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**MOTIVES OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE UKRAINIANS  
IN THE GALICIAN VILLAGE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XXth CENTURY  
(based on archival materials of the Lviv Greek Catholic Metropolitan Consistory)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to bring out the paramount motives and principles of the Galician Ukrainians' married couple choice in the first half of the XXth century, their change/stability as compared to the previous historical period – the XIXth century. The methodology of the research is based on application of the methodological principle of historicism, as well as general scientific and special scientific methods, primarily comparative historical. The meticulous study of the archival primary sources and verification of the information available in them through comparison with the ethnographic materials have been given priority. The scientific novelty of the study is that for the first time in the Ukrainian historical science, based on the archival materials, the Galician Ukrainians' marriage motives in the first half of the XXth century have been analyzed, which can serve as a basis*

for further more thorough studies in marital and family relations. The factual material and theoretical generalizations presented in the article will be vital for understanding the socio-economic and socio-political realities inherent in Galician rural society of that period. **The Conclusions.** When it came to choosing a future couple, the Galician Ukrainian peasants were guided by different motives, stuck to certain principles and rules, most of which were characteristic of the previous (XIXth) century. Those were, in particular, pragmatic property interests – the desire to increase their own wealth, unite neighboring lands, prevent the division of property, and etc. Social stability and a positive reputation for the future family were of utmost importance to the peasants. By the way, the positive reputation of the future family depended not only on the availability of movable and immovable property, land and livestock, but also on the legitimacy of marriage in the eyes of the community and the church. That is why, in archival materials a significant part of cases concerned the legalization of marriages “by faith”, especially between widows. The Galician rural population also kept to the principle of social, territorial and religious endogamy, while violating the ban on marriage between close relatives. The first half of the XXth century was also characterized by the political motive of marriage and the motive of economic survival under conditions of war and emigration. Archival materials also prove convincingly that the social status and economic stability of the rural community were appreciated more than love or amicable relations in the family. Hence, early marriages, economic sanctions and coercion of parents to marry, physical violence of a man against a young woman, etc., were commonplace.

**Key words:** Galicia, the Ukrainians, rural population, marital and family relations, marriage, family.

### МОТИВИ ОДРУЖЕННЯ УКРАЇНЦІВ ГАЛИЦЬКОГО СЕЛА У ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХХ ст. (за архівними матеріалами Львівської Греко-католицької митрополічної консисторії)

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – з’ясувати основні мотиви і принципи вибору українцями Галичини подружньої пари в першій половині ХХ ст., їх зміну / сталість порівняно з попереднім історичним періодом – ХІХ ст. **Методологія дослідження** базується на застосуванні методологічного принципу історизму, а також на загальнонаукових і спеціальних наукових методах, передусім на порівняльно-історичному. Першочергове значення надане скрупульозному вивченню архівних джерел та верифікації наявної у них інформації завдяки зіставленню з етнографічними матеріалами. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в тому, що, залучивши архівні матеріали, вперше в українській історичній науці проаналізовано мотиви одруження українців Галичини в першій половині ХХ ст. Водночас його результати можуть послугувати основою наступних ґрунтовних студій у сфері шлюбно-сімейних відносин. Наведені в статті фактографічний матеріал і теоретичні узагальнення матимуть важливе значення для розуміння соціально-економічних та суспільно-політичних реалій, властивих тогочасному галицькому сільському суспільству. **Висновки.** Під час вибору майбутньої пари українські селяни Галичини керувалися різними мотивами, дотримувалися певних принципів і правил, більшість із яких була характерна і для попереднього (ХІХ) століття. Це, зокрема, прагматичні майнові інтереси – бажання примножити власне багатство, об’єднати сусідні ґрунти, не допустити розділу майна тощо. Важливе значення мали для селян соціальна стабільність та позитивна репутація майбутньої сім’ї. Остання, до слова, залежала не лише від наявності рухомого і нерухомого майна, землі і худоби, а й від легітимності шлюбу в очах громади і церкви. Саме тому в архівних джерелах значна частина справ стосується узаконення шлюбів “на віру”, передовсім між вдовцями. Сільське населення Галичини дотримувалося і принципу соціальної, територіальної та релігійної ендогамії, порушуючи водночас заборону на шлюб між близькими родичами. Для першої половини ХХ ст. характерними були також політичний мотив одруження і мотив економічного виживання в умовах війни й еміграції. Матеріали архівних справ доводять також, що соціальний статус та економічну стабільність сільська громада цінувала більше, ніж кохання чи дружні стосунки в родині. Тому звичним явищем були ранні шлюби, економічні санкції та примус батьків до шлюбу, фізичне насильство чоловіка над молодістю жінкою тощо.

