

УДК 94(477.54):[2-725:316,624,2]«18»

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### «WE POUR, BECAUSE OF THIS HE DRINKS»: DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR OF THE PARISH CLERGY IN THE 19th CENTURY (ON THE MATERIAL OF KHARKIV DIOCESE)

*У статті розглянуто прояви девіантної поведінки православного парафіяльного духовенства у XIX ст. на матеріалах Харківської єпархії. Встановлено, що деякі моделі стереотипів поведінки духовенства по-різному трактувалися парафіяльною громадою та єпархіальною владою. Девіантна поведінка парафіяльного духовенства інтерпретується як перетин точок біфуркації подвійної моралі у суспільстві Російської імперії у XIX ст. Встановлено, що споживання алкоголю священиками у різних спільнотах могло трактуватися як норма і як девіація одночасно.*

**Ключові слова:** девіантна поведінка, парафіяльне духовенство, норми моралі.

*В статье рассмотрены проявления девиантного поведения православного приходского духовенства в XIX в. на материалах Харьковской епархии. Установлено, что некоторые модели стереотипов поведения духовенства по-разному расценивались членами приходской общины и епархиальной властью. Девиантное поведение приходского духовенства интерпретируется как пересечение точек бифуркации двойной морали в обществе Российской империи в XIX в. Установлено, что употребление алкогольных напитков священниками в локальных группах могло трактоваться как норма и как девиация одновременно.*

**Ключевые слова:** девиантное поведение, приходское духовенство, нормы морали.

*The article deals with the manifestations of deviant behavior of Orthodox parish clergy in the nineteenth century on the materials of Kharkiv diocese. It was determined that some models of clergy's behavior stereotypes were differently interpreted by parish and diocesan authorities. Deviant behavior of parish clergy is interpreted as the intersection of bifurcation points of double morality in the society of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. It was established that alcohol consumption by priests in various communities could be interpreted both as a norm and a deviation at the same time.*

**Key words:** deviant behavior, parish clergy, norms of morality.

At the heart of the present research is the problem of establishment of the markers of deviant behavior during the study of everyday life of a parish priest in the 19th century. Modern anthropologization of the humanities in general, and historical science in particular, open new perspectives to understand the past through the prism of everyday practices and behavioral stereotypes. Analyzing everyday practices a modern researcher inevitably faces the problem of interpretation of these phenomena in the dichotomy of «normal / abnormal». In this case, the term «normal» behavior in everyday life should be understood as established generally accepted standards of culture and morality that were intended to regulate relations between different members of society. Investigating such a fickle thing as morality and norms of behaviour in the society of the Russian Empire in the 19th century one should understand that they were not uniform and absolute. One can single out common or «official» norms of behaviour and corporate. Scientific interest is the study of mutual functioning of the components of these two social behavioral paradigms in the Russian Empire. The parish priest, who performed functions of a «role model»/canon in the public and private life was in the center of the community, especially in rural areas, therefore he had to conform with both general public morals and corporate moral codes of the clergy and peasantry simultaneously. Thus, the study of deviant behaviour of the parish clergy allows to determine in which aspects generally accepted norms of morality coincided or did not coincide with corporate ones in the society of the Russian Empire. A striking example for the study of this problem is the passion of the clergy to drinking alcohol in the 19th century.

Particular attention has been paid to the study of the deviant behavior of the parish clergy in the Russian Empire of the 19th century. However, some works of the second half of the 19th – early 20th century by M. Levitov [8] P. Znamensky [7] D. Bulgakivskiy [2], which were devoted to the general history of the Orthodox Church and the clergy, rather often highlighted the problem of alcoholism among the clergy. In Soviet historiography the problems of church history were highlighted according to the existing paradigm. In the works of E. Grekulov [4] a large role was given to the vices of the clergy, including alcoholism. Ethnographic explorations by M. Gromyko should also be noted [5], where alcohol consumption is interpreted as a kind of ritual, the norm of communication between members of a traditional society. In modern historiography there is a considerable interest to study the problem from the perspective of anthropology of religion, ethnography, cultural history, represented in the works of V. Makarova [10], T. Bernshtam [1], T. Leontieva [9], I. Takala [12] and etc. Source base of the study is represented by the source complex consisting of documentary materials [13], book-keeping documentation [14] (reports of rural deans, complaints of parishioners against priests) and periodical press, both ecclesiastical and secular, where articles of the priests about drinking in rural areas were published.

