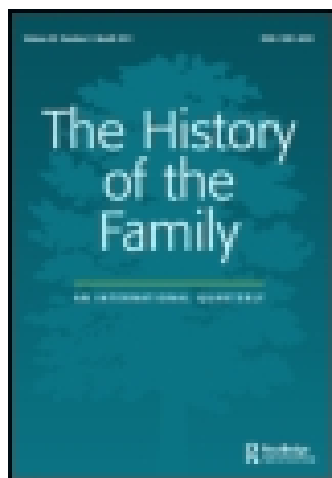


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Household composition and family structures of Ukrainian Cossacks in the second half of the eighteenth century

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One of the main problems faced by social historians of the Cossack Hetmanate (*Cossacks' autonomous territory situated on the Left Bank of the Dnieper River*) is a poor knowledge of population issues. This article therefore focuses on the history of the family and households in eighteenth-century Ukraine. Unlike the historiography of Western Europe, where active research in this field started in the 1960s, contemporary Ukrainian historiography includes only a few studies dedicated to these issues. Recently renewed interest in population issues is due to the widening scope of historical research and to changes in the methodological paradigm that started in the twenty-first century. Historical research of the Ukrainian family and population is thus in its infancy and reconsidering these aspects is crucial for a global scholarship.

Keywords: Cossack Hetmanate; household; confession records/ lists; clergy; burghers; tradesmen; family

1. Introduction

This article takes up the classical themes of social history as it studies the composition of households and family structures of the leading micro-group representatives living in the city of Poltava, Central Ukraine, in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹ The average size of the household, the number of the household communities where co-neighbours and servants lived and discuss the typological features of family structures are under the primary focus in our study. When using the term 'family' we mean all the blood relatives, and by 'household' – blood relatives, as well as servants, co-neighbours and other non-kin living together.

Poltava city was one of the ten military-administrative centers of Hetmanate, a Ukrainian Cossack autonomy within the Russian Empire at that time. Its population numbered more than 7000 people and consisted of the clergy, the Cossacks, the burghers and craft artisans. The city received confirmation of Magdeburg rights on self-government from the hetman Kirill Razumovsky in 1752. Since then, an electoral council managed the city, headed by the elders. However, part of its population – clergy and Cossacks – did not subordinate to municipal authorities, did not pay taxes to the city treasury and did not serve the municipal obligations. They were ruled by their own administrative bodies – the clergy subordinated to diocesan administration led by a bishop, and the Cossacks subordinated to regiment offices headed by a colonel.

Poltava was not an important industrial center, and its economy was based on agricultural production, mainly of cattle. Poltava merchants – who were not in a separate social group, as they came from the Cossacks and also from the burghers – supplied their

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cattle on the Western market, to Silesia. The bulk of the city's population, excluding craft artisans who worked for the local market, acquired their livelihood from the lands that belonged to households and were situated out of the city.

The main sources we draw our analysis from are the confession records of five parishes of Poltava city recorded during 1775 by the following churches: St. Nicholas Church, the Church of Resurrection, the Church of Transfiguration, the Church of God's Presentation and the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.² These records are kept in the archives of Pereyaslav-Boryspil Eparchy in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (*Confessional lists of Poltava Deanery*). The confession records (registration of parishioners who went to confession) were introduced on the territory of Hetmanate in the 1720s, during the confessionalization that was initiated by the Russian Orthodox Church. During the 1730–1740s, the records were maintained more or less regularly and were standardized. The Lent, or Quadragesima, was chosen as the period for collecting the records and it was usually done by priests (Dmytrenko, 2011, pp. 50–60, 73–78). By their structure, confession lists looked like the Catholic parish registers of congregation, which are also known as 'status animarum' (Kuklo, 2009, p. 69).

The parishioners of the aforementioned churches were recorded according to their social affiliations. In the lists, main social categories were defined: the clergy, the military people (Cossacks) and non-Cossacks. Non-Cossack population however was represented by several social groups, which were not always consistent between the books. In some parishes, namely those of St. Nicholas Church, the Church of Resurrection, the Church of God's Presentation and the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, the craft artisans ('crafters and their ménage') were for example recorded as the non-Cossacks living in the city. In other parishes – the Church of God's Presentation, the Church of Transfiguration and the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary – taxable peasants without Cossack status (*pospolyti*, aka *pospolitye*) were registered. In the book of the Church of Resurrection burghers or commoners (*mischany*, aka *meschane*) were recorded, while townsmen (*posadski*, aka *posadskie*) were listed in the book of St. Nicholas Church. The co-neighbours (*pidsusidky*) were recorded in the parishes of the Church of Resurrection and St. Nicholas Church. People not belonging to any household (*bezdvirni*) were listed in the parishes of the Church of Resurrection, St. Nicholas Church, the Church of Transfiguration and the Church of God's Presentation. Also, in St. Nicholas Church the residents of the hospital were registered.