**Ключові слова:** Галичина, українці, сільське населення, шлюбно-сімейні відносини, шлюб, сім’я.

**The Problem Statement.** In the first half of the XXth century the Ukrainian society was a stateless community, which was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (until 1918) and the Second Commonwealth (until 1939). The above-mentioned factor had influence on all spheres of socio-political, socio-economic and private discourse. However, if we talk about Eastern Galicia (Halychyna), the number of the Ukrainians was obviously predominant (Pasitska, 2019, p. 71), who maintained the traditional way of life. Of course, direct coexistence with the Poles, the Jews, the Germans, and members of other ethnic minorities also affected their daily lives, but in marital and family relationships the impact was negligible.

Marital and family relations were regulated by various legislative civil acts (until 1933 – the Austrian Civil Code of 1811, hence – the laws of the Polish state) (Kulchytskyi & Levytska, 2009, p. 47). Thus, the norms of customary law and the canonical dogmas of the church prevailed in an everyday life. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had a dominant influence in the marital relations of the Ukrainians in Galicia. According to Lviv Greek Catholic Metropolitan Consistory, diverse aspects of the Ukrainian family existence in the first half of the XXth century could be clarified: the age of marriage, premarital behaviour of young people, motives for choosing a spouse, reasons for divorce, etc. One of the above-mentioned aspects (motives for marriage) is the subject of our research.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications.** It would be useful to refer to the study written by Oksana Pasitska on ethno-demographic processes and social structure of the local population in order to clarify the socio-economic and cultural realities that directly affected the marital and family relations in Galicia of period under analysis (Pasitska, 2019, pp. 68–76). Petro Chornii's research on interwar Galicia (Halychyna) as the territory of a cultural frontier is also important. The ethnologist also mentioned the interethnic coexistence issues inherent in the studied region, in particular in the field of interethnic marriages, which were most often concluded by the Ukrainian burghers and the Polish burghers (Chornii, 2018, p. 207). Instead, the rural population continued to be culturally homogeneous, hence, predominantly the Ukrainian. Mariana Baidak and Ivanna Cherchovych were interested in the family existence issues of the beginning of the XXth century, in particular, the women's survival during World War I, marriage infidelity in the families of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Galician towns, etc (Baidak, 2016; Cherchovych). But the Ukrainian scholars were not interested in marital and family relations among the rural population of Galicia in the first half of the XXth century, including the motives for creating a new family.

Numerous aspects related to marriage and family, in particular, the factors that shaped the attitude to pregnancy and future parenthood, the relationship between parents and children, social functions of the family, the influence of religion on the strength of marriage, etc., were covered by modern Western scholars (Edwards, Parmenter, O'Brien & Brown, 2018; Hwang, Cakirsoy-Aslan, Brown & Silverstein, 2020; Fang, Galambos, Nansy & Johnson, 2021; Kumar, Brock & DiLillo, 2022; Pessin, Rutigliano & Haddock, 2022).

**The purpose of the research** is to bring out the main motives and principles of the Galician Ukrainian married couple choice in the first half of the XXth century, their change/stability as compared to the previous historical period – the XIXth century.

**The Results of the Research.** The analysis of the main trends and changes that took place in the field of marital and family relations of the Ukrainians in the Galician countryside should be considered in a broad narrative of socio-political and economic transformations of the first half of the XXth century. In particular, the agrarian overpopulation issue was important. According to modern researchers, in the mid-20s of the last century, the surplus

labour force in the western Ukrainian village amounted to 1,500,000 people (Kacharaba, 2003, p. 37). Emigration to Canada, the United States and other countries could really improve the situation. But it had a negative effect on the ethnicity of the population of Eastern Galicia (fewer Ukrainians and more Poles, so the Polish government supported the emigration process), and ultimately on the personal destiny of each emigrant, his/her family and family life. In the best case, they emigrated with their nuclear families or even with all relatives. However, due to the high financial costs of travelling overseas, mostly men dared to emigrate. Their main incentive was to earn money, settle down in a new place, and only then take their wives with children. Although in a real life, the majority of those plans did not come true: emigrated men formed up new families, went missing, died of diseases, and etc. In the case file of Lviv Greek Catholic Metropolitan Consistory, where women/men applied to recognize their husbands/wives as dead abroad and to be able to get married once again, we came across diverse documentary evidence: “A peasant woman asks for permission to marry a man after six years of her husband’s death in Canada, because she takes care of a mother, an ill sister and three children, and can work on a field of 10 morhiv only half of a plot because there is no one to work on it” (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (CSHAUL), f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 255, p. 12).

