

Black Sea History Working Papers, vol. 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**



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 2021

Published by the Centre of Maritime History,
Institute for Mediterranean Studies – Foundation of Research and Technology



ISBN: 978-618-85195-3-4

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 Tchikoidze (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. Mikhail Davidov, Gelina Harlaftis and Vladimir Kulikov, *The Economic Development of the Port-Cities of the Northern and Southern Black Sea Coast, 19th – Beginning of the 20th century. Trade, River and Sea Transport, and Industry*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 4, forthcoming
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. Vassilis Colonas, Alexandra Yerolympos and Athina Vitopoulou, *Architecture and City Planning in the Black Sea Port-Cities*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 6, forthcoming
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. Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou (eds.), *The Development of 24 Black Sea Port-Cities. A Statistical Approach*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 8, 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. Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 11, published Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018.
12. Alexandra Papadopoulou, *The Intregation of the Black Sea Markets to the Global Economy, 19th Century*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 12, forthcoming.
13. 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.
14. Iannis Carras and Eugene Chernukhin, *The Balkan Merchants of Nezhin 17th – 19th Centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 14, forthcoming.

Table of Contents

Tribute to Evrydiki Sifneos, Gelina Harlaftis	vii
Preface, Gelina Harlaftis, Valentyna Shandra, Oksana Yurkova	xii
Introduction, Gelina Harlaftis, †Evrydiki Sifneos	xix

Part I – Research Problems, Urbanization and Institutions

Chapter 1 – Black Sea Port-Cities in Ukrainian Historiography in the 1800s – 2000s, <i>Larysa Yakubova</i>	3
Chapter 2 – The Black and Azov Sea Port-Cities, Shipbuilding and Commercial Industry in the Late 18 th – Early 20 th Century through the Prism of the State Archives of Odesa Region, <i>Liliia Bilousova</i>	30
Chapter 3 – Urbanization and Modernization of the Northern Black Sea Region in the Mid-19 th – Beginning of the 20 th Century: the Role of the Port-Cities, <i>Victoria Konstantinova</i>	55
Chapter 4 – Governor-Generals of Southern Ukraine: Formation and Implementation of Development Policy in the 1770s – 1880s, <i>Valentyna Shandra</i>	84

Part II – Transport, Ports, Competition and Development

Chapter 5 – Transportation Networks of the Northern Black Sea Coast in Relation to the Black Sea Trade in the 1700s – 1800s, <i>Oleksandr Romantsov</i>	109
Chapter 6 – Kherson, the City of “the Glorious Past”, <i>Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman</i>	126
Chapter 7 – The Economic History of the Nikolayev International Commercial Sea Port, Late 18 th – Early 20 th Century, <i>Larysa Levchenko</i>	151
Chapter 8 – The Commercial Rivalry Between Odessa and the Lower Danubian Ports (1829–1853), <i>Constantin Ardeleanu</i>	200
Chapter 9 – The Legal Status of Foreign Entrepreneurs in Odessa and Ismail (1807–1860), <i>Andrei Emilciuc</i>	228
Chapter 10 – The “Discovery” of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea by Ionian Maritime Entrepreneurs (Late 18 th – Early 19 th Century), <i>Gerassimos Pagratis</i>	260

Chapter 11 – The Economic Role of the Greek Community in the Crimean Ports under the Ottoman Rule and the Decline of the Crimean Ports after the Russian Conquest, <i>Oleksandr Halenko</i>	273
Chapter 12 – Crimean Port-Cities on a Race of Export Grain Trade: Infrastructure, External Trade and Shipping. Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Theodosia (Second Half of the 19 th – Beginning of the 20 th Century), <i>Anna Sydorenko</i>	286
Part III – Society and Culture	
Chapter 13 – The Sevastopoulos in Odessa: The Contribution to the Socio-Economic Development of the City, <i>Valerii Tomazov</i>	317
Chapter 14 – Priestly Scandal and Civic Association Among the Greeks of Odessa: The Case of the Holy Trinity Church, <i>Nikolaos Chrissidis</i>	333
Chapter 15 – Public Charitable Institutions in Odessa at the End of 18 th – Beginning of the 20 th Century, <i>Svitlana Gerasymova</i>	357
Chapter 16 – Nuptiality among Greeks of Odessa in 1800–1920: Records from Registers of the Holy Trinity Greek Church, <i>Sofronios Paradeisopoulos</i>	377
Chapter 17 – Mortality in the Greek Community of Odessa in 1800–1920, <i>Sofronios Paradeisopoulos</i>	403
Chapter 18 – Perceptions of Odessa in a Changing World. The Rise of a Port-City and its Public Image Among the Greeks, <i>Nassia Yakovaki</i>	458
<i>Weights and Measures</i>	470
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	471
<i>Glossary</i>	473
<i>Biographical Notes</i>	476

Tribute to Evrydiki Sifneos

**Evrydiki (Roura) Sifneos
(1957–2015)**



In Odessa, 2008. Photo by Vassilis Colonas

The Black Sea project was conceived along with the dear friend and colleague Evrydiki Sifneos, known to all of us as Roura. Her great-grandparents, and grandparents, two generations of Sifneos, hailing from the island of Lesbos (Mytilene), at the northeast Aegean, had lived and prospered in the northeast shore of the Black Sea where they formed the commercial and shipping business the “Sifneo Frères”, a business that lasted from 1850 to 1923.

Evrydiki Sifneos was a historian and Director of Studies at the Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation in the programme of History of

Enterprises and Industrial Archaeology. She took her first degree from the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens, her Diplôme d'Études Aprofondies (D.E.A.) and her doctorate from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. Her Ph.D. thesis was titled "Lesbos, la ville de Mytilène et sa région. Économie et société (1840–1912)". She knew English, French, Italian, Spanish and she had started to master the Russian language.

Evrydiki Sifneos was an internationally renowned economic historian, one of the few Greek scholars in her field known abroad. She received scholarships from the Business School of the University of Harvard, from the Institute for Advanced Study, School for Historical Studies, of Princeton University and from Jordan Center for Advanced Study of Russia, Department of Russian and Slavic Studies, New York University. She had publications in prestigious international academic journals and carried out research in and outside Greece and particularly in Russia, Ukraine, France, Great Britain, and United States. Throughout her career Evrydiki took part in more than 20 Greek, Mediterranean and European research programmes that she developed systematically in four thematics: first in the economic and social history, second in industrial archaeology, third in business history and fourth in the history of the diaspora. In the economic and social history and industrial archaeology she studied and brought out archival evidence on the history of soap making in Greece focusing on Lesbos soap production, business and remaining factories.

Her greatest contribution, however, was to come in the fields of the business history and history of diaspora. There, Evrydiki opened new horizons, new archives in unexplored grounds. Within the field of business history she wrote important studies on commercial and maritime networks of merchants and shipowners in the Ottoman Empire (Courdgis Archive),¹ in the Ionian and Azov Seas (Svoronos Archive),² in the Azov and Russian

1. "P. M. Courdgis and the birth of a Greek-Ottoman liner company: The Aegean Steamship Company", in M. Chatziioannou, G. Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids. Sea Routes and Maritime Business, 16th – 20th Centuries*, (Athens: Kerkyra Publications, 2006), pp. 121–135.

2. "Greek Family firms in the Azov Sea, Russia (1850–1917)", *Business History Review*, 87:2 (Summer 2013), pp. 279–308.

Empire (Sifneos Archive)³ and in Romania (Koumbas Archive).⁴ A cosmopolitan at heart, Evrydiki was able to draw comparisons of Greeks with other ethno-cultural communities penetrating to the core of business and everyday life in the two main cities she loved: Taganrog and Odessa. She made a major breakthrough on the business of the area by her excellent monograph, that should be translated in English, of the trading firm Sifneos Bros.⁵ Evrydiki went through the painstaking process of gathering and studying all the family archives and was able to write an excellent economic, business and social history of a Greek diaspora trading and shipping family on the shores of the Black Sea. Apart from the meticulous analysis and the beautiful synthesis in an excellent style of writing, the book provides the reader a valuable glance from the “inside” as the author had first hand testimonies from family members and carried herself the family memories.

Moreover, she wrote almost 50 articles and chapters in edited volumes, Greek and foreign Journals. From 1995 to 2015 she took part in 55 conferences in Greece, Ukraine, Russia, Romania, Italy, France, the Netherlands, and the United States. She has given seminars and lectures in the Universities of Princeton and Yale, City University of New York, New York University, in École Des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, University of Athens, University of the Aegean, University of Thessaly and University of Crete.

Evrydiki turned her academic interest to the Black Sea, the land of her ancestors at the turn of the 21st century. All her publications ever since were focused on the business, economic, social and cultural aspects of the Greek commercial populations of the Black Sea. The opening that has taken place to the Ukrainian and Russian historians in the last, almost, fifteen years is largely due to the dynamism and vision of Evrydiki Sifneos. We started collaborating closely with Roura since 2007. Our first project together was “The

3. E. Sifneos, *Έλληνες έμποροι στην Αζοφική. Η δύναμη και τα όρια της οικογενειακής επιχείρησης* [Greek Merchants in the Azov Sea. The Power and the Limits of Family Business], (Athens: Institute of History, Hellenic Research Foundation, 2009).

4. *Το Ημερολόγιο του Γεωργίου Κούμπα, 1871-1891. Έμποροι, παράδοση και νεωτερικότητα στον Δούναβη* [The Diary of George Koumbas, 1871–1917. Merchants, Tradition and Modernity on the Danube], (Athens: Institute of History, Hellenic Research Foundation, 2013).

5. E. Sifneos, *Έλληνες έμποροι στην Αζοφική. Η δύναμη και τα όρια της οικογενειακής επιχείρησης* [Greek Merchants in the Azov Sea. The Power and the Limits of Family Business], (Athens: Institute of History, Hellenic Research Foundation, 2009).

Development of the ports of the Azov and the Greeks in the 19th century”, 2007–2010, a collaboration of the Ionian University and Hellenic National Foundation financed by Kostopoulos Foundation, Alpha Bank and Levendis Foundation. For this project we carried out three scientific missions during which we went to Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog, Mariupol, Berdyansk and Kyiv. We co-organised two conferences, one in Rostov-on-Don and one in Kyiv out of which two books have come out.⁶ This project, which was Roura's idea, gave us the possibility to establish a working network with Ukrainian and Russian scholars. The Azov project thus became really the pilot project for the formation of a much larger one which we conceived, drew and submitted together: the interdisciplinary and inter-university project “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774–1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”.

It was during 2010 we prepared and submitted the project and in 2011 we learned that it was accepted. Roura had learned of her terminal illness in 2010. Despite and against all prognoses she proceeded in full speed and to everybody's amazement not only was she able to work non-stop, to participate to all the conferences of the project but also produce four books and a number of articles for the history of Black Sea. From 2010 to 2015 she travelled incessantly to carry out research in Ukrainian, Romanian, British and American Archives and Libraries and present the work of the Black Sea project: to Odessa (which she has visited at least five times), Kyiv, Braila and Kalafat in Romania, Istanbul, Boston and New York.

An amazing and special woman, full of passion for life and history, a dedicated friend, a hard-working, uncompetitive and creative collaborator, Roura did not leave before the project ended, before she finished all the work she had promised to do. She left us three books for publication. Two weeks after she passed away our common book, on the Azov port-cities was published.⁷ The second book she left with us was *Imperial Odessa: Peoples,*

6. Hennadii Boriak, Evrydiki Sifneos, Gelina Harlaftis, et al. (eds.), *Грецьке підприємництво і торгівля у Північному Причорномор'ї XVIII–XIX ст.* [Greek Entrepreneurship and Trade in the Northern Black Sea in the 18th – 19th Centuries], (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2012); Evrydiki Sifneos & Gelina Harlaftis, *Οι Έλληνες της Αζοφικής, 18ος-αρχές 20ού αιώνα. Νέες προσεγγίσεις στην ιστορία των Ελλήνων της νότιας Ρωσίας* [Greeks in the Azov, 18th – Beginning of 20th Century. New Approaches in the History of the Greeks in South Russia], (Athens: National Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, 2015).

7. Sifneos and Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov*.

Spaces, Identities, published with Brill Publishers, in Leiden in 2018, two years later. It is only indicative of her cosmopolitan mentality, that the book is not only about Greeks, it is about all the peoples of the city, a peripatetic, as she calls it, journey in space and time through the neighborhoods of the multi-cultural busy city. The third volume, now seven years after her death is this present volume is the last one to be published. Part of the introduction of this book she wrote in the hospital during the last summer and fall of 2015. The last time she sat in front of her computer was four days before she passed away and although she was barely able to sit, she was determined to show me all her texts and give me instructions what to do. She had already read and commented to most of the chapters.

Roura passed away on 13October 2015 having by her side her son Leo, – a young talented man educated in the U.K. as a chemist, and all her beloved ones. She was looking at the sea from the windows of her lovely apartment in a southern suburb of Athens to her last minutes.

Roura was one of these people who gave beauty and inspiration for life to those around her, and this is how we will always remember her.

Gelina Harlafis

Preface

This volume is a collaboration of Greek and Ukrainian scholars and it is the second volume in the series of the Black Sea Working Papers. All the chapters of the book were presented in the First Conference of the Black Sea Project, “The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Northern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th – Beginning of the 20th century” that took place in Odessa during 22–27 September 2013, and was organised by the Ionian University and the Hellenic Research Foundation in collaboration with Hellenic Foundation for Culture, Odesa Branch and the State Archives of Odesa Region.

The history of the Black Sea in this volume is explored in an interdisciplinary way by combining economic and social history with political and cultural history, history of institutions, demography, economic geography, land, river and sea transport.¹ We focus on the port-cities of the Black Sea region that emerged as grain export gateways and were linked to the expanding European metropolises during the period of the industrial revolution. Despite its importance, the Black Sea region is barely included in the discourse of the economic and social history as neither its qualitative or quantitative history is really known to the wider or specialist public of the West. It is the intention of the studies of the Black Sea history series to highlight its importance and find its place in global history.

This volume is part of the studies of the Black Sea history series. The history of the eastern shore of the Black Sea is explored in an interdisciplinary way by combining economic and social history with political and cultural history, history of institutions, demography, economic geography, land, river and sea transport.² We focus on the port-cities of the Black Sea region that emerged as grain export gateways and were linked to the expanding European metropolises during the period of the industrial revolution. Despite its importance, the Black Sea region is barely included in the discourse of the global economic

1. See *Gelina Harlaftis*, “About the Black Sea project” in www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20.02.2020).

2. *Ibid.*

history as neither its qualitative or quantitative history is really known to the wider or specialist public of the West.

The interdisciplinary and inter-university project “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774–1914, Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy” has come to fill the gap in our knowledge and to strengthen the weak academic communication of scholars in historical studies within the Black Sea countries. This project run from 2012–2015 was led by Gelina Harlaftis in the Ionian University and was included in the Action “Thales”, financed by the Greek National Strategic Reference Framework, the E.U. and the Greek Ministry of Education. The research group was composed from 93 scholars from 6 Greek universities and institutes (Ionian University (project leader) with the University of Crete, the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation of Research and Technology, University of Thessaly, Hellenic Research Foundation and University of the Aegean) and 23 academic institutions from Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, United States, and Norway. More specifically there was collaboration in Turkey with members of the Boğaziçi University, the Bilkent University, the Düzce University, and 19 May University of Samsun; in Bulgaria with members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and of Varna University; in Romania with members of the “Dunarea De Jos” University of Galati; in Moldavia with members of the Moldavian Academy of Sciences; in Ukraine, with members of the State Archives of Odesa Region, the State Archives of Mykolaiv Region, the Institute of History of Ukraine / National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv), the University of Berdyansk, the University of Mariupol and the University of Kharkiv; in Russia with members of the Institute of History / Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow), the Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Rostov-on-Don), the State Russian University of Human Studies, the European University of St. Petersburg, the State University of St. Petersburg; in Georgia with members of the Elia State University (Tbilisi); in Israel with members of the Jerusalem University; in the U.S. with members of the Southern State Connecticut University; in Norway, with members of the Maritime Museum of Bergen.

The methodology of this interdisciplinary and inter-university project was based in the research, study and analysis of primary archival sources. Research was undertaken in at least 35 Archives and Libraries of the different Black Sea countries, Western Europe and

the United States. The prime methodology is historical; the study is approached in an interdisciplinary way, history is regarded as the axes of geography, transport, economics, politics, sociology, religion, anthropology, city-planning and architecture.³ Digital humanities were used to process and classify the enormous archival wealth that was produced in the Black Sea databases and statistical series. The Black Sea project is ongoing as “History of the Black Sea, 18th – 20th century”, in the Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies from where the processing and development of the Black Sea databases and statistical series continues, along with the editing, translations and new templates of the *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s–1910s* and the gradual publications of all the books.

The aim of the Black Sea project was to analyze the economic and social development of the port-cities and the implications this had not only in the whole development of the area but also its integration in the rising global economy of the era. This was done through the identification, analysis and synthesis of the economic and social development of 23 port-cities of the Black Sea (Burgas, Varna, Constantza, Braila, Galatz, Odessa, Kherson, Nikolayev, Evpatoria, Theodosia, Sevastopol, Kerch, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog, Rostov-on-Don, Novorossiysk, Batoum, Trabzon, Samsun, Giresun, Sinop, Instanbul/Constantinople) and one “land-port”, Nezhin. All the port-cities gradually formed an integrated market that became the larger grain and oil exporting area in the world in the second half of the nineteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century. By placing in the centre of the analysis the sea and its ports, the analysis penetrated in the economic activities of the port-cities, the coastal area and the hinterland, within and beyond political boundaries and divisions. The linkages to western European port-cities triggered development and convergence of regional markets in the global economy.

3. The outcome of the project is four groups of “products”. The aim of the first product, *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s–1910s*, which one can access through the website www.blacksea.gr is informative. This is the goal is not to produce new knowledge but to bring out already existing one from the national bibliography and archival wealth. The second group of “products” is quantitative. It is the creation of the a) formation of the Black Sea database and b) formation of historical statistical series. The third group of “products” has been the conferences and workshops of the project as found in the www.blacksea.gr. The fourth product is 13 electronic books, many of which are still under publication in 2020 and 2021.

Map 1. The Maritime Regions of the Black Sea



Using the tools of economic geography in order to study the Black Sea history, four maritime regions were distinguished in the Black Sea that form the four main port systems that developed to serve the needs of the sea transport of short and long distances (see Map 1). Starting from west to the east: the first maritime region is the one of the western coast of the Black Sea that is subdivided in the southwestern with main ports Varna and Burgas, and the northwestern maritime region of the Black Sea that includes mainly the ports of the Danube, Galatz and Braila, and Constantza.⁴ The second maritime region covers the port-cities of the northern coast of the Black Sea, Odessa, Nikolayev, Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia.⁵ The third maritime region includes the eastern coast of the Black Sea. It is subdivided into two maritime regions, that of the Azov Sea, including the

4. Constantin Ardeleanu and Andreas Lyberatos (eds.), *Port-Cities of the Western Shore of the Black Sea: Economic and Social Development, 18th – Early 20th Centuries*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 1, 2016).

5. For this area there are another three books apart from the present one. The monograph by Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 11); published Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018. The second one by Anna Sydorenko, *Η οικονομική και κοινωνική ανάπτυξη των πόλεων-λιμανιών της Κριμαίας στο δεύτερο μισό του 19ου αιώνα* [The Economic and Social Development of the Crimean City-Ports During the Second Half of the 19th Century], (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 12, 2017); Ph.D. thesis, Ionian University, Corfu, 2017. The third one is Iannis Carras and Eugene Chernukhin, *The Balkan Merchants of Nezhin 17th – 19th Centuries*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 13, forthcoming).

port-cities of Kerch, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog and Rostov-on-Don, and the southeastern maritime region of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, including the port-cities of Novorossiysk and Batoum; the focus of this book covers the studies of the port-cities of the eastern coast. The fourth maritime region includes the southern Black Sea ports Trabzon, Samsun, Giresun and Sinop, that is the southeastern shore that concentrated the main Ottoman ports of the region and of course Constantinople / Istanbul.⁶

Apart from the six volumes that examine more closely the economic and social history of the port-cities of the various maritime regions, there are another six volumes that provide analysis of the whole or half of the Black Sea. There is the volume on the history of city planning and architecture.⁷ Shipping, land transport, trade and industrial development of the northern and eastern coast are analysed in a single volume.⁸ An overview of the trade and shipping of all the Black Sea area is given through an overall statistical analysis.⁹ The integration of the Black Sea in the global economy is the focus of one of the monographs of the Black Sea History series;¹⁰ there is another volume that examines the development of the ports and shipping during the Soviet and post-

6. Edhem Eldem, Vangelis Kechriotis, Sophia Laiou (eds.), *The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th – Beginning of the 20th century*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 5, 2017). Part of this volume was published as Edhem Eldem and Sophia Laiou (eds.), *Istanbul and the Black Sea Coast: Shipping and Trade, 1770–1920*, (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2018).

7. Alexandra Yerolympos and Athina Vitopoulou, *Architecture and City Planning in the Black Sea Port-Cities*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 6, forthcoming); Maria Christina Chatziioannou (ed.), *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Trade and Immigration*, (Rethymnon: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 7, 2020).

8. Mikhail Davidov, Gelina Harlaftis and Vladimir Kulikov, *The Economic Development of the Port-Cities of the Northern and Southern Black Sea Coast, 19th – Beginning of the 20th century. Transport, Industry and Finance*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 4, forthcoming).

9. Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou (eds.), *The Development of 24 Black Sea Port-Cities. A Statistical Approach*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 8, forthcoming); Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming).

10. Alexandra Papadopoulou, *The Integration of the Black Sea Markets to the Global Economy, 19th Century*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 11, forthcoming).

Soviet times.¹¹ And, finally there is a volume examining the linkages of the Black Sea port-cities with the West, cargoes and passengers.¹²

More information on the port-cities of the area the reader can find in the project's website, at the *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s–1910s*. This is an interactive history of 24 port-cities (Varna, Burgas, Constantza, Braila, Galatz, Nikolayev, Odessa, Kherson, Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Theodosia, Kerch, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog, Rostov-on-Don, Novorossiysk, Batoum, Trabzon, Giresun, Samsun, Sinop, Istanbul – and Nezhin as a “land-port”) written by more than 40 historians from Ukraine, Georgia, Russia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece, specialists of the port-cities. The aim of this interactive history is informative, that is, to make various aspects of the historical evolution of the port-cities known to a wider public and bring out the local and national bibliography and archival wealth. For each port-city there are templates in the following five categories: 1. Administration, 2. Form of the cities, 3. Economy, 4. Culture, 5. Maritime Environment. There is also more information in the Black Sea databases on merchants, shipowners, bankers, ships and immigrants and in the Black Sea Historical Statistics based on the compilation of statistics from Russian, Romanian, Bulgarian, British and French statistics on the external trade and shipping of the area. The immense amount of the collected archival material is still processed and enhanced in the continuation of the Black Sea project in the “History of the Black Sea, 18th – 20th century”, ongoing in the Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies – FORTH.

The essence of this project was international co-operation, the creation of working networks of communication of Greek Universities and Research Institutes with the Universities and Research Centres of Black Sea countries in a collective and organized academic opening in an area almost inaccessible to the independent researcher. Moreover, the project aimed at the renewal of the methodological analytical tools and in the internationalization of the historical studies in all countries involved. The communication with the universities and research institutes of the Black Sea countries was and remains

11. Athanasios A. Pallis, Ioannis N. Theotokas, Maria Lekakou (eds.), *Black Sea Ports, Shipping and Cities in Modern Times. From Central Planning to Reintegration in the Global Economy*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 10, forthcoming).

12. Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis (eds.), *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Trade and Immigration*, (Rethymnon: Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 7, 2020).

difficult. The reasons lie on the lack of efficient knowledge of the national languages or the lack of a common language of communication and lack of funds in a world that is nationally and politically fragmented and still with many political turmoils. The ports and coasts of the Black Sea thrived through the centuries from their relations and openness to the world and people for a long time co-existed and collaborated in prosperity. The aim here is to bring them together and find out the history that connects and not the one that divides.

All chapters have been commented and firstly edited by Evrydiki Sifneos; her loss in 2015 meant a great delay in the completion of the book. We are quite proud however, that even with such a delay we have been able to complete the book conceived largely by her. It has been a complex and very demanding book as almost half of the chapters have been submitted in the Russian language. For the translation and editing of them we would like to thank Dr. Oxana Blashkiv and Dr. Daria Resh.

At the very end, we consider it our duty to give brief notes on geographical names and transliteration in order to avoid confusion. This volume is devoted to the history of port-cities which are located in Ukraine. However, as of the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, this territory was part of the Russian Empire. Adhering to the principle of historicism, we employ geographical names in accordance with the corresponding historical period. That is why, when describing events and phenomena during the long 19th century, we talk about *Odessa*, *Nikolayev*, *Kiev*, etc. In cases where we provide references to publications published in Ukraine after 1917, or if we are talking about events after 1917, we indicate the geographical names according to the modern established Ukrainian spelling: *Odesa*, *Mykolaiv*, *Kyiv*, and so on. The names of institutions and archives of Ukraine are also given in the corresponding transliteration.

Gelina Harlaftis, Valentyna Shandra, Oksana Yurkova

Introduction

Gelina Harlaftis and †Evrydiki Sifneos

There are two main approaches on which this volume was formed. The first one is the concept of using the Black Sea as a unit of research, the approach of maritime history.¹ So the “Black Sea History” is the history of maritime regions, their hinterland and their connections with the foreland, providing an alternative focus of the unit of research which is usually a state or an Empire. The approach of the “Black Sea History” introduces in the historical studies of southeastern Europe, the History of the Sea and / or Maritime Economic History, which during the last twenty years has taken off internationally along with Global History and Global Economic History.²

This book concentrates on the economic and social development of the main port-cities of the northern shore of the Black Sea; a development that was largely due to the fact that the port-cities acted as export-import gateways of the area, establishing strong linkages with western Europe. The second approach is, thus, the use of the concept of the “port-city”. Port-cities, as Frank Broeze has described, are through their very existence and functioning true “brides of the sea” that link together their respective hinterlands and forelands in dynamic unions giving birth to urban communities of a very special character.³

The “bride” of the Black Sea, Odessa has received most of the attention of the scholars. Even so, the only complete study of a Black Sea port-city is that by Patricia Herlihy,

1. Gelina Harlaftis, “Maritime History: A New Version of the Old Version and the True History of the Sea”, *International Journal of Maritime History*, 32:2 (2020), pp. 383–402. About the maritime history approach in the Black Sea project see Gelina Harlaftis, “Black Sea Maritime and Economic History. The Integration of the Port-cities to the Global Economy” in Gelina Harlaftis, Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman, Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchikoidze (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 Centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 3, Rethymnon, 2020, published in www.blacksea.gr.

2. Gelina Harlaftis, “Maritime History or the History of Thalassa”, in Gelina Harlaftis, Nikos Karapidakis, Kostas Sbonias and Vaios Vaiopoulos (eds.), *The New Ways of History*, (London: IB Tauris, 2009), pp. 211–238.

3. Frank Broeze (ed.), *Brides of the Sea. Port Cities of Asia from the 16th – 20th Centuries*, (Kensington New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1989), p. 4.

Odessa. A History (1797–1914), and has remained lonely for many decades. There are other studies that deal with certain areas, or social activities or the activities of various ethnic groups.⁴ As Patricia Herlihy has written in her review, Evrydiki Sifneos, in her *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, an outcome of this project, has written a broader, more extensive and richer examination of Odessa's history both in chronology and in subject matter. She incorporates past works of others but she also expands the scope and depth of previous works on Odessa. The thorough study of Mara Kozelsky, *Christianizing Crimea. Shaping sacred space in the Russian Empire and Beyond*, (Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010), focusing on the Christianization process of the diverse ethnic and religious groups in the Crimea begins with the annexation of the region by the Russian Empire in the late eighteenth century. This effort concluded with the Crimean War and the religious politics of Archbishop Innokentii to establish a Russian Athos in the peninsula. The new or renovated churches and monasteries on contested religious territory enabled the spread of Christianity. The re-creation of Crimea as a holy

4. Other studies have dealt with the activities of various ethnic groups for example those of the Greeks or the Jews, Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea. The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775–1861*, (Lexington books, 2001); Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: a Cultural History, 1794–1881*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985); Alexander Orbach, *New Voices of Russian Jewry: A Study of the Russian-Jewish Press of Odessa in the Era of the Great Reforms, 1860–1871*, (Brill, 1980); Jarrod Tanny, *City of Rogues and Schnorrers: Russia's Jews and the Myth of Old Odessa*, (Indiana University Press, 2011). Still, studies of the area usually take place at local level, in the national languages, i.e. in Turkish, Bulgarian, Romanian, Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, confined in their national entities with little communication. Two books have been the outcome of a unique collaboration of Greek, Ukrainian and Russian scholars during the period 2007–2010 in a first project led by Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis; the first one was published under the title *Γρεцьке підприємництво і торгівля у Північному Причорномор'ї XVIII–XIX ст.* [Greek Business and Trade in the Northern Black Sea in the 18th–19th cc.], (Kyiv: National Hellenic Research Foundation / Institute of Modern Greek Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine / Institute of History of Ukraine, 2012), and the second one by Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis (eds.), *Οι Έλληνες της Αζοφικής, 18ος-αρχές 20ού αιώνα. Νέες προσεγγίσεις στην ιστορία των Ελλήνων της νότιας Ρωσίας*, [Greeks in the Azov, 18th – Beginning of 20th Century. New Approaches in the History of the Greeks in South Russia], (Athens: National Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, 2015). Other books, mainly on Odessa, Roshanna Sylvester, *Tales of Old Odessa: Crime and Civility in a City of Thieves*, (Northern Illinois University Press, 2005); Tanya Penter, *Odessa 1917: Revolution an der Peripherie*, (Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Bd. 32, Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2000); Guido Hausmann, *Universität und städtische Gesellschaft in Odessa, 1865–1917. Soziale und nationale Selbstorganisation an der Peripherie des Zarenreiches*, (Stuttgart, 1998); Tanya Richardson, *Kaleidoscopic Odessa: History and Place in Contemporary Ukraine*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

space in the 19th century bears resemblance with the post-Soviet attempts at re-shaping it as a holy landscape.

The Black Sea is an area about which western scholars know little for three main reasons.⁵ The first is of course political. The effects of the Cold War era led to isolation the scholars of the countries of southeastern Europe from the mainstream of western European scholars. These effects led to a lack of mobility of eastern academics and accessibility to eastern European archives for westerners. Efforts were made to open up communication. However, there were very few attendees from eastern European countries and even fewer who were linguistically in a position to communicate with the West and *vice-versa*, as the pre-1989 generation knows only too well. Although the way has been opened, the new generation in Ukraine, Russia, Romania, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Georgia still needs to develop its language skills, to get access to travel funds and to be able to work in libraries and archives abroad, and even more importantly, to cultivate the mentality to go beyond national historiography. The second reason is cultural, mainly the language barrier which is a twofold issue: firstly a lack of knowledge of the archives source languages and secondly a lack of a common language of communication.

Furthermore, large bodies of important literature are not accessible to non-nationals and the saga of isolation continues. National historiography provides a cocoon and many a generation of historians have not attended international conferences as ignorance and non-communication nurtures complacency. To be a historian one has to develop many skills. Not only does one have to be able to travel and move freely to attend conferences, but one also has to have the ability to understand a language commonly used to publicize research. The reign of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe meant that Russian developed as language of communication within Eastern Europe. Then if eastern Europeans learned a foreign language it would either German or French whereas the academic western world, particularly after the 1970s was rapidly moving towards English. Nevertheless, the problem of not having a common language of communication is not only a problem facing Eastern

5. Gelina Harlaftis, "International Business of Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, 18th century: Sources, Methods and Interpretive Issues", in *Dove va la storia economica? Metodi e prospettive. Secc. XIII–XVIII = Where is Economic History Going? Methods and Prospects from the 13th to the 18th centuries. Atti della "Quarantaduesima Settimana di Studi", 18–22 aprile 2010, edited by Francesco Ammannati* (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2011), pp. 389–415.

Europe it also continues to be a problem in the Mediterranean. The plague of complacency and introversion of national historiography that develops a historical discourse and discusses within itself is not only a characteristic of the ex-communist countries of Eastern Europe, but also of the countries like Turkey, Greece, Italy, France and Spain. Despite the pervasion of such problems one should by no means diminish the importance of the work done and the great efforts made by eastern and western historians to maintain and develop an academic dialogue.⁶

This volume is about the port-cities of the northern coast of the Black Sea. Before we proceed in analysing them, it is necessary to define what we mean with the concept “port-city”. What is a port-city? We follow the definition given by Frank Broeze who has used urban and historical geography on one hand, transport economics and location theory on the other: “A port city, is a city whose main economic base, for its non-local market, is its port, *i.e.* the area where goods and / or passengers are physically transferred between two modes of transport, of which at least one is maritime”. One cannot isolate, Broeze continues, the port city from “its double hinterland / foreland matrix”. It is these relationships that can explain the dynamics of the rise and fall of individual ports. The human community of the port and the city is in the centre, set in the spatial and architectural appearance; historians interpret its political, economic and social life in a series of “concentric centres”.⁷

The concept “port-city” brings to the fore the importance of the port. In the analysis of the port-cities, usually the cities draw all the attention and ports are not mentioned, and have been taken for granted.⁸ One of the main reasons for this is that the “western” urban theory provides no basis for such an approach. The problem is that in “urbanism”, studies focus in the social operation of the city, not its economic functioning. And the heart of the economy of a port-city is its port. Black Sea port-cities provided all the infrastructure of shipping , trade and finance; the know how of trade with land and seaborne transport networks to the hinterland and foreland, controlling thus the agricultural production, and

6. Ibid.

7. See also Harlaftis, “Black Sea Maritime and Economic History”.

8. Frank Broeze, “Introduction” in Frank Broeze (ed.), *Brides of the Sea. Port Cities of Asia from the 16th – 20th Centuries*, p. 11.

finance with banks, insurance and capital markets.⁹ We can only understand the functioning of the port-city through a dynamic and multi-disciplinary synthesis of the port and the city.

Port-city studies start where goods and passengers are “loaded and unloaded”, between ship and shore. They include all aspects of urbanization, institutions and politics, spatial, economic and transport, along with social and cultural development in a comparative dimension on a local, regional, peripheral and international dimension.¹⁰ And this is what this book is about. It is divided in three parts. In the **first part** (chapters 1–4) the authors discuss research problems, urbanization and institutions, in the **second part** (chapters 5–12) transport, port development and competition, and the **third part** (chapters 13–17) about society and culture focusing on Odessa and the Greek communities of the area.

In Russian and Ukrainian historiography the socio-economic history of the Northern Black Sea shore has been traditionally viewed in the context of the history of the Russian Empire and Ukraine. The North Black Sea and Azov Sea region has been mainly studied in isolation, within the national borders. **The first chapter** by **Larysa Yakubova** deals with the existing bibliography on the port-cities under examination in the Imperial Russian, Soviet and Ukrainian historiography. As she mentions, the works written by the historians in the 19th – early 20th century are generally descriptive and were devoted to the history of colonization (internal and external) of the region and the establishment of the port-cities, particularly of Kherson, Nikolayev and Odessa, description of the everyday life of locals, sometimes the role of foreign capital in the development of the region, trade and shipping. It was then that the “official” biographies of prominent political figures who led the Southern Ukrainian Guberniias were created.

Yakubova provides a highly useful detailed overview of the entire corpus of the relevant historiography that has been produced over the past two centuries. The area more than anywhere else reveals how academic research are greatly determined by the society's development and political freedom. She distinguishes four historiographical periods which varied in both methodologies used and research problems addressed. The first

9. Peter Reeves, Frank Broeze and Kenneth McPherson, “Studying the Asian Port City” in Frank Broeze (ed.), *Brides of the Sea. Port Cities of Asia from the 16th – 20th Centuries*, p. 35.

10. Ibid., p. 42.

historiographical period spanned in time from the end of the 18th to the first half of the 19th century and witnessed the initial collection of information about the colonization of the northern coast of the Black Sea and the development of economy and trade relations in this region. The second historiographical period (1861–1917) experienced the revision of the basic principles of public and social life. It was the time of the Great Reforms and great hopes, which had a decisive influence on the quality of historic publications from this period that have given us some impressive works.

The next, third, historiographic period lasted from 1917 to 1991, but the radical revolution in theory and methodology of the historic science occurred in the 1920s. In spite of the rapid development of research institutions and organizations, which only in the Southern Ukraine amounted to 10 scientific societies and 150 local history study groups, historians were forcedly falsifying and abusing both the works of their predecessors and the pre-revolutionary history. The restrictions on use of archival collections, political censorship and repressions against many prominent members of the scientific community “sterilized” the research potential of the domestic historians for many years. In late 1920s the prominent Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934) set a problem *The Steppe and the Sea in the History of Ukraine*. He offered a comprehensive and detailed plan of the Southern Ukraine's study; specifically put forward the idea of “inscribing” the history of the region into the global context, examination of the centrifugal and integration processes. But it has not been solved because the “Great Terror” occurred in the USSR and large-scaled repressions against academics.

From the 1930s till late 1980s under the prevalent Soviet Marxist methodology within the framework of the dominant in the USSR pentamorous theory of the social and economic structure (primitive communal system – slaveholding – feudalism – capitalism – communism), the study of the history of the region during the long 19th century occurred in the study of the stages of decomposition of feudalism (18th c.), crisis of feudalism (first half of the 19th c.), and formation of capitalism (second half of the 19th – beginning of the 20th cc.). With a stereotypical mechanistic interpretation of the historical process and the depersonalization of history of the region, the focus was mainly on the political history. It was during the Krushchov's time (mid-1950s – mid 1960s) that the possibility of research and the interest of the Black Sea port-cities returned. The role of ports and maritime trade

in the economic development of Southern Ukraine started to be taken under consideration and a major Ukrainian research project resulted in the publication of multiple volumes of the “History of the cities and villages of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic”. Although there was some interest on the importance of the ports, trade and shipping of the area, histories of the cities was mainly from the point of view of an urban history. One of the most important authors Volodymyr Tymofiienko followed a similar to the western European rise of urban history, taking under consideration the site and location of the city, the environmental characteristics, the city planning, the demography, trade and manufacturing.

The urban history approach was the one that brought a great push in the modern historiography of cities of Ukraine in the fourth historiographical period, since 1989, and is represented by Victoria Konstantinova's chapter 3 as we shall see later on. It has brought a restructuring and reconsideration of various questions and issues concerning mainly the modernization and urbanization process of Southern Ukraine. So the research tools from the urban studies have given us the tools to investigate the economic, political and social mechanisms for the integration of the cities within the larger imperial context. Nevertheless, despite considerable changes in modern Ukrainian historiographical discourse, there is still a notorious lack of interest to the economic, maritime or port history of the region and their linkages to the world. Of course lack of interest to economic history came on a global scale after 1989 when economic history saw a great decline not only in eastern Europe, but also in western Europe and North America. The world economic crisis of the 21st century has provoked the interest to economic history and witnessed the upsurge of global economic history in western academia. This trend has not reached the northern shore of the Black Sea. Local and national historiography of the region in the last decades reveal a notorious lack of interest on studies based on analyses of statistical data, in spite of the contemporary arsenal of computing technologies. So the participation of the Ukrainian historians in the *Black Sea Project* promoted their acquaintance of processing statistical and archival data in databases and in the modern international historiographical discourse.

One of the main aims of the Black Sea interdisciplinary and interuniversity project has been the exchange of research, analysis and study of primary archival sources. The **second**

chapter by Liliia Bilousova, who has turned the State Archives of Odesa Region to one of the more hospitable institutions of its kind in the whole northern shore, reveals the incredible wealth of the real “bride” of the Black Sea, Odesa. Bilousova indicates not only the wealth of the Odesa Archives but also those of the adjacent regions. The State Archives of Odesa Region holds more than 2 million files for the period from the end of the 18th century to the present. Among the most valuable documentary collections are in the pre-revolutionary period. They include files on Administration local authorities, customs, port facilities and construction of statistics committees, banks, schools, port and shipping development, domestic and foreign trade. The documents of the *Odessa City Magistrate*, *Odessa City Duma* founded in 1795, reveal, for example, the annual lists of Greek, Russian, Jewish, and foreign merchants with indication of their guild capitals. The unique records of the *Administration of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governor-General* reveal the process of the formation of the city, the building of the port, the harbor and houses. The register books of the *Odessa Greek Trinity Church* include more than 100,000 parishioners revealing a large sample of the Greek population of the city and so on.¹¹ Most researchers in this volume have worked in this Archives and also in the other Ukrainian Archives of the area and the central Archives of Russian Federation.

Victoria Konstantinova in chapter 3 presents the unfolding urbanization and modernization process of the northern Black Sea region and proves how the port-cities were at the forefront of this transformation. She reveals how the Russian officials understood well the meaning of the port-city using the special category of the “sea port” as a synonym of the “port-city” where “as ‘port’ is understood the maritime region of the port (bay and anchorage), and the coastal area occupied by the port's facilities: piers, breakwaters and quays and the entire coastal area that serves the purposes of commercial shipping and maritime activities”. And she proceeds to unravel the ways port-hierarchies were defined and evaluated through the official typology of settlements used in the Russian

11. All this data was transcribed by the State Archives of Odesa Region in collaboration with the Odesa Branch of the Hellenic Foundation of Culture and was published in Liliya Belousova et al., *Греки Одессы. Именной указатель по метрическим книгам Одесской Греческой Свято-Троицкой Церкви* [The Greeks of Odesa: Name Index According to the Metrical Books of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odesa], in 7 parts, (Odesa, 2000–2014). This information under transliteration in Greek and latin letters is included in the Black Sea database – Argonauts, in www.blacksea.gr.

Empire. The most important one was introduced in 1905 by Pyotr Petrovich Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, the famous Russian geographer and statistician who classified urban settlements on three levels: a) in terms of population, b) in terms of per capita trade and industrial production, c) in terms of the participation of industrial output and trade in the city. Using these tools Konstantinova proceeds to see the importance of port-cities in the urbanization process. Modernization is measured according to the level of the new technological achievements, of industrialization in the form of railways, steamships and industrial units that brings yet another classification of pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial cities. The political dimension is taken under consideration as she examines how the Black Sea port-cities were used to implement reforms and make changes in public administration. The social dimension also, as the multi-ethnic composition of the port-cities affected its growth and urban space. Konstantinova concludes that the port-cities were an important “testing ground” for innovation that were later implemented in the Empire.

