

УДК 94(477.7=14)"17/19"(045)

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**DAILY LIFE OF A GREEK WOMAN IN THE NORTH AZOV SEA REGION
AND HER ROLE IN PRESERVATION OF GREEK ETHNICAL IDENTITY AT THE
END OF XVIII – BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURY**

The article is devoted to the study of everyday life of Greek women in villages of the North Azov region. It was concluded that a girl would spend the first years of her life on the sofa, and she was involved in the household work starting from 5-6 years of age. Mother was the main party responsible for the daughter's up-brining, so the mother kept and passed on the traditions from one generation to another. It was Greek women's responsibility to keep and obey ceremonies, arrange family celebrations, which as the result let Greek children grow in the atmosphere filled with ethnic traditions. Any deviations or violation of the routine ceremonies were strictly criticized by the Greek community, such a family was proclaimed outlaw, and the one to blame was mostly a woman. So no wonder that every Greek woman performed the responsibilities trusted to her faithfully.

It is shown that not more than 10 % of girls attended school at the end of XIX century. The situation began to change only at the beginning of the XX century, when the number of girls in elementary schools was around one-third of the total number of pupils. This led to the situation when only a minority of the Greek women knew the Russian language, and so they were in most cases keepers of the Greek language.

It was established that as a result of life activities Greek society created certain norms that provided strict regulations for women's behavior, so the only allowed individual actions the Greek women could take were the ones corresponding to the norms. From the early days girls were told and knew well all the norms of behavior, and in the future they would strictly watch their own children to follow the established rules and perform all the ceremonial functions accepted in their community. Thus the women played the role of the keeper of traditional behavior and rules.

It was also concluded that family served as a main social unit, which kept the ethnic uniqueness of Greek people on the micro-level when surrounded by other ethnicities, and the function of the keeper in the family was assigned, first of all, to a woman. Most of the Greeks residing in the North Azov region at the beginning of XX century obeyed to the tradition of endogamy. Marriages were concluded mostly between the members of the ethnic group – this helped to preserve homogeneity of the family. It was proved that the main functions of a woman in Greek society were childbirth to provide for future generations, adaptation and preservation of the Greek identity, keeping of traditions, arrangement of traditional family celebrations, thus a Greek woman was the main 'means' in support and transfer of the experience and ethnic traditions from ancestors to descendants. Women played the role of so to say preserving agent in the society, thank to which the traditional peculiarities of culture, ethnic consciousness and uniqueness of Greeks everyday life were preserved.

Key words: daily life, Greek, ethnicity, the North Azov region.

The Greeks of the North Azov Sea region were different from other Greek communities of Ukraine in terms of ethnical and social characteristics. Mariupol Greek community was mainly rural, and as considered by the modern Ukrainian scientists consisted of two sub-ethnic groups – romaioi and urums [13, p. 4]. Such ethnocultural peculiarities were formed as far back as during Greeks residency in the Crimea under the influence of a succession of events – migration processes that took place at different times and from different parts of Greece and the Middle East; inter-ethnic processes on the Crimea peninsula; long term of separation from the main ethnical core etc.

The process of creation of the Greek center in the North Azov region was peculiar in its own way, as it resulted from the migration of Christian Greeks from the Crimea at the end of the XVIII century. This migration pushed some new trends of ethical existence of this part of Greek Diaspora and defined the milestones of social development in the completely different surrounding. In the North Azov lands, surrounded by foreign ethnicities, the Greeks did their best to preserve all the typical characteristics, related to social, religious and family life, brought from the Crimea. Significance of the study of the routine of Greek women allows us to reach a new level of understanding of the day-to-day life of the Greek community in North Azov region as a whole.

Among historians O.N. Ksenofontova-Petrenko studied prenuptial acquaintances between Greek young people [9], I.S. Ponomareva (historian and ethnologist) researched peculiarities of the choice of marriage partners and the process of wedding between the representatives of Greek ethnos [13], N.N. Ponomarenko touches the questions of Greeks routine life [12]. However the question of the role of Greek women in preservation of Greek identity was never developed as a full-rate theme of the separate scientific research in historiography.

The database of sources, that reflects different aspects of the problem chosen for study, consists of registry documents, statistical and descriptive materials, sources of personal origin and folk materials. The sources of personal origin are represented by the travel notes of H.Bok [3] and P. Hrostoforovich-Lobka [17], as well as memoirs by M.Kechedzhy-Shapovalov [8] and F.Popova [14].

