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**Олена БОРОДЕНКО**

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії України, Полтавський національний педагогічний університет імені В.Г. Короленка, 2, вул. Остроградського, м. Полтава, Україна, індекс 36000; докторант, Запорізький національний університет, 6б, вул. Жуковського, м. Запоріжжя, Україна, індекс 69600 ([elena\\_bs@ukr.net](mailto:elena_bs@ukr.net))

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0292-9310>

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## **ВІКОВІ ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ПЕРШОШЛЮБНОСТІ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СОЦІУМУ СЕРЕДИНИ ХІХ ст.**

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – за матеріалами церковно-облікової документації обчислити, систематизувати та проаналізувати числові показники віку осіб обох статей, які брали перший шлюб на українських землях Лівобережної України у середині ХІХ ст. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на принципі історизму, системності, науковості, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, структурно-функціональний аналіз, метод виміру та опису, логічний метод) і спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний) методів. Розв'язання поставлених завдань здійснюється у межах антропологічного, квантитативного і міждисциплінарного підходів у поєднанні методів локальної соціальної історії, мікроісторії та історичної демографії. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше у вітчизняній історіографії зроблена спроба порушити проблематику вікових особливостей першої шлюбності, дослідити квантитативні показники на основі маловивчених архівних документів – церковних обшуків, провести тендерний компаративний аналіз у межах указаної людської спільноти та подібних показників польського м. Губін, визначити жіно-

чі та чоловічі шлюбно-вікові спалахи, деталізувати аналіз наведенням особних прикладів подружніх пар. **Висновки.** У результаті проведеного дослідження виявлено наймолодших першошлюбників: 16-річних дівчат та 18-річних хлопців. Очевидним фактом було пізнє чоловіче, порівняно з жіночим, статеве дозрівання і готовність до подружнього життя. Адже випадки маскулінного раннього одруження (15–19 років) були малочисельними – 12,7%. Фемінні показники указують на незначну популярність ранньовікових сімейних союзів з-поміж жінок – 30,0%. Для представників обох статей шлюбно-віковий спалах зафіксований, починаючи з 20-річного віку. 70,0% жінок і 87,3% чоловіків уклали матримоніальні союзи, починаючи з цього віку. Обчислено середній вік першого одруження: для чоловіків – 23,4 року, а жінок – 21,5 року.

**Ключові слова:** вік; вікові групи; матримоніальний союз; фемінно-маскулінні особливості; середній вік першого одруження; шлюбні обшуки.

#### **Olena BORODENKO**

*Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine, Poltava V.G. Korolenko National Pedagogical University, 2 Ostrogradsky Str., Poltava, Ukraine, postal code 36000; Doctoral Student, Zaporizhzhia National University, 66 Zhukovsky Str., Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine, postal code 69600 ([elena\\_bs@ukr.net](mailto:elena_bs@ukr.net))*

**ORCID:** <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0292-9310>

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### **AGE FEATURES OF THE FIRST MARRIAGE IN UKRAINIAN SOCIUM IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the study is to compute, systematize and analyze the numerical indicators of the age of persons of both*

sexes who entered the first marriage in the Ukrainian lands of Left-Bank Ukraine in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century based on the materials of church records. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systemacy, scientific content, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, structural and functional analysis, measurement and description method, logical method) and special historical (historical-genetic, historical-comparative, historical and typological) methods. The solution of the tasks is carried out within the anthropological, quantitative and interdisciplinary approaches in a combination of methods of local social history, microhistory and historical demography. **The scientific novelty** lies in the fact, that for the first time in native historiography, an attempt to touch upon the problematics of the age characteristics of the first marriage was made, to study quantitative indicators based on poorly studied archival documents – church searches, to conduct a gender comparative analysis within the specified human community and similar indicators of the Polish town of Gubin, to identify female and male marriage and age flashes, to detail the analysis of bringing specific examples of married couples. The result of the study shows that the youngest individuals who entered into marriage for the first time were 16-year-old girls and 18-year-old boys. The obvious fact was the later male in comparison with the female pubescence and readiness for family life. Thus cases of masculine early marriage (15–19 years) were few in number – 12.7%. Feminine figures indicate a low popularity of early-age family unions among women – 30.0%. For both sexes, the age-related outbreak has been recorded since the age of 20. 70.0% of women and 87.3% of men entered into matrimonial unions from this age. The average age of the first marriage was calculated: for men – 23.4 years, and for women – 21.5 years.

