

Black Sea History Working Papers, vol. 8

Iannis Carras, Eugene Chernukhin and Vitalii Tkachuk (eds.)

**THE NIZHYN GREEK BROTHERHOOD AND
THE ‘PORT-CITY’ OF NIZHYN
17TH – 19TH CENTURIES**



Greek Church of All the Saints, second half of 18th century

Research project within the Thalys Programme. A collaboration of the Ionian University with the Institute for Mediterranean Studies-FORTH, University of Crete, University of Thessaly, Hellenic Research Foundation and University of the Aegean: “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774–1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”



Rethymnon, Crete 2026

PUBLISHED BY THE CENTRE OF MARITIME HISTORY,
INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES – FOUNDATION OF RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY



ISBN: 978-618-5896-06-5

Black Sea History Working Papers, vol. 8

**THE NIZHYN GREEK BROTHERHOOD AND
THE 'PORT-CITY' OF NIZHYN
17TH – 19TH CENTURIES**

**Iannis Carras, Eugene Chernukhin
and Vitalii Tkachuk (eds.)**

PUBLISHED BY THE CENTRE OF MARITIME HISTORY,
INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES –
FOUNDATION OF RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY HELLAS

Rethymnon, Crete 2026

Centre of Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies –
Foundation of Research and Technology-Hellas

130, Nikiforou Foka str., Rethymno 74131, Crete,
Greece, www.ims.forth.gr

Black Sea History Working Papers, vol. 8

2026, IMS-FORTH & Iannis Carras, Eugene Chernukhin
and Vitalii Tkachuk

Black Sea History Working Papers Series

1. Constantin Ardeleanu and Andreas Lyberatos (eds.), *Port-Cities of the Western Black Sea Coast and the Danube: Economic and Social Development in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 1, Corfu, 2016, published in www.blacksea.gr
2. Evrydiki Sifneos, Valentyna Shandra and Oksana Yurkova (eds.), *Port-Cities of the Northern Shore of the Black Sea: Institutional, Economic and Social Development, 18th – Early 20th Centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 2, published in www.blacksea.gr
3. Gelina Harlaftis, Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman, Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchkoidze (eds.), *Between Grain and Oil from the Azov to Caucasus: The Port-Cities of the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea, Late 18th – Early 20th Century*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 3, Rethymnon, 2020, published in www.blacksea.gr
4. Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 11, published Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018.
5. Edhem Eldem, Vangelis Kechriotis, Sophia Laiou (eds.), *The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast and Hinterland, Late 18th – Beginning of the 20th Century*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 5, Corfu, 2017, published in www.blacksea.gr
- 5a. Edhem Eldem and Sophia Laiou (eds.), *Istanbul and the Black Sea Coast: Shipping and Trade (1770–1920)*, Istanbul, The ISIS Press, 2018.
6. Anna Sydorenko, *Οικονομική ανάπτυξη των πόλεων-λιμανιών της Κριμαίας, β' μισό του 19ου – αρχές 20ου αιώνα: Ευπατορία, Σεβαστούπολη, Θεοδοσία*, [The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities, Second Half of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century. Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Theodosia], Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 13, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ionian University, Corfu, 2017
7. Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis (eds.), *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Navigation, Trade and Immigration*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 7, Rethymnon, 2020, published in www.blacksea.gr
8. Iannis Carras, Eugene Chernukhin and Vitalii Tkachuk (eds.), *The Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and the “Port-City” of Nizhyn, 17th-19th centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 8, Rethymnon, 2025, published in www.blacksea.gr

Forthcoming

9. Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming
10. Ioannis Theotokas, Athanassios Pallis and Maria Lekakou, *Shipping, Ports and Cities in Soviet and Post-Soviet Period. Reintegration in the Global Economy*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 10, forthcoming
11. Alexandra Papadopoulou, *The Intregation of the Black Sea Markets to the Global Economy, 19th Century*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 11, forthcoming.
12. Alexandra Yerolympos and Athina Vitopoulou, *City Planning in the Black Sea Port-Cities*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 12, forthcoming

Table of Contents

Prologue, Gelina Harlaftis.....	9
1. <i>Introduction: The Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and the ‘port-city’ of Nizhyn, Iannis Carras, Vitalii Tkachuk.....</i>	11
2. <i>Ecosystems of violence and exchange: Greek merchants go to market in 18th century Ukraine, Iannis Carras.....</i>	33
3. <i>Between faith and trade: the religious life of Greek merchants in Nizhyn in late 17th and throughout the 18th century, Vitalii Tkachuk (translated by Elena Borodina and Iannis Carras)</i>	115
4. <i>The Jerusalem Metochion in Nizhyn from the end of the 17th to the start of the 19th centuries, Vitalii Tkachuk (translated by Matthew Matuszak).....</i>	147
5. <i>An analysis of the archival material of the Nizhyn Greek Dimitris Melas (1770–1842) in the collections of the State Archive of the Chernihiv Region, Eugene Chernukhin (translated by Iannis Carras).....</i>	165
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	264
<i>Biographical Notes</i>	266

Prologue

This book forms the eighth volume of the series of books published within the interdisciplinary and inter-university project “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774-1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”. The project which lasted from 2012 to 2015 was included in the Action “Thales”, financed by the Greek National Strategic Reference Framework, the E.U. and the Greek Ministry of Education. The project was led by the Department of History of the Ionian University (project coordinator: Gelina Harlaftis) in collaboration with the the Institute for Mediterranean Studies-FORTH, the University of Crete, the National Hellenic Research Foundation, the University of Thessaly and the University of the Aegean. It also collaborated with 23 academic institutions – Universities, Research Institutes and Archives – from the Black Sea countries, that is Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Russia and Georgia, as well as from Moldavia, Norway, Italy, Israel and the United States. The main Research Group consisted of 19 scholars and the External Collaborators Research Group of 71 scholars (professors, senior researchers, young researchers, that is Ph.D. holders, Ph.D. students, post-graduate students), 57% of which were Greek and 43% foreigners.

The aim of the project was the identification, analysis and synthesis of the economic and social development of 24 port-cities of the Black Sea which formed an integrated market that became the larger grain-exporting area in the world in the second half of the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century. By making the sea and its ports central, the analysis penetrates into the economic activities of the port-cities, the coastal area and the hinterland, the integration of markets and their interlinkages with the global economy, beyond political boundaries and divisions. The linkages with the global economy triggered development and convergence of regional markets in the global economy during the 18th and 19th centuries. Nizhyn consists of a particular case: a “land port”, a node of trade that developed prior to the formation of the ports of the

northern coast of the Black Sea. The “Nizhyn Brotherhood” supported its merchants, contributed toward establishing trade routes, and distributed tradeable products, leading, in the long run, to the integration of the sea-ports of the Ukrainian south into global markets. These studies provide a spherical but also detailed account of an area largely uncovered in the western bibliography.

In addition to the studies, books, databases, and historical statistics produced, the Black Sea project is best understood in terms of the international cooperation it fostered. It established networks of communication between Greek universities and the research institutes and universities of the countries of the Black Sea, thereby facilitating a collective and organized academic engagement with a region that remains difficult for independent Western researchers to access. The project also sought to renew methodological and analytical tools and to promote the internationalization of historical studies across all participating countries.

It is to be hoped that the struggles for power that have destabilized the region will subside, and that international law and peace based on justice will prevail, allowing such academic collaboration to flourish in the future.

The Centre of Maritime History of IMS-FORTH is continuing many aspects of this project under the general title “History of the Black Sea, 18th-20th century”.

Gelina Harlaftis
February 2025

1.

Introduction: The Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and the ‘port-city’ of Nizhyn

Iannis Carras, Vitalii Tkachuk

The focus of this book is the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and its role in the history of Ukraine and, by extension, central, southern and eastern Europe. The history of the Greek community of Nizhyn, though not of course of Greek speaking populations in today’s Ukraine, begins in the mid-17th century when the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1595–1657) rendered Jewish trade difficult if not impossible and granted their Greek (and other) merchant competitors a number of privileges. There had long been Greeks present in Lviv (Lwów), Brody, Zamość,¹ Ostroh (Ostróg), Kyiv (Kiev, Kijów, Kievo),² and other Polish and Ukrainian cities, as well as along the northern Black Sea littoral. Further, members of the clergy and merchants had journeyed north to Muscovy through Polish and Ukrainian territories. Manuscript confirmation of Greek (and Vlach) presence in considerable numbers in the city of Nizhyn, however, can be dated securely to 1675, though the same manuscript notes their ‘long held’ privileges in the region.³

The basic privileges granted to the Greeks developed through Hetmans’ *Universals* (or decrees) prior to the establishment of the

1. Ihor Lylo, *Греки на території Руського воєводства у XV–XVIII ст.* [Greeks in the Territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship in the 15th–18th Centuries] (Lviv: Ivan Franko Lviv National University), 2019, pp. 214–233.

2. Olha Popelnytska, *Історична топографія київського Подолу XVII — початку XIX* [The historical topography of Kyiv’s Podil in the 17th and early 19th centuries], (Kyiv: Stylos, 2003), pp. 82, 86, 100.

3. Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, *Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині XVII–XVIII ст.* [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony of Nizhyn XVII–XVI-II c.], ed. Eugene Chernukhin and Oleksandr Morozov (Nizhyn: TOV “Ferokol”, 2011), pp. 29–43.

Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood. These privileges included the resolution of legal difference in their own (usually oral) *Kriterion*, or court, with Greek *Krites*, or judges, adjudicating in the Greek language. The legal privileges were frequently contested but were applied usually without question when both parties to a dispute were considered 'Greek'. Certain taxation privileges also accrued to Greeks, though these varied over time. And Greeks gained the right to their own Greek-language Brotherhood church, with priests and deacons selected by lay members of the Brotherhood. Connected to their church, Greeks also gained the right to their own school and hospital. An official Charter of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood corroborated all these privileges. This can be dated to 1696 (or perhaps 1697). The Brotherhood itself and the privileges it embodied were repeatedly reconfirmed at later dates, both by the relevant Hetman in Baturyn or Hlukhiv (Glukhov) and, later, by imperial authorities in St. Petersburg.⁴

Why Nizhyn? As though this were an island off the coast, Nizhyn was located at a relative distance from bureaucratic and military controls. Nizhyn lay on one of the safer and swifter routes from Constantinople to Moscow. And it lay on a river, albeit the relatively small river Oster, which poured past the stone houses of the Greek quarter, past open air market places, past areas of proto industrialisation, past the wooden fortifications of the city fortress, and flowed on through the river Desna to the Dnipro (Dneiper), past forests and fields and steppe, through the rapids and on to the sea. Nizhyn was a city whose main purpose was neither religious, nor administrative, nor military – but commercial. The institution of a commercial Brotherhood became central to the city's identity. In this context that Nizhyn may be considered an 'emporium' or an 'inland port-city'.⁵

4. Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, *Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині XVII–XVIIIст.* [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony of Nizhyn XVII–XVIII c.], pp. 43–150; Christos P. Laskaridis, *Το Καταστατικό της Ελληνικής Εμπορικής Κοινότητας στη Νίζνα της Ουκρανίας* [The Charter of the Greek Commercial Community of Nizhyn in Ukraine] (Ioannina: Pournaras Panagiotis, 1997).

5. For 'emporium' and 'ports of trade', see Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1957). Angeliki E. Laiou, 'Economic and Non-

This was a city of three annual fairs, each lasting weeks on end, when the population of the city expanded and then contracted like an accordion.⁶ These Nizhyn fairs were part of a circuit further fairs stretching out beyond the 'Hetmanate', with merchants and their clients and all those who depended on them journeying in concentric circles according to the opportunities offered by what was increasingly transforming itself into a market.⁷ Like any 'port city', Nizhyn had its market places, its customs house, its officers regulating trade, its warehouses, its courts, its caravanserais and stables and hotels – a place for markets, a centre for the circulation of credit.⁸

Indeed, the layout of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood may be compared to organisation of ports of later periods – with an operational area functionally separated from the rest of the city. At the core of the city abutting the fortress there was an extensive walled area known as the *Kanoni* (Greek), or the *Tvori* (Russian) or the *Foro* (Italian, but all three used irrespective of the language of the document as a whole), in other words the courtyard or the forum. This area's iron doors were locked before nightfall, and it was permanently guarded. The administrative centre of the Brotherhood where the *Kriterion* (or court) sat in session was to be found here. A belltower and two churches adjoined this walled area, as did warehouses, including those in the basement of church buildings. The quarter where most of the Greeks lived was north and west of the *Foro*, touching on the river Oster. As the century progressed, Greeks displayed their wealth through the erection of additional

economic Exchange', in *The Economic History of Byzantium From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 2002), pp. 681–96.

6. The timing of the fairs in Nizhyn was connected to the church calendar, thus the Sretenska Fair was held in February, the Trinity Fair in June, and the Intercession of the Mother of God (Theotokos) Fair in October: TsDIAUK, fond 57, op. 1, item 341, fol. 2.

7. For a focus on fairs, see George Janzen, 'Change and Continuity in Ukrainian Trade. An Analysis of Ukrainskie ârmarki by Ivan Aksakov' (Masters Thesis, Leipzig, University of Leipzig, Faculty of History, Arts and Oriental Studies. Department of History, 2018).

8. For connections between commerce and charity, see Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch: Kaufleute und Almosensammler entlang der osmanisch-russischen Grenze im 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. 19, Erfurter Vorträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums (Erfurt: Universität Erfurt, 2020).

churches, coffee-shops,⁹ wineries,¹⁰ schools, commercial buildings, cemeteries,¹¹ and a plethora of two-storied stone residences.¹²

For much of the 18th century Greeks must have constituted approximately 10% of the total population of the city, leading some travel writers of the time to imagine Nizhyn as a 'Greek' city.¹³ Though all members of the Nizhyn Brotherhood were by definition 'Greeks' – not all members of the Nizhyn Brotherhood were permanently resident in Nizhyn, and at various periods the Brotherhood found itself divided between 'incoming' and 'resident' Greeks. 'Incoming' Greeks might have permanent residences in other cities of Ukraine, but also further afield in the Ottoman and Russian Empires, and also in Polish, Italian and German lands.

Not all members of the Brotherhood spoke Greek as a first language, but the Brotherhood church and court functioned in Greek, so a process of becoming Greek was associated with membership of the Brotherhood. Even amongst those who spoke other languages at home, some knowledge of the Greek language was advantageous, as is evident from a document of 1730, where members of the

9. The description of the city of Nizhyn in the 1760s records six places where one could drink coffee, both in coffee shops and simply by buying brewed coffee in the houses of Greek merchants: TsDIAUK, fond 57, op. 1, item 39, 1766-1769, fol. 157, 709, 710, 803-804.

10. Most often, wines imported from Wallachia were sold here: TsDIAUK, fond 57, op. 1, fol. 39, 1766-1769), fol. 709, 714 v –715.

11. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6686, 1773, fol. 2-6.

12. For the use of these terms, see Laskaridis, *To Καταστατικό της Ελληνικής Εμπορικής Κοινότητας στη Νίζνα της Ουκρανίας* [The Charter of the Greek Commercial Community of Nizhyn in Ukraine], pp. 67, 73, 152, 167-168.

13. Mikhail Berezhkov, *Город Нежин в начале XIX века, по описанию московских путешественников (заметки к истории города)* [The City of Nizhyn at the Beginning of the 19th Century, Following the Description of Moscow Travelers (Notes on the History of the City)] (Nizhyn: E. F. Venger, D. Glezer, 1895), pp. 6-12. For demographic issues, see Afanasii Shafonskyi [Athanasii Shaphonskyi], *Черниговского наместничества топографическое описание с кратким географическим и историческим описанием Малья России, из частей коей оно наместничество составлено. Сочинение действительного статского советника и кавалера Афанасия Шафонского. В Чернигове, 1786 года* [Chernihiv Viceroyalty Topographical Description with a Brief Geographical and Historical Description of Little Russia, From Parts of Which This Vicegerency Was Compiled. Essay by Actual State Councillor and Cavalier Afanasii Shafonskii. In Chernihiv 1786] (Kyiv, 1851), pp. 467-478.

Brotherhood argue that those who do not speak Greek should not benefit from tax privileges.¹⁴ Commerce created identities. Processes of becoming Greek proceeded alongside Ukrainisation (particularly through Greek men marrying Ukrainian women) and Russification (Russia being the dominant imperial power from the 18th century on). As membership depended on an annual financial contribution and election by other brothers, not all Greeks in Nizhyn were members of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood. Members of the Brotherhood could be male or female, though the vast majority were male

Image 1.1. The Greek orthodox Church in Nizhyn, today.
Source: photograph by Iannis Carras.



14. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4285a, 1779, fol. 4.

Image 1.2. The bell tower above the entrance to the Church of St. Constantine and Helen in the old Greek cemetery (now the central cemetery), erected by Nikolaos Zosimas to honor his brother Anastasios (d. 1819).



and only males voted in elections to the Brotherhood organs.¹⁵

From the early 19th century, Nizhyn Brotherhood members were equated with merchants of the 2nd guild. By the mid-19th century, most of those involved in commerce had left Nizhyn for more lucrative port-cities on the Black Sea (for example, for Odesa (Odessa, Odessos, earlier Khadjibey or Hacibey) on the coast, or, alternatively, for Moscow and St. Petersburg and other major commercial centres. Thus in 1846 we see that the Nizhyn Greek Magistracy had

15. Iannis Carras, 'Connecting Migration and Identities: Godparenthood, Surety and Greeks in the Russian Empire (18th – Early 19th Centuries)', in *Across the Danube: Southeastern Europeans and Their Travelling Identities, 17th-19th Centuries*, ed. Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria Stassinopoulou (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 65–109.

987 male and 804 female members, but few of these actually resided in Nizhyn. The legal title 'Nizhyn Greek' however remained, as did the Nizhyn Greek Magistracy itself.¹⁶ Thus, it is important to emphasise that 'Nizhyn Greek' was a legal term – denoting membership in a particular institution with its particular organisational obligations and privileges. But it also signalled membership of a network. Throughout the period under discussion there were tensions between legal formalities and the lives Greeks and other peoples of Nizhyn and Ukraine more generally actually lived. An appropriate date for the end of this story is 1872 when the Nizhyn Greek Magistracy as a separate official institution was brought to its conclusion, and its Greek members were accorded equal status with the various other residents of the city. A number of Greeks continued living in Nizhyn, however, which was gradually to become a plurality Jewish city.¹⁷

The history of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood can contribute to shedding light on many aspects of the history of Ukraine and of the wider region. The Brotherhood provides an opening for discussing the importance of communalities (confraternities or brotherhoods), in the political and social and economic history of early modern Ukraine as this developed from the mid-17th century on; and for discussing the institutional innovations associated with these communalities and their transformations during the 18th and 19th cen-

16. Eugene Chernukhin, 'Треки Нежина и торговое мореходство: постановка проблемы и источники [The Greeks of Nizhyn and Maritime Trade: Problems and Sources]', in *Грецьке підприємництво і торгівля у Північному Причорномор'ї XVIII-XIX ст. Збірник наукових статей*, ed. G.V. Boriak (Kyiv: NANU, Institute of History of Ukraine, 2012), pp. 245–264.

17. Azar Shakhova, 'Нежинские греки и эпоха Просвещения в России. Н.Н. Мотонис (материалы к биографии) [The Nizhyn Greeks and the Age of Enlightenment in Russia. N.N. Motonis (Material for His Biography)]', *Каптеревские чтения [Kapterev Readings]* 2 (2004), pp. 130–139. Azar Shakhova, 'Нежинские греки в Москве в первой половине XIX в. [Greeks from Nizhyn in Moscow in the First Half of the 19th Century]', in *Россия и Христианский Восток / La Russie et L' Orient Chrétien*, ed. D.N. Ramazanova, B.L. Fonkich, and D.A. Gialamas, vol. IV–V (Moscow: Languages of Slavic Culture, 2015), pp. 537–560. For the overall story in Greek, see Iannis Carras, *Εμπόριο, Πολιτική και Αδελφότητα: Ρωμοί στη Ρωσία 1700-1774 [Trade and Brotherhood: the Greeks in Russia 1700-1774]*, (University of Athens, 2010), *passim*.

turies. The Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood was an example of such a confraternity, officially established with a charter along the lines of other similar confraternities, which were characteristic of Ukraine but also the Ottoman-Venetian borderlands. In Nizhyn, however, and in contradistinction to other cases, the primary purpose of the confraternity was from the outset commercial.¹⁸

This 'community for commerce' can by extension also be used to examine the role of merchants, usually Balkan diaspora merchants, moving across the 'Hetmanate' and trading and interacting with other merchant groups and with local populations throughout central and eastern Europe, and the Black Sea and Caucasus regions. Traian Stojanovic's article on the conquering Orthodox Balkan merchant was one of the first to describe this phenomenon, and has proved in many ways a forerunner for all the extensive subsequent literature in a plethora of languages on the commercial role of Balkan merchants in central, southern and eastern Europe from the 16th to the 19th centuries, including of course within Ukrainian lands.¹⁹ There is no need to mention all the multitudinous works in this vein here. With regard to merchants in Ukraine, it may be worth noting contributions by Ihor Lylo,²⁰ Viacheslav Stanislav-

18. For the confraternities of Early Modern Ukraine, see Iaroslav Isaievych, *Voluntary Brotherhood: Confraternities of Laymen in Early Modern Ukraine* (Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2006). For more on the relationship between community and commerce, see Iannis Carras, 'Community for Commerce: An Introduction to the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood Focusing on its Establishment as a Formal Institution in the Years between 1692 and 1710', in *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Viktor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis, and Olga Katsiardi-Hering (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), pp. 141–156, 220–231.

19. Traian Stoianovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant', *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960), pp. 234–313.

20. Ihor Lylo, *Греки на території руського воєводства у XV–XVIII ст.* [Greeks in the Territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship in the 15th–18th Centuries] (Lviv: Ivan Franko Lviv National University, 2019).

skyi,²¹ M.A. Aradzhyni,²² Vyron Karidis,²³ Vasilis Kardasis,²⁴ Rura Sifnaiou,²⁵ Anna Sydorenko,²⁶ Irina Ponomareva,²⁷ Sophronios Pa-

21. Viacheslav Stanislavskiy, 'Купці, зайняті у торгівлі між Військом Запорозьким та Османською Імперією на початку XVIII ст.: імена, етнічна та державна приналежність [Merchants, Engaged in Trade between the Zaporozhian Host and the Ottoman Empire in the Early XVIIIth Century: Names, Ethnic and State Identity]', *Україна в Центрально-Східній Європі* [Ukraine in Central-Eastern Europe] 14 (2014), pp. 118–137. Viacheslav Stanislavskiy, 'Поїздка українського купця з Ніжина до Єгипту: незвичайна сторінка з історії торгових зв'язків Війська Запорозького часів Івана Мазепи з Османською імперією [The Trip of a Ukrainian Merchant from Nizhyn to Egypt: An Unusual Page from the History of Trade Relations of Zaporozhian Host during the time of Ivan Mazepa with the Ottoman Empire]', in *Ранньомодерна Україна на перехресті цивілізацій, культур, держав та регіонів* [Early Modern Ukraine on the Cross of Civilisations, Cultures, States and Regions], ed. V. Smolii (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2014), pp. 129–141.

22. Anna Hed'о (Gedio), *Джерела з історії греків Північного Приазов'я: (кінець XVIII-початок XX ст.)* [Sources on the History of the Greeks of the Northern Azov Region: (Late XVIII-Early Twentieth Century)] (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2001). Margarita Aradzhyni, *Греки Крыма и Приазовья: история изучения и историография этнической истории и культуры (80-е гг. XVIII в. – 90-е гг. XX в.)* [Greeks of Crimea and the Azov Region: The History of Research and the Historiography of Ethnic History and Culture (1780s–1990s)] (Simferopol: Izdatel'skii dom "Amena," 1999).

23. Vyron A. Karidis, 'A Greek Mercantile Paroikia: Odessa, 1794-1829', in *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence, 1861-1917*, ed. Richard Clogg (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1981), pp. 111–136.

24. Vasilis Kardasis, *Έλληνες Ομογενείς Στη Νότια Ρωσία 1775-1861* [The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775-1861] (Athens, 1998).

25. Evrydiki Sifneos, 'Diaspora Entrepreneurship Revisited: Greek Merchants and Firms in the Southern Russian Ports', *Enterprises et Histoire* 63 (June 2011), pp. 40–52.

26. Anna Sydorenko, 'Controlling the Straits: The Development of the Port of Kerch', in *Between Grain and Oil From the Azov to the Caucasus: The Port Cities of the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea, Later 18th-Early 20th Century*, ed. Gelina Harlaftis et al., Black Sea History Working Papers 3 (Rethymno, Crete: Center for Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies - Foundation of Research and Technology, 2020), pp. 105–138.

27. Irina Ponomariova, 'Ethnic Processes in Mariupol and Russia's Imperial Migration Policy (19th – Early 20th Century)', in *Between Grain and Oil from the Azov to Caucasus: The Port-Cities of the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea, Late 18th – Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Gelina Harlaftis et al., Black Sea History Working Papers 3 (Rethymno,

radeisopoulos,²⁸ Lilya Belousova,²⁹ and the *Black Sea* and *Transottomanica* research projects in toto. The extent to which such merchants active in early modern Ukraine should be viewed as constituting a separate estate, as also the interface between estates and groups with ethnic characteristics, remain open questions.

But it was not just merchants who settled here. The Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood serves as an important element in any history of migrations to and from Ukraine, and of populations residing within Ukraine, migrations and populations that were active, travelling to and dwelling in the region long before Russian expansion and Catherine II's settlement and colonisation policies added a further dimension to an already multifaceted reality.³⁰ A comparative approach to the experiences of different migrant and 'diaspora' groups and peoples either side of the events of the mid-17th century remains a desideratum.³¹

Crete: Center for Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies - Foundation of Research and Technology, 2020), pp. 235–258, www.blacksea.gr.

28. Sofronios Paradeisopoulos, 'Соціо-демографічне становище грецького населення Одеси (Кінець XVIII – початок XX Ст.)' [Socio-Demographic Situation of the Greek Population of Odesa (Late 18th–Early 20th Centuries)] (Doctoral dissertation, Odesa, Odesa I.I. Mechnikov National University, 2023).

29. Lilia Belousova, *Το Γένος Των Πετροκόκκινων, Περίοδος Οδησού 19ος-Αρχές 20ου Αιώνα* [The Petrokokkinos Family: The Odesan period 19th-20th century] (Chios: Άλφα π., 2007).

30. For more on the subject of the connection between earlier and later migrations, see Carras, 'Connecting Migration and Identities: Godparenthood, Surety and Greeks in the Russian Empire (18th – Early 19th Centuries)' in *Across the Danube: Southeastern Europeans and Their Travelling Identities (17th–19th C.)* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2017); Grigoriy L. Arsh, 'Переселение греков в Россию в конце XVIII-начале XIX века [The Resettlement of Greeks to Russia in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries]', in *Греки России и Украины* [The Greeks of Russia and Ukraine], ed. Iu. V. Ivanova (St. Petersburg: Alteya, 2004), pp. 16–49. See also Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis, eds., *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Trade and Immigration*, vol. 7, Black Sea History Working Papers (Rethymno, Crete: Centre of Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies – Foundation of Research and Technology, 2020).

31. Artémis Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, 'Les Migrations Grecques de l'Empire Ottoman Vers l'Empire Russe (XVe-XIXe Siècle)', in *Arméniens et Grecs En Diaspora: Approches Comparatives*, ed. Michel Bruneau et al. (Athens, 2007), pp. 181–188.

The Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood can also be used to understand the diverse and differentiated but frequently overlapping networks stretching beyond Nizhyn and the 'Hetmanate' into the territories of the *Zaporizhian Cossacks*, into *Slobidska Ukraina*, and from there to Tatar and Ottoman shores along the Black Sea littoral, into the Danubian Principalities and the Caucasus, in fact, in all directions. With Nizhyn at their centre, both merchant and other networks connected to it spanned continents. Networks took different forms, including those not specifically and not directly related to commerce. Such an approach would examine the interface between commercial, military, espionage, diplomatic, scholarly, artistic and religious actors or spheres, each of these spheres being associated with distinctive practices and forms of movement.³²

In addition to providing an entry point into economic history and the history of trade, with their commodities, materialities, forms of employment and such like,³³ the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood can contribute to an environmental history of the region, an attempt in this direction being made in this work. An environmental history of the Brotherhood would include the role of merchants as mediators in the human-animal and human-vegetal interface,

32. For religious contacts, see the many articles of Sergiy Shumylo, to cite one example, Sergiy Shumylo, 'Бунчуковий товариш ніжинського полку Григорій Голуб та заснування ним скиту "Чорний Вир" на Афоні [Gregory Golub: Bunchuk Comrade of the Nizhyn Regiment and the Founding of the Skete "Chornyi Vyr" on Mount Athos]', *Сіверянський літопис* [Northern Journal], no. 2 (2020), pp. 60–80. And also of Vitalii Tkachuk, for example Vitalii Tkachuk, 'Підношення ладану і воску ніжинським грецьким братством Київському митрополиту в XVIII ст.: податок чи дар? [The Offering of Incense and Wax by the Nizhyn Greek Fraternity to the Metropolitan of Kyiv in the 18th Century: A Tax or a Gift?]', *Труди Київської Духовної Академії* [Proceedings of the Kyiv Theological Academy] 31 (2019), pp. 205–211. Vera Tchentsova, 'Мелетий Охридский и синаиты в Нежине в конце XVII в. [Meletios of Ohrid and the Sinaites in Nizhyn of the End of the 17th c.]', *Perspectives on Culture* 38, no. 3 (2022), pp. 85–121. And more generally for 18th century Ukraine, see Zenon E. Kohut, Volodymyr Sklokin, and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Ukraine. New Perspectives on Social, Cultural, and Intellectual History* (Montreal, Kingston, London, Chicago, 2023).

33. It is worth mentioning Kotilein's study of the economic expansion of the Russian Empire, a work which pays particular attention to economic activity and trade with Ukraine. Jarmo T. Kotilaine, *Russia's Foreign Trade and Economic Expansion in the Seventeenth Century: Windows on the World* (Leiden, Boston, 2005).

and in the dramatic changes that characterised the landscapes and population densities of the northern Black Sea littoral between the 17th and 20th centuries.³⁴ In addition this would cover processes of urbanisation of the 'Hetmanate' and the Black Sea region, and resulting interconnections between urban and rural, between port-cities, inland-cities, rivers and seas.³⁵

Needless to say, the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood also found itself on a political fault-line, indeed that may have been the reason the institution of a Brotherhood as an institutional form was deemed useful in the first place. Violence in various forms is important to its story. The Brotherhood can thus be used to shed light both on the political history of Ukrainian lands and on the complex methods employed by imperial centres to interact with, expand into and control the lands and peoples of the region. Russian imperial rule combined civilisational narratives with economic exploitation. Like many examples of colonialism, it was also connected to certain forms of modernisation that affected military, educational, legal and other structures. Ukrainian elites – including many Nizhyn Greeks – were to play a significant role in imperial (and colonial) processes. There were in fact numerous ways in which Nizhyn's different elites could participate in and profit from the Russian Empire's southward and westward expansions.³⁶

34. For a focus on commodities in a trans-Ottoman context, including Ukraine, see Arkadiusz Blaszczyk, Robert Born, and Florian Riedler, eds., *Transottoman Matters: Objects Moving through Time, Space, and Meaning*, *Transottomanica Osteuropäisch-Osmanisch-Persische Mobilitätsdynamiken*, vol. 4 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2021).

35. The English-language bibliography on the economic and environmental history of early modern Ukraine is growing. See, indicatively, Konstantyn Kononenko, *Ukraine and Russia. A History of the Economic Relations Between Ukraine and Russia (1654-1917)* (Milwaukee: Wisc.: The Marquette University Press, 1958); Ivan-Svjatoslav Koropec'kij, 'Periodization of Ukrainian Economic History', in *Ukrainian Economic History. Interpretive Essays*, ed. Ivan-Svjatoslav Koropec'kij, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass, 1994), pp. 1–32; Leonard G. Friesen, *Rural Revolutions in Southern Ukraine. Peasants, Nobles, and Colonists, 1774-1905* (Cambridge, Mass, 2008). See, also, from an imperial perspective, David Moon, *The Plough that Broke the Steppes: Agriculture and Environment on Russia's Grasslands, 1700-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

36. For these processes, see Serhii Plochy, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Serhiy Bilenky, *Laboratory*

The aim of this work is then to suggest a range of approaches to the history of the Nizhyn Greeks, always, however, keeping close to the extant archival material, which has been examined in person by all three scholars participating in this work. In all the papers in this volume, sources examined are accorded pride of place, and constitute the touchstone for any conclusions/theories developed.

The archival material relevant to the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood can be found first and foremost in the State Archives of Chernihiv Region (DACHO, archival unit 101). With the exception of a few documents from the end of the 17th century, and some dating to the 1730s, almost all of the remaining archival material in the Chernihiv archives dates from the period after 1760. The vast majority of archival documents refer to legal cases, written deliberations of the *Kriterion*, or Court, the judicial arm of the Brotherhood. Legal documents of this kind are valuable because they describe the experiences of many of those connected to the Brotherhood, while providing plentiful information on the Brotherhood's functioning as an institution.³⁷ Though much research remains to be done in the Chernihiv archives, the character and chronological boundaries of the archival material located in Chernihiv means that other archives have also been consulted, particularly archives in Kyiv and Moscow.

In Moscow, it is interactions with the imperial centre that come to the fore. Thus, the archival materials in Nizhyn on the one hand and Moscow on the other are complementary, and offer different perspectives on phenomena described. The archival material in Kyiv is more mixed, perhaps due to Kyiv's nature as both a religious and (to various degrees depending on the period) administrative and military rather than commercial centre, closer in form to Moscow than to Nizhyn. The archival materials of Kyiv, which are stored in

of Modernity. Ukraine between Empire and Nation, 1772-1914 (Montreal, London, Kingston, Chicago, 2023).

37. Evgene K. Chernukhin, 'Документи грецькою мовою в Державному архіві Чернігівської області: походження, датування, палеографічні й мовні ознаки, контент [Documents Written in Greek in State Archives of Chernihiv Region: Proveniences, Dating, Paleographic and Linguistic Features, Contents]', *Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України: археографічні дослідження унікальних архівних та бібліотечних фондів* [Manuscript and Book Heritage of Ukraine: Archeographic Studies of Unique Archival and Librarian Fonds] 30 (2023): 6–26.

the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv (TsDIAUK), allow us to trace the relationship between the Greeks of Nizhyn and Russian imperial institutions in Ukraine, such as the Kyiv Provincial Chancellery, archival unit 59, which was responsible for controlling the nearest border outposts. This allows for a detailed picture of the movement of merchants and goods through the Russian-Polish borderlands (1730s-1770s). So too the financial and domestic interactions of Nizhyn Greeks and other local populations, traders of different nationalities and countries, and the Cossack administration at various levels are well covered by materials from the archival unit 51 (General Military Chancellery). The Hetman exercised administrative, military, judicial and financial control through the General Military Chancellery. Material from a number of other archival units were also made use of in preparation for this work.

Regarding the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood, four major published sources with commentaries stand out. These are the collection of official documents concerning the brotherhood compiled by Fedotov-Chekhovskiy,³⁸ the reports of the representatives of Nizhyn to the legislative commission of Catherine II in 1767,³⁹ Eugene Chernukhin's analysis of the Book of Tributes of the Brotherhood,⁴⁰ and

38. Aleksandr A. Fedotov-Chekhovskiy, *Акты греческого Нежинского братства* [Acts of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood] (Kyiv, 1884). This can also be found in Kharlampovych, *Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині XVII–XVIII ст.* [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony of Nizhyn XVII-XVIII c.], pp. 327-378.

39. Анон., 'Материалы Екатерининской законодательной комиссии [Material of the Legislative Commission of Catherine II]', in *Сборник императорского Русского исторического общества* [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society], vol. 144, section 13 (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 21-63. See also Grigori A. Maksimovich, *Выборы и указы в Малороссии в Законодательную комиссию 1767* [Elections and Instructions in Little Russia to the Legislative Commission of 1767] (Nizhyn, 1917).

40. Eugene Chernukhin, 'Книга пожертв грецкого Ніжинського братства 1696-1786 pp. [Book of Donations of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood, 1696-1786]', *Записки історико-філологічного товариства Андрія Білецького* [Notes of the Historical and Philological Society of Andriy Biletsky], no. 1 (1997), pp. 91-102 and 144-179.

Christos Laskaridis' study of the Brotherhood's official charter.⁴¹

Turning to the secondary literature on the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood, Chernukhin has written a detailed overview of the existing literature.⁴² The present volume has also made use of some of the earlier articles on the Brotherhood, by Storozhevskiy,⁴³ Dmitrievsky,⁴⁴ and Savva.⁴⁵ Plokhynskiy's monograph on foreigners in 'Little Russia' is of particular value, since he was the first to attempt a broader approach, comparing the experiences of different minorities.⁴⁶

But by far the most important work on the Nizhyn Greek

41. Laskaridis, *Το Καταστατικό της Ελληνικής Εμπορικής Κοινότητας στη Νίζνα της Ουκρανίας* [The Charter of the Greek Commercial Community of Nizhyn in Ukraine].

42. Eugene Chernukhin, *Грецьке ніжинське братство: історіографія та джерела* [Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood: Historiography and Sources] (Kyiv, 1998).

43. Nikolai K. Storozhevsky, *Нежинские Греки* [Nizhyn Greeks] (Kyiv: Kyiv University Press, 1863).

44. Alexei A. Dmitrievsky, 'Греческие нежинские храмы и их капитальный вклад в церковно-археологический музей при Киевской духовной Академии [The Nizhyn Greek Churches and Their Capital Endowment in the Church and Archaeological Museum at the Kyiv Theological Academy]', *Православное Обозрение* [Orthodox Review] 1 (February 1885), pp. 370–400. Alexei A. Dmitrievsky, 'Описание рукописей и книг, поступивших в церковно-археологический музей при Киевской духовной академии из греческой нежинской Михайло-Архангельской церкви [Description of Manuscripts and Books Received at the Church and Archaeological Museum at the Kyiv Theological Academy from the Greek Nizhyn Church of the Archangel Michael]', *Труды Киевской духовной Академии* [Proceedings of the Kyiv Theological Academy], no. 26 (March 1885), pp. 1–16.

45. Vladimir I. Savva, 'Материалы из архива Нежинских греческих братства и магистрата [Materials from the Archive of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and Magistrate]', *Сборник историко-филологического общества при институте кн. Безбородко* [Collection of the Historical and Philological Society at the Institute of Prince Bezborodko] 6, no. 2 (1909).

46. Michail M. Plokhinsky, 'Иноземцы в старой Малороссии. Ч. 1: Греки, цыгане, грузины [Foreigners in Old Malorossiia. vol.1: Greeks, Gypsies, Georgians]' in *Труды 12-го археологического съезда* [Proceedings of the 12th Archaeological Congress], vol. 2 (Moscow: Printing house G. Lissner and D. Sobko, 1905), pp. 175–410.

For a criticism of this work, see Vitalii O. Eingorn, *К истории иноземцев в Старой Малороссии, Отзыв об исследовании М.М. Плохинского* [On the History of Foreigners in Old Little Russia, Review of the Study of M.M. Plokhinskii] (Moscow: Publication of the Imperial Society of Russian History and Antiquities at Moscow University, 1908).

Brotherhood is that of Kostiantyn Kharlampovych (1870-1932). The importance that this prominent Ukrainian historian accorded to the history of this institution was groundbreaking in itself. In its full version, Kharlampovych's unfinished work aimed to include a general history of the Greeks of Nizhyn, a quantitative analysis of their places of origin, ethnicities and occupations, an analysis of their legal system, a study of the connections between the commercial activities of the Greeks and the productive base of the region, an overview of Greek commercial practices and an assessment of their cultural and philanthropic activities. Only a small portion of all this was published during Kharlampovych's lifetime, including the general history of the Brotherhood. If there is one criticism that can be made of Kharlampovych's work, it is that, due to the difficult conditions under which he was working, he focuses almost exclusively on the information provided by the Brotherhood's own record, thereby inevitably underestimating the importance of political and religious factors that contributed to its progress.⁴⁷

Kharlampovych's work on the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood has been largely neglected as a source for social life during the 18th century. This is partly because he died a *persona non grata*, expelled from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences by the then new regime, with the result that much of his work remained unpublished.⁴⁸ This has now been rectified thanks to Oleksandr Morozov and Eugene Chernukhin, including Chernukhin's editing of Kharlampovych's work on the economic life of the Greeks in Ukraine.⁴⁹ More re-

47. Eugene K. Chernukhin, 'Кость Харлампович та його нариси з історії ніжинських греків [Kost' Kharlampovych and His Essay on the History of the Nizhyn Greeks]', *Записки історико-філологічного товариства Андрія Білецького* [Notes of the Historical and Philological Society of Andriy Biletsky] 3 (1999), pp. 160–176.

48. Kharlampovych was arrested by the regime and dispatched to Orenburg in 1924. Though he was allowed to return to Ukraine, he was in constant danger. He died in March 1932. See also Oleksandr Morozov, 'Справа академіка Костянтина Харламповича: До 130-річчя з дня народження історика [The Case of Academician Kostiantyn Kharlampovych: On the occasion of the 130th Anniversary of the Historian's Birth]', in *Греки в Ніжині. Збірник статей та матеріалів* [The Greeks of Nizhyn. Collection of Articles and Materials], vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2000), pp. 82–131.

49. Kharlampovych, *Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині XVII–XVIII ст.* [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony of Nizhyn XVII–XVIII c.], pp. 151–268.

cent work by Oleksander Pilipenko,⁵⁰ and in particular Anna Hed'о (Gedio) and Maria Podhaiko is also changing our understanding of the Greeks of Nizhyn and their role.⁵¹

Drawing on all the above material, the articles in this volume seek to provide new approaches covering environmental, religious and commercial aspects of the lives of members of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood. Iannis Carras discusses the role of the Nizhyn Greeks in the overall transformation of the northern Black Sea littoral and its hinterlands during the 18th century. Nomadic groups were displaced by ranchers involved in animal husbandry. Greeks were among those who trafficked in pigs, oxen and sheep. Increased cereal cultivation in the mid-to-late 18th century can be connected to an upsurge in the demand for scythes, conveyed, among others, by Greek merchants. Many of the scythes were sold in fairs within the 'Hetmanate'. In Carras' contribution, merchants are viewed as links in a network, incorporating a variety of human and animal actors in relatively stable but changing ecosystems. Specific patterns of violence and movement characterised human groups as they interacted with the natural and animal world and with one another. Carras focuses on the role Greek merchants played as part of an ecosystem of violence which brought widespread devastation to a frontier region, but also by the end of the 18th century ended with the region under the control of one newly hegemonic imperial power. Within this ecosystem of violence, Greek merchants specialised in supplying militaries active in the region with animals, cereals and other products essential for warfare.

Greek merchants' role in the growth of systems of transportation, and in the development of institutions for commercial ex-

50. Olexandr Pylypenko, 'Виникнення і діяльність Ніжинського грецького братства (50 – х роках XVII ст. - наприкінці 60 – х роках XIX Ст. [Origins and Activity of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood (50s of the 17th Century - End of the 60s of the 19th Century)]' (Doctoral dissertation, Kyiv, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 1996).

51. Anna Hed'о (Gedio), *Грецькі громади Ніжина та Північного Приазов'я в актових матеріалах середини XVII–XIX Ст.* [Greek Communities of Nizhyn and the Northern Azov Region in Official Documents of the Mid-17th-19th Centuries] (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2005). See also Anna Hedo and Mariia Podhaiko, *Ніжинський грецький магістрат* [The Nizhyn Greek Magistracy] (Donetsk, 2013).

change such as markets and fairs, was, Carras argues, instrumental in the creation of a different ecosystem based on non-urban and early urban commercial exchange. His focus is on things worn – attire in the broadest sense. Clothing-products supplied to regional, imperial and trans-imperial markets offer insight into the transition from an 'ecosystem of violence' to an ecosystem based on commercial exchange.

The first of Vitalii Tkachuk's two contributions makes use of the example of Nizhyn merchants to examine the ways in which Christianity influenced commerce, and commerce Christianity. The author observes manifestations of religiosity and its absence in the everyday life of merchants: peculiarities in the use of sacred space (churches and cemeteries), the use of the private space of the home, commercial spaces (such as warehouses), patterns of movement for trade, and relations between merchants and members of the clergy, and suchlike. Tkachuk demonstrates the complete interpenetration and mutual interdependence of trade and religion. He sees a symbiosis of the seemingly contradictory: Christian and commercial virtues could be combined with deliberate deception for the sake of monetary gain, placing trust in God existed alongside entrepreneurial acumen, power and business connections. Merchants viewed members of the clergy as servants of God and simultaneously as business partners and/or rivals.

Religious developments in Nizhyn were characterised by extensive church connections both eastwards and westwards. Thus, the Greek Brotherhood church of Nizhyn found itself as part of a complex structure of polycentric relationships (Constantinople, Athos, Jerusalem, Sinai, Bucharest, Iași (Jassy, Iasio), Kyiv, Chernihiv (Chernigov), Moscow, St. Petersburg). The second article by Vitalii Tkachuk is devoted to the history of the metochion of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Nizhyn (late 17th–first half of the 19th century). Based on sources in the Ukrainian archives, the author presents general information about this metochion, analysed for the first time in the historiography. Attention is paid to attempts to open the metochion in the late 17th century, which were crowned with only partial success. Difficulties included obtaining real estate in Nizhyn and, most importantly, stable financial support for the Patriarchate from the Brotherhood. According to Tkachuk, the Je-

rusalem metochion itself emerged in Nizhyn in the middle of the 18th century after the Patriarchate, and its Archimandrite Chrysanthos who settled in Nizhyn, bought property there. The small metochion in Nizhyn became a significant base for collecting alms for Jerusalem in the vast expanses of central and eastern Europe. This continued up until the early 19th century, when metochia were established in Moscow and Taganrog. The funds collected by visiting clergy supported the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which frequently found itself in dire financial straits. The metochion also enabled local believers to develop a closer and more direct spiritual connection with Jerusalem and its holy sites.

Eugene Chernukhin's article is devoted to reviewing the sources that shed light on the activities of one of the most important Greek trading companies in the Russian Empire (late 18th–first third of the 19th century), headed by Dmitri Anastasievich Melas (Dimitris Melas, 1770-1842). The author focuses on Melas' personal archive, the main part of which is kept in the State Archives of Chernihiv Region. By studying the heterogeneous documentation of Melas' company (accounting books, expense and income books, business and private correspondence) Chernukhin reconstructs the structure of the family's trading network (from Western Europe to North America), along with the names of sales agents, the range of goods and the conditions of their movement, and the specifics of financial settlements. This picture is complemented by a personal biographical portrait of Dmitri Melas placed in the circle of his relatives, friends, associates and creditors, both during the company's financial heyday and during the 1830s, a period of decline. Eugene Chernukhin's article constitutes an extensive archaeographic and codicological description of the files of Dmitri Melas' hitherto unstudied personal archive, which will serve as an excellent point of departure for further research on related topics.

Any writer on imperial history has to determine which version of places and names and which forms of transliteration to make use of in their texts. In fact, it is impossible to adequately solve such problems, especially when authors interact outside the context of any single scholarly tradition held in common.

Most of those who are mentioned in this book wrote their names in multiple spellings, in multiple versions of any given lan-

guage, and in multiple languages, while moving across a considerable portion of the globe. Many, but not all, of the actors described here translated their names when they crossed cultural boundaries, hence an 'Ioannes' can also be an 'Ivan' or, for that matter, a 'Ioannes' or a 'John'. Translation of a name into English may sometimes make sense when discussing religious figures, where the given name clearly refers to the Saint in whose name the person was baptized or ordained. But not all would agree with this prioritizing of the religious. In the end, any system for names and transliteration represents a political and stylistic choice in the present.

Similar problems apply to the names given to describe peoples and places. Even in cases where terms remain constant, their meanings may shift. But most terms did not remain constant. As is well known, the Greeks of the time did not usually call themselves 'Greek' but 'Romans' or 'Romaics', though there were exceptions. They were known as 'Greeks' in Western languages, including Polish, Ukrainian and Russian. Names of regions appear in multiple forms in the documents, an obvious example being 'Ukraine', 'Little Russia', 'Kazakia' – this latter the more frequent term used by Greeks of the 17th and first half of the 18th century.⁵² The term 'Hetmanate' per se was not used, though Greeks did refer to the relevant region as being under the jurisdiction of a Hetman.⁵³ Use of the term 'Hetmanate' does however allow for a distinction between the 'Hetmanate', *Zaporizhia*, *Slobidska Ukraina* and other parts of Ukraine.

Most, but not all, of the sources examined for the purposes of this work are either in Ukrainian, in Greek or in Russian, and use a variety of Greek, Ottoman and Russian imperial place names. Many of these locations are, however, to be found in the countries that have emerged from the Ottoman and Russian Empires, in particular today's Ukraine. In these circumstances, the historian is called on to navigate the dangerous currents between colonialism and anachronism, and this at the same time as a terrible war is being

52. DACHO, file 101, op. 1, item 4272, 1773, fol. 17.

53. But Greeks did refer to 'the hetman of the regions on either bank of the Borysthenes [the Dnipro (Dneiper)]'. Laskaridis, *To Καταστατικό της Ελληνικής Εμπορικής Κοινότητας στη Νίζνα της Ουκρανίας* [The Charter of the Greek Commercial Community of Nizhyn in Ukraine], p. 111.

waged in the areas being discussed. The task of being both accurate and sensitive is Sisyphean.

After much discussion, and without any pretense at providing an adequate answer to the above dilemmas, the following will be followed for the purposes of this work. Names of places will be provided in multiple forms when they first appear in an article, with the place name currently used leading. Hence for a city in what is today Greece, the current Greek name will appear first, followed by other relevant versions: 'Ioannina (Yanya, Janine)'. Thereafter the name first mentioned will be used throughout, except where there is a contextual reason not to do so. In no instance does the use of multiple names imply any desire for territorial revisionism.

Names will also be provided in multiple forms when they are first used, with the language the author considers most appropriate usually placed first in the nominative case, hence 'Petros (Petr, Peter)' or 'Oleksandr (Alexandros, Aleksandr)'. This is not intended to suggest much, and is a highly unsatisfactory solution to the reality of multiple and interlinked identities that (in an era before nationalism) did not conform to our considerably less complex modern norms.

In the bibliography, articles in non-Roman scripts are followed by a translation into English. Use of transliteration has been minimized. Reference to archival material uses equivalent terms to those found in Ukrainian, Russian and other archives, translated into English, for example: library, collection, folio, inventory, unit, recto, verso. Modified Library of Congress systems of Romanization have been used wherever transliteration is necessary (for example names of authors in the secondary bibliography), with a preference however for the English version of names as actually used by the authors themselves. Deviation from any given system may at times be considered appropriate, one example being transliteration taking into account the etymology of words ('f' to and from 'th' and 'ph' when transliterating words of Greek origin).

An appreciation of these difficulties may be in fact advantageous. Problems in translation, transliteration and nomenclature point to the complexity and multi-perspectivity of the processes described in this work. For much of the 17th to 19th centuries, however, the bustling in-land port city of Nizhyn served as perhaps the most

2.

Ecosystems of violence and exchange: Greek merchants go to market in 18th century Ukraine

Iannis Carras

In the spring of 1701 on the muddy banks of the river Southern Bug (Bog, Boh), not far from the estuary of the Inhul (Ingul), a Cossack band raided a group of merchants. Christopher Georgiou, Rallis Ioannou and Georgios Ioannou were leading a large caravan through what might be thought of as frontier territory on its way up to Nizhyn (Nezhin, Nizna), and from there North and East, on to the Russian Court in Moscow, when they were plundered.

It is noteworthy that these merchants had travelled as far as Ochakiv (Ochakov, Özü, Oceaov, Alektor) by sea. This was unusual for merchants at this early date, passage across the Black Sea from the Ottoman Empire and then on to Ukraine and Russian controlled territories being rare before the Treaty of Belgrade of 1739 and difficult thereafter. Their travel by sea to Ochakiv explains why the merchants were so far South, in contrast to the vast majority of merchants who made the detour from Moldavia via Polish territories and from further West into Ukraine, 'Kazakia' or 'Little Russia' as they would often have called it. Though many of the dangers these merchants faced were common to all travelers at the time, movement from the Ottoman Empire through to Ukrainian lands was, more than in most other cases, an act with political consequences.

These well-connected and wealthy merchants were trading in luxury goods, particularly precious stones. As was often the case, the merchants were highly leveraged; less characteristically, though, as Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejaye have shown not necessarily unusually at this date, their major creditor on this trading venture was one of the highest officials of the Ot-

toman Empire, Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha (Grand Vizier from 1697 to 1702).⁵⁴ In fact, close connections to the Porte may have proved a significant reason for the risky route the merchants selected. Certainly, they would have been well supplied with documents protecting them from attack by subjects of the Sultan active along the borderlands between Empires.

Perhaps as a consequence of the elevated status of the main creditor, and certainly with the intention of exerting maximum pressure on the Russian state, the Ottomans insisted on the return of booty and the punishment of the criminals. The Ottomans thus transformed what might have been a border incident into a major question of bilateral relations. For their part, the Muscovite authorities dispatched a trusted official to clarify the situation in Zaporizhia. There the Cossacks argued that they could not return the stolen goods. Some even approached the Tatars of the Crimea with the message that they would be willing to support the Ottomans should the situation give rise to renewed Ottoman-Russian conflict.⁵⁵ While the new Grand Vizier (and talented poet) Rami

54. Alexandre Bennigsen, Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejey, 'Les marchands de la Cour ottomane et le commerce des fourrures moscovites dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 11, no. 3 (September 1970): 363–391. I would like to thank Vitalii Tkachuk, Eugene (Eugenii) Chernukhin and Michel Abesser for their help and advice with this article.

55. At this juncture, the Ottoman Court sought to promote trade by sea through fortress of Ochakiv in order to discourage trade through the Sea of Azov. RGADA [Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents], fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 3v, 8v, 11, 18v, 21–23v, 28–28v. See also Peter I, *Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого, т. 2 1702–1703* [Letters and Papers of Emperor Peter the Great, vol. 2 1702–1703]. (St. Petersburg: Государственная типография [State Printing House], 1889), 335–336. Pyotr A. Tolstoy, 'Письма (гр) П.А. Толстого из Турции к брату его И.А. Толстому (Апрель 1, 1703) [Letters of P.A. Tolstoy from Turkey to His Brother I.A. Tolstoy (April 1, 1703)]', *Русский архив* [Russian Archive] 5 and 6 (1864): 473–493, esp. 486. Valeria A. Kostakel, Evgenii M. Russev, Lidia. Ye. Semanova eds., *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV–начале XVIII в.: документы и материалы* [Historical Ties of the Peoples of the USSR with Rumania from the 15th to the Early 18th Centuries. Documents and Texts], vol. 3: 1673–1711 (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), 166.

The identity of the relevant Grand Viziers is not entirely clear. Daltaban Mustafa Pasha (Grand Vizier from September 1702 to January 1703) was in office for a very short period following the resignation of Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha

Mehmed Pasha (1703) was insisting on repayment, he had the merchants, together with their wives and children, locked up in the Yedi-Kule fortress in İstanbul (Constantinople, Zargrad, Stambul, Islambol, Kostantiniyye).⁵⁶

On the Russian side, the interpreter (*молмач*) dispatched from Moscow to investigate Cossack plundering was a certain Kiril Makedonsky (or Cyril the Macedonian), who wrote his report to the *Posol'skii Prikaz* (*Посольский приказ* or Foreign Affairs Chancellery) in Greek.⁵⁷ The Russian authorities put significant pressure on the Cossacks to return such loot as had not already been spent, but did not offer compensation to these Ottoman Greek merchants until the sums requested had been offset by damages claimed for Tartar raids against Russian subjects. Russian compensation, when it eventually came, was to be partially in the form of coinage but mainly of fur.⁵⁸

(1697-September 1702). The Greek merchants may have borrowed from Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha directly. They had probably, however, received a loan from the state treasury also. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 7, 1704, fol. 1v. See also Bernard Lewis et al, eds., 'Amudja-Zade Husayn Pasha', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, London, 1971), 626-627.

56. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 8v, 19, 23. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 7, 1704, fol. 12-12v. Tatiana K. Krylova, 'Русская Дипломатия на Боспоре в начале XVIII в. (1700-1709) [Russian Diplomacy on the Bosphorus in the early 18th century (1700-1709)]', *Исторические записки* [Historical Notes] 65 (1959), 249-278, esp. 252-53. For Alexandros Maurocordatos, who became Grand Dragoman in 1673 and received the privilege of wearing ermine in 1700, see also Peter I, *Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого, т. 6 июля-декабрь 1707 г.* [Letters and Papers of Emperor Peter the Great Vol. 6 July-December 1707], (St. Petersburg: Государственная типография [State Printing House], 1912), 506. Émile Legrand, *Généalogie des Maurocordato de Constantinople rédigée d'après des documents inédits, Redigée d'après des documents inédits par Emile Legrand* (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, Libraire-Editeur 1900), 31.

57. Apart from Greek, Kyril Makedonskii also knew Russian, Vlach (Romanian), Tatar and Turkish. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 11.

58. As Pyotr Tolstoy wrote on January 3, 1703: 'These Greeks used to owe the former Vizier a lot of money and the current Vizier wants to get this money and for this reason he keeps these Greeks in prison along with their wives and their children'. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 21, 23-23v.

Rami Mehmet Pasha was Grand Vizier only from January 1703 to August 1703. Clifford Edmund Bosworth et al, eds., 'The Encyclopaedia of Islam', 1995, 422-423.

The Greek trading expedition and the Cossack raid along the banks of the river Southern Bug should be considered a part of much broader processes taking place in late 17th and 18th century Ukraine. The relevant interconnected regions that constitute today's Ukraine can for the purposes of this article usefully be distinguished. The northern Black Sea littoral had been in part controlled by Crimean Tatars who had connected Crimea and the area surrounding their Khanate to a ring of Ottoman fortifications (and the Ottoman Empire as a whole) through trading and raiding, often in and for slaves. The Ukrainian hinterland further north can be divided into left (eastern) bank Ukraine and right (western) bank Ukraine with the Dnipro (Dneiper, Borysthenes) flowing between them. Separating Tatar Crimea from the 'Hetmanate' further north was a region often marked on early maps of Ukraine as a 'wild field'. Kalmyks, the Cossacks of Zaporizhia and the Cossacks of the Don were among the nomadic, peripatetic and/or acritic peoples roaming and dwelling here.⁵⁹

Bohdan Khmelnitsky's (c. 1595-1657) rebellion of 1648 against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth resulted in a new form of political organisation for the Cossacks settled on both banks of the Dnipro.⁶⁰ But Cossack military forces often proved insufficient for

The office of Grand Vizier was passed on to a number of successors, who did not however alter the policy of the Ottoman Empire with regard to this issue.

Tatars had looted Russian and Cossack villages at about the same time. After mediation, the amount the Russians had to pay was settled, part of this sum being subtracted from gifts the Tsar was to have bequeathed to the Cossacks of Zaporizhia. Peter I, *Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого*, т. 2 1702-1703 [Letters and Papers of Emperor Peter the Great, vol. 2 1702-1703], 335-336. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 7, 1704, 12-12v. 'RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 16' (Moscow, 1704), fol. 1-4.

59. For use of this term in texts of the time, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 1v, 6. See Victor Ostapchuk, 'Cossack Ukraine in and out of Ottoman Orbit, 1648-1681', in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gabor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 123-152. Victor Ostapchuk, 'The Human Landscape of the Ottoman Black Sea in the Face of the Cossack Naval Raids', ed. Kate Fleet, *Oriente Moderno, The Ottomans and the Sea* XX (20), no. LXXXI (81) (2004): 23-95.

60. John P. LeDonne, *Ruling Russia, Politics and Administration in the Age of Absolutism, 1762-1796* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 272, 306.

adequate defence of these territories. The 'Hetmanate', as it was not called at the time, a semi-autonomous but precarious polity mainly along the left bank, was compelled to balance Polish, Ottoman but particularly Russian support, with consequences.⁶¹ At this time, only limited control was exercised by the Russian and Ottoman states over the areas between the Ottoman and Russian Empires. Following on from his alliance with Charles XII of Sweden (1682-1718), it was the battle of Poltava of 1709 that marked the defeat of the Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1639-1709), and by extension substantially reduced the autonomy of subsequent Hetmans along the left bank. The 'Hetmanate' continued to exist at least until 1764. The first partition of Poland occurred in 1772 and the second in 1793, thus reuniting the left and right banks of the Dniipro. After its subjugation by Russian forces, the more southerly Zaporizhian Sich was itself attacked and eradicated in 1775. Crimea was finally conquered by the Russian Empire in 1783.⁶²

The overall picture of transformation of the northern Black Sea littoral and its hinterlands is described through works by Elena Druzhinina, Jean-Louis Van Regemorter and, more recently, David Moon, among others.⁶³ Nomadic groups were displaced by ranch-

Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed. Foreword by Ernest J. Simmons, *Ukraine, A Concise Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 35.

61. George Gajecy, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1978), 3-4. Zenon E. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate 1760s-1830s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1988), 68-73.

62. For a useful summary of Ukrainian history of the period, see Serhii Plokhyy, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine* (London: Penguin, 2016), 73-146. See also Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire 1500-1800* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 2004), 139. For similar processes affecting the Don Cossacks, see Brian J. Boeck, *Imperial Boundaries: Cossack Communities and Empire-Building in the Age of Peter the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 134-171 and 187-208.

63. Elena I. Druzhinina, *Северное Причерноморье в 1775-1800 гг.* [The Northern Black Sea Littoral 1775-1800] (Moscow: Издательство Академии наук СССР [Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR], 1959). Jean-Louis van Regemorter, 'La Russie meridionale, la mer Noire et le commerce international de 1774 à 1861' (Paris, thèse d'état, Université de Paris – 1. Pantheon-Sorbonne, 1982). David Moon, *The Plough that Broke the Steppes: Agriculture and Environment on Rus-*

ers involved in animal husbandry. Greeks were among those who trafficked in pigs and oxen driving them as far as Austrian lands or travelling through the Ottoman Empire and Transylvania.⁶⁴ Others handled sheep, hundreds of them,⁶⁵ at times herding them in from the Crimea.⁶⁶ Decrees were issued regulating the movement of cattle and other animals through the towns of the left bank.⁶⁷ A certain Papadimitriou was among those who set up a ranch, raising animals for meat and dairy production.⁶⁸ Trade in animals and animal products continues throughout the period, proving lucrative well into the 19th century, but the transition to breeding livestock characterised the final years of the 18th and the early 19th centuries.⁶⁹

But it wasn't just cattle. Areas further inland such as the 'Hetmanate', Slavo-Serbia (part of Luhansk region today) and New Serbia (in the region of Kropyvnyts'kyi today) saw an increase in ce-

sia's Grasslands, 1700-1914 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

64. For trade in pigs, see AVPRI [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire], fond 2, op. 6, tom II, item 4246, 1764, fol. 5. For oxen and their by-products, see AVPRI, fond 89, op. 1, item 12, 1746, fol. 13.