The church books thus presented a very diverse social structure. This may also give rise to some additional questions regarding, for example, the usage of some words such as 'posadskiy' (a townsman) that were used by the clergies of St. Nicholas Church. According to the Encyclopaedia of Ukrainian History, 'posadski people (aka *posadskie liudi*) can be defined as "the social group living in Russian cities/towns, as well as industrial "slobodas" and suburbs, i.e. "podils"/"posads" (trade and craft districts outside the city walls) during the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries" (Hurbyk, 2011, p. 434). Nevertheless, none of the presently known sources mentions the existence of such "posads" in Poltava in the eighteenth century. The assumption that this word is used as the synonym to the word "podil" (meaning "lowland" or "something situated downwards") is doubtful because those people inhabiting "podil" are known as parishioners of the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary; they however were not recorded as parishioners in the St. Nicholas Church records. A careful reading of the confession lists sample form, introduced by the decree of the Senate of 16 April, 1737, allows us to suggest that by using the term "posadski", the priests of St. Nicholas Church, Ioan Symontovskiy and Hryhoriy Kovaliov, followed the letter of the law (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in

Kyiv (CSHAUK hereafter), fund 990, register 2, case 34, page 51). According to the decree, this term was used to denote the merchants, artisans and other townsmen. This document also provided subdivision of this category into “posadski” people and guild people (“tsehovi”) (Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire (CCLRE hereafter), 1830, vol. 10, p. 122).

It can be assumed that not every priest followed the instructions carefully. For example, the priests who recorded confession lists in the Church of Resurrection referred to the part of their parishioners as ‘burghers’; this term cannot be found in any other parish. Merchants however were not mentioned as a single group. This might be for two reasons: the urban society of that time was rather blurred and unstructured and this social group was rather small in comparison to artisans. The priests thus might have recorded as merchants those belonging to *pospolyti*, burghers and *posadski*. Keeping in mind this diversity, we refer to all the representatives of above-mentioned groups as ‘burghers’, which is a general term meaning the inhabitants of towns and cities, as it was defined in the Encyclopaedia of Ukrainian History (Sas, 2009, p. 770).

The registered households, where parishioners lived, included such a household structure as *dvir* – house without yard, farm or any other land property. According to Borys Hrinchenko, Ukrainian word *dvir* (Russian *dvor*) has two meanings: first ‘the yard – a place near the house surrounded by fence’, and second, ‘the house, farmstead’ (Hrinchenko, 1907, vol. 1, p. 362). G. A. Maksimovich, the researcher of Rumyantsev Census, argues that ‘*the dvir*’, in the concept of that time, had the following features:

- The unity and presence of a yard territory because the house without the yard space was called ‘yardless hut’ (*bezdvornaya hata*);
- The kinship of the families that lived in it;
- Performing the military or civil service and other duties by the inhabitants of the *dvir*’ (Maksimovich, 1913, p. 317).

According to Arnold Perkovsky, ‘houses without yards’ differed from other households because they did not have a land plot (Perkovsky, 1977, p. 105). Such households only had a kitchen garden near the house. The so-called ‘*pidvaroks*’ were equivalents to such structures as folwark, farm or manor (Hrinchenko, 1907, vol. 3, p. 160).

The sizes of Poltava *dvir* (or household hereafter) were not constant through the time and ranged from 150 to 650 m². Representatives of wealthy layers usually united several yards forming quite large households, which were up to 3250 m² in size (Voloshyn, 2011a, p. 41).

The names and surnames of all family members, their age and level of blood kinship are mentioned in the confession lists along with the names and surnames of other people living with the family. In general, we calculated that there were 6220 believers in the parishes: 3058 men and 3162 women (Voloshyn, 2011c, p. 11). The residents of the hospital (48 persons), situated at St. Nicholas Church, however are not included in our calculations (CSHAUK, f. 990, r.2, c.34, pp. 49–49). Furthermore, the records that include servants, living in households of Poltava people, and their owners are not analysed. This should not affect the representativeness of the sample, for their numbers are not significant and thus it will allow avoiding unnecessary confusion. We however count in co-neighbours, who lived in the households of different owners together with burghers.

In the next section, the population of yards and number of families of main micro groups of the representatives of urban society are analyzed.

2. Clergy

Clergymen households ('priesthood and their home mates') were recorded in every book I have studied. The number of these households however differed by church. For example, St. Nicholas Church and the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary had only one household, the Church of Resurrection three households, the Church of Transfiguration four households and the Church of God's Presentation six households. We can assume that their number depended on the size of the parish. The Church of God's Presentation had 1586 parishioners, the Church of Resurrection 1007, the Church of Transfiguration 864, and the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary 516. However, this logic is refuted by the data of St. Nicholas Church where there was only one household containing 2247 parishioners. Therefore, not only the size of parishes influenced the number of church households, but also other factors including, for instance, their location in the spatial structure of the city.

