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## DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS AND HOUSING IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA IN TIME AND SPACE\*

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### Rezumat

#### Dinamica dezvoltării așezărilor și locuințelor ucrainiene în Republica Moldova în timp și spațiu

Articolul examinează principalele tipuri de așezări și locuințe ucrainene din Republica Moldova în dinamica dezvoltării lor de-a lungul secolelor. Sunt identificate caracteristicile lor regionale, care depind, în primul rând, de condițiile naturale, climatice și geografice, precum și de cele socio-economice. În același timp, trăsăturile regionale au prevalat într-o anumită măsură față de cele etnice, ceea ce este asociat cu coabitarea pe termen lung a ucrainenilor cu reprezentanții națiunii titulare, dar și ai altor comunități etnice. Cu toate acestea, originalitatea etnică încă există. Condițiile naturale și geografice ale Moldovei se remarcă printr-o diversitate semnificativă. Evident, acest lucru nu ar putea să nu afecteze arhitectura populară, amenajarea străzilor și așezarea în ansamblu, amplasarea terenului de grădină, anexe și locuințe. Chiar și complexul locativ și comunal a suferit transformări serioase de-a lungul secolelor. Acest lucru a fost exprimat în materiale și tehnici de constructive, în arhitectura spațiilor rezidențiale și utilitare. În zilele noastre, infrastructura vitală a așezărilor rurale s-a schimbat serios, casele noi au devenit mai spațioase, mai frumoase, mai confortabile.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** ucraineni, Republica Moldova, așezări și locuințe, tipuri principale, dinamica dezvoltării.

### Резюме

#### Динамика развития украинских поселений и жилищ в Республике Молдова во времени и пространстве

В статье рассматриваются основные типы украинских поселений и жилищ в Республике Молдова в динамике их развития на протяжении веков. Выявлены их региональные особенности, которые зависят прежде всего от природно-климатических и географических, а также социально-экономических условий. При этом региональные особенности в определенной степени преобладали над этническими, что связано с длительным совместным проживанием украинцев с представителями как титульной нации, так и других этнических общностей. Однако этническое своеобразие все же имеет место. Природно-географические условия Молдовы, несмотря на ее небольшие размеры, отличаются значительным разнообразием. Конечно, это не могло не отразиться на народной архитектуре, планировке улиц и сел, в целом, усадьбы, расположении в ней садового участка, хозяйственных построек и жилищ. Сам жилищно-коммунальный комплекс за многие столетия претерпел серьезные преобразова-

ния. Это выразилось в строительных материалах и технологиях, в архитектуре жилых и хозяйственных помещений. В настоящее время жизненно важная инфраструктура сельских поселений серьезно изменилась, новые дома стали просторнее, красивее, комфортнее.

**Ключевые слова:** украинцы, Республика Молдова, поселения и жилище, основные типы, динамика развития.

### Summary

#### Dynamics of development of Ukrainian settlements and housing in the Republic of Moldova in time and space

The article examines the main types of Ukrainian settlements and housing in the Republic of Moldova in the dynamics of their development over the centuries. Their regional features are identified, which depend primarily on natural and climatic and geographical, as well as socio-economic conditions. At the same time, regional features to a certain extent prevailed over ethnic ones, which is associated with the long-term cohabitation of Ukrainians with representatives of both the titular nation and other ethnic communities. But ethnic originality still takes place. The natural and geographical conditions of Moldova, despite its small extent, are distinguished by significant diversity. Of course, this could not but affect folk architecture, street layout and the settlement as a whole, the estate, the placement of the garden plot, outbuildings and housing in it. And the housing and utility complex itself has undergone serious transformations over many centuries. This was expressed in materials and construction techniques, and in the architecture of residential and utility rooms. Nowadays, the critical infrastructure of rural settlements has seriously changed, new houses have become more spacious, more beautiful, more comfortable.

**Key words:** Ukrainians, Republic of Moldova, settlements and housing, main types, development dynamics.

Ukrainian traditional housing is not only a “natural or artificial shelter for protecting a person from bad weather, differently arranged in accordance with climatic conditions in order to meet the general needs of people for housing” (Материальная 1989), but also a whole cultural complex, which is both a manifestation and a shaper of the worldview of the Ukrainian people. It is a vivid manifestation of the heredity of traditions, aesthetic principles, expediency and social conditioning.