One such “testing ground” in the public administration of the southern port-cities was the office of the Governor General as it is examined by **Valentyna Shandra in Chapter 4**. The annexation of new areas necessitated new developments in the field of the imperial policy for administering the newly acquired territories and new people. The southward expansion of the Empire required the establishment of new borders and a flexible system of administration to allow for the implementation of ambitious plans of expanding imperial borders and developing new socioeconomic relations that would favor the promotion of trade which promised a substantial profit to Russia. It was these motivations that underlay the introduction of the administration system of Governorates-General, which due to the geopolitical situation and the multi-ethnic population in the South acquired specific features. Its most significant feature was the degree of power and independence until the last third of the 19th century; the remoteness from the center, the ethnic and religious diversities and the complexity of managing the ports required a kind of a local government which they provided.

The administrations of Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida and Bessarabia Guberniias fell under the authority of the Governor General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia. This system of administration was initiated by Catherine II who granted the Governor-Generals considerable powers. Continuing the policy of Catherine II, the Emperor Alexander I

moved even further and appointed to this position not Russians but the French (duc de Richelieu and Langeron) known for their resourcefulness and ability to make independent decisions on matters of national importance, and later Count Vorontsov, who was a Russian military man and a graduate from Cambridge University. In addition to purely administrative functions, the Governors were also engaged in activities associated with the frontier position of the region including diplomatic and anti-epidemic services. The policy of the enlightened absolutism contributed to colonization of the southern region by people from countries where the economic compulsion prevailed over the feudal coercion. Mikhail Vorontsov condemned the feudal forms of economy and sought to introduce new forms of land tenure and land use in the South by experimenting with them in a large number of his own land estates.

The Governor-Generals paid most of their attention to the development of the port-cities in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Taking advantage of their relative autonomy in the field of taxation, in their reports to the central government they proposed to either relax or toughen the tax burden depending on the rates of the involvement of the cities in the international trade and the development of their economic infrastructure. Practically all cities were granted a special status. In a way, the imperial desire to connect national and local interests was embodied in the institution of the Governor-General. Their duty was to ensure the socio-economic development considering the local peculiarities like multi-ethnic population with its cultural and economic traditions, which would assist the economic development of the sparsely populated region with great land resources.

The second part of the book is dedicated to the core of the Black Sea project, transport, ports, competition and development. The present volume on the northern coast of the Black Sea comprises the port-cities of Odessa, Kherson, Nikolayev as well as the Crimean ports of Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia. It also includes a vast hinterland that extended from 50 to 1,700 kilometers from the coast depending on the development of the land and the fluvial transportation systems. **Chapter 5 by Oleksandr Romantsov** enlightens the land and river transportation of the vast hinterland of the northern coast of the Black Sea. This is an area with large and navigable rivers like Dnieper, Southern Bug and Dniester. For quite a long time the waterways of the big rivers and land routes served as the main ways of transportation of goods. The prevailing majority of roads, however, was in poor

condition, river waterways offered better opportunities, so transportation by water took the lead. Out of the three big rivers, the Dnieper was the best waterway but there were still problems in its navigability. The goods down the river were largely stored in Kherson and then transported overland to the Black Sea ports.

Land routes through Yekaterinoslav, Taurida and Kherson Guberniias of the Russian Empire, facilitated animal-drawn transport, since no railroads had been built here until last third of the 19th century. There were mainly of two types land routes, the post roads and the transportation roads. The former served for the postal, courier and passenger traffic and were maintained at the expense of the local district councils. The latter were correspondingly used for transportation of trade goods. The roads were unpaved and ran across the unplowed terrains of *chernozem* (black soil) changing to loamy soils towards the sea coast. Winter and early spring were the worst seasons for transportation since the weather in those days was very unstable featuring quite rapid alterations from a heavy snow and a severe frost to warm temperatures which turned the land surface into an impassable swamp. By the middle of the 19th century the animal-drawn transport had proven to be both slow and costly. It was only after the introduction of steamships and tugs in the rivers along with the development of the railway network in the last third of the 19th century that brought an apogee to the development of the area.

There were three main ports in the area, Odessa, Nikolayev and Kherson. The story of Kherson is indicative on the problems encountered by Russian authorities to decide where the new economic and administrative centres would be situated and promoted. In **chapter 6, Victoria Konstantinova and Igor Lyman** examine the “former glory” of Kherson which was intended initially to be the main administrative and economic centre of “New Russia” as it was very conveniently situated on the Dnieper and was an inland port. Kherson was seen as a key military and economic center, which was supposed to be a springboard for further progress and consolidation of the Russian Empire in the Black Sea. The dominance in the region of Odessa in the first half of the 19th century, which apart from developing the main port of the area was also the administrative center of the Governor-General, and the ascendency of Nikolayev in the second half of the 19th century put Kherson in the backwater. Until the 1860s only a small part of the cargoes were directed abroad, most brought from the hinterland to be promoted with barges to Odessa through

the Dnieper in order to be sent to the foreland, to the port-cities of the West; railway destroyed this activity as the railway did not pass from Kherson and cargoes now were going to Odessa not through Dnieper but directly through the railway. Foreign trade stopped at Kherson from the late 1860s to the beginning of the 20th century.

It was Odessa that became and remained not only the largest port of the area, but also the largest city in the area¹² as is evident in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 of the present volume. Only Odessa had a population of about 100,000 in the whole South in the 1860s followed by Nikolayev (38,000) Kherson (35,000), Theodosia (8,500), Sevastopol (8,000), Evpatoria (7,000); by the end of the century, in 1897, the hierarchy of the cities remained almost the same with Odessa's population having increased fourfold (400,000), Nikolayev's threefold (92,000) Kherson's double (59,000), Theodosia's threefold (24,000), Sevastopol's sevenfold (54,000) and Evpatoria's more than double (18,000). There exist different chronological moments during which the various port-cities began to operate and flourished as gateways for the export of grain of South Ukraine. We may discern three phases in the development of the ports of the Black Sea's northern zone: a) ports as relays for the conveyance of grain to Odessa, b) ports as independent outlets for exporting directly grain, and c) re-shaping port infrastructure and facilities for large scale grain operations which were accomplished a few years before the outbreak of WWI. Their service to the further growth of the Russian grain trade, actually remained under-exploited due to the war and the ensuing political changes after it. Yet, a turning point may be identified after which the northern coast of the Black Sea began to function as a unified maritime zone. Besides Odessa, it was in the second half of the 19th century and mostly after 1875 that the principal port-cities of South Ukraine and the Crimean peninsula developed their export potential which was directed to the European continent. Technological innovation, in the form of railways and steamships were pivotal for the take-off of the exports of the whole area.

It was also after the Crimean War that maritime communication among the port-cities became regular and the transportation systems, primarily the railway and fluvial transport brought to the ports the produce from distanced productive areas. The girka variety of wheat both in Odessa and the Crimea was highly appreciated for the manufacture of pasta

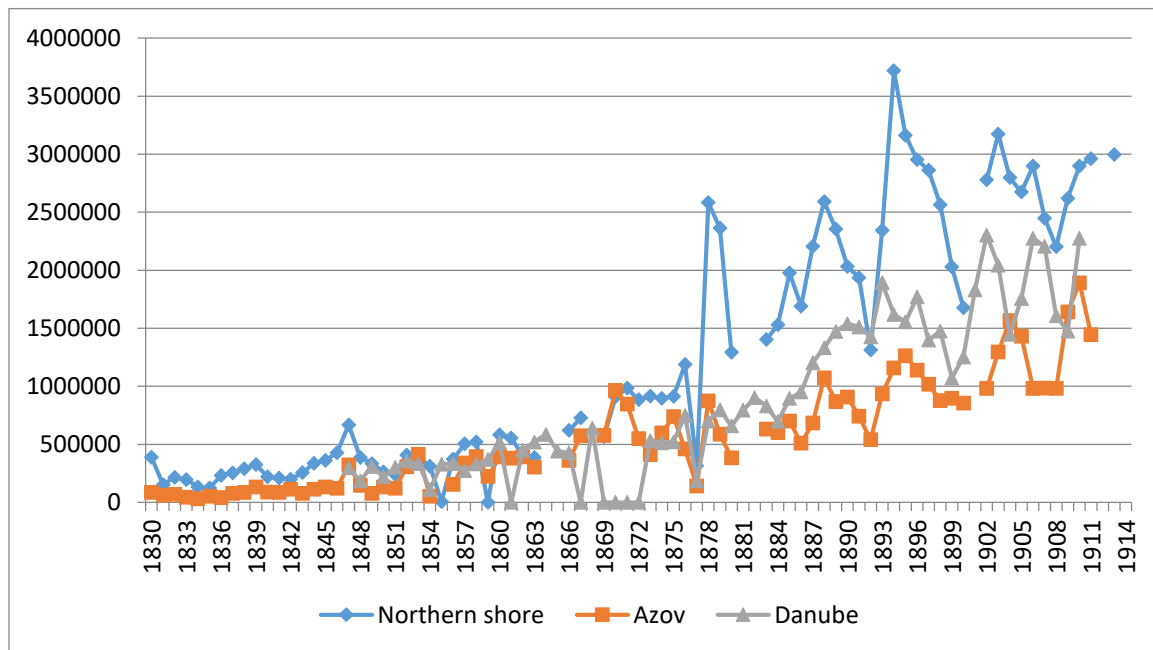
12. There is a separate volume for Odessa, see Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 11, published Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018.

in Italy, France, Switzerland and Holland. A major impediment for the unification and full development of the port-cities of this maritime zone was the hesitation of state policy concerning both Nikolayev and Sevastopol to open them to the commercial trade, because of their military importance. Thus, Sevastopol opened to international trade between 1875 and 1896 when it was turned again to an exclusively military port and handed over the baton to Theodosia which flourished after 1896. Furthermore, Evpatoria benefited in 1892 from the arrival of railway and saw the increase of its exports.

Odessa hold the first place in the export activity of the first half of the 19th century; in fact this maritime region, the whole zone of the Northern Black Sea coast proved to be the first export zone of South Russia, followed by the Eastern (Azov) coast zone and the Danube. As Figure 1 indicates, shipping departures from the northern coast were the most important, above those of the Azov or the Danube. Although after the Crimean war they became comparable to the other two regions it was after the 1870s that they shot up. Although shipping from the Danube became the most important competitor, the ports of the northern shore continued their primacy in the area. The full integration of the zone into the world economy could not be realized without the development of an adequate banking system, which supported the export trade and which was implemented after 1875.

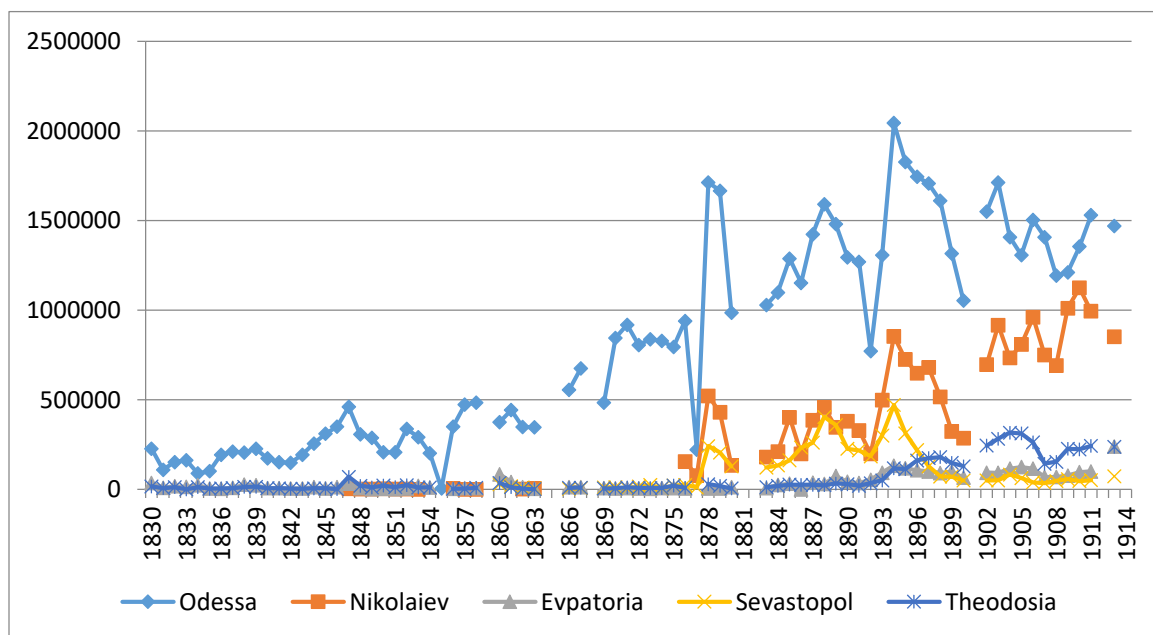
Although port systems developed unevenly in the different ports, they shared some kind of complementarity, when the new ports attempted to overcome the shortcomings of the older. This was the case of Nikolayev which was finally dotted with modern infrastructure that allowed the storage of millions of goods, along with the quicker loading of grain into the steamships, something that overlapped Odessa's sea trade at the beginning of the 20th century as is evident in Figure 2. Most of the ports served as intermediary transit relays, that provided cargoes for the ships approaching Odessa, and did not have direct export activities. Sevastopol rivaled Nikolayev during the time that it was open to free trade only to be overtaken by Theodosia, after its closure for naval purposes. As it is clear from the case of Nikolayev, its development as international gateways of grain with all the adequate port equipment and facilities for large scale operations occurred few years before WWI and due to the outbreak of war its export potential was never fully taken advantage of.

Figure 1. Shipping departures from the northern shore ports, eastern (Azov) shore ports and the ports of the Danube, 1830–1912



Sources: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming; *Black Sea Historical Statistics* in www.blacksea.gr

Figure 2. Shipping departures from the port-cities of the northern shore



Sources: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming; *Black Sea Historical Statistics* in www.blacksea.gr

The commercial port of Nikolayev, **analysed in chapter 7 by Larysa Levchenko** was a port of the new post-Crimean era, and challenged the primacy of Odessa in the last third of the 19th century. Nikolayev port until then had served the Russian Navy and when, after the War, Russia has lost its right for the Black Sea Navy, shipbuilding on Nikolayev shipyards stopped and thousands of people were out of work. It was only in 1862 that the port was opened to foreign trade. Despite its proximity to Odessa, the biggest port of the whole northern coast, Nikolayev saw an unprecedented growth as inland port-cities that were near the production areas were valuable. It was grain trade that had the biggest impact. Grain was brought to Nikolayev from all neighbouring regions including Kiev. From about 30,000 quarters of grain in 1863, in 1900 it had reached 4 million.

International trade gave impetus to the economic development of Nikolayev, that became one of the industrial centers and a major labor market of the Russian Empire. The city's population at the end of the 19th century increased to 100,000 including immigrants from 24 countries: Germany, Bulgaria, Greece, Spain, Italy, Norway, Turkey, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Persia, Britain, Japan, Egypt, the United States and others. Russian and foreign banks, a commodity exchange, educational institutions, theaters, publishing houses were opened in the city. As Nikolayev was expelled from the Pale of Settlement, a large number of Jews, who were engaged in grain trade, including a number of merchants of the first guild, settled in Nikolayev boosting its growth. Despite the importance of Odessa, Nikolayev became a major international port of the Black Sea due to the opening to the external trade.

Port competition ranks high in understanding the dynamics of the formation of the port systems of the Black Sea. **Constantin Ardeleanu in chapter 8** examines the rivalry of Odessa to the new rising *tour de force*, the Danubian ports of Galatz and Braila that started to look as, and eventually became, serious competitors of the large Russian port-city even at this early period. The Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 completely altered the commercial significance of the two Danubian port-cities and their hinterlands, Wallachia and Moldavia. Commerce and its huge opportunities stood at the basis of a true economic revolution as the introduction of steam navigation on the Danube and its encouragement by Austrian investors, the new commercial liberty of the governorates and the Western interest for the agrarian resources of the area shoot off the economic development of the area. The paper indicates

how the Tsarist authorities tried to scrutinise the growth of the principalities' foreign trade, and used Sulina, at the mouth of the Danube, to obstruct the growth of Braila and Galatz as the prospective commercial rivals of Odessa. Using statistical analysis in a comparative perspective Ardeleanu brings out the highly interesting story of the rivalry of the two areas and their port-cities namely Odessa vs Braila and Galatz during the period from the Treaty of Adrianople to the Crimean War.

Port-cities became important due to their merchants and shipowners. As is evident from Table 1, in 1853 17 out of the 20 largest merchants of all southern Russian ports were first guild merchants of Odessa or foreign merchants trading in Odessa. Out of these 9 were Greek merchants, namely Theodor Rodocanachi, Ivan Scaramanga, Pavel Iraklidi, Konstantin Papoudov, Ivan Ralli, Konstantin Ralli, Alexander Zarifi, Pavel Zizinia and Efstratii Sevastopoulo. They formed the most powerful group of all, handling 55% of all imports and exports. The next important groups were the Germans and the Jews. But how important were these Southern Russian merchants? Table 2 indicates that merchants on the northern shore of the Black Sea were also among the biggest merchants of the whole Russian Empire. Three out of the biggest merchants of the whole Russian Empire were the Odessan merchants. Particularly Theodore Rodacanachi was at the third place, indicating the importance also of Odessa, followed by Ivan Scaramanga and Pavel Iraklidi.

Table 1. The 20 Biggest Merchants of Southern Russian Ports, 1853

Merchant	Ethnic origin	City and Guild	Cities where he trades	Imports and exports in rubles
Rodocanachi Theodor	Greek	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa and Rostov	4,141,019
Scaramanga Ivan P.	Greek	Kerch 1 st guild	Rostov	2,734,463
Iraklidi Pavel	Greek	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	2,654,671
Papudov Konstantin	Greek	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	2,024,411
Ralli Ivan Stepanov	Greek	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,744,852
Hava Rafael	Jew	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,713,220
Jerbolini Gustav	Italian	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,652,544
Rocco Karl	Italian	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,638,878

Merchant	Ethnic origin	City and Guild	Cities where he trades	Imports and exports in rubles
Gorin Karl	German	Foreign Visitors	Odessa	1,522,743
Zarifi Alexander	Greek	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,521,986
Maas Arest & Comp.	German	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,485,607
Bone Franz	German	Kerch 1 st guild	Berdyansk and Taganrog	1,430,956
Ralli Konstantin Th.	Greek	Foreign Visitor	Odessa	1,361,257
Rafalovich Abraham	Jew	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,254,865
Zizinia Pavel	Greek	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,222,795
Sevastopoulo Evstratii	Greek	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa and Berdyansk	1,197,069
Traboti Iliya	Italian	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,191,805
Porov Yakov	Jew	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,129,271
Kelner	German	Odessa 1 st guild	Odessa	1,123,927
Yeames Alexander	English	Foreign Visitor	Mariupol, Rostov and Taganrog	1,075,097
Total				33,821,436
Greeks 55%				17,379,728

Source: Table XLII. Список купцам, производивших заграничную торговлю свыше 50 тысяч рублей серебром [List of Merchants Who Carried out Foreign Trade in Silver in the Amount of More than 50,000 Rubles], in *Государственная внешняя торговля в разных её видах за 1853 год* [State Foreign Trade in Different Categories in 1853], (St. Petersburg, 1854).

Table 2. The 20 Biggest Merchants of the Russian Empire, 1853

Merchant	City and Guild	Cities where he trades	Imports and exports in rubles
Stiglich A. & Comp.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg and Narva	5,676,483
Gubbard Ef.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	4,430,868
Rodocanachi Theodor	Odessa, 1 st guild	Odessa and Rastov	4,141,019
Brandt V.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	3,652,768
Schneider & Comp. G.V.	Riga, 1 st guild	Riga	3,237,969

Merchant	City and Guild	Cities where he trades	Imports and exports in rubles
Shröder G.V. & Comp.	Riga, 1 st guild	Riga	3,237,969
Anderson M. & Comp.	Foreign Visitor	St. Petersburg	3,162,543
Michel & Comp.	English Negotiators	Riga	2,841,548
Kempe I.V.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	2,826,073
Gauf L.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	2,790,250
Scaramanga Ivan P.	Kerch, 1 st guild	Rostov	2,734,463
Schultz K.T.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	2,728,582
Frerichs I.	Foreign Visitor	St. Petersburg	2,707,140
Giutsev A.D.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	2,664,519
Iraklidi Pavel	Odessa, 1 st guild	Odessa	2,654,671
Knop L.	Moscow, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg and Moscow	2,512,119
Visau & Villie	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	2,504,155
Simon L.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	2,473,239
Mori F.	Colleagues of Society of Sareptski	St. Petersburg	2,424,541
Dei I.	St. Petersburg, 1 st guild	St. Petersburg	2,384,686

Source: Table XLII. Список купцам, производивших заграничную торговлю свыше 50 тысяч рублей серебром [List of Merchants Who Carried out Foreign Trade in Silver in the Amount of More than 50,000 Rubles], in *Государственная внешняя торговля в разных её видах за 1853 год* [State Foreign Trade in Different Categories in 1853], (St. Petersburg, 1854).

Andrei Emilciuc in chapter 9 discusses the Legal Status of Foreign Entrepreneurs in Odessa and Ismail in the first two thirds of the 19th century. The external policy of the Russian Empire meant annexation of new territories, the development of which required on the hand to maintain old privileges and on the other to grant others. The attraction of foreign entrepreneurs in the port-cities of the new annexed areas of the South of the Empire meant the co-existence of Greeks, German, Jews, Bulgarians, Armenians and others. It also presented the problem of integration, assimilation and devotion to the Empire. The status and perception of foreigners who became Russian citizens was a matter of great controversy, as despite the fact that they became Russian citizens, they were still called and perceived as foreigners. Emilciuc in his paper, focuses on the legal aspect, that is the

official policy of the state, which was determined and influenced by a very small part of the upper nobility, and gradually by a narrow group of very rich entrepreneurs.

It was the merchants and shipowners from the Ionian Islands that were most numerous in the Black Sea coast and proved to be extremely important in the functioning of the sea-trade of the port-cities of the northern coast. **Gerassimos Pagratis in chapter 10** examines how the Ionian entrepreneurs penetrated the Russian Empire since the early 18th century. His aim is to examine the terms and conditions that paved the way for the Ionians' access to the Black Sea, during the last quarter of the 18th century, when the islands were ruled by the Venetians, to the first decade of the 19th century, when a new State was established there, the Septinsular Republic. His paper, based on quantitative and qualitative evidence from the Archives of the Septinsular Republic found in the Greek General Archives of Corfu, illustrate the institutional background of the Ionian presence in the Black Sea, but also their importance in the trade and shipping of the area. The Ionians were among the first to access on a more massive scale the newly formed Black Sea port-cities after the annexation of the area by the Russians. They consequently proved during the rest of the 19th century to be among the main seafarers of the area.

Greeks as Ottoman and Venetian subjects were omni-present in the sea-trade of the “Ottoman lake” of the early modern times. **Oleksandr Halenko's chapter 11** gives provides the background of the importance of the Greeks in the area examining the Greek community in Southern Crimea under Ottoman Rule. The data he presents, demonstrates that the Greek population of the Ottoman Crimea at least since the 16th century played fundamental role in providing the port-cities of the Crimean peninsula, and particularly the largest one Kefe, what became Theodosia, with products and services, indispensable for maintaining urban and transport activities. Greeks that lived for centuries there, were removed to the Azov area by the order of Catherine the Great in 1778–1779, something that did a irreparable harm to the economy of Theodosia and the other ports and ultimately contributed to their incapability to meet the requirements, which emerged with the development of the grain trade few years later. The imperial Russian policy hampered the development of the Crimean ports to mid-19th century. It was only after the Crimean war that the Crimean port-cities took up again their momentum.

Anna Sydorenko in chapter 12 presents a comprehensive study of the ports of Crimea. Sydorenko has written her Ph.D. thesis, as part of the project on the economic and social development of the Crimean port-cities during the second half of the 19th century. The chapter gives the perspective of the Crimean ports that acted mainly as complementary ports both to the western ports, Odessa and Nikolayev and to the eastern ones, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog.¹³ Crimean ports are an indicative example of the state policy that dictated their path by opening or closing according not the market demands but to the geostrategic needs of the Empire.

The **third part** of the book is concerned with the society and culture of the port-cities of the northern coast. All chapters concentrate on Odessa, the largest urban centre that dominated the Northern Black Sea coast. Foreign merchants were highly important for the development of its port, trade and economy. Greek merchants formed the most important entrepreneurial groups in the first two thirds of the 19th century as is evident from Tables 1 and 2. One such commercial family that became part of the group of Russian entrepreneurial elite was the Sevastopoulo family described in **chapter 13 by Valerii Tomazov**. As is evident from Tables 1 and 2, Greek merchants involved in grain trade dominated the business elite of the southern port-cities particularly those of Odessa first two thirds of the 19th century.¹⁴ Presenting the Sevastopoulo family, Tomazov gives a clear

13. 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).

14. A selected list of the literature on the Greek business diaspora in northern shore of the Black Sea includes Patricia Herlihy, “Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century”, in Ihor Ševčenko and Frank E. Sysyn (eds.), *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*, (2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1979–1980), vol. I, pp. 399–420; Herlihy, “The Greek Community in Odessa, 1861–1917”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, VII, No. 2 (1989), pp. 235–251; Gelina Harlaftis, “The Role of the Greeks in the Black Sea Trade, 1830–1900”, in Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik (eds.), *Shipping and Trade, 1750–1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History* (Pontefract, 1990), pp. 63–95; Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London, 1996); Gelina Harlaftis, “Το εμποροναυτιλιακό δίκτυο των Ελλήνων της Διασποράς και η ανάπτυξη της ελληνικής ναυτιλίας τον 19ο αιώνα: 1830–1860” [The Commercial and Maritime Network of the Diaspora Greeks and the Development of Greek Shipping in the 19th Century: 1830–1860], *Mnemon*, vol. 15, 1993, pp. 69–127; Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775–1861* (Lanham, MD, 2001); Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou, “The Greek Merchant House of the Russian Black Sea: A Nineteenth-Century Example of a Trader’s Coalition”, *International Journal of Maritime History*, X, No. 1 (1998), pp. 61–104; John A. Mazis,

example of the path followed by the members of the Chiot entrepreneurial group that hold business linkages to the main western European port-cities. The Sevastopoulo, formed members of the Chiot business group composed of families found in Table 1, like the Ralli or Rodocanachi, Scaramanga, Zizinia or Papudov. Despite the fact they were Russian subjects they were initially regarded as foreign merchants, who belonged to a closed ethno-social group. However, they gradually turned into the privileged classes of the Russian-imperial society and became big landlords, owners of large estates and homes, and high-ranked officials who became closely related to the local elites.

Nikos Chrissidis in chapter 14 attempts to chart the religious history of the Greek community of Odessa in the long nineteenth century, that is, the period between the 1790s and 1922. His study focuses on the main ecclesiastical institution around which was concentrated the religious life of the city's Greek community, that is, the Church of the Holy Trinity, the main church that Greeks attended in the period under consideration. The chapter is based on a variety of published and unpublished sources particularly from the State Archives of Odesa Region. Chrissidis relates the Church and its Clergymen to the Greek community and its influential members along with other churches and ecclesiastical institutions. He provides a vivid and highly interesting example of the confrontation of power between members of the merchant elite and high Church officials. Moreover, he

The Greeks of Odessa: Diaspora Leadership in Late Imperial Russia (New York, 2004); Evridiki Sifneos, "The Dark Side of the Moon: Rivalry and Riots for Shelter and Occupation between the Greek and Jewish Populations in Multi-Ethnic Nineteenth-Century Odessa", *Historical Review / La Revue Historique*, III (2006), pp. 189–204; and Sifneos, "Business Ethics and Lifestyle of the Greek Diaspora in New Russia: From Economic Activities to National Benefaction", in Anne-Marie Kuij-laars, et al. (eds.), *Business and Society: Entrepreneurs, Politics and Networks in a Historical Perspective* (Rotterdam, 2000), pp. 455–468; Sifneos, "The Changes in the Russian Grain Trade and the Adaptability of the Greek Merchant Houses", *Historica*, XL (2004), pp. 53–96 (in Greek); Apollon Skalkowski, *La population commerciale d'Odessa*, (Odessa, 1845, in French and Russian); Skalkowski, *Записки о торговле и промышленных силах Одессы* [Notes on the Power of Trade and Industry in Odessa], (Odessa, 1865); Grigorii L. Arsh, *Этеристское движение в России* [Eterist Movement in Russia], (Moscow, 1970); Yulia V. Ivanov (ed.), *Греки России и Украины* [Greeks of Russia and Ukraine], (St. Petersburg, 2004); Valerii Tomazov, *Το γένος των Μαυρογορδάτων (Μαυροκορδάτων) στη Ρωσική Αυτοκρατορία. Η ιστορία του γένους μέσα από τα έγγραφα και γεγονότα* [The Mavrogordatos (Mavrokordatos) Family in the Russian Empire. The Family's History as reflected in Documents and Events], trans. by Xenia Tiskevits, (Athens: Ekdoseis Alpha Pi, 2010), Liliia Bilousova, *Το γένος των Πετροκόκκινων. Περίοδος της Οδησού 19ος – αρχές 20ού αιώνα* [The Petrocockino Family. The Odessa Period, 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century], (Chios 2007).

reveals how the Greek Church was a locus not only of religious but also of a national life for the Greeks, a locus of public life.

Svitlana Gerasymova in chapter 15 discusses various aspects of the development of social welfare and charity institutions in Odessa from the foundation of the city to the beginning of the 20th century. Following the system of public welfare that began in the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18th century which special administrative bodies called “Orders of Public Welfare” were formed in most cities, the first Governor of the city duc de Richelieu founded the “Odessa Order of Public Welfare”. The Order controlled hospitals, orphanages, almshouses, cemeteries, prisons, lodging houses for the homeless and places that provided food for the poor etc. Furthermore, Kherson Military Governor A. Lanzheron established a committee by wealthy merchants of the town and government officials that would supervise all Odessa charitable institutions and the Order of Public Welfare after equivalent committees existing in western European countries in Trieste, London and Marseille. The Odessa Order of Public Welfare (1823–1865) was replaced by the Regulatory Duma (1865–1870) and then by the Welfare Department of City Government (1870–1919). All institutions played a significant role in the development of social welfare and protection of the poor. However, as Gerasymova points out, this role was far from ideal, as reflected in the relatively passive operation of the institutions and local authorities and their inability to expand their activities.

Sofronios Paradeisopoulos in chapters 16 and 17 proceeds in demographic analyses of the Greek population in Odessa based on the valuable Registers of Greek Church of the town, the Holy Trinity Church which contains more than 22,000 registers of marriages, deaths and baptisms. The Register has been transcribed and published by the State Archives of Odesa Region in collaboration with the Hellenic Foundation for Culture, Odesa Branch.¹⁵ In **chapter 16, Paradeisopoulos** explains how marriage is one of the most important categories for understanding the social structure of any society. Based on the 1800–1920 data from registers of the Holy Trinity Greek Church he reconstructs nuptiality in order to examine the process of formation, evolution and dissolution of marriage alliances. Through this analysis Paradeisopoulos takes the opportunity to reveal the

15. The whole database has been transliterated from the Russian language to English language and can be found on line in the Black Sea database – Argonauts in www.blacksea.gr.

dynamics of marriage as an institution over the time span of five conventional generations or 120 chronological years. The quantitative analysis he presents permits to identify characteristics of the marriage pattern among Greeks of Odessa and the trends of the social institutions in Odessa.

In chapter 17 Paradeisopoulos studies the mortality trends of the Greek population in Odessa; the study of this particular group that formed a substantial percentage of the population is indicative of the general trends in the city. Mortality is the second important demographic process after fertility and it shapes natural movement (reproduction) of a population. The meticulous analysis of Paradeisopoulos reveals the level of development of Odessa through the children and adult mortality. Paradeisopoulos draws comparisons between mortality trends during the period under examination with other cities in European Russia and reveals how the low level of children's mortality for example, indicates the comparatively high standards of living in Odessa. Demography is a science that gives the tools to explore the dynamic trends of the society of any city.

Odessa is special to the Greek collective memory. It was there that a large number of Ottoman Greeks prospered and it was within the environment of the cosmopolitan, multicultural, booming new port-city that the Greeks excelled, it was there, that the idea of the Greek Independence was nurtured. **Nassia Yakovaki in chapter 18** brings out the importance of the *Image of Odessa* among the Greeks in the 1810s. The rising Odessa “became a beacon of ‘progress’ or ‘modernity’ for those living in the Balkan peninsula – a status until then monopolized by the ‘civilized’ West and the far side of the Adriatic”. Odessa represented an opportunity for the Greeks. Their establishment in the city led to the distinctive, active presence of the Greek element from the first moment that the city appeared on the scene. A new, powerful group of major merchants, with new wealth in Greek hands appeared along with a large number of Greek migrants: petty merchants, employees, servants and professionals. What Yakovaki brings out successfully in her chapter is that the very success of Odessa was also recorded as a Greek success. The *Odissini* (Οδησσίνοι – the Greeks of Odessa), became a distinct group that was admired and promoted by all main journals of the new Greek bourgeoisie that flourished in the Western European cities, such as Paris, Vienna, Trieste. So the success of the the *Odissini* became synonymous with the potential of the modern Greeks as a whole. The Greek

merchant colony was as new as the city itself and for that reason, the city's success was assumed to be at once their success. Yakovaki rightly points out that the secret society *Philiki Etaireia*, or *Society of Friends* formed in Odessa in 1814, that prepared the Greek Revolution that broke out seven years later, came after the Greeks already had publicly formed an ideal group of Greeks equally political, albeit in another way: the *Odissini*.

Beyond the overall and special analyses, the chapters in this volume indicate how collaboration and communication can enrich knowledge and perception of the history of a whole region. It was the Black Sea project that gave us the tools of a comparative approach and the possibility to exchange information, archives, bibliography and methodology to approach and write history within and beyond the boundaries of national histories, a history embracing the sea.

PART I

RESEARCH PROBLEMS,

URBANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS

Chapter 1

Black Sea Port-Cities in Ukrainian Historiography in the 1800s – 2000s

Larysa Yakubova

It is no accident that the turn of the 19th century, also known as “the long 19th century” (coined by Eric Hobsbawm), occupies a special place in contemporary Ukrainian historiography. The Ukrainian lands within the Russian Empire made relatively quickly a transition into the modern era. This transition was rapid, contradictory, and accompanied by a variety of socio-economic problems and political turmoil. However, the result was impressive: a sparsely populated region known for centuries as the “Wild Fields” within the 19th century turned into one of the most economically developed regions of the Russian Empire, acquiring advanced infrastructure, and becoming the “granary of Europe”. The port-cities of Southern Ukraine, that in the late 18th century were the mostly sparsely populated settlements or military fortifications, by the beginning of the 20th century had turned into Europeanized densely populated cities with beautiful architectural quarters and vibrant social and cultural life. That is why the phenomenon of the “South Ukrainian economic miracle” and the accompanying rapid urbanization have always attracted the attention. The historiography accumulated over more than two hundred years can be divided into several periods that differ significantly both in the sense of theoretical and methodological principles and in the sense of thematic and problematic priorities of researchers.

Academic literature related to the history of the Black Sea port-cities includes thousands of articles, hundreds of books, and dozens of dissertations. It is extremely difficult to make sense of this “sea” of information and separate the hopelessly outdated publications from the invaluable ones. Additional problems occur on the level of language and purely history. Ukraine is a young state. In most of its modern history Ukraine was part of the empires, which greatly influenced its historiography, occasionally deforming the historical truth. This is the reason that Ukrainian historians, though relying on the

achievements of their predecessors, make attempts to approach their concepts anew both within the historical and political discourse. The history of Ukraine is dramatic including periods of full or partial loss of academic objectivity. Thus, the historiographic studies in Ukraine do not lose their significance.

The aim of this study is to systematize and provide academic expertise for the works of generations of the Imperial, Soviet, and Ukrainian historians dealing with the history of the Black Sea port-cities. Since the conditions of academic research and its results are greatly determined by the society's development and political freedom, historiography is seen as a constituent part of the country's political and cultural life. This kind of approach allows not only to understand the reasons of stagnation in certain directions of research, but also to evaluate their perspectives. Therefore, the historiographic sources accumulated over the last two centuries can be divided into several periods, which differ considerably due to theoretical frameworks as well as scholars' priorities chosen for investigation. The peculiarities of these periods and their most representative historiographers will be presented below.

The question of the foundation of port-cities and development as well as the role of foreign (Greek in particular) entrepreneurs in international trade within the Black Sea were given special attention in the socio-political and academic discourse in the Russian Empire. In fact, they became an agenda immediately after the Northern shore of the Black Sea was annexed by the Russian Empire. Russian scientific societies undertook their first attempts to collect data about the borderlands and their peoples simultaneously with the Empire's recurrent attempts to expand its borders. Conquering new territories again and again, the Russian emperors were in strong need of reliable and exhaustive information on the borderlands without which their effective management was not possible. The spirit of Enlightened absolutism generated another strong impulse for this kind of studies. It was during the reign of Catherine II that the scientific research turned into a norm of state life; research was carried out not only by the members of the Russian Academy of Sciences, but also by state officials, public figures, representatives of the state elite.

This initial stage in the history of imperial historiographic school was just the beginning for further significant achievements. The universal character of the works, their descriptiveness and selectiveness was caused by the absence of a number of things: archival

and archaeographic practices, methods of historic sources, analysis and interpretation, methods of work, and the language barrier between the academic elite and the people living on the annexed territories. Simultaneously, during this *first historiographic period* embracing the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, the collection and accumulation of data about the settlements and their economic and trade relations within the Northern Black Sea area took place.

One of the prominent representatives of the imperial historiography was Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1729–1802), a physician, chemist, naturalist, ethnographer, traveller, professor of mineralogy, academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, a member of the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, the Imperial Roman Academy of Natural Sciences, the Kurfürst Academy in Mainz, the Free Economic Society in St. Petersburg, and the Society of Natural Science in Berlin. In fact, he was a typical representative of European intellectual elite of the second half of the 18th century. A University of Uppsala alumnus with a good command of several European languages and a practicing pharmacist, he took part in a scientific “Physical Expedition” (1770–1774) as an ethnographer and researcher. First, he travelled with Professor Johan Peter Falk’s group, later with the academician Peter Simon Pallas, and eventually he travelled independently covering the territories along the Volga river, the Middle and Southern Urals, the Western Siberia, and the Baikal area gathering numerous unique ethnographic and naturalistic data.

Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten, a general work, written on the basis of research done by Georgi and other members of the Russian Academy of Sciences, was published in St. Petersburg both in German (1776–1780) and in French (1776–1777). The Russian edition was published under the title *Описание всех в Российском государстве обитающих народов, также их житейских обрядов, вер, обыкновений, жилищ, одежд и прочих достопамятностей* [Description of All the Peoples in the Russian State, as Well as Their Everyday Rituals, Beliefs, Customs, Dwellings, Clothing and Other Sights],¹ which was a unique and exceptional publication

1. Johann Gottlieb Georgi, *Описание всех в Российском государстве обитающих народов, так же их житейских обрядов, вер, обыкновений, жилищ, одежд и прочих достопамятностей* [Description

for its time. The *Description* survived several editions² and ultimately became a handbook for Russian and European intellectuals. For a long time it also served as a model for academic research raising interest in ethnographic and historical studies, motivating a group of talented scholars in their further investigations.

“Hardly a single state contains such a variety of different nations, remnants of ethnic colonies, as the Russian state does”, Georgi wrote in the *Description*. The multinational diversity of a relatively young European empire appeared in Georgi’s work in all grandeur as well as its young enlightened Empress. The book’s message was completely transparent: under the sceptre of the Russian Empress all the peoples from the Samoyeds to the Crimean Tatars and all the lands from the Far East to the Northern Black Sea shore obtained a chance to move in the direction of social and cultural progress.

Georgi’s research was laid out in a set of short sketches about certain peoples. The book was illustrated by hand-painted etchings depicting representatives of different ethnic groups in national costumes. The peoples were described according to linguistic and geographic principle. There were five groups of peoples: 1) the Finnish, 2) the Tatars, 3) the Samoyeds of Siberia, 4) the peoples of the Eastern Siberia and Outer Manchuria, 5) the in-comers and settlers – Indians, Persians, Armenians, Georgians, Gipsy, Jews, Germans, French, Italians, new Slovenes, etc. The Greeks, as a component of multinational Russian society, were mentioned in the chapter dealing with the fifth group of Russia’s peoples for the first time in the Imperial Russian historiography.

of All the Peoples in the Russian State, as Well as Their Everyday Rituals, Beliefs, Customs, Dwellings, Clothing and Other Sights], in 3 parts. (St. Petersburg, 1776–1777).

2. Johann Gottlieb Georgi, *Описание всех в Российском государстве обитающих народов, так же их житейских обрядов, вер, обыкновений, жилищ, одежд и прочих достоынопамятностей. Творение, за несколько лет пред сим, на немецком языке, в переводе на российский язык во многом исправленное, издание новое* [Description of All the Peoples in the Russian State, as Well as Their Everyday Rituals, Beliefs, Customs, Dwellings, Clothing and Other Sights. The Research, Published a Few Years Before This, in German, Translated into Russian, Largely Corrected, New Edition], in 2 parts, (St. Petersburg, 1795–1796); Johann Gottlieb Georgi, *Описание всех обитающих в Российском государстве народов, их житейских обрядов, обыкновений, одежд, жилищ, упражнений, забав, вероисповеданий и других достопамятностей. Творение, за несколько лет пред сим, на немецком языке, в переводе на российский язык весьма во многом исправленное и вновь сочиненное* [Description of All the Peoples in the Russian State, as Well as Their Everyday Rituals, Customs, Clothing, Dwellings, Exercises, Amusements, Religions and Other Sights. The Research, Published a Few Years Before This, in German, Translated into Russian, Largely Corrected and Newly Composed], in 4 parts (St. Petersburg, 1799).

Vasilii Fyodorovich Zuev (1754–1794), a Russian scholar and a man of Enlightenment, an academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences was among Georgi's followers. He left a book of travel sketches from his expedition along the Black Sea shore (1781–1782), presenting a wide range of data on geography, history, ethnography, statistics, and economy of Southern Ukraine and its peoples.³ Zuev's work was shaping the basic ideas on Southern Ukraine for the time since its inclusion in the Russian Empire; it was the source of data dealing with economic and cultural development, problems hampering its progress, including the difficulties in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations.