The families of clergymen and churchmen predominated in the population of these households. Although the first pages of the list from St. Nicholas Church were hardly damaged, we still can read that the families of the priest Ivan Symontovsky and three deacons, whose names were Andriy (unfortunately, it is impossible to read his surname – Yu.V.), Sergiy Nikolsky and Petro Vasilyev, lived in its household. It is obvious that the other members of clergy, such as cantors and sextons, were also living in the Church, but the poor condition of the manuscript makes it impossible to detect who they were (CSHAUK, f. 990, r. 2, c. 34, pp. 7–8). Similarly, in one household the clergy of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary Church there lived Prior Mykola Lyubych, Deacon Feodosiy Por, Sexton Fedir Stepanov and Cantor Tykhon (the surname was not given in the source – Yu.V.) (CSHAUK, f. 990, r. 2, c. 34, p. 108).

In the other three city temples, churchmen lived separately from the other clergy. Matviy Kolosovskiy and Vasyliy Krasnov, the priors in the Church of Resurrection (CSHAUK, f. 990, r.2, c.34, p. 51), Ivan Svitaylo, Yakiv Svitaylo and Maksym Karnaukh, priors in the Church of Transfiguration (CSHAUK, f. 990, r.2, c.34, p. 71–72), and Ivan Stanislavskiy, Yosyp Leontiev, and Andriy Ivanov, priors in the Church of God's Presentation (CSHAUK, f. 990, r.2, c.34, p. 87–87), had their own households. Priest Ivan Shkorupa shared a household with Deacon Ivan Lopushansky (CSHAUK, f. 990, r.2, c.34, p. 87). The rest of clergy of these churches usually lived in shared households. Servants, co-workers and artisans also lived in most of these households besides the representatives of clergymen (80%), (see Table 1).

In general, in the households taken for the analysis of the churches, 223 persons (120 men and 103 women) dwelled. They formed 50 families. If we exclude from that

Table 1. Co-neighbours and servants in the clergy households.

Parish	Co-neighbours		Servants	
	Number of households	%	Number of households	%
Church of the Resurrection	1	33.3	3	100
St. Nicholas Church	1	100	1	100
Church of the Transfiguration	1	25.0	3	75
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	–	–	1	100
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	1	16,7	4	66.7
Total	4	80%	12	80%

Table 2. The population of the households of clergy and their families.

Parish	Household population			Density of families		
	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size	Number of families	Number of persons	Average size
Church of the Resurrection	3	38	12.7	8	20	2.5
St. Nicholas Church	1	43	43	4	14	3.5
Church of the Transfiguration	4	59	14.8	13	36	2.8
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	1	17	17	4	13	3.2
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	6	66	11	15	52	3.5
Total	15	223	14.9	44	135	3.1

number the families of co-neighbours and artisans, who did not belong to clergies, we will have 44 families (see Table 2). Certainly, the lists of St. Nicholas Church cannot give comprehensive information because of the bad physical condition of the source, but, to my mind, it is rather representative since it includes the majority of clergymen.

The data summarized in the table allow us to calculate the average clergy household size – 14.9 individuals. This is higher than the size of the average household of rural clergy in Lybensky Regiment – 11.8 individuals (Sakalo, 2011, p. 10). Besides, it was five times higher than the average size of the separate families of city's clergymen and churchmen – 3.1 persons. The last index was smaller than the similar one in the entire Kyiv Eparchy, which totalled 4.6 persons (Perkovsky, 1977, p. 106).

3. Cossacks

The households of Cossacks were registered in confessional books next after the households of the clergy. Cossacks were recorded as 'military men and their families'. The number of their households was not the same in different parishes. In my opinion, it was closely related to the location of temples in the urban planning. Thus, the parishioners of the Church of Resurrection and the Church of Transfiguration, which were situated in the central part of the fortress, were inhabited by 46 and 30 Cossack households respectively, and the number of the parishioners of the Church of God's Presentation, located outside the fortress, was 63 households. However, most of the Cossacks made confessions in St. Nicholas Church which was situated on the territory of a fortress near Mazurivski Gates. It is evident that, besides the population of central part, its parish included a considerable part of Vorstadt, i.e. suburbs. The 162 Cossack households were shown in the list of this church. In the book of the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, situated downwards (on the Podil territory), 38 Cossack households were recorded. As we can see from Rumyantsev Register (or Rumiantsevskiy Census), this part of the Poltava suburbs was not overpopulated (PCRRLR, 2012, p. 209–304).

In general, 339 Cossack households were counted in five parishes. Together with the Cossacks lived the so-called 'household people' ('*dvorovi*'), as well as co-neighbours and servants. According to my calculations, co-neighbours lived in 10% of Cossack households, and servants were in 35.1% of them. The highest percentage of co-neighbours lived in Cossack households of Church of God's Presentation (25.4%), and the parishioners of Church of Resurrection had the highest percentage of servants (80.4%) (see Table 3).

Table 3. Co-neighbours and servants in Cossack households.

