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# JOURNAL of the HELLENIC PELLA DIASPORA

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# Greek Women in the North Azov Sea Region

by SVETLANA ARABADZHI

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The Greeks of the North Azov Sea region were different from other Greek communities of Ukraine in terms of ethnic and social characteristics. The Greek community in the port city of Mariupol on the northern rim of the Azov Sea was mainly rural, and according to modern Ukrainian social scientists, it consisted of two sub-ethnic groups—*romaioi* and *urums* (Turkic speakers).<sup>1</sup> These ethnocultural characteristics were formed over the very long period during which the Greeks have been present in the Crimea. Greek migration to this area occurred at different times and from different parts of Greece and the Middle East. Subsequently, there were considerable inter-ethnic mixing processes on the Crimea peninsula itself while the Greeks were separated from their homeland for an increasingly long time.

The establishment of a Greek presence in the north Azov region was the result of the migration of Christian Greeks who had already moved to the Crimea at the end of the eighteenth century. This migration and resettlement, due to the Ottoman take-over of the Crimea, created several novel characteristics in the environment in which diaspora Greek communities developed. The migration from the Crimea peninsula began in the summer of 1778 with 18,393 people of Greek origin. The first Greek settlements in the North Azov Sea region were founded in 1779, and the whole resettlement process was completed in 1780. In the

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SVETLANA ARABADZHI was awarded a PhD in September 2012 by Donetsk University. Her dissertation was on the everyday life of the Greek population in the North Azov region in the late eighteenth century. The translation of the following essay drawn from the research was done by Lina Smyk.

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Azov region the Greeks founded one city: Mariupol, and 21 villages: Beshevo, Bogatir, Velyka Karakuba, Velykiy Yanisol', Ignatyivka, Kamara, Karan', Kermenchik, Constantinopol, Laspa, Maliy Yanisol', Mangush, Sartana, Stariy Krym, Styla, Ulakhly, Urzuf, Chemrek, Cherdakly, Chermalik, and Georgievka. As time passed, the number of settlements grew.

The move from the Crimea to the North Azov region took place in very difficult conditions: cold weather, overcrowding, unsuitable living conditions, and high mortality rates due to the new climate and exposure to new diseases. Some deaths also were due to the efforts by some to return to the Crimea. According to the first census in Mariupol Greek district, taken in June 1781, 14,483 people were registered in Mariupol and surrounding settlements. This population consisted of 7,784 men and 6 699 women).<sup>2</sup>

The Greek colonists were granted substantial rights and privileges, thanks to Catherine the Great's Muniment of title (May 21, 1779).<sup>3</sup> All the Greeks received land allotments and were assigned a lifelong exemption from military service. They also were allowed to develop freely any industries, including winery, which was familiar to them and the basis of much of the Greek hopes for prosperity. In addition, the Greeks were freed from state taxes for the period of ten years. The granted Muniment provided the newcomers with territorial autonomy, and a Greek Court was created to manage the area. Greeks were also allowed to have internal police service which consisted of people's representatives elected in accordance with general state rules. Significantly, the creation of Mariupol Greek district in 1807 led to the presence on the Ukrainian territory of an autonomous administrative unit with a mostly Greek population.

During second and third decades of the nineteenth century, the areas not populated by the Greeks were granted to other colonists, Jews and some German Mennonites.<sup>4</sup> A bit later, these lands experienced additional colonization by Russians and Ukrainians. Another Order, dated March 30, 1859, allowed the settlement of non-Greek populations in Mariupol.

### *Women as Repositories of Greek Traditions*

In the North Azov lands, surrounded by foreign ethnicities, the Greeks did their best to preserve cultural characteristics related to

social, religious and family life that they had brought with them from the Crimea. The formation of ethnical self-awareness in the younger generation and the adaptation and preservation of ethnical identity and was largely entrusted to Greek women. Due to ethnic peculiarities and living conditions, daily life of a Greek woman, as mother, housewife, and guardian of family traditions, was different from that of a Russian or a Ukrainian woman.

The first two years of her life a baby-girl was mainly spent on *the sofa* (a wooden platform covered with felt cloth), where she was literally tied to the nail on the wall with the help of cloth ribbons. As soon as the girl started to talk, she was taught to commit no wrongs and especially not to hurt her siblings. Greeks would advise, "Before you say a word, chew it." There was also a proverb, "There's a mouth, but there is no tongue." When a girl she reached five or six years of age she started to help her mother with adequate housework. A common chore was to watch younger siblings or clean up.

A mother was expected to preserve all the spiritual goodness supposedly received from the ancestors and transfer to the next generation. She was expected to watch the observance of the ceremonial activities on all holy days and to arrange arranged family holidays. All of this was to be done in such a way that the children grew up in the atmosphere filled with ethnic traditions. The Greek community sharply criticized anyone who violated or ignored those norms. The family in question would be considered disgraced and the women would be blamed.

At the age of eight, some girls could be sent to school by their parents, although this was a rare occasion. The Greeks considered female education unnecessary, and in any case, the girl's help was needed at home throughout the year. This meant that only 10% of girls went to school. The percentage of schoolgirls to boys only reached thirty in the year 1905<sup>5</sup>. Such a small percentage of girls in schools were the reason why few Greek women knew the Russian language (the school education was conducted in Russian only) or were acquainted with Russian culture. Those women who did not attend a school rarely managed to learn Russian, and therefore became effectively the guardians of the Greek language. On the contrary, most of men studied at schools. They often had trade relations in the city or in busy Mariupol port, so they used the *lingua franca* – Russian. As for the children, most of them (even those who

attended school) had to use the Greek language at home, in conversations with their mothers and grandmothers.

The Greek district schools had a four-year educational program, and children started to learn Russian during the first year. The girls from Mariupol district, however, mostly stayed at schools for two years. There were two reasons for such a limited education. The first was that Greeks believed the girl's entire education should be limited to reading and the second was that they did not see why a girl should need to finish a school and receive a graduation certificate. This document was very important for the boys. It provided them with the privilege of postponing their military duty.<sup>6</sup> There were no such advantages for girls. In fact, after such a short-term education, the girls usually forgot Russian as they used only Greek in their everyday life.

By the age of eight, a girl was aware that she would be married sooner or later, and she needed to prepare many things for this main event of her life, items such as the necessary clothes for herself, presents for future in-laws, and different decorations for her future house. She was taught knitting, sewing and cooking. Given that Greeks valued a hard-working, modest young virgin, parents seldom let their daughters outside without company. Fear of a girl's virginity was encapsulated in sayings such as, "The skirt is an enemy for a girl." So communication with males was limited at the time of sexual maturity. The girls were taught to be tolerant and coy. Travelers that visited the Azov Sea region at that time often noted that young Greek women were unapproachable. They were extremely shy and avoided strange men. Consequently, European ways of life were not known to them. Travelers noted the Greeks were trapped in a blind pursuance of old traditions.<sup>7</sup> The rural Greek community was not just a production unit, but also a social and community mechanism that controlled strict execution of behavioral norms. Preservation of the rules was supported with the help of social opinion, several methods of punishment, and psychological influence. The women could display initiative only within the traditional behavioral limits.