Apollon Aleksandrovich Skalkowski (1808–1898), a historian, writer, and publisher, was a paramount figure of this first historiographic period. He was also the founder of the *Odessa Society of History and Antiquities* in 1839, and since 1856 a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences in history and literature. Skalkowski, a graduate of Moscow University in 1827, was the head of the Statistic Committee in Odessa recurrently for 50 years (beginning in 1828) combining the duties of a statesman and the work of a scholar. He took part in several archaeographic expeditions, working upon organization and establishment of Historical and Historical administrative archives in Odessa. As an outstanding figure of Odessa's social and cultural life, Skalkowski contributed to the local press, actively participated in the *porto-franco* (1820s–1840s) polemics, and dealt with the questions of transit through Odessa in the times of “the Continental Blockade”. He was the first historian who systematically studied the history of Odessa and the New Russian Lands, as a result of which he was called the “Herodotus of the New Russian Lands” (also referred to as “the Cossacks' Nestor” or “Odessa's Plutarch”) by his contemporaries.⁴ Skalkowski was not alone in safeguarding Odessa's

3. Vasilii F. Zuev, *Путешественные записки Василия Зуева от С. Петербурга до Херсона в 1781 и 1782 году* [Travel Sketches of Vasilii Zuev from St. Petersburg to Kherson in 1781 and 1782] (St. Petersburg, 1787).

4. Skalkowski authored the following books: *Хронологическое обозрение истории Новороссийского края. 1730–1823* [Chronological Review of the History of the New Russian Lands. 1730–1823], in 2 vol., (Odessa, 1836–1838); *Опыт статистического описания Новороссийского края* [Essay on the Statistical Description of the New Russian Lands], in 2 vol. (Odessa, 1850–1853); *Население Новороссийского края и Бессарабии в 1851 г.* [Population of the New Russian Lands and Bessarabia in 1851], (Odessa, 1851); *Первое тридцатилетие Одессы* [The First Thirty Years of Odessa], (Odessa, 1837); *Болгарские колонии в Бессарабии и Новороссийском крае* [Bulgarian Colonies in Bessarabia and the New Russian Lands],

historical studies. The local intelligentsia gathered around the *Odessa Society of History and Antiquities* with its publishing periodical *Zapiski Odesskogo obshhestva istorii i drevnostei* issued regularly since 1844.

The second historiographic period (the second half of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century) includes the period of “Great Reforms” (1861–1870), when a number of historical and statistical research and publications undertaken by prominent Russian state officials focused on the state management reforms until the beginning of the 20th century.⁵ Those were the times of taking a different approach to the history of the Southern Ukraine colonization, its economic and political development in general, and the trading sea routes within the Black Sea Basin in particular.

The foundations of historiography of this period were laid against the background of socio-political unrest and the subsequent social discussions. The centre of research shifted from the sophisticated studies of antiquity to the studies of the recent past. Democratization of socio-political life in the Russian Empire in the times of “Great Reforms” and a spread of populist ideology (*народничество*), the interest in peoples’ roots became a kind of mass obsession for the gentry, the cultural and academic elite of the time. It is then that the state and community centres for the study of history and ethnography were founded, the investigative methods and techniques used within the academic societies got stabilized, while numerous papers written by scholars on the basis of their experience and personal observations found their publishers, and the first general works on the history of settlements and cultural development of the New Russian Lands were introduced to the reader.

(Odessa, 1848); Историко-статистический опыт о торговых и промышленных силах г. Одессы [Historical and Statistical Essay on the Trade and Industrial Forces of Odessa], (Odessa, 1859).

5. Vladimir P. Bezobrazov, *Народное хозяйство России* [National Economy of Russia], in 3 vol., (St. Petersburg, 1882–1889); Boris F. Brandt, *Иностранные капиталы* [Foreign Capital], in 4 parts, (St. Petersburg, 1898–1901); Sergei I. Il'ovaiskii, *Исторический очерк пятидесятилетия Русского общества пароходства и торговли* [Historical Essay on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Russian Society of Shipping and Trade], (Odessa, 1907); Mikhail I. Kazi, “Добровольный флот и Русское общество пароходства и торговли перед государством” [Dobrovolny Flot (Russian Volunteer Fleet) and the Russian Society of Shipping and Trade before the State], *Russkoe sudokhodstvo* (St. Petersburg), 9 (1888); Mikhail Poggenpol', *Очерк возникновения и деятельности Добровольного флота за время XXV-ти летнего его существования* [Essay on the Emergence and Activities of the Dobrovolny Flot (Russian Volunteer Fleet) During the 25th Years of its Existence], (St. Petersburg, 1903), etc.

The attempts to modernize the Russian Empire were accompanied by complex reforms in basic spheres of state and society life. The administrative and city reforms were the components of this process, which inevitably led to a well-grounded interest in the city environment. The enormous reformation projects to level Russian standards to the European standards did not exclude constant and tough political struggle, which was reflected in the works portraying the reformation of the cities.⁶

The turn of the century revealed a phenomenon of extreme scientific interest in the colonization of Russian Guberniias. The publications of the time present a gaudy and controversial picture of the socio-economic and cultural life of the Greek, German, Jewish, Bulgarian and other colonies of Southern Ukraine accompanied by ethnographic observations. One should mention the studies by publishers Korablev and Siryakov (1855),⁷ Evgenij L'vovich Markov (1872),⁸ Simon Bernshtejn (1881),⁹ E. Avgustinovich (1882),¹⁰ Lyudvig Mikhailovich de Ribas (1894),¹¹ Osip Mikhailovich Lerner (1901),¹² Sergei Mikhailovich Seredonin (1916),¹³ etc.

The end of the 19th century was marked by the anniversaries celebrating a new era in the history of the Black Sea port-cities. The imperial society and state officials used them to review the colonization of the Black Sea shore. Within this spirit, a series of studies were

6. Ivan I. Dityatin, *Устройство и управление городов России* [Organization and Management of Cities in Russia], in 2 vol., (St. Petersburg, 1875–1877).

7. Korablev and Siryakov (eds.), *Крым с Севастополем, Балаклагою и другими его городами: с описанием рек, озер, гор и долин; с его историею, житиями, их нравами и образом жизни: с двумя видами и планом* [Crimea with Sevastopol, Balaklava and its Other Cities: with a Description of Rivers, Lakes, Mountains and Valleys; with its History, Everyday Life, Customs and Way of Life: with Two Views and a Plan], (St. Petersburg, 1855).

8. Evgenij L. Markov, *Очерки Крыма: Картины крымской жизни, природы и истории* [Essays on Crimea: Pictures of Crimean Life, Nature and History], (St. Petersburg, 1872).

9. Simon Bernshtejn, *Одесса. Исторический и торгово-экономический очерк Одессы в связи с Новороссийским краем* [Odessa: Historical, Trade and Economic Sketch of Odessa in Connection with the New Russian Lands], (Odessa, 1881).

10. E. Avgustinovich, “По селениям и колониям в Новороссии” [Through the Villages and Colonies of Novorossiya], *Trudy Imperatorskogo vol'nogo e'konomicheskogo obshhestva*, 3:2 (1882), pp. 132–157.

11. Lyudvig M. de Ribas (ed.), *Из прошлого Одессы* [From the Past of Odessa], (Odessa, 1894).

12. Osip M. Lerner, *Евреи в Новороссийском крае: Исторические очерки: По данным из архива бывшего Новороссийского генерал-губернатора* [Jews in the New Russian Lands: Historical Sketches: According to Data from the Archives of the Former Novorossiysk Governor-General], (Odessa, 1901).

13. Sergei M. Seredonin, *Историческая география* [Historical Geography], (Petrograd, 1916).

published systematically on the port-cities, and more particularly on Nikolayev,¹⁴ Yalta¹⁵ and Kherson.¹⁶ A long list of publications marked also the celebrations of Odessa's 100th anniversary.¹⁷ Local themes were encouraged for further research with the establishment of Taurida (1887) and Yekaterinoslav (1903) Learned Archival Commissions.

A great increase of scientific data, statistics, and empirical material laid basis for key research papers of general and encyclopaedic character. Among them are the following: *Geographical and Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire*,¹⁸ a fundamental edition prepared by P. P. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky; *Picturesque Russia*,¹⁹ and *Russia. Full Geographic Description of Our Motherland*.²⁰ *Энциклопедический*

14. Grigorii Ge, *Исторический очерк столетнего существования города Николаева при устье Ингула (1790–1890)* [Historical Sketch of the Centenary Existence of the City of Nikolayev at the Mouth of the River Ingul (1790–1890)], (Nikolayev, 1890).

15. Vladimir A. Rybickii, *Пятидесятилетие Ялты. 1837–1887 г. Исторический конспект и памятная книжка с приложением трех последовательных фотографий* [50th Anniversary of Yalta. 1837–1887. Historical Summary and Pamyatnaya Knizhka (Official Reference Book, with Calendar and Directory) with Three Successive Photographs], (Yalta, 1887).

16. Dmitrii Gorlovskii (ed.), *Итоги двадцатипятилетия Херсонского городского самоуправления. Краткий историко-экономический очерк города Херсона* [The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government. Brief Historical and Economic Sketch of the City of Kherson], (Kherson, 1896).

17. Aleksandr I. Kirpichnikov & Arsenii I. Markevich, *Прошлое и настоящее Одессы: издание Одесской городской аудитории народных чтений ко дню столетнего юбилея г. Одессы (1794–1894)* [Past and Present of Odessa: Publication of the Odessa City Auditorium of Folk Readings on the Day of the Centennial Anniversary of the City of Odessa (1794–1894)], (Odessa, 1894); Ivan Fyodorov, *Столетие Одессы. С портретами административных и общественных деятелей и с видами Одессы* [Centenary of Odessa. With Portraits of Administrative and Public Figures and with Views of Odessa], (Odessa, 1894); K. L. Olenin (pseudonym of Grigorij N. Karant), *Век. Одесский исторический альбом 1794–1894* [Century. Odessa Historical Album 1794–1894], (Odessa, 1894); Lyudvig M. de Ribas (ed.), *Из прошлого Одессы* [From the Past of Odessa], (Odessa, 1894); Vasilii S. Kokhanskii, *Одесса за 100 лет (Одесса и её окрестности). Исторический очерк и иллюстрированный путеводитель на 1894 г.* [Odessa for 100 years (Odessa and its Environs). Historical Sketch and Illustrated Guide for 1894], (Odessa, 1894); *Одесса. 1794–1894: Издание Городского общественного управления к столетию города* [Odessa. 1794–1894: Publication of the City Government for the Centenary of the City], (Odessa, 1894).

18. Pyotr Semyonov, *Географическо-статистический словарь Российской империи* [Geographical and Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire], in 5 vols., (St. Petersburg, 1863–1885).

19. *Живописная Россия, т. V, ч. 2: Малороссия и Новороссия. Бессарабская, Херсонская, Екатеринославская и Таврическая губернии* [Picturesque Russia, vol.V, part 2: Little Russia and New Russia. Bessarabian, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav and Taurida Guberniias], (St. Petersburg, 1898).

20. Veniamin Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, Pyotr Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, Vladimir Lamanskii (eds.), *Россия. Полное географическое описание нашего отечества. Настольная и дорожная книга* [Russia. A Full Geographical Description of our Fatherland. A Handbook and a Travel Guide], vol. 14: Novorossiia and Crimea (Bessarabia, Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav Guberniias, Province of the Don Cossack Host and Stavropol Guberniia), (St. Petersburg, 1910).

словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона [The Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopaedic Dictionary, 1890–1907], published in 43 volumes including many entries by intellectuals of Ukrainian origin, was of no less importance.

Thus, by the collective efforts of the intellectual and state elite of the time sound foundations were laid for further scientific research. What is more, this research was shaped according to the European standards of the time: democratization of socio-political life, the spirit of openness and accessibility, with unbiased and scientific approach to accumulation of knowledge. The principle of knowledge accumulation and accessibility was essential for many scholars of the time; Alexandr Lvovich Bertier-Delagard (1842–1920) was one such scholar.²¹ An engineer and architect, archaeologist, historian, collector and numismatist, and a military engineer, he participated in the construction and fortification of Sevastopol (1870–1880). He was a full member of the *Odessa Society of History and Antiquities* since 1880. Bertier-Delagard gathered rich collections of rare books and manuscripts on the Crimea and the Crimean Tatars, artefacts of their everyday life, coins, archaeological artefacts, which he intended to make accessible to the public. However, the Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent war cancelled his plans and the majority of the collected objects were irretrievably lost. Witnessing the fall of the empire and the dehumanization accompanying it, Bertier-Delagard wrote: “A huge corpse of our great Fatherland lies and decomposes; it smells intensively and there will left only that part, which one won’t want to be seared with”.²² Unfortunately, his words were prophetic and marked only the beginnings of what the country, its peoples, and its historians had to suffer.

The affirmation of the Soviet regime marked the beginning of the *third historiographical period* lasting for over seventy years (1917–1991). In the context of the

21. The most popular are his works on the Odessa port construction as well as Yalta and Theodosia mall constructions. See: Alexandr L. Bertier-Delagard, *Каталог карт, планов, чертежей, рисунков, хранящихся в музее Императорского Одесского Общества Истории и Древностей* [Catalog of Maps, Plans, Drafts, Drawings Kept in the Museum of the Imperial Odessa Society of History and Antiquities], (Odessa, 1888); Alexandr L. Bertier-Delagard, “Желательные особенности построек, возводимых на Южном берегу Крыма в местностях, подверженных оползням” [Desirable Characteristics of Buildings Erected on the Southern Coast of Crimea in Areas Prone to Landslides], *Izvestiya Yaltinskogo tekhnicheskogo obshchestva*, 2 (1909).

22. Lyudmila Obukhovskaya, “Александр Бертье-Делагард – выдающийся крымовец” [Alexandr Bertier-Delagard – an Outstanding Crimean Scholar], blog in <https://crimeanblog.blogspot.com/2012/12/bertie-delagard.html> (date of access: 17.03.2015).

dominating Marxist-Leninist methodological stability but changing political situation several sub-periods can be defined.

The *first sub-period* (1917 till mid 1950s) is characterized by the introduction and reinforcement of pseudo-Marxist methodology, the struggle of political doctrines leading to the falsification of historical processes and events, access of restrictions to historical data, reorganization of academic institutions, and repression of scholars.

This was the most controversial stage in Ukrainian historiography. On the one hand, the 1920s marked the “golden age” of Ukrainian historiographic science and local history studies undertaken under the supervision of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences founded in 1918. It was the time when many institutions and committees were organized, which were *Комісія Полудневої України Всеукраїнської академії наук* [the Commission of the Southern Ukraine of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences] under academician Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s supervision, *Одеська комісія краєзнавства* [the Odessa Local History Commission], and *Український комітет краєзнавства* [the Ukrainian Committee of Local History] founded in 1925. About 10 scientific societies and 150 semi-professional local history study groups were founded on the territory of Southern Ukraine. They supported the process of the local history movement turning it into the mass movement. It was due to the historians and local history enthusiasts that the data on numerous cities of the Black Sea shore were accumulated and systematized. The collected sources on Berdyansk was one of such achievements.²³

On the other hand, by the end of the 1920s a radical theoretical and methodological turn in the historical science took place. Its driving force was the group of young and ambitious historians, who were the ardent followers of the Communist ideology. In their works the problems under investigation were addressed through the lense of socio-economic formations. The classical examples are the following studies: *Україна в епоху капіталізму* [Ukraine in the Epoch of Capitalism], volumes I–III published in Kharkiv in 1924–1925 by Matvii Yavosky; *З матеріалів до історії цукрової промисловості на*

23. *Місто Бердянське та його околиці. Природно-економічний та справочний збірник для робітників шкіл, господарчих установ та курортних одвідувачів* [The City of Berdyansk and its Environs. Natural and Economic and Reference Collection for Workers of Schools, Economic Institutions and Resort Visitors], part 1, (Berdyansk, 1928).

Україні [Materials on the History of Sugar Industry in Ukraine], published in Kyiv in 1927 by Oleksandr Plevako; *Матеріали до економічно-соціальної історії України XIX ст.* [Materials on the Socio-Economic History of Ukraine in the 19th Century], volumes I–II published in Odessa and Kyiv in 1925–1927 by Mykhailo Slabchenko; *Організація господарства України від Хмельниччини до мирової війни* [Organization of Economy of Ukraine from Khmelnychchyna to the World War], 5 volumes published in Odessa, Kharkiv, and Nikolayev in 1922–1929, in Russian and Ukrainian.²⁴ These researchers and their works set the tone for historic debates.

To destroy historiography as methodology and organization shaped in the tsarist regime Bolsheviks used the “revolutionary scholars”. With the destruction of the old school of historiography came the destruction of those who instigated it. Their personal fates were drastic and dramatic. Matvii Ivanovich Yavorsky (1885–1937), a Soviet Ukrainian historian, a political figure, the Head of the Historical Department of the Ukrainian Institute of Marxism and Leninism, a member of presidium of the First Historical and Philological Department of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, its Secretary and its Head *de facto*, was accused of “nationalistic trend” already by 1929. He was subsequently suspended from leadership, in February 1930 he was excluded from the Communist Party, deprived from the title of academician in both the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1932 he was arrested in Kyiv and sentenced to six years in labour camps and was exiled to the Solovetsky Islands.²⁵ On 3 November 1937 he was shot in the Sandarmokh forest massif in Medvezhyegorsky District, Karelia, Russia.

For the historians prominent in the pre-Revolution period the Soviet reality brought radical changes. Dmytro Ivanovych Bahaliy (in Russian Dmitrii Bagalei, 1857–1932), an

24. Mykhailo Slabchenko, *Організація господарства України від Хмельниччини до світової війни. Частина I: Господарство Гетьманщини XVII–XVIII ст.* [Organization of the Economy of Ukraine from Khmelnychchyna to the World War. Part 1: Economy of the Cossack Hetmanate of the 17th – 18th centuries], in 5 vol., (Kharkiv, Odessa, Nikolayev, 1922–1929).

25. Before the Russian revolution of 1917, the Solovetsky Islands in the White Sea were the site of a monastery complex of the Russian Orthodox Church, the most known in the Russian Empire. Since 1923 it was the biggest concentration camp and a prison, holding thousands of prisoners, so called “enemies of the Soviet state”. The Ukrainians made the substantial part of the repressed, imprisoned here as participants of the imagined “nationalistic organizations”.

author of over 200 academic works, is an indicative case.²⁶ Among his most referred publications are: *Очерки из истории колонизации степной окраины Московского государства* [Essays on Colonization History of the Steppe Borderlands of the Muscovite State] (Moscow, 1887), *Колонизация Новороссийского края и первые шаги его по пути культуры. Исторический этюд* [Colonization of the New Russian Lands and Beginnings of Its Culture. A Historical Essay] (Kiev, 1889), *Нарис української історіографії* [Essay on Ukrainian Historiography] (volume 1, issues 1–2, Kharkiv, 1923–1925), and *Нарис історії України на соціально-економічному ґрунті* [Essay on the History of Ukraine on the Socio-Economic Background] (Kharkiv, 1928). Bahaliy wrote two monographs (one of which was never published), a review, and an archaeological study on the history of Southern Ukraine. The monograph *Colonization of the New Russian Lands and Beginnings of Its Culture. A Historical Essay* was made on the basis of lectures prepared for the officers of the Fleet in Nikolayev in 1888; the monograph was first published in *Kievskaya Starina* in 1889 and came out as a separate publication the same year. This work as well as the *Essays on Colonization History of the Steppe Borderlands of the Muscovite State* are historical and geographical studies. Unfortunately, during the Soviet period when Bahaliy was a prominent official of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1929–1932) the quality of his works steadily degraded and eventually disappearing by the early 1930s.

A group of scholars from the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, including the academician Mykhailo Slabchenko was arrested on criminal charges of participating in the imaginary *Union for the Liberation of Ukraine*. The directorship of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences hastened to separate itself from the repressed colleagues, and Bahaliy together with a group of academicians took an active part in the public

26. Dmytro Ivanovych Bahaliy was a historian, social and political figure, a member of the State Council of Russian Empire from the Russian Academy of Sciences and nine Russian universities (1906, 1910–1914), a rector of Kharkov University (1906–1910), an academician of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences since its organization in 1918, a member of the Presidium of the IXth All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets (1925), the Head of the Central Bureau of the Section of Scientific Workers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1925–1932, the Head of the First (Historical and Philological) Department of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences since 1929, the Head of the Commission “for the study of the socio-economic history of Ukraine in relation to the history of revolutionary struggle in the second half of the 18th – 19th century”, organized at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1929.

persecution of the accused for “counter-revolutionary” activities. Bahaliy was getting ready for the public repentance during one of the regular meetings of Ukrainian historians in Kharkiv in February 1932, when he died. The majority of Ukrainian scholars went through public humiliation and were repressed in the 1930s.

Only a few of pre-revolutionary scholars were lucky to survive, erasing their imperial past. One of them was Hryhorii Hryhorovych Pysarevsky (1868–1952). He was the first professional historian who addressed the issue of German colonization.²⁷ After his return from Azerbaijan in 1926, he had to abandon his research and survived the Stalinist terror in obscurity.

The “Great Terror” epoch ruined the historical science in terms of scholars as well as in terms of theoretical and methodological framework. The historians that survived were either suspended from the active research, or were forced to take up the mainstream politically engaged topics of the time. The history of colonization connected with the economic development of the Black Sea shore became a dangerous-for-life and career destructive research topic for many decades. New horizons opened in the times of de-Stalinization after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A number of positive changes in historical science in general, and in the study of the history of the port-cities of the Northern Black Sea region, in particular, are associated with the partial debunking and condemnation of history on the cult of personalities.

27. “Из истории иностранной колонизации” [From the History of Foreign Colonization] published as the fifth volume of *Zapiski Moskovskogo arkheologicheskogo instituta* in Moscow in 1909 is considered to be Pysarevsky’s principal work. Since its publication it became “an encyclopedia” on the history of economic development of the German colonies in Southern Ukraine.

Among his works the following should be pointed out: “К истории сношений России с Германией в начале XVI века” [On the History of Relations Between Russia and Germany at the Beginning of the 16th Century], *Chteniya Obshhestva istorii i drevnostej rossijskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, 2 (1895); “Очерки иностранной колонизации в России в XVIII в. Вопрос о колонизации в царствование Елисаветы Петровны” [Essays on Foreign Colonization in Russia in the 18th century. The Question of Colonization in the Reign of Elizabeth Petrovna], *Russkii Vestnik*, vol. 253 (January, 1898); “Очерки иностранной колонизации в России в XVIII в. Вызов иностранных колонистов в Россию в царствование императрицы Екатерины II” [Essays on Foreign Colonization of Russia in the 18th century. Invitation of Foreign Colonists to Russia During the Reign of Empress Catherine II], *Russkii Vestnik*, vol. 255 (June, 1898); *Из истории иностранной колонизации в России (по неизданным архивным документам)* [From the History of Foreign Colonization in Russia (Based on Unpublished Archival Documents)], (Moscow, 1909).

The *second sub-period (1950–1991)* in historical science is characterized by gradual liberalization from the state politics, which led to stabilization of the academic schools and the creation of big historiographic centres. However, the research interests were subjected to rigid bureaucratic regulation, the majority of archival sources had restricted access, while controlling institutions imposed onto scholars narrow specializations within the Leninist-Stalinist methodology framework. The characteristic feature of this time was a vertical geographical hierarchical specialization of research; the classical general works were allocated to Moscow, the Ukrainian research themes to Kyiv, while minor topics or those in local history to the regional. The result of such “research” activities was fairly predictable: the academic papers were produced on the basis of incomplete archival sources and with preconceived conclusions.

The rise of research interest in the Black Sea port-cities occurred in the times of the Khrushchov “thaw” (mid-1950s – mid-1960s). The range of investigated topics and archival evidence widened substantially, leading to research on subjects like the involvement of the Russian society in shipping and trade, business competition struggles and monopoly agreements, general works on the history of shipbuilding or the Black Sea ports. The role of sea trade and port-cities in the economic development of Southern Ukraine was investigated by Oleksii Nesterenko,²⁸ Ivan Hurzhii,²⁹ Yurii Grishin,³⁰ Nikolai Zaleskyi,³¹ and others.³²

28. Oleksii Nesterenko, *Розвиток промисловості на Україні* [Development of Industry in Ukraine], in 3 vol., (Kyiv, 1959–1966).

29. Ivan Oleksandrovych Hurzhii (1915–1971) published over 300 academic and popular works as well as manuals for the secondary and higher educational institutions. Among his works are: *Розклад феодально-кріпосницької системи в сільському господарстві України першої половини XIX ст.* [Decomposition of the Feudal-serf System in the Agriculture of Ukraine in the First Half of the 19th Century], (Kyiv, 1954); *Розвиток товарного виробництва і торгівлі на Україні (з кінця XVIII ст. до 1861 р.)* [Development of Commodity Production and Trade in Ukraine (From the End of the 18th Century to 1861)], (Kyiv, 1962); *Україна в системі всеросійського ринку 60–90-х років XIX ст.* [Ukraine in the System of the All-Russian Market in the 60s–90s of the 19th Century], (Kyiv, 1968).

30. Yurii Grishin, *История мореплавания* [History of Navigation], (Moscow, 1977).

31. Nikolai Zaleskyi, “Одесса” выходит в море: Возникновение парового мореплавания на Чёрном море, 1827–1855 [“Odessa” Goes to Sea: The Emergence of Steam Navigation on the Black Sea, 1827–1855], (Leningrad, 1987).

32. Vladimir Zolotov, *Хлебный экспорт России через порты Черного и Азовского морей в 60–90-е годы XIX века* [Grain Export of Russia Through the Ports of the Black and Azov Seas in the 60–90s of the XIX Century], (Rostov-on-Don, 1966); Vladimir Mozhin, “Монополии в судоходстве России и их борьба за господство” [Monopolies in Russian Shipping and Their Struggle for Dominance], in *Социалистические преобразования в СССР и их экономические предпосылки* [Socialist Transformations in the USSR and

The complex analysis of the socio-economic relations in Southern Ukraine is given in a series of essays written by Yelena Druzhinina.³³

During the Khrushchov “thaw” one of the biggest all-Ukrainian projects was realized; this is the 26th-volume edition of *History of the Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic* published in 1967–1974.³⁴ This edition was awarded the USSR State Prize in Science and Engineering. The realization of the project involved over one hundred thousand enthusiasts and allowed to cover the history of all the settlements within the Republic. It included 9,659 entries (articles and notes) on the settlements, over 9 thousand illustrations, and 620 maps and planning schemes in total. However, the quality and quantity characteristics of this edition were not balanced: the edition which caused a huge socio-political resonance was characterised by the class distortion in the historical narrative, which undermines its research potential.

The abovementioned drawbacks were typical for the Soviet historiography. Throughout all the Soviet epoch the Urban Studies in the Ukrainian SSR had no separate field status, sharing it with the history of architecture or socio-economic and political history performing a function of the illustrative material for these studies. Nonetheless, significant research on the city history did occasionally appear but as an exception rather, than as a rule. Most frequently it could be found along with special

Their Economic Prerequisites], (Moscow, 1959); Yu. Konovalov, “Документи з історії Чорноморсько-Азовського флоту періоду промислового капіталізму (60-ті – сер. 90-х рр. XIX ст.)” [Documents on the History of the Black Sea and Azov Sea Fleet During the Period of Industrial Capitalism (60s – mid-90s of the 19th Century)], *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 3 (1977); D. Efendi-Zade, “Русский морской торговый флот на рубеже XIX–XX вв.” [Russian Merchant Marine Fleet at the Turn of the 19th–20th Centuries], *Istoricheskie zapiski*, vol. 105 (Moscow, 1980).

33. Elena Ioasafovna Druzhinina (Chistyakova) (1916–2000) was a Soviet Russian historian, an expert on the history of Russian diplomacy in the 18th century and the history of Northern Black Sea area (Novorossiia). Druzhinina hold a degree of Doctor of Science (doktor nauk) since 1970 and a title of Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences since 1981. She was a researcher at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR since 1946. In her works she undertook a systematic study of the socio-economic relations in Southern Ukraine. Among her works are: *Северное Причерноморье в 1775–1800 гг.* [Northern Black Sea Region in 1775–1800], (Moscow, 1959); *Южная Украина в 1800–1825 гг.* [Southern Ukraine in 1800–1825], (Moscow, 1970); *Южная Украина в период кризиса феодализма. 1825–1860 гг.* [Southern Ukraine During the Crisis of Feudalism. 1825–1860], (Moscow, 1981).

34. Petro Tronko (ed.), *Історія міст і сіл Української РСР* [History of the Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], in 26 vol., (Kyiv, 1967–1974).

town-panning surveys.³⁵ One of the most prominent authors in this field was Volodymyr Ivanovych Tymofiienko (in Russian Vladimir Timofeenko, 1941–2007).³⁶ In his monographs *Cities of the Northern Black Sea Shore in the Second Half of the 18th Century* (1984) and *Shaping the Urban Culture in Southern Ukraine* (1986) the history of urbanization is evident and stands out as uncommon within the Soviet historiography manner. The methodological and narrative techniques are much closer to those of the pre-revolutionary historiography: economic development of the area and fortification construction during pre-imperial epochs are interpreted as pre-history of the cities' foundations. The author carefully describes the natural factor for the choice of city sites and the principles of construction; he takes under consideration landscape and environmental characteristics, demographic analysis and the city types (administrative centres, trade cities, manufacturing and trading settlements), specifying the dates of city foundations, and thus revealing the urban histories of Kherson, Nikolayev, Sevastopol, and Odessa.

Among the characteristic features of the Soviet historiography, together with exhausting references to the Marxist-Leninist classics and the Congress decisions, was an increasing analytical degradation and the loss of the previous traditional scientific know-how in data accumulation and systematization. The tradition of publications with statistical city descriptions, demographic dynamics, manufacturing and administrative census was lost. For example, in pre-Soviet epoch such annual collections as *Lists of Factories and Plants*, *The Russian Empire Statistics*, *The Russian Yearbook*, *Reference Books*, etc. were published. Their Soviet corresponding issues like *The Ukrainian Statistics*, *Ukrainian Economy*, *Ukraine* contained only the information approved by the censorship.

35. V. Alyoshin, N. Kukhar-Onyshko, & V. Yarovoj, *Николаев: Архитектурно-исторический очерк* [Nikolayev: Architectural and Historical Essay], (Kiev: Budivel'nyk, 1988).

36. Vladimir Timofeenko, *Одесса: Архитектурно-исторический очерк* [Odessa: Architectural and Historical Essay], (Kiev: Budivel'nyk, 1983); idem, *Города Северного Причерноморья во второй половине XVIII века* [Cities of the Northern Black Sea Shore in the Second Half of the 18th Century], (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1984); idem, *Формирование градостроительной культуры Юга Украины* [Shaping the Urban Culture in Southern Ukraine], (Kiev, 1986); Vladimir Timofeenko & Robert Papik'yan, *Крым – Crimea – Krim: Архитектура, памятники. Фотоальбом* [Крым – Crimea – Krim: Architecture, monuments: Photo album], (Kyiv: Mysterstvo, 1991).

Remembering that most of the necessary archival sources were classified, the shallow success of the historiography of this time does not leave much room for doubt.

The contemporary historiography, which develops separately in Ukraine and the Russian Federation since 1991, is characterized both by achievements and contradictions of the previous epoch. The leading feature of Ukrainian historiography today is the fact that most of it is being published in Ukrainian, the state official language. The change for the national language was an organic and logic process marking Ukraine's actual independence, which, nonetheless, narrows the scale of Ukrainian research circulation. Thus, the priority of Ukrainian historiography at present is to widen the circle of academic communication, spreading its achievements worldwide and contextualizing them within the international academic community.

The *fourth historiographic period* which can be called the “post-Soviet” embraces the decades after 1991 till the present day, which corresponds to the existence of Independent Ukraine. So far, it is the shortest period in Ukrainian historiography within which a painful shift away from the Soviet theoretical, methodological, and research practices has occurred. This shift, far from linear and gradual, took place within the period of enormous socio-economic crisis, degradation of academic and educational centres, which caused the existence of blurred academic, university, archival, and museum research groups, and the loss of the intellectual resources. Together with the increasing interest in newly opening archives and museum collections on the part of young historians, the “methodological in-between-stream” approach, attention to minor themes, and decrease of research quality became more obvious. The typical feature of this time was a misled grant-dependent existence (a pejorative connotation of this notion is reflected in the word “*грантоєдство*”, combined of two words “grant” and “eating”) leading to *ad-hoc* creation and sudden disappearance of research groups and institutions with doubtful quality of research. The bigger share of historiographic product was represented by the local history studies.³⁷

37. Fedir Samojlov, Mykola Skrypnyk & Oleksandr Yareschenko, *Одеса на зламі століть (кінець XIX – початок XX ст.): Історико-краєзнавчий нарис* [Odesa at the Turn of the Century (End of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century): Historical and Local History Essay], (Odesa: Maiak, 1998); Lev Kruzsko, *Армянск. Страницы истории* [Armyansk. History Pages], (Kyiv: Takson, 1999); Volodymyr Stanko (ed.), *Історія Одеси* [History of Odesa], (Odesa, 2002); Yurii Mativos, *Місто на сивому Інгулі: Історико-публіцистичний нарис* [The City on the Gray River Ingul: Historical and Journalistic Essay], (Kirovohrad,

However, this process (though marked by no major general works) assisted the “natural selection” in the academic world, accumulating and stimulating new researchers to overcome the crisis.

The signs that this stagnant stage in domestic historiography was overcome under the influence of democratization process as well as informational globalization became vivid in the early 2000s. To my mind, it is this period that we should consider to be the beginning of the new Ukrainian historiography, which adequately faces the challenges of contemporary international academic discussions. Among those signs of survival are: the stabilization of research centres; the enrichment of Ukrainian historiography with the achievements of foreign historical, sociological, and political discourse; the establishment of sound academic networks with foreign colleagues; a steady growth in historiography and establishment of quality criteria; the consolidation of public demand for serious analytical research and, hence, the return to universal inter-disciplinary research models; the gradual integration of domestic historiography into the international historical discourse. The quantity indicators are of no less importance.

The turn of the 21st century brought reconsideration of the history of Ukraine unprecedented in its scale, inevitably leading to the increase of studies in Ukrainian historiography. Numerous dissertations have been defended, and hundreds of articles and monographs on different aspects of the history of the Black Sea cities have been published. Although numerous works were dealing with the architectural complexes of the Black Sea cities,³⁸ new directions in research, which have been previously treated as peripheral,

2004); Valerij Malakhov & Boris Stepanenko, *Одесса, 1900–1920. Люди... События... Факты...* [Odessa, 1900–1920. People... Events... Facts...], (Odessa, 2004); Boris Stepanenko, *Одесса, XIX век* [Odessa, 19th century], (Kyiv, 2004); *Бердянску – 180: К 180-летию основания г. Бердянска* [Berdyansk – 180: To the 180th Anniversary of the Founding of the City of Berdyansk], (Berdyansk, 2007); Aleksandr Skorokhod, *Херсон: вчера и сегодня. Сборник очерков* [Kherson: Yesterday and Today. Collection of Essays], (Kherson, 2008); Sergei Gavrilov & Yurii Lyubarov, *Николаев – 220 лет. Очерки истории жизни города и горожан* [Nikolaev – 220 Years. Essays on the History of the Life of the City and Citizens], (Nikolayev, 2009); Viktor Mikhajlichenko, Evgenij Denisov, Nikolai Tishakov, *Бердянск. Взгляд через столетия* [Berdyansk. A Look Through the Centuries], (Berdyansk, Zaporizhzhia, 2010).

38. Valeriia Iievleva (ed.), *Історико-містобудівні дослідження Керчі* [Historical and Urban Planning Studies of Kerch], (Kyiv, Chernihiv, 2011); Viktor Vecherskyj (ed.), *Історико-містобудівні дослідження Одеси* [Historical and Urban Planning Studies of Odessa], (Kyiv, 2008); Yurii Kryuchkov, *Архитектура Старого Николаева* [Architecture of Old Nikolayev], (Nikolayev, 2008); Aleksandr Topchiev (ed.), *Одесса. Город – агломерация – портово-промышленный комплекс* [Odessa. City –

appeared and were strengthened. The history of institutions of the municipal governments in the 19th century, the city dumas, the city self-government bodies, the system of state authorities have been reconstructed due to the scholars' collective efforts. The processes of the local government formations and their legal activities have been analyzed, along with the processes of land ownership formation and regulation in Odessa, Kherson, and Nikolayev and the management of manufacturing, craft, and trade institutions. Research has been taken place on the city dumas activities in relation to public services, urban development, formation and distribution of city budget,³⁹ economic development,⁴⁰ scientific and educational centres, charity organizations and societies, social movements.⁴¹

Agglomeration – Port-industrial Complex], (Odessa, 1994); Evgenij Chvertkin, *Незабытый Севастополь* [Unforgotten Sevastopol], in 2 parts, (Sevastopol, 2008–2009).

39. Antonina Dorosheva, *Самоврядування в приморських містах Півдня України другої половини XIX ст.* [Self-Government in the Coastal Cities of Southern Ukraine in the Second Half of the 19th Century]: (Ph.D. thesis, Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odessa, 2009); Larysa Levchenko, *Історія Миколаївського і Севастопольського військового губернаторства (1805–1900)* [History of Mykolaiv and Sevastopol Military Governorates (1805–1900)], (Mykolaiv, 2006); Oleh Marchenko, *Міське самоврядування на Півдні України у другій половині XIX ст.* [City Self-Government in Southern Ukraine in the Second Half of the 19th Century], (Ph.D. thesis, Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odessa, 1997); Sergei Stremenovskii, *Местное самоуправление г. Одессы в середине XIX столетия. Историко-правовое исследование* [Local Self-Government of the City of Odessa in the Mid-19th Century. A Historical and Legal Study], (Odessa, 2002); Oleksandr Cheremisin, *Діяльність органів міського громадського управління Херсона, Миколаєва, Одеси в 1785–1870 рр.* [Activities of the City State Administration Bodies of Kherson, Mykolaiv, Odessa in 1785–1870], (Ph.D. thesis, Zaporizhzhia National University, Zaporizhzhia, 2006); Larysa Tsybulenko, *Органи самоврядування Одеси, Миколаєва, Херсона у розбудові муніципальної земельної та виробничої власності в кінці XIX – на початку XX століття* [Self-governing Bodies of Odessa, Mykolaiv, and Kherson in the Development of Municipal Land and Industrial Property in the Late 19th and early 20th Century], (Kherson, 2003).

40. Grigorij Goncharuk & Aleksandr Nagajcev, *Историография одесских фабрик и заводов* [Historiography of Odessa Factories and Plants], (Odessa: Astroprint, 2004); Andriy Demidov, *Діяльність Російського товариства пароплавства і торгівлі (1856–1920) на Півдні України* [Activities of the Russian Society of Shipping and Trade (1856–1920) in Southern Ukraine], (Ph.D. thesis, Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odessa, 2011); Vadym Prokopenkov, *Земельні відносини на території міста Севастополя та Севастопольського градоначальства (наприкінці XVIII – на початку XX ст.)* [Land Relations in the City of Sevastopol and the Sevastopol Urban Prefecture (End of the 18th – Beginning of the 20th Century)], (Ph.D. thesis, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Kharkiv, 2011).

41. Irena Grebtsova, Vladislav Grebtsov, *Становление государственного попечительства и общественной благотворительности в Одессе в конце XVIII – 60-е гг. XIX ст.* [The Formation of State Guardianship and Public Charity in Odessa in the Late 18th – the 60s of the 19th Century], (Odessa, 2006); Yurii Huzenko, *Становлення і діяльність громадських благодійних об'єднань на Півдні України в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст. (на матеріалах Херсонської губернії)* [Formation and Activity of Public Charitable Associations in the Southern Ukraine in the Second Half of the 19th – at the Beginning of the 20th Century (on the Materials of the Kherson Province)], (Mykolaiv, 2006).

The second big group of studies includes research on the role of the Black Sea port-cities and port custom services within the international system of socio-economic relations,⁴² the history of establishment and development of the “Odessa transit” during the Napoleonic wars, its functioning in the following era and the reasons of its decay in the mid-19th century. Historians have studied thoroughly the legal basis of transport trade, along the trade routes like Brody – Odessa, Warsaw – Odessa, Bessarabia – Odessa, and have analyzed the overall data on trade turnover of West European, Asian, Russian, Moldavian, and other goods together with their quantitative fluctuations depending on different economic and political factors. In the centre of scholarly attention there was the history of international trade, ports’ functioning, and transport infrastructure.⁴³

Trade for obvious reasons remains in the centre of this kind of research. Numerous studies have been published on the Odessa *porto-franco* (1819–1859),⁴⁴ along with equivalent projects of establishing free-trade zones in Kherson, Theodosia, Kerch, Ismail in late 18th – beginning of the 19th century, as well on the attempts to establish a free zone on the Crimea Peninsula, to introduce a free zone in Odessa at the turn of the 19th century, or “free storage” in Odessa and Theodosia, etc. Especially interesting in this context are the studies to develop a merchant sailing ship fleet for commercial purposes in the Black Sea; the focus was to open commercial docks in Kherson in 1797, in Odessa, Ochakov, Kerch, and Theodosia during the period 1820s–1840s. Mykola Stolbunenko has carried out an exhaustive study on the history of shipbuilding and the Black Sea commercial fleet, on the

42. Valentyn Kovalskyi, *Становлення та розвиток митної справи на півдні України з давніх часів до 1917 р. (на прикладі Миколаївської митниці): Історико-правове дослідження* [Formation and Development of Customs Affairs in the Southern Ukraine from Ancient Times to 1917 (on the Example of Mykolaiv Customs): Historical and Legal Research], (Odesa, 2006); Oleksandr Pylypenko, *Зовнішньоекономічні зв'язки українських земель у складі Російської імперії (1861–1914 рр.)* [Foreign Economic Relations of Ukrainian Lands within the Russian Empire (1861–1914)], (Kyiv, 2008).

43. Taras Honcharuk, *Транзит західноєвропейських товарів через Наддніпрянську Україну першої половини XIX ст.* [Transit of Western European Goods through Dnieper Ukraine in the First Half of the 19th Century], (Odesa, 2008); Yurii Lynyuk, *От Дуная за Днепр. 1865–2011: Очерки о станциях Одесской железной дороги* [From the Danube to the Dnieper. 1865–2011: Essays on the Stations of the Odessa Railway], (Odesa, 2011); Olena Sharyhina, *Історія виникнення і розвитку залізничного та морського транспорту на Півдні України (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)* [History of the Origin and Development of Railway and Sea Transport in the Southern Ukraine (Second Half of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century)], (Kherson, 2009).

44. Taras Honcharuk, *Одесское порто-франко. История. 1819–1859 гг.* [Odessa Porto-Franco. History. 1819–1859], (Odesa, 2005).

creation of *Чорноморське товариство пароплавів* [the Black Sea Steamship Company] in 1833–1843, *Комісія новоросійських пароплавів* [the Commission of New Russian Steamships in Odessa], and *Експедиція постійних пароплавних сполучень Одеси* [Company of Regular Steamship Connections of Odessa]⁴⁵ has been done by.