Ukrainian housing in the conditions of the diaspora is characterized by significant features, therefore, the study of the formation and development of Ukrainian settlements and housing in the specific conditions of Moldova is of great importance both from the point of view of further scientific research on the topic of the development of traditional and everyday culture on the specific material of a separate region, and in terms of understanding the process of transformation of Ukrainian settlements and housing.

Numerous scientific literatures are devoted to various aspects of the material culture and, in particular, the settlements and housing of Ukrainians. These are generalizing works by Ukrainian researchers V. Borisenko (Борисенко 2007), S. A. Makarchuk (Макарчук 1994), G. S. Lozko (Лозко 1995), S. P. Pavlyuk (Павлюк 2004) and others, special works by T. V. Kosmina (Косміна 1980), A. G. Danilyuk (Данилюк 1991), V. P. Samoïlovich (Самойлович 1972) and others, which provide characteristics of Ukrainian folk housing. The works of Moldavian researchers are also devoted to folk housing, in which they in one way or another touch upon the dwellings of local Ukrainians – archaeologists I. G. Khynku (Хынку 1975: 88-104), G. B. Fedorov and M. Ya. Salmanovich (Федоров et al. 1970: 55-64), ethnologists S. S. Bobok, P. P. Byrnya, M. Ya. Livshits (Бобок et al. 1977), architects K. D. Rodnin I. I. Pomyatovskiy (Роднин et al. 1960), S. Moiseenko (Моисеенко 1973), A. Zakharov (Захаров 1960) and others. Of interest to us are the works of Ukrainian scientists who studied the material culture of the regions of Ukraine neighboring Moldova: G. K. Kozholyanko (Кожолянко 1999), V. G. Kushnir (Кушнір 1998, 2005, 2012). Studies of the material culture of the Ukrainians of Moldova, including housing, are reflected in the works of V. Kozhukhar (Кожухарь 1997: 132-148; 2006: 472-480; 2013: 132-138; 2017: 116-122 and others), V. Stepanov (Степанов 1995: 107-109; 2001 and others).

The above-mentioned scientists have made a certain contribution to the development of the stated topic, but, as far as we know, this topic has not been specifically considered in scientific publications, and only its individual aspects have been mentioned.

The purpose of the article is to characterize the regional features of settlements and housing of Ukrainians in Moldova, the main factors influencing their formation and development, primarily ethnic and natural-geographical, as well as temporal; to consider the main types of settlements and housing, characteristic types of farmstead development, types of residential buildings in their dynamics, and much more.

Folk material culture, including settlement and housing, is an extremely complex phenomenon that has developed in a system of various factors: historical, socio-economic, political, natural-geographical, ethnic and others. Together, they determine both the ethnic outlines of Ukrainian settlements on the territory of the Republic of Moldova and their regional uniqueness.

This phenomenon has been formed for a long time in quite specific conditions, when, on the one hand, there is a kind of conservation of the cultural traditions of one's people, and on the other hand, there is a direct influence of the traditional culture of the surrounding population, in our case, the Moldavian, Gagauz, Bulgarian and others. Ukrainian housing has also experienced significant influence as a result of complex migration processes, as a result of which bearers of cultural traditions of different ethnographic groups of the Ukrainian people migrated from mainland Ukraine to the territory of Moldova.

It should be noted that regional features to a certain extent prevailed over ethnic ones. Of course, if, say, we compare snow igloos-dwellings (typical of the Eskimos) with floating dwellings of the peoples of Southeast Asia or with adobe houses of our region, the differences are quite striking. But within the same region, in practically identical socio-economic, political, natural and geographical conditions, the dwellings of bearers of different cultures do not differ so much in appearance (Душакіова 2010). But ethnic originality still takes place and it is expressed both in the features of construction technology and technique, and in artistic and decorative decoration, and mainly in the features of perceiving the dwelling as one's own space, the ways of its development, the ideas associated with it, which can be reflected in rituals, the organization of space according to various features, etc. Hence the need to study the dwelling as a unity of material and spiritual objects, especially since the border between them is quite conditional.