Any deviations from the norm in a girl's behavior were strictly disapproved by the society. Of course, there could be occasions when youngsters made love before wedding in the church, but such situations were condemned by the villagers and despised. If such a violation of traditions took place, the girls suffered most.

Tar was used to cover the gates and window shutters of their houses as an indication of a girl's sin. People mocked such girls openly criticized them. Sometimes, the girls were forced to leave their houses and move elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

Gender and age hierarchy served as the basis for intra-family communication. Traditional Greek society allocated different roles to youth, parents, and elders. Relations between the members of one group and the members of the other, as well as within the group, were defined by specific norms. Marks of respect and attention were rendered in accordance with age and the family relationship. The seniority of women was defined by their husband's status. From their youngest years every girl was taught to respect a future husband and his parents. When entering a house full of guests a young Greek woman was expected to kiss the hands of all present, excluding her equals. Married women were forbidden to contradict either a husband or a mother-in-law.

Having been taught from childhood the rules of right behavior and being pressed to observe them, a girl on being a mother would strictly teach her children to behave in accordance with established rules; and execute all the etiquette rules set in the Greek society.

Before a marriage, young people usually got acquainted at *posidelki* (get-togethers), where girls did stitch-work, spinning, embroidery, and knitting. They usually gathered in big groups of friends and neighbors in different homes each evening. The windows in the rooms were left open and without curtains. The young men gathered outside and watched the girls through the windows, discussing their qualities and choosing brides-to-be. In accordance with the established tradition, girls just worked at first; later boys started some kind of a game, inviting everybody present to participate. During one evening there could have been several get-togethers in different houses. The boys responded by going from one house to another. Girls usually came with mothers and grandmothers, who stayed in the next room and watched the youngsters to insure proper behavior within the established norms.

One of the most important events in a woman's life was concluding a marriage, the basis for a family. Marriage united the biological, social, practical, spiritual, and psychological aspects of life. Family served as a social unit which on a micro-level preserved the ethnic identity of Greek migrants in a foreign surrounding, and the major performer of that a duty was the Greek woman.



During the first fifty years of the migration, there many more men than women in the Greek settlements. This mean there was a limited choice of spouses from in this period. For example, in 1816 the population of Stariy Krym consisted of 214 men and only 162 women.<sup>9</sup> More detailed consideration of the register book for that year shows that only three unmarried girls older than sixteen lived in Stariy Krym at that time. There were cases in which women married at the age of thirteen. . There is even evidence that sometimes girls became mothers at that age. More typically, marriage came both partners reached majority: civil majority at eighteen and sixteen years and church majority at fifteen for boys and thirteen for girls. Any marriage that was concluded before partners reached the church majority was considered invalid by the church, excluding cases when a woman was pregnant or a child had already been born.<sup>10</sup>

### *Endogamy & Mixed Marriages*

The average wedding age for girls in the middle of the nineteenth century was sixteen to eighteen, but by the end of the same century the marriages were usually concluded when a girl was twenty. Most of the Greek population at the beginning of the twentieth century still observed endogamy in order to preserve ethnic homogeneity inside the family. Researcher P. Pinevich noted in 1928 that Greeks still separated themselves from other ethnicities in the region. Only rarely did a Greek marry a person from another national group. Pinevich also stressed that the reason for such an opinion is that Greeks were very proud of their origin and consider those who do not belong to Greek nationality to be of a lower rank.<sup>11</sup>

To study the marriage patterns of Greece after the region part of the Soviet Union, the house books of Stariy Krym dated in 1941 are very useful. This source is objective, without opinions or comments, only numbers. Due to the fact that access to the archives of the Bureaus of Civil State Registration is restricted, such house-books are the only reliable and accessible source of information. The house books indicate that sixteen nationalities lived in the village at that time.<sup>12</sup> There were 292 marriages I which both partners were Greek or 45.6% of the total of all families. There were seven marriages of Greek males and Ukrainian women and five

with Greek males and Russian women. There were 24 instances in which a Russian or a Ukrainian man had married a Greek woman, 24. In short, even in the fourth decades of the twentieth century, both partners of 89% of all marriages were Greek.

Various sources indicated that Greek society had a certain level of tolerance when a Greek man married a woman from another nationality, but when a Greek woman married a non-Greek man, she was condemned, and the perception of her family became negative. Such marriages often involved situations in which a poor family could not prepare a decent dowry or when a woman had physical defects. Nonetheless, if a mixed-ethnic family continued to live in a Greek village, the children were brought up in accordance with Greek traditions. These children usually perceived themselves as Greek.

The choice of a bride was up to the groom's parents. They always sought to find a groom in the richest and most prosperous family possible. This was seen as the best guarantee for their daughter's long-term well-being. Therefore, nearly every marriage was arranged with practical calculations of the older generations of both families. The views of young people were seldom considered when the decision about marriage was taken. The daughter's opinion was never asked. She could never say, "I don't like him I don't want to marry him, I won't marry him." If she was too stubborn, her father could beat her force her to marry his choice. Sometimes parents would match and engage even small children, and such an agreement was seldom broken. Any termination could lead violent discord as it was a violation of the sanctity of centuries-long traditions.<sup>13</sup> One seldom can find family units in Greek villages based on romantic love. Greeks still living in these areas remember many tragic events connected to the forced separation of lovers. There were situations when a young man wanted to marry a girl he liked very much, but her parents refused either because the boy was poor or without any lands, or had some other perceived flaw.. Such a young man could "steal" his favorite girl after get-togethers and bring her home only in the morning. Such a stealing was considered a huge disgrace for a girl, and her parents knowing they will not be able to decently marry her now, finally gave their permission. An important condition of a marriage was that the bride was virgin. Any pre-marital loss of virginity was a huge disgrace for the entire family, including relatives.