The history of banking and financial institutions, their impact into the Southern Ukrainian “economic miracle” is a relatively new trend in the history of the Urban Studies of port-cities.⁴⁶ Oleksandr Holovko’s research providing systemic and thorough analysis of the organization and legal management of the state funds implemented by the Russian Empire in Ukraine in the end of 18th – beginning of the 20th century,⁴⁷ proved to be a prominent contribution to this field. Holovko has reconstructed the dynamics of financial management branches: regional local treasuries (*казённые палаты*), treasuries, custom services, tax inspections, tax residency, including the Odessa customs area. He has also analyzed the legal basis for the state bank institutions’ management, the Odessa branch of State Commercial Bank, the Odessa branch of the State Russian Empire Bank, the Odessa and Taurida Chamber of Control presenting at the same time the financial situation, living conditions, and professional level of the fiscal authorities.

A number of works have focused on the history of banking in Ukraine, particularly on the Odessa branch of the Russian Empire State Bank. Furthermore, there are studies generally on the establishment of commercial banks in Odessa and Nikolayev, of a commercial and joint stock land bank in Kherson, as well as the new trends of commercial education.⁴⁸

45. Mykola Stolbunenko, *Зовнішньополітичні та зовнішньоекономічні чинники розвитку морського торгового флоту та судноплавства на Півдні України (кінець XVIII – початок XIX ст.)* [Foreign Political and Foreign Economic Factors of the Development of the Maritime Merchant Fleet and Shipping in the Southern Ukraine (End of the 18th – Beginning of the 19th Century)], (Ph.D. thesis, K. D. Ushinsky South Ukrainian National Pedagogical University, Odesa, 1997).

46. Iryna Druzhkova, *Кредитно-банківські установи на Півдні України в XIX – на початку XX ст. (історичний аспект)* [Credit and Banking Institutions in the Southern Ukraine in the 19th and early 20th Century (Historical Aspect)], (Ph.D. thesis, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, 2004).

47. Oleksandr Holovko, *Фінансова адміністрація Російської імперії в Україні (кінець XVIII – початок XX ст.): Історико-правове дослідження* [Financial Administration of the Russian Empire in Ukraine (Late 18th – early 20th Century): Historical and Legal Research], (Kharkiv, 2005).

48. Iryna Novikova, *Історичний розвиток банківської системи в Україні в умовах становлення ринкового господарства (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)* [Historical Development of the Banking System in Ukraine in the Conditions of the Formation of a Market Economy (Second Half of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century)], (Kamianets-Podilskyi, 2011).

The post-Soviet period of Ukrainian historiography is also characterized by addressing the topics that were previously a taboo. Among them there were the Black Sea coastal cities' charity organizations. The newly conducted research has revealed the social and civil self-government as an important factor of their economic, social, and cultural development. The history of charity and education activities led by the foreign citizens and colonizers in Southern Ukraine has been presented in several monographs.⁴⁹ Scholars revealed previously unknown evidence of German, Italian, Greek, Serbian, Jewish, and Czech charity societies functioning in Odessa as well as data about Jewish canteens for the poor in Nikolayev, Kerch-Yenikale, and Theodosia. The historical reconstruction of the educational foreign societies has been particularly successful. For example, data has been collected on the Jewish organization in Odessa called "Trud", the cheders in Nikolayev, the modern Greek educational society in Odessa, the Greek charity organization, the Bulgarian educational society, the Italian and German schools, the Polish organization called "Ognisko" and the publishing houses printing literature in foreign languages. Ivan Hvetadze reconstructed the educational panorama of national minorities in Southern Ukraine, characterizing their impact on the region's socio-humanitarian infrastructure. He analyzed numerous archival sources on the financial and actual aspects of charity organizations' activities.⁵⁰

Within the field of port-city urban studies there also appeared some "pilot" works on the port-cities' history of everyday life. The dissertation of Diana Averina-Luhova is such an example. She examines aspects of the societies of the provincial Crimean cities in the second half of the 19th century.⁵¹ The author analyses the role of the upbringing and education as main factors of the formation of the urban society. Averina-Luhova also

49. Irena Grebtsova, Vladislav Grebtsov, *The Formation of State Guardianship and Public Charity in Odessa*; Yurii Huzenko, *Formation and Activity of Public Charitable Associations in the Southern Ukraine*; A. Savochka, *Благотворительность в Таврической губернии (1802–1920)* [Charity in the Taurida Province (1802–1920)], (Simferopol, 2012).

50. Ivan Hvetadze, *Доброчинна та просвітницька діяльність іноземців на Півдні України (40-ві pp. XIX – початок XX ст.)* [Charitable and Educational Activities of Foreigners in Southern Ukraine (40s of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century)], (Donetsk: Donbas, 2013).

51. Diana Averina-Luhova, *Крим наприкінці XIX – на початку XX століття: міська повсякденність* [Crimea at the End of the 19th – at the Beginning of the 20th Century: Urban Everyday Life], (Ph.D. thesis, Zaporizhzhia National University, Zaporizhzhia, 2009).

analysed the rituals, which, according to her, form special official and daily links integrating members of city and religious communities. The modernization timing and the chronology of the coastal cities have been analyzed through the prism of the city infrastructure, energy sector, water supply and canalization, transport and communications. The author provides insightful concluding remarks about the development of medical and other spheres of services, the level of city security, culture and anti-culture as main activities of the cities' everyday life.

Traditionally a substantial place in Ukrainian historiography is occupied by the study of prominent personalities within the social and cultural life of Southern Ukraine's history.⁵² The constantly rising interest in the Black Sea port-cities studies is reflected in the growing quality of research. The works dealing with the history of separate ethnic communities, their impact in the region's development would make a long list of references today.⁵³ However, the literature of this field is accelerating and it is impossible to fully depict in this chapter the multi-faceted historiographic progress as it consists of thousands of articles, hundreds of books, and dozens of dissertations.⁵⁴ Still, there are no comprehensive general studies of the Black Sea port-city histories.

52. Tetiana Berezovska, *Рід Аркасів: просопографічний портрет на історичному тлі доби* [The Arkas Family: a Prosopographical Portrait on a Historical Background of the Epoch], (Ph.D. thesis, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, 2003); Liliia Tsyhanenko, *Дворянство Півдня України (друга половина XVIII ст. – 1917 р.)* [Nobility of the Southern Ukraine (Second Half of the 18th Century – 1917)], (Izmail, 2009).

53. Nataliya Venger, *Меннонитское предпринимательство в условиях модернизации Юга России: между конгрегацией, кланом и российским обществом (1789–1920)* [Mennonite Entrepreneurship under the Modernization of the South of Russia: Between the Congregation, the Clan and the Russian Society (1789–1920)], (Dnipropetrovsk, 2009); Oleg Gubar, *Очерки ранней истории евреев Одессы* [Essays on the Early History of the Jews of Odessa], (Odessa, 2013); Igor Moskhuri, *Греки в истории Севастополя* [Greeks in the history of Sevastopol], part 1, (Sevastopol, 2005).

54. Diana Averina-Luhova, *Crimea at the End of the 19th – at the Beginning of the 20th Century*; Vladyslav Dmytriiev, *Градоначальства півдня України в XIX – на початку XX ст.* [Urban Prefectorates of the Southern Ukraine in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries], (Ph.D. thesis, Oles Honchar Dnipropetrovsk National University, Dnipropetrovsk, 2003); Nataliia Dianova, *Формування населення міст Південної України у дореформений період (кінець XVIII ст. – 1861 р.)* [Formation of the Population of the Cities of the Southern Ukraine in the Pre-reform Period (end of the 18th century – 1861)], (Ph.D. thesis, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, 2003); Oleh Marchenko, *Міське самоврядування на Півдні України у другій половині XIX ст.* [City Self-Government in the Southern Ukraine in the Second Half of the 19th Century], (Ph.D. thesis, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov State University, Odesa, 1997); Nataliia Mel'nyk, *Архітектура комплексів громадсько-житлової забудови міст Півдня України кінця XVIII – початку XX ст. (на прикладі міст Херсона, Миколаєва, Одеси)* [The Architecture of Public Housing Complexes

The fact that the Black Sea port-cities history is not sufficiently examined in its entirety so far is vividly illustrated by a five-volume *Історія державної служби в Україні* [History of State Service in Ukraine] (Kyiv, 2005) and two-volume *Економічна історія України* [Economic History of Ukraine] (Kyiv, 2011), both prepared by the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. *The Encyclopaedia of History of Ukraine*⁵⁵ is a most complete and thorough encyclopedic edition, also covering the history of the Black Sea port-cities in the context of contemporary academic discourse. However, the topic is far from being exhausted.

Having liberated themselves from the pseudo-Marxist methodology, Ukrainian historians had to face a painful period of the reconstruction of the field. Ukrainian historiography proved to be receptive to Western modernization, urbanization, and social construction theories, the implementation of which have initiated new directions in micro-history and everyday life history; unfortunately this reception sometimes provoked inadequate interpretations of these theories. The absence of tangible general works characterizes the Ukrainian historiography of the time. The signs of revitalization after a long “methodological stagnation period” became visible in the last decade, which allows optimistic assumptions about its future and integration in the contemporary European and American discourse.

in the Cities of the Southern Ukraine at the End of the 18th and the Beginning of the 20th Centuries (on the Example of the Cities of Kherson, Mykolaiv, Odesa)], (Ph.D. thesis, Lviv Polytechnic National University, Lviv, 2007); Oleksandr Muzychko, *Грузини в Одесі: історія і сучасність* [Georgians in Odessa: History and Modernity], (Odesa, 2010); Svitlana Nadybska, *Соціально-економічний розвиток міст Південної України в 1861–1900 рр. (за матеріалами Херсонської та Катеринославської губерній)* [Socio-Economic Development of the Cities of the Southern Ukrainian Cities in 1861–1900 (Based on the Materials of the Kherson and Katerynoslav Guberniias)], (Ph.D. thesis, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, 2005); E'l'vira Plesskaya-Zebol'd, *Одесские немцы. 1803–1920* [Odessa Germans. 1803–1920], (Odessa, 1999); Oleksandr Cheremisin, *Activities of the City State Administration Bodies of Kherson, Mykolaiv, Odesa in 1785–1870*; Andriy Shevchenko, *Зовнішня торгівля портів на Півдні України (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)* [Foreign Port Trade in the Southern Ukraine (Second Half of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century)] (Ph.D. thesis, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, 2008); Yana Shevchuk-Biela, *Правове становище національних меншин Півдня України у складі Російської імперії наприкінці XVIII – на початку XX ст. (на матеріалах Одеси)* [The Legal Status of National Minorities of the Southern Ukraine within the Russian Empire at the End of the 18th – the Beginning of the 20th century (Based on the Materials of Odesa)] (Ph.D. thesis, National University “Odesa Law Academy”, Odesa, 2008), etc.

55. Valeriy Smoliy (ed.), *Енциклопедія історії України* [Encyclopaedia of History of Ukraine], in 10 vol. (Kyiv, 2003–2013).

The significant contribution to the study of the development of capitalist relations within the Black Sea and Azov Sea have been undertaken by Oleksij Shliakhov,⁵⁶ Oksana Sliusarenko,⁵⁷ Andriy Shevchenko,⁵⁸ who have investigated the modernization processes that took place in the commercial fleet of the Black and Azov Sea seas at the turn of the 20th century.

Victoria Konstantinova⁵⁹ is one the most prominent scholars in this field, whose research focuses on the urbanization processes in the Southern Ukraine, revealing the mechanisms of the imperial control implementation, the social and political integration of the “Great Reforms” epoch. The complex approach to the study of the processes of socio-economic modernization and social emancipation allowed Konstantinova to recreate the full picture of Southern Ukraine’s transition from the pre-industrial to the industrial era. She also reconstructed the dynamics of change on the level of local government and their contribution to the development of the economic and socio-political city complexes of several Black Sea coastal cities. Konstantinova raised the question of the complicated relations between the city self-governing institutions and those of local governments (*uyezdnoye zemstvo*).

The contemporary Ukrainian historiography has, no doubt, a number of problems to solve. Among the most important ones is the elimination of the distortions imposed by the previous mechanistic “thematic and chronological” approach in the research of the cities. Odessa, for example, has an amazing amount of such kind of histories whereas other cities like Theodosia, Kerch, or Yalta, cannot boast anything of the kind and require thus an easier reconstruction and rethinking of their histories.

56. Oleksij Shliakhov, *Судновласники і моряки Азово-Чорноморського басейну: 90-ті рр. XIX ст. – 1914 р.* [Shipowners and Sailors of the Azov-Black Sea Basin: 90s of the 19th Century – 1914], (Dnipropetrovsk, 2003).

57. Oksana Sliusarenko, *Торгово-економічні зв'язки України і Греції: історичні традиції та сьогодення* [Trade and Economic Relations Between Ukraine and Greece: Historical Traditions and Modernity], (Kyiv, 2005).

58. Andriy Shevchenko, *Foreign Port Trade in the Southern Ukraine*.

59. Victoria Konstantinova, *Урбанізація: південноукраїнський вимір (1861–1904 роки)* [Urbanization: the Southern Ukrainian dimension (1861–1904)], (Zaporizhzhia, 2010); Konstantinova, *Соціокультурні аспекти урбанізаційних процесів на Півдні України (друга половина XIX – початок XX століття)* [Socio-cultural Aspects of the Urbanization Processes of the Southern Ukraine (Second Half of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century)], (Zaporizhzhia, 2011).

The Black Sea Project has brought out a number of questions which make urgent the need for re-writing and rethinking, a burning problem in Ukrainian historiography. Firstly, the creation of a multifaceted approach of the histories of the cities is needed; the cities as centres of social, industrial, and cultural life, as centres of labour migrations and natural population growth, taking into account nationalities or gender. Secondly, the study of city mentality and city everyday life and the dynamics of their historical evolution should not be neglected. Oksana Dovhopolova's article, *The 600th Anniversary of Odessa and the European Project of Ukraine*,⁶⁰ is the first attempt in filling in such a gap.

The problems can be successfully solved with implementation of the Urban Studies, still little-known in Ukraine, which focus not only on the city history but also on its location, urban and economic development, self-governing practices, etc. Urban Studies propose a wide range of research tools and classification criteria allowing to conduct a multi-level research of the city environment. In fact, urbanization is seen as a part of a historical process in which the role of the city and society become increasingly important, indicating changes into the socio-demographic structure of the society, its culture, its way of life, psychology, forms of social and international relations that dramatically change the face of today's civilization.

This kind of research seems exceptionally up-to-date not only due to historians' interest in new research tools proposed by the Urban Studies, but also because of the rapidly changing Ukrainian society itself. The institutionalization of urban research along with the enrichment of its methodology should be pointed out as a positive tendency observed nowadays. Especially efficient in this context are the groups of scholars working at the Department of Regional Studies at the Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv) and the Research Institute of Urban History (Berdyansk).

In conclusion, I would like to underline that the works published over the last decade are characterized by a new and original methodology, with variations of methods and concepts, independent thinking, and inter-disciplinary approach. They provide evidence

60. Oksana Dovhopolova, *600-річчя Одеси та європейський проект України* [The 600th Anniversary of Odessa and the European Project of Ukraine], paper in <http://historians.in.ua/index.php/en/istoriya-i-pamyat-vazhki-pitannya/1455-oksana-dovhopolova-600-richchia-odesy-ta-ievropeyskyi-proekt-ukrainy> (date of access: 17.03.2015).

that at the current stage, the historiographic development in Ukraine is less linked to the earlier historical-philosophical preconceptions and sociological schemes, and profits more from the contemporary interpretations of modern historiographical trends. The history of the Southern Ukraine, which has made an impressive leap forward from the traditional to the industrial era, presents valuable historical evidence crucial for the study of both urbanization on the Northern Black Sea shore and global socio-economic processes. The research and educational potential of the Ukrainian historiography cannot be underestimated and the perspectives of creating an integrated Black Sea port-cities' history as well as introducing it into the European discourse is promising indeed.

Chapter 2

The Black and Azov Sea Port-Cities, Shipbuilding and Commercial Industry in the Late 18th – Early 20th Century through the Prism of the State Archives of Odesa Region

Liliia Bilousova

The emergence and development of the port-cities along the Black and the Azov Sea shores, which in the 18th century constituted a territory of the Russian Empire and today makes a part of Ukraine, is reflected in the documents of the State Archives of Odesa Region. The records are diverse and dispersed throughout different collections (fonds), which require the understanding on the part of the scholars of the most important documentary resources. The Odesa Archives include over 2 million files chronologically ranging from the 18th century to date. Among the most valuable archival collections, there are the records of the administrative institutions, local authorities, customs, port authorities, the construction and statistics committees, banks, and educational institutions from the imperial period of Odessa (1796–1920). Some of these institutions performed the management and control functions in the entire region of Novorossiia. The aim of this chapter is to present the major collections of the Odesa Archives as fundamental research resources for studying the history of the port-cities of the Black and Azov Seas, the shipbuilding industry in the area, as well as the domestic and foreign trade, with a special attention to the city of Odesa, which was the main Southern sea gate of the Russian Empire.

The collection under the title the *Administration of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governor-General* (Управління Новоросійського і Бессарабського генерал-губернатора / Управление Новороссийского и Бессарабского генерал-губернатора; Fond 1, 29,624 files, 1796–1874) occupies a special place among the 13,000 fonds of the State Archives of Odesa Region. The collection is a comprehensive source on the history of the Southern Region of modern Ukraine. The Administration of Novorossiia and Azov Governor-General (Управление генерал-губернатора Новороссийской и Азовской губерний) was

established by the Emperor's Decree on 7 November 1775. Governor-General was the highest representative of the state power in the region (a viceroy) who controlled all civil and military institutions, and, until the Judicial Reform of Alexander II (1864) he also controlled the courts. Since Novorossiia Region was a frontier land, the Governor-General was also entrusted with diplomatic functions. The title of Administration changed depending on the administrative and territorial changes in the region. For example, when Novorossiia and Azov regions merged into Yekaterinoslav Viceroyalty on 30 March, 1783, the name was changed to the Administration of Yekaterinoslav Governor-General (*Управление Екатеринославского генерал-губернатора*). In 1784, when a newly formed Taurida region was added to Yekaterinoslav Viceroyalty, the latter was renamed into the Administration of Yekaterinoslav and Taurida Governor-General (*Управление Екатеринославского и Таврического генерал-губернатора*). In 1795 the latter merged with Voznesensk Viceroyalty and the name changed to the Administration of Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Voznesensk Governor-General (*Управление Екатеринославского, Таврического и Вознесенского генерал-губернатора*). In 1796 the three viceroyalties were merged and transformed into the Novorossiia Guberniia; since then, it was renamed into the Administration of Novorossiia Governor-General (*Управление Новороссийского генерал-губернатора*). In 1802 the Novorossiia Region was divided into Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Nikolayev Guberniias, and one year later the Nikolayev Guberniia was reorganized into the Kherson Guberniia. Besides, the jurisdiction of the Governor-General included four cities (Odessa, Taganrog, Theodosia, Kerch-Yenikale) and two Military Governorates (Sevastopol and Nikolayev) as independent administrative units. Since 1805 Odessa (after Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, and Nikolayev) became an administrative center of the Governorate-General.

When in 1828 Bessarabia was transferred under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of Novorossiia, it was renamed in the Administration of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governor-General. The post of the Governor-General of Novorossiia (with all the specified above name variants, reflecting the historical development of the region) was occupied by Armand Emmanuel duc de Richelieu (1805–1815), Alexander Feodorovich Langeron (1815–1822), Ivan Nikitich Inzov (1822–1823), Mikhail Semionovich Vorontsov (1823–1826, 1827–1830, 1832–1854), Afanasii Ivanovich Krasovskii (1826), Feodor Petrovich Pahlen (1830–1832), Pavel Ivanovich Feodorov (1846–1854), Nikolai

Petrovich Annenkov II (1854–1855), Alexander Grigorievich Stroganov (1855–1862), Pavel Yevstafievich Kotzebue (1862–1874). In 1874 the Administration of Novorossiya and Bessarabia Governor-General was abolished.

The documents illuminating the history of the port-cities, shipbuilding and commercial industry in the Black-Azov and Mediterranean basin were accumulated at the archives of the Office of the Governor-General, the Administrative Desk, as well as the Steamship and the Quarantine departments. The decrees of the Senate regulating the settlements in the regions of Novorossiya, Odessa, Crimea, and on the shores of Azov and Black Seas illustrate the migration and demographic processes in the frontier zone: namely, the arrival and settling of foreign merchants, colonists, and migrants from the so-called internal Guberniias of the Russian Empire.

The regulations from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the reports and correspondence of the Governor-Generals with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Finance, the correspondence between the Governors' offices and Urban Prefects provide information about the urban structures, the organization and management of the cities, the opening of the new ports, harbors, quays, and waterfronts in Rostov (1814, the city plan is included, which is a unique document from this period), Odessa (1816, 1818, 1840), Sevastopol (1825), Yalta (1827), Ismail (1828), Taganrog (1833), Mariupol (1847–1848), etc. Annual reports of the Military Governors and city heads addressed to Governor-Generals, also the latter's reports addressed to the Emperor (known as *Всеподданнейшие отчеты*) about the economic state of the Novorossiya Region, guberniias and cities make a special group of documents in this collection. In fact, they contain data on the most diverse issues regarding the development of the region.

Another group of relevant documents consists of the Senate decrees on such subjects as: granting of the privileges to the cities of Odessa, Theodosia, Taganrog, Rostov, Kerch, Ismail, Reni (1803, 1821, 1835, 1848, 1851); information concerning the trade and navigation in the Azov and Black Seas ports, export of grain (inventory (*opis* 3, 1847), organization of quarantines, the Odessa *porto-franco* (1819–1855), the establishment of markets; population statistics in the regions of Novorossiya and Bessarabia; statements of income and expenses in port-cities like Odessa, Nikolayev, Berdyansk, Kerch, Sevastopol, Kherson, Ismail (1805, 1824, 1837–1838, 1840, 1845, 1859, 1861, 1869); the

correspondence with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Finance on the plants and factories and their products (1822, 1823, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1851).

Official reports, projects and statements contain data on navigation, measures for the advancement of navigation, financing, and loans given to individuals for the construction of coastal vessels, data on communications with foreign ports, the number of foreign ships coming through ports, as well as the state of the shipbuilding in the region.¹ The collection also holds the diplomatic correspondence between the Governor-General and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russian Ambassadors and Consuls on the questions of foreign trade, agreements on free shipping, support of Russian commercial navigation, and the requests of foreign partners. In this respect, the suggestion made by Aleksandr Gigler, the French subject, to provide the French Consul information on the steamboat companies in Novorossiia Region, may serve as an interesting example of the documents preserved in this collection (inventory (*opys*) 16).

The analysis of commercial operations during the wartime would benefit from the study of the following documents in the collection: the memoranda of Russian Consuls and diplomatic officials on the military buildup in the Ottoman Empire (1827) and the political situation in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, the information about the victories of Russian Navy, the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), the instructions given by the Ministry of Defense on the imposition of the martial law in Kherson, Taurida, and Bessarabia (1853), war preparations of 1854, correspondence on the war actions and the dislocation of the British and French Navy on the shores of the Black and Azov Seas, the Treaty of Paris (1856), that establishes of a new border between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in Bessarabia.

Another group of documents sheds light on the technical aspects of port infrastructure. These are the analytical reports on the dredging works in the port of Odessa, on assigning the berths in the harbors Karantinaia and Prakticheskaia to the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, on the construction and equipment of the lighthouses in the Black and Azov Sea areas, on the reconstruction of the Genoese quay (*Генуэзский мол*) at the port of Kerch, on the dredging of the Dnieper ports, on the widening of the Kilia and Sulina

1. Державний архів Одеської області [State Archives of Odesa Region, hereafter DAOO], fond 2, opys 1, sprava 630, "The Statement of the Commercial Court of Odessa on the Russian Shipbuilding and Navigation at the Odessa Port in 1864", fols. 35–36.

estuaries of the Danube River, and on the development of navigation on the Dniester, the Danube, and the Dnieper rivers.

The progress of the professional training in shipbuilding and seafaring is relatively well presented in this collection. These are the documents which deal with the foundation of the Shipbuilding School in Kherson (1827), seafaring courses in the region, data on the voluntary enrollment of sailors into the Black Sea fleet, establishment of volunteers' workshops and seafaring lessons for sailors (1835–1860).

The collection of the *Administration of Temporary Governor-General of Odessa* (*Управління Тимчасового одеського генерал-губернатора / Управление Временного одесского генерал-губернатора; Fond 5, 2071 files, 1879–1889*) appears to be a logical continuation of the above-mentioned collection of the Administration of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governor-General (abolished in 1874). The collection of over 2,000 files reflects the history of the region in the time of revolutionary movement (1879–1889). The main task of the Administration was to preserve peace on the territory of Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Bessarabia Guberniias and to protect the state borders. The Administration was headed by the following generals: Eduard Ivanovich Totleben (1879–1880), Alexandr Romanovich Drenteln (1880–1881), Alexandr Mikhailovich Dondukov-Korsakov (1881–1882), Iosif Vladimirovich Romeyko-Gurko (1882–1883), and Christofor Christoforovich Roop (1883–1889).

The collection contains such materials as annual reports on the state of Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida and Bessarabia Guberniias and its cities, reports of the administrative units subordinate to the temporary Governor-General, statistical data on factories and plants in the guberniias and in the cities of Odessa, Kherson, Yelisavetgrad in particular. This fond includes the documentation pertaining to the Perekop Canal and development of the short-sea shipping in the Black and Azov Seas, such as its project, explanatory notes, and relevant correspondence (1886); correspondence on the construction works in the ports of Odessa and Nikolayev (1887); laying the railway lines in Odessa (1884), and from Sevastopol to Yalta (1887), Kherson, Ovidiopol, and Odessa (1884). The correspondence with French and Bulgarian authorities about trade and on the establishment of the Advisory Committee for the Development of Trade also draws attention as a rich source for the history of the region.

If the collections of the Administration of Governor-General provide fundamental documentary sources for the history of the entire area of the Black Sea Shore in the Russian Empire, then the collection of the *Office of the Odessa Urban Prefect* (*Канцелярія Одеського градоначальника / Канцелярия Одесского градоначальника; Fond 2, 21,030 files, 1802–1920*) is the principal resource for research on the history of the port-city of Odessa. The post of the Odessa Urban Prefect was established for the purposes of the city management by the Emperor's Decree to the Senate from 27 January 1803. The necessity of a separate administrative unit in Odessa proceeded from Odessa's function of the Southern sea gate to the Russian Empire, its quickly growing population, which, according to the Census of 1897, reached 403,815 people, making it thus the fourth city in the Russian Empire, and the crucial role of Odessa port, which was in this respect second only to the port of St. Petersburg, in the international trade. The post of the Urban Prefect was equal in rank to that of the Governor-General, which meant the Urban Prefect was invested with significant power. The candidate to the post had to be approved by the Emperor according to recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs and was subordinated to the Minister of Commerce in case of commercial affairs, to the Minister of Internal Affairs in case of civil affairs, and to the General Prosecutor in case of court trails.

The Odessa Urban Prefect was in charge of the City Police, issuing the foreign passports and resident permits, controlled the customs and quarantine institutions as well as the local municipal governments (magistrates, dumas, city councils), port councils, construction committees, commercial courts, statistics committees; he controlled the foreign Consulates, city typographies, book trade institutions, ports, defense and civic constructions, city maintenance, postal service, and city hygiene regulations. Simultaneously, the Urban Prefect was expected to supervise the development of trade and maritime transportation. In the matters related to the city management, he controlled and managed all the military and fleet units located within the urban area.

The Urban Prefect had to maintain regular contact with the Governor-General (the Administration of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governor-General lasted until 1874, the Administration of Temporary Odessa Governor-General lasted during 1879–1889, the Administration of Temporary Governor-General of Odessa and Odessa District lasted during 1905–1908). In extraordinary circumstances he had the right to address the Minister

of Internal Affairs directly. In 1837–1848 and 1854–1856 the Office of the Odessa Urban Prefect functioned as the Administration of the Military Governor, though without substantial structural and functional changes in management. This archival collection is filed according the structure of the Office, each of the departments (desks) having its own folder and named correspondingly: the departments (desk / *стол*) of Regulatory Affairs, Economic Affairs, Secret Affairs, Court, Passports, Societies and Associations, the Construction Committee and the First General Russian Empire Census of 1897. This documentation reflects all possible aspects of the city life, but mainly deals with the economic, political, cultural, demographic, and social affairs.

Among these diverse sources, the least studied collection is that of the Passport desk (1808–1898). It included such documents as the permits issued to foreigners for entering and leaving the Russian Empire and the lists of foreigners and the citizens of the Empire who were granted the foreign passports. The standard set of documents in case of leaving the country included the application to the Urban Prefect, the police report of the good standing, and a financial guarantee (in case if the applicant had any debts). The entrants to the country presented their foreign passports indicating their full name, patronymic, social estate, the reason for entering the country, identification marks, and family members; then the foreign passports were exchanged either for internal passports or residence permits.

In general, the papers of the Passport desk are the most interesting source for the study of international migration through Odessa in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean region during the whole Imperial (pre-Revolutionary) period. This data provides information not only on the demography of Odessa region, but also such subjects as trade and business activity. The considerable part of the foreign visitors was tradesmen, captains, and sailors from the Mediterranean countries. The international trade is reflected in circular letters, reports, and correspondence between the Urban Prefect and the Department of Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the state of the local market (production, prices, etc.), trade navigation and shipping in the port of Odessa, population, factory production, and international trade relations.

The annual files on foreign Consuls, also issued at the Office of Urban Prefect, constitute the next important group of documents. The first three Consulates – Austrian, Spanish, and Neapolitan – were established in Odessa as early as in the beginning of the

19th century. Until 1920, 41 countries had their diplomatic representation in Odessa, here as General Consulates, Consulates and Vice-Consulates, viz: Austria (Austro-Hungary since 1867), Anhalt-Dessau, Argentina, Bavaria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Brazil, Bremen, Chile, Denmark, France, Germany, the Great Britain, Greece, Hamburg, Hannover, Italy, Japan, Monaco, Naples, the Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Persia, Peru, Portugal, Prussia, Romania, Rome, Sardinia and Luca, Serbia, the Septinsular Republic (Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands), Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Toscana, the Ottoman Empire, Uruguay, the North America and the United States.

Consuls played an important role in establishing the international relations and promoting the development of trade. It is worth noting that the diplomatic corps consisted not only of the foreign professionals, but also of the Odessa trade and business elite, who were invited by the foreign states governments to represent the latter in Odessa. Thus, Felix Michailovich de Ribas was the General Consul of Naples, Ivan Georgievich Vucina was the General Consul of Greece, John Ralli was the United States Consul, Feodor Pavlovich Rodocanachi was the Consul of Tuscany, etc.² The archive also holds documents on the development of the merchant class, trade houses, and their activities.

In case of war action the position of Urban Prefect would temporarily be liquidated and the *Office of the Odessa Military Governor* (Канцелярія Одеського воєнного губернатора / Канцелярия Одесского военного губернатора; Fond 457, 349 files, 1837–1848, 1854–1855) would be established with the similar jurisdiction, structure, and office work, but more wide military and defense functions. Among the documents are: the notes and reports on the crops, the data on the amount of exported grain from Odessa in 1844 and 1845, and the documentation on the state of trade during the Crimean War.

The archival collection of institutions of statistics holds valuable general information on Novorossiia, and on the history of the port-cities, trade, and navigation in particular.

2. DAOO, fond 2, opys 1 “On Appointing Consuls in Odessa”, sprava 493 (1857), sprava 3908 (1872), sprava 973 (1875), sprava 987 (1876), sprava 1039 (1877), sprava 1150 (1879), sprava 1465 (1884), sprava 1622 (1887), sprava 1685 (1888), sprava 1751 (1889), sprava 1815 (1890), sprava 1840 (1891), sprava 1842 (1891), sprava 1915 (1892), sprava 2038 (1894), sprava 2104 (1895), sprava 2208 (1896), sprava 2640 (1899), sprava 2705 (1900), sprava 2825 (1901), sprava 3016 (1903), sprava 3016a (1903), sprava 3263 (1907), sprava 3254 (1907), sprava 3345 (1909), sprava 3399 (1910), sprava 3453 (1911), sprava 3599 (1914).

The *Main Statistics Committee of Novorossiia* (Головний статистичний комітет Новоросійського краю / Главный статистический комитет Новороссийского края; *Fond 3, 73 files, 1843–1863*) was established on 12 February 1844 on the basis of the Senate Act from 9 November 1843. This was preceded by the multiple appeals of Count Mikhail Vorontsov to the Ministry of Internal Affairs with a request for permission to found a centralized statistics body to study, collect and process scientifically the statistical data on Novorossiia and Bessarabia. Apollon Aleksandrovich Skalkowski (1808–1898) played a decisive role in organizing the Committee. From the moment of its foundation, he acted as the editor of the various publications, and became its head in 1856. The Committee was subordinated to the Administration of the Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia and was accountable to the Statistics Department the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Collecting and processing the statistical data on industry, agriculture, domestic and foreign trade, population, public health, education, art and culture in Novorossiia was the primary function of the Committee. From 1844 until 1863 the Committee scientifically processed the data on Taurida, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson Guberniias and Bessarabia. The research done by the Committee was represented in the following publications: *Опыт статистического описания Новороссийского края* [The Essay on the Statistical Description of Novorossiia] in two volumes, *Долговечность в Новороссийском крае* [The Longevity of Life in Novorossiia], *Скотоводство, овцеводство и другие земледельческие богатства новой России* [The Cattle Breeding, Sheep Breeding, and Other Agricultural Resources of the New Russia], *Судоходство и пароходство в Новороссийском крае* [The Navigation and Shipping in Novorossiia], *Торговая промышленность в Новороссийском крае* [The Trade Industry in Novorossiia], *Столетие г. Ростова на Дону* [The Rostov-on-Don's Centenary], *Хлебопашество в Новороссийском крае* [The Grain Farming in Novorossiia], *Торговая статистика Новороссийского края* [The Trade Statistics of Novorossiia], etc. The Committee was abolished due to the “Regulation Concerning the Guberniia’s and Regional Statistics Committees” from 26 December 1860 and in 1863 all its papers were filed in the archive of the Governor-General.

The *Odessa City Statistics Committee* (Одеський міський статистичний комітет / Одесский городской статистический комитет; *Fond 274, 67 files, 1863–1904*) performed in Odessa similar to the Main Statistics Committee of Novorossiia functions. This

archival collection holds documents on the number of merchants in Novorossiia Region and their trade capital, statistics on the development of the river and sea navigation, export and import coming through the ports in Novorossiia, internal trade and market turnover, foreigners residing in the Russian Empire, which makes it an important source for the study of the commercial industry in this area.

The collection also contains the materials on the cabotage navigation on the Bug and Dnieper rivers, domestic trade, the Black Sea trade, the port of Odessa, and demographics. Such documents as The Trade Bulletin for 1872. Odessa, 31 December 1872 (*Торговый бюллетень за 1872 г. Одесса 31 декабря 1872 г.*), The Bulletin of the Farming Market. Odessa, 1871–1872 (*Бюллетень о положении рынка сельскохозяйственных произведений. Одесса, 1871–1872 гг.*), The Plan of the Port of Odessa Accompanying the Note of the Main Engineer of the Novorossiia Commercial Ports (*План Одесского порта, приложенный к записке Главного инженера Новороссийских коммерческих портов*), (1877) are of special interest.

The archive of the Customs' Offices is another extremely informative source on the history of ports of the Black Sea, the Azov Sea, and the Mediterranean basin. The ***Odessa Customs Office*** (*Одеська митниця / Одесская таможня; Fond 41, 728 files, 1805–1921*) was established in 1795 and functioned for over a century. Its archival collection holds important documents on the issues of customs services, such as the Senate Decrees; the opinions of the State Council; the regulations of the Department of Foreign Trade on the establishment of the Customs Office for European trade, the customs districts and checkpoints; the regulations of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Ministry of Finance; the instructions for the application of customs; and various reports. There are also data on the inspection of goods and their dispatch, search protocols and correspondence on the detention and confiscation of the smuggled industrial and food products, weapons and armory, imposition of fines onto the people violating the Customs statute, the files on the captured and voluntary surrendered foreign ships (1916–1918), the weapon trafficking by the Bulgarians (1910–1912), and the statements on the requisition of goods (1914–1917). The reports and notes on the export and import of goods, customs service, and levying duties on exports and imports provide information on the exported goods (flour, sugar, matches, alcohol, cotton and woolen goods). The papers also contain information on the

export and import of precious metals, on the major cabotage goods exported through the ports of the Baltic and White Seas (1903), the list of foreigners, who were denied entry into the Russian Empire (1907–1908).

The documents on the port of Odessa from the years 1916–1917 are also a part of the archival collection as well as the documents on the transfers of Russian vessels under the foreign flags, and on granting the right for owning of the trade vessels on the Black and Azov Seas shores (1916–1917), certificates on the export of copper (1910), correspondence on the tax-free permits for the school manuals and engine vehicles (automobiles, motorcycles), the price lists for the foreign goods. The fond also contains: the reports on the arrivals of foreign ships, applications for the certificates to receive foreign goods (1903), the data on the movements of trade vessels in the Odessa port, the reports of cargo coming from abroad (1913–1916), the list of exporters of Russian goods (1915–1917), the applications for permit to dispatch tobacco, perfume, and the like abroad (1912); the search protocols for the goods and personal belongings carried by pilgrims (1915), papers on the measurement of vessels and issuing new ship documents, the transfers of ownership for vessels and the compilation of new ship lists for the Department of Trade Navigation and the Tax Office (1906–1908, 1914), correspondence on the sea import and transit (1912–1914); the case when the Russian military fleet captured the Ottoman sailing ships *Moritz*, *Hdavardin*, *Shtihat* (“Мориц”, “Хдавардин”, “Штихат”) in the Black Sea (1916–1918), the minutes of the meeting about the lifting of the sunken ship *Lazistan* (“Лазистан”, 1912–1914); information on the imposition of fines on the skippers of steamships; on foreign vessels entering the port of Odessa for trade operations, search protocols of the vessels before sailing abroad (1914), the logbook from the steamboat *Anna* (“Анна”, 1913), the passport of the steamship *Velikaya knyaginya Kseniya* (“Великая княгиня Ксения”, 1914), the papers on using the sea vessels as collateral (1913), correspondence on the simplified procedure of releasing the goods from the customs (1890).

The **Odessa Port Customs** (*Одеська портова митниця / Одесская портовая таможня*; *Fond 88, 95 files, 1763–1918*) was opened in 1795 to inspect the arriving vessels and cargo; it functioned until 1918. The archival collection holds the Senate Decrees on the customs (1763–1774, 1842), the decrees and regulations of the State Commercial Collegium (1799); the minutes of the meetings of the Odessa Port Customs

Office. The rest of the documents in this fond may be of special interest for studying the settlement of population in Odessa: these are the report of José de Ribas (*Иосиф (Осун) Дерибас*), the Vice Admiral and Principal Supervisor of the Buildings and Port of Odessa, to the Customs Office on the creation of the Greek and Albanian Division, inviting the orthodox Christians from the Archipelago and other places to settle in Odessa, and appointing lieutenant colonel Athanasios Kesoglou (*Афанасий Кесоглу*) their guardian.³ It is worth noting, that already in 1799, when the Russian shipbuilding was seen as a matter of the distant future, José de Ribas proposed to the Senate the Regulations for Logging Wood for the Shipbuilding Industry.⁴ The collection also contains a copy of the Agreement for Friendship, Sea Navigation, and Trade renewed between the Russian Emperor and the Queen of Portugal on the 16 (27) December 1798, which illustrates the beginning of the international trade in Odessa.

There are also documents about the goods sent from Constantinople to the Emperor's court (1802) and the imported wine (1824–1825); the correspondence on the additions to the Customs rules and the permission for the Ottoman subjects, detent for the violations of the rules of trade, to reside in Russia; the permissions for the French vessels to enter the Russian ports (1830). The problem of smuggling is also reflected in the documents from this collection, especially in the correspondence about the detention of goods illegally transported into Russia, their confiscation and public sale; the taxation of the foreign cargo; the return of foreign goods abroad for the withholding of tax fees; and tax-free transport of certain goods (such as grain).

The *Office of the Supervisor of the Odessa Customs District* (*Канцелярія начальника Одеського митного округу / Канцелярия начальника Одесского таможенного округа; Fond 40, 433 files, 1811–1896*) was established in 1811 to manage the activity of the Customs Offices in Odessa, Kherson, Nikolayev, and Mayaki. It was subordinated to the Department of Domestic Trade (later – the Department of Customs Duties) at the Ministry of Finance. On site it was controlled by the Odessa Urban Prefect. In 1883 it was abolished due to the establishment of the Southern Customs District. The

3. DAOO, fond 88, opys 1, sprava 2a, "The Report of His Excellency Vice Admiral and Cavalier de Ribas on the Royally Approved Settlement of the Greeks and Albanians in Odessa, 1795), fols. 1–6.

4. DAOO, fond 88, opys 1, sprava 19, "Regulations of Logging for Shipbuilding, 1799", fols. 35–37.

collection contains the regulation documents as well as the statistics data, financial papers, official business correspondence, and reports. In general, these papers provide ample and valuable documentation not only on the state policy, that is, on the regulation of the transport of goods through the state border and on the implementation of customs procedures, but also more general information of goods, shipowners and partner countries in trade, Odessa *porto-franco*, smuggling, etc.

The policy of trade protection is reflected in the following documents: the circulars of the Ministry of Finance and the Department of Foreign Trade to the Customs Office; the circular letters of the Odessa Customs Inspector, Border Guard orders, the Regulation on the patent fees for the right to trade and for other crafts (*Положение о патентных пошлинах за право торговли и других промыслов*) (1861); documents defining the *porto-franco* area and the customs guard (1819–1820), files on the work of Kherson and Tiraspol Customs control stations, rules for the transport of medications across the border of the *porto-franco* area, duties on the wine and other products, the levying of duties on transported goods; correspondence on the abolishment of supervision over the internal gates at the *porto-franco* control stations in Odessa; reports on the state of domestic trade with the lists and amounts of the imported and exported goods, the freight rates for the prices of the main imported and exported goods; and the correspondence on the amount of benefit received from the Odessa customs offices.

The same collections includes documents which are rich sources of information about the methods used by the Russian state to protect its foreign economic activities: the papers on the confiscation of the smuggled goods, detention of weapons, illegal literature, ban on the traffic of playing cards and lemon juice, and the records of fines imposed on the foreign vessels for the violation of custom rules.

