

Age features of the Orthodox Ukrainian population in remarriages at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th centuries

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Abstract.

The purpose of the article. The article is based on materials from register of birth books and church searches of 23 parishes of the Poltava, Kharkov and Chernihiv provinces. The age indicators of newlyweds of both sexes are examined, who were remarried during 1783–1820 and 1836–1860. **The scientific novelty of the article.** The informative content of the sources made it possible for the first time in Ukrainian historiography to raise the problem of gender and age characteristics of persons who have accepted remarriage (late XVIII – first half of XIX century). **The research methods.** In the research, in addition to general scientific research, specially historical methods were used, primarily quantitative and critical analysis. The comparative approach is combined with the selective principle of selecting data for comparison. Historical and demographic analysis is based on quantitative indicators of marriages in general and repeated particulars, separately of men and women for the same marital status. The medieval data of newlyweds of both sexes, who created new couples, are presented in tables and graphs and compared with similar data of young people on Polish lands. Examples of the youngest and the oldest re-married men and women are given briefly. **Conclusions.** Considering the data obtained according to the information of two church registers of 1836–1860, a historical and comparative analysis of the average age indicators of persons who remarried was performed based on gender. The number of men and women who have formed new married couples is growing markedly in the middle of the XIX century. Widowers were distinguished by higher matrimonial activity, unlike widows. The average age of men who remarried, according to the materials of the metric books of the late 18 century. Amounted to 35.9 years, at the beginning of the 19th century. – 33.3 years old, at the end of the 19th century. – 36.4 years old. The corresponding figures for widows-brides are 31.7 / 30.3 / 33.8 years old. The materials of church searches of 1836–1860 also allowed calculating the medieval data of re-married men (36.7 years old) and women (32.6 years old). The yearly fluctuations in the average age of females who have remarried are distinguished by spasmodic male indicators. The youngest were 20-year-old widowed newlyweds of both sexes. The oldest among the re-married persons were 59 year-old man old and a 52 year-old woman.

Keywords: marriage, widow-bride, widower-groom, metric book, book of marriage searches, family, remarriage, average age of newly married persons.

Вікові особливості православного українського населення у повторних шлюбах наприкінці XVIII – першій половині XIX століть

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Анотація.

Мета дослідження. У статті за матеріалами метричних книг і церковних обшуків 23 парафій Полтавської, Харківської та Чернігівської губерній досліджено вікові показники наречених обох статей, які повторно вінчалися впродовж 1783–1820 та 1836–1860 рр. **Наукова новизна.** Інформативне наповнення джерел дало змогу вперше в українській історіографії порушити проблему статевовікових особливостей осіб, які взяли повторний шлюб (кінець XVIII – перша половина XIX ст.). **Методологія дослідження.** У дослідженні, окрім загальнонаукових, використано спеціально-історичні методи, насамперед квантитативного та критичного аналізу. Компаративний підхід поєднано із селективним принципом добору даних для порівняння. Історико-демографічний аналіз ґрунтується на кількісних показниках шлюбів загалом і повторних зокрема, окремо чоловіків і жінок за цим же шлюбним статусом. Середньовікові дані наречених обох статей, які утворили нові подружні пари, представлено в таблицях, візуалізовано у графіках і зіставлено з аналогічними даними наречених на польських землях. Побіжно наведено приклади наймолодших і найстарших повторно вінчаних чоловіків і жінок. **Основні результати.** Ураховуючи отримані дані за відомостями двох церковних реєстрів 1836–1860 рр., проведено історико-порівняльний аналіз за гендерною ознакою середньовікових показників осіб, які взяли шлюб повторно. Кількість чоловіків і жінок, які утворили нові подружні пари, помітно зростає в середині XIX ст. Удівці відзначилися вищою матримоніальною активністю на відміну від удів. Середній вік чоловіків, які повторно уклали шлюб, за матеріалами метричних книг кінця XVIII ст. становив 35,9 роки, на початку XIX ст. – 33,3 роки, усередині XIX ст. – 36,4 роки. Відповідні показники вдов-наречених – 31,7 / 30,3 / 33,8 років. Матеріали церковних обшуків 1836–1860 рр. також дали змогу обрахувати середньовікові дані повторно вінчаних чоловіків (36,7 роки) та жінок (32,6 роки). Річні коливання середнього віку осіб жіночої статі, які повторно взяли шлюб, вирізняються стрибкоподібністю за чоловічі показники. Наймолодшими виявилися 20-річні овдовілі наречені обох статей. Найстаршими з-поміж повторно вінчаних осіб були чоловік 59 років і жінка 52 років.

Ключові слова: наречені, метричні книги, середній вік повторно вінчаних осіб, книги церковних обшуків, шлюб.

Problem statement. In the life of a person, according to the Polish researcher J. Kuchta, three stages can be distinguished: the premarital period, marriage and widowhood (Kuchta, 2008, p. 261–294). A long-term position in the extramarital status of a widow in Ukrainian society of the 18th–19th centuries was considered a deviation from the socio-cultural norm of a person who was in a marriage union (Кісь, 2008, с. 211). The death of one of the spouses violated the usual socio-economic structure of the family with clearly distributed household responsibilities. The difficult economic situation in the household, the prejudiced attitude of society towards the widowed, having children required remarriage, that is, the renewal of the representative composition of the house community on several other principles with a new mate.

The purpose of the article. The aim of the research is to reveal the age characteristics of persons of both sexes entering into marriage who were married again, based on the materials of registers of births and church searches of 1783–1820 and 1836–1860.