Parish	Co-neighbours		Servants	
	Number of households	%	Number of households	%
Church of the Resurrection	–	–	37	80.4
St. Nicholas Church	8	4.9	33	20.4
Church of the Transfiguration	–	–	15	44.1
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	–	–	11	28.9
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	16	25.4	23	36.5
Total	24	10	119	35.1

In general, the population of Cossack households of the city numbered 2733 persons. On average, 8.1 persons lived in one household. This index is slightly higher than the data of Arnold Perkovskiy (7.5 persons) received from the materials of Rumyantsev Register of the year of 1767 for the whole Kyiv Regiment (Perkovsky, 1977, p. 105), but much smaller than the index obtained by Olexandr Sakalo for Cossack households located in rural areas – 12.1 persons (Sakalo, 2011, p. 11). Consequently, the difference in population of urban and rural Cossack households is quite significant.

In some cases, several Cossack families lived in the same household. This was caused by peculiarities of taxation of that time (Voloshyn, 2011a, p. 41). It is typical that the most populated were Cossack households of the parishes situated in the city center: St. Nicholas Church, the Church of the Resurrection and the Church of the Transfiguration (see Table 4). The yard of Hryhoriy Sakhnovskiy, ex-judge of the Regiment and, by the time when the land register was formed, a district (*'zemsnyi'*) judge related to St. Nicholas Church, was the most populated. According to the analyzed source, 92 persons lived in this household (CSHAUK, f. 990, r. 2, c. 34, p. 8–10). The judge's family consisted of seven persons and was closer to a nuclear family type: Hrihoriy (73 years old) with his wife Hanna (59 years old) and their five adult single sons – Fedir (31 years old), Ivan (28 years old), Mykhailo (23 years old), Andriy (19 years old) and Petro (16 years old) (CSHAUK, f. 990, r. 2, c. 34, p. 8). The rest of the population consisted of the 'household people' (*'dvorovi'*). According to the dictionary of the Ukrainian language, the word *'dvorovi'* means people who served in the manor house and also dwelled there. The data of the other source that is the Rumyantsev Register of Little

Table 4. Population of Cossack households and family size.

Parish	Household population			Density of families		
	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size
Church of the Resurrection	46	372	8.1	49	257	5.2
St. Nicholas Church	162	1368	8.4	196	1150	5.9
Church of the Transfiguration	30	296	9.9	39	228	5.8
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	38	253	6.7	39	231	5.9
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	63	444	7	62	278	4.5
Total	339	2733	8.1	385	2144	5.6

Russia recorded ten years earlier allow us to assume that this word denoted different micro groups of Poltava society at that time: servants, labourers and citizens. Sixteen houses were built for the last group in the Sakhnovskiy household (Voloshyn, 2011, p. 41). Among the inhabitants of this household was a girl named Hanna, a serf, who was bought by the host of the household ‘from Great Russians’ (PCRRLLR, 2012, p. 201).

If we select Cossack families only, without counting the rest of the population of households, we will receive slightly different results. As is shown in the Table 4, the average number of members in Cossack families of all five parishes was 5.6 persons. The least index was found in the parishioners of the Church of the Presentation of the Lord. This indicator is however somewhat lower than the results based on the materials of Rumyantsev Register – 6.1 persons in one family (Voloshyn, 2013, p. 90) though it should be noted that the families of Cossack nobility were not counted in the register and the census had been made earlier. Arnold Perkovskiy who also used the materials of confessional lists, but for the whole Eparchy of Kyiv, got the size of 4.7 persons for the average Cossack family and 4.6 persons – for Staro-Kodatska Deanery of the Zaporozhian Host (*‘Viysko Zaporizke’*, Cossack Army) (Perkovsky, 1977, p. 106–107).

4. Guild craftsmen

Guild craftsmen lived in 132 households. Most of them belonged to the parishes of the Church of the Presentation of the Lord (59 households) and St. Nicholas Church (45 households). In the parish of Church of the Resurrection there were 19 craft households, in the parish of the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary nine craft households were situated, and in the parish of the Church of the Transfiguration none of them was found. This disproportion can be accounted for by the fact that craftsmen mainly settled in the suburbs and in the area of so-called ‘New Fortress’ (Kovalenko, 2010, p. 132–133).

The total population amounted to 914 persons. On average, 6.9 persons lived in one household, and, as it was shown previously, this size was significantly larger than the density of the Cossack households. I can thus suggest that this preponderance was caused by larger numbers of servants in the artisans’ yards than in the Cossack households (see Table 5). The servants were recorded in 71 craft households that formed 50% of the total amount of the artisans’ yards, while only 35.1% of Cossack households had servants. This, perhaps, was due to the nature of craft production that required extra workers and the presence of apprentices in many craft guilds. By analogy with Rumyantsev Register, where apprentices were recorded as hirelings (workers), we can assume that in confessional lists they were also called servants.

Table 5. Co-neighbours and servants in craftsmen’s households.

Parish	Co-neighbours		Servants	
	Number of households	%	Number of households	%
Church of the Resurrection	–	–	13	70
St. Nicholas Church	6	10	31	70
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	–	–	7	80
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	7	10	20	30
Total	13	10	71	50

Table 6. Population of craftsmen's households and their families.