Clear indications about negative attitude of Greeks towards mixed marriages can be found in personal accounts.. For example, M. Kechedgy-Shapovalov, a resident of Mariupol whose his father built the city theatre, wrote in memoirs dated 1919 that there was extreme intolerance for other ethnicities among Greeks. As an example, he wrote about a situation in which he personally participated. His aunt who had graduated from Kushnikov Institute in Kerch, which was an outstanding event for a woman in those times, belonged to the intellectual center of Mariupol society. The teachers from Oleksandrivska gymnasium played a great role in that society, and his aunt soon became engaged to one of the teachers, who was Russian. Her parents were adamantly against the marriage. Kechedgy-Shapovalov wrote, "And there was a scene I watched being still a boy: at the same time when their wedding took place in Maryinskaya church, in her home, her mother was on her knees in front of the icons with the candles burning, crying and lamenting and making awful curses."<sup>14</sup>

Greek tradition required that the eldest daughter had to marry first. It was a disgrace for the elder girl if her younger sister was wed before her. The father of the family with a single elder daughter could refuse a marriage brokers match for his younger daughter. When a poor family had many daughters, the youngest might remain unmarried for a very long time as she waited her turn. If someone proposed to the younger girl, her father would rather "offer" an elder single daughter in her place. This often meant the youngest daughter might not marry until she was 30 and then not to her love but a man who had also remained single. A mother always supported a father's actions by nothing that her daughter would grow accustomed to her mate and she had not married for love either. M.V. Kechedgy-Shapovalov observed that, "A girl would wed an unloved man with obedience, and with the same obedience and even with some honesty she'd give birth to his children, lead a household and cook for him." He also noted that Greek women were famous for their "unusual modesty and extreme commitment to the matrimonial pledges."<sup>15</sup>

The pre-marriage routines of Greeks living in the Azov region reflected the ethnic norms and ideology of the Greeks. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the bride-to-be did not come out to meet matchmakers, even during the official marriage brokerage. When that changed, she was to give only short "Yes" and "No"

answers to their questions. The idea of a woman's obedience is the basis for another brutal tradition that endured until the middle of the nineteenth century. A groom literally tore apart a live cat or a rooster in front of the bride. This served to demonstrate the man's strength and his complete power over the woman.<sup>16</sup>

Relations inside the family were starkly patriarchal. If the newlyweds lived separately from their families, which was rare, the husband was master of the house. In most situations, however, the father-in-law was considered to be the head of the household. A daughter-in-law had to wake up first in the morning, fire a furnace, and prepare water and towels for husband's parent. The fact that a daughter-in-law herself offered a towel to her father-in-law after he washed was a sign of respect. Moreover, when a new, young wife entered the house, she started to help washing the head and feet not only to her husband, but also the heads and feet of his parents, grandparents, and other elders who might be living in the house. Women seem not have regarded this as humiliating, but as a sign of respect for elders.

### *Relations Between Spouses*

Once married, a woman was forbidden to go shopping alone, spend money according to her judgment, talk to men who were not family members, participate in family meetings, and even visit her relatives without her husband's presence. During her first year in a new home, a woman could not sit to have dinner with the family, but eat her meals standing. There were even some documented cases in which a wife went to bed hungry if her husband was absent and her in-laws did not offer her to eat with them. The wife could not ask them to do this, as during the first year after the marriage she was not allowed to talk to her father-in-law. Indeed, until the middle of the nineteenth century, this term could have been as much as five years. The women silently served her husband his meals and followed all his directions with the same silence. This was considered a sign of obedience. When the year was over, the father-in-law usually gave her a valuable present, and she kissed his hand. From this moment, she was allowed to talk to him, but remained governed by tradition. She always invited her husband to dinner personally. If something was wrong with cooking, or

there was no napkin or the food was cold, he could throw away the plate with food. The men could not object and had to silently serve the table once again.

A woman always give her husband the first plate at the table, chose only the best steaks, and reserved the first *cheburek* (traditional Greek meat pastry) for him. A Greek woman bathed her man, washed his feet in the evening, and always examined him when he was going somewhere.<sup>17</sup> In the middle of the nineteenth century, G. Titov, a traveler, noted that "It is always silence, mutual accord and love that rules their families; one could not see even that passionate jealousy which is often seen among other peoples. A Greek husband from Mariupol sees only the perfection in his wife, and his wife's attitude is the same."<sup>18</sup> Such a positive impression created for travelers from Greek families was connected to the fact that women never said against their husbands and older men, performed all the duties and errands in full obedience. Following their mothers' example, girls also learned about peculiarities of traditional communication in Greek families from the very childhood.

If there was a social event of non-religious character in the village, only several women were allowed to visit it. This is indicted in the record about movable hygienic exhibition that visited the Greek villages of Sartana, Yalta, Mangush, Ignatyivka, Velyka Karakuba, Maliy Yanisol in 1914. The report of S.F.Kazanskiy, a doctor, about this exhibition clearly indicates that there were more men than women visitors to this event. In the Russian village Novospasovka the number of female visitors was 40% of the total. In contrast, in Greek villages the percentage of women visitors was less: 35% in Sartana, 35% in Yalta, 29% in Maliy Yanisol, and 31% in Mangush, which was generally perceived as a "progressive" village. The doctor's concluded, "The opinion that a woman must watch a household is still strong and popular."<sup>19</sup> Despite the fact that more than 130 years passed since Greeks had migrated from the Crimean peninsula, Greek women still remained closed inside their houses, and only limited number of families had adopted changes in relation to women by allowing those to visit social events. The only exception was Christian Patron Saint's day *Panair*, which was celebrated annually (and sometimes several times a year) in Greek villages. All the women were allowed to visit, but men and women were separated, especially during meals.

A man could punish his wife with hunger, deprive of the most necessary things, and even beat. Such behavior is reflected in the folklore. For example in the tale "Chaban" (Shepherd) there is an episode when a woman starts to be interested in a man's secret. A rooster then advises him to "come back home, take her by the hair and beat her with a whip." The man does what he is advised—"and all the woman's curiosity passed, and they lived long in love and happiness."

A mother-in-law had a special status in the family. She controlled not only her sons but her daughters-in-law and grandchildren. In general, a mother-in-law distributed housework evenly between all the daughters. The presents to all daughters-in-law were usually equal.

However strong a man's feelings to his wife were, he would always defer to his mother. One of the Greek sayings was, "A woman is *halvah* until she's in bed." Even if there were two or three daughters-in-law, they seldom fought; and not because they lived friendly, but because it was a shame to fight and argue in front of children and parents. A mother-in-law could offend a young woman, especially if the last was from a poor family. To speak about family arguments to outsiders was forbidden. Greeks were always taught, "Never wash dirty linen in public"—was one of the proverbs used by Greeks.

Oriental views about the position of women in the family and her role were partially adopted by Greeks from Crimean Tatars. This influence found its reflection in the isolation of women isolation and separation from certain jobs. Notable in this regard was that before contact with the Tartars, some household jobs were done by men. Before *kolkhozy* (communal farms) were created by the Soviet Government, a Greek woman did not attend livestock or work in the fields. Women's duties included brining-up of children, cleaning of the house, cooking, laundry, sewing and spinning. Sometimes women could work in the fields and thrashing floors (especially during the harvesting), but not always and not all the women. Even poor Greek girls seldom hired themselves out, as it was considered a shame and disgrace. The fact that women seldom helped at the fields deprived them of communication with representatives of Russian, Ukrainian, and German women. They communicated with Greek women only, and this limited their view of about life and routines other women might enjoy.

