

Chapter 16

Nuptiality among Greeks of Odessa in 1800–1920: Records from Registers of the Holy Trinity Greek Church

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The term “marriage” is one of the most important categories for understanding the social structure of any society. Its historical and ethno-cultural variability gives an indication of philosophical notions of an elementary social organism – the family, which are implemented directly in the state of marriage typical of this society. Experts in historical demography say that “if the concept of *marriage* refers to a social institution, and the concept of *getting married* characterizes the individual act of creating a marriage alliance between a man and a woman, then the term *nuptiality* shall refer to a mass process of formation of married couples within the population as a combination of generations or within the generation as a set of people”.¹

Thus, a mass process of concluding marriages is called “*nuptiality*”. However, in demographic sciences this same concept is frequently used in a broader sense stating that “nuptiality is a set of processes of marriage conclusions and dissolutions because of divorce or death of a spouse (in this case the term ‘nuptiality’ also encompasses such processes as divorces and widowhood)”.²

Based on the 1800–1920 data from metric registers of the Holy Trinity Greek Church³ it is possible to reconstruct nuptiality as mass stochastic process of formation, evolution and dissolution of marriage alliances. The available information about remarriages also provides characteristics of the institutions of widowhood and divorce. An original character of this study is also emphasized by the opportunity to reveal the

1. Viktor Medkov, *Демография* [Demography], (Rostov-on-Don: Feniks, 2002), p. 221.

2. Aleksandr Sinelnikov, “Брак” [Marriage], in Aleksandr Gorkin (ed.), *Социальная энциклопедия* [Social Encyclopedia], (Moscow: Bolshaya Rossiiskaya enciklopediya, 2000), p. 46.

3. Liliya Belousova et al., *Греки Одессы. Именной указатель по метрическим книгам Одесской Греческой Свято-Троицкой Церкви* [The Greeks of Odessa: Name Index According to the Metrical Books of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa], in 7 parts, (Odessa, 2000–2014).

dynamics of these institutions over the time span of five conventional generations or 120 chronological years.

It shall be emphasized that the concept of marriage refers to a single married couple. The scope of scientific term coincides with the Orthodox Christian understanding of monogamy which certainly dominated among the parishioners of the Greek Church.

Description of marital structure of the population and mechanisms of reproduction means “the process of formation of married (spousal) couples in the population; it includes concluding the first and subsequent marriages”.⁴ Study of indicators of nuptiality is closely connected with general trends in the natural movement of the population as one of the most important factors in fertility and mortality. At the same time, the institution of marriage directly reflects not only properties of the population, but also the potential for mechanical means of reproduction – migrations, which were determined, in particular, by availability of the unattached male population.

Our reconstructions are based on records of weddings from the above mentioned church documents. Their quantitative analysis permits to identify characteristics of the marriage pattern among Greeks of Odessa. The obtained indicators allow further explorations in the customary legal system of marriage registration and trends in social institutions in Odessa. For this purpose we shall:

- determine the characteristics of the marriage strategies of Greek parishioners of the Holy Trinity Church of Odessa and trace their dynamics from 1800 to 1920;
- identify the typical forms in which marriage alliances were concluded and, thus, family groups evolved;
- compare the declared notions of marriage and family with the actual practices of the period.

In addressing these issues some points, however, shall be clarified. First, the obtained results are indicative of marital behavior only *among* the Greek population of Odessa, although the church books contain occasional records about parishioners of other nationalities. The latter, though, can be quite easily separated from our group of interest due to their obviously non-Greek names. Second, the characteristics of marriage

4. Gennadiy Melikyan (ed.), *Народонаселение: Энциклопедический словарь* [Population. An Encyclopedic Dictionary], (Moscow: Bolshaya Rossiiskaya enciklopediya, 1994), p. 30.

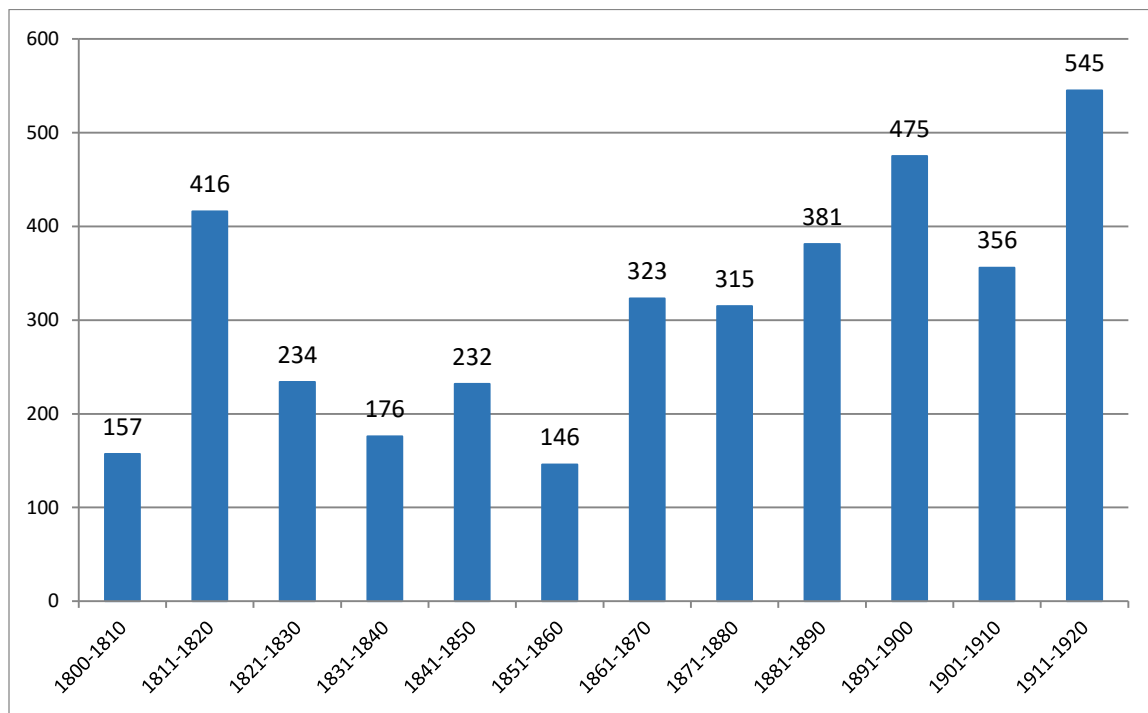
indicators depend on information available in the church documentary sources and as such are restricted to (a) season of marriage / family formation, (b) average age at first marriage, (c) typical age difference between the spouses, (d) widowhood and remarriage, and (e) extramarital relationships.⁵ Third, the figures obtained correlate well with other Greek Orthodox parish communities of the city. We believe that the studied community of Greek parishioners, which in all times amounted to at least 30% of the Greek population of Odessa, may be considered representative of the overall trends and characteristics of the entire ethnic group of Odessa's Greeks.

Marriages: statistics of the sources and real events. We can get insights into marital practices by studying metric records of “weddings”. The total number of such events in 1800–1920 amounted to 3756, but some metric books have survived only in fragments and therefore significant portion of data for specific years have been certainly lost. This situation leaves us with 2000 marriages, from which each tenth selected marriage is considered “non-Greek” (when none of the spouses was a bearer of Greek identity). As a result, only 1920 marriage alliances were selected for our analysis. The dynamics of marriages among parishioners of the church are shown in Table 16.1 and Diagram 16.1 below.

Table 16.1. Marriages in Odessa, 1800–1920

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1800–1810 | 1811–1820 | 1821–1830 | 1831–1840 | 1841–1850 | 1851–1860 |
| 157 | 416 | 234 | 176 | 232 | 146 |
| 1861–1870 | 1871–1880 | 1881–1890 | 1891–1900 | 1901–1910 | 1911–1920 |
| 323 | 315 | 381 | 475 | 356 | 545 |
| TOTAL | | | 3,756 | | |

5. It has to be noted that issues such as “marital circles” (i.e., geography of marriage alliances between Greeks of Odessa and residents of other areas and countries, mixed marriages, nuptiality among widows and divorces spouses etc.) are currently under study.

Diagram 16.1. Marriages in Odessa, 1800–1920

The selection is obviously bound to preserved historic sources, but it still permits reconstruction of historical trends. The distribution of data on weddings by decades shows three spikes, in the 1810s, 1890s and 1910s. Minimal numbers of marriages were concluded in the 1800s, 1830s and 1850s. This picture certainly corresponds to the general dynamics of reproduction among the Greek population of Odessa. For example, in the 1800s the Greek community was still in the state of forming, and thus for this period we observe a relatively small number of marriages. Similarly, in the 1830s and 1850s Greeks in Odessa went through periods of instability. The earlier period was related to the outflow of the Black Sea Greeks (including those of Odessa) to restore their historic homeland, Greece. Later, in the 1850s, the outflow of Greek migrants from Odessa was caused by economic decline in trade activities.

Seasonality of marriages. This characteristic shows the distribution of weddings by month and allows making judgments as to how traditional society was in following prohibitions set by the Orthodox Church and canons for fasting days.