**Keywords:** age; age groups; matrimonial union; feminine-masculine features; average age at first marriage; marriage searches.

**Problem statement.** In the context of creating an interdisciplinary «science of man», the space of modern world humanities is filled with different areas that are represented by social and political anthropology, socioreligious history, history of identity, history of everyday life, gender studies, quantitative history, historical demography and etc. The methodology of quantitative, historical and demographic research involves a careful calculation of data from documents of a mass nature. Conclusions should be substantiated by numerous indicators and confirmed statistically. Historical demography is especially productive.

The source base is primarily represented by materials of church accounting and fiscal documentation of the prestatistical and statistical periods: metric books, confessional murals, marriage searches, various population censuses, and etc. By calculating and systematizing quantitative information, such social components of demography as marriage, birth, mortality, population growth rates, typology and population of households and others are raised to the discussion (Yakovenko, 2007, p. 209).

**The purpose of the study.** In our research, we will try to follow the methodological principles of the areas of historical anthropology and touch upon marriage issues of the first marriage in the Ukrainian lands of the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which are mostly supported by the preserved popular memory and fiction of modern writers about the traditional family. As if people were predominantly married at an early age and then had many children.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Since there was no such direction of research of the specified period in the Ukrainian lands, the author's attention was drawn to the works of foreign scientists. In matters of methodology of historical and demographic research, the fundamental work of French demographers L. Anri and A. Blum was used (Anri & Blum, 1997). The works of Polish researchers were addressed most of all: in revealing the features of the patriarchal society, gender inequality, family history, household structure – M. Szoltysek (Szoltysek, 2015, pp. 107–161; Szoltysek et al., 2017, pp. 228–262) determining the age limit of childhood – M. Delimata (2004) a historical and comparative analysis of the first marriage rate – H. Kurowska (2010).

**Base of research sources.** The main source of research was the books of marriage or church searches of the Ukrainian population, together they compiled data for a quarter of a century – from 1836 to 1860. By marriage searches we understand such written church acts that were concluded by parish priests on the eve of each wedding and confirmed the existence of the conditions that were required by law for the implementation of the marriage procedure (*Entciklopedicheskii slovar Brokgauza i Efrona*, 1897, p. 643). Accounting documentation of this type was first introduced in 1765, while the Senate decree of the Russian Empire of August 25, 1802 emphasized that parish priests should extract from the metric books specific information about those born, deceased and persons who entered into

marriage. Then this documentation was sent to the town and rural police (PSZRI, 1838c, p. 230). Another Decree of the Synod of November 30, 1837 introduced a new form of marriage searches, which actually created opportunities for a wide research field. It allows to study the anthroponymic data, religion, age, presence/absence of family and spiritual kinship, family affiliation, the provision of marriage consent from relatives or guardians of the bride and groom, additional documents that allowed for the wedding ceremony and etc (PSZRI, 1838e, pp. 947–948).

To solve this problem, the books of marriage searches of various parishes of the Poltava, Chernihiv, and Kharkov provinces were taken: Khrestovosdvizhensra Church in the village of Vovkovtsy, Romny district, Poltava province for 1838–1847; Varvarinskaya Church in the town of Krolevets, Krolevetsky district, Chernihiv province for 1836–1857; Pokrovska Church in the town of Krolevets, Krolevets district, Chernihiv province for 1839–1853; Mikhailivska Church in the village of Melnya, Krolevets district, Chernihiv province for 1846–1860; Ridsvo-Bogorodnicha Church in the village of Mikolaevka, Romny district, Poltava province for 1838–1841 and 1854–1858; Pokrovska Church in the village of Reutenzi, Krolevetsky district, Chernigov province for 1836–1854; Ilinska Church, in the town of Sumi, Sumy district, Kharkiv Province for 1843–1849; Khrestovosdvizhensra Church in the village of Khyzhky, Konotop district of Chernigov province for 1840–1857 pp. (DASO, f. 71, d. 1, c. 5; f. 834, d. 2, c. 2; f. 834, d. 2, c. 4; f. 844, d. 1, c. 3; f. 844, d. 1, c. 6; f. 855, d. 1, c. 41; f. 865, d. 1, c. 13; f. 1036, d. 1, c. 5; f. 1036, d. 1, c. 27; f. 1071, d. 1, c. 3; f. 1187, d. 1, c. 10).