65. TsDIAUK [Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv], fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, 1745, fol. 223.

66. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11376, 1752, 14-16v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, 1758, fol. 100.

67. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8552, 1743, 1.

68. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи: Собрание 1-е. С 1649 по 12 дек. 1825 г., Т. 16, кн. 2: С 28 июня 1762 года по 1765* [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, The First Collection: from 1649 to 12 December 1825. Vol. 16 (2): From June 28, 1762 to 1765] (St. Petersburg: Тип. 2-го Отд-ния Собств. Е.И.В. Канцелярии [In the printing house of the Second Branch of His Own Imperial Majesty's Chancery], 1830), No. 12010, 1764, 491-492, 13 January 1764.

69. AVPRI, fond 7, op. 3, item 56, 1763, fol. 31. For stages in this process, see Andrey I. Parkov, *Порубежье Российского царства и украинских земель Речи Посполитой (конец XVI - первая половина XVII века)* [Borderlands of the Russian Realms and Ukrainian Lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Late XVI - First Half of the XVII Century)] (Belgorod: Константа [Konstanta], 2004), 10-11. Viktor N. Zakharov et al, eds., *История Новороссии* (Moscow, St. Petersburg: Центр гуманитарных инициатив [Center for Humanitarian Initiatives], 2017), 81-102. Also Vladimir M. Kabuzan, *Заселение Новороссии (Екатеринославской и Херсонской губернии) в XVIII - первой половине XIX века (1719-1858 гг.)* [Settlement of Novorossia (Ekaterinoslav and Kherson Provinces) in the 18th - First Half of the 19th Centuries (1719-1858)] (Moscow: Наука [Nauka], 1976), 50.

real production barley, corn flour and oat semolina, and, of course, wheat.⁷⁰ Increased cereal cultivation can be connected to a dramatic upsurge in the demand for scythes, mainly from Austrian (and German) lands, conveyed, among others, by Greek (and thereafter Jewish and Ryl'sk, a town in the Kursk region) merchants. Many of the scythes were sold in fairs within the 'Hetmanate', in Nizhyn, Krolevets and elsewhere. Traders in scythes and other agricultural implements, shovels, spades, watering pots etc., included some of the most prosperous Nizhyn Greeks.⁷¹ A few Greeks invested in farmsteads themselves during the course of the 18th century, sometimes for cereal production.⁷² It was during the course of the 19th century, however, that cultivation of wheat increased exponentially

70. For cereal trade within Ukraine, see Vladimir N Yastrebov, 'Греки в Елисаветград: отрывок из истории колонизации 1754-1777 гг. [The Greeks of Elisavetgrad: Excerpt from the History of the Settlement 1754-1777]', *Киевская старина* [Kyivan Antiquities] 8, no. April (4) (1884), 673–684, esp. 674.

71. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4692, 1734, fol. 8-8v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1673, 1740, fol. 21. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1516, 1747, fol. 4-5. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 53, 141, 145. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1356, 1757, fol. 32, 158-165. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 17282, 1762, fol. 4, 6-7. DACHO [State Archives of Chernihiv Region], fond 101, op. 1, item 24, 1768, fol. 7-8. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 802, 1762, fol. 10, 20, 45-50v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, 1777, fol. 27-28. For other tools, see TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123v. For a discussion of scythes and scything (*κοσσιζω*) by an 18th century Nizhyn based writer, see Georgios Krommydas, *Διατριβή επί της Καταστάσεως της Ενεστώσης Κοινής Ημών Γλώσσης* [Dissertation on the Condition of Our Common Language as It Is Currently Used] (Moscow: Εν τω της Κοινότητος Τυπογραφείω [In the publishing house of the community], 1808), 96-97.

See also Mikhail M. Plokhinsky, *Иноземцы в старой Малороссии. Ч. 1: Греки, Цыганы, Грузины* [Foreigners in Old Malorossiya. Part 1: Greeks, Gypsies, Georgians], in *Труды XII Археологического Съезда в Харькове, 1902 г.* [Proceedings of the 12th Archaeological Congress in Charkiv, 1902], vol. 2 (Moscow: Типография Г. Лисснера и Д. Собко [Printing house G. Lissner and D. Sobko], 1905), 83-87. Vladimir I. Savva, 'Материалы из архива Нежинских греческих братства и магистрата [Materials from the Archive of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and Magistrate]', *Сборник историко-филологического общества при институте кн. Безбородко* [Collection of the Historical and Philological Society at the Institute of Prince Bezborodko] 6, no. 2 (1909), 7.

72. A farmstead owned by one Greek merchant outside Nizhyn included arable land, a hay-meadow and forest land worth 1750 rubles. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9218, 1779, fol. 46-46v.

in southern steppe lands. Partial de-forestation affected formerly forested areas.⁷³

As with Christopher Georgiou, Rallis Ioannou and Georgios Ioannou on their way from Constantinople to Moscow (mentioned above), merchants can be viewed as part of a network, incorporating a variety of actors in unique, relatively stable but changing ecosystems. An ecosystem is understood here as including almost timeless elements – the shape of the land, rivers and lakes, plains, coasts and seas, but also the ways animals and, crucially, humans interacted with these elements. Thus, as Donald Worster has put it, an ecosystem ‘is the largest generalization made in the science, encompassing both the organic and inorganic elements of nature bound together in a single, place, all in active, reciprocating relationship’.⁷⁴

Specific patterns of violence and movement characterised human groups as they interacted with the natural and animal world and with one another across the regions described here. This paper will focus on the role Greek merchants played as part of (1) an ecosystem of violence which brought widespread devastation to a frontier region, but also by the end of the 18th century ended with the region under the control of one newly hegemonic imperial power. Merchants can be viewed as part of this ecosystem, but also as a destabilising element. Within this ecosystem of violence which

73. AVPRI, fond 2, op. 6, tom II, item 6843, 1762-1799, fol. 17. For stages in this process, see Mikhail M. Vol'sky, *Очерк истории хлебной торговли Новороссийского края с древнейших времен до 1852 года* [Essay on the History of Grain Trade in the Region of New Russia from Ancient Times to 1852] (Odessa: типография Францова и Нитче [Franzov and Nitche printing house], 1854), 56. Andrey I. Papkov, *Порубежье Российского царства и украинских земель Речи Посполитой (конец XVI - первая половина XVII века)* [Borderlands of the Russian Realms and Ukrainian Lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Late XVI - First Half of the XVII Century)], (Belgorod: Константа [Konstanta], 2004), 10-11. Also Vladimir M. Kabuzan, *Заселение Новороссии (Екатеринославской и Херсонской губернии) в XVIII - первой половине XIX века (1719-1858 гг.)* [Settlement of Novorossia (Ekaterinoslav and Kherson Provinces) in the 18th - First Half of the 19th Centuries (1719-1858)] (Moscow: Наука [Nauka], 1976), 50.

74. Donald Worster, ‘Appendix: Doing Environmental History’, in *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*, ed. Donald Worster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 289–307, esp. 296.

spanned at least two centuries, Greek merchants specialised in supplying embassies, courts and religious institutions with luxury and 'charismatic' goods.⁷⁵ But they also supplied militaries active in the region with animals, cereals and other products essential for warfare. 'Luxury' and 'charismatic' goods and supplying militaries may all be considered instances of what has been termed 'directed trade', where the direction of commerce is determined by limited centres of power and prestige.⁷⁶

In parallel, Greek merchants' role in the growth of systems of transportation, and in the development of institutions for commercial exchange such as markets and fairs, and also in the establishment of manufactories, was instrumental in the creation of a very different (2) ecosystem based on non-urban and early urban commercial exchange. Once hegemonic control had been established, this ecosystem provided the framework for the growth in trade both within and beyond the 'Hetmanate'. The focus of this article will not be the trade in luxury items per se; nor will it be agricultural products. Rather the focus will be on things worn – attire in the

75. For the uses and meanings of 'charismatic goods', see Peter Brown, "'Charismatic' Goods: Commerce, Diplomacy, and Cultural Contacts along the Silk Road in Late Antiquity", in *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250–750*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Michael Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 96–107. For the relationship between merchants, embassies and courts, see Viacheslav Stanislavskiy, 'Купці, зайняті у торгівлі між Військом Запорозьким та Османською імперією на початку XVIII ст.: імена, етнічна та державна приналежність [Merchants, Engaged in Trade between the Zaporozhian Host and the Ottoman Empire in the Early XVIIIth Century: Names, Ethnic and State Identity]', *Україна в Центрально-Східній Європі* [Ukraine in Central-Eastern Europe] 14 (2014), 118–137. For an overview of commercial transactions between these Empires, see Thomas M. Bohn and Christoph Witzentath, 'Verflechtungen Zwischen Dem Moskauer, Petersburger Und Dem Osmanischen Reich', in *Transottomanica - Osteuropäisch-Osmanisch-Persische Mobilitätsdynamiken. Perspektiven Und Forschungsstand*, ed. Stefan Rohdewald, Stephan Conermann, and Albrecht Fuess (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2019), 191–205.

76. For 'directed' trade, see Charles R. Whittaker, 'Late Roman Trade and Traders', in *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, ed. Peter Garnsey, Keith Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 163–181. See also the discussion in Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–63.

broadest sense, including footwear. Clothing-products which are themselves central to the plant-animal-human interface were supplied to regional, imperial and trans-imperial markets. They offer insight into the transition from an 'ecosystem of violence' to an ecosystem based on non-urban and early urban commercial exchange'.

Changes in Ukraine's environment during the 18th century were complex and multifaceted. They were influenced by a combination of political, economic, and social factors which impacted variously across the many regions and peoples of today's Ukraine, Romania, Poland, Southern Russia and further afield. Agricultural expansion, deforestation, drainage and irrigation, issues of land ownership, issues of population movement and of population growth are only a few of the aspects of the environmental transformation of Ukraine during this period that will not be discussed here. Further, and despite the significance of the city of Nizhyn, there is no need to over-emphasise the importance of specifically 'Greek' merchants even within the 'Hetmanate'. This is simply the source material that has been examined. Interaction with other merchant groups has to be added to this analysis. What should be evident, however, is that the activities of merchants had long-term direct and indirect effects on the changing ecosystems that characterised Ukrainian lands and the Black Sea littoral as a whole. And – further and importantly – that the processes described here commenced prior to Russian colonisation and continued long after Russian hegemony had been established.⁷⁷

Ecosystems of violence and the trade in 'beautiful things'

Violence was the norm along the banks of the Dnipro and across the northern Black Sea littoral during the second half of the 17th and early 18th centuries – and violence has to be central to any understanding of economic and environmental transformations of

77. For a brief summary of different meanings of colonisation for Ukrainian lands in an economic context, see Boris Belge, 'Grain, Coal and Gas. Ukraine's Economy since the Eighteenth Century', in *Ukraine's Many Faces. Land, People and Culture Revisited*, ed. Olena Palko and Manuel F  rez Gil (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2023), 101–122.

Ukraine. Networks of trust and suspicion of the negative consequences of exchange at a distance contributed to the concentration of trade in the region in the hands of minority groups. Different merchant networks usually thought of as particular ethnicities might be undermined or alternatively emerge as dominant from the ubiquitous insecurity.⁷⁸ The granting of privileges to such merchant networks was common practice, but also served as a source of friction.⁷⁹ Greeks, but also Armenian and Muslim merchants, were aided by a series of privileges accorded by Bohdan Khmelnytsky. In the Greek instance these privileges were repeatedly confirmed in Universals of succeeding Hetmans.⁸⁰ But, as the case of Jews in the region reveals, these privileges should be interpreted both as a consequence and an extension of violence.

Up until the Khmelnytsky rebellion, one of the most important groups dwelling within and trading across Ukrainian lands, includ-

78. Jarmo T. Kotilaine, *Russia's Foreign Trade and Economic Expansion in the Seventeenth Century. Windows on the World, The Northern World: North Europe and the Baltic. 400-1700 AD. People's Economies and Cultures*, No. 13 (Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2005), 422.

79. One document emphasized: 'for Little Russia consists of special privileges based on its former rights and freedoms corroborated by royal charter'. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1612, 1754, fol. 6-8. For Cossack and Greek privileges, and some of the early disputes arising, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 2935, 1729, fol. 1-4. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3019, 1729, 2-4. A particular point of conflict was the question of the right to own land TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 18775, 1743, fol. 1.

80. Aleksandr A. Fedotov-Chekhovskiy, *Акты Греческого Нежинского Братства* [Acts of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood] (Kyiv: типографія Е.Т. Керер [printing house of E.T. Kerer], 1884), 43-53. Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, 'Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині (XVII-XVIII ст.) [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony at Nizhyn (17th-18th c.)]', *Записки історично-філологічного відділу ВУАН* [Notes of the historical and philological department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences] 24 (1929): 109-205. Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, 'До історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII Ст.). Нарис V. Ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', *Записки історико-філологічного товариства Андрія Білецького* [Notes of the Historical-Philological Society of Andriy Biletsky] 3 (1999): 87-159.

ing the northern Black Sea littoral, had been the Jews.⁸¹ Following their violent expulsion, a number of those Jews who escaped reached the Ottoman Empire as refugees.⁸² Nonetheless, a very few Jews participated on a small scale in the fairs along the left (eastern) bank of the Dnipro throughout the period examined,⁸³ and there

81. For Jews in the region, see Irodion A. Zhitetsky, 'Евреи в Южной России (историческая справка) [The Jews in South Russia]', *Киевская старина* [Kyivan Antiquities] LXXII (72), no. 1 (1901): 57-80. See also Benjamin Nathans, 'The Jews', in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, ed. Dominic Lieven, vol. II, Imperial Russia, 1689–1917 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 184–201, esp. 186-188.

82. Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale* (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1962), 58.

83. John Doyle Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews, The Origins of the 'Jewish Question' in Russia, 1772-1825* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 33-34. For references to Jews in 'Little Russia', restrictive regulations governing their activities there and ways they maneuvered around them, see AVPRI, fond 2, op. 6, tom II, item 3860, 1730, 1-1v. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи: Собрание 1-е. С 1649 по 12 дек. 1825 г., Т. 11* [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, The First Collection: from 1649 to 12 December 1825. Vol. 11. 1740-1743] (St. Petersburg: Тип. 2-го Отд-ния Собств. Е.И.В. Канцелярии [In the printing house of the Second Branch of His Own Imperial Majesty's Chancery], 1830), No. 8673, 1742, see also No. 8840. Mihail D. Chulkov, *Историческое описание российской коммерции при всех портах и границах от древних времен до ныне настоящего [...] [Historical description of Russian commerce at all ports and borders from ancient times until the present], vol. 2, book 1 (Торговля через Каспийское море)* [Trade across the Caspian Sea], (Moscow: университетская типография [Moscow University Press], 1785), 64, 122-123, 158. Serapion, 'Путник или путешествие во Святую Землю Матрониинскаго монастыря инока Серапиона, 1749 года [The Wonderer or Journey to the Holy Land of the Monk Serapion of the Matronynskiy Monastery, 1749]', in *Паломники-Писатели Петровскаго и послепетровскаго времени Или Путники Во Святой Град Иерусалим*, ed. Leonid (Kavelin), *Чтения в Императорском Обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете* [Pilgrim Writers of Peter's Period or Travellers to the Holy City of Jerusalem. Readings at the Imperial Society of Russian History and Antiquities at Moscow University], vol. 3, V (Moscow, 1873), 78–129, esp. 129. Anon, 'Прошение малороссийскаго шляхетства и старшин, вместе с гетманом, о восстановлении разных старинных прав Малороссии, поданное Екатерине II-й в 1764 Году [Petition of the Little Russian Nobility and Elders, Together with the Hetman, to Restore Various Ancient Rights of Little Russia, Submitted to Catherine II in 1764]', *Киевская старина* [Kyivan Antiquities] Vol. 6 (June 1883): 317–345.

were some Jews resident in Nizhyn.⁸⁴

Given their on-going role in trade in Polish territories on the right bank of the Dnipro, a number of Greeks shared close trading relations with Jewish merchants.⁸⁵ Greek merchants also came into conflict with the Jewish stewards on Polish estates, often as a result of disputes over the imposition of estate tolls.⁸⁶ Negative attitudes

84. For Jews in Nizhyn in particular, see Platon Levshin, *Путешествие высокопреосвященнейшаго Платона митрополита Московскаго и разных орденов кавалера, в Киев и по другим российским городам в 1804 году* [Journey of His Eminence Plato, Metropolitan of Moscow and Knight of Various Orders, to Kyiv and Other Russian Cities in 1804] (в Медицинской типографии [Medical Publishers], 1813), 64. Vladimir S. Ikonnikov ed., 'Прошение "граждан" города Нежина о запрещении евреям розничной торговли [Petition by "Citizens" of the City of Nizhyn to Ban Retail Trade for Jews]', *Киевская Старина* [Kyivan Antiquities], Vol. 61 (1898): 86–89. Ivan Dolgoruky attended a Jewish wedding in the city. Mikhail N. Berezhkov, *Город Нежин в начале XIX века, по описанию московских путешественников (заметки к истории города)* (Nizhyn: E.Ф. Венгер, д. Глезер [Printing house E.F. Wenger, Glezer], 1895), 13.

In 1796, some Nizhyn merchants called on the military commander of Kyiv to enforce the regulations and put an end to the growing influx of Jews trading in the region. Анон, 'Прошение нежинских купцов и мещан о воспреещении польским и австрийским евреям розничной торговли на ярмарках в Малороссии 1797 г. в июле [Petition of Nizhyn Merchants and Burgers to Prohibit Polish and Austrian Jews Retail Trade at Fairs in Little Russia 1797 in July]', *Киевская старина* [Kyivan Antiquities] Vol. LXXVIII (78), no. July-August (7-8) (1902): 12–15.

85. For commercial relations involving Nizhyn Greeks and Jews (and sometimes others also) see, TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3874, 1731, fol. 3. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3876, 1731, 1-4. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 730, 1740, fol. 11v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8372, 1742, fol. 1-4. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1960, 1751, fol. 28-29. These relations often involved credit operations, for example TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8598, 1744, fol. 2. Such credit operations could also involve Jews of the Ottoman Empire, in this case a number of Jews of Edirne, including a 'broker' (*маклер*) and a 'banker'. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, 104. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, 1757, fol. 6-7. For another similar case, this time involving a Jew from Constantinople, see TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 1787, fol. 63.

86. See the case of the Nizhyn Greek Dimitri Kirilov who was accosted by soldiers (*жовниры*) on his unusual route which took him through Polish estates near Bershad (Vinnytsia Oblast, Ukraine). He was cross-examined by Franciszek Salezy Potocki's (1700–1772) Jewish stewards (*арендари*), lost a number of oxen and was imprisoned for five weeks and had to spend substantial sums to free himself and his

towards the Jews persisted, both in the population at large and among Greeks.⁸⁷ These negative attitudes were connected not only to religious differences but also in part to the role of both Jews and Greeks as representatives of an emerging and threatening market economy: 'I'll sell both you and your kids to the Greeks' being a threat taken seriously by one Ukrainian widow in 1710.⁸⁸ The predominance of the Greek merchants along the left bank of the Dnipro can be correlated with the expulsion of the Jews, and with subsequent laws prohibiting the free movement and residence of Jews in these regions.⁸⁹

There were also a number of Armenians speaking various languages operating in the wider region, and residing in Nizhyn in particular, and Armenians sometimes traded in cooperation with Greeks. They could travel together, were involved in debt/credit relations, exchanged goods, and at times resided together.⁹⁰ The

goods. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1516, 1773, fol. 4-5.

87. For 'Jew' employed as an insult, see TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1199, 1748, fol. 7-7v. This may be related to the accusation of being a 'Judas'. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2013, 1751, fol. 8-8v.

88. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 31, 1710, fol. 5-5v.

89. See also the discussion in Vitaliy O. Eingorn, *К истории иноземцев в старой малороссии, Отзыв Об Исследовании М.М. Плохинского: "Иноземцы в старой Малороссии, Ч. 1. Греки, цыгане, грузины. Москва. 1905 г."*, [On the History of Foreigners in Old Little Russia, Review of the Study of M.M. Plokhinsky: Foreigners in Old Malorossiia. Part 1: Greeks, Gypsies, Georgians. Moscow, 1905] (Moscow: Publication of the Imperial Society of Russian History and Antiquities at Moscow University, 1908), 25. Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, 'Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині (XVII—XVIII ст.)' [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony at Nizhyn (17th-18th c.)], Eugene Chernukhin and Oleksandr Morozov, ed. (Nizhyn: ТОВ "Ферокол" [Private limited company "FeroKol"], 2011), 10. Nataliia D. Polonska-Vasylenko, *The Settlement of the Southern Ukraine (1750-1775)*, The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the US, vol. 4-5 (New York, 1955), 263. Michael F. Hamm, *Kiev: a Portrait, 1800-1917* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 118. Eugene K. Chernukhin, 'Кость Харлампович та його нарис із історії Ніжинських Греків [Kost' Kharlampovych and His Essay on the History of the Nizhyn Greeks]', *Записки історико-філологічного товариства Андрія Білецького*, book 3 (1999): 160-176, esp. 169.

90. For Armenians and Greeks travelling together through Nizhyn, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, 1064, 1743, fol. 1. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1191, 1744, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2519, 1754, fol. 93. For Armenians as a

relationship between Greeks and other Orthodox Ottoman peoples, be they Wallachians, Vlachs, Arumanians, Moldavians, Bulgarians has however been discussed elsewhere. Many of these might call themselves Greeks when it was advantageous to do so, the language of commercial law, the Church and education usually being Greek.⁹¹

During the second half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century Greeks contributed to and benefited from a significant increase in trade between the Ottoman Empire and foreign states. Ottoman landowners and government officials invested in trade in particular goods, at the same time shaping the demand for imported goods.⁹² Alexandros Maurocordatos was an important financier of trade missions, investing, for example, in the activities of

source of credit for Nizhyn Greeks, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 101v-103v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, 6-7. For Armenians and Greeks in close contact in Moscow, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 11, 1718, 5v-6. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 12, 1719, fol. 20-22. See also Yaroslav Dashkevych, 'Armenians in the Ukraine at the Time of Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj (1648-1657)', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 3-4, part. 1 (1979-1980): 166-188. However, Armenians were also persecuted in Orthodox lands. Alexandr Osipian, 'Trans-Cultural Trade in the Black Sea Region, 1250-1700: Integration of the Armenian Trading Diaspora in the Moldavian Principality', ed. Irina Vainovski-Mihai, *New Europe College Black Sea Link Program Yearbook* (2012-2013): 111-156.

91. A document of 1719 specifically mentions Greeks, Armenians, Wallachians and Moldavians as travelling from the Ottoman Empire to 'Little Russia' in order to trade. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 12, 1719, fol. 30v. For a discussion of this issue, see Iannis Carras, 'Connecting Migration and Identities: Godparenthood, Surety and Greeks in the Russian Empire (18th – Early 19th Centuries)', in *Across the Danube: Southeastern Europeans and Their Travelling Identities, 17th-19th Centuries*, ed. Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria A. Stassinopoulou (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 65-109.

92. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Alan Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 174-176. Edhem Eldem, 'Structure et acteurs du commerce international d'Istanbul au XVIIIe siècle', in *Les villes dans l'Empire ottoman: activités et sociétés*, éd. Daniel Panzac, vol. I, (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1991), 243-272, esp. 264. For further examples of the substantial sums Ottoman Muslim creditors and state officials lent for Greek-run commercial ventures in Nizhyn and elsewhere in Russian territories, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 23-23v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 3, 1714, fol. 36. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 104. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 2-7. For a loan from the state treasury of the Ottoman Empire, for the purpose of trade with Russia, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 7, 1704, fol. 1v.

Paraskevas from Sinope (Sinop), a captain who traveled (by land) to Nizhyn and Moscow in the early 18th century.⁹³ Even before the establishment of the Phanariot rule, the regions of Moldavowallachia offered capital and served as springboards for trading expeditions to the north. By the end of the 17th century, Constantin Basarabas Brâncoveanu (1654-1714) had established a policy of attracting Greek merchants. Before leaving for Moldavia, the newly elected Phanariot rulers that replaced him met with bankers and merchants in the capital, seeking to maximize the financial gain from their usually temporary sinecures. And they too provided loans for trading ventures connecting Ottoman, Polish and Russian lands.⁹⁴ The increase in Greek trading ventures in and through the 'Hetmanate' therefore reflected the burgeoning of Ottoman trade more generally.⁹⁵ Given the delayed formation of a Cossack com-

93. Kostakel et al eds., *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-начале XVIII в.: документы и материалы* [Historical Ties of the Peoples of the USSR with Rumania from the 15th to the Early 18th Centuries. Documents and Texts], 233.

94. Kemal H. Karpat, 'Ottoman Relations with Balkan Nations After 1683', in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History, Selected Articles and Essays*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2002), 385–433. Sevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 80-81. Dore Papastratou, *Ο Σιναΐτης Χατζηκυριάκης εκ Χώρας Βουρλά, Γράμματα – Ευλογραφίες 1688-1709* [The Sinaite Hatzekyriakes from the Region of Vourla. Letters - Woodcuts 1688-1709] (Athens: Ερμής [Hermes], 1981), 30-31. For the banking class of the Danubian Principalities, see Lidia Cotovanu and Gheorghe Lazăr, 'Un marchand banquier au service de Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714) : L'Épirote Nica Papa saraf', *Θησαυρίσματα* [Thesaurismata] 46 (2016): 31–68. For an example of the involvement of the Ruler of Wallachia in trade with Russia from the beginning of the century, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 7, 1704, fol. 1-2. For such activities presided over in the 1760s by Constantine Maurocordatos (1711-1769), successively Hospodar of both Wallachia and Moldavia, see TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 67.

95. For similar growth in trade between the Ottoman Empire and countries further West during this period, see Paul Cernovodeanu, 'Les marchands balkaniques, intermédiaires du commerce entre l'Angleterre, la Valachie et la Transylvanie durant les années 1660-1714', in *Actes du Premier Congrès international des études Balkaniques et Sud-Est européenne: Sofia, 26 août-1 septembre 1966*, vol. 3 (Histoire (Ve-XVe ss., XVe-XVIIe ss.)), (Sofia: Editions de l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences, 1969), 649-658, esp. 651.

mercial class and the expulsion of the Jews it was other minority traders, including 'Greeks, Armenians, Wallachians, Moldavians', as a document of 1720 put it, that took advantage of any increase in trade.⁹⁶

This long-distance trade involved extreme risks and the costs to complete each journey were high.⁹⁷ Merchants were highly leveraged.⁹⁸ At first, trade was focused on trade in items of high value, with Nizhyn in particular serving as an inland port of trade connecting Constantinople and Moscow. A member of the Swedish delegation described the Greek trade in Moscow at the end of the 17th century: 'They trade horses, precious stones, Turkish carpets, fabrics, Moroccan scarlet, saffron and various Turkish products and in turn buy many wonderful sable furs'.⁹⁹ Still in the early 18th century merchants traded a variety of products with the aim of reducing risk. In this way, whenever the price of one or some of the transported products fell, the consequences for profitability were not terminal.¹⁰⁰

96. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 12, 1719, fol. 30v. Another document composed by the indigenous furriers of Nizhyn protests against the detrimental activities of 'Greek and Armenian' merchants. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3231, 1729, fol. 2-3.

97. For the high cost of transport by land, see Bruce McGowan, 'Part III. The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812', in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Donald Quataert and Halil Inalcik, vol. 2: 1600-1914 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 637-758, esp. 738.

98. For the high leverage of merchants trading in fur products, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6947, 1772, fol. 1-2 DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2374, 1777, fol. 1-1v.

99. Johann Philip Kilburger, *Краткое известие о русской торговле, как она производилась в 1674 г. вывозными и привозными товарами по всей России* [Brief Report on Russian Trade, as It Was Produced in 1674 with Exported and Imported Goods throughout Russia], in *Сочинение Кильбургера о русской торговле в царствование Алексея Михайловича* [Kielburger's essay on Russian trade during the reign of Aleksei Mikhailovich] ed. Boris G. Kurts (Kyiv: типографія І.І. Чоколова [Printing house of I.I. Chokolov], 1915), 152.

100. Elena M. Podgradskaya, *Экономические связи Молдавского княжества и Балканских стран с Русским государством в XVII Веке* [Economic Relations of the Moldavian Principality and the Balkan Countries with the Russian State in the XVII Century] (Chişinău: ШТИИИЦА [Shtinca], 1980), 43. See also the various and important contributions by Viacheslav Stanislavskiy, 'Українсько-турецькі торговельні

As can be seen from any number of reports covering the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, these products had common features: often enough the ultimate consumers of this directed trade were the Courts of the Tsar, Hetman, Hospodar, Vizier or Sultan and their respective ambassadors.¹⁰¹ Alternatively, the purchasers might be ecclesiastical institutions and members of the higher clergy and their relatives.¹⁰²

Greek merchants often bought specie from the Ottoman Empire to Ukraine and Russia, indicative of the balance of trade.¹⁰³ There are also many references to the trade of precious stones: amber from the Baltic (also used for worry-beads), carnelian, jasper, spinel from Afghanistan (*балаши*), garnet, topaz, rubellite, ruby and sapphire, emerald and diamonds, pearls from Persia (and in one case from Burma) and coral, particularly early on in the century.¹⁰⁴ Cer-

зв'язки початку XVIII ст.: види та походження товарів [Ukrainian-Turkish Trade Relations in the Early XVIII Century: Types and Origin of Goods]', *Чорноморська минувшина* [The Black Sea Past] 10 (2015): 76–88. Including one that emphasises the role of merchants as conveyors of information. Viacheslav Stanislavskiy, 'Тетьманщина та Туреччина в період Великої Північної війни: торгівля полоненими з Прибалтики [The Hetmanate and Turkey during the Great Northern War: Trade in Captives from the Baltic States]', *Східний світ* [The World of the Orient], no. 4 (2016): 91–104. This fits with our picture of Greek merchants trading by land with other markets of the period. Ödön Füves, *Οι Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας* [The Greeks of Hungary] (Thessaloniki: Εταιρεία Μακεδόνικων Σπουδών, Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου [Society for Macedonian Studies, Hersonissos tou Aimou Research Foundation], 1965), 18.

101. For the Court of the Hospodar, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1474, 1747-1750, fol. 33v. For the dignitaries of the Ottoman Court, see RGADA, fond 124, op. 4, item 98, 1707, fol. 1v. See also Alexandre Bennigsen, Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, 'Les marchands de la Cour ottomane et le commerce des fourrures moscovites dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 11, no. 3 (September 1970): 363-391.

102. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 23, 1716, fol. 10-10v, 30v.

103. Georg Grund, *Доклад о России в 1705-1710 годах* [Report on Russia in the Years 1705 to 1710], trans. and cmt. Yuri N. Bespiatykh (Moscow, St. Petersburg: Институт российской истории [Institute of Russian History], 1992), 110. See also TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, 1750, fol. 1-2v.

104. RGADA, fond 159, op. 2, item 289, 1696-1698, fol. 5. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 11, 1700, fol. 14. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 1. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 26, 1705, fol. 1v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1712, fol. 1.

tain Greeks gained a reputation for peddling 'fake gems' (*ψεύτικα πετράδια*).¹⁰⁵ As seen above, Christopher Georgiou, Rallis Ioannou and Georgios Ioannou had themselves been travelling with a cornucopia of precious stones.

In fact, a significant percentage of Greeks in Nizhyn and Moscow in the early 18th century declared themselves to be goldsmiths who specialized in trade in gems or the processing of gold and silver, crafting silver cups, mugs and tobacco and other cases, silver plated pewter plates and icons and walking-sticks and weapons, gold and silver chains and rings, signet rings and seals, earrings, bracelets, cufflinks and buttons for luxury clothing. In such instances, the trade in high-value goods was closely connected to the movement of highly skilled individuals with status and connections, in other words this craft/trade was directly connected to the movement of

RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, 1717, fol. 7v-8. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 16, 1718, fol. 1. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 176, 1751, fol. 3-3v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 14-15. AVPRI, fond 7, op. 3, item 173, 1766, fol. 4. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9218, 1780, fol. 46-46v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 12994, 1781, fol. 30-30v, 38-38v. DACHo, fond 101, op. 1, item 2421, 1782, fol. 1-1v. See also Dore Papastratou, *Ο Σινάιτης Χατζηκυριάκης εκ Χώρας Βουρλά, Γράμματα – Ξυλογραφίες 1688-1709* [The Sinaite Hatzekyriakes from the Region of Vourla. Letters - Woodcuts 1688-1709], (Athens: Ερμής [Hermes], 1981), fol. 13. Irina A. Selezneva, 'Предпринимательский опыт мастеров золотого и серебряного дела в Москве XVII века (по материалам дворцовых мастерских [Entrepreneurial Experience of Gold and Silver Craftsmen in Moscow of the XVIIth century (Based on Materials from Palace Workshops)]', in *Купечество в России, XV - первая половина XIX века: сборник статей в честь профессора А.А. Преображенского* [Merchants in Russia, XVth - first half of the -XIXth c.: Collection of Articles in Honor of A.A. Preobrazhensky], ed. A.V. Semenova, A.V. Demkin, and V.B. Perkhavko (Moscow: Институт российской истории РАН [Institution of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences], 1997), 148–174, esp. 148.

105. Dore Papastratou, *Ο Σινάιτης Χατζηκυριάκης εκ Χώρας Βουρλά, Γράμματα – Ξυλογραφίες 1688-1709* [The Sinaite Hatzekyriakes from the Region of Vourla. Letters - Woodcuts 1688-1709], (Athens: Ερμής [Hermes], 1981), 100. Kharlamovych, 'До історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII Ст.). Нарис V. Ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', 91.

human capital.¹⁰⁶ There were goldsmiths guilds in Nizhyn.¹⁰⁷ In 1742 one Nizhyn Greek approached a Crimean goldsmith to lend him capital for trade between Ukrainian lands and the peninsula, and it would be interesting to examine whether the supply of credit by goldsmiths was standard practice.¹⁰⁸ There is also a record of 1720 of merchants who procured ancient objects from Italy including a statue of Aphrodite intended for the Court of Peter I (1672-1725).¹⁰⁹ A number of other objects vended by Greeks were similarly valuable: mirrors, decorated tables and caskets, ink bottles, dazzling weapons, ornate cutlery, glass and crystal.¹¹⁰ Incense, rhu-

106. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 23, 1691, fol. 1-7. RGADA, fond 158, op. 1, item 4, 1706, fol. 10. RGADA, fond 52, op. 3, item 97, 1706, fol. 1-2v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1710, fol. 2. RGADA, fond 158, op. 2, item 3, 1710, fol. 6. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 5, 1711, fol. 1-3. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 3, fol. 4, 8v, 15v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 7v-8. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 14, 1718, fol. 3. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 14-15, 143-144v. For silver plating, see TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 2999, 1768, fol. 1-4. For buttons, see TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, 1771, fol. 6-7. The Greek goldsmiths Nikolai and Stephan Andreev were based in Nizhyn. Mikhail M. Plokhinsky, *Иноземцы в Старой Малороссии. Ч. 1: Греки, Цыганы, Грузины* [Foreigners in Old Malorossiya. Part 1: Greeks, Gypsies, Georgians], in *Труды XII Археологического Съезда в Харькове, 1902 г.* [Proceedings of the 12th Archaeological Congress in Kharkiv, 1902], vol. 2 (Moscow: Типография Г. Лиснера и Д. Собко [Printing house G. Lissner and D. Sobko], 86. See also K. Palaiologos, 'Αιτήσεις του Έλληνος Ιωάννου Γεωργίου Ρεπέτα Τω Τσάρω Αλεξίω Μιχαήλοβιτς [Appeals of the Greek Ioannis Georgios Repetas of the Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich]', *Παρνασσός* [Parnassos] 10 (1887): 468–474, esp. 468-469.

107. For the heraldic flag of the goldsmith's guild in Nizhyn, see IR NBUV [Institute of Manuscripts, Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine], fond 278, op. 651, photo no. 1316-1317.

108. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11376, fol. 11-11v, 14-16v.

109. For Sava Raguzinsky (1669-1738), an honorary member of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood, and his network, see Nikolai I. Pavlenko, *Птенцы гнезда Петрова* [Peter's Nestlings] (Moscow, 1994: Мысль [Mysl]), 344-345. For the importance of ancient artifacts in 18th century Russia, see Lindsey Hughes, 'Russian Culture in the Eighteenth Century', in *The Cambridge History of Russia, vol. 2, Imperial Russia, 1689-1917*, ed. Dominic Lieven (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 67–91, esp. 72, 82.

110. For cutlery, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 16, 1710, fol. 1-2v, 7. RGADA, fond 158, op. 2, item 3, 51-54. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 7v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 15, 1719, fol. 1. For ornate weaponry, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1,

barb (and other medicinal products) constitute special cases worthy of separate study.¹¹¹ All these trades, and also those in books, icons, crosses, relics, various religious objects, watches and other luxuries will not be examined here.¹¹²

The luxury commodity that promised greatest profit for the 17th and early 18th century was, however, fur.¹¹³ Much has been written about this commodity that need not be repeated.¹¹⁴ The focus here

item 1859, fol. 1-2v. For 'Chinese boxes' see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11119, 1752, 5. For glass, and Greeks' role in the Kyiv glass crystal and porcelain manufactories, see Natal'ya A. Terent'eva, *Греки в Украине: экономическая и культурно-просветительская деятельность (XVII-XX Вв.)* [Greeks in Ukraine, Economic, Cultural and Educational Activities (XVII-XX Centuries)] (Kyiv: Аквилон-пресс [Akvilon-Press], 1999), 102. See also Irina A. Selezneva, 'Предпринимательский опыт мастеров золотого и серебряного дела в Москве XVII века (по материалам дворцовых мастерских [Entrepreneurial Experience of Gold and Silver Craftsmen in Moscow of the XVIIIth century (Based on Materials from Palace Workshops)]', in *Купечество в России, XV - первая половина XIX века: сборник статей в честь профессора А.А. Преображенского* [Merchants in Russia, XVth - first half of the -XIXth c.: Collection of Articles in Honor of A.A. Preobrazhensky], eds. A.V. Semenova, A.V. Demkin, and V.B. Perkhavko (Moscow: Институт российской истории РАН [Institution of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences], 1997), 148-174, esp. 148-149.

111. For incense, see, for example, TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3840, 1761, fol. 6. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2375, 1777, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1518, 1747, fol. 16-17.

112. Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch: Kaufleute und Almosensammler entlang der osmanisch-russischen Grenze im 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. 19, *Erfurter Vorträge Zur Kulturgeschichte Des Orthodoxen Christentums* (Erfurt: Universität Erfurt, 2020), 4-54.

113. Often referred to in documents of the time as 'мягкая рухляд'. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 2-5v.

114. For the workings of the fur trade, see Raymond H. Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade 1550-1700* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1943). Janet Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness : The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Douglas R. Weiner, 'The Predatory Tribute-Taking State: A Framework for Understanding Russian Environmental History', in *The Environment and World History*, ed. Edmund Burke and Kenneth Pomeranz (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2009), 276-315. Alexander Etkind, 'Barrels of Fur: Natural Resources and the State in the Long History of Russia', *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 2 (2011): 164-171.

will be on fur as conveyed and exchanged through Ukrainian lands by Greek merchants and furriers, and that means that this section of my paper should be read as a dialogue with Arkadiusz Blaszczyk's article on the Ottoman-Muscovite fur exchange in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹¹⁵ Pelts came mainly from Siberia: remote locations such as Turukhansk (Monastyrskoye), Irkutsk, Yakutia (Yakutsk uezd), the Lena River and Kamchatka are mentioned in the sources examined.¹¹⁶ Sable and certain other pelts were bound into pairs and packed between two boards in parcels of forty (*сорока соболей* or *σороχια σαμουρια*).¹¹⁷ Black fox pelts were packed in parcels of only ten pairs, while cheaper furs were arranged in parcels of sixty, eighty or one hundred pairs. On receipt in Moscow, Siberian Chancellery (*Сибирский приказ*) officials compared pelts and accompanying documentation, evaluating their worth. The pelts were sold through the Sable Treasury (*соболиная казна*) which constituted a part of the Siberian Chancellery, and also through the Tsar's personal treasury (*Казённый двор* or *Казённый приказ*).¹¹⁸ Though the fur trade was a monopoly of Moscow's state treasury and furs were considered a protected good, in fact state and private trade coexisted.¹¹⁹ Greek merchants were even on occasion given permission to purchase furs from hunters directly.¹²⁰

115. Arkadiusz Blaszczyk, 'From the Forrests of Siberia to the Urban Jungle of Istanbul: The Ottoman-Muscovite Fur Exchange in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Transottoman Matters: Objects Moving through Time, Space, and Meaning*, ed. Arkadiusz Blaszczyk, Robert Born, and Florian Riedler, *Transottomanica Ost-europäisch-Osmanisch-Persische Mobilitätsdynamiken* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2021), 119–172.

116. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, fol. 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2519, 1754, fol. 23-23v. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 3166, 1760, fol. 1-2. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58.

117. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 23, 1716, fol. 30v, 46v, 51v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 104v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 66.

118. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1698, 1755, fol. 1-3. RGADA, fond 124, op. 4, item 98, fol. 1. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2519, 1754, fol. 23-23v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 61.

119. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 2050, 1726, fol. 2-3, 7. For protected goods, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 50-50v.

120. 'If one of the hunters can supply these goods, then merchants can purchase

A section of the market in the Kitai Gorod (fur lane or *Скорнячный ряд*) had been designated for the sale and purchase of pelts and fur products. The Tsar appointed official merchants, representatives of the state treasury, for the sale of certain pelts outside Moscow, but this covered only a portion of the trade. Thus, when they arrived in Moscow with their goods, Greek merchants were supposed to present themselves to the Sable Treasury. There, state merchants-officials selected the products they wanted and exchanged them for pelts. But they could also purchase pelts and furs directly on the market, at Kitai Gorod.¹²¹ Greek merchants bought the pelts and furs, paid customs duties (furs and pelts were stamped when taxes had been received),¹²² and then conveyed them to one of the many fairs, particularly those of Svensk and then Nizhyn where they might be sold on to other merchants.¹²³ Alternatively, Greek merchants might convey them directly on to the Ottoman Empire, for example to the markets of such places as Edirne (Adrianople) and Kastoria (Kesriye, Kostur), and above all to Constantinople.¹²⁴

Especially early in the century, the most valuable furs traded by Greek merchants were of sable (zibeline), a small dark Eurasian animal related to the weasel, from which cloaks for both women and men were sewn.¹²⁵ Ideally these would be in a pristine condition, neither discoloured, dyed nor blackened.¹²⁶ Other exquisite

them from him'. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1583, 1748, fol. 2.

121. For a Greek merchant buying furs in the market on Red Square, see TsDIAUK, fond KMF [collection of micro-photocopies] 7, op. 1, item 1059, 1687, fol. 3.

122. For the low declaration of the value of pelts and fur by Greeks, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 2050, fol. 7.

123. For furs brought from Moscow to Nizhyn and sold there, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 139-139v.

124. Payments might also be made in the Nizhyn fair for delivery of the fur in Constantinople. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 17, 1716, fol. 2-4.

125. For sable, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 23, 1716, fol. 1, 10-10v, 45, 46v, 46v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1474, fol. 2, 5-5v, 14-15. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1583, fol. 1-2. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2170, 1752, 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 101v-104v. AVPRI, fond 89, op. 1, item 8, 1761 1753, 3-4, 80-90. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 2-5v. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2374, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 56-58, 61v, 66.

126. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1615, 1748, 95-95v.

furs were the black fox,¹²⁷ and the polar or arctic fox.¹²⁸ So too the ermine, a whitish fur often worn by the ladies of the court.¹²⁹ Expensive furs which came in various natural colours included those made from the lynx,¹³⁰ the marten,¹³¹ the mink,¹³² the ferret,¹³³ and the beaver.¹³⁴

Less expensive were the red (or Ukrainian) and gray fox,¹³⁵ and

127. For black foxes traded by a Nizhyn Greek Mikhail Stepanov, see TsDIAUK, fond KMF- 7, op. 1, item 1059, fol. 9.

128. For the arctic fox, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 324, 1732, fol. 95. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, 1734, fol. 8-8v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 106. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1615, 1748, 95-95v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1583, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 104v-6. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58, 61-61v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 59-60v.

129. For ermine, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 324, fol. 95. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 98-99. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1615, 95-95v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1583, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 84. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11718, 1753, 14-15v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 2-5v.

130. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1615, 1748, 95-95v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58.

131. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 5. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1474, 1747, fol. 5-5v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 104v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58, 61.

132. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 98-99. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58.

133. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 98-99, 106. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 104v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58, 61v.

134. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 3166, 1760, fol. 1-2. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7376, 1773, fol. 4.

135. TsDIAUK, fond KMF-7, op. 1, item 1059, fol. 3. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 324, fol. 95. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 50-50v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, fol. 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 104v-6. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item

the Corsac fox of Central Asia.¹³⁶ At the lower end of the price scale brown, fulvous or black squirrels, with or without their tails, could be supplied from Kazan and, of course, Siberia.¹³⁷ The very cheapest furs were from cat pelts, black, white and multi-coloured.¹³⁸ Certain varieties of pelt and fur are mentioned only rarely, suggesting either reduced supply or limited interest in these varieties in Ottoman markets.¹³⁹ In a few cases, however, only the generic fact that fur was being exported by a given merchant is noted.¹⁴⁰ The

3046, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 4311, 1764, fol. 44v-45. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7376, fol. 4. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, 27-28.

136. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 50-50v, 98-99. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58, 61v.

137. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 324, fol. 95. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 50-50v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 27-27v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, fol. 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 3166, 1760, fol. 1-2. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 57-58. There is also mention of fur of the spermophili (*susliki*) of the squirrel family. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-9v.

138. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 16, 1710, 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 50-50v, 98-99. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 84, 104v, 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1515, 1754, fol. 2. One Greek merchant was trading in nine-thousand-seven-hundred cat furs. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3046, fol. 6-7.

139. For snow leopards, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. For wolves, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. IR NBUV, fond 160, item 245, 1767, fol. 31v. For bears, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. IR NBUV, fond 160, item 245, 1766, fol. 11v-12. For others, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, fol. 1-1v. For weasels, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. For hares, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 324, fol. 95. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 98-99. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v.

140. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1518, 1747, fol. 16-17. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, 1772, fol. 4, 72. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 3166, 1760, fol. 1-2. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2375, fol. 1-1v. For more on varieties of fur, see Mihnea Berindei, 'Contribution à l' étude du commerce ottoman des fourrures moscovites, La route moldavo-polonaise 1553-1700', *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 12, no. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1971): 393-409, esp. 395, 409. Richard Hellie, *The Economy and Material Culture of Russia 1600-1725* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago

Greek merchants may not have culled animals themselves, but they constituted a crucial part of the chain connecting the violent culling of animals and their transformation into commodities for sale in Ottoman markets.

Greek furriers trimmed pelts figuratively into longer and shorter fur coats, kaftans, neck wraps, chockers, camisoles, and made use of them in stockings and other garments.¹⁴¹ The 'kuntush', a Polish and Ukrainian long robe, was popular with the Cossacks of Zaporizhia. Reaching down below the knees, it usually had long loose sleeves and a set of decorative buttons down the front, and could be worn by both men and women. It was often embroidered and lined with fox and other furs.¹⁴² The cloth cloak 'kireya' used for riding had a fur collar or was lined with fur.¹⁴³ So too the 'cherkeska' or 'chokha', of Persian origin, associated with Circassia and

Press, 1999), 53. See also Kilburger, *Краткое известие о русской торговле, как она производилась в 1674 г. вывозными и привозными товарами по всей России* [Brief Report on Russian Trade, as It Was Produced in 1674 with Exported and Imported Goods throughout Russia], 170. Pyotr A. Tolstoy, *Османская империя в начале XVIII в. и ее описание П.А. Толстым* [Ottoman Empire at the Beginning of the XVIII c. and Its Description by P.A. Tolstoy], in *Русский посол в Стамбуле: Петр Андреевич Толстой и его описание Османской империи начала XVIII в.* [A Russian ambassador in Istanbul. Pyotr Andreevich Tolstoy and his description of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 18th century] ed. Marianna R. Arunova and Svetlana F. Oreshkova (Moscow: издательства "Наука" ["Nauka"], 1985), 31.

141. For foxes, ferrets and martens being prepared at a workshop, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 104v-106. For fur prepared in the form of a 'зипун', a type of kaftan without a collar. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58. For camisoles with stripes, in a Persian style, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 15, fol. 1. For a short coat, see IR NBUV, fond 160, item 245, 1766, fol. 3-5, 9v-10. For stockings laced with hare fur, see IR NBUV, fond 160, item 245, 1766), fol. 11v-12.

142. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 128, op. 1, item 1436, 1733, fol. 3. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 27-27v. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1612, 17-19v, 28. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1612, 1755, 17-19v, 28. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7.

143. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7376, fol. 4.

the Cossacks of the Kuban.¹⁴⁴ 'Bushy' furs were in demand.¹⁴⁵ And furs were often combined with different materials, for example silk, damask, sheepskin and cotton, and with covers of cloth in blue, green, pomegranate, crimson and various other hues.¹⁴⁶ Furs and items of clothing such as kaftans and jackets tailored in this manner were termed 'Chinese' (*уыба кумайка*) without this meaning that the cloth in question was a product of China.¹⁴⁷ There were also furs with which the Ottomans lined their caps: 'ferret', 'fox fur', 'sable' and 'round beaver hats' for example.¹⁴⁸ In the Orthodox East, fur-lined caps known as 'kalpakia' designated membership of the clergy.¹⁴⁹

Some purchased trimmed wolf coats.¹⁵⁰ Sheepskin coats were available either with or without hoods, often from Central Asia, the finest these from Astrakhan.¹⁵¹ When such coats were tailored from

144. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. The 'epancha', a sleeve-less riding cloak often with a hood, also came in male and female versions, though it is not clear from the sources examined if this was lined with fur. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, 27-28.

145. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1615, 95-95v.

146. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 5-5v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, fol. 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 4311, fol. 44v-45.

147. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 16, 1710, 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. IR NBUV, fond 160, item 245, 1766-1767, fol. 3-5, 9, 10-11, 12v, 31v. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 158, 1767, fol. 1-1v, 4, 8, 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. IR NBUV, fond II, item 27495, 1776, fol. 10.

148. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7376, fol. 4. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, 27-28. AVPRI, fond 89, op. 1, item 12, 1746, fol. 13.

149. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, 27-28. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4296, 1780, fol. 2. Felix Beaujour, *A View of the Commerce of Greece Formed after an Annual Average, from 1787 to 1797*, trans. Thomas Hartwell Horne (London: Printed by H.L. Galabin for J. Wallis, 1800), 318-325.

150. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, 1772, 3-3v. IR NBUV, fond II, item 27495, 1776, fol. 10.

151. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 15, fol. 1. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-9v, 11-11v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, fol. 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 59,

the pelts of lambs slaughtered at an age of less than thirty days (the so-called *мерлуику*), their price soared.¹⁵² Gabardine, a tightly woven fabric made of worsted wool, might be tailored to incorporate various furs, even sable.¹⁵³ There were fur coats prepared in a Greek manner.¹⁵⁴ As Greek furriers were expert at stitching together scraps of fur, different parts of the animal might be in demand, including foreheads, navels, tails and paws.¹⁵⁵ The quality of even the most expensive furs varied, hence the skill and discernment required of furriers and merchants alike.¹⁵⁶

Pelts could be tailored in Nizhyn itself and then sold on as *prêt-à-porter* items at fairs and markets,¹⁵⁷ at other times the tailoring was completed within the Ottoman Empire. Merchant and furrier might or might not be one and the same person.¹⁵⁸ The unprocessed pelts were however also sold on by merchants to furriers, or furriers might be contracted to tailor the material on merchants' behalf. Inevitably, disputes arose between merchants and furriers regarding the price and quality of their masterwork.¹⁵⁹ In one case a Greek merchant accused local furriers of stealing the navels of the

op. 1, item 4311, fol. 44v-45. IR NBUV, fond 160, item 245, fol. 12v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. IR NBUV, fond II, item 27495, 1776, fol. 10. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, 27-28.

152. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 3166, 1760, fol. 1-2. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, 27-28.

153. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 57v-58, 61.

154. 'Greek fur coat' or 'Шуба греческая'. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 4311, fol. 44v-45.

155. TsDIAUK, fond KMF- 7, op. 1, item 1059, fol. 3. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1474, fol. 5-5v, 14-15. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1615, 95-95v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 56-58. Used furs could also frequently be resold. IR NBUV, fond 160, item 245, 1766, fol. 3-5, 9v-10.

156. For the purchase of 'sub-standard' ermine, and a legal case that ensued, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11718, 1753, 14-15v.

157. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1474, fol. 14-15. The Nizhyn tax books (индуктные книги) have not been examined for this work, and they would provide useful additional information on the fur trade. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1698, fol. 1-3.

158. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1515, fol. 2.

159. TsDIAUK, fond KMF -7, op. 1, item 1059, fol. 3-5. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1199, 9-9v, 41-41v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 61v.

fox pelts that he had contracted out to them, and selling them on illegally.¹⁶⁰

There were also disputes concerning the role of the Nizhyn furriers' guild, with some furriers, offering their services directly to Greek merchants, thus bypassing guild regulations. Offenders were accused of profiteering.¹⁶¹ But the Nizhyn furriers were often themselves Greeks. The same was true for many furriers in Moscow. In 1739, when furriers were needed in St. Petersburg, Greeks were sent from Moscow to meet the needs of capital and Court.¹⁶² Furriers workshops could be quite large, with eight workers being mentioned in the case of one contract which stipulated the tailoring of one thousand fox and two thousand squirrel pelts.¹⁶³ There remains a question over the status of furriers given that their work was manual and involved 'unclean' (*мерзостные*) animals, 'peeling away their skin and meat and blood and all sorts of abominations'. After an investigation, one furrier was cleared and granted permission to become a priest on the grounds that he had not trained as a furrier but rather had learnt 'Russian letters.' Though his father had employed furriers at their common home, these had, fortunately, made a point of not working with dogs, cats and the baser animals.¹⁶⁴

In the Ottoman Empire itself, furs were turned into luxury garments by members of the furriers' guilds of respective cities, including those of Kastoria, Ioannina (Yanya, Janine), Siatista, Kozani (Kozana) and Salonica (Salun), while many furriers came from the wider region of Macedonia.

Ambassadors might purchase, distribute and sell furs. To cite but one example, the Russian plenipotentiary in Constantinople addressed a request to the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood asking for a merchant to be dispatched to the Serasker Pasha (Grand Vizier

160. TsDIAUK, fond KMF- 7, op. 1, item 1059, fol. 3-5.

161. The Greek merchants claimed they had always been free to contract the Nizhyn furriers of their choice, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3231, fol. 2-3, 5-5v.

162. Plokhinsky, *Иноземцы в старой Малороссии. Ч. 1: Греки, Цыганы, Грузины* [Foreigners in Old Malorossiya. Part 1: Greeks, Gypsies, Georgians], 3.

163. TsDIAUK, fond KMF -7, op. 1, item 1059, fol. 3-5.

164. IR NBUV, fond II, item 22639, 1763, fol. 559-563.

commanding the army) of Silistria and Bender with expensive fur: 'For the sake of peaceful harmony and good friendship and affection find such a merchant with the requested goods.'¹⁶⁵ They thus had an interest in describing the trade in fur. As the Russian Ambassador Aleksei M. Obreskov noted in 1745, the fur trade constituted a significant part of the capital's commercial activity: 'the fur trade in Turkey is, without a doubt, one of the most important; here everyone, Turkish or other national, walks around in winter and summer wearing fur, and the Guild of the Furriers is renowned as the most important guild. It is divided into two parts. In the first are the merchants who sell the furs, transporting them themselves or sending them with their factors; in the second are those who sit permanently in their shops, sell the furs in retail and tailor them'. More than seven-thousand furriers, merchants and craftsmen, were to be found in Constantinople, according to the Russian plenipotentiary.¹⁶⁶ Alongside the Grocers' Guild, the Guild of the Furriers, the Kiourtzides (*Κιουρτζήδες*), of Constantinople was one of the oldest and most important guilds of the Empire, contributing the highest annual tax of all the Greek guilds.¹⁶⁷ The guild's patron was the

165. The Russian plenipotentiary in Constantinople in 1748 was Adrian I. Nepliev (1712-1750). TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1615, 95-95v, 134-134v. For Aleksei M. Obreskov (1718-1787), see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2170, 1752, 1-1v.

166. Quoted in full in Vladimir A. Ulianitsky, *Дарданеллы, Босфор и Черное Море в XVIII Веке* [The Dardanelles, the Bosphoros and The Black Sea in the 18th Century] (Moscow: типография А. Гатцук [Printing house of A. Gatsuk], 1883), appendix 15, XXXVI (36). See also Chulkov, *Историческое описание российской коммерции при всех портах и границах от древних времен до ныне настоящего* [Historical description of Russian commerce at all ports and borders from ancient times until the present], 198. For a lower evaluation of the number of furriers, see Hülya Tezcan, 'Furs and Skins Owned by the Sultans', in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 63-79, esp. 71.

167. Evliyá Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century*, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Joseph von Hammer, vol. 1 and 2 (London: Printed for the Oriental Translation und of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834), vol. 1, part 2, 204-205. Elene Vourazele-Marinakou, *Αι εν Θράκη Συντεχνίαι των Ελλήνων κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν* [The Guilds of the Greeks in Thrace during the Ottoman Period] (Thessaloniki, 1950), 25-26, 52-55, 111, 181. And, most usefully, Eleni Angelomati-Tsougarakis, 'Η Συντεχνία των Γουναράδων της Κωνσταντινούπολης' [The Guild of the Furriers

Prophet Elijah, depicted wearing a fur coat.¹⁶⁸

The furriers played a very important role in the community life of the Greeks. The heads of the furriers' guilds handled the 'box of the furriers', the Guild's fund for the support of charities and educational institutions. The Guild provided direct support to churches and monasteries, including paying for the repair of the Patriarchal Church in Constantinople, financial support for the Holy Sepulcher and the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos. Public fountains and holy shrines, such as that of Vlacherana in the capital, were also erected at the Guild's expense. Schools supervised by the Guild included some of the most influential: the Great School of the Genos in Constantinople, and those of Chios (Sakiz, Scio), Patmos, Sifnos, Kastoria and Ioannina.¹⁶⁹ The book of donations of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood records that the Guild of the Furriers of Constantinople could serve as administrators for the will of deceased merchants. The Guild also dispatched the very

of Constantinople', in *Μνήμη Πηνελόπης Στάθη* [In Memory of Penelope Stathi], ed. Kostas Lappas, Antonis Anastasopoulos, and Elias Kolovos (Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης [University of Crete Editions], 2010), 423–441.

168. For the icon of the Prophet Elijah in the Greek churches of Nizhyn, see Aleksei A. Dmitrievskii, 'Греческие нежинские храмы и их капитальный вклад в церковно-археологический музей при Киевской духовной Академии [The Nizhyn Greek Churches and Their Capital Endowment in the Church and Archaeological Museum at the Kyiv Theological Academy]', *Православное обозрение* [Orthodox Review] 1 (February 1885): 370–400, esp. 376.

169. Caisarios Dapontes, *Éphémérides Daces, ou, Chronique de la guerre de quatre ans (1736-1739)*, ed. Émile Legrand, vol. 2, 3 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881), vol. 2, XXXIX (39). Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki and Nicolae Iorga, eds, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, vol. 14 (1), 1320-1716 : Documente Grecești privitoare la istoria Românilor (Bucharest, 1915), 700-701. See also Manuel Gedeon, 'Σχολεία και Βιβλία κατά τον ΙΗ' Αιώνα [School and Books in the 18th Century]', *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* [Church Truth] 8 (August 1887): 318–21, esp. 319. Nicolae Iorga, *Το Βυζάντιο μετά το Βυζάντιο* [Byzance Après Byzance], trans. Ioannis Karas (Athens: Πολιτεία [Politeia], 1989), 245. Vourazele-Marinakou, *Αι εν Θράκη Συντεχνίαι των Ελλήνων κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν* [The Guilds of the Greeks in Thrace during the Ottoman Period] (Thessaloniki, 1950), 55, 132, 141-142, 154, 181-182. Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *Οι Δυτικομακεδόνες Απόδημοι επί Τουρκοκρατίας* [The West-macedonian Expatriates during the Period of Turkish Rule] (Thessaloniki: Εταιρεία Μακεδόνικων Σπουδών, Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου [Society for Macedonian Studies, Hersonissos tou Aimou Research Foundation], 1958), 18, 40.

substantial sum of five thousand zolotia (ζολότια) for the purchase of a house for the Greek priests in Nizhyn and for other needs of the Brotherhood Church.¹⁷⁰ Taking into account their involvement with other elements of the Ottoman economy, and the many interconnected forms of economic activity described here, those involved in this sector must have been significantly more important economic actors than has been suggested by Arkadiusz Blaszczyk who focuses on very high end furs destined for the Ottoman Court.¹⁷¹

In addition to their economic power and works of charity, certain furriers were much praised for their skill. One commentator noted: 'as with precious stones, they have to understand the various degrees of perfection that determine the price'.¹⁷² Furriers would examine the pelts removing tufts of fur with tweezers in or-

170. Eugene K. Chernukhin, 'Книга пожертв грецького Ніжинського Братства 1696-1786 pp. [Book of Donations of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood, 1696-1786]', *Записки історико-філологічного товариства Андрія Білецького* [Notes of the Historical and Philological Society of Andriy Biletsky], no. 1 (1997): 91–102 and 144–179, 156. 'Συνοδικό της Ελληνικής Αδελφότητας της Πόλης Νιέζιν 1696-1786 [Charter of the Greek Brotherhood of the city of Nizhyn 1696-1786]' (Microfilm, Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Ιστορικό και Παλαιογραφικό Αρχείο [National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation: Historical and Palaeographic Archive], Athens (original: Національна бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського [Ver-nadsky National Library of Ukraine], codex no.: 72.12, Kyiv), 1786 1697), fol. 19.