Taking into account the unsatisfactory level of study of this problem, the aim of the article is to study the routine life of women in Greek villages of the North Azov region and research their role in preservation of the Greek ethnic identity.

The first two years of her life a baby-girl 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 never commit wrong to anybody, not to hurt her siblings. When 5 or 6 years, the girl started to help her mother with adequate housework, like she could watch younger siblings or clean up.

A mother was totally responsible for a girl's brining-up. A woman as a mother was summoned to preserve all the spiritual goodness received from the ancestors, she watched that traditions are kept and transferred from one generation to another. A Greek woman's duty was to watch the observance of ceremonials and «dies nefastus», she arranged family holidays – and in such a way all the children grew up in the atmosphere filled with ethnical traditions. Any violations or inobservance of ceremonials were strictly criticized by the Greek community, such a family was regarded as «disgraceful», and the very first to blame for this was a woman. That's why every female Greek strictly observed the duties imposed on her, and in such a way supported the preservation of Greeks self-identity.

At the age of 8 some girls could be sent to school by their parents, although this was a rare occasion. The Greeks considered education to be unnecessary for a woman; besides the girl's help was needed at home throughout the year: she helped around the house, tended

small children. All these led to the fact that only 10 % of girls went to school. And only in the year 1905 the number of schoolgirls became equal to 1/3 of all the pupils [11, p. 67]. Such a small percentage of girls in schools was the reason why so little Greek women knew the Russian language (the school education was conducted in Russian only) and got acquainted with Russian culture. Those women who did not visit a school never managed to learn Russian, and became unique keepers 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 had to use the intercultural language – 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 as the last had no intention to learn a foreign to them language.

The Greek district schools had a four-year educational program, and children started to learn Russian during the first year. However girls from Mariupol district mostly stayed at schools for two years. There were two reasons for such a limited education: first, Greeks thought that all the girl's education should be limited to reading; secondly, they did not see why a girl should need to finish a school and receive a graduation certificate, while this document was very important for the boys – it provided the last with a privilege to postpone a military duty [15, p. 79]. After such a short-term education, the girls usually forgot Russian as they used only Greek in their everyday life.

From the childhood years a girl was aware that she'll be married earlier or later, and she needed to prepare many things for this main event of her life: necessary clothes for herself, presents for future in-laws, different decorations for her future house; that's why main occupation of a girl was needlework. Usually from the age of 8 a girl started to prepare her marriage portion. From this very age the girl was being psychologically prepared for the creation of her own family, for deep understanding of traditions and moral grounds in the relations of different genders.

Girls were taught how to knit, sew and cook. Their skills must have been perfect because the opinion about the future wife as a mistress depended on these factors. Social opinion was always an important factor in the life of every young woman.

The Greek valued a hard-working, modest young virgin, that's why parents seldom let their daughters outside: they were afraid they might lose their virginity. «The skirt is an enemy for a girl» – the Greeks used to say. So the hetero-social communication was limited from the teenage age. 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 just like Asian women, they were shy and avoided strange men, so European way of life and noble interaction was completely unknown to them. The reason for this was defined by the travelers as the blind pursuance to the old traditions [3, p. 1044], although in most cases the girls were victims of circumstances.

As the result of the way of living, traditional Greek society developed certain norms that strictly regulated women's behavior. Rural Greek community was not just a production unit, but also a special social and community mechanism that controlled strict execution of these norms. Preservation of the rules was supported with the help of the social opinion and also with several methods of punishment and psychological influence. The women could display initiative only within the traditional behavioral limits.

Any freedoms in girls' behavior were strictly disapproved by the society. Of course there could be such 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), many people mocked them and openly criticized them; sometimes such girls were forced to leave their houses and move [6, p. 58].

Important role in the Greek family was played by gender and age hierarchy which served as the basis for intra-family communication. Traditional Greek society included the following age groups: youth, fathers, elders. Relations between the members of one group to the members of the other, as well as inside the group, were defined by special norms. Marks of respect and attention were rendered in accordance with actual age and relations. Seniority of women was defined depending upon their husband's status (according to the age or according to the time of man's changing his social status, i.e. wedding time).