It should be mentioned that other, no less important, circumstances, which also had influence on the motives for creating a new family were World War I and then the Ukrainian-Polish War, which caused thousands of men to join the army. Their stay away from the family disrupted the usual rhythm of an everyday life. Because of that children were in need, their own household dilapidated. The entire burden of hard physical labour, in fact, fell on the hands of women and children. In wartime, there was even a new motivation for marriage – in some places fictitious marriage was practiced for political reasons, as it was mentioned in by one of the archives documents: “The man married an Orthodox woman in Proskurov (nowadays – Khmelnytsky) in order to obtain the marriage metrics because without it, it was impossible to return [...] home to Galicia, and because he could not get rid of the Soviet army in other way” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 519, p. 30).

People appealed to the ecclesiastical court for two purposes: on the one hand, to declare the missing member of the couple dead and to annul the marriage, on the other hand, to officially announce the petitioner’s wish to have a private life for a second time. The fact is that the civil authority document was not enough to get divorced, because it did not give the right to remarry in the church. Archival materials gave evidence that the main motives that instigated a parishioner to seek remarriage were the economic need and the social/church pressure. Speaking of the church pressure, we mean the undeniable influence of the church on the rural community. The community members’ and the priest’s opinion were always taken into consideration, because they “corrected” the wrong behaviour of peasants, forced them to ask the church to terminate the marriage formally, and to obtain permission to legalize illegal relations, namely, marriage “by faith”, “concubinage”, etc.

It should be mentioned that unregistered marriages or marriages “by faith” existed for a long time. Back in the XIXth century, the Ukrainians of the Carpathians justified such kinds of marriages due to the lack of money for civil ceremonies and church weddings (Horyn, 1993, p. 175). Unregistered marriages were considered to be immoral, especially when a child was born as a consequence of a “savage” cohabitation. Mothers-pokrytky (a woman who gave birth to a child without being married) were beaten by various means and even expelled from the village, forced to lie in a form of a cross in the church during the Liturgy, etc. (Hoshko, 1999,

p. 188; Hlushko & Khomchak, 2017, pp. 143, 417, 442, 471–472). Fines were also imposed on them – the so-called “bykove” (“fornication”) (Hoshko, 1999, p. 191). At the beginning of the XXth century, of course, those methods of punishment were no longer used, but the community influence continued to be sufficient for the couple to care about their reputation: “The husband went missing in the Russian captivity. She can’t cope with the children and the household, she lives with her fiancé and is even carrying his child (*pregnant*. – *Authors*), so she will continue to live in a savage marriage” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 184, p. 37). According to the archival case, which was indicative, “a husband filed a lawsuit after 24 years of the wife’s disappearance in America”. The document stated the following “he already lives in an unregistered marriage with Kateryna and has a 16-year-old daughter with her. But living together without church wedding ceremony causes deterioration in the parokhiya (*dissatisfaction in the parish*. – *Authors*)” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 302, p. 60).

Although the economic factors concerning remarriage were key, especially for widows/widowers, when the applicants were left alone with young children or elderly parents. Only by creating a new family the mistress (master) could survive, save her “farming property” (*gazdivstvo*), properly cultivate the field, take care of livestock, etc.: “The man wants to get remarried, because there is no one to bake bread, or cook food, or wash clothes/do laundry” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 394, p. 5); “I have a medium-sized farming property, where there is no one to work because my old father is weak, so I have to get married for a second time” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 467, p. 14); “The husband went missing in 1914 and the wife sued 10 years later. She asks to get remarried to the widower because she is indigent, she needs a master, a guardian of the child, and Ivan can’t do without the landlady in the house with the children” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 467, p. 17); “I have to get married because I don’t have a master. The houses are being destroyed, the barn has not been finished for two years, and there is no one to work on the field” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 261, p. 45); “The husband did not get back from the Austrian war and there is no news. And the wife was left alone with six children and could not run the farming property without the husband’s help” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 504, p. 25).

