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# UKRAINIAN INTERFAITH FAMILIES IN THE CONTEXT OF CHURCH, MARRIAGE, AND SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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## Abstract

**The aim.** In the article (based on the materials of church statistical books of Orthodox parishes in the Right and Left Bank of Ukraine, ego-documents, documentation of the directive and administrative direction, canonical and fiction), an imaginary collective portrait of interfaith families is created in the representation of marriage partners of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic faiths—in the context of marriage-social policy of the Russian Empire in the 19th century.

**Research methods.** The interdisciplinary direction of intelligence led to the use, in addition to general scientific methods, of special historical methods: quantitative, comparative, prosopographic and critical analysis.

**Main results.** Based on personalized examples and quantitative indicators of bi-confessional families, the main vectors of the policy of the Russian autocracy in the 19th century are demonstrated. They are aimed at the Russification of the church-religious life of the Ukrainian population, the monopolization of the Russian Orthodox Church, the conversion of persons of other Christian denominations to the Orthodox faith, primarily by matrimonial means, and the upbringing of born children in Orthodox traditions. The sacrament of the wedding of representatives from different Christian denominations was allowed, subject to obtaining appropriate permission from the spiritual authorities and was held in the premises of the church, of which the bride was a parishioner. A significant part of these families was focused on the Right-Bank Ukraine. Based on the calculated data of the total number of Orthodox parishioners and interfaith married couples in the Kamenets district of the Podolsk province in 1842-1875, it shows a reduction in the number of bi-confessional families by almost half. The reduction in the number of such families is shown more intensively by the example of the digital indicators of the Orthodox parish community in the city of Zbryzh of the same county. Apostasy from the Orthodox faith was persecuted, and priests of various Christian churches were punished for illegal weddings of brides on religious grounds.

**Keywords:** matrimonial requirements, parish registers, interfaith families, Orthodox parish communities, Roman Catholics, confession paintings, searches, marriage.

### **Formulation of the Problem**

The period at the end of the 18th to 19th centuries, during the history of the western and southwestern peoples of the Russian Empire, was distinguished by the processes of confessional transformations. In the reform of religious life, the lands of the Right Bank (Western Ukraine, located on the right bank of the Dnieper) were symptomatic, which were included in Russia after the second partition of the Commonwealth in 1793 and reunited with the Left Bank and Slobazhanshchina. Confessional transformations in Ukraine had deep historical roots and originated from the Polish-Russian relations of the 17th to 18th centuries, in which the Ukrainian lands were a “bargaining chip,” and Ukraine was a kind of hostage to the geopolitics of neighboring empires. Introducing the “cosmopolitan” and “national” directions of policy, Russian tsarism at the end of the 17th to the first half of the 19th century took a course towards curtailing the activities of Christian denominations other than the Orthodox to unify and Russify church and religious life in Ukrainian lands. The ideological program of the Russian government was formulated by the Minister of Education, S. Uvarov, during the reign of Nicholas I and was symbolized by the slogan: “Autocracy, Orthodoxy, Nationality.” Consequently, “one Orthodoxy” was supposed to become the key to the creation of a “single Russian people,” and thereby prevent ethnic identification, the preservation of ethno-confessional unity, and the growth of the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people.<sup>1</sup>

Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and representatives of other “non-Orthodox” denominations, primarily Protestants, did not fit into the model of “Russian unity.” So, a large-scale church and religious campaign was launched against them. Using administrative and forceful measures in 1839, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, founded by the Beresteevsky Union (Union of Brest) of 1596, was liquidated. All its parishes became Orthodox. However, violent, and repressive methods were not enough to eradicate the strong Uniate cultural and religious tradition from the minds of people. In the 1840s, certain steps were taken towards the “conversion” to Orthodoxy of the laity in the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Н. Г. Стоколос. “Уніатська церква у контексті конфесійних трансформацій на Правобережній Україні під владою Російської імперії,” *Український історичний журнал*, no. 4. (2002): 95–99. [Stokolos N. “The Uniate Church in the Context of Confessional Transformations in Right-Bank Ukraine under the Rule of the Russian Empire.” *Ukrainian Historical Journal*].

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 104–108.

In general, such processes were the result of legislative initiatives in the Russian Empire in the first half of the 19th century, which covered all aspects of society. The Russian Orthodox Church also underwent a reformation. In the context of Russification and monopolization of Orthodoxy, the control of the Holy Synod over the performance discipline of representatives in the Orthodox clergy at various levels was strengthened, and church statistical documentation was unified, which was supposed to be written in Russian. The Russian authorities also considered the option of “igniting the church”: namely the introduction of the Russian language into Roman Catholic worship.<sup>3</sup> Reforms of the institutions of marriage and the family played a significant role in church and religious policy, since one of the ways to replenish Orthodox believers was matrimonial—when two-confessional families were formed, and one of the spouses or children born in such families converted to Orthodoxy.

By an interfaith family, we mean a simple or nuclear family, which consisted of a married couple/widowed person with or without children, one of whom adhered to the Roman Catholic/Lutheran traditions of faith, and the other to Orthodoxy. So, the purpose of our study is to create an imaginary collective portrait of interfaith families—primarily as part of the matrimonial partners of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic denominations, but also in the context of the church, marriage, and social policy of the Russian autocracy during the 19th century.

- The objectives of our study include the following: to reveal the features of marriages between couples from different Christian denominations;
- in accordance with the civil legislation of the Russian Empire, determine the rules for raising children of interfaith families;
- bring the life stories belonging to children of two-confessional families to the religions of their father or mother; on the example of the town of Zbryzh, Kamenetsky district, Podolsk province, to demonstrate the multi-confessional character of the population of the Right Bank of Ukraine;
- imagine a rather lengthy process of transition of the laity of other Christian denominations to Orthodoxy;
- indicate the facts of persecution of people for renunciation of the Orthodox faith;

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<sup>3</sup> Г. М. Надтока, and І. С. Тарнавський, and І. В. Горпинченко, “Польське питання” та Римсько-католицька церква на українських землях у складі Російської імперії (1864–1914 рр.),” *Сторінки історії: збірник наукових праць*, no. 53. (2021): 84. [H. Nadтока, and I. Tarnavsky, and I. Horpynchenko "Polish Question" and the Roman Catholic Church in Ukrainian Lands in the Russian Empire (1864–1914)." *History Pages: the collection of academic papers*].

- by comparative analysis and calculated quantitative data of interfaith families of the Left-bank and Right-bank parts of Ukraine, to highlight the differences between such families on both sides of the Dnieper;
- on the example of the Orthodox parishes of the Kamenets district of the Podolsk province, to analyze the dynamics of the number of married couples in the composition of persons of two Christian denominations during 1842-1875, as well as sexual fluctuations of representatives of the Roman Catholic faith in interfaith marriages;
- determine the penalties for priests of various Christian churches for illegal weddings.