Inside the families girls always saw that it is forbidden to contradict either a husband or a mother-in-law. Thus all the Greek women were very patient. From young 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 hands of all present, excluding her equals. Knowing from her childhood the rules of right behavior and being pressed to observe them, a girl on being a mother would strictly watch her children behave in accordance with established rules; she expected them to execute all the etiquette rules set in the Greek society. So we have every right to say that a woman played the role of a keeper of the traditions and passed them to next generations.

One of the most important events in a woman's life was concluding a marriage, which was the basis for the family. Marriage accumulated all the social relationships, uniting biological and social, practical and spiritual, social and personal aspects of life. Family served as a social unit which on a micro-level preserved ethnical identity of Greek migrants in the foreign surrounding, and the performer of such a duty was a woman.

It is interesting to note that during first 50 years after the migration there were much more men than women in Greek settlement, that's why there was no big choice of spouses at the end of XVIII – beginning of the XIX century. For example, in 1816 the population of Stariy Krym consisted of 214 men and only 162 women [4]. More close consideration of the register book for year 1816 shows that only three unmarried girls older than 16 years old lived in Stariy Krym at that time. In connection to the fact that there were so few women, there were cases of marrying to 13-year olds. There is even evidence that sometimes girls could become mothers at that age.

In the middle of the XIX century the average wedding age for the girls was 16-18 years, but by the end of the same century the marriages were usually concluded when a girl was 20. Most of the Greek population at the beginning of XX century still observed endogamy. Marriages were concluded inside one ethnical group in order to preserve ethnical homogeneity inside the family. Researcher P.Pinevich noted in 1928 that Greeks still separate themselves from other ethnicities in the region, and it is a very rare (and very condemned) occasion that a Greek marries a person from another national group. P.Pinevich also stressed that the reason for such an opinion is that Greeks are very proud of their origin and consider those who do not belong to Greek nationality to be of a lower rank [5, p. 16].

In order to research whether Greeks continued to observe the tradition of marrying to only Greeks after Soviet Power was established, we examined remained house-books dated 1941 with records about Stariy Krym. Unique role of this source is in its objectivity: there are no subject opinions, comments, but only numbers, which allow to have objective picture of different daily life aspects, including matrimonial sphere. Due to the fact that access to the archives of the Bureaus of Civil State Registration is restricted, such house-books are the only truthful and accessible source of information. From that source we may find out that representatives of 16 nationalities lived in the village at that time [2, p. 198]. We considered data about families with two parents only, and in 1941 there were 642 of those. Number of marriages where both parents were Greek equaled to 293, or 45.6 % from the total of families. There were also 7 marriages with Ukrainian women and 5 marriages with Russian women.

There were more cases when a Russian or a Ukrainian man married a Greek woman, 24 in total. As we can see, in the 40-th of the XX century 89% of all the marriages concluded by the Greeks were with the representatives of the same ethnicity, which served as a basis for preservation of Greek identity.

It is important to notice that the situation when a Greek man married a woman from another nationality was accepted by the society with a certain level of tolerance; however when a Greek woman married a non-Greek man, she was condemned, and perception of her family was changed and was very negative. That's why in most cases parents gave their daughter away when that family was poor and could not prepare decent dowry or when a woman had physical defects. However if such a family continued to live in a Greek village, their children were brought up in accordance with Greek traditions, and all the traditions and ceremonies were observed. Children who grew up in mixed families usually perceived themselves as Greek and identified themselves with Greek ethnicity.

The choice of a bride-to-be was up to the groom's parents. Greek family was distinctly patriarchal at the end of XVIII – beginning of the XX century. The position and point of view of young people was seldom considered when the decision about marriage was taken. Daughter's opinion was never asked: she could never say «I don't want to, I won't marry him, I don't like him». If she was too stubborn, her father could beat her, close in the pantry and then force to marry his choice. Sometimes parents could match and engage even small children, and such an agreement was seldom broken – the termination could lead to violation of a sanctity of the centuries-long traditions [10, p. 416]. That is why one could seldom find families based on love in Greek villages. People of Greek settlements remember even today 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 for other reasons. 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 innocence of the bride. Control over defloration was performed by the mother-in-law, and the fact that a girl was not a virgin was a huge disgrace for the girl's family and all the relatives.