Parish	Household population			Density of families		
	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size
Church of the Resurrection	19	100	5.3	22	88	4
St. Nicholas Church	45	366	8.1	55	260	4.7
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	9	61	6.8	9	45	5
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	59	387	6.6	68	313	4.6
Total	132	914	6.9	154	706	4.6

It is significant, that, as in the case with Cossacks, the co-neighbours dwelled only in the households of guilders located on the territory of the parishes of St. Nicholas Church and the Church of the Presentation of the Lord. There were only 13 such households, and their part of the total number of craft households was the same as in the Cossack households (10%).

Our sources show that there were 154 families of craftsmen in the parishes. In some cases, two or three families lived in one household (*see* Table 6). The 706 residents formed these families whose average size was 4.6 individuals. Therefore, the households of Poltava craftsmen were less populated than Cossack households, and they had less family members. It is interesting that, according to Myron Kapral's calculations, the average size of a shoemaker family, one of the categories of craftsmen in Lviv in the eighteenth century, was also 4.6 people (Kapral, 2012, p. 197).

5. Burghers

As was mentioned above, the word 'burghers' refers to a rather mixed palette of micro groups in urban society, of which we counted three in 47 households. In their households also lived servants and co-neighbours (*see* Table 7).

However, co-neighbours lived in the households of burghers only on the territory of the parishes of St. Nicholas Church, the Church of the Transfiguration and the Church of the Presentation of the Lord, and the part of such burgher households amounted to 3.7% which was the lowest index in comparison with the above analyzed social groups of Poltava citizens. Instead, burghers sat in the penultimate position regarding the part of house communities where servants lived (37.2%).

Table 7. Co-neighbours and servants present in burgher households.

Parish	Co-neighbours		Servants	
	Number of households	%	Number of households	%
Church of the Resurrection	–	–	43	54.4
St. Nicholas Church	1	1.4	18	24.6
Church of the Transfiguration	2	3.2	27	43.5
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	–	–	7	43.8
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	10	8.5	34	29.0
Total	13	3.7	129	37.2

Table 8. Population of burgher households and family size.

Parish	Household population			Density of families		
	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size
Church of the Resurrection	79	490	6.2	104	396	3.8
St. Nicholas Church	73	360	4.9	79	318	4
Church of the Transfiguration	62	502	8.1	86	395	4.6
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	16	177	11.1	36	155	4.3
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	117	680	5.8	127	566	4.5
Total	347	2209	6.4	432	1830	4.2

The total number of inhabitants was 2209 people, and they formed the second largest micro group in Poltava society, after the Cossacks.

Most burgher households were located in the suburbs of the parishes of the Church of the Presentation of the Lord, the Church of the Resurrection and St. Nicholas Church. However, the households were more populated on the territory of fortresses. Parishioners of the Church of the Transfiguration and the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary were their inhabitants. Evidently, this fact can be explained by tighter construction of the central part of the city and by smaller sizes of households (Table 8).

The average size of a burgher family, as we could see, was 4.2 people. This index does not differ significantly from the average size of the craftsmen families that we could also add to this group. It is however lower than the average size of Cossack family and comparatively higher than this indicator for the families of clergymen. This number is almost the same as the one that was calculated by Arnold Perkovsky for the so called '*posadski*' (4.3 people): as it has been mentioned above, we refer this group to the burghers (Perkovsky, 1977, p. 106).

6. Total calculations

Further, I summarize the data on all aforementioned parishes that have been analyzed. The part of urban households, where owners lived together with co-neighbours (see Table 9),

Table 9. Co-neighbours and servants in the Poltava households in 1775.

Parish	Co-neighbours		Servants	
	Number of households	%	Number of households	%
Church of the Resurrection	1	0.7	96	65.3
St. Nicholas Church	16	5.7	83	29.5
Church of the Transfiguration	3	3.1	52	54.1
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	–	–	26	40.6
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	34	2.1	81	33.1
Total	54	6.5	338	40.6

was not significant (6.5%). It was the biggest in St. Nicholas Church parish (5.7%), but in the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary such households did not exist at all.

On the contrary, the part of households with servants was quite big (40.6%). It is evident the servants lived almost in the half of the households or at least in every third household. In the parish of the Church of the Resurrection they reached 65.3%, and in the parish of the Church of the Transfiguration they were in the half of house communities amounting to 54.1%. This index is even higher than the results found by the researchers for early modern England where over 30% households had servants (Fauve-Chamoux, 2008, p. 322). Probably one of the reasons of the high percentage of this category in the urban society was the fact that in confessional lists, as well as in Rumyantsev Register, the apprentices of craftsmen were recorded as servants. In general, the part of servants was quite significant in the structure of city inhabitants and, according to the calculations, equalled to 19.8%. Their number was 1237 people, consisting of 608 men and 629 women, which is higher than Western European indicators; for example, in France this number was about 10% from all populations (Fauve-Chamoux, 2008, p. 316). We however should also keep in mind that only the city population is considered here, but not all the Hetmanate population.

