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# Historical Transformations of Ukrainian Ritual Culture in an Urban Environment (1920s – Early Twenty-First Century)

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**Abstract.** The aim of the article is analyzing and elucidating the main transformations and changes in the components of the Ukrainian ritual culture in urbanized environment. The research methodology is based on general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special (comparative historical, problem-chronological), source study methods, as well as the method of direct observation. The scientific novelty consists in analyzing significant modifications and revealing the trends in components' transformation of the traditional Ukrainians' culture in urbanized environment. It has been mentioned, that peculiar attention has to be paid to the city as a center of culture, which constantly develops; here spiritual value and ethnical orientations of city dwellers are formed and synthesized. First of all, attention was paid to the development, existence and modification of family rituality and its marriage and wedding component as one of the most important ethnic identification indicators and the element of ethnicity preservation. The main factors of transformational ritual practices and decreasing the traditional rituality components during different periods of social, political and globalization processes were elucidated. The main results and conclusions. It has been noted that during the 1920s – 1980s the Soviet power played considerable role in the transformation of spiritual foundations of the Ukrainian people. In particular, the creation of a new family was socially significant and it was under the state authorities' control, which was especially manifested in cities. During the mentioned period, the standardization and unification of the ritual wedding ceremony took place, which considerably affected the loss of many of its components, considerably narrowing its national color, high esthetics of song culture and theatrical performances. Instead, the end of the 20 – early of the 21 centuries is characterized by intensive globalization. It has been determined that wide using of innovative technical means of communication as one of the important factors caused significant transformations of the Ukrainians' ethnic culture. Modern family rituality of city dwellers, marriage-wedding, in particular, on the one hand, is characterized by variability and diversity, and on the other hand, by reactivation of traditional rites, phenomena, and attributes.

**Keywords:** traditional culture of Ukrainians, new customs and rites, urban environment, globalization process, cultural integration, transformational tendencies.

The traditional family rituals of Ukrainians have been and remain the component of ethnic culture, which for over a century has been attracting considerable attention by such scientists as P.Chubynskiy, F.Vovk, V.Hnatiuk, V.Kravchenko, M.Sumtsov, N.Zdoroveha, V.Borysenko, O.Kurochkin, L.Bolibrukh, N.Petrova, H.Kozholianko, M.Maierchuk, I.Nesen, V.Buhaiova, M.Pylypko, S.Makhovska<sup>1</sup> and others. However, the functioning of rituals in the

<sup>1</sup> Труды этнографическо-статистической экспедиции в Западнорусский край, снаряженной Императорским русским географическим обществом: Юго-Западный отдел: Материалы и исследования, собранные П.П.Чубинским; издан под наблюдением Н.И.Костомарова: Репринт. вид. в 7 т. – Т.4. – К., 2010. – 798 с.; Народнознавча спадщина Хведора Вовка. – Кн.2. – К., 2012. – 540 с.; Гнатюк В. “Бойківське весіле” в Мшаници (Старосамбірського повіта) // Матеріали до української-руської етнології. – Т.10. – Л., 1908. – С.1–29; Кравченко В.Г. Пісні, хрестини та весілля. – Т.І. – Житомир, 1914. – 200 с.; Сумцов Н.Ф. Символика славянских обрядов. Избранные труды. – Москва, 1996. – 294 с.; Здорова Н.І. Нариси народної весільної обрядовості на Україні. – К., 1974. – 154 с.; Борясенко В. Весільні звичаї та обряди на Україні: Історико-етнографічне

urbanized environment, its specifics, ethnic and traditional manifestations and content are still not adequately covered in the scientific literature, and the study of this topic was episodic. Meanwhile, family rituals, in particular their wedding component, perhaps, have the greatest ethnic identification potential, they were and remain the most important element of ethnic culture, the mechanism of preservation and inspiration of ethnicity. Therefore, the task of tracing and analyzing the specifics of the development of wedding ceremonies in urbanized environment, revealing their role in modern identification practices in the social and cultural development of the community seems to be relevant and deserves close research attention.

The analysis of authentic sources and generalizing monographic works allows to state continuous transformations of wedding ceremonies, which are caused by social transformations, social and economic factors, ethnic status characteristics of the community and the levels of its intercultural integration, the condition of information and innovative development of the society, etc.

Wedding ceremonies began to undergo rapid changes in the middle of the 20 century, under the pressure of the official policy and purposeful state measures in the Ukrainian SSR. The greatest influence of the Soviet system and, accordingly, artificial transformations was experienced by the traditional wedding complex in the urban environment. The introduction of new customs and ceremonies to replace the traditional ones was carried out on a large scale and methodically. In order to form the “Soviet society”, in particular new unified standards of living, communist values, morals and norms of the populations’ behavior, the totalitarian state cruelly determined the ideological component of the Soviet rituals.

The researchers of family rituals identify several stages of development and transformation of wedding culture in the urbanized environment of the 20 – early 21 centuries: the first one – the 1920s – mid-1930s, the second one – the mid-1930s – the 1940s, the third one – the 1950s – the 1980s. As a whole, we agree with such time gradations, which quite accurately and objectively outline the transformational phases of wedding ceremonies in urban society.

At the same time, having studied the scientific literature and source material on this issue, we consider it expedient to expand the periodization boundaries to the following decades, when quite noticeable and the most typical historical transformations of the Ukrainians’ ritual culture in urban society of the 1990s – 2020s took place. In particular, the changes in the family and ritual sphere during two periods of time: the late 1980s – the 1990s and the first two decades of the 21 century, will be disclosed.

The first stage covering the 1920s – the mid-1930s, was characterized by a focus on overcoming “religious survivals” in the people’s consciousness. The critical analysis of the state’s ideological interference in the sphere of family rituals shows that there was a narrowing of the traditional cultural complex, from which not only church rituals were removed, but also folk customs and ceremonies containing the Christian elements. The authorities made regulatory decisions, which referred to the “removal of the church” from everyday life of the population. In the letter of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) “On Measures to Strengthen Anti-Religious Work” of January 24, 1929, it was stressed: “It is necessary for the Party committees and Executive committees to put the issue of using registry offices with the aim of fighting against *popivshchyna* (religious superstitions), church rituals, and survivals of the pre-revolutionary old way of life”<sup>2</sup>. The first inten-

дослідження – К., 1988. – 192 с.; *Курочкин О.В.* Українці в сім’ї європейській: звичаї, обряди, свята. – К., 2004 – 245 с.; *Болібрux Л.* Наукові концепції походження короваю у східних слов’ян // *Народознавчі зошити*. – 2011. – №3. – С.436–447; *Кушнір В.Г., Петрова Н.О.* Традиційна весільна обрядовість українців Одесини (20–80-ті рр. XX ст.). – Одеса, 2008. – 256 с.; *Кожаленко Г.* Характерні риси бужовинського весілля кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. (на прикладі Хотинщини та Заставнівщини) // *Весільна обрядовість у часі і просторі*: Мат. Міжнар. наук.-практ. конф. “Одеські етнографічні читання”. – Одеса, 2010. – С.163–183; *Маєрчик М.* Ритуал і тіло: структурно-семантичний аналіз обрядів родинного циклу. – К., 2011. – 325 с.; *Несен І.І.* Весільний ритуал Центрального Полісся: традиційна структура та релігійні форми (середина XIX–XX ст.). – К., 2005. – 258 с.; *Бугайова В.О.* Весільна церемонія Харківщини в контексті сучасної культури міста // *Культура України*. – Вип.38. – X., 2012. – С.79–86; *Пилипак М.А.* Українське весілля Східного Поділля середини XX – початку XXI ст. – К.; Уфа, 2015. – 210 с.; *Маховська С.* “Ой з-за гори старостоньки...”: весільні традиції Слобожанщини кінця XIX – початку XXI ст. – К., 2014. – 314 с. та ін.

<sup>2</sup> *Одинцов М.И.* Государство и церковь (История взаимоотношений, 1917–1938 гг.). – Москва, 1991. – С.34.

sive introduction of new family everyday rituals took place among the working masses of the urban population. It was at that time when the so-called “red” weddings appeared, which took place without church wedding ceremony; the role of the priest to certify the marriage was transferred to the local authorities, and the newly-weds took the public oath of fidelity for the public confirmation of the marriage. A solemn procession, which took place under the red flag, was characteristic and priority for such weddings. In particular, researchers of family rituals note that newly-weds came to marriage registration ceremony in hurriedly arranged premises of registry offices, where after a short registration actions like meetings took place – official speeches were made and wishes to young people were pronounced<sup>3</sup>. During this period, family rituals were given the content and symbolic meanings, uncharacteristic of traditional ideas, with a clear ideological and political coloring.

There is a well-established opinion among scholars that the second wave of changes in family every-day and holiday culture began in the mid-1930s and lasted till the early 1950s. This period covered the World War II and the postwar period. Difficult social and living conditions and military-political events inspired changes and reductions of ceremonial ideas of the Ukrainian wedding, stipulated by many-year traditions. The realities of those years affected the duration of family holidays and ceremonies, in particular, wedding celebrations; there was a reduction or even disappearance of their entire structural elements<sup>4</sup>. It should be stated that during that period, through popular culture, especially the family sphere, official propaganda about achievements and victories of the Soviet government was deliberately carried out. For example, a ceremonial procession of newly-weds to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the eternal flame near the Obelisk of Glory appeared in the structure of the wedding scenario.

The 1950s – the 1980s saw the third stage in the development and transformation of Ukrainian family rituals. At that time, the authorities intensified the issue of ousting “religious survivals” from the structure of family holidays and ceremonies. In place of the established religious rituals, symbolically connected with folk culture, new ideologically colored customs and rites began to be introduced. They were characterized by bringing family holidays to the public level, which had to confirm the unity of the individual and society. Weddings began to be celebrated in the work collectives, not within the family members, which had to demonstrate the victory of socialist social relations.

In the early 1950s, under the party leadership, the first experiments on the creation of new socialist wedding ceremonies began<sup>5</sup>. The development of new rituals became the priority for the ruling elite, in particular, plenary meetings were organized, resolutions were prepared, and special committees and institutions were created to deal with this issue. The emphasis on the importance of introducing new rituals was confirmed by the approval of official documents: the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of October 9, 1962 “On the state and measures to improve scientific and atheistic education of workers of the Ukrainian SSR”<sup>6</sup> and of July 26, 1963, “On the experience of certain party organizations in implementing modern public ceremonies and new customs”<sup>7</sup>, which envisaged a complex of actions aimed at giving up religious rites and popularizing a new ritual culture. The centralized introduction of new ceremonies and the control over their performance were transferred to the created in 1969 Commission for the Study and Implementation in Everyday Life of New Civil Ceremonies, under the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. This body developed “Recommendations as to the

<sup>3</sup> Дарманский П. Обряд у житті людини. – К., 1974. – С.131.

<sup>4</sup> Пилипак М. Трансформація весільної обрядовості населення Південно-Східного Поділля (20–30 рр. XX ст. – початок XXI ст.) // Етнічна історія народів Європи. – Вип.25. – К., 2008. – С.71.

<sup>5</sup> Косіненко О. Громадські та сімейні свята жителів промислових міст України у повоєнний період (1944–1953 рр.) // Збірник наукових праць Харківського національного педагогічного університету ім. Г.С.Сковороди: Історія та географія. – Вип.47. – Х., 2013. – С.52.

<sup>6</sup> Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України. – Ф.1. – Оп.24. – Спр.5488. – Арк.109.

<sup>7</sup> Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (далі – ЦДАВО України). – Ф.4648. – Оп.1. – Спр.375. – Арк.144.

ceremonies of ‘Marriage’ and ‘Birth’<sup>8</sup>, which determined the content of new family rites and actualized the importance of their implementation. To acquaint and popularize the innovations and ways of their introduction, there was a whole system of publishing in printed sources: in magazines and newspapers, new rubrics appeared, such as “New customs – new rites”, “New time – new rites”<sup>9</sup>. The publications also contained information about traditional Ukrainian holidays (as illustration to elucidate the process of transforming old into “new Soviet holidays”)<sup>10</sup>. An important role in the popularization and implementation of new tendencies was played by television, which especially actualized this propaganda in the late 1970s. The content of TV programs contained information about the work of ceremony commissions, the role of public organizations in studying and introducing the new ritual system in cities and work collectives<sup>11</sup>.

In the urban environment, consultation assistance was offered to popularize new rites among brides, bride-grooms and their parents; cycles of lectures and consultations on family and marriage relations, in particular on new wedding ceremonies were held for wide sections of the population. As a stimulation to attend such events – seminars or a course of consultations – those who attended them received coupons for deficit goods, wedding clothes and wedding rings<sup>12</sup>.

The festive ceremony of marriage registration in its Soviet dimension was formed and introduced in the late 1960s. Under the influence of new tasks and ideological senses, the wedding ceremony of urbanized environment underwent significant changes. Most traditional marriage events were reduced or removed from the structure of the wedding ceremony. Since the 1970s, the celebration of family and every-day holidays had more civic spirit: it brought the phenomena of family every-day culture from a narrow family circle to the social-political level (for example, celebrating weddings in the production collective and using Soviet symbolism). Weddings were held with noticeable splendor, a demonstration of wealth, a rich feast.

During this period, the key structural element of the traditional wedding – the church wedding ceremony – was ousted and replaced by new actions; more attention began to be paid to official marriage registration. However, according to the researchers, there were hidden manifestations of traditional ritual actions among the population: some young couples, considering lawful only the church marriage, attended church throughout the week before public marriage registration and got married in the church without public announcements, in the presence of close relatives and friends who kept the secret of the church marriage<sup>13</sup>. Gradually, such forms of marriage were introduced among the urban population, the concept of which did not provide for structural elements of the traditional marriage and wedding complex. A party, which looked like an ordinary family holiday became the most common form of wedding. Sometimes marriage in such a “shortened” variant lasted longer – up to two days – in the following sequence: on the first day the solemn marriage registration took place in the registry office, then the event was celebrated among colleagues, course-mates; the following day newly-weds celebrated with their families, partially following the traditional rituals<sup>14</sup>.

The initiative to organize a “Komsomol wedding” belonged to the Komsomol (Young communist) or trade union organizations of the enterprise. Employees having professional merits (leaders) had the advantage in organizing celebrations, as the event was held at the

<sup>8</sup> Рекомендації до обрядів “Одруження” і “Народини”. – К., 1976. – 137 с.

<sup>9</sup> Брайченко О. Побутування українських традиційних свят родинного циклу в умовах наступу радянської ідеології 70–80-х рр. XX ст. // Народна творчість та етнографія. – 2014. – №4. – С.117.

<sup>10</sup> Зоц В. Від ілюзій до реальності // Соціалістична культура. – 1978. – №6. – С.26–27.

<sup>11</sup> ЦДАВО України. – Ф.2. – Оп.14. – Спр.817. – Арк.83.

<sup>12</sup> Казанов Ю. Радянські свята та обряди в контексті ідеологічної політики в Україні другої половини XX ст. // Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету. – Вип.36. – Запоріжжя, 2013. – С.188.

<sup>13</sup> Фіцак І. Весільні звичаї та обряди українського міського населення Прикарпаття у 1940–1980-х рр. // Матеріали до української етнології. – Вип.9. – К., 2010. – С.208.

<sup>14</sup> Кравець О. Сімейний побут і звичаї українського народу: історико-етнографічний нарис. – К., 1966. – С.173.

expense of the enterprise. Such form of wedding, as it was mentioned, went beyond family celebration and moved to the public level<sup>15</sup>. According to the proposed scenario, the Komsomol wedding consisted of two parts – the solemn part and celebration. The first one usually began with an official ceremony, which included a speech made by the director of the enterprise, a representative of the Komsomol committee and young colleagues, emphasizing the positive qualities of newly-weds, their success in work and active participation in public life. The solemn part ended with wishes and toasts to the bride couple, and then there was a celebration in any form, which often included narratives and ritual actions from folk weddings.

To improve the quality of work and culture of public services in some large Ukrainian cities, the institutions of ritual service were merged into the ritual firms “Sviato” (Holiday)<sup>16</sup>. The newly formed ritual services were engaged in preparing and holding solemn ceremonies, taking into account the new rituals and their new content. The wedding ceremony was organized with the participation of officials, brides, bride-grooms, friends, guests and mostly in the Palace of solemn events. It was solemn marriage registration, which completely replaced the church wedding ceremony, one of the main rites of the traditional wedding. The solemn registration took place according to the scenario developed and officially approved at the state level, which foresaw the meeting of newly-weds by employees of the ceremonial service, lighting a torch by the bride and bride-groom. This rite was introduced to replace the traditional using of candles at the wedding (ritual actions, which symbolized the union of two families). However, the torch had a different meaning in the newly introduced wedding celebrations – it was identified with the Obelisk of Glory, and the fire symbolized the glory and immortality of the fallen defenders. Thus, lighting the fire, the participants of the ceremony honored the memory of the fallen warriors. It is worth mentioning that the introduced rite became so characteristic in the scenario of wedding registration that it still existed in the early 2000s. The new marriage ceremony provided for: exchange of wedding rings; certification of the marriage document by signatures of newly-weds and witnesses; proclamation of a public promise of the young people “to demonstrate their will to live together as a married couple, as founders of a new family and successors of their kin in the name of the good of the state, the immortality of the people and personal happiness”<sup>17</sup>. The wedding ceremony ended with greetings to the newly-weds from those who were present and “releasing” pigeons by the young married couple as a sign of peace and happiness. During the second, unofficial, part of the wedding, the marriage was often “sanctified” by traditional rites: covering the bride, distributing the wedding cake, and so on.

In the mid-1980s, special recommendations for weddings were developed as part of the Government’s anti-alcohol campaign. New scenarios of alcohol free, “tea” weddings included a rich entertainment program: games, lotteries, songs and contests<sup>18</sup>. Holding such parties had to divert the attention of the guests from the usual traditional feast and celebration, from drinking alcohol. It should be noted that the ban on alcohol drinking during the feast did not gain ground among the population of either the city or the village; after all, in the traditional culture of Ukrainians, the ritual drinking of alcohol is legitimized, it was used as a symbolic attribute when concluding a contract or completing a case. In particular, in a traditional wedding, marriage arrangements came into force after the symbolic consumption (“drinking”) of alcohol. As time passed, the ceremonial “drinking a glass” lost the force of “legal” action and acquired a banquet and entertainment character.

<sup>15</sup> Зінч В. Соціалістичні перетворення: Паростки нового комуністичного в культурі і побуті робітників Радянської України. – К., 1963. – С.46.

<sup>16</sup> Аль-Анні А., Кузіна Н. Державна політика по впровадженню радянської обрядовості в Українській РСР // Етнічна історія народів Європи. – Вип.38. – К., 2012. – С.42.

<sup>17</sup> Фіцак І. Весільні звичаї та обряди українського міського населення Прикарпаття у 1940–1980-х рр. – С.207.

<sup>18</sup> Латиш Ю. Впровадження безалкогольної обрядовості на Донеччині в роки перебудови // Етнічна історія народів Європи. – Вип.31. – К., 2010. – С.40.

Increased political and ideological pressure of the authorities significantly affected the existence of the Ukrainian traditional culture and caused the loss of many components of the wedding ceremony, significantly narrowing its national color, high aesthetics of song culture and theatrical performances.

Beginning from the late 1980s, there was a marked weakening of the authorities' control over every-day and festive sphere of the urban population. On the other hand, even in the 1990s, in the urbanized environment, weddings continued to take place like they were organized in the Soviet period; however, under the influence of new civilizational challenges and communications of educated people with the outside world, a new wave of modifications and essential changes in wedding ceremonies was observed. Thus, there was a gradual abandonment of Soviet rituals and the return to the traditional components of the Ukrainian wedding or the borrowing of European transnational models. V. Borysenko, the researcher of Ukrainian traditional culture notes that at present the “transition to a qualitatively new level, returning to the traditions of the socialist rite and further development of the best traditional elements, the symbiosis of traditions and new forms are taking place”<sup>19</sup>.

With the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, a new stage began in the development of the Ukrainian culture and rituals in particular their traditional component was restored, taking into account modern living conditions and the world civilization development<sup>20</sup>. The return to nearly forgotten moral and ethical content, artistic and aesthetic manifestations of wedding ceremonies is taking place.

From the beginning of the 21 century, the development of wedding ceremonies has been mainly determined by globalization and cultural integration impacts. O. Kurochkin, the researcher of festive and ceremonial culture of the Ukrainians notes: “Dramatic transformations of the recent decades in the whole post-Soviet space are taking place under the slogans of liberation from the totalitarian past, de-ideologization of all the spheres of spiritual and social life. Everywhere there is a loss of interest in the holidays, customs, and traditions of the socialist time”<sup>21</sup>. At the same time, it should be mentioned that in the modern urbanized environment, the elements of marriage and wedding innovations of the Soviet period are still used in the ceremony, including the form of official marriage registration, dance of newly-weds after marriage certification, laying flowers at the memorial.

At the turn of the 20–21 centuries, the structure, content, sequence of the ceremony and variations of marriage certification were significantly influenced by the functioning of event agencies. These specialized firms for organizing and holding festive events began to offer the city population various wedding scenarios. Off-site ceremony which includes official marriage registration is one of the most popular forms of modern weddings offered by event companies. Currently, there is also a pageant of marriage certification without official original documents, etc.

Gradually, modern wedding scenarios are diversified by elements inherent in Western European marriage culture. It should be noted that at present there are two main trends in the wedding ceremony popular among the urban population – the integration into Western European culture and ethnization of modern weddings. The first trend is characterized by the design and adaptation of transnational Western wedding customs to the Ukrainian urban environment. A variant of such a wedding involves a festive marriage ceremony and new, typical of a European wedding, actions (sometimes in combination with traditional Ukrainian rites).

Most often, modern city weddings in Ukraine take place according to the following scheme: ransom for the bride, off-site ceremony or official marriage registration, photo shoot session and

<sup>19</sup> Борисенко В. Весільні звичаї та обряди на Україні: Історико-етнографічне дослідження. – С.175.

<sup>20</sup> Громова О. Новації у весільній обрядовості кінця ХХ – початку ХХІ ст. (за матеріалами Середньої Наддніпрянщини) // Матеріали до української етнології. – Вип. 9. – К., 2010. – С.195.

<sup>21</sup> Курочкин О. Шляхи подолання тоталітарних стереотипів у святковій культурі незалежної України // Народна творчість та етнологія. – 2011. – №1. – С.75.

walk, meeting and greeting of the newly-weds, festive feast (during which the traditional rites of giving presents, “covering” the bride, and ritual treating with wedding cake take place in a changed form). At a modern wedding, the church wedding ceremony is not obligatory, so it is not fixed in the structure of the ceremony. Time variations are also known: the wedding takes place on Saturday, and church wedding ceremony takes place the following day, on Sunday, or even after a certain time. In a transformed form, other re-actualized rites are now performed at weddings, in particular the rite of gift giving and covering the newly-weds. As it has been mentioned, the elements of traditional wedding events have undergone specific modifications: for example, the rite of covering the bride at a modern wedding takes place in a shortened and more entertaining form, changing its emotional coloring. New rites have been added to the scenario of a modern wedding and become popular among the population. These rites are believed to be aimed at ensuring family comfort and well-being. In particular, it is a custom to pass the family hearth, which takes place at the end of the wedding and is often the last solemn action of the holiday. There is a custom of simultaneous lighting a candle by the newly-weds and their parents. As it is known, in folk tradition, candle is made sacred and is considered to be a protective talisman of the newly formed family. As a separate event of the wedding feast, the traditional ceremony of treating guests with a wedding cake and its joint eating by the bride and bride-groom remain popular among the Ukrainians.

Traditional culture today is in the trend of educated city community; there is a tendency to re-actualize the traditional rites and customs, family ones in particular. Scenarios for holding ethnic weddings are being developed, which provide for the consistent reproduction of traditional actions and rites in all their regional or narrow-local diversity. In particular, modern ethnic wedding ceremonies foresee the restoration of all structural components – holding the rites of both pre-wedding and post-wedding cycles. So, along with the standard scheme and structure of the wedding ceremony, developed by the agency, weddings in ethnic style are held.

Among the creative part of the city youth it is now becoming popular to reproduce on their own initiative most of the rites and customs of a traditional wedding in its ethnic local specifics.

In different periods of introducing the Soviet rituals and at the present stage of powerful globalization challenges and integration processes, the rites of pre-wedding and post-wedding cycles have also undergone significant transformations in the direction of their structural and semantic modifications and reductions. Most of the structural elements of pre-wedding ceremonies in the middle of the 20 century foresaw ritual actions and rites aimed at reaching agreements between the two families on the marriage of the young people like in a traditional wedding. In the post-war period, the time of all actions aimed at the marriage agreement between the city dwellers was shortened and markedly reduced, while the rural population retained the key customs of the pre-wedding cycle. The form of pre-wedding ceremony appeared, when viewing of the bride, match-making and engagements took place simultaneously as one ritual. A similar procedure, aimed at the agreement on marriage, is preserved and often exists today, both among the rural and urban population. As a reaction to transnational challenges, the borrowed Western European custom of “marriage proposal”, the girl’s verbal consent to marriage, has taken root among the townspeople. Nowadays, the attributive features that mark the engaged couple have also changed: the bride-groom presents the girl with a ring, which (instead of the traditional presented hat) is an attributive sign of the engagement (match-making). Later, on a certain day, the families of the young couple meet and arrange the wedding. At the same time, it should be mentioned that even at present many young couples during engagements try to reproduce traditional ritual actions (symbolic actions with bread, tying towels and exchanging gifts between the bride and bride-groom).

One of the key and symbolically filled pre-wedding events was and remains the rite of baking a wedding cake. In the city, this action has already lost its symbolic significance traditional for the village, although it continues to be present at the wedding as one of the main

attributes. At the turn of the 20–21 centuries, baking a wedding cake, “falls out” from the ceremonial wedding structure<sup>22</sup>, and due to the complexity and necessity of certain baking conditions, the modern wedding scenario does not foresees this action. At the same time, wedding cake is used at the wedding as an indispensable wedding attribute; it is ordered in bakeries and guests are treated with it at the end of the wedding day.

It should be mentioned that social and political events, social and economic transformations have led to a significant reduction in post-wedding activities, which were aimed at strengthening ties between the two families and facilitating the period of the bride’s adaptation in a new, strange home. Modern post-wedding ceremonies have an entertaining and playful character. On the second day of the holiday, which is celebrated in a small family circle, the newly-weds appear in the role of young hosts: they meet, treat and entertain guests.

As it has already been mentioned, in the middle of the 20 century, changes in the traditional structure of the wedding were determined by specially implemented measures of official authorities. At present, changes in the content and scheme of the wedding are stipulated by the influence of globalization processes, the level of ethnic cultural competence, educational and status characteristics of newly-weds, innovation and technical awareness, and so on. Photo and video cameras have gained wide popularity as the main means of fixing the event, and the shooting process continues throughout the wedding. In addition, as separate structural elements of a modern wedding there are off-site photo sessions and staged filming. Special time is provided for shooting in a thematic interior studio or on the street near the sights (usually after marriage registration or church wedding, before holiday banquet).

It is worth noting about some changes in wedding organization connected with the current social, political realities and epidemiological measures; in particular, there are cases of remote weddings. In online format, young couples together with representatives of the event agency discuss the details of the ceremony, choose the attire, venue, and make other wedding orders. Actually, marriage registration ceremony is conducted through video communication means; the entertainment part of the holiday (greetings, dances) is also held online. This version of the wedding is new and non-standard.

Today, during the intensive globalization processes and intercultural collaboration of the community, the wedding of Ukrainians in the urban environment is diverse and variable given the cultural, educational, ethnic, and professional characteristics of the future married couple. At the same time, despite the dynamic transformational phenomena, there are rituals, attributes and components in the modern city wedding of Ukrainians, which are inherent in the traditional wedding ritual of the people.

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# Історичні трансформації української обрядової культури в урбанізованому середовищі (1920-ті рр. – початок ХХІ ст.)

**Анотація.** Метою статті є аналіз та висвітлення основних трансформацій і видозмін компонентів української обрядової культури в урбанізованому середовищі. **Методологія дослідження** базується на загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення), спеціальних (порівняльно-історичний, проблемно-хронологічний), джерелознавчих методах, а також використано метод безпосереднього спостереження. **Наукова новизна** полягає в аналізі знакових видозмін та виявленні тенденцій трансформації компонентів традиційної культури українців в урбанізованому середовищі. Відзначено, що особливої уваги потребує місто – осередок культури, який перебуває в постійному процесі розвитку, тут формуються й синтезуються духовно-ціннісні й етнічні орієнтації містян. Увагу приділено насамперед розвитку, побутуванню та модифікації сімейної обрядовості і її шлюбно-весільної складової, як одного з найважливіших етноідентифікаційних показників та елемента консервування етнічності. Висвітлено основні чинники трансформаційних обрядових практик та скорочення традиційних компонентів обрядовості у різні періоди суспільно-політичних і глобалізаційних процесів. **Основні результати й висновки.** Відзначено, що протягом 1920–1980-х рр. радянська влада відіграла значну роль у трансформації духовних основ українського народу. Зокрема створення нової сім'ї мало суспільне значення, перебувало під контролем державних органів, що особливо проявилось в містах. У вказаний період відбувається стандартизація та уніфікація ритуально-обрядової складової весілля, що значною мірою вплинуло на втрату багатьох його компонентів, істотно звуживши його національний колорит, високу естетику пісенної культури та театралізованих дійств. Натомість кінець ХХ – початок ХХІ ст. характеризується інтенсивною глобалізацією. Визначено, що широко використання інноваційних технічних засобів комунікації, як одного з вагомих чинників, суттєво сприяє трансформації етнокультури українців. Сучасна сімейна обрядовість міського населення, зокрема шлюбно-весільна, з однієї сторони характеризується варіативністю та строкатістю, а з іншої – реактивацією традиційних ритуалів, явищ, атрибутів.

**Ключові слова:** традиційна культура українців, нові звичаї та обряди, урбанізоване середовище, глобалізаційний процес, культурна інтеграція, трансформаційні тенденції.