From the point of view of modern deviantology behavior one should understand as relationships between a person and environment that is characterized by individual characteristics and inner activity of the person and has the form of external actions and deeds [6, p. 4]. Human behaviour is a reflection of the process of socialization and integration into society. Socialization of the person, in its turn, describes the adaptation to the social environment, taking into account individual characteristics [3, p. 6]. Analyzing deviant behaviour of the parish clergy in the Kharkiv diocese in the 19th century one should first ask the question, what kind of behaviour was considered «normal», and which was deviant? A clear definition of the concepts of «normal» and «abnormal» behaviour is still not determined [6, p. 5]. «Normal» behaviour is legally approved, generally accepted behaviour for the most members of society [3, p. 8]. However, the society of the Russian Empire of the 19th century was not homogeneous, along with the generally accepted norms of behaviour and etiquette there were narrow, class corporate codes which were relevant to specific human communities. Behaviour of the parish priest, strictly regulated to common morality, which broadcast the secular and ecclesiastical authority, but the priest, receiving ordination and going to his parish was strictly regulated by social norms of morality which were propagated by secular and ecclesiastical authorities, but the priest, getting ordination and heading for his parish, had to pay attention to traditions and peculiarities of his parishioners. Thus, the priest had to meet the challenges posed by the authorities, diocesan administration and the local community.

The problem of alcohol abuse among the clergy was passionately discussed in the periodicals of that time. Participants of that discussion unanimously claimed that the priest resorts to drinking alcohol because of «disorganized home life», «grieving for his destiny», «from serious spiritual wounds» [2, p. 548] and etc. Indeed, as the modern researcher T. Leontieva points out, permanent life cares, insecurity in the future often caused depression of the priests that led to serious domestic vices, the most widespread of which was alcoholism [9, p. 37]. However, it should be noted that the craving for alcohol arose not only because of subjective reasons, but objective ones as well, after all, as the priest had to correspond to stereotypes of everyday practices in village community. Significant is a dialogue presented in the article of a parish priest, placed in ecclesiastical journal of the early 20th century: «Don't you drink, father? – No, I do not drink wine. – Well, we will learn!» [13, p. 425].

Having receives the parish, priest had to integrate into the local community. The relationships between the priest and parishioners were built by the «unwritten» rules that depended on the traditions formed in the certain area [11, p. 56]. Acquaintance of the priest with his parishioners and also his family moving to a new home, according to the traditions of the peasant community, must be accompanied by treating to alcoholic beverages. The priest had to treat his parishioners, who played the role of establishing social ties. Shared meal had consolidating character between the priest and the parishioners. Rural custom to expect and even demand to be treated to alcohol was seen as a matter of course. It was a mechanism of incorporating the priest into the category of «theirs» in the village community. If the priest treated peasants well and drank with them, it described him as «good» and «sensitive» pastor and vice versa, if the priest refused to drink, in the eyes of the peasants this was an indicator of his «pride». If the priest got completely

drunk, this was not condemned, but rather was perceived warmly, parishioners tried honorably to follow the priest home. Significant are the materials of the investigation of the ecclesiastical consistory in Kharkiv diocese about inappropriate behaviour of the priests [14, F 40, R 2, Case 654, 563, 485, 543; R 3, Case 205, 324]. During interrogations of the parishioners, in such cases, they unanimous rose in defense of their priest, arguing that «although, the father drinks, but it does no harm to the church service» [14, F. 40, R. 2, Case. 563, p. 4]. Sometimes they even tried to take the blame for the behaviour of the priest, stating that «we pour, because of this he drinks» [14, F. 40, R. 3, Case. 324, p. 3].

Important place in everyday service practices of charging of the priest was occupied by rituals in the homes of his parishioners. After christening, taking premortal confession, funeral service except receiving the fee for performing these rituals, the priest was treated by a host with common consumption of alcoholic beverages. This situation was typical, since the use of alcoholic beverages in the rural environment considered as one of the components of the payment for the service. Parishioners, in relation to the priest, perceived this tradition not even as «pay for service», but as gratitude. It is noteworthy that parishioner could compete for every penny to reduce the fee for a ceremony, but to spend up to halfrubles to threat the priest to alcoholic beverage.

Thus, drunkenness among the clergy is a bifurcation point of two behavioral paradigms that took place in the society of the Russian Empire. From the point of view of diocesan and ecclesiastical authority and generally accepted norms of behaviour, it was inappropriate for the priest to consume alcohol, and especially, being drunk in front of his parishioners. Most members of the society of the Russian Empire (mostly urban dwellers) considered this condition mandatory, and strongly condemned its violation, perceiving it as a deviation. For such a guilt ecclesiastical authority provided strict punishment by imposing a penance and even exiling to a monastery for several months to «curb the passion» [13, p. 15]. Instead, in the eyes of the parishioners, these facts were never perceived as guilt and deviation, but rather a necessary norm in everyday life. Violation of established rules of coexistence in the parish community could be a reason to refuse to help the priest, evading some rituals and ignoring the priest at the church service.

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