If we combine all data on the population of households and the number of family units in one table (*see* Table 10), we will get the following results: the average household size in the city was 7.3 persons, and the average family size was 4.7 people.

The comparison of the average size of Poltava households with the similar index that was calculated for rural regions of Hetmanate shows that in Poltava it was smaller. Thus, according to my calculations, average household size in 10 villages of Topalska Sotnia (Company) of Starodubsky Regiment was 8.5 persons (Voloshyn, 2005, p. 217). Olexandr Sakalo found that in the villages of Lubensky Regiment the average household size was 12.1 people (Sakalo, 2011, p. 11). According to Dmytro Kazimirov's statistics, the average household size in Mena, the town of Chernihivsky Regiment, was 12 persons (Kazimirov, 2012, p. 98). However, on the Right Bank in Zhytomyrskiy District of Kiev (Kyiv) Province the average size of rural households at the end of the eighteenth century was less than in Poltava and numbered 6.6 people (Krykun, 2001, p. 29).

It is however not possible to compare the average size of Poltava households to the density of house communities in other regimental cities of Hetmanate for this issue was not yet studied extensively in Ukrainian historiography. We can follow Cezary Kuklo

Table 10. The average household and family sizes in Poltava, 1775.

Parish	Household population			Density of families		
	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size	Number of households	Number of persons	Average size
Church of the Resurrection	147	1000	6.8	183	761	4.2
St. Nicholas Church	281	2137	7.6	334	1742	5.2
Church of the Transfiguration	96	857	8.9	138	659	4.8
Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary	64	508	7.9	88	444	5.0
Church of the Presentation of the Lord	245	1577	6.4	273	1209	4.4
Total	832	6079	7.3	1016	4815	4.7

(2009), a Polish researcher, and assume that in the early modern period the urban environment, in comparison with the rural one, on the one hand, gave the bigger opportunity of subsistence and hired labour for single people, and, on the other hand, suffered more from different natural disasters like floods, downpours, hails and droughts. The city rather than the village felt higher prices and disruptions in food supply (Kuklo, 2009, pp. 360–361).

It is certain that this situation didn't help to increase the population of households and number of families. We can compare the obtained index of 7.3 people for the average size of the Poltava household to the average size of households in the Polish cities of Poznan (1777) and Krakow (1791) that was 6.5 and 4.5 persons, respectively (Kuklo, 2009, p. 361). It is noteworthy that the number of 7.3 people calculated above is almost the same as the average size of 7.4 people that Boris Mironov got for the households of Russian cities (Mironov, 2003, vol. 1, p. 232). However, according to Olga Kosheleva's calculations, the size of the average household in St. Petersburg in 1717–1718 was 11 persons (Kosheleva, 2004, p. 147).

The average size of the owners' families numbered 4.7 persons and was evidently smaller than the average size of households. The comparison of this number with the indexes counted by the mentioned above Arnold Perkovskiy for Hetmanate (4.6 persons) and territory of Zaporozhian Host (4.5 persons) (Perkovsky, 1977, pp. 106–107) may indicate the actual similarity of family sizes in different regions and also in the 'village vs. city' opposition.

7. Family and household structures in Poltava in the second half of the 18th century

To analyze the structures of Poltava families in the second half of the eighteenth century, one may refer to the classification offered by Peter Laslett. Although for many years his theory of family has been criticized, and today it doesn't seem as perfect as in the 1960s when it appeared (Szołtysek, 2003, pp. 7–43), Laslett's classification can still be successfully applied to the pre-modern societies. According to Laslett five main types of family households can be defined:

- The household of single persons (*solitaries*);
- The household with no nucleus family (*no family*);
- The household that consists of married couples with children is called simple or nuclear (*nuclear family household*). It remains the same in the case if one of parents dies.
- A household is considered extended (*extended family household*) if in addition to an immediate family close relatives live in the same household. Depending on who of those relatives is the head of the household, we can distinguish, for example, between the extensions of ascending and descending lines. If the husband's father lives in the household, we can consider this family as extended by ascending line, but if this father was recorded as head of household, this family was considered extended by descending line.
- The household that consists of several nuclear families is called multifocal (*multiple family household*). Extended and multifocal households are considered as composite.