Table 1

**Age characteristics of men who entered into a first marriage  
in 1836–1860 (based on marriage searches)**

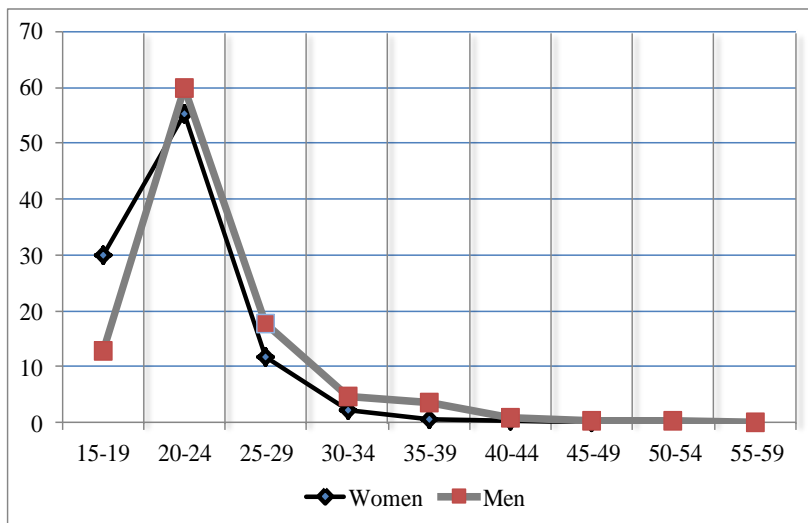
Age groups Age	Vovkivtsi	Krolevets 1	Krolevets 2	Melnya	Mykolaiivka	Reutentsi	Sumy	Khyzhky	Total		Age groups	
									By persons' age			
									N	%		
Number of people												
15-19	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	136 (12,7%)
	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	18	4	2	1	2	2	-	-	9	20	1,9	
	19	20	8	13	25	9	9	2	30	116	10,9	
20-24	20	38	16	34	37	9	30	10	27	201	18,8	640 (60%)
	21	19	13	19	15	7	18	12	25	128	11,9	
	22	19	30	28	12	4	26	15	24	158	14,8	
	23	10	20	18	6	3	17	8	6	88	8,2	
	24	4	12	13	3	4	9	7	13	65	6,1	
25-29	25	12	12	26	2	2	5	9	5	73	6,8	189 (17,7%)
	26	3	13	6	3	1	5	12	-	43	4,0	
	27	3	-	7	6	2	4	12	-	34	3,2	
	28	1	4	6	1	2	-	5	4	23	2,2	
	29	1	7	-	2	-	2	-	4	16	1,5	
30-34	30	1	3	4	-	1	3	6	2	20	1,9	49 (4,6%)
	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	32	3	3	-	3	1	2	1	-	13	1,2	
	33	-	2	-	-	-	3	1	1	7	0,6	
	34	-	1	-	2	1	2	3	-	9	0,8	
35-39	35	3	5	3	1	3	1	-	-	16	1,5	38 (3,6%)
	36	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	5	0,5	
	37	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	8	0,8	
	38	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	0,3	
	39	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	2	6	0,6	

Continuation of the table 1

**Age characteristics of men who entered into a first marriage  
in 1836–1860 (based on marriage searches)**

Age groups Age	Vovkivtsi	Krolevets 1	Krolevets 2	Melnya	Mykolaivka	Reutentsi	Sumy	Klyzhky	Total		Age groups	
									By persons' age			
									N	%		
Number of people												
40-44	40	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	5	0,5	10 (0,9%)
	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	42	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	0,1	
	43	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	0,2	
	44	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	0,2	
45-49	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0,2%)
	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0,1	
	47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	49	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0,1	
50-54	50	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	0,2	2 (0,2%)
	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
55-59	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0,1%)
	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	58	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	0,1	
	59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	146	156	182	124	53	139	110	157	1067 (100%)			
	13,7%	14,6%	17,1%	11,6%	5,0%	13,0%	10,3%	14,7%				