If the remarriage was accompanied by coercion from the parents in order to preserve the family property, the following family was created with the unmarried brother/sister of the ex-husband/wife: “The court found Ivan dead in the Polish-Ukrainian War, and his wife, who lives under the same roof with the mother and brother of the deceased, committed a sin – they have a child – they want to be able to marry legally” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 451, p. 26); “The groom, a childless widower *udidychyv* (*inherited* – *Authors*) the whole reality (*property* – *Authors*) after the death of his wife. He wished that the property did not fall into the wrong hands, so he wants to marry the sister of the dead woman” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 375, p. 24).

The parents forced their children into marriage, in particular, remarriage, in the pursuit of the noble goal of ensuring the proper economic well-being of the family and its high social status in the rural community. Finally, the community itself and even the ecclesiastical court recognized the authoritative or authoritarian parental influence in the above-mentioned process: “I thought that shouting and fighting would not do any harm because it often happens that parents force a child, and then life somehow goes on, sticks together” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 211, p. 10); “The relatives admit that they forced (*to get married*. – *Authors*), because they thought that they would eventually agree because the young man had his own farm and then in the immediate vicinity – the border to the border” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 258, p. 5).

The materials of Lviv Greek Catholic Metropolitan Consistory contain other reliable evidence of the significant spread of coercion by parents in marriages between the rural

youth in the 20s and 30s of the XXth century, for instance: “Both parties did not have the true and free will to marry, because they acted under the coercion of relatives who threatened [...] that they would not give any property” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 394, p. 2); “She told the priest before the marriage: “I am beaten at home, sent off to him and I have to do as they say” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 360, p. 1); “I didn’t want to marry Matviy, but my father insisted on it, and I followed my father’s will” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 360, p. 2); “Forced to marry by relatives, got married at the age of 14,5 because he was rich, and my relatives had four morhiv of field and seven children” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 311, p. 4); “I did not dare to go against their will for fear of beatings, and these beatings were often very severe” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 311, p. 13); “He (*the husband. – Authors*) did not ask me if I would marry him or not, he only talked to my father. And daddy threatened me: “I will kill you, I will accept prymakiv (orphans), and I will send you to a hundred of winds” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 211, p. 7).

Under a psychological pressure of pragmatic parents, underage (even fourteen-year-old) girls were powerless. In the materials of one of the cases, an adult woman mentioned the compulsion of her mother to marry, who chose a groom for her and, was persuading her daughter, convinced her that there was a war around and all decent guys went to war, so she could not find the best couple in her native village. And although it was “difficult to go against her will and she did not have the desire to live with the unloved man..., but she was glad to obey her mother” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 355, p. 13).

The significant spread of early marriages among the Galician Ukrainians of the first half of the XXth century, including marriages for economic reasons, was confirmed by written appeals of parents/guardians to Lviv Greek Catholic Metropolitan Consistory, which included one request – to allow church marriage for their minor children (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 209, p. 7). There were also the official documents forgeries, which overestimated the age of girls: “The father even forged the birth certificate of his daughter, who at the time of the church wedding was not 16 but 15 years old” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2a, c. 211, p. 46).

Orphans and illegitimate children, who were deprived of their father’s name and the right to inherit property of their biological father, were particularly vulnerable to forced marriage. By the way, there was no affinity between the illegitimate and legal children of one father, except for the obstacle to marriage between them (Onyshko, 2016, p. 56). Unmarried/single mothers (*pokrytky*) and ordinary girls, who were born into a family with many daughters, and for each of them there had to be prepared a dowry, also felt vulnerable. Husbands treated orphans and *pokrytky*, to put it mildly, not the best way. According to the materials of one archival file the following was stated: “The next day [after marriage] I told my mother that I would not live with her because I hated her. And the fact that my wife is *pokrytka*, I can’t even look at her” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 506, p. 3).

Unfortunately, neither family members, neighbours, nor even priests responded to suffering of such women: “The Father said in the premarital protocol: “It’s a pity for your child”, but I conducted church wedding. And after two Sundays she ran away from home to Lviv to serve” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 360, p. 2).

Absence of any romantic feelings in the marital relationship, on the contrary, presence of coercion was evidenced by archival sources that directly relate to the behaviour of a young couple, their morale state and mood before marriage protocol and during wedding, including a groom’s brutal attitude towards a bride: “She went to the protocol involuntary, cried before marrying” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 211, p. 11); “During the wedding, a groom beat her

and threatened to hang her” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 211, p. 5); “As Herasym drulyv her (*pushed*. – *Authors*) to the wall before the wedding so that the girls had to pour water on her head” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 258, p. 31).