171. Arkadiusz Blaszczyk, 'From the Forrests of Siberia to the Urban Jungle of Istanbul: The Ottoman-Muscovite Fur Exchange in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Transottoman Matters: Objects Moving through Time, Space, and Meaning*, ed. Arkadiusz Blaszczyk, Robert Born, and Florian Riedler, *Transottomanica Osteuropäisch-Osmanisch-Persische Mobilitätsdynamiken* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2021), esp. 142-143, 165. For the power of the Guild, see Kallinikos III, *Τα κατά και μετά την Εξορίαν Επισυμβάντα* [The Things That Occurred during and after Exile], ed. Agamemnon Tselikas (Athens, 2004), 110, 114. Athanasios Komnenos Ypselantes, *Εκκλησιαστικών και Πολιτικών των εις Δώδεκα Βιβλίων Η' Θ' Και Ι' Ητοι τα Μετά την Άλωσιν (1453-1789)* [Ecclesiastics and Politics in the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Volume of Twelve Books, That Is, the Events after the Conquest], ed. Germanos Athonides (Constantinople: I.A. Vretou, 1870), 707. Nikolas Vernicos and Sofia Daskalopoulou, *Στις Απαρχές της Νεοελληνικής Ιδεολογίας, Το Χρονικό της Δρόπολης* [The Outset of Modern Greek Ideology, The Chronicle of Dropolis] (Athens, 1999), 118.

172. Claude Charles de Peyssonnel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, vol. 1 and 2 (Paris: Cuchet, 1787), 190.

der to dip them in solutions and determine the quality of the fur. The 18th-century Russian economist Mikhail D. Chulkov commented on these Greek furriers: 'Although they have relatively few furs imported from the northern countries and of course from Russia where furs are a big part of the trade, they know well how to process them and produce products from them'.¹⁷³

The import of high-quality fur into the Ottoman Empire was, in theory at least, highly regulated by the Ottoman state.¹⁷⁴ Given the symbolic importance of fur in the Empire, this is not surprising. In addition to their obvious use, to protect against the cold,¹⁷⁵ furs were symbolic of social status. They were a sign of wealth, social superiority and prestige for the officials and wealthier citizens of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷⁶ It was however not only the Sultan and the

173. Chulkov, *Историческое описание российской коммерции при всех портах и границах от древних времен до ныне настоящего* [Historical description of Russian commerce at all ports and borders from ancient times until the present], 7. For more on Chulkov, see John M. Letiche, *A History of Russian Economic Thought, Ninth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), 451-464.

174. Bennigsen, 'Les marchands de la Cour ottomane et le commerce des fourrures moscovites dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 11, no. 3 (September 1970), 363-391, esp. 364-365.

175. Travellers to Constantinople noted that the rich Greeks of Constantinople wore two or even three furs during the cold winters that were characteristic of the city, and that less affluent wore cheaper furs. Vasilis Sphyroeras, *Επισκόπηση Οικονομική και Δημογραφική του Τουρκοκρατούμενου Ελληνικού Χώρου (1669-1821)* [Economic and Demographic Overview of the Turkish Occupied Greek Area (1669-1821)] (Athens, 1979), 11. Tatiana K. Krylova, 'Русская Дипломатия на Боспоре в начале XVIII в. (1700-1709)' [Russian Diplomacy on the Bosphorus in the Early 18th century (1700-1709)], *Исторические Записки* [Historical Notes] 65 (1959), 249-278, esp. 250.

176. Beaujour, *A View of the Commerce of Greece Formed after an Annual Average from 1787 to 1797*, 325. See also the description of the Sultan clothed in the fur and the regalia of state observing the foreigners, during the visit of the Ambassador of Sicily to the Sarai. Kallinikos III, *Τα Κατά και Μετά την Εξορίαν Επισυμβάντα* [The Things That Occurred during and after Exile], 291. Berindei, 'Contribution à l'étude du commerce ottoman des fourrures moscovites, La route moldavo-polonaise 1553-1700', 393-409, esp. 395. For the symbolic significance of clothing in the Ottoman Empire, see Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes', in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed.

Grand Vizier who wore furs commensurate to their office. The same was true of ambassadors, the rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia and their retinues, and the other officials of state.¹⁷⁷ In fact, the Sultan himself gifted clothes to ambassadors and senior officials, and these in turn on to their subordinates.¹⁷⁸ Such garments reflected the order and hierarchy of Empire, constituting at the same time part of the network of protection that the officials offered to their protégés. Clients, sometimes themselves merchants, were clothed, quite literally, in the prestige of their guardians.¹⁷⁹ Characteristic of this sartorial system of patronage is a dream of the former Patriarch Callinikos or Kallinikos III (or IV depending on how one counts, 1713-92) in which officials recall bestowing both garments and the blessings that accompanied them. In the dream, Kallinikos III both received fur coats, and was meant to confer one of these coats to the Metropolitan of Nicomedeia (Izmit today).¹⁸⁰ This sartorial code

Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 15–49. Tezcan, 'Furs and Skins Owned by the Sultans', 63-79. Christoph K. Neumann, 'How Did a Vizier Dress in the Eighteenth Century?', in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 181–193. See also Philip Mansel, *Constantinople, City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924* (London: John Murray, 1995), 67.

177. Kallinikos III, *Τα Κατά και Μετά την Εξορίαν Επισυμβάντα* [The Things That Occurred during and after Exile], ed. Agamemnon Tselikas (Athens, 2004), 293, 307.

178. Kallinikos III, 276.

179. Kostakel et al, eds., *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-начале XVIII в: документы и материалы* [Historical Ties of the Peoples of the USSR with Rumania from the 15th to the Early 18th Centuries. Documents and Texts], 194.

180. Kallinikos III, *Τα Κατά και Μετά την Εξορίαν Επισυμβάντα* [The Things That Occurred during and after Exile], 404. For other sources referring to sartorial dimensions of the patronage system, see Willem Theyls, *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire de Charles XII Roi de Suède. Contenant ce qui s'est passé pendant le séjour de ce Prince dans l'Empire Ottoman; & un récit fidèle des troubles survenus de tems en tems entre sa Maj.* (Leyde: Chez Jean Du Vivier., 1722), 212. Johannes Aegidius van Egmont van der Nijenburg, *Travels through Parts of Europe, Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago; Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, &c*, trans. John Heymans, vol. 1 (London: Printed for L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1759), 258. Kostakel et al, eds., *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-начале XVIII в: документы и материалы* [Historical Ties of the Peoples of the USSR with Rumania from the

was aimed primarily at the expression and thus maintenance of established power relations.¹⁸¹

In the 18th century, the Ottoman Court served as the main source of demand for the most expensive Russian furs, for which merchants could not find similar customers in Germany and other western countries. These furs, resources of the very highest quality, might be bought and sold in Moscow or Nizhyn, tailored in Constantinople or other Ottoman centres and then conveyed on to Syria and Egypt, and even exported elsewhere, say to Austria, or Hungary, or the Netherlands.¹⁸² It is perhaps unsurprising then that in his 'Canon Containing Many Exceptional Things' the poet Constantine (Caisarios) Dapontes (1713/14–1784) includes 'Muscovite furs', which he describes as 'most beautiful things.'¹⁸³

15th to the Early 18th Centuries. Documents and Texts], 149, 194, 241, 304, 322.

181. For more on this subject, see Madeline C. Zilfi, 'Goods in the Mahalle: Distribution Encounters in Eighteenth Century Istanbul', in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1922. An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), 289–312, esp. 306-307. Robert Delort, *Le commerce des fourrures en Occident à la fin du moyen age (vers 1300-vers 1450)*, vol. 1 (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1978), 505-543. See also Leslie Peirce, 'The Material World: Ideologies and Ordinary Things', in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 213–232, esp. 215.

182. Podgradskaya, *Экономические связи Молдавского княжества и Балканских стран с Русским государством в XVII веке* [Economic Relations of the Moldavian Principality and the Balkan Countries with the Russian State in the XVII Century], 74. Kilburger, *Краткое известие о Русской торговле, как она производилась в 1674 г. вывозными и привозными товарами по всей России* [Brief Report on Russian Trade, as It Was Produced in 1674 with Exported and Imported Goods throughout Russia], 95-96.

183. Euthymios Th. Soulogiannes, 'Καϊσάριου Δαπόντε, Κανών Περιεκτικὸς Πολλῶν Εξαιρέτων Πραγματῶν [Caisarios Dapontes, Canon of Hymns Comprising Many Exceptions Things]', *Παρνασσός* [Parnassos] 8, no. 3 (1967): 441–453, esp. 452.

There is no better indication of the importance of furs in the social life of the wealthy of the Ottoman Empire than paintings and portraits of Jean Baptiste Van Mour (1671-1737), Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702-1789) and Antoine de Favray (1706-1798). Auguste Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1989), 46-47, 50, 63, 69, 111.

Shortly before 1750, this monopoly began to be seriously challenged with the importation of furs from the new world, mainly from Canada. By reducing the prices of the goods they conveyed, the Greek merchants successfully managed the competition.¹⁸⁴ However, as can be seen in a document of 1756 in which pelts and furs are mentioned alongside a range of other exports, this trade constituted a diminishing part of the total trade of Greek merchants operating in and through Ukraine.¹⁸⁵ As they were easily damaged at sea, furs constituted a land trade. Meanwhile, other sea-based trades were becoming more lucrative.¹⁸⁶

Bandits and militaries

The wars of the second half of the 17th and 18th centuries eventually culminating in the northern Black Sea littoral becoming incorporated into the Russian Empire. Widespread devastation is and was a consequence of war, but it may also be contrasted to the lack of contestation that results whenever any state monopolises the use of violence in a given territory. This balance between destruction caused by conflict and the security that might result from hegemonic control (let us call it 'peace') remains central to understanding competing narratives of conquest, colonisation and development.¹⁸⁷

Greek merchants travelling between Ottoman, Polish, Ukrainian and Russian lands anticipated extreme dangers. Bandits, robbers and thieves are referred to repeatedly. Instances of attacks by non-

184. Beaujour, *A View of the Commerce of Greece Formed after an Annual Average from 1787 to 1797*, 327-328.

185. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2671, 1756, fol. 1-5.

186. See Vladimir A. Zolotov, *Внешняя торговля Южной России в первой половине XIX века* [External Trade in South Russia in the First Half of the 19th Century] (Rostov-on-Don: Rostov University Press, 1963), 13-74.

187. For these processes, see John P. LeDonne, *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700-1917: The Geopolitics of Expansion and Containment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Brian L. Davies, *The Russo-Turkish War, 1768-1774: Catherine II and the Ottoman Empire* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016). For a review of the contemporary state of research on these issues, see Michel Abesser, 'A Window to the South: The Russian Empire, the Black Sea, and Beyond', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 21, no. 4 (Fall 2020): 843-859.

state actors on Greek caravans or merchants moving in groups through the Ukrainian territories in the period under consideration are myriad. The passage from Iași (Yaş, Iasio, Jassy) to Kyiv (Kiev, Kievo) was considered particularly dangerous. Georgos Koumtoglou, a Greek from Nizhyn, was travelling from Venice through Iași and on to Nizhyn. At noon on 19 September 1773, as he was crossing the territory of Moldavia with three carts, each drawn by four horses, eight bandits struck, charging on horseback and shooting as they emerged from the cover of a thicket. Taken by surprise, merchants and Moldovan cart drivers were seized, thrown on the ground, stripped of their clothes and threatened with death unless they revealed where monies were hidden. Plundering what they could (mainly currency, in various denominations) the bandits bound the victims to their carts and stormed away. Koumtoglou was fortunate to remain alive. Other merchants corroborated that similar incidents had taken place in the area, even on the same day.¹⁸⁸

The number of assailants who took part in this banditry could at times be large, with some hundred or so mentioned on one occasion.¹⁸⁹ Perhaps surprisingly, this was not just a rural phenomenon, but rather connected rural and urban space. Some of those bandits who were eventually arrested had spent years as residents of the cities of Kyiv and Nizhyn. One had worked as a cook in the Monastery of St. Michael in Kyiv, and then, with his wife, found service in the home of a Nizhyn Greek merchant. He later became involved in the more lucrative business of horse poaching.¹⁹⁰

From the point of view of the merchants, it was difficult to distinguish between bandits and Cossacks from Zaporizhia or the Don. As Thomas Bostanzhul, one of the survivors of an attack on a caravan on the right bank of the Dnipro wrote in his report of 1751 to the *General Military Chancellery of Little Russia*, it was not evident 'who exactly those Zaporizhians were'. They might have been

188. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4280, 1774, fol. 1-1v.

189. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 1, item 627, 1751, 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, 1-2v.

190. For Ivan Iaremenko and his wife, who were residents of Bobrovytsia, half-way between Kyiv and Nizhyn, at the time when he was arrested for murder, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, 25-25v.

bandits (*разбойники*) or Zaporizhians or Polish subjects, though he goes on to call them 'Haidamaks' (*Гайдамаки*). There had been no occasion to inquire into their names during the attack.¹⁹¹ Witnesses provided different opinions of the identity of attackers. Just a few years after the attack on Bostanzhul's caravan a victim of another attack was to state that he could not confirm 'the record in the regimental chancellery (*в полковой канцелярии*) that the robbery had been carried out by Zaporizhian Cossacks'. Another victim of this second attack claimed that as it had taken place during the darkness of night and he had hidden under a wagon it was impossible to determine 'what kind of bandits they had been, Russian or Tatar'. Still, he had heard 'Russian speech', which he later altered to 'Little Russian speech' (*нарѣчіє малоросійську*).¹⁹² Proving that Zaporizhian Cossacks were involved in any raid was an important step towards receipt of even very partial compensation for losses accrued, as at least from 1734 on the Zaporizhians were nominally subjects of the Tsar. This meant that the Russian authorities could order investigation and compensation.¹⁹³

Cossack raids were not limited to the Zaporizhian and Don regions. Rather, Cossacks stretched out over a wide radius, from Astrakhan to Poland and from Wallachia to the Crimea. In 1703, the Cossacks of Zaporizhia had justified their 'mild' looting of the Greek caravan to the Tsar's envoy, Kyril Makedonskii, claiming that 'although they took a small part of the goods for their trouble, they did not kill any Greek'.¹⁹⁴ On this understanding, looting seemed little different from certain forms of state-taxation, or perhaps an attempt at a more equitable allocation of scarce resources. In any case, Greek merchants might trade directly with the Zaporizhian Sich, including the return for a fee of Cossacks who had been captured and enslaved by Tatars and Ottomans from the Ottoman Em-

191. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 1, item 627, fol. 1-1v. For a very similar case where 'Haidamaks' are equated with Zaporizhians and bandits, see TsDIAUK, fond 229, op. 1, item 44, 1757, 39-40.

192. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, 100-103, 125.

193. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, 140-142v. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 2649, 1758, 9-12.

194. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 6v-7.

pire.¹⁹⁵ Despite these caveats, however, there can be no doubt that raiding and banditry greatly increased the dangers and total cost of travel, and that secure movement constituted the greatest incentive for further movement, leading to increased trade and exchange.

In the final analysis, it is difficult to distinguish between the looting of the Cossacks and the actions of bandits precisely because the transformation of Cossacks, Kalmyks and others into the 'bandits' and 'outlaws' of so many of the official documents of the time was central to the processes that led to the eventual establishment of imperial hegemony over the region.¹⁹⁶ As one Russian officer put it: 'the whole country is in fact at the mercy of thieves' living for the sake of plunder, Zaporizhian Cossacks and 'Haidamaks' being, in his opinion, one and the same. 'Haidamaks' – rebels against the Polish authorities on the right (West) bank of the Dnieper – might be Cossacks or 'outlaws' or both, 'Haidamak' in the Ottoman dialect of the region meaning 'thief'.¹⁹⁷ In the words of merchants and officials of the time, the lands between the Hetmanate and Crimea

195. Reference here is to a Don Cossack named Nikiphor Teplekov, captured and enslaved during a raid on Tatar lands in 1708. He was bought by a Constantinopolitan Greek merchant in 1735 and sold him on to the Ataman of Zaporizhia. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 508, 1735, 30-33v.

196. For mixed groups of bandits with a variety of ethnic designations attached to them, see 'AVPRI, fond 89, op. 1, item 13' (Moscow, 1722), fol. 1, 7-8. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 16, 23v-24. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2095, 1751, fol. 4. Aubry de La Motraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa*, (London: Printed for the Author, 1723), 21. Georgios Constantinou, *Παγκόσμιος Ιστορία της Οικουμένης, Περιγράφουσα Καθέν Έκαστον Βασίλειον κατά την Παρούσαν Αυτού Κατάστασιν, Ήγουν τας Επαρχίας Αυτού, τας Πολιτείας, τα Ήθη, τούς Νόμους, τας Πραγματείας, τας Τέχνας, την Θρησκείαν, την Διάλεκτον, και Είτι Αλλο Περιεργον και Αξιόλογον [...]* [World History of the Ecumene, with a Description of Each and Every Kingdom According to Its Present State, in Other Words Its Regions, Cities, Customs, Laws, Trade, Crafts, Religion, Language and All Else Curious and Worth Noting] (Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1759), 215. Don B. Yaroshevski, 'Attitudes towards the Nomads of the Russian Empire Under Catherine the Great', in *Literature, Lives, and Legality in Catherine's Russia*, ed. Anthony G. Cross and Gerald S. Smith (Nottingham: Astra Press, 1994), 15–25, esp. 20.

197. Général de Manstein, *Mémoires Historiques et Militaires Sur La Russie*, vol. 1 (Lyon: Jean-Marie Bruyset, 1772), 20. For use of the term 'Haidamaks', see also TsDIAUK, fond 229, op. 1, item 44, fol. 39-40. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 2649, 1757, fol. 1.

were 'bandit-country (*места разбойнические*)'.¹⁹⁸

Tatars posed a similar kind of threat. During the 18th century larger scale Tatar raids became infrequent, especially in areas under Russian control.¹⁹⁹ Nonetheless, at times of conflict such as 1734-1735 and 1768-1769 significant raids took place.²⁰⁰ In the sparsely populated regions of the south and along the right bank of the Dnipro and in Moldavia, smaller-scale raids and incidents involv-

198. RGADA, fond 124, op. 4, item 98, fol. 1-1v. Or, alternatively, 'dangerous places because of bandits'. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2170, 1752, fol. 1-1v.

199. For Tatar raids and Tatar-Russian relations in the early 18th century, see Peter I, *Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого*, т. 3: 1704-1705 [Letters and Papers and Papers of Emperor Peter the Great, vol. 3 1704-1705] (St. Petersburg, Государственная типография [State Printing House], 1893), 392-395. Peter I, *Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого*, т. 10, 1709 [Letters and Documents and Papers of Emperor Peter the Great, vol. 10, 1709] (Moscow, 1956), 78. Peter I, *Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого*, т. 11 января-июль 1711 г. [Letters and Papers of Emperor Peter the Great, 11, January- 12 July 1711] (Moscow: Издательство АН СССР [Publishing House of the USSR Academy of Sciences], 1962), 78. See also Johann-Georg Korb, *Diary of An Austrian Secretary of Legation at the Court of Czar Peter the Great*, trans. and ed. Count Mac Donnel (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1968), 248. Sir Robert Sutton, *The Dispatches of Sir Robert Sutton, Ambassador in Constantinople 1710-1714*, ed. Akdes Nimet Kurat (London: Royal Historical Society, 1953), 14, 34. Aubry de La Motraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa*, vol. 2, 54. Athanasios Skiadas, *Γένος, Ἦθος, Κίνδυνοι, καὶ Κατορθώματα Πέτρου του Πρώτου* [Lineage, Ethos, Dangers and Accomplishment of Peter the First] (Venice: Antonio Bortoli, 1737), 372, 400, 418. Charles Perry, *A View of the Levant, Particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt and Greece* (London: T. Woodward, 1743), 102-103. Egmont van der Nijenburg, *Travels through Parts of Europe, Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago; Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, &c.*, 255-256.

200. Athanasios Komnenos Ypselantes, *Εκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ Πολιτικὸν τῶν εἰς Δώδεκα Βιβλίων Η' Θ' Καὶ Ι' Ἦτοι τὰ Μετὰ τὴν Ἄλωσιν (1453-1789)* [Ecclesiastics and Politics in the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Volume of Twelve Books, That Is, the Events after the Conquest], 339. Cristof H. von Manstein, *Contemporary Memoirs of Russia from the Year 1727 to 1744* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), 238. Algarotti, *Lettres Du Comte Algarotti Sur La Russie* (London, 1769), 113. Baron de Tott, *Memoirs of the Baron de Tott on the Turks and Tartars*, vol. 1 and 2 (London, 1785), 438-455, 463-477. Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace. Ahmed Resmi Effendi 1700-1783* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 118. Also Apollon Skalkovsky, 'Еврейский плен в Запорожье 1770-1772 [The Jewish Captivity in Zaporizhzie 1770-1772]', *Киевская Старина* [Kyivan Antiquities] 8, no. 1 (1884): 159-165.

ing Tatar groups were frequent.²⁰¹ And the Tatars were feared.²⁰² Constantine (Caisarios) Dapontes describes the panic that prevailed when they approached Iași in 1758. The stones themselves trembled, he noted.²⁰³ The German merchant Nikolaus Ernst Kleemanns (1736-1801) refers to his Armenian companions turning pale when confronted by Tatars on their way to Ochakiv in 1768.²⁰⁴ Even rumours of Zaporizhian Cossack or Tatar proximity had immediate implications for movement and exchange.

All merchants travelled armed; the following were found in the chest of a Greek who died in the Monastery of St. Nicholas in Moscow in the early 18th century: 'a Russian-made rifle, a Venetian rifle, a Turkish sword with a bronze sheath.'²⁰⁵ Another was travelling with three German-made rifles, two Tula rifles, three Turkish sabers, a scimitar belonging to his father, two gunpowder holders, a small cartridge case, four pairs of pistols and other weapons.²⁰⁶ Elsewhere a whole range of armaments including Turkish and other muskets,²⁰⁷ Venetian carbines and other muz-

201. Vladimir A. Ulianitsky, *Исторический очерк русских консульств за границей* [Historical sketch of Russian consulates abroad], in *Сборник Московского главного архива Министерства иностранных дел*, vol. 5 (Moscow, 1893), 88. Alan W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 26.

202. Dore Papastratou, *Ο Σιναιτης Χατζηκυριάκης εκ Χώρας Βουρλά, Γράμματα – Ξυλογραφίες 1688-1709* [The Sinaite Hatzekyriakes from the Region of Vourla. Letters - Woodcuts 1688-1709], 81.

203. Caisarios Dapontes, *Κήπος Χαρίτων* [Garden of the Graces], ed. Gavriel Sophocles (Athens, 1880), 157-158.

204. Nikolaus E. Kleemann, *Клееманово путешествие из Вены в Белград и Новую Килию, Також в земли бюджетских и нагайских татар и во весь Крым, с возвратом чрез Константинополь, Смирну и Триест в Австрию, в 1768, 1769 и 1770 годах [...]* [Reise von Wien Über Belgrad Bis Kilianova, Durch Die Butschak – Tartary Über Kavschan, Bender, Durch Nogew-Tartarey in Die Crimm], trans Ivan Odintsov (St. Petersburg: Государственная военная коллегия [State Military Collegium], 1783), 69.

205. Michail Demetrieve Merzan. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 3, 35.

206. Kharlampovuch, 'До історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII ст.). Нарис V. Ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', 113.

207. 'пищали турецкие'. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 16.

zle-loading rifles with a flintlock,²⁰⁸ small canons,²⁰⁹ powder-flasks and powder-horns whether standardized or decorated,²¹⁰ elaborate cartridge cases and boxes,²¹¹ bandoliers,²¹² swords, scimitars and sabres of iron and steel (some even silver plated) with and without sheathes,²¹³ axes,²¹⁴ knives and daggers,²¹⁵ and sundry varieties of pistol are mentioned.²¹⁶ German pistols, costing some thirty roubles a piece at mid-century, were particularly valued.²¹⁷ As noted above, these merchants constituted part of an 'ecosystem of violence' trading, quite literally, with guns in their belts.

208. 'фузей' TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 10-10v. 'флинтгов русских три' TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 19v. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 2999, 1768, fol. 1-4. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6073, 1771, fol. 2. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4296, fol. 2.

209. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123v.

210. 'натруска роговая' RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 5. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7.

211. 'людунка' RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 5. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-9v.

212. 'ладунка'. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105-106.

213. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 5. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, 10-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, fol. 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1890, 1750, fol. 4-4v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1356, fol. 170-173. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 14-14v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28. Swords and sabres might have bows and guards of various shapes. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11119, fol. 5.

214. 'обушок' RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 5. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11119, fol. 5.

215. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 5. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7.

216. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 18, 1705, fol. 1v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 16. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11119, fol. 5. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, 3-3v, 5. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4296, fol. 2.

217. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, fol. 1-2v.

Of the many reasons for merchants travelling together in caravans, safety was the most important. Merchants often waited in Iași until they had sufficient companions to leave for Ukrainian lands,²¹⁸ accompanying official caravans when this was possible.²¹⁹ In 1710 the Greek merchant Savas Theodorov was informed of attacks by Cossacks of the Don operating in territories along the right (western) bank of the Dnipro between Nemyriv (Nemirov, Niemirów) and Cherkasy. Theodorov interrupted his journey to Moscow and waited for twenty-five days in Iași until a sufficient number of merchants had arrived to form a formidable, and formidably armed, caravan.²²⁰ When faced by imminent danger on the road, merchants placed their wagons in a circle in order to defend themselves, scenes we might today more readily associate with the US Western.²²¹ Sometimes merchants and pilgrims employed armed escorts.²²²

States often had an interest in cooperating with merchants against non-state purveyors of violence. Still, it would be a mistake to view merchant and state interests as fully aligned. In part, this is because the state itself was in the process of transformation. It was represented on the ground by a diverse amalgam of often

218. Podgradskaya, *Экономические связи Молдавского княжества и Балканских стран с Русским государством в XVII веке* [Economic Relations of the Moldavian Principality and the Balkan Countries with the Russian State in the XVII Century], 50-51.

219. RGADA, fond 124, op. 4, item 98, fol. 1. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2170, 1752, 1-1v.

220. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 12, 1710, fol. 1-1v. For a nun waiting some time for the next caravan to depart in order to accompany it from Nizhyn to Iași, see TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2085, 1751, fol. 9.

221. For description of one such encounter, involving Armenian merchants, see Kleemann, *Клееманово путешествие из Вены в Белград и Новую Килию також в земли бюджетских и нагайских татар и во весь Крым с возвратом чрез Константинополь, Смирну и Триест в Австрию, в 1768, 1769 и 1770 годах [...]* [Reise von Wien Über Belgrad Bis Kilianova, Durch Die Butschiak – Tartary Über Kavshan, Bender, Durch Nogew-Tartarey in Die Crimm], 69.

222. For examples of this practice, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 20, 1705, fol. 1-2. RGADA, item 52, op. 1, item 15, 1714, fol. 2v. See also the protection provided by select Cossacks by order of the Russian state accompanying certain traders, in AVPRI, fond 89, op. 1, item 8, fol. 98.

rent-seeking groups and individuals, for whom robbery constituted an extension of other forms of resource-extraction, or, alternatively, rent-seeking. Militaries of all flags were an obvious and almost constant source of insecurity to merchants.²²³ Even after hegemony had been established over any given territory, soldiers and state officials could prove as rapacious as their irregular, raiding or nomadic predecessors. As one Greek merchant writing in 1709 moaned: 'in Kazakia there are so many soldiers.'²²⁴

We hear merchants' voices only rarely in the surviving sources. Yet it is clear they discussed the dangers posed by the political situations in which they found themselves. Close to the apogee of the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia, and with the pressing danger of a new war between Moscow and the Ottoman Empire evident, an anxious Stergios composed a letter to a certain Christodoulos: 'we've heard now that the Swedes are marching on Kyiv, and it's true, that they were seen thirty miles from Kyiv in Polish territory [...] and they intend to come to Kyiv'. Stergios noted that trade could no longer be carried out along the usual routes from Nizhyn to Constantinople. 'The bad business be damned (*μῶνον ανάθεμα το κεσάτη*)', he sighs.²²⁵

Among the merchants looted by Russian troops in the conflict of 1708-1709 was the grandfather of the 18th century historian Athanasios Komnenos Ypselantes, Afentoules Tzanetos. According to his grandson, Russian soldiers in Ukraine seized his all his possessions and property.²²⁶ Constantine (Caisarios) Dapontes, describing the

223. For variety, I refer to some cases of Polish soldiers, which however are quite characteristic of the activities of other militaries also. For Dimitri Kirilov who was attacked by Polish *jalonneurs* (soldiers) of the Count Franciszek Salezy Potocki (1700-1772) in 1747, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1516, 4-5. For Polish soldiers accosting an hieromonk, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2027, 1751, fol. 4.

224. Dore Papastratou, *Ο Σινάιτης Χατζηκυριάκης εκ Χώρας Βουρλά, Γράμματα – Ξυλογραφίες 1688-1709* [The Sinaite Hatzekyriakes from the Region of Vourla. Letters - Woodcuts 1688-1709], 113.

225. The letter is dated to 29 December 1707. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 11, 1705, fol. 13v, 15v, 22.

226. Ypselantes, *Εκκλησιαστικών και Πολιτικών των εις Δώδεκα Βιβλίων Η Θ' Και Ι' Ήτοι τα Μετά την Άλωσιν (1453-1789)* [Ecclesiastics and Politics in the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Volume of Twelve Books, That Is, the Events after the Conquest], 284.

behavior of the 'Muscovite-Cossack' troops (*Μοσχοβοκαζάκοι*, he calls them) in the war that lasted from 1736 to 1739, accused them of ransacking monasteries, churches, and the local populations, and taking prisoners: 'these and other injustices greater than these were carried out by the thieving Muscovite-Cossacks'.²²⁷ Writing in 1744 another merchant noted that soldiers stationed in Nizhyn 'had caused insult' to many merchants.²²⁸ In 1747, soldiers raped Euphemia Vassilevna, the wife of a Nizhyn Greek.²²⁹ Such behavior was characteristic of armies.²³⁰ A German merchant in Tatar Crimea in 1768 noted: 'The cities are full of soldiers. Many of them rob and steal whoever they find on their way. They do not care about the travel documents or the passports that have been given to me. And if they do not kill me, they will take what I have'.²³¹

As Andrew Robarts has corroborated, disease along the Russian-Ottoman borderlands cannot be considered separately from militaries and the military conflict they were involved in.²³² Epidemics spread mainly during military confrontations due to the unhealthy conditions of the camps. Merchants came into contact with soldiers, and acted as transmitters between the military and

227. Caisarios Dapontes, *Éphémérides Daces, Ou Chronique de La Guerre de Quatre Ans (1736-1739)*, ed. Émile Legrand, vol. 1, 3 vols (Paris, 1880), Συστ (256)-Σνη (258), also Μη (48).

228. Including beatings and robbery. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8647, 1744, fol. 1.

229. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2225, 1747, fol. 1. In another case though it was a Nizhyn Greek merchant who was accused of raping Maria Spechevskaia, widow of a captain of the dragoons. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 750, 1752, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1061, 1752, fol. 2-2v.

230. Kharlampovych, 'Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині (XVII—XVIII ст.) [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony at Nizhyn (17th-18th c.)]', 34. For damages caused by Russian troops in the Aegean in 1772, see AVPRI, fond 13, op. 2, item 304, 1778, fol. 1.

231. Kleemann, *Клееманово путешествие из Вены в Белград и Новую Килию. Також в земли бюджетских и нагайских татар и во весь Крым с возвратом чрез Константинополь, Смирну и Триест в Австрию, в 1768, 1769 и 1770 годах [...]* [Reise von Wien Über Belgrad Bis Kilianova, Durch Die Butschiak – Tartary Über Kavshan, Bender, Durch Nogew-Tartarey in Die Crimm], 23-24 and also 39.

232. Andrew Robarts, 'A Plague on Both Houses? Population Movements and the Spread of Disease Across the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea Frontier, 1768-1830s' (PhD. Diss, Washington, D.C, Georgetown University, 2010).

populations inland.²³³

During the war of 1737, an epidemic broke out in Ukraine, and then in Russia.²³⁴ In 1768, the same pattern was repeated. The report written by the merchant Dimitris Anastasiou Misiokas on 14 March 1771 is indicative of the dangers due to epidemics in time of war: 'On 13 February 1769 here in Nizhyn we came to an agreement in writing [...] and we set off for the second army. Not much time passed, and Ioannis fell ill, and he remained in Elisavet. [...] And in the second year we were following this same army before Bender fell, and in Bender this Ioannis paid the debt we all have in common, and my brother George also died'.²³⁵ The metaphor of death as the payment of a debt was commonplace among merchants. During 1770 and 1771 plague decimated the inhabitants of Kyiv.²³⁶ The situation in a Nizhyn or a Moscow was similar.²³⁷

The effects of the epidemics on merchant livelihoods can be seen in a whole range of testimonies. A typical case from 1771 was that of the Greek Ivan Karlov. When the fairs of 'Little Russia' were canceled due to the plague, Karlov was unable to sell his goods and repay his loans. He requested a five-years reprieve from his creditors in order to manage his outstanding debt burden.²³⁸ The

233. For discussion of the types of typhus that resulted, see Kostas Kostis, *Στον Καιρό της Πανώλης: Εικόνες από τις Κοινωνίες της Ελληνικής Χερσονήσου 14ος-19ος Αιώνας* [In the Time of the Plague: Images from the Societies of the Greek Peninsula, 14th-19th Century] (Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης [University of Crete Editions], 1995), 35-8.

234. Füves, *Οι Έλληνες της Ουγγαρίας* [The Greeks of Hungary], 15.

235. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4232, 1769, fol. 5.

236. Pyotr Orlovskii, 'К истории чумной эпидемии в Киеве 1770-1771 гг.' [On the history of the plague epidemic in Kyiv 1770-1771], *Киевская старина* [Kyivan Antiquities] 57, no. 6 (1897): 445-59. Michael F. Hamm, *Kiev, a Portrait, 1800-1917*, 45.

237. John T. Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia: Public Health and Urban Disaster* (Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 257-279. Robert E. Jones, *Provincial Development in Russia, Catherine II and Jacob Sievers* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 177.

238. Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, 'До історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII ст.). Нарис V. Ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', 135, 142.

epidemic may have been a greater cause of difficulties than the war itself: 'a difficult year because of the plague' concluded one merchant, laconically.²³⁹

However, militaries also required merchants for their effective operation, and thus served as a major source of profit and capital accumulation for those merchants who were willing to negotiate the distances and dangers between conflict zone and hinterland. The commerce of war has not been emphasised up until now, and so it is worth labouring this point. Greek merchants in particular could be major beneficiaries of the concentration of militaries in the Ottoman north and Russian south. There were, of course, opportunities for service in the armies and navies of the time and this explains the movement of some of those migrating to northern climes. The grandfather of the poet Vasili Kapnist (1757-1823), Petros Christophorou Kapnist, left his homeland Zakynthos (Zante) and fought for the Tsar in the war of 1711. Vasili Kapnist's father was to become a colonel and acquire considerable lands in the region of Poltava.²⁴⁰ Greeks from Nizhyn might also serve in Cossack regiments, often in senior positions, among them Ivan Ternaviot, patriarch of one of the most important families of the city, who had fought and been wounded in a Cossack regiment in the Russian-Persian war of 1722-1723.²⁴¹ Greek members of the clergy too might usefully provide their services to Russian military forces, for example the Hieromonk Ignatios and his clerical band accompanied troops to Crimea in the war of 1735-1739 and engaged in baptising 'many

239. In 1708. Dore Papastratou, *Ο Σιναΐτης Χατζηκυριάκης εκ Χώρας Βουρλά, Γράμματα – Ξυλογραφίες 1688-1709* [The Sinaite Hatzekyriakes from the Region of Vourla. Letters - Woodcuts 1688-1709], 94. For efforts to control epidemics in the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere at the same time, see Daniel Panzac, *La Peste Dans l'empire Ottoman 1700-1850* (Louvain, 1985), 163-166, 181-194, 264-268, 295-311, 394-407. Daniel Panzac, *Quarantaines et Lazarets, L'Europe et La Peste d'Orient (XVIIe-XXe Siècles)* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1986), 9-14, 19-21, 33-93.

240. Konstantin Iu. Lappo-Danilevsky and Galina N. Moiseeva, 'Капнист, Василий Васильевич [Kapnist, Vasilii Vasil'evich]', in *Словарь русских писателей XVIII века, вып. 2. К-П* [Dictionary of Russian Writers of the 18th Century, vol. 2. K-P], ed. Nataliya D. Kochetkova et al. (St. Petersburg: Hayka [Nauka], 1999), 21-28.

241. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1483, 1747, fol. 10-12. For other examples, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 3, fol. 36v. Also Gajecky, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 141.

Turkish men and women' into Orthodoxy after the fall of Ochakiv in 1737, and then the fall of Khotyn in 1739.²⁴²

More importantly, as argued by John LeDonne, in the absence of significant urban centres militaries served as the greatest source of demand.²⁴³ Albrecht Fuess with his focus on the Ottoman Empire reaches similar conclusions concerning the importance of the military and violence for commerce.²⁴⁴ Though the most relevant military archives have not been examined for the purposes of this study, there is considerable information in the sources examined on Greek merchants supplying Ukrainian and Russian troops. The Hetman Ivan Mazepa, for example, purchased horses from Greek

242. IR NBUV, fond V, item 3626, 1774, fol. 1. Eugene K. Chernukhin, 'Грецькі акти в рукописних зібраннях ЦНБ ім. В. І. Вернадського АН України [Greek Acts in the Manuscript Collections of the Central National Library Named V.I. Vernadsky of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine]', *Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України* [Manuscript and Book Heritage of Ukraine] 1 (1993): 226–35. *Грецькій Схід і Україна. Листи грецького духовенства XVIII ст. у фондах Інституту рукопису ЦНБ ім. В. І. Вернадського* [The Greek East and Ukraine. Letters of the Greek Clergy of the Eighteenth Century in the Archives of the Institute of Manuscripts of the Central Scientific Library Named after V.I. Vernadsky], intr. and trans. Eugene K. Chernukhin (Інститут історії України НАН України [Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine], 1994), 72–78. For the Greek hieromonk Serapheim serving the needs of the Russian fleet early in the century, see RGIA, fond 796, op. 4, item 45, 1723, fol. 10. For the hieromonk Martyrios of the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, who had accompanied Russian forces on the campaign into East Prussia of 1757, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 4036, 1757, fol. 2–2v. Also in Pomerania accompanying Russian forces was the hieromonk Gennadeios of Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos. TsDIAUK, fond 229, op. 1, item 166, 1764, fol. 7–7v.

243. John P. LeDonne, 'Geopolitics, Logistics, and Grain: Russia's Ambitions in the Black Sea Basin, 1737–1834', *The International History Review* 28, no. 1 (2006): 1–41. See also Carol B. Stevens, 'Trade and Muscovite Economic Policy toward the Ukraine: The Movement of Cereal Grains during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', in *Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays*, ed. Ivan S. Koropeckyj (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. Harvard University Press, 1991), 172–185.

244. Albrecht Fuess, 'Handel Und Waren', in *Transottomanica - Osteuropäisch-Osmanisch-Persische Mobilitätsdynamiken. Perspektiven und Forschungsstand*, ed. Stefan Rohdewald, Stephan Conermann, and Albrecht Fuess (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2019), 105–133.

merchants in 1707.²⁴⁵ Greeks such as one Nicholas son of Constantine in 1707 bought and sold horses with about the same ease as they bought and sold food.²⁴⁶ Others brought herds of horses from the Ottoman Empire. In 1703, the Russian Ambassador Pyotr Tolstoy (1645-1729), in a letter to his brother, the governor of Azov, Ivan Tolstoy (1644-1713), explained: 'Horses here now, my brother, are very cheap. There are also many wonderful Arabic horses. Such, seeing them is to rejoice, red-haired stallions and mares, one can buy here with fifty levs or a little more'.²⁴⁷ The Greek Christodoulos had brought Tolstoy horses from Constantinople to Moscow in 1710.²⁴⁸ In 1714, the Greek Philip Konstantinov traded horses from Constantinople in both Nizhyn and Moscow.²⁴⁹ Alongside horses, many other equestrian items such as saddles, harnesses, bridles, buckles, stirrups, feed-bags, muzzles, whips, grooming tools, special equine suitcases and horse blankets, were bought and sold in large quantities.²⁵⁰ Some of the horses traded by Greek merchants were

245. Peter I, *Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого, т. 5 января-июнь 1707 г.* [Letters and Papers of Emperor Peter the Great, vol. 5 January-June 1707], ed. A.F. Bychkov (St. Petersburg: Государственная типография [State Printing House], 1907), 168.

246. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 7, 1707, 7v. See also Ippolit Vishensky, 'Путешествие иеромонаха Ипполита Вишенского в Иерусалим, на Синай и Афон (1707-1709 гг.)' [Journey of the Hieromonk Ippolit Vishenskii to Jerusalem, Sinai and Athos (1707-1709)], ed. Sergey P. Rozanov, *Православный Палестинский сборник* [Orthodox Palestinian Collection], 61 (1914): 1–196, esp. 14. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4308, 1793, fol. 1.

247. Pyotr A. Tolstoy, 'Письма гр. П.А. Толстого из Турции к брату его И.А. Толстому (Апрель 1, 1703)' [Letters of P.A. Tolstoy from Turkey to His Brother I.A. Tolstoy (April 1, 1703)], esp. 490.

248. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 2, 1711, fol. 46v.

249. RGADA, fond 158, kn. 10, 1714, 57. For other examples of the supply of horses by Greeks, see AVPRI, fond 7, op. 3, item 56, 1763, fol. 31, 34. Roger Joseph Boscowich, *Journal d' un Voyage de Constantinople en Pologne, Fait à la Suite de Son Excellence Mr. Jaq. Porter, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre* (Lausanne: chez Franç. Grasset et Comp., 1772), 23-24. Podgradskaya, *Экономические связи Молдавского княжества и Балканских стран с Русским государством в XVII веке* [Economic Relations of the Moldavian Principality and the Balkan Countries with the Russian State in the XVII Century], 57-58.

250. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-9v. TsDIAUK,

for staging posts within Ukraine.²⁵¹ Others, including horses bought in Nizhyn, were clearly for military use.²⁵² There was even a Greek equerry (*штальмейстер* from the German *Stallmeister*) permanently resident in Nizhyn.²⁵³

Merchants were of course essential for the supply of staples, such as oats and wheat flour, which might be purchased in Polish territories.²⁵⁴ An *Ukaz* of the Little Russian Collegium was issued to the Brotherhood of Nizhyn Greeks in 1769 requiring them to supply the army with provisions, and the merchants were to raise no objections to this.²⁵⁵ Equally important were the sutlers or victuallers (*маркитанты*) who followed military formations often for months at a time selling drink, tobacco (and related products) and other provisions in the field. One typical group of Nizhyn Greek sutlers who were catering to the needs of the Russian second army in 1771 marketed vodka, gorelka (horilka), lard (salo) and ham, fish roe, (sunflower?) oil, vinegar, tobacco, soap, boots and soles in large quantities, needles, thread, and turpentine to burn in lamps.²⁵⁶ Others brought canvas, stockings and other items of clothing, locks, knives, spurs, shaving blades, pipes, sealing wax, tea, coffee, sugar, lemons, fruit, nuts and even cheese and mustard.²⁵⁷ The Nizhyn Greek Kosmas Kirillov was conveying various naval fabrics to the

fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 19v. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28.

251. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 4311, fol. 38.

252. RGADA, fond 124, op. -, item 12, 1711, fol. 14. TsDIAUK, fond 1407, op. 1, item 47, 1753, fol. 1.

253. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5715, 1771, fol. 4-4v.

254. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 30. For explicit mention of supply of edibles from Polish territories, see TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1770, fol. 50, 55, 99. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 397, 1772, fol. 3, 11, 15-16. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 6.

255. DACHo, fond 101, op. 1, item 41, 1769, fol. 1-3. See also DACHo, fond 101, op. 1, item 1082, 1771, fol. 2.

256. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, 1771, fol. 4. For tobacco and related products, see TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7.

257. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, fol. 14. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 27. See also TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, fol. 3.

headquarters of the Russian fleet in St. Petersburg.²⁵⁸ Soldiers frequently complained that Greek merchants manipulated the scarcity engendered by conflict to charge exorbitant prices.²⁵⁹ Other Greeks organized makeshift taverns so that soldiers could drink and (judging for the supply of playing-cards) gamble on campaign.²⁶⁰ Thus the 'Macedonian' merchant 'from Salonica' Anton Zekovich, son of the Greek Maria (who it is explicitly stated had educated her son herself), was serving 'the Narva carabinier regiment as a tavern-keeper (*трактирщик*)' in 1757.²⁶¹

Greeks traded in ale,²⁶² beer and raki,²⁶³ vodka,²⁶⁴ and other alcoholic beverages, with an emphasis on wine, from the Aegean but especially from Moldavowallachia.²⁶⁵ Many of the taverns and

258. 'Сукно абинное' that is a rough cloth of an off-white colour. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 12, 1708, fol. 1v.

259. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 26, 1768, fol. 1, 4. For locals speaking of Greeks 'making no small profit' from war, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9643, 1749), fol. 8-9v.

260. For playing cards, see TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 27. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, 1773, fol. 13.

261. AVPRI, fond 7, op. 3, item 175, 1766, 2-2v. For other examples of Greeks serving the army as 'трактирщики', see TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1770, fol. 28. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 10. They too required carts to transport their trade.

262. For the trade in humulus lupulus, used in producing alcoholic beverages, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 11, 1705, fol. 5.

263. For "ράκη" and "πύβρα", see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 11, fol. 9-10, 17.

264. AVPRI, fond 89, op. 1, item 12, 1746, fol. 12v. Vladimir I. Savva, 'Материалы из архива нежинских греческих братства и магистрата [Materials from the Archive of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and Magistrate]', 7, 10-11. Supposedly vodka was a state monopoly through much of this period, see Jarmo T. Kotilaine, *Russia's Foreign Trade and Economic Expansion in the Seventeenth Century, Windows on the World*, 425.

265. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 7, 1705, fol. 12. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 11, 1705, fol. 9. RGADA, fond 158, kn. 10, fol. 63. AVPRI, fond 124, op. 1, item 8, 1729, fol. 1. AVPRI, fond 124, op. 1, item 30, 1730, fol. 1-2. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4280, fol. 1v-2. Also Caisarios Dapontes, *Κήπος Χαρίτων* [Garden of the Graces], 114. Kostakel et al, eds., *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-Начале XVIII в. Документы и материалы* [Historical Ties of the Peoples of the USSR with Rumania from the 15th to the Early 18th Centuries. Documents and Texts], 228, 239. Arthur Attman, *The Russian Polish Markets in International Trade 1500-1650* (Göteborg: Institute of Economic History of Gothenburg University, 1973), 102.

pubs in 'Little Russia' belonged to Greeks (a constant source of tension with other peoples in the region), including six taverns in Nizhyn itself.²⁶⁶ A significant share of the extensive Greek trade in various wines and spirits must have been for consumption by the military.²⁶⁷

Merchants and others who wished to supply the military in times of conflict required permission and official passports in order to do so, thus leaving a useful paper trail. Relatively little material has been found and examined for the wars that raged in the south between 1708-1709 and 1711-1714. So too for the Russian-Ottoman war of 1735-1739, when fourteen Poltava, Astrakhan and Nizhyn Greeks are named in the archival material examined among those provided with passports to supply the Russian military (and every effort has been made not to double-count names that appear similar).²⁶⁸

266. AVPRI, fond 89, op. 1, item 12, 1725, fol. 2. Anon, 'Материалы Екатерининской законодательной комиссии [Material of the Legislative Commission of Catherine II]', in *Сборник Императорскаго Русскаго историческаго общества* [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society], vol. 144, section 13 (St. Petersburg, 1914), 21–63, esp. 32. Dmitri N. Bantysh-Kamensky, *История Малой России, со времен присоединения оной к Российскому государству при царе Алексее Михайловиче* [History of Little Russia, since its accession to the Russian state under Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich] (Moscow: в типографии Семена Селивановскаго [Printing House of Semyon Selivansky], 1822), 55. Kharlampovych, 'До Історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII ст.). Нарис V. Ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', 90.

267. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, fol. 25. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, fol. 4, 6, 13-14. Though, as with supply to the Zaporizhian Sich or the settlements of New Serbia, the distinction between military and non-military will not always have been self-evident, see TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 64, 69.

268. 1735-1739. Greeks of Poltava Petr Adamov, Vasili Christophorov, Semen Briusov, Theodosii Bolodimov Sirchikadom, Nikolai Kiriakov supplying edibles and drinkables as 'marketanti'. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1612, fol. 6-8, 17v. 1735-1739 Greeks from Poltava Petr Adamov, Konstantin Konstantinov, Vasilei Christophorov, Semen Iureev, Theodosii Bolodimov, David Svechkar, Nikolai Kiriakov marketanti TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9643, 1749, fol. 1-2. 1739 Astrakhan Greeks Pavel Nikolaev, Danil Arferov, Mikhailo Manuimov, Thedor Sidzhev, Saveli Kirilov application to supply army. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7954, 1740, fol. 2-2v, 5.

Considerable information has however survived and been examined for the Russian-Ottoman war of 1769-1774. When the purpose of travel has not been explicitly stated in the sources as provisioning the military, merchants have not been included in the below calculations, even though in some cases this is what they must have been doing. Including only those explicitly termed Greeks, forty-two named individuals can be seen to have been provided with passes to supply Russian troops in 1769.²⁶⁹ Eight named Greeks can be seen to have been provided with such passes in 1770, and five of these may already appeared for 1769 (the small number for 1770 is without a doubt an accident of the sources examined).²⁷⁰ Thirty-nine named Greeks have been enumerated for 1771. Per-

1735-1739 Nizhyn Greek Petr Ternaviot and associates supplying army. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9067, 1748, fol. 2-2v.

269. Christos Papavasileiou, Nikolas Ioannou, Vasili Georgiou, Nikolai Stephanov, Kyriaki Dimitriou, Kyriaki Karamih, Kyril Ditrigiev. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2277, 1769, fol. 2, 4-5. Macedonian nation from Epirus Mikhailov son of Chulak. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 387, 1769, fol. 22. Anastasi Makovski, Ivan Galkovski. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 51, 1768, fol. 99. Christopher Grigoriev sutler to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 51, fol. 109. Ivan Damala, Dmitri Popov, Andrei Damala, Stepan Maksimov. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 51, fol. 110. Ivan Petrov, Ivan Alekseev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 420, 1770, fol. 19. Macedonian Greeks Iuri Fedorov, Ian Ivanov, Dimitri Ivanov Chronov, Mikhail Ivanov sutlers to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 54, 1769, fol. 2. Foreign Greeks Nikolai Apostoliev, Stavro Iureev, Dimitri Ivanov sutlers to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 54, 1769, fol. 7. Nizhyn Greeks Konstantin Mikhailov, Chisto Stavrov sutlers to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 54, 1769, fol. 12. Macedonian Greeks Dimitri Dementiev, Vasili Ivanov, Konstantin Iuriev sutlers to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 54, 1769, fol. 74. Nizhyn Greek Aleksei Antonov sutler to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 54, 1769, fol. 86. Nizhyn Greeks Vasili Kumburlei, Thoma Mikhailov, Mikhailo Ivanov Kumburlei, Ivan Leontiev, Ivan Mikhailov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 54, 1769, fol. 88. Foreign Greeks Leontii Dimitriev, Iuri Ivanov sutlers to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 54, 1769, fol. 133. 1769 Foreign Greeks Mikhailo Grigoriev, Christopher Ivanov, sutlers to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 54, 1769, fol. 136. Nizhyn Greeks Dimitris Miosiokas, George Misioka, Ioannis Sephanou Liarou to second army. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4232, fol. 5.

270. Dimitri Mazniki to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 420, 1770, fol. 4-4v. Macedonian Greeks Leontii Leonardiev, Anastasiev Florov, Ivan Petrov, Ivan Alekseev to the first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 420, 1770, fol. 28-28v.

haps surprisingly, only four of these may have appeared in earlier years.²⁷¹ For 1772 thirty-four records of named Greeks supplying the Russian military have been found, and of these seven may have appeared earlier.²⁷² Finally, at least twenty-five named Greeks were

271. Mikhail Sadovnikov, Philip Nikolaev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5670, 1771, fol. 2. Georgii Kucha. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 1. Ivan Khaludi, Dimitri Ivanov, Nastasi Iureev, Stepan Mikhailov, Ivan Timopheev, Yakim Alekseev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 2. Anastasi Papovich to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, fol. 7. Dimitri Polezivich, Konstantin and Ivanov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 8. Macedonian Nikolai Pantazulis, Vasilis Iureev. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1770, fol. 24. Adam Chitir to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, fol. 25. Anastasi Kondi. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 28. Andrei Pitari to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, fol. 30. Nizhyn Greek Nikita Margaritov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, fol. 38. Panagiot to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 50. Nikolai Eustaphiev Lagutka, Demian Mikhailov, Vasilii Dimitriev, Ivan Rado. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1770, fol. 55. Dimitri Kapitanskii to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, fol. 56. Anastasi Angeli to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 60. Nikita Margaritov, Vasilii Trofimov, Som Galiul to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 68. Mogilev Greek Georg Babalich. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, fol. 99. Grigorii Sergievich. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 144. Nizhyn Greeks Dimitris Kurtienki, Aleksei Kurtienki, Ivanica Dimitriev to second army. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, 1771, fol. 3. Kirilo Dimitriev, Apostol Dimitriev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, 1771, fol. 8. Ivan Nikolaev Kafezhei to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, 1771, fol. 12. Macedonian Greek living in Nizhyn Kosta Petrov. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, fol. 13. Nizhyn Greeks Dimitris Miosiokas, George Misioka, Ioannis Sephanou Liarou to second army. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4232, fol. 5.

272. Glukhov Greeks Kyriak Ivanov, Ivan Kyriakov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, fol. 119. Constantinopolitan Greek Aleksei Konstantinov AV-PRI, fond 7, op. 4, item 109, 1772, 3-4. Nizhyn Greek Paschali Ivanov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, 1773, fol. 3. Mikhail Sadovnik to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, fol. 25. Macedonian Greek Dimitri Anastasiev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, fol. 37. Greek Nikolai Demianov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, 1772, fol. 73. Stepan Vasiliev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, 1772, fol. 84. Greeks from Romny Dimitri Demianov, Pavel Ivanov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 2, item 15, 1772, fol. 89. Grigori Shavel. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 397, 1772, fol. 3. 5. Nizhyn Greek Dimitri Maznik (Maznin). TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 397, 1772, fol. 7. Anastasi Angeli. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 397, 1772, fol. 8. Anton Tolmovich. TsDIAUK, fond

provided with passes to supply the Russian troops in 1773. Of these eight may have appeared earlier.²⁷³

All in all, there are at least one-hundred-and-twenty-four named Greeks in the sources examined who were engaged in supplying Russian armies in the 1769-1774 war. The small rate of re-appearance of merchants with the same name in different years suggests that the archives examined cover only a part of the phenomena

246, item 397, fol. 11. Nizhyn Greeks Philip and Ivan Dimitriev. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 397, 1772, fol. 15. Nizhyn Greek Grigori Mikhailov. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 397, 1772, fol. 16. Nizhyn Greek Vasili Dimitriev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 6. Nizhyn Greeks Sterios Zakhariev, Aleksei Mikhailov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 10. Nizhyn Greek Dimitri Iureev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 13. Nizhyn Greek Konstantin Kromydi to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 14. Nizhyn Greek Iuri Konstantinov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 15. Nizhyn Greeks Ivan Fateev, Lavrenti Mikhailov, Photi Konstantinov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 16. Nizhyn Greeks Stephan Athanasiev to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 20. Nizhyn Greek Semen Grepgot. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 27. Nizhyn Greek Andrei Andreev. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 29. Nizhyn Greek Dmitri Iureev. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 398, 1772, fol. 29, 37. Dimitri Boni. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 399, 1772, fol. 187. Nizhyn Greeks Dimitris Misiokas, George Misioka, Ioannis Sephanou Liarou to second army. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4232, fol. 5.

273. Nizhyn Greeks Dimitris Anastasiou Misiokas, Georgios Misiokas, Nikolas Ioannou, Ioannis Sephanou, Dimitris Lakataris. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4263, 1773, fol. 1. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4232, fol. 5. Triandaphyl Nobil, Christo Ivanov, Ivan Petrov, Daniel Galionok, Sapok Nikolaev, Dimitris Papageorgiev. Kharlampovych, 'До історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII Ст.). Нарис В. Ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', 115, 134-5. Nizhyn Greeks Stepan Semenov, Vartholemeo Iurevich, Stepan Ivanov to first army. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 521, 1773, fol. 1-2. Dimitri Ivanov. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 10. Christopher Iureev/Yureyev. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 24. Alexander Angelovich. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 28. Vrest Konstantinov. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, 1772, fol. 29. Nizhyn Greek Nikita Margaritis. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 32. Michael/Mikhail. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 35. Iuri Mikhailov. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 36. Nizhyn Greeks Stepan Kirilov, Apostol Dmitriev. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 467, 1773, fol. 10-12. Nizhyn Greek Mikahil Sadovnikov. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 467, fol. 10-12.

described here. In any case, caution is required. From the archival material examined, for example, it would seem that Dimitris Anastasiou Misiokas, his brother Georgos Misiokas and Ioannis Stephanou Liarou were given passports to supply the second army in 1773. One of the surviving documents in Greek, however, reveals that these Nizhyn Greeks had been supplying the army during not only in 1773, but also all the years between 1769 and 1771, and that by 1773, when they appear in the relevant Russian-language source, the latter two had already died.²⁷⁴ In a few instances, the documents recorded the provenance of those Greeks who had been granted permission to supply the military: Nizhyn, Macedonia and so-called 'foreign' Greeks abound, though in most cases it is just 'Greek' that is noted. Merchant groups included a varying but often large number of workers, assistants and cart drivers of Ukrainian and other ethnicities in their retinues. One merchant, for example, was travelling with eighteen carts, another with nineteen.²⁷⁵

The depiction of Yankel in Nikolai Gogol's (1809-1852) *Taras Bulba* reminds us that the Greeks were by no means the only group to supply such militaries, and there are Jewish,²⁷⁶ Armenian,²⁷⁷ German,²⁷⁸ 'Little Russian',²⁷⁹ and other merchants referred to as providing supplies to Russian troops in the documents examined.²⁸⁰

274. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4232, fol. 5.

275. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5670, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441,1771, fol. 97.

276. For Jewish merchants supplying the Russian military, see TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 1, 14-15, 20, 69, 120, 129-130, 147. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 521, 1773, fol. 27, 29. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 27.

277. For equivalent Armenian merchants, see TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 7.

278. For equivalent Baltic German merchants, see TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 25.

279. For equivalent 'Little Russian' merchants, at times Old Believers or Cossacks, see TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 51, 1769, fol. 51. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1770, fol. 3, 34, 122-123. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 521, 1773, fol. 4. TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 522, fol. 19.

280. For equivalent Molodavowallachian merchants, see TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, fol. 62-63, 70, 98. For equivalent Serbs, see TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 134. TsDIAUK, fond 246, item 397, 1772, fol. 1. For equivalent Bulgarians, see TsDIAUK, fond 246, op. 1, item 51, 59. For an equivalent Italian, see

Merchants with diverse identities travelled together. The nature of the sources examined means that it has proved impossible to calculate the percentage of those who might be considered Greek among those supplying the Russian military, though this must have varied depending on the campaign in question.²⁸¹ Taking into account the large number of merchants and others supplying the Russian military, even in the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768-1774 the percentage of Greeks must have been small.²⁸²

Image 2.1. Vision of the market square of Nizhyn in 1773. Source: Kharlampovych, 2011. Kharlampovych, *Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині XVII–XVIII ст.* [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony of Nizhyn XVII-XVIII c.].



TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 420, 1769, fol. 15.

281. For Nikolai Ivanov Popov supplying the first army in a later campaign, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 8736, 1788, fol. 1.

282. For comparison between 'Little Russian' and Greek merchants supplying the Russian military, see TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1612, fol. 6-8.

Nonetheless the opportunities accruing to Greek merchants operating across the Russian-Ottoman frontier and supplying all the various armies involved in times of conflict should not be underestimated. The ability of merchants to supply militaries was essential to their success. Though they were not collectively loyal to any one state or imperial power, these merchants were connected to processes of imperial competition. At the same time, Greek merchants played a role in the incorporation of the frontier areas of the northern Black Sea hinterlands into what would eventually become a rather different ecosystem connecting the 'Hetmanate' with the northern Black Sea littoral.

Ecosystems of non-urban commercial exchange

Both due to and in spite of the dangers, Greek merchants traded in and through Ukraine with ever greater frequency. Trading in less densely populated areas took place not in permanent markets but at regular fairs. Among the fairs of left (eastern) bank Ukraine, the three of the town of Nizhyn on the banks of the river Oster and part of the 'Hetmanate' held pride of place. Spread out through the year, but circumventing periods of intensive fasting prior to the major religious feast of the year, each fair lasted several weeks.²⁸³

Not directly adjacent to any other state, as was the case with Kyiv which bordered Polish lands, Nizhyn served from at least the time of the Khmelnytsky rebellion of 1648 as an 'emporium', the most important inland port on the left bank of the Dnipro, gathering and then distributing goods both near and far.²⁸⁴ Nizhyn had

283. Mikhail D. Chulkov, *Словарь Учрежденных в России ярмарок, изданный для обращающихся в торговле* [Dictionary of Fairs and Markets Established in Russia, Published for Those Who Turn to Trade] (Moscow: В типографии Понамарева [Ponamarev Printing House], 1788), 135. See also Leontiy Sinit'skiy, 'Путешествия в Малороссию академика Гильденштедта и кн. И.М. Долгорукаго [Travels to Little Russia by Academician Guildenstedt and Prince I.M. Dolgorukov]', *Киевская старина* [Kyivan Antiquities] 12 (40), no. 3 (March 1893): 412–441, esp. 436.

284. For the description of Nizhyn as an 'emporium' (*εμπόριον*), see Constantinou, *Παγκόσμιος Ιστορία της Οικουμένης. Περιγράφουσα Καθέν Έκαστον Βασίλειον κατά την Παρούσαν Αυτού Κατάστασιν, Ήγουν τας Επαρχίας Αυτού, τας Πολιτείας, τα Έθνη, τους Νόμους, τας Πραγματείας, τας Τέχνας, την*

some ten thousand residents, probably more than Kyiv for most of the 18th century, and served as the centre for the most populous of the Cossack regiments. Abdulkерim Efendi, an Ottoman Ambassador who travelled through Nizhyn on his way to Moscow in September 1775, described the town's sizeable population, its store-rooms and ostentatious houses, and its flourishing bazaars, overflowing with merchants and shopkeepers peddling their wares. He also described the city's fortress, surrounded by a moat, and with an adequate supply of troops.²⁸⁵

Though the earliest references to Greeks in Nizhyn itself are from 1675,²⁸⁶ Greeks were probably already bypassing other cities and journeying directly to Nizhyn by this time. The number of Greeks in the city rapidly increased. As the pilgrim Ioann Luk'ian-

*Θρησκείαν, την Διάλεκτον, και Είτι Άλλο Περίεργον και Αξιόλογον [...] [World History of the Ecumene, with a Description of Each and Every Kingdom According to Its Present State, in Other Words Its Regions, Cities, Customs, Laws, Trade, Crafts, Religion, Language and All Else Curious and Worth Noting], 141. For 'ports of trade' see Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, eds, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press and the Falcon's Wing Press 1957), 116.*

285. Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote, eds, *Mubadele - An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 86. For a description of Nizhyn at the time of Catherine II's visit to the city in January 1787, see a very interesting work by Athanasios Psalidas. Athanasios Psalidas, *Αικατερίνα η Β' Ητοι Ιστορία Σύντομος της εν τη Οδοιπορία Αυτής προς τους εν Νίζνη λαο Ταυρία Γραικούς υπ' Αυτής Δειχθείσης Ευνοίας* [Catherine II, in Other Words the Short Story of Her Journey to the Greeks of Nizhyn and the Tauride and the Favours She Bestowed upon Them] (Vienna: Baumeister, 1792), 7. For another description, see Anon, 'Материалы Екатеринбургской законодательной комиссии [Material of the Legislative Commission of Catherine II]', 21-63, esp. 37. See also George Gajecky, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 124-193, esp. 146.