Note: 1. Krolevets 1 – Varvarinska church, Krolevets 2 – Pokrovska church. N – Number. 2. The table was prepared by the author on the basis of analysis of sources (DASO, f. 71, d. 1, c. 5; f. 834, d. 2, c. 2; f. 834, d. 2, c. 4; f. 844, d. 1, c. 3; f. 844, d. 1, c. 6; f. 855, d. 1, c. 41; f. 865, d. 1, c. 13; f. 1036, d. 1, c. 5; f. 1036, d. 1, c. 27; f. 1071, d. 1, c. 3; f. 1187, d. 1, c. 10)



**Figure 1. Sexual age structure of primordality**

Note: On the vertical axis – a percentage of people of both sexes, on the horizontal axis – five-year age groups.

In our intelligence, let us turn to the study of one of possible research issues, namely: disclosing the gender-age peculiarities of the first marriage among the Ukrainian population in Left-Bank Ukraine in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was the part of the Russian Empire. Let us try to analyze the age groups of persons of both sexes, determine feminine and masculine marriage-age outbreaks, conduct a gender comparative analysis of age characteristics and indicate the average age at first marriage for both sexes. Appealing to the concretization method, refer to the separate examples of married couples. Finally, confirm or refute the established opinion about the popularity of early-age marriages.



Table 2

**Age characteristics of women who entered into a first marriage  
in 1836–1860 (based on marriage searches)**

Age groups Age	Vovkivtsi	Krolevets 1	Krolevets 2	Melnya	Mykolaiivka	Reutentsi	Sumy	Khyzhky	Total		Age groups	
									By persons' age			
									N	%		
15-19	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	355 (30,0%)	
	16	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	0,3		
	17	9	2	1	9	1	5	1	7	35		3,0
	18	33	8	17	20	4	13	12	6	113		9,6
	19	20	14	66	27	10	28	17	22	204		17,3
20-24	20	53	30	74	28	12	39	19	41	296	25,0	
	21	11	22	8	13	3	9	10	27	103	8,7	
	22	9	27	11	16	9	23	18	25	138	11,7	
	23	3	9	6	10	3	7	6	19	63	5,3	
	24	4	19	-	2	4	6	5	13	53	4,4	
25-29	25	4	17	7	4	4	10	8	10	64	5,4	
	26	-	4	1	2	2	5	4	-	18	1,5	
	27	2	10	-	1	1	2	5	3	24	2,0	
	28	1	10	-	6	1	1	3	3	25	2,1	
	29	1	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	6	0,5	
30-34	30	1	2	-	-	-	3	4	1	11	0,9	
	31	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	4	0,3	
	32	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	3	7	0,6	
	33	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0,1	
	34	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	0,3	
35-39	35	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3	0,3	
	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	38	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	0,3	
	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

*Continuation of the table 2***Age characteristics of women who entered into a first marriage in 1836–1860 (based on marriage searches)**

Age groups Age	vovkivisi	Krolevets 1	Krolevets 2	Melnya	Mykolaivka	Reutentsi	Sumy	Khyzhky	Total		Age groups	
									By persons' age			
									N	%		
Number of people												
40-44	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (0,3%)
	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	42	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	0,1	
	43	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	0,2	
	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
45-49	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0,1%)
	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	48	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0,1	
	49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	155	179	195	141	57	155	118	181	1181 (100%)			
	13,1%	15,2%	16,5%	11,9%	4,8%	13,1%	10,0%	15,3%				

Note: 1. Krolevets 1 – Varvarinska church, Krolevets 2 – Pokrovska church. N – Number. 2. The table was prepared by the author on the basis of analysis of sources (DASO, f. 71, d. 1, c. 5; f. 834, d. 2, c. 2; f. 834, d. 2, c. 4; f. 844, d. 1, c. 3; f. 844, d. 1, c. 6; f. 855, d. 1, c. 41; f. 865, d. 1, c. 13; f. 1036, d. 1, c. 5; f. 1036, d. 1, c. 27; f. 1071, d. 1, c. 3; f. 1187, d. 1, c. 10).