Revealing the tasks and purpose of the study, an extensive source base was used, which is represented by materials of written documents from the archives of five state institutions: Kiev, Poltava, Sumy, Kharkiv, and Khmelnytsky regions. Quantitative indicators of interfaith families were calculated and analyzed according to the data of the church statistical books of Orthodox parishes. In order to reveal the dynamics of quantitative data on interfaith matrimonial unions, the church registry books from the Kamenets district of the Podolsk province for 1842, 1843, 1868, and 1875 were studied, describing the representative composition of families and their visits to the parish church during the Holy 40 Days (Lent).<sup>4</sup> These are folios made with 1,000 to 2,000 sheets. In the confessional paintings, the priests registered the households of all parishioners, describing in detail the representative composition of the families and their visits to the parish church on the days of Great Lent. Members of the household communities were also designated as persons of the parish clergy, who, due to various circumstances, were absent during the holy sacraments of confession and communion.<sup>5</sup> The designations of such parishioners, as usual, were accompanied by a brief explanation of the reason for the absence. This is how inter-confessional families stood out, some of whom professed a true faith in Orthodoxy, yet were parishioners from churches of other Christian denominations.

Marriages between persons of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox faiths dominated in the church-statistical sources studied by us. Only a few bi-denominational families have been

<sup>4</sup> ДАХМО. Ф. 315. Оп. 1. Спр. 7599. Арк. 623–635; Спр. 7652. Арк. 502–515; Спр. 8817. Арк. 1026–1044; Спр. 11908. Арк. 673–690. [ДАНМО].

<sup>5</sup> О. Бороденко, “Статеві-вікова структура населення с. Жуки городової сотні Полтавського полку в другій половині XVIII століття (за матеріалами сповідних розписів 1775 року),” *Краєзнавство*, no. 3. (2012): 55–56. [Borodenko O. "Sex and age Structure of Zhuky village population of the Town Cossack squadron of Poltava regiment in the second part of the XVIII century (based on the confessional record materials of 1775)". *Local Lore Studies (Kraieznavstvo)*].

identified whose men were recorded as Lutherans. For example, such was the marriage of a couple from the village of Bakhtin, Kamenets district, Podolsk province in 1843, consisting of a Lutheran (a nobleman by social origin, a former customs manager, collegiate assessor German Karlovich Takoberg) and 22-year-old Orthodox, Elizaveta Alekseevna.<sup>6</sup> Roman Catholics of the Western Christian rite were registered in the confessional registers of Orthodox churches without indicating the number of years they had lived. Opposite the name, patronymic, surname / nickname of such persons, the priests made an additional entry: Catholic / Catholic, Roman Catholic / Lutheran.

In order to conduct a comparative analysis, we used the materials in registers of births from 15 parishes in the Left-Bank Ukraine from 1783-1820 and 1838-1856.<sup>7</sup> In addition to metrical information, the materials of marriage searches during 1836–1860 were analyzed in eight parishes of the above region.<sup>8</sup> In total, materials from church books of 23 parishes from three left-bank Ukrainian provinces of Poltava, Kharkiv, and Chernihiv were used.

Registers of births and marriage/church searches of the Orthodox church's records management on Ukrainian lands went through a long process of formation, improvement, and unification during the second half of the 17th century to the first half of the 19th century. Metric information contained accounting and statistical information of the church persuasion, concluded by year, and registered persons in three sections: born, married and deceased. In order to prevent the conclusion of illegal matrimonial unions and strengthen the performance discipline among representatives of the Orthodox clergy in the first half of the 19th century, attention was focused on the mandatory designation of marriage partners according to their religion in metric records.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> ДАХМО. Ф. 315. Оп. 1. Спр. 7652. Арк. 301. [ДАНМО].

<sup>7</sup> ДАПО. Ф. 706. Оп. 4. Спр. 6. Арк. 1–175; Спр. 112. Арк. 1–4; Спр. 195. Арк. 1–338; Ф. 1011. Оп. 1. Спр. 179. Арк. 1–214; Спр. 180. Арк. 1–145. [ДАПО]; ДАСО. Ф. 78. Оп. 1. Спр. 1. Арк. 1–194; Ф. 94. Оп. 1. Спр. 1. Арк. 1–482; Ф. 745. Оп. 2. Спр. 16. Арк. 1–180; Спр. 39. Арк. 1–69; Спр. 42. Арк. 1–252; Спр. 48. Арк. 1–464; Ф. 960. Оп. 3. Спр. 537. Арк. 1–356; Спр. 546. Арк. 1–106; Спр. 571. Арк. 1–160; Спр. 575. Арк. 1–152; Спр. 576. Арк. 1–98; Спр. 582. Арк. 1–113; Спр. 581. Арк. 1–365; Спр. 591. Арк. 1–366; Спр. 594. Арк. 1–273. [ДАСО].

<sup>8</sup> ДАСО, Ф. 71. Оп. 1. Спр. 5. Арк. 1–90; Ф. 834. Оп. 2. Спр. 2. Арк. 1–53; Ф. 834. Оп. 2. Спр. 4. Арк. 1–108; Ф. 844. Оп. 1. Спр. 3. Арк. 1–83; Ф. 844. Оп. 1. Спр. 6. Арк. 1–73; Ф. 855. Оп. 1. Спр. 41. Арк. 1–91; Ф. 865. Оп. 1. Спр. 13. Арк. 1–136; Ф. 1036. Оп. 1. Спр. 5. Арк. 1–118; Ф. 1036. Оп. 1. Спр. 27. Арк. 1–26; Ф. 1071. Оп. 1. Спр. 3. Арк. 1–121; Ф. 1187. Оп. 1. Спр. 10. Арк. 1–180. [ДАСО].

<sup>9</sup> О. А. Бороденко, “Метричні книги як джерело у вивченні шлюбності другої XVIII – першої половини XIX століття: можливі дослідницькі ризики,” *Universum Historiae et Archeologiae = The Universe of History and Archeology* = *Універсум історії та археології* = *Универсум истории и археологи*, no. 2. Vol. 2 (270). (2019): 186–197. [Borodenko O. "Metric books as a source in the study of the marriage of the second half of the 18th - the first half of the 19th century: possible research risks". *The Universe of History and Archeology*]; Е. А. Бороденко, “Метрические книги как источники историко-демографической информации о брачности украинского социума второй половины XVIII – первой половины XIX в.,” *Известия Гомельского государственного университета имени Ф. Скорины*, no. 1 (118). (2020): 5–10. [Borodenko O.

Such registrations were made in the marriage and search documentation, confirming the existence of legal conditions for the sacrament of the wedding. Such books reflected somewhat expanded, in comparison with registers of birth, personalized information about people who decided to marry.<sup>10</sup> Metrics, confessional, and church-ordinary books formed the basis for historical and demographic studies of inter-confessional families.