Researchers and travelers who visited Greek villages were often surprised that Greek women did not participate in agricultural labor. For example, G. Titov in his "Letters from Yekaterinoslav" wrote that Greek women spent the whole day on the sofa (which occupied most of the room) doing women's job.<sup>20</sup> A. I. Khristoforovich-Lobko paid special attention to the fact that in any house—whether rich or poor—he was always surprised by the tidiness and cleanliness created and supported by Greek women.<sup>21</sup>

Greeks always treated their women's job with respect. Division of responsibilities between a man and a woman can be easily traced in social fairy-tales. For example, the tale "Yuhim and Yelizaveta" outlines gender roles and attitudes. Yuhim, an old man, believes that the duties performed by his wife Yelizaveta were not difficult and lengthy, so he decides to trade with her for one day. His wife goes out to the field to work, and Yuhim believes he has "less things to do than fingers on one hand." He soon discovers he must bake bread, churn butter, do the laundry, string the washing, and watch the cat who wants to eat one of his chickens. At the end of the story, the old man has not been able to do a single task well and he clearly understands that women's work is not easy. The tale's contents lead us to the conclusion that Greeks respected the household duties that women performed and that never ended. The Greeks themselves also understood the moral of the tale as "Never think that your work is the most difficult and never feel jealous to others. Do your work well, because everyone has his own place and destination in this life".

From the late eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century spinning, weaving and knitting were considered to be exclusively feminine works. These tasks took up much of the time of the Greek women and all the Greek women knew them perfectly. Greek women used a spinning wheel of a Balkan type: a handheld spinning wheel that was portable and could be put in the belt. A spinning wheel was a smooth planed bar to which a *kudel* (*kudel* is a tow, a fibrous part of flax or hemp) was attached with the help of a cloth. A spindle was a wooden stick, made thicker at one end or with a special head that helped hold the spindle vertically, especially as the number of rotations increased. Taking material from the tow and spinning it with her left hand, a woman rotated the spindle with her right hand, winding the thread on it. A straight stick which was rotated on the hip with the help of the right hand

was a primitive type of a spindle. There was also a more advanced type in which the wheel was pushed with the help of a pedal, and fiber was wound on yarn-swindle. A hank of yarn was placed on a wheel, and threads were wound on the same. The yarn removed from the wheel was sometimes dyed.

Wool yarn that was used for clothes weaving was seldom dyed, but left with its natural white or black color. Fabric for weaving of linen and decorative items was usually dyed. Brown dye was made of Caucasian moss, different shades of yellow color were produced from spurge, while onion jackets created different shades: from light yellow to orange and even greenish yellow. Black dye was produced from elder. At the beginning of the twentieth century Greek women started to use aniline paints. The work of a weaver was very difficult and required skill and patience.

Fabric from weaving was of two main types. The uniform style was made of threads of the same material and quality. The patch style mixed several types of threads were mixed: cotton and flax, thick and thin, whitened and "coarse". Cotton and silk threads were used mostly for women's under shirts. Such mixtures helped create figured cloths used for sewing of decorative items, towels, and napkins. The role of material for homespun fabric was usually played by plant fiber made of hemp and flax. In the summer, after the plants were picked, they were soaked in the river, and after that placed in small piles, covered with stones and left like do dry. For flax preparation, the fiber was broken, hackled and sorted. Prepared and selected fiber was then woven. The result was that Greek women created beautiful rugs and cloths in the Greek style that were always in demand in the marketplace.

### *Daily Life*

When free from work, especially in long winter evenings, women liked to gather for *posidelki* where they listened to tales and legends, sang songs, and danced. During the first decades after the move to the Azov Sea region, Greek women wore the same dress that corresponded to the ethnic traditions, tastes and habits that been created in the Crimea. When looking at a woman one could tell her social and family status and her age. The costume of a single girl was different from that of a married woman. A woman dur-



ing her first married year would wear a dress completely different from that of an elderly lady, and a widow would also dress according to her status. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a woman's dress consisted of a frock with short sleeves, a blouse with long wide sleeves worn under a frock, pantaloons and shoes made of Morocco leather. A must accessory for a frock was a silver belt.

All the women, from small girls to elderly, always wore a headscarf. The more elaborate form called a *perifstar* had embroidery along the edge. A *perifstar* was worn by a bride on the day of her wedding and until the first baby was born. Later it served as holiday attire only, and in daily life was replaced with a headscarf. In 1793, when a German natural historian Peter Pallas visited the Greek city of Mariupol and the Greek village of Mangush, he noted that most of the women wore blue dresses and had white kerchiefs round their heads.<sup>22</sup>

Considerable changes in the everyday life of both the urban and rural Greek population in the North Azov region occurred with the onset of the twentieth century. Women's attire was gradually replaced by an urban-type suit that included a skirt and a blouse or jacket. As might be expected, the traditional Greek traces were much longer kept on women's clothes than in the clothes of men. Until the second and third decades of the twentieth century, Greek women wove and sewed their own dresses. The main requirements to the women's clothing were modesty and practicality. A loose-fitting or baggy dress that hid a woman's figure was thought to discourage wayward sexual thoughts of men. Single women could not show their arms even on the hottest days of summer.

Accessories usually elevated the social status of a Greek woman; every family tried to purchase and give silver and golden rings, wrist straps, pendants, earrings, belts as a marriage portion. Silver, gold-plated and brass belts that consisted of plates or disks connected to each other with the help of hooks were a traditional accessory. They were decorated with open-worked carving, impressions, semi-precious stones, colored glass or enamel. Especially popular among Greek women were pearl and turtle-shell beads.<sup>23</sup> The photos from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show that every woman with a huge cross on a necklace, a symbol of their faith.. Ethnic accessories unlike traditional clothes stayed in daily use much longer, and they were often passed to the next generations. All the Greek women had long hair, as there was a belief that

a woman who cuts her hair will cut a part of a destiny and happiness. The hair was done and fixed with a special rack-comb, and then covered with a kerchief. During holiday celebrations, it was mandatory for a woman to have a shawl on her shoulders.

### *Childbirth & Motherhood*

Sexual intercourse between a woman and a man, according to Orthodox religious canons, could be justified only as a method for a child conceiving. A child's birth was viewed as God's blessing, while absence of children was a curse.<sup>24</sup> The Greeks used to say: "A house with children is a happiness, a house without children is a tomb". The entire fault for the absence of children or the birth of solely of girl was put on women. Sterile women were treated negatively, and people considered a reproductively-challenged woman as evil, stingy, and sinful. The people used to say: "Let the God drive off the childless and the sick." Such a woman could not be present in populous gatherings, especially weddings and christenings. Priests did not hesitate to say that a childless woman had been sinful and her condition was a punishment.