Furthermore, coercion and violence in the Ukrainian Galician rural families of the first half of the XXth century were considered to be the norm and usual reality, because: “... The population of that area has bad blood and is hot-tempered and therefore rudeness of behaviour in families is on the agenda but despite that they live together” – was written in one of the documents” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 223, p. 6).

It should be mentioned that married but still underage women were particularly affected by physical violence. In general, in the majority of European countries the minimum age for marriage issues was regulated by civil law in the first half of the XXth century. In addition, other norms of communication (courtship, premarital behaviour, marital choice, etc.) depended on the ethnic customs, traditions and national morals. At that time, in Galicia (Halychyna), the age of marriage was also regulated by official laws, but in rural areas they were often ignored and replaced by customary law and economic expediency. Hence, the population of Boykivshchyna accepted and practiced early marriages (at the age of 15 – 17 for girls and 18 – 20 for boys) primarily due to economic factors. At the beginning of the XXth century, the local children lived with their parents (“up to 14 souls in the house”), so that the father and mother tried to marry the eldest daughter as soon as possible (Halko, 2001, p. 42). Instead, her transfer to her husband’s family had a positive effect on her, as the daughter-in-law’s dowry was necessarily a plot of land – an important basis for successful farming activity. High infant mortality was also one of the causes of early marriages. The important idea was to fill up the shortage of labour with new young family members, who will increase the family budget (Isaievych, Fedoriv).

The tradition of early marriages could be seen not only among the Ukrainians but also among other Slavs. Hence, for the Poles, the age of marriage was determined primarily by the economic needs of the family in the labour force. There were cases when a 17-year-old son married an older but hard-working and wealthy girl at the beginning of the XXth century (Gantskaya, 1986, p. 22). The land was considered synonymous with their wealth as well as for the Ukrainians. That is why the Poles ironically called marriage with landless peasants “to get married to the wind” (Gantskaya, 1986, p. 26). Even at the beginning of the XXth century, the marriage partner choice was the prerogative primarily of the parents of the future couple.

However, some ethnologists believe that the parents’ consent was not crucial during the marriage of the Ukrainians. In particular, the above-mentioned opinion was expressed by Yuriy Hoshko, a renowned researcher on the customary law of the population of the Eastern Carpathians (Hoshko, 1999, p. 243). Although the archival and ethnographic materials presented by us provide evidence of the opposite. Furthermore, the Ukrainians condemned mostly illegal marriage, in particular *uvody* (escape) marriages, when a young man with the bride’s consent, but without parental approval, kidnapped her (Sliusar, 2011, p. 64). It was a typical manifestation of social deviation, which a rural community did not approve of; the well-accepted norm was the choice of a couple, especially when parents had a decisive vote. Usually, agreement on future marriage of children and size of their dowry were discussed at *zmovynakh* (meeting), and discussion ended at the courtship. In some nations, there was even the so-called cradle courtship, when parents agreed on marriage of young children (Kashuba, 1988, p. 87).

In the XIXth century, girls and boys, who dared to marry without their parents’ will and consent did not receive their blessing, were deprived of the right to receive a dowry, and lost

their inherited property (parents could “make a will invalid”) (Isaievych, Fedoriv). Economic sanctions were especially effective in the above-mentioned case (Gantskaya, 1986, p. 97). Instead, if the choice of a son or daughter was correct and successful, the amount of property inherited by a child, parents could significantly increase: “I was very happy that my son chose a calm and kind girl for his wife, and for that reason, we gave Ivan more soil than other our children” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 451, p. 15). It should also be admitted that such sanctions were largely effective, as a woman’s fate, place and role in the future family depended in many cases on her own property: the greater it was, the freer and more independent a woman felt. The situation was similar to a man, who was “adopted” by a girl’s family. If the pryimak (adopted husband) did not contribute a certain amount of money to his wife’s household, he was considered powerless (“the pryimak doesn’t have any vote”) (Gantskaya, 1986, p. 98).

In addition, the term “prymak” has a broader meaning in traditional Ukrainian culture. In particular, this word was used to describe a child from a large family, which was most often taken by wealthy childless people in order to have a helping hand about the house later and, what is crucial in our context, to inherit the “soil”, all farming property. Sometimes the childless family adopted a boy and a girl at once, and then to form up a separate family which consisted of them (Horyn, 1993, pp. 23–24), or to marry an adopted child with a member of their family (Rudyi, 2012, p. 110). Accordingly, property was not divided, but remained within one family, but young people were deprived of a real right to choose a married couple in advance.