Table 16.2 Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1850–1920

| | 1800–1850 | | 1851–1900 | | 1901–1920 | |
|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Month | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % |
| 1 | 125 | 20,6 | 153 | 17,6 | 67 | 15,2 |
| 2 | 74 | 12,2 | 81 | 9,3 | 39 | 8,8 |
| 3 | | | 1 | 0,1 | 1 | 0,2 |
| 4 | 56 | 9,2 | 94 | 10,8 | 56 | 12,8 |
| 5 | 37 | 6,1 | 57 | 6,5 | 19 | 4,3 |
| 6 | 40 | 6,6 | 28 | 3,2 | 16 | 3,6 |
| 7 | 42 | 6,9 | 92 | 10,6 | 69 | 15,6 |
| 8 | 34 | 5,6 | 49 | 5,6 | 30 | 6,8 |
| 9 | 55 | 9 | 76 | 8,7 | 50 | 11,3 |
| 10 | 66 | 10,9 | 132 | 15,2 | 43 | 9,8 |
| 11 | 75 | 12,3 | 108 | 12,4 | 51 | 11,6 |
| 12 | 4 | 0,6 | | | | |
| Total | 608 | 100,0 | 871 | 100,0 | 441 | 100,0 |

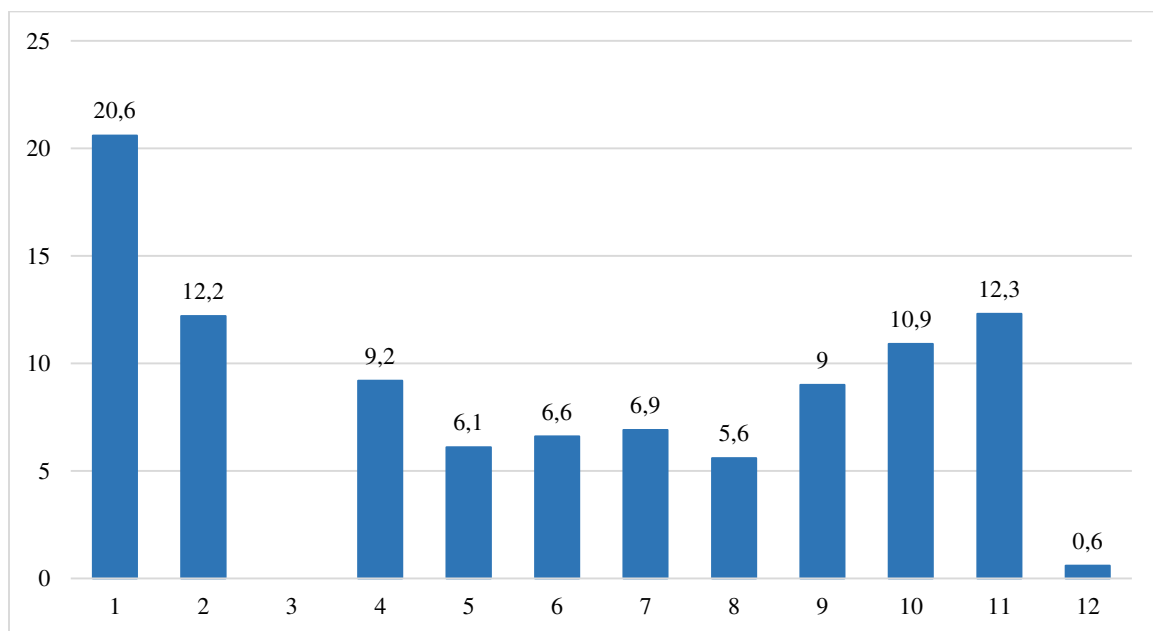
Diagram 16.2. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1800–1850

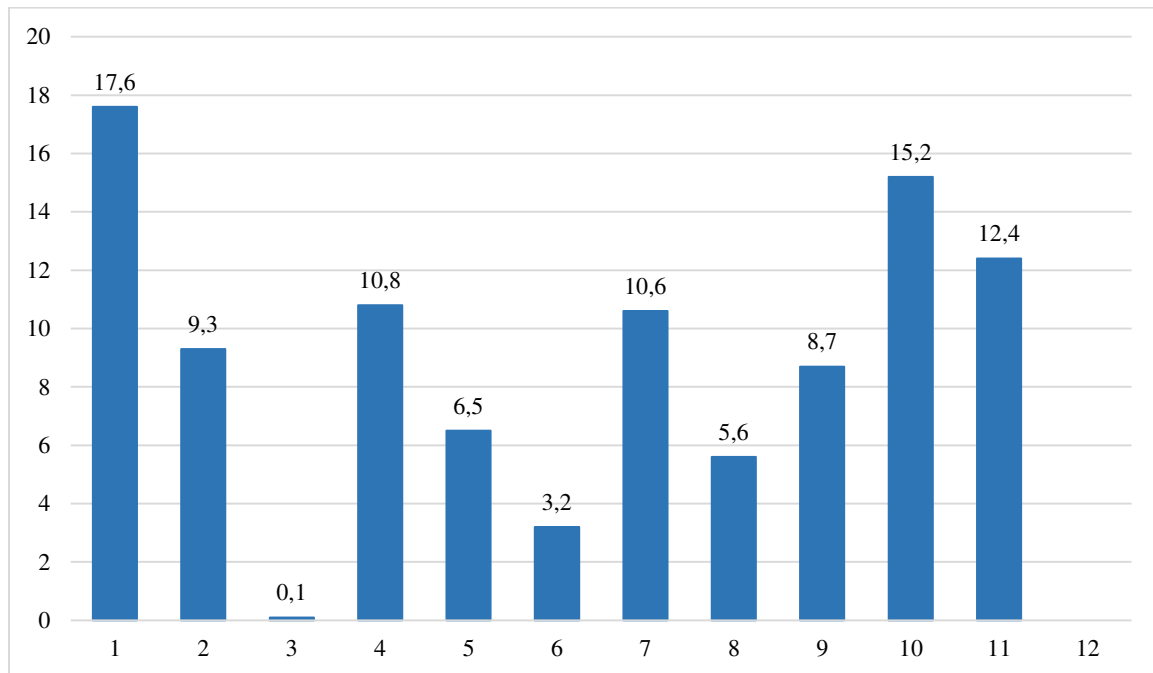
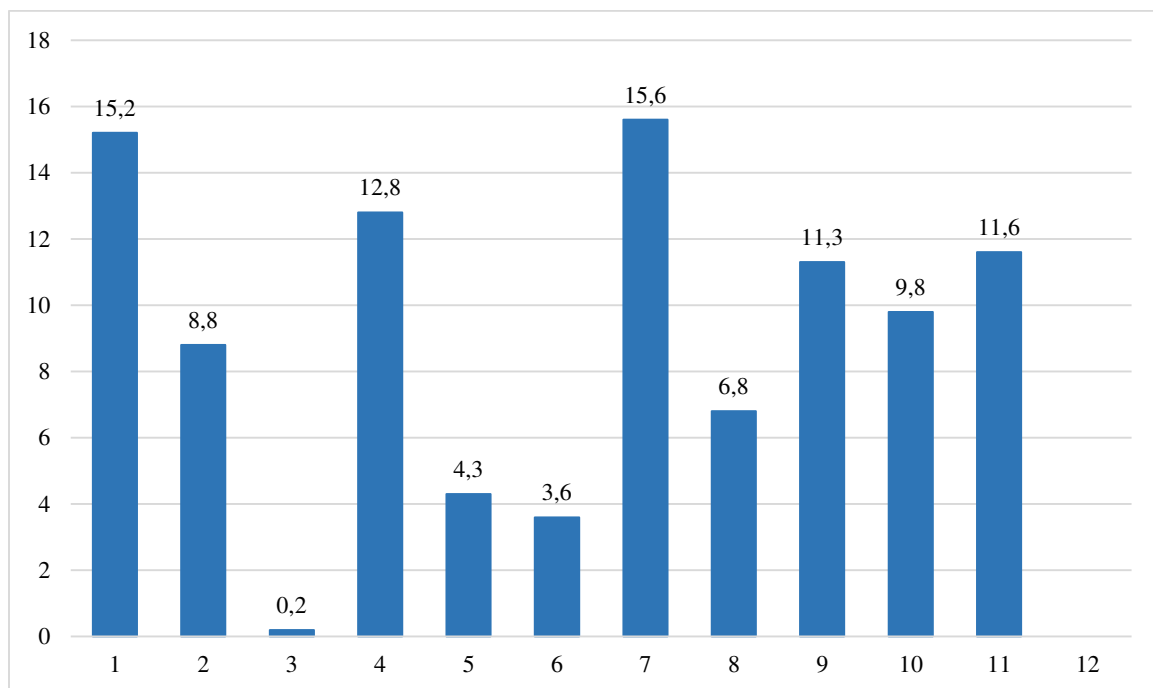
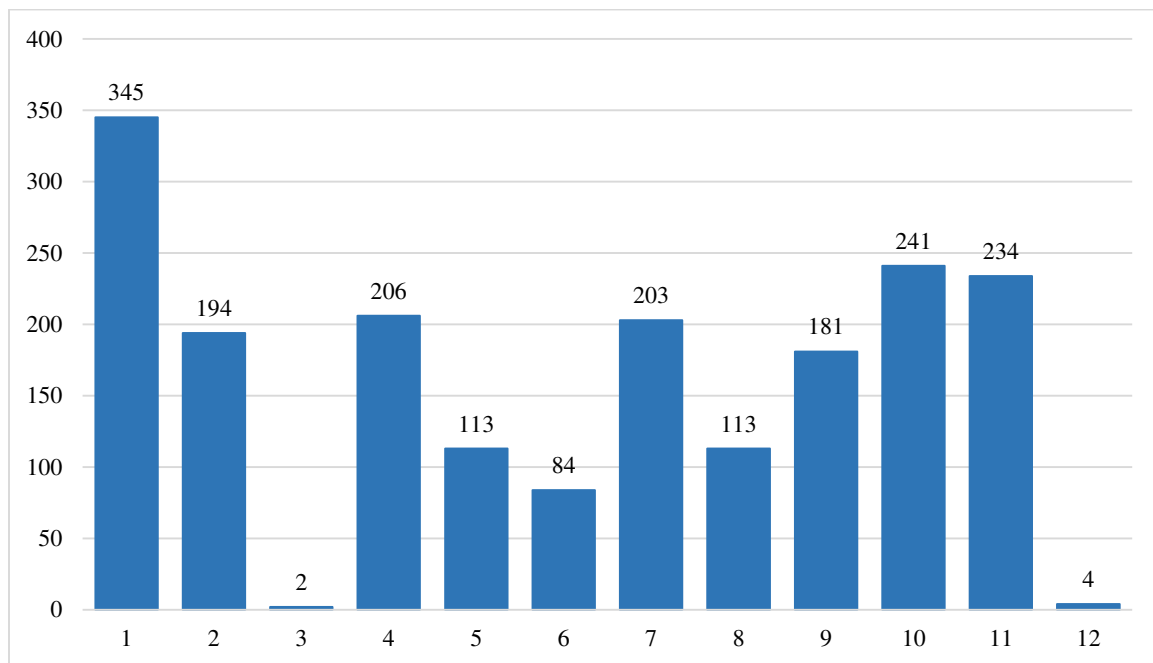
Diagram 16.3. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1851–1900**Diagram 16.4. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1901–1920**

Diagram 16.5. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1800–1920

It appears clear that the Greek community as a whole met the standards of the Orthodox community. This is evidenced by the absence of weddings in March and December, the times of long fasts. Almost every fifth marriage (17.8%) was concluded in January and every tenth one in February, April, July and September (10.1%, 10.9%, 11.0%, 9.7% respectively). In October and November there took place 12% of all weddings. Thus, we can distinguish three periods: (1) between Christmas and Carnival, (2) after Easter and (3) autumn.