Children were less as individuals than as "successors" to their father's family. This resulted in a decided preference given to boys. They would maintain the family while the girls had to leave, sooner or later, to become part of a different family. Sons were an important source of power for women who had few powers in the strict patriarchal system of the Greeks for a son would bring the family a daughter-in-law who would be obedient to the mother. When a daughter-in-law became a mother, she also gained some power in relation to the younger members of the family. She was responsible for the "purity" of her daughter and executed everyday control of the household. The older a woman became the higher her status in society. Some mothers-in-law would blame their daughters-in-law for "weakening" the household when they gave birth to baby-girls only. Contributing to the preference for males was a rule in the Russian empire that stated that only male newborns were granted an allotment. In case of infertility Greek women usually addressed a *znakharka* (a wise woman, a sorceress), who used different herbal extracts in an attempt to cure her. Sometimes women performed a pilgrimage to holy places, springs,

churches and icons in order to be cured from infertility. Such pilgrimages might also be done to ensure easy labor and delivery.

Pregnancy was always associated with numerous superstitions and limitations, which if not obeyed were thought to harm a woman or her baby. A pregnant woman could not curse, feel jealous, say or wish somebody bad things, attend funerals, weddings, or christening. In other words, pregnant women had to avoid crowded gatherings. Special attention was paid that during the Orthodox Feast of the Presentation of Christ at the Temple (in February) a woman did not work around the house and did not use knives or scissors. Throughout her pregnancy, a woman was given special attention and respect. She was considered to already have two schools and she was taken care of, helped and assisted. A Greek woman often would hide her state as long as possible from neighbors and even relatives, because she was afraid to be put under an evil eye.

During the period under discussion, the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, Greek women chose not give birth in hospitals but mostly at home, using the services of midwives. Expectant mothers seldom went to a hospital and only went to one as a last resort. Not surprisingly, even as late as 1900, none of the Mariupol county hospitals had a separate room for women in labor, and the Ignatyivska hospital did not had a separate operating room. Statistical records reveal there was a total of twelve midwives working in the Mariupol district in 1900, one midwife for each medical division. They usually lived in the same settlement where a doctor lived. Midwives generally sought a doctor's assistance only in only two to eight cases out of 100. In short, midwives performed heir services in the pregnant woman's home. If the labor was going well, they managed themselves, and called for the doctor in case of pathologies only.<sup>25</sup> Doctors could perform obstetrical operations such as embryotomy, internal podalic versions, expulsion of fetus by hand, removal of afterbirths, transforation, extraction of arms in case of a stillbirths, and the like. Even Greek woman who did not want professional help, had to address doctors when her condition became critical due to ignorance of a midwife. There are examples of women who had their afterbirths, overlooked by a midwife, removed on the seventh (!) day after delivery. Sometimes a Greek woman went to the doctor to ask for removal of accreted placenta or because of prolapse of the uterus; these cases were usually treated manually.<sup>26</sup>

The traditional position for labor among Greek women was sitting. This is an old and physiologically correct position for easy labor. The woman in labor was seated on a tripod, usually used as a stand for vessels with a round bottom. A midwife had to have an exceptional knowledge of Greek traditions, because it was she who controlled and performed the chain of ceremonies that served as an acceptance of the baby in the family and in the society. To ease the labor a midwife would use herbal medicine based on infusions, teas from medicinal herbs ( thyme, mint and nettle), and dry applications of barley and oat grains. There were also physical assistance, such as massage of the belly and turning of the fetus by shaking a woman. If obvious problems in the pregnancy became evident, a midwife was called for in secret, and the number of people who were present was very limited. If a child was born still or with a deformation, everyone assumed this was an influence of "evil forces."

The first three days after the labor, a woman was kept away from strangers. The Greek proverb says that even the Sun should not see a woman at that time. Even other Greek women were seldom invited to the house, and if they came, a new mother would pretend to be exhausted. This was believed to give her a protection from malicious eyes. The same protection was meant when every evening the woman had roods painted on her forehead and arms.<sup>27</sup> On the ninth day after the labor (and sometimes even later, if a woman felt bad) the midwife arranged and performed a ritual ablution of a new mother. A woman was seated in a big bowl with water, where hot stones and herbs were also placed, and covered with blankets. After such a *banya* (Russian bath with steam) a midwife massaged the woman's belly, rubbed her bones: ankles, hips, shoulders, and then tied a towel around the woman's waist. Such a bath could have different influence on the woman's health; sometimes it facilitated an easier recovery, but sometimes it had negative effect. Despite the fact that this ritual was a "cleaning" one, a woman was considered unholy for thirty more days (a total of forty days after the labor). At this time she was both susceptible to the influence of evil forces and was a source of negative energy herself. Consequently, the woman who just gave birth to a child was limited in her everyday actions and duties. She was not allowed to bake bread, cook, visit social gatherings, church and cemetery. She even slept separately from her husband. The Greeks used to say: "Even the grass does not grow where a birthing mother

walked". A rational dimension of these limitations was that they provided a new mother with the opportunity to rest and renew her health and strength. The limitation of a sexual life coincided with the puerperium period necessary for normal recovery of organs changed during pregnancy and delivery. A woman visited her church and received a holy absolution on the forty-first day after her delivery.

Greek women usually breastfed their children, and they sometimes overextended a nursing period for in order to prevent a new pregnancy. In some cases they breastfed their children until they were "ashamed" of nursing children three to four years old. Because women tried to nurse for as long as possible, there were cases when a grandmother would feed her newborn granddaughter or grandson. The Greek women also nursed the children whose mothers died as a result of a labor or foundlings brought by alien women.

Women usually continued to get pregnant until physical sterility. I. Strionov, a Greek, wrote in his memoirs, that at the beginning of the twentieth century most women gave birth to up to twenty children who might be born in fields, barns, and sheds as well as at home. He gave an example of his mother, who delivered eighteen children, of which seven sons and one daughter survived. The author emphasized due to the absence of medical help most of the children did not live long and died when still very young. Parents seldom grieved long over gone children, saying, "Father (God) gave, Father took." In some sense, it was a genetic survival of the fittest; the strong lived and the weak died.<sup>28</sup>

The deaths of women during labor were frequent.<sup>29</sup> County doctors noted that obstetrical service was in a poor condition in Mariupol district. They also felt that morbidity and mortality rates were extremely high due to the unprofessional and inept help provided from so-called *babki* (sorceresses) who often came to their patients untidy and used very brutal methods of treatment.<sup>30</sup> Some Greek women suffered from postnatal illnesses which often appeared as a result of absence of proper hygiene, unsuitable conditions for intimate care and an unhealthy diet. These negatives were compounded by an early rise from the bed and a "bath" at the wrong time after the delivery.<sup>31</sup>