Personal diaries turned out to be important for solving the outlined tasks of the study—first of all, court cases on the conversion of people to other faiths, except for Orthodoxy, or non-compliance by the population with matrimonial requirements regarding the religious unity of brides. The formulated problem necessitated the study of documentation in a directive and administrative nature, primarily decrees of the Senate or the Holy Synod, civil legislation, etc. In determining the matrimonial requirements for the conclusion of family unions, the disclosure of the features of the rites of repentance, marriage, communion, and other socio-cultural traditions of the Ukrainian population, the monuments of canonical and early baroque literature were used.

### **The Relevance and Novelty of the Study**

The combination of anthropological, interdisciplinary, quantitative, historical-comparative, civilizational and Ukrainian-centric approaches determine the choice of various methods. In addition to general scientific methods, special historical methods were used. The methods of deconstruction and critical analysis of sources made it possible not to trust the texts “by word of mouth,” but to highlight the necessary information in indirect clauses of documents for constructing reconstructions of the historical past, pronouncing interpretations, and generalizations. The use of the prosographic analysis method contributed to the study of this problem by revealing legal and illegal marital relations, creating a certain generalized image of interfaith families.

The spring base made it possible to focus on illustrations from the life of individual families of the common people. Separate plots of the study are based on a microhistorical analysis of Ukrainian Orthodox communities and interfaith families with the introduction of new methods of historical demography, computer science, and mathematics. Thus, the

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"Metric books as a source of historical and demographic information about the marriage rate of Ukrainian society in the second half of the 18th – first half of the 19th century". *Proceedings of Francisk Scorina Gomel State University*].

<sup>10</sup> О. Бороденко, “Церковні обшуки як історичні джерела у дослідженні шлюбної проблематики першої половини XIX століття,” *Емінак: науковий щоквартальник*. no. 4 (24). Vol. 1. (2018): 117–121. [Borodenko O. "Church raids as historical sources in the study of the marriage issues in the first half of XIXth century." *Eminak: Scientific Quarterly Journal*].

assessment of the sociocultural practices of the Ukrainian society took place somewhat differently than from the point of view of macrohistory. The study of local social groups at the same time demonstrated interdependence in the historical advancement of Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, and other peoples who coexisted on ethnic and neighboring Ukrainian lands. The intellectual product balances in the varied research fields of the history of religions and the churches, as well as historical anthropology—namely in such areas as socio-religious history, local social history, the history of everyday life, the history of identity, historical demography, etc.

### The Historiography of the Issues

The historiography of the issues under study is quite wide because it covers the lengthy above-mentioned vectors of historical research. The authors of fundamental works on the history of Orthodoxy and Catholicism in Ukraine are I. Ogienko, A. Kolodny,<sup>11</sup> P. Yarotsky,<sup>12</sup> and G. Nadтока.<sup>13</sup> Issues of confessional-ethnic transformations in Ukraine in the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century were studied by N. Stokolos.<sup>14</sup> Other Ukrainian authors explored the following aspects: A. Buravsky studied the features of the confessional policy of Russian tsarism in the lands of the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus in the late 18th - early 19th centuries;<sup>15</sup> G. Nadтока, I. Tarnavsky, I. Gorpinchenko studied the "Polish question" and the peculiarities of the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in the Ukrainian lands in the second

<sup>11</sup> І. І. Огієнко, *Українська церква: Нариси з історії Української Православної Церкви: У 2 т.* Vol. 1–2. (Київ: Україна, 1993). 284. [Ogienko I., *Ukrainian Church: Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church: In 2 volumes.* Kyiv, Ukraine].

<sup>12</sup> А. Колодний, ed. *Історія релігії в Україні: у 10-х т.* (Київ: Український Центр духовної культури, 1998). Vol. 2. Українське православ'я. 376. [Kolodny, A. ed. *History of religions in Ukraine: in 10 volumes.* Ukrainian Center for Spiritual Culture, Kiev. Volume 2. Ukrainian Orthodoxy.]; А. Колодний, ed., and П. Яроцький. *Історія релігії в Україні: у 10-х т.* (Київ: Український Центр духовної культури, 2001). Vol. 4. Католицизм. 598. [Kolodny, A. ed., and P. Yarotsky. *History of religions in Ukraine: in 10 volumes.* Ukrainian Center for Spiritual Culture, Kiev. Volume 4. Catholicism.].

<sup>13</sup> Г. М. Надтока, *Православна церква в Україні 1900–1917 років: соціально-релігійний аспект.* (Київ: Знання, 1998). 271. [Nadtoka H. *The Orthodox Church in Ukraine in 1900–1917: socio-religious aspect.* Kyiv: Knowledge].

<sup>14</sup> Н. Г. Стоколос, *Конфесійно-етнічні трансформації в Україні (XIX — перша половина XX ст.):* дис. д-ра іст. наук: 09.00.11; НАН України, Відділення релігієзнавства Інституту філософії ім. Г.С. Сковороди. (Київ: 2003). 473. [Stokolos N. *Confessional-ethnic transformations in Ukraine (the XIXth – the first half of the XXth c.).* The dissertation on the competition for a Doctor's degree in Historical Sciences in the specialty 09. 00. 11. Religion Studies. G. S. Skovoroda Institute of Philosophy of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Kiev, Ukraine].

<sup>15</sup> О. Буравський, "Конфесійна політика російського самодержавства на Правобережній Україні та Білорусі (кінець XVIII – початок XIX ст.)," *Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія: Історія*, no. 1. Part. 2. (2016): 13–18. [Buravskiy A. "Confessional policy of the Russian autocracy in the right bank Ukraine and Belarus (end of XVIII – beginning of XIX centuries)" *The Scientific Issues of Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University. Series: History*].



half of the 19th century;<sup>16</sup> I. Zulyak, A. Klish studied the socio-political guidelines of the higher Roman Catholic clergy and secular intelligentsia during social upheavals in Galicia in the early 20th century;<sup>17</sup> I. Petrenko studied the features of marriage and family relations of the laity in the Russian state of the 18th century;<sup>18</sup> and legal regulators of marital behavior in the Russian Empire were analyzed by Russian researchers B. Mironov,<sup>19</sup> N. Nizhnik,<sup>20</sup> and M. Tsaturova.<sup>21</sup> On the methodology of historical and demographic research, the works of the Frenchmen L. Henri and A. Blum and the Pole C. Kukle are valuable.<sup>22</sup>

## Research Results

One of the conditions of marriage was that the groom and the bride had to be of the same religion. P. Mohyla's *Trebnik* of 1646 noted the acceptance of marriage only between people who “believe in the one God,” and the desirability of converting non-believers and apostates to the Orthodox faith. Poet-monk Klimenty Zinoviev from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 18th century believed that marriages should be entered into with followers of the same faith, so that there would be no quarrels in the family in which the spouses would scold each other as heretics and wicked.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Г. М. Надтока, and I. С. Тарнавський, and I. В. Горпинченко, “Польське питання” та Римсько-католицька церква на українських землях у складі Російської імперії (1864–1914 рр.),” *Сторінки історії: збірник наукових праць*, no. 53. (2021):78–94. [H. Nadтока, and I. Tarnavskyy, and I. Horpynchenko "Polish Question" and the Roman Catholic Church in Ukrainian Lands in the Russian Empire (1864–1914)." *History Pages: the collection of academic papers*].