**Statement of the basic material.** The materials of this church documentation allowed us to calculate the quantitative indicators of single men (1067) and unmarried women (1181), who entered into first marriage. These data are differentiated by gender features and are systematized in two tables, and are also shown in the graph (see Tables 1 and 2 and fig. 1). The age structure of persons with a first marriage of both sexes is represented by one-year and five-year groups.

Analyzing the population of these groups, we will appeal to, proposed by French researcher L. Anri, the two types of separation of human populations: biological and economic<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, in order to carry out a thorough comparative analysis of the indicators of the first marriage on domestic material, it is not possible due to the lack of research in this area. Therefore, comparing, we will appeal to historical-demographic data of matrimoniality of the town of Gubin in the first half of the nineteenth century, which was located in the western part of the Polish lands.

Age-related female and male groups differ in number, due to the belonging of the oldest persons of both sexes in a certain age category, for women it is 48, and for men 58 years. So, the older feminine-age groups are people of 45–49 years old, because this age ends the fertile age and one can speak about the transition of unmarried women of 50 years of age to the «old widows» stage, and their marriage became unlikely and unpromising (Borodenko, 2012, p. 62). Such a masculine group can be considered people 55–59 years. Adulthood and human productivity end in these age limits. In the abovementioned town Gubin, the oldest persons who married for the first time were a 62-year-old woman and a 69-year-old man (Kurowska, 2010, p. 138). So, the Ukrainian figures are below Polish.

The initial age group in the gender ratio was a group of 15–19 years old. After all, as is known, it is the 14<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of childhood (Anri & Blium, 1997, p. 23; Delimata, 2004, p. 49). According to Christian demands, women could marry from 12 years of age, and men marry from 15 years (Mohyla, 1996, p. 381). By the Decree of the Synod on December 17, 1774, it was reported that the feminine age of first marriage should be no earlier than 13 years old, and the masculine – 15 (PSZRI, 1838b, p. 1063). True, in the under study Ukrainian society, the 16-year-old girls and the 18-year-old boys were the first to marry. Obviously, this situation is explained by the marriage conditions declared by the Tsar's Decree of July 19, 1830, according to which the children could enter into a family union

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<sup>1</sup> According to biological types, people are divided into: young – 0–19 years old, adults – 20–59 years old, 60 years old and older. According to the economic division, respectively, on: people of pre-productive age – 0–14 years, people of productive age – 15–64, and postproductive age – 65 years or more (Anri & Blium, 1997, p. 23).

from the age of 18, and the girls from 16. Age-related changes were motivated by the need to avoid family unions between minors, who «shook good morals» (PSZRI, 1838d, p. 740). In the church books of different parish communities, women who were married for the first-time appeared under special names: «maidens» or «brides». Men were similarly called «young men» or «fiancés». For example, in the town parish of the Polish town of Gubin during 1817–1850, young people, who entered their first marriage, were 15-year-old girls and 18-year-old boys like in Ukraine (Kurowska, 2010, p. 138).

Next, we will try to conduct a gender historical and comparative analysis of the age characteristics of people who get marry for the first time. According to the indicators of the tables, the fact of feminine-masculine identity can be noted, because the majority of both sexes married in general after the age of 20 years old: there were 70.0% of such women, and significantly more of men – 87.3%. The leaders in the age and sex distribution of marriage were women and men of the age group 20–24 years old. More than half of the women of the researched human community entered into matrimonial unions at these age limits (55.3%). Feminine wedding outbreak can be fixed only from the age of 20 (25.0%). Also the women of the age of 22-years-old prevailed (11.7%). Feminine fractions of 21 years old were significantly inferior (8.7%), 23 years old – 5.3%, and 24 years old – 4.4%.