In the conditions of diaspora it was extremely important for the migrants to marry to the same ethnicity, in order to keep the «clean line» of their nationality. Mixed marriages were not approved of, because it made children up-brining in accordance with Greek traditions more difficult. We can find clear indications about negative attitude of Greeks towards mixed marriages if we study personal sources. For example, M.Kechedgy-Shapovalov, resident of Mariupol (his father built the city theatre), informed in his memoirs dated 1919 that there was extreme intolerance to other ethnicities among Greeks. To prove it he described a situation in which he personally participated. According to his words, his aunt who 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. As her parents were against the marriage, two young people decided to wed secretly. «And there was a scene I watched being still a boy: at the same time when in Maryinskaya church their wedding takes place, in the bride's house her mother, on her knees in front of the icons with the candles burning, cries and laments and sends awful curses» [8, p. 13]. The tragic of the situation was in daughter's stubbornness and in ethnical roots of the groom who was Russian.

The parent's desire was always to give their daughter in marriage to the rich and prosperous family. This served as a basis for well-off life of children. That's why almost every marriage was concluded with practical calculations of older generations of both families.

Greeks strictly obeyed the tradition according to which the eldest daughter had to marry first. It was a disgrace for the elder girl if her younger sister was wed before her. That's why father of the family with single elder daughter could refuse the marriages brokers to match his younger daughter. Sometimes when a poor family had many daughters, the youngest could stay single very long, waiting for her turn. If someone proposed to the younger girl, her father would rather «offer» an elder single daughter. In this case the youngest could sometimes marry at 30 not to her lover, but to the man who remained single. A mother always supported a father's actions by saying: «You'll get used to it. I was not married for love too», and a girl wed the man indicated by her parents. Here's the extract from memoirs of M.V. Kechedgy-Shapovalov about Greek women: «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 in 1919 that as long as 25 years ago the Greek women were famous for their «unusual modesty and extreme commitment to the matrimonial pledges» [8, p. 13].

We will not provide detailed consideration on wedding traditions and ceremonies of Greeks from the Azov region. However the structure of the wedding ceremony is worth mentioning as it also reflected the ethnical norms and ideology of Greeks. Several traditions cited below serve as a good example of a woman's position in the family and in society as a whole. First of all, the bride-to-be did not come out to meet matchmakers, even during official marriage brokerage. It's not earlier that at the end of the XIX century that a bride started to meet her matchmakers, however she was expected to give only short answers to their questions, like «Yes» or «No». The idea of a woman's obedience is the basis for another brutal tradition, alive until the middle of the XIX century, when a groom literally tore apart an alive cat or a rooster in front of the bride. This served to show off the man's strength and his complete power over the woman [10, p. 429].

After the wedding was over, a new family started a routine daily life. Relations inside the family were vividly patriarchal. If newlywed lived separately, which was a rare occasion, a husband was the master of the house; however more often a farther-in-law was considered to be the head. A daughter-in-law had to wake up first early in the morning, fire a furnace, 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. It is worth mentioning that from the day when a young wife entered the house, she started to help washing head and feet not only to her husband, but also to his parents, grandparents etc. However women themselves did not see this as humiliation, but rather as respect to elders.

Many things changed for a Greek woman after the wedding. Now she was forbidden to do many things: go shopping alone, spend money according to her judgment, talk to men who were not family members, participate in family meetings, pass a way of a man 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 had meals standing. There were even such cases documented when a wife went to bed hungry, if her husband was absent and her in-laws did not offer her to eat with them. And the wife could not ask them herself, as during the first year after the marriage she was not allowed to talk to her father-in-law (until the middle of the XIX century this term could have been up to 5 years). She silently served him meals and followed all the directions with the same silence. This was considered a sign of obedience. When the year was over, a 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 had to stay the same

governable. She always invited him to dinner personally and served him, while he could throw away the plate with food if something was wrong – like there was no napkin or the food was cold. A woman did not dare to say a word against and silently served the table once again.

