Славянские древности: этнолингвистический словарь (в 5-ти тт.). Т. 1. Под ред. Н. И. Толстого. Москва: Международные отношения, 1995, с. 533-558.
3. Вакарелски Х. Български погребални обичаи: сравнително изучаване. София: Захарий Стоянов, 2008. 520 с.
4. Генчев Ст. Семейни обичаи и обреди. In: Етнография на България. Т. III (Духовна култура). Под ред. Ст. Генчева. София: БАН, 1985, с.159-215.
5. Зеленчук В. С. Очерки молдавской народной обрядности. Кишинев: Картя молдовеняскэ, 1959. 94 с.
6. Комар А. В., Кубышев А. И., Орлов Р. С. Погребения кочевников VI–VII вв. из Северо-Западного Приазовья. In: Степи Европы в эпоху средневековья. Т. 5. Под ред. А. В. Евглевского. Донецк: ДонНУ, 2006, с. 245-374.
7. Курогло С. С. Семейная обрядность гагаузов в XIX – начале XX в. Кишинев: Штиинца, 1980. 138 с.
8. Панова Т. Д. Царство смерти. Погребальный обряд средневековой Руси X–XVI веков. Москва: Радуница, 2004. 180 с.
9. Потёмкина Т. М. Иерархия половецкой знати (по погребениям со статусными предметами). In: Степи Европы в эпоху средневековья. Т. 10. Под ред. А. В. Евглевского. Донецк: ДонНУ, 2012, с. 7-36.
10. Потёмкина Т. М. Комплекс признаков монгольской погребальной обрядности в золотоордынских захоронениях. In: Этнические взаимодействия на Южном Урале: материалы VI Всерос. науч. конф. Челябинск: ЧГКМ, 2015, с. 299-304.
11. Романчук А. А. Запрет на сжигание ярма и некоторые другие примечательные поверья погребально-поминального цикла украинцев с Булаешты Республики Молдова: этнолингвистический анализ. In: Наукові записки Вінницького державного педагогічного університету імені Михайла Коцюбинського. Серія: Філологія (мовознавство). Вип. 25. Вінниця: Планер, 2017, с. 184-195.
12. Романчук А. А. Этнолингвистика обряда передачи курицы над могилой у булаештских украинцев и его восточнороманские и славянские параллели: общее и особенное. In: Філологічний часопис: збірник наукових праць. Зелінська О. Ю. (гол. ред.). Вип. 1 (9). Умань: Візаві, 2017, с. 62-74.
13. Руссев Н. Д. Северо-восточные владения Дунайской Болгарии VII–X вв.: история и погребальные памятники. In: Stratum plus 5, 2010, с. 159-168.
14. Шалобудов В. Н., Лесничий П. П. Опыт реконструкции позднекочевнических повозок (по материалам половецких погребений Поднепровья). In: Степи Европы в эпоху средневековья. Т. 3. Под ред. А. В. Евглевского. Донецк: ДонНУ, 2003, с. 193-206.
15. Шухевич В. Гуцульщина. Ч. 3. Львів: НТШ, 1902. 257 с.
16. Andrić J. Slijedom pojava povezanih s običajem pogreba u lijesu od izdubena stabla. Studia Ethnologica Croatica 3 (1), 1992, p. 43-83.
17. Marian S. Fl. În mormîntarea la români. Studiu etnografic. Bucureşti: Carol Göbl, 1982. 593 p.
18. Plotnikova A. The Earthly Loci of Death: the Coffin, the Grave, the Cemetery. In: Etnolog, 1999, no 9 (1), p. 205-215.
19. Romanchuk A. A. The rite of passing the hen over the tomb pit in the funeral tradition of Bulaestya's Ukrainians and its East Romanian and Slavic parallels: similarities and differences. In: Revista de Etnologie si Culturologie. Vol. XXI, 2017, p. 61-65.
20. Romanchuk A. Bulaestian idiom "мокрей як щур": to the reconstruction of meaning. In: Revista de Etnologie și Culturologie. Vol. XXIII, 2018, p. 77-82.
21. Spinei V. The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2009. 565 p.
22. Vasary I. Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 230 p.

References

1. Atanasov G. G., Russev N. D. Onglos: pervaiia rezidentsiia bolgarskikh kanov na Nizhnem Dunae i bolgarskoe prisutstvie severnee Dunaia v VII–X vv. In:

- Bolgarskii Forum I. Materialy mezhdunarodnogo Bolgarskogo foruma, 19–21 iyunia 2010 g., Bolgar. Kazan': Foliant, 2011, s. 15-34.
2. Afanas'eva N. E., Plotnikova A. A. Grob. In: Slavianskie drevnosti: etnolingvističeskii slovar' (v 5-ti tt.). T. 1. Pod red. N. I. Tolstogo. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye ot-nosheniia, 1995, s. 533-558.
 3. Vakarelski Kh. B'lgarski pogrebalni obichai: sravnitel'no izuchavane. Sofii: Zakharii Stoianov, 2008. 520 s.
 4. Genchev St. Semeini obichai i obredi. In: Etnografiia na Bulgariia. T. III (Dukhovna kultura). Pod red. St. Gencheva. Sofii: BAN, 1985, s.159-215.
 5. Zelenchuk V. S. Ocherki moldavskoi narodnoi obriadnosti. Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaske, 1959. 94 s.
 6. Komar A. V., Kubyshev A. I., Orlov R. S. Pogrebeniia kochevnikov VI–VII vv. iz Severo–Zapadnogo Priazov'ia. In: Stepi Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia. T. 5. Pod red. A. V. Evglevskogo. Donetsk: DonNU, 2006, s. 245-374.
 7. Kuroglo S. S. Semeinaia obriadnost' gagauzov v XIX – nachale XX v. Kishinev: Shtiintsia, 1980. 138 s.
 8. Panova T. D. Tsarstvo smerti. Pogrebal'nyi obriad srednevekovoi Rusi X–XVI vekov. Moskva: Radunitsa, 2004. 180 s.
 9. Potemkina T. M. Ierarkhiia polovetskoi znati (po pogrebeniiam so statusnymi predmetami). In: Stepi Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia. T. 10. Pod red. A. V. Evglevskogo. Donetsk: DonNU, 2012, s. 7-36.
 10. Potemkina T. M. Kompleks priznakov mongol'skoi pogrebal'noi obriadnosti v zolotoordynskikh zakhoro-neniakh. In: Etnicheskie vzaimodeistviia na Iuzhnom Urale: materialy VI Vseros. nauch. konf. Cheliabinsk: ChGKM, 2015, s. 299-304.
 11. Romanchuk A. A. Zapret na szhiganie iarma i nekotorye drugie primechatel'nye pover'ia pogrebal'no-pominal'nogo tsikla ukraintsev s. Bulaeshty Respubliki Moldova: etnolingvističeskii analiz. In: Naukovi zapiski Vinnits'kogo derzhavnogo pedagogichnogo universitetu imeni Mikhaïla Kotsiubins'kogo. Serii: Filologiiia (movoznavstvo). Vip. 25. Vinnitsia: Planer, 2017, c. 184-195.
 12. Romanchuk A. A. Etnolingvistika obriada peredachi kuritsy nad mogiloi u bulaeshtskikh ukraintsev i ego vostochnoromanskie i slavianskie paralleli: obshchee i osobennoe. In: Filologichnii chasopis: zbirnik naukovikh prats'. Zelins'ka O. Iu. (gol. red.). Vip. 1 (9). Uman': Vizavi, 2017, c. 62-74.
 13. Russev N. D. Severo-vostochnye vladeniia Dunaiskoi Bolgarii VII–X vv.: istoriia i pogrebal'nye pamiatniki. In: Stratum plus 5, 2010, c. 159-168.
 14. Shalobudov V. N., Lesnichii P. P. Opyt rekonstruktsii pozdnekochevničeskikh povozok (po materialam polovetskikh pogrebenii Podneprov'ia). In: Stepi Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia. T. 3. Pod red. A. V. Evglevskogo. Donetsk: DonNU, 2003, c. 193-206.
 15. Shukhevich V. Gutsul'shchina. Ch. 3. L'viv: NTSh, 1902. 257 c.
 16. Andrić J. Slijedom pojava povezanih s običajem pogreba u lijesu od izdubena stabla. Studia Ethnologica Croatica 3 (1), 1992, p. 43-83.
 17. Marian S. Fl. În mormîntarea la români. Studiu etnografic. București: Carol Göbl, 1982. 593 p.
 18. Plotnikova A. The Earthly Loci of Death: the Coffin, the Grave, the Cemetery. In: Etnolog, 1999, no 9 (1), p. 205-215.
 19. Romanchuk A. A. The rite of passing the hen over the tomb pit in the funeral tradition of Bulaestya's Ukrainians and its East Romanian and Slavic parallels: similarities and differences. In: Revista de Etnologie și Culturologie. Vol. XXI, 2017, p. 61-65.
 20. Romanchuk A. Bulaestian idiom "mokrei iak shchur": to the reconstruction of meaning. In: Revista de Etnologie și Culturologie. Vol. XXIII, 2018, p.77-82.
 21. Spinei V. The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2009. 565 p.
 22. Vasary I. Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 230 p.
- Alexei Romanciuc** (Chișinău, Republica Moldova). Cercetător științific, Centrul de Etnologie, Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural.
- Алексей Романчук** (Кишинев, Республика Молдова). Научный сотрудник, Центр этнологии, Институт культурного наследия.
- Aleksey Romanchuk** (Chisinau, Republic of Moldova). Researcher, Center of Ethnology, Institute of Cultural Heritage.
- E-mail:** dierevo@mail.ru