A considerable amount of sources reflect the organization, condition, and activity of the ports and quarantine zones. These are the officials' reports on the organization of new customs offices in newly annexed ports and the quarantine requirements there; customs' certificates on the dispatch of cargo from the Odessa, Ismail, and Taganrog port customs offices to Constantinople (1817); instructions given by the Department of Internal Trade on the opening of the Sevastopol port for the merchants' vessels and boats (1820); a ban on the import of salt in the ports of the Black and Azov Seas since 1 September 1820. The records

of the trade operations illuminate the development of foreign trade in Kerch, Evpatoria, and Berdyansk ports (1837), just as the surveys of trade in the Odessa Customs District port; the Account of the Transit Trade, 1833–1834 (*Мнение о транзитной торговле, 1833–1834*); the data on fees levied from the captains of Russian and foreign vessels in the ports of Odessa Customs District (1834) also illustrate the commercial development of the region. The archival collection also holds materials on the Kerch and Nikolayev ports, on establishing maintenance companies in the major ports (1827), foundation of the Society of Shareholders for Shareholding Company for the Establishment of Regular Steamship Service Between Odessa and Constantinople (1834), on the trade department of the Office of the Russian Company of Steam Navigation and Trade located in the building of the Odessa Port Customs Office (1868–1863), the Odessa Customs Artel (1872–1875).

The ***Office of the Head of the Southern Customs District*** (*Канцелярія начальника Південного митного округу / Канцелярия начальника Южного таможенного округа; Fond 247, 34 files, 1883–1911*) was established in 1883 after the merging of the Crimean and Azov Sea Customs Districts. It was subordinate to the Department of Customs Fees at the Ministry of Finance. The Office managed the customs, checkpoint and transition points. In 1896 it was transferred from Sevastopol to Odessa. In 1913 it was abolished due to the establishment of the Odessa Customs Inspector's Office. This fond contains the reports on the customs offices, checkpoints, and the Reni Commercial Port activities, reports on the arrivals of the foreign vessels and the violation of customs rules, the information and correspondence about the determination of the origin of imported goods, on the transport and confiscation of smuggled goods; legal cases against the smugglers; the information about abuse and corruption among the workers of the Theodosia Customs Office.

The ***Internal Checkpoint of the Odessa Porto-Franco*** (*Внутрішня застава Одеського порто-франко / Внутренняя застава Одесского порто-франко; Fond 87, 18 files, 1819–1859*) performed the inspection of the goods during the period of free trade (1819–1859). The archival collection contains the circulars letters of the customs department on the duty-free and transit transport of goods and learning aids, confiscation of smuggled goods, appointment of Consuls, and the extension of the *porto-franco* rights after 1849.

In 1913 the position of the ***Odessa Customs Inspector*** (*Одеський митний інспектор / Одесский таможенный инспектор; Fond 99, 76 files, 1913–1919*) was established. It was

subordinate to the Department of Customs Duties at the Ministry of Finance and its purpose was to regulate and control the activity of the customs offices and checkpoints. In the Inspector's archives there are the following papers: Circular regulations of the Department of Customs Duties about the levying of duties, imposing duties on the imported goods and introduction of additional duties for the goods manufactured in Germany, Austria-Hungary and other countries; information on shipping and on the amount of goods imported and exported through the Mariupol Customs Office in the years 1910–1913 (including the data on grain); reports on the functioning of the Azov, Genichesk, Leovo and other customs offices; circulars of the Principal Hydrographical Administration on the location of reefs, the installation of buoys, and illumination of the lighthouses; legal correspondence on smuggling.

The activity of local authorities is an important chapter in the history of the port-cities. The *Odessa City Magistrate* (*Одеський міський магістрат* / *Одесский городской магистрат*; *Fond 17, 316 files, 1795–1839*) was established in 1795 as a Special Magistrate for Russian Merchants. In 1798 it transferred its functions to the Odessa City Magistrate for Foreign Merchants (*Одесский городской для иностранных купцов магистрат*), which in 1801 was transformed into the Odessa City Magistrate. This was the first local authority in Odessa that dealt with administrative and judicial matters pertaining to the urban middle class (petite bourgeoisie or *meshchane*) and merchants of Odessa, and existed until 1866. The archive of the Magistrate is extremely valuable since it contains the information about the initial stages of the history of Odessa. These are the minutes of meetings of the Magistrate; the resolutions on issuing commercial and evaluation certificates; the approvals of various contracts (purchases, sales, loans, property registration, etc.), attachments of property and their cancellations, analysis of the trading agreements, bankruptcies, bill claims, complaints filed by merchants and townsmen. All this provides information on the everyday life of the townspeople, their concerns, and material hardships, inevitable on the first stages of the city development.

The fond also holds the correspondence on registering new merchants and bourgeois (*meshchane*) in Odessa, along with the evaluation of their properties and capitals; letters on the organization of fairs and their turnovers (1798–1800), organization of guilds (1804), the city income and customs dues. The archive also preserved the first city legal cases of criminal, civil and commercial nature.

The **Odessa City Duma** (Одеська міська дума / Одесская городская дума; *Fond 4, 30899 files, 1796–1920*) was elected in 1796. Until 1835 it was subordinate to the City Magistrate and dealt with the economic, financial, commercial, and construction matters in Odessa. In 1864 it was transformed into the City Regulatory Duma and in 1873 its executive and economic-regulatory functions were transferred to the **Odessa City Board** (Одеська міська управа / Одесская городская управа; *Fond 16, 38181 files, 1873–1920*). The archive of both Duma and Board consists of over 68,000 cases, which makes it the most comprehensive collection of sources on the history of Odessa's local government, population, and municipal economy.

All files of this collection are crucial for studying the history of the port-city, but the emphasis should nonetheless be placed on the Minutes of the Meetings and Decisions of Duma. Another group of papers effective for this matter is the documents about the merchants as a social estate, about the port of Odessa and the professional education for the Navy. The Census lists (*ревизские сказки*) of tax-payers and the data on the censuses in the city of Odessa from the years 1815, 1835, 1844, 1892, and 1897 are important sources for the research on prosopography of Odessa. The position of the social estate of merchants can be analyzed by the study of the following documents: the registration of individuals and representatives of petite bourgeoisie in the ranks of the Odessa merchantry (first, second, third guilds), opening of commercial and industrial enterprises, the naturalization of foreigners; documents proving the ownership of property and capital by the merchants of Odessa as well as on foreign merchants conducting their business in the city; the papers proving the inclusion of individuals to the estate of honorary citizens; the cases of charitable activity, such as the construction of charity houses, churches, shelters, professional-training schools, establishment of scholarships and fellowships, etc.

The materials that provide substantial information on the Port of Odessa are the documents on construction work, the opening of the Volnaya harbor, and development of the port infrastructure. The construction plans and blueprints of the Odessa port buildings can be found among the papers of the Regulation the Construction desks. The papers on the opening of the Odessa Marine School (*Одесские мореходные классы*) (1866) is another curious case to study. The fonds of state and private banks also contain documents on trade and shipping. The **Odessa Branch of the State Bank** (Одеська

контора Державного банку / Одесская контора Государственного банка; *Fond 109, 7 files, 1896–1914*) was established in 1860 to promote the development of trade and industry in the area. Its archival collection includes statutes of the societies of Nikolayev and Kherson pilots and information on their deposits (1909–1915) and the statutes of the Black Sea Yacht-Club Sailing Society (1902). The records of the **Bank House of Ashkenasi** (Банкірський дім Ашкеназі в м. Одесі / Банкирский дом Ашкенази в г. Одессе; *Fond 246, 5 files, 1893–1918*) include the materials on the establishment and activity of the South-Eastern Shipping Stock-Company “Zvezda” (1893–1913). Among the materials of the **Bank Office of Samuil Barbash** (Банкірська контора Самуїла Матусовича Барбаша / Банкирская контора Самуила Матусовича Барбаша; *Fond 175, 46 files, 1880–1819*) one can find the agreements with foreign firms (1900–1918), the correspondence with the Jewish Colonial Bank in London (Еврейський Колоніальний банк в Лондоні, 1915–1917), and the Society for the Support of Poor Jewish Landowners in Syria and Palestine (Общество вспомоществования бедным евреям землевладельцам в Сирии и Палестине, 1917–1919).

The records of the **Treasury of the Odessa Uyezd** (Одеське повітове казначейство Херсонської казенної палати / Одесское уездное казначейство Херсонской казённой палаты; *Fond 32, 508 files, 1827–1920*) includes data on the income from the exported and imported goods going through the port of Odessa and other ports; and about the migration of population in Odessa.

The archival collection of the **Odessa Branch of the Russian Technical Society** (Одеське відділення Російського технічного товариства / Одесское отделение Русского технического общества; *Fond 333, 926 files, 1864–1920*) contains many interesting materials on the inventions and technical innovations in the sphere of trade and shipping, like the device called “automatic pilot” named after its inventor Pochinskii (1893), the device for the search of sunken vessels (1895) and the submarine (1897) invented by Kreminskii. There are also materials of the commercial, industrial, and agricultural exhibitions in Odessa (1910, 1911), about the participation of Odessa firms in the International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine in Philadelphia, USA (1876), the International Exhibition in Belgium (1876), World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, USA (1893). There are also papers reflecting the

activity of the marine section of the Russian Technical Society, the inspections of steamships, foundation of the Shipbuilding schools in Odessa and Nikolayev (1890–1891) and the schools for engineers for the commercial fleet (1897).

The documents on the means of communication in the port-cities of the Novorossiia are gathered in the archival collections of the ***Administrations of the Odessa Telegraph and Postal-Telegraph Districts*** (*Управління Одеських телеграфного та поштово-телеграфного округів / Управления Одесских телеграфного и почтово-телеграфного округов; Fond 306, 14 files, 1871–1886; Fond 307, 1018 files, 1882–1920*), the ***Odessa Postal and Telegraph Offices*** (*Одеські поштова та телеграфна контори / Одесские почтовая и телеграфная конторы; Fond 308, 571 files, 1874–1920; Fond 309, 58 files, 1881–1917*). These are the reports about laying of the telegraph cables between Odessa, Sevastopol, and Ochakov coastal fortifications; the telegraph connection between the Aitador lighthouse and Livadia (1878–1879), the organization of state telegraph points in the port of Odessa (1900–1901), and the opening of the telegraph communication between Odessa and Sevastopol (1908–1909). The collection preserved the plans and blueprints of telephone lines in Theodosia, Evpatoria, Berdyansk district, Kherson Guberniia and Bessarabia (1915–1916), and telegraph cables of the Danube Military Fleet (1916–1918).

The ***Archive of the Administration of the Chief Engineer of the Novorossiia Commercial Ports*** (*Управління Головного інженера Новоросійських комерційних портів / Управление Главного инженера Новороссийских коммерческих портов; Fond 324, 250 files, 1867–1920*) contains the circulars of the Ministry of Trade and Industry; the reports from the Head and the Department of Management of the Odessa Port; instructions of the chief engineer on maintenance and construction works in the ports of the Black and Azov Seas. This archival collection holds documents reflecting the activity of the commercial ports and transport of grain through the ports of Odessa and the Black-Azov Seas (1888); the Journals of the Council for the Affairs of Commercial Shipping; the instructions of the Ministry of Trade and Industry on the organization of the grain warehouses in the port; on the Odessa conference on the revision of the rules for operating steamships (1909). A number of documents pertain to the specific tasks of the ports. These are the instructions for the maintenance supervisors in commercial ports (1912); correspondence with the Central Station of Hydro-Meteorological Office of the Black and

Azov Seas about the role of ports in their research (1915–1917); reports on the operation of dredging vessels, floating cranes, lighthouses, and electric stations.

The same collection comprises also the correspondence with the Ministry of Transport, the Company “Bellino-Fenderich” and the Russian Society of Steam Navigation and Trade (*Русское общество пароходства и торговли*, РОПИТ, hereafter ROPiT) about the allocation of land at the port of Odessa for the construction of covered berths (1883–1898); materials on the creation of the shipyard of ROPiT in the port of Odessa (blueprints, agreements, acts, and correspondence for the period 1894–1912). The materials concerning the port of Berdyansk are: the reports and minutes of meetings of the Bedyansk Office of Port Affairs; the correspondence on laying the railway tracks in the port and on the reconstruction of the quay; the plan of the port of Berdyansk (1912).⁵ There are similar documents concerning Evpatoria and Reni ports. There is also a plan of the Taganrog Commercial Port⁶ and data about the expenses for its reconstruction and maintenance as well as the correspondence about the renovation of the pier (1911–1916). There are several archival collections representing specifically the history of the Port of Odessa.

The *Odessa Port Administration* (*Одеське портове управління / Одесское портовое управление; Fond 323, 136 files, 1902–1919*) archival collection contains the following documents: circulars of instructions from the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the regulations of the Head of the Odessa Harbor, the journal of meetings of the Odessa Office of the Port Affairs; correspondence with the Urban Prefect, Stock Exchange Committee and the City Duma regarding the sanitary condition of the port, provisions for the water supply, fire hydrants, traffic and positioning of vessels in the port, buildings and offices of the shipping companies within the port premises, etc.; such documents as the regulations issued by the Chief of the Port and the correspondence on imposing fines on captains and seamen reflect the types and scale of misconduct; there is also correspondence about various accidents, minor and bigger injuries, losses of people and vessels at the port.

5. DAOO, fond 324, opys 1, sprava 113, “Draft of the Port of Beryansk and Correspondence on the Necessity of Land Acquisition for the Construction Works in the Port of Berdyansk”, 13 fols.

6. DAOO, fond 324, opys 1, sprava 79, “Draft of the Commercial Port of Taganrog and Correspondence on the Project of Renovation of the Berth at the Repairs Water Area in the Port of Taganrog”, 92 fols.

This collection also holds: the merchants' applications for the trade permits in the port of Odessa; the pricelist for the services of ice-breaker; the water transportation schedule; the ID applications submitted by the captains, seafarers, ship-owners and other port workers; the protocols of ships inspections, which can be used for the assessment of the state of the commercial fleet; the correspondence with the *Dobrovolny Flot* (Russian Volunteer Fleet) about the ship trips, transport of explosives and military troops, organization of the Pilots' Society in the port of Odessa⁷ as well as the lists of ship-owners, commercial and passenger vessels (steamships).

The collection of the *Administration of the Odessa Port Maintenance* (Управління робіт Одеського порту / Управление работ Одесского порта; Fond 325, 477 files, 1909–1920) includes the materials on the maintenance and repairs of the port constructions, in particular that of Khlebnaya and Practicheskaya Harbours, the Platonovskii pier, the Quarantine pier waterfront, the Arbuznaya, Bakaleinaya, Ugolnaya waterfronts, the departmental buildings, bridges and jetties, anchors, reserve water unit, drains, canalization, and port electric power station. The documents give a possibility to trace the connections between Odessa and other ports of the Crimean and Caucasian Shores like Kerch, Evpatoria, and Yalta. The plans of the Odessa and Yalta ports are also stored in this collection. There are reports on the operation of the Evpatoria port (1909–1910), on the repair, dredging works, and coal storage in the Nikolayev, Kherson, and Odessa ports; the correspondence with the Reni commercial *porto-franco*; a medical memorandum on the sanitary condition and means to fight cholera in the port. There are also the drawings and technical documentation (descriptions, catalogues) of the dredging vessels, equipment for the artificial ice production, the photographs of the the Odessa ice-breaker *Polunochnyj Canal*,⁸ as well as the correspondence with the trade-industrial enterprises about the diving and lifting works and supplies for the dredging vessels.

7. DAOO, fond 323, opys 1, sprava 19, "Papers on the Establishment and Activities of the Pilots Association in the Port of Odessa (Draft Statute, Journals of the Meetings, Audit Certificates, Captains' Applications etc., years 1908–1908)", 292 fols.

8. DAOO, fond 325, opys 1, sprava 130, "The Lists of the Team Members, and Correspondence on their Placement for the Dredging Operations, on the Repairs of Vessels, and others. Schedule of the Odessa Port, year 1910", 168 fols. On the fols. 311–313 there are photographs of the icebreaker *Polunochnyj Canal*, year 1916.

The **Main Office of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (ROPiT)** (Головна контора Російського товариства пароплавства і торгівлі / Главная контора Русского общества пароходства и торговли (РОПут); Fond 278, 115 files, 1869–1920) was established in 1856. It was initiated by Nikolai Arkas (Николай Аркас), the Captain of the 1st rank, and Nikolai Novoselskii (Николай Новосельский), a local official. Its purpose was to provide management of the commercial and passenger transportations with the Black-Azov Seas as well as abroad. The archival collection contains the circulars of the Board of ROPiT regarding the shipping development, sea transportation, vessels and property insurance, and passenger transportation. It also includes the correspondence with the port managers, captains, agents, admiralty, trade and industrial enterprises, which gives an idea about the development of the first major shareholding company, which apart from commercial shipping performed highly important state missions. Due to the Treaty of Paris (1856), after the Crimean War Russia lost the opportunity to have its own military fleet in the Black Sea, and ROPiT unofficially performed various tasks. The aim of the Company was to build commercial ships, which in cases of war could perform military functions, and to create and support the base (crews, ports, and repair enterprises) necessary for the quick recreation of the military fleet. The ROPiT became the leading shipping company trading with the Ottoman Empire, delivering kerosene, grain, alcohol, metal products, textiles, etc. from Russian to the Ottoman Empire, carrying coffee, tobacco, raisins, nuts and a variety of exotic products back. The ROPiT realized deliveries between Kerch and Taman. The Company's archives preserved the data on the ships, protocols of their inspections, and the lists of the crew members. In 1910 the ROPiT steamship *Imperator Nikolai II* was used as a base for "The Floating exhibition of Russian Industry Products". For two months the products of 135 companies from the south of Russia, Moscow, Petersburg, and Poland were exhibited in Varna, Burgas, Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Piraeus, Alexandria, Port Said, Jaffa, Beirut, Tripoli, Massine, Smyrna, Trabzon and other ports of the Black and Mediterranean Seas.

The archival collection of the **Odessa Construction Committee** (Одеський будівельний комітет / Одесский строительный комитет; Fond 59, 5473 files, 1800–1869) is one of the most valuable holdings of the National Fond of Ukraine, since it contains the earliest documents, some dating back to the 1800s, and reveal the data on

the beginnings of urban planning of this major city of the Southern Ukraine, with its cosmopolitan profile, thus allowing to trace how, who, and by what means built the outstanding architectural complex of Odessa. The Odessa Construction Committee was established under the Emperor's Decree from 19 February 1804, given by Emperor Alexander I to duc de Richelieu, the Kherson Military Governor. The cause for the creation of this special body lied in the rapidly increasing population of the city.

The first Odessa census (1795) registered 2.354 tax-payers, not counting the nobles, the military, and the foreign citizens. The settlement of the foreign immigrants is reflected in the case of the Odessa immigrants, mainly the Greeks, discussed at the Magistrate. By the order of Vice Admiral José de Ribas, the settlers received loans for the construction of houses in the virgin lands around the Khadjibey Fortress, which was the only building unit in the area. In December 1803 the population of Odessa reached 15,736 people. The city plan of 1803 suggests that in the coastal area, the Military and the Greek outer settlements (*Военный и Греческий форштадты*) were already inhabited. The city had 300 buildings, including the following ten religious units: the wooden church; the stone church of St. Nikolas, which was still under construction and in 1808 was consecrated as the Cathedral of Transfiguration (*Спасо-Преображенский собор*); the church of St. Catherine; an old Greek church, a new unfinished Greek church, and a stone Greek church; a church of the Old Believers; a Catholic church under construction; a wooden chapel; and a two-storey Jewish prayer house.⁹

With the establishment of the Construction Committee, the urban planning became organized. Yegor Christianovich Ferster (*Егор Христианович Ферстер*, 1756–1826) was the first Engineer-Colonel of Odessa. Franz Mikhailovich Frapolli (*Франц Михайлович Фраполли*, ?–1817), a Neapolitan, was its first city architect. In 1815–1820, 289 one-storey and 39 two-storey private houses were built. During the next five years (1820–1825), 340 private and 33 state-owned houses were built. Most of the buildings (120) were two-storey; three-storey buildings appeared in 1821, and by 1825 there were five three-storey buildings in the city. By 1840 the results of the urban planning began to show. The pictures of the best sites: Greek Street (*Греческая улица*), the Cathedral of Transfiguration,

9. DAOO, fond 59, opys 2, sprava 13, "On Allocating the Land for the Construction of the Houses", 514 fols.

the view of Odessa from the sea, Primorskii Boulevard, the statue of duc de Richelieu, became available on lithographs and postal paper.

The Committee participated in the construction and maintenance works in the city. Its archival collection includes a considerable number of blueprints and descriptions, including harbors and piers, governmental buildings, the Exchange building, the Magistrate, the building of Weights and Measures, the police station, the prison castle, the City hospital, theater, post office, accounting office, educational institutions, the Order of Public Charity, Educational home and Orphanage, the Agricultural Society of Southern Russia, the Women Charitable Society, and the places of worship in Odessa, such as the Orthodox churches, the Catholic cathedral, the St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Karaite Society, the cemeteries, etc. The defined area of the Odessa *porto-franco*, the customs control stations, the fortified lines and barracks, the Odessa lighthouse, and the beautiful architectural complexes of residential houses were also created under the supervision of the Construction Committee.

Among the fine examples of city architecture were the houses of the French merchant Karl Sikard (1844), the Greek merchant Stephan Ralli (1859), the Italian merchant Frantz Frapolli, and others. The official institutions, industrial and commercial buildings like the rope factories owned by Novikov, Utenkov, Kuznetsov, Meshkov, Kurianov, the mill houses of Kossovskii, the brick factories owned by Portnov, Kolumba, Minayev, Kuvshinnikov, Golkin, the Pishon's pasta factory were among the first enterprises in the city and their buildings have great architectural value. A group of files preserved in the archival collection concern the building of shops, stores, and enterprises like the House of Artificial Mineral Waters, the Crimean Wine Company, the Hydropathic Institution (*Гидропатическое заведение*), the Gas Lighting Company, the Dnieper-Bug Shipping Agency, pastry shops, coffee houses, and others.

In 1839 a Drawing Office was established within the Committee. Its archive holds unique drafts, plans, reports and descriptions of the constructions for the period of the 18th and 19th cc., created by the architects, topographers, engineers, and hydraulic engineers, who developed the urban structures of Odessa: Franz and Ivan Michailovich Frapolli, Boris Vassilievich Van der Fliece, Jean Haüy, Franz Osipovich Morandi, Francesco Carlo Boffo, Georgii Ivanovich Torrichelli, Ludwig Valentinovich Kambiadjio,

Giovanni Scudieri, Kaetano Osipovich Dallaqua, Osip Nikolaevich Kolovich, Ivan Kozlov, Yegor Christianovich Ferster, Nikolai Nikolaevich Cherkunov, Felix Vikentievich Gonsiorovskiy and others.

Out of the 68 archival collections of educational institutions, the collection of the *Office of the Trustee of the Odessa Educational District* (Канцелярія попечителя Одеського учбового округу / Канцелярия попечителя Одесского учебного округа; *Fond 42, 16,069 files, 1834–1920*) is worth of particular attention. It includes information about the higher education institutions, schools and colleges of the Kherson, Yekaterinoslav and Taurida Guberniiias.

The *Odessa Training School for Commercial Shipping* (Одеське училище торгового мореплавання / Одесское училище торгового мореплавания; *Fond 105, 257 files, 1899–1920*) includes files of educated specialists for the Shipping Department. It was founded in 1888 and it provided courses at the Odessa Commercial Training School. It was renamed as the Training School for Commercial Shipping in 1902, and had two shipping and engineering departments, to train captains' assistants and engineers for the commercial fleet correspondingly. The archival collection of the School contains the students' personal files, course programs and instructions for practical navigation, and correspondence about the foundation of the school. It also includes the Society for the support of its students, and material about opening the courses for seamen of the merchant fleet at the school (1916).

The personal archives of the famous residents of Odessa are another particularly valuable historical resource. The personal archive of *Apollon Aleksandrovich Skalkowski* (Аполлон Олександрович Скальковський / Аполлон Александрович Скальковский; *Fond 147, 54 files, 1779–1891*), the head and editor of the Main Statistics Committee of the Novorossiia Region, must be studied together with the collection of the Statistics Committee. Skalkowski was a historian, archaeologist, and a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. His personal files include his working drafts on the history, statistics, development of trade, and fleet in the Black Sea Region.

The notes on commercial aspects of the grain export from the Black and Azov Sea ports (1827) are preserved in the personal archive of *Dmitri Spiridonovich Inglesi* (Дмитро Спиридонович Інглезі / Дмитрий Спиридонович Инглези; *Fond 268, 16 files,*

1787–1848), who was the native of Cephalonia, noble of the Venetian Republic, naval captain, member of the Odessa Society of Greek Tradesmen, and Odessa Urban Prefect.

The collection of **Mikhail Mikhailovich Kiriakov** (Михайло Михайлович Кир'яков / Михаил Михайлович Кирьяков; *Fond 270, 13 files, 1783–1839*) contains the manuscripts of his essay *О черноморской торговле* [On the Black Sea Trade] (1787), and his survey *Обозрение Новороссийского края с 1828 г. по 1838 г.* [Survey of the Region of Novorossiia in 1828–1838], as well as his correspondence with duc de Richelieu about the cities of Rostov and Taganrog (1806). Kiriakov was agronomist, historian, statistician, editor of the Papers of the Farming Society of Southern Russia, and a member of the *Odessa Society of History and Antiquities*.

The personal records of **Edmond Henrikovich Harris** (Едмонд (Едмунд) Генріхович Гарріс / Эдмонд (Эдмунд) Генрихович Гаррис; *Fond 329, 97 files, 1869–1917*) contain his projects for the export of coal through Rostov and Taganrog. It is worth noting, that Harrison, a British engineer and a construction plant owner, participated in the construction of the ports of Poti and Nakhichevan.

The documents on the meetings about the infrastructure of the ports in Tuapse, Sukhumi, and Poti (1904), about the Odessa Commercial School, as well as the pictures and blueprints of the pavilions of the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition in Odessa (1910) are kept in the collection of **Valerian Nikolayevich Ligin (Kozlov)** (Валеріан Миколайович Лігін (Козлов) / Валерьян Николаевич Лигин (Козлов); *Fond 172, 34 files, 1899–1910*), Odessa City Mayor, mathematician, and a professor at the Novorossiia University.

The collection of the attorney **Yurii (Yulii) Isidorovich Grossfeld** (Юрій (Юлій) Ісидорович Гроссфельд (Гросфельд) / Юрий (Юлий) Исидорович Гроссфельд; *Fond 195, 14 files, 1906–1917*) includes the documents on organization of the trade unions of shipbuilders and their strikes at the beginning of the 20th century.

To sum up, the archival collections of the State Archives of Odesa Region are extremely informative and provide multiple documentary resources for the research on the history of the Black and Azov Seas port-cities.

Chapter 3

Urbanization and Modernization of the Northern Black Sea Region in the Mid-19th – Beginning of the 20th Century: the Role of the Port-Cities

Victoria Konstantinova

Rapid urbanization, and, speaking more generally, modernization, characterized the development of the Northern Black Sea Region in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century; the intensity of these processes in the region anticipated and outpaced similar trends in other parts of the Russian Empire. The port-cities, in particular, were first to undergo these transformations.

Clarifications regarding the theoretical approach used in this chapter are in order. For many contemporary historians (primarily Russian), applying the modernization theory amounts to the acquiescence to the teleological interpretation of history, criticized for its superficially “universal model of progress”, shallow understanding of history as a “linear development from the lower to the upper level, where the Western democracies hold the top line”,¹ and for presenting modernization as the final evolutionary stage in every society.² In this view, modernization equals to “Westernization” and “Americanization”. Such criticism builds on misrepresenting the modernization theory and frequently associates with the other extreme, that is, the ideas of the “uniqueness of the Russian way” and of the “parity between Russia and Western civilization”. For this paper, I adopt the Natalia Yakovenko’s definition of modernization as an effective metaphor for the description and explanation of the past that analyzes it as a coherent whole by using a set of features signaling transformation of the traditional societies into “modern” and

1. Qtd. in: Aleksandr Senyavskii, *Урбанизация России в XX веке: Роль в историческом процессе* [Russian Urbanization in the 20th century and its Role in the Historical Process], (Moscow: Nauka, 2003), p. 30.

2. Aleksandr Kovalev, “Модернизация как эволюция типов организации” [Modernization as Evolution of the Types of Organization], *Sotsiologicheskoe Obozrenie*, 2:3 (2002), p. 69.

“industrial” cultures, with urbanization as one of the main indicators.³ I also rely on Rainer Lindner’s approach to modernization in the Russian Empire, including Southern Ukraine, who is far from seeing it as a linear and general process.⁴

The limitations of the modernization theory in the field of social history are recognized in the works of Peter Gatrell, David Macey, and Gregory Freeze, who responded to the critics of modernization theory in an essay published as a Preface to the book *Social History of Russia in the Imperial Period (XVIII – beg. XXth Century)*⁵ by Boris Mironov. Contributing to the discussion around Mironov’s book, Igor Poberezhnikov, a scholar from the Urals, proposed a so-called “diffusion theory”, which might be seen as an effective way out of the Western bias of the modernization theory.⁶ According to Poberezhnikov, Russian society relied on western models, institutions, and values, but their practical implementation was much more complex than a straightforward exchange of the old for the new. Rather, it was a process of mutual interaction, leading to the mutual deep transformation of western models and local realities, and, consequently, modern innovations in Russia have never been simple replica of “the Western samples”.⁷

In what follows below, I shall examine the urbanization and modernization in the cities of the Northern Black Sea region, with a special attention to the complexity and local

3. Natalya Yakovenko, *Вступ до історії* [Introduction to History], (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2007), pp. 272, 274.

4. See: Rainer Lindner, *Підприємці і місто в Україні, 1860–1914 рр. (Індустріалізація і соціальна комунікація на Півдні Російської імперії)* [Entrepreneurs and Cities in Ukraine, 1860–1914 (Industrialization and Social Communication in the South of the Russian Empire)], (Kyiv-Donetsk: TOV VPP Promyn’, 2008), p. 14.

5. Peter Gatrell, David Macey, Gregory Freeze, “Социальная история как метаистория” [Social History as Metahistory], in Boris Mironov, *Социальная история России периода империи (XVIII – начало XX в.)* [Social History of Russia in the Imperial Period (XVIIIth – Beg. XXth Century)], in 2 vols. 3rd ed., corrected and expanded, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), p. v–vi.

6. Igor Poberezhnikov, “Модернизационная перспектива: Теоретико-методологические и дисциплинарные подходы” [Modernizational Perspective: Theoretico-methodological and Disciplinary Approaches], *Третьи Уральские историко-педагогические чтения* [Third Ural Historical and Pedagogical Conference], (Yekaterinburg, 1999), pp. 16–25; Igor Poberezhnikov, “Дилеммы теории модернизации” [Dilemmas of the Modernization Theory], *Третьи Татищевские чтения* [Third Tatiushiev Conference], (Yekaterinburg, 2000), pp. 6–15; Igor Poberezhnikov, “Модернизация: Определение понятия, параметры и критерии” [Modernization: Main Terms, Parameters, and Criteria], *Историческая наука и историческое образование на рубеже XX–XXI столетий. Четвертые Всероссийские историко-педагогические чтения* [Historical Science and Historical Education at the Turn of the 20–21 Centuries. Fourth All-Russian Historical and Pedagogical Conference], (Yekaterinburg, 2000), pp. 105–121.

7. Boris Mironov, “Дискуссия вокруг «Социальной истории России периода империи»” [Discussions on the “Social History of Russia in the Imperial Period”] in Boris Mironov, *Social History*, vol. 1, p. xxxv.

specifics of these processes. I aim to show that the artificial withholding of the urban growth in this part of the Empire – primarily by not granting the official status of the city to the rapidly developing urban communities – was one of the manifestations of this complexity and non-linearity. While the pace of urbanization accelerated, the official number of cities increased at a much slower rate, thus distorting the real picture. This happened, among other reasons, because of the conservative governmental policies and procedural obstacles to receiving the official status of a city. A vivid example of such delay in the recognition of new urban centers is Skadovsk, a port and settlement established on the Black Sea in the early 20th century that nevertheless did not receive an official urban status.

Since the age of the “Great reforms” the increase in the number of official cities in the region was inconsiderable: in 1861–1904 the city network in the Yekaterinoslav Guberniia increased by 12.5 per cent (from 8 to 9 cities), in Taurida Guberniia by 12 per cent (from 17 to 19 cities), and in Kherson Guberniia by 14 per cent (increasing the number of cities from 14 up to 16). Among the many coastal settlements, only two changed their official status and became cities. On 31 May 1902 Tsar Nicholas II approved the Act of the Committee of Ministers, granting to Alushta with its surroundings the official status of a city,⁸ and on 10 May 1903 the Tzar approved the similar Act concerning Genichesk in Melitopol district (*uyezd / уезд*) changing its status from “place” (*mestechko / местечко*) to city.⁹

It is thus possible to assess that in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century, the changes in the network of official cities in Southern Ukraine were neither many nor significant. By the term “network of cities” the architects understand the “optimal configuration of the cities that takes shape under the influence of the factors characteristic of a particular historical period”.¹⁰ In the Russian Empire, any changes within this network were controlled by the state. Taking into account these two facts, one has to admit that, in the eyes

8. Полное собрание законов Российской империи [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, hereafter PSZRI], (St. Petersburg), Collection (hereafter Col.) 3, Vol. XXII (1902), Section (hereafter Sec.) 1, № 21543, p. 412.

9. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. XXIII (1903), Sec. 1, № 22935, pp. 494–495.

10. Halyna Petryshyn (ed.), *Історичні архітектурно-містобудівні комплекси: наукові методи дослідження: Навчальний посібник* [Historical Architectural Urban Complexes: Research Methods. A Handbook], (Lviv: Vudavnitstvo Natsional'nogo Universitetu “L'vivs'ka Politekhnikha”, 2006), p. 74.

of the Russian government, the network of cities in the region remained efficient, and thus existed with minimal changes from 1861 throughout the entire period under investigation. Yet, from the perspective of modernization and urbanization, this network was far from efficient, and the changes in the ranking of cities within the network reflected this inadequacy. Previously important urban centers failed to meet the new demands of the time and stagnated, letting ahead cities with either better location or larger potential; nevertheless, the deteriorating old centers remained in the network of cities. Thus, it was not the principle of the spatial dissemination of population (as it happened in Western Europe, with its dense population and elaborate network of cities) that shaped the network of cities, but other circumstances of urban history in the South. The cities, which became the products of colonization in the 18th – first half of the 19th century, joined the group of the Crimean cities, the sites for which were chosen as early as in classical antiquity or during the Middle Ages. Their locations depended on the stage of colonization, on different periods of their annexation to the Russian Empire and on military necessity at various historical moments. The principles based on such architectural concepts like “planimetric urbanism” and “mathematical fortress urbanism”¹¹ were also taken into consideration by the city founders, though not predominantly. Geographical and natural factors also contributed to the uneven spread of the official cities, and had most impact on the choice of location for those cities, which were built with the purpose of the economic development of the region.

It is important to remember that the network of Southern official cities developed in the context of a broader network that included all regional urban settlements. According to Pyotr Petrovich Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, a geographer, in the years 1867–1897 the total number of settlements in Yekaterinoslav Guberniia increased by 285 per cent, in Taurida Guberniia it increased by 232 per cent, and in Kherson Guberniia the percentage increased by 298 per cent.¹² These figures – even though the calculations covered a shorter period of time than the present study focuses on – vividly demonstrate that the number of official

11. Petryshyn, *Historical Architectural Urban Complexes*, p. 55.

12. Veniamin Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, Pyotr Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, Vladimir Lamanskii (eds.), *Россия. Полное географическое описание нашего отечества. Настольная и дорожная книга* [Russia. A Full Geographical Description of our Fatherland. A Handbook and a Travel Guide], vol. 14: Novorossiia and Crimea (Bessarabia, Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav Guberniias, Province of the Don Cossack Host and Stavropol Guberniia), (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 178.

cities was far behind the number of all settlements in Southern Ukraine. The numbers of official cities in the Southern region complied with the trends in the rest of the empire. Lidiya Koshman, a Russian scholar and urban historian, states: “The process of city formation did not stop during the 19th century, but the cases of transforming villages into cities were extremely rare”.¹³

However, it is important to underline that, due to the inconsistency of various legislative acts in their approach to the typology of official cities, the peculiarities of port-cities made legislators allocate them in a separate group, applying to them a different set of legislative acts. Thus, the City Act (*Gorodovoie polozheniie / Городовое положение*) of 11 June 1892 contains a special classification of cities according to the procedure of elections to municipal Dumas, namely: the capitals; the Guberniia cities with the population over 100,000 people and Odessa; other Guberniia cities, regional cities, urban prefectorates, or *gradonachalstva*,¹⁴ and important district (*uezdnye*) cities; all other urban settlements.¹⁵ In addition, the City Act separately mentioned the cities built within the fortresses, cities without districts (*bezuyezdnyj gorod*),¹⁶ and seaports (*primorskie porty*).

Regarding the latter term, in the legislation of the Russian Empire it could be used both as a synonym for “port-cities” and in a narrower sense. For example, in the Act of 7 May 1891 about the trade of the port-cities it is mentioned that “under the term ‘port’ we understand the maritime region of the port (bay and anchorage), and the coastal area occupied by the port’s facilities: piers, breakwaters, and quays and the entire coastal area that serves the purposes of commercial shipping and fishing”.¹⁷

In the “Regulations of the Measures to Stop Cholera and Plague Once They Appear within the Empire” (*Правила о принятии мер к прекращению холеры и чумы при*

13. Lidiya Koshman, *Город и городская жизнь в России XIX столетия: Социальные и культурные аспекты* [City and Urban Life in Russia in the 19th Century: Social and Cultural Aspects], (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2008), p. 52.

14. The *gradonachalstvo* was an administrative territorial entity of the Russian Empire consisting of a city and its adjacent territory under administration of a *gradonachalnik*.

15. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. XII (1892), № 8708, p. 440.

16. Cities without district (*bezuyezdnyj gorod*) in Russia were the settlements with urban status that were not administrative centers of districts (*uyezd*).

17. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. XI (1891), № 7674, p. 242.

появлении их внутри империи) of 11 August 1903 approved by the Emperor, the following types of settlements are indicated: “the city, the port, the town, the village, etc.”¹⁸

The official city typology used by the Russian Empire was far from optimal and often neglected the situation of a particular city, urging historians already at the turn of the 20th century to develop the set of criteria for distinguishing between “cities” and “non-urban” settlements.¹⁹ In his book *The City and the Village in European Russia*, Veniamin Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky criticized the approaches used by the compilers of “The Cities of Russia in 1904”, and proposed his own principles of identifying cities and non-urban settlements, suggesting that the two most important criteria were the percentage of population not engaged in farming and the commercial and industrial turnover per inhabitant.

By using Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky’s classification of urban settlements, which could claim official status of a city, we can further illuminate the place of port-cities in urbanization and modernization processes in the region. According to this classification, there were two types of such settlements, the “administrative centers” (i.e. the official cities, which did not meet the criteria of urbanization with respect to their economic development) and, as he put it, “rising cities”, that is, the settlements without the official city status but with obvious economic potential. By comparing Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky’s lists of such cities with the official data,²⁰ one can observe that all administrative centers had the status of district (*uyezdnyj*) or non-district (*bezuyezdnyj*) cities, while none of the “rising cities” had official urban status. It is noteworthy that Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky included Yenikale and Ochakov in the list of administrative centers, but did not comprise any of Southern port-cities among the “rising cities”.

18. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. XXIII (1903), Sec. 1, № 23336, p. 881.

19. Pavel Ryndziunskii, *Крестьяне и город в капиталистической России второй половины XIX века (Взаимоотношение города и деревни в социально-экономическом строе России)* [Peasants and City in Capitalist Russia during the Second Half of the 19th c. (Relationship between Cities and Rural Land in the Socioeconomic System of Russia)], (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), p. 126.

20. *Населенные места Российской империи в 500 и более жителей с указанием всего наличного в них населения и числа жителей преобладающих вероисповеданий. По данным первой всеобщей переписи населения 1897 г.* [Settlements of the Russian Empire with More than 500 Residents, with Data on their Population and Numbers of the Residents Who Belong to the Dominating Religions. According to the First All-Russian Population Census of 1897], (St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia pol’za, 1905).

For all urban settlements, Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky proposed three types of classification.

First, according to the population, there were six groups of “proper cities”: 1) capitals (1 million of people and less); 2) major cities (100,000 – 1 million); big cities (40,000 – 100,000); medium-size (10,000 – 40,000); smaller cities (5,000 – 10,000); towns (*gorodok*) (1,000 – 5,000).

Second, according to the annual per capita income, there were five categories of cities: 1) very active (from 800 rubles and less); 2) active (500 – 800 rubles); 3) medium (100 – 500 rubles); 4) weak (50 – 100 rubles); 5) very weak (up to 50 rubles). Notably, the scholar believed that the settlements of fourth and fifth categories were not supposed to be ranked as “proper economic cities”.

Third, according to “the percentage of industry involvement in the annual turnover of a city”, the categories of cities were: 1) industrially strong (40% and less); 2) industrial (25–40%); 3) moderately industrial (20–25%); 4) commercial (industrially weak) (less than 20%).²¹

Describing the majority of urban settlements in Southern Ukraine, Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky qualified them a “true ‘valley’ subtype” of the “Southern *chernozem* type of settlement”. Among three “major cities” of the region, he included the two port-cities of Odessa and Nikolayev; Kherson was listed among the “big cities”; Mariupol, Berdyansk, Evpatoria, Genichesk belonged to the group of medium-size cities; there were no port-cities in the list of fourteen “small cities”, and only Saki was mentioned among the nineteen cities categorized as “towns”.²²

To the “Southern horticulture type” Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky assigned two “big cities”, including Sevastopol among them, three “medium-size cities”, all with sea ports: Kerch, Theodosia, Yalta, five “towns” (all situated on the sea coast: Alushta, Gurzuf, Balaklava, Alupka, and Sudak). Neither “major cities”, nor “smaller cities” of Southern

21. Veniamin Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, *Город и деревня в Европейской России* [The City and the Village in European Russia], (St. Petersburg: Tip. V. F. Kirshbauma, 1910), pp. 73–74; Tatyana Nefyodova, Pavel Polyan, Andrej Trejvish (eds.), *Город и деревня в Европейской России: сто лет перемен* [The City and the Village in European Russia: A Hundred Years of Changes], (Moscow: OGI, 2001), pp. 24–26.

22 Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, *The City and the Village*, pp. 150–157.

Ukraine were considered within this type of settlement.²³ It is obvious, that none out of 27 port-cities was classified as the “mining and metallurgical type of settlement”.²⁴

The correlation of numbers of the annual per capita income (in rubles) with the classification of city settlements provided by Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky gives the following picture. The group of cities with a “very high” per capita income (800 rubles and less) includes three “medium-size cities”, including Mariupol, as well as five “smaller cities” and six “towns” (none of which was a port-city). The group of cities with an “high” per capita income (500–800 rubles) included two “major cities” (Odessa one of them), one “big city” (remote from the shore), five “medium-size cities”, among which there were such port-cities as Berdyansk, Evpatoria, and Genichesk, two “smaller cities”, and nine “towns” (none of which was situated at the seaside).