<sup>17</sup> I. С. Зуляк and А. Б. Кліш, “Суспільно-політичні орієнтації вищого римо-католицького духовенства в Галичині на початку ХХ ст.,” *Сторінки історії: збірник наукових праць*, no. 52 (2021): 104–111. [I. Zulyak and A. Klish. "Social and political orientation of the Rome-Catholic higher clergy in Galicia in the early 1900's." *History Pages: the collection of academic papers*].

<sup>18</sup> І. Петренко, *Шлюбно-сімейні відносини в повсякденному житті мирян Російської держави ХVІІІ ст.: монографія в 2 ч.* Part. 1. (Полтава: РВВ ПУЕТ. 2010). 276. [Petrenko I. *Marriage and family relations in the everyday life of the laity of the Russian state of the XVIII century: monograph in 2 parts*. Poltava: RVV PUET.].

<sup>19</sup> Б. Н. Миронов, *Социальная история России периода империи (XVIII – начало XX века): в 2 т. Vol. 1: Генезис личности, демократической семьи, гражданского общества и правового государства.* (Санкт-Петербург: “Дмитрий Буланин”, 2003). 339. [Mironov B. *The social history of Russia during the empire (XVIII – early XX century): in 2 volumes. T. 1: the genesis of personality, a democratic family, civil society and the jural state*. St. Petersburg: "Dmitriy Bulanin".].

<sup>20</sup> Н. С. Нижник, *Правовое регулирование семейно-брачных отношений в русской истории.* (Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Р. Асланова “Юридический центр Пресс”, 2006). 172. [Nizhnik N. *Legal regulation of family and marriage relations in Russian history*. St. Petersburg: R. Aslanov Publishing House "Legal Center Press".].

<sup>21</sup> М. К. Цатурова, *Русское семейное право ХVІ–ХVІІІ вв.* (Москва: “Юридическая литература”, 1991). 111. [Tsaturova M. *Russian family law XVI – XVIII centuries*. Moskva: "Legal Literature".].

<sup>22</sup> Л. Анри and А. Блюм, *Методика анализа в исторической демографии; [пер. с фр. С. Хока и Ю. Егоровой]*. (Москва: РГГУ, 1997). 207. [L. Anri and A. Blyum *Methods of analysis in historical demography; [translated from French by S. Hock and Y. Egorova]*. Moscow: RGGU.]; C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej.* (Warszawa. 2009): 521. [Kuklo C. *Demographics before the partition of Poland*. Warsaw.].

<sup>23</sup> Климентій Зіновійв. *Вірші. Притовісті посполиті.* (Київ: “Наукова думка”, 1971). 116. [Klimenty Zinoviev. *Poems. With the story of the Commonwealth*. Kyev: "Scientific Thought".].

The Senate decree of August 22, 1783, prohibited the weddings of men of the Orthodox (in the document named as “Greek-Russian”) religion in degrees of kinship not allowed by the Orthodox Church with women who were parishioners of Roman or Uniate churches. In order to avoid cases of a combination of blood relatives of different Christian denominations in one family union, the priests of those churches whose believers expressed a desire to get married had to find out from each other the lack of a close blood relationship between marriage partners. The wedding ceremony of persons from different Christian denominations was performed by the priest of the church to which the bride belonged.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the 18th century, under special circumstances, marriages were allowed with men belonging to parishioners of other Christian denominations, but subject to the conclusion of “fairy tales,” the pledge did not force their wives to change their faith and raise their children as Orthodox.<sup>25</sup> The civil legislation of 1832 was somewhat inconsistent in its treatment of this issue. In particular, Art. 54 actually repeated the above thesis, but Art. 58 expanded on the rights of persons entering into an inter-confessional marriage on the territories of the Right-Bank Ukraine. It noted that sons born in such mixed marriages should be baptized in the paternal faith, and daughters in that of the mother, unless otherwise provided by marriage agreements.<sup>26</sup> It is clear that the state approved the upbringing of children of both sexes in interfaith families in Orthodox customs.

Some priests in confessional documentation indicated that the children of bi-confessional families belong to the corresponding Christian affiliation. So, in the materials of the church records from 1843 at the Exaltation of the Cross Church in the village of Zelenche, Kamenetsky district, Podolsk province, Priest Semyon Timofeevich Strashevsky in seven cases

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<sup>24</sup> Полное собрание законов Российской империи, с 1646 года [в 45 т.]. Собрание первое. Vol. 21. (Санкт-Петербург: Тип. II Отд. Собственной Е.И. В. Канцелярии, 1830): 995–996. [*The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646. Meeting first*. St. Petersburg: Printing house of the 2nd Department of the Own E.I. B. Offices.]; O. Borodenko and R. Sitarchuk, “Orthodox parish communities as units of control over the marital mobility of the Ukrainian population of the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth centuries,” *Східноєвропейський історичний вісник*, no. 19. (2021): 42–55. [O. Borodenko and R. Sitarchuk. “Orthodox parish communities as units of control over the marital mobility of the Ukrainian population of the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth centuries.” *East European Historical bulletin (Skhidnoevropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk)*].

<sup>25</sup> Полное собрание законов Российской империи, с 1646 года [в 45 т.]. Собрание первое. Vol. 6. (Санкт-Петербург: Тип. II Отд. Собственной Е.И. В. Канцелярии, 1830): 413–419. [*The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646. Meeting first*. St. Petersburg: Printing house of the 2nd Department of the Own E.I. B. Offices.]; Н. С. Нижник, *Правовое регулирование семейно-брачных отношений в русской истории*. (Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Р. Асланова “Юридический центр Пресс”, 2006). 128. [Nizhnik N. *Legal regulation of family and marriage relations in Russian history*. St. Petersburg: R. Aslanov Publishing House “Legal Center Press”].

<sup>26</sup> Сводъ законовъ гражданскихъ и межевыхъ. Законы Гражданскіе. Vol. 10. Part 1. (Санктпетербургъ: Печатано въ Типографіи II Отдѣленія Собственной Его Императорскаго Величества Канцеляріи, 1832): 29. [*Code of Civil and Boundary Laws. Civil Laws*. Sankt-Peterburg. Printed at the Printing House of the II Department of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery].

designated the children as belonging to the Roman Catholic religion, in accordance with the faith of their mother. In particular, the family of Iosif Timofeevich Lipinsky, who adhered to the Catholic rite, and 26-year-old Orthodox believer Marina Varvantseva were interfaith. Their three sons, Stanislav, Fabian, and Felix, are recorded according to their father's religion without indicating their age. In another case, the sons of the first wife of the Roman Catholic Ivan Voitsekhovich Gvanizevsky, Luka and Michael, are recorded as belonging to the Catholic rite. Children from the second 30-year-old wife Paraskeva Alekseevna, Marina 6 years old, Vasily 3 years old and newborn Nikolai, were registered as Orthodox believers.<sup>27</sup> In this case, we assume that the children were less than seven years old, so their religious affiliation had not yet been determined by their parents.