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The source base for the research was church books of an accounting and statistical nature, primarily parish registers and marriage/church searches, which contain historical and demographic information about a number of marriages in general and first and second marriages in particular. Such documentation was distributed on Ukrainian lands in the 18th – early 20th centuries in connection with the entry into force of the relevant decrees of 1697, 1722, 1724, 1765, 1779, 1806, 1831, 1837, 1838 and the gradual process of unification of documentation management within the Russian Empire (ПСЗРИ, 1830а, с. 422; ПСЗРИ, 1830b, с. 707; ПСЗРИ, 1830с, с. 266–267; ПСЗРИ, 1830d, с. 189; ПСЗРИ, 1830е, с. 883–884; ПСЗРИ, 1830f, с. 254–255; ПСЗРИ, 1832, с. 203–204, 817; ПСЗРИ, 1838, с. 947–948; ПСЗРИ, 1839, с. 91–92; Borodenko, 2018, с. 117–121).

Registers of births recorded information about those who were born, married and died within a certain Orthodox parish. In contrast, church searches contained only data on persons of both sexes who decided to get married. Beginning in 1838, a mandatory item appeared in the records of church registers – an indication of the age of people entering into marriage. However, in separate metrics, such records of married persons were kept from the end of the 18th century. Age representations became the basis for conducting historical and demographic researches of marriage (Borodenko, 2019a, с. 186–197; Borodenko, 2020b, с. 89–117).

It should be taken into account that the indicators of remarriage calculated from the statistical data of individual parishes do not reflect the full picture, since it is impossible to study unknown remarriages. French researchers L. Henri and L. Blum note that part of the remarriages were in other parishes, and not in those in which widowhood began, and call them lost remarriages. Some widowed persons have remarried within other parish communities to avoid unwanted rumors about their personal lives (Anri & Blyum, 1997, с. 144–145).

Such marital relationships of people were predetermined by the characteristics of the marriage market, clearly expressed in the countryside, as well as by the Orthodox rules of the sacrament of the wedding, which were recorded in the documentation of the Holy Synod and were enshrined in traditional social norms (Borodenko, 2019b, с. 38–55; Borodenko, 2020b, с. 137–164, 257–276).

According to the traditions of that time and the requirements of the Orthodox Church, marriages were registered mainly in parishes whose parishioners were brides (Borodenko, Sitarchuk, 2021a, p. 42–55; Borodenko, Sitarchuk, 2022, p. 78–102). Illegal marriage relationships cannot be ruled out. Such marriages undeniably took place in Ukrainian society. A well-known phenomenon was bigamy, that is, a form of marriage in which a new marriage was created while the previous one was not dissolved (Borodenko, Sharavara, Walancik-Ryba, 2020, p. 16–27). Otherwise, divorced people, who were very few in number, or widowed people, remained without a married couple until the end of their lives. Sometimes widowed persons renounced worldly life and passed into monasticism (Borodenko, 2020b, с. 2020–237, 397–415; Borodenko, Sitarchuk, 2021b, с. 9–22).

The source study basis of the research is the materials of registers of births from fifteen parishes of the Left-Bank Ukraine (on the left bank of the Dnieper River) 1783–1820 and 1838–1856: Church of the Nativity of the Virgin in the town of Voronkov, Pereyaslav uyezd, Poltava province for 1798–1802, 1838, 1839; St. George's Church in the village of Galki, Romny uyezd, Poltava province for 1842–1844, 1849; Intercession Church, the village of Kalinovka, Romny uyezd, Poltava province for 1842–1843, 1848; Church of the Assumption, the village of Krasnopolye, Akhtyrka uyezd, Kharkov province for 1783–1799; Intercession Church, the village of Novitskaya Sloboda, Romny uyezd, Poltava province for 1842, 1843, 1848, 1849, 1853; Peter and Paul Church, the village of Protsovka, Romensk uyezd, Poltava province for 1842, 1843, 1848–1856; Nicholas, Peter and Paul churches in the town of Akhtyrka, Akhtyrka uyezd, Kharkov province for 1794–1809, 1849–1850; Church of the Ascension in the town of Romny, Romny uyezd, Poltava province, 1842; St. George's Church, the village of Rogintsy, Romny district, Poltava province for 1848; Church of Ivan the Warrior in the village of Rogoznoe, Sumy uyezd, Sloboda-Ukrainian province for 1790–1805, 1808–1820; Church of the Assumption in the village of Sorochintsy, Mirgorod uyezd, Poltava province for 1838, 1845–1848; Assumption Church, the village of Talalaevka, Romensky uyezd, Poltava province for 1853; Catherine Church, the village of Khoruzhevka, Romny uyezd, Poltava province for 1842, 1843, 1848, 1849; Cathedral of the Holy Archangel of Christ Michail, the village of Erkovtsy (Yurkovets), Pereyaslav uyezd, Poltava province for 1799 (ДАПО, ф. 706, inv. 4, с. 6; ф. 706, inv. 4, с. 111; ф. 706, inv. 4, с. 112; ф. 706, inv. 4, с. 195; ф. 1011, inv. 1, с. 179; ф. 1011, inv. 1, с. 180; ДАСО, ф. 71, inv. 1, с. 5; ф. 78, inv. 1, с. 1; ф. 94, inv. 1, с. 1; ф. 745, inv. 2, с. 16; ф. 745, inv. 2, с. 39; ф. 745, inv. 2, с. 42; ф. 745, inv. 2, с. 48; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 537; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 546; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 571; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 575; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 576; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 581; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 582; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 591; ф. 960, inv. 3, с. 594).