The group of cities with an average per capita income (100–500 rubles) included a “major city” Nikolayev, four “big cities”, including Kherson and Sevastopol; twelve “medium-size cities”, Kerch, Theodosia, and Yalta included; 11 “smaller cities” (none situated on the sea coast) and 24 “towns”, including Saki, Alushta, Gurzuf, Balaklava, Alupka, and Sudak. The group of cities with a “weak” per capita income (50–100 rubles) included one “medium-size city”, one “smaller city”, and three “towns” (none situated on the sea coast).²⁵

In general it is worth stressing that the correlation between the three categories (level of per capita income, the official city status, and population size of the cities) was weak. It is also remarkable that the port-cities and coastal cities were not registered even in the group with a “weak” per capita income, and only one such city, Mariupol, was registered in the group with a very high per capita income.

By applying to the Northern Black Sea region the next type of classification proposed by Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky (according to “the degree of industrial contribution to the city’s per capita income), we receive the following picture.²⁶

23. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, *The City and the Village*, pp. 165–166.

24. Ibid., pp. 173–176.

25. Ibid., pp. 150–156, 165–166, 173–176.

26. Noteworthy, these data correlate well with Boris Mironov’s data concerning the region’s cities and port-cities, in particular, presented in his book *Русский город в 1740–1860-е годы: демографическое, социальное и экономическое развитие* [The Russian City in the 1740s – 1860s: Demographic, Social, and

The group of city settlements with a high involvement of industry into their annual production (over 40 per cent) included one “major city”, two “big cities”, seven “medium-size cities”, eight “smaller cities”, and 22 “towns”; the latter subcategory included Saki, the only coastal settlement belonging to this group of highly industrial urban centers. The “industrial” cities (25–40 per cent of industry involvement into the annual per capita income) included a “big city” Kherson; five “medium-size cities”, including Kerch; one “smaller city” and four “towns”, including Balaklava. A group of the “moderately industrial” cities (20–25 per cent of industry involvement into the annual per capita income) included such “major cities” as Odessa and Nikolayev, two “medium-size cities”, including Genichesk; two “smaller cities” and one “town” (none of which situated at the sea coast).

Finally, the group of “commercial (or industrially weak)” cities (less than 20 per cent of industry involvement into the annual per capita income) consisted of two “big cities”, including Sevastopol; seven “medium-size cities”, Mariupol, Berdyansk (7 per cent), Evpatoria (5 per cent), Theodosia and Yalta among them; eight “smaller cities” (none situated at the sea coast) and fifteen “towns”, including Alushta (7 per cent), Gurzuf (4 per cent), Alupka (6 per cent), and Sudak (more than 1 per cent).²⁷

Over the last century the typologies proposed by Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky were highly criticized, even though the calculations themselves were never the target of this criticism. Even so, the observations made on the basis of Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky’s

Economic Development], (Leningrad, 1990), where Mironov proposes a typology of cities according to the types of urban activities and functions. The urban function is understood here as the activity of city residents directed onto their communication with an outside world, which also justifies the city’s existence. The level of function is not met if the city’s activity is oriented onto the satisfaction of its own needs only. Thus, the following functions are distinguished: economic (industrial, academic, educational, artistic), administrative-and-political, military, and recreational.

Statistics taken from the book *Экономическое состояние городских поселений Европейской России в 1861–62 г.* [Economic Condition of Urban Settlements in European Russia in 1861–62], (St. Petersburg, 1863) for the mid-19th century is the following: out of 38 cities of Southern Ukraine 31,58 per cent were agricultural, 26,32 per cent were administrative-and-military, 26,32 per cent were mixed, 7,89 per cent were industrial, 7,89 per cent were commercial. It is important to compare these statistics data on the cities of Southern Ukraine with that of the whole European part of the Russian Empire. According to Boris Mironov, the majority of cities in this area were industrial (43 per cent), the rest were agricultural (22 per cent), mixed (20 per cent), commercial (10 per cent), and administrative-and-military (5 per cent). It is remarkable that the cities with different functional purpose differed on all the levels: economic orientation, population, social and professional representation, production pattern, amount of land, city budget, etc.

27. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, *The City and the Village*, pp. 150–156, 165–166, 173–176.

typology reflect the static picture of the early 20th century; only research of the dynamic development of the port-cities throughout the entire period in question can grant deeper understanding of their role in the economic history of the region. Writing about the economic history of the cities in Southern Ukraine, Patricia Herlihy argued that industrial development played a major role not at the moment of founding a city, but on the later stages of urbanization growth. Although the administrative, commercial, and cultural functions were important for the formation of urban centers, and the cities of Russian empire could indeed survive only as such, it was industrialization that gave the fuel for rapid urban development. In Ukraine, as well as elsewhere in the world, industrialization caused the great leap forward in the development of “the first, truly great, truly modern cities”.²⁸ This argument sounds particularly strong if we take into account the fact that all port-cities in the region existed long before the period of the “Great Reforms”, and by then had passed the initial stage of urban development.

In the mid-19th century, the industry of the Southern Ukraine maintained the same profile as in the first half of the 19th century, which was 1) manufacture of agricultural products and 2) production of construction materials. In 1853 out of the 365 city workshops and factories, 115 belonged the former and 103 to the latter category (31,5 per cent and 28,2 per cent respectively). Simultaneously, steady increase in the production of grain stimulated the growing numbers of mills in the cities.²⁹ According to the data collected by the military topographers of the time, in the mid-19th century the biggest industrial centers were Odessa (44 workshops and factories), Yelisavetgrad (35), Kherson (30), and Yekaterinoslav (29).

The beginning of liberal reforms did not bring any drastic changes into the industrial development of the Southern cities. Svitlana Nadybska, a contemporary Ukrainian scholar, concludes that a considerable industrial rise in Southern Guberniias is registered as late as in the 1880s. According to Nadybska, during the pre-reform period industrial output in Yekaterinoslav Guberniia increased in 15 times, in Kherson Guberniia it increased

28. Patricia Herlihy, “Ukrainian Cities in the Nineteenth Century”, in Ivan L. Rudnytsky and John-Paul Himka (eds.), *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, (Edmonton: The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, The University of Alberta, 1981), p. 153.

29. *Новороссийский календарь на 1854 год* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1854], (Odessa, 1853), pp. 75–96.

11 times, with the bigger share coming from Odessa. However, concerning the industrial output, the growth rate of Odessa was lagging behind Yekaterinoslav, Lugansk, and Nikolayev.³⁰ In this context, Doroteia Atlas' assertion that the golden age of Odessa ended even before the age of "Great Reforms"³¹ seems justified, and the title of the paragraph "The Rise of Other New Russia Cities and Economic Reversal in Odessa" in Steven J. Zipperstein's book *Jews of Odessa: Cultural History, 1794–1881*,³² does not sound as an exaggeration.

Despite the expansion of various sectors of industrial production, food processing remained the specialization of southern cities of Ukraine. For example, the two sugar processing industrial plants in Kherson Guberniia, which in late 19th century were located in Odessa. From there the sugar was delivered to all the Black and Azov Sea ports, to the Caucasus, Transcaspian Region, and Persia.³³

The change of the role of the cities, port-cities in particular, in the economic development of Southern Ukraine was closely connected to the development of the transportation network in the region.³⁴ The latter should be viewed as part of the technological changes that took part in the Empire and resulted in the development of international transportation network. Leonid Melnyk, a specialist in the economic history of Ukraine, claims that the main outcome of technological change of the 1860s – 1890s was the "united mechanical transportation network" made by the railway, the river, and sea waterways. As a result, transportation centers emerged where different means of transportation converged (for example, the port-cities Odessa, Nikolayev, Mariupol, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Aleksandria situated on the river Dnieper, etc.). The

30. Svitlana Nadybska, *Соціально-економічний розвиток міст Південної України в 1861–1900 рр. (за матеріалами Херсонської та Катеринославської губерній)* [Socio-Economic Development of the Cities of the Southern Ukrainian Cities in 1861–1900 (Based on the Materials of the Kherson and Katerynoslav Guberniias)], (Ph.D. thesis, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, 2005), p. 11.

31. Doroteia Atlas, *Старая Одесса, её друзья и недруги* [Old Odessa, its Friends and Enemies], (Odessa: Tekhnik, 1991), p. 66.

32. Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: a Cultural History, 1794–1881*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 134.

33. *Статистико-экономический обзор Херсонской губернии за 1897 год. Год одиннадцатый* [Statistical and Economical Survey of the Kherson Guberniia for the Year 1897. The Eleventh Year], (Kherson, 1898), p. 109.

34. See Chapter 5 in this volume by Oleksandr Romantsov "Transportation Networks of the Northern Black Sea Coast in Relation to the Black Sea Trade in the 1700s – 1800".

“mechanized transport” – railroads and steamships – assisted the acceleration of the technological revolution, which initiated the development of numerous branches of heavy industry, like metallurgical (the production of rails), transport engineering, etc.³⁵ In general, Melnyk’s conclusion is correct, however, it is doubtful whether Kherson should be on the list of transportation centers. Melnyk’s research is based on the period 1860s – 1890s, while the railroad reached Kherson only in early 20th century, despite the fact that its necessity was stressed since the 1870s.³⁶ Until 1907 Kherson was an important river / sea transportation center, but it did not have a railway one, while all the other cities were the centers in which waterways and railways met, – a desideratum for any port-city.

Taking into account the importance of the railroads, it becomes quite clear why the residents of Sevastopol were dissatisfied when the city was “unfairly deprived” of the railroad in favor of Taganrog. This divergence of the railroad network, according to Sevastopolians, was caused by the personal interests of certain officials and was described as nonsense because the “lake” (this is how the Sea of Azov was referred to) froze for six month a year.³⁷ In the same context one can understand the requests and pleas of the representatives of the Kherson City Council, which addressed the Head of the Committee of Ministers asking that the requests of the major landlords Falz-Fein and Skadovski to construct the railroads to the Skadovsk port, should be refused, as they would draw the trade flows away from Kherson.³⁸

Concerning the waterways in the region, their development reflects the complexities of Empire’s transition into industrialization even more than the twists and turns of establishing the national railroad network. The development of waterways was connected

35. Leonid Melnyk, *Технічний переворот на Україні у XIX ст.* [Technical Revolution in Ukraine in the 19th c.], (Kyiv: Vidavnistvo Kyivskogo Universitetu, 1972).

36. Dmitrii Gorlovskii (ed.), *Отчет Херсонской городской Управы за 1900 год* [Report of the Kherson City Council for the Year 1900], (Kherson, 1901), pp. 277–294.

37. Ivan Palimpsestov, “Возрождающийся Севастополь. Путевые наброски” [Resurgent Sevastopol: Travel Notes], in *Russkii Vestnik*, vol. 176 (March 1885), pp. 199–203.

38. Державний архів в Автономній Республіці Крим [State Archives in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, hereafter DAARK], fond 4 “Kherson City Board”, opys 1, sprava 5, “Reports, Minutes and Extracts from the Minutes of the Meetings of the Odessa Court Chamber and Kherson City Board, Together with the Railroad Commission on Allocating Land for the Construction of the Waterfront in the Kherson Port, on Attributing the Former Castle and Admiralty as Parts of this Area, on Constructing the Highways and Access Roads, and Related Issues” (27.04.1892 – 23.06.1910), fols. 5–6 verso.

with the fact that the modernization processes took place within the old socio-political structures and police-authoritarian regime; that the state desired to control the economy in full; that the reforms were inconsistent and incomplete; finally, that the domestic market developed insufficiently, and lacked capitals and investors.³⁹ These problems were partially reflected in the complexity of the legislative documentation, which regulated the waterway exploitation of the Southern Ukraine. In the *Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire* from 1861 to 1904 there are 47 legal acts (*uzakoniennia*) about the steamships and steamship companies dealing with water transportation on the region; 19 acts about the lines of water and sea communications in the region and connections between Southern ports and other ports; 25 acts about the ships of Southern ports in the Black and Azov Seas.

Among the serious problems, connected with the water transportation development in the region, the scholars draw attention to the relatively small governmental support in comparison with those given to the railway; to the contradictions in protective measures directed towards small and large cabotage as well as deep-sea going vessels; to the insufficiency of customs policies which influenced the ports' development considerably, to the drawbacks of river transportation, etc.⁴⁰

The scholars also point out the achievements of the Southern region in the development of the transportation network. In the mid-1880s the steamships forced the sailing ships out of the foreign voyages. According to the timing of the transition from sail to steam the Black and Azov Sea, the commercial fleet is considerably well ahead, in comparison to other parts of Empire. The steamship fleet was developing rapidly, both

39. Oleksij Shliakhov, *Судновласники і моряки Азово-Чорноморського басейну: 90-ті рр. XIX ст. – 1914 р.* [Shipowners and Sailors of the Azov-Black Sea Basin: 90s of the 19th Century – 1914], (Dnipropetrovsk, 2003), p. 16–17.

40. Yu. Kononov, *Морской торговый флот России в период промышленного капитализма. 60-е – середина 90-х гг. XIX в. (На материалах Черноморско-Азовского бассейна)* [Russian Maritime Merchant Fleet in the Age of the Industrial Capitalism, 1860s – mid.-1890s (Based on the Materials of the Black-Azov Sea Basin)], (Ph.D. Dissertation Summary, Odessa, 1981), pp. 16–18. (Hereafter it makes sense to refer the reader to the Ph.D. Dissertation Summary (*автореферат*), not dissertation, since the latter exist in a single copy and the access to it is restricted); Iryna Kryvko, “Розвиток річкового транспорту на півдні України у другій половині XIX ст.” [The Development of the River Transport in the South of Ukraine in the Second Half of the 19th c.], in *Naukovi Pratsi Istorychnoho Fakul'tetu Zaporiz'koho Derzhavnoho Universytetu*, Vol. XX (2006), p. 75.

within the coastal and river areas of the region⁴¹ while the increased intensity of river navigation was a permanent factor for the increase of cargo and passenger transport.⁴² Finally, the Black and Azov Sea ports drew the commercial activity from other regions, northern Russia and Poland, onto the Southern direction, a decisive step towards the economic integration of the Southern lands. Through these ports the economy of Ukraine had been gradually incorporated into the international division of labor and world market.⁴³

To understand properly the peculiarity of urban development in the region, one should remember that the maritime centers in Southern Ukraine were official cities, and only as an exception settlements without an official city status (such as Skadovsk) could perform this function. However, this generalization is not enough to explain the role of the official cities in the communications via river waterways. In this case, settlements with a non-urban status played prominent role in maintaining the river port infrastructures and river vessels. This allowed the river network to serve as a liaison between cities and villages. To provide only one example, such was the agreement between the City Council of Kherson and the association of Holoprystan village, which allowed local farmers to rent a part of the Kherson pier to moor their ships, as well as permitted the Kherson city to rent part of the pier in Hola Prystan' to moor the ships sailing between the small settlements and Kherson.⁴⁴

During the mid-19th – beginning of 20th century the construction and modernization of the overland communications in Southern Ukraine were of secondary importance, since priority was given to the railroad network construction. To a certain extent it was reflected in the *Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire*, in which from 19 February 1861 till 15 June 1870 two acts were issued about the land transportation routes on the territory of Southern Ukraine (both deal with the Simferopol highway); between 16 June 1870 and

41. Kononov, *Russian Maritime Merchant Fleet*, pp. 18–19; Vladimir Zolotov, *Внешняя торговля России через порты Черного и Азовского морей в конце XVIII – XX вв.* [Russian Foreign Trade through the Ports of the Black and Azov Seas in the End of the 18th – 20th cc.], (Summary of Doctoral Dissertation, Rostov-on-Don, 1966), pp. 25–26.

42. Lindner, *Entrepreneurs and Cities in Ukraine*, p. 307.

43. Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, “Роля України в новітній історії” [The Role of Ukraine in Modern History], in Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, *Історичні есе* [Historical Essays], in 2 vols., vol. 1 (Kyiv: Osnovu, 1994), p. 155; Fedir Turchenko, Halyna Turchenko, *Південна Україна: модернізація, світова війна, революція (кінець XIX ст. – 1921 р.): Історичні нариси* [Southern Ukraine: Modernization, World War, Revolution (Late 19th c. – 1921)], (Kyiv: Geneza, 2003), p. 31.

44. Dmitrii Gorlovskii (ed.), *Report of the Kherson City Board*, p. 61–69.

28 February 1881, five acts were issued (also dealing primarily with the Crimean highways); between 1 March 1881 and 10 June 1892, there were only three acts; and between 10 June 1892 and 31 December 1904, there are only three legislative documents registered on the matter. Nonetheless, despite the insufficient railroad network, the overland routes played an important role as transportation arteries connecting the ports with the hinterland.

Consequently, the land transportation was modernized: along with stagecoaches,⁴⁵ horse drawn-buses and carriages,⁴⁶ automobiles became a regular means of transportation on the intercity roads. In September of 1904, for example, for the sake of experiment the Kherson Governor allowed a citizen of Britain to organize an automobile route between Kherson, Nikolayev, and Odessa.⁴⁷ The transportation network was linked to the development of trade, which was of special importance to the port-cities. During the years 1861–1904 the *Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire* contains 17 legal acts about the Customs Offices in Southern Ukraine, 17 acts provide regulations concerning exports, 16 acts deal with import coming through the ports, and 14 acts provide general regulations concerning the trade.

Svitlana Nadybska, who studied the economic development of Southern Ukrainian cities, concludes that in the years 1861–1900 the network of fairs, markets, shops, and stores expanded. The main types of the domestic trade in the region (such as fairs, markets, wholesale trade, etc.) became connected to the export trade. There also emerged a pattern of supplying the agricultural products to foreign markets that was based on the calendar of

45. Державний архів Донецької області [State Archives of Donetsk Region, hereafter DADO], fond 113 “Mariupol City City Board”, opys 1, sprava 52, “Mandatory Resolution and Circulars of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Governor of Yekaterinoslav, etc. on the Rules for Carrying out the Installation of Electric Lighting, Stagecoach Traffic on Highways, on Saving Coal for the Transportation of Grain Crops, Paying for the Treatment of Persons of the Department of Religious Affairs, Streamlining Peasant and Judicial Institutions and Approving Land Captains and Judges, Audit of State Control Institutions, etc. 1890”, fol. 9.

46. DAARK, fond 25, “Office of the Governor of Taurida”, opys 2, sprava 1532, “The File with the Papers and Correspondence of the Governor of Taurida (on the Construction of a Monument to Catherine II in Commemoration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Annexation of Crimea, the Delivery of Information about Individuals, the Permission of Excursions and the Organization of the Red Cross Committee in Yalta. Reports of Police Chiefs on the Situation in the Cities of Crimea). 28.06.1885 – 12.10.1885”, fols. 151–151 verso.

47. Державний архів Миколаївської області [State Archives of Mykolaiv Region, hereafter DAMO], fond 216 “Nikolayev City Board”, opys 1, sprava 2096, “Correspondence with the Nikolayev Urban Prefect on the Permission to the British Citizen Petitmanzh to Introduce a Road Connection Between Kherson, Nikolayev and Odessa. 24.06.1904 – 08.01.1905”, fols. 10–10 verso.

fairs and operation of the wholesale grain stores. Foreign trade accumulated in the port-cities: general export through the Black Sea ports in 1860 made 32 per cent of the whole export trade in the Empire and it made 70–78 per cent of the grain export, while by the end of the 19th century the percentage for general export increased to 50 and for grain export dropped to 60–70 per cent.⁴⁸

With regards to economic development, special attention should be given to a “birzha”, a commodities market exchange which first emerged in Odessa and Nikolayev. After its establishment there and in a number of other port-cities, the *birzha* provided foreign and local entrepreneurs the possibilities to carry out transactions with goods and shares on a daily basis, which changed the very nature of the wholesale trade.⁴⁹

The foreign Consulates, whose main task was to assist the trade industry, were usually situated in official cities, especially port-cities. The local authorities supporting the development of trade made successive attempts to ensure for local farmers the access to city markets, thus preventing urban merchants from creating monopolies. In this relation, a mandatory regulation from 2 May 1884 adopted by the Odessa City Duma deserves special attention. In the first paragraph of the section titled “On the Internal Schedule of Fairs, Markets, and Bazaars...” it is underlined that without the Council’s permission only farmers can trade within the city. They could sell their products at fixed hours in the places specifically designated by the Duma for trade.⁵⁰

An interesting diagram of Southern Ukrainian cities can be drawn if a classification (typical for economic geography) onto pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial cities is applied. According to it, a pre-industrial city performs predominantly administrative, military, and agricultural function; an industrial city performs mostly industrial, commercial, transport, and financial functions; a post-industrial city focuses on the service sector, which includes the sphere of culture. The statistics provided by Mironov show that in 1897 36 per cent of the cities from the European part of the Russian Empire were pre-

48. Nadybska, *Socio-Economic Development*, pp. 10–11.

49. Ruslan Shykanov, *Біржі Південної України 1886–1914 pp.* [The Exchanges of the Southern Ukraine in 1886–1914], (Ph.D. Dissertation Summary, Zaporizhzhia, 1999), p. 10.

50. “Обязательные постановления, изданные Одесской городской думой” [Mandatory Regulations of the Odessa City Duma] in *Адрес-календарь Одесского градоначальства на 1894 год* [Odessa Urban Prefecture Calendar and Directory for 1894], (Odessa, 1894), p. 446.

industrial, 64 per cent of these cities were industrial, and only 0,5 per cent of the cities were post-industrial.⁵¹

In 1897, the numbers for the Southern Ukrainian cities were as follows: out of 41 cities of the region, 15 per cent were pre-industrial cities, 83 per cent were industrial, 2 per cent were post-industrial. The presence of post-industrial urban category in South Ukraine is explained by the phenomenon of Odessa; together with Petersburg and Kiev, Odessa was one of the three imperial cities of this kind.

Simultaneously, by the late 19th – early 20th century the ‘post-industrial’ city of Odessa remained one of the key administrative centres in the region. In the first years of the period of “the Great Reforms”, the administrative function of Odessa was further strengthened. The Northern Black Sea area became a special unit of the Governorates-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia, which made the Main Administration of Novorossiia and Bessarabia region a key institution in the administrative system of the Southern territories. The fact that the Administration office was situated in Odessa contributed to the exceptional administrative status of this city and its domination over Kherson, the main city in Kherson Guberniia.

Odessa maintained its special status also thanks to the administrative structures of the Odessa Urban Prefecture; the city was also administrative center of the Odessa Military District (*Одесский военный округ*), Odessa Customs District,⁵² and headquarters of the Fifth Territorial District of the Special Corps of Gendarmes, which controlled three Southern Ukrainian Governorates-General, Poltava, Kharkov, Kursk, and Chernigov Guberniias, and Bessarabia. The office of the staff-officer of the Kherson Guberniia was located in Odessa. In addition, Odessa was an administrative center of the Odessa Educational District, and home for the Board of Trustees for Affairs of Foreign Settlers in the Southern region of Russia (*Попечительский комитет иностранных поселенцев Южного края России*).

During the mid-19th century – early 20th century, the administrative functions of Odessa underwent various changes; the liquidation of Governorates-General was the most

51. Mironov, *Social History*, vol. 1, pp. 302–303.

52. “Новороссийский адрес-календарь” [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory] in I. Fedorov (ed.), *Новороссийский календарь на 1867 год* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1867], (Odessa, 1866), pp. 49–97.

radical.⁵³ Nevertheless, in the early 20th century Odessa was still an important player: it was a district (*uyezdnyj*) city, a center of Urban Prefecture, and “the center not only for many institutions in Guberniia but also for the entire Novorossiia region ... and in general for the adjacent territories”.⁵⁴ The administrative offices of the Kherson diocese, military district, educational, judicial, quarantine, customs, postal-telegraphic, south-western mining districts, the office of the main engineer of the Novorossiia commercial ports, the Kherson-Bessarabia administration of state property, etc. were also situated in Odessa.⁵⁵

Speaking about the role of Southern Ukrainian cities in the administrative system of the Russian Empire, it is worth noting that not only Odessa served as administrative center for the territories beyond its district. Thus, in 1887 the office of the Chief Commander of the Black Sea Fleet and Ports situated in Nikolayev was called the Chief Commander of the Fleet and Ports of the Black and Caspian Seas⁵⁶; the Caspian Fleet and the Caspian Sea ports were removed from its jurisdiction only on 13 May 1891.⁵⁷

To sum up, during the period in question, on the one hand, some cities of Southern Ukraine were gradually transforming into multifunctional centers of their districts, but, on the other hand, they maintained the administrative role of the official cities; this was a priority for the state politics, a legacy of the earlier period of imperial colonization, when most cities developed as primarily military, military-administrative, or purely administrative centers.

53. Vladimir Mikhnevich (ed.), *Новороссийский календарь на 1873 г.* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1873], (Odessa, 1872), pp. 99–100; *Адрес-календарь Одесского градоначальства на 1887 год* [Odessa Urban Prefecture Calendar and Directory for 1887], (Odessa, 1886), pp. 37–218; Vasilii S. Kokhanskii, *Одесса за 100 лет (Одесса и её окрестности). Исторический очерк и иллюстрированный путеводитель на 1894 г.* [Odessa for 100 years (Odessa and its Environs). Historical Sketch and Illustrated Guide for 1894], (Odessa, 1894); pp. 153–160; *Адрес-календарь Одесского градоначальства на 1894 год* [Odessa Urban Prefecture Calendar and Directory for 1894], (Odessa, 1894), pp. 39–257; *Адрес-календарь Одесского градоначальства на 1897 год* [Odessa Urban Prefecture Calendar and Directory for 1897], (Odessa, 1897), pp. 37–255; *Адрес-календарь Одесского градоначальства на 1900 год* [Odessa Urban Prefecture Calendar and Directory for 1900], (Odessa, 1899), pp. 22–180; *Адрес-календарь Одесского градоначальства на 1905 год* [Odessa Urban Prefecture Calendar and Directory for 1905], (Odessa, 1905), pp. 233–473.

54. *Адрес-календарь Одесского градоначальства на 1902 год* [Odessa Urban Prefecture Calendar and Directory for 1902], (Odessa, 1902), pp. 63 and I–IX.

55. Ibid.

56. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. VII (1887), № 4727, p. 423.

57. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. XI (1891), № 7694, p. 254.

Such focus was natural for the absolutist empire, and, as Lidiya Koshman puts it, “the post-reform city preserved its administrative functions as most important”.⁵⁸

The weight of each city in the system of the regional state government depended on its place in the hierarchy “Guberniia center – district city (*uyezdnyj gorod*) – city without district (*bezuyezdnyj*)”, as well as other administrative functions, such as being the capital of Governorate-General, Military Governorate, Urban Prefecture, fortress, etc. The processes of establishing and abolishing the Governorates-General, Military Governors, Urban Prefectures, and other administrative structures from the second half of the 19th to the early 20th century reveal attempts of the central government to find an optimal system of management for Southern Ukraine, finding a fair balance between imperial trends and local specifics of the South and under the pressure of modernization.

This search for an optimal management model also resulted in the modernization of self-government in Southern cities. It is quite remarkable that Odessa became the testing ground for the reform of the urban self-government, which was later introduced all around the Empire. In 1863, Odessa received the Regulations for the Public Administration of the City of Odessa (*Положение об общественном управлении города Одессы*), which incorporated many of the reforms introduced in 1870 and, after further adjustments, determined the process of reforming the local urban administrations in all Russia.⁵⁹ Despite the quite ordinary system of city self-government, typical for the cities of the Russian Empire in general, during the first years after the abolition of serfdom, Southern Ukraine was chosen as a pilot case to introduce the new reforms.

Regarding to the dynamics of population in the urban settlements of the Northern Black Sea coast, the available data on demographic changes is represented in Table 3.1,

58. Koshman, *City and Urban Life*, p. 62. It is worth citing an even more radical statement about the cities in the Russian Empire: “In many cases the single decisive reason for the city’s existence was the necessity of them as administrative centers for the local organs of central authorities”. (Walter Hanchett, “Tsarist Statutory Regulation of Municipal Government in the Nineteenth Century”, in Michael F. Hamm (ed.), *The City in Russian History* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1982), p. 91).

59. Sergei Stremenovskii, *Местное самоуправление г. Одессы в середине XIX столетия. Историко-правовое исследование* [Local Self-Government of the City of Odessa in the Mid-19th Century. A Historical and Legal Study], (Odessa, 2002), pp. 144–145.

which includes the port-cities of Taurida and Kherson Guberniias, the two guberniias of the Russian Empire on the Black Sea.⁶⁰

Table 3.1. Dynamics of Population Change in the Seaside Urban Settlements of Taurida Guberniia

City	1858	1861 / 1862	1864	Mid-1860s	Early 1870s	1897	1904
Evpatoria	6,433	7,081	6,813	6,867	8,405	17,913	20,263
Theodosia	7,715	8,449	9,497	8,741	8,514	24,096	30,573
Yalta	757	364	1,112	1,110	1,391	13,155	22,630
Alushta	816	NA	763	NA	NA	2,182	2,182
Balaklava	761	761	994	564	634	1,215	2,240
Yenikale	12,787*	NA	644	21,414*	NA	1,438	49,708*
Kerch		19,360	12,051		22,523	33,347	
Sevastopol	10,296	8,218	5,747	8,218	13,344	53,595	67,752 (Urban Prefecture)
Sudak	371	NA	914	NA	385	914	NA

* Total population of Kerch and Yenikale.

Sources: For 1858 see: *Городские поселения в Российской империи* [Urban Settlements in the Russian Empire], vol. 4, (St. Petersburg, 1864), pp. 634–805; for 1861/1862: *Экономическое состояние городских поселений Европейской России в 1861–1862* [Economic Situation in the Urban Settlements of the European Russia in 1861–1862], in 2 parts, part 2 (St. Petersburg, 1863), p. 1–47; for 1860s see: Mikhail Raevskii (ed.), *Список населенных мест по сведениям 1864 года* [List of the Settlements According to 1864], Vol. XLI: Taurida Guberniia, (St. Petersburg, 1865) and N. G. Ovsiannikov (ed.), “Список городов и других замечательных мест Российской империи” [List of the Cities and Other Remarkable Places of the Russian Empire], in N. G. Ovsiannikov (ed.), *Календарь на 1867 год* [Calendar and Directory for 1867], (St. Petersburg: Pechatnia V. Golovina, 1866), pp. 72–89; for early 1870s see: “Города и значительнейшие местечки Новороссийского края и Бессарабии” [Cities and Important Settlements of the Novorossiia Region and Bessarabia], in Mikhnevich, *Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1873*, pp. 85–108; for 1897 see: *Settlements of the Russian Empire*, pp. 216–219; for 1904 see: Nikolai

60. The numbers on the city population registered before and after census of 1897 has many discrepancies caused by a variety of reasons. Tracing the precise dynamics of changes faces insurmountable difficulties due to the differences in methodological approaches used for the data collection and data systematization in different years and from different territories. Thus, the given data should be used for the marking of tendencies rather than a display of the exact figures.

Troinitskii (ed.), *Города России в 1904 году* [The Cities of Russia in 1904], (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 163, and for Alushta data was collected from the Census of 1897.

Table 3.2. Dynamics of Population Change in the Seaside Urban Settlements of Kherson Guberniia

City	1861/ 1862	1860– 1865	1863 / 1865	Mid- 1860s	Early 1870s	1888	1894	1897	1904
Odessa	NA	114,265	110,823	118,970	179,632	NA	NA	403,815	499,555
Kherson	33,957	41,140	43,885	40,169	45,872	61,824	87,357	59,076	64,554
Nikolayev	37,590	32,496	47,476	64,561	52,573	NA	NA	92,012	99,002
Ochakov	5,303	5,721	4,823	5,390	5,279	6,827	3,976	10,786	12,354

Sources: For 1861/1862 see: *Economic Situation in the Urban Settlements*, pp. 1–48; for 1860–1865 see: *Городские поселения в Российской империи* [Urban Settlements in the Russian Empire], vol. 5, part 2 (St. Petersburg, 1865), pp. 1–252; for 1863–1865 see: Leonid Maikov (ed.), *Список населенных мест по сведениям 1859 года* [List of the Settlements According to 1859], Vol. XLVII: Kherson Guberniia, (St. Petersburg, 1868); for mid-1860s see: *List of the Cities and Other Remarkable Places of the Russian Empire*, pp. 72–89; for early 1870s see: *Cities and Important Settlements of the Novorossiia Region and Bessarabia*, pp. 85–108; for 1888 see: *Список населенных мест Херсонской губернии* [List of the Settlements of Kherson Guberniia], (Kherson, 1888); for 1894 see: *Список населенных мест Херсонской губернии и статистические данные о каждом поселении* [List of the Settlements of Kherson Guberniia and Statistical Data on Each Settlement], (Kherson, 1896), pp. 1–474; for 1897 see: *Settlements of the Russian Empire*, pp. 254–260; for 1904 see Troinitskii, *The Cities of Russia in 1904*, p. 95.

According to Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, in the last four decades of the 19th century in Taurida Guberniia the population grew 13,5 times in Yalta, 10,5 times in Sevastopol, 3,4 times in Kerch, 3,1 times in Theodosia, 3,1 times in Balaklava, 2,8 times in Alushta, 2,7 times in Evpatoria, while in Kherson Guberniia the population of Odessa grew 3,8 times, 2,3 times in Nikolayev, and 1,3 times in Kherson.⁶¹

61. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, *The City and the Village*, pp. 150–156, 165–166, 173–176.

These data show that the urban development of the South manifested itself in the increasing number of the city population, which was significantly advanced in comparison with the overall population growth in the region. There was noticeable differentiation of the cities on the basis of their demographic growth, which did not coincide with the differentiation of the cities on the basis of their official status and “economic functions”. Despite the fact that two main factors of the city population growth were its natural growth and migration, it was the latter that was the major variable defining the individual rate of population growth in each city.

To assess the role of migration in the city population growth one should take into consideration the evidence from the 1897 census, which marked the places of birth for the residents of towns and districts (*uyezd*). Recalculating the absolute values in per cents, the data is as follows: the number of people born in the same district (*uyezd*) that were over 20 per cent in Yalta (27 per cent) and Sevastopol (28 per cent); over 40 per cent in Theodosia (42 per cent), Odessa (43 per cent), Mariupol (45 per cent); over 50 per cent were in Kerch (51 per cent) and Nikolayev (52 per cent); over 60 per cent were in Balaklava (61 per cent), Kherson (63 per cent), Ochakov (66 per cent), Berdyansk (67 per cent) and Evpatoria (68 per cent); over 80 per cent were only in Yenikale (83 per cent). These numbers correlate fairly well with the provided above rates of the city population growth, but the correlation is not absolute, which is partly due to the design of census, which marks this category as “people born in the same district that they reside at present”, meaning that within this category the percentage of people born in the district but outside the city remains unknown.

In general, the percentage of people born outside of the district (*uyezd*) in each city of the Northern Black Sea shore correlates with its status, population, “economic functions”, and localization. The higher percentage of immigrants was among the residents of the Guberniia centers and cities with a special status, among the townsmen of most populated cities, the cities with prominent trade industry, and among the residents of the seaside urban settlements. Thus, the majority of the suggested above criteria is characteristic for the port-cities of this region.

The ethnic diversity of the urban population expressed the heterogeneity of the “urban space”, and was an influential factor for the urbanization. It is not surprising that the port-

cities were regional leaders in this kind of diversity. Since the national and religious pluralism of their population correlated, though not absolutely (i.e. not as precise as stated in *The Cities of Russia in 1904*), it is possible to argue that the port-cities also played leading role as centers of interaction between different religions.

For better understanding of the place of Southern port-cities in the state politics, one should examine how they compared with St. Petersburg, and thus trace the changes in priorities of the central government. For this purpose, the fundamental source is the *Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire*, which can be effectively analyzed using the methodology of the Ukrainian historian Igor Lyman, who studied the legislative regulation of the Orthodox Church in this region.⁶²

For our analysis, the time span 1861–1904 can be divided into four relatively equal chronological periods: 1) 19 February 1861 – 15 June 1870, from the peasant reform to the beginning of the urban reform; 2) 16 June 1870 – 28 February 1881, from the adoption of the City Regulation to the end of the reign of Alexander II; 3) 1 March 1881 – 10 June 1892, from the accession of Alexander III to the beginning of a so-called urban “counter-reform”; 4) 11 June 1892 – 31 December 1904, from the adoption of the new City Regulation (*Городовое положение*) to the beginning of the first Russian revolution. Table 3.3 demonstrates the amount of the legal acts pertaining to the cities of this region during each period. It also reveals that the legislators distributed their attention between the official cities unevenly.

Table 3.3. Number of Legislative Acts on the Cities of Taurida and Kherson Guberniias as reflected in the *Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire*

City	Feb. 19, 1861 – June 15, 1870	June 16, 1870 – Feb. 28, 1881	March 1, 1881 – June 10, 1892	June 11, 1892 – Dec. 31, 1904
Taurida Guberniia				
Simferopol	11	26	7	16
Sevastopol	19	30	33	51

62. Igor Lyman, *Державна церква і державна влада: Південна Україна (1775–1861)* [Imperial Church and Imperial Power in Southern Ukraine, 1775–1861], (Zaporizhzhia: RA “Tandem-U”), 2004, pp. 172–389.

City	Feb. 19, 1861 – June 15, 1870	June 16, 1870 – Feb. 28, 1881	March 1, 1881 – June 10, 1892	June 11, 1892 – Dec. 31, 1904
Berdyansk	13	4	4	19
Evpatoria	2	4	2	6
Melitopol	–	–	–	4
Aleshki	–	3	1	1
Perekop	1	3	1	1
Theodosia	9	9	7	8
Yalta	3	9	11	21
Kerch	17	22	13	7
Kerch-Yenikale Urban Prefecture	5	4	3	9
Yenikale	1	–	–	–
Alushta	–	–	–	2
Balaklava	6	–	–	3
Bakhchisarai	–	1	1	1
Genichesk	2	1	–	4
Karasubazar	1	3	–	4
Nogaïsk	–	–	–	1
Staryj Krim	–	–	–	1
Sudak	–	–	–	1
Kherson Guberniia				
Kherson	15	21	16	16
Odessa	63	186	84	178
Nikolayev	41	58	21	35
Ananiev	–	3	–	1
Yelisavetgrad	9	14	10	25
Alexandria	–	1	1	–
Berezovka	–	–	–	1
Berislav	–	1	1	–
Bobrinets	1	–	–	–
Voznesensk	–	2	–	1
Mayaki	2	–	–	–

City	Feb. 19, 1861 – June 15, 1870	June 16, 1870 – Feb. 28, 1881	March 1, 1881 – June 10, 1892	June 11, 1892 – Dec. 31, 1904
Novogeorgiievsk	2	–	–	–
Novomirgorod	1	2	–	–
Ovidiopol	–	–	–	2
Olviopol	1	2	1	–
Ochakov	10	3	5	5
Novaia Praga	3	–	–	–
Kakhovka	–	1	–	–
Krivoi Roh	–	–	2	–
Kulikovo Pole	–	–	1	–

Source: Igor Lyman, *Державна церква і державна влада: Південна Україна (1775–1861)* [Imperial Church and Imperial Power in Southern Ukraine, 1775–1861], (Zaporizhzhia: RA “Tandem-U”), 2004, pp. 172–389.

Using the information provided in the table, let us discuss separately the situation in each guberniia and period. During the first period, Simferopol, which was the official capital of Taurida, received less attention (11 acts) than Sevastopol (19), a city with a special status, and Kerch (17); in addition, there were also 5 acts on Kerch-Yenikale Urban Prefecture and 1 act on Yenikale (see Table 3.3). These cities received much attention because of their seaside location and military importance, especially after the Crimean War. There is also nothing surprising in the numbers pertaining to other coastal towns: Berdyansk (13), Theodosia (9), Balaklava (6), Yalta (3), Evpatoria (2), Genichesk (2), Karasubazap (1), and Perekop (1).

The number of legal documents on Kherson, the capital of the Kherson Guberniia, amounts to 15, while reaching 63 for Odessa, which places Kherson far behind in the ranking list. Nevertheless, the population figures and economic potential easily explains the seeming disparity. Moreover, Odessa had a special administrative status; it housed governmental bodies, the jurisdiction of which reached far beyond the borders of Kherson Guberniia, as it was already discussed in this chapter. According to the number of legal acts, Kherson was also lagging far behind Nikolayev (41 acts, the majority dealing with the port of Nikolayev). Nikolayev, just as Odessa, had a special status, which among other things meant that the data on these cities were not included into the annual reports of

Kherson Governor addressed to the Emperor. Returning to the legislative acts, there were also 10 acts on Ochakov (see Table 3.3).

During the second period the case of Taurida Guberniia looks the following way: there were 26 acts on Simferopol, 30 acts on Sevastopol,⁶³ 22 acts on Kerch, 4 on Kerch-Yenikale, 9 acts on Theodosia and Yalta, 4 acts on Berdyansk and Evpatoria, 3 acts on Perekop, Oleshky, and Karasubazar, 1 act on Bakhchisarai and the town of Genichesk. The majority of the acts deal with the cities of Kherson Guberniia. There were 21 acts on Kherson and 58 acts on Nikolayev. Nonetheless, Odessa is an absolute leader with 189 acts in total, in 11 of which Odessa is mentioned along with “the two capitals” (Moscow and Petersburg), something which serves as the evidence of its special status among other cities. Concerning the cities of Kherson Guberniia situated far from the sea, the number of legislative documents on them is much lower: there are 14 acts on Yelisavetgrad, 3 acts on Ananiyev, 2 acts on Voznesensk, Novomirgorod, and Olviopole, 1 act on Aleksandria, Berislav, and the town of Kakhovka. During the third period among all the Crimean cities the highest attention on the part of legislators was traditionally given to Sevastopol (33 acts), while only 7 acts were adopted on Simferopol, 13 acts on Kerch, and only one act Kerch-Yenikale; there are 11 acts on Yalta, 7 acts on Theodosia, 4 acts on Berdyansk, 2 acts on Evpatoria, 1 act on Perekop, Alioshki, and Bakhchisarai. Odessa remains an absolute leader also in the years 1881–1892 on the number of legislative acts (84) registered in the *Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire* in relation to the Southern Ukrainian region. Four of these 84 acts mention Odessa together with “the two capitals” and 1 act mentions Odessa and Moscow. Regarding Nikolayev, which was the city with a special status, there were 21 acts registered, while only 16 acts dealt with Kherson. Other cities of Kherson Guberniia were represented as follows: 10 acts on Yelisavetgrad, 5 acts on Ochakov, 1 act on Aleksandria, Olviopol, and Berislav.