The Brizhan Sitarchuk family was quite revealing and different from the others. In 1842, a household was registered headed by a certain “Franko Voitkov Sitarchok of the Roman rite.” His wife was 34-year-old Maria Lukina. The couple have two daughters, Maria, 8 years old, and Melania, 3 years old. A year later (1843) Franko Voitkov was designated by the surname Sitar, equally Roman Catholic. The third one-year-old daughter, Anna, was born and, in subsequent years, the couple had more children. In the church records of 1868, Franko is no longer mentioned, apparently due to death. Instead, Orthodox parishioners Grigory Frankov Sitarchuk, 22 years old, with his 19-year-old wife Sofrona, and Ivan Frankov Voitkov of the Roman Catholic faith (age not specified) appear with his wife Motrona, who is 23 years old. As one can see, one son of Frank Sitarchuk was Orthodox, and the other remained a Roman Catholic as his father. The brothers did not change religion as late as 1875.

The given related examples emphasize the thesis that the children were not always law-abiding and did not accept Orthodoxy, but disowned the state religion upon reaching the age of majority; or, according to the current inter-confessional marriage legislation of the Right Bank of Ukraine, were devoted to the faith of Roman Catholicism. In some cases, children of both sexes were brought up by their mother, and in most cases, in Orthodox traditions. Anthroponymic features of the surname and name, belonging to the Roman Catholic confession of the head of the Sitarchuk family suggest his Austrian-Polish roots. We do not exclude the significance and influence of the economic and geographical position of Zbryzh on the formation of such families. The small town, since 1646, had the Magdeburg right granted by the king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Vladislav IV. The border location, and the

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<sup>27</sup> ДАХМО, ф. 315, оп. 1, спр. 7652. Арк. 478 зб, 493 зб. [ДАХМО].

trade and economic relations of the town, apparently determined the multi-confessional nature of the local population.<sup>28</sup>

Since 1745, there was a Roman Catholic monastery of Capuchins in the village. In 1839–1842, the Roman Catholic Church of Saints Anthony and Jan Nepomuk was built in Zbryzh. In addition, during the second half of the 19th century there was a synagogue here. Since the beginning of the 18th century, the Greek Catholic Holy Trinity Church had been operating in the town. Though, with the transfer of the Ukrainian lands from the Right Bank to the Russian Empire and the new church policy from the end of the 18th century, it became Orthodox. Until 1832, the Holy Trinity and St. Michael's Orthodox churches worked separately, and then united as the Holy Assumption Church.<sup>29</sup> The church record books of 1842, 1843, 1868, and 1875 of the Holy Dormition Church provide valuable material on the marriages of persons of two confessions, uniting a husband or wife of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox faiths. True, in the presence of a synagogue, Orthodox parish sources do not record a single bit of evidence of a change in the Jewish faith by Jews.

Based on materials from Polish sources of the 19th century, it is known that since the founding of the Roman Catholic Church there, its laity were not only local residents, but also residents of the other 16, mostly neighboring, settlements.<sup>30</sup> The above example of the distribution of parishioners from the Sbrizhansky Roman Catholic Church demonstrates the well-established migration processes of the Ukrainian population both within the county and obviously outside it, which are mainly due to religious, socio-economic and matrimonial factors. We do not exclude the formation of marriage-market relations of an inter-confessional nature that were associated with the crossing of the Austrian-Russian border by the population, that is, interstate migrations.<sup>31</sup> Under such conditions, family alliances were created with the Ukrainians of Western Podolia and Galicia, who mostly professed Uniatism or Roman

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<sup>28</sup> *Приходы и церкви Подольской епархии. Под редакцией священника Евфимия Сецинского.* (Біла Церква: Вид. О. Пшонківський, 2008): 385–386. [*Parishes and churches of the Podolsk diocese. Edited by priest Evfimy Setsytsky.* Bila Tserkva: Publishing house. O. Pshonkivsky].

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 385–386.

<sup>30</sup> Zbrzyż. *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego.* Vol. 14. (Warszawa : Druk «Wiek», 1895): 532–533. [Zbryzh. *Geographic Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland.* Warsaw: Publishing house "Age"].

<sup>31</sup> Е. А. Бороденко, "Историко-демографические особенности формирования брачного рынка украинского населения первой половины XIX в.," *Вопросы истории*, no. 10–2. (2020): 261–277. [Borodenko O. "Historical and demographic features of the formation of the marriage market of the Ukrainian population in the first half of the 19th century (on the example of one village)." *Questions of history (Voprosy Istorii)*]; O. Borodenko and R. Sitarchuk, "Orthodox parish communities as units of control over the marital mobility of the Ukrainian population of the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth centuries," *Східноєвропейський історичний вісник*, no. 19. (2021): 47–48. [O. Borodenko and R. Sitarchuk. "Orthodox parish communities as units of control over the marital mobility of the Ukrainian population of the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth centuries. *East European Historical bulletin (Shkhidnoievropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk)*].

Catholicism. In general, the Right Bank is especially significant in interfaith marital intersections of families in comparison with the Left Bank of Ukraine, which is due to the history of this region.

In the 1830s, a number of imperial decrees were aimed at unifying church office work, primarily at the parish level within the Russian Empire. They brought to a single model the form of marriage searches, parish and confessional books. The priests of the Orthodox churches were obliged to comply with certain rules for the preparation of church-statistical documentation.<sup>32</sup>

The Decree of the Synod of February 28, 1831, offered the following example of the registration of various Christian brides in the parish registers of Orthodox churches: “On such and such date, retired Captain, single, with a girl (name and surname), Roman Catholic, Lutheran, or other Christian confession, with the permission of the local Spiritual Leadership.”<sup>33</sup> We draw attention to the mandatory requirement of obtaining permission for interfaith marriage from the local church department, primarily the Spiritual boards and consistories. For example, the Old Believers, without converting to the Orthodox faith, could not marry the laity of the Eastern Christian rite.

The length of the process of accepting the Orthodox faith by a representative of Orthodox sectarianism could be shown in the plot about an attempt to change faith by an Old Believer in connection with the desire to marry an Orthodox girl. On January 31, 1830, a resident of the settlement of Olkhovatka, Volchansky district, Filimon Antonovich Orlov, turned to His Grace Bishop and Cavalier Vitaly of Sloboda-Ukrainian and Kharkov on January 31, 1830. The husband asked for mercy on his own brother Ivan (18 years old), who, at the behest of his father, adopted a schismatic faith as a child. Upon reaching adulthood, Ivan Orlov decided to become Orthodox and marry a girl, Ekaterina Ivanovna Chmutova, of the same religion. Obviously, the case was delayed. Three years later, on August 12, 1833, Ivan

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<sup>32</sup> О. Бороденко, “Вікові особливості першошлюбності населення Лівобережжя України за матеріалами метричних книг і церковних обшуків 1783–1820 та 1836– 1860 рр.,” *Український історичний журнал*, no. 2 (551). (2020): 80–81. [Borodenko O. "Age Features of the First Marriage Among the Population in Left-Bank Ukraine According To the Materials of Registers of Birth and Church Searches in 1783–1820 and 1836–1860". *Ukrainian Historical Journal*]; О. А. Бороденко, *Шлюб і родина православного населення Лівобережної України другої половини XVIII – першої половини XIX століть: соціально-демографічний аспект : монографія*. (Одеса : Видавничий дім “Гельветика”, 2020): 103–116. [Borodenko O. *Marriage and family of the orthodox population of left bank ukraine in the second half of the 18th – the first half of the 19th centuries: socio-demographic aspect : monograph*. Odesa: Publishing house "Helvetica"].