The natural and geographical conditions of Moldova, despite its small size, are distinguished by significant diversity. Conventionally, the entire territory is divided into northern, central and southern. To the north of the country are the spurs of the Khotin Upland, to the south of them stretches a treeless plain dissected by river valleys – the Bălți steppe. Along the right bank of the Dniester stretches the Transnistrian (Soroca) Upland, also dissected by valleys and gullies. A characteristic feature of the central part of the country (Codri) is a very rugged relief, alternating long and narrow watersheds with deep and long river valleys. Most of the southern region is occupied by the Budzhak steppe (Моисеенко 1973). The relief

of Left-bank Transnistria is characterized by deep and wide gullies with steep banks.

Of course, these features could not help but affect folk architecture, the layout of streets and the settlement as a whole, the estate, the placement of the garden plot, outbuildings and housing in it.

The most ancient type of settlement planning in Moldova is the cumulus or nest type, when the village consisted of nests uniting several households. Such planning was typical for Moldovan villages consisting of several patronymic settlements–corners (кутїв)<sup>1</sup>. Villages consisting of *kutiv* have survived in Moldova to this day and clearly demonstrate the nest type of planning, which is based on the kinship relations between the inhabitants of the *kut*. Ukrainian settlers also often used the cumulus or nest type of planning, adapting to local natural and climatic conditions and traditions, especially since this type also existed in Ukraine, mainly in the southern steppe region (Степанов 2001: 8).

Subsequent evolution led to the emergence of a new layout – linear, or row, when houses were located in one or several rows. In the XVth–XVIIth centuries, this planning coexisted with nested, but already prevailed. The emergence of linear development is quite natural, since with the further development of feudal relations, apparently, each owner became the owner of a courtyard-estate, continued the general line of houses, unlike the previous period, when all the buildings were owned by the community.

Later, with the development of agriculture, from about the end of the XVIIth – beginning of the XVIIIth century, a street-block type of settlement development appeared, preserving the long-standing tradition of nested planning – family blocks (Бобок et al. 1976: 151).

For northern Moldova with a calm relief of the territory, a regular planning of villages with straight streets is characteristic – block, radial types. This is a later type of development that appeared in Moldova in the 20s and 30s of the XIXth century (Роднин et al. 1960: 86). Thus, the radial planning is typical for the village of Danu in the Glodeni district, and the purely block planning is the village of Tetscany in the Briceni district, located on a practically flat plateau on the bank of the Prut River. The village is planned in blocks, where the streets intersect at right angles.

The street development in the northern villages of Moldova is characterized by the regular placement of residential buildings facing the street. Different color schemes in the design of residential buildings, the arrangement of fences, and landscaping create diversity in the street development. The rugged terrain of central Moldova is characterized by a free and

picturesque placement of buildings. Small streets and dead ends, branching off from the central street of the village at different angles, following the terrain, create a unique composition of residential buildings, greenery, and small architectural forms. House plots are smaller and more compact; vineyards and gardens are located outside the settlement on more fertile lands. Houses can be placed at different angles in relation to the street (Павлюк 2004: 10-11).

In the southern areas, the linear village layout prevails. In addition, the street development differs from the development in the northern areas. If in the last facades of residential buildings, as a rule, face the street, then in the southern areas, residential buildings face the street with their ends. The streets are greened with trees of fast-growing white acacia, sometimes hiding the development from the street, but creating abundant shade, which is important in the hot south. In the Left-bank Dniester region, most villages are located in river floodplains on the slopes of their banks and have an elongated shape. The streets are laid parallel to the river bed, connected to each other by perpendicular lanes. Houses are located depending on the relief – either with the end or with the front side to the road (Image 1).

In the arrangement of buildings on the estate, three types can be distinguished: a) unconnected structures; b) partially connected (extensions + separate structures); c) completely connected.