During the fourth period the legislators’ attention was given to Sevastopol (51 acts). There were 16 acts on Simferopol, 21 acts on Yalta, 19 acts on Berdyansk, 8 acts on Theodosia, 7 acts on Kerch (in addition in 10 acts Kerch-Yenikale are mentioned), 6 acts on Evpatoria, 4 acts on Melitopol, Karasubazar, Genichesk, 3 acts on Balaklava, 2 acts on

63. Sevastopol belonged to the Taurida Guberniia until 16 June 1873, when a newly established Sevastopol Urban Prefecture was withdrawn from its jurisdiction.

a newly established city of Alushta, 1 act on Perekop, Alioshki, Bakhchisarai, Stary Krim, Nogaisk, and the town of Sudak.

During this period Odessa remained the leader according to the number of legislative documents (178 acts). In 5 acts of these acts Odessa is mentioned next to Moscow and Petersburg. Other cities of Kherson Guberniia appear the following way: there were 35 acts on Nikolayev, 25 acts on Yelisavetgrad, 16 acts on Kherson, 5 acts Ochakov, 2 acts on Ovidiopol, 1 act on Ananiyev, Voznesesk, and a newly established Berezovka.

The statistics above reflect the attention St. Petersburg granted to the Southern Ukrainian cities only to certain extent. One should remember that the acts were connected primarily with the necessity to change the existing network or functions of the administrative institutions. In addition, not only the quantity of acts regarding the cities but also the aspects they regulated should be taken into consideration.

The social and cultural development of the cities, which was essential component of the modernization and urbanization processes, is only partially represented in the legislative documents. There are reasons to believe that each aspect of social and cultural life in the cities distinguished them from the rural settlements. The cities, and especially coastal cities, were the driving force of the social and political processes in Southern Ukraine; they provided fertile ground for social conflicts and civic society movements, and were centers of the public institutions in the region. Yet, the levels of social activity in the segments of “urban space” of the South varied considerably. In this respect, many cities were still similar to the countryside, showing thus the uneven spread and depth of modernization processes, caused also by the very heterogeneity of the cities in the region (including port-cities). This heterogeneity also influenced their networks of educational and medical institutions, libraries and reading halls, theatres and museums as well as other institutions throughout the Northern Black Sea coast and their contribution to the development of literature, music, arts, science, and journalism.

To sum up, the development of the port-cities in the Northern Black Sea area in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century reflected the inconsistency and incoherence of modernization as it was typical both for the entire Russia and for the “urban space” of Southern Ukraine in particular. This conclusion proves to be valid for nearly every aspect of the historical evolution of port-cities. At the same time, the port-cities in the region

functioned as testing ground for the innovations that were later introduced to the rest of the imperial urban spaces in the context of their modernization.

There are reasons to believe that the Northern Black Sea coast lived simultaneously in several temporal dimensions: some of its components developed really quickly (went through modernization processes), while others remained undisturbed (traditional). The pace and geography of changes depended also on the location and official status of urban spaces, namely, the major port-cities developed at a faster rate, while the “deep province”, represented by the rural settlements, was the slowest participant of the process.

In this context, it is important to remember that, despite many shared characteristics, the group of coastal cities in Northern Black Sea area was of diverse and fragmented structure. In the second half of the 19th – early 20th century, the role of each city in the urbanization of the region changed, with each center making its own contribution. Still, Odessa continued to be a leader in almost every aspect.

The ports of the region were gradually turning into multifunctional urban centers, outpacing all other cities in their development, and this despite the governmental politics, which favored official cities and supported their administrative functions, just as it was during the previous historical periods. And, even though in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century the economic functions of the urban centers came to the foreground, it was not enough to change the situation radically. Thus, the network of the official cities in Southern Ukraine during the period in question can be characterized as bearing some features of a “longue durée structure”, using Fernand Braudel’s terminology. The network remained without changes and functioned as a framework that less and less corresponded to the needs of the quickly-growing economic body of cities in the region. To a certain extent, this hampered the modernization and urbanization processes.

The “geographic distribution” of modernization across the Northern Black Sea coast can be compared to the spread of the Western influence in the 19th century Balkans, which was studied by Dobrinka Parusheva, a Bulgarian historian. Parusheva focused on the manifestations of modernization in the everyday life, and argued that first it affected only the port-cities, cities near the railroads, as well as major administrative centers, but not all urban centers. In case of the Balkans, the port-cities were situated along the Danube, the major waterway of the region, while in Southern Ukraine the Black and Azov Sea port-

cities were particularly susceptible to the Western influence. In the Balkans, the major administrative centers were the capitals of the existing or future states, while in Southern Ukraine those were the administrative centers of Governorates-General, Military Governorates, and, to a lesser degree, guberniias (which frequently were also port-cities). Parusheva fairly observes that later modernization reached also the smaller cities, while the rural areas remained unaffected for much longer.⁶⁴ On the other side, we shall admit that there were also differences in how the Balkans and Southern Ukraine went through the modernization. For the Balkans, it seems reasonable to speak about direct Western influence. In Southern Ukraine, one observes the combination of direct Western influence and Russian colonization, trends that were arriving from all of the empire and its capitals in the first place. Remarkably, in Southern Ukraine the Russian imperial influence was less powerful in comparison with other Ukrainian regions, for the very reason that the South maintained direct contacts with the West and other foreign lands through the Black and Azov Sea ports.

64. Dobrinka Parusheva, "Orient Express or About European Influences on Everyday Life in the Nineteenth Century Balkans", *New Europe College Yearbook*, 9 (2001–2002), pp. 147–148.

Chapter 4

Governor-Generals of Southern Ukraine: Formation and Implementation of Development Policy in the 1770s – 1880s

Valentyna Shandra

The exit to the Black Sea required continuous efforts on the part of the Russian Empire for over two centuries: several wars, intense and sophisticated diplomatic negotiations and a development of a different state policy towards the newly gained territories. To reinforce its position in the South, the Empire tried to arrange the new borders with the help of a flexible system of administrative power that not only incorporated the ambitious plans of territorial expansion, but also renewed the socio-economic relations making them more efficient and profitable for the development of trade in the area. These were the motives behind the newly found institution of Governor-General in the hierarchy of Russian administration. The institution of Governor-General was given a number of powers due to particularities of the geopolitical position and the multi-ethnic population. These powers were changing with time and some became obsolete, some reappeared as a response to new challenges and needs.

The beginning of Governorate-General as an institution of power was laid by Catherine II, who endowed the positions of “state viceregents” (*государевы наместники*), i.e. Governor-Generals, granted great authority. This allowed Isabel de Madariaga to call Grigorii Potemkin, the first viceregent of Saratov, Astrakhan, Azov, and Novorossiia Regions, the “Viceroy of the South”.¹

With time, the size of the territory governed by a single Governor-General was decreased and by the early 19th century was permanently fixed. The Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governorate-General included Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida Gubernias,

1. Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 359.

and Bessarabia. Bessarabia consisted of three parts: the Budzhak Steppe, the Turkish Raya, and the Moldavian Lands. According to the Treaty of Paris (1856), in 1856–1878 the Bessarabian Ismail and Cahul counties belonged to Moldavian rule. It should be noted here that the autonomous status of Bessarabia after its annexation to Russia in 1812 was short-lived. An artificially created region, became a part of the Novorossiia Governorate-General and got a new name: Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governorate-General. On 29 February 1828 the Act was promulgated, by which Bessarabia became a Russian province.² This made it possible for the central government to establish robust control over the local authorities and implement the colonization project in the region.³ For that matter Kishinev became the place of residence of Governor-General Ivan Nikitich Inzov (*Иван Никитич Инзов*, 1768–1845) in 1822–1823. Later all Governor-Generals would prefer Odessa to Kishinev, despite the fact that Odessa did not have the hierarchical status of Kishinev. Odessa gained its importance as a regional center partially due to the Governor-Generals' constant presence there.

In contrast to other local authorities in the Russian Empire, the Governorate-General as an institution of authority had a number of peculiarities. Its most significant feature was its exceptional position in a frontier zone. With the stabilization of the ministerial system of governing, the Governorate-General as a form of local provincial government was abolished but, nonetheless, the annexed territories kept a socio-political situation which was different from the rest of the Empire. The Committee of Ministers called these territories the lands with “local features”.⁴ The Governor-Generals' duty was to identify these “local features”, take them into consideration, and propose to the central government definite practical ways to deal with them in a manner that would safeguard the Empire's interests.

The second characteristic feature of Governorate-General was its importance to safeguard the borderland of Russia. Although the main duty of the Governor-Generals was to implement the central policy, they often became the supporters of local interests,

2. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. III (1828), № 1834, pp. 197–204.

3. Andrei Kushko, Viktor Taki, Oleg Grom, *Бессарабия в составе Российской империи (1812–1917)* [Bessarabia Within the Russian Empire (1812–1917)], (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2012), p. 136.

4. Aleksandr Gradovskii, *Исторический очерк учреждения генерал-губернаторств в России* [Historical Sketch on the Establishment of the Governorates-General in Russia], in Aleksandr Gradovskii, *Собрание сочинений* [Collected Works], in 9 vols., vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1899), p. 323.

defending the “special conditions” of the area and the administrative and territorial entity. Among such defenders were Armand Richelieu (*Арман Ришелье*, 1766–1827), Alexandre-Louis Andrault de Langeron (*Александр Фёдорович Ланжерон*, 1763–1831), Mikhail Semionovich Vorontsov (*Михаил Семёнович Воронцов*, 1782–1856), and Alexander Grigorievich Stroganov (*Александр Григорьевич Строганов*, 1795–1891). Some of them, coming from Petersburg, having invested their energy and time into the region’s development, would built their own estates and remain there till the end of their lives. And climate was not the only reason for their choices. In 1829 Alexander Langeron came to Odessa from Petersburg as a “private person”. Mikhail Vorontsov bought big estates and built several mansions there. Beautiful palaces were built both in Odessa and in Alupka, his second place of residence. After the visit of Vorontsov’s mansions, Tsar Nicholas I, admitted that by his wealth Vorontsov could compete with the kings. The Russian Emperor had serious reasons to beware of the Count’s separatism. After his retirement Alexander Stroganov remained in Odessa for the next thirty years till his death.⁵

For a long time Governorate-General as an institution of power had no exact legal regulations of its activity, hence each Governor-General was ruling all the regions discretely. Even Nicholas I, the supporter of the written law, did not interfere in this practice and unified their functions only in 1853. Despite the unification of the rules that were that defined their jurisdiction, the opinion of the Governor-Generals on the matters of local affairs was still more important than that of the central authorities; centralized all-empire orders could not be implemented without discussing them with the Governor-Generals.⁶ The Governor-Generals’ policy and activities reflected not only the requirements of the central power, but their own personal interests, the level of the political culture and education. No wonder Armand Richelieu stated that if the Russian government

5. Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794–1914*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 56–57, 155–156.

6. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXVIII (1853), Sec. 1, № 27293, pp. 260–264. Paragraph 37 of the General Instruction for Governor-Generals Approved by the Emperor stated that not a single new implementation or order could be introduced without the Governor-General’s previous agreement.

“forgot about this region for just 25 years, it would blossom, and Odessa would surpass Marseille in commercial affairs”.⁷

The position of Governor-General mostly depended on his relations with the Emperor, who appointed the officials “due to special trust” to each personality. Alexander I, pursuing Catherine II’s policy, appointed French Governor-Generals, who were known for their management abilities characterized by initiative and swift decision-making in matters of importance. In 1803 the Committee for Novorossiia Regional Development prepared the instructions for Richelieu, according to which he was in charge of the police, military units, port buildings and fortifications, customs, quarantine, and the postal service.⁸ His Russian subordinates spoke highly of him. One of them, Andrei Mikhailovich Fadeyev (1789–1867), Chief of the Bureau for Foreign Settlers of the Southern Lands of Russia (*Контора иностранных поселенцев южного края России*), even noted that everything good that appeared in the South was founded by Richelieu.⁹

Richelieu’s successor Alexander Langeron, also a Frenchman who took Russian citizenship during the reign of Emperor Paul I, could not manage so many duties simultaneously. A talented military man, he hardly fit for the job of Governor-General. Langeron began to improve the institute of Governorate-General in the South by refusing to undertake the position of Urban Prefect and by redirecting many issues of local government to the Military Governors. Moreover, he organized a City Duma in Odessa to settle economic issues, instead of focusing on implementation of reforms initiated by Richelieu. The introduction of *porto-franco* with its tax-free trade for the European goods required much his efforts. The opening of a lyceum funded by his predecessor as well as organization of the Odessa Botanic Garden were also time consuming activities to which Langeron devoted himself.

Alexander Langeron was not satisfied with the bureaucratic management system which implied intense correspondence on and regular coordination of local affairs imposed by the ministries. He presented in his reports to Alexander I his own propositions for

7. Qtd.: “Из записок Николая Ивановича Лопера” [From the Notes of Nikolai Ivanovich Lorer], *Russkii Arkhiv*, 9 (1874), p. 700.

8. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 20600, pp. 442–443; № 20601, pp. 443–445.

9. *Воспоминания Андрея Михайловича Фадеева, 1790–1867 гг.* [Memoirs of Andrei Mikhailovich Fadeyev, 1790–1867)], in 2 parts, (Odessa, 1897), part 1, p. 44.

management improvement. In particular, he proposed to abolish the table of ranks, which he considered outdated and prevented the noblemen to engage in trade, which was crucial for the South. According to his biographers these propositions made him resign.¹⁰ The reason of his resignation, however, lay probably more on the various illegal actions in the sales of the state land in Taurida Guberniia, evidence found by the State Committee after numerous complaints. Langeron was accused of selling up to half a million of desyatina without consulting the owners, as well as of ruining the peasants in Kherson Guberniia and wrongfully appointing the people deported from other Guberniias by court officials to the positions of civil servants.¹¹

In the times of Richelieu's and Langeron's administration the majority of high positions were occupied by the French, who were then considered to be the best managers in Europe. Thus, Jean-Baptiste de Traversay (*Иван Иванович де Траверсе*, 1754–1831) was the Nikolayev and Sevastopol Military Governor, while Count Karl Francevich Saint-Priest (*Карл Францевич Сен-При*, 1782–1863) was the Kherson Military Governor. Count Jacob de Maison (*Яков де Мезон*, ?–1837) was the Chief of Nogai settlements and due to his ability their transition was made to a sedentary way of life. The French kept guesthouses in the region, the French books from Paris were popular in those days, and the streets in Odessa had French names. This kind of cultural presence was possible due to the Governor-Generals' support.

The Governor-General was allowed to report directly to the Emperor about the “region's profits and needs”, the administrative decisions and their justification, especially for those that considerably changed the established order. The Governor-Generals, especially Mikhail Vorontsov, though fully supported by Tsar Nicholas I, preferred to keep friendly and mutual benefit relations with the ministers, particularly concerning human resources for the local management. This, nonetheless, did not prevent court intrigues, a

10. “Ланжерон Людовик Александр-Андро, граф” [Louis Alexandre Andrault chevalier comte de Langéron, marquis de la Coss, baron de Cougny, de la Ferté Langéron et de Sassy], in Nikolai Chechulin and Mikhail Kurdyumov (eds.), *Русский биографический словарь* [Russian Biographical Dictionary], in 25 vols., vol. X, Labzina – Lyashenko, (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 64.

11. Valerii Kozuyriev, *Матеріали до історії адміністративного устрою Південної України (друга половина XVIII – перша половина XIX століття)* [Materials on the History of the Administrative System of Southern Ukraine (Second Half of the 18th – First Half of the 19th Century)], (Zaporizhzhia, 1999), pp. 360–362.

part of the Empire's backstage life which could undermine the authority of officials no matter how rich or highly standing.

The same idea of protection and trust from the Emperor that the Governor-General enjoyed was projected onto the Governor-General's relations with the local state authorities such as governors and other officials, taking into account the job requirements. The necessity to appoint professional managers in official positions was imperative by the frontier status of the region, its remoteness from the center and the absence of quick means of communication, which required an independent decision-making.

The Governor-Generals of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Guberniias were ruling multi-ethnic regions. Different ethnic groups with their own culture, traditions, customs, languages, and sets of values required high awareness on the part of the high officials. Not all Governor-Generals could successfully prevent ethnic conflicts, and to ensure peaceful co-existence of the different religious and ethnic groups.

The ground for preventing cross-ethnic conflicts was laid by Catherine II. She removed the Christian populations (Greeks and Armenians) from the Crimea. In 1778 a big Greek community (approx. 33,000 people) was deported to the Azov region. One of the conditions of this agreement was to preserve autonomy in the new lands. For that matter the Greeks were allowed to form an elected Mariupol Greek Court, which became the only governing body with administrative, police, and court powers within the Mariupol Greek District (*Мариупольский греческий округ*).¹² The attempts to narrow its authority to the court only met with the community's resistance. The position of the Urban Prefect and City Police were abolished in 1798. The self-governing institution was subordinated to the Taganrog Urban Prefect directly. The latter assisted the quick decision-making in cases when the Greeks needed the state support.¹³ The independence of the community was also supported by the fact that it had over 1,200,000 desyatinas of land granted to them. When

12. See Irina Ponomariova, "Ethnic Processes in Mariupol and Russia's Imperial Migration Policy (19th – early 20th century)", in Gelina Harlaftis, Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman, Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchoidze (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 Centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 3, Rethymnon, 2020 (published in www.blacksea.gr), pp. 235–258.

13. Anna Hedio, Nataliia Terentieva, Rena Saienko, *Мариупольський грецький суд: історія створення та діяльність* [Mariupol Greek Court: History of Creation and Activity], (Donetsk, 2021), p. 87.

the state decided to regain the land as it remained unused by the Greeks, they managed to defend it as their own.¹⁴ It is quite obvious that it was the preserved Greek identity and schools which assisted this matter greatly. In the early 1860s they had 22 parish schools with 650 children.¹⁵

The Armenian community (approx. 12,500 people) was relocated from the Crimea the same year.¹⁶ They founded a new city near Rostov called Nakhichevan. It was more difficult to find common ground with the nomadic Nogais whose fickle political orientation was neutralized with their deportation into the Ural Steppe. A few years earlier the 300,000 Kalmyk horde entered the Chinese lands leaving the north-eastern Black Sea and the Caspian Sea area.¹⁷ Russia's conquest of this region led to important changes in terms of ethnic representation.

At first, the main problem the Governor-Generals as well as the central power had to face was the insufficient population of the Southern lands. The support of immigration was essential in the late 18th – early 19th century. One cannot neglect the pivotal role of the Governor-Generals in shaping and implementing the policy of people's replacement for the Empire's needs. Several times, the Southern lands became the areas for the resettlement of Cossacks from Malorossia Guberniia. For the first time the Cossacks went there under the initiative of Aleksei Borisovich Kurakin (*Алексей Борисович Куракин*, 1759–1829) in 1807. Using them both as military force and farmers turned out to be a good idea. In two decades this idea was revised by Mikhail Vorontsov, who upon agreement with Nikolai

14. Pyotr Kovanko, *Финансовые проблемы землевладения русских городов* [Financial Problems of the Land Ownership in Russian Cities], (Kiev, 1919), pp. 165–166.

15. *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1864 год* [Pamyatnaya Knizhka (Official Reference Book, with Calendar and Directory) of Yekaterinoslav Guberniia for 1864], (Yekaterinoslav, 1864), p. 150.

16. See Sarkis Kazarov, "Nahichevan-on-Don: Armenian Merchants and Their Role in the Commercial Development of the Azov – Black Sea Region", in Gelina Harlaftis, Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman, Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchikoidze (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 Centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 3, Rethymnon, 2020 (published in www.blacksea.gr), pp. 399–427.

17. Charles King, *The Black Sea: A History*, (Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 131–132.

Grygorievich Repnin (*Николай Григорьевич Репнин*, 1778–1845), the Malorossia Governor, organized the second resettlement for Cossacks in 1829.¹⁸

Thus, the name of Grigorii Aleksandrovich Potemkin (*Григорий Александрович Потёмкин*, 1739–1791) is associated with the resettlement of foreign colonists as well as the Crimean Greeks and Armenians. Mikhail Vorontsov organized the resettlement of Cossacks from the Left Bank and Jews from the Right Bank Ukraine as well as the resettlement of Russian peasants from the internal guberniias. Alexander Stroganov instigated the deportation of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, who returned only with Count Paul Demetrius (Pavel Yevstafievich) von Kotzebue (*Павел Евстафьевич Котцебу*, 1801–1884), Governor-General in 1862–1873.

Catherine II followed a popular doctrine of physiocracy and believed in dependence of the state power on the number of population and the development of agriculture. The first Governor-Generals continued the policy of settling in the southern lands the peoples coming from the countries with market economy, not the policy of serfdom introduced by Catherine II. This explains the fact why serfdom in the southern lands was never as common as in the internal provinces. Unlike the central Russia, this was the land of entrepreneurship and business competition, oriented onto a market society and the ethnic division of labor. Mikhail Vorontsov, a Governor-General for 32 years, did not rush to introduce serfdom in his lands though he resettled peasants from Central Russia. Instead, he made them leaseholders demonstrating the advantages of free labor. Later though, trying to compensate the losses of crops, he returned to the idea of serfdom, abandoning the youthful ideals of social justice.

The main incentives for the new colonists were the distribution of land, taxless regime, exemption from military service and free-quarter, guarantees of personal freedom, protection from serfdom, religious freedom and self-government. Gradually, spontaneous colonization gave way to a systematic one with exact regulations of privileges for migrants. The appointment of Count Vorontsov for a position of Governor-General coincided with the expiration of the period of basic privileges. In 1818–1819 the foreign missions were

18. Valentyna Shandra, *Малоросійське генерал-губернаторство, 1802–1856: функції, структура, архів* [Malorossia Governorate-General, 1802–1856: Functions, Structure, Archives], (Kyiv, 2001), pp. 85, 126–129, 294–296.

not allowed to issue passports to those willing to resettle in the Southern lands of the Russian Empire, unless they refused the state financial support. Before the introduction of “Charter on the Colonies” (“Устав о колониях”, 1842), the Governor-General could decide alone about the amount of support to be given to the newcomers and to what extent state duties would be voided. For example, in 1830 Count Vorontsov accepted a colony of Rumelian migrants (approx. 1,000 people). He was satisfied with their professions as craftsmen, wine makers, fishermen, and seamen. Later, when more attention was paid to capital of the colonists’, their specialization, their tax agreements were revised downward. The foreigners with particular specializations were invited more often in order to boost the development of certain industries: people from Holland were invited to support fish harvesting, people from Saxony to study the mineral water springs in Kuyalnik, etc.

The Governor-General’s influence on the relations between the state and the Jewish community in the South was also significant. Count Vorontsov was not satisfied with the classification of Jews onto “useful” and “useless”. Merchants of the 3rd guild, guild craftsmen, and farmers belonged to the first group, while rabbis, other spiritual mentors, and retail traders belonged to the second group. The Governor-General believed the retail trade was necessary for villages scattered far away from each other. He thus paid special attention to attract Jewish negotiants or merchants to Odessa, where they were buying property and opening trade firms. By the mid-19th century those businessmen already had amassed large fortunes. Alexander Stroganov, who believed the restrictions imposed on Jews were outdated, continued supporting the Jewish community during his rule. The Jews under his governance successfully practiced crafts; there were many jewelers, tin and copper masters, and watchmakers among them. Under his government, Jews ensured a full social life for the Jews in the region.

It is important to stress the diplomatic service as a part of Governor-General’s duties. As well as the anti-epidemic service, the diplomatic one was connected with the location of the frontier zone in the border with the Ottoman Empire. The Office of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Guberniia included a special diplomatic division, which was rare for the officials of the same level elsewhere in the Russian Empire. Clerks of this division compiled international agreements, those with the Ottoman Empire in particular, and dealt with many questions concerning the residence of foreign citizens in Russia. For example,

Philipp Brunnov (*Филипп Бруннов*, 1797–1875), a Kurland nobleman and an official on diplomatic service, was transferred from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg to Odessa, where he participated in drafting agreements. He significantly contributed to the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) which concluded the Russo-Ottoman War. It was signed by Fiodor Petrovich Palen (*Фёдор Петрович Пален*, 1780–1863), Odessa Urban Prefect, who in Count Vorontsov's absence performed the functions of Governor-General. Consulates and Consulate agencies of France, Austria, Germany, Spain, Great Britain, the USA, and other countries had opened in Odessa; since Richelieu's administration, they were also under Governor-General's control.

The spread of epidemics required from Governor-Generals the creation of an entire network of quarantine agencies to secure the Empire's sanitarian borders. Due to the existing seaways with Asia, the Southern lands suffered from the plague and cholera several times. The in-coming ships were constantly checked; the quarantine institution was built in Kerch in 1824. The possibility to apply death penalty for epidemic rules' violation was fiercely debated by the Admiral Aleksei Samuilovich Greig (*Алексей Самуилович Грейг*, 1775–1845), Minister of Finance Yegor Frantsevich Kankrin (*Егор Францевич Канкрин*, 1874–1845), and Count Vorontsov. Admiral Greig considered the death penalty too strong a punishment, Minister Kankrin worried that its introduction would decrease the state treasury income, while Count Vorontsov defended the interests of the region's whole population. Constructions of quarantine posts continued, their number was raised up to 521 posts. Scientific expeditions to the East helped to find effective means to fight the plague. Finally, the invited professionals created a set of quarantine rules that met the requirements of the Paris International Convention of 1866.¹⁹

International trade as well as the creation of appropriate conditions for its development together with populating the lands became the priority task for Governor-Generals for a long time. The South was meant to be the place where Adam Smith doctrine of free trade development for the quick advance of Russia towards welfare and prosperity was to be implemented. Nikolai Petrovich Rumiantsev (*Николай Петрович Румянцев*, 1754–1826), Minister of Commerce, was a strong supporter of Smith's ideas along with Emperor

19. Valentyna Shandra, *Генерал-губернаторства в Україні: XIX – початок XX ст.* [Governorates-General in Ukraine: 19th – Early 20th Century], (Kyiv, 2005), pp. 198, 218.

Alexander I.²⁰ The Tsar's initiatives to implement the policy of the region's economic development were meant to be picked up by Count Vorontsov, who was a Russian military man and alumnus from Cambridge university. Condemning the feudal forms of economic development, he sought to implement new forms of land ownership and land use, trying them out on the acquired numerous estates. He practiced new ways in agriculture, livestock, wine making, and spread further throughout the guberniia. His convictions made him refuse to introduce serfdom among the peasant of the Tatar descent, who after Crimea's annexation to Russia were contracted for work, giving priority to freelancing. Relative independence in such an important management mechanism as tax policy, made it possible for the Governor-General to influence the development of port-cities on the Black and Caspian Sea shores. As far back as in 1812 there was an attempt to preserve "a system of special protection of the country" (this is how this region was referred to before the management system was completed).²¹ In other words, no unified ministry requirements could have been implemented in this region; instead, they would propose to adjust the tax policy depending on the rate of growth of international trade and development of economic infrastructure of the port-city.

All the port-cities received a special status. Odessa, Sevastopol, Yalta, Nikolayev, Theodosia, Ismail, Taganrog were governed by Urban Prefects. The Governor-General's opinion in terms of appointment for this position was decisive, though the candidates were approved by the ministries and the Emperor, since the Urban Prefect had military and police powers under his jurisdiction together with an obligation to develop international trade according to the commercial interests of the Russian Empire.

Soon after his appointment, Count Vorontsov began the survey of the port-cities and concluded that their state of financial support should be prolonged. The twenty-year's privilege agreement was coming to an end and he prepared a new appeal for the Committee of Ministers to provide privileges for Odessa and Theodosia for the next 25 years. Among the persuasive reasons he mentioned unprofitable trade, the loss of capital in the Ottoman lands, and grain crop losses in Russia. All this had impact on the credibility of merchants,

20. Leonid Shepeliov, *Аппарат власти в России. Эпоха Александра I и Николая I* [The Apparatus of Power in Russia. The Epoch of Alexander I and Nicholas I], (St. Petersburg, 2007), pp. 196–197.

21. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXII (1812–1814), № 25149, pp. 363–364.

who massively shifted from the 1st into the 3rd guild or became commoners. Count Vorontsov remarked: “Nobody has any capital, the city houses having lost their value, bring less than half of the previous profit, the shops are empty and keep decaying, one seldom meets people in the wharves. Poverty and discouragement rule the traders and industrialists”.²² This verbal picture made the members of the Committee of Ministers waver state taxes for 5 years and provide Kerch with privileges for 25 years.

Count Vorontsov initiated a number of reforms oriented onto the development of international trade. He appointed a maritime affair expert as Chief of Odessa port, who also took charge of a separate department dealing with trade operation management. The port acquired dredge machinery equipment which was constantly working now. The merchant wharf in Kherson, where also the merchant vessels were built, was built due to Count Vorontsov’s efforts. The preparation of seamen for these vessels was realized in so-called “sailors’ guilds”, where the young peasants were educated and given qualification for the job.

Oksana Zakharova claims that the Russian trade considerably lagged behind the West European trade,²³ and for Count Vorontsov it was important to help it develop. He provided Russian merchants with equal rights and advantages as their European counterparts and broadened the borders of *porto-franco* up to Peresyp and Moldavanka. Russian and European merchants were exempt from military service. They were required to build factories and workshops, houses, stores, and shops instead.²⁴ The Krestovozdvizhenski fairs, in which the Russian merchants could participate, in Odessa and Theodosia were organized due to the Governor-General’s initiative. However, as Apollon Skalkowski noted, the Russian merchants could not compete with the foreign ones.²⁵

Count Vorontsov actively supported the foundation of different institutions which were to boost trade. In 1830 an insurance company, a Crimean wine company, and a Dutch trade shareholding association were founded in Odessa. It was due to Governor-General’s

22. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XL (1825), № 30486, pp. 471–475.

23. Oksana Zakharova, *Светлейший князь М. С. Воронцов* [The Most Serene Prince M. S. Vorontsov], (Simferopol, 2007), p. 226.

24. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXIX (1824), № 29938, pp. 347–353.

25. Apollon Skalkowski, “Из портфеля первого историка г. Одессы” [From the Portfolio of the First Historian of Odessa], in Lyudvig M. de Ribas (ed.), *Из прошлого Одессы* [From the Past of Odessa], (Odessa, 1894), pp. 235–236.

proposition that the Committee of Ministers approved the foundation of the Novorossiia sugar production industry; in fact, Count Vorontsov was also one of the co-founders.

To regulate grain trade, which for a long time was the main export activity, Count Vorontsov organized to improve land trade routes in 1839. The land trade routes included all the roads (unpaved *chumak* roads as well) which connected the ports with Kiev and Podilsk Guberniias. The quality of the roads as very important for the timely delivery of grain and other goods. To improve the road system, Count Vorontsov came up with a plan for building highways, engaging the military units, creating working companies, and using local funds for their maintenance. Nonetheless, once the plan to construct a highway from Odessa to Kremenchug and Yelisavetgrad was communicated to the Emperor, Nicholas I, he did not approve.²⁶

The first road which received the status of a “free highway” one was the road Odessa – Balta. It was built at the expense of its users and land taxes. Nicholas I agreed to approve the construction of the road only after two unsuccessful attempts. From the 1840s onwards the postal roads began to connect all the roads in the region from Perekop to Simferopol and Orekhov, including the Crimea. It was Count Vorontsov’s belief that the development of trade in the region depended on the postal roads, this is why he ordered the development of the road network for the Governorate-General already in 1834. The plan for the construction of postal stations was approved by Nicholas I and was quickly put into practice, accelerating the duration of the voyages and the exchange of information.

The sea transport was also very important for the economic development of the South. First, steamship lines were established initially starting to function between Odessa and Redoubt-Kale on the east coast of the Black Sea. The push was given by the war: the first transported cargoes by steamships were provisions for the Russian army during the war actions of 1828–1829. Several years after, the question was raised about the establishment of a steamship line connection between Odessa and Constantinople. A joined stock company was organized to own the steamships, in which the Governor-General represented the interests of the state. At the beginning the company was unprofitable, and it made the

26. *Одесса. 1794–1894: Издание Городского общественного управления к столетию города* [Odessa. 1794–1894: Publication of the City Government for the Centenary of the City], (Odessa, 1894), p. 264.

Minister of Finance oppose its existence. Count Vorontsov, however, persuaded the central power to keep the steamship company due to its importance in communications. His proposition to order the steamships frigates from England was supported by the Committee of Ministers and approved by the Emperor.

Colonization of the South required social stability, which was achieved through the Governor-General's control over the main food products and people's purchasing power. This was extremely important since farming in greatly depended on the weather. The climate conditions of the area were characterized the following way: "The harmful side of the climate was its impermanence; the abrupt changes in temperature were harmful for the plants as well as the animals; moreover, the frequent draughts would often kill the crops of grain and were the main reason for the poor harvests in the area".²⁷

The loss of harvest in 1833 made Count Vorontsov pay more attention to the prevention of hunger. This is when his first friction with the Emperor began, since he insisted on the army withdrawal from the Yekaterinoslav and Kherson Guberniias, to preserve more bread for the local population. He took one million rubles in personal credit to arrange internal and external purchase of grain. The county provision commissions were distributing the grain reserves. To overcome the unfavourable weather conditions Count Vorontsov decided to organize the Agricultural Society, of which he was a president. He bred the vineyards in his own estates and the most strong grapes would spread around the Guberniia. To persuade the gentry to develop sheep farming he created an industry for sheep breeding and conducted crossbreeding of the local sheep with the imported ones.

The construction committees created in the times of Potemkin, under Count Vorontsov's rule started the city housing constructions, often their projects were approved at Governor-General's Office. The import of marble for house decorations was allowed duty free. The construction boom created a special situation in the region, when the city authorities with their economic activities completely depended on the Governor-General. The demands of Tsar Nicholas I to put an order to state finances forced Count Vorontsov to ask the Emperor to trust him that all the money would be spent to the advantage of the Southern lands.

27. Yakov Krzhivoblockii, Piotr Miloradovich, Ivan Bodarevskii (eds.), *Военное обозрение Одесского военного округа* [Military Review of the Odessa Military District], (Odessa, 1871), p. 192.

The reforms proposed by Nikolai Nikolayevich Annenkov (*Николай Николаевич Анненков*, 1799–1865) for the social policy of the Governor-General as an institution indicated his level of responsibility. After the Crimean War he proposed a program of support for families, which was divided into several categories, according to the needs of the people: some received food and patrol for free, others received the same at lower prices, others could earn their living doing social work and so on. Alexander Stroganov, Annenkov's successor, continued this policy receiving permission from St. Petersburg for tax-free sale of salt, exemption from tax payments and fines for certain groups of population, and three years without military recruitment calls. The state support was given to those who lost their houses. Special attention was paid to the Mennonites: the ownership of war horses and carts was assigned to them for the organization of hospitals during wartime.²⁸

The abolition of serfdom was as important in the South as in the other parts of Russia and remained in the core of the social policy. Discussing this issue in 1861, Stroganov insisted on giving the peasants the biggest possible land plots. Assuming a decrease in crops during the transitional period, he checked the stocks of grain in the region's warehouses. His reforms in the Crimea were difficult to implement due to the large distances between the settlements and different ways in which the land was used. The elections of the village prefects as well as other officials of the local village authorities were postponed. It was difficult for certain communities to support *volost*²⁹ authorities. Many Crimean Tatars refused to take up peasant land and thus to be characterized as peasants and asked for an entry to the estate of *meshchane*. Aristocrats demanded the peasants to pay tax in agricultural products, and that is why drafting of charters was under the Governor-General's personal control.

Count Mikhail Vorontsov is regarded as the Governor-General who bypassed the usual passive policy in the Russian South to the active implementation of Russian Imperial policy and particularly in the field of administrative and legislative level and state school and education system. Over the thirty years of Count Vorontsov's governorate the integration of the Southern lands into the Russian Empire was indisputable. In 1831 he supported the creation of the Odessa School District (*Одесский учебный округ*), which included the

28. Shandra, *Governorates-General in Ukraine: 19th – Early 20th Century*, pp. 208–209.

29. *Volost* is a small territorial administrative unit.

Novorossiia and Bessarabia Guberniias. He also assisted the organization of libraries, educational and research institutions, museums, historical research and archaeological excavations. His support in establishing the *Odessa Society of History and Antiquities*, to which he passed his own collections of historical documents and books, cannot be underestimated. In 1829 in Odessa, the second, after St. Petersburg, public library was opened, to which Count Vorontsov granted five thousand books from his own library. Accepting the nationwide school system in the southern lands threatened the people to lose their multi-ethnic peculiarities and national languages. The multi-faceted local system of education where each ethnic and religious group had their own schools was substituted by Russian educational programs with Russian as the language of instruction. Greek, French, Italian boarding schools gave way to Russian lyceums. As result of spreading the Russian culture, the integration of different socio-cultural communities took place.

To establish friendly relations between the Russian and local circles, Count Vorontsov threw balls, dinners, and masquerade parties attended by Russian and Polish aristocrats. The latter were invited by Countess Yelizaveta Vorontsova, née Countess Branitskaya. Filipp Vigel (1786–1856) observed that the Count brought to Odessa the unknown luxury of the imperial capital. All this luxury spending was frightening for the big and smaller merchants, who had no habit to spend money on “beautiful and dapper rags”.³⁰ With time, entertainments like casinos and cafes traditional for Odessa and other cities, gave way to amateur theatrical performances, though the repertoire was mostly French.

Odessa gradually became a centre of the Russian culture in the South. Many writers came to visit the city known for its politically liberal environment that was lacking in the capital. *Одесский вестник* – *Journal d’Odessa* was issued since 1827 in Russian and in French. Count Vorontsov contributed to it as well as to the other periodicals with the news from St. Petersburg delivered by extra-post. He allowed news about the revolutionary events in Europe in 1848, though banned in Russia, believing that this was the only way to neutralize harmful and exaggerated rumors, which could endanger the trade.

The “Novorossiia Calendar and Directory” (“*Новороссийский календарь*”), a periodical which Count Vorontsov managed to transfer from St. Petersburg to Odessa, also

30. Filipp Vigel, *Записки* [Memoirs], (Moscow: Zakharov, 2000), pp. 479–480.

assisted Russification. Gradually next to the shops of foreign books there would appear the shops with Russian books. In 1846 138 residents of Odessa addressed the Governor-General with an appeal to establish a municipal Russian theatre in the city. However, the speed of Russification in the 1830s was not offensive, which can be proved by the fact that Aleksandr Pushkin's poem "A Prisoner in the Caucasus" was published here in Italian translation in 1837.

Establishment of the Imperial Novorossiia University in Odessa in 1865 opened a new chapter in the city's history. In order to open the university in Odessa, and not in Nikolayev, Alexander Stroganov had to use his family relations with the Emperor and engage the local aristocrats. Despite the successful colonization process, not all the Governor-General's initiatives were well-received in St. Petersburg; many of them alarmed both the Emperor and the ministers. For example, the importance of *porto-franco* was received differently in Odessa and in St. Petersburg. Count Vorontsov had to protect the Guberniia's interests by blocking the wine payoff in 1845. In doing so he referred to old propination acts valid in western Guberniias and convinced the government that the abolition of free distilling would not bring any good.³¹ Hardly understandable was the fact that Count Vorontsov's proposed to build the railroad, and Nicholas I did not support the proposition. Only in 1863 Pavel Kotzebue managed to get the approval for the railroad construction to connect the Black Sea ports with the black soil guberniias. For the construction he decided to use men fit for military service and to organize prison work units. To finish the Znamiansk – Nikolayevsk railroad Kotzebue gave an order to free the prisoners (400 people) in Kherson Guberniia. He was concerned that Turkey could outdo Russia in constructing the railway to Moldavia first, which would make the country uncompetitive in Ukrainian grain trade. On 3 December 1865 he participated in the opening ceremony of the railway branch connecting Odessa and Balta. For the waterway development Kotzebue engaged the Russian Steamship and Trade Society, which already owned 43 steamships and 20 barges.

The military power of Governor-Generals is worth a separate chapter. The destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775 did not mean the refusal on the part of the Russian Empire to use the Cossack units for frontier protection. It was Grigorii Potemkin who started using

31. Shandra, *Governorates-General in Ukraine: 19th – Early 20th Century*, p. 200.

the Cossacks as military power, creating numerous Cossack settlements and units. His initiative was continued by the other Governor-Generals – Alexander Langeron and especially Mikhail Vorontsov. The Black Sea Cossack Army was subordinate to Armand Richelieu and later Alexander Langeron as its Commander-in-Chief until 1827, i.e. until it was included into the Caucasian separate unit.³²

In the times of Richelieu the Crimean Tatar Squadron consisting of four subunits was organized; it participated in war actions against the French army in 1812. During the Russo-Turkish War in 1828–1829 the Life Guards of the Crimean Tatar Squadron were again under the command of the Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Guberniias: under Count Vorontsov's command they took Varna, after holding siege in Bulgaria. Having created such an exotic squadron, the soldiers of which were wearing the Tatar headwear and special edged weapons, the Governor-General created the Odessa and Balaklava Greek battalion within the Bug Cossack Army and used it for the local military purposes. The units passed musters called by Emperors Alexander I and Nicholas I and the work of Governor-Generals was acknowledged to be worthy of attention.

Count Vorontsov managed to fulfill one of the most difficult military tasks of the time: he managed to return the Cossacks, who settled earlier in the lands under the protection of the Ottoman Empire, into the Russian lands. Thus, he stopped the stream of fugitives who would take the Turkish side using the Cossacks' protection. Both the destruction of the Danubian Sich in 1828 as well as the formation of the Azov Cossack Army, which later participated in the Crimean War and the Caucasian Wars was organized by Count Vorontsov. By June 1828 Count Vorontsov became the Commander of the Danubian Cossack Army, the formation of which he entrusted to Semen Cholobitchikov.³³

After the Crimean War the Governor-Generals reviewed the status of some irregular military units. In 1856 following Stroganov's proposition the Balaklava Greek infantry battalion was demolished and Balaklava received the status of a supernumerary city. The Governor-General's power increased after the military reform of Minister Dmitrii

32. Anatolii Khromov, *Південноукраїнське козацтво XIX ст.: урядові задуми, проекти, втілення* [Southern Ukrainian Cossacks of the 19th Century: Government Ideas, Projects, Implementation], (Odesa, 2014), p. 10.

33. Ibid., p. 69.

Alekseyevich Milyutin (*Дмитрий Алексеевич Милютин*, 1816–1912). He became the Commander-in-Chief of the Odessa Military District and since 1862 all the local military forces and institutions were under his control. His military power spread over all the governorates in Kherson Guberniia together with Odessa Prefecture, Yekaterinoslav with Taganrog Prefecture, Taurida with Kerch-Yenikale Prefecture, and Bessarabia. The population of this territory was approximately four million people.³⁴

The military settlement were made equivalent with the other of the settlements and civil elected positions were introduced. The most unexpected though was the reaction of the colonists to do military service when it became obligatory for all the male population. To avoid military service Jews began to cross the state border. Soon after the Bulgarians, the Mennonites and other colonists followed this line of protest. The military reform with a general conscription required considerable flexibility on the part of Governor-Generals in its implementation in the borderland guberniias.

