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КОНДИТЕРСЬКА СПРАВА В УКРАЇНІ: АДАПТАЦІЯ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИХ ХАРЧОВИХ ТРАДИЦІЙ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати адаптацію європейських харчових традицій в Україні на прикладі історичного розвитку кондитерської галузі. **Методологія дослідження** – принцип історизму, який допоміг нам послідовно розкрити шляхи передачі та трансформації харчових традицій. **Наукова новизна** полягає у з'ясуванні типу перетворень, якості та характеру запозичень, прикладів місцевої адаптації та їх історичного підґрунтя. **Висновки.** 1. Визначну роль в адаптації відіграв промисловий переворот, котрий потребував масового споживача та, зрозуміло, міг забезпечити дешевими аналогами традиційних солодоців. 2. Сировинне підґрунтя для розвитку галузі сформувалося лише у ході XIX ст. 3. Розташування України на пере-

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хресті геополітичних інтересів сформувало різні сфери впливу, і, відповідно, розмаїття регіональних солодоців, що пізніше збереглося і у фабричному асортименті. Так, панування Османської імперії у Північному Причорномор'ї попри реколонізацію цього регіону після російсько-турецьких війн зберегло традиції східних солодоців у культурі українського Півдня. 4. На основі аналізу архівних документів та періодичних видань охарактеризовано асортимент кондитерських фабрик України що дало підставу порівняти їх із відповідним асортиментом фабрик європейських, прослідкувати сплетіння місцевої харчової традиції та її поєднання із загальноєвропейськими традиціями, як, наприклад, українська адаптація бісквіту та традиції вживання вторинних злаків при формуванні рецептури пряника українського в порівнянні із польськими та англійськими аналогами цього виробу. 5. Проведено аналіз запровадження і розповсюдження інновацій на прикладі технології шоколаду, що одночасно набув поширення у Західній Україні та Польщі, просуваючись від Відня як тогочасного центру кондитерських інновацій. Водночас перехід від фабрично-мануфактурної, до фабричної стадії розвитку галузі проходив у Західній Україні значно важче, позаяк зумовлювався аграрно-сировинним спрямуванням цього регіону у структурі Австро-Угорської імперії.

Ключові слова: кондитерська галузь; харчові традиції; солодоці; індустріальна революція; трансформація.

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CONFECTIONERY IN UKRAINE: ADOPTION OF EUROPEAN FOOD TRADITION

Summary. *Objective* is to analyze the adaptation of European food traditions in Ukraine on the example of the historical development of the confectionery industry. **Methodology** of the research – the principle of historicism, which allowed us to reveal the ways of transfer and transformation of food traditions. The **scientific novelty** is to find out the type of conversions, the quality and nature of borrowings, examples of local adaptation, and their historical background. **Conclusions.** 1. An industrial revolution that needed mass consumption and, accordingly, could provide cheap counterparts to traditional sweets played a significant role in adaptation. 2. The raw material basis for the development of the industry was formed only during the nineteenth century. 3. The location of Ukraine at the crossroads of geopolitical interests has shaped different spheres of influence, and, accordingly, the variety of regional sweets, which is later preserved in the factories range. Thus, the Ottoman rule in the Northern Black Sea, despite the recolonization of the region after the Russo-Turkish wars, has preserved the traditions of Eastern sweets in the culture of the Ukrainian South. 4. Based on the analysis of archival documents and periodicals, an analysis of the assortment of confectionery factories of Ukraine was made, which made it possible to compare them with the corresponding assortment of European factories and to trace the interweaving of the local food tradition and its combination with the European traditions (for example, Ukrainian adaptation of biscuits and local traditions in forming a recipe of Ukrainian gingerbread compared to Polish and English analogues of this product). 5. Spreading of chocolate technologies was a multilayered process: those technologies were transported from Vienna to Poland and Ukraine actually at the same time. Thus, we got a blossoming industry of chocolate making in Lviv. On the other hand, the transition from the craft to the factory stage of the development of the industry was far more difficult in Western Ukraine, due to position of this region as an agrarian in the common structure of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Keywords: confectionery industry; food traditions; sweets; industrial revolution; transformation.

Problem statement and analysis of researches and publications

History of Ukrainian confectionery has not had appropriate complex research yet. Instead, there is a huge variety of works dedicated to the common history of food industry. In fact, we can find only partial analysis of development of this branch. From the Soviet period we should single out the works of A. Fedorovskiy, K. Filatov, Frishman, M. Rosenfeld, I. Brover. From the period of independent Ukraine we can find random reminds in works of T. Lazanska, O. Reent, V. Grinchutskiy.