Additionally, for a comparative analysis, materials from church searches of 1836–1860 were used in eight parishes of the above region: Holy Cross Church the village of Volkovtsy of the Romny uyezd of the Poltava province for 1838–1847; Varvara church in the town of Krolevets, Krolevets uyezd, Chernigov province for 1836–1857; Church of the Intercession in the town of Krolevets, Krolevets uyezd, Chernihiv province for 1839–1853; St. Michail's Church, the village of Melnya,

Krolevetsky uyezd, Chernihiv province for 1846–1860; Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God in the village of Nikolaevka, Romny uyezd, Poltava province for 1838–1841 and 1854–1858; Church of the Intercession in the village of Reutintsy, Krolevetsky uyezd, Chernihiv province for 1836–1854; Ilyinskaya Church of the town of Sumy, Sumy uyezd, Kharkov province for 1843–1849; Exaltation of the Cross Church in the village of Khyzhki, Konotop uyezd, Chernihiv province, 1840–1857. In general, materials from church books of 23 parishes from three left-bank Ukrainian provinces were used: Poltava, Kharkov and Chernihiv (DASO, f. 71, inv. 1, c. 5; f. 834, inv. 2, c. 2; f. 834, inv. 2, c. 4; f. 844, inv. 1, c. 3; f. 844, inv. 1, c. 6; f. 855, inv. 1, c. 41; f. 865, inv. 1, c. 13; f. 1036, inv. 1, c. 5; f. 1036, inv. 1, c. 27; f. 1071, inv. 1, c. 3; f. 1187, inv. 1, c. 10).

To conduct a historical and comparative analysis of the age indicators of married persons of both sexes on the Left Bank of Ukraine, we used materials from individual parish registers and church search books on the Right Bank of Ukraine.

There are the metrics of 72 parishes of the Podolsk province, individual churches of the Bratslav diocese of the Vinnitsa archdiocese for 1797; Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary the village of Gordeevka, Podolsk province for 1803–1809, as well as the books of marriage searches in the Kyiv and Podolsk provinces: Paraskeevskaya Church, the village of Balamutovka, Skvirsk uyezd, Kyiv province for 1847–1855; Church of the Intercession in the village of Voytovtsy, Skvirsk uyezd, Kyiv province for 1838–1855; St. Michail's Church, the village of Sorokotyazhentsy, Bratslav uyezd, Podolsk province for 1853–1863 (DAViO, f. 92, inv. 1, c. 1; f. 799, inv. 1, c. 5a; f. 800, inv. 1, c. 1; DAKO, f. 1455, inv. 1, c. 143; f. 1455, inv. 1, c. 161).

Thus, the research is based on the accounting and statistical documentation of the church direction, which has been preserved in the state archives of Vinnitsa, Kyiv, Poltava and Sumy regions of Ukraine.

Analysis of sources and research. Conducting a historical and demographic analysis requires the research of publications, where the authors investigated the problems of the peculiarities of the methods of historical researches, remarriage in the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries, sociocultural norms of the Ukrainian, Russian and Polish population. Taking into account the methodological foundations of the civilizational and comparative approaches, the works of famous scientists were studied: English – J. Hajnal, French – L. Henri and L. Blum, Polish – T. Wiślich, M. Wyżga, C. Kuklo, J. Kukhta, P. Kwapińska, M. Surdacki, Ukrainian – O. Kis and I. Petrenko, Russian – B. Mironov (Хаджнал, 1979, с. 14–71; Anri, & Blyum, 1997; Wiślich, 2012; Wyżga, 2009, p. 245–278; Kuklo, 2009; Kukhta, 2008, p. 261–294; Kwapińska, 2001, p. 111–155; Surdacki, 2007; Kis, 2008; Petrenko, 2010; Mironov, 2003).

The results of the research. By remarriage we mean a married couple in which one or both representatives at least once in their life were already in a family union, but then found themselves in the status of a divorced or widowed person (Rybakovskyi, 2003, c. 208). With a high mortality of the population, widowhood was a common phenomenon. Russian researcher B. Mironov notes that in the absence of remarriages, the proportion of widows and widowers under 45 years old would be 44%, under 55 years old – 65% of the total population (Mironov, 2003, c. 172).

Based on the materials of the metric documentation, 428 (22.4%) repeated unions out of a total of 1909 (100%) marriages were studied. Information from church searches made it possible to analyze 363 (26.5%) remarried couples from 1372 (100%) family unions.

It should be noted that in the quantitative ratio there were significantly fewer repeated weddings than the first ones. It is obvious that unions in which the bride and groom entered into marriage for the first time prevailed numerically. Based on the materials of metrics within three specific time periods 1783–1800, 1801–1820 and 1838–1856 remarriages accounted for 19.8% / 18.8% / 28.1% of the total number of family unions. Ukrainian indicators of the beginning of the XIX century. almost twice lower than similar Polish data presented by M. Surdatsky. Out of 134 marriages in Urzhedov 1797–1804 41 (31%) were repeat family unions (Surdacki, 2007, p. 514).

According to the materials of the church searches of the 30–50s in the 19th century we studied, the share of repeated weddings was 26.5% (see Tables 1–4). According to the results of the study of materials from individual parishes of the Right Bank of Ukraine, the number of repeated weddings in the late 18 – early 19 centuries ranged from 23.2% to 24.2%, in the middle of the 19 century. — from 22.7% to 32.7% (DAViO, f. 92, inv. 1, c. 1; f. 799, inv. 1, c. 5a; f. 800, inv. 1, c. 1; DAKO, f. 1455, inv. 1, c. 143; f. 1455, inv. 1, c. 161).

The named quantitative indicators demonstrate the growth of marital activity of widowed persons in the middle of the 19th century in comparison with the period of the late 18th – early 19th centuries. Obviously, this situation was associated with economic and demographic factors, primarily the growth of the population, the improvement of its well-being, the decrease in mortality and the increase in overall life expectancy. Based on the conducted historical and comparative analysis, we can talk about higher Polish indicators in the late 18th – early 19th centuries in the relatively the left-bank Ukrainian data on the number of remarriages. However, the number of such family unions in

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individual settlements of the Right Bank of Ukraine was similar to the calculations of both the left-bank Ukrainian and Polish territories.