<sup>33</sup> *Полное собрание законов Российской империи, с 1646 года [в 45 т.]. Собрание второе*. Vol. 6. Appendix. Part 1. (Санкт-Петербург: Тип. II Отд. Собственной Е.И. В. Канцелярии, 1832): 817. [*The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646. Meeting second*. St. Petersburg: Printing house of the 2nd Department of the Own E.I. B. Offices.].

confessed under oath to Priest Grigory Levitsky that he could not marry a girl of the “Greek-Russian faith,” since he had already married another woman who also belonged to the priestless” branch of the Old Believers, and he did not want to join Orthodoxy.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the above case pointed to a long-term consideration of the case by the spiritual authority on the marriage of a sectarian and his acceptance into a cohort of Orthodox laity, which ultimately led to the man’s refusal to marry an Orthodox girl. An obvious fact was the widespread bureaucratization of church life, which hampered the process of converting those who wished to join Orthodoxy.

Church documentation materials show frequent examples of interfaith families, when one of the spouses continued to adhere to the “Polish” religion, that is, Catholic, and the other attended the Orthodox Church.<sup>35</sup> The activation of records of interfaith families, apparently, was the result of the introduction of the above-mentioned decree of 1831, which obliges priests of the Eastern rite to register marriages with representatives of other Christian denominations in registers of births. Such designations were also made in marriage searches and denominational records.

We singled out similar cases in the materials of registers of births during 1783-1820 and 1838-1856, as well as church searches during 1836-1860 in 23 parishes of the Left-Bank Ukraine.<sup>36</sup> In particular, only two cases out of 3,281 were identified, in which the groom was a representative of another Christian denomination, and the bride was Orthodox. Another one, a Jew, was recorded as an Orthodox believer. His parents, obviously, had already changed from Judaism to Orthodoxy earlier and raised him in accordance with local traditions. In particular, on January 19, 1847, 34-year-old single Jew, Pyotr Ivanovich Sagomko from the village of

<sup>34</sup> ДАХО. Ф. 40. Оп. 17. Спр. 1346. Арк. 1–18. [ДАНО]; О. А. Бороденко, *Шлюб і родина православного населення Лівобережної України другої половини XVIII – першої половини XIX століть: соціально-демографічний аспект : монографія*. (Одеса : Видавничий дім “Гельветика”, 2020): 212. [Borodenko O. *Marriage and family of the orthodox population of left bank ukraine in the second half of the 18th – the first half of the 19th centuries: socio-demographic aspect : monograph*. Odessa: Publishing house "Helvetica"].

<sup>35</sup> О. Романова, “Образ “грішника” за матеріалами сповідних розписів Київської митрополії 1730–1760-х рр.,” *Український історичний журнал*, no. 1. (2012): 54. [Romanova O. "The Image of a "Sinner" Based on the Confessional Books of the Kyiv Metropolis of the 1730s–1760s." *Ukrainian Historical Journal*].

<sup>36</sup> ДАПО. Ф. 706. Оп. 4. Спр. 6. Арк. 1–175; Спр. 112. Арк. 1–4; Спр. 195. Арк. 1–338; Ф. 1011. Оп. 1. Спр. 179. Арк. 1–214; Спр. 180. Арк. 1–145. [ДАРО]; ДАСО. Ф. 71. Оп. 1. Спр. 5. Арк. 1–90; Ф. 78. Оп. 1. Спр. 1. Арк. 1–194; Ф. 94. Оп. 1. Спр. 1. Арк. 1–482; Ф. 745. Оп. 2. Спр. 16. Арк. 1–180; Спр. 39. Арк. 1–69; Спр. 42. Арк. 1–252; Спр. 48. Арк. 1–464; Ф. 834. Оп. 2. Спр. 2. Арк. 1–53; Ф. 834. Оп. 2. Спр. 4. Арк. 1–108; Ф. 844. Оп. 1. Спр. 3. Арк. 1–83; Ф. 844. Оп. 1. Спр. 6. Арк. 1–73; Ф. 855. Оп. 1. Спр. 41. Арк. 1–91; Ф. 865. Оп. 1. Спр. 13. Арк. 1–136; Ф. 960. Оп. 3. Спр. 537. Арк. 1–356; Спр. 546. Арк. 1–106; Спр. 571. Арк. 1–160; Спр. 575. Арк. 1–152; Спр. 576. Арк. 1–98; Спр. 582. Арк. 1–113; Спр. 581. Арк. 1–365; Спр. 591. Арк. 1–366; Спр. 594. Арк. 1–273; Ф. 1036. Оп. 1. Спр. 5. Арк. 1–118; Ф. 1036. Оп. 1. Спр. 27. Арк. 1–26; Ф. 1071. Оп. 1. Спр. 3. Арк. 1–121; Ф. 1187. Оп. 1. Спр. 10. Арк. 1–180. [ДАСО].

Krasnoe married a 20-year-old unmarried girl Tatyana Sergeyevna Polonskaya from the village of Melnitsa, Krolevets district, Chernihiv province.<sup>37</sup>

Here are two single examples from the materials of the Left-Bank Ukrainian Orthodox parishes on interfaith family unions. On November 9, 1847, for the first time, a 44-year-old resident of the city of Sorochintsy, Mirgorod district, Poltava province, provincial secretary Gustav Prtanov Miller of the Lutheran faith decided to marry for the first time. His fiancée was a 35-year-old unmarried resident of the same locality, the daughter of a clerk, Maria Ivanovna Bulai. The bride in the registry book is designated as Orthodox.<sup>38</sup>

In the church searches of 1852, in the village of Reutintsy, Krolevetsky district, Chernihiv province, the marriage of the nobleman Peter Georgiev of the Ossovsky Roman Catholic religion with the Orthodox noblewoman Varvara Makukhina was registered. Peter, by his signature, pledged to baptize and educate his future children in the spirit of the Orthodox faith.<sup>39</sup> The sacraments of the wedding were performed in the parish of the bride. The two special interfaith married couples that we discovered indicate the importance of national and class factors in the interfaith differentiation of marriage partners, because in the first case the groom of German origin professed the Roman Catholic faith, and in the second, a noble whose family probably had Polish roots. The children from inter-confessional families of the Left Bank, in contrast to the Right Bank of Ukraine, according to civil law, were brought up from birth exclusively in the Orthodox traditions.