Presentation of the main content

History of food it's always deep interrelations of economy, policy, local traditions and innovative technologies. Ukraine always was a specific territory, with intersections of East and West, a borderland, where everything is possible. For the most of all, we should pay attention to the peculiarities of trade in Kyiv Rus. A famous trade route from «Varangians to Greeks» had influenced our territory dramatically. Byzantine monopoly concerning Eastern trade was a great problem of Western Europe that formed extremely high prices. On the other hand, Crusades gave them a special meaning for the Eastern products. Being a restricted area, they became very popular. In theory of medieval nutrition sweets and spices were a great cure to withstand a black bile – according to the Ancient Greeks theory of four bodily humors, big quantity of black bile causes melancholy (Adamson, 2004, p. 205). Neither tea, nor coffee – European medieval cuisine simply had to fill this emptiness that is way we've got numerous recipes of European beverages, using cinnamon, black pepper and other spices (Pokhlebkin, 1975, p. 11). Lively trade with Byzantines had put strong emphasis on the meaning of Kyiv Rus as a transit territory. It meant affordable prices for many products. For the example spices were expensive, but it wasn't luxury (Tolochko, 1980, p. 75). That is way, from the very beginning a food history of Ukrainian territory got many differences in comparison with food traditions of the Western Europe. A famous food culture Historian, Massimo Montanari, had determined World History as an endless struggle between the famine and the welfare (Montanari, 2009, p. 7). Formation of the food culture in different countries is an important part of their history.

Baking has long traditions in Ukraine and embodies the agricultural peculiarities of the Eastern Slavs. First and foremost, we are

speaking about the special feature of Slavic cuisine – the place of secondary cereals. Roman civilization and its derivatives brought the primacy of white bread and white flour into a food culture of Europe (Montanari, 2009, p. 43). According to the Roman system of nutrition, bread, made of rye or barley – «panisplebeius», bread for slaves. Roman system came to Europe with Christianity, and Roman bread, made of wheat, became a not separated part of European cuisine (Montanari, 2008, p. 368). The kitchen of the Slavic peoples did not know such division. Rye flour and mixed rye-barley flour was used throughout the territory of Ukraine. It was not bread for poor people; rye bread was respected in rich families.

First great improvement in case of the «white bread» traditions had started when we finally joined Poland in 1569. The fall of Byzantine Empire and a great source in case of Belorussian and Ukrainian fertile soils made Poland an important part of the grain trade in Europe. As well, as Poland had adopted a Roman system of nutrition, the primacy of wheat in agriculture – and cuisine – was proclaimed (Montanari, 2008, p. 368). Second wave was colonization of the South as a consequence of Russian-Turkish wars, which made Southern Ukraine a crucial region of bread supplies.

Despite to all, in 19th century Gingerbread still has been a regional product of northern Ukraine, in particular, the Kharkiv region and the Chernigiv region. There were a wide range of enterprises in Kharkiv during the times of industrial revolution, which produced gingerbreads only. For example, a factory of Michail Poluektov, founded in 1848 (DAKhO, f. 922, d. 1, c. 33, p. 40).

In Eastern tradition we use the word «pryanik» (Russians, Ukrainians, or «piernik» (Poles). «Pierniki Toruńskie», as they are known in Polish, the iconic Polish sweets, is the last border of the white flour gingerbread (Bobecka, 2012, p. 15).

Ukrainian tradition with using of rye flour was formed from the times of Kyiv Rus and combined local traditions and special features of this territory – tradition of the rye bakery and a trade with Byzantine Empire, which meant wide source of Eastern products (Rybakov, 1982, p. 309). Ottoman Empire also added the oriental features to this production. Crossing the borders, we can find other embodiment of «pryanik» – Russian gingerbread traditions of Tula and Vyazma, also made of rye flour.

The mass fraction of rye flour decreases as the product range approaches the European one, and subsequently concentrates only on the narrow «gingerbread» segment. The penetration of European traditions brings to the confectionery traditions of Ukraine products with predominant use of wheat flour – waffles and biscuits.

Localization of sweets, as well as localization of every kind of food, it's a question of local traditions and local facilities. As an example, English term «biscuits» dates us back to the next definition from Oxford Dictionary, «A small baked unleavened cake, typically crisp, flat, and sweet» («Biscuit», 2019). The origin was connected with a special way of cooking: from the Latin «bis» (twice) and «coctus» (to cook, cooked), and, hence, means «twice-cooked»: first baked, then dried. It's easy to keep it without spoiling. That is why the biscuits were used to supply troops for ages. But that reasonable definition later was changed by the local traditions. In Scotland «biscuit» means soft bread, similar to sponge-cake (David, 1977, p. 10). What interesting, those kind of biscuit was adopted in Ukraine, and when the Kharkiv's factory of George Borman tried to produce a first kind of biscuit, they were forced to use term «English biscuits» to prevent confusion («Kharkovskaya gubernskaya zemskaya uprava», 1917, p. 123).