It is obvious that the institute of *vina*, as well as dowry, led to marriages of people equal in social and property relations. Instead, “unequal” marriages were treated as an anomalous phenomenon in the traditional environment. Hence, one of the petitioners, who demanded the ecclesiastical court to declare her missing husband dead in the war and allow her to marry another man, mentioned the following: “He loved me very much [the first husband] and married me against the will of the family, who protested that I had no property” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 184, p. 95).

When it came to a positive reputation of a family in a village, attention was paid primarily to the property status and attitude of its members to work. Hence, not only the Ukrainians but also many other peoples of Europe, considered an economic factor to be the main thing during marriage. For instance, the Slovaks said the following: “Flax with flax, hemp with hemp, field to field, and equal to equal” (Gratsianskaya, 1988, p. 39). In some parts of Romania, the girl’s dowry was even displayed in the yard (Rikman, 1988, p. 168).

In the first half of the XXth century, the Ukrainians in Galicia also adhered strictly to the principle of religious endogamy, i. e., they created families within their community, mostly homogeneous in religion. Their constant relations with the representatives of other local ethnic groups (the Poles, the Jews, the Germans, etc.) were primarily good-neighborly and businesslike. On the other hand, the interethnic and interfaith marriages occurred in very rare cases. In particular, the Jews were sometimes “baptized” in order to marry the Ukrainian women. There were no religious taboos on marriages between the Roman and the Greek Catholics. Hence, among the archival materials of Lviv Greek Catholic Metropolitan Consistory, we came across a request from a Roman Catholic girl to grant her permission to marry a Greek Catholic (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 316, p. 19). Among these sources, there were the pleas of an evangelical widower with many children for permission to marry a widow of the Greek Catholic rite, and the “groom” promised “to give all the children to the Greek Catholic Church” (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 420, p. 1).

In a traditional society the premarital communication of young people was limited to the territory of their village, in addition to the principles of socio-property and national religious endogamy, which guided the choice of the couple, and followed a local territorial endogamy. Within their village, such marriages were characteristic not only in the XIXth but also at the beginning of the XXth century. At the same time, it created contradictions and problems, because, let's say, finding a couple in a small village, especially for a poor young man, was very difficult, which led to marriage between relatives. On the one hand, blood ties were condemned by people, because it was believed that in such marriage weak children were born, even cripples (Halko, 2001, p. 41). On the other hand, according to archival sources, forming up a family between close relatives was not uncommon, especially when they wanted to preserve property or reunite neighbouring "soil". Hence, in the consistory court it was very often asked for permission to marry people with blood ties: "Young people ask the Court for permission to marry, because the obstacle is kinship in the third degree, because the bride will be exposed to disgrace in people, and is a poor girl and cannot expect a more appropriate groom" (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, c. 420, p. 9); "They are asking for permission to marry a blood relative, because a bride is 25 years old. They give her a small piece of field – and a groom should marry her with a little vini" (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, p. 375, p. 1); "The people are poor, it is not easy for them to find a suitable spouse, because the village is small, and it is complicated and difficult for a poor person to marry in other villages. And their gardens border" (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 2 a, p. 375, p. 11) – it was stated in the documents.

**The Conclusions.** When it came to choosing a future couple, the Galician Ukrainian peasants were guided by different motives, stuck to certain principles and rules, the majority of which were characteristic of the previous (XIXth) century. Those were, in particular, pragmatic property interests – the desire to increase their own wealth, unite neighbouring lands, prevent the division of property, and etc. Social stability and a positive reputation for the future family were of utmost importance to the peasants. By the way, the positive reputation of the future family depended not only on the availability of movable and immovable property, land and livestock, but also on the legitimacy of marriage in the eyes of the community and the church. That is why, in archival materials a significant part of cases concerned the legalization of marriages "by faith", especially between widows. The Galician rural population also kept to the principle of social, territorial and religious endogamy, while violating the ban on marriage between close relatives. The first half of the XXth century was also characterized by the political motive of marriage and the motive of economic survival under conditions of war and emigration. Archival materials also prove convincingly that the social status and economic stability of the rural community were appreciated more than love or amicable relations in the family. Hence, early marriages, economic sanctions and coercion of parents to marry, physical violence of a man against a young woman, etc., were commonplace.

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