286. Kharlampovych, 'Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині (XVII–XVIII ст.) [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony at Nizhyn (17th-18th c.)]', 2-3. Anna K. Shvid'ko, 'Анализ публикаций источников по истории греческой нежинской колонии [Analysis of Publications of Sources on the History of the Greek Nizhyn Colony]', in *Исследования по археографии и источниковедению отечественной истории XVI-XX вв. Межвузовский сборник научных трудов* [Studies on Archeography and Source Studies of National History of the 16th-20th Centuries. Interuniversity Collection of Scientific Papers] (Dnepropetrovsk, 1990), 64–75.

ov, on his way to Jerusalem at the turn of the century, noted: 'This city is inhabited by many Greek merchants.'²⁸⁷

As evoked in Ivan Nekrashevych's (1742-not earlier than 1796) satirical work 'the fair (*Ярмарок*)' (1790), it was at fairs that much of the excitement of Ukraine's burgeoning social and commercial life could be sensed.²⁸⁸ During the Nizhyn fairs, merchants gathered in a barren field just outside the city. There they set up wooden sheds, awnings and makeshift benches where they assembled goods according to a set pattern, elegant cloths and other fabrics, for example, along the 'beautiful row (*красный ряд*)'.²⁸⁹ Consider one buyer who was informed by merchants of Nizhyn: 'without a fair it will not be possible to buy at a cheap price'.²⁹⁰ A document of 1760, however, describes a deal that went wrong at the Nizhyn fair (*μέσα εις το παζάρι*, literally 'in the bazaar') with the two parties ending up cursing each other.²⁹¹ Magistracy officials would beat drums to garner public attention and make official announcements, including information on taxes, the supply of goods regulated by state-monopolies, and prohibited goods.²⁹²

287. Ioann Luk'ianov, *Хождение в Святую землю московского священника Иоанна Лукьянова (1701-1703)* [Travels to the Holy Land of the Moscow priest Ioann Luk'ianov (1701-1703)], ed. L.A. Ol'shevskaia, A.A. Reshetova, and S. N. Travnikov (Moscow: Наука [Nauka], 2008), http://az.lib.ru/l/lukxjanow_i/text_1703_hozhdenie_v_svyatuyu_zemlyu_oldorfo.shtml, 11. For the dating of Luk'ianov's pilgrimage, see Theofanis G. Stavrou and Peter R. Weisensel, *Russian Travelers to the Christian East from the 12th Century to the 20th Century* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986), XXXVIII-XXXIX, 55-57.

288. Ivan Nekrashevich, 'Ярмарок [The Fair]', in *Историко-литературные исследования и материалы. Т. 3. Ч.1-2. Из истории развития русской поэзии XVIII в.* [Historical and Literary Research and Materials. vol. 3. parts. 1-2. From the History of the Development of Russian Poetry of the 18th Century], ed. Vladimir N. Peretts (St. Petersburg; типография Ф. Вайсберга и П. Гершунина [F. Vaisberg and P. Gershunin Printing House], 1902), appendix 157-59, <https://archive.org/details/iiixviii00libg/page/n603/mode/2up?view=theater>, 157-9.

289. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8994, 1748, fol. 2-2v.

290. TsDIAUK, fond 128, op. 1, item 524, 1780, fol. 4-4v.

291. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4230, 1760, fol. 7.

292. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1356, fol. 158-165. Also TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2282, 1753, fol. 1. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2671, fol. 5. For a description of this process in Podil (Podol), Kyiv, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2519, 1754, fol. 23-23v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2671, fol. 5.

It was at the fairs that the price for betrothals might be set, women and monies being dispatched where necessary.²⁹³ Music contributed to the carnivalesque atmosphere.²⁹⁴ The description of a cornucopia of languages and peoples in accounts of these fairs may at times have served to emphasise imperial domination over diverse peoples, but it was here that Ukrainians, Poles, Tatars and various Muslims, some Jews, Kalmyks, Cossacks not only of the region but also from Zaporizhia and the Don, a few Armenians and Persians, Russians and, of course, Greeks congregated. Multiple and mixed language use was not an aberration but the norm.²⁹⁵ A Ukrainian boy, almost ten-years old at the time and travelling with his mother and his grandmother, recalled this diversity in the Nizhyn fair of September 1762: 'I remember all the Greeks I saw, and in their stands I was particularly interested in the cuttlefish and the sausages. The fair (*базар*) and streets were overflowing with watermelon, pears, plums, grapes and other products'.²⁹⁶

293. For money sent from Nizhyn to the fair of Sliven in Bulgaria to ensure the marriage of a daughter, see DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4295, 1780, fol. 1.

294. For one festive occasion 'little Russian' music was performed in Nizhyn, with dancing by women and girls. IR NBUV, fond 1, item 7565, Kyiv, 1744, fol. 9. For wondering singers in Nizhyn, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3134, 1729, fol. 2-3.

295. For the Nizhyn fairs, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 14295, 1756, fol. 2. For diverse languages and peoples, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8372, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, 23v-24v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9592, 1749, fol. 2. Sinitsky, 'Путешествия в Малороссию Академика Гильденштедта и кн. И.М. Долгорукаго [Travels to Little Russia by Academician Guildenstedt and Prince I.M. Dolgorukov]', 412-441, esp. 436.

296. Grigorii S. Vinsky, 'Записки Г.С. Винского. Малороссиянина времен Екатерины II-й. С предисловием А.И.Тургенева' [Notes of G.S. Vinsky. A Little Russian of the Time of Catherine II. With a preface by A.I. Turgenev], *Русский Архив. Историко-литературный сборник*. [Russian Archive. Historical and Literary Collection] 1, no. 1 (1877): 76-123, esp. 83-84. See also Kharlampovych, 'До історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII Ст.). Нарис V. ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', 128. For the renowned 'Greek sausages' of Nizhyn, gristly like leather and lathered in spices, see Vladimir Simonenko, 'Греки в Нежине [The Greeks in Nizhyn]', *Черниговский полдень* [Chernihiv Midday], no. 24 (175) (11 June 1999): 5. I did not locate sausages that met this description in Nizhyn today,

Important Ukrainian fairs included Krolevets, Poltava and Kharkiv (Kharkov), but also Hlukhiv (Glukhov), Myrhorod (Mirgorod), Pryluky (Priluki), Pyriatyn (Piriatin), Baturyn (Baturin), Pereyaslav, Chernihiv (Chernigov), Konotop, Novhorod-Siverskyi (Novgorod-Severskiy), Borzna, Sumy, Romny and Starodub.²⁹⁷ Needless to say, Greek merchants travelled on to fairs beyond Ukraine, in Polish territories, in the Danubian Principalities, in the Ottoman and Russian Empires and further afield.²⁹⁸ Some fairs they journeyed to were in Siberia.²⁹⁹ The Svensk fair which took place

but there is mention in the sources of Nizhyn's pickled-cucumbers for which the region is famous. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7376, fol. 4.

297. Though there is not enough data to estimate which fairs were the most frequented, there are many examples of Greeks frequenting these fairs. A surprising number travelled to Romny and also Baturin. TsDIAUK, fond KMF 7, op. 1, item 1568, 1700, 244v-245. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 31, fol. 5-5v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 10, 1715, fol. 1v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 2050, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3910, 1731, fol. 1-2. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4479, 1733, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 11- 11v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4692, 1734, fol. 14. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8372, fol. 1-1v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8994, fol. 2-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, 23v-24v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9592, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1890, fol. 12. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 14295, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 802, fol. 45-50v. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 24, fol. 7-8. IR NBUV, fond I, item 60675, 1775, fol. 1-3. TsDIAUK, fond 128, op. 1 zag., item 524, fol. 2. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 295, 1794, fol. 1-1v. See also Chulkov, *Словарь учреждений в России ярмарок и торгов, изданный для обращающихся в торговле* [Dictionary of Fairs and Markets Established in Russia, Published for Those Who Turn to Trade], 215. Plokhinsky, *Иноземцы в старой Малороссии. Ч. 1: Греки, Цыганы, Грузины* [Foreigners in Old Malorossiya. Part 1: Greeks, Gypsies, Georgians], 67. Kharlamrovych, 'До історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII ст.). Нарис V. Ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', 130. Bernhard B. Kafengauz, *Очерки внутреннего рынка России первой половины XVIII в. (по материалам внутренних таможен)* [Essays on the Domestic Market of Russia in the First Half of the 18th Century (Based on Materials from Internal Customs)] (Moscow: AN CCCP [Academy of Sciences of the USSR], 1958), 115, 136, 190, 289, 293. Kotilaine, *Russia's Foreign Trade and Economic Expansion in the Seventeenth Century, Windows on the World*, 54, 411, 423.

298. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8994, fol. 2-2v.

299. For example the Irbit fair. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 301, 1798, fol. 1.

during the month of October at the Svensk Monastery near the city of Bryansk on the road connecting Nizhyn and Moscow was especially important for trade between the Ottoman and Russian Empires early in the century.³⁰⁰

Fairs were not set in stone. The system of fairs was extraordinarily dynamic, and fairs could cease, merge, emerge and expand.³⁰¹ A considerable increase in the number and also intensity of fairs has been recorded: from about forty for the left bank of the Dnipro in the 1660s, these had exceeded three hundred by the middle of the 18th century. The population of towns was only partially indicative of the type of economic activities that took place there. The relatively populous Putyvl (Putivl) had fewer than two thousand inhabitants in the early years of the 18th century, and most of these would have been soldiers. During fairs, however, such small towns hosted myriad visitors from the surrounding villages and further afield, and every Ukrainian city had a similar hinterland, following the commercial cycles of the year to expand and contract like an accordion.³⁰² If anything, the depiction of Ukrainian fairs of the mid-19th century reveals a high degree of discontinuity with new centres of exchange emerging with remarkable speed.³⁰³

300. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 13, 1707, fol. 1. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 2, 1708, fol. 10, 26v, 28v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 1, 1710, fol. 1, 7. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 14, 1710, fol. 1-10. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 10, 1715, fol. 1v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 12, 1715, fol. 6. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4647, 1734, fol. 3-3v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6600, 1771, fol. 10. See also Chulkov, *Историческое описание российской коммерции при всех портах и границах от древних времен до ныне настоящего* [Historical description of Russian commerce at all ports and borders from ancient times until the present], 71.

301. For example, there were negotiations for the merging of the Krolevets and Nizhyn fairs at the end of the 18th century. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 295, fol. 1-1v.

302. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6600, fol. 19-19v. Kotilaine, *Russia's Foreign Trade and Economic Expansion in the Seventeenth Century, Windows on the World*, 52-54, 423.

303. For fairs in Ukraine of the mid-19th century, see Ivan S. Aksakov, *Исследование о торговле на украинских ярмарках* [Research on Trade at Ukrainian Fairs] (St. Petersburg: Типография Императорской академии наук [Printing House of the Imperial Academy of Sciences], 1858). It may be worth noting that Aksakov always offers two estimates of total turnover in Ukrainian fairs, the gap between the official records he found in the archives and his own estimates based on interviews

Fairs were particularly suited to cater for the needs of the inland caravan trade. Caravans were portrayed metaphorically as the ships of inland trade, by Greeks at least.³⁰⁴ They were comprised of carts, on some occasions provided by the Hetman or Muscovite state authorities.³⁰⁵ Later in the century carts from the postal service might under certain circumstances be allocated to merchants, though this was more usual practice for government official and foreign envoys.³⁰⁶ With increasing frequency, however, it was the merchants themselves who rented carts and remunerated their coachmen (*фурманицики* or *извозчики*).³⁰⁷ Merchants also owned

on the ground being substantial. George Janzen's discussion of Aksakov's text is useful. George Janzen, 'Change and Continuity in Ukrainian Trade. An Analysis of Ukrainski Ârmarki by Ivan Aksakov' (Masters Thesis, Leipzig, University of Leipzig, Faculty of History, Arts and Oriental Studies, Department of History, 2018). See also Basile Kerblay, 'Les foires commerciales et le marché intérieur en Russie dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle', *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 7, no. 3 (1966): 414–435.

304. The metaphor of ship for caravan can be found in songs of the time: 'Off went the Zagorian ships / Off went my beloved to foreign climes / And he send me no letter, and no explanation either'. Claude C. Fauriel, *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne., recueillis et publiés, avec une traduction française, des éclaircissements et des notes, par C. Fauriel* (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot, 1824), 182.

305. When the Macedonian Greek of Nizhyn, Kosmas Kirilov applied for permission to travel from Moscow to the Svensk fair, he asked to be granted four carts to transport his goods. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 13, fol. 1. For other similar cases, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1708, fol. 1. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 21, 1701, fol. 20v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 26, fol. 2v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 10, 1705, fol. 28. Kostakel et al eds., *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-Начале XVIII в. Документы и материалы* [Historical Ties of the Peoples of the USSR with Rumania from the 15th to the Early 18th Centuries. Documents and Texts], 1970, 363 footnote 98.

306. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1695, 1749, fol. 3-3v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11119, 1752, fol. 3-4. In the case of officials and foreign envoys carts could be swapped at postal stations (*Ям*) along the route in order to increase the speed of travel. For the carts allocated to an Ottoman envoy in this manner, see TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2762, 1755, fol. 1-1v, 5-6. For a Russian official, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4647, 1733, fol. 3-3v.

307. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1960, fol. 28-29. Kharlampovych, 'До історії національних меншостей на Україні. Грецька колонія в Ніжені (XVII-XVIII ст.). Нарис V. Ніженські греки й торгівля [Towards a History of National Minorities in Ukraine. The Greek Colony in Nizhyn (XVII-XVIII Centuries). Essay V. The Nizhyn Greeks and Trade]', 115.

their own carts, including spare booths, harnesses and additional equipment.³⁰⁸ Carts could be drawn by horses or oxen, a trade-off between speed and bulk. In fact, the merchants' circumambulatory schedules along their common caravan routes were reminiscent of the regressions of (the at times semi-nomadic) shepherds from Epirus and Macedonia, these being the regions of origin of many of the Greeks. Shepherds would move en-masse each year with their flocks, selling their produce and feeding their animals along their route. A significant proportion of land trade was associated with areas where livestock flourished.³⁰⁹ Ukrainian coachmen and haulers were a constant cause of complaint, if we can judge by Greek merchant correspondence.³¹⁰ That they drank was taken for granted.³¹¹ A coachman disappearing with animals and merchandise was a misdemeanor of another order.³¹² The fear that coachmen might prove disloyal to their employers was constant.³¹³

The carts were usually about three meters long and up to one meter wide. They might be drawn by four or six oxen.³¹⁴ There were also smaller carts drawn by two horses.³¹⁵ In the most favorable conditions, horses could traverse about ten kilometers per hour. Sledges, which were swifter, could be used in the Winter, but not during the muddy seasons of Spring and Autumn when

308. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 4311, fol. 38.

309. Oxen and sheep and swine from Wallachia and Moldavia were transferred in very large quantities to the Ottoman capital annually during the course of the 18th century. For this trade see Daniel Philippides and Gregorios Konstantas, *Γεωγραφία Νεωτερική* [Modern Geography] (Athens, 1988), 255.

310. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 11, 1705, fol. 4, 11, 17-17v. AVPRI, fond 7, op. 3, item 173, fol. 4-4v.

311. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 25-25v.

312. The merchant was Vasilis son of Vasilis. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 18, fol. 1v.

313. After one robbery, a merchant asked that the drivers in his employ be 'interrogated separately, with whips in the presence of a plaintiff'. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 111-114.

314. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, 1761, fol. 70-70v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 25.

315. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 441, 1771, fol. 8.

many roads became impassable.³¹⁶ When one Greek merchant was given permission by the *Posolsky Prikaz* to travel from Moscow to the Svensk fair and return within a month, he protested that this was impossible: 'at that time of year due to the rain the whole road would be full of mud'.³¹⁷ Riverboats, where possible, were cheaper, but the major rivers of Ukraine flowed down to the sea through territories that were often dangerous, and at times unnavigable, frozen from December to March.³¹⁸

With the dates of the fairs predetermined, most merchants journeyed to the same destinations together, following the ebbs and flows of the commercial and ecclesiastical year like a tide. The total number of persons and carts that comprised a caravan could vary considerably. The merchants or their factors (*приказчики*) would have workers (*челядники*) and servants (*служители*) in their employment in addition to coachmen. Thus, one Nizhyn-bound caravan arrived at the 'Vasil'kovskii' station outside Kyiv in 1754 with three merchants, seven workers, and fourteen coachmen accompanying six carts. Another caravan numbering fifteen carts arrived from Crimea at about the same time.³¹⁹ Merchants distinguished between caravans moving within 'Kazakia' and those whose destination was more distant lands, where there was a need for increased

316. For the difficulties of travel by cart, see Stephen Velychenko, 'Cossack Ukraine and the Baltic Trade 1600-1648. Some Observations on an Unresolved Issue', in *Ukrainian Economic History, Interpretive Essays*, ed. Ivan S. Koropeckyi (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute 1991), 151-171, esp. 161. For the carts of Russia, see Hellie, *The Economy and Material Culture of Russia 1600-1725*, 475. Janet M. Hartley, *A Social History of the Russian Empire, 1650-1825* (Harlow, 1999), 158.

317. Over seven hundred kilometers there and back. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 13, fol. 2v-3.

318. Henry D. Seymour, *Russia on the Black Sea and Sea of Azof, Being a Narrative of Travels in the Crimea and Bordering Provinces* (London: J. Murray, 1855), 326.

319. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2519, fol. 6, 16. For a caravan with six merchants, and twenty-two workers (*челядники*) in 1732, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op.1, item 324, 1732, fol. 95. For thirteen merchants, one wife, twenty-nine workers and twenty-six coachmen in 1745, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 98-99. For a caravan of eighteen carts in 1771, see TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5670, fol. 2. For servants, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3840, 1761, fol. 33v., 37-38.

numbers to ensure security.³²⁰

Travelling in caravans allowed for mutual assistance in crossing rivers, foraging for food, paying customs duties and detecting routes in the sparsely populated regions traversed. Guides could also be employed to escort the caravan as a whole: 'this Ivan had come to Moscow before [...] and thus knew the way from Constantinople to Moscow'.³²¹ The system of caravans and fairs also allowed for the exchange of information, reducing the risks for incoming traders. Further, merchants frequenting fairs had only limited options for the storage of goods. The fixed duration of any fair and the circulation of merchants between them reduced any potential advantage that might accrue to local traders. As locals could not easily remain active in the market beyond the end of any fair, they would find it difficult to benefit from access to storage capacity.³²² Finally, fairs represented ideal venues for the settling of accounts, in other words for the tallying of the credit systems that were so important for the successful operation of this system of movement and exchange.³²³

This trading system based around fairs and the caravans connecting them represented an early stage in the transformation of the region's productive and consumptive capacities, a stage prior to the establishment of an albeit limited urban society. The direction of change was however evident. Regular fairs mutated into more of a continuous market. Triantaphyllis Gikas describes the sort of transaction that took place in Nizhyn in 1768 outside the setting of the fair. A certain Michalis, also Greek, came to Triantaphyllis' home (*κονάκι*) to examine his five fur-trimmed shawls (*προφίλια μπογάζια*) and two coats made from pieces of stitched together fur (*πεχλέδες*). Triantaphyllis for his part went to Michalis shop to examine the latter's fish roe. After

320. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11718, 1753, fol. 14-15v.

321. Anastasis Botsis who employed the guide was on his way to his brother in Moscow. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 2, 1708, fol. 2.

322. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'The Early History of Balkan Fairs', in *Peasants, Dervishes and Traders in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), 50-68, esp. 55.

323. For the settling of accounts at fairs, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9592, fol. 2v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 802, fol. 45-50v. It was not for nothing that the Kyiv fair was known as 'the contract'. Mary Holderness, *Journey from Riga to the Crimea, with Some Account of the Manners and the Customs of the Colonists of New Russia*, Second Edition (London: Printed for Sherwood, Jones and co., 1827), 60.

*bargaining (και να κάμωμεν παζάρι), the value of the shawls was set at twenty-five rubles, and that of the fur coats at a further fifteen. Money did not change hands, however. The items of clothing were exchanged for an amount of fish roe of equal value.*³²⁴

It is worth distinguishing between long-distance trade between Ottoman, Polish, Ukrainian and Russian lands and trade with proximate regions, within or close to the 'Hetmanate'. Greek merchants were engaged in both throughout the period examined here, but as the system of fairs expanded proximate trade was to become a significant portion of the total. Consumption patterns altered and Ukrainian populations became major buyers of goods. Furs for a wider public were thus a logical extension of trade in elite furs, but this transitional stage in the development of Greek commerce is above all a story of selling clothing to Ukrainians.

Products exported from the Ottoman Empire to Russia during the early 18th century were of high value, primarily a cornucopia of materials for and of clothing which had much in common with fur garments: they could substitute for cash, revealed social status, and projected the identities of their owners.³²⁵ Over here you might find rich kaftans with expensive silver buttons, often woven in silver and gold,³²⁶ here shorter-kaftans or jackets for men and women in

324. The agreement is concluded in the merchants 'house (κονάκι)' and not in the area of the fair. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4230, fol. 2.

325. For the connection between clothing and identities as these impacted upon the Ottoman-Russian borderlands, see Charles Thompson, *The Travels of the Late Charles Thompson, Esq;* containing his observations on France, Italy, Turkey in Europe, the Holy Land, Arabia, Egypt, and many other parts of the world: (London: printed by J. Newbery and C. Micklewright, 1744), 376. Russians might arrive in Ottoman lands dressed in the German manner, causing consternation among the Orthodox of the Empire. Nikolai F. Kaptelev, *Характер отношений России к православному Востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях* [Nature of Relations of Russia with the Orthodox East in the 16th and 17th Centuries] (Sergiev Posad: типография Вильде [Wilde Publishing House] -, 1914), 513. Paul Rycaut for his part comments on Greeks and Armenians dressing themselves in the attire of Muslims. Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* [...] (London: Printed for John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1675), 148.

326. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 5-6. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 128, op. 1, item 1436, fol. 3. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 11, 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-9v. AVPRI,

a range of styles,³²⁷ and over there variously designed skirts and dresses (*зупунь, кацавейка, запаска* and others).³²⁸ Baggy (*шароваров*), broadcloth, 'Turkish' or 'German' trousers.³²⁹ A diversity of shirts and chemises could be purchased for a price.³³⁰ Vintage coats used for riding were available.³³¹ Here – perhaps on a neighbouring stand – were stockings (including children's stockings),³³² sewn camisoles and slips,³³³ and other types of underwear.³³⁴ Perhaps alongside these were lace articles,³³⁵ handkerchiefs,³³⁶ wraps and shawls, sometimes 'Turkish' or 'Persian', the slimmest being the most valuable.³³⁷ In a separate stall ribbons, bands and sash-

fond 89, op. 1, item 12, 1746, fol. 12-13. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 14-14v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 4559, 1770, fol. 2-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9218, fol. 37-39v.

327. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v.

328. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 8-8v, 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 4559, 1770, fol. 2-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7.

329. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 6. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 128, op. 1 votch., item 1436, fol. 3. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-8v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28.

330. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 11, 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-8v, 14-14v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1890, fol. 4-4v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v.

331. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 14-14v.

332. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-8v, 10-11v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9218, fol. 37-39v.

333. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28.

334. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v.

335. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78, 98.

336. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 8-8v, 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, fol. 14. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v.

337. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 11-11v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9218, fol. 37-39v.

es,³³⁸ brocade and clothes with elaborate posament, with braid gold or silver passementeries might be found.³³⁹ Over there gloves and mittens,³⁴⁰ and, of particular importance given the cold winters and hot summers, head-wear of various kinds (without fur rims, caps, or the 'kartuz' a peaked cap),³⁴¹ including the fez (denoted as a red or crimson hat),³⁴² and the 'konfederatka' a Polish hat with a square top often worn by soldiers of the left bank.³⁴³ Would it be an exaggeration to claim that Greek merchants clothed the elite of the 'Hetmanate'?

Fabrics were on offer too, included high-quality lambswool,³⁴⁴ lightweight batiste materials,³⁴⁵ 'fler' a diaphanous light fabric from the Netherlands,³⁴⁶ a shiny fabric know as 'ludan',³⁴⁷ yarn,³⁴⁸ and a range of cotton, cotton threads and cotton fabrics, often dyed (the finest being cotton from Anatolia, the lightweight 'etamine', and chintz with patterns embossed on the material).³⁴⁹ Red calico (τσίτι

338. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 6. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v.

339. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 10-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78, 96-96v. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, fol. 126. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v.

340. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 10-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105-106.

341. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 6. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 9-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, 1750, fol. 98. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v.

342. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v.

343. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v.

344. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3840, 1761, fol. 25. AVPRI, fond 2, op. 6, tom II, item 4576, 1763, fol. 328.

345. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78.

346. AVPRI, fond 2, op. 6, tom II, item 5305, 1775, fol. 217.

347. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 11.

348. TsDIAUK, fond 118, op. 1, item 21, 1765, fol. 4-5.

349. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 8-8v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 10-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 118, op. 1, item 21, fol. 4-5. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9218, fol. 37-39v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 59-60v, 70-72. For chintz, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 10-10v.

or *кумач*, a technique for patterned linen or cotton that was originally developed in Kerala in South India) constituted something of a strong suit for merchants conveyed fabrics from Ottoman lands.³⁵⁰

Silk was another exquisite commodity conveyed from the Ottoman Empire, Moldavowallachia and (particularly earlier in the century) Persia. It was fashioned into handkerchiefs, belts, scarfs, shawls, shirts and dresses, or sold raw or as yarn or knotted or as the more valuable coloured and patterned chenille (at times termed 'Jewish') or camlet fabric.³⁵¹ The 'Adamashka', 'odomashka' or damask (originally from Damascus) was a type of patterned silk combining a matte background with a shiny pattern on the front

350. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 18, fol. 1v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1295, fol. 151, 199-199v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, 1750, fol. 96-96v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 14295, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 19128, 1759, fol. 5-5v. AVPRI, fond 2, op. 6, tom II, item 4576, fol. 328. TsDIAUK, fond 118, op. 1, item 21, fol. 4-5. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 70v. Savva, 'Материалы из архива нежинских греческих братства и магистрата [Materials from the Archive of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and Magistrate]', 7-8, 10-11. Natalia A. Terent'eva et al., eds., *Украина-Греция: штрихи к портрету экономического сотрудничества [Ukraine-Greece. Touches Contributing to the Picture of Economic Cooperation]* (Kyiv: Аквилон-Пресс [Akvilon-Press], 1998), 6.

351. RGADA, fond 158, op. 2, item 3, fol. 51-52. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 16, 1710, fol. 1-2v. RGADA, fond 158, op. 2, kn. 12, 1715, fol. 5-6. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 10-11. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-8v, 10-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78, 96-96v. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 176, fol. 2-3v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 2027, fol. 4. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 3166, 1760, fol. 1-2. AVPRI, fond 2, op. 6, tom II, item 4576, fol. 325. TsDIAUK, fond 118, op. 1, item 21, fol. 4-5. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 4559, 1770, fol. 2-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 1-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9218, fol. 37-39v, 46-46v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 71-72. See also Savva, 'Материалы из архива нежинских греческих братства и магистрата [Materials from the Archive of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and Magistrate]', 7.

side.³⁵² And then there were silk velvets,³⁵³ satins,³⁵⁴ and the crisp, smooth silk fabric known as taffeta sometimes used for luxurious dresses.³⁵⁵ Greek merchants vended damask, velvet, satins and taffeta from Venice, Holland and France,³⁵⁶ certain silks being at times re-exported from the Russian Empire further West.³⁵⁷

There were curtains (often bed-curtains or curtains used to cover internal doors), tablecloths, towels, pillows and pillow-covers, blankets, duvets, bedding and such-like.³⁵⁸ One Greek, Hadji Lazareas Antonov, traded a rather unusual high-value product: cloth for billiard tables.³⁵⁹ More important was the retail of Ottoman and Moldavowallachian 'kilims' and carpets, of various materials and

352. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 8-8v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 4311, fol. 44v-45. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v.

353. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4479, fol. 2. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7.

354. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 8-8v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v.

355. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 10-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v.

356. One for example to the tune of twenty five thousand rubles. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 176, fol. 2-3v.

357. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 24, 1717, fol. 1. For the export of silk from the Ottoman Empire and Persia, among much else, see Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530-1750)*, University of Pennsylvania, Armenian Texts and Studies 15 (Atlanta Scholars Press, 1999).

358. Curtains. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 128, op. 1, item 1436, fol. 3. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. Tablecloths, towels and napkins. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-8v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 4559, 1770, fol. 2-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. Pillows and pillow-covers. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, 1750, fol. 98. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, 1752, fol. 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 4296, fol. 2. Blankets and duvets. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v.

359. Kharlampovych, 'Нариси з історії грецької колонії в Ніжині (XVII—XVIII ст.) [Essays on the History of the Greek Colony at Nizhyn (17th-18th c.)]', 45.

dimensions.³⁶⁰ But Greek merchants increasingly traded in clothing at the lower end of the price-range, with a wider range of Ukrainians as the ultimate buyers. These coarser fabrics for common wear included linen,³⁶¹ grisette,³⁶² and a kind of cloth known as 'Jewish canvas'.³⁶³ Wool might be imported from Ottoman lands.³⁶⁴

Fabrics came in a range of hues: black, brown, coffee and nettle-coloured, yellow, white, turquoise, azure, blue and 'cauliflower blue', silver, scarlet, pomegranate and red, an explosion of colour against what must have been (from a more southern perspective) an often blanche and grey winter backdrop.³⁶⁵ And these fabrics came from diverse climes: from the Ottoman Empire, of course, including distant parts such as Alexandria in Egypt, but also from Polish and German regions such as Swabia, Breslau, Leipzig and

360. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 22, 1705, fol. 1v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, vol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 8-8v, 11, 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, 1752, fol. 105-106. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7376, fol. 4. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28. See also Peyssonnel, *Traité Sur Le Commerce de La Mer Noire*, vol. 1, 66. For more on this trade, see Alexandr Osipian, 'Uses of Oriental Rugs in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania: Social Practices and Public Discourses', in *Transottoman Matters: Objects Moving through Time, Space, and Meaning*, ed. Arkadiusz Blaszczyk, Robert Born, and Florian Riedler, *Transottomanica Osteuropäisch-Osmanisch-Persische Mobilitätsdynamiken* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2021), 173–218.

361. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 10-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 65-65v.

362. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v.

363. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. For other cheap sown fabrics, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308' fol. 11. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-8v.

364. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 56-9, 71-2. And it could be delivered on bulk for further preparation, see TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 70-71v. Savva, 'Материалы из архива нежинских греческих братства и магистрата [Materials from the Archive of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood and Magistrate]', 7, 37.

365. Colours are mentioned in many documents. For example, see TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 1-2, 11-11v.

Königsberg,³⁶⁶ from Turin, Genova, Naples and Venice,³⁶⁷ and from the Netherlands.³⁶⁸ There were also valuable French and English fabrics.³⁶⁹ In fact, the name of the city or country of origin and the type of garment often merged, as with 'Constantinopolitan shirt',³⁷⁰ and, in one case, 'Cretan burka'.³⁷¹

As noted in a report of 1780, the trade in clothes and fabrics and textiles was prominent throughout the period under consideration.³⁷² This fits with an understanding of Ukrainian fairs as markets for the distribution of consumer goods. But what did the Greek merchants themselves wear? As suggested in an account from Nizhyn of the enlightened educator Athanasios Psalidas (1767-1829), they might be dressed in the 'Russian' (which probably meant European) or the 'Greek' manner.³⁷³ And there were Greek tailors in the town (such as the tailor Ivan Kanel),³⁷⁴

366. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, 1750, fol. 98. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9327, 1780, fol. 2-3. Podgradskaya, *Экономические связи молдавского княжества и Балканских стран с Русским государством в XVII веке* [Economic Relations of the Moldavian Principality and the Balkan Countries with the Russian State in the XVII Century], 49.

367. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78, 98. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v.

368. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 10-10v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78.

369. RGADA, fond 158, op. 2, item 156, 1712, fol. 1. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 8-8v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78, 96-96v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5965, fol. 2-2v.

370. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 14-14v.

371. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1890, fol. 4-4v.

372. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 76, 1780, fol. 4v.

373. Psalidas, *Αίκατερίνα ή Β' Ἡτοι Ἱστορία Σύντομος Τῆς Ἐν Τῇ Ὀδοιπορίᾳ Αὐτῆς Πρὸς Τοὺς Ἐν Νιζνῆ Καὶ Ταυρίᾳ Γραικοὺς Ὑπ' Αὐτῆς Δειχθείσης Εὐνοίας* [Catherine II, in Other Words the Short Story of Her Journey to the Greeks of Nizhyn and the Tauride and the Favours She Bestowed upon Them], 19. Tudor Dinu's recent work on fashion in Wallachia is wonderful. Tudor Dinu, *Μόδα και Πολυτέλεια στη Βλαχία της Ελληνικής Επανάστασης*, trans. Elisavet Kelperi (Ακρίτας [Akritas]), 2021). Among much work on this subject, see an article that connects fashion to the concept of the 'borderland'. Onur Inal, 'Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes', *Journal of World History* 22, no. 2 (2011): 243-272.

374. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 5506, 1768, fol. 10-11.

who could fashion clothes respectively in either 'Ukrainian' or 'Greek' styles.³⁷⁵ When the Empress Elisabeth (1709-1762) passed through Nizhyn in 1744, she was greeted by Greeks, all of them wearing their traditional kaftans, in a green colour.³⁷⁶ Inventories of wardrobes, where they exist, suggest Greeks possessed a mixture of clothing styles: everything from 'Armenian' skirts to 'Polish' kaftans to 'Kalmyk' coats.³⁷⁷ Shoes were sometimes called using a Turkish word ('*meshti*') derived from the Persian 'mešin' meaning skin. The very similar 'meszty' was used in Polish.³⁷⁸ At other times the modern Greek/Turkish word '*rapoutsis*'/'*pabuç*' is used.³⁷⁹ Still, it remains unclear to what extent Greek merchants wore a potpourri of garments. The merchant Athanasii was described as attending to the clothing and fabrics stands (*красны ряд*) of the Starodub fair inappropriately dressed (*не в порядочной одежи*) in 1748, probably in underwear and Hungarian boots (*в серветце в чижмаху*). Though much about this case is unclear, Athanasii took the accusation seriously enough to defend himself.³⁸⁰ Judging from the evidence, baggy oriental trousers (*шаровары*) must have been

375. Sinitsky, 'Путешествия в Малороссию академика Гильденштедта и кн. И.М. Долгорукаго [Travels to Little Russia by Academician Guildenstedt and Prince I.M. Dolgorukov]', 412-441, esp. 433. Plokhinsky, *Иноземцы в Старой Малороссии. Ч. 1: Греки, Цыганы, Грузины* [Foreigners in Old Malorossiya. Part 1: Greeks, Gypsies, Georgians], 26.

376. IR NBUV, fond 1, item 7565, fol. 13-14v.

377. 'Armenian' skirt. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105-106. 'Polish' kaftan. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 27, fol. 13v. For a 'Kalmyk' coat, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28.

378. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 19v.

379. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 15.

380. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 8994, fol. 2-2v. Edward D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa: Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land*, vol. 1 (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817), 418. The description of a Greek from Azov clothed in a mixture of Ottoman, Western and Russian modes, is reminiscent of the depiction of Moskov-Selem in the wonderful short story of that name by George Vizyenos (1849-1896). Georgios Vizyenos, 'Το Αμάρτημα της Μητρός μου και άλλα Διηγήματα [The Sin of the My Mother and Other Stories]', in *Ο Μοσκόβ-Σελίμ* [Moskov-Selim] (Athens, 2003), 245.

standard,³⁸¹ and 'Ukrainian' or 'Little Russian' and 'Greek' styles probably dominated.³⁸²

'Fashionable' material (*для него материи «на речу новомодная»*) is mentioned in a letter of 1735.³⁸³ The enlightened educator Iosipos Moisiodax (Moesiodax) (1725-1800) was one of the first in the Ottoman world to discuss fashion as a signifier of social change. He observed the wealthy donning their children in fashionable garments (*κατά τας νέας τροπολογίας του ιματισμού*), 'indian fabrics, ermine, sable fur' and the like.³⁸⁴ Yet Western styles might also be found further down the social scale: in an employment contract from 1770, 'German' attire was listed alongside good pay as one of the benefits of the job, suggesting that 'German' clothes were not only objects of desire but also social mobility.³⁸⁵ One inventory included both a hanger (for suits?) and also two wigs.³⁸⁶ There were many fashionable items on offer, including red Maroquin or Saffian and goatskin boots, belts from camel-hide, and women's 'chiviriki' (an Old Slavic word, here denoting pointed toe shoes with heels), with the similar 'chereviki' used in Ukrainian.³⁸⁷ Travelling through the region in the early 19th century, M. Holderness commented on the multifarious apparel of the Greeks of the wider region, Greek villagers dressing in what she understood to be the garb of the ancient Greeks, crowned with proud turbans, whereas merchants

381. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 19v.

382. For 'Little Russian' attire for women, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 5506, 1768, fol. 3.

383. Interestingly, the recipient of this letter was the Westernised Archimandrite Roman (Kopa) (1677-1736) of the Pecherskaya Lavra in Kyiv. TsDIAUK, fond 128, op. 1, item 41, 1735, fol. 1-1v.

384. P.M. Kitromilides, *Ιώσηπος Μοισιόδαξ. Οι Συντεταγμένες της Βαλκανικής Σκέψης τον 18ο Αιώνα* [Iosipos Moisiodax. The Coordinates of Balkan Thought of the 18th Century] (Athens, 1985), 114. The reference is to Moisiodax's *Παιδαγωγία* [Pedagogy], 27-28.

385. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5715, 1771, fol. 4-4v. For German trousers, see TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28.

386. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6079, fol. 27-28.

387. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 4, 1703, fol. 7v. RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 18, fol. 1v. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, fol. 126. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 14-14v.

and their families were attired according to European prototypes.³⁸⁸ As the writings of the Nizhyn based Georgios Krommydas (1743–1828) reveal, there's a close connection between varieties of clothing and the diversity languages used in the fairs of left bank Ukraine. Nothing seems to interest this Greek-Ukrainian author more than the different words used to describe items of clothing in fairs, the provenance of words, and the social interactions commodities and words engendered. As he quips, urging his readership to live within their means: 'long sleeves (sleeve from the Italian 'manika') are just fine, when there's cloth enough to make them'.³⁸⁹

In addition to the import and export of such products, significant attempts were made to establish manufactories for military uniforms and other clothes along and beyond the left bank during the course of the 18th century.³⁹⁰ Particular efforts were made by the Russia authorities to cultivate and support the operation of domestic

388. Holderness, *Journey from Riga to the Crimea with Some Account of the Manners and the Customs of the Colonists of New Russia*, 149.

389. Georgios Krommydas, *Διατριβή επί της Καταστάσεως της Ενεστώσης Κοινής Ημών Γλώσσης* [Dissertation on the Condition of Our Common Language as It Is Currently Used] (Moscow: Εν τω της Κοινότητος Τυπογραφείω [in the community press], 1808), .110, 115, 173, 202, 218. The quote is from Georgios Krommydas, *Επί της καταστάσεως της Ενεστώσης Κοινής Ημών Γλώσσης* [On the Condition of Our Common Language as It Is Currently Used] (Vienna: No publisher, 1813), 27.

390. For such process in the Russian Empire more generally and for the rather limited further industrialization of Nizhyn, see Pavel Kryukov, *Очерк мануфактурно-промышленных сил Европейской России* [Essay on the Manufacturing and Industrial Forces of European Russia] (St. Petersburg: В типографии Департамента внешней торговли [At the printing house of the Department of Foreign Trade], 1853), 227-232. For Ukraine, see the important works on this subject by Olexander P. Ohloblyn (1899-1992), who was himself to play a much discussed role subsequently as Mayor of Kyiv. Alexander P. Ogloblin, *Очерки истории украинской фабрики: прекапиталистическая фабрика* [Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Factory: The Precapitalist Factory] (Kyiv: Государственное издательство Украины [State Publishing House of Ukraine], 1925), 93-113. Note the importance of manufactories of Sava Raguzinsky and other members of his network. Ogloblin, *Очерки истории украинской фабрики: мануфактура в Гетманщине* [Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Factory: Manufacturing in the Hetmanate] (Kyiv: Государственное издательство Украины [State Publishing House of Ukraine], 1925), 73-87. I did not have access to the translation into English. Oleksandr Ohloblyn, *A History of Ukrainian Industry* (Munich: W. Fink Verlag, 1971).

silk manufactories. Silk-growers skilled in producing silk-cocoons by raising silkworms, and the mulberries or other plants on which they fed, were invited from abroad, including the Ottoman Empire. The Greeks Ioannis Diris and Stepan Mikhailov set up a silk factory in Kyiv in 1724, and in 1729 the Greek Iuri Leontiev followed up with another.³⁹¹ Similar efforts continued into the 1760s.³⁹² Around 1767 a cloth manufactory was established in Nizhyn by the Ottoman Anatolian merchant Bogdan Ivanov, a Roman-Catholic who was fluent in Greek. The manufactory was to process cotton and red calico and clothes 'in the Chinese manner' in various colours, and also handkerchiefs, shawls and cotton and silk belts.³⁹³

This was not the only Greek manufactory for such products operating in the region. The Moscow merchant of the first guild Maksim Alekseev Alisov and his son founded a manufactory for cotton and silk in Nizhyn with the aim of processing silk taffeta handkerchiefs and shawls, and also cotton and red calico in 1768. Local workers were hired for this enterprise.³⁹⁴ A series of stone and wooden buildings near the Uspenskii (Dormition of the Mother of God) parish church of 1762 (demolished in Soviet times) beside the home of the Moscow merchant Pyotr Klobukov downstream from the Nizhyn city-centre along the river Oster, served as a further manufactory for silk and cotton products. This manufactory was purchased by the Greek pharmacist Mikhail Ligda(s) in 1778, before being sold on to another Nizhyn Greek Ivan Karlov. The cost of the latter's purchase was the significant sum of six thousand rubles.³⁹⁵ And Greeks also set up distilleries for alcoholic beverages.³⁹⁶

Early manufactories often catered to the military and the requirements of military modernisation. Increased sheep breeding in Ukrainian lands, Voronezh and the wider Black Sea littoral consti-

391. AVPRI, fond 52, op. 1, item 7, 1759, fol. 2v-3. AVPRI, fond 89, op. 8, item 333, 1763, fol. 9.

392. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 3166, 1760, fol. 1-2.

393. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 158, fol. 1-1v, 4, 8, 9-9v.

394. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 158, fol. 12-12v, 14-14v.

395. TsDIAUK, fond 763, op. 1, item 593, 1779, fol. 1-2.

396. AVPRI, fond 7, op. 3, item 127, 1768, fol. 1-4. Анон, 'Киевский обыватель грек Иотий (1741-61) [The Inhabitant of Kyiv Greek Iotii]', *Киевская старина* [Kyivan Antiquities] L (50), no. 7-8 (July 1895): 4-7.

tuted an important part of replacing imports with locally produced uniforms.³⁹⁷ In Ukraine, Cossack kaftans were replaced with Hussar outfits, the modernisation of military attires proving to be one of the most significant stimuli for the 'Europeanisation' of clothing more generally.³⁹⁸ But there were also fabrics required for tents, and canopies, raincoats and other types of cover that were essential for service in the military.³⁹⁹

In 1738 the Nizhyn Greek brothers Iuri and Pavel Artino sought to establish a leather manufactory in Nizhyn for processing the leather (*юфть*) required for boots and other items of military attire. The Artino brothers also bought an area of forest near Nizhyn to secure an adequate quantity of tar, essential for waterproofing. Though the manufactory may have faced difficulties raising the necessary capital, and was not allowed to export its products, an Artino owned leather manufactory was still functioning in Nizhyn in 1782.⁴⁰⁰ Leather articles such as boots, shoes, cartridge and oth-

397. For the production of military uniforms in the Russian Empire, see Victoria Ivleva, 'Production of Uniform Cloth and Military Uniforms in Russia (1698-1762)', *Textile History* 52, no. 1–2 (n.d.): 101–121.

398. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9–9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v–37v. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122–123v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 16163, fol. 105–106. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6–7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 5.

399. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3929, 1731, fol. 9–9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 27–27v. TsDIAUK, fond 118, op. 1, item 21, fol. 4–5. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6075, fol. 14. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 9218, fol. 37–39v.

400. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7076, 1738, fol. 9–9v. Ogloblin, *Очерки истории украинской фабрики: мануфактура в Гетманщине* [Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Factory: Manufacturing in the Hetmanate] (Kyiv: Государственное издательство Украины [State Publishing House of Ukraine], 1925), 139–143, 257–261. Also, for an equivalent silk manufactory in Nizhyn see *idem.* p. 158. See also Shvid'ko, 'Анализ публикаций источников по истории греческой нежинской колонии' [Analysis of Publications of Sources on the History of the Greek Nizhyn Colony], esp. 72. Christos P. Laskaridis, 'Η Συμβολή των Ελλήνων της Νίζνας στην Πολιτιστική και Οικονομική Ανάπτυξη της Ουκρανίας' [The Contribution of the Greeks of Nizhyn to the Cultural and Economic Development of Ukraine]', *Δωδώνη, Ιστορία Και Αρχαιολογία* [Dodone, History and Archaeology] 26 (1997): 405–464, esp. 419–420.

er belts and saddles were often sold explicitly for military use.⁴⁰¹ And inevitably each manufactory had its own supply chain – altering the demand for and movement of primary commodities. As one merchant noted in 1765: “Supplied to the manufactory, 200 puds”.⁴⁰² Despite the difficulties in securing an adequate workforce for such establishments and the legal restrictions merchants themselves faced, Nizhyn might have been on the verge of transforming itself into a manufacturing town.⁴⁰³

Ecosystems of violence and exchange

As the early stages of manufacturing in Nizhyn and elsewhere along the left bank of the Dnipro reveal, ecosystems of violence and of non-urban commercial exchange were not unconnected. They overlapped, and this overlap was especially due to supply and demand structures connected to militaries. Still, the transition from directed trade to market exchange engendered a transformation in the range of goods in which Greek merchants specialised. Throughout the period under consideration, Greeks continued to trade high-value goods, and also with respective militaries. With the increasing prevalence of both internal trade and also sea-freight the primacy of luxury goods was replaced by products of a larger volume in proportion to their price, products aimed at wider and

401. For belts and other leather items, often but not always for military use, see RGADA, fond 124, op. -, item 12, fol. 11v. AVPRI, fond 124, op. 1, item 14, 1721, fol. 1. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4308, fol. 36v-37v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7076, fol. 9-9v, 12. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9410, fol. 77-78. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123v, 126. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 1, item 482, fol. 15. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 1515, fol. 4-5. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, fol. 8-9v. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 19v. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, fol. 6-7. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 3-3v.

402. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, fol. 70-71v.

403. For examples of Greek factories ‘заводы’, see RGADA, fond 52, op. 1, item 12, 1711, fol. 1, 4. AVPRI, fond 7, op. 3, item 127, fol. 4. And for a Greek factory in Astrakhan, see Natalia V. Kozlova, *Российский абсолютизм и купечество в XVIII веке (20-е-начало 60-х годов)* [Russian Absolutism and Merchantry in the XVIII Century (20s-Early 60s)] (Moscow Археографический центр [Archaeographic Centre], 1999), 226.

more diversified markets. These changes were connected with the increase of the population of Ukrainian lands, and the early stages of urbanisation.⁴⁰⁴ Availability of storage space became increasingly important for merchant profitability. Nizhyn was to fill up with stone warehouses, cellars, pantries and granaries, and permanent shops.⁴⁰⁵ Greek trade in clothing constitutes a not-insignificant part of this story. Throughout the long 18th century, however, it is the provenance, uses and directions of violence that are central to any transformations described, with merchant connections and capital constituting a constituent element in these patterns of violence. Hence the emphasis this article places on merging environmental and political factors, hence the 'ecosystems of violence and exchange' of the title.

There has been no attempt to evaluate the overall significance of Greek as opposed to other merchants in the transformation of the 'Hetmanate' and the Black Sea littoral in this article. Nizhyn constituted the most important urban node on the left bank of the Dni-pro, the most important urban node in this ecosystem of exchange. The Nizhyn Greeks can be viewed as significant actors, benefiting from the 'ecosystems' they contributed to transforming during the course of the 18th century. Examination of the ways in which different population groups – including but not only merchant groups – struggled and cooperated to control and transform 'ecosystems' remains work for the future.

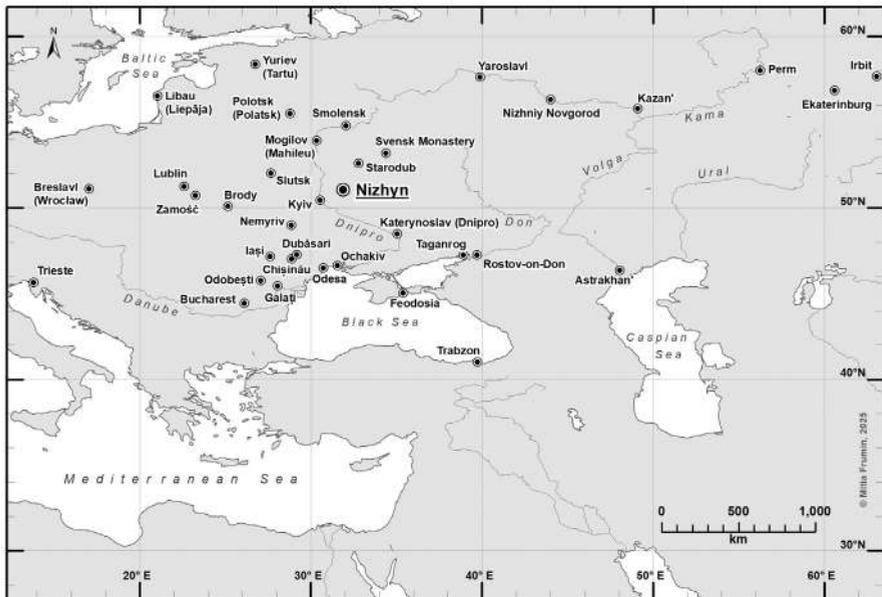
Trade on the Black Sea itself started picking up mostly from 1739 on.⁴⁰⁶ Much has been made of the tariff regulations of 1822 which disrupted Westward trade and further integrated Ukrainian markets into the Russian Empire, opening Ukrainian lands to Rus-

404. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9643, 1748, fol. 10-11v.

405. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 295, fol. 1-2v.

406. Iannis Carras, 'Το διά Θαλάσσης Εμπόριο από την Καζακία και τη Ρωσία, 1696-1774 [Trading Routes and Trade between Cossack Lands and Russia 1696 to 1774]', in *Οι Έλληνες της Αζοφικής 18ος-Αρχές 20ου αιώνα. Νέες Προσεγγίσεις στην Ιστορία των Ελλήνων της Νότιας Ρωσίας* [The Greeks of the Sea of Azov 18th-Early 20th Centuries. New Approaches to the History of the Greeks of South Russia], ed. Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis, vol. Centre of Neohellenic Studies, National Research Institute (Athens, 2015), 305–327.

sian manufactured goods and merchants.⁴⁰⁷ Yet during the course of the 19th century proximate trade within the 'Hetmanate' was to be dwarfed by investment in and production and export to European and world markets of cereals through the port-cities of the south – a process of paramount importance for the environmental and economic history of Ukraine and Ukrainians, for the development of the Ottoman Empire, and for the fortunes of Greeks of the Russian and Ottoman Empires and further afield.⁴⁰⁸



407. See the discussion in O.P. Ohloblyn. Ogloblin, *Очерки истории украинской фабрики: прекапиталистическая фабрика* [Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Factory: The Precapitalist Factory] (1925), 19-52. For an evaluation of the guild reform in general, see Wayne Dowler, 'Merchants and Politics in Russia: The Guild Reform of 1824', *The Slavonic and East European Review* 65, no. 1 (1987): 38-52.

408. See the substantial work on this issue as part of the *Black Sea Research Project*, among many other examples Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis, eds, *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Trade and Immigration*, vol. 7, Black Sea History Working Papers (Rethymno, Crete: Centre of Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies – Foundation of Research and Technology, 2020).

3.
**Between faith and trade: the religious life
of Greek merchants in Nizhyn in late 17th
and throughout the 18th century⁴⁰⁹**

Vitalii Tkachuk

Translated by Elena Borodina and Iannis Carras

This paper is dedicated to two categories that played a central role for Greek merchants – namely, the Orthodox faith and trade. Uniting these categories into a single object of study provides an opportunity for better understanding the religious behaviour of the Greek merchants, as well as the culture of their business activities, allowing us to examine each of these categories both separately and as a whole.

There is no intention to idealise the world Greek merchants lived in by representing it as adhering exclusively to laws and mores set by the Christian faith. The sources that have survived often testify that court cases were frequent within the merchant community – so too were grudges, intended deceit, fraud and so on. At the same time, it is important to be aware of our absolute dependence on surviving proceedings related to debt and other legal issues. Any analysis of the common ground shared by faith and commerce, as well as their mutual interdependence, has to maintain a sense of balance, avoiding extremes.

This paper focuses on the way religious beliefs were manifested not by individual merchants (which might also prove productive), but on the proof of interaction between religious faith and commerce, as found in the surviving sources. This allows for an extrapolation to a larger part of the merchant community of Nizhyn. It is necessary, however, to go beyond the borders set by Nizhyn itself and take account of those Greek merchants and clergy who

409. I sincerely thank Vera Tchentsova, Iannis Carras and Evgene Chernukhin for their valuable advice with regard to this work.

travelled to Nizhyn and stayed there for short periods. While they cannot be labelled 'Nizhyn Greeks' in the strictest sense, their constant presence in the city should not pass unnoticed.

The Greeks who travelled to Nizhyn and remained there for a short period of time were bearers of specific customs and traditions, but, as a rule, in Nizhyn they never found themselves culturally out of place. In other words, they spoke a language that all understood, and belonged to the same cultural milieu as other Greeks already in the city.

Image 3.1. Greek Church of St. Michael in Nizhyn, 1719–1729.

Source: Wikimedia



Sacred topography and trade

The religious life of the Nizhyn Greeks was focused around two Greek churches where the clergy were, as a rule, also Greek, and services were held in the Greek language. The construction of the first church dedicated to the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, commenced in 1680. Construction of the second one, dedicated to All Saints, commenced in 1684 and was completed in 1690.⁴¹⁰

The founder of this entity was father Christophoros, founder that is of the two aforementioned Greek churches and of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood as a whole. He was also the first priest to serve there. The Charter of the Nizhyn Brotherhood notes that Father Christophoros granted those who prayed for the merchants in these churches the protection of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel and All the Saints, these being the heavenly patrons of the Nizhyn churches.⁴¹¹ The single alms registry shared by the two churches also indicates that they were, in effect, one organisation.⁴¹² A conceptual 'merging' of this sort can be explained by their specificity: they were Greek – for the most part merchant – churches, that were located in the immediate vicinity of each other.

Surviving sources from the late 17th and early 18th centuries do not reveal the material world of these churches in a way that might allow us to evaluate forms of interaction between religion and commerce. The oldest existing inventory lists date from the mid-19th

410. А. Dmitrievsky, 'Описание рукописей и книг, поступивших в Церковно - Археологический музей при Киевской духовной Академии из греческой нежинской Михаило-Архангельской церкви' [Description of manuscripts and books received at the Church and Archaeological Museum at the Kyiv Theological Academy from the Greek Nizhyn Church of the Archangel Michael], *Труды Киевской духовной академии, приложение к номеру* [Proceedings of the Kyiv Theological Academy, Annex to the issue], no. 3-12 (1885): 5.

411. *Ibid.*, 102-103.

412. 'Книга пожертв Ніжинського грецького братства (1696–1786)' [Book of Donations of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood, 1696-1786], *Записки Историко-філологічного товариства Андрія Білецького* [Notes of the Historical and Philological Society of Andriy Biletskyi], підготовка публікації рукописного тексту грецькою та українською мовами Є.К. Чернухіна [preparation for publication of the manuscript text in the Greek and the Ukrainian language E.K. Chernuhin], Kyiv, no. 1 (1997): 93.

century.⁴¹³ Information provided by a variety of other sources thus has to be employed.

One indicator of the interaction between religion and commerce has not been located in any of the other churches of the Kyivan See. This is a weight and an equivalent Turkish scale, symbolic of merchant integrity and reliability, something that was in fact to be found in the Greek church in Nizhyn.⁴¹⁴ The existence of a scale inside the church was not coincidental. The merchants were obliged to weigh their goods accurately. Though a Turkish scale – especially useful for trade with the Ottoman Empire – can be located in this church with certainty, the possibility of standard weights and scales belonging to the measurement systems of other regions also having a place in this church cannot be ruled out.

By means of their sermons, the priests in most churches would have taught their congregation the basic rules of financial ethics such as the necessity of timely payment of debts and of conducting their business honestly. Homilies of this kind seem to have been highly relevant to the merchant church in Nizhyn. Measures more effective than moralization could be directed against dishonest and bankrupt debtors: the Greek Brotherhood Court (later the Greek Magistracy) set up a commission to distribute the debtor's property and then the search for heavily indebted merchants was announced at the church, in the marketplace and, when this came into existence, in the stock market (*birzha*) three times prior to the official distribution of their property to debtors. From the late 18th century, a further channel of debt notification were the newspapers.⁴¹⁵ Public announcement of a debt when made at the church conveyed both religious and moral messages, serving as a form of edification and condemnation of such actions.

The most distinct and visible line between the church and the world of trade was drawn on the level of the church floor, with the

413. DACHO [State Archives of Chernihiv Region], fond 101, op. 1, item 3478, 1845, fol. 1-10.

414. TsDIAUK [Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv], fond 51, op. 3, item 6942, 1738, fol. 5. The source of 1738 does not indicate in which of the two Greek churches the scales were kept.

415. K. Kharlampovych, *Нариси історії грецької колонії в Ніжині* [Essays on the history of the Greek colony of Nizhyn], 231-232.

church basements being utilised by merchants as storage areas for their goods, as well as for the possessions of deceased Greeks until these claimed by inheritors.⁴¹⁶ It is clear from the sources that the storage space was 'under the Greek church' and not on the territory of the church courtyard.⁴¹⁷ This organisation of space beneath the church was most likely specific to such merchantry, disregarding the fact that the same merchants in Nizhyn also rented storage-space at the Sinai Metohi (a monastic dependency),⁴¹⁸ and at the Annunciation Monastery,⁴¹⁹ both of them within Nizhyn. In these cases, the warehouses were outside the church buildings. Examples from churches of Kyiv of the same period reveal that spaces under the church were not used as warehouses there. Rather the crypts and cemeteries proximate to the churches were used for burial.⁴²⁰

One source seems to suggest that goods had been stored inside the Nizhyn church. The document mentions the *keeper of the keys* of the Brotherhood releasing the formerly arrested possessions of one of the Nizhyn merchants: 'all of these goods may now be taken from the narthex (or alternatively women's section, 'babinets') of the church'.⁴²¹ However, it is very probable that possessions were not permanently stored in this narthex, but placed there temporarily in order to avoid allowing outsiders into the church basement, while also not keeping them outside in the courtyard. Still, though less likely, there may have been a small closet in the church narthex where merchants could leave some goods.⁴²²

416. Ibid, 81.

417. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 1964, 1726, fol. 4-5.

418. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op.1, item 176, 1751, fol. 5-6.

419. TsDIAUK, fond 57, op.1, item 39, 1765-1769, fol. 152-152 v.

420. V. Ivakin, 'Поховання у склепах на кладовищах Києво-Подолу за даними археологічних досліджень (1970-2000)' [Burials in crypts in the cemeteries of Kyiv-Podil according to archaeological research data (1970-2000)], *Болховітинівський щорічник* [Bolkhovitinovskiy yearbook], 2010 (Kyiv, 2011) vol. 4: 105-117; V. Koziuba, O. Maniga, 'Пізньюсередньовічні поховання з розкопок Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря 1996-1999 pp.' [Late medieval burials from the excavations of the Mykhailivskiy Zolotoverkhi Monastery, 1996-1999], *Болховітинівський щорічник* [Bolkhovitinovskiy yearbook], 2010, (Kyiv, 2011): 37-102.

421. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 4924, 1734, fol. 23.

422. During the 18th century, the Synodal Church of the Russian Empire actively opposed the habit of storing non-church belongings in churches, but these were not

In addition, Greeks brought their goods to the cemetery, building warehouses there (in 'crypts').⁴²³ The *keeper of the keys* and the guard living by the church outside of the Brotherhood yard, were responsible for the storage of the goods, as well as for handing them over to their owners.⁴²⁴ Such an unusual choice of storage locations reflected a merchant mode of conduct that merged both commercial and ecclesiastical worlds, the latter conventionally including the cemetery.

In any case, we should not overlook the great proximity between those alive and those dead, reposed in the cemetery, a proximity which, according to Philippe Ariès, was usual in European lands at least until the end of the 18th century.⁴²⁵ Up until the 1770s, the Greek cemetery was not separate and 'alien,' but located immediately beside the church.⁴²⁶ This, in turn, allowed for the warehouses to be located within the city landscape, in a more orderly manner than would have been the case in an enclosed cemetery outside its confines. Moreover, had this practice been considered abnormal from the standpoint of the time, the Metropolitan of Kyiv would have opposed it. No proof of such opposition exists. Similarly, the possibility of warehouses having originally been built around the church cannot be dismissed, with warehouses and cemetery thus competing for the same space. One way or another, the kingdom of the dead and the world of business and commerce were proximate.

Father Christophoros' Charter

The aforementioned father Christophoros has been recognized as the creator of the Nizhyn Greek religious community, with the two

necessarily commercial goods. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 4851, 1771, fol. 9.

423. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op.1, item 1514, 1754, fol. 2-4; TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 2242, 1764, fol. 20-21.

424. IR NBUV [Institute of Manuscripts, Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine], fond II, item 226, 1746, fol. 22.