Women seldom visited doctors in relation to venereal diseases. This was partly due to their modesty and partly because most of the illnesses were not acutely painful and supposedly “ran slowly and were unnoticeable.”<sup>32</sup> In fact, most diseases were chronic and required systematic, persistent treatment which could take months and even years. The frequency of a woman’s visits to a doctor in relation to infections of their reproductive organs depended greatly on the woman’s attitude towards the doctor and trust between a patient and a medical specialist. Most gynecological actions by the doctors involved inspection of the vagina, endometrectomy, and operations on abscesses in the pelvic cavity.<sup>33</sup>

The notes of a district doctor, Z.L. Gorelov, convey his observations of women’s illnesses, “There are many sick females with infections of their reproductive organs, and the number can be explained by the fact that many women during the pregnancy and labor do not want, due to their illiteracy, to call for professional help from midwives, but more often seek help from arrogant untrained persons who think that they know everything because they themselves gave birth to many children. They cause many problems to peasants, often infect them because know nothing about disinfection, which leads to many postnatal problems that either carry women off or leave them suffering all their life. However these untrained providers consider themselves to be good specialists not only for labor process and post-partum issues, but act as if they are experienced gynecologists. Therefore when a peasant woman complains of abdominal pains they are likely to come up with baseless diagnoses such uterus malposition (uterine retroversion) and start doing different procedures such as uterus uplift, which at the end leads to aggravation of different inflammations of the uterus and its surrounding organs. These untrained persons and fraudulent medicine as a whole represent a serious threat to the wellbeing of peasant women.”<sup>34</sup>

Due to the social norms I place, women used to hide their diseases, especially those in relation to sexual activity and visited a doctor or a paramedic as a last resort. Only a small percentage of women received professional care. This was due to the inconvenience of outpatient care, the near impossibility to leaving domestic work, and the most importantly, the arrogance.<sup>35</sup> The rare visits

of a woman to a doctor's office were also the result of a situation in which a woman, in addition to doing household work, had to watch children. If the mother went to the hospital the children remained unattended. Nonetheless, ethnic statistics of women who were treated in hospitals shows that there far more Greek women than Russian or Ukrainian women. Doctors incorrectly assumed that Greek women had less work to do around the house and had more time to treat their illnesses.<sup>36</sup>

Doctors in the region believed that anemia, scrofula, and other common diseases were, in most part, the result of an insufficient quantity of wholesome food, absence of physical activity, and constant occupation with female tasks such as sewing, knitting, embroidering, and weaving, which were performed in the sitting position and indoors.<sup>37</sup>

Many women suffered from tuberculosis, which had a direct connection to the living conditions in Greek villages. Many district doctors noted that problems with lungs were much more common among Greeks than among other ethnicities. Mortality rate from this disease was extremely high, as all those infected died. Doctors considered this illness, "the most fatal."<sup>38</sup> A public doctor from Stariy Kermenchik in a report dated 1889 speculated about the reasons for the wide occurrence of tuberculosis among Greek women, "The very first reason is traditional feminine characteristics (sic) of the Greek women and complete absence of strengthening through lack of physical work . . . even in busy harvesting time when a *khokhlushka* (a colloquial name for Ukrainian woman) or a German would work in the fields from dawn to sunset. In contrast, a Greek woman would stay indoors doing household chores or various kinds of needlework. . . Some influence can also be traced to the peculiar Greek cribs adapted from Tatars, in which an infant swaddled with plenty of linens has to stay on her back without the possibility to move, and in such a way has a small, but strongly felt obstacle to the right development of her chest."<sup>39</sup>

Abortion was another major issue. The Orthodox Church was against any abortions. According to Church statutes the "murder" of a fetus with the help of herbal tea or with support of a midwife was a punishable offence by five to fifteen years of "penance." In the revolution of 1917, abortions were against the law. According to the Directive on punishments dated 1845, an abortion was equal to child murder, and the one who performed it could get four

to ten years of hard labor. As a result there are no statistics on the number of abortions in Russia at that time. Illegal abortions were usually done in the most primitive way —, by needling the uterus. The women were pushed to perform abortion due to financial hardships, large families with many children or sometimes pregnancy out of wedlock. The last reason was a very important, as women were afraid of gossips and scandals. The saying “They’ll make fun of me, and paint the gates of my house with tar” illustrates the case very well.<sup>40</sup> The only time when abortion was officially allowed was the health condition of a woman. In such instances, the woman would go to a doctor asking him to perform an abortion. If the doctor considered such an operation to be appropriate, he would perform it.

Fear of social disfavor of her fellow villagers was so strong that women sometimes sought a secret abortion. Sometimes the services of clandestine midwives resulted in their patients’ deaths. The victims of such criminal abortions never turned in the midwives to the authorities, even when they were on their death-beds. They kept the perpetrators’ names to themselves.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, sometimes even abortions performed in the hospitals ended in deaths. There is a letter to the editor’s office of the newspaper *Nasha Pravda* (Our Truth) April 24, 1929, in which the author from Stariy Kermenchik gave an example of the following episode, “There was once a doctor Divish in our village, who performed plenty of abortions, many of which were badly performed, until he landed in the dock after one of his clients died. The trial showed that he performed operations in such bad conditions that everyone couldn’t help doubting whether he is a doctor or in reality an unprofessional midwife. An examining commission whose members were mostly doctors expressed doubts over whether the doctor had necessary training and practice.”<sup>42</sup> In most cases a married woman performed abortions without notifying her husband. In the Greek village of Nova Karakuba a secret abortion cost was five to seven rubles.<sup>43</sup> This quite a high fee as the price for a seed pod of grains in April 1925 was 153 gold kopecks, a seed pod of wheat was 248 kopecks, and a seed pod of barley 150 kopecks.<sup>44</sup>

The death of a husband was a double tragedy for a woman. She lost her even her relative independence. Her life turned into a series of humiliations because she was beholden to orders from other family members, and she lost her status in the community.



There were situations when a woman did not attend her husband's funeral because she was ordered to work around the house. A second marriage was likely and when a widow remarried second time, the celebration was muted. Only two-three people attended the ceremony. Greeks said, "It is a curse to get married to a widow." In contrast, a widower's second marriage was held in accordance with all the social traditions in a joyful atmosphere with songs and dances. Men seldom divorced their wives, and such occasions were a real blow for a woman. It was so difficult for a divorced woman that she might lose her mind and even die from psychological stress. According to the census in the Russian Empire performed in 1897, there were 108 widows, 41 widowers and only one divorced couple in Mariupol.<sup>45</sup> If a woman became a widow and had no sons but only daughters, her lands were usually dispossessed from her during the land redistribution, which meant she had no means of living. There were cases, however, when a community made a decision to grant a widow half of an allotment.<sup>46</sup>

During the first decades following the migration from the Crimea many Greeks did not have many relatives in the region, and it was an often case that women without children whose husbands died were left without any support or help. In order to get necessary care they sometimes transferred their immovable and movable belongings to a representative of the Greek community in order to be watched over and taken care of until death. Such agreements were officially documented in the Greek Court in Mariupol.<sup>47</sup> Those papers clearly stated that the belongings could be transferred, sold or inherited by the community representative only after the woman's death.