Comparison of the seasonality of marriages in dynamic ranges (by decade, two decades and longer periods) suggests some general trends. For example, during 1800–1920 we observe the decline in the proportion of winter weddings (from 32.8% in the first half of the 19th century to 24% in 1900–1920). Similarly, there was the decrease of marriages in May and June (from 6.1% to 4.3% and from 6.6% to 3.6%). On the other hand, there increased the proportion of marriages in April (from 9.2% to 12.8%) and, especially, in July (6.9% to 15.6%). The number of marriages in autumn season increased slightly, from 32.2% in the first half of the 19th century to 36.3% in its second half. However, in the early 20th century their percentage dropped significantly and recovered at the level of 32.7%. The most recent fluctuations concerned, first of all, weddings in October (10.9%, 15.6% and 9.8%).

Table 16.3. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1800–1920

| | 1800–1810 | | 1811–1820 | | 1821–1830 | | 1831–1840 | | 1841–1850 | | 1851–1860 | |
|-------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| Month | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % |
| 1 | 23 | 29,1 | 41 | 19,7 | 28 | 24 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 16,4 | 19 | 26 |
| 2 | 3 | 3,8 | 27 | 13 | 13 | 11,1 | 20 | 22,7 | 11 | 9,5 | 4 | 5,5 |
| 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 11 | 13,9 | 17 | 8,2 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 10,2 | 12 | 10,3 | 3 | 4,1 |
| 5 | 1 | 1,3 | 21 | 10,1 | 5 | 4,3 | 2 | 2,3 | 8 | 6,9 | 7 | 9,6 |
| 6 | 5 | 6,3 | 17 | 8,2 | 6 | 5,1 | 9 | 10,2 | 3 | 2,6 | 1 | 1,4 |
| 7 | 4 | 5,1 | 9 | 4,3 | 12 | 10,2 | 5 | 5,7 | 12 | 10,3 | 10 | 13,7 |
| 8 | 7 | 8,9 | 9 | 4,3 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6,8 | 5 | 4,3 | 3 | 4,1 |
| 9 | 6 | 7,5 | 19 | 9,1 | 12 | 10,2 | 6 | 6,8 | 12 | 10,3 | 6 | 8,2 |
| 10 | 9 | 11,4 | 19 | 9,1 | 11 | 9,4 | 9 | 10,2 | 18 | 15,5 | 10 | 13,7 |
| 11 | 10 | 12,7 | 25 | 12 | 16 | 13,7 | 8 | 9,1 | 16 | 13,9 | 10 | 13,7 |
| 12 | | | 4 | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 79 | 100 | 208 | 100 | 117 | 100 | 88 | 100 | 116 | 100 | 73 | 100 |

We suggest that the above situation can be explained by influence of the process of secularization of social life. In concluding marriages, people started to move away from religious regulation and choose dates for their weddings on the basis of other reasons.

The summary Table 16.3 of seasonality of marriages by decade clearly shows that the situation was determined by more complex factors than just emancipation of marriages. There developed a certain fashion for wedding seasons which does not seem to follow a simple reasoning.

Yet another area of reconstruction concerns *marriageable age*. It is recognized as an important indicator of the characteristics of the marriage institution and its development. In historical demographic research the age of marriage is considered as “*a characteristic not of individuals, but of either the entire population in a certain period of time or*

Table 16.3. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1800–1920 (*continuation*)

| | 1861–1870 | | 1871–1880 | | 1881–1890 | | 1891–1900 | | 1901–1910 | | 1911–1920 | |
|-------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| Month | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % | num. | % |
| 1 | 28 | 17,3 | 21 | 12 | 47 | 20,6 | 38 | 16,3 | 20 | 11,5 | 47 | 17,6 |
| 2 | 20 | 12,3 | 13 | 7,4 | 19 | 8,3 | 25 | 10,7 | 16 | 9,2 | 23 | 8,6 |
| 3 | | | 1 | 0,6 | | | | | | | 1 | 0,4 |
| 4 | 11 | 6,8 | 26 | 14,9 | 31 | 13,6 | 23 | 9,9 | 23 | 13,2 | 33 | 12,3 |
| 5 | 15 | 9,3 | 12 | 6,9 | 10 | 4,4 | 13 | 5,6 | 5 | 2,9 | 14 | 5,2 |
| 6 | 10 | 6,2 | 4 | 2,3 | 7 | 3,1 | 6 | 2,6 | 9 | 5,2 | 7 | 2,6 |
| 7 | 18 | 11,1 | 22 | 12,5 | 19 | 8,3 | 23 | 9,9 | 27 | 15,5 | 42 | 15,7 |
| 8 | 12 | 7,4 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 4,8 | 16 | 6,9 | 11 | 6,3 | 19 | 7,1 |
| 9 | 11 | 6,8 | 13 | 7,4 | 21 | 9,2 | 25 | 10,7 | 21 | 12,1 | 29 | 10,9 |
| 10 | 19 | 11,7 | 31 | 17,7 | 38 | 16,7 | 34 | 14,5 | 20 | 11,5 | 23 | 8,7 |
| 11 | 18 | 11,1 | 25 | 14,3 | 25 | 11 | 30 | 12,9 | 22 | 12,6 | 29 | 10,9 |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 162 | 100 | 175 | 100 | 228 | 100 | 233 | 100 | 174 | 100 | 267 | 100 |

ageneration throughout its lifetime".⁶ Because of this, in describing this category researchers imply either a distribution of this indicator (for a population or a generation) or possible general trends of it. Thus, "*the average age of marriage*" is calculated in several ways:

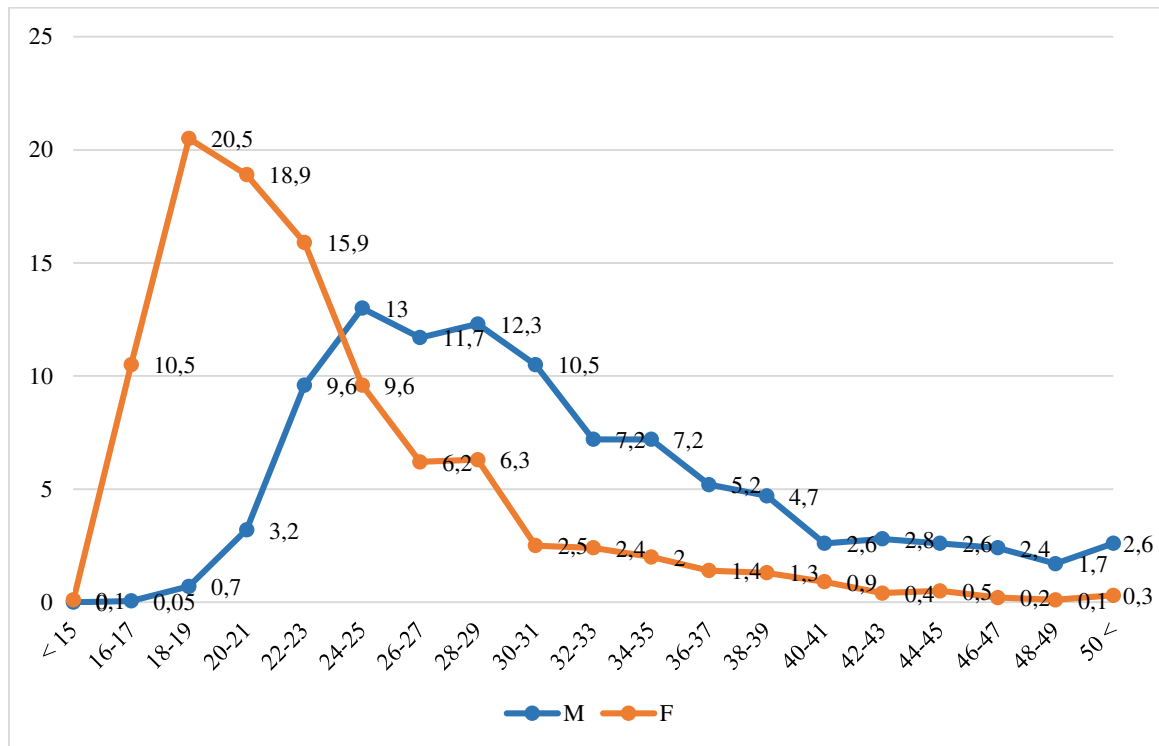
- based on the age distribution of the spouses concluding marriages (including the first one) in a specific year, or on the basis of absolute numbers of the married at different ages;
- based on data from census tables about the distribution of people by their marital status;
- by drawing up nuptiality tables for real and hypothetical generations.