The average age of persons who remarried was determined by the method proposed by J. Hajnal to calculate the average age of persons who married for the first time. In the research, the age of only those persons of both sexes who were married again was taken into account. The widowed married those who married for the first time, or those who were equal in marital status (Khadzhnal, 1979, c. 26). Therefore, the number of remarried men or women was less than the total number of remarriages. Masculine (male) representation among the widowed was greater than feminine (female).

The research as a whole is based on the study of age data of metric materials – 377 men and 252 women who remarried, and according to church search documents – 305/191 persons of both sexes.

In the three research periods, the number of men who remarried ranged from 18.0%, 15.4% to 25.1%. A similar picture of the growth in the number of women who registered their marriage again is observed with the following dynamics: 12.5%, 12.8% and 14.2%. In contrast to men, whose share increased by a margin of almost 10%, the percentage of widowed women increased by only 1–2%. The studied indicators indicate an increase in the matrimonial activity of widowed men during 1783–1820 and 1838–1856. Such men, unlike women, did not stay long in single status and rather quickly formed new family unions.

Similar tendencies of rapid remarriage and non-observance of the mourning period can be traced according to the materials of confession murals on the examples of rural families of the Romensky district of the Poltava province in the first half of the 19th century, as well as among the Polish population of the early 19th century, studied by P. Kvapulinskaya. Research by M. Gorny, conducted on the early modern materials of the Polish parish of Sharadovo in Poluki, showed the following feature: 64% of widowers got married before 6 months after the death of their wife, and 65% of widows got married a year after the funeral of their husbands. Note that the percentage of widowed brides in late 18th century (12.5%) was slightly higher than among women of the same status who formed repeated family unions in the Polish parish of Raciborowice near Krakow (9.44%) (Borodenko, 2019d, c. 84; Kwapulińska, 2001, p. 111–155; Borodenko, Tuchynskyi, 2023a, c. 31–38; Borodenko, Tuchynskyi, 2023b, c. 98–107; Wiślich, 2012, p. 57; Wyżga, 2009, p. 253).

Next, we analyze the average age changes in the remarriage rate of men and women based on the materials of registers of births (see Fig. 1 and Tables 1–3). A certain pattern is noticeable. The male curve line of the graph is located above the indicators of 35 years of age and exceeds the feminine line. Only in some areas does the masculine curve of the figure approach the age limit of 45 years old. For example: in 1805, the average age of men who remarried was 44.5 years old. The data for 1839 was slightly above the 45-year age mark, since the average age for that year was 46 years. The masculine line approached the lowest 25-year mark of the straight line in 1815. Then the average age of remarried men was 25 years old. In total, for these years, the data on masculine average-age remarriage fluctuated mainly within the 30–40-year lines of the graph.

The youngest person who remarried was a 20-year-old resident of the village of Sorochintsy in April 17, 1838, the widower, peasant Stefan Alekseevich Klochko of Count Kirill Ivanovich Gudovich created a new family union with a 20-year-old serf unmarried girl of the same landowner Pelageya Ivanovna Tenkina. Analysis of the age characteristics of the youngest widowed persons of both sexes who entered into a new marriage, based on the materials of church searches in the middle of the nineteenth century, shows similar 20-year-old representations. The oldest widower-groom, according to metric data, was a 59-year-old resident of the city of Voronkov, Kalenik Fedorovich Kisly. The widower by his first wife remarried on May 20, 1798 to the widow Ksenia Andreevna Divnikivna, aged of 41. For the woman, the marriage was also the second. Materials of marriage searches were presented by older than 65–67-year-old widowers-grooms. As a rule, such oversized grooms married women much younger than themselves, with a difference of 18–25 years.

Analyzing the descending sections of the masculine-feminine curves of the graph, as well as the data in tables 1–3, we can notice some features. Women who remarried were more likely to be absent from the registries for certain years, in contrast to men of the same marital status. This is reflected in the female lines of figure 1 descending to the abscissa axis in sections 1786, 1790, 1817–1818, 1851, 1854. Such masculine jumps of the curved lines of the graph are virtually absent. Only for 1817–1818 and 1854 they become noticeable due to the fact that only those persons who married for the first time were registered. For 1790 and 1840–1841, no materials of parish registers of the studied Orthodox parishes were found. If we do not pay attention to the falling masculine-feminine lines of the drawing on these segments, then we can state the high age-related activity of men in creating repeated family unions compared to women (DAPO, f. 1011, inv. 1, c. 179, p. 127 verso; f. 706, inv. 4, c. 6, p. 10 verso; Borodenko, 2019c, c. 9–20).

Table 1

Average age of men and women who remarried
(Based on materials from parish registers of 1783–1800)

Years	Total number of marriages	Number of first marriages	Number of remarriages	The number of men who remarried	Average age of men who remarried	The number of women who remarried	Average age of women who remarried
1783	7	6	1	1	32.0	1	25.0
1784	14	9	5	5	42.6	5	37.4
1785	4	-	4	4	42.5	4	34.0
1786	15	13	2	1	34.0	-	-
1787	6	4	2	2	38.5	2	25.5
1788	5	2	3	3	32.7	2	34.5
1789	20	16	4	4	42.8	4	35.8
1790	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1791	35	33	2	2	33.0	1	26.0
1792	23	21	2	2	30.0	1	32.0
1793	30	24	6	5	31.6	3	34.7
1794	64	45	19	18	33.9	9	33.6
1795	42	33	9	7	39.1	6	40.1
1796	76	64	12	12	38.1	6	32.6
1797	65	51	14	11	34.1	9	27.1
1798	95	78	17	15	38.6	11	31.4
1799	127	107	20	18	34.6	15	29.3
1800	59	45	14	14	32.5	7	28.8
Bcero	687	551	136	124	35.9	86	31.7
Bcero %	100	80.2	19.8	18.0		12.5	

The table is based on the materials of the studied sources.