Count Vorontsov achieved significant success in regional policy towards the Crimean Tatars; Catherine II had promised to protect the Muslim religion and places of worship and to grant their Princes and Murzas the privileges of the Russian gentry. Count Vorontsov continued the Potemkin policy searching for the ways of cooperation with the local ethnic elite. Within the Taurida Gentry Assembly a commission was organized to study the origin of the Muslim and Greek families. The Assembly lasted till 1837. Gradually Count Vorontsov agreed to the participation of Murzas in gentry elections. When the Committee of Ministers received the appeal of the Crimean Tatar gentry to elect their representatives for the lower land courts, the Governor-General was against it, believing their Russian language proficiency was not sufficient for the positions. In 1829 in Taurida spiritual council – the highest body of spiritual authority of Muslims in the Taurida region – the qualification exam in Russian was established for the Crimean Tatars, since it was the language of legislative documents.

It was more difficult to find an understanding with the Crimean Tatar clergy, since the Muftis appointed by the Sultan were almost independent from the Khan. The Governor-General supported his desire to consolidate the waqf lands in the Crimea. Count Vorontsov

34. Krzhivoblockii, Miloradovich, Bodarevskii (eds.), *Military Review of the Odessa Military District*, p. 1.

conducted the reforms among the clergy taking as an example the tradition of the Orthodox Church to give priests land plots. Those who had no position at the churches would pay the tax in kind; a traditional tax the “free” (those that were not serfs) population would pay the state.³⁵

Rough Christianization of the Crimean Tatars, on the other hand, led to massive disorders in 1841, which made the authorities abandon the idea. During the Crimean War the relations with the Crimean Tatars and the indigenous people of the peninsula, underwent changes. The Tatars helped the Ottoman Army which landed in the Crimea and this fact did not remain unnoticed by the Russian authorities.³⁶ Under the influence of rumors about persecution, the Crimean Tatars migrated to the Ottoman Empire. First Stroganov did not pay much attention to this fact and made ridiculous remarks about the “harmfulness of the people”, which also triggered further migration. During 1860–1862 131,000 people left the Crimea, something that aroused concerns in Petersburg. Adjutant-General Viktor Ilarionovich Vasilchikov (*Виктор Иларионович Васильчиков*, 1820–1878) who arrived with an official inspection, observed that contrary to Count Vorontsov, who aimed at establishing mutual understanding with the Crimean Tatars, the present authorities ignored their interests completely. The peasants lost public lands while measuring, the plowing lands were co-owned with the gentry and not permitted for sale. It became impossible for the Crimean Tatars to defend themselves in court because of the legal proceedings in Russian, a language which they did not know. The officials bought their property at very low prices and demanded three times a price for the passports.

Along with the Crimean Tatars the Roma people, qualified craftsmen, also left. Only then the local gentry addressed the government with a request to pause the resettlement, because there was nobody left in the Crimea to practice farming and gardening. The Tatars were skillful farmers: having learned to gather and preserve the spring moisture they could gather two or even three crops during the summer. However, Petersburg authorities believed otherwise: they believed resettling Russian peasants into the Crimea could solve the problems.³⁷

35. Shandra, *Governorates-General in Ukraine: 19th – Early 20th Century*, pp. 194–195.

36. Krzhivoblockii, Miloradovich, Bodarevskii (eds.), *Military Review of the Odessa Military District*, p. 46.

37. Shandra, *Governorates-General in Ukraine: 19th – Early 20th Century*, pp. 215–216.

In 1863 Taurida Guberniia made a strong impression on General Pavel Kotzebue, Stroganov's successor and a participant of the Crimean War. He supported the idea of Russian peasants resettlement, though did not reject a partial repatriation of the Crimean Tatars as a cheaper labor force. Their return to the Crimea was conducted under the Governor-General's jurisdiction.

The ministry system with its unified sub-systems of government and the liberal reforms of the 1860s – 1870s weakened the governorate as an institute of power. In 1874 Emperor Alexander II made an attempt to cancel it in the Southern Guberniias, introducing "governing on general basis". The decision was premature though. The return to governorates was discussed on the highest level and officials' opinions were not unanimous. The compromise decision was made to establish positions for temporary Governor-Generals with much authority to solve the local problems. The most important task was to preserve the military potential of the Russian Empire in the Southern lands. Each Governor-General was simultaneously the Commander of the Odessa Military District. In 1879 Christopher Roop (*Христофор Христофорович Роон*, 1831–1917), Governor-General of Novorossiia Guberniia, renewed the institute of governorate stressing such factors as geopolitical location of the lands, their remoteness from the center, nature and climate, ethnic and religious diversity, complexity of managing ports and quarantine agencies. All that, he insisted, required local government. His appeal was discussed during a special meeting of a Committee of Ministers, where the Minister of Internal Affairs Dmitrii Andreyevich Tolstoy (*Дмитрий Андреевич Толстой*, 1823–1889) accused Roop for the weak Russification of the lands, stressing that the restoration of this position would lead to the destruction of the central power.

Summing up, it is necessary to stress that the Governorate-General as an institution of state power went through different stages during its existence: from vicegerency to Governor-General, and then temporary Governorate-General. The imperial desire to connect nationwide interests with the local potential was embodied in the activity of Governor-Generals of the Southern lands. Their duty was to ensure the socio-economic development considering the local peculiarities, like multi-ethnic population with their cultural and economic traditions, something that would assist the economic development of the sparsely populated region with great land resources. The task was successfully handled by Armand

Richelieu and Alexander Langeron, the Governor-Generals of French descent. Relying on European management strategies, they developed the free trade and entrepreneurship, creating favourable circumstances for the co-existence of different cultures. The region's geopolitical peculiarities, i.e. its frontier location, required the presence of numerous military units, which partially enrolled the local male population and the Cossacks, mobilized by Governor-Generals for the security and defense reasons. On the other hand, enrollment of Cossacks for the local military service relieved the tension in this unstable social group. A new period of systematic Russification began with Count Mikhail Vorontsov's appointment in the position of Governor-General. His efforts were concentrated in three directions: administrative and political, socio-economic, and cultural and educational. During his service the interest of the Russian market were well-protected due to the proper conditions created for the region's development, mobilization of the state control over the city authorities, and regulations introduced to boost the relations with the foreign colonists. His successors continued this political course, strengthening the state control over the enterprise and trade inside and outside the Southern lands. The questions of military politics were of no less importance since until recently the fortifications of these lands were owned by the Ottoman Empire, Russia's pertinacious enemy. Defense of the Southern borders required authorities' attention to the diplomatic issues and anti-epidemic activity.

Special characteristics of Russia's newly obtained region, its social and ethnic diversity, the level of economic development, its sea borders and the potential of international trade combined with the government's strong desire to profit from it caused the creation of a special institute of power, which was the Governorate-General. The latter was characterized by certain autonomy, freedom of personal initiative and entrepreneurship, and other features which contributed to the regional development.

PART II

TRANSPORT, PORTS, COMPETITION AND DEVELOPMENT

Map 2. The Hinterland of the Northern Coast of the Black Sea



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *Οικονομική ανάπτυξη των πόλεων-λιμανιών της Κριμαίας, β' μισό του 19ου – αρχές 20ου αιώνα: Ενπατορία, 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.

Chapter 5

Transportation Networks of the Northern Black Sea Coast in Relation to the Black Sea Trade in the 1700s – 1800s

Oleksandr Romantsov

The aim of this article is to study land and river lines of communication between the Northern Black Sea coast and its hinterland. The focus is on the condition of the roads, their suitability and capacity, as well as on the identification of state and private institutions that contributed to the development of road infrastructure. The study equally deals with transporters, means and timing of transportation in and out of the Black Sea ports, the questions of how this traffic corresponded to the capacity of the ports, and what was its impact on the trade of the area. I shall further examine how land and river communications affected sea traffic, track contacts of merchants and their regional suppliers, and evaluate the level of engagement of the Right- and Left-bank Ukraine, as well as the Sloboda Ukraine (*Slobozhanshchyna*) (see map 1) in the commercial activity of the Black Sea and Mediterranean area. Chronologically, the article covers three periods: incorporation of the region in the Russian Empire, foundation and early development of urban centers, and their involvement in domestic and international trade.

Historiography on the subject, unfortunately, is very poor. The studies that exist in academic and popular literature can be divided onto two categories: (1) on animal-powered and water transportation, and (2) on railway transportation. Most of the publications on the first category were produced before 1917; much information can be pulled out from various reference books of that period, such as statistical compendia, and specialized surveys of certain industries in the Russian Empire. Yet, these earlier studies consider waterway and animal-powered traffic only in the context of the development of the Northern Black Sea area. In contemporary scholarship, the studies of this kind of transport in Russian Empire are virtually non-existent.

The second category, studies of railway transportation, on the contrary, has always been and remains in the focus of scholarly attention. In pre-revolutionary period research was centered on the foundation and development of railway business, joint partnerships and concessions, various bureaucratic procedures, on railway investors, their special financial agreements with the Russian government and interest rates, while much less attention was given to the technical side and transport data. Nowadays these issues have attracted the attention of contemporary Ukrainian historians, but many aspects of railway transportation still remain under-researched.

For a long time, the river and land routes were the main means of cargo transportation. The waterways were preferred, since good roads were rare to find and the existing means of transportation did not guarantee a quick and accurate delivery of goods to the necessary destination points, while the waterways gave more possibilities to meet the demand. On the Black Sea coast, there are such major waterways as the Dnieper, the Southern Bug, the Dniester, and their tributaries. Grain, timber, and coal were the main cargoes.

For a long time, the Dnieper remained the main route of transportation. This waterway connected the necessary dispatch and delivery points in the hinterland and on the coast. Nonetheless, the notorious Dnieper rapids posed a serious problem and hindered regular commercial traffic. This system of natural obstacles considerably slowed down the navigation. In the late 18th century, when the state initiated building of the urban centers in the newly acquired territories, numerous projects were proposed to solve this problem. François-Paul Sainte de Wollant (*Франц Павлович де Воллан*, 1752–1818), a Dutch engineer in the Russian Empire, proposed to blow up the rapids and thus clear the way. There was also a project of artificial bypass channels. However, an effective solution was never found. According to the mid-19th century Russian statistics, approximately 200–300 cargo ships managed to navigate down the Dnieper annually, but navigation was possible only in spring during floods. For example, in 1788 during the trip of Empress Catherine II through Novorossiia it was a local man Poltoratski from the village of Kodaki that led the ships through the rapids. After this event the population of the Kodaki village was exempted from taxes in exchange for their commitment to navigate the vessels through the rapids.

The following types of boats constituted the main means of river transport: barge (with depth of 2,2 meters and cargo carrying capacity of 400,000–500,000 kg), longboat (with

depth of 1,5 meters and cargo carrying capacity of 480 000 kg), *berlina* (or *berlinka*) (with depth of 2,1 meters, cargo carrying of 64,000–112,000 kg), *baidak* (with depth of 1 meter, cargo carrying capacity of 224,000 kg), *dub* (cargo carrying capacity of 11,200–32,000 kg), galley (cargo carrying capacity of 16,000–30,000 kg),¹ etc. Moreover, these boats were not used all over the Dnieper: some of them, like barges and sea-going vessels, like *dubs*, trimbachs, brigs, and schooners were sailing down the river downstream of the rapids, others (*barcases*, *berlinas*, *baidaks*, galleys, *laibas*) were sailing upstream of the rapids. In 1890 the number of boats on both sides of the rapids was nearly 2,000: 987 upstream and 880 downstream of the rapids.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a large network of river port facilities; upstream of the rapids, there were almost one hundred cargo wharves, and one hundred and fifty wharves were located further downstream of the rapids. The cargoes that were moved through the rapids were mostly stored in Kherson. From there, the goods were delivered to the Black Sea ports by horse or oxen driven carts or cabotage ships along coastal routes. Only at the beginning of the 20th century the Kherson port was reconstructed for the purpose of ship loading.² It was only after that the direct export from Kherson river port was established, bypassing the Black Sea ports.

The Dniester was another important waterway. Already in the mid-18th century Father Adam Krasinski, the priest from Kamianets-Podilskyi, drew the attention of the French government to the commercial opportunities opening up with the Dniester waterway development. After the Russian Empire annexed this territory, the idea of making this waterway suitable for the traffic of goods received further development.³ Curiously, the Polish landowners and merchants were the most interested in this project, since for them

1. V. Pavlovich (ed.), *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами Генерального штаба* [Materials for the Geography and Statistics of Russia, Collected by the Officers of the General Staff], vol. VI: Yekaterinoslav Guberniia, (St. Petersburg, 1862), p. 63.

2. Oleksandr Reyent, Oleksandr Serdyuk, *Сільське господарство України і світовий продовольчий ринок (1861–1914 pp.)* [Agriculture of Ukraine and the World Food Market (1861–1914)], (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2011), p. 296.

3. Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України ім. В. І. Вернадського [Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine], fond X, sprava 15291, “Volodymyr Gerynovych, The Dniester as a Trade Route from the End of the 18th Century to the Imperialist War (Materials on the Geography of the Dniester Basin). 1930”, fol. 30.

the transportation of goods to the Black Sea by the Dniester was both easier and cheaper. Odessa was also benefiting from its proximity to the river, though navigation was fraught with many difficulties, rapids and occasional shallow waters, just to name a few. The problem was partially solved in 1840 when the merchant Aleksandr Surovtsev funded the construction of a bypassing channel.⁴ The merchants and landowners also complained about the customs network along the Dniester. Once customs were moved to the Prut and the Danube, the Dniester shipping accelerated considerably.

Navigation down the Dniester was carried out on barges and galleys of simpler and cheaper design. The boats were built in Galicia; they were rectangular in shape and sailed with the help of horses that drew the vessel while moving along the banks. The means of transportation would seldom go upstream the river; most often cargoes were sold once they reached Mayaki or Tiraspol. Sometimes, if the price was too low, the boat could have been loaded and sent upwards, but in this case it would not have gone further than Mogilev. While going up the river, the galley was drawn by horses with the help of ropes. For this purpose, a road along the left bank of the Dniester was constructed in the early 19th century. The local villagers were responsible for the condition of this road. However, in 1827 the postal roads were also assigned under their care, something that caused the gradual decay of the cargo road that served shipping. In 1839 N. Makowecki, the Podolia landowner, drew the attention of the authorities to the problems of the Dniester shipping in general, and the decay of the road in particular.⁵ Among the other issues Makowecki pointed out the lack of necessary material (light spruce timber, which could be ordered in Galicia) for the galley construction in the Podolia Guberniia; he also expressed his concerns about the necessity of hiring professional sailors and pilots.

The situation with the freight rates of riverboats within the Black Sea river network was peculiar. The transportation fees were quite high, especially in comparison to the prices in other regions of the Russian Empire. The main reason for that was the fact that upriver the vessels were going mostly unloaded. On the other hand, the distances between the

4. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ [Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, hereafter TsDIAK], fond 442, opys 770, sprava 17, “Senate Orders for 1839”, vol. 1, fol. 13.

5. TsDIAK, fond 442, opys 72, sprava 331 “Documents Regarding the Relationship of the Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governor-General with the Project on the Arrangement of Navigation on the Dniester. 1839–1852”, fols. 9–12.

starting and destination points were shorter than in other regions, which shortened the duration of transport and made trade more profitable. The main river points that received cargoes were especially those of Nikolayev and Rostov-on-Don.

Although the first steamships appeared on the Dnieper in the 1830s, they started to be widely used only after the 1850s. The steamships were normally used for passenger transport or tugs, for big-size barge towing, and not for river cargo transportation. The upper Dnieper had more intensive steamship navigation than its lower part. According to the Census of 1897, out of 103 steamboats sailing in the lower Dnieper there were 9 cargo and passenger steamships, 11 cargo steamships, and 38 tug vessels; out of 131 steamships sailing in the upper Dnieper there were 2 cargo and passenger steamships and 7 tug boats.

The lack of steamships on the river was partially due to the owners' unwillingness to risk expensive vessels in the dangerous Dnieper rapids' zone. In 1913 the Black Sea – Dnieper – Bug Stock Steamship Company (*Черноморско-Днепровско-Бугское акционерное пароходное общество*) was established.

Concerning land transport, the roads of three Guberniias – Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, and Taurida – were connected with the Black Sea coast. Initially, there was only the animal-powered transport, and the construction of railways took place as late as at the end of the 19th century. The roads were of two types: postal and cargo transport roads. The first served the postal, courier, and passenger transportation and were financed by the local regional authorities (*zemstva*). Cargo transport roads served the trade. In some points the trading paths could intersect with the postal roads or even temporarily merge with them.

In 1833 a decree was issued, according to which the roads in the Russian Empire were divided into 5 types: 1) state roads, 2) secondary roads, 3) postal guberniia roads, 4) county (*uyezdnye*) roads, 5) country roads.⁶ Only roads of the first two types were to be improved and financed from the state budget; consequently they were to be paved, i.e. to become highways. However, the highway construction turned out to be expensive and slow.

During the Crimean War within the Black Sea coast there were no paved roads. In 1855 Adjutant General Nikolai Annenkov received an order to get in touch with Governor-Generals of Novorossiia, Podolia, and Volhynia Guberniias to learn about the state of the *chumak* roads,

6. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XVIII (1833), Sec. 1, № 6076, pp. 180–183.

about which the government had little information (the *chumaks* were the Ukrainian merchants trading salt and delivering it on the animal-driven carriages). The government planned to use these roads for the supply of provisions, forage, and ammunition into the war zone. One of the reasons of Russia's defeat in the Crimean War was the lack of adequate road transport system to connect the center of the Empire with the Crimean Peninsula. The awareness of this fact led the Russian government to improve and modernize the transport network by introducing railroads. Since the 1860s the railroads were prioritized and the construction of highways was put aside. The Ministry of Transport saw the *chumak* (unpaved) roads perform a supporting role in connecting industrial centers and places of cargo dispatch and delivery. These roads were connected to the railway stations, rivers and seaports. In 1865 the highway construction was handed over to the local authorities (*zemstva*). In the guberniias, which had no *zemstva*, the responsibility for road construction was passed over to selected committees, thus underlining their secondary importance for the Empire.

At the end of the 19th century the roads within the Black Sea area were administratively divided onto three types: 1) roads under the supervision of the Ministry of Transport, 2) guberniia and county roads, supervised by the local authorities (*zemstva*), 3) unpaved village roads supervised by the police.⁷ From time to time the government tried to improve the condition of commercial roads. For this purpose special commissions were regularly organized. Their tasks were to examine the *chumak* tracks, to build and repair the bridges and crossings, to pluck the steep slopes, etc. Some of the commissions were relatively successful; others drown in bureaucracy and never started their job,⁸ as, for example, happened in 1838, when the Ministry of Finances deferred creation of a special commission for commercial tracks improvement on the grounds that prior it had to issue specific guidelines for the creation of such commission. Sometimes the officials were concerned about the threat of competition with foreign merchants on international markets. The improvement of the roads was closely

7. Vladimir Kovalevskii (ed.), *Производственные силы России. Краткая характеристика различных отраслей труда* [The Productive Forces of Russia. A Short Characteristic of Industries on the Labour Market], (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 17.

8. TsDIAK, fond 442, opys 86, sprava 91, "Documents Regarding the Request of Adjutant General Annenkov the Second on Compiling and Handing him a Map of Trade Routes Not Indicated on the Geographical Maps of the Kiev and Podolia Guberniias, and on the Fulfillment of his Requirements, and on Other Subjects. 1855", fol. 17.

connected with the desire to keep the connection apace with the world market. A pragmatic approach was followed: roads that were in danger of closing down the flow of trade were repaired. Count Mikhail Vorontsov, Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia, in 1838 pointed out the danger of the commercial development in Moldavia and Wallachia and proposed ways for boosting the export trade. Simultaneously, he stressed that “hemp, fat, and vegetable oil, which are of great value, [were] not in danger of foreign competition and nothing [could] prevent from sending them abroad”.⁹

The majority of roads in the area were unpaved. The first highway paved with gravel of granite was made in Yekaterinoslav Guberniia only in 1854 and was over nine miles long. The territory, through which it was passing, was the unplowed black earth (*chernozem*) turning into loam closer to the coast. The roads were passing through numerous hills along smaller and bigger rivers. The trip across some rivers required river crossings. Usually, in such places there lived people who would help transporting carts with cargoes across water. The means of transportation were either ferries or *dubs*. The carrying capacity of ferries was up to ten carts, while *dubs* could take only up to three.¹⁰ The duration of ferry transportation was 3–4 hours, while *dubs* could make it in half an hour with a favourable wind. The carriers tried to avoid crossings since the clusters of cargo carts could slow down the traffic from one bank to another.

Often enough the roads were passing through the lowlands near the rivers. In spring the rivers would usually cause floods in the lowlands and block communications. The most convenient time for transportation was winter and early spring. However, during this time the weather was very unstable, and strong frost with much snow could quickly change to much warmer temperature, turning the roads into impassable swamps. That is why the sleigh transportation in winter was rare. After snowstorms the roads were covered with too much snow that would block the cargo traffic, which could resume only when the locals would open ways through the snow or when the snow would melt down and the roads dried. During the rest of the year the roads were appropriate for the animal-driven transport. The steppe

9. TsDIAK, fond 442, opys 71, sprava 342 “Documents Regarding the Request of the Minister of Internal Affairs with an Explanation of the Highest Order on the Improvement of the Roads in the Parts of the Podolia and Kiev Guberniias Bordering with the Novorossiia. 1838–1851”, fols. 2–4.

10. *Materials for the Geography and Statistics of Russia*, vol. VI: Yekaterinoslav Guberniia, p. 34.

provided the main power-engine – oxen and horses – with the free pasture. This is why the roads would often be far away from the settlements. Later on, when the plowing lands increased, this became the biggest problem for the cargo carriers. They would be given patches of unplowed land, on which they could feed their animals for a small fee. These changes affected profitability of transport cost, requiring a raise of transport freights. By the mid-19th century the animal-driven transport was considered slow and rather expensive.

Let's turn now to the actors of cargo transportation. The *chumak* trade is first to be considered. In the mid-18th century the main *chumaks'* cargo was the salt and goods imported from the Crimean cities, which situates wagoners mainly within the import trade. Since the late 18th century these contractors are incorporated into the constantly growing export trade industry. Gradually they started participating in transit of export goods to the Black Sea ports. *Chumaks* worked in cooperative associations called *artels* (артель) and for safety reasons travelled in trains of carts pulled by oxen. These carts were called lorries (*фурь*) or wagons (*мажу*); lorries were the carts rented for cargo transportation, not private vehicles.¹¹ The construction of a *chumak* cart was not a complicated one: all the elements were made of wood, since the blacksmiths were rare to find on the road. The cart's carrying capacity depended on the number of oxen: two oxen could pull up to 983 kg, while four oxen could pull up to 1,474 kg of cargo. Sometimes six oxen were harnessed. Thus, the *chumak* trade was a slow (the oxen could make approx. 25 miles a day) but cheap and reliable way of transporting raw materials and manufactured goods.

Many landowners, not willing to pay the *chumaks*, organized the dispatch of raw materials from their estates by their own peasants. It was nearly the same as using *chumak* services with the only difference in experience that peasants lacked experience and did not know well the roads. Besides, the landowners' carts would seldom be covered with skin above the cargo, which under the rain would often lead to the dampening of goods. Having no time to dry them up, the peasants would sell the goods at a cheaper price than that set by the owner. Sometimes the peasants, having the means of transport, could propose their services to the landowners or merchants; it was particularly common during the wintertime when farming paused for the season.

11. Ihor Slabieiev, *З історії первісного нагромадження капіталу на Україні* [From the History of the Primitive Capital Accumulation in Ukraine], (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1964).

Talking about transporters, it is worth mentioning Jewish and Russian contractors from Moscow Guberniia¹². Having no good plowing lands to take up farming, plenty of peasants worked as contractors, especially in animal-driven transportation means. Contrary to the local transporters, they preferred to use horses instead of oxen. The speed of horse-driven transportation was higher than that of oxen-driven. The horses could cover up to 50 miles per day, 70 miles in good weather. This kind of cargo transportation was typical within the limits of guberniia, and for such routes as from Kherson to Odessa. Sometimes they were used within the ports: from the warehouses to the ships and vice versa. The Jewish contractors transported goods for retailers in covered wagons pulled by horses. They were often hired when urgent delivery was needed.

With the appearance of railways and improved highways the animal-driven transportation fell into decline. Previously, the goods were mostly delivered to the distant lands from manufacturers, brokers or merchants. Their destination points were river and sea ports. The new types of highways initiated certain changes: with the increase of railway transportation the waterways became less necessary. At the same time, since the mid-19th century with the development of metal and mining industry in Donbas a great number of plants and factories appeared, which needed not only to dispatch their own products, but also to regularly receive raw materials; this new network shortened transportation distances. The cargo transported on carts was taken from the places of production (plants, factories, mines, salt lakes, and harvesting farms) or distribution (in case of crops) to the joint railway stations. Further, the cargo was delivered by railway to the final destination points. If earlier these routes demanded serious involvement on the part of transporters (e.g. *chumaks* and their special skills), now this kind of job could be done by the local peasants using their carts and horses. If earlier for a long-distance transportation the oxen were ideal due to their endurance, high tractive force, and undemanding nurture, now for the short-distance trips on paved roads the horses with a higher speed of transportation were a better solution. The construction and the size of the cart also changed: metal parts were in use now and their size became smaller making them more flexible. These changes affected also

12. A. Shmidt (ed.), *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами Генерального штаба* [Materials for the Geography and Statistics of Russia, Collected by the Officers of the General Staff], vol. XXIV: Kherson Guberniia, in 2 parts, part 1 (St. Petersburg, 1863).

the *chumak* trade, which in its traditional form disappeared. In the Black Sea area, according to the First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897, carting was a main occupation for 24,000 people,¹³ while for another 14,000 it was a part-time employment. This is how the cart was giving way to the locomotive.

In the 19th century the main driving force for generators and engines was steam. It was obtained from burning wood, coal, and refined petroleum products. But it was the steam that ran the world, created the trading empires, haunted the minds with bold projects, reformed economies, political systems, and military affairs. One of the basic elements of the “steam era” was the railroad and the locomotive. The railroads using horses as draft animal power existed before, but with the invention of the steam engine a new network of roads started to spread around the world.

The first locomotive railroad is the Tsarskoye Selo Railway built in 1837 by Franz Anton Ritter von Gerstner (1796–1840), an Austrian engineer.¹⁴ The construction raised a lot of questions and discussions. The construction was supported by the part of society, which saw the possibility for domestic and foreign trade development in the network of railroads. In the early stages of construction planning a committee was organized to determine the possible profit out of railroad communications in the Russian Empire. The opponents of this project stressed the importance of waterways, which, in their opinion, made the railroads unnecessary. However, they believed that the construction of railroads would cause great losses for the peasants, whose main occupation was land transport. These ideas were supported by those members of the government, whose estates were situated in the zone, where the feudal duties were substituted by tax on produce (called *obrok*), which allowed the peasants to be employed in a variety of activities, including the cargo transportation.

Nonetheless, even though the government did not support von Gerstner in full, the railroad was built and put into use. The construction costs were approx. 42,000 rubles for

13. Veniamin Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, Pyotr Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, Vladimir Lamanskii (eds.), *Россия. Полное географическое описание нашего отечества. Настольная и дорожная книга* [Russia. A Full Geographical Description of our Fatherland. A Handbook and a Travel Guide], vol. 14: Novorossiia and Crimea (Bessarabia, Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav Guberniias, Province of the Don Cossack Host and Stavropol Guberniia), (St. Petersburg, 1910).

14. Anatolii Kulomzin (ed.), *Наша железнодорожная политика по документам Архива Комитета министров* [Our Railway Policy According to the Papers of the Committee of the Ministers Archives], in 2 vols., vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1902).

a mile. The Tsarskoye Selo Railway was very popular. In the coming 20 years two more railroads were built: the Nikolayev and the Warsaw railroads. The Russian government and society however, were not ready mentally to adjust to the new reality. It took a strong blow – the defeat in the Crimean War – to make the authorities and the entrepreneurs to realize the importance of railroads.

In this context it is worth mentioning the dispute concerning the railroad and road network, which took place in the Russian government in the 1850s – 1880s.¹⁵ The question of ownership was a major issue, namely, whether the state authorities or private entrepreneurs were supposed to undertake the railway and road constructions. One of the main supporters of private businessmen in this matter was Count Mikhail Reutern (*Михаил Христофорович Рейтерн*, 1820–1890), the Minister of Finance in 1862–1878, who supported the creation of concessions for new transport communications constructions. His counterpart was Pavel Melnikov (*Павел Петрович Мельников*, 1804–1880), the first Minister of Transport in the Russian Empire in 1865–1869, who believed that control over road constructions and railroads should be in the hands of authorities. Since Reutern was a winner in this confrontation, during these decades much fewer roads were built, than planned, most of them by different associations and with many concessions.

One of the most prominent and controversial associations was the Principal Association of Russian Railroads (*Главное общество российских железных дорог*) founded in 1857. There was only one Russian citizen among the founders; it was Baron Alexander von Stieglitz (*Александр Людвигович Штиглиц*, 1814–1884). The majority of association shareholders were foreign bankers and entrepreneurs. The main office was based in Paris. Due to Reutern’s protective policy, the association received big financial support. Duty-free import of materials, elements necessary for railroads, locomotives, and carriage constructions was granted as well. However, in the following years the government in its attempt to promote its own production restricted the import of spare parts and the wagons. Industries for the production of locomotives, carriages, and component parts were formed and the government obliged concessionaires to place orders for ¼ and

15. *Исторический очерк развития железных дорог в России с их основания по 1897 г. включительно* [A Historical Survey of the Development of the Railway in Russia from their Foundation to 1897], issue 1, (St. Petersburg, 1898).

later ½ of all the necessary materials with the Russian manufacturers, while signing agreements and concessions with railway contractors. Together with the duty-free imports, the associations received a guarantee for 5% of the profit.

The first railroad in the Black Sea area opened in 1865, and it was the Odessa – Balta line.¹⁶ In the expansion of railway network the high-profile officials saw a possibility to connect distant points not only for production, but also for distribution purposes. Since the early 1830s one of the main aims was to connect the Black Sea and Baltic Sea ports. Count Mikhail Vorontsov, the Novorossiia Governor-General, repeatedly stressed the necessity of this action. Taking into account these facts and Odessa's leading position in import and export trade, it is natural, that this city became the starting point for the railway construction. Before the 1870s the railroads were built mainly for the purpose of grain transportation. Later, the railroads were needed to connect the mining and industrial centers of Donbas.

Despite the support on the part of private capital, the government could not find a suitable company for the Odessa – Balta railroad construction. This led to the decision to build the road at the expense of the state. If the beginning of the line – Odessa – caused no doubts, the final point, Balta, was not so obvious. Many people believed that the road should go to Oliviopol. Among the reasons to support this claim the turnover of grain production was considered: in Balta (mainly Volyn and a part of Podolia) the turnover was 300,000 *chetverts* in comparison with Oliviopol, where the turnover was over 1 million *chetverts* of grain, which was brought here from all the three Right-bank guberniias.

In 1869 the railroad Kursk – Kharkov – Azov was opened. The construction was done by a private company owned by Samuel Poliakov (*Самуил Соломонович Поляков*, 1837–1888). Initially, it was transporting grain with trans-shipment in Taganrog. Later, when the line was intersecting the Donetsk, Lozovaya – Sevastopol, and Yekaterinburg railroad lines, the grain cargoes started to be transported also to Sevastopol, Mariupol, and Nikolayev. The transportation of coal became more frequent as well. By the end of the 19th century the Kharkov and Rostov factories used the railroads to carry their produce.

Since the end of the Crimean War the country was in strong need of creating communications between central Russian Guberniias and Sevastopol. In the late 1860s

16. Apollon Skalkowski, “Биография Одесской железной дороги” [A Biography of the Odessa Railroad], *Deribasovskaia – Richelievskaiia: Odesskii Almanach*, 39 (July 2009), pp. 6–19.

construction of the Sevastopol – Lozovaya road which was supposed to connect the area with the Kursk – Kharkov – Azov line was approved. In 1870, Baron Engineer-General-Lieutenant Andrei von Delwig (*Андрей Иванович Дельвиц*, 1813–1887) proposed a project for the Borisoglebsk – Sevastopol line to enhance the freight transport from the eastern guberniias in the direction of Sevastopol bypassing the Azov ports. The loading of raw materials and manufactured articles in Sevastopol was cheaper, than in the Azov ports; moreover, the Crimean port never froze in winter. Nonetheless, the project was not approved due to the necessity to connect Crimea with the coal mines areas and Kharkov. The transportation in this direction started in 1875. The main cargo sent in the Sevastopol direction was grain, linseed, and wool, while spices, iron, tea, and cotton were exported.

While drafting the charter for the Lozovaya – Sevastopol railroad, new rules in terms of hardware for construction and exploitation were incorporated. The government insisted on increasing the quota of hardware from the domestic manufacturers, decreasing the amount of imported machines. Two thirds of rails and fastenings were to be ordered abroad, while freight and baggage wagons, and platforms were to be ordered from the local plants. It was through such action that the government tried to develop domestic industry.

The next step the government undertook in 1873 was adoption of the law, which specified the conditions for railroad construction agreements. Under the new rules, the companies were forced to order the wagons, except for the locomotives, from the Russian factories. This resolution included also telegraph lines along the tracks.

In November 1875, after an open “competition”, a company for the construction of Donetsk coal railroad was approved under Savva Mamontov’s (*Савва Иванович Мамонтов*, 1841–1918) supervision. Drafting the project, the government had a condition, according to which the future company could not own either the coal mines in the Donbas area, or the metallurgical plants. Among the important aspects of the railroad operation outlined in the charter, there were the following points: the companies would undertake the cargo transportation in wagons owned by other companies; once the second line was built, the company would allow wagons with locomotives to pass from its own rails; this would be compensated with a modest fee. Later on, these demands were implemented on all the companies without exception. Thus, the government was trying to manage the railroads owned by different people. They also planned to use coal to run the steam engines, not wood,

since the officials stressed the danger of deforestation with the increasing wood-cutting for the railroad needs, while using the local coal deposits could boost the coal-mining industry.

Since the 1860s the active development of railroads made the government look for the ways to reduce the constructions costs. It affected both road and railway stations' building. The Ministry of Transport commission supervised by Eduard Baranov (*Эдуард Трофимович Баранов*, 1811–1884) held in 1876 found numerous discrepancies. Trying to save money, the architects would often choose a place for the railway stations on the basis of convenience rather than economic profit. For example, the stations in Veselaya Lopan, Dergachi, Prokhorovka along the Belgorod – Azov road were situated in places difficult to reach; in some places with the increase of cargo turnover the stations needed to be enlarged, reconstructed or provided with new railroads. Often there was a case when the inconveniently located station could not have been enlarged. Sometimes the stations were also built in places where the terrain would allow, not where it was necessary to have it built. In such cases, the cargo turnover and the passenger stream would require additional roads. Often the station building could not have been widened according to the needs; enlargement made intersection more complicated and increased the trains' waiting time for entering the station, and, consequently, increased the costs of the railroad service.

In the late 1870s Minister Reutern initiated the foundation of the Company of South-Western Roads (*Общество Юго-Западных дорог*), formed by merging the companies of the Kiev – Brest and the Odessa railroads. The competition between the owners of these big and economically profitable roads was fierce. According to the Ministry of Finance, a significant part of grain cargoes was sent intentionally not to the closest and most convenient port (Odessa), but through Brest to Königsberg. In this way, the Kiev – Brest Company increased the mileage of cargo through the lines it owned. In addition, the same company charged higher rates for the dispatch of goods and raw materials to Odessa. In addition, the higher cost of freight at the Baltic ports (in comparison with that of the Black Sea ports) hampered development of international trade. The situation with the railway rates finally settled in the 1880s. On 8 March 1889 the government passed an Act establishing the state monopoly on setting rates for both passenger and cargo transportation on all the railways, including private.

In 1878 the first sections of the Donetsk coal railroad were put into operation. The main hub station was Debaltsevo, which connected the railroads to Zverevo, Nikitovka, Popasnaya, Lugansk. Further on, the industrial development of the region affected also the character of the railway transportation. The iron-making plants were more often built not next to the ore deposits, as previously, but next to the coal-mining areas. This led to a significant decrease of coal transportation by railway. In 1899 the Donetsk line of the railway track transported approx. 127 million poods of coal, out of which 68% remained within the given railroad. The mileage of the cargo did not exceed 37 miles. Taking into account the fact that the coal was transported by other roads on a lower tariff, the Company of South-Western Railroads (some parts of the Donetsk railroad by the late 1880s upon agreement with the government were owned by this company) bore large losses.

In between 1881 and 1884 the Kryvorizhzhia (later called Yekaterinskaya) single-track railroad was built at the expense of the state. It was going from Yasinovataya through Yekaterinoslav to Dolinskaya station. The main cargoes transported this way were ores and mineral raw materials. The second track was built in 1904. In the 1880s – 1890s the government was buying out the railroads owned by private companies. In the Black Sea area they bought the Kharkov – Nikolayev section of the road in 1881, the Donetsk railroad in 1890, the Kursk – Kharkov – Azov road in 1891.

The railroad network in the Northern Black Sea area was extremely uneven. The Yekaterinoslav Guberniia had the most dense web of railroads, which was due to the concentration of mining and metallurgical industries in the area. The main function of the Yekaterinoslav railway network was to service the mining and processing industries; this focus influenced the planning and construction of routes.

For a long time, the railroads belonged to different owners (state and private companies), and this prevented the implementation of a single regulated and interconnected train schedule. Transferring from one railway line to another was often problematic, especially if different owners were involved: there were no rules concerning train schedule, deadlines for handover or replacement of trains,¹⁷ and sometimes even the width of track was different, requiring the change of wheels; all these created additional difficulties. The

17. Pyotr Migulin, *Настоящее и будущее русских финансов* [Past and Present of Russian Finance], (Kharkov, 1907).

first attempt to standardize the railway communications happened only in 1869, at the meeting of the representatives of Russian railroads.

In general, the roads within the Black Sea area could be classified into two types: the roads built to provide maintenance for the coal-mining and ore plants; and the roads serving the purpose of long-distance transportation to the port-cities and delivering goods and raw materials for export. In the latter case, the transporter took into account only the points of dispatch and delivery, without any interest in the intermediate stations and areas crossed by the road.

In the 1870s the officials came up with an idea to save money for the railroad construction in the areas with a low cargo turnover by building narrow gauge railroads (this type of railroad was first constructed in Scotland). The main purpose of these railroads, which were frequently called access routes, was to transport raw materials between loading stations. But very soon it became clear that the gain from constructing lower cost narrow gauge roads was entirely wiped out by the high cost of reloading goods from a narrow-gauge railroad to a regular-track road. Nevertheless, in some cases the narrow-gauge railroad remained in regular use, especially in the Donetsk coal area.

Until the 1880s the main cargo for the railway transportation was grain. By the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century the volume of grain transportation was surpassed by coal, iron, and manganese ore. Grain was sent to external markets, while coal and ores mostly were used for internal markets within the guberniias' boundaries. At the same time, the mine owners tried to enter international markets, selling coal in those areas where there was no competition with the British exporters, that is, the Black Sea coast, the Balkan Peninsula, and the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. In 1900 only 60 per cent of the coal produced in Yekaterinoslav Guberniia was consumed within its boundaries, and 40 per cent out of this amount was used for the needs of the Yekaterinoslav railroad. A similar situation was with the ores: the iron, manganese, and chrome ores were consumed within the Kryvorih and Donetsk coalmining basin. Iron, steel, salt, wood construction materials and sea products were the next in line for cargo transportation.

Let us conclude. From the end of the 18th to the mid-19th century, the transport communications in the Russian Empire improved at a very slow pace. Despite the growth in exports through ports of the Black Sea during each decade, the schemes of cargo delivery

to the ports and their travelling time remained the same. And while the low cost of such transportation could previously justify its slowness and irregularity (to the degree that even the foreigners preferred it to the higher cost of the rail traffic), soon even the dumped prices could not help the case. The use of unpaved roads, animal-driven means of transportation, and dangerous river routes further complicated the situation, hampering the development of trade. The major changes came only with the construction of railroads, which now carried most cargo. The advent of the railway did not cancel the animal-driven transport, but changed its way of operation. Now animal-driven transport mostly delivered cargo within the boundaries of each guberniia, thus performing an important function of connecting the production and distribution points (such as railway stations, river and sea ports). The infrastructure of cargo transportation through the waterways also did not improve, with the Dnieper and the Dniester rapids significantly impeding the navigation. During the period of question, there were several attempts to solve this problem, but the actual situation had never changed. The ways of transportation, principles of navigation, types of vessels and river craft remained the same during the entire 19th century.

In the second half of the 19th century, the changes in the transportation system became systemic in nature. The arrival of railroads, despite their high construction costs, triggered the economic and commercial development of the Northern Black Sea coast. By allowing the private capital to invest into the railroads, the Russian government secured an extensive and efficient network of communication, even at the expense of quality and unification of the railway system. Overall, this policy boosted the industrialization of the area and increased its exports. On the other hand, when the government started buying back private railways at the end of the century, it had to pay also for their restructuring and standardization.

When analyzing the transportation of cargo in the Northern Black Sea area during the 19th – early 20th century, one marked trend seems to be particularly persistent: despite all improvements in the infrastructure and the coming of railways, the transport quality, pace, and volumes could not match the rapid export growth.

Chapter 6

Kherson, the City of “the Glorious Past”

Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman

“Чудна и печальна судьба Херсона!”

[Strange and sad is the fate of Kherson]

*Olimpiada Shishkina*¹

Introduction

Urbanization was one of the key priorities for the imperial policy of colonizing the Northern coasts of the Black Sea (this period dates from the last quarter of the 18th to the early 20th century). During the first stage of this colonization, which started immediately after the annexation of the Black Sea territories of the Ottoman Empire, there was an emphasis on the building of new cities, envisioned as the outposts for the Russian Empire that provided resources for the implementation of its geopolitical, military, and economic plans. By the mid-19th century, the Russian government considered the city network in the Black Sea area to be developed sufficiently, and thus stopped its vigorous urbanizing politics; from the second half of the 19th century onwards, the urban network of the region existed with little changes, about to face its next major transformation at the times of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, there were changes in the hierarchy of cities with this network: some cities, unable to respond to the challenges of their time, lost their top status and yielded the first place to