### *Conclusions*

Research on the daily life of Greek women between the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries suggests that their main tasks after migration from Crimea were to deal with family and household issues. Their everyday life amounted to subordination to the dual hierarchies of age and gender, which meant unconditional obedience to their parents, their husbands and their parents-in-law. One of their main responsibilities was raising the new generation in a manner that preserved Greek identity, performance of

traditional ceremonies, and observation of Greek holidays. Greek women, in fact, played the main role in the support and transference of experience and ethnic traditions from previous generations. The Greek mother was largely responsible for the teaching children the history, traditions and culture of the Greeks. Women made it possible to keep alive ethnic self-identity, traditional cultural peculiarities, and daily life patterns of the Greeks residing in the North Azov Sea region.

The traditions the Greek women advanced, in the North Azov region were not characteristic of or similar to those of the local Ukrainian and Russian ethnic groups. Given the limited contact among those groups, interactions would not be commonplace until the first half of the twentieth century. Until then, the Greeks were clannish and lived in a “closed” society. The population of Greek villages permanently consisted of Greeks only. The only exceptions of note were Russian or Ukrainian people would live in Greek villages as seasonal workers or servants. For the most part these were not local people, but workers from neighboring provinces. These patterns also meant there was no process of adaptation of Greek traditions by Ukrainian or Russian ethnic groups. The daily life and psychology of Russians and Ukrainians remained drastically different from those of the Greeks. Yet another difference was that the Greeks possessed substantial rights and liberties, and generally experienced more privileged condition when compared to the Russian and Ukrainian population, which experienced serfdom until February 19, 1861.

## Notes

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<sup>2</sup>*Itogy pervoy perepisi naseleniya Mariupolskogo grecheskogo uezhdia (Summary of the first census of the Mariupol Greek district)*, June 1781 // Kaloeroev S.A. *Ot Kryma do Mariupolskogo grecheskogo okruga (From the Crimea to Mariupol Greek district (1652–1783))*, Donetsk, Yugo-Vostok Ltd, 2008, p. 466–467.

<sup>3</sup>Mariupol local history museum, Funds, case 3471-D, *Zhalovannaya gramota khristianam grecheskogo zakona, vyshedshim iz Kryma v Azovskuyu guberniu na poselenie (Charter granted to the Christians of Greek rule, that left the Crimea to settle down in the Azov province)*, May 21, 1779.

<sup>4</sup>State Archives of Odessa region, F. 1, inventory 221, case 4, *Delo o zemlyah Mariupolskikh grekov i o poselenii tam Coloniy Izrail'skikh Khristian (The case of lands of Mariupol Greeks and about settling there of Israel Christians)*, November 28, 1817—1825, on 143 pages; Russian State Historical Archive, F. 379, inventory 1, case 392, *Delo ob otvode zemel inostrannym kolonistam v Ekaterinoslavskoy i Tavricheskoy guberniyah (The case of lands allotment to the foreign colonists in the Yekaterinoslav and Tavriya provinces)*, May 26, 1821—April 8, 1827, on 80 pages.

<sup>5</sup>*Otchet Mariupolskoy uezdnoy zemskoy upravy za 1905 god (The report of Mariupol district council for 1905)*, Mariupol, Publishing house of E.I. Goldrin, 1906, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup>*Sanitarnoe opisanie shkol Mariupol'skogo uezda i rezul'taty issledovaniya fizicheskogo sostoyaniya uchashchysya v nih (Sanitary description of schools of Mariupol district and results of examination of physical condition of the pupils)*, Yekaterinoslav, Publishing House of Province District, 1904, p. 79.

<sup>7</sup>Bok H. *Mesyac v Mariupole (One month in Mariupol)* // *Moskovskie vedomosti (Moscow bulletin)*, 1847, No. 136, p. 1044.

<sup>8</sup>*Istoriya povsyakdennosti v etnichnomu vimiri: spogadi greka-komunsta (History of daily life from the ethnical point of view: memoirs of a communist Greek)*, Kyiv, 2008, p. 58.

<sup>9</sup>State Archives of Donestk region, F. 131, inventory 1, case 71 *Revizskie skazki kazennogo grecheskogo sela Staryi Krym (Revision censuses of the government Greek settlement Staryi Krym)*, 1816, on 27 pages.

<sup>10</sup>Cypin V. *Cerkovnoe pravo (Church law)*, available from <http://www.klikovo.ru>

<sup>11</sup>Institute of Manuscripts of National Ukrainian Library in the name of V.I. Vernadskyi of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, F.A., case 11725, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup>Arabadzhi S.S. *Pogospodars'ki knigi yak dzherelo dlya vivchennya povsyakdennogo zhyttya greckoyi spilnoti Priazovya (na prikladi s. Staryi Krym ta s. Mangush) (House-books as a source for research of a daily life of the Greek community of the Azov Sea region (on the examples of villages Staryi Krym and Mangush))*, Odessos, Odessa, 2009, p. 198.

<sup>13</sup>Markov S.I. *Zametki o byte grekov g. Mariupolya (Notes on the daily life of Greeks from Mariupol)* // *Mariupol' i ego okrestnosti (Mariupol and its outskirts)*, Mariupol, 1892, p. 416.

<sup>14</sup>Kechedgy-Shapovalov M.V. *Staryi i Novyi Mariupol (An old and a new Mariupol)*, El. publishing house of Br. Golprin, 1919, p. 12–13.

<sup>15</sup>Kechedgy-Shapovalov M.V. *Staryi i Novyi Mariupol (An old and a new Mariupol)*, El. publishing house of Br. Golprin, 1919, p. 12–13.

<sup>16</sup>Markov S.I. *Zametki o byte grekov g. Mariupolya (Notes on the daily life of Greeks from Mariupol)* // *Mariupol' i ego okrestnosti (Mariupol and its outskirts)*, Mariupol, 1892, p. 429.

<sup>17</sup>Popova (Nikolaeva) E.G. *Moi devyanosto let (kak ya ih pomnyu) (My ninety years—as I remember them)*, Moscow, Publishing house of the Moscow International university, 2006, 208 p.

<sup>18</sup>Titov G. *Pis'ma iz Yekaterinoslava (Letters from Yekaterinoslav)*, Odessa, Publishing house of Braun and Co, 1849, p. 147.

<sup>19</sup>Kazanskii S.F. *Peredvizhnaya gigienicheskaya vystavka v Mariupol'skom uezde*

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<sup>20</sup>Titov G. *Pis'ma iz Yekaterinoslava* (Letters from Yekaterinoslav), Odessa, Publishing house of Braun and Co, 1849, p. 137.