Table 2

Average age of men and women who remarried
(Based on materials from parish registers of 1801–1820)

Years	Total number of marriages	Number of first marriages	Number of remarriages	The number of men who remarried	Average age of men who remarried	The number of women who remarried	Average age of women who remarried
1801	55	45	10	8	37.8	5	33.5
1802	58	54	4	3	35.0	2	34.0
1803	61	49	12	9	27.9	7	31.3
1804	70	57	13	11	36.1	8	30.6
1805	46	39	7	7	44.5	7	33.5
1806	24	18	6	4	37.0	5	33.6

1807	15	11	4	3	36.3	4	25.8
1808	38	26	12	10	31.7	8	28.7
1809	28	20	8	7	29.6	6	26.1
1810	8	7	1	1	30.0	1	29.0
1811	16	11	5	5	38.2	4	31.8
1812	16	11	5	4	35.8	4	29.5
1813	11	9	2	1	31.0	1	29.0
1814	17	14	3	3	32.0	1	30.0
1815	16	14	2	1	25.0	1	30.0
1816	16	13	3	3	29.3	3	28.0
1817	14	14	-	-	-	-	-
1818	20	20	-	-	-	-	-
1819	15	11	4	2	28.0	1	27.0
1820	9	6	3	3	35.0	3	28.7
Всего	553	449	104	85	33.3	71	30.0
Всего %	100	81.2	18.8	15.4		12.8	

The table is based on the materials of the studied sources.

Table 3

**Average age of men and women who remarried
(Based on materials from parish registers of 1838–1856)**

Years	Total number of marriages	Number of first marriages	Number of remarriages	The number of men who remarried	Average age of men who remarried	The number of women who remarried	Average age of women who remarried
1838	32	22	10	10	32.4	2	41.0
1839	22	20	2	2	46.0	1	40.0
1840	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1842	93	77	15	13	37.2	9	30.3
1843	73	57	17	11	32.6	10	28.4
1844	16	10	6	5	38.4	4	36.5
1845	45	35	10	9	31.2	1	27.0
1846	35	19	16	15	37.1	4	38.8
1847	25	21	4	4	40.3	1	29.0
1848	139	89	50	50	36.5	32	33.2
1849	78	50	28	23	36.5	16	31.6
1850	30	23	7	6	35.5	3	29.5
1851	8	3	5	5	30.0	-	-
1852	14	10	4	2	39.5	3	29.7
1853	38	29	9	7	33.9	5	38.0
1854	6	6	-	-	-	-	-
1855	5	4	1	2	39.0	1	37.0
1856	10	6	4	4	35.8	3	36.7
Всего	669	481	188	168	36.4	95	33.8
Всего %	100	71.9	28.1	25.1		14.2	

The table is based on the materials of the studied sources.

Table 4

**Average age of men and women who remarried
(Based on the materials marriage searches of 1836–1860)**

Years	Total number of marriages	Number of first marriages	Number of remarriages	The number of men who remarried	Average age of men who remarried	The number of women who remarried	Average age of women who remarried
1836	13	9	4	4	34.5	1	42.0
1837	14	11	3	1	67.0	2	35.5
1838	30	27	3	2	28.0	1	29.0
1839	43	32	11	7	31.1	7	30.5
1840	34	17	17	9	31.4	13	29.8
1841	69	53	15	12	39.5	10	33.1
1842	65	53	13	12	36.4	6	33.1
1843	76	59	17	14	34.6	8	31.2
1844	64	55	9	9	34.4	2	35.0
1845	102	80	22	16	31.2	12	24.9
1846	86	68	18	14	37.0	8	32.2
1847	99	77	22	18	34.0	8	35.4
1848	121	77	44	40	35.1	22	31.2
1849	80	46	34	31	35.3	20	32.7
1850	80	58	22	13	37.7	18	31.0
1851	68	44	24	22	36.5	14	29.4
1852	44	27	17	13	36.5	8	31.5
1853	64	52	12	10	40.8	6	35.7
1854	44	31	13	14	39.8	5	35.3
1855	33	21	12	14	37.7	4	32.5
1856	46	39	7	9	37.5	4	34.8
1857	56	42	14	13	36.4	9	30.7
1858	18	15	3	3	45.7	1	40.0
1859	10	6	4	2	30.5	2	26.5
1860	13	10	3	3	29.3	-	-
Bcero	1372	1009	363	305	36.7	191	32.6
Bcero %	100	73.5	26.5	22.2		13.9	

The table is based on the materials of the studied sources.

The average age of men who remarried for the period from 1783 to 1800 was 35.9 years, for 1801–1820 – 33.3 years, for 1838–1856 – 36.4 years. Compared with similar values calculated from the materials of church searches of 1836–1860, we note almost identical data – 36.7 years. The difference in masculine indicators in both registries is minimal – 0.3 years (see Tables 3–4). Comparative analysis of masculine-feminine average age data of remarriages for the indicated periods showed some differences. Age indicators of women by metrics 1783–1800, 1801–1820 and 1838–1856 were 31.7 / 30.0 / 33.8 years, and according to church searches in 1836–1860 – 32.6 years. The difference in the age indicators of women in the middle of the 19th century in the two registries was 1.2 years. Thus, the average age masculine values varied in the range from 33.3 to 36.7 years. Similar feminine transformations ranged from 30.0 years to 33.8 years. The masculine and feminine age intervals of indicators are similar 3.4 and 3.8 years.