6. Medkov, *Demography*, p. 223.

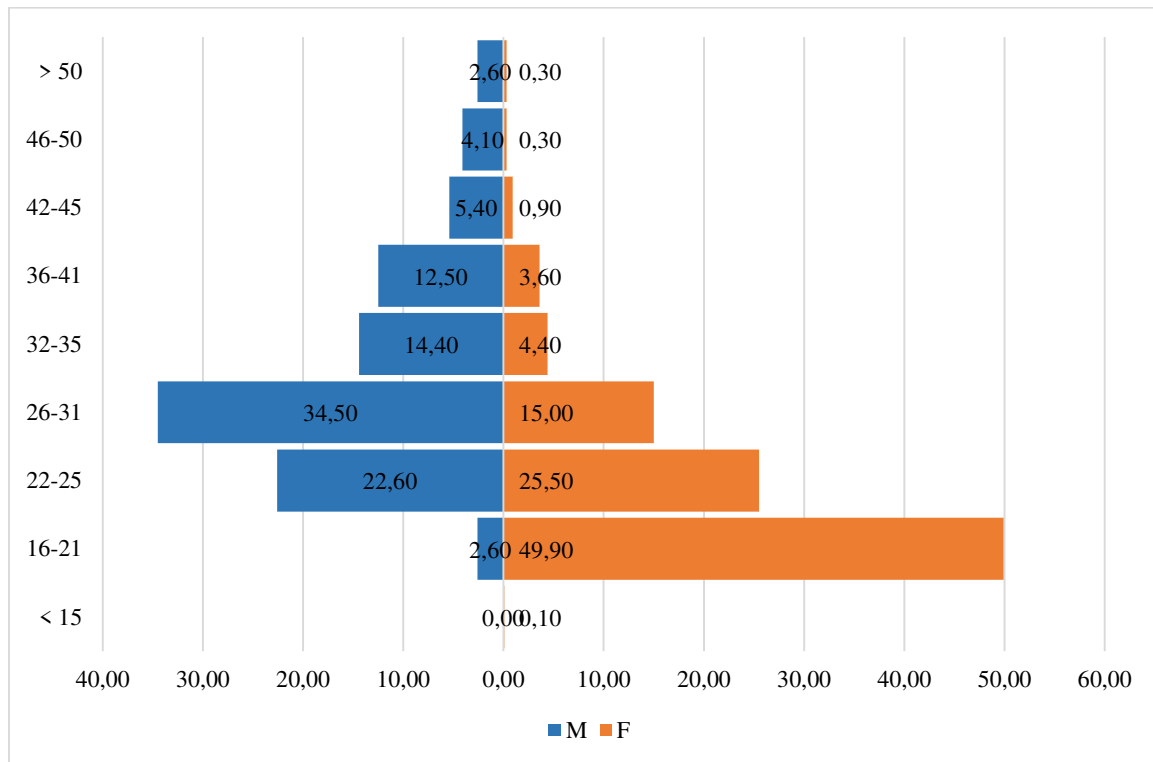
Given the nature of data in the church registers, we take the first method as the most acceptable for our study. Based on the indications of spouses' age at the times of their weddings, we developed tables summarizing distribution by age and sex for each year. In 1840–1920 Greeks of Odessa demonstrated the following picture of Table 16.4 and Diagram 16.6:

Table 16.4. Distribution of Spouses' Age and Sex, 1840–1920

| Age | Male | Female |
|-------|-------|--------|
| < 15 | 0 | 0,1 |
| 16–17 | 0,05 | 10,5 |
| 18–19 | 0,7 | 20,5 |
| 20–21 | 3,2 | 18,9 |
| 22–23 | 9,6 | 15,9 |
| 24–25 | 13 | 9,6 |
| 26–27 | 11,7 | 6,2 |
| 28–29 | 12,3 | 6,3 |
| 30–31 | 10,5 | 2,5 |
| 32–33 | 7,2 | 2,4 |
| 34–35 | 7,2 | 2 |
| 36–37 | 5,2 | 1,4 |
| 38–39 | 4,7 | 1,3 |
| 40–41 | 2,6 | 0,9 |
| 42–43 | 2,8 | 0,4 |
| 44–45 | 2,6 | 0,5 |
| 46–47 | 2,4 | 0,2 |
| 48–49 | 1,7 | 0,1 |
| 50 < | 2,6 | 0,3 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 |

Diagram 16.6. Distribution of Spouses' Age and Sex, 1840–1920**Table 16.5. Distribution of Spouses' Age and Sex in 5-year Intervals, 1840-1920**

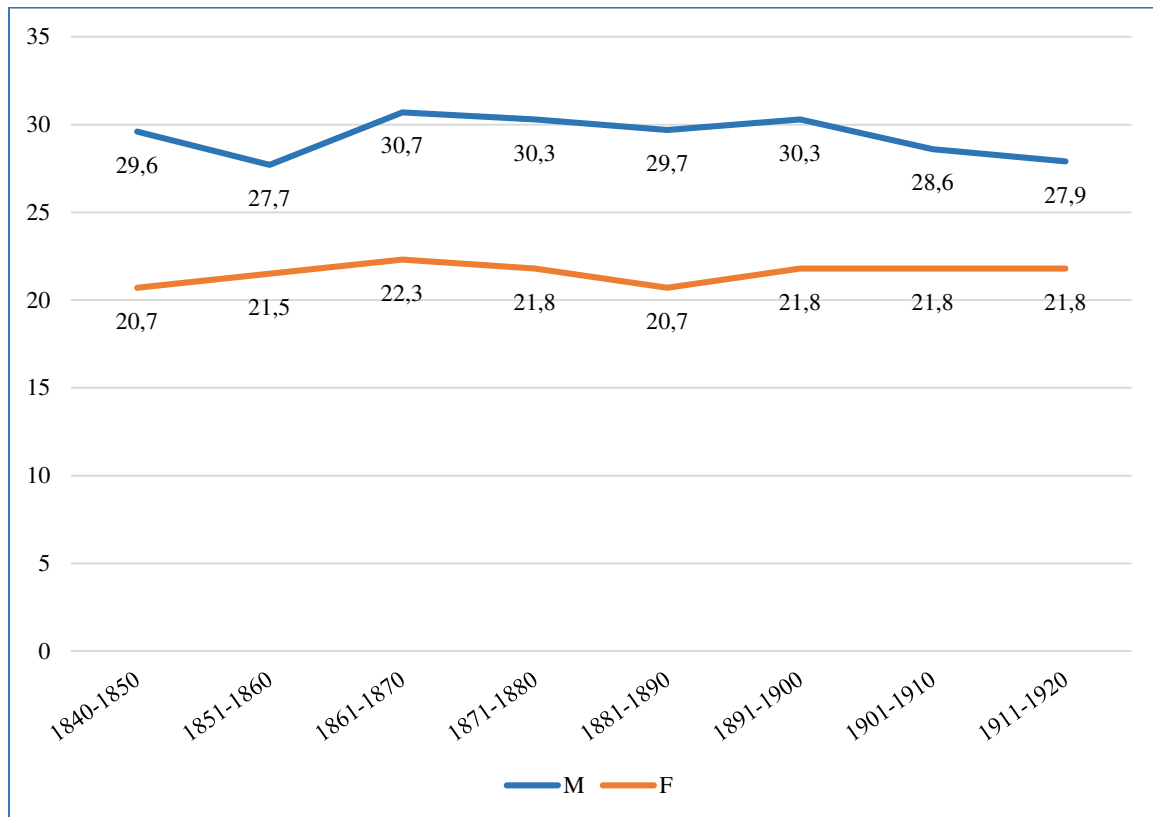
| Age | Male | Female |
|-------|-------|--------|
| < 15 | 0 | 0,1 |
| 16–21 | 3,9 | 49,9 |
| 22–25 | 22,6 | 25,5 |
| 26–31 | 34,5 | 15 |
| 32–35 | 14,4 | 4,4 |
| 36–41 | 12,5 | 3,6 |
| 42–45 | 5,4 | 0,9 |
| 46–50 | 4,1 | 0,3 |
| 50 < | 2,6 | 0,3 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 |

Table 16.7. Distribution of Spouses' Age and Sex in 5-year Intervals, 1840–1920

Since the age of marriage is known for virtually every bride and groom, its average value can be calculated as the arithmetic average of all the ages using the formula:

$$MAM = \frac{\sum (x + 5) \cdot N_x}{\sum N_x},$$

where MAM is the average age of marriage, x is the age of marriage for each groom or bride, N_x is the number of the married at this age. Half a year is added to the exact age x in virtue of the known characteristics of age as a statistical variable. The distribution by age of marriage and measures of central tendency of the period are the most known characteristics of nuptiality. Among measures of central tendency the most often calculated one is the average age. For our reconstruction we have chosen to create a table by decades, starting from 1840 when these data first appeared in the registers of the Greek Church of Holy Trinity.

Diagram 16.8. Dynamics of the Average Marriageable Age, 1840–1920

From Diagram 16.8 we see that the average age of marriage among the Greek men showed a general tendency to decrease from 29.6 years of age in the 1840s to 27.9 years of age in the 1910s. Greek women show the reverse situation during this period, from 20.7 to 21.8 years of age. Notable is a high average age of men and quite low age of women. The explanation for this is commonly sought in the migratory nature of community. These properties lead to European characteristics of the modern marriage among men and a return to an agrarian model of marriage among women. This comment is based on comparisons with similar calculations for Europe.⁷

7. John Hajnal, “Европейский тип брачности в ретроспективе” [European Type of Nuptiality in Retrospective], in Anatolii Vishnevskii, Igor Kon (eds.), *Брачность, рождаемость, семья за три века* [Marriage, Fertility, Family for Three Centuries], (Moscow, 1979), pp. 23–33.