<sup>21</sup>Khristorovich-Lobko I. *Ocherki Mariupol'skogo okruga* (Feature stories of Mariupol district) // *Vedomosti Taganrogskogo gradonachal'stva* (Bulletin of Taganrog city council), 1871, No. 48b zyu 253.

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<sup>23</sup>Babenko V.A. *Etnograficheskie ocherki narodnogo byta Ekaterinoslavskogo kraya* (Ethnographical essay about the people's daily life in Yekaterinoslav lands), Yekaterinoslav, 1905, p. 59. –

<sup>24</sup>Markov S.I. *Zametki o byte grekov g. Mariupolya* (Notes on the daily life of Greeks from Mariupol) // *Mariupol' i ego okrestnosti* (Mariupol and its outskirts), Mariupol, 1892, p. 413.

<sup>25</sup>*O sovremennom stroe i sostoyanii zemskoi mediciny v uезде Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii za 1900, 1901 i 1902 gody* (About modern structure and condition of the district medicine in the district of Yekaterinoslav province for years 1900, 1901 and 1902), Part II, *Po Mariupol'skomu uезdu* (Concerning Mariupol district), Yekaterinoslav, Publishing house of the District Council, 1903, p. 28.

<sup>26</sup>*Otchet Mariupolskoy uездnoy zemskoy upravly za 1897 god* (The report of Mariupol district council for 1897), Mariupol, Publishing and lithoprint house of A.A.Frantov, 1899, p. 200.

<sup>27</sup>Markov S.I. *Zametki o byte grekov g. Mariupolya* (Notes on the daily life of Greeks from Mariupol) // *Mariupol' i ego okrestnosti* (Mariupol and its outskirts), Mariupol, 1892, p. 414–415.

<sup>28</sup>*Istoriya povsyakdennosti v etnichnomu vimiri: spogadi greka-komunsta* (History of daily life from the ethnical point of view: memoirs of a communist Greek), Kyiv, 2008, p. 56.

<sup>29</sup>Haradzha M. *K zemlyakam grekam sela Novo-Karakuby Mariupol'skogo uезда* (To the Greek fellow-villagers of Novo-Karakuby of Mariupol district), Mariupol, Publishing house of E.I.Goldrin, 1907, p. 12.

<sup>30</sup>*Otchet Mariupolskoy uездnoy zemskoy upravly za 1888 god* (The report of Mariupol district council for 1888), Mariupol, Publishing and lithoprint house of A.A.Frantov, 1889, p. 131.

<sup>31</sup>*Otchet Mariupolskoy uездnoy zemskoy upravly za 1898 god* (The report of Mariupol district council for 1898), Mariupol, Publishing and lithoprint house of A.A.Frantov, 1899, p. 181.

<sup>32</sup>*O sovremennom stroe i sostoyanii zemskoi mediciny v uезде Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii za 1900, 1901 i 1902 gody* (About modern structure and condition of the district medicine in the district of Yekaterinoslav province for years 1900, 1901 and 1902), Part II, *Po Mariupol'skomu uезdu* (Concerning Mariupol district), Yekaterinoslav, Publishing house of the District Council, 1903, p. 229.

<sup>33</sup>*Otchet o sostoyanii zemskoi mediciny v Mariupol'skom uезде Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii v 1911* (Report on the condition of district medicine in Mariupol district of Yekaterinoslav province in 1911), Mariupol, El. publishing house of Br.Goldrin,

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<sup>34</sup>*Otchet o sostoyanii zemskoi mediciny v Mariupol'skom uezde v 1905 (Report on the condition of district medicine in Mariupol district in 1905)*, Mariupol, Publishing house of E.I.Goldrin, 1906, p.54.

<sup>35</sup>*Otchet o sostoyanii zemskoi mediciny v Mariupol'skom uezde v 1903 (Report on the condition of district medicine in Mariupol district in 1903)*, Mariupol, Publishing house of E.I.Goldrin, 1904, p.118.

<sup>36</sup>*Otchet o sostoyanii vrachebnogo dela v Mariupol'skom uezde v 1899 g. (Report on the condition of medical practice in Mariupol district in 1899)*, Mariupol, Publishing and lithoprint house of D.I.Babenko, 1900, p. 69.

<sup>37</sup>*Otchet Mariupolskoy uezdnoy zemskoy upravyy za 1898 god (The report of Mariupol district council for 1898)*, Mariupol, Publishing and lithoprint house of A.A.Frantov, 1899, p. 167.

<sup>38</sup>*Otchet Mariupolskoy uezdnoy zemskoy upravyy za 1886 god Ocherednoy sessii Zemskogo sobraniya 1887 g. (The report of Mariupol district council for 1886. Ordinary session of District Council 1887)*, Mariupol, Publishing and lithoprint house of A.A.Frantov, 1899, p. 137.

<sup>39</sup>*Otchet Mariupolskoy uezdnoy zemskoy upravyy za 1889 god (The report of Mariupol district council for 1889)*, Mariupol, Publishing and lithoprint house of A.A.Frantov, 1899, p. 233.

<sup>40</sup>Yu. R. A. *Krasnyi sud (Red court)* // *Nasha Pravda (Our truth)*, 1925, No. 130, p. 4. \_

<sup>41</sup>*Selskaya. Raz'yasnit' selyankam vred abortov u babok (Explain to peasants the harm from abortions performed by quacks)* // *Nasha pravda (Our truth)*, 1926, \_ 147, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup>M. A. *Chi vin likar? (Is he really a doctor?)* // *Nasha Pravda (Our truth)*, 1929, No. 31, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup>*Sel'kor Valya. Podpol'naya medicina (Secret medicine)* // *Nasha pravda (Our truth)*, 1925, No.13, p.3.

<sup>44</sup>*Mariupol'ska Okrug (Mariupol Neighborhoods). Materiali do opisu Okrug USSR (Material to the essay District of USSR)*, Kharkiv, 1926, p. 37.

<sup>45</sup>*Pervaya Vseobshaya perepis' naseleniya Rossiiskoi imperii 1897 g. (First mandatory census of Russian Empire population in 1897)*, volume 13, Yekaterinoslav province, St. Petersburg, 1904, p.130.

<sup>46</sup>Haradzha M. *K zemlyakam grekam sela Novo-Karakuby Mariupol'skogo uezda (To the Greek fellow-villagers of Novo-Karakuby of Mariupol district)*, Mariupol, Publishing house of E.I.Goldrin, 1907, p. 14.

<sup>47</sup>Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kiev, F. 1576, inventory 1, case 23. *Delo o peredache dvizhimogo i nedvizhimogo imushestva zhitel'nicei sl. Ignat'evka vdovoi Aslanovoi Mariei zhitelyu toi zbe slobody Yakovu Berovu (The case on the transition of movable and immovable belongings of a widow Aslanova Maria from Ignatyivka to the resident of the same settlement Yakov Berov)*, March 17, 1794, on 4 pages.