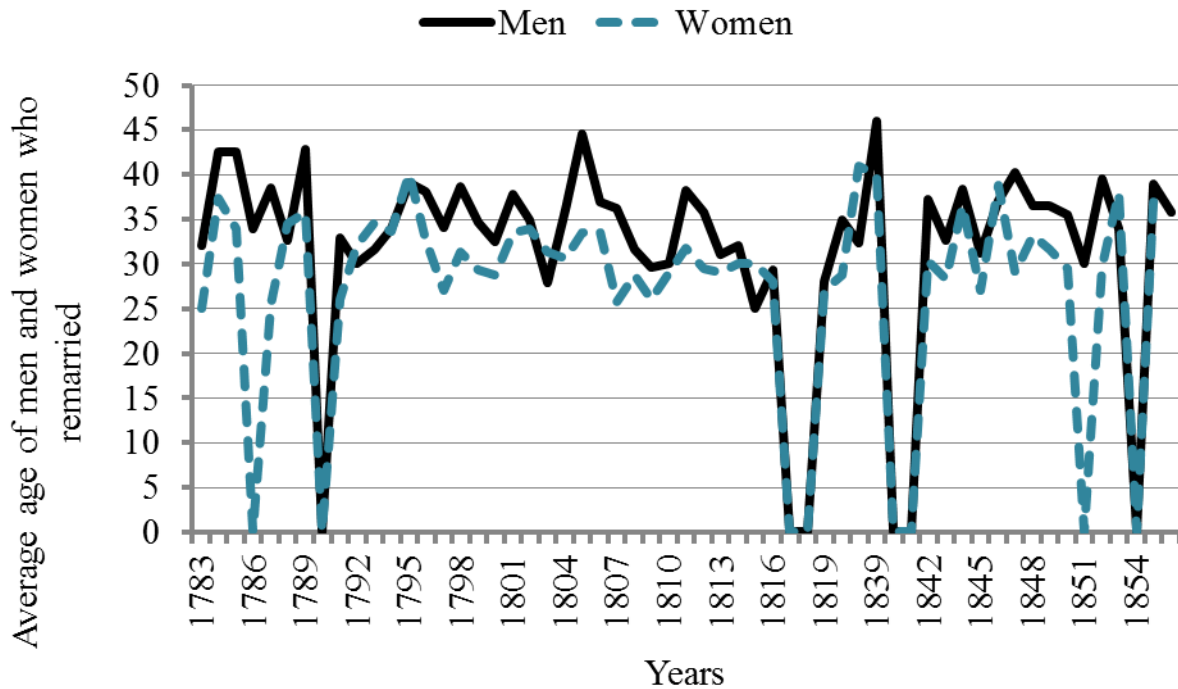


Figure 1. The average age of men and women who remarried (based on the registers of births of 1783–1856)

For men in certain parishes of the Right Bank of Ukraine, the average age of remarriage at the end of the 18th – beginning of the 19th century ranged from 34.5 to 37.3 years old, and for women – from 27.0 to 31.6 years old. Similar masculine calculations, calculated based on materials from the right-bank Ukrainian lands in the middle of the 19th century, are delimited from 32.9 years old to 37.4 years old, feminine – from 30.1 years old to 36.0 years old (DAViO, f. 92, inv. 1, c. 1; f. 799, inv. 1, c. 5a; f. 800, inv. 1, c. 1; DAKO, f. 1455, inv. 1, c. 143; f. 1455, inv. 1, c. 161). For example: Warsaw widows in the middle of the 18th century married at 32–35 years old, men – at 35–40 years old (Kuklo, 1987, p. 352). The data of the Polish Warsaw are similar to the revealed Ukrainian average age indicators of remarried persons at the end of the 18th century. Thus, the Ukrainian and Polish gender and age indicators of the average age of remarried persons differ slightly.

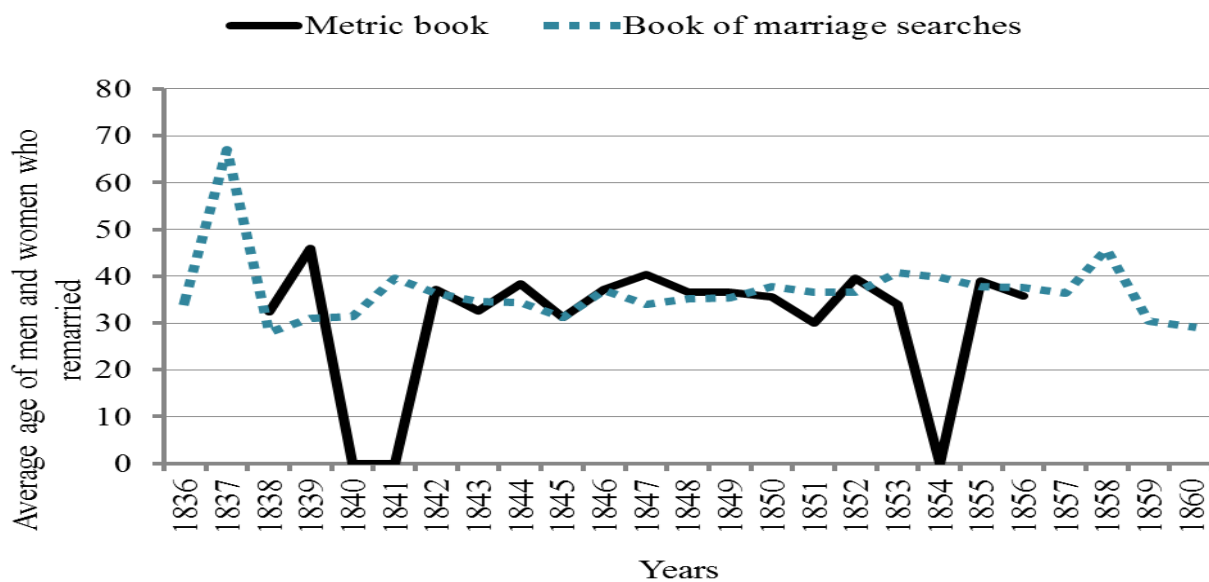


Figure 2. Average age of men who remarried (Based on the materials of registers of births and marriage searches of 1836–1860)