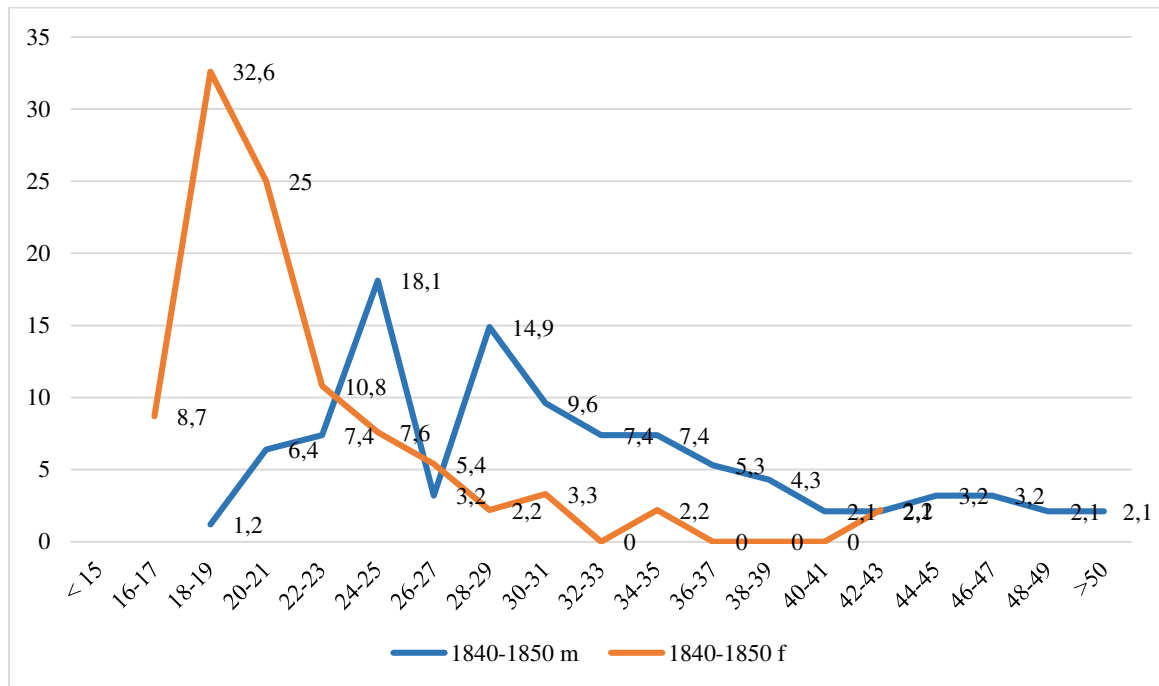
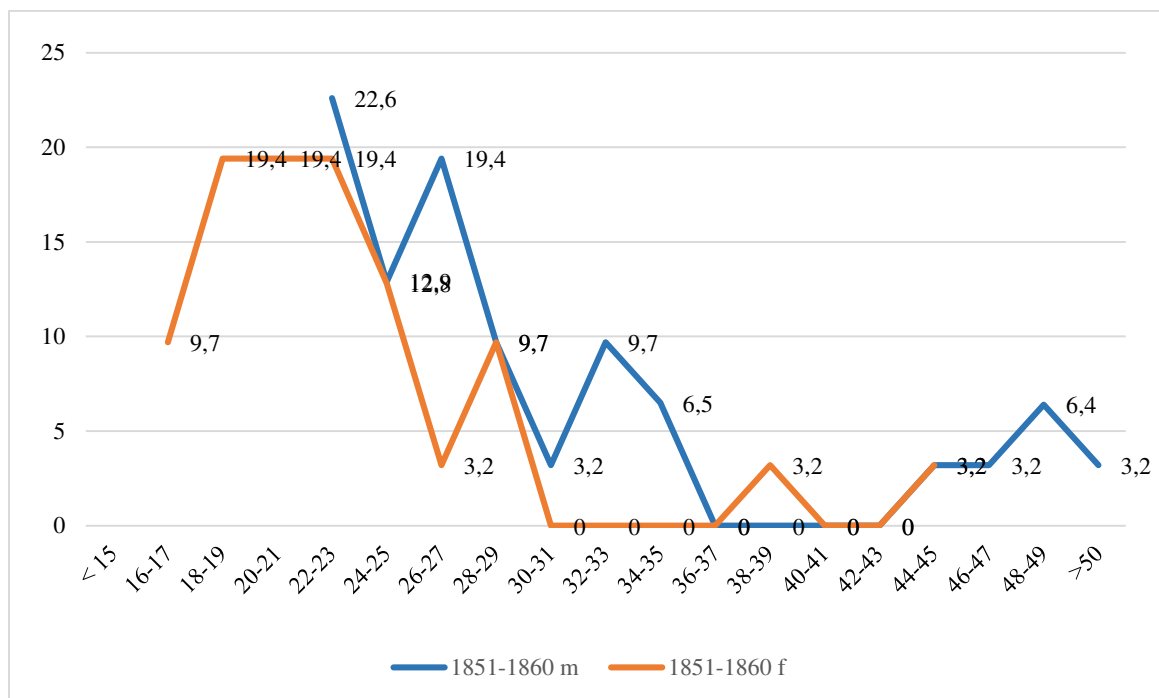
Diagram 16.9. Age at Marriage, 1841–1850**Diagram 16.10. Age at Marriage, 1851–1860**

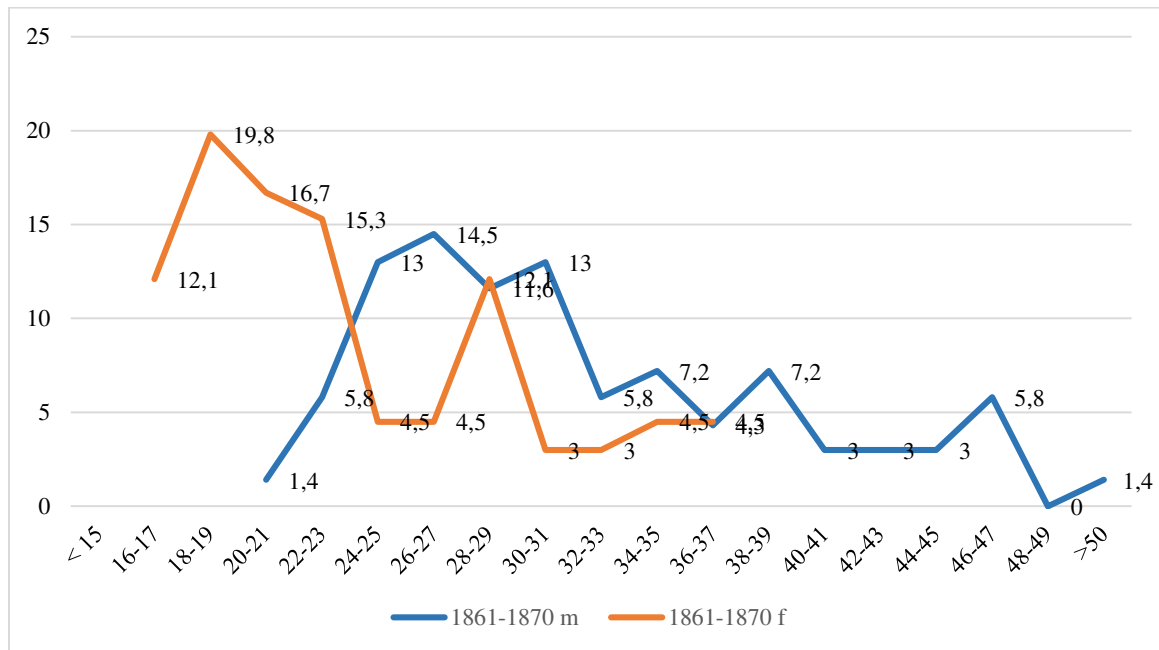
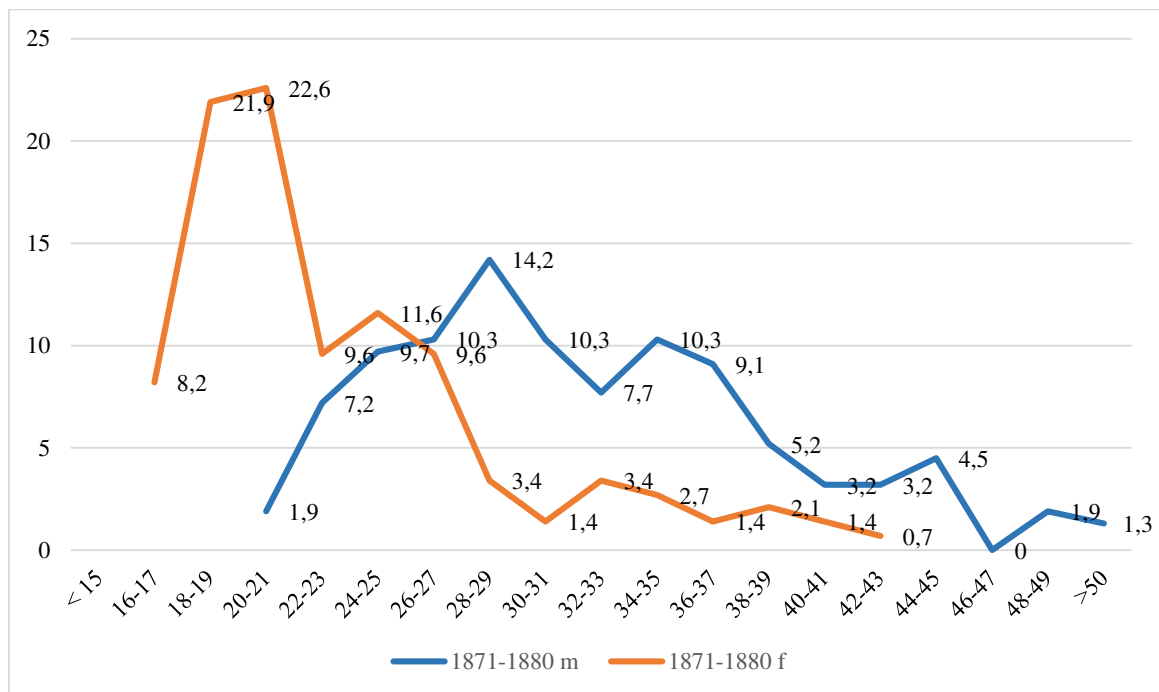
Diagram 16.11. Age at Marriage, 1861–1870**Diagram 16.12. Age at Marriage, 1871–1880**