In this study we use a modified version of Laslett's classification offered by Shołtysek and Biskup (2008, pp. 375–376). The first point of the analysis is focused on the clergy as it has been done above for analysis of household population (see [Figure 1](#)). The largest group in the family structure of Poltava clergy was formed by single people (46.7%). Such disproportion is accounted by the fact that the churchmen (clerks, cantors and

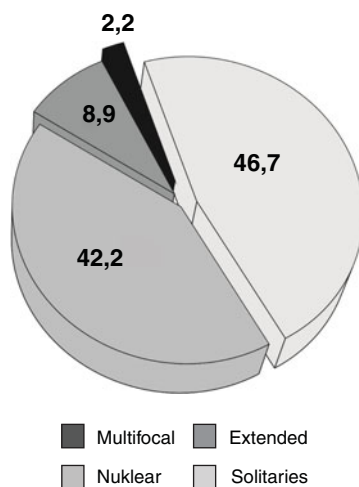


Figure 1. Clergymen.

ecclesiarches/sacristans), who were predominantly male, have been considered as well. They numbered 18 singles in 20 clerks. Twelve of them had not reached the average marriage age of 28 by that time yet (Voloshyn, 2011c, p. 24), three of them were 29 years old, and two individuals were 40 years old. We can thus assume that they all had chances to get married. Only one of them named Roman who was a churchwarden in the Church of the Presentation of the Lord (56 years old) definitely lost these chances (CSHAUK, f. 990, r. 2, c. 34, p. 88). It should be noticed that this group gave a rather high percentage of singles in the structure of Poltava families.

The second big group was formed by the nuclear families and numbered 42.2%. It based on priests' families that totalled 12 in 19 families. Extended families numbered 8.9%, and multifocal families made 2.2%. The obtained results are significantly different from the data that Olexandr Sakalo calculated for village clergy of Hetmanate. According to his calculations, multifocal families were dominated (67.9%), and nuclear families took the second position (22.2%) (Sakalo, 2011, p. 10).

Most Cossack families (62.1%) were nuclear by their structure (see Figure 2). Among them dominated the classical mononuclear families, i.e. the married couples with children. The second position is occupied by widows with children, the third position is taken by childless married couples, and the fourth position is held by widowers with children. The fact that the number of widows with children was four times higher than that of widowers can be explained by the fact that widows unlike the widowers rarely married for the second time (Voloshyn, 2011b, p. 24).

Composite (multifocal) families took the second position (22.6%), but even in combination with extended families (12.7%) they were significantly inferior to simple families. In my opinion, the predominance of nuclear family in Poltava is connected, on the one hand, with peculiarities of economical functioning of urban society and, on the other hand, with social transformations that Hetmanate experienced at that time. Poltava Cossacks also were different from the Cossacks who lived in the villages of Lubenskiy Regiment where multifocal families substantially predominated (74.4%), while the part of nuclear families was only 21.2% (Sakalo, 2011, p. 12).

The analysis of the structure of craftsmen families (see Figure 3) also proves the dominance of the nuclear family (72.7%). This percentage was even higher than in the Cossack

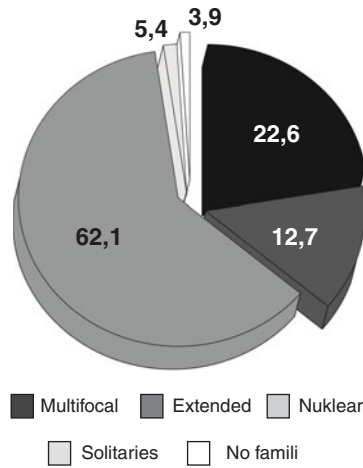


Figure 2. Cossacks.

families. The part of extended family was almost the same (12.3%), and the part of multifocal family was lower (13.1%). Among the nuclear families as in the previous case married couples with children dominated (84 families), the second position was held by married couples without children (13 families), the third place was taken by widows with children (11 families), and the smallest group (four families) consisted of widowers with children.

The families with descending minor nuclei, i.e. families where married children with their families lived in parental families, numbered 11 and formed the most common type of multifocal family among the city's craftsmen.

The part of urban dwellers, previously identified as burghers, were the largest group and numbered 432 families. Similarly to the above analyzed craftsmen families, 306 families with nuclear structure (70.8%) prevailed among burghers (see Figure 4). The absolute majority of them (70.6%) were 216 families that consisted of married couples with children. As in all other social groups considered in this paper, the second position was held by childless married couples, who formed 51 families (16.7%). The widows with children were

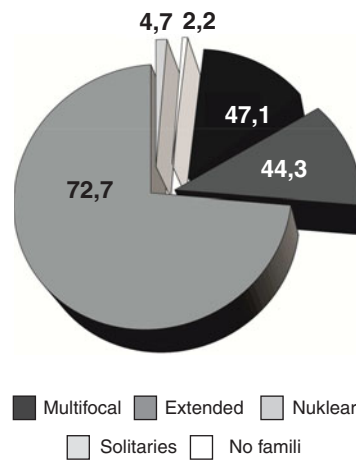


Figure 3. Craftsmen.

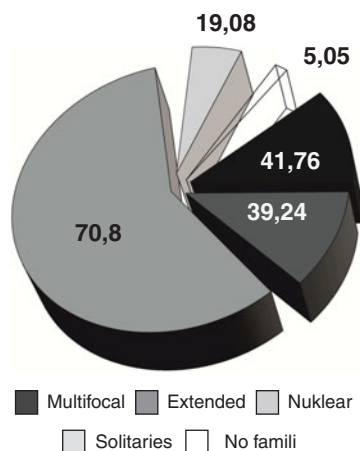


Figure 4. Burghers.

less numerous making 35 families (11.4%), and four families of widowers with children formed the minority (1.3%).