425. F. Ariès, *Человек перед лицом смерти* [*L'Homme devant la Mort*] Перевод с французского. Общая редакция [Translation from the French, General Editor] S.V. Obolenskoi; Предисловие [Introduction] A.Ia. Gurevich (Moscow, 1992), 59, 76.

426. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6710, 1773, fol. 2-9.

churches having been built through his efforts. He himself hoped that they would remain 'until the end of the world.'⁴²⁷ Father Christophoros came to Nizhyn circa 1678. He was born into the family of a priest named Demetrius in the village of Angelokastro, in the Diocese of Naupaktos and Arta.⁴²⁸ For the construction of churches Christopher collected funds from merchants, sometimes also journeying as far as the royal court in Moscow to receive alms.⁴²⁹ He was at the outset almost single-handedly responsible for the recently arrived Greeks in Nizhyn. As he aged, Christophoros handed these duties over to Greek merchants in the process of establishing a church Brotherhood.⁴³⁰

Even after his death, father Christophoros continued to influence the Brotherhood: under the threat of a curse, the members of the Brotherhood were compelled to implement the Charter written by Panagiotis Rhodios in the late 17th century.⁴³¹ This 'curse' threatened anyone who dared interfere with the Brotherhood's affairs, while all the upstanding members of the community were promised 'mercy and assistance from the founders of the order, Michael and Gabriel, and All the Saints, for all the righteous Orthodox Greek merchants', and Christophoros adds, 'as well as my own prayers

427. A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание рукописей и книг* [Description of manuscripts and books...], 101.

428. *Ibid.*, 107.

429. *Ibid.*, 5-6.

430. *Ibid.*, 106.

431. Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch: Kaufleute und Almosensammler entlang der osmanisch-russischen Grenzgebiete im 18. Jahrhundert*, Erfurter Vorträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 19, (Erfurt), 12, 38. According to the interrogation of the late 17th century (and no later than 1700) of Panagiotis in the Moscow *Posolsky Prikaz*, Panagiotis came from the Greek island of Rhodes, and arrived in Moscow both for commercial reasons and in connection with the ransom of captives in the Ottoman Empire. He was also one of the go-between between the Hetman Mazepa in Baturyn and the Jerusalem Patriarch Dositheus (1669-1707), who was located in Romanian lands, and he was a correspondent of the Wallachian ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu (1654-1714). He had a wife and children living in Rhodes. TsDIAUK, [Collection of microphotocopies], op. 1, item 1568 (Moscow, 1700), fol. 241-246 v.; *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии* [Historical ties between the peoples of the USSR and Romania], vol. 3, 1673-1711, (Moscow, 1970), 153-154, 158.

for them, the least among them, the most sinful, priest Christophoros.⁴³² Such promises and warnings, contained in the Brotherhood's founding document, were, it seems, not a mere formality, and more than a moralising voice from the past, but statements that had a profound influence on the mindset of the merchants, and, particularly, the clergy that served the Brotherhood, carrying on father Christophoros' work.

It is worth examining a number of the regulations issued by father Christophoros, regulations that might have had an influence on the religious conduct of the brethren, in particular those related to their commercial activities. Thus, the introductory part of the Brotherhood's Charter narrates the biography of father Christophoros, the founder of the Nizhyn churches. Its character is hagiographic, portraying him as the model of a living Christian. The text refers to him as a 'holy priest', also noting that he was 'indeed an angel in the flesh, sincerely devoted to God alone,' and 'was of a humble nature, completely devoid of worldly concerns.'⁴³³ The narrative condemns the sin of avarice, of significance in the context of a merchant corporation, but also not irrelevant with regard to the clergy.⁴³⁴

On the pages of the Charter, father Christophoros is portrayed as engaged in combat, fighting against the love of money. The text states that father Christophoros 'brought many out of the depths of godless avarice, elevating them to the heights of divine mercy.'⁴³⁵ Father Christophoros displayed his Christian loving kindness by means of active donations: 'And, in a similar fashion to that in which all of the poor of Alexandria followed Saint John the Merciful, the Christians of Malorossia followed him everywhere; but him, even more, as saint John, being a Bishop, gave out of what he had, and this one, out of what he had scarce.'⁴³⁶ Father Christophoros'

432. A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание рукописей и книг* [Description of manuscripts and books...], 102-103.

433. *Ibid.*, 107, 114.

434. See references to the squandering of 'church money' by the clergy of the Nizhyn church: TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2140, 1752, fol. 3-3 v.

435. A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание рукописей и книг* [Description of manuscripts and books...], 108.

436. *Ibid.*, 109.

portrait as an active doer of faith is complimented through his ample charitable activities, as he 'looked after the sick, helped widows, toiled with the unfortunate, visited the graves of foreigners [...]'.⁴³⁷

The model of philanthropy promoted by the Charter was somewhat limited, however, encouraging the merchants to perform acts of kindness first and foremost for the Greek community in Nizhyn. For example, if one of the brethren became ill, the priest and the hierodeacon were according to the Charter to visit him twice a week, talk to him for about half an hour, urge him to confess and to partake in communion of the Holy Mysteries. They were also to 'draw up a spiritual will, and in particular to distribute alms, donating all that is possible, preferably to the church of the Brotherhood rather than to any other church, because the Brotherhood church will pray for his soul the way he himself has seen it pray for all the other brethren.'⁴³⁸

This statute in the Charter seems to have had a tangible effect (or was, at least, fully in accordance with accepted custom), as sources very rarely mention information regarding Nizhyn Greeks donating to non-Greek churches of the Hetmanate.⁴³⁹ This is a clear indication that ethnic and cultural markers were one of the determining factors for choosing an institution to donate to. This conclusion is also confirmed by the fact that Greeks were not inclined to part with their money in favour of the churches of the Hetmanate, but, at the same time, provided regular financial assistance to the religious centres of Athos, Jerusalem and Sinai, these being the religious centres they were urged to donate to by the Brotherhood Charter.⁴⁴⁰ Also, a will left by a Nizhyn Greek from the middle of

437. Ibid, 109.

438. Ibid, 129.

439. *Греки і Києво-Печерська лавра. Слід у віках. Каталог виставки* [The Greeks and the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. Trace across the centuries. Catalogue of the exhibition], (Odesa, 1999), 16; *Вклади та вкладники Успенського собору Києво-Печерської лаври. XVI - поч. XX століття (Сакральні тканини і вироби з металу у зібранні Національного Києво-Печерського історико – культурного заповідника): Каталог* [Contributions and contributors to the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. XVI - beginning 20th century (Sacred fabrics and metal products in the collection of the National Kyiv-Pechersk Historical and Cultural Reserve): Catalogue], (Kyiv, 2005), 20; IR NBUV, fond I, item 2444, 1748, fol. 31 v.

440. Department of Manuscripts of the Russian National Library, fond 253, item

the 18th century incorporates a request that remembrance be performed in a manner that was both familiar and native to him. For this purpose, he donated money to a convent in his native town of Ioannina: 'I leave 100 rubles to the nuns in my hometown Ioannina for them to remember me in a way that is customary in my native land.'⁴⁴¹

Father Christophoros died in 1696. He was considered bulwark for this merchant community even after his death however.⁴⁴²

The clergy and the merchantry

The Nizhyn Greeks had intense and diverse ties to the clergy. However, not all merchant groups enjoyed such a wide range of responsibilities in the sphere of church management as those in Nizhyn. According to the Charter of the Brotherhood, the twelve governing brethren, with their hands on the Gospel, chose their new priest by means of a secret vote.⁴⁴³ The Charter allowed for a maximum of two official priests and one deacon to serve the church.⁴⁴⁴ Elected clergy were supposed to serve three-year terms, though these could be renewed. Such a rotation of the clergy may be explained by a desire to aid their own clergy, many of them in need of financial support.⁴⁴⁵

As a rule, the merchants not only approved of candidates to serve in their church, but they also found and invited members of the clergy for this purpose. To accomplish this, they could, for ex-

218, fol. 108 v.-109.

441. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 176, 1750, fol. 5-6 v., 9-9 v.

442. The sources also mention other dates of death of father Christophoros: Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch*, 38.

443. Ibid., 120. Laying their hand on the Holy Gospel they took an oath in the Nizhyn church, taking office, in the presence of the brotherhood, promising just legal procedures. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5400, 1770, fol. 2-3; TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5977, 1771, fol. 2.

444. The right to elect priests was also enjoyed by the Greeks in Venice, see S. Lukashova, *Миряне и Церковь: религиозные братства Киевской митрополии в конце XVI века* [Laity and the Church: religious brotherhoods of the Kyiv Metropolis at the end of the 16th century] (Moscow, 2006), 111.

445. A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание рукописей и книг* [Description of manuscripts and books...], 123.

ample, appeal to correspondents elsewhere, and to other members of the merchant community. The hierodeacon Athanasios for example was invited by the merchant Panagiotis Geroparov, who found himself in Bucharest. Following a preliminary request by the brethren, he was to supposed to serve at the church in Nizhyn:⁴⁴⁶ 'In December of the last year of 1751, when the Nizhyn Greeks Ananias and Ivan (Morait – V.T.)⁴⁴⁷ came to Bucharest on merchant business from foreign countries, from German lands, they were quartered at Geroparov's apartment, and Geroparov, seeing Athanasios in the Monastery of St. Spyridon, singing at the vespers and at the liturgy with His Eminence the Metropolitan of Trebizond,⁴⁴⁸ who was at that time in Bucharest, recommended that those Greeks, the Moraiti, take him to Nizhyn, if they were willing, and, when they liked him, they promised to bring him to Nizhyn.'⁴⁴⁹

This was but one of the possible ways of finding a new clergyman. In the choice of a new priest, different situations and connections had a role to play, but the key aspect was in the support of this or that candidate by the governing brethren. Such practices could lead to conflicts, with some brothers supporting one candidate, while others supported another. Due to this, two priests might on occasion be invited to take the same position at the same time, which inevitably complicated relations within the Brotherhood.⁴⁵⁰ The clergyman chosen by the Nizhyn Greek community had to be approved by the Metropolitan of Kyiv. As part of this process, documents confirming ordination and testimonies by the Greek merchants living permanently in Nizhyn were examined.⁴⁵¹

446. Panagiot Alekseev the son of Gerop was an 'Epitropos' (member of the governing council) of the Nizhyn Brotherhood. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2140, 1752, fol. 11.

447. Ivan and Ananias the sons of Pavel Konstantinovich Morait, were influential Greek merchants, and nephews of one of the richest brothers of their time, Samuil Peleponov. TsDIAUK, fond 57, op.1, item 39, 1765-1769, fol. 280-281; TsDIAUK, fond 59, op.1, item 654, 1738, fol. 294.

448. Between 1736-1764 Ananias II was Metropolitan of Trebizond (Ανανίας Β' Τραπεζούντος).

449. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1947, 1752, fol. 30.

450. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1947, fol. 40.

451. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 460, 1741, fol. 2; TsDIAUK, fond 59, op.1, item 810, 1741, fol. 1.

The frequent turnover in those serving in the Nizhyn Greek churches, in addition to the frequent visits by travelling clergy from the East and the arrival of new merchants, helped create a unique multicultural and highly dynamic ecclesiastical environment. This was unheard of for a small city parish, where one and the same priest might serve for decades, and rarely the case even in larger monasteries.

The 18-century world was still characterised by rather limited mobility. Nizhyn merchants were among those few who travelled thousands of kilometres, for example, from Nizhyn to Constantinople,⁴⁵² Vienna,⁴⁵³ or Moscow,⁴⁵⁴ and, even though less frequently, to Astrakhan,⁴⁵⁵ and other cities. The Nizhyn merchants' active involvement in international trade, first and foremost throughout the territories of the Ottoman Empire, offered them additional opportunities, such as in state service as couriers, as conveyers of news, and as escorts for pilgrims from Ukrainian lands travelling to Jerusalem and Mount Athos.⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, they brought Ukrainians to settle and lead a monastic lives on the Holy Mountain.⁴⁵⁷ In order to travel back home (for a family visit, or to transfer to a different monastery), monks also had to follow merchant caravans.⁴⁵⁸ Similarly, merchants shared the joys and the trials of the long journey with

452. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 12994, 1781, fol. 30-30 v.

453. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 1, item 2132, 1760, fol. 2-2 v.

454. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9992, 1749, fol. 11.

455. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 7112, 1772, fol. 2-3.

456. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2085, 1751, fol. 1; K. Kharlampovich, *Нариси історії грецької колонії в Ніжині* [Essays on the history of the Greek colony of Nizhyn], 161; Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch*, 16.

457. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3325, 1753, fol. 35. For example, upon returning to the Russian Empire in 1753, one Mount Athos monk put it this way: 'I come from Nizhyn, and in last 1748 I had the intention to go to the Athos mountains to visit the holy places there and to become a monk, and fourteen years of age I left my father and asked Macedonian Greeks, who were then in Nizhyn, Theodul Dmitryashka and his comrades, and they took me with them, they brought me to Constantinople, and then by sea on a merchant ship to the Zographou Monastery of St. George and I lived there for six months as a lay person and then took monastic vows from the Metropolitan Callinicus there'. *Ibid.*, fol. 35.

458. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2085, 1751, fol.1.

those Greeks travelling to the Kyiv Metropolis to collect alms.⁴⁵⁹

The church hierarchy was also in need of correspondence, news and other requests – often with representatives of the Eastern Church or with the Russian residents in Constantinople. They too resorted to the services of Greek merchants as couriers. Thus, for instance, in a letter written in 1752 from the Patriarch Matthew (Psaltis) of Alexandria (1746-1766) to the Metropolitan of Kyiv Timothy Shcherbatskyi (1748-1757), the Patriarch reported that he was well informed of the affairs of the Metropolitan of Kyiv through members of the clergy, as well as through the services of 'reliable merchants who come to our countries and visit us.' He proceeds to describe the plight of the Patriarchate, suffering from the attacks of the Latins at that time.⁴⁶⁰ The interests of the merchant community and the church were mutual: the clergy needed reliable persons to provide surety, as well as couriers. Merchants, in turn, frequently asked the clergy to provide surety for them in commercial matters.⁴⁶¹ Financial relations between the Greek merchants and the clergy were also bilateral. The clergy were among the merchants' clients, buying various products from them, for example, church wine.⁴⁶² Besides, the highest-ranking clergy could not do without various overseas delicacies, such as coffee, brought from Constantinople.⁴⁶³

Further, the Greek church in Nizhyn acted as a bank and a credit-granting entity, and loaned money to merchants at an interest rate,⁴⁶⁴ which inevitably gave the church an additional, secular, function. It is, however, impossible to completely discard the per-

459. Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch*, 15.

460. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2220, 1751, fol. 3-3 v.

461. V. Eingorn, *К истории иноземцев в Старой Малороссии. Отзыв об исследовании М.М. Плохинского* [On the history of foreigners in Old Little Russia. Review of the study by M.M. Plokhinsky] (Moscow, 1908), 31-32.

462. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1024, item 1906, 1769, fol. 1-1 v., 7.

463. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 3578, 1763, fol. 2-3. In Nizhyn itself, the Greeks were popularizers of coffee. They brought coffee and brewed it, opening coffee houses. In the middle of the 18th century there were at least four Greek coffee houses in Nizhyn. TsDIAUK, fond 57, op.1, item 39, 1765-1769, fol. 152-152 v., 709 v. -710, 765 v. -766, 767.

464. К. Kharlampovych, *Нариси історії грецької колонії в Ніжині* [Essays on the history of the Greek colony of Nizhyn], 94.

ception of a credit as a form of alms and as an act of assistance.

In this respect, an interesting question arises: did the merchants feel differently about debt if they were given loans not by their counterparts, but by the church where they prayed? I imagine that the answer should be in the affirmative. In such cases, the merchants would have felt the compulsion to return their debts not only as a result of biblical commandments (the prescription to live according to 'a Christian conscience'⁴⁶⁵), but also as a consequence of the function of the Nizhyn church itself, which had its own moral force. Terms 'money' and 'church money' made use of at the time confirm this impression. Thus, for example, in 1737, the Abbot Gregory of the Greek Monastery of Dormition of the Mother of God (also known as 'Konitsa') in today's North Western Greece demanded the return of a debt of 1800 rubles from a merchant Georgios Para who was at that time in Nizhyn. Credit had been provided for purposes related to his business. The Abbot purposely emphasises that the funds borrowed had been 'church money.'⁴⁶⁶ Another case from the mid-18th century was that of the hierodeacon Makarios of the Nizhyn church who requested the Brotherhood to restore the money he had spent on travel and accommodation, noting specifically that the debt should be returned from their own savings, and not from the 'church money,' as he 'had to bear these expenses at their request, and not that of the church.'⁴⁶⁷

Another element compelling the return of borrowed money to the Nizhyn church was the fact that part of these funds was spent on paying the wages of the clergy, and providing alms to travellers, widows and impoverished merchants, as well on covering food and education costs for orphans and other charitable deeds. According to an established rule, a merchant could, for example, take one hundred thalers per year, for which he was to pay an extra twenty thalers on top of the borrowed amount. The church wardens were to use ten of these thalers to support the aforementioned charitable activities.⁴⁶⁸ By not returning a debt, a merchant deprived the

465. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2379, 1777, fol. 1-2.

466. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 5757, 1736, fol. 1, 3-3 v.

467. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1947, 1752, fol. 7-8.

468. A. Fedotov-Chekhovsky, *Акты греческого нежинского братства* [Acts of the Nezhin Greek Brotherhood] (Kyiv, 1884), 78. There are also other references to

needy who were dependent on the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood reminded the merchants of this by urging them to pay back their debts.⁴⁶⁹

In turn, merchants lent money to the clergy as well. The commandments laid forth in the Gospel, the Church's prescriptions, as well as their own reputation, rather than arguments related to 'merchant honour,' compelled the clergy to pay back borrowed money. If clergymen neglected their obligations related to their debts, the Church was entitled to ascribe disciplinary punishment – for example, serving a penance, in the Kyivan See. It is known that one of the deacons who was punished had to perform one hundred bows in public during the service of the Hours, repeating this act the next day in the cathedral during the Liturgy.⁴⁷⁰

At times, members of the clergy and merchants could serve as each other's clerks, though this form of relationship was extremely rare. Thus, for example, the Nizhyn merchant Ivan Bulgar served as a clerk by the Archimandrite Elisha of the Little Russian Gustynsky Monastery during the period from 1780 to 1784 (he later became the Archimandrite of the Assumption Monastery in Nizhyn).⁴⁷¹ The second example relates to the years of 1724-1725 when a Nizhyn-based Greek Ian Tsukala occupied the profitable post of Induktor (tax collector) for the Myrhorod (Mirgorod), Poltava and Hadyach regiments.⁴⁷² At that time, Tsukula hired a priest, from the village of Opishnya, to buy wax in different cities, having given him nine hundred rubles for that purpose.⁴⁷³

Clerical and merchant classes were often connected through family lines, as many merchants came from clerical families,⁴⁷⁴ and many of the priests who arrived in Nizhyn came from merchant

interest rates in the sources. K. Kharlampovych, *Нариси історії грецької колонії в Ніжині* [Essays on the history of the Greek colony of Nizhyn], 230.

469. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op.3, item 1964, 1729, fol. 41-41 v.

470. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 762, 1743, fol. 7-7 v.

471. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1024, item 2836, 1785, fol. 1-2.

472. The *inducta* was a customs tax collected from merchants for the importation of goods into Little Russia during the second half of the 17th-first half of the 18th c.

473. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 2994, 1729, fol. 2-2 v.; TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 2948, 1729, fol. 3.

474. TsDIAUK, fond 59, item 4402, 1764, fol. 3-3 v.

families.⁴⁷⁵ It was not uncommon for merchants to leave their trade and join the clergy.⁴⁷⁶

Extra-liturgical connections between the clergy and the merchants included a variety of configurations, shapes and forms. Such contacts were quite close, which means that they defined the manner in which merchants and clergy experienced the Church and viewed the priesthood. While the merchants listened to lessons from the Gospel delivered by priests, and confessed to priests, they also sold them goods, exchanged loans and discussed business deals, and so on.

The religious practices of merchants

The house and the warehouse

Greeks lived in Nizhyn in apartments and houses owned and rented by them, some had families, and some were single,⁴⁷⁷ with many employing clerks,⁴⁷⁸ and household staff,⁴⁷⁹ and a few doing without.⁴⁸⁰ Incoming Greeks on short stays, unlike those permanently settled in Nizhyn, would, as a rule, live in rented housing facilities. An inherent element of merchants' households was an abundance of all sorts of chests, furs, various fabrics – in a word, goods, making a merchant's house a continuation of his warehouse. According to the badly preserved descriptions of merchant households, the house also included a prayer corner with icons.⁴⁸¹ For example, the Nizhyn Greek (having long arrived from Ioannina) Nikolai Deli Alekseev had two icons of Our Lady, one icon of Saint Catherine, and a number of folding icons in his household, this according to a posthumous inventory listing of his property in 1752.⁴⁸²

475. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1856, 1751, fol. 7.

476. TsDIAUK, fond 128, op.1, item 1767, 1769, fol. 2.

477. TsDIAUK, fond 57, op.1, item 39, 1765-1769, fol. 709 v. -710.

478. TsDIAUK, fond 57, op.1, item 39, 1765-1769, fol. 715 v. -716.

479. TsDIAUK, fond 57, op.1, item 39, 1765-1769, fol. 532 v. -536.

480. TsDIAUK, fond 57, op.1, item 39, 1765-1769, fol. 712 v. -713.

481. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op.3, item 16163, fol. 105-106.

482. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, fol. 10-14. The tax farmer of the Vasilikov customs and quarantine house Zaphir Fuchudzhul, who died in the early

The icons sanctified not only the inhabited part of the house, but also the storage areas where the goods were kept. For example, the Nizhyn Greek Demetrius Kurtius stored a large amounts of goods in a 'depot' (в «коморе») where there could also be found 'one holy icon for the depot.'⁴⁸³ This wording clearly indicates that this was an icon that was not intended for sale, but was permanently located in this 'depot' or storage-space.

On their journeys

A large portion of a merchant's life, especially his youth, was passed in travels to buy and sell goods, in the company of others, including factors or servants (*челядники*). On their journeys, merchants were often faced with the threat of being robbed; they risked losing money, goods, promissory notes. This explains, among other things, why they brought guns (pistols, rifles,⁴⁸⁴ sabres⁴⁸⁵) on their trips along with them. According to the sources, the merchants put their hopes not in arms alone, but also, in God. Merchants' letters also contained appeals for God's help during their travels: 'I wish you a safe journey and that you arrive with God's protection in Kyiv'.⁴⁸⁶ An acute sense of threat and the possibility of sudden death during travel led to the emergence of the tradition among the Nizhyn merchants of the performance of the extreme unction before setting

1760s, kept eight icons on his premises. TsGIAUK, fond 59, op.1, item 4311, fol. 38. In another case, the Little Russian Evdokia, having married the Nizhyn Greek merchant Yuri Gogu in 1733, brought into the house as a dowry, among other things, golden icons adorned with rubies. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 1467 a, 1737, fol. 76-76 v.

483. TsDIAUK, fond 56, op. 3, item 1409, 1746, fol. 122-123 v.

484. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 5604, 1771, fol. 6-7; TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11119, 1752, fol. 5; TsDIAUK, fond 51, op.3, item 16163, 1752, fol. 105-106.

485. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 10630, 1750, fol. 19 v.

486. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 8297, 1776, fol. 15-15 v. Letter from Moscow from Christodul Pavlov Valakhmiev to Christo Pavlov dated between 1773 and 1776. Also, in a letter from the Nizhyn merchant Hadji Zaphir Semenov, written in 1765 to his companion Kosta Kirkov, a promise is made to announce his – Hadji Zaphir's – arrival in his next letter: 'having to write to him with God's help from Jassy upon arrival with the goods. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 1787, fol. 56-57.

off on a journey. As a rule, this ritual was performed over gravely sick persons, or those on their deathbeds, and that is the reason why, for a time, the Metropolitan of Kyiv attempted to eliminate this practice.⁴⁸⁷

According to the registries of items stolen from merchants as well as other sources, travelling merchants brought not only weapons but also 'protective' icons with them on their journeys.⁴⁸⁸ Some of them were obtained from the Nizhyn church on given feast-days: '...and on each feast of the Archangels, or of All the Saints, they would give half a coin (*зроща*, two kopeks, in other words half of this, one kopek), and take one candle from the Church for sanctification, as well as one bread with a seal, and one image of a saint printed on paper.' The images could, therefore, be procured after payment of a certain amount.⁴⁸⁹ At the same time, the Brotherhood's 'Lampadarios' (a senior Brotherhood official in charge of the procurement of wax and candles) was ordered to have more than a hundred candles in stock. This was to 'be done so that they could be given to the brethren when they decide to travel, along with holy bread.'⁴⁹⁰ From this quote, we can conclude that the merchants would procure the following from the church prior to their setting off on their journeys: candles, paper images of the patron saints of the churches, and, as was the case with Western European mariners also, bread.⁴⁹¹ The Charter does not however state that the images of the Holy Archangels (the patron saints of the mer-

487. К. Kharlampovich, *Нариси історії грецької колонії в Ніжині* [Essays on the history of the Greek colony of Nizhyn], 87.

488. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1859, 1750, fol. 1; TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, 1772, fol. 3-3 v. In the sources, we also encounter icons as a commodity, however. The high cost of certain icons, price fixing, and, finally, direct indication in the source that this is a commodity, all point in this direction. For example, the Macedonian Greek Theodosios Dmitriev, traveling from Nizhyn to Constantinople, lost many furs, some of his clothes and 'two icons overlaid with silver and gilded with pearls, worth twenty rubles' due to an attack on a caravan. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 429, 1734, fol. 12-13 v.

489. A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание рукописей и книг* [Description of manuscripts and books...], 143.

490. *Ibid.*, 157.

491. John Hennig, 'St. Nicholas' Bread', *Béaloides*, vol. 13, no 1/2 (Jun.-Dec., 1943): 264-269.

chant Brotherhood) were to be given to them annually for travel per se, but it does not seem reasonable to suppose that they were acquired on such a regular basis simply to be placed in merchant homes. Merchants might also take prayer books for the reading of the morning and evening prayers with them.⁴⁹² On the first Sunday following a successful return, the merchant would take a candle from the 'Lampadarios', and light it in the Brotherhood church as a token of gratitude to God.⁴⁹³

The blessing of the waters

The blessing of the waters was also one of the significant religious rites practised by the Greek merchants. The Charter of the Nizhyn Brotherhood had a special provision for it, stating that the priest was to perform the sanctification of water on the first day of every month, and the money raised from it, unlike the money from other rites, was to remain with the priest himself.⁴⁹⁴ The Greek clergy had a tradition of walking in a procession from door to door, while sprinkling with holy water. The custom also existed in Ukraine, but was banned by the Holy Synod in 1726, except for the period after Christmas.⁴⁹⁵ In 1743, the Kyivan Greeks succeeded in obtaining a special permit (*gramota*) from the Metropolitan Raphael Zaborovskyi (1731-1747) granting them permission to perform this rite, that now was seen as specifically 'Greek.' In this, the Greeks could not avoid conflicts with the local clerics, some of these later interpreting this practice as an innovation.⁴⁹⁶

Greek bishops who travelled to Nizhyn to collect alms or stayed there for a short time, made sure to ask the Metropolitan of Kyiv for permission to perform the liturgy and other services, take con-

492. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1890, 1750, fol. 4-4 v.

493. A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание рукописей и книг* [Description of manuscripts and books...], 146.

494. Ibid, 130-131. The exception was the blessing of water at Vespers before the feast of Epiphany and in the morning at the Liturgy. Money collected was given in full to the church.

495. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1024, item 8, 1726, fol. 217 v.

496. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 169, item 118, 1774), fol. 1-1 v, 17-17- v.

fession, and, of course, bless the waters.⁴⁹⁷ This happened, for example, in 1770, when the Metropolitan of Caesarea Gregory, who was relocating from Bucharest to Kyiv, expressed a wish to travel to Nizhyn, and then from here on to St. Petersburg. Regarding the trip to Nizhyn, he wrote to the Kyiv See, mentioning the merchants' love of the tradition of blessing the waters: 'many foreign merchants who were there know of me, and, when I arrived there, they requested that I bless the water and perform episcopal services'.⁴⁹⁸ For the merchants, the consecration of water was not only a means to sanctify themselves and their homes, but also to support members of the clergy financially.⁴⁹⁹

Remembrance of the departed

The merchants saw death as a demonstration of God's will: 'God has called them from this temporary living'.⁵⁰⁰ A litany for a departed brother was held at the church rather than in his home.⁵⁰¹ When the necessary contribution had been made to the church, the priest would serve forty Liturgies in remembrance of him.⁵⁰² The names of the deceased brothers were recorded in the the Book of Commemoration. According to the Charter of the Brotherhood, the priest was 'obliged to perform a service in memory of the dead every Saturday of the year after the Liturgy, with koliva which the brethren brought as a salvation offering for the sake of the souls of the dead'.⁵⁰³ A specially appointed brother was responsible for the

497. In the sources, one can see the blessing of waters only with the help of a cross, which was usual practice, but by dipping the relics of saints into the water. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1744, 1750, fol. 1.

498. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1024, item 1957, 1770, fol. 2.

499. IR NBUV, fond 232, item 164, 1751, fol. 39.

500. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3588, 1730, fol. 43.

501. A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание рукописей и книг* [Description of manuscripts and books...], 157.

502. *Ibid.*, 140.

503. *Ibid.*, 127; 'Koliva' are made from boiled wheat with the addition of honey and various groceries. Wheat symbolizes the resurrection from the dead, honey a blessed life in the Kingdom of Heaven. St. Simeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *Премудрость нашего спасения* [*Wisdom of Our Salvation*] (Moscow, 2009), 605-

timely preparation of the 'koliva', a wheat based dish still prepared for services of remembrance for the deceased. He was obliged to: 'remember that the koliva must be ready every Friday evening, and after the Liturgy every Saturday'.⁵⁰⁴

Money influenced commemorative practice. If one of the Brotherhood priests died in poverty, the Brotherhood was obliged to bury him with its own funds, and perform his commemoration only during forty Liturgies. However, if a deceased priest had left sufficient funds for the church, the Brotherhood did the same, but with the promise of 'eternal' memory.⁵⁰⁵ In the same way, the departed brethren's names were written into the Book of Commemoration and remembered in forty-day prayers, and at the moment of the 'prokomedion' or 'prothesis' as part of the preparation for the Communion, all in return for the contribution of a small fee.⁵⁰⁶ Accordingly, the lack of money for contribution to commemoration of this or that merchant might be an argument for hurrying the payment of debts to the trustees of the property of the deceased.⁵⁰⁷

The life of the merchants, exposed to various calamities, was especially sensitive to the question of the afterlife and the practice of commemoration related to it. For that reason, merchants devoted particular attention to alms, this being an integral part of commemoration for the repose of the soul and for the health of the merchant and his relations.⁵⁰⁸ Thus, in 1816, Anastasius Zosima(s), the well-known Greek entrepreneur and resident of Nizhyn, left a large capital from which interest would accrue for the benefit of students in the local Greek theological seminary, 'so they would be active in the remembering of our parents.'⁵⁰⁹

606; Benjamin, Archbishop of Nizhny Novgorod and Arzamas, *Новая Скрижаль или объяснение о Церкви, Литургии, и о всех службах и утварях церковных* [New Tablet or explanation about the Church, the Liturgy, and about all services and church utensils] (Moscow, 1999), 263-254, 266.

504. A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание рукописей и книг* [Description of manuscripts and books...], 152.

505. Ibid, 138.

506. Ibid, 140-141.

507. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3588, between 1733 and 1735, fol. 46.

508. DACHo, fond 101, op. 1, item 3426, 1799, fol. 1-1 v.

509. DACHo, fond 679, op. 4, item 1066, 1816, fol. 18 v.

Offering incense and wax by the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood to the Metropolitan of Kyiv in the 18th century: a tax or a gift?

In the 'synodal' 18th century, the Metropolitan of Kyiv's regular collections of money included offerings of malt, distribution of chrism, and refectory or 'table-money' sent by members of the clergy. A separate income was received from the so-called certificates of priestly ordination, the issuance of an official document (*gramota*) for the construction and consecration of temples, and for the issuance of antimensions (a piece of cloth with sewn-in parts of the relics of the martyrs and the image of the Passion scene, without which the Liturgy cannot be celebrated).⁵¹⁰ At the same time, one of the main sources of income for the 18 century Kyivan See were the so-called 'crown fees' («*вечные сборы*»), the name comes from the crowns placed on the newlyweds during the wedding), which were collected for performing wedding ceremonies in church. In the middle of the 18th century, such fees were dispatched to the Kyivan See, three times a year.⁵¹¹

The Nizhyn Greeks however did not pay all these taxes. In their place, they dispatched a certain amount of wax and incense to the Metropolitan annually (frankincense being one of the main ingredients included in incense). The beginning of this tradition may be dated to 1714. At the time, the Kyiv Metropolitan Joasaph Krovovskyi (1708-1718) determined that the Nizhyn Brotherhood pay: 'as an ecclesiastical matter, with only wax and incense, half a

510. N. Shpachinsky, *Киевский митрополит Арсений Могиланский и состояние Киевской митрополии в его правление (1757–1770 г.)* [Metropolitan of Kyiv Arsenius Mogilyanskyi and the state of the Kyiv Metropolis during his tenure (1757–1770)] (Kyiv, 1907), 120–121, 373–374. For an earlier Ukrainian version of this material, see: Vitalii Tkachuk, 'Підношення ладану і воску ніжинським грецьким братством Київському митрополиту в XVIII ст.: податок чи дар?' [The Offering of Incense and Wax by the Nizhyn Greek Fraternity to the Metropolitan of Kyiv in the 18th Century: A Tax or a Gift?], *Труди Київської Духовної Академії* [Proceedings of the Kyiv Theological Academy] 31 (2019), pp. 205–211.

511. E. Prilezhaev, *Новгородская Софийская казна* [Novgorod Sophia Treasury] (St. Petersburg, 1875), 62.

stone of incense,⁵¹² and a stone of wax, as an annual obligation of the same significance, and to join annual and ('crown fees') that the Brotherhood will be obliged to bring once a year, two stones of wax and a stone of incense to our Metropolitan church.'⁵¹³ After his enthronement in Kyiv in 1731, Raphael Zaborovskyi approved of this provision.⁵¹⁴ Wax and incense were usually brought every year to the ecclesiarch (or Metropolitan) of the Church of St. Sophia of the Kyivan See. In 1785, the Nizhyn Greek churches passed to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Chernihiv, and from the following year on wax and incense were brought on an annual basis to Chernihiv.⁵¹⁵ That lasted until 1845 at the very least. Sometimes, olive oil was offered instead of incense,⁵¹⁶ and once – in 1801 – myrrh.⁵¹⁷ The disappearance of this tradition may be connected to the decline of Greek commerce in the region during the first half of the 19th century.

So far it has not been possible to establish the reasons for the Greeks having paid their 'taxes' in incense and wax rather than in money, as was the case with the rest of the clergy of the Kyivan See. This was not typical, payment of tax in kind, for example in marten-fur, the so-called 'marten' tax, was no longer practised at that time. It should be emphasised that even the community of Greeks in Kyiv did not follow the practice of paying tax in kind.⁵¹⁸ The payment of malt offerings in the form of 'beer malt', which the Archbishop of Kyiv Barlaam Vanatovych (1722-1730) replaced in

512. In the 18th century, in Left-Bank Ukraine, one stone was equal to 15.725 kg, see O. Sydorenko, *Історична метрологія Лівобережної України XVIII ст.* [Historical of meters and measurements of Left Bank Ukraine of the 18th century] (Kyiv, 1975), 159.

513. A. Fedotov-Chekhovsky, *Акты Греческого нежинского братства и магистрата* [Acts of the Nezhin Greek Brotherhood], 19. N. Shpachinsky mistakenly believed that this tradition began in 1733, see N. Shpachinsky, *Київський митрополит Арсеній Могилянський* [Arseny Mohylyansky, Metropolitan of Kyiv], 125.

514. IR NBUV, fond 160, item 1130, 1773, fol. 8-8 v.

515. K. Kharlampovich, *Нариси історії грецької колонії в Ніжині* [Essays on the history of the Greek colony of Nizhyn]: 60.

516. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 3441, 1845, fol. 36.

517. DACHO, fond 101, op.1, item 3430, 1801, fol. 5.

518. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 169, item 118, 1774, fol. 3-3 v.

1728 with payment in money, constitutes an exception.⁵¹⁹

In the Slutsk Archimandry, in the territory of today's Belarus, there was a long-standing tradition of annual fixed collections by the local Orthodox churches. The tenants of the Slutsk customs made a payment in wax.⁵²⁰ In the 18th century, the Kyivan Metropolis thus collected only very few of its fees in kind. The regular offering of incense and wax as a tax were, however, established practices among the Georgian Gori and Tbilisi merchants and artisans at that time. In 1703, for instance, Georgian monarch Heraclius I (1675-1676, 1703-1709) specifically determined the obligations for serf merchants who had been allotted to the Kvatakhevi monastery, with 'the merchant Goginashvili to 'deliver annually to the monastery two litrae [litres] of wax and two litrae of incense,' the merchants Maminashvili and Mamulashvili 'were to deliver wax, half a litra of incense and two bundles of cotton threads (wicks for candles).' ⁵²¹ One might suppose that similar practices may have existed in the Balkans and in Greece and were perhaps borrowed from these regions.

Why did the Greeks follow this particular form of payment to the Metropolitan See? Was it on their own initiative? One explanation may be that the Greeks specialised in the sale of incense and wax, and also because the Cathedral of St. Sophia needed these goods for liturgical celebration. For example, a tax of a similar kind was paid to the Metropolitan by the fishermen of Kyiv in the second half of the 17th century: 'to the Sofian house, a tenth of the fish, of the amount of fish one manages to catch.'⁵²² The Greeks had a monopoly on the sale of incense within the territory of the Hetmanate, so payment in incense seems appropriate. Nizhyn was the main centre where this trade took place;⁵²³ incense was actively traded by the

519. IR NBUV, fond 301, item 603, 1728, fol. 462'.

520. National Historical Archive of Belarus, fond 146, op. 2, item 21, fol. 2779-2778 v.; National Historical Archive of Belarus, КЛІК № 20, op. 1, item 464, 1738, fol. 1-1 v.

521. Sh. Meskhia, *Города и городской строй феодальной Грузии XVII–XVIII вв.* [Cities and urban system of feudal Georgia in the 17th–18th c.] (Tbilisi, 1959), 207.

522. IR NBUV, fond 312, item 430 P, fol. 51.

523. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 765, 1741, fol. 1-2; TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 842, 1742, fol. 7 v -8; TsDIAUK, fond 57, op.1, item 39, 1765-1769, fol. 712

Greeks in the town of Romny also.⁵²⁴ A local, and much cheaper, substitute for incense was juniper.⁵²⁵ Sources mention Constantinople,⁵²⁶ and Galați,⁵²⁷ as the places where incense was purchased, and subsequently conveyed to the Hetmanate in wagons,⁵²⁸ or carts.⁵²⁹ It was weighed in puds, pounds or the Turkish 'okka'.

Unlike incense, wax was not a commodity where Greeks had any particular specialization. The purchase of wax by Greek merchants in the Hetmanate,⁵³⁰ and its subsequent export, are very rarely mentioned in sources.⁵³¹ The same can be said about its import, from Wallachia.⁵³² For that reason, Greeks did not purchase wax farms and processing plants.⁵³³ The connection between commodities traded by the Greek and forms of 'taxation' is not absolute, and only really holds with respect to incense.

But what was the significance of this 'tax' for the Kyivan See on the one hand and for the brethren, on the other? In the absence of written testimony, it is hard to be certain. Only reports and registers containing information on the payment/non-payment and total amount of tax remain. Despite this, an analysis of the words made use of in the sources referring to payment of 'taxes' allows for a provisional answer.

The regulation of 1711 on the 'taxation' of the Nizhyn Greeks drawn up at the Metropolitan's office (and quoted above) points to the ambivalent character of this church collection. The annual offering really was a 'tax', characterised as a yearly or annual 'trib-

v -713; TsDIAUK, fond 57, op. 1, item 341, 1766, fol. 2-3.

524. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 1787, fol. 72.

525. IR NBUV, fond 301, item 576l, fol. 45.

526. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 9571, 1749, fol. 7-7 v.; TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 1518, 1747, fol. 2-3.

527. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2346, 1773, fol. 4-5.

528. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 7605, between 1771 and 1775, fol. 3-3 v.

529. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 514, 1735, fol. 70.

530. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 1964, 1726, fol. 7-7 v.

531. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 4, item 25, 1771, fol. 19.

532. TsDIAUK, fond 54, op. 3, item 6077, 1772, fol. 3-3 v.

533. Panteleimon Mazaraki, a representative of the Cossack elders of Greek origin, who in 1736 took over a wax processing plant in Nizhyn, can be considered an exception. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 7566, 1739, fol. 21-22 v.

ute', yet it was also a 'ecclesiastical act', and thus attributed sacred meaning.

Among the many repetitive and formal reports of such 'taxation', those cases when the offerings were termed 'gifts' draw particular attention. An example is the 1764 report of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood addressed to the Kyiv Metropolitan Arsenius Mogilyanskyi (1757-1770): 'according to the custom, the gift of two puds of wax, and one pud of incense, [should be given] to the See of your Grace's Priesthood before the Holy Sophia, to the Supreme Cathedral Church, the Wisdom of the Lord our God'.⁵³⁴ The Brotherhood clearly qualifies this payment as a 'gift', voluntary in nature, as opposed to a 'tax'.

In this context, an instance of the refusal of the Kyivan See to accept such a 'gift' seems significant. This happened in 1751, when the Greek Brotherhood paid their annual fee in wax and incense, as usual, but received in return a disapproving letter from the Cathedral authorities. The letter noted that 'the incense and wax sent by you were short of five pounds [0, 41 kg], and a whole pound of stones was found in the incense,' and 'the gift you have sent was trickery.' Along with the letter, the Brotherhood received a pound of 'stones.'⁵³⁵ The brothers apologised for the blunder, explaining that it was an honest mistake, and not of malicious intent. They justified themselves in the following way: 'the elected and appointed warden [in the Greek Brotherhood — V. T.], one particularly knowledgeable in wax and incense, is a reliable and honest man who has served in this capacity for almost twenty years without any malpractice.'⁵³⁶ According to the Hierodeacon Ambrose, who served at that time at the Greek Church in Nizhyn, the Brotherhood had to pay an additional ten rubles as a consequence of the poor-quality incense sent to the Metropolitan.

The above quotation testifies to both the Metropolitan and the brothers denoting the annual payment of wax and incense as a

534. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 3583, 1764, fol. 2-2 v.

535. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 3583, 1751, fol. 16 v. In the Hetmanate, the authorities struggled with the import of low-quality incense. Low-quality incense was called 'fake' or 'defective', and high-grade incense was called 'clean': TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 3840, 1761, fol. 6.

536. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 3583, 1751, fol. 17-18.

'gift'. However, the requirement of the Kyiv Cathedral authorities that low-quality incense be replaced by high-quality incense indicates that this 'gift' was viewed as a compulsory church collection. The two approaches, unsurprisingly, existed simultaneously. By giving incense and wax to the Metropolitan, the brothers could express their gratitude for the pastoral care of the Brotherhood and for the Archbishop's prayers: 'under the protection of your many powerful prayers and archpastoral blessings, made manifest before God, let us abide'.⁵³⁷ Considering the tradition of church donations of wax and incense, it may be assumed that this practice of offering should also be classified as a collective church gift. Consequently, the main intention of the 'donors' or 'taxpayers' may have been prayer for the living and the dead offered in the Metropolis Cathedral. But the practice of making offerings for the church was only one form of church 'tax' contributing to the material functioning of the See – payments that also ensured the Nizhyn Greeks received ongoing support from the Diocesan authorities.

The Merchant's Triadic Travails: Profit, Loss and Debt

Documents related to the commercial activities of the Greek merchants provide a substantial amount of data, including lists of objects and obligations related to debt. In contrast to the teachings of the clergy which would have represented an ideal model, careful reading of a variety of documents related to trade allow for a tentative reconstruction of aspects of the relationship between faith and commerce as this was experienced by the merchants themselves.

A merchant's religiosity and piety played a decisive role in determining the success of his trade.⁵³⁸ Merchants were to engage in their trade 'with absolute justice, with the fear of God and a concern for one's own soul.'⁵³⁹ In agreements drafted for the creation of companies, agreements setting out the ways in which merchants

537. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 127, item 3583, 1764), fol. 2-2 v.

538. N. Kozlova, *Российский абсолютизм и купечество в XVIII веке (20-начало 60-х годов)* [Russian absolutism and merchant class in the 18th century (20s - early 60s)] (Moscow, 1999), 357.

539. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op.1, item 3, 1787, fol. 55-55 v.

engaged in trading activities in close cooperation with one another, and also in other financial documents, whether consciously or out of habit merchants often expressed their hope in God's assistance, writing out their hopes in these official documents in forms that resembled the canons, or even prayers. Though not devoid of cliché (similar wording is found in a whole range of documents), repetition may itself be indicative.

A number of examples illustrate this point. On January 27, 1729, a small merchant partnership was formed in Nizhyn by Hadji Christo Andreev and Yan Dimitriev Tsukalo with the purpose of carrying out the purchase of several elite horses in Constantinople. In the event that they could not sell these horses profitably, they planned to take the following measures: 'we will sell the horses, may God help us; then we will divide the income as befits comrades and merchants; if it pleases God to bless us, we will divide the income in half between ourselves; however, if, God forbid, it should be the opposite case, we will likewise divide the expenses as befits comrades.'⁵⁴⁰

A similar partnership, for a longer term, was formed in 1765 between the Nizhyn Greek Dimitri Ivanov Metsovit and the Macedonian Greek Kostas Kiriakov. According to their agreement, they were to buy furs, and then, according to Kostas' plan, to sell them in Turkey. Following that, Dimitri Metsovit was obliged to send various goods from Nizhyn to Kostas in Turkey, where the latter would sell them, sending back Turkish goods for sale in Ukraine. Three years later, Kostas was supposed to travel to Nizhyn bearing with him the money the partnership had accrued: 'then they each will receive their own capital, excluding all the expenses, and may God send them additional profit. May God also protect them from loss.'⁵⁴¹

540. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3588, 1729, fol. 71.

541. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6947, fol. 1–1 v. We will find a similar wording in the partnership agreement between the Nizhyn merchants Hadji Zaphir Semyonov and Kostas Kiriakov from 1764: '[...] of the many profits God will send, these should be divided into the above capital worth 30 thousand levs, and each comrade should receive profit and loss, in proportion to his share; it must be divisible in proportion in the same way. And any including any chance and significant loss, may God deliver us from this, should also be divided in this way. TsDIAUK,

In legal terms the introduction of an additional 'subject' to this relationship – God – altered little, but His name was deliberately included in the contract, reflecting the religious worldview through which the merchants understood their undertakings. There are no reasons to interpret any of this as entrepreneurial passivity inherent to Orthodoxy, though such views can be found in the sections of the older secondary literature.⁵⁴² Such deals constituted a sort of business plan that clearly laid out the participants' responsibilities, including the amount of money each was entitled to, with God placed, pragmatically enough, as a third-party arbiter, regulating merchant affairs.

Successful business operations and adequate income required diligence as well as honesty, a quality that was especially important in the merchant trade. In the sources one can often find such expressions as 'admonished by honest merchants'.⁵⁴³ To maintain his reputation, the merchant had to stay away from certain methods of making a profit. A good reputation, after all, contributed to successful commercial activity.⁵⁴⁴ In a letter of July 1764 to his partner in Bucharest Kostas Kiriakov, the Nizhyn merchant Hadji Zaphir Semyonov emphasised the necessity of conducting all business affairs in an honest manner, paraphrasing, most likely, the Gospel of Matthew 25:24: 'If we brother are dishonest about 100 rubles, then would we not deny God for 1000 rubles and so on.'⁵⁴⁵ Deceit with the purpose of receiving a larger profit, would, many of the merchants must have thought, result in God's wrath. The above-mentioned Zaphir Semyonov added: 'When the cat steals church wax, it is doomed to blindness.'⁵⁴⁶ Consequently, the fear of God's pun-

fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 1787, fol. 55-55 v. Similar formulations can be found in: TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 3720, fol. 6; TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 11376, 1753, fol. 14-16 v.

542. Vasilios N. Makrides, 'Orthodox Christianity and Economic Development: A Critical Overview', *Archives de sciences sociales des religions (Paris)*, Année 64, no. 185 (Janvier-Mars 2019): 23–31.

543. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op. 1, item 6947, 1772, fol. 2-2 v.

544. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3588, 1730, fol. 43-43 v. TsDIAUK, fond 59, op.1, item 1960, 1751, fol. 5-5 v.

545. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op.1, item 3, 1787, fol. 56-57.

546. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op. 1, item 3, 1787, fol. 57.

ishment was one of the mechanisms that held the merchants back from the temptation of dishonest gain.

The third, also very important, component of a merchant's business activity, was credit and debt. In general, lending money at an interest was a norm, as the sources of the time testify: 'as is customary according to merchant tradition or practice.'⁵⁴⁷ At the same time, engaging in credit operations and profit-making constituted a dangerous activity for anyone trying to lead a righteous life in the hope of salvation.⁵⁴⁸ Merchants lent money to their counterparts making use of 'obliki', obligations, and from the middle of the 18th century, 'vekseli' or promissory notes.⁵⁴⁹ Paying back a debt represented a certain synthesis of the merchants 'code of honour' and Christian commandments, specifying that these should be calculated according to 'merchant regulations as well as the Christian conscience itself,'⁵⁵⁰ or simple 'in the Christian way.'⁵⁵¹

Paying back a creditor served as one more reason for a merchant to give thanks to God.⁵⁵² But debts were often paid with some delay, often years, with various methods and strategies being used to force their return, from verbal requests and threats, legal operations in various jurisdictions (which could also damage the merchant's reputation),⁵⁵³ to the use of influential protectors. The threat of violence and appeals to the merchant's honour were never far away.⁵⁵⁴ The merchants were afraid of being ostracized from the Brotherhood, which, in turn, might also make use of the threat of communion in the Brotherhood church being prohibiting.⁵⁵⁵ References to a debtor's Christian duty, however, very rarely occur in sources, in contrast to references to legislation that can frequently

547. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1199, 1751, 7-7 v.

548. A. Gurevich, *Средневековый купец, Одиссей. Человек в истории* [The Medieval Merchant, Odysseus. Man in history] (Moscow, 1990), 100.

549. K. Kharlampovich, *Нариси історії грецької колонії в Ніжині* [Essays on the history of the Greek colony of Nizhyn], 226-235.

550. A. Fedotov-Chekhovsky, *Акты Греческого нежинского братства и магистрата* [Acts of the Nezhin Greek Brotherhood], 69-70.

551. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 1199, 1751, fol. 7-7 v.

552. TsDIAUK, fond 786, op.1, item 3, 1787, fol. 56.

553. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3588, 1734, fol 14-15.

554. TsDIAUK, fond 51, op. 3, item 3588, fol. 69-69 v.

555. Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch*, 45.

be found in merchants' correspondence with judicial institutions. Merchants' personal correspondence may have contained a much larger range of arguments related to the Christian faith pertaining to the repayment of debts, but not many examples of such correspondence have survived.

The letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople Paisios, written in 1751, and addressed to the clergy and merchants of 'Little Russia', constitutes one example of such Christian exhortation. The Patriarch's letter offers a stern warning to – and even placed the Church's curse on – the Nizhyn Greek Ioannis Kumburlei who had since 1742 owned a significant amount of money to the merchant Diamanti Dordoli: 'let those like him be cursed by the Lord our God, who holds all things [...], may forgiveness never be granted them even unto death, and may his leprosy like that of Gehazi [the servant of the prophet Elisha who was afflicted by leprosy], and may the death by strangulation of Judas be a source of trembling and trepidation on earth, and may those such as he never see success in any of their deeds regarding their property or profit making, may their sweat be accursed, and may they be doomed to eternal condemnation and death. I swear this before the Holy Three Hundred and Eighty Holy Fathers of Nicene and the other Holy Councils, and, besides, may they never receive a Christian burial after they die'.⁵⁵⁶ It is highly unlikely that this text constitutes a set of moralising clichés. It was not easy for a creditor to obtain such a letter, which means that it must have had a significant impact on the debtor. Similar threats of a curse served as a prompt for the return of property in Nizhyn as well.⁵⁵⁷

The probability of approaching death and concerns about the afterlife were another motivation for the merchant to satisfy his creditors. If the merchant failed to pay before he died, the payments were to be handled in an appropriate manner after his death, so that people would not 'curse' him once he had departed,⁵⁵⁸ and would keep him in good memory.

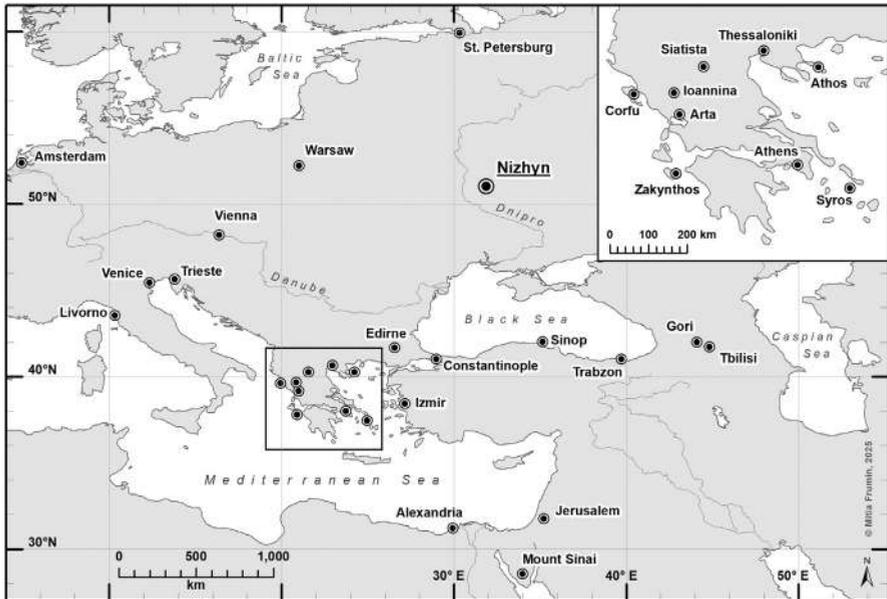
In sum, faith and trade were integral, interwoven and inseparable.

556. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2058, 1751, fol. 2.

557. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2279, fol. 2-2 v.

558. TsDIAUK, fond 269, op. 1, item 176, 1751, fol. 5-9.

arable components in the structure of merchant religiosity. The spiritual and the ecclesiastical are rooted in the religious sphere, but can, and will, permeate other spheres,⁵⁵⁹ thus 'spiritualizing' the business activity of the merchants and in turn determining respectable market relations among them. Trade was viewed as being rewarded spiritually as well as materially, though this also, inevitably, narrowed the dividing line between the sacred and the profane, thereby profaning the former. The opinion once expressed by Traian Stoianovich that Greek and Balkan merchants in the 17th and 18th centuries did not create two separate behavioural practices, one for faith and the other for trade, is fully born out here. These spheres were integrated into one another, and they merged.⁵⁶⁰



559. R. Otto, *Священное. Об иррациональном в идее божественного и его соотношении с рациональным* [The Sacred. On the irrational in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational] (St. Petersburg University Press (2008)), 11.

560. T. Stoianovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (June, 1960): 294.

4.

The Jerusalem Metochion in Nizhyn from the end of the 17th to the start of the 19th centuries

Vitalii Tkachuk

Translated from Ukrainian into English by Matthew Matuszak

The 17th century saw the initiation of contacts between the Kyivan Metropolitanate and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Earlier these had been limited to only infrequent visits by Ruthenian pilgrims to Jerusalem. Because of the financial crisis in which the Patriarchate of Jerusalem found itself, it needed to seek the assistance of Ruthenian lands in the Polish Commonwealth, of the Muscovite state, and also from the Danubian Principalities. Contact was then established between the Churches of Kyiv and Jerusalem. This was helped by the fact that the Kyivan Orthodox Metropolitanate found itself in a situation of severe institutional crisis following on from the signing of the Union of Brest (1596). Kyiv did not even have its own Metropolitan, as the holder of the See had signed the Union with Rome. The Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes III (1608-1644) helped resolve this crisis situation when, during his return from the Muscovite state between October 1620 and early 1621, in conditions of secrecy and with the support of local Cossacks, he ordained a new Metropolitan for Kyiv, Yov Boretskyi (1620-1631). Shortly thereafter other Bishops were ordained, allowing for a renewal of the Orthodox hierarchy.⁵⁶¹

561. V. Tchentsova, 'Разрешительная грамота иерусалимского патриарха Феофана «по духу своей дочери» Мелании' ['Letter of permission of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophan 'for the soul of his daughter' Melania'], *Proceedings of the Kyiv Theological Academy*, 2020, no. 32: 61-62. This research was supported by the author's DFG-funded research activities and by the *Polycentricity and Plurality of Premodern Christianities (POLY)* research group at Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main.

The successor of Theophanes, Paisios (1645-1660), also maintained contacts with the Ruthenian lands of the Polish Commonwealth. In particular, in December 1648 the Patriarch Paisios, on his way to Kyiv from the Danubian Principalities, where there were Metochia (or Metohia, monastic dependencies) of the Holy Sepulchre, met the Cossack Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (1648-1657), who was entering Kyiv in triumph. Paisios blessed Khmelnytskyi for his struggles in defense of the Orthodox faith. After this, Paisios journeyed on to the Tsar in Moscow in order to request that he take the Cossacks under his protection, an endeavour which met with no success initially due to the desire to maintain peaceful relations with the Commonwealth.⁵⁶²

The Kyivan Metropolitans and also the Hetman Ivan Mazepa had particularly close political and ecclesiastical relations from the end of the 17th and into the early years of the 18th century with the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos II (1669-1707). Dositheos had been in active communication with the Tsar's Court and with the Moscow Patriarchate for over ten years, above all in matters connected to policies vis-à-vis the Ottomans. Ivan Mazepa, who was trusted by the Moscow Court when it came to southern policy, and who was also involved in ecclesiastical matters, maintained active communication with Dositheos, who served as a trove of information on political and ecclesiastical developments within the Ottoman state. The Patriarch's nephew, and his successor to the patriarchal throne, Chrysanthus (Chrysanthos, 1707-1731), had travelled to Muscovy through the Hetmanate on a number of occasions (1691, 1694, and 1701).⁵⁶³

Through these relations Ivan Mazepa demonstrated himself to be a very generous benefactor of the Holy Sepulchre, dispatching donations and contributions to the Church.⁵⁶⁴ It was the good re-

562. V. Tchentsova, *Икона Иверской Богоматери (Очерки истории отношений Греческой церкви с Россией в середине XVII в. по документам РГАДА)* [The icon of the Mother of God of Iveron (Essays on the history of the relations of the Greek Church with Russia in the middle of the 17th century according to the documents of RGADA)], (Moscow, 2010): 206-207.

563. S. Pavlenko, *Іван Мазепа як будівничий української культури* [Ivan Mazepa as a builder of Ukrainian culture], (Kyiv, 2005), 59

564. D. Olianchin, 'До зв'язків гетьмана Івана Мазепи та Пилипа Орлика з

lations of Dositheos with both Moscow and the Hetman, and also, evidently, personal contacts with the Greeks of Nizhyn, with their two newly-created self-governing churches, that gave the Patriarch grounds to expect continued permission from the Tsar's Court to use one of their churches as a Metochion (or Metohi) belonging to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, thus trying to prevent similar initiatives by the Sinaites who were attempting to establish their own Metochion in Nizhyn.⁵⁶⁵ The opening of the Metochion in Nizhyn turned into a competition between Jerusalemites and Sinaites for religious influence over a dynamic and highly mobile merchant community, allowing them at the same time to receive donations from the surrounding areas.

In approximately 1693, the Patriarch Dositheos sent a letter with this request to the Tsars of Moscow, and also asked Ivan Mazepa and the Metropolitan of Kyiv Barlaam (Varlaam) Yasynskyi (1690–1707) to issue special certificates which would confirm the existence of such a Metochion in Nizhyn.⁵⁶⁶ Aiming at a positive

Єрусалимським патріархом Хрисантом' [On the relations of Hetman Ivan Mazepa and Pylyp Orlyk with the Jerusalem Patriarch Chrysanthus], ред. О. Ковалевська [edit. by O. Kovalevs'ka]. *Збірник «Мазепа» реконструкція видавничого проекту 1939–1949*, [Collection 'Mazepa' – Reconstruction of the publishing project 1939–1949], (Kyiv, 2011): 82–86. *Батуринский архив и другие документы по истории Украинского гетманства 1690–1709 гг.* [The Baturin archive and other documents on the history of the Ukrainian Hetmanship 1690–1709], руководитель проекта и составитель Т. Г. Таирова-Яковлева; Т. А. Базарова [supervision T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva; editor T.A. Bazarova], (St. Petersburg, 2014), 173.

565. See for more details on this: I. Carras, 'Згурос Катакацулос и братство Нежина: подготовка к Полтаве и греческие планы' [Zgouros Katakatzoulos and Nizhyn Brotherhood : preparation for Poltava and Greek plans], *Петр Великий: исследования и открытия. К 350-летию со дня рождения. Материалы Международной научной конференции «Значение преобразований Петра в новой и новейшей истории России»*. Москва, 17–19 мая 2022 г. [Peter the Great: Research and Discoveries. To the 350th anniversary of his birth. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference "The Significance of Peter's Transformations in the New and Modern History of Russia"], ed. by V. N. Zakharov, (Moscow, 2022): 284; V. Tchentsova, 'Мелетий Охридский и синаиты в Нежине в конце XVII в.' [Meletius of Ohrid and the Sinaites in Nizhyn in the end of the 17th century], *Perspektywy Kultury = Perspectives on Culture*, 2022, t. 38: *Studia o kulturze cerkiewnej w granicach dawnej Rzeczypospolite*, no. 3: 105–106.

566. In this article, I will use the term «Metochion» in relation to Nizhyn in

response, the Patriarch promised prayers for the Tsars and their subjects. Through the granting of such permission, the Holy Sepulchre and the See of Jerusalem would be accorded the respect due to them. In addition, the Patriarch carefully alluded to the fact that in the Muscovite state, as opposed to other Orthodox countries, no such Metochion had thus far been established.⁵⁶⁷

The absence of a Metochion of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the Muscovite state is surprising when one considers the considerable interest the Muscovite state had exhibited for the Christian East during the 17th century, and also the regular financial aid provided. The absence of a Metochion is especially noteworthy against the background of the expansive geography that characterised the Jerusalem Metochia. Through the 17th and 18th centuries, such Metochia had been established in the Danubian Principalities, the Balkans, on islands of the Aegean, in Asia Minor and on the Crimea.⁵⁶⁸

No response by the Muscovite Tsars to this request of Dositheos has been located, but the absence of sources which would demonstrate the dependence of Greek churches in Nizhyn on the Patriarch of Jerusalem suggests that the response, if there was one, was negative. Regardless, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem already had property here, as is mentioned in a source from 1711.⁵⁶⁹ In a letter from Hetman Ivan Mazepa to Tsar Peter I dated May 1, 1700, this property is referred to as the house of the aforementioned Archbishop of Ohrid, who has passed away in 1696, after which a struggle began between the Sinaites, the Jerusalemites, and the Kyivan See for his inheritance. In particular, the Hetman's letter read: "[...]

the sense of the Jerusalem and Sinai representation, the real estate that was used as a base for collecting alms and for the settling of their interests in Nizhyn. In other cases, the Metochion might also include churches.

567. Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch: Kaufleute und Almosensammler entlang der osmanisch-russischen Grenzgebiete im 18. Jahrhundert*, (Erfurt, 2019), 34; *Доба гетьмана Івана Мазепи в документах* [The era of the Hetman Ivan Mazepa in documents]. Відповідальний. Редактор І. Ситий; Упорядник: С. Павленко [edit. I. Sitii, arrangement S. Pavlenko], (Kyiv, 2007), no. 463: 488-489.

568. Hasan Çolak, *Relations between the Ottoman central administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th-18th centuries*. University of Birmingham, Ph.D. (2013), 227-228.

569. Iannis Carras, *Orthodoxe Kirche, Wohltätigkeit und Handelsaustausch*, 34.

the courtyard in which the late patriarch lived has been given to the Jerusalem monastery [...].”⁵⁷⁰–

If the Patriarchate of Jerusalem did not manage to transform one of the Greek churches in Nizhyn into a Metochion, they did succeed in fostering relations with the Greek Brotherhood in Nizhyn. This is demonstrated, in particular, by one of the statutes of the Nizhyn Brotherhood of the end of the 17th century. In particular, it is stated there that the sacristan of the Greek church in Nizhyn should: “make a collection in church every Saturday evening, and Sunday at Liturgy and on each holy day, when it’s not a workday, only at daily Liturgy no more than four alms boxes (*кружка*)”. The sum collected “will not go for the church but as charity for the poor, the Holy Sepulchre, Mount Sinai and Mount Athos; we followed this custom, but this custom is not written in the monastic constitution.”⁵⁷¹ In this way, the monks of the Holy Sepulchre, together with those of Sinai and Athos, managed to reserve a place for themselves in Greek Nizhyn, with the merchants of Nizhyn serving as benefactors and collectors of charity. If this item of the statute was indeed carried out, then the connections of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem with Nizhyn must have been close, though we were not able to find direct testimony that these provisions were fulfilled in practice.

Indirect evidence of such contacts does exist, however. In 1734 the Patriarch of Jerusalem Meletius dispatched an epistle to the Russian Resident in Constantinople, Ivan Neplyuev, informing Neplyuev that the Patriarch had previously received a letter from people trusted by him in Nizhyn, the merchants Paraskeva and Thoma Georgiev. This letter concerned the will of Maria Cantacuzino, who had passed away in 1732 bequeathing five-hundred rubles and a pair of silver candlesticks to the Holy Sepulchre. Her will was to have been carried out by her brother Matthew (Matviy Andriyovych, son of Dereskul), but he had previously passed away. The property remained with his wife, and she had made no contact.⁵⁷²

570. Cited in: V. Tchentsova, *Meletius of Ohrid and the Sinaites in Nezhin*, 105.

571. ‘Manuscripts Department National Library of Russia, fond 253, item 218’, fol. 108 v.-109.

572. N. Karterev, ‘Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов с русским правительством’ [Relations of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem with the Russian government from the mid-16th to the end of the 17th century], *Православный Палестинский*

The Patriarch of Jerusalem requested the Resident help resolve this situation. This demonstrates the existence in Nizhyn of trusted persons among the Greek merchants who helped resolve Jerusalem's problems, but there is no information on the use of the aforementioned Jerusalem real estate in Nizhyn, nor on the residence patriarchal representatives there until the mid-18th century.

Through almost the whole of the first half of the 18th century, the sources examined do not record contacts between the Greeks of Nizhyn and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Konstantin Panchenko notes that there was little interest in the Christian East in St. Petersburg for much of the 18th century.⁵⁷³ Visits to St. Petersburg were revived, however, in the late 1720s to the early 1730s (1728 and 1731). During the Russo-Turkish War (1735-1739) they were once again discontinued. Jerusalemites increasingly travelled exclusively for the collection of alms; their trips no longer having the political significance of two decades earlier.

In June 1743, however, an embassy of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Parthenius (Parthenios, 1737-1766) arrived in Moscow from Constantinople. Previously, the Russian Resident Alexei Veshnyakov (1742-1745) had asked the Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (1741-1762) to provide all kinds of support for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, as this owed significant sums to the Ottoman authorities and had found itself under 'attack' from the Latins. The embassy was headed by Archimandrite Nicander, who was accompanied by the Hieromonk Raphael and the Hierodeacon Procopius. Nicander soon died and the Archimandrite Agapius (Agapios) was dispatched in his place. The Jerusalemites expected to see the Empress and inform her personally about the terrible state of their Patriarchate.⁵⁷⁴ In the words of the Patriarch, the Patriarchate owed the Turks a huge sum; he hoped that the Empress would help deliver them from this mone-

сборник [Orthodox Palestine Review], issue 43, vol. XV, no. 1, (St. Petersburg, 1895), 428.

573. К. Панченко [K. Panchenko], *Ближневосточное Православие под османским владычеством. Первые три столетия. 1516—1831* [Near Eastern Orthodoxy under Ottoman rule. The first three centuries. 1516-1831], Moscow, 2012, p. 411.

574. Н. Каптерев, 'Сношения иерусалимских патриархов с русским' [Relations of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem with the Russian government]: 434-435.

tary slavery.⁵⁷⁵ An attempt was made to corroborate this information through the Resident in Constantinople. The resulting investigation dragged on a number of years, and the Patriarch Parthenius and the Archimandrite Agapius were called on to explain the reasons for the Patriarchate's various debts in some detail.⁵⁷⁶

Already by 1746 the Patriarch Parthenius requested that Agapius return as soon as possible with donations collected, since the situation in which the Patriarchate found itself was very difficult.⁵⁷⁷ However, it was only on 27 March 1747 that the Holy Synod granted the Archimandrite Agapius five-hundred rubles for a five year period, and also a book allowing for the collection of alms in Russia and beyond its borders.⁵⁷⁸

It is not known when exactly, but perhaps soon after receiving permission, Agapius set off to collect alms in 'Little Russia', though not exclusively in Nizhyn. Already in October 1747 the College of Foreign Affairs complained to the Holy Synod that Agapius had significantly overstated the amounts written in the book. At that time, he happened to be in Kyiv, where the authorities managed to check his book of donations. It turned out that he intentionally overestimated the sums written in the book to encourage donors to make larger donations. He was given a 'reprimand' for this and ordered to leave the country. The sum of 8745 rubles was removed from him and he was dispatched back to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.⁵⁷⁹ In this story, one circumstance is of particular note – one of the drafts of the receipt made in the Kyivan consistory by an unknown person in May 1748 records an obligation to transfer a small sum of money, which belonged to Agapius, to one of the most influential members of the Brotherhood in Nizhyn, Samoylo Peleponov (Samuil Peloponov, there are countless versions of this name), who was in turn to pass it on to Constantinople for the Patriarch of Jerusalem Parthenius.⁵⁸⁰ This demonstrates that contacts between the

575. *Ibid.*, 438.

576. *Ibid.*, 439- 457.

577. *Ibid.*, 460.

578. *Ibid.*, 461.

579. *Ibid.*, 461-462.

580. TsDIAUK [Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv], fond 127, op. 1024, item 581, 1748, fol. 1.

Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Nizhyn Greeks continued. But it was the Greek merchants themselves who served as the more important connection between the Patriarchate and the Hetmanate.

Following the expulsion of the Archimandrite Agapius from imperial territories in February 1748, it was the Archimandrite Philotheus (Philotheos) who journeyed that same year from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Kyivan Metropolitanate to collect alms.⁵⁸¹ Also, sometime between 1748 and 1749, a Hieromonk and later Archimandrite of the Holy Sepulchre named Chrysanthus, arrived here; he was, in all probability, the organizer of the 'new' Jerusalem Metochion in Nizhyn. This had the potential of serving as a base for the regular collection of alms, both within Nizhyn and also throughout the Hetmanate.

We know of the planned trip of the Archimandrite Chrysanthus in 1748-1749 from later sources. Documents of the Kyiv Spiritual Consistory of 1756 granting Chrysanthus permission to collect alms in the Kyivan Metropolitanate mention that⁵⁸² the Metropolitan of Thebes Makarios and two merchants from Crimean Caffa had already journeyed through Kyiv in 1748, and also that Chrysanthus had planned to collect alms there with the permission of the Patriarch of Jerusalem.⁵⁸³

Other sources relate that in 1750 Chrysanthus received permission from the Kyiv Spiritual Consistory to collect alms.⁵⁸⁴ Thus it seems likely that he had arrived earlier, together with Philotheus. It is not known where and how the Archimandrite Philotheus collected alms in 1748-1749, but it is known that precisely in 1750 he stopped in the Polish city of Mohyliv (Mogilev, Mohylów, Moghilău; today Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Ukraine), where there was also a colony of Greek merchants with their own church. And it is recorded

581. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1777, fol. 17-18 v.

582. The Spiritual Consistory was the highest body at the diocesan level. It reported to the Holy Synod, receiving decrees from it, on the basis of which it set in motion the entire mechanism of diocesan administration, maintaining extensive correspondence with subordinate institutions (О. Прокоп'юк [O. Prokopyuk], *Духовна консисторія в системі єпархіального управління (1721-1786 рр.)* [Ecclesiastic Consistory in the System of Diocesan Government (1721-1786)], Kyiv 2008, p. 7).

583. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 15-17 v.

584. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1777, fol. 17-18 v.

that in 1750 there was a connection between the Archimandrite Philotheus and Chrysanthus, who had already at that time made a stay in Nizhyn. In particular, in September 1750 the Hieromonk Gregory with his servant, Constantine, travelled from Mohyliv, and the Archimandrite Philotheus to Chrysanthus in Nizhyn. Gregory was to give Chrysanthus a parcel from the Archimandrite, though he did not in fact meet him in Nizhyn, as the latter allegedly was travelling throughout 'Little Russia' collecting alms. He waited for Chrysanthus to return to Nizhyn until the end of Spring of the following year. On 9 May 1751, Chrysanthus wrote from Nizhyn to the Metropolitan of Kyiv Timothy Shcherbatskyi (1748-1757), asking for an accompanying letter for the Hieromonk Gregory, who had to return from Nizhyn to Mogilev, to the Archimandrite Philotheus.⁵⁸⁵

In the interval between the second half of 1751 and the first half of 1754, Chrysanthus must have left the Hetmanate. And perhaps this happened fairly soon, as already on 27 May 1754 a 'new' Jerusalem Archimandrite, Sylvestr Nikolayev, came from Jerusalem to the Kyivan See, also asking for permission to collect alms. This right was confirmed by a certificate of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Metropolitan of Gothia and Caffa, on the territory of which a number of Metochia of the Holy Sepulchre were also located.⁵⁸⁶ Sylvestr did receive permission to collect alms from the Kyivan See.⁵⁸⁷ This provides grounds for supposing that Chrysanthus must by that time have left the Hetmanate, because permission would probably not have been granted to Sylvestr to collect alms in the knowledge that someone else was collecting in the name of the Patriarch of Jerusalem at the same time.

Sometime later it transpired that the Archimandrite Sylvestr was an 'imposter', and the Holy Sepulchre quickly moved to regain the money collected on its behalf.⁵⁸⁸ Chrysanthus, now an Archimandrite, was sent, together with a novice, from Jerusalem to the Hetmanate. At the end of August 1755, he received a passport for

585. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2081, 1751, fol. 1.

586. Hasan Çolak, *Relations between the Ottoman central administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th-18th centuries*, 228.

587. IR NBUV [Institute of Manuscript of Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine], fond 301, item 605 L, 1755, fol. 264-264 v.

588. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 15-17 v.

travel from the Russian Resident in Constantinople, Aleksey Obreskov, and on 17 October 1755 he was already to be found on the borders of the Russian Empire, at the town of Vasylkiv.

On 28 January 1756, following the end of a six-week quarantine, Chrysanthus received permission to travel to Kyiv.⁵⁸⁹ By 31 January he had already transferred the certificate written by the Patriarch of Jerusalem Parthenius in Constantinople at the end of August 1755 to the Metropolitan of Kyiv Timothy Shcherbatskyi. At the same time, he asked the Metropolitan to pardon the Archimandrite Sylvestr, though he too had turned out to be “a thief,” and also to allow Archimandrite Chrysanthus to collect alms.⁵⁹⁰ Chrysanthus received this permission. He planned to collect alms across a fairly large area which covered both Ukrainian a number of Russian Eparchies. In particular, Chrysanthus wished to journey through the extensive Eparchies of Kyiv, Pereyaslav, Voronezh, and Smolensk.

Chrysanthus also asked the Metropolitan of Kyiv for exceptional authority to take possessions from all who deceitfully collected alms for the Holy Sepulchre. Such thieves should be dispatched to Kyiv.⁵⁹¹ Archimandrite Chrysanthus journeyed with well-known relics of the saints, which the faithful could venerate. In particular, he had a part of the Holy and Life-giving Cross, and relics of St. Panteleimon the Healer, Anastasia the Deliver from Potions, and St. Haralambos the Martyr, and also a number of other saints. He was granted permission to celebrate the Liturgy and other services.⁵⁹² The Archimandrite Chrysanthus bore with him a book of names in which he wrote a list of names for commemoration in Jerusalem.⁵⁹³ On 11 February 1756, the Jerusalem Archimandrite received from the Metropolitan of Kyiv permission to collect alms for the duration of two years, and also consent for all his other requests.⁵⁹⁴ In early March 1756, the Archimandrite Chrysanthus appealed to the Metropolitan of Kyiv with a further request for him to intercede with the Kish Otaman of the Zaporizhzhian Sich, and also with Bishops

589. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 1.

590. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 4-4 v.

591. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 5-6 v.

592. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 8.

593. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 9 – 10 v., 14.

594. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 15-17 v., 22-22 v.

of the Eparchy where he was travelling, requesting the collection of alms and the exposure of those collecting alms for the Holy Sepulchre deceitfully.⁵⁹⁵ The Metropolitan of Kyiv seems to have fulfilled this request, though much remains uncertain, including whether the Metropolitan composed such a letter to the Zaporizhian Sich.⁵⁹⁶

Relying on the testimony of primary sources, the two mentioned visits of the Archimandrite Chrysanthus to the Hetmanate (from 1748 to 1759, with breaks) may have resulted in the granting of property to the Jerusalem Patriarchate in Nizhyn, this being the place where the Jerusalem Archimandrite and other clerics were lodged on a regular basis. In particular, we happened upon information about the Jerusalem Archimandrite's building in materials from the Rummyantsev census of Nizhyn, conducted at the start of 1766. According to this description, the house was not large and consisted of several rooms, a barn, a stable, and a shed. It is stated in the description that the building was acquired by Archimandrite Chrysanthus himself.⁵⁹⁷

Already on 1 July 1766, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Parthenius signed a new certificate for the Metropolitan of Kyiv with a request for permission for the collection of alms by Chrysanthus, who was supposed to be in Nizhyn. Chrysanthus presented this to the Kyivan See on 8 October 1766. Already in January 1767, the Metropolitan of Kyiv granted permission for Chrysanthus to collect funds in his Eparchy, again for the duration of two years.⁵⁹⁸

On 5 June 1767, the Patriarch Parthenius appealed once more to the Metropolitan of Kyiv with a letter in which he provided the information that, due to his state of health, he was retiring, and, in his place, the patriarchal throne would be held by the Metropolitan of Bethlehem Ephram. In particular, the Patriarch was grateful for the Kyivan Metropolitanate's warm welcome of the Archimandrite Chrysanthus, and he promised to always recall the Metropolitan's name at the Holy Sepulchre.⁵⁹⁹ On that same day, the new Patriarch of Jerusalem Ephram II (1766-1770) prepared a letter in his own

595. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 22 -22 v.

596. TsDIAUK, fond 127, op. 1020, item 2879, 1756, fol. 23-25.

597. TsDIAUK, fond 57, op. 1, item 39, 1766-1767, fol. 753 v.-755.

598. TsDIAUK, fond 312, item 444/605 c, 1767, fol. 38-38 v.

599. TsDIAUK, fond 312, item 444/605 c, 1767, fol. 380-380 v.

name addressed to the Metropolitan of Kyiv concerning his appointment as Patriarch, and also asking for ongoing support for the Archimandrite Chrysanthus.⁶⁰⁰ These requests received a positive response from Kyiv.⁶⁰¹

The permission that Archimandrite Chrysanthus received at the start of 1767 to collect funds was to be in effect until the start of 1769. But nothing is known regarding these years, as also those following. It is quite possible that the 'silence of the sources' was caused by a forced break due to the Russian-Turkish war (1768-1774) and the resulting epidemic in the Russian Empire (1771-1774). There is every reason to suppose that for the duration of all this period Chrysanthus continued to find himself in Nizhyn, temporarily travelling to collect alms. In a judicial source from 1773, the fact that Chrysanthus had lived in Nizhyn for a long time is recorded.⁶⁰² This, together with the previous information about the very frequent issuance of alms collection permits during 1748-1768, may indicate a small but permanent presence of Jerusalemites in the Hetmanate and in and around Nizhyn in particular, with them using Nizhyn as their main base for the collection of alms in this region. Chrysanthus died in the second half 1773, perhaps due to the epidemic.⁶⁰³

Following the termination of the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774), in the early fall of 1776, the newly appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem Abraham II (1775-1787) sent the Archimandrite Bartholomew, the Hieromonk of the Holy Sepulchre Callinicos (Callinicos), and Hierodeacon Philaretus (Philaretos, Philaret) to gather the possessions which the Archimandrite Chrysanthus had left in Nizhyn, and also to collect alms in his place. The Archimandrite Gideon also departed with them, but he was to collect funds in St. Petersburg. The group from the Holy Sepulchre must have arrived in Kyiv approximately in January 1777, as it was at this time that they sent a request to the Metropolitan of Kyiv.⁶⁰⁴ As was the case

600. TsDIAUK, fond 312, item 444/605 c, 1767, fol. 374.

601. TsDIAUK, fond 312, item 444/605 c, 1767, fol. 375, 381.

602. DACHO [State Archives of Chernihiv Region], fond 101, op.1, item 2393, 1779, fol. 7.

603. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1776, fol. 5-7 v.

604. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1776, fol. 5-7 v.

with all his predecessors, the Archimandrite Bartholomew intended to visit Ukrainian and a number of Russian Eparchies.⁶⁰⁵

This group of alms-collectors were allowed to celebrate religious services above all in the Greek church in Nizhyn, but also in other places during the course of their travels. They were also allowed to bless the waters and carry out other church services.⁶⁰⁶ In return for the alms received, names were recorded so they could be read in Jerusalem for 'sorokousts'⁶⁰⁷ (daily prayerful commemoration of the names of the living or deceased read as part of the liturgy for the duration of 40 days, and/or recorded for commemoration in 'synodics').⁶⁰⁸

A biographical note regarding the newly arrived Archimandrite Bartholomew is preserved among the documents of the Kyiv Spiritual Consistory. His secular name was Basil. He was born in Constantinople in approximately 1739-1740 to a merchant father who was named Augerinos son of Chrysostomos and Zoe. By his 15th year he had managed to learn to write and read in Greek. After the death of his parents, he submitted a request to Patriarch of Jerusalem Parthenius to receive the monastic tonsure in Constantinople. He was tonsured as a monk in 'the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre' with the name of Bartholomew. After half a year, he was ordained a Deacon by His Grace Gabriel, Archbishop of Nyssa. He served ten years in this way, and following on from the death of Patriarch Parthenius, the new Patriarch Abraham raised him to the rank of Archdeacon. Then, three years on, he was ordained a Hieromonk in Jerusalem. Before his departure for the Russian Empire, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Abraham ordained him an Archimandrite of the Holy Sepulchre.⁶⁰⁹ In the Russian Empire, the Archimandrite Bartholomew together with his servants collected alms, with permission to do so for the duration of two years. By 1780 they had returned to Bucharest, where the Patriarch of Jerusalem Abraham II was in residence.⁶¹⁰

605. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1776, fol. 10 v. -11.

606. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1777, fol. 7-7 v.

607. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1777, fol. 13-14.

608. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1784, fol. 21-22.

609. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1784, fol. 30-31 v.

610. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1784, fol. 30-31 v.

In March 1784 the Patriarch Abraham again dispatched the Archimandrite Bartholomew, together with two other clerics, the Hieromonk Dionisius and the Hierodeacon Hierotheus (Hierotheos), and also alongside two lay servants, Gregory and Michael, to the Russian Empire. By the end of March the Deacon Ignatius (Ignatios), who had previously served Bartholomew, had also been sent out to follow in their retinue.⁶¹¹ There the group were called on to resolve a number of matters: questions connected with the governance of the Jerusalem Metochion in Nizhyn, the reception of charity from state authorities, the renewal of the Gramota (a document regulating the receipt of state alms) granted by the Holy Synod and also the renewal of their Chrysobull (a term used for a decree issued by the Byzantine Emperors which granted privileges, the original in this case having been burnt in a conflagration in Constantinople). And they were supposed to collect alms in the Eparchies of the Russian Empire.⁶¹² Finally, the Metropolitan of Kyiv Gabriel (Gavriil, Havryil) Kremenetskyi (1770–1783) had bequeathed five-hundred rubles to the Holy Sepulchre in his will, and this sum had to be collected. The group arrived in Kyiv in May 1784 and received permission to collect alms for the duration of only one single year.⁶¹³

It is not known if someone sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem travelled to the Metochion in Nizhyn or resided there during the course of the following eight years. Significant changes happened at this time. The Nizhyn Brotherhood, like other churches of Nizhyn, passed from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Kyiv to the Archbishop of Chernihiv in 1785. These changes also affected the Jerusalemites and, accordingly, they had to ask for permission to collect alms from the Hierarchs of Chernihiv.

In 1794 the Archimandrite Gerasimos (Gerasim) arrived in Nizhyn. He had also been sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. It is clear that he had travelled from Moldova, in as much as he was carrying a passport issued by the General Russian Consul in Moldova, Wallachia, and Bessarabia on 22 March 1794. In addition, he

611. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1784, fol. 25-25 v.

612. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1784, fol. 21-22, 26-27 v., 30-31 v.

613. TsDIAUK, fond. 127, op. 1020, item 4658, 1784, fol. 43-44 v.

came with a *Gramota* of the Patriarch of Jerusalem.⁶¹⁴ At the end of October 1795, Gerasimos received permission to collect alms in the Chernihiv Eparchy for the duration of only one year. In 1794, the Archimandrite Gerasimos sent the Hieromonk Simon to gather funds with the permission of Metropolitan of Katerynoslav Gavriil (Gabriel) Bănulescu-Bodoni throughout the territories subordinate to him.⁶¹⁵

In March 1804, the Hierarch of Chernihiv allowed Archimandrite Gerasimos to collect money, this time for a two year period.⁶¹⁶ From 1806 to 1808, he was also permitted to gather funds throughout a very large territory, including the Sees of Smolensk, Poltava, Sloboda-Ukraine, Mahilyow (Mogilev), Polatsk (Polotsk),⁶¹⁷ and Kursk.⁶¹⁸ The collection of alms across such large territories required the aid of additional people. In connection with this, beginning in 1806 and over a six year period a noblewoman from Kyiv and also a nun aided the Archimandrite Gerasimos in the collection of alms. Conflagration in the Church of Christ's Resurrection in Jerusalem in 1808 rendered this a necessary source of funds. In approximately 1812 the collection halted and the book for the collection of donations was handed over to a woman named Paraskeva from the Kuban, who continued this work until the end of 1814.⁶¹⁹ Monetary sums and other items collected by her were handed over to the Metropolitan of Katerynoslav, and in March 1815 they were to be found in the Chernihiv Consistory.⁶²⁰ Ivan Khrystoforov (Khrystofor/Christophoros son of Lagutka), a nobleman of Kherson, was, in April of that year, and at the request of his uncle the Archimandrite Gerasimos, to collect them.⁶²¹

As the historian Nikolay Kapterev notes, it was in this year that the Patriarch of Jerusalem Polycarpus (Polycarpus, 1808-1827), appointed the Archimandrite Arsenius (Arsenius) as Hegumen of

614. DACHO, fond 679, op. 4, item 992, 1814, fol. 12-12 v.

615. DACHO, fond 679, op. 4, item 992, 1814, 1794), fol. 15, 16 v.-17.

616. DACHO, fond 679, op. 4, item 992, 1814, fol. 12-12 v.

617. DACHO, fond 679, op. 4, item 992, 1814, Kharkiv, 1806), fol. 13-16.

618. DACHO, fond 679, op. 4, item 992, 1814, fol.19.

619. DACHO, fond 679, op. 4, item 992, 1814, fol. 15.

620. DACHO, fond 679, op. 4, item 992, 1814, fol. 27.

621. DACHO, fond 679, op. 4, item 992, 1815, fol. 33-34.

the Greek Monastery in Nizhyn. (this meant the Greek church in Nizhyn, which was sometimes called a Monastery). The Archimandrite Arsenius did not stay there long, and already in September 1815 he had departed from Nizhyn and his position there in order to collect alms in St. Petersburg, together with the monks Luke and Dionysius.

At the same time, the Archimandrite Arsenius was looking for opportunities to open a Metochion of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Moscow, St. Petersburg, or Kyiv. Finally, in 1817 he managed to receive permission to open a Jerusalem Metochion in Moscow, demonstrating the prestige of Jerusalem within the Empire. Three years earlier they had established another Metochion in Taganrog on the Sea of Azov.⁶²²

In 1820 disputes arose in the Jerusalem Metochion in Moscow in connection with accusations of the theft of church items and the concealing of sums collected. The Archimandrite Arsenius justified himself and recalled his many services to the Patriarchate: "I served the Lord's Sepulchre for twenty years with my heart, passionately and honestly, and here, in Moscow, I have continued for five years, where I collected up to three-hundred thousand rubles; in Nizhyn I renovated and rebuilt a Metochion. Why are the Jerusalemites ungrateful?"⁶²³

There are no surviving sources which confirm this information. It seems doubtful that he would have spent such sums in Nizhyn, while also establishing the Jerusalem Metochion in Moscow, and

622. F. Tarnovsky, 'Иерусалимский Александро-Невский монастырь в Таганроге, Екатеринославской епархии' [Jerusalem Alexander Nevsky Monastery in Taganrog, Yekaterinoslav diocese], *Записки Императорского одесского общества истории и древностей* [Notes of the Imperial Odessa Society of History and Antiquities], vol. 10, (Odessa, 1877): 436; S. Serafimov, Archpriest, 'Старинные греческие акты принадлежащие Музею Общества' [Old Greek documents belonging to the Museum of the Society], *Записки императорского одесского общества истории и древностей* [Notes of the Imperial Odessa Society of History and Antiquities], vol. 9, (Odessa, 1875): 385.

623. Cited in: N. Karterev, 'Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов с русским правительством в текущем столетии (1815-1844 гг.)' [Relations between the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and the Russian government in the current century (1815-1844)], *Православный Палестинский Сборник* [Orthodox Palestinian Review], 15 (1) (1898): 556.

also transferring alms to the Patriarch. Further, these events are not mentioned in the known letters Arsenius wrote to secular and church authorities. Nevertheless, this is the last known reference to the Jerusalem Metochion in Nizhyn. Perhaps it will be possible to learn the further history of its activities in the future, though the eclipse of Greek commerce in Nizhyn and the appearance of Jerusalem Metochion in Moscow and Taganrog seem correlated. Still, the presence of a Metochion in Nizhyn was not without its logic. For over a century Nizhyn was to remain a convenient base for the collection of alms within 'Little Russia'.

Despite the fact that in the territory of the Hetmanate we can find a number of examples of church real estate in the late 17th and early 19th centuries that were to prove more significant and weighty than the aforementioned, rather modest, Jerusalem Metochion in Nizhyn, this Metochion nevertheless deserves special attention. Through its history we can begin to recreate a broader, polycentric picture characteristic for Orthodox Christianity in the region at that time. Believers oriented themselves not only to local shrines (Kyiv, Nizhyn, Chernihiv and so on) but also to general Christian shrines such as those of Jerusalem.

The Jerusalemites who travelled to this region succeeded in generating an almost constant supply of alms, but also a need for the offering of donations in return for prayerful protection from the Holy Sepulchre. If for the Ukrainian dioceses this was one of the channels through which they could continue to be nourished by the wider Orthodox communion, for the Nizhyn merchants the presence of Jerusalem constituted one of the components of everyday religious life in the city.

At the same time, the Nizhyn Jerusalem Metochion served as a base for almsgiving in the surrounding area, in competition with other Nizhyn church centres (the Sinai Metochion, the Nizhyn Greek brotherhood, the Roman Catholic Church, local Orthodox monasteries and churches, etc.). These centres were connected to visiting clergy who – like the Jerusalemites – traveled through Ukrainian and Russian dioceses, hoping to get help.

This competition between different centres created the complex polycentric mosaic of religious outlooks, constituting a constant challenge to narrow ethnic and state church-administrative

boundaries. The Jerusalem Metochion of Nizhyn in Eastern Europe facilitated meetings between the diverse representatives of Eastern Christianity. The significance of the Nizhyn Metochion in this regard is enhanced by the absence of other patriarchal possessions from Moldova to St. Petersburg during the course of the 18th century.

5.

An analysis of the archival material of the Nizhyn Greek Dimitris Melas (1770–1842) in the collections of the State Archive of the Chernihiv Region

Eugene Chernukhin
Translated by Iannis Carras

The leading role played by Greek merchants during the 17th and 18th centuries in the development of foreign trade in and through Ukraine and, later, throughout the Russian Empire, has long been acknowledged. This position has thus far however seemed somewhat speculative, as it has not been based on studies of the phenomenon itself, but rather on generalized statistical data on trade. Only a few works discuss the Greek merchants and their companies over the course of this period.

The trend towards the study of the history of individual business entities of Greek origin in Ukraine and Russia, which has emerged in recent decades, has encountered difficulties, the main ones being the absence or limitations associated with primary sources, the shortcomings of archival catalogs and inventories, as well as the unpreparedness of researchers who need to work with multilingual manuscripts. Research has been carried out for the most part using the most widely accessible materials, mainly from the second half of the 19th century, while the history of entrepreneurship in previous eras remains largely unexplored.

This paper aims to consider a number of primary sources that reveal the activities of one of the most well-known Greek entrepreneurs in the Russian Empire, active from the end of the 18th through the first third of the 19th century: Dimitris (Greek merchants used various versions of their names and from here on he will usually be referred to as, Dmitri) Anastasiev(ich) Melas (1770–1842).

Dmitri Melas belonged to the last generation of prominent 'Nizhyn Greek' (the city also known as Nezhin or Nizna) entrepreneurs,⁶²⁴ alongside Zoi Kaplani (1736–1806),⁶²⁵ the brothers Mantos (1764–1824) and George (or Georgi, or Georgios) Rizari(s) (1769–1842),⁶²⁶ and the brothers Anastas(is) (1754–1819) and Nikolai (Nikolaos or Nicholas) Zosima(s) (1758–1842).⁶²⁷ All of them were widely known in Russia and in other European countries of that time. A number of historical works deal with their life and work, not only in Greece, but also in the places where they lived and traded.

Their entrepreneurial activities were a reflection of the extraordinary role of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood in the development of trade throughout Eastern Europe over the course of an extensive period from the end of the 17th century up until the 1820s. But they also serve as an indicator of the decline of that same Brotherhood, and the reorientation of Greek merchants to other commercial and industrial centers, trading in a novel range of goods and providing a new range of commercial services from the 1820s on.

Study of the commercial activities of the Nizhyn Greeks of the 17th–early 19th centuries is dependent upon the availability of primary sources, including the archives of trading companies. In the

624. For various historical and political reasons many 'Nizhyn Greeks' may also be thought of as 'Moscow Greeks', see, for example: A.D. Shakhova, "Нежинские греки в Москве в первой половине XIX в. [Greeks from Nizhyn in Moscow in the first half of the 19th century]", in *Россия и христианский Восток* [La Russie et L' Orient Chrétien], ed. B.L. Fonkich, vols. 4–5 (Moscow, Languages of Slavic Culture, 2015), pp. 537–560.

625. Σ. Μπέτης [S. Betis], "Ζώης Καπλάνης και Καπλάνειος Σχολή [Zois Kaplanis and the Kaplaneios School]", *Ηπειρώτικα Χρονικά* [Chronicles of Epirus] 20–21 (1977), pp. 19–307.

626. Mantos Rizaris received a passport to travel to Russia on commercial matters from the Nizhyn Greek Magistracy in November 1797 (DACHO [State Archives of Chernihiv Region], fond [fund] 101, op. [opys, inventory] 1, item 1153, fol. 2). Cases related to the property of Nizhyn and the capital of Georgi Rodionovich Rizari have also been preserved (Ibid., item 3141 (23 May–22 February 1842), 192 folios; item 3152 (15 March – 8 September 1844), 135 folios).

627. Σ. Μπέτης [S. Betis], *Οι Ζωσιμάδες και η συμβολή τους στη Νεοελληνική Αναγέννηση. Η ζωή και το έργο τους* [The Zosima brothers and their contribution to the Neohellenic Rebirth], Ioannina, 1990, 368 p.

case of Dmitri Melas, however, the available archives offer a rare opportunity to restore the main stages of his commercial activity within the Russian Empire, including institutional and organisational questions, directions of trade, major trading partners, product range and sales volume.

The main sources of information in Russia about the Melas family trading house (also referred to as a company or partnership) are documents from two personal collections located in the archives in Moscow (Russian Federation) and Chernihiv (Ukraine). Both collections, of course, go back to one single personal archive, that of Dmitri Melas, transferred by virtue of the legislation in force at that time to the Archive of the Moscow Treasury Chamber after the liquidation of the company and the death of its owner, in other words after 1842. Following on from the events of 1917, the Melas archive ended up in the newly formed 'Historical Archive' at the Moscow Regional Archival Administration and is currently fond 1572 in the Central Historical Archive of Moscow (TsIAM or, in the Russian, 'ЦИАМ' standing for 'Центральный Исторический Архив Москвы'). This collection contains seven cases from the period between 1808 and 1840.

For unknown reasons, a part of the original Melas archive ended up in the Central State Archive of the October Revolution and Socialist Construction of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv (hereinafter – TsGAOR or 'ЦГАОР' standing for 'Центральный государственный архив Октябрьской революции'). Melas' documents 'were not accepted' in Kharkiv and were transferred in 1962 to the Nizhyn branch of the State Archives of the Chernihiv Region. This is the place where the collection ('fund' or 'fond') 101 was kept – the Archival Material of the Nizhyn Greek Magistracy.

Documents from Kharkiv formed part of this collection as archival inventory (in Ukrainian 'opys', here 'op.') no. 2, within which, as was the case in TsIAM, seven items or files (in Ukrainian 'sprava') from the period between 1808 and 1840 were preserved. The reasons for the transfer of the Melas archive to Nizhyn are obvious: all the documents of the Moscow archive relating to Melas were once titled the 'Personal Collection of the Nizhyn Greek Merchant Dmitri Anastasievich Melas.'

The 'reunification' of these documents in Nizhyn was there-

fore appropriate. The only question concerns their dispatch to the archive in Kharkiv. Confusion with regard to the relevant archive may have occurred in Ufa, or some other city or Republic of the USSR where the archival collections evacuated during the war of 1941–1945 were sent for storage. It is also possible that there was a plan to transfer the entire Moscow archive of Dmitri Melas to the Ukrainian archives, but for some now unclear reasons only one part of it was transferred to Kharkiv, and the rest remained in Moscow. At the same time, there can be no doubt that originally all the documents of Dmitri Melas belonged to the Moscow archive, since they retained the stamps of the Moscow Regional Archival Administration. In May 1983, the archive of the Greek Nizhyn Magistracy (fond 101) was transferred from the Nizhyn branch of the archive to the main repository in Chernihiv.

This article constitutes an archaeological description of those documents from the archive of Dmitri Melas which can be found today in the State Archive of the Chernihiv Region (DACHO or 'ДАЧО' in other words 'Державний архів Чернігівської області' / also GACHO or 'ГАЧО' in other words 'Государственный архив Черниговской области' as the archive was termed and often cited until recently in the Russian, fond 101, op. (inventory) 2, sprava (item or file) 1–7. Thus, it is obvious that this study provides only limited information on the activities and biography of Dmitri Melas. Without consideration of similar documents from TsIAM and other archives, any conclusion reached here may prove limited or incorrect.

The documents in DACHO include account books ('конторские книги') of the Melas company (or partnership) from the first third of the 19th century. The seven items are arranged almost randomly in the inventory, with no clear chronology or division according to type of documentation. Two types of document can easily be distinguished:

1) income and expense books: item no. 7, 1815–1816, on 24 folios, and item no. 3, 1815–1817, on 92 folios.

2) copies of business correspondence: item no. 1, 1808–1811, 302 folios; item no. 2, 1815–1816, on 209 folios; item no. 4, 1817–1818, on 95 folios; item no. 5, 1818–1820, on 105 folios and item no. 6, 1834–1840, on 96 folios.

The account books of 1811–1820 were drawn up in accordance with the requirements of the Imperial Manifesto of the 12 February 1811. These were, in other words, ‘corded books’ (‘шнуровая книга’ in the singular) submitted to the Moscow Treasury Chamber for recalculation (the recounting and checking of accounts) and for the ‘cording’ or ‘stringing’ of the folios, followed by their sealing with an official seal. Five of the seven account books of the Melas family preserve on the rear-side of the final folios a recording of the number of folios made in the standard manner in the Moscow Treasury Chamber, and signed by the Moscow Deputy-Governor and the Gubernatorial Treasurer. There are also imprints of the official seal of the counting office of the Moscow Treasury Chamber, with red sealing wax at the end of the cords.

On the outer (title or protective) folio there should also have been wax seals on the cords, but these folios have for the most part been lost, and the cords with the seals were cut out. Books compiled before 1811 were not designed in this way. The book containing copies of correspondence from 1834 to 1840 is not corded either – either because of the more private nature of this correspondence, or simply because its composition commenced outside Russian lands.

All seven books were, it would appear, preserved in the depths of the Moscow archives in their original form, unknown today. Their current state bears traces of the Soviet era and was the result of their being bound together already in the Kharkiv ‘TsGAOR’ of the Ukrainian SSR. It was during this process of binding together that the cords were removed, some of these having been the older protective folios with their seals, and in their place new protective folios were added. All the manuscripts were placed within standard thick cardboard covers with leatherette spines and corners. Annotations compiled in the Soviet period are to be found on the inserted folios of all the cases bound in this way. Typewritten ones are to be found in the Nizhyn branch of the Chernihiv State Archive, where the books were transferred during the spring of 1962. But there are also handwritten annotations which may date back to Moscow, or to the period when they were kept in the ‘TsGAOR’ of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv. The number of original folios was for the most part preserved during the binding process, with the exception of manuscript item no. 7, from which most of the folios were

removed. These may have been blank or unused folios. Thus, only 20 of the previously 92 'bound' or 'corded' folios can be counted today. The page numbers made by the compilers were preserved in all the books, but this does not coincide with the current archival numbering (besides, the compilers, as a rule, started counting from the second folio of the 'corded' books).

Due to subsequent insertions and the binding process, all but one of the manuscripts contain a larger number of folios than had originally been indicated in the certification records of the Moscow Treasury Chamber. The number of the manuscript pages was carried out at different times, and in different archives, during the Soviet period. The numbering thus reflects the views and preferences of the employees of these institutions. In the present work, references to manuscript pages are given in accordance with the latest numbering. The archaeological description of the manuscript folios is given in full.

Despite there being two different types of documents, the Melas company books are relatively similar. They were produced according to the customs of that time, and of the partnership itself. In 'income and expense' books, all entries are noted in ink in special tables. Headlines often use large, stylized numbers and letters. Throughout the text and in the margins, there are many marks in ink and pencil, whether plain or red. The books contain a variety of receipts and expenditures (in Greek or in Russian) accounted in the form 'debit-credit' (νά δώση / νά λάβη) for the 'system', in other words either for the company itself, or for individual persons. These are noted according to category of goods / products, as well as in the form of offsetting financial documents and suchlike. Such entries usually occupy a spread of folios. In the upper field there is a heading with the name of a person or company, and in the lower field there is a balance sheet and a note on the closing of an account.

Books of copies of business correspondence were also set up in a uniform way. The copies of the letters were made in either Greek or in Russian by a variety of persons. In general, for the period between 1808 and 1820 records were kept by at least twenty scribes, each of them with varying degrees of accuracy and literacy. Most of these letters are business messages without inclusion of any

special preambles or formal conclusions. The letters constitute, in other words, the unsigned key parts or excerpts from longer texts that had been sent to the intended correspondents. Almost all letters had been written in Moscow on behalf of the leading members of the trading house, and particularly by leading members of the Melas family.

Some of the copies had been made not only by the company's employees, but also by its directors. Any specific analysis of handwriting used, however, is hampered by a lack of criteria for identification. The exception is the handwriting of Dmitri Melas himself, whose distinctive handwriting can be seen in copies of the last set of papers, containing letters from 1834 up into the 1840s. Almost all the company's letters had been sent on behalf of the company as a whole, less often on behalf of one particularly member of the family, and rarely by a certain 'K.K.', though again this was usually on behalf of the others.

There are far fewer Russian texts than Greek ones. Letters in Russian were sent to Russian citizens of non-Greek origin, to foreigners from the wider region, and, less often, to some of the Nizhyn Greeks. The Melas family themselves also received letters in different languages, but in their correspondence with those further 'West' they preferred to use Russian. In any case, in their letters they made repeated requests 'not to write in German' and they complained about the lack of appropriate translators in Moscow.

The copyists nearly always made notes on the left margin of the page about the location of the addressees, then their names, patronymics and surnames in the genitive, accusative or vocative case (when writing in the Greek language). The date and place of writing of the letter are then noted. A copy of the letter itself follows. In many cases no addresses are provided for the correspondents. Surnames (usually in Russian), and the designation of the destination, and even the date, and copies of new letters to a specific addressee are presented immediately after the previous 'correctly formatted' entry, without further clarification. Not all letters are presented in copies or excerpts, however. Frequently it is only descriptions of the letter sent or annotations (in the first person singular or plural) that are provided. On other occasions it is only the fact of sending a letter to this or that person that is noted, with or without a brief

resume of the letter's content. This is especially the case when there are repeated letters to the same addressee, written on the same or the following day.

As this is business correspondence, the letters provide us neither with exhaustive information about the personalities of their compilers or of the addressees, nor with information about the composition of families, about kinship and about other relationships. In order to determine the circle of the compilers and of their relatives we have to rely for the most part on the names of the addressees, the forms of address, and, more rarely, on the closing formulas in some of the messages.

Fortunately, we know from Greek historiography that the founders of the Melas trading network were three brothers: Panagiotis (1730–1816), Anastasi (1733–1801) and Leon (1738–1811). Anastasi had two sons: Dmitri (1770–1742) and Peter (Petros or, henceforth, Petr) (1792–1855); Leon has five sons and one daughter: Demetri (1772–1850), Theodosi (1775–?), Georgi (1785–1856), Ioann (1787–1833), Pavel (1790–1826) and Angeliki (?–?). All of these, in addition to the fourth brother, Stavr(os) (1740–1817) and his descendants, were organizers or participants in the family business.

The most authoritative source of information on the Melas family is the book 'One Family – One History', written by a member of the Melas family. It is based on the archive of Ioann Stavrou-Tsapalamos, kept in the National Library in Athens.⁶²⁸ The book is structured around individual biographies and contains brief resumes on the most famous members of the family, including Dmitri Anastasievich Melas.⁶²⁹ A major source of information for the author was the private and commercial correspondence between members of the family and their closest representatives.

This historiography has little to say about the activities of the Melas family in Eastern Europe. Such information as is provided is often, and unsurprisingly, inaccurate. From information extracted from the business correspondence and income and expense books of the Melas family preserved in the DACHO we may corroborate the following: the Melas trading firm in Russia seems to have been

628. Α.Ι. Μελάς [L.I. Melas], *Μία οικογένεια – Μία ιστορία* [One Family – One History] (Athens, 1967), 1052+22pictures+1graph.

629. Ibid., pp. 85-109.

founded by the eldest of the three brothers, that is Panos, or Panagiotis, Melas. His name is also known from the list of donors (συνδρομισταί) for a 'chalice' in the Church of All the Saints in Nizhyn. This list of donors was drawn up by Leondaris Rodanis, and can be dated to 25 March 1802.⁶³⁰

At some stage, his nephews, the much younger Anastasi, Dmitri and Petr, joined their uncle in the business. Dmitri Anastasievich himself was clearly a member of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood until his death. His brother Petr was also a Russian subject, but whether Petr was also a 'Nizhyn Greek' remains unknown. This is likely. However, as in the case of Zoi Pavlovich Zosima (Zoes Zosimas, 1764–1828), who, unlike his brothers Anastasi and Nikolai was a 'Moscow Greek', individual representatives of Greek families might from the outset have been oriented towards integration into different Russian cities and 'societies'.

The names of many representatives of the Melas family are found in the documents of the Chernihiv archive in a range of contexts, but their relationship with one another is not always obvious. In the certification record of the Moscow Treasury Chamber, one of the 'corded' books notes that this was received in January 1815 from 'Ivan Stavrov and Dmitri Anastasiev, children of Melas.' Indeed, the name of Ioann Stavrovich (or, Ioann Stavrou) is found relatively often, and exists in almost all the surviving documents. However, he is referred to everywhere as a 'brother'. How should we understand from the use of this word? Ioann Stavrou (1776–1846) was, it should be clear, the son of Stavr(os) Melas (1740–1817), the brother of Leon (Leondaris), Anastasi and Panagioti, in other words the cousin of Dmitri Melas, and one of the leading members of the Moscow branch of the company.

630. IP НБУВ, or 'Інститут рукопису, Національна бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського [Institute of Manuscripts of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine]', fond 72, op. 28, fol. 24. This is a folio inserted into the synodical Book of the Nizhyn Greek Brotherhood, 1696–1785. The contribution of Panagiotis Melas is worth five rubles, which suggests either limited generosity or small wealth. Anastasi Zosima, Pavel Eliat, Dmitri Morait or Ioann Klitsa, in contrast, contributed twenty-five rubles each, and Ioann Mantov fifty rubles. A donation of five rubles was made by twenty of the brothers. Only three out of a total of forty-three donations were for a sum of less than five rubles.

In a number of cases, the letters of Ioann Stavrou, were written (as these are preserved in the copies that have come down to us) in the first-person singular. This is in contrast to other previous letters written in the plural. Sometimes there are references to the absence or illness of one or another of the brothers. Based on these instances, which are not frequent, we might conclude that the second absent 'brother' was Pavel (also called Panos, or Panagiotis) Alekseyevich or, alternatively, Dmitri Anastasievich. Yet all of these seem to be representatives of different generations and branches of the family. Consequently, a certain 'elder' brother, who could only be Leon must also have been in Moscow up until 1811. In addition, it is worth noting that the name Pavel could serve as a substitute for the Greek name Panos, or Panagiotis. The patronymic Alekseyevich may be considered equally unexpected. Though quite 'Greek', it is, nevertheless, unknown in the Melas family, and probably served as a substitute for the Greek 'Leonovich'.

Often letters or appeals are directly addressed to cousins (ξαδέρφια). This is true for letters written by Dmitri Melas addressed to George (Georgi, Georgios) or Theodosios (Feodosi) Leonovich. But Pavel Alekseyevich and Ioann Stavrou are also sometimes addressed under the general term 'cousin'.

Whatever their family status may have been, Dmitri Anastasievich Melas appears in all the relevant documents as one of the 'owners' of the Moscow company. His indispensable companions up until 1840 (that is, up until the end of the available documentation) were 'brother' Ioann Stavrovich 'in Moscow', and his brother by birth Petr Anastasievich in Constantinople.

Little is known about the education, personal life and family of Dmitri Melas. Melas shared some of his reminiscences in a lengthy letter to Ioann (Ivan, John) Anastasievich Klitsa in Nizhyn, a letter dated to the 13 July 1816 item no. 2, fol. 146–146 v.). As he explains, his teacher of Greek and Russian was the Moscow teacher and translator Pavel Danilovich Antonovich († 1831). But even without this detail, and on the basis of only the texts of the letters themselves, it is clear that Dmitri Melas was highly educated. He writes easily and beautifully in both Russian and Greek, brilliantly mastering the then rhetoric, not only when discussing business, but also cultural life. And he expresses himself freely and at length on

various ethical and religious topics.

Little is known about the family of Dmitri Melas. In April 1839 he addressed a request to the authorities in Nizhyn not to issue any further passport to his ex-wife, Vera Zotovna Lenzhe. There he describes in detail the consequences of her visit to his Nizhyn apartment during August and September 1836. She had seized (or so he claimed) everything he had that was of value, including his personal belongings (item no. 6, ff. 77 v.–78). The name Lenzhe also appears in other contexts. It is known that Anastasi Zotovich Lenzhe was an employee of the Russian-American Company, later the director of its Okhotsk trading post (this was the main Russian base on the Pacific coast from about 1650 to 1860). In the letters of Dmitri Melas and other sources, Ekaterina Lenzhe is also mentioned as the 'Nizhyn Greek woman' and as the 'sister' of the Melas family.

Anastasi Dmitrievich Melas was in all likelihood the son of Dmitri Melas and Vera Lenzhe. He was an officer of the Belozersk Infantry Regiment. A letter from Moscow is addressed to him in Trubchevsk (Bryansk region), dated to 29 April 1838 (item no. 7, fol. 64 v.). Unfortunately, this letter was not copied out in full, and only a brief note of its content is preserved. From this it follows that the father was trying to guide his son, setting him on to the 'true path.' Before entering military service, Anastasi Dmitrievich was listed as a 'Nizhyn Greek', which he had become back in December 1815.⁶³¹ The future progress of Dmitri Melas' son remains unknown. In Greek sources there is a brief mention of his belonging to the nobility, and also of the bequest of a significant amount of money to him by his father.⁶³²

Not being able to evaluate the full duration of the Melas family's commercial activities in Russia, it may be assumed that the earliest archival documents (1808–1811) reflect the company's peak. Since the archives pertaining to Dmitri Melas in TsIAM do not contain documents prior to 1808, it can also be assumed that it was at this time or shortly before that Melas moved to Moscow, or that this was the point at which their business reached a certain level of develop-

631. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 1362 (11 December–30 December 1815), 5 folios.

632. Α. Ι. Μελάς [L.I. Melas], *Μιά οικογένεια – Μιά ιστορία* [One Family – One Story], pp. 85–109.

Image 5.1: ‘Λογαριασμός Ιντερέσσου’, ‘Account of interest’ of Eustathios Lengaro with Joannes and Panagiotos Melas, Beginning of the XIX c. DACHO, F. 101, op. 1, item 4276, f. 6. In Greek.

Ημερομηνία: 1840
 Ημερομηνία: 1840

1. Επένδυση... 7500.00
 του ετήσιου... 6296.50
 Πάροχος... 114.60
 για τον... 6411.10
 Α: 1088.90

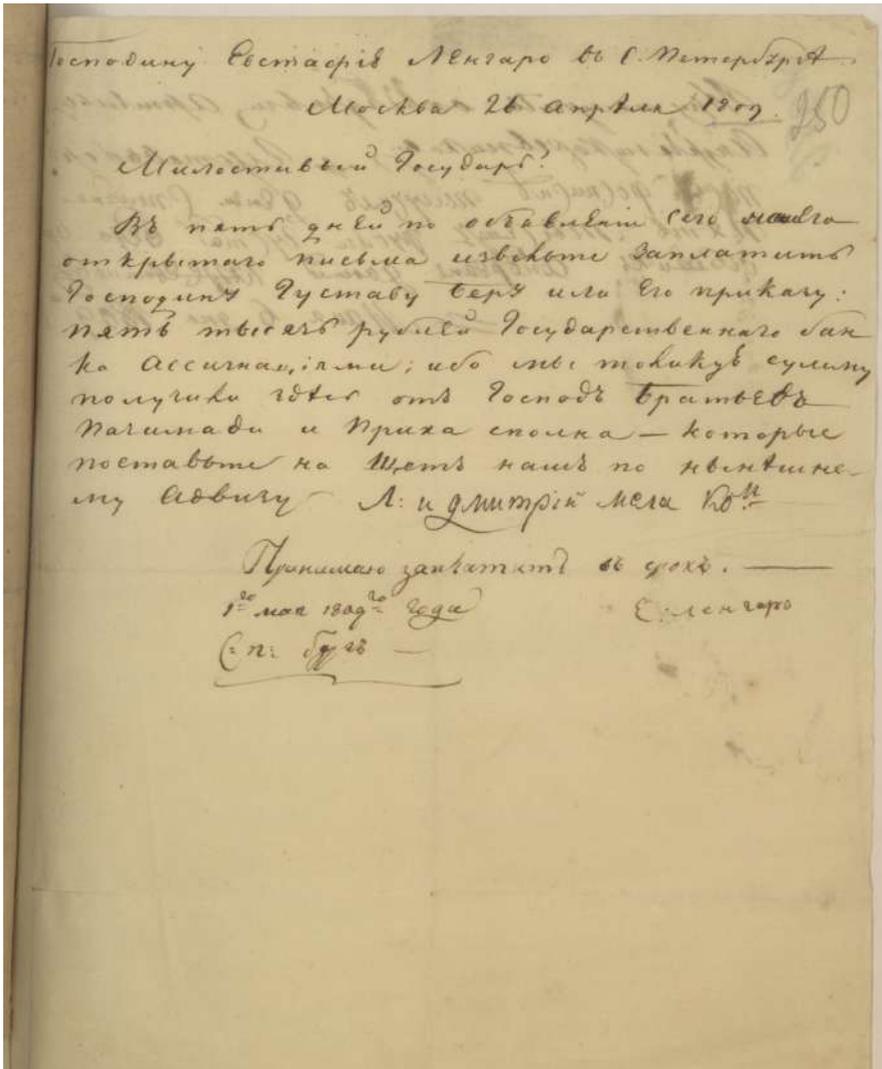
2. ... 17.10
 του... Α: 1136.00

Αριθμός... 1136.00
 3000.00
 7500.00
 187.50
 Α: 8823.50

Α: 8823.50

Ημερομηνία... 1840
 Ημερομηνία... 1840

Image 5.2: Letter from Leon and Dmitri Melas to Eustathios Lengaro, 26 April 1809. From Moscow to St. Petersburg. DACHO, F. 101, op. 2., item 4319, f. 250. Written by D. Melas, in Russian. Under the text the note of E. Lengaro dating the 1 May 1809, giving consent.



ment. The place of residence of the Melas family in Moscow, as well as that of many other Nizhyn Greeks, is known to us from a recent study by A.D. Shakhova. This, the house of the 'Greek woman E. Melas', was located on the Varvarka, not far from the Gostiny Dvor (the 'Merchants' Court).⁶³³

The surviving archival material provides us with a rare opportunity to see how the Melas trade network was structured, with what countries and cities it was connected, what goods it conveyed, and the ways in which the material movement was secured, and commercial projects financed.

As is well known, the Nizhyn Greek's entrepreneurial activities were spread over a vast area from Western Europe to North America. The Melas company was engaged in trade through its agents in Livorno and Amsterdam in the West, Constantinople in the South, St. Petersburg in the North, and Kazan and Irbit in the East. So-called 'colonial' goods from the depths of Africa and Asia were traded through Constantinople, and goods from China and the Far East were traded through Kazan. Goods from the Russian-American Company in Alaska were traded through Irbit. The movement of goods in all these directions was two-way.

The surviving correspondence makes it possible to determine the names of the Melas family agents in various countries and cities, as well as the connections between them, each being responsible for a part of the network and for the movement of goods through a particular region. The network's method of operation was simple: correspondents informed the centrally located Melas family about the state of the markets and particular events and circumstances further afield, and also about exchange rates. In Moscow, a decision was made to purchase a consignment of goods, and either the agent, when he had the appropriate authority, or the relevant trading partner, were informed.

Finance, that is payment, was arranged in a number of different ways. The direct transfer of money was of course one possibility, but more frequently other financial instruments were employed.

633. A.D. Shakhova, "Нежинские греки в Москве в первой половине XIX в. [Greeks from Nizhyn in Moscow in the first half of the 19th century]", in *Россия и христианский Восток* [La Russie et L' Orient Chrétien], ed. B.L. Fonkich, vols. 4-5 (Moscow, Languages of Slavic Culture, 2015), pp. 537–560.

'Barter' exchange of goods between partners might be arranged. Often financing for the purchase of goods was taken on by a third party, either a bank or some other company. Goods from abroad, which were the majority, were met in the border areas by other 'correspondents', who then passed them on. Judging from the correspondence, the rotation of Melas agents within the network was a rarity. As a rule, agents worked in the same cities and countries over the course of many years. Members of the Melas family themselves did not in fact travel all that often. They did visit 'each other', however, and the journeying of family members to fairs in Makariv (Makarov), Romny and Nizhny Novgorod, as well as Nizhyn, are worth noting, these being places where members of the family had official and business interests. The task of accompanying goods was usually carried out by the company's clerks and by temporarily hired employees, who were supplied with the necessary documents and letters of accreditation.

The surviving correspondence allows us to trace the transfer of particular products from purchase to sale and payment through messages sent to relevant persons. Intermediate points for the receipt of goods from abroad constitute a characteristic feature of this trade. Goods from Constantinople – precious metals, stones, jewelry, pearls, incense, various 'colonial' goods – came through Odesa (Odessa, Odissos). Western European goods, mainly fine cloth from Holland and Austria, through the Polish-Ukrainian (or rather 'Jewish') towns of Breslavl (Wroclaw, Breslau), Brody (Brod), Radyvyliv (Radzivilov, R'dzhivilub), Mogilev (Mahilyow). Balkan goods came through Bucharest and Jassy (Iasi, Iasio) to Odobeshti and Dubosari (Dubasari). Irbit was the most eastern point for purchases on this network, but, in general, eastern goods were transported through Kazan, through which the Melas family kept up an active correspondence. Furs, yuft (bark tanned cow-leather), wax, Bukharan paper and a number of exotic goods such as the castor sacks of mature beavers ('бобровая струя', used in perfumes and for medicinal purposes), musk, ginger and turmeric all arrived in Kazan from further East.

The city of St. Petersburg was central to this network. It was here that the lion's share of Western European goods was purchased, arriving by sea and sold in the markets of this northern capital. This

was the trading centre of the Russia Empire, and it was difficult to operate within an all-Russian market without being located here. In any case, the family's St. Petersburg correspondents, or rather the family partners Evstafi Lengaro,⁶³⁴ and the merchants Potapovs, served for as the most reliable source of information concerning the conditions in the all-Russian market.

The available documents suggest changes in the priorities and commercial capabilities of the company between the period between 1808 and 1811, on the one hand, and that between 1815 and 1818, on the other. In the period between 1808 and 1811 agents or, as they are termed by the company's leading members, 'correspondents', were located in the following cities: Amsterdam, Breslavl, Brody, Bucharest, Vienna, Venice, Dubosari, Ekaterinburg, Kazan, Constantinople, Kursk, Mogilev, Nizhyn, Odesa, Perm, Radyvyliv, St. Petersburg, Taganrog, Ioannina (Janina), Jassy. The largest number of correspondents was to be found in Constantinople (19), somewhat fewer in Odesa (17), Nizhyn (14), Taganrog (10), St. Petersburg (9). One each was located in cities of the 'Russian hinterland' – Ekaterinburg, Perm, as well as in Brody, Dubosari and small towns near the western borders of the Russian Empire.

The importance of individual agents or partners can be judged by the intensity of the correspondence. Absolute primacy belongs to Dmitri Gadelou in Radyvyliv and Brody and Vasili Spyrovich Xenis in Odesa, each of them receiving more than one-hundred letters. This was followed by Afanasi Artemevich Potapov in St. Petersburg (more than eighty letters) and Anastasi Dmitrievich Mavromatis in Constantinople (more than seventy). Among the permanent partners during this period were Evstafi Lengaro in St. Petersburg, Stavr(os) Ioannou in Vienna, Ioann Anastasievich Klitsa in Nizhyn, Emmanuil Skliris in Odesa, and Steri(os) Barda in Bucharest.

Credit for the purchase of Western European goods was guaranteed, in particular, by Abraham Peretz, B.I. Bochtein (Bodstein), Gideon von Pahali, Karl Heinrich Fritsch and their representatives,

634. The Lengaro family has a long Nizhyn pedigree. The archive contains documents mentioning Theodor(os) (Fedor) and Stepan (Stephanos) Lengaro, as well as lengthy documentation concerning the case of guardianship of the property and young children of Evstafi Dementievich Lengaro. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, items 2846–2847 (1817), ff. 213, 217.

who were based in towns on or in the proximity of the borders of the Russian Empire (see Table 1).

The range of goods purchased and sold by the Melas family was extremely diverse and at this stage of the study it is difficult to categorize and determine which were preponderant. Judging by the nature of much of the correspondence, the company was constantly looking for opportunities to buy low and sell high. That is how the correspondents put it. In general, company letters can be conditionally divided into several categories: 1) market information, the goal of searching for a 'cheap' or specific product, for example, paper or 'fish glue' (or 'ichtyocolle', glue obtained from sturgeon swim bladders, with several uses including in painting); 2) business correspondence, including confirmation of the purchase, payment or description of the accompanying goods; 3) claims, demanding the return of a debt, goods, or, on the contrary, requests to delay payment or delivery. More frequently, all these categories are found side by side, or even simultaneously, in the correspondence, creating the impression that 'everyone is doing everything.'

Among the Russian partners of the Melas family company, it is worth mentioning the Russian-American Joint-Stock Company, among whose shareholders were many 'Nizhyn Greeks.' Of great importance to the Melas were Afanasi Artemievich and Petr Afanasievich, members of the the Potapov family in St. Petersburg. In a letter to Afanasi Artemievich from 16 August 1809, the Melas family complains about the 'standstill' in foreign trade, and emphasises the need to make a shift to the domestic market. In the spring of the very next year, the Melas family asks the Potapovs to purchase ten to fifteen thousand puds (a pud or pood was later set at approximately 16.38 kg) of iron from Demidov, and a little later a request was placed for the purchase of five hundred puds of paper.