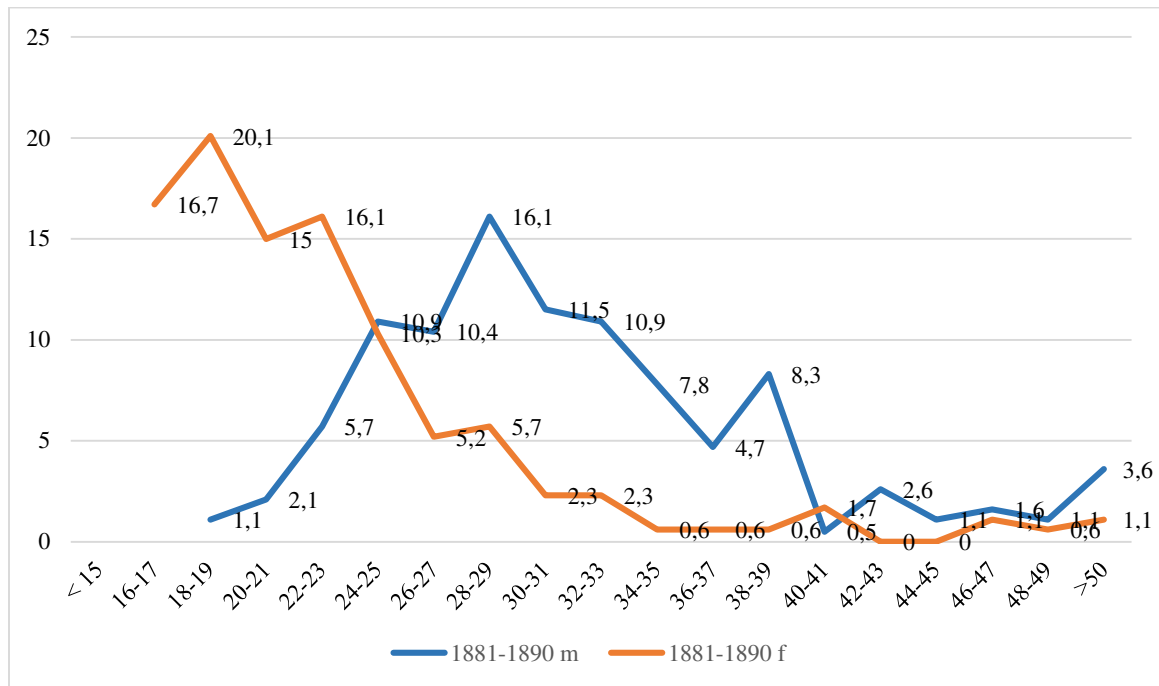
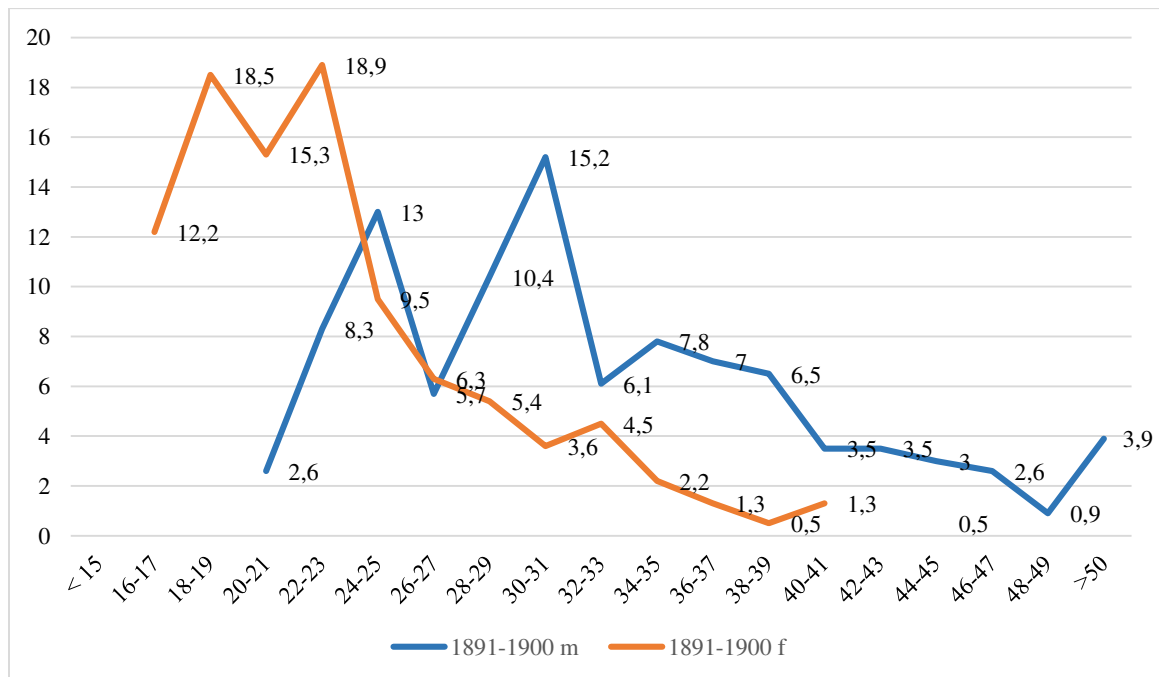
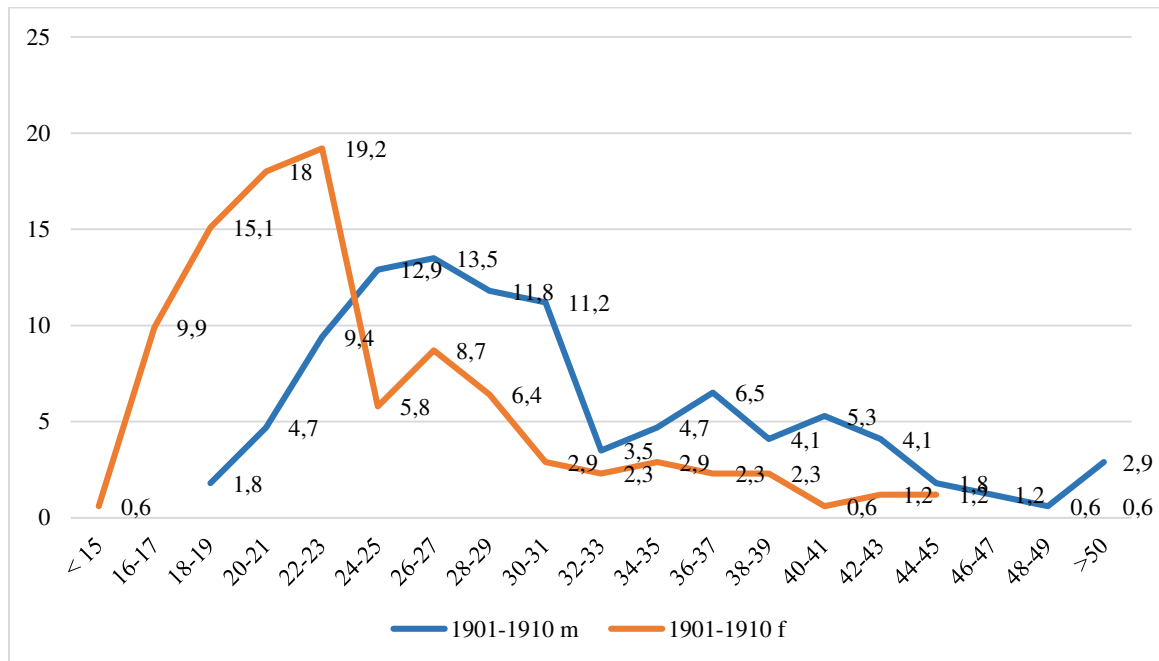
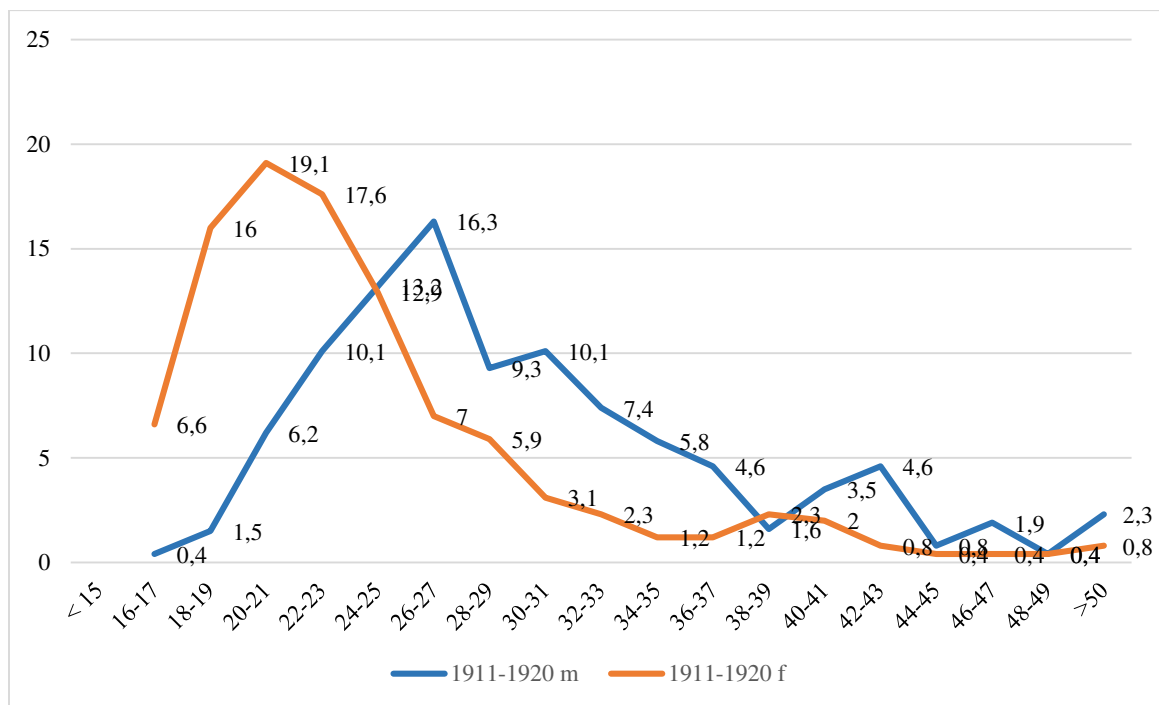
Diagram 16.13. Age at Marriage, 1881–1890**Diagram 16.14. Age at Marriage, 1891–1900**

Diagram 16.15. Age at Marriage, 1901–1910**Diagram 16.16. Age at Marriage, 1911–1920**

The above Diagrams 16.9–16.16 show several trends:

- extension of the range of marriageable age among women from 18–42 years of age at early periods to 16–50 years of age in the early 20th century;
- gradual leveling of marriageable age among men (while in the middle of the 19th century there was a clear spike of marriages between 22 and 33 years of age, by the beginning of the 20th century these figures show much smoother distribution).