A woman always worshiped a man. She always gave him his plate first at the table, choose only the best steaks and first «cheburek» (traditional Greek meat pastry) was also for him. A Greek woman bathed her man, washed his feet in the evening, and always examined him when he was going somewhere – in order to insure that his dress and shoes were clean [14, p. 50]. In the middle of the XIX century a traveler G.Titov 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” [16, p. 147]. 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 learnt 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. We can find the proof of this in the record about movable hygienic exhibition that visited Greek villages Sartana, Yalta, Mangush, Ignatyivka, Velyka Karakuba, Maliy Yanisol in 1914. The report of the doctor S.F.Kazanskiy about this exhibition clearly indicates that there were more men than women among visitors to this event. Just to compare, in the city and in Russian village Novospasovka the percent of female visitors equaled to 40, while in Greek villages there were much less women who visited the event, namely 35 % in Sartana, 35 % in Yalta, 29 % in Maliy Yanisol, and 31% in Mangush, generally perceived as a “progressive” village. The doctor’s conclusion was as follows: «The opinion that a woman must watch a household is still strong and popular» [7, p. 404]. As we can see, despite the fact that more than 130 years passed since Greeks migration 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, which all the women were allowed to visit. However the holdover tradition was that people of different genders were separated, especially during meals.

Relations between a woman and her husband and his family could be called consumer. A man could punish his wife with hunger, deprive of the most necessary things and even beat. All these aspects were reflected in the folkloristic sources. Folklore was and remains an important integral part of the cultural heritage of Mariupol Greeks. Oral folk arts deeply reflected the most important peculiarities of daily life, people’s opinions, its set of mind, norms of customs law and many other things. Value of folk sources is found first of all in their inseparability from peculiarities of Greeks daily life, believes, world-view and life foundations of migrants.

When we study the fairy-tales of Greeks from the North Azov Sea region we can see that they also stated that a woman should obey her man in everything. If the man beat her, she could neither complain nor resist. 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 than 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». Such a helpless position of a woman was one of the most important factors that enabled Greeks to preserve daily life habits and traditions.

A mother-in-law had a special status in the family. She had under her control not only daughters-in-law and grandchildren, but also sons. However strong a man's feelings to his wife were, he would always listen to his mother. «A woman is halvah until she's in bed» – the Greeks used to say. Set of mind of this people was such that younger should obey elders, and all the rules of family etiquette and household must be performed.

Even if there were 2-3 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, but a daughter-in-law must have born it. It was not accepted when somebody started telling about arguments inside the family. «Never wash dirty linen in public» – was one of the proverbs used by Greeks. Any family that violated this rule received a cold shoulder in the society. In general, a mother-in-law distributed housework evenly between all the daughters, and those obeyed. The presents to all daughters-in-law were usually equal.

Oriental opinions about women's position in the family and her role were partially adopted by Greeks from Crimean Tatars that to some extent influenced the Greeks' family traditions and daily life. This influence found its reflection in the women isolation, implantation of some oriental tastes, separation from certain jobs including the fact that 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 served as a preservation factor, because they were deprived of communication with representatives of other ethnicities: Russian, Ukrainian and German women. They communicated with Greek women only, and this limited their picture about life and other women's daily routine.

Researchers and travelers who visited Greek villages were often surprised by the fact that Greek women did not participate in agricultural labor. For example, traveler G. Titov in his «Letters from Yekaterinoslav» wrote that Greek women lived as if picked up their feet, meaning they spent the whole day on the sofa (which occupied most of the room) doing a women's job [137, p. 16]. 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 [17, p. 253].

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, which also give us a picture of how the Greeks lived, what they did in daily life, which occupations were more prestigious etc. We can give an example of a tale «Yuhim and Yelizaveta» which tells what was considered as a woman's duties and what was after a man to do. Opinion of the lead character – an old man Yuhim – was that all the duties performed by his wife Yelizaveta were not difficult and lengthy, so he decided to trade with her for one day. An old woman went to the field to work there, and an old man had «less things to do than fingers on one hand»: he had to bake bread, chum butter, do the laundry and string the washing, and also to watch the cat not to eat chicken. However at the end the old man did not manage a single thing, so he clearly understood that women's work is not easy.

Thus recreation of peculiar cultural atmosphere, adaptation and preservation of ethnical identity, formation of ethnical self-awareness in younger generation was entrusted to a Greek woman – a mother, a housewife, a guardian of family traditions. Due to ethnical peculiarities

and living conditions, daily life of a Greek woman was different from that of a Russian or a Ukrainian woman.