We assume that such an obligation was also given by representatives of other married couples represented in the church registries of the right-bank Orthodox churches in the town of Zbryzh, Kamenetsky district, Podolsk province. In general, there were 26 (3.93%) of the total population in Zbryzh in 1842, out of the total population of 661 (100%); and in 1843, there were about 30 (4.37%) out of 687 (100%) residents (see Table 1). After 26 to 33 years, the number of interfaith families became half. In 1868, there were 18 (1.87%) in accordance with the total population of the town of 962 (100%) residents, and in 1875, there were 19 (1.78%) out of 106 (100%) residents.

Analyzing the ratio of Sbrizhansky interfaith families to the total number of households, the indicators were as follows: in 1842 there were 26 (31%) out of 83 (100%) households, in 1843 – 30 (35%) out of 86 (100%), 1868 – 18 (15%) out of 118 (100%), 1875 – 19 (14%) out of 135 (100%). In the 1840s, almost one third of the house communities in the parish of the

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<sup>37</sup> ДАКО. Ф. 855. Оп. 1. Спр. 41. Арк. 8 зб. [DASO].

<sup>38</sup> ДАПО. Ф. 1011. Оп. 1. Спр. 180. Арк. 91 зб. – 92. [DAPO].

<sup>39</sup> ДАКО. Ф. 844. Оп. 1. Спр. 6. Арк. 56. [DASO].

Holy Assumption Church were represented by persons of two Christian denominations. In a third of a century, their number has almost halved. The sex ratio demonstrated the advantage of women from the Roman Catholic faith in bi-confessional marriage couples: 1842 – 18 (5.49%) women as opposed to 8 (2.40%) men; 1843 – 18 (5.25%) / 12 (3.49%); 1868 – 11 (2.25%) / 8 (1.69%); 1875 – 12 (2.28%) / 7 (1.30%). We observe a trend of a decrease in the number of Catholic women, and vice versa, and an increase in the number of men of the Roman Catholic tradition in such marriages. This is due to the territorial prescription of members of an inter-confessional family to the Brizhan Orthodox community, where the marriage of the bride was registered and the priest monitored compliance with the norms of civil law on the religious education of their children.

Obviously, such a sexual situation can be explained by the peculiarities of the marriage market of this settlement, which are associated with demographic, sociocultural, economic, and geographical mutual influences on the population. The demographic difference in the Orthodox parish, shows the total number of parishioners as small and the number of men and women in the city of Zbryzh was practically identical, and sometimes, as in 1868, female indicators dominated over male ones: in 1842 – 333 men and 328 women; 1843 – 344 / 343; 1868 – 473 / 489; 1875 – 540/527.<sup>40</sup> This demonstrated a certain narrowness of the marriage market. In some years, there might not be enough representatives of opposite genders and certain ages to create family unions. Then young people had to look for matrimonial partners outside the Orthodox parish, among representatives of other Christian denominations and neighboring settlements to create families.

Table 1.

**Population and Interfaith Families Based on the Materials From Church Records of the Orthodox Parish of the Holy Assumption Church in the Town of Zbryzh, Kamenets Uyezd, Podolsk Governorate, 1842, 1843, 1868, and 1875**

Indicators	Years of registration of parishioners in confessional books			
	1842	1843	1868	1875
Number of parishes	1	1	1	1
Number of households	83	86	118	135

<sup>40</sup> ДАХМО. Ф. 315. Оп. 1. Спр. 7599. Арк. 623–635; Спр. 7652. Арк. 502–515; Спр. 8817. Арк. 1026–1044; Спр. 11908. Арк. 673–690. [ДАХМО].



Number of men	333	344	473	540
Number of women	328	343	489	527
Total population	661	687	962	1067
Total number of interfaith families	26	30	18	19
Total number of interfaith families (%)	3.93%	4.37%	1.87%	1.78%
Number of Roman Catholic men	8	12	8	7
Number of Roman Catholic men (%)	2.40%	3.49%	1.69%	1.30%
Number of Roman Catholic women	18	18	11	12
Number of Roman Catholic women (%)	5.49%	5.25%	2.25%	2.28%

*The table was created by the authors based on sources.<sup>41</sup>*

Table 2.

**Population and Interfaith Families Based on Materials From Church Records of Orthodox Parishes in the Kamenets Uyezd of the Podolsk Governorate in 1843 and 1875**

Indicators	Years of registration of parishioners in confessional books	
	1843	1875
Number of parishes	70	60
Number of men	22750	28220
Number of women	23080	28642

<sup>41</sup> ДАХМО. Ф. 315. Оп. 1. Спр. 7599. Арк. 623–635; Спр. 7652. Арк. 502–515; Спр. 8817. Арк. 1026–1044; Спр. 11908. Арк. 673–690. [ДАХМО].

Total population	45830	56862
Total number of interfaith families	1566	1121
Total number of interfaith families (%)	3.42%	1.97%
Number of Roman Catholic men	849	575
Number of Roman Catholic men (%)	3.75%	2.04%
Number of Roman Catholic women	717	546
Number of Roman Catholic women (%)	3.11%	1.91%

The table was created by the authors based on sources.<sup>42</sup>

A similar dynamic in the number of interfaith families is also noticeable at a broader, local level: in terms of 70 Orthodox parishes in 1843 and 60 parishes of the Eastern Christian rite based on materials from church records during 1875 in the Kamenets district of the Podolsk province (see Table 2). We notice a decrease in the number of arrivals. This situation can be explained by the closure of a number of emergency churches, as in the case of the Holy Trinity Church in the city of Zbryzh. We do not exclude the fires that happened to wooden churches, which were quite common for both the 18th century and the 19th century.<sup>43</sup>

According to the church registry books, the total number of bi-confessional families in a certain region was in 1843, 1,566 (3.42%) out of the total number of Orthodox parishioners of the Kamenets district of forty-five 830 (100%); in 1875, 1,121 (1.97%) out of fifty-six 862 (100%). Consequently, despite the growth in the total number of Orthodox believers in the region, the number of families (which included representatives of Roman Catholics), decreased by 1.45%. In the city of Zbryzh, such quantitative changes during 1842-1875 occurred more intensively: the number of such families decreased by more than half, by 2.15%. Roman Catholic men dominated in the sex ratio of representatives of interfaith families in the study region: in 1843 there were 849 (3.75%) men compared to 717 (3.11%) women; in 1875 there

<sup>42</sup> ДАХМО. Ф. 315. Оп. 1. Спр. 7652. Арк. 502–515; Спр. 11908. Арк. 673–690. [ДАНМО].