Table 16.7. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1840–1880

| Age difference | 1841–1850 | (in the 2 nd marriage) | 1851–1860 | (in the 2 nd marriage) | 1861–1870 | (in the 2 nd marriage) | 1871–1880 | (in the 2 nd marriage) |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>husbands ></i> | | | | | | | | |
| 0–4 | 14 | | 5 | | 26 | | 20 | 4 |
| 5–9 | 43 | 2 | 11 | | 46 | 1 | 38 | 1 |
| 10–14 | 14 | | 4 | | 30 | 1 | 32 | 1 |
| 15–19 | 15 | | 4 | | 20 | | 16 | |
| 20–24 | 6 | 1 | 3 | | 3 | | 6 | |
| 25 + | 2 | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Total | 94 | 3 | 28 | | 127 | 3 | 115 | 7 |
| <i>wives ></i> | | | | | | | | |
| 0–4 | | | 1 | | 7 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 5–9 | | | 3 | | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 |
| 10–14 | | | | | | | | |
| 15–19 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | | | 4 | | 12 | 5 | 9 | 6 |
| Together | 94 | 3 | 32 | 0 | 139 | 8 | 124 | 13 |

In general, in 50% of marriages they were concluded by 22–23 years of age among females and by 30–31 years of age among males. Marriageable ages ranged from 17 to 65 years for men and from 13 to 52 years for women (although before the 1880s the upper boundary laid the level of 40 years of age). In general, the Greek community in Odessa can be described as a quite modern one with the minimal number of early marriages and an

increase in the number of unmarried women. Reverse rates would be typical for the traditional (medieval) type of nuptiality.⁸

Indicators of the institute of nuptiality also include the *age difference between spouses*. For the Greek population of Odessa it showed mostly traditional characteristics with the majority of the grooms being older than their brides. We compiled the data in the following table:

Table 16.8. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1880–1920

| Age difference | 1881–1890 | (in the 2 nd marriage) | 1891–1900 | (in the 2 nd marriage) | 1901–1910 | (in the 2 nd marriage) | 1911–1920 | (in the 2 nd marriage) |
|----------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>husbands ></i> | | | | | | | | |
| 0–4 | 28 | 4 | 50 | 3 | 40 | 4 | 86 | 8 |
| 5–9 | 49 | 4 | 55 | | 55 | 3 | 78 | 3 |
| 10–14 | 31 | 2 | 53 | 2 | 28 | 2 | 40 | 1 |
| 15–19 | 25 | 1 | 29 | | 18 | 2 | 11 | 1 |
| 20–24 | 6 | 1 | 10 | | 5 | 1 | 6 | |
| 25 + | 3 | 1 | 3 | | 3 | 1 | 4 | |
| Total | 142 | 13 | 200 | 5 | 149 | 13 | 225 | 13 |
| <i>wives ></i> | | | | | | | | |
| 0–4 | 4 | | 9 | | 10 | 1 | 20 | 2 |
| 5–9 | | | 3 | | 5 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| 10–14 | | | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 15–19 | | | | | 1 | | | |
| Total | 4 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 20 | 4 | 26 | 5 |
| Together | 146 | 13 | 214 | 6 | 169 | 17 | 251 | 18 |

8. Boris Ulanis, *Рост населения в Европе* [Rise of Population in Europe], (Moscow, 1941), p. 104; Hajnal, *European Type of Nuptiality in Retrospective*, pp. 23–33.

Table 16.9. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1840–1880 (percentages)

| Age difference | 1841–1850 | | 1851–1860 | | 1861–1870 | | 1871–1880 | |
|-------------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| <i>husbands</i> > | number | % | number | % | number | % | number | % |
| 0–4 | 14 | 14,9 | 5 | 15,6 | 26 | 18,7 | 20 | 16,1 |
| 5–9 | 43 | 45,7 | 11 | 34,4 | 46 | 33,1 | 38 | 30,6 |
| 10–14 | 14 | 14,9 | 4 | 12,5 | 30 | 21,6 | 32 | 25,8 |
| 15–19 | 15 | 15,9 | 4 | 12,5 | 20 | 14,4 | 16 | 12,9 |
| 20–24 | 6 | 6,4 | 3 | 9,4 | 3 | 2,2 | 6 | 4,8 |
| 25 > | 2 | 2,1 | 1 | 3,1 | 2 | 1,4 | 3 | 2,4 |
| <i>wives</i> > | | 0 | 4 | 12,5 | 12 | 8,6 | 9 | 7,3 |
| Total | 94 | 100 | 32 | 100 | 139 | 100 | 124 | 100 |

Table 16.10. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1880–1920 (percentages)

| Age difference | 1881–1890 | | 1891–1900 | | 1901–1910 | | 1911–1920 | |
|-------------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| <i>husbands</i> > | number | % | number | % | number | % | number | % |
| 0–4 | 28 | 19,2 | 50 | 23,4 | 40 | 23,7 | 86 | 34,3 |
| 5–9 | 49 | 33,6 | 55 | 25,7 | 55 | 32,5 | 78 | 31,1 |
| 10–14 | 31 | 21,2 | 53 | 24,8 | 28 | 16,6 | 40 | 15,9 |
| 15–19 | 25 | 17,1 | 29 | 13,6 | 18 | 10,7 | 11 | 4,4 |
| 20–24 | 6 | 4,1 | 10 | 4,7 | 5 | 2,9 | 6 | 2,4 |
| 25 > | 3 | 2,1 | 3 | 1,4 | 3 | 1,8 | 4 | 1,6 |
| <i>wives</i> > | 4 | 2,7 | 14 | 6,5 | 20 | 11,8 | 26 | 10,4 |
| Total | 146 | 100 | 214 | 100 | 169 | 100 | 251 | 100 |

Table 16.11. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1840–1920 (percentages)

| Age difference | 1841–1860 | | 1861–1880 | | 1881–1900 | | 1901–1920 | |
|----------------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| <i>husbands ></i> | number | % | number | % | number | % | number | % |
| 0–4 | 19 | 15,1 | 46 | 17,5 | 78 | 21,7 | 126 | 30 |
| 5–9 | 54 | 42,8 | 84 | 31,9 | 104 | 28,9 | 133 | 31,7 |
| 10–14 | 18 | 14,3 | 62 | 23,6 | 84 | 23,3 | 68 | 16,2 |
| 15–19 | 19 | 15,1 | 36 | 13,7 | 54 | 15 | 29 | 6,9 |
| 20–24 | 9 | 7,1 | 9 | 3,4 | 16 | 4,4 | 11 | 2,6 |
| 25 > | 3 | 2,4 | 5 | 1,9 | 6 | 1,7 | 7 | 1,7 |
| <i>wives ></i> | 4 | 3,2 | 21 | 8 | 18 | 5 | 46 | 10,9 |
| Total | 126 | 100 | 263 | 100 | 360 | 100 | 420 | 100 |

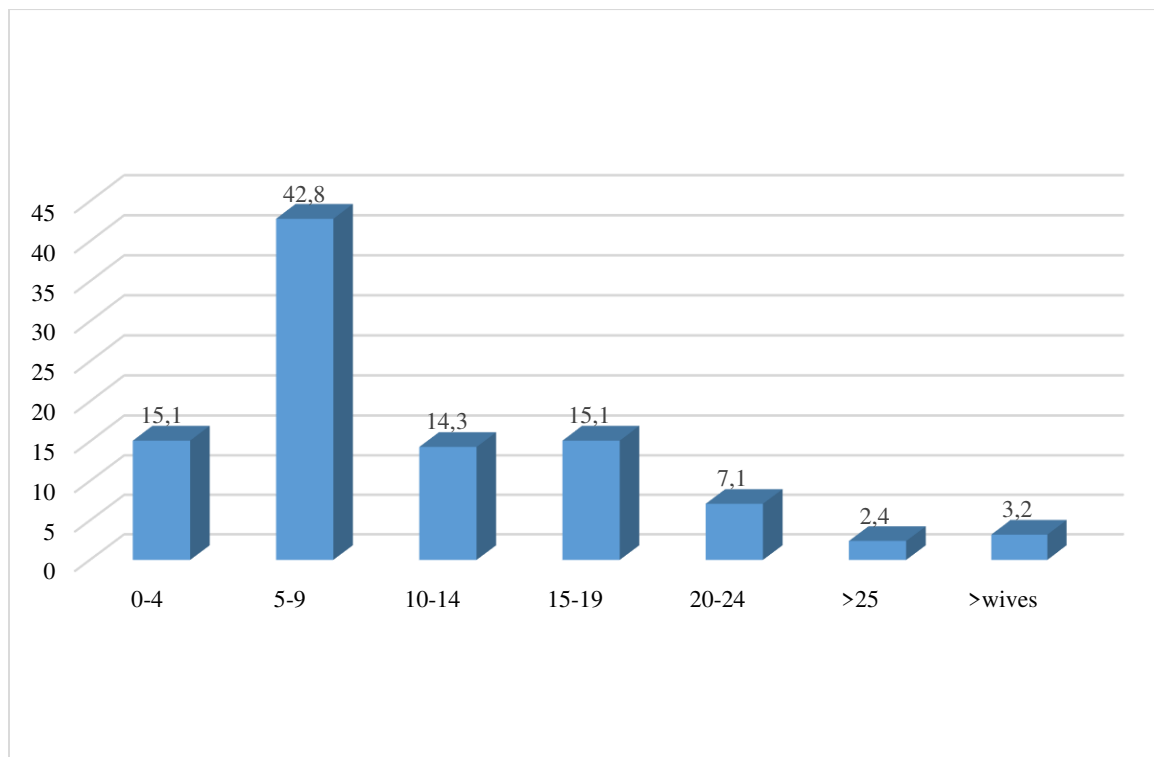
Diagram 16.17. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1840–1860