In second place in the total feminine number was a group of young people at the age of 15–19 years old. Comparing sex indicators, it is logical that in the group of early marriages women were significantly ahead. Almost 1/3 (30%) among them got married early enough, because family socialization, public sentiment, traditions of society, as well as the rapid puberty of girls compared to boys, stimulated and simultaneously demonstrated readiness for early marriage<sup>2</sup>. However, we can record feminine growth in this five-year group only from the age of 19. Such women had a significant proportion – 17.3%. 18-year-olds were almost half as much – 9.6%, and the indicators of 17-year-olds (3.0%) and 16-year-olds (0.3%) were very small.

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<sup>2</sup> The puberty period (puberty), which is generally limited to 12–17 years, differs by gender. In girls, it begins at 11–14 years and ends by 15–17 years of full maturation. young people enter a new stage of life later in 15–17 years, and a mature person is formed in the age limit of 17–19 (Gender characteristics of pubescence).

From the number of young girls – brides, sources represent only three people. Two 16-year-olds were from the city Sumi and one – from the village of Khizhki (see Table 2). The first was a guild girl, Maria Fedorova Taranenkova, who married on January 27, 1846, with the «single» 20-year-old state peasant Vasily Prokopovich Tandenko (DASO, f. 71, d. 1, c. 5, p. 42). The second married couple of state peasants was the couple Marina Sidorova Nagornaya and 20-year-old Naum Vasiliev Strunov (DASO, f. 71, d. 1, c. 5, p. 81). Their wedding took place on January 23, 1849, as stated above in the town of Sumi. Another young bride was Maria Mironovna Skorikova, the daughter of a retired non-commissioned officer, who was married on October 13, 1857 with a single ordinary soldier of the Tobolsk regiment, Konstantin Venediktovich Siryk of 30 years old (DASO, f. 865, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 130–130). All representatives of couples, taking into account the principle of social endogamy, were at almost the same level of social hierarchy.

In third place in the proportion of women stood out a group of 25–29-year-olds – 11.6%. This group begins the feminine category of persons at risk of female loneliness (Borodenko, 2012, p. 62), because with each generative year the chances of marriage were lost. In general, the marriage market was narrowing and there were not enough potential marriage partners, mostly older in age or peers. Do not forget also that some young men were taken to the recruit service. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the minor migration processes of the population, because a significant part of the couples came from one locality, the other – from the nearest neighboring points. According to folk customs, the wedding took place in a bride's parish. First of all, obviously, in order to prevent the illegal registration of marriages, fornication and extramarital childbearing. Otherwise, if brides from other parishes happened, then the woman and the man were required to testify her spiritual father with the necessary testimony: «A girl or a widow, how old she is, if she had a confession and Holy Communion, and attach this evidence to the search» (PSZRI, 1838e, p. 948).

In the following women's groups, we observe a spasmodic decline in the number. Thus, women at the age of 30–34 years old were 26 (2.2%). And in three other productive groups, single cases are generally noticeable when women marry for the first time: 35–39 years old – 6 (0.5%), 40–44 – 3 (0.3%) and 45–49 – only one (0.1%).

Since the age of 50 for a quarter of a century, not a single matrimonial union has been found, when a woman would marry for the first time. This confirms our thesis that with the onset of the age of the «old maids», the chances for the marriage of the «maidens» practically did not exist. Such women were considered marginalized, not perceived by society, therefore, quite often they voluntarily went into monkhood. The oldest woman (48-year-old) Cossack Ekaterina Kirillovna Shevchenko from the village of Vovkivtsi got married for the first time June 24, 1847 in the Khrestovosdvizhenskaya Church. She was married to a fellow-villager of Cossack origin Ivan Prokopovich Panchenko at the age of 54 years old, a widower for his first marriage (DASO, f. 1071, d. 1, c. 3, p. 116).

Analyzing male indicators, we can say the following. First, the masculine proportion of the age group of 15–19 years old is almost three times less than that of women (12.7%). Secondly, the 18-year-olds were young, but in quantitative terms they are much more numerous than women – they are 20 people (1.9%). Thirdly, feminine-masculine age differences of the youngest people give grounds to assert that the boys became, obviously, socially and physiologically adapted in the marriage sense at least 2 years later than the girls.