Just as in two previous groups, multifocal families totalled 50 and took the second position. In most of them (36 families that made 72%), adult married children lived with their parents. The amount of the families where at least two married couples dwelled with their widowed parent was significantly less (seven families that made 14%). The 'fraternal' families where siblings' families shared one household numbered four (8%). The last place was taken by three families where the son's family was central and the paternal family was secondary (6%). Typically, in such families parents were old-aged.

Among the burghers, like in all the other groups of Poltava society the families with extended structure took the third place. Their number (47) was close to the number of the multifocal families (50), and their percentage estimated 10.9%. The most popular were the horizontal (sideways) extended families when a relative, e.g. sibling or nephew, lived next to the nuclear family (19 families forming 40.4%). The downward extended families where widowed parents who were the heads of households dwelled with the family took the second position (17 families making 36.2%). And the last position was occupied by the upward extended families numbering 11 or 23.4%.

Like in most social groups, the percentage of singles and households without structure was quite small: 5.3% (23 persons) and 1.4% (six persons), respectively.

In concluding part, we combine the data of all the parishes and analyse the family structure of all the city population in 1775 with the help of the following table (see Table 11). As it could be predicted, the biggest group among all Poltava families selected for analysis was formed by the simple nuclear families numbering 676 (66.5%). Similarly to some other social groups, the main part formed by 511 families (75.6%) was composed by the married couples with children. More than six times smaller was the part of married couples without children that totalled 12.4% (84 families). Groups of widows with children were less numerous reaching 10.1% (68 families) and the part of nuclear families that consisted of the widowers with children was only 1.9% (13 families). The numerical advantage of widows over widowers was a typical feature of traditional pre-modern society in general (Klassen, 2001, p. 208).

Table 11. Structure of family households in Poltava in 1775.

Category	Class	Description	Number	%
Solitaries	1a	Widows and widowers	12	5.1
	1b	Single or unknown marital status	40	
No family	2a	Single brothers and sisters who live together	9	1.1
	2b	Other blood relatives who live together	2	
Nuclear families	3a	Married couples without children	84	66.5
	3b	Married couples with children	511	
	3c	Widows with children	68	
	3d	Widowers with children	13	
Extended families	4a	Upward extended families	27	11.7
	4b	Downward extended families	48	
	4c	Horizontal (sideways) extended families	44	
Multifocal families	5a	Families with upward secondary nuclei	6	15.6
	5b	Families with downward secondary nuclei	95	
	5c	Widowed father/mother with minimum two married children	18	
	5d	Families of brothers and sisters who live together or other sideways blood relatives	39	
Total			1016	100

The part of multifocal households was four times less making 15.6% (158 families), and in the general structure of urban society they expectedly took the second place. Similarly to the above analyzed social groups, most of them were families with downward secondary nuclei equalling 60.1% (95 families). They were followed by 39 fraternal families (24.7%); then came 18 families consisting of a widowed parent and at least two children (11.4%), and six families with upward secondary nuclei (3.8%).

A part of extended families was not less than the number of multifocal ones (119 families or 11%). Most of them were households with downward extension (48 families or 40.3%), then came the families with the horizontal extension (44 families or 37%) and families with upward extension (27 families or 22.7%).

The lower position in the hierarchy of the city's family structures was held by solitaries (52 people or 5.1%). Most of them (40 persons or 76.9%) were single people and those with the unknown marital status. As it has been mentioned above, most of these people (21 persons) were clergymen. The second group of solitaries (12 persons or 23.1%) was formed by widowers and widows who had no children or other family.

The smallest part was represented by the households where no marriage relationships were mentioned (11 ones or 1.1%). Among them the most common were the households where unmarried siblings lived together (nine households or 81.8%) and the other relatives were in the minority (two households or 18.2%). They were thus blood relatives, but did not form the family nucleus.

8. Conclusions

Our analysis shows that the average size of households and families of inhabitants of the regimental city of Poltava was significantly inferior to similar parameters obtained for the peasant population of Hetmanate. In comparison to rural areas, the percentage of households with servants was significantly higher. The form of family structure in Poltava differed from that in rural areas as well. In contrast to the peasant families, simple (nuclear) families dominated in the city and estimated 66.5% of the total. Our findings thus significantly

contradict the assumption of Boris Mironov (2003) who suggests that the average urban family did not differ much in size from the average peasant family at this time because the demographical characteristics (nuptiality, fertility and mortality) were the same for rural and urban population (Mironov, 2003, p. 232). It is evident that the reasons of these differences should be found by studying the aforementioned characteristics.

Notes

1. The legal system of Poltava during the study period was regulated by Lithuanian Statute, Magdeburg Law and norm of Russian legislation.
2. Although the total number of parishes in Poltava in 1775 was six, we analyze five mentioned parishes as the lists of the sixth parish in Church of Assumption were preserved in a damaged condition and are not available for future research.

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