The tale's contents lead us to the conclusion that Greeks respected the household duties that women performed and that never ended. The text of the tale has the following statement: «Wise men say that first you would be through but not the work» [1, p. 8]. 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».

When performing a research on the daily life of a Greek woman at the XVIII – beginning of the XX century we cannot help but fall into the conclusion that the only right achieved by the woman after migration from Crimea was to solve family problems. Main guidances of her everyday life were connected to the sex-and-age subordination, including unconditional obedience to her parents, her husband and her parents-in-law.

One of the main responsibilities of a woman in the Greek society was the continuation of the generation, adaptation and preservation of Greek self-identity, observance of traditional ceremonies, arrangement and performance of traditional Greek holidays. The last duties facilitated the up-brining of children in a peculiar cultural atmosphere, and insured their knowledge that they belonged to Greek ethnicity. Thus we can state that a Greek woman played the main role in support and transitioning of experience and ethnical traditions from previous generations to the following. It was from mother that children received necessary knowledge about history, traditions and culture of the Greeks. Women played a role of a preservation agent in Mariupol society, thank to which it was possible to keep alive ethnical self-identity, traditional cultural peculiarities and daily life patterns of Greeks from the North Azov Sea region.

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Стаття надійшла до редакції 20.04.2014 р.

С.С. Арабаджи

ПОВСЯКДЕННЕ ЖИТТЯ ГРЕКИНИ В ПІВНІЧНОМУ ПРИАЗОВ'І ТА ЇЇ РОЛЬ У ЗБЕРЕЖЕННІ ГРЕЦЬКОЇ ЕТНІЧНОЇ САМОБУТНОСТІ НАПРИКІНЦІ XVIII – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX СТ.

У статті розглянуто повсякденне життя жінок в грецьких селах Північного Приазов'я. Встановлено, що перші роки свого життя дівчинка проводила на софі, а з п'яти – шести років її починали долучати до роботи. З'ясовано, що за виховання дочки відповідали мати, яка виконувала функції збереження та передачі традицій з покоління в покоління. В обов'язки грецької жінки входило дотримання народних обрядів, організація родинних свят, в результаті, діти з народження росли в атмосфері, наповненій етнічними традиціями. Будь-які порушення чи недотримання обрядів жорстко засуджувалися грецькою громадою, до такої родини ставилися як до негідної, а винною в цьому, в першу чергу, вважалася жінка, тому кожна грекinya строго виконувала покладені на неї зобов'язання.

Показано, що наприкінці XIX ст. школи відвідувало не більше 10% дівчаток. Тільки на початку XX ст. ситуація змінилась – кількість учениць в початкових училищах склала близько 1/3 від загальної кількості учнів. Таким чином, тільки не значна частина жінок володіла російською мовою, тому вони були своєрідними берегинями грецької мови.

Відзначено, що в результаті життєдіяльності традиційне грецьке суспільство виробило певні норми, які жорстко регламентували поведінку жінок, тому допускалася лише така форма особистої ініціативи грекinya, що укладалася в ці норми. У зв'язку з тим, що дівчатка з раннього дитинства знали основи поведінки і виконували їх, в майбутньому, вже при вихованні своїх дітей, вони суворо стежили за тим, щоб ті вели себе відповідно до встановлених правил і виконували всі основи

етикету, прийнятій в грецькій громаді. Таким чином, жінка грала роль берегині основ традиційної поведінки.

Визначено, що родина була осередком суспільства, що на мікрорівні зберігала етнічну самобутність грецьких переселенців в іноетнічному оточенні, а виконувала цю функцію в сім'ї, в першу чергу жінка. Більшість греків Північного Приазов'я на початку ХХ ст. зберегли ендогамію. Шлюби уклалися в основному усередині своєї групи для збереження етнічної однорідності родини.

Доведено, що основними обов'язками жінки в грецькому суспільстві були продовження роду, адаптація та збереження грецької самобутності, дотримання народних обрядів, організація і проведення традиційних сімейних свят, таким чином, грекиня відіграла провідну роль у підтримці та передачі досвіду і етнічних традицій попередніх поколінь наступним поколінням. Жінки були тим консервуючим елементом в суспільстві, завдяки якому зберігалась етнічна самосвідомість, традиційні особливості культури та побуту греків Північного Приазов'я.

Ключові слова: повсякденне життя, грекині, етнос, Північне Приазов'я.

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