<sup>43</sup> О. А. Бороденко, *Шлюб і родина православного населення Лівобережної України другої половини XVIII – першої половини XIX століть: соціально-демографічний аспект : монографія*. (Одеса : Видавничий дім "Гельветика", 2020): 114–115. [Borodenko O. *Marriage and family of the orthodox population of left bank ukraine in the second half of the 18th – the first half of the 19th centuries: socio-demographic aspect : monograph*. Odesa: Publishing house "Helvetica"].

were 575 (2.04%) men and 546 (1.91%) women. As already noted, in such families from the Brizhans, women of the Catholic rite prevailed.

The gender ratio within the county can be explained by the gradual reduction in the number of laity in Roman Catholic parishes, the narrowness of the marriage market, and the lack of Catholic brides. Moreover, in the masculine-feminine number of Orthodox believers in the region, women dominated: in 1843 there were 22,750 men and 23,080 women, in 1875 there were 28,220 and 28,642 women. To demonstrate the numerical ratio between confessions in confessional registries, they did not distinguish between the population of communities outside the courtyards and thereby violated the rules for registering the population in church documentation.

In general, the revealed changes can be explained by the planned imperial policy, according to which, thanks to marriages with representatives of other Christian denominations, the number of people professing the dominant religion of the state, Orthodoxy, increased. A comparative analysis of quantitative indicators of interfaith families in Ukrainian lands on both sides of the Dnieper River showed a small number of such families on the Left Bank and a higher prevalence on the Right Bank of Ukraine. This is primarily due to the historical past, geographical location, respectively, the proximity of territories to the lands of the Austrian and the Russian Empires, and the socio-cultural traditions of these regions.

In confessional registries, those parishioners who renounced the Orthodox faith were sometimes mentioned in passing. So, in the Sbrizhansk confessional registry of 1868, two cases of conversion of parishioners from Orthodoxy to Catholicism were recorded. In particular, the 60-year-old widow Anna Ivanovna Kostichka, who was absent during the days of Great Lent for confession, is recorded as having “been corrupted” into Catholicism. The spouses 23-year-old John Vasilievich Potulnitsky and 23-year-old wife Lyudmila Voitkova distinguished themselves by such apostasy.<sup>44</sup> Similar conversions from Orthodox to Catholic traditions have been tracked. In 1850, a court case took place in which Goncharenko, a student at Kiev University, was accused of converting to the Catholic faith.<sup>45</sup> Consequently, a person who denied the Orthodox faith was prosecuted and punished by the courts.

The same participation awaited priests who illegally married brides or divorced spouses and violated matrimonial requirements, including on religious grounds.<sup>46</sup> According to the

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<sup>44</sup> ДАХМО. Ф. 315. Оп. 1. Спр. 8817. Арк. 1035, 1040 зб. [ДАХМО].

<sup>45</sup> ДАКО. Ф. 1062. Оп. 1. Спр. 359. Арк. 1–36. [ДАКО].

<sup>46</sup> О. Borodenko, and T. Sharavara, and K. Walancik-Ryba, "Illegal marriages: violation of the matrimonial requirements by the ukrainian orthodox population during the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth centuries," *Східноєвропейський історичний вісник*, no. 16. (2020): 16–27. [O. Borodenko, and T. Sharavara, and K.

legislation of 1845, Orthodox priests who united persons of the Orthodox and other Christian denominations by the sacrament of marriage without permission from the spiritual authorities, as well as priests of the Roman Catholic, Armenian-Gregorian, Armenian Catholic churches and preachers of the Protestant denominations had to pay 50 rubles and were deprived positions for two to six months. For non-observance of certain wedding rules or for the divorce of persons described in the permission of the higher authorities, the priests were punished for the first time by reprimand, and for the second time by removal from office. For several illegal divorces, they lost their positions.<sup>47</sup> This incomplete list of punishments for representatives of the parish clergy for violating the matrimonial requirements defined by civil law and the Holy Synod demonstrated the growing attention of the state to interchurch relations, and the institution of marriage and family.

## Conclusion

It should be noted that the state policy of the 19th century was aimed at the Russification of church and religious life and the monopolization of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian lands. A numerical increase in the number of people of the Orthodox faith was noticed due to the conversion to Orthodoxy by representatives of other Christian denominations, because the population of Ukrainian lands was originally multi-ethnic and poly-religious. This determined the multicultural nature of relationships between people, and at the same time complicated the consolidation of peoples within the Russian Empire.

Since ancient times, one of the canonically defined marriage requirements of the Orthodox faith was the unity of religion of the grooms and brides. A favorable factor for the change of faith by persons of other Christian denominations—people of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran denominations and other Protestant denominations—was their desire to marry into the Orthodox faith or raise children born in bi-confessional families in Orthodox traditions. Matrimonial unions of representatives in different Christian denominations were subject to

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Walancik-Ryba. "Illegal marriages: violation of the matrimonial requirements by the ukrainian orthodox population during the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth centuries." *East European Historical bulletin (Shkhidnoievropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk)*; О. Бороденко, and Р. Сітарчук, "Шлюботорозлучні умови: особливості законодавчого регулювання та дотримання українським православним населенням другої половини XVIII – першої половини XIX століть," *Сторінки історії: збірник наукових праць*, no. 53. (2021): 9–22. [O. Borodenko, and R. Sitarchuk. "Divorce conditions: features of legislative regulation and observance by the Ukrainian Orthodox population of the second half of the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries." *History Pages: the collection of academic papers*]

<sup>47</sup> Полное собрание законов Российской империи, с 1646 года [в 45 т.]. Собрание второе. Vol. 20. Part 1. (Санкт-Петербург: Тип. II Отд. Собственной Е.И. В. Канцелярии, 1846): 970–971. [*The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646. Meeting second.* St. Petersburg: Printing house of the 2nd Department of the Own E.I. B. Offices.].

obtaining appropriate permission from the spiritual authorities. Obviously, there were rare cases of long-term consideration of their cases by the spiritual institutions in the Russian Orthodox Church in satisfying the requests of representatives from other Christian denominations in the transition to the Orthodox faith. The wedding sacrament was held in the premises of the church, of which the bride was a parishioner. Children born in bi-confessional families were not always brought up in Orthodox traditions, or, as in the case of the Right Bank of Ukraine, they could profess the faith of their father or mother in accordance with the sex of the child.

The use of comparative and quantitative approaches in the study made it possible to demonstrate a significant number of interfaith families on the Right Bank in comparison with the territory of the Left Bank of Ukraine. For an illustration, we used the characteristic processes of growth in the number of Orthodox believers by the example of the parishes of the Eastern Christian rite in the Kamenets district of the Podolsk province. At the same time, we analyzed the dynamics of the almost halving of the number of marital unions on the territory of the Right-Bank Ukraine during 1842-1875. True, at the local level of one Orthodox parish society in the town of Zbryzh, Kamenetsky uyezd, Podolsk gubernia, there was a tendency for a much more intensive decrease in the number of interfaith families in accordance with the total number of parishioners and households. Roman Catholic men predominated in the sex ratio of interfaith families in the Kamenets district. Apostasy from the Orthodox faith was persecuted. According to civil law, priests of various Christian denominations were punished for illegal weddings of religiously different marital partners.

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