Turning to the age and sex characteristics of married couples, in which the youngest men of 18 years old are found, we observe an interesting tendency. Thus among 20 people only 3 (15%) married with their peers. Two (10.0%) married one year younger girls. In general, it is 5 (25.0%) people. All other «young men» – 15 (75.0%), that is, 3/4, married older more experienced girls: three married 19-year-olds and 24-year-olds (30.0%), four (20.0%) – 20-year-olds, two (10.0%) – 21 and one each married 23, 25 and 27-year-olds (15.0%). The age difference between a boy and a girl was about 9 years. This couple was represented by the Krolevets residents, married in the Varvarinska Church on November 8, 1853: Cossack Pavel Ivanovich Sagaevich, of 18 years old, and the 27-year-old bourgeois daughter of Evgenia Fomivna Makarovtsova (DASO, f. 834, d. 2, c. 4, pp. 87–87). Given these gender-age differences, we can assume that some of these young men were infantile, that is, psychologically insufficiently socially mature, not ready to take responsibility, with a low level of behavioral motivations. They were easy to manipulate parents and older girls. We do not exclude the possibility that the younger children

and their families had their own pragmatic interests, although we admit the fact of love for the newlyweds.

Fourthly, analyzing the gender-territorial delimitation of people who entered into marriage for the first time, the number of brides who were married in three town parishes was almost identical: 42.0% men and 41.7% women. Accordingly, in rural churches, slightly more than 58.0% of men and 58.3% of women were married. Of the 20 males, the majority were rural weddings 17 (85.0%) and a minority – 3 (15.0%) – urban. A minority of 19-year-old men are counted in towns – 23 (19.8%) people, and the vast majority in villages – 93 (80.2%). A total of 18–19 years old, the town's wedding ordinances accounted 26 (19.1%), rural – 110 (80.9%). Twice as high as female territorial delimitation. Thus, at the age of 16 to 19 years old, 140 (39.4%) women were married in urban parishes, and 215 (60.6%) rural parishes. So, in the towns, young men entered into half the number of early marriages than women of similar age. In fact, by analyzing the early marriageable people of urban origin, we note that a significant proportion among them was women of the Krolevets's Pokrovsky parish – 84 (23.7%) people (DASO, f. 1187, d. 1, c. 10). Turning to the materials of the marriage searches of this church, we find out that almost all the parishioners belonged to the social stratum of landlord peasants. They actually belonged territorially to the urban parish church, and to the peasantry by social stratification. Therefore, is it hardly possible to actually consider them full-fledged town dwellers? Such cities, in which the majority of the population was peasants, had a more pronounced rural character than the urban one (Arendarenko, 1849, p. 44).

Fifthly, like women, men's marriages dominated between 20 and 24 years old, but their share was slightly higher and amounted to 60.0% (see Table 1). In general, we note a similar trend in the feminine-masculine pattern in these age categories. The male marriage activity, similarly to women, was recorded in 20-year-olds – 18.8%. Their share in comparison with feminine is 6.2% less. Then it is shown the men of 22 years old (14.8%), the 21-year-olds conceded (11.9%), then the 23-year-olds (8.2%) and the 24-year-olds completed – 6.1%. Although, we note that the distribution of persons from among the women in this age group is more abrupt, therefore, age fluctuations of 8 times between the maximum and minimum number are noti-

ceable. In contrast, the male age structure is characterized by significantly smaller leaps – only 3 times.

Sixth, in the proportion of different male age groups, as opposed to women, it was noted that the age group 15–19 years old (12.7%) occupied the third place and was inferior to the more mature group 25–29 (17.7%). Therefore, we can make a certain conclusion. So, a significant part of men who first married – 90.4%, represented at the age from 18 to 29 years old. Of these, 77.7%, that is, the majority, were in the border frame of two male groups of the adult population – 20–24 and 25–29 years old.

Seventh, highlighting the masculine indicators of the first marriage rate, starting from the age of 30, we notice a whole greater number of «young men» (9.6%) in contrast to the «girls» (3.1%). As you can see, the gender difference is more than three times in favor of male representatives. It is clear that such feminine-masculine indicators of age decrease. So, in the group of 30–34 years old 4.6% of men are represented, in the next one – 35–39 – 3.6%, then 40–44 – 0.9%. In the other three masculine groups of the adult, working-age population, there were solitary instances of men who got married for the first time. In particular, two (0.2%) people are shown at the age of 46 and 49 years old, two (0.2%) were 50 years old, and the oldest man was 58 years old (0.1%).