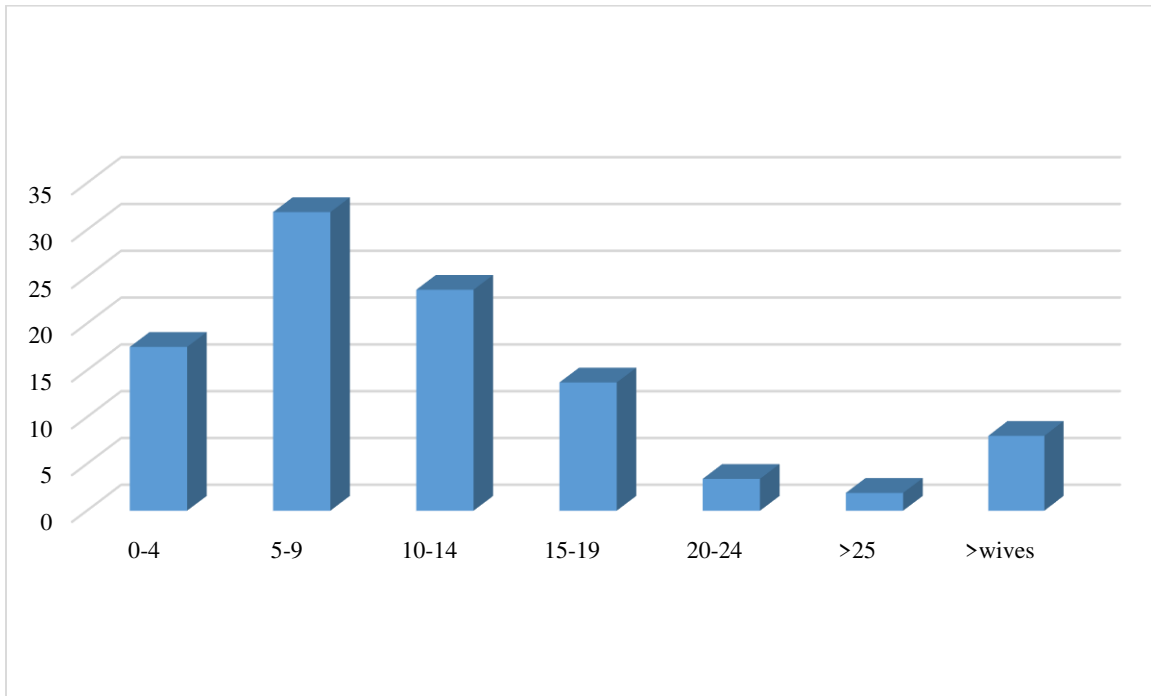
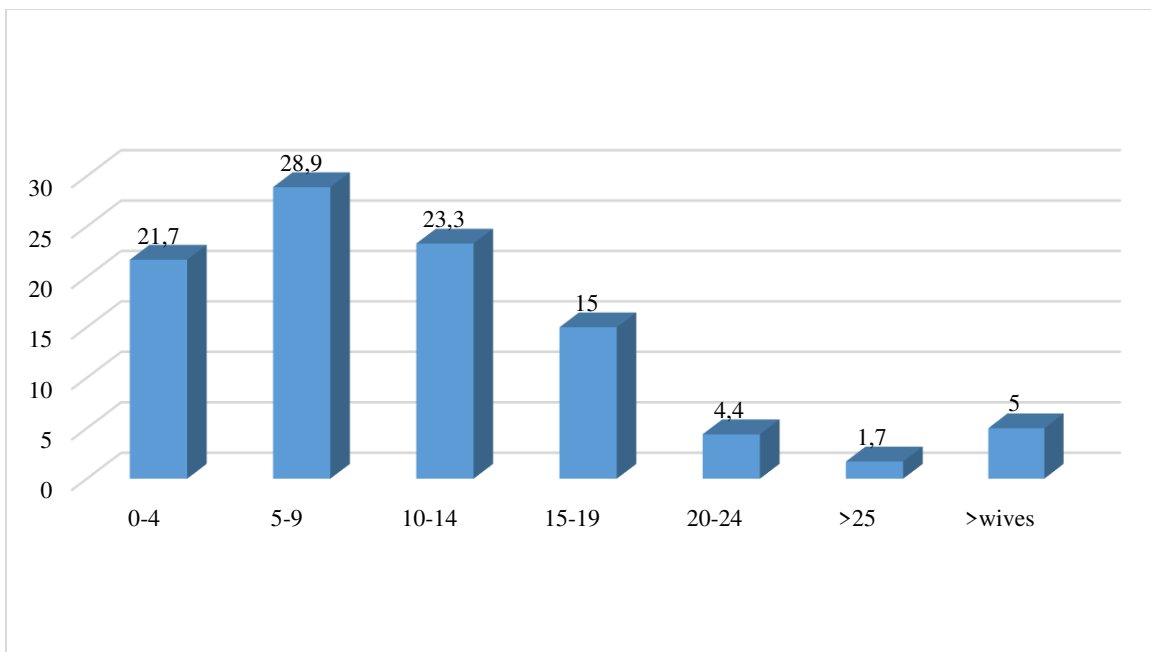
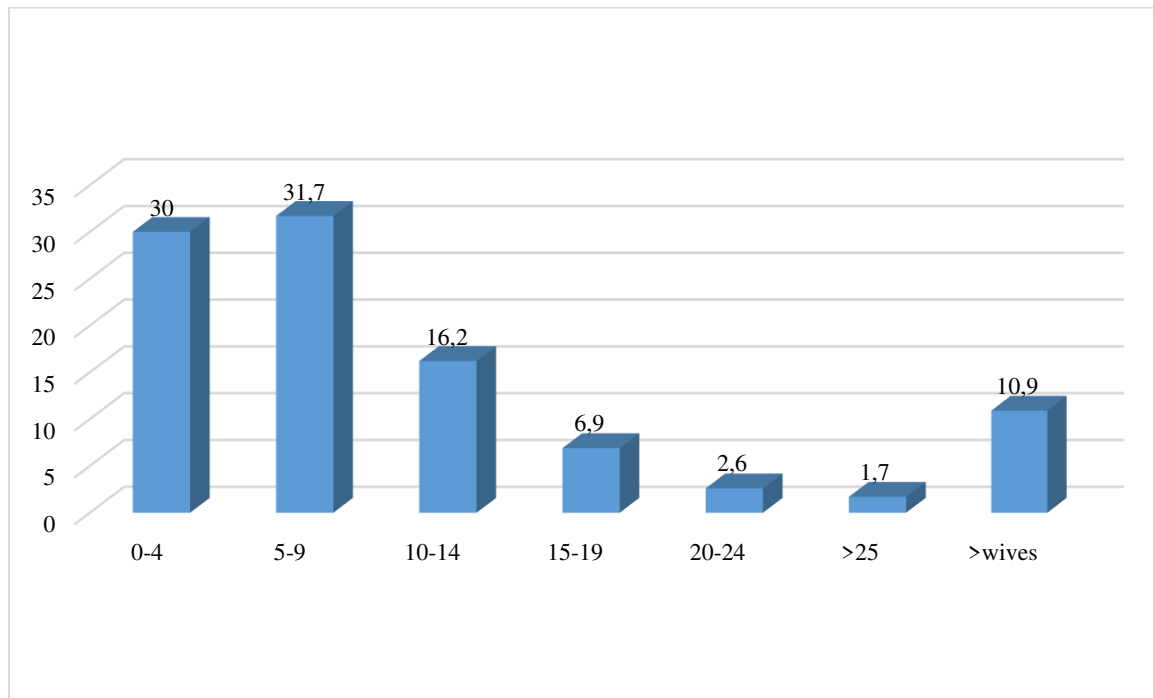
Diagram 16.18. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1860–1880**Diagram 16.19. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1880–1900**

Diagram 16.20. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1900–1920

Our analysis produced several observations:

- marriages in which husbands were older than their wives dominated; in at least a third of these marriages the age difference of 5–9 years was observed; these marriages also show decline in their share from 42.8% (in 1840–1860) to 31.7% (in 1900–1920); increase in share of marriages with a minimal age difference between spouses (up to 4 years) from 15.1% to 30%; increase and subsequent decrease of marriages in which grooms were 10–20 years older than their brides (29.4%, 37.3%, 38.3% and 26.1%); a relatively stable situation in the group where the age difference was more than 25 years;
- a steady increase in the proportion of marriages in which the wife is older than her husband (from 3.2% to 10.9%); earlier this situation was observed in agrarian societies (shortage of labor force made men conclude marriages with more experienced maidens),⁹

9. Irina Vlasova, *Брак и семья у русских (XII – начало XX века)* [Marriage and Family Among Russians (12th – Early 20th Century)], (Moscow: Nauka, 1999), p. 422; Aleksander Avdeev, Alain Blum, Irina Troitskaya, “Некоторые аспекты изучения брачности помещичьих крестьян в первой половине XIX века по материалам ревизских сказок и метрических книг (на примере Выхинской вотчины графов Шереметевых)” [Nuptiality among Serfs in the First Half of the 19th Century: Assessments Based

but its presence in the urban environment of the Greeks can certainly be explained by the general shortage of females in their community.

Here are just some striking examples of the largest age distance between the spouses. In 1853 the Ionic born Anastasiy Makvrokefalo, the Odessan merchant of the 3rd guild, at the age of 53 married 21-year-old Maria Spirovna Makri, the daughter of an English national (6 September 1853).¹⁰ In 1879 the Greek national Spiridon Martiris at the age of 49 got married to 19-year-old Irina, the adoptee of the Greek national Nikolai Maguli (11 November 1879).¹¹ In 1895 Ioann Stamatevich Stamati, a native of Chios and the national of Turkey, at the age of 61 married Lemonia Konstantinovna, the 40-year-old national of Turkey, a native of Constantinople (20 September 1895).¹² The same year Ioann Stamatievich Kiparisino, the Greek national at the age of 21 married 35-year-old Annezo Iliевна Anaplioti, the widow the Greek national Nikolai Ioakim (16 July 1895).¹³

Among the youngest marriages we shall mention that on 12 January 1903 Maria Konstantinovna Fusteri, 13 years of age, the daughter of the deceased Greek national native of Sanorini, married Spiridon Ivanovich Potamiano, the Greek national born in the village of Maşcăuţi in Bessarabia Province.¹⁴

In general, our study described and characterized main indicators of nuptiality among Greeks of Odessa over a period of more than 120 years. It revealed trends in seasonal marriage conclusions through time indicative of the degree of secularization (observance of the Orthodox canons) among the Greek population of Odessa, demonstrated a rather modern pattern in general trends of marriageable ages among different genders (its increase among males and significant decrease among females find explanations in migration and

on Census-rolls (“Revisii”) and Parish Registers (The Case of the Counts Sheremetevs’ Estate of Vykhino)], in Aleksandr Chubar’yan (ed.), *Номо Historicus. К 80-летию со дня рождения Ю. Л. Бессмертного* [Homo historicus. To the 80th anniversary of Yu. L. Bessmertny], in 2 vols., vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 2003), p. 661; Yurii Voloshin, *Государевы описные малороссийские раскольнические слободы (XVIII в.): историко-демографический аспект* [State Registered Settlements of the Old-believers in the Little Russia (18th c.): A Historical Demographic Aspect], (Moscow: Arkheodoksiya, 2005), p. 194.

10. Liliya Belousova et al., *Греки Одессы. Именной указатель по метрическим книгам Одесской Греческой Свято-Троицкой Церкви* [The Greeks of Odessa: Name Index According to the Metrical Books of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa], in 7 parts, part III: 1853–1874, (Odesa, 2004), pp. 120–121.

11. Ibid., part IV: 1875–1891, (Odesa, 2005), pp. 166–167.

12. Ibid., part V: 1802, 1892–1906, (Odesa, 2006), pp. 260–261.

13. Ibid., pp. 122–123.

14. Ibid., pp. 230–231.

social factors), identified age differences between spouses (nuptiality range) and demonstrated the transition from a traditional to a modern pattern of marriages (significant narrowing of the range) in a specific socio-historic context.

More generally, our conclusions suggest that in any population nuptiality depends directly from social conditions. This is best evident with the increase in scale of migrations: the more Greek migrants came to Odessa, the higher was marriageable age among males and the lower it was among females, the poorer was observance of the Orthodox canons, the lower was the percentage of unmarried women etc.