History of waffles was strongly connected with traditions of Western European Christianity. A first example dates us back to the 9-th century and traditions of Catholic communion. Rich decorated irons with depiction of crucifixion and other religious motifs. Three ages later the waffles tradition became a separate part of European cuisine, more secular, than religious. The waffle-irons, decorated with different plots and a floral motifs we can find practically in every kitchen of Europe (Adamson, 2004, p. 70), but it still not usual for Ukraine. The industrial revolution became a turning point for this product. The mass production of the waffles had started.

Napoleonic wars became a hard challenge for Europe. Using of white beet to produce sugar – one of the consequences, which made rise of confectionery industry in Ukraine possible. Both empires weren't successful in case of tropic colonies, so the white beet sugar was a great solution. Division of Ukraine between two empires – Russian and Austrian caused great differences in case of industrial development. Central and Eastern Ukraine were territories, close to the parent state of Empire. Being involved in common commodity circulations,

they became industrial regions. Western Ukraine was far province in common structure of Austrian empire, doomed to be a sales market for the central provinces. The issue is, that flour and sugar are the key raw material of this industry.

Speaking of common sweets tradition of Europe and Ukraine, formed from the very beginning and on the same base, we should admit candied fruits. It is believed that candied fruits became popular in Western Europe thanks to the Arabian invasion on the South. First mentions dates back to the 16 century. Production of the candied fruits started to rise in Provence mostly thanks to the papacy in Avignon. But using of candied fruits was common for the Mediterranean region. It will be possible to suppose, that trade relations with Byzantine Empire was much more appropriate way to adopt this food tradition. The Ottoman Empire, an Oriental state with Mediterranean traditions, made it uninterrupted. On the other hand, the origin of the Ukrainian word «tsukaty», which means «glace fruits», derived from the Ukrainian word «tsukor» (sugar). Local tradition of candied fruits in Ukraine makes us think of synthesis between the Byzantine and a Western European example. For the first of all, we are speaking about the Balabukh family – a Kyiv dynasty of the confectioners. Known from the 18 century, they were producing their candies for the Royal court of the Russian Empire. Soft climate of the Northern and Central Ukraine with a huge variety of fruits in combination with immediate need to keep them unspoiled bring it to life. Flowering of the Balabukh business made them an example for the other manufacturers (DAK, f. 59, d. 1, c. 6387, p. 45). Though the original Balabukh candied fruits were recognized unsurpassed, numerous Kyiv sweet stores dare to copy them. The manufacturers of the «dry jam» also were the factories of Semadeni, Berto, Gorovits and others (DAK, f. 51, d. 1, c. 1958, p. 13). At the same time Balabukh original product was not as rough as common candied fruits use to be. It was something in the middle between jam and candied fruits, and it was called «dry jam» (Fontaniy, 2009, p. 77). Unfortunately, the original recipe of this candy was lost. But if we turn to the Ottoman food traditions, we can find numerous variations of the soft fruit candies, based on the using of the honey syrup, mixed with herbs and spices.

The footprint of the Byzantine and a Turkish culture could be marked in the Northern Black sea area of Ukraine. One of the specific

features of the confectionery market in Odessa can be considered as a large number of Halva and Turkish delight factories. Very often their owners had Greek or Turkish origin. In particular, the Greek direction is tracked in the form of small workshops, both early and late. In written sources of that time we can find coffee shops and confectioneries of Duvargeoglu, Pavlidi, Ambarzaki. Their products were Rahat-Lukum with the addition of various types of nuts, jam, halva, nougat and sherbet.

Traditions of making halva are the basis of the assortment of many Odessa factories and confectioneries, which, of course, is due to the geographical location of the city. However, speaking about the technologies of its production, we see them inherited from two sources – Greek and Turkish. A perfect consequence of past – Southern Ukraine was included into Ottoman Empire structure for more than 300 years. But 19th century has brought another emphasis to this problem. Being implemented in Ukraine in the middle of 19th century, culture of sunflower influenced production of halva dramatically. Chip raw material from sunflower – its seeds – formed a useful base of sunflower halva production. In comparison with sesame halva, this product is quite rough, but, nevertheless, now this version of halva is the most widespread in Ukraine.

The production of solid chocolate in confectionery brunch of Ukraine begins in the second half of the nineteenth century. After all, since the discovery of America, Europe knew chocolate only as a drink. Solid form of chocolate was born with Industrial revolution. Invention of the Coenraad van Houten, his famous «Dutch cocoa» with its mild taste and high solubility has marked new era and were shared by the famous sweets producers very soon. Solid form meant great opportunities – a new snack, with a huge variety of forms and recipes, from the most expensive to the cheapest. Those great expectations were rewarded very soon.

Lviv is often positioned as the capital of sweets, the source of confectionery in Ukraine. However, in this case we should rather speak about the different ways for the East and West. Thanks to the geopolitical position of the city, Lviv tended to use Western samples, a classical confectionery technology – waffles, candies, sponge cakes etc. The confectionery face of Lviv was formed by the common industrial development of Galychyna – bright, but not successful in case of

machine way of sweets producing. There were huge varieties of cake-shops. Their bright assortment was also based on those historical circumstances. Firstly, in 14th century Lviv got the warehouse right, as a city of transit trade. Secondly, this kind of sweets marketing was common for the Vienna. A strong influence of Vienna made a chocolate – at the very beginning as a drink, later in a solid form – a main regional product. The first masters of confectionery production were mentioned in historical sources of Lviv near the late 18 century. The documents of the end of the nineteenth century have marked next owners of sugar candy: Y. Hornyker, L. Zalevsky, T. Gelfinger.

Solid form of chocolate has come to Lviv in late 19 ct. The process of the technology import is still not clear. Some researchers suggested chain Vienna – Warsaw – Lviv. But first mechanized factories in Galicia and in Poland actually were opened at the same time. For example, the famous factory of Adam Piasecky (later-Wawel) was mechanized in 1910. No doubts, that Vienna, as a heart of Austrian empire, known by their chocolate traditions, was first. But terms and ways of further expansion is quite contradictory.

The combination of economic circumstances and a specific of colonial policy led to the fact that in the beginning of twentieth century, in industrial sense Lviv actually was not developed. During the period of Polish rule, the largest number of enterprises and workers was in the sewing and a footwear industry, than in building. A food industry took third place in the list. Does it mean that the confectionery branch became technically improved? Unfortunately, no. There is an interesting issue – being not important as a producers of essential goods, a confectionery branch shows the level of industrial development in common. If it is high – there definitely will be industrial enterprises. Confectionery branch will be industrial if there is an appropriate base of the hard industry. Just because if not – there'll be more easy to use a hand-made productions.

On the verge of 20's situation was still complicated. Having lost national liberation war, Western Ukraine was forced to join Poland. The autobiographical work of the one of Lviv's sweaters, Clementine Glinsky gives us an emotional, but rather clear description of small confectionery enterprises of the Western Ukraine and Eastern Poland. In particular, she describes the state of the Przemysl store – «a small, dirty, poorly ventilated room, which combined a shop and a house. In

a dark and stuffy room the owners lays ill. There was a table near the bed, with a typewriter attached to it. The baby was sitting there in wet pants, playing with all the instruments. There also were a several pairs of copper rollers, all of which grew out of copper rust» (TsDIA Ukrainy, f. 682, d. 1, c. 616, p. 13). Unfortunately, the most part of enterprise looked similar to that one. Though the scale of output and a number of workers were different, the sanitary and hygienic conditions were the same – inadequate. These are the characteristics of the newborn industry, which had neither state control nor its own sufficient resources, to become an orderly and stable. At the same time, we have got examples of the «Branka» (TsDIA Ukrainy, f. 203, d. additional, c. 1 461, p. 3) and a petition of Vladyslav Pidgalych to let him improve his factory by the new machines of Leman factory – the most known equipment producer of those days (TsDIA Ukrainy, f. 165, d. 9, c. 178, p. 10). That kind of conditions was going to be developed in late 20's, until they were interrupted by the economic crisis in Poland.

Conclusions

Chains of the food traditions in Ukraine need to be well researched as an evidence of the cultural and economic interactions. On the example of Ukrainian South we can see, that though the Ottoman Empire was gone, its imprint was still here. Thanks to the food traditions unique culture of this region was not razed to the ground by the Russian-Turkish wars. On the other hand, we have well-preserved traditions of Kyiv Rus a rye bread making traditions on example of gingerbread of the Ukrainian North. In some cases, local and borrowed products are pointing much more, than written sources, which could be falsified according to the political reality. A food history is a great source to determine common development of the territory, situated on the crossroad of geopolitical ambitions, as Ukraine is.

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