However, the Melas family represented only one of many companies with ties to the Potapovs. In one of the letters, the Melas family expresses its dissatisfaction. After repeated requests to the Potapovs for the purchase of paper, they were surprised to discover that another 'Nizhyn Greek' Stefan Buba had bought paper from the Potapovs. There were similar disagreements with the Potapovs later, but these differences did not interfere with further cooperation between the companies. It is Afanasi Potapov that the Melas family

asks to buy 'something' from among the goods confiscated in the port to the amount of up to fifty thousand rubles. The purchase of one thousand pounds of cow's butter from Kazan and its transport to the west of Russia, and the purchase of a batch of champagne bottles through the Potapovs in order to sell 'anywhere, but at a price of ten rubles per bottle' were among the other internal trading operations made by the Melas family during the years running up to the war of 1812.

There is little information in the Chernihiv documents concerning the duration of the war of 1812 and the immediate post-war years.⁶³⁵ Trade relations with the West must have been paused and some Greeks may have chosen to weather the storm outside Russia. By 1815 the company activities had been resumed, though not at first on the same scale. The number of cities through which trade was carried out and the number of correspondents significantly decreased, and the volume of goods and the range and number of purchases fell. On the whole, however, the Melas network survived. This is noticeable both in terms of the composition of key agents and in the preservation of the main directions of trade, and the types of goods traded.

Here is a list of the cities where the 'old', in other words the pre-existing trading partners and correspondents of the Melas family were located in 1815–1820: Amsterdam, Vienna, Breslavl, Bucharest, Kazan, Constantinople, Livorno, Nizhyn, Odesa, Radyvyliv, St. Petersburg, Taganrog, Ioannina, Jassy. Correspondents write to the Melas company from certain 'new' cities also: Berdychiv (Berdichev), Warsaw, Kyiv, Chisinau (Kisinau, Kishinev), Kremenchuk, Libau (Liepaja, Libava), Lublin, Makariv, Rostov, Smyrna (Izmir), Theodosia (Feodosia), Yaroslavl. The towns of Brody, Mogilev and Dubosari remain important intermediate points in these trading networks. Among their 'old' partners the following names appear:

635. About Greeks in Moscow after the French invasion to Russia see my recent publication: E. K. Chernukhin, 'Димитрій Говделас (1780–1831): невідомі сторінки біографії (за документами з архіву Ніжинського грецького магістрату)' [Demetri Gobelias (1780–1831): Unknown Pages of Biography (on the Documents from the Nizhyn Greek Magistrate Archives)], in 'Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України' [Manuscript and Book Heritage of Ukraine], (Kyiv 2024), 2 (33), pp. 163–185.

Ioann Klitsa in Nizhyn, Anastasi Dmitrievich Mavromatis in Constantinople, Abram Peretz in Breslavl, Dmitri Gadelou in Brody, Stavr(os) Ioannou in Vienna, Emmanuil Skliris and Vasili Spyrovich Xenis in Odesa, the Potapovs in St. Petersburg and others.

As might be expected, by the end of this period significant new names appear: Petr Alekseevich Ponomarev in Warsaw; Musa Abdulovich in Kazan; Alexei Nikolaidis in Venice; Themelis Stamirov (Θεμέλης Σταμύροβ) in Odesa; Panagiotis Tomaras (Παναγιώτης Τομαράς) in Theodosia and others.

Changes in the demand for products require further investigation. Indicatively, on 20 September 1816, P.A. Melas sends a letter to Ilya Ivanovich Gordenin (item no. 2, fol. 179 v.) concerning the possible purchase of one-thousand 'chetverts' (one 'chetvert' corresponds to 5.96 bushels) of 'arnaut', or 'Albanian', wheat (a type of durum wheat). The Melas family must have been attempting to enter the fast-growing grain market. New financial partners in the West are also notable, among others, J. Hausner & W. Violand, Zeylik Ravicher, Mospinioti, Fischel Zelikovich Inlender, Chaim Remilovsky, Loizer Rehert, and Solomon Shkler (see Tables 2, 3, 4). As seen in the large number of letters which almost reached the quantity that characterized the period between 1808 and 1810 (see Table), most of the profits continued to come from traditional purchases such as 'colonial' goods, cloth, furs, glue, rhubarb and suchlike. It is interesting to note the financial partners of Jewish background.

As was the case previously, the Melas family did not overlook the opportunities offered by small-scale speculation in alcoholic beverages. On 14 January 1818, the Melas company bought twenty boxes of cognac for the Russian-American Company, reporting that in Moscow a bottle cost four rubles, and that 'you should sell it at whatever price you like.' An order placed by the Melas family 'for one friend' (probably Ioann Klitsa) was altogether more impressive, including one-thousand six-hundred ermine, two-thousand squirrel furs, and suchlike (item no. 4, fol. 85 v.).

Copies of the business correspondence of these years can be supplemented through the use of two books of income and expenditure for the period between 1815 and 1817 (item nos. 3, 7). Both were issued as 'corded books' in the Moscow Treasury Chamber on 12

January 1815 and they contained ninety-two folios each. However, only one of them (item no. 3) has been preserved in full. From the second (item no. 7), only twenty-two folios have been preserved. Income and expense entries in the first of the books were made for the period between 26 February 1815 and 31 May 1818. In the second, from January 1815 to the end of 1816, the entries may tentatively be divided into: 1) those relating to the company organisation ('systems'); 2) individual persons; and 3) diverse categories of goods. The accounts are mixed, including a variety of categories, such as money, possessions, goods, promissory notes ('вексели') and such like.

In the income and expense books many familiar names appear, and these serve as an important source of information for the Melas company's economic relations with partners, debtors and creditors. In both these books we find the names not only of Dmitri Melas but of his relatives, Panagiot Alekseyevich, Panagiot Dmitrievich, Ivan Stavrovich, Dmitri Leonovich. A number of names that are not to be found in the business correspondence are present in the income and expense books, however, among them, for example, the name of noble Fyodor Mikhailovich Turgenev (1779–1854). There are many entries in the book for those who borrowed money from the Melas family, taking goods on debt, or, alternatively, providing credit for Melas family operations.

According to the results of 1816, the balance of the 'cash on-hand' ('текущей кассы') of the company amounted to 716,724.16 rubles. In these early post-war years, everything seemed to be moving towards a complete restoration of the company's previous turnover. The network of agents and the range of goods were expanding, there was a reorientation towards new types and methods of trade, in particular, towards the aforementioned transportation of grain.

Misfortune, when it came, came from an unexpected quarter. The details of the events of those years emerge from copies of the correspondence of 1834 to 1840, these being the last available documents. They retell the life of Dmitri Melas and the activities of his company. Unlike previous documents, these copies were not intended for outside inspection. In this sense, their rationale and purpose are not entirely clear. What made Dmitri Melas carry this bulky book, painstakingly rewriting his correspondence therein?

Was this a continuation of his habitual practices, or does it indicate a desire to preserve some kind of a personal archive for posterity?

As the title implies, the immediate purpose of Dmitri Melas in creating copies of his correspondence was to highlight the future of his joint company with Christodoulos Ikonomu (which may, more formally, be written as Oikonomou), as well as to record the state of some of his personal affairs. It is thanks to the clerical meticulousness of Dmitri Melas and his habit of copying the letters sent to him that we can evaluate the stream of events that led to the collapse of the company, and the situation in which Dmitri Melas found himself during his final years.

The book begins with copies of several letters or notes sent in early August 1834 to Petr (Peter etc.) Ikonomu. Since there is no address, and letters were sent from Corfu (the presence of Dmitri Melas on Corfu, and his brother in Constantinople can be associated with an outbreak of plague in Odesa in 1829), it may be assumed that Petr Ikonomu was also on this island. Immediately following on from the letters to Petr Ikonomu are copies of powers of attorney in Russian, drawn up by Dmitri Melas in the Russian consulate on the island. Thus, in the presence of the Consul and Collegiate Adviser Spyridon Pavlovich Popandopulo, Dmitri Melas delegated power and authority for the partnership in which he was a partner together with his 'sons-in-law' Asimakis Krokidis and Christodoulos Ikonomu, to his own brother, the Russian subject Petr Anastasievich Melas in Constantinople. The death of Asimakis Krokidis and the consent of the heirs to this change are indicated as reasons for this, in addition to the impossibility of Dmitri Melas travelling to Constantinople in person to receive debt and other documents illegally withheld by Spyridon Hadjichristo.

On the pages that follow Dmitri Melas provides copies of letters dispatched from Corfu during the period between September 1834 and November 1834. Here he informs his brother Petr Melas in Constantinople, Christodoulos Ikonomu in Ioannina and Theocharis Nikolaou in Arta concerning decisions taken and other details of the case. He cites the text of another power of attorney (одной доверенности), also in the name of brother Petr Melas, issued at the Russian consulate in Corfu on 12 November 1834. A copy of the appeal to Alexandr Vladimirovich Chevkin, a Russian diplomat in Constanti-

nople, with a request that he assist Dmitri's brother Petr Melas in the seizure of documents from Spyridon Hadjichristo, is also included.

From all these messages, we learn the main reason for the decline and death, if not of the entire Melas trading house in Moscow, then at least of the share Dmitri Melas had in the partnership. In the spring of 1821, an employee of the trading company, the Nizhyn Greek Apostol Ninov found himself in Constantinople. Against the backdrop of swiftly unfolding political events and threats to his life, Ninov left a 'sealed cloth file' (σφραγισμένο μαντίλι) including various documents in the apartment of Spyridon Hadjichristo. Among these was a promissory note for 30,000 Levs (or Aslans). This, according to Dmitri Melas, was done in lieu of a receipt, a commercial 'security, made due to the danger of that time and for its preservation ('ассигурацией, ради опасности того времени иже сохранения сделанная') and did not contain a real promissory note or obligation ('и не содержала реального долгового обязательства'). It is this 'file' with a receipt ('платок с распиской'), which, by that time had been drawn up by power of attorney in the 'Ministerial Imperial Chancellery' ('находящиеся ко времени составления доверенности в «Министерской императорской канцелярии»), which the Melas family had been unsuccessfully trying to have returned over the course of many years.

From other reports we know that in 1824 the Melas family asked Spyridon Hadjichristo and Kiriak Zhukas to open the 'file' in the presence of witnesses and make an inventory of its contents. The same was determined by a special commission on this issue convened in St. Petersburg. Meanwhile, Spyridon Hadjichristo submitted his demands to the Moscow Administrative Court (Московский Надворный Суд). Dmitri Melas' brother Petr, in turn, filed a corresponding petition with the Minister.

The issue of the 'file' and debt obligations contained therein will remain of paramount importance during all the subsequent years of Dmitri Melas' life. As this issue is presented, it appears that the documents were illegally seized from the 'file' and used to the detriment of his company. In the chapter which discusses Dmitri Melas from the work 'Family and History' a slightly different interpretation of the reasons for the bankruptcy of the company is presented. The Greek Revolution of 1821–1829 is placed at the forefront. The

purchase of goods on credit, the impossibility of their timely sale, confiscation, and other difficulties associated with the war led to the decline and fall of Dmitri's branch of the Melas family.

Although back in August 1834 he had claimed that this would be impossible, Dmitri Melas set off for Constantinople in mid-January 1835. He spent quite a long time in Constantinople, living in the Christian region of Pera, or Stavrodromi (Beyoglu). Early in 1836, he was already back in Moscow. However, in July he can be seen writing letters from St. Petersburg, where he stayed until mid-November. The first letter written upon his return to Moscow was sent to Leon Dmitrievich Melas on December 21, but it deals with events that preceded this date. These events were to determine the dramatic end of Dmitri Melas' life.

Almost immediately upon arrival in Moscow, Dmitri Melas received a summons from the Deanery Council (a city police and administrative body established in 1782 according to the Charter of the Deanery, or police). He managed to inform his nephew in Odesa in time. On December 11, Dmitri Melas and company were sued to the tune of three thousand rubles on behalf of Ivan Ivanovich (Ioannovich) Valuan (or Valuyan). Having provided a written undertaking that he would not leave Moscow, Dmitri Melas returned home. However, not being able to pay the debt or negotiate with the plaintiff, he was arrested on December 21. The next day he was imprisoned in a 'pit', where he was to spend several months.

The term of his confinement was extensive, and must have been painful for an already elderly person. Dmitri Melas made no complaints, however. There is no note in his letters of the indifference of relatives or of colleagues, nor even of the partiality of the plaintiffs. It would appear that Dmitri Melas had unconditionally assumed all the debts of the company, as though this were some kind of 'finger of God' or 'punishment of the Lord,' to be endured with stoic humility. According to Dmitri Melas himself, he owed his release on 'Easter Thursday' 22 April 1837 to the intercession of Nikolai Ivanovich Samardzha (also Samaria), the petition of Ivan Valuan and the order of the Moscow Chief of Police, Major General Lev Mikhailovich Tsynski (1834–1845). The first letters written by Dmitri Melas after his release recount these events. Since one of the letters dealt with the possibility of rewriting a debt instrument into

three separate obligations of a thousand rubles each, this was in all probability the solution that was in fact followed. Dmitri Melas spent the remaining years of his life in poverty, almost in deprivation. As already noted, back in August–September 1836, following the request of his ex-wife, he had lost valuable possession that had been in his apartment in Nizhyn. It would appear that he had also lost his house in Moscow ‘on the Varvarka’, as he was now residing in a one room ‘cell’ in the Greek monastery on St. Nicholas’ Street. Among the few valuables he kept with him was an icon of the Life-Giving Spring (in other words the traditional depiction of the Mother of God’s revelation of a spring in Constantinople).

In a letter sent on 24 August 1837 from Makariv to Nizhyn, to Grigori (Gregory etc.) Fedorovich (Theodorovich etc.) Klitsa, Dimitri Melas requested that he find a buyer for the icon. In another letter to Anastasia Feodorovna Klitsa (the widow of Ioann Klitsa), also in Nizhyn, he asks her to pay an old debt he had found among his papers that had been issued by her late husband, amounting to 317 rubles 90 kopecks. It is obvious that Dmitri Melas felt some embarrassment at this request of his, and also in relating his miserable condition. He sent a copy of his letter concerning this debt to Grigori Feodorovich Klitsa, Anastasia Feodorovna’s brother. The issue of the payment was, for reasons unknown to us, delayed. On 8 March of the following 1838, Dmitri Melas again made the same request, this time writing directly to Grigori Feodorovich Klitsa. The money owed was transferred by the son of Ivan Anastasievich, Nikolai Ivanovich Klitsa, through Alexander Manoilovich Haritov. On 12 July 1838, Dmitri Melas gratefully informed Anastasia Feodorovna Klitsa of receipt.⁶³⁶

Among the addressees of Dmitri Melas during the following year of 1839 were his relatives in Odesa and Constantinople, the Nizhyn Greeks Spyridon Pavlovich Zamaria, Nikolai Zosima and Nikolai Ivanovich Klitsa, the Nizhyn priest and confessor father

636. A few years later, the Klitsa family was to suffer a similar fate – hundreds of folios with ‘items’ concerning the inability of paying off the debts of Anastasia Feodorovna and Nikolai Ivanovich have been preserved in the archive. DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, items 3163, 3166, 3177, 3193 (1844–1847). However, financial problems did not prevent Nikolai Ivanovich from later taking the position of ‘Burgomaster’ of the Greek Magistracy and also director of the Greek Alexander School in Nizhyn.

Grigori, and Ioann Polychronidis in St. Petersburg. But for the first half of 1840, only seven letters were copied out, to his brother Petr Anastasievich Melas in Constantinople.

All of Dmitri Melas' letters of these last years are full of descriptions of extreme deprivation and spiritual suffering. They contain copious reasoning on abstract 'ethical' topics, transgressions which, however, Dmitri Melas had committed in years past. We learn about his health problems, about the difficulties of maintaining himself with prescribed medicines by doctors, about his diet, and about his relationship with the Archimandrite of the Greek monastery, and about his few remaining friends.

The fall of the Moscow branch of the Melas family and the death of Dmitri Melas did not mean the end of the entire Melas trade network. In all probability, his fall did not even have an impact on its development. These last almost two decades of the life of Dmitri Melas were spent in personal agony, which were the result, primarily, of an ill-conceived business strategy but also because of the circumstances of 1821–1829, in other words the Greek Revolution, although he himself presented everything in a slightly different light. Despite such a long presence in the Eurasian markets, Dmitri Melas' company did not manage focus, to find a particular niche product, and its directors remained for the most part 'speculators' in constant search of relatively small consignments of goods. Having discovered some cheap commodity through an extensive network of correspondents, the Melas company similarly located a place where it might be consumed at a somewhat inflated price. Hence their rather monotonous letters inquiring into the exchange rate and the cost of furs in the West, leather or 'fish glue' in the East, interest in confiscated goods in St. Petersburg and such like. Their speculative purchases were often small and irregular, but now and again there is a figure of five hundred to one thousand pounds: five hundred pounds of paper, five hundred pounds of cocoa, one thousand pounds of cow butter, etc. The amount that the Melas family might offer their partners to spend on the purchase of 'cheap' products might rise to five thousand rubles. The profitability of such enterprises can be judged by the aforementioned purchase of a consignment of champagne in St. Petersburg, with the aim of selling it at ten rubles per bottle.

Images 5.3 and 5.4. The epitaph refers to Nikolaos (Nicholas) Zosima(s). The monuments shown here are on the west side of the Cemetery Church, with the Cemetery Church on the right.



All this, of course, also points to the desire of the Melas family to insure themselves against commercial failures, of which there were many. Thus, in Brody a Melas company deal involving Siberian furs of 'rusak' (a hare species) somehow 'hung' for a long time, with the Melas' partners in St. Petersburg not providing the promised goods, but rather giving preferential treatment and handing them over to another Nizhyn Greek. Similarly, an old friend of the Melas family, Evstafi Lengaro, had, in fact, lost a large amount of money shortly prior to his death through investments in an extensive deal involving yuft (leather), which had subsequently fallen in price.

As already noted, the directions of trade and the range of goods of the Melas company were extremely diverse. Paper and fabrics from Western Europe were transferred to the East. Furs, cow butter, glue and wax from Siberia were sent West. 'Colonial' goods such as cocoa, jewelry, Indian shawls from the South were dispatched through Odesa to the North. Long-term relations also connected the Melas company with the Russian-American Company. There might well have been a personal acquaintance with one of the foremost members of the Russian-American Company, the Nizhyn Greek Evstrati Ivanovich Delarov (1740–1806).⁶³⁷ The connection with the Lenzhe (Ленже) family of his former wife is obvious, but there is no mention of this family in the surviving business correspondence.

It is noteworthy that Nizhyn is almost never mentioned in the letters as a point for the sale or purchase of goods. However, many of the business partners of the Melas company were to be found here and, of course, the Greek Nizhyn Magistracy regularly issued passports for members of the Melas family and their associates. The Melas company was present in Ukrainian fairs, but these were not the famous Nizhyn fairs of the 18th century, but others, such as those in Romny and Makariv.

It should also be noted that the Melas correspondence with Nikolai Zosima was regular but does not contain even a hint of business or financial relations. The tone was friendly-formal, including congratulations on holidays and communications concern-

637. Evstrati Delarov spent the last few years of his life in Nizhyn. For the preservation in the Greek Magistracy of a copy of the will of the deceased Greek Evstrati Delarov, presented by his wife, see DACHO, fond 101, op. 1, item 2778 (12–16 June 1813), 7 folios.

ing health. It seems that the same formal relationship connected the Melas with the Rizari families.

In conclusion, it should be noted that these and many other topics, only briefly outlined in this article, require further consideration making use of the already mentioned documents and of the much larger number of sources covering events from the life of Dmitri Anastasievich Melas. Similarly, beyond the scope of this article is the topic of the participation of representatives of the Melas family in the public life of the Empire and, in particular, in the city of Nizhyn, in charitable activities there, and also the degree of their participation in preparation for the uprising of 1821. Greek historiographers note that almost all Melas were members of the secret organization 'Philiki Etaireia' (The Society of Friends). Of course, this does not directly follow from the letters and other documents preserved in the Chernihiv archive. We can only assert the existence of regular ties between certain persons on the basis of the correspondence and financial documentation set out here.

This paper's description of the seven documents, or items, from the personal archive of Dmitri Melas preserved in the Chernihiv archive does not aspire to completeness. This material would require complete archeographical analysis and a substantial amount of time to be described in full. As to the content, a number of conceptual issues arise. These relate to the need to determine research priorities, and, in particular, the aims and categories used to describe the content of the correspondence, as well as the company's financial documents.

Description of the documents archeographically includes the external description, the number of folios, their condition, accompanying records, seals, etc., as well as information about the content of the documents. This last part was not carried out with the same degree of accuracy for all the items due to the volume of the material, a more detailed analysis being beyond the scope of this article. The information presented is sufficient, however, for a first acquaintance with the archive and for the development of a programme for its further study.

Regarding the transmission of the content of the handwritten texts of the Dmitri Melas archive, it should be noted that all of the letters, in both Greek and Russian, were, as was the custom of that

time, written down with numerous deviations from the rules of 'school' grammar. In the Greek texts, for example, the requirements of accentuation are never met and there are significant deviations in the writing of surnames by different copyists (regarding both the core structure of the surname and its form in different cases). The same is true with regarding the naming of cities. In the descriptions of the contents outlined here, some of the compilers' spelling has been preserved, but many of the names, surnames and city names have been standardized in accordance with today's changing ideas about spelling and language norms. Texts written in Russian compiled before 1918 are transcribed in the modern way.

The content of the copies is presented in the original language, mainly in the Greek in which almost all letters were written, and the Greek has not been translated for the purposes of this article. The content of letters in Russian has been rendered into English. In the Greek, the cases used by the compilers have been preserved, however, as a rule, the formulaic 'opening' was omitted: 'Προς τον κύριον... Εις τον κύριον...' etc. Formulas with dates and names of places for the compilation and dispatch of letters have also been reduced. In those cases where copies of letters have not been preserved, for example when there is only reference to the dispatch of a letter to a particular correspondent, the name of the city and the addressee is noted, but the absence of an existent copy is not specifically mentioned.

Texts transliterated by one of the compilers from Cyrillic or from Latin or from Greek have also been subjected to some reconstruction so as to allow the reader to understand them. Thus, this description is not an exact edition of the texts, but an overview providing useful information. For the difficult and contested question of transliteration, see the introduction to the volume in total.

The description of the documents includes tables that present summary data about Melas correspondents in various places, as recorded in the letters copied over the years. Since the compilers of the copies themselves used almost exclusively the vocative or genitive cases when naming correspondents, the tables (in the list of addressees) suggest a possible reconstruction of names and surnames in the original (nominative) case.

Fond 101, Нежинский греческий магистрат [Nizhyn Greek Magistracy], op. 2, item no. 1

Book of copies of business correspondence, 1808–1811

302 ff. (I-II, 1-2, 287, III). Ff. I-II, 1 v., 2 v., 287–287 v., III are blank. Paper: 420 x 290, yellowish. Filigree: Coat of Arms (a lily on armorial field under a crown), MS&C2; M Schouten & Co2. The main block consists of 288 folios with initial page numbering (1–286) and two protective folios (fol. II at the beginning and fol. III at the end). To this block were later added: a protective folio (fol. I), preceding the initial protective folio (fol. II), and two inserted folios (ff. 1–2, following the initial protective folio). The main block is completed with a protective folio (fol. III). On all folios of the main block which were numbered by the compiler, markings were preserved with a simple pencil to separate the left margin, on which the names of the cities to which the letters were sent were later added.

Binding: 422 x 292 x 60, thick gray cardboard with blue leatherette spine and corners. The book binding, which extends almost to the edge of the main block, dates from the second half of the 20th century.

On fol. II, there is a record by one of the scribe-compilers: *15 τοῦ καταλόγου*, and at the bottom: *N 15*. There is also a square stamp with a script of the Moscow Regional Archival Administration and Historical Museum with references to fond 1, op. 1, item 1, ex. 1.

Fol. 1, (the first inserted folio ‘первый вставной’) is a standard archival typographical form, on which there is a typewritten title of the document with annotation, partly reprinted from the following folio: ‘Nizhyn Greek Magistracy. Copies of letters to various persons on commercial matters (many of the letters are in Greek). 1808–1811. 286 folios’.

On fol. 2 (a folio with ‘accounting’ lines) there is a handwritten text of an earlier annotation: ‘Private Personal Fond of the Nizhyn Greek, merchant Dmitri Anastasievich Melas. Copies of letters to various persons on trade matters, on the dispatch of goods, on the receipt of goods, on settlements, prices, etc. Some of the letters are in Greek. Started in 1808, finished in 1811. On 286 folios’.

Contents of the first 30 folios:

- Ff. 2–2 v. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Πρὸς ἐντιμώτατο κύριον κύρ Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Μαγίου 28, Μόσχα.⁶³⁸
- Fol. 3. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Τριανταφύλλου Μπηχτζιαχτζή (Μπαχτζετζή;). 1808 Μαγίου 28. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 3 v. Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου. 1808 Μαγίου 18. Μόσχα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Μπρόντι. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Μαγίου 30. Μόσχα.
Βενετία. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου. 1808 Μαγίου 30.
Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο καὶ Δημήτριον Πιστόλη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 1. Μόσχα.
- Ff. 3 v.–4. Ὁδησσός. Βασίλη Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 2 Μόσχα.
- Fol. 4. Ὁδησσός. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ. 1808 Ἰουνίου 2. Μόσχα.
Ἰάσιο. Ζώην Παππανικολάου. 1808 Ἰουνίου 2. Μόσχα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δ. Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 2. Μόσχα.
- Ff. 4–4 v. Βουκουρέστη. Μαργαρίτη Γιοβήτζα. 1808 Ἰουνίου 2. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 4 v. Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα. 1808 Ἰουνίου 2. Μόσχα.
Βουκουρέστη. Εὐσταθίου Μπάλια. 1808 Ἰουνίου 2. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 5. Ὁδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 8. Μόσχα.
- Ἰάσιο. Ζώη Παππανικολάου. 1808 Ἰουνίου 8. Μόσχα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 8. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 5 v. Ρατζιβίλιβ. Δημήτριον Γαδέλη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 13. Μόσχα.
Νίζνα. Πρὸς κυρίου Σαμάρτζα καὶ Τζιμαράς. 1808 Ἰουνίου 13. Μόσχα.
- Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο καὶ Δημήτριον Πιστόλη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 15. Μόσχα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Τριαντάφυλλον Μπηχτζιαχτζή. 1808 Ἰουνίου 16. Μόσχα.

638. Standard forms of address are not used from here on. Dates are noted in an abbreviated form (without articles and the without words 'day', 'month' and 'year').

- Ff. 5 v.–6. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 16. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 6. Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα. 1808 Ἰουνίου 16. Μόσχα.
- Ff. 6–6 v. Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 18. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 6 v. Βιέννη. Ἀριστόδουλον Νιόλη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 18. Μόσχα.
- Ρατζιβίλιβ. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Ἰουνίου 20. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 7. Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου. 1808 Ἰουνίου 22. Μόσχα.
- Κωνσταντινούπολη. Φίλιππον Δράκο. 1808 Ἰουνίου 23. Μόσχα.
- Κωνσταντινούπολη. Πλατὴν, Δράκο καὶ Νεγροπόντε. 1808 Ἰουνίου 23. Μόσχα.
- Ff. 7–7 v. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Τριαντάφυλλον Μπηχτζιατζῆ. 1808 Ἰουνίου 23. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 7 v. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 23. Μόσχα.
- Ὁδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 23. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 8. Ὁδησσός. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ. 1808 Ἰουνίου 23. Μόσχα.
- Ρατζιβίλιβ. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Ἰουνίου 23. Μόσχα.
- Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα. 1808 Ἰουνίου 23. Μόσχα.
- Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο καὶ Δημήτριον Πιστόλη. 1808 Ἰουνίου 24-25. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 8 v. Ὁδησσός. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ. 1808 Ἰουνίου 24. Μόσχα.
- Τοῦ ἰδίου. 1808 Ἰουνίου 30. Μόσχα.
- Ὁδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 2. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 9. Ρατζιβίλιβ. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Ἰουλίου 4. Μόσχα.
- Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο καὶ Δημήτριον Πιστόλη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 6. Μόσχα.
- Κωνσταντινούπολη. Τριαντάφυλλον Μπηχτζιατζῆ. 1808 Ἰουλίου 7. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 9 v. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Πλατὴν, Δράκο καὶ Νεγροπόντε. 1808 Ἰουλίου 7. Μόσχα.
- Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 7. Μόσχα.
- Fol. 10. Ὁδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 7. Μόσχα.
- Ὁδησσός. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ. 1808 Ἰουλίου 7. Μόσχα.

- Ὀδομπέστη [Βουδαπέστη;]. Ἀναστάσιον Σκαύτον. 1808 Ἰουλίου 7. Μόσχα.
Fol. 10 v. Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα. 1808 Ἰουλίου 7. Μόσχα.
Ὀδησσός. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου. 1808 Ἰουλίου 8. Μόσχα.
Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο καὶ Δημήτριον Πιστόλη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 8. Μόσχα.
Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου. 1808 Ἰουλίου 13. Μόσχα.
Fol. 11. Ὀδησσός. Σπύρον Κυπαρήσιον. 1808 Ἰουλίου 14. Μόσχα.
Ὀδησσός. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Ἰουλίου 14. Μόσχα.
Ὀδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 14. Μόσχα.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Ἰουλίου 14. Μόσχα.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. J. Hausner & W. Violand.
Ff. 11–11 v. Kursk. Никифору Дмитриевичу Шматову. 1818 июля 18 дня.
Fol. 11 v. Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου. 1808 Ἰουλίου 20. Μόσχα.
Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο καὶ Δημήτριον Πιστόλη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 20. Μόσχα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 21. Μόσχα.
Fol. 12. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Κυριάκον Τριαντάφυλλον Μπηχτζιατζή. 1808 Ἰουλίου 21. Μόσχα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Φίλιππον Δράκο. 1808 Ἰουλίου 21. Μόσχα.
Ὀδησσός. Δημήτριον Ἀνδρεόπουλον. 1808 Ἰουλίου 21. Μόσχα.
Ὀδησσός. Κυριάκον Γεωργίου. 1808 Ἰουλίου 21. Μόσχα.
Ὀδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 21. Μόσχα.
Fol. 12 v. Ὀδησσός. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Ἰουλίου 21. Μόσχα.
1808 Ἰουλίου 22. Ἐγράψαμεν τοῦ Δημητρίου Ἀναστασίου Μελά.
1808 Ἰουλίου 24. Ἐγράψαμεν τοῦ Στέφαν Γρηγόριεβ Πτζέλκιν.
Ὀδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 28. Μόσχα.
Fol. 13. Ὀδησσός. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Ἰουλίου 28. Μόσχα.
Μπρόντι. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Ἰουλίου 28. Μόσχα.
Ff. 13–13 v. Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 30. Μόσχα.
Fol. 13 v. Ἀμστερδαμ. Μιχαήλ Πατεράκη. 1808 Ἰουλίου 30. Μόσχα.

- Fol. 14. Άμστερδαμ. Τζίμπη Κογέν, Στέφανον Παλαιολόγου. 1808 Ίουλίου 30. Μόσχα.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Άναστασίου Κλήτζα. 1808 Αύγουστου 1. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 14 v. Νίζνα. Σπύρον Μαμάκου. 1808 Αύγουστου 1. Μόσχα.
 Ff. 14 v.–15. Νίζνα. Γεώργιον Πέτρου Πεπέ. 1808 Αύγουστου 1. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 15. Άμστερδαμ. Μιχαήλ Πατεράκη. 1808 Αύγουστου 7. Μόσχα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Αύγουστου 4. Μόσχα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Τριαντάφυλλον Μπαχτζετζή.
 Fol. 15 v. Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Αύγουστου 4. Μόσχα.
 Όδησσός. Σπύρον Κυπαρίσσιον. 1808 Αύγουστου 4. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 16. Νίζνα. Γεώργιον Πέτρου Πεπέ. 1808 Αύγουστου 4. Μόσχα.
 Νίζνα. Σπύρον Μαμάκου.
 Όδησσός. Έμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Αύγουστου 4. Μόσχα.
 Кyрск. Никифору Дмитриевичу Шматову. 1818 августа 4 дня.
 Кyрск. Писали Гуримцеву Степану Максимовичу.
 Ff. 16–17 v. Μπρόντι. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Αύγουστου 8. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 17. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Αύγουστου 11. Μόσχα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Κυριάκο Τριαντάφυλλον Μπαχτζετζή. 1808 Αύγουστου 11. Μόσχα.
 Ιάσιο. Ζώη Παππανικολάου. 1808 Αύγουστου 11. Μόσχα.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα. 1808 Αύγουστου 11. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 17 v. Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Αύγουστου 11. Μόσχα.
 Όδησσός. Έμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Αύγουστου 11. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 18. Βιέννη. Κυριάκο Ίωάννου. 1808 Αύγουστου 13. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 18 v. Άμστερδαμ. Μιχαήλ Πατεράκη. 1808 Αύγουστου 13. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 19. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Αύγουστου 18. Μόσχα.
 Fol. 19 v. Όδησσός. Έμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Αύγουστου 18.

Μόσχα.

- Όδησσός. Κυριάκο Γεωργίου. 1808 Αύγουστου 18. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Αύγουστου 18. Μόσχα.
Μπρόντι. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Αύγουστου 18. Μόσχα.
Fol. 20. Άμστερδαμ. Μιχαήλ Πατεράκη. 1808 Αύγουστου 20.
Μόσχα.
Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ίωάννου. 1808 Αύγουστου 20. Μόσχα.
Πετρούπολη. Ευστάθιον Λέγγαρο καί Δημήτριον Πιστόλη. 1808
Αύγουστου 20. Μόσχα.
Έγραψαμεν Ί. Ά. Κλήτζα, Σ. Μαμάκου, Γ. Πεπέ, 1808 Αύγού-
στου 22.
Fol. 20 v. Άμστερδαμ. Μιχαήλ Πατεράκη. 1808 Αύγουστου 24.
Μόσχα.
Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ίωάννου. 1808 Αύγουστου 24. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Αύγουστου 26. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Έμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Αύγουστου 25. Μόσχα.
Fol. 21. Όδησσός. Σπύρο Ίωάννου Δελβινιότη. 1808 Αύγουστου
25. Μόσχα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Κυριάκο Τριαντάφυλλον Μπαχτζετζή. 1808
Αύγουστου 25. Μόσχα.
Πετρούπολη. Δημήτριον Πιστόλη. 1808 Αύγουστου 31. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Έμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 1. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 1. Μό-
σχα.
Fol. 21 v. Βουκουρέστη. Μαργαρίτης Γιοβίτζη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρί-
ου 1. Μόσχα.
Βιέννη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 1. Μόσχα.
Fol. 22. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 1. Μόσχα.
Fol. 22 v. Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου
4. Μόσχα.
Odesa. Το Vasili Golubev, Stepan Semenov Murakin.
Μπρόντι. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 5. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Σπύρο Ίωάννου Δελβινιότη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 8. Μό-
σχα.
Fol. 23. Όδησσός. Έμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 8.
Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 8. Μό-

σχα.

Ὁδησός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 9. Μόσχα.

Fol. 23 v. Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 10. Μόσχα.

Ff. 23 v. – 24. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ράλλην, Τομάζο, Γαλάτη καί σια. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 10. Μόσχα.

Fol. 24. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 10. Μόσχα.

Fol. 24 v. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Κυριάκο Τριαντάφυλλον Μπαχτζετζή. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 10. Μόσχα.

Fol. 25. Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 10. Μόσχα.

Ἄμστερδαμ. Μιχαήλ Πατεράκη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 10. Μόσχα.

Ρατζιβίλιβ. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 12. Μόσχα.

Μπρόντι. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 15. Μόσχα.

Fol. 25 v. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 15. Μόσχα.

Κωνσταντινούπολη. Καλοκυριάκην Τριαντάφυλλον Μπαχτζετζή. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 15. Μόσχα.

Ὁδησός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 15. Μόσχα.

Ὁδησός. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρὴν. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 15. Μόσχα.

Fol. 26. Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 17. Μόσχα.

Μπρόντι. Δημήτριον Γαδέλου. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 19. Μόσχα.

Ff. 26–26 v. Ἄμστερδαμ. Μιχαήλ Πατεράκη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 21. Μόσχα.

Fol. 26 v. Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 21. Μόσχα.

Πετρούπολη. Εὐστάθιον Λέγγαρο. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 21. Μόσχα.

Ff. 26 v.–27. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.

Ff. 27 v.–28. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Καλοκυριάκο Τριαντάφυλλον Μπαχτζετζή. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.

Fol. 28. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ράλλην, Τομάζο, Γαλάτη καί σια. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.

- Κωνσταντινούπολη. Φίλιππο Δράκο. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.
Fol. 28 v. Κωνσταντινούπολη. Φίλιππο Δράκο. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.
Ίάσιο. Ζώη Παππανικολάου. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.
Fol. 29. Όδησσός. Σπύρον Κυπαρίσσιον. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Σπύρον Ίωάννου Δελβινιότη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.
Fol. 29 v. Όδησσός. Έμμανουήλ Σκληρήν. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 22. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 23. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 24. Μόσχα.
Όδησσός. Σπύρον Ίωάννου Δελβινιότη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 24. Μόσχα.
Ff. 29 v.–30. Όδησσός. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη. 1808 Σεπτεμβρίου 24. Μόσχα.

On ff. 30–229 are copies of letters to the following persons who were located in different cities (city names are in alphabetical order, family names and first names are presented in the nominative case in the order they appear, the number after the name indicates the number of letters sent to these persons):

Άμστερδαμ Amsterdam

Κογέν Ζήμπης 3
Παλαιολόγου Στέφανος 4
Πατεράκη Μιχαήλ 35

Breslavl

Перец Абраам [Perets Abraam] 9
 Бочтейн (Bodstein) В. I. 3
 Rachaly Gedeon von 6
 Фритч Карл Генрих [Karl Heinrich Fritsch] 5

Βιέννη Vienna

Ἰωάννου Σταύρος 44
 Κουτζούκης Ζώσης 1
 Ξένης Βασίλειος Σταύρου 1
 Οικονόμου αὐταδ. 2
 Σελιβέργης Ἀθανάσιος 1
 Χριστοδούλου Προφύρος 2

Βουκουρέστη Bucharest

Γιοβήτζας Μαργαρίτης 9
 Ζουπανιώτης Νικόλαος Ἰωάννου 3
 Ἰωάννου Ἐλευθέριος 2
 Μπάντα Στέριος Λούδης 26
 Μπέκου Νικόλαος Ἰωάννου 6
 Μπίλιας Ἀσταθής 1
 Πετράκης Πρόφυρος Χριστοδούλου 5
 Χριστοδούλου Καλοκυριάκης 12

Αἰκατερινμπούργη Ekaterinburg

Μοσκοστόλος Διαμαντής 16

Ἰάσιο Jassy

Βασιλείου Πασχάλης 6
 Δημήτρης Γότου 1
 Ἰγνατίου Πέτρος 2
 Μαμάκης Σπύρος 2
 Παππανικολάου Ζώης 26
 Πετράκης Ζώης Χριστοδούλου 1
 Σκηγιτιοῦ Ἀθανάσιος Γεωργίου 2

Ἰωάννινα Ioannina

Κότζης Ἀναστασίου 1
Κότζης Ἰωάννης 5
Κροκίδης Ἀσημάκης 2
Κροκίδης Θεοχάρης και Κυριάκος 5
Πετράκης Πρόφυρος Χριστοδούλου 8

Καζάνι Kazan

Μοσκοστόλος Διαμαντής 4
Абдукарим Бакирович [Abdukarim Bakirovich] 2
Κιταев Юсуп Бикбович [Kitaev Iusup Bikbovich] 7

Κωνσταντινούπολη Constantinople

Βασιλείου Μιχαήλ 9
Βλαχούτζης Μιχαήλ 8
Γεωργίου Κυριάκος 2
Δράκος Φίλιππος 4
Κόκκινος Σπυρίδων 1
Κρόκιας Ἀντώνης 2
Μαυρομάτης Ἀναστάσιος Δημητρίου 62
Μελᾶ Λεωντάρης και Γεώργιος 10
Μπαχτζετζή (Μπηχτζιατζή) Κυριάκος Τριαντάφυλλου 46
Ὁθωναῖος Μιχαήλ Βασιλείου 2
Παππατζόγλου Χριστόδουλος 5
Παυλάκης Χ. Ἀθανασίου 1
Πλατής, Δράκος και Νεγρεπόντε 26
Πλεσίου Χριστόδουλος 29
Πολίτου (Πολίζου) Παύλος 3
Ράλλης, Τομάζος, Γάλατης 14
Σαατζόγλου Γεώργιος και Ἡλίας 5
Σουγδουρής 2

Μογκιλέβ Mogilev

Σκαύτου Ἀναστάσιος Γεωργίου 2

Кручеников Николай Константинович [Kruchenikov Nikolai Konstantinovich] 1

Μπρόντι Brody

Δημήτριον Γαδέλου 24

Νίζνα Nizhyn

Αὔξεντίου Ἐμμανουήλ 3
 Βαφιά Ἰωάννης Ἀθανασίου 1
 Κλήτζα Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου 18
 Μοσπηνιότης Δημήτρης 1
 Πεπέ Γεώργιος 4
 Τόλης Χριστόδουλος Κώστα 3
 Χαρίτοβ Ἐμμανουήλ 1
 Ζωσιμάς Ἀναστάσιος 1

Ντουμποσάρι Dubosari

Χολεβᾶς Ρίζος 9

Ὀδησσός Odesa

Δελβινιότης Σταύρος Ἰωάννου 11
 Γεωργίου Κυριάκος 6
 Ἰγγλέσης Δημήτριος 2
 Ἰωάννου Σταύρος 2
 Καπέτης Ἰωάννης 3
 Μανέσης Ἡλίας 2
 Μπαμπανιώτης Ἰωάννης Ἀθανασίου 1
 Μπάου Βλαντήμηρος 2
 Ξένης Βασίλειον Σπύρου 100
 (Παππα)ρηγόπουλος Δημήτρης 8
 Πετράκης Προφύρος Χριστοδούλου 1
 Σκληρής Ἐμμανουήλ 27
 Σπύρου Σταύρος 1

Perm

Μοσκοστόλου Διαμαντής 1

Πετρούπολη St. Petersburg

Δόμπολη Ἰωάννη Τριανταφύλλου 9

Λέγγαρο Εὐστάθιος 29

Πιστόλης Δημήτριος 1

Πολίτου (Πολίζο) Ἰωάννης Παύλου 25

Василий Петрович [Vasili Petrovich] 3

Иван Иванович [Ivan Ivanovich] 2

Κοράβλεβ Иван Дмитриевич [Korablev Ivan Dmitrievich] 2

Πλατтер [Platter] 1

Ποταпов Афанасий Артемьевич [Potapov Afanasi Artemevich] 81

Ρατζιβίλιβ Radyvyliv

Δημήτριον Γαδέλου (Δαδέλου) 83

Γεράση Σπυριδων Δημητρίου 3

Ταγανρόγ Taganrog

Ἀθανασίου Ἰωάννης 2

Ζαχαρίου Λογοθέτης 1

Κατζάρης Δημήτρης 2

Κόνδου (Κοντοῦ) Ἀποστόλης 15

Κύπουρος Γεώργιος 1

Μπαμπαγιώτης Ἰωάννης 2

Συνίδης Γεώργιος 1

Σκληρός Ἐμμανουήλ 2

Στεφάνου Ἰωάννης 3

Φίστης Ἰωάννης 8

The last copy (fol. 286 v.) was made from a letter sent on 6 May 1811 from Moscow to Vienna to Anastasi Seliverg.

2. Fond 101, Nizhyn Greek Magistracy, op. 2, item no. 2*Book of copies of business correspondence, 1815–1816*

209 ff. (I, 1–208). Ff. I–I v., 188–208 v. are blank. Paper: 420 x 290. Author's page numbering (1–207) on ff. 2–208. On fol. I (added when binding) name of the item 'Private Personal fond of Dmitri Anastasievich Melas. Copies of letters to various persons on trade matters, on the dispatch of goods, 1815–1816, Folios 207'.

On fol. 1 note of compilers: *Η τοῦ καταλόγου | no. 17*. There is also an imprint of a square stamp with the inscription of the Moscow Regional archival management and historical archive with the reference to fond 1, op. 1, item no 2, ex. no. 1. Below is an imprint of another, smaller stamp of the State Archives of Chernihiv region, Department of pre-revolutionary collections, with a reference to fond 101, op. 2, op. 2.

The binding is almost identical to the previous book of copies of business correspondence, is typical of archives of the Soviet period. On the lower margin of the folio, where the cords are attached to the spine, there is a quadrangular sticker (70 x 79) with six small red wax seals around the perimeter.

On fol. 207 v. record of the Moscow Treasury Chamber of 12 January 1815 on the binding of 208 folios and the payment of the amount of ten rubles forty kopecks (five kopecks per folio) signed by Deputy-Governor E.A. Durasov (1781–1855, he held his post from 13 October 1813 to 13 July 1817) and the Gubernatorial Treasurer, Administrative Counselor [...] Esaulov. On the lower field there is an imprint of the seal of the counting office of the Moscow Treasury Chamber (the Coat of Arms of Moscow) on red sealing wax over a green cord.

On fol. 187, on the margins, charcoal seal impression of D.A. Melas.

Content

Ff. 1–188 v. Copies of letters from 5 January 1815 to 5 December 1816, in the following order:

Ἰωάννινα. Πέτρο Ἀναστασίου Μελά.

- Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ἰωάννινα. Γεώργιον Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
Ὁδησσό. Σταύρον Δελβινιότη.
Ὁδησσό. Παύλον Ζώη Νίτζογλου.
Ὁδησσό. Ἰωάννην Ἀμβροσίου Νήρου.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ἰωάννινα. Γεώργιον Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
Ὁδησσό. Νικόλα Πλεσίου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
Ὁδησσό. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου Δελβινιότη.
Ὁδησσό. Παναγιώτη Νίτζογλου.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Βουκουρέστη. Μαργαρίτην Γιοβήτζα.
Ἰωάννινα. Γεώργιον Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Γαλάτη, Δράκο, Νεγροπόντε.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Санкт-Петербург [Saint-Petersburg]. Петр Афанасьевич [Petr Afanasievich]. Carl Heinrich Fritsch.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χρίστου.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χρίστου.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ὁδησσό. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούχα.
Καλοκυριάκου Μπηχτζιατζῆ.
Ὁδησσό. Παναγιώτη Νίτζογλου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
Ὁδησσό. Νικόλα Πλεσίου.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.

Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Ίωάννινα. Πέτρο Ἀναστασίου Μελα̃.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Μπρόντι. Σπύρον Δόκου.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Ὁδησό. Σταύρον Δελβινιότη.
 Ὁδησό. Νικόλα Πλεσίου.
 Μπρόντι. Σπύρον Δόκου.
 Ὁδησό. Ίωάννην Ἀμβροσίου Νήρου.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Бреславль [Breslau]. Αβρααμ Περετ [Abraham Peretz].
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Ίωάννινα. Γεώργιο Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκούστου Περάτη.
 Μπρόντι. Σπύρον Δόκου.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Ὁδησό. Νικόλα Πλεσίου.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Κρεμεντζούκ. Γεώργιον Καπικαράνι.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Ίάσιο. Ίωάννη Χρίστου.
 Ίωάννινα. Γεώργιο Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ίωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.

Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χρίστου.
Ἰωάννινα. Γεώργιο Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Νάστρης Νταλάλογλου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ὁδησό. Σταύρον Δελβιλιότη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ὁδησό. Ἰωάννη Ἀμβροσίου Νήρου.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χρίστου.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὁδησό. Νικόλα Πλεσίου.
Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Κρεμεντζούκ. Γεώργιον Καπικαράνι.
Ὁδησό. Νικόλα Πλεσίου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.

Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Ίάσιο. Ίωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ίωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Ίωάννινα. Αἰκατερίνα Προφύριου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Ίάσιο. Βασιλείου Μπόμπολη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Πέτρο Ἀναστασίου Μελά.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Ίάσιο. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Ταγανρόγ. Λογοθέτη Ζαχαρίου.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
 Μπρόντι. Δημήτρη Γαδέλου.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Ίάσιο. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ίωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Ίάσιο. Βασίλειο Μπόμπολη.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Μπρόντι. Σπύρος Δόκου.
 Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Δημήτριε Μολδοβάνε.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια καί Δεσπότη.
 St. Petersburg. Петр Αφanasъевич [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Ίάσιο. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.

- Ὅδησσό. Ἡλία Μάνεση.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Γεώργιο Μπόμπολη, Πέτρο Οἰκονόμου.
Ὅδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ἰάσιο. Βασίλειο Μπόπμπολη.
Ὅδησσό. Ἰωάννην Ἀμβροσίου Νήρου.
Ὅδησσό. Ἡλία Μάνεση.
Ὅδησσό. Νικόλα Πλεσίου.
Ἰάσιο. Βασίλειο Μπόπμπολη.
Ὅδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ὅδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
St. Petersburg. Петр Афанасьевич [Petr Afanas'evich].
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Ρέσσου.
Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Ὅδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὅδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Γαλάτη, Δράκο, Νεγροπόντε.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Ρέσσου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ἰάσιο. Βασίλειο Μπόπμπολη.
Ἰωάννινα. Αἰκατερίνα Προφύρου Πετράκη.
St. Petersburg. Петр Афанасьевич [Petr Afanas'evich].
Ὅδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούχα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Μακάροβον. Παναγιώτη Ἀλεξίου Μελᾶ (fol. 54, 11 Ἰουλίου 1815).

- Ивану Васильевичу [Ivan Vasil'evich].
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich]: «our Ivan Melas went to the Makariev fair» (fol. 54–55, 12 Ιουλίου 1815).
 Άμστερδαμ. Μιχαήλ Πατεράκη.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Όδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Νίζνα. Γεώργη Ραδιόνοβιτζ [Ριζάρη]. Concerning the passport for Π. Νίτζογλου. (fol. 56, 13 Ιουλίου 1817).
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Ίάσιο. Βασίλειο Μπόμππολη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Όδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Ότακη. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρης.
 Όδησσό. Ίωάννην Άμβροσίου Νήρου.
 Санкт-Петербург [Saint Petersburg]. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Πέτρο Άναστασίου Μελά.
 Όδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Γεώργιο Μπόμππολη, Πέτρο Οικονόμου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Όδησσό. Βασίλειον Σπύρου Ξένη.
 Όδησσό. Έμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Όδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Άναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Ίάσιο. Βασίλειο Μπόμππολη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Πέτρο Άναστασίου Μελά.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Ίάσιο. Ίωάννη Χρίστου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.

Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
Ἰωάννινα. Χριστόδουλον Εὐθυμίου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ὁδησσό. Ἡλία Μάνεση.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Νίζνα. Филиппу Григорьевичу [Philip Grigor'evich].
St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Βασίλειο Μπόμππολη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρη.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
Ὁτάκι. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρη.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Ὁδησσό. Ἰωάννη Ἀμβροσίου Νήρου.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Παναγιώτη Ἀλεξίου Μελά.
St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.

Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Λιβόρονο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Ὁδησό. Ἰωάννην Ἀμβροσίου Νήρου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Γολάνη Μπαλάνη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Γεώργιο Μπόμπολη, Πέτρο Οικονόμου.
 Ἰάσιο. Δημήτριον Ἀναστασίου Μελά.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Γαλάτη, Δράκο, Νεγροπόντε.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησό. Γεώργιο Σ. Χαράφα.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Παναγιώτη Ἀλεξίου Μελά.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτσα.
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Ὁδησό. Ἡλία Μάνεση.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Παναγιώτη Ἀλεξίου Μελά.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Ὁδησό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Παναγιώτη Ἀλεξίου Μελά.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.

- Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαΐκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Παναγιώτη Ἀλεξίου Μελά.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Παναγιώτη Ἀλεξίου Μελά.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα. (ff. 91–92, 2 Νοεμβρίου 1815)
concerning the inconvenience of taking the oath in Nizhyn to his
employee Κωνσταντῖνος Κονδός.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὁδησσό. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
Ὁδησσό. Φίλιππος Ἀθανασίου Μπαμπανιώτης.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.

- Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιο Ντόβα.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Σμύρνη. Γεώργιο Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησσό. Σταύρο Ἰωάννου Δελβινιότη. Τέλος 1815 ἔτει. (fol. 107)
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Ὁδησσό. Ἡλία Μάνεση.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα.
 Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.

Ίάσιο. Ίωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Ίάσιο. Ίωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Μπρόντι. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ίωάννινα. Αἰκατερίνα (Προφύρου)
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ίωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαΐκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Ίάσιο. Ίωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Νίζνα. Νικόλαο Μαρούλα.
Радзивил [Radyvnyliv]. Зеїлик Равичер [Zeylik Ravicher].
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
Νίζνα. Νικόλαο Μαρούλα.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
Μπρόντι. Σπύρον Δόκου.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Νίζνα. Πολίζω Κυριάκον Τζαπμήροβ.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ρατζιβίλιβ. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ίάσιο. Ίωάννη Χριστοδούλου.

Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Ὀδησσό. Σπύρο Ἰωάννου Δελβινιότη.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἡλία Μάνεση.
 Μπρόντι. Σπύρον Δόκου.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Ροστόβ. Μπαλάνε Μάντζου.
 Νίζνα. Νικόλαο Μαρούλα.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Ντόβα.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Νίζνα. Ἀθανάσιον Βαφιᾶ.
 Ἰάσιο. Πασχάλη Βασιλείου.
 Kazan. Леонтий Филиппович [Leontii Philippovich] («our brother
 Иван Ставров Мелас [Ivan Stavrov Melas]...»), (ff. 124 v. – 125)
 Радзивилон [Radyvyliw]. Зе́йлик Равичер [Zeylik Ravicher].
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.

Ὅδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
St. Petersburg. Πετρυ Αφanas'evich [Petr Afanas'evich].
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ἰάσιο. Πασχάλη Βασιλείου.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαικουστοῦ Περάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Γεώργιο Μπόμπολη, Πέτρο Οικονόμου.
Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Ὅδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Ντόβα.
Ὅδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὅδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαικουστοῦ Περάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Ὅδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὅδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Νίζνα. Πολίζω Κυριάκον Σταμηρόβ.
Κίεβο. Ἰωάννη Σφακιώτη.
Μογκιλόβ. Βασίλειο Μπόμπολη.
Ταγανρόγ. Λογοθέτη Ζαχαρίου, Γεώργιο Συνόδη.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαικουστοῦ Περάτη.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὅδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ὅδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.

Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Ντελιμπάση.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Ἰάσιο. Πασχάλη Βασιλείου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 St. Petersburg. Петру Афанасьевичу [Petr Afanas'evich].
 Βιέννη. Ἀλέξανδρε Ὁθωναίε καί Σουγδουρῆ.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Βουκουρέστη. Μαργαρίτην Διοβήτζα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Νάστρης Νταλάλογλου.
 Ἰωάννινα. Γεώργιο Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια καὶ Δεσπότη.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
 Ὁδησό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
 Κίεβο. Ἰωάννη Σφακιώτη.
 Ὁδησό. Δημήτριον Πελωπίδη.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.

Ὁδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ὁδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Ἰάσιο. Πασχάλη Βασιλείου.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Ζώη Παππανικολάου.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Ὁδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ὁδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Ὁδησσό. Φίλιππος Ἀθανασίου Μπαμπανιώτης.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὁδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Βουκουρέστη. Δημήτριον Μιχαήλου Μπαμπαλιάρη.
Βουκουρέστη. Πετράκη.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Ἰάσιο. Ζώη Παππανικολάου.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ὁδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὁδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ὁδησσό. Rainaud com.
Ὁδησσό. Ὅμηρε καί ἄδ.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Νάστρης Νταλάλ.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Ὁδησσό. Rainaud com.
Ὁδησσό. Ὅμηρον καί ἄδ.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὁδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ὁδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.

Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Νάστρης Νταλάλ.
 Ἰάσιο. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρη.
 Ἰάσιο. Ζώη Παππανικολάου.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαικουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Ντουμποσάρι. Ρίζο Χολεβᾶ.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὀδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρηῆ.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀσημάκη Κροκίδη.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρηῆ.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Κίεβο. Ἰωάννη Σφακιώτη.
 Ὀδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Βουκουρέστη. Μαργαρίτην Γιοβήτζα.
 Ντουμποσάρι. Ρίζο Χολεβᾶ.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαΐκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Ἰάσιο. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρη.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Ταγανρόγ. Λογοθέτη Ζαχαρίου, Γεώργιο Συνόδη.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὀδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρηῆ.
 Ὀδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ντουμποσάρι. Ρίζο Χολεβᾶ.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Νάστρης Νταλάλογλου.

Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρη.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χριστοδούλου.
Ἰωάννινα. Γεώργιο Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὀδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Νίζνα. Ἀθανάσιον Βαφιᾶ.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Νίζνα. Βασίλειο Μπόμπολη.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Ὀδησσό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ἰωάννινα. Χριστόδουλον Εὐθυμίου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρη.
Ἰάσιο. Γαλάνη Ἰωάννη Χρίστου.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Νίζνα. Βασίλειο Μπόμπολη.
Ἰωάννινα. Γεώργιο Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
Κίεβο. Νικόλαον Γεωργίου Νικοστόρη.
Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Brody. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].
Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.

Όδησσό. Γεώργιο Λασκαρίδη.
 Όδησσό. Έμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Νίζνα. Βασίλειο Μπόμπολη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαΐκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ίωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Όδησσό. Γεώργιο Λασκαρίδη.
 Όδησσό. Έμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Όδησσό. Έμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Όδησσό. Έμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Νίζνα. Βασίλειο Μπόμπολη.
 Μπρόντι. Σπύρον Δόκου.
 Νίζνα. Βασίλειο Μπόμπολη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Άναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Ντουμποσάρι. Ρίζο Χολεβᾶ.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαΐκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ίωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Βουκουρέστη. Άναστάσιον Κοτοπούλου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Γεώργιον Κ. Δελιμπάση.
 Όδησσό. Έμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Ίωάννινα. Γεώργιο Άναστασίου Λάζου.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Άναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Άθανασίου Βαφιᾶ.
 Brody. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Νίζνα. Ίωάννη Άναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Μπρόντι. Ίωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Όδησσό. Έμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Ίωάννινα. Ίωάννη Ρεσσίου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Άναστάσιον Κοτοπούλου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαΐκουστοῦ Περάτη.

Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Ἰωάννινα. Γεώργιο Ἀναστασίου Λάζου.
Κρεμεντζούκ. Γεώργιον Καπικαράνι.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Κρεμεντζούκ. Γεώργιον Καπικαράνι.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Ὁδησό. Δημήτριον Ἰγγλέση.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ταχανρόγ. Λογοθέτη Ζαχαρίου. Γεώργιο Συνόδη.
Brody. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Ντουμποσάρι. Ρίζο Χολεβᾶ.
Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
Βουκουρέστη. Ἀναστάσιον Κοτοπούλου.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
Ἰωάννινα. Ἰωάννη Ρεσσίου.
Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Κ. Βελλᾶ.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Илья Иванович Горденин [Ilya Ivanovich Gordenin] (20 September 1816, on behalf of P.A. Melas concerning the purchase of 1000 quarters of arnaut-wheat) (fol. 179 v.)
Λιβόρονο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
Βιέννη. Σταύρο Ἰωάννου.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Brody. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].
Ὁδησό. Γεώργιο Λασκαρίδη.
Ὁδησό. Σπύρο Ἰωάννου Δελβινιότη.
Ὁδησό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆ.
Μογκιλόβ. Γεώργιον Δόβα.
Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
Ἰάσιο. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρη.

- Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Κ. Βελᾶ.
 Βουκουρέστη. Ἀναστάσιον Κοτοπούλου.
 Βουκουρέστη. Στέριον Λούδη Μπάρντα.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Λιβόρνο. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη.
 Ταγανρόγ. Λογοθέτη Ζαχαρίου. Γεώργιο Συνόδη.
 Brody. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].
 Иван Петрович Матвиевский [Ivan Petrovich Matvievski].
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἰωάννη Μπήτζηνα.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Κ. Βελᾶ.
 Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ἀναστάσιον Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτη.
 Ὀδησσό. Σπύρο Ἰωάννου Δελβινιότη.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Brody. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].
 Ταγανρόγ. Λογοθέτη Ζαχαρίου. Γεώργιο Συνόδη.
 Радзивиллов [Radyvyliv]. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Ὀδησσό. Σπύρο Ἰωάννου Δελβινιότη.
 Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ.
 Μπρόντι. Ἰωάννη Ζιούκα.
 Brody. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].
 Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα.
 Ἰάσιο. Ἰωάννη Χρίστου Γαλάνη.
 Βουκουρέστη. Λεωντάρη Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτη.
 Ἰάσιο. Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρη.
 Ντουμποσάρι. Ρίζο Χολεβᾶ (Μόσχα, 5 Δεκεμβρίου 1816, л. 188/187).

3. Fond 101, Nizhyn Greek Magistracy, op. 2, item no. 4

Book of copies of business correspondence, 1817–1818

95 fol. (I–II, 92, III). Ff. I–II v., III–III v., 1 v., 92 v. are blank. Paper: 490 x 300, bluish, with verges. Filigree: a baldric on a Coat of Arms under a lily | 1810; JMWSI | 15. Fol. I and fol. III protective, fol. II – protective folio of the original block. Fol. 1 loose folio ('вкладной', 169 x 221), hemmed to the block. Compiler's page numbering (2–92) on ff. 2–92. On the left margin, fields indicating the names of cities are outlined in pencil.

Binding of the second half of the 20th century: 490 x 300 x 30. Gray thick cardboard, spines and corners of blue leatherette.

On fol. II note of the compiler: *ΙΘ τοῦ καταλόγου I N 18*. There is also a stamp of the Historical Archive of the Moscow Regional Archival Administration with references to 'op. 2, item no 4, item ex. no. 1' and below the stamp of the 'State Archive of the Chernihiv Region' numbered as 'fond 101, op. 2, item no. 4'.

On fol. 92 v. record of the Moscow Treasury Chamber: 'This Book includes Copies of letters entered into this day | presented on the one thousand eight hundred and seventeenth year | at the Moscow Treasury Chamber from Nizhyn | Greek Dimitri Anastasiev Melas for whom | on the basis of the highest Manifesto of 11 February | of 1812 was accepted into the Treasury for five kopecks for each of the ninety-two folios for a total of four rubles sixty kopecks on 19 January 1817, | Deputy Governor [Durasov] | Gubernatorial Treasurer [Esaulov]'. An imprint of the seal of the counting office of the Moscow Treasury Chamber on red sealing wax over the remains of a blue cord.

Content

Fol. 1. A note on the invoice on seven folios sent to the Nizhyn Greek Dimitri Anastasievich Melas, for dispatch of various goods to the Makariev Fair. 9 July 1817, Moscow.

Fol. 2. Ливорно [Livorno]. Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη. 23 January 1817.

Βιέννη. Σταύρον Ἰωάννου. 23 Ἰανουαρίου 1817.

Brody. Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].