Certain features of widowed women and men are noticeable. First, the average age of widow-brides during 1783–1820 and 1838–1860. increased with a margin of 2–4 years. However, more pronounced feminine and age fluctuations were observed on the right-bank Ukrainian lands. In widowed men, such age indicators fluctuated within slightly smaller limits – 1–3 years.

Secondly, comparing the female indicators of the average age of remarriage in the middle of the 19th century studied based on the materials of two registers. (33.8 years old vs. 32.6 years old), as well as men's (36.4 years old vs. 36.7 years old), one can note abrupt fluctuations in female average age values (by 1.2 years) compared with masculine (by 0.3 of the year).

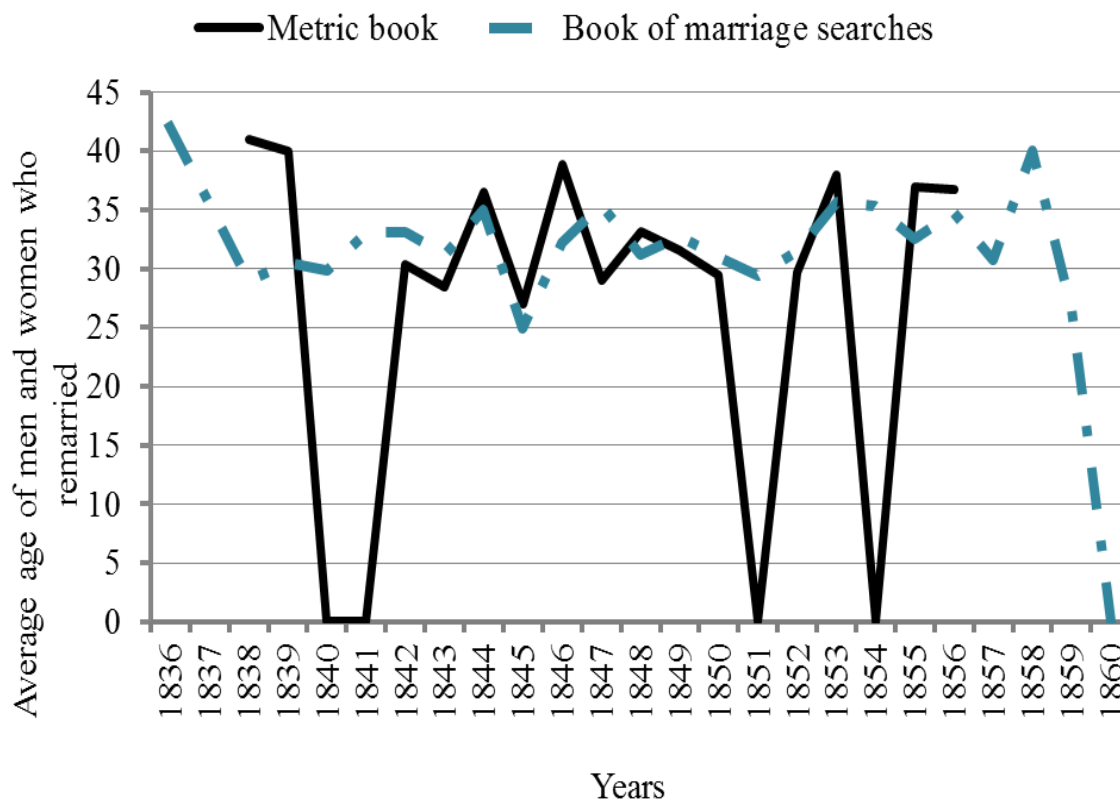


Figure 3. Average age of women who remarried
(Based on the materials of registers of births and marriage searches of 1836–1860)

Thirdly, the average age of women who got married again, determined by the values of the lines of graphs 2–3, fluctuated within 28–35 years old, which is slightly less than the average male age (30–40 years old).

Fourthly, like the masculine, the low feminine average age of remarriage was 25.0 years old in 1783, and the maximum was somewhat inferior to it – 41.0 years old in 1838. The youngest widows who married again, like widowers, were two brides in their twenties. The first was Anna Nikolaevna Brazhnikova from the village of Krasnopolye, who formed a new family union on May 15, 1789 with a 27-year-old fellow villager Daniil Nikolaevich (surname unknown). Another resident of the village of Rogoznoye, Evdokia Andreevna Kotenkova, married on February 10, 1799, Nikita Fedorovich Strizhenko, a 22-year-old widower. Both of them entered into a marriage union for the second time (DACO, f. 78, inv. 1, c. 1, p. 93 verso; f. 94, inv. 1, c. 1, p. 94). The oldest widow who entered into a remarriage was Fotina Pavlovna Gorobtsova, 52 years old, from the village of Sorochintsy, who married on April 21, 1846 with 44-year-old Ignatiy Yakovlevich Lisa. For both spouses, marriage was the second. It should be noted that the woman was on the verge of completing her reproductive age. In general, we can note that widows, starting from the age of 40 and by the end of the fertile age (50 years old), showed a decline in marital activity. The main reasons can be considered their inability to bear children and high mortality during childbirth of women of late childbearing age (DAPO, f. 1011, inv. 1, c. 180, p. 81 verso; Borodenko, 2019c, c. 9–20).