The type with unconnected buildings is more typical for the Ukrainians of Moldova, which is widespread throughout Ukraine, but is especially typical for the southern and central regions (Культура 1993: 104). Outbuildings attached to the house under a separate roof are found mainly in the northern and central regions of the republic, they are located at the rear or side wall of the house. At the same time, other outbuildings were located separately. The type of arrangement of buildings on the estate with completely connected buildings (long house), when outbuildings with a separate entrance (barn, cattle shed, etc.) are located under the same roof with the house and on the same level, in Moldova, is found almost exclusively in the south of the republic (Images 2, 3). This type is typical for Polesia, the Carpathians, Western Podolia, Bukovina and Poltava in Ukraine and for the local Bulgarians, with whom the Ukrainians neighbor in the south. And outbuildings attached to the house were common in the south 100 years ago. Ukrainian settlers who settled the south of Moldova in the XIXth century brought with them their usual methods of building up the plot, justified in other, more severe climatic conditions. But in the conditions of a warm southern winter, this method did not justify itself, so

from the beginning of the XXth century it began to gradually die out (Моисеенко 1973: 12).

In terms of the relative position of the dwelling and outbuildings, free development was common in most of Moldova, where the house and outbuildings were located without a specific regular plan, depending on the terrain features and the wishes of the owner. In the south, where the “long house” existed, outbuildings were located in one row with the house (single-row development).

The natural and climatic conditions of Moldova contributed to the fact that almost throughout the entire territory an open type of yard was formed, in which a free plot of land adjoined the house and outbuildings, always remaining in the open air. This is typical for both Ukrainians and Moldovans.

As for the location of the house relative to the street, ethnographers usually distinguish three options: remote, close and directly located on the street border (Українська 1993: 16). For local Ukrainians, estates with a remote location of the house relative to the street and its placement in the back of the yard (deep yard) are typical. There is a variant of the house location close to the street. This is typical mainly for the south (Image 2). The variant with the direct location of the house on the street border was also recorded by us in the south (Image 4).

The common symbolic feature of Ukrainian settlements was their peculiar attachment to rivers, although such an ethnoecological feature is inherent in many other peoples in general. Against the Ukrainian ethnocultural background, such a universal human regularity acquired specific ethnic features, characteristic of the mental makeup of Ukrainians and their spiritual culture. For them, the river personified not just economic, social or purely human ties, as is typical for many other peoples, it became a spiritual beginning for people who linked their existence with it. After all, most of the ritual actions of Ukrainians were performed near water, because they were identified with the water element: Kupala rites, Rusalija and baptism, dousing and fortune telling on a bridge, near a well or an ice hole; Water magic and the cult of water were the basis of many beliefs and superstitions, embodied in colorful demonological rituals that became ethnic symbols of the spiritual culture of Ukrainians – in the images of a mermaid, a water spirit, etc. (Косміна 1980: 36).

As for the ethnic factor in the architectural design of residential buildings, it also had a significant impact on regional housing. Thus, in the north, Ukrainians lived mainly next to Moldovans, who, according to Moldovan researchers, largely adopted the construction experience of craftsmen from Tran-

scarpattia and the Chernivtsi region of Ukraine, neighboring Moldova (which, of course, was also used by local Ukrainians) (Моисеенко 1973: 10). Similar processes took place in the Left-Bank Transnistria, where the architectural design of residential buildings showed a significant influence from the Podolsk region of Ukraine. In the south, folk architecture is not distinguished by such a unity of architectural solutions, which is explained by the diversity of the national composition of the rural population, which developed during the settlement and colonization of the region. Here, Ukrainian settlers adapted to the natural and climatic conditions of the hot steppe zone, adopting the experience of the Moldovans, Gagauz and Bulgarians.