Copies of the letters follow in order:

Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα. 23 Ἰανουαρίου 1817.

Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα. 23 Ἰανουαρίου 1817.

Νίζνα. Ἰωάννη Ἀναστασίου Κλήττσα. 24 Ἰανουαρίου 1817.

Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ. 30 Ἰανουαρίου 1817.

Ὀδησσό. Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ. 31 Ἰανουαρίου 1817.

Further copies or annotations of letters are presented to the following persons (by city name and number of letters):

Бердичев [Berdychiv]

Μοшко в доме Адама Шмерелла Хорач [Moshko in the house of Adam Shmerell Horach] 2

Βαρσοβία Warsaw

Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Ζιοῦκας 1

Βιέννη Vienna

Σταύρος Ἰωάννου 7

Βουκουρέστη Bucharest

Ἀναστάσιος Κοτοπούλης 15

Λεωντάρης Ξ. Περάτης 8

Κοσμᾶς Δημητρίου Γόζου 7

Δουμποσάρι Dubosari

Ρήζος Χόλεβας 3

Ζαγόρι Zagori

Γεώργιος Ἀναστασίου Λάζου 3

Ίάσιο Jassy

Γαλάνης Ίωάννης Χρίστου 21
Ίωάννης Κωνσταντίνου Βελᾶς 17
Δημήτρης Μιχαήλου Μπαμπαλιάρης 1

Ίωάννινα Ioannina

Γεώργιος Ἀναστασίου Λάζου 1
Αἰκατερίνα (ποτέ Προφύρου Χριστοδούλου Πετράκη) 2
Ίωάννης Ράσσιος 4
Χριστόδουλον Εὐθυμίου 1

Κισσινιόβ Chisinau

Δημήτρης Μ. Μπαμπαλιάρης 5
Μιχαήλ Τ. Μπαλατζιάνου 1

Κρεμεντσούκ Кременчуг

Γεώργιος Καπικαράνας 2
Ἀλέξανδρος Βασιλείου 1
Ίωάννης Ἀθανασίου Μπαμπαγιώτης 1

Κωνσταντινούπολη Constantinople

Ναστρῆς Νταλαῖ 7
Δημήτρης Ἀνστασίου Μαυρομάτης 22
Μπαλάνης Μάντζου 1
Λογοθέτης Ζαχαρίας, Γεώργιος Συνόδης 4
Πέτρος Οἰκονόμου 9
Σπύριδων Χ. Χρήστου 3
Ίωάννης Βήτζινας 11
Λάσκαρης Παναγιώτου 5

Λιβόρνο Livorno

Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότη 16

Λιμπάου Libau

И. Ниeman [I. Nieman] 1

Λιούμπλιν Lublin (Liublin)

Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Ζιοῦκας 1

Μακάροβ Makariv

Ἰωάννης Σταύρου Μελάς 1

Μπρόντι Brody

Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender]. 18

Лоїзер Рехерт [Loizer Rehert] 13

Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Ζιοῦκας 11

Соломон Шклер [Solomon Shkler] 7

Σπυρίδων Δόκου 6

Μογκιλόβ Mogilev

Γεώργιος Δόβας 6

Νίζνα Nizhyn

Ἰωάννη Α. Κλήτζα 49

Νικόλαος Ἀναστασίου Μαυρούλης 1

Κοσμᾶς Δημητρίου Γότζας 7

Γεώργιος Ριζάρης 1

Ὅδησσό Odesa

Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληροῦ 30

Σταύρος Ἰωάννου Δελβινιότης 10

Емес, Касталон, Рано [Emes, Kastalon, Rano] 2

Ἀνδρέας Ρουτζιάρης 1
Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Μπαμπαγιώτης 5
Ἰωάννης Λεοντίου Μελά 11
Στέριος Εὐδάς 12
Δημήτριος Ἰγγλέσης 17

Πετρούπολη St. Petersburg

Петр Афанасьевич Потапов [Petr Afanas'evich Potapov] 2
Ἰωάννης Δόμπολης 5
Δημήτρης Πιστόλης 1
Дмитрий Дмитриевич Ризо [Dmitrii Dmitrievch Rizo] 4

Ρατζιβίλιβ Radyvyliv

Хайм Ремиловский [Chaim Remilovsky] 2

Rostov

Александр Иванович [Alexandr Ivanovich] 1

Ταγανρόγ Taganrog

Λογοθέτης Ζαχαρίου, Γεώργιος Συνόδης 13
Γεράσιμος Χαραφᾶς 2

Chernihiv

Афанасию Зоевичу Артынову [Afanasi Zoevich Artynov] 1

Yaroslav

Иван Петрович Матвиевский [Ivan Petrovich Matvievski] 2
Петр Васильевич Шемаев [Petr Vasil'evich Shemaev] 3

Sections worth noting include:

On fol. 41 v. copy of the letter to Ivan Stavrovich Melas in Makariv

dated to 27 July 1817.

On fol. 56 v. copy of the letter to Ioann Leontievich Melas in Odesa dated to 25 September 1817.

On fol. 63 v. in a copy of a letter to Warsaw dated to 25 October 1817 to Ioann Zhukas, the Moscow address of Melas family is given: 'on Varvarka in the house of the Greek Melas'.

On ff. 80 v.–81, 85 v. copies of letters to Luka Antonov Klimov, business manager of the Russian–American Company, concerning the supply of alcohol and the purchase of furs.

On fol. 84 copy of a letter dated to 5 January 1818 to Georgi Rizari (1869–1842) in Nizhyn with a request that he leave the estate in which Georgi Rizari was living to the (Melas) name.

The last copies taken from the letters:

Ff. 91 v.–92. 12 February 1818. To Mogilev. To Georgi Dovas. To Odesa. To Dimitris Inglesis and Stefan Ksida.

To Nizhyn. To I.A. Klitsa.

Fol. 92. Record of what I.A. Klitsa wrote on 16 February 1818, concerning the dispatch of 2000 rubles to Irbit.

4. Fond 101, Nizhyn Greek Magistracy, op. 2, item 5

Book of copies of business correspondence, 1818–1820

105 fol. (I–II, 1–101, III). Ff. I–I v., II v., III–III v., 84 v., 101 v.–102 v. blank. Paper of the biggest block: 440 x 300, thin. Ff. I, III – protective folios. Fol. II added when bound in the archives of the Soviet period. Fol. II is a typographical form made for the title page. Numbering of the copyist (1–101) corresponds to fol. 2–102. The left margin of the pages of the main block is outlined for recording the names of the cities to which the letters were sent.

On fol. II there is a typewritten entry: 'Nizhyn Greek Magistracy. Copies of letters from various individuals on trade matters. 1818–1820. Ff. 101. On fol. 1 there is an earlier entry: "Private Personal fond of the Nizhyn Greek merchant Dmitri Anastasievich Melas. Copies of letters to various persons on commercial issues (on the dispatch of goods, on the purchase of goods, on settlements

and prices, etc.). Commenced in 1818. Concluded in 1820. On 101 folios'.

On fol. 101 v. record of the Moscow Treasury Chamber dated to 15 January 1818 on the payment of five rubles ten kopecks for the binding of one hundred and two folios at twenty-five kopecks per folio, signed by the Deputy-Governor E.E. Rynkevich (1772–1834) and the Gubernatorial Treasurer [...] Esaulov. Below is the signature of the accountant V. Nevski [В. Невский]. On the lower field there is an imprint of the seal of the counting office on red sealing wax, the remains of green cords.

Copies of letters (including in Russian) were compiled mainly by two persons: Dmitri Anastasievich Melas and a certain 'K. K.', who wrote both on behalf of the Melas brothers and on his own behalf.

Contents

Ff. 2–100. Copies of letters to various persons for the period from 19 February 1818 to 17 April 1820.

The first copy was made from a letter sent on 19 February 1818 from Moscow to Constantinople to Λεωντάρη Ξαίκουστοῦ Περάτη.

There follow copies of letters to correspondents, sales agents and partners in various cities. They are addressed to more or less the same persons as was the case in previous years. In Odesa, an active partner of D.A. Melas during this period was Ioann Leondarovich Melas (1787–1833). Among the new names, those of Petr Alekseevich Ponomarev in Warsaw; Musa Abdulovich; Alexei Nikolaidis in Venice; J. Hausner & W. Violand in Brody; Themelis Stamirov [Θεμέλης Σταμύροβ] in Odesa; Panagiotis Tomaras [Παναγιώτης Τομαράς] in Theodosia.

Many letters were sent from Moscow to D.A. Melas in Nizhyn on behalf of a 'brother' and 'cousin', probably Pavel Alekseevich and Ivan Stavrov.

The last entry conveys the general content of the letter to Pavel and Ivan Matvievski with a reminder of debt and a warning about the possibility of resorting to the law, and the requirement of appearance in person. The entry preceding is a copy from a letter [...]

by 'cousin' D.A. Melas dated to 17 April 1820 and addressed to Georgio Papaioannou in Brody.

5. Fond 101, Nizhyn Greek Magistracy, op. 2, item no. 6

Book of copies of personal correspondence, 1834–1840

96 ff. (I, 1, 2–95). Paper: 330 x 250, thick yellowish. Ff. 21, 93 v.–95 v. blank. Fol. I – a typographical form with a typewritten text with the title of the items. Fol. 1 (on verso – a fragment of an accounting document from the Soviet period) was added when binding in the form of a title. Compiler's page numbering (1–93) on ff. 3–95. Marking with a pencil on the left field for indications of the names of the cities to which the letters were sent. All texts are written by D.A. Melas.

Binding of the second half of the 20th century: 340 x 250 x 15. Gray thick cardboard with a spine and corners of blue leatherette.

On fol. I title: 'Nizhyn Greek Magistracy. Copies of letters from D.A. Melas to various persons: power of attorney to brother I.A. Melas to conduct trade, an application for a passport. 1834–1840. On 93 folios”.

On fol. 1 earlier annotation: 'Copies of letters from D.A. Melas to various persons, a power of attorney issued to brother I.A. Melas to conduct trade, an application for a passport, etc. Commenced 1834, terminated 1840. On 93 folios.

Original title on fol. 2: *Κοπιάριον τῶν | Περί ἀνταμικῶν με Χριστ(ον) Οἰκονόμου διά τήν πρόβλεψιν συντροφικῆς ἀπό ἀΰγουστου 1834 Κορφοῦ γραμμάτων ἐξερχομένων – καί | Διαφόρων μερικῶν μου πρὸς διαφόρους = ἵνα μή το ἄλο ὄπερ καί τελιώσει ὀγλήγωρα σήρη μαζί μου καί | βαφύ. – NB ἡ συντομική πρόβλεψη σχεδόν μηδενίσθει καί τά περιεχόμενα γράμματα εἶναι ὅλα μερικά μου. [Copies of letters about the future partnership with Christos Ikonomu, sent from 1 August 1834 on, from Corfu, – and various particular letters to various persons = just to terminate in short my tension with Bafi – NB this vague prediction has almost disappeared, and all the letters contained are all mine personally].*

In a number of cases, under the copies of the letters there are references to the numbers and pages of other Books of copies which may perhaps reflect the more 'businesslike' correspondence of the same period.

Contents

- Ff. 2 v.–3. Πέτρο Οικονόμου. 1, 7 Αύγουστου 1834, Κορφοῦ.
- Ff. 3–4. 28 August 1834. D.A. Melas. 'Power of Attorney to my brother, Russian citizen Petr Anastasievich Melas in Constantinople to manage all cases in partnership with his sons-in-law Asimakis Krokidis and Christodoulos Ikonomus' and with the consent of their heirs 'due to the impossibility of me going to Constantinople to receive debt and other documents illegally held by Spyridon Hadjichristo'. Certified by the Russian consul in Corfu and 'collegiate adviser Popandopulo'.
- Πέτρο Ἀναστασίου Μελά. 29 Αύγουστου 1834. Κορφοῦ.
- Ff. 3–4. Ἰωάννινα. Χριστόδουλο Οἰκονόμου. 30 Αύγουστου 1834. Κορφοῦ.
- Ἐλείφθει γράμμα τοῦ Χριστοδοῦλου Οἰκονόμου. 1 Σεπτεμβρίου 1834.
- Ἰωάννινα. Χριστόδουλο Οἰκονόμου. 4 Σεπτεμβρίου 1834. Κορφοῦ.
- Fol. 4. Ἰωάννινα. Χριστόδουλο Οἰκονόμου. 8 Σεπτεμβρίου 1834. Κορφοῦ.
- Ἰωάννινα. Χριστόδουλο Οἰκονόμου. 18 Σεπτεμβρίου 1834. Κορφοῦ.
- Ἰωάννινα. Χριστόδουλο Οἰκονόμου. 21 Σεπτεμβρίου 1834. Κορφοῦ.
- Ff. 4–4 v. Alexandr Vladimirovich Chevkin with a request to help his brother, P.A. Melas, in the case of the seizure of documents from Spyridon Hadjichristo, left to him in 1821 for safekeeping in a sealed file by the Nizhyn Greek Apostol Ninov, an employee of the partnership, who fled Constantinople because of the threat to his life. 12 November 1834, Corfu.
- Ff. 5–5 v. Copy of power of attorney of D.A. Melas in the name of his brother P.A. Melas, certified by the Russian consulate in Corfu. 12 November 1834.
- Ff. 5 v.–6 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 12

November 1834.

- Fol. 6 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 12 November 1834, Corfu.
- Ff. 6 v.–7. To Arta. To the heir of Theocharis Ikonomu(os) . 18 November 1834, Corfu.
- Fol. 7. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos the Ikonomu. 1 January 1835, Corfu.
- Ff. 7–7 v. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos the Ikonomu. 12 January 1835, Corfu.
- Ff. 8–8 v. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 17 March 1835, Constantinople.
- Fol. 9. To Ioannina. To Paschalis Santarvari. 17 March 1835, Constantinople.
- Ff. 9–9 v. To Corfu. To Petr Ikonomu. 17 March 1835, Stavrodromi [Constantinople].
- Εἰς τὴν ἀδελφὴ μου Χρυσή. 17 March 1835, Stavrodromi [Constantinople].
- Ff. 9 v.–10. To Zakynthos [Zante]. To Dimitris N. Miligos. 20 March 1835, Stavrodromi, Constantinople.
- To Syros. To Apostle Komis. 20 March 1835, Constantinople.
- To Syros. To Anastasia Krokidi. 20 March 1835, Constantinople.
- Ff. 10–10 v. To Syros. To brother Georgios I. Melas. 20 March 1835, Constantinople.
- To Smyrna. To Mavrodis Sipsas. 22 March 1835, Constantinople.
- To Corfu. To Christopher Yakovlevich Romantsov.
- Fol. 11. To Corfu. Dimitris Nitsos. 24 March 1835, Constantinople.
- Fol. 11 v. To Smyrna. Mavrodis Sipsas. 13 May 1835, Constantinople.
- To Zante [Zakynthos]. To Count Dionysius Antonovich Kapnist. 13 May 1835, Constantinople, Pera.
- Ff. 11 v.–12. To Corfu. To Spyridon Pavlovich Popandopulo.
- Fol. 12. To Zakynthos. To Dimitris Milygos. 13 May 1835, Constantinople, Pera.
- To Corfu. To Petros Ikonomu. 13 May 1835, Constantinople, Stavrodromi.
- Ff. 12–12 v. To Corfu. To Sister Chrisi. 13 May 1835, Constantinople.
- Fol. 12 v. To Athens. To Anastasia Krokidis. 13 May 1835, Constan-

- tinople, Stavrodromi.
- To Syros. To Cousin Georgi I. Melas. 13 May 1835, Constantinople, Stavrodromi.
- Ff. 13–13 v. To Apollon Petrovich Butenev, envoy and minister in the Port (on the documents left by Apostol Ninov with the Nizhyn Greek Spyridon Hadjichristo). Constantinople, Pera.
- Ff. 13 v.–14. To Moscow. To Triandaphyllos Psomakas. 20 May 1835, Constantinople, Pera.
- Fol. 14. To Moscow. To Angelos N. Hadjoglu. 20 May 1835, Constantinople, Pera.
- To Moscow. To Nikolaos Patzimadis. 20 May 1835. Constantinople, Pera.
- Ff. 14 v.–16. To Ioannina. To Christophoros Ikonomu. 20 May 1835, Constantinople, Stavrodromi.
- Fol. 16. To Moscow. To Triandaphyllos Psomakas. 30 May 1835, Constantinople, Pera.
- To Moscow. To Angelos N. Hadjoglu. 30 May 1835, Constantinople, Pera.
- To Moscow. To Nikolaos Patzimadis. 30 May 1835, Constantinople, Pera.
- Ff. 16 v.–17. To Ioannina. To Christophoros Ikonomu. 6 June 1835, Constantinople, Stavrodromi.
- Fol. 17–17 v. To Jassy. To Ioannis Christodoulos Galanis. 12 June 1835, Constantinople.
- Fol. 17 v. To Moscow. To Nikolaos Patzimadis. 20 June 1835, Constantinople, Pera.
- Ff. 17 v.–18. To Corfu. To Petros Ikonomu. 22 June 1835, Constantinople, Stavrodromi.
- Fol. 18. To Syros. To George I. Melas. 22 June 1835, Constantinople, Stavrodromi.
- Ff. 18 v.–19 v. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 16 July 1835, Constantinople, Stavrodromi.
- Fol. 19 v. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 10 September 1835, Constantinople.
- Fol. 20 v. To Ioannina. To Zaharias Zakharov. 20 September 1835, Constantinople, Stavrodromi.
- Ff. 20–20 v. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 29 September 1835, Constantinople.

- Fol. 20 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 30 September 1835, Constantinople.
- Fol. 21 v. To Moscow. On January 20 'I wrote to Christodoulos Ikonomu'. 20 January 1836.
- To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 21 February 1836.
- Ff. 21 v.–22. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 16 April 1836, Moscow.
- Ff. 22–23 v. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 4 May 1836, Moscow.
- Fol. 23 v. To Athens. To K. Philalitis. 7 May 1836, Moscow.
- Fol. 24. Income and expenditure account in the name of Christodoulos Ikonomu dated 1 December 1835, Moscow.
- Ff. 24–24 v. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 28 June 1836, Moscow.
- Ff. 24 v.–25. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 1 July 1836, Moscow.
- Fol. 25. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 2 July 1836, Moscow.
- To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 2 July 1836, Moscow.
- To Moscow. To 'cousin' Theodosios L. Melas. 2 July 1836, Moscow.
- Fol. 25 v. To Moscow. To brother Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 15 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- To Moscow. To Triandaphyllos Psomakas. 16 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 25 v.–26. To Moscow. To 'brother' Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 16 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 26–26 v. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 17 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 26 v.–27. To Moscow. To 'brother' Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 18 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 27–27 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 21 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 27 v.–29. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 21 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 29–30. To Constantinople. To Petr Ansatasevich Melas. 22 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 30 v. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 27 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 27 July 1836, St. Petersburg.

- Ff. 30 v.–31. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 30 July 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 31–31 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 3 August 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 31 v.–32. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 5 August 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 32–32 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 10 August 1836 St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 32 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 19 August 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 32 v.– 33. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 26 August 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 33–33 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 1 September 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 33 v.–34. To Theodosia. To Leon D. Melas. 3 September 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 34–35. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 10 September 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 35–35 v. To Odesa. To Dimitris I. Melas. 10 September 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 35 v. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 11 September 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 35 v.–36. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas, 11 September 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 36. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 24 September 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 36–36 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 1 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 36 v.–37. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 1 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 37 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 14 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 37 v. Addition to the previous letter to Dimitris L. Melas.
- Fol. 38. To Moscow. To Christophoros Dmitrievich. 20 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 38–38 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 20 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 38 v.–39. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 21 October 1836, St.

Petersburg.

- Fol. 39. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 21 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 39–39 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 27 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 39 v.–40. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 28 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 40–40 v. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 30 October 1836, St. Petersburg, and addition to the previous letter.
- Fol. 40 v. To Odesa. To 'nephew' Leon D. Melas. 30 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 30 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- To Constantinople. To Konstantin Mavromatis, N. Stephanakis. 30 October 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 41. To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Tzamarias. 2 November 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 41–41 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 7 November 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 41 v.–42. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 13 November 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 42. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 13 November 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Ff. 42–42 v. To Moscow. To Ioann Stavrovich Melas. 13 November 1836, St. Petersburg.
- Fol. 42 v. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 21 December 1836, Moscow.

1837. Record that on 11 December 1836, Ioann Ivanovich Valuan filed a lawsuit against the partnership with the Deanery Council ('Управа') for non-payment of a bill ('veksel') for three thousand rubles. Thanks to the guarantee of brother Ioann Stavrovich Melas, at first 'I was released, having signed that I would not leave the city, but on 21 December I was detained again and on 22 December, on Tuesday at 11 o'clock, they put me in a 'pit', where I stayed until 22 April 1837'. Released after the intervention of Nikolai Ivanovich Samardzha and the petition of Ioann Valuan to the Moscow Chief of Police Major General L.M. Tsynski.

- Fol. 43. 1837. Moscow.
To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Pavlovich Zosima. 26 April 1837, Moscow.
To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Tzamaria. 26 April 1837, Moscow.
Ff. 43–44. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 29 April 1837, Moscow.
- Fol. 44. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 24 April 1837, Moscow.
Ff. 44–44 v. To Yuriev (Dorpat etc.). To Nikolai Ivanovich Samardzha. 7 May 1837, Moscow.
- Fol. 44 v. To Saint-Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 11 May 1837, Moscow.
Ff. 44 v.–45. To Ioannina. To Christodoulos Ikonomu. 26 May 1837, Moscow.
- Ff. 45–45 v. To Odesa. To Spyridon Tzamaria. 26 May 1837, Moscow.
- Fol. 45 v. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 26 May 1837, Moscow.
To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 31 May 1837, Moscow.
Ff. 45 v.–46. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 31 May 1837, Moscow.
- Fol. 46. To Nizhny Novgorod. To 'cousin' Theodosios.
To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Pavlovich Zosima. 23 August 1837, Moscow.
Ff. 46–46 v. To Nizhyn. To the spiritual father and priest Father Grigori, 24 August 1837, Moscow.
- Fol. 46 v. To Nizhyn. To Grigori Fedorovich Klitsa. 24 August 1837, Makariv.
- Ff. 46 v.–47. To Nizhyn. To Grigori Fedorovich Klitsa. 23 October 1837.
- Fol. 47. To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Tzamaria. 2 November 1837, Moscow.
- Ff. 47 v.–48 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 2 November 1837, Moscow.
- Fol. 48 v. To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Tzamaria. 30 November 1837, Moscow.
- Ff. 49–49 v. To Saint-Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 21 December 1837, Moscow.
- Ff. 49 v.–50 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 23 December 1837, Moscow.
- Fol. 51. To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Pavlovich Zosima. 24 December

1837, Moscow.

To Nizhyn. To Father Grigory. 27 December 1837, Moscow.

Ff. 51–51 v. To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Tzamaria. 24 December 1837, Moscow.

Ff. 51 v.–52. To St. Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 27 December 1837, Moscow.

Ff. 52–53. To Nizhyn. To Anastasia Fedorovna Klitsa. 4 January 1838, Makariv.

Fol. 53. To Nizhyn. To Grigori Fedorovich Klitsa. Appendix to the previous letter.

Fol. 53 v. To Saint-Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 20 January 1838, Moscow.

Ff. 53 v.–55 v. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 25 January 1838, Moscow.

Ff. 55 v.–56 v. To Saint-Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 2 February 1838, Moscow.

Ff. 56 v.–57. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 3 February 1838, Moscow.

Fol. 57. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 3 February 1838, Moscow.

Fol. 57 v. To Constantinople. To Anastasia Mavromati, Nikolas Stephanaki. 7 February 1838, Moscow.

Ff. 57 v.–59. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 21-24 February 1838, Moscow.

Fol. 59 v. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 24 February 1838, Moscow.

To Saint-Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 25 February 1838, Moscow.

Ff. 59 v.–60. To St. Petersburg. To George Evlampios. 7 March 1838, Moscow.

Fol. 60 To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Pavlovich Zosima. 8 March 1838, Moscow.

To Nizhyn. Konstantin Georgievich Artynov. 8 March 1838, Moscow.

Fol. 60 v. To Nizhyn. To Jeremei Ivanovich Bibikov. 8 March 1838, Moscow.

To Nizhyn. To Grigori Feodorovich Klitsa. 8 March 1838, Moscow.

Ff. 60 v.–61. To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Tzamaria. 8 March 1838, Moscow.

Fol. 61. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 10 March 1838, Moscow.

- Fol. 61 v. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 10 March 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 61 v.–62. To Corfu. To Alexandros Zavoyannis. 14 March 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 62–63. To Corfu. Petros Ikonomu. 14 March 1838, Moscow.
- Fol. 63–63 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 24 March 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 63 v.–64. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 24 March 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 64–64 v. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 28 March 1838, Moscow.
- Fol. 64 v. To Saint-Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 14 April 1838, Moscow.
- Fol. 64 v. To Trubchevsk, to the Belozersk Infantry Regiment. To Anastasi Dmitrievich Melas. 29 April 1838, Moscow.
- Fol. 65. To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Tzamaria. 29 April 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 65–65 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 18 May 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 65 v.–66. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 26 May 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 66–66 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 19 June 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 66 v.–67. To St. Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 23 June 1838, Moscow.
- Fol. 67. To Nizhyn. To Anastasia Feodorovna Klitsa. 12 July 1838.
- Ff. 67–67 v. To Saint-Petersburg. To Ioann Polychroniadis. 8 August 1838, Moscow.
- Fol. 67 v. To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Pavlovich Zosima. 24 October 1838, Moscow.
- To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Pavlovich Tzamaria. 24 October 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 67 v.–68. To Nizhyn. To Father Grigori. 24 October 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 68–68 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 24 October 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 68 v.–69. To Nizhyn. To Father Grigori. 11 November 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 69–69 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 24 November 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 69 v.–70. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 5

- December 1838, Moscow.
- Ff. 70–70 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. ...
December 1838, Moscow.
- Fol. 71. [To Constantinople. Petr Anastasievich Melas]. 2 January
1839, Moscow.
- To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Pavlovich Zosima. 6 January 1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 71–71 v. To Nizhyn. To Father Grigori. 6 January 1839, Moscow.
- To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Pavlovich Tzamaria. 6 January 1839, Mos-
cow.
- Ff. 71 v.–72. To St. Petersburg. To Ioannis (Ioann etc.) Polychroni-
adis. 9 January 1839, Moscow.
- Fol. 72. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 19 January
1839, Moscow.
- To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 20 January 1839, Moscow.
- Fol. 72 v. To Odesa. To Leon D. Melas. 23 January 1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 72 v.–73. To Constantinople. To Ippen ['Иппену']. 30 January
1839.
- Ff. 73 v.–74. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 30
January 1839, Moscow.
- Fol. 74. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 15 March
1839, Moscow.
- Fol. 74 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 1 April
1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 74 v.–77. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 6–9
April 1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 77–77v. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 10 April 1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 77 v.–78. To Nizhyn. To the Greek Magistracy. 24 April 1839,
Moscow.
- Ff. 78–78 v. To Nizhyn. To Father Grigori. 24 April 1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 78 v.–79. To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Pavlovich Zosima. 24 April
1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 79–79 v. To Nizhyn. To Spyridon Pavlovich Tzamaria. 24 April
1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 79 v.–80. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 15
May 1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 80 v.–81. To St. Petersburg. To Ioannis Polychroniadis. 15 June
1839, Moscow.
- Ff. 81–81 v. To Taganrog. To George L. Melas. 16 June 1839, Mos-

- cow.
Fol. 81 v. To Moscow. To Ivan Ivanovich Valuan. 7 July 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 82–83. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 7 July 1839, Moscow.
Fol. 83. To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Pavlovich Zosima. 10 July 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 83–83 v. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 10 July 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 83 v.–84. To Nizhyn. To Nikolai Ivanovich Klitsa. 14 July 1839 Moscow.
Fol. 84. To the Romny fair. To Nikolai Ivanovich Klitsa. 14 July 1839, Moscow.
To Nizhyn. To the Holy Council (Σύγγελω Ἀγίω). 24 July 1839.
Fol. 84 v. to Nizhny Novgorod. To Theodosios L. Melas. 4 August 1839, Moscow.
To St. Petersburg. To Ioannis Polychroniadis. 4 August 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 84 v.–85. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 14 August 1839, Moscow.
Fol. 85. To Nizhny Novgorod. To Theodosios L. Melas. 14 August 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 85–85 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 21 August 1839, Moscow.
Fol. 85 v. To Corfu. To Pietro Pappanis. 14 September 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 85 v.–86. To Corfu. To Alexandros Zavoyannis. 14 September 1839, Moscow.
Fol. 86. To Trieste. To Dimitris Apostolopoulos. 14 September 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 86 v.–87 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 16 September 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 87 v.–88. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 21 September 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 88–89. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 19 October 1839, Moscow.
Fol. 89 v. To Odesa. To Dimitris L. Melas. 19 October 1839, Moscow.
Ff. 89 v.–90. To Nizhyn. To Mikhail Ivanovich Klitsa. 10 November

1839, Moscow.

Ff. 90–91. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 13 November 1839, Moscow.

Fol. 91. To St. Petersburg. To Ioannis Polychroniadis. 15 November 1839, Moscow.

Ff. 91 v.–92. 1840. January. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 29 January 1840, Moscow.

Ff. 92–92 v. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 25 March 1840, Moscow.

Ff. 93–95. To Constantinople. To Petr Anastasievich Melas. 8, 12, 15, 20, 25 June 1840, Moscow.

6. Fond 101, Nizhyn Greek Magistracy, op. 2, item 3

Book of income and expenses, 1815–1817

92 ff. (I–II, 1–16, 16a, 17–89). Ff. I–I v., 1 v., 85, 88 v.–89 v. blank. Paper: 490 x 300. Fol. I initial, without the compiler's page numbering. Fol. II added later as a title. Fol. 1 (170 x 222, gray paper) and Fol. 16a (115 x 360, gray paper) were bound to the main block. Compiler's page numbering (3–89) on ff. 2–89. The first two folios of the book with notes and the compiler's page numbering were lost.

Binding of the second half of the 20th century: gray thick cardboard with a spine and corners made of blue leatherette.

On fol. I there are notes of the compiler: *ΙΔ τοῦ καταλόγου* | *N 22*. On fol. II – a title, formulated in the archives of the Soviet period: 'The book of mutual settlements with different persons. 1815–1817 92 folios'.

On fol. 89 v. a record of the Moscow Treasury Chamber: '*This office book (Книга сия конторская)*' was presented in Moscow | Treasury Chamber ('в Москов | скую казенную палату') from the Nizhyn Greeks Ivan | Stavrov and Dmitri Anastasiev children of Melas for | whom on the basis of the highest Manifesto | decreed on the 11th day of February 1812 were taken to the treasury | for a total calculated to ninety-two folios at | ten kopecks per folio totaling nine rubles twenty | kopecks on 12 January 1815. | Deputy Gover-

nor [Durasov] | Gubernatorial Secretary, Administrative Counselor [Esaulov]’.

On the lower field on red sealing wax is an imprint of the seal (the Coat of Arms of Moscow) of the counting office of the Moscow Treasury Chamber. Under the sealing wax are the remains of a green cord.

All entries are placed in tables drawn in ink. Headings often use stylized numbers and letters. There are many notes of various kinds, including in the margins, with ink and pencil (plain and red). The book contains a variety of accounts with income and expenses (in Greek and in Russian) in the form ‘debit-credit’ (*Νά δώση / νά λάβη*) for the ‘system’. Categories include personal expenses, individual persons, category of goods / products, offsets through financial documents and so on, for the period between 26 February 1815 and 31 October 1817.

The last note about the closure of the account of Vasili Mikhailovich Verevkin on fol. 78 is dated to 31 May 1818.

Contents of individual entries

Fol. 1 (inserted folio). Income and expense account in the name of Δημήτριος Ἰωάννη Ζερμπάτης dated 26 February 1815. Closed 31 December 1816.

Fol. 3. no. 1. Income and expense account in the name of Βασίλειος Ἰωάννου Μπόμπολης dated 29 March 1815 (without a beginning). Closed 31 May.

Fol. 16a (inserted). Income and expense account in the name of Πέτρος Οἰκονόμου καί Γεώργιος Μπόμπολης. 1815–1816.

Fol. 50. Δημήτρης Ἀναστασίου Μελᾶς. 19 March 1817.

Ff. 87 v.–88. Income and expense account of the Russian-American Company dated 31 October 1817.

Among other persons we note:

Ἰωάννης Δημητρίου Ζαγορίσιος

Σωσάννα Ἰωάννου Ρέσιου

Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Κλήτζα

Γεώργιος Δόβας
 Λεωντάρης Ξαϊκουστοῦ Περάτης
 Μιχαήλ Μαπαμπαλιάρης
 Δημήτρης Ἀναστασίου Μαυρομάτης
 Πρόφυρος Πετράκης
 Ἰωάννης Μπήτζινας
 Δημήτρης Λεωνταρίου Μελᾶς
 Πέτρος Οἰκονόμου
 Γεώργιος Συνόδης
 Лойзер Рехерт [Loizer-Rechert]
 Νικόλαος Ντόμπρου
 Ἀσημάκης Κροκίδας
 Γεώργιος Ἀναστασίου Λάζου
 Κοσμᾶς Δημητρίου Γόζου
 Μπαλᾶνας Μάντζου
 Ἰωάννης Ἀθανασίου Μπαμπαγιώτης
 Ἰωάννης Ζιούκας
 Νάστρης Νταλάλογλου
 Δημήτριος Ἰγγλέσης
 Κωνσταντῖνος Βελλᾶς
 Σπύρος Χαραμῆς
 Βασίλειος Ἰωάννου Μπόμπολης
 Κωνσταντῖνος Κονδοῦ
 Αἰκατερίνα (τοῦ Προφύρου Πετράκη)
 Χριστόδουλος Οἰκονόμου

7. Fond 101, Nizhyn Greek Magistracy, op. 2, item 7.

Book of accounts of income and expenses, 1815–1816

24 ff. (I, 22, II). Ff. I–1, 18 v., 22–22 v., II–II v. blank. Paper: 490 x 300. Paper of the main block with filigrees: VAN DER LEY, Horn on the stamp field; on ff. 19–20: Pro Patria, ΜΨ CΦMM MDCCCXVI [1816]. Ff. I, II – protective folios). Fol. 19 (650 x 450) was glued onto the remnants of a folio of a ‘corded’ book. The next folio was glued in the same way (to block size). Fol. 21. (240 x 170) sewn to the block. The compiler’s page numbering on the folios of the

original block has been preserved until fol. 18. Subsequent folios, possibly blank, have been lost or deliberately separated. 'Fol. 33' (according to the compiler's page numbering) is woven in, as the first protective folio (fol. I). After the page that was initially 'fol. 91', on the back of which an entry was made in the Moscow Treasury Chamber (now this is fol. 22), the folio numbered 'fol. 19' was subsequently woven in (now this is the second protective folio – fol. II).

On fol. 22 v. there is an entry of the Moscow Treasury Chamber dated to 12 January 1815 on the receipt from Ivan Stavrov and Dmitri Anastasevich the 'children of Melas' of twenty-three rubles (twenty five kopecks per folio) for the design of a corded book on ninety two folios. Signatures of the Moscow Deputy Governor E.A. Durasov and the Gubernatorial Treasurer, Administrative Councillor [...] Esaulov. Below, on red sealing wax, are the impressions of the round seal of the counting office of the Moscow Treasury Chamber. The remains of a green cord on sealing wax are evident.

The main text is written on two sides of double spreads ('на разворотах листов') and represents income and expense records (debit-credit, or *Νά δώση – Νά λάβη*) marking years, months and days, indicating the names and surnames of various persons or other business entities, and the purpose of the payments, etc.

Ff. 1 v.–8. Title: 1815. *Ὁ τῆς καθημερινῆς Κάσσης Λογαριασμός* (Daily Account). Income and expense records. On fol. 6 recorded: *Παναγιώτης Ἀλεξίου Μελάς, Παναγιώτης Δημητρίου Μελάς, Ἰωάννης Σταύρου Μελάς.*

Ff. 8 v.–18. 1816. Income and expenditure records. On fol. 16 v. in the entry dated 24 November 1816, Fyodor Mikhailovich Turgenev (1779–1854) is noted as a borrower.

Fol. 19 (inserted). Similar income-expenditure records for July–December 1816. Title: *Διά τὰ ἐλειπόντα τῆς κονδύλια.*

Fol. 19 v. The same for February–July (the folio is inserted incorrectly, upside-down).

Fol. 20. The total balance of income and expenditure for the year comes to the amount of 716,724 rubles, 16 kopeks.

Fol. 20 v. The result of cooperation with Kosmas Samurski on 1 April 1815, titled: *Νότα ὅσα ἡ χρονικὴ κάσσα λαμβάνει ἀπὸ [Κοσμᾶ] Σαμούρσκι.*

Fol. 21–21 v. Letter from Ioann Dimitriou to George Gatzos dated

25 June 1816 from Jassy to Moscow (Ιωάννης Δημητρίου-Γεώργιο Γάτζο).

There is also an insertion in the item, which was separated from one of the documents of fond 101, op. 1, which belonged to the old archive of the Nizhyn Magistracy, with the following entry: 'no. 2nd | Book of Greek Nizhyn | Magistracy, on a note | collected for use | in place of a stamp on simple | paper in the money Treasury | 1837 | no. 1 | 8'. In the same place, in another hand, notes were added: '(according to op. no. 505)'; and a number in pencil in the right corner: 2692.

Tables

**Table 1. Book of copies of business correspondence. 1808–1811.
op. 2, item no. 1**

Destination	Recipient	Number of letters
Amsterdam	Κογέν Ζήμπης	4
	Παλαιολόγου Στέφανος	5
	Πατεράκης Μιχαήλ	42
Οτάκι Βοδακι [Bodaki] (?)	Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρης	2
Breslavl (Wroclaw)	Перец Абраам [Perets Abraam]	9
	Бочтейн (Bodstein) В. I.	3
	Rachaly Gedeon, von	6
	Фригч Карл Генрих [Karl Heinrich Fritsch]	5
Brody	Δημήτριος Γαδέλος	31
Bucharest	Γιοβήτζας Μαργαρίτης	20
	Ζουπανιώτης Νικόλαος Ίωάννου	6
	Ίωάννου Έλευθέριος	2
	Μπάρντας Στέριος Λούδης	32
	Μπέκος Νικόλαος Ίωάννου	6
	Μπάλιας Άσταθής	14
	Χριστοδούλου Καλοκυριάκης	12
Χριστοδούλου Πρόφυρος	5	
Vienna	Ίωάννου Σταύρος	54
	Κουτζούκης Ζώσης	1
	Ξένης Βασίλειος Σταύρου	1
	Νιόλης Άριστόδουλος	1
	Οικονόμου αὐταδ.	2
	Σελιβέργης Άθανάσιος	1
	Χριστοδούλου Προφύρος	2
	Κυριάκος Ίωάννου	1
Στέριος Λούδη Μπάρντας	1	

Venice	Ἰωάννης Χριστοδούλου	1
Гоненц [Gonents]	Барц Андрей Петрович [Barts Andrei Petrovich]	1
Дубосары [Dubosari]	Χολεβᾶς Ρίζος	9
Екатеринбург [Ekaterinburg]	Μοσκοστόλος Διαμαντής	16
Казань [Kazan]	Μοσκοστόλος Διαμαντής	4
	Абдукарим Бакирович [Abdukarim Bakirovich]	2
	Κιταεβ Юсуп Бикбович [Kitaev Iusup Bikbovich]	7
Constantinople	Βασιλείου Μιχαήλ	9
	Βλαχούτζης Μιχαήλ	8
	Γεωργίου Κυριάκος	2
	Δράκος Φίλιππος	8
	Κόκκινος Σπυρίδων	1
	Κρόκιας Ἀντώνης	2
	Μαυρομάτης Ἀναστάσιος Δημητρίου	75
	Μελᾶς Λεωντάρης, καί Γεώργιος	10
	Μπαχτζετζῆ (Μπηχτζιατζῆ) Κυριάκος	
	Τριαντάφυλλου	61
	Ὄθωναῖος Μιχαήλ Βασιλείου	2
	Παππατζόγλου Χριστόδουλος	5
	Παυλάκης Χ. Ἀθανασίου	1
	Πλατής, Δράκος καί Νεγρεπόντε	28
	Πλεσίου Χριστόδουλος	29
Πολίτου (Πολίζου) Παύλος	3	
Ράλλης, Τομάζος, Γάλατης	16	
Σαατζόγλου Γεώργιος καί Ἡλίας	5	
Σουγδουρής	2	
Ἰωάννης Χριστοδούλου	1	
Kursk	Никифор Дмитриевичу Шматов [Nicerphor Dmitrievich Shmatov]	2
	Турищев Степан Максимович [Turishchev Stepan Maksimovoch]	1

Mogilev	Σκαύτου Ἀναστάσιος Γεωργίου Кручеников Николай Константинович [Kruchenikov Nikolai Konstantinovich]	2 1
Nizhyn	Αὔξεντιού Ἐμμανουήλ Βαφιά Ἰωάννης Ἀθανασίου Κλήτζας Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Μάμακος Σπύρος Μοσπηλιότης Δημήτρης Πεπέ Γεώργιος Πέτρου Τόλης Χριστόδουλος Κώστα Χαρίτοβ Ἐμμανουήλ Ζωσιμάς Ἀναστάσιος Ζαμαρτζάς Τζιμαράς	3 1 20 4 1 7 3 1 1 1 1
Odesa	Ἀνδρεόπουλος Δημήτρης Δελβινιότης Σπύρος Ἰωάννου Ἰγγλέσης Δημήτριος Ἰωάννου Σταύρος Καπέτης Ἰωάννης Κυπαρήσιος Σπύρος Γεωργίου Κυριάκος Μανέσης Ἡλίας Μπαμπανιώτης Ἰωάννης Ἀθανασίου Μπάου Βλαντήμηρος Ξένης Βασίλειον Σπύρου (Παππα)ρηγόπουλος Δημήτρης Σκληρής Ἐμμανουήλ Σπύρου Σταύρος Χριστοδούλου Προφύρος Голубев Василий [Golubev Vasili] Муракин Степан Семенович [Murakin Stepan Semenovich]	1 17 2 3 3 3 8 2 2 123 8 43 1 1 1 1
Одобешты [Odobeshti]	Ἀναστάσιος Σκαύτος	1
Perm	Μοσκοστόλου Διαμαντής	1
Радзивил [Radyvyliv]	Δημήτριον Γαδέλου (Δαδέλου) Γεράσης Σπυρίδων Δημητρίου J. Hausner & W. Violand	89 3 1

St. Petersburg	Δόμπολης Ἰωάννης Τριανταφύλλου	9
	Λέγγαρος Εὐστάθιος	39
	Πιστόλης Δημήτριος	9
	Πολίτου (Πολίζο) Ἰωάννης Παύλου	25
	Василий Петрович [Vasili Petrovich]	3
	Иван Иванович [Ivan Ivanovich]	2
	Кораблев Иван Дмитриевич [Korablev Ivan Dmitrievich]	2
	Платтер [Platter]	1
	Потапов Афанасий Артемьевич [Potapov Afanasi Artemiyevich]	81
Taganrog	Ἀθανασίου Ἰωάννης	2
	Ζαχαρίου Λογοθέτης	1
	Κατζάρης Δημήτρης	2
	Κόνδου (Κοντοῦ) Ἀποστόλης	15
	Κύπουρος Γεώργιος	1
	Μπαμπαγιώτης Ἰωάννης	2
	Σινίδης Γεώργιος	1
	Σκληρός Ἐμμανουήλ	2
	Στεφάνου Ἰωάννης	3
Φίστης Ἰωάννης	8	
Ioannina	Θεοχάρης και Κροκίδης Κυρίακος	5
	Κότζης Ἀναστασίου	1
	Κότζης Ἰωάννης	5
	Κροκίδης Ἀσημάκης	2
	Πετράκης Πρόφυρος Χριστοδούλου	8
Jassy	Βασιλείου Πασχάλης	6
	Δημήτρης Γότου	1
	Ἰγνατίου Πέτρος	2
	Μαμάκης Σπύρος	2
	Παππανικολάου Ζώης	30
	Πετράκης Ζώης Χριστοδούλου	1
Σκηγιτιοῦ Ἀθανάσιος Γεωργίου	2	
Not set	Μελᾶς Δημήτρης Ἀναστασίου	1
	Πτζέλκιν Στέφαν Γρηγόριεβ	1

**Table 2. Book of copies of business correspondence, 1815–1816.
op. 2, item 2**

Destination	Recipient	Number of letters
Amsterdam	Μιχαήλ Πατεράκης	1
Vienna	Ἀλέξανδρος Ὀθωναίτης καὶ Σουγδουρῆς	1
	Σταύρος Ἰωάννου	1
Breslavl (Wroclaw)	Ἀβρααμ Περετ [Avraam Perets]	1
Brody	Ἰωάννης Ζιούκας	59
	Καλοκυριάκος Μπηχττατζής	1
	Σπύρος Δόκου	9
	Δημήτρης Γαδέλου	1
	Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].	8
Bucharest	Στέριος Λούδης Μπάρντα	31
	Λεωντάρης Ξαίκουστοῦ Περάτης	25
	Γεώργιος Κ. Δελιμπάσης	18
	Μαργαρίτης Γιοβήτζας	3
	Ἀναστάσιος Κοτοπούλου	4
	Πέτρος Αναστασίου Μελάς	1
Δημήτρης Μιχαήλου Μπαμπαλιάρης	1	
Dubosari	Ρίζος Χολεβᾶς	5
Kazan	Леонтий Филиппович [Leontii Philipronovich]	1
Kyiv	Ἰωάννης Σφακιώτης	3
	Νικόλαος Γεωργίου Νικοστόρης	21
Constantinople	Νάστρης Νταλάλογλου	5
	Ἰωάννης Μπήτζηνας	17
	Ἀναστάσιος Δημητρίου Μαυρομάτης	45
	Ἀσημάκης Κροκίδης	35
	Γαλάτης, Δράκος, Νεγροπόντε	3
	Γεώργιος Λ. Μελάς	1
	Γεώργιος Μπόμπολης	4
	Πέτρος Οἰκονόμου	5
	Ἰωάννης Ρέσσου	2
	Λεωντάρης Ξαίκουστοῦ Περάτης	6
Γολάνης Μπαλάνης	1	

Kremenchug	Γεώργιος Καπικαράνης	4
Livorno	Μοσπινιότη, Γιάλια και Δεσπότης	16
Makariv	Παναγιώτης Αλεξίου Μελάς	1
Mogilev	Γεώργιος Δόβα	28
	Βασίλειος Μπόμπολης	1
Nizhyn	Ίωάννης Άναστασίου Κλήτζας	48
	Νικόλαος Μαρούλας	3
	Ίωάννης Άθανασίου Βαφιᾶς	4
	Βασίλειος Ίωάννου Μπόμπολης	6
	Πολίτζω Κυριάκος Τζαπμήροβ	2
	Стефан Кириллович Буба [Stephan Kirillovich Buba]	1
	Георгий Родионович [Georgi Rodionovich Ριζάρης]	1
Филипп Григорьевич [Philip Grigorievich]	1	
Odesa	Έμμανουήλ Σκληρῆς	78
	Μπαλάνης Μάντζου	41
	Ίωάννης Άμβροσίου Νήρος	7
	Νικόλαος Πλεσίου	7
	Βασίλειος Σπύρου Ξένης	1
	Ήλίας Μάνεσης	7
	Γεώργιος Στ. Χαράφας	1
	Φίλιππος Άθανασίου Μπαμπανιώτης	2
	Σπύρος Ίωάννου Δελβινιότης	10
	Πάυλος Ζώη Νίτζογλου	2
	Δημήτριος Ίγγλέσης	22
	Δημήτριος Πελωπίδης	1
	Rainaud com.	2
Όμηρος καί αδ.	2	
Γεώργιος Λασκαρίδης	3	
Θεοδόσιος Χριστοδούλου	1	
Радзивил [Radyvyliv]	Ίωάννη Ζιούκας	20
	Παναγιώτης Αλεξίου Μελάς	6
	Зейлик Равичер [Zeilik Ravicher]	2
	Фишель Зеликович Инлендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender].	1

Rostov	Μπαλάνης Μάντζου	1
Санкт-Петербург	Петρ Αφanasъевич Ποταпов [Petr Afanas'evich Potapov]	27
	Иван Βασιλъевич [Ivan Vasil'evich]	1
	Carl Heinrich Fritsch	1
Smyrna	Γεώργιος Άναστασίου Λάζος	1
Taganrog	Λογοθέτης Ζαχαρίου	6
	Γεώργιος Συνόδης	5
Ioannina	Χριστόδουλος Εὐθυμίου	2
	Πέτρος Άναστασίου Μελάς	2
	Γεώργιος Άναστασίου Λάζος	8
	Ιωάννης Ρεσσίου	2
	Αικατερίνα Προφύρου	3
Jassy	Γεώργιος Αναστασίου Λάζος	3
	Ίωάννης Χρίστου Γαλάνης	6
	Ίωάννης Χριστοδούλου	21
	Βασίλειος Μπόμπολης	8
	Δημήτρης Αναστασίου Μελάς	1
	Μιχαήλ Μπαμπαλιάρης	7
	Πασχάλης Βασιλείου	6
	Ζώης Παππανικολάου	3
	Ίωάννη Κωνσταντίνου Βελᾶς	3
	Άσημάκης Κροκίδης	5
Γαλάνης Ιωάννης Χρίστου	2	
Not set	Илья Иванович Горденин [Il'ia Ivanovich Gordenin]	1
	Иван Петрович Матвиевский [Ivan Petrovich Matvievskii]	1

Table 3. Book of Correspondence. 1817–1818. op. 2, item no. 4

Destination	Recipient	Number of letters
Бердичев [Berdychiv]	Мошко [Moshko]	2
Варшава [Warsaw]	Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Ζιοῦκας	1
Vienna	Σταύρος Ἰωάννου	7
Brody	Фишель Зеликович Илендер [Fischel Zelikovich Inlender]	18
	Лойзер Рехерт [Loizer Rehert]	13
	Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Ζιοῦκας	11
	Соломон Шклер [Solomon Shkler]	7
	Σπυρίδων Δόκου	6
Bucharest	Ἀναστάσιος Κοτοπούλης	15
	Λεωντάρης Ξαΐκουστος Περάτης	8
	Κοσμάς Δημητρίου Γόζου	7
Dubosari	Ρήζος Χόλεβας	3
Zagori	Γεώργιος Ἀναστασίου Λάζος	3
Chisinau	Δημήτρης Μ. Μπαμπαλιάρης	5
	Μιχαήλ Τ. Μπαλατζιάνου	1
Kremenchug	Γεώργιος Καπικαράνας	2
	Ἀλέξανδρος Βασιλείου	1
	Ἰωάννης Ἀθανασίου Μπαμπαγιώτης	1
Constantinople	Ναστρῆς Νταλάλ	7
	Δημήτρης Ἀναστασίου Μαυρομάτης	22
	Μπαλάνης Μάντζου	1
	Λογοθέτης Ζαχαρίας, Γεώργιος Συνό- δης	4
	Πέτρος Οικονόμου	9
	Σπύριδων Χ. Χρήστου	3
	Ἰωάννης Βήτζινας	11
	Λάσκαρης Παναγιώτου	5
Libau	И. Ниeman [I. Nieman]	1
Livorno	Μοσπινιώτης Γιάλιας και Δεσπότης	16

Lublin	Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Ζιοῦκας	1
Makariv	Ἰωάννης Σταύρου Μελάς	1
Mogilev	Γεώργιος Δόβας	6
Nizhyn	Ἰωάννη Ἀ. Κλήτζας	49
	Νικόλαος Ἀναστασίου Μαυρούλης	1
	Κοσμάς Δημητρίου Γότζας	7
	Γεώργιος Ριζάρης	1
Odesa	Ἐμμανουήλ Σκληρῆς	30
	Σταύρος Ἰωάννου Δελβινιότης	10
	Емес, Касталон, Рано [Emes, Kastalon, Rano]	2
	Ἀνδρέας Ρουτζιάρης	1
	Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου Μπαμπαγιώτης	5
	Ἰωάννης Λεοντίου Μελάς	11
	Στέριος Ξύδας	12
Δημήτριος Ἰγγλέσης	17	
Радзивилов [Radyvyliv]	Χайм Ремиловский [Chaim Remilovsky]	2
St. Petersburg	Петр Афанасьевич Потапов [Petr Afanas'evich Potarov]	2
	Ἰωάννης Δόμπολης	5
	Δημήτρης Πιστόλης	1
Taganrog	Λογοθέτης Ζαχαρίου	13
	Γεώργιος Συνόδης	13
	Γεράσιμος Χαραφᾶς	2
Chernihiv	Афанасий Зоевич Артынов [Afanasi Zoevich Artynov]	1
Ioannina	Γεώργιος Ἀναστασίου Λάζος	1
	Αἰκατερίνα (Προφύρου) Χριστοδούλου (Πετράκης)	1
	Ἰωάννης Ράσσιος	2
	Χριστόδουλον Εὐθυμίου	4
Yaroslavl	Иван Петрович Матвиевский [Ivan Petrovich Matvievskii]	1
	Петр Васильевич Шемаев [Petr Vasil'ev-ich Shemaev]	3

Jassy	Γαλάνης Ἰωάννης Χρίστου	21
	Ἰωάννης Κωνσταντίνου Βελᾶς	17
	Δημήτρης Μιχαήλου Μπαμπαλιάρης	1
Not set	Лука Антонович Климов [Luka Antonovich Klimov]	1

Table 4. Book of Correspondence. 1834–1840. op. 2, item. 6

Destination	Recipient	Number of letters
Athens	Αναστάσιος Κροκίδης	1
	Κ. Φιλαλήθης	1
Arta	Θεοχάρης Νικολάου	1
Zakynthos (Zante)	Δημήτρης Νικολάου Μηλιγγός	11
Zakynthos	Дионисий Антонович Капнист [Dionisios Antonovich Kapnist]	1
Constantinople	Πέτρος Αναστασίου Μελάς	42
	Δημήτριος Νήτζος	1
	Александр Владимирович Чевкин [Alexandr Vladimirovich Chevkin]	1
	Аполлинарий Петрович Бутенев [Apollinari Petrovich Butenev]	1
	Κωνσταντίνος Μαυρομάτης	2
	Νικόλαος Στεφανάκης	2
Corfu	Πέτρος Οικονόμου	7
	Χρυσή (Μελά)	2
	Христофор Яковлевич Романцов [Christophor Yakovlevich Romantsov]	1
	Σπυρίδων Παυλόβιτς Ποπανδοπούλο [Spyridon Pavlovich Popandopulo]	1
	Αλέξανδρος Ζαβογιάννης	2
	Πιέτρο Παππανέα	1

Moscow	Τριαντάφυλλος Ψωμάκας	3
	Άγγελος Ν. Χατζόγλου	2
	Νικόλαος Πατζιμάδης	2
	Ιωάννης Σταύρου Μελάς	22
	Θεοδόσιος Λ. Μελάς	2
	Христофор Дмитриевич [Christophor Dmitrievich]	1
	Иван Иванович Валуян [Ivan Ivanovich Valuyan]	1
Nizhyn	Σπυρίδων Παύλου Τζαμαρίας	10
	Νικόλαος Παύλου Ζοσιμάς	8
	Γρηγόριος παππάς	6
	Григорий Федорович Клица [Gregori Fiodorovich Klitsa]	4
	Анастасия Федоровна Клица [Anastasia Fiodorovna Klitsa]	2
	Κωνσταντίνος Γεωργίου Αρτίνοβ	1
	Еремей Иванович Биби́ков [Yeremey Ivanovich Bibikov]	1
	Νικόλαος Ιωάννου Κλήτσα Михаил Иванович Клица [Michail Ivanovich Klitsa]	2 1
Nizhny Novgorod	Θεοδόσιος Λ. Μελάς	11
Odesa	Δημήτρης Λ. Μελάς	13
	Λέων Δ. Μελάς	16
	Σπυρίδων Τζαμαρίας	1
Romny	Νικόλαος Ιωάννου Κλήτσα	1
St. Petersburg	Ιωάννης Πολυχονιάδης	12
	Γεώργιος Ευλάμπιος	1
Syros	Απόστολος Κόμης	1
	Αναστάσιος Κροκίδης	1
	Γεώργιος Λ. Μελάς	3
Smyrna	Μαυρόδης Σίφας	2
Taganrog	Γεώργιος Λ. Μελάς	1
Triest	Δημήτρης Αποστολόπουλος	1

Трубчевск [Trubchevsk]	Αναστάσιος Δημητρίεβιτς Μελάς [Anastas Dmitrievich Melas]	1
Feodosia	Λέων Δ. Μελάς	2
Юрьев Yuriev	Νικόλαϊ Ιβανόβιτς Σαμαρία [Nikolai Ivanovich Samadzha]	1
Ioannina	Χριστόδουλος Οικονόμου	18
	Πασχάλης Σανταροβάρης	1
	Ζαχαρίας Ζαχάροβ	1
Jassy	Ιωάννης Χριστοδούλου Γαλανάς	1

Table 5. Income and expense ledger. 1815–1817. op. 2, item 3

List of names
Βελλᾶς Κωνσταντῖνος
Γόζου Κοσμᾶς Δημητρίου
Δόβας Γεώργιος
Ζαγορίσιος Ἰωάννης Δημητρίου
Ζερμπάτης Δημήτριος Ἰωάννη
Ζιούκας Ἰωάννης
Ἰγγλέσης Δημήτριος
Κλήτσα Ἰωάννης Ἀναστασίου
Κονδοῦ Κωνσταντῖνος
Κροκίδας Ἀσημάκης
Λάζου Γεώργιος Ἀναστασίου
Μάντζου Μπαλᾶνας
Μαυρομάτης Δημήτρης Ἀναστασίου
Μελάς Δημήτρης Λεωνταρίου
Μπαμπαγιώτης Ἰωάννης Ἀθανασίου
Μπαμπαμπαλιάρης Μιχαήλ
Μπήτζινας Ἰωάννης
Μπόμπολης Βασίλειος Ἰωάννου

Μπόμπολης Γεώργιος
Νταλάλογλου Νάστρης
Ντόμπρου Νικόλαος
Οικονόμου Πέτρος
Οικονόμου Χριστόδουλος
Περάτης Λεωντάρης Ξαΐκουστοῦ
Πετράκη Αικατερίνα (τοῦ Προφύρου)
Πετράκης Πρόφυρος
Ρέσιου Σωσάννα Ἰωάννου
Συνόδης Γεώργιος
Χαραμῆς Σπύρος
Василий Михайлович Веревкин [Vasili Mihailovich Verevkin]
Лоїзер Рехерт [Loizer Rehert]

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AVPRI – *Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire)

CSL ASU / ЦНБ АН України – *Tsentralna naukova biblioteka im. V. I. Vernadskoho Akademii Nauk Ukrainy* (Central Scientific Library named after V. I. Vernadsky of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; historical name of the present Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine)

DACHO – *Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernihivskoi oblasti* (State Archive of Chernihiv Region)

GACHO – *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Chernigovskoi oblasti* (State Archive of Chernihiv Region)

IR NBUV – *Instytut rukopysu Natsionalnoi biblioteky Ukrainy im. V. I. Vernadskoho* (Institute of Manuscripts, Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine)

KLC No. 20 / КЛК № 20 – *Kalektsyia lichbavykh kopii No. 20* (Collection of Digital Copies No. 20, National Historical Archive of Belarus)

KMF TsDIAUK – *Kollektsiia mikrofil'miv fondu, Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, Kyiv* (Collection of Microfilms of the Fond, Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv)

NASU / НАН України – *Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy* (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine)

RGADA – *Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov* (Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents)

RGIA – *Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy istoricheskiy arkhiv* (Russian State Historical Archive)

TsDIAUK – *Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, Kyiv* (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv)

TsGAOR (Kharkiv) – *Tsentralnyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktyabr'skoi*

revoliutsii i sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva Ukrainskoi SSR (Central State Archive of the October Revolution and Socialist Construction of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Kharkiv)

TsIAM – *Tsentralnyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskvy* (Central Historical Archive of Moscow)

VUAN / BYAH – *Vseukrainska Akademiia Nauk* (All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; historical predecessor of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine)

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Iannis Carras (John Carras) is Associate Professor of Balkan and European History at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki (2021). He was previously Senior Lecturer at the IES EU Center in Freiburg im Breisgau and taught and researched at the Albert Ludwigs University in Freiburg im Breisgau, as also at the International Hellenic University, Thessaloniki. Carras received his doctorate “Trade and Brotherhood: Balkan Merchants in Russia 1700-1774” from the Faculty of Political Sciences of the John Capodistrias University of Athens in 2010-2011. He was supervised by Professor Paschalis Kitromilides. Carras’ BA (MA Oxon) was in history and philosophy from the University of Oxford (Lincoln College) and he has an MA in Russian Studies and Transition Economics from the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University (Bologna and Washington DC). His current work focuses on Greek communities of Ukraine and the Black Sea region, trading networks, and the interface between religion and the Enlightenment.

Yevhenii Kostiantynovych Chernukhin is senior scientific researcher in the Institute of Manuscript at Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine since 1989. Chernukhin graduated from philological department of Kyiv Taras Shevchenko University in 1982. In 1989-2019 he was affiliated with a number of research Institutions within the National Academy of Sciences and the National Pedagogical Academy of Ukraine. He has been awarded a scholarship from Harvard University for palaeography studies at the Apostolic Library in the Vatican (1992), from the State Scholarship Foundation (Hellenic Republic) for Modern Greek studies at the School of Modern Greek in Thessaloniki (1995), and from Ministry for Education of Hellenic Republic for codicological research in Athens (2003). He has also been an invited fellow at the Institute for Modern Greek Research of the Hellenic National Research Foundation (2004-2006). Chernukhin’s PhD thesis (1999) was “Greek

manuscripts in Kyiv collections: codicological analysis”. An author of more than one hundred publications in the field of Medieval and Modern Greek history, Greek and Latin codicology and palaeography and other subjects.

Vitalii Tkachuk is a Visiting Researcher at Goethe University Frankfurt and a member of the research group *Polycentricity and Plurality of Premodern Christianities* (German Research Foundation) since 2022. He earned his PhD from the Department of History at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, specializing in Ukrainian early modern antimensons of the 17th and 18th centuries. From 2018 to 2022, Since 2018, Tkachuk has held the position of Deputy Director of the City Museum *Spiritual Treasures of Ukraine* in Kyiv (currently on leave). Between 2016 and 2018, he participated in a major research project on nation-building processes in Eastern Europe at the German Historical Institute in Moscow, supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation. In 2019–2020, Tkachuk worked as a research assistant on projects at Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. His current research focuses on the visual and material culture of Eastern Christians in Central and Eastern Europe from 1600 to 1800. He has published numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals and edited collections and has contributed to various exhibition projects. A particular focus of his work is the religious life of Greek clergy and merchants in the 18th-century Hetmanate.