Next, we compare the above masculine data on fluctuations in the average age (from 33.3 years old to 36.7 years old), as well as feminine data (from 30.0 years old to 33.8 years old) with the average age indicators of first marriage, which were calculated from the materials researched registries 1783–1860 using the same technique of J. Hajnal. The average age of men entering into

marriage for the first time varied from 21.7 to 23.8 years old, and of women from 19.4 to 21.9 years old (Borodenko, 2020a, c. 78–93). Comparing the calculations of the average age of persons of both sexes who married for the first time and remarried, certain conclusions can be drawn. The masculine age interval between the two averages was 11.6–12.9 years, and the feminine – 10.6–11.9 years.

These data show that the average life expectancy of marriage partners in the first marriage was 11–13 years. It is possible to calculate the life time of spouses in first or second marriages through a rigorous analysis of the data of specific families based on confession records, birth records or marriage and search books of different years within the same or neighboring settlements, tracking their genealogical features and using the method of recreating the history of families (Borodenko, 2019c, c. 9–20).

In the next part of the study, using materials from two registers, we conduct a comparative analysis of the average age of persons who remarried during 1836–1860. (See Figure 2–3 and Table 3–4). Figure 2 demonstrates, on the whole, identical movements of the curved lines of the graph, reflecting the indicators of the average age of remarried men, in accordance with the parish and church search books. Only in certain sections of the graph in 1837, 1839 and 1858 did the average age values amount to 67.0 / 46.0 / 45.7 years old, which reflect the jumps in the curved lines of the figure. Such sharp increases are demonstrated by sporadic flashes over certain years of masculine averages and the rather advanced age of men who remarried. So, the smaller the number of remarried widowed persons for individual years and the older they are, the higher the average age of remarriages in these years. If we do not take into account the decline in the metric curve of the graph line in the sections 1840–1841 and 1854, then we can talk about similar dynamics of masculine indicators in the two registers.

The feminine graph indicates a large spread in the average age indicators of widow-brides (see Fig. 3). The indicators of female lines in the figure, built on the basis of the materials of metrics and marriage and search books, mainly vary within the range of 30–35 years old. The lowest data on the average age of remarried brides was recorded in 1845 and, according to metrical data, was 27.0 years old, and according to church searches – 24.9 years old. The high values of the average age of women who remarried somewhat exceeded or corresponded to the 40-year straight schedule of 1838 – 41.0 years old, 1839 – 40.0 years old, 1836 – 42.0 years old, 1858. – 40.0 years old.

So, a historical and comparative analysis of the average age data of persons who entered into remarriages, according to two registries, showed identical fluctuations in the male and female lines of the graphs, which indicates a pronounced systemic, rather than episodic, nature of the average age indicators of people who formed remarried couples during 1836–1860 in various Orthodox parish communities.

Conclusions. Summing up the results of the study, let us pay attention to the identified gender and age characteristics of the Orthodox Ukrainian population at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th centuries, studied according to the accounting and statistical documentation of the church direction, metrics and marriage search books. In church records of re-married persons for certain years, widow-brides were often absent, in contrast to widowers-grooms. The indicators of the number of remarriages show an increase in the number of new marital unions with the participation of widowed persons by the middle of the 19th century compared with the end of the 18th century. Widowed men showed higher matrimonial activity in the formation of new married couples compared to women: the proportion of widowed grooms increased by almost 10%, and widowed brides only by 1–2%.

The masculine data of the average age indicators of remarriages, based on the graphs, mainly fluctuated within 30–40 years old and slightly exceeded the feminine ones – 28–35 years old. The average age of men who remarried was determined based on the materials of parish registers and church search books at the end of the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries and showed fluctuations from 33.3 to 36.7 years old. Similar indicators of widowed brides showed age-related changes from 30.0 years to 33.8 years old. Historical and comparative analysis of data on materials from both registers of different settlements on the Left Bank of Ukraine indicates identical values of the average age of people remarrying in the middle of the 19th century. In general, the average age of widowed persons of both sexes who remarried increased during the first half of the century under study.

The average life expectancy in the first marital unions was 11–13 years. Obviously, the duration of the joint life of spouses in first marriages also gradually increased, and, as a result, the widowhood of one representative of a married couple came later, since widowed men and women in the middle of the 19th century remarried a little later compared to the end of the 18th century.

The difference in the masculine average age indicators of remarriage in the middle of the 19th century, based on the data of the two registries, was insignificant - 0.3 years, and for women it was slightly higher – 1.2 years, which indicates an abrupt dynamics for the studied years of the average age of women, who remarried. The smaller the number of widowed brides and grooms for individual years, and they themselves are older in age, the higher the average sex and age indicator of remarriage per year. The youngest men and women who remarried were 20 years old. The most

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 overage were 65–67-year-old widowers and widows within 50 years old. Age grooms predominantly married women who were much younger and still capable of childbearing.

A comparative analysis showed a slight variability in the age and sex data of the average age of persons who remarried in the Ukrainian lands of the Left Bank and the Right Bank, as well as Polish territories. In the context of the civilizational development of society, this fact points to similar trends in the historical and demographic processes of remarriage of neighboring peoples, which implies a socio-economic and socio-cultural mutual influence of the Ukrainian and Polish populations.

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DAKO – State Archives of Kyiv region.

DAPO – State Archives of Poltava region.

DASO – State Archives of Sumy region.

DAViO – State Archives of Vinnitsa region.

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