Pay attention to the territorial identity of the five oldest men. Only one of them got married in the Volkovsky parish, which was located in the countryside. Four are registered as town residents: three from the town of Sumi and one senior bridegroom was from the town of Krolevets. The last one was a 58-year-old parishioner of the Pokrovska Church in the town of Krolevets, a retired non-commissioned officer Dorofiy Ivanovich Ivchenko. He entered into a legal marriage with the 30-year-old widow Khavronya Ivanovna Prunova January 16, 1849 (DASO, f. 1187, d. 1, c. 10, p. 134). It should be noted that all these men were retired or ordinary soldiers. For example, the 50-year-old retired soldier of the Riga Infantry Regiment, Grigori Vasilyevich Ignatiev, married the widow of Cossack origin Maria Spiridonovna Rygenkovy of 30 years old from the village of Vovkovtsy (DASO, f. 1187, d. 1, c. 10, p. 38–38). Ordinary military hurried to marry, find a family shelter. Otherwise, if there was nowhere for them to return after the end of the 25-year service, they could be sent to a monastery



for state maintenance, either to settle along the Irkutsk road or Lake Baikal, for their old age and decrepitude but of their own free will (PSZRI, 1838a, p. 301; PSZRI, 1838c, p. 76, 262).

In general, these data indicate a slight popularity of early age marriages in the 30–50s of the XIX century, when young people who entered into marriage the first time were 15–19 years old. We note a small dominant of women in this issue, and the importance of male early-female marriage does not occur at all. More than 2/3 of women and almost 9/10 of men entered into matrimonial unions after the age of 20. At the age of permanent celibacy (15–24 years old) women were indicative ahead of 85.3%, while men conceded 72.7%, since the largest share of the latter was in two age groups of the adult population, from 20 to 29 years old that is, in adulthood. It is noteworthy that such gender-age ratios of different age groups determined the average feminine-masculine indicators of the first marriage named Ukrainian society. In particular, the average age of first marriage for men was 23.4, and for women it was 21.5 years. The gender-age interval was 1.9 years in favor of masculinity. Historical and comparative analysis of indicators of the Polish town of Gubin allows to determine a rather significant difference. The maiden average age at first marriage was 25.3 years, and the male age was 27.8. The age interval is 2.5 years (Kurowska, 2010, p. 139). The feminine-age discrepancy between the Polish and Ukrainian indices was 3.8 years, and the masculine ones even more – 4.4 years. So it is significant that in the Ukrainian lands people entered into their first marriage earlier than in Poland.

**Conclusions.** In accordance with the proposed by L. Anri two types of division of the population into two large groups, we can state the following: 100% of men who marry for the first time were in the economic category of people of working age – 15–64, similarly, women. According to biological typology, 12.7% of men belonged to the category of young people (0–19 years old) and the majority were adults – 87.3%, between the ages of 20 and 59 years old. Young women were significantly more – 30.0%, of course adults are numerically less – 70.0%.

Thus, the analysis of quantitative indicators of the Ukrainian population of the middle of the nineteenth century on the processed materials of marriage searches allows to assert the insignificant popularity of early marriage among women (30.0%). Men's marriage cases in

the age group of 15–19 years are generally small (12.7%). The total number of single men was 1067, and women more than one – 1181. The feminine masculine jump of the first marriage was observed from the age of 20 years of adolescence. In general, since this age, 70.0% of women and 87.3% of men have concluded matrimonial unions. Young girls who were married for the first time were 16 years old (0.3%), and among men – 18 years old (1.9%). The oldest were: a woman 48 years old and a man 58 years old. The average age of entry into the first marriage for women was 21.5 years, and for men – 23.4. The materials of church searches allow us to continue the study of individual historical and demographic issues: the characteristics of repeated marriageability, the marriage market, the genealogy of individual families, and etc.

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