The choice of a place to build a house by local Ukrainians also takes place in accordance with folk traditions, where purely pragmatic, economic approaches are closely intertwined with folk beliefs. In early spring, the owners observed the first thawed patches on the future estate. For the new home, they tried to find a place where there is no dew in the morning, trees do not grow, especially elderberry bushes, blackthorn and extremely dangerous viburnum, which indicate that the house will be damp. It is forbidden to build on borders, at crossroads, on pastures, wastelands. Elements of mysticism were added to realistic knowledge: you cannot build a house in a place where grain was once threshed (“for the devils will thresh”); on the estate of a family where there were drunkards, thieves, etc.; where people died from an epidemic; where they were often sick; where there were quarrels and divorces, etc. These traditions largely echo those that existed in Ukraine (Українська 1993: 27-28). Ukrainian researchers from the Institute of Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Lviv) note that many of the local customs and warnings that accompanied the choice of a site for construction and the beginning of construction are found in the Carpathians (Файник 2015: 160-172).

On the left bank of the Dniester, as in the neighboring regions of Ukrainian Podolia, before choosing a place to build a house, rye was sown. If it grew well, then it was considered that the place had been chosen successfully. Also, during the construction of housing, a certain ritual role was assigned to a table, bread, and water. In the middle of the future home, on a table (or chair) covered with a towel, they put a cross (which was then transferred to the corner post during construction), bread, salt, and left some measure of water, not filled to the very top, so that later it would be visible whether the water in it would increase or decrease (Поділля 1994: 244).

As for the southern regions, during the colonization, villages were often built according to a plan, and the owners did not always have the opportunity to choose the place for the house themselves. Therefore, the traditions associated with choosing a place for construction were not as widespread as, incidentally, in the south of Ukraine (Українська 1993: 27).

As for the housing itself and the housing and economic complex, they also went through a long path of development over the centuries, and have their own characteristics.

In its development over the last century and a half, housing has gone through two main stages: 1) from the mid-XIX<sup>th</sup> century to the 1950s and 1960s, when changes in housing were manifested in the disappearance of primitive forms and the reconstruction of old, still strong buildings; 2) from the 1960s, when the most rational type of housing almost everywhere became a multi-room manor-type house, close in plan to a square, which replaced housing with a linear arrangement of rooms.

The first settlers huddled in бурдэях / бордэйках – temporary housing in the form of dugouts. As the economy developed, the peasants built permanent houses – huts and various outbuildings. In rural areas, the hut was the main type of housing in the XIX<sup>th</sup> – first half of the XX<sup>th</sup> century, not only in Bessarabia, but also in Ukraine and Belarus, which is why it was called Ukrainian-Belarusian in scientific literature. This is a typical Ukrainian hut, which also became widespread among Moldovans in Ukrainian-Moldavian ethnocontact zones (Image 5).

The main building materials used were yellow clay, rubble stone, which are abundant in local soils, and wood. The small reserves of forest in the region and its high cost limited the use of wood in the construction of houses. As a rule, wood was used to build the frame and roof, make doors, windows and furniture. The main roofing material in the XIX<sup>th</sup> – early XX<sup>th</sup> centuries was reed (коміш, очерет, рогіз, троща) and oat straw (околот), as well as shingles (го́нта) – wooden plates made of coniferous trees. Rubble stone was usually used in the construction of foundations, outbuildings and fences. Nowadays new building materials are used – cauldron (котелець, піляний ракушняк), cinder concrete, cement-gravel blocks, etc. The most common roofing materials are slate, sheet metal, corrugated sheets, metal tiles, etc.

In the XIX<sup>th</sup> – early XX<sup>th</sup> centuries, the walls of residential and utility buildings were constructed of adobe frame (wicker frame coated with clay) approximately 40 centimetres thick (горожена хата, плетена хата), with mounds of earth – призьба (cf.

Romanian: prispă) – built along the lower part of the wall on the outside, partially replacing the foundation and protecting the dwelling from moisture and cold. Since the mid XX<sup>th</sup> century, adobe (лампач) has been used for building walls – bricks made of clay mixed with straw and horse manure (adobe buildings always had a stone foundation), and later new building materials were used. The outside of the walls were coated with clay and whitewashed with white clay or lime. Later, plastering of walls with whitewash on the inside began to be used, and a special cement mortar with crushed stone (шуба) was also applied. Ancillary and utility buildings were also built from лампач or were frame-and-clay, and since the mid XX<sup>th</sup> century, new building materials have been used.

The floors in the huts were earthen, coated with clay, in recent decades both old and new houses have been laid with wooden floors and floors made of modern materials (linoleum, laminate, ceramic tiles, etc.). In the XIX<sup>th</sup> – early XX<sup>th</sup> centuries, there were ceilings in both rooms, the entryway was often left without a ceiling. In order to strengthen the ceiling, cross beams were installed. Since the mid-XIX<sup>th</sup> century, the most common roof structure for housing in Ukrainian villages was a hipped roof, since the 1950s, outbuildings have been covered more often with a gable roof with a wooden gable, truncated at the top.

The roofs and gables were decorated with a variety of wooden figures (Image 6) and paneled patterns, which in the north of Moldova are called гарбаціка.

The entrance doors in old huts were wooden, single-leaf and opened into the vestibule. Later, they began to make two-, three-, and even four-leaf doors with glazing. Internal doors were single-leaf, later – double-leaf with glazing.

Windows in the XIX<sup>th</sup> – early XX<sup>th</sup> centuries were frameless. At first, bull or pig bladder was used instead of glass, then the glass was simply inserted into the window opening, later they began to make frames, both single and double and triple.

Living quarters were heated using a traditional stove (піч), usually with a large stove/oven for heating one or two rooms, with or without a cooker (плита), located in the living room combined with the kitchen (Image 7).

The dwellings were designed in a simple way: by analogy with the plan and size of the house of relatives and friends. Therefore, the projects were typical and most houses were of the same type. Over the past 50–70 years, villagers' houses have been built according to projects developed by specialist archi-

fects. In addition to the hut, the buildings of the utility and residential complex include a barn for storing inventory, fuel, etc., premises for livestock and poultry, buildings for storing fodder, firewood, etc. In the 70–80s of the last century, the construction of so-called summer kitchens (літня /лётня кўхня, сага́й) became very popular in rural areas. They are used not only as a room for cooking in the summer, but often as a living space with heating, where the owners (especially the elderly) live permanently, and a clean and decorated hut is intended exclusively for special occasions – weddings, christenings, church, etc.

For cattle and horses, wooden buildings were mainly built on a stone foundation (гамба́рь, сто́дола); a room for sheep – коша́ра (очарник), for pigs (кўча) were built from adobe; a chicken coop (курник) – a frame-clay. Rooms for ducks and geese were built separately. Outbuildings on the estate were located randomly.

The hut itself usually included two living spaces: велику хату *ut* and a living room – хатчину, a vestibule (сіни, хороми, хоромчата) and a pantry (вантір). In most cases, a special room for a kitchen was not allocated in the hut – they slept, cooked, and ate in one room – хатчині. The great hut was not used as a living space, but was always elegantly decorated, used for celebrations and storage of expensive items (compare: *casa mare*). Accordingly, it was not heated (Image 8).

Since the 1960s, the layout of the hut has become more diverse, the number of rooms has increased, and the shape of the hut has changed – from rectangular to close to square, with second and even third floors often built. Furniture in village houses was made either by the owners themselves or by master carpenters to order. Wooden trestle beds (постель) were often used as beds, which were usually installed near the stove. People also slept on wooden лавках and со́фках. Chairs, stools and tables were not much different in shape from modern ones and were made from planed boards. Long benches, осло́ны, and лавки stood along the walls. Wooden со́фки and скрі́ні (large chests) were used to store clothes.

Everyday clothes were hung on homemade hangers with wooden hooks (кілкі). Dishes were stored on special shelves (місниках, замісниках).

The traditional interior decoration of a Ukrainian hut consisted mainly of homemade furniture and various homespun items. A special woolen runner with a geometric pattern in red, blue, green and black tones (підвіко́нник / кандрел / парата́ри) was hung on the walls around the entire perimeter of the room under the windows. Carpets on the

walls were previously only found in the great hut – kilimy, pologi, nalavnik zabirany, rumba (a rug with a diamond pattern), etc. Benches, donkeys, screens and sofas were covered with nalavniks. Pyramids of skillfully embroidered pillows towered on the beds. Windows, doors, corners, etc. – the corner, the corner were curtained with factory-made or homespun curtains – *firanka / firyanka*. The walls were decorated with family photographs in frames, embroidered towels – rushnyks, runners, knitted openwork napkins, reproductions of paintings with landscapes or still lifes. An obligatory attribute were icons – vikony, which were placed in the red corner and decorated with embroidered rushnyks and napkins, and others.

In modern houses, homespun carpets and rugs are becoming less common, the production of which has practically ceased since the 1950s, and the interior of the home, especially for young owners, is practically no different from the interior of a city apartment.

At present, much has changed in Ukrainian, as well as Moldovan, settlements. This is evidenced by our most recent field research in the northern region of the Republic of Moldova.

Firstly, this is a modern infrastructure, which thirty years ago, our villages did not have (at least in this form). We saw villages in which the main streets are paved, and secondary ones are covered with gravel. And no dirt on the roads, as in the past. There are flower beds on the streets, beautiful Crucifixes at the intersections (Image 9). Renovated or newly built using modern materials buildings of the City Hall (village administration), kindergartens, community centers, schools, churches, shops. In each village there is a medical center where patients are seen by a family doctor and nurses, equipped with a laboratory with all the necessary equipment for diagnostics and provision of medical care.

Secondly, modern houses have become large, multi-room, with all the amenities (toilet, bathroom, water in the house, sewerage, autonomous heating, etc.) (Image 10). The courtyards are paved with paving slabs, there are flower beds everywhere. Outbuildings are not visible from the street. Beautiful fences and gates made of modern materials have been built (Image 11). There are also old renovated and re-equipped houses, also with all the amenities (Image 12). True, there are many very old, dilapidated houses in the villages that are abandoned (people either went abroad irrevocably or died). But the trend of improving the standard of living and culture of everyday life is obvious.

Thus, it can be stated that, despite the relatively small territory of Moldova, certain regional fea-

tures of Ukrainian settlements and housing still exist, which is confirmed by both the experience of our field research and the research of Moldovan and Ukrainian scientists. These features are reflected in the types of settlements, estate planning, housing construction traditions, choice of location for construction, etc. And although Ukrainian housing was formed in identical to Moldovan natural-geographical, socio-economic and political conditions, which determined to a large extent the similarity of folk construction traditions, ethnic features in the housing construction traditions of local Ukrainians occupy a prominent place.

Nowadays, the critical infrastructure of Ukrainian, as well as Moldovan rural settlements, has seriously changed, new houses have become more spacious, more beautiful, more comfortable.

#### Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Terms in italics are local Ukrainian names.

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## Annex



Image 1. Rural landscape. Left-bank region.  
Photo by the author



Image 2. Longhouse. Southern region.  
Photo by the author





Image 3. Modern version of a long house. Southern region. Photo by the author



Image 4. House on the border of the street. Southern region. Photo by the author



Image 5. Old house. Ukrainian-Belarusian type. Photo by the author



Image 6. Decorative figurine on the roof. Southern region. Photo by the author



Image 7. Stove with hob. Northern region. Photo by the author



Image 8. Stylized Velika Khata (Big room). Northern region. Photo by the author



Image 9. Crucifixion at the crossroads. Northern region.  
Photo by the author

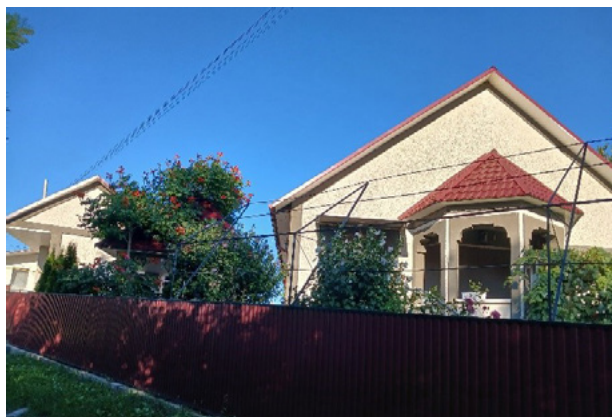


Image 10. Modern house. Northern region.  
Photo by the author



Image 11. Gate and fence of a modern house.  
Northern region



Image 12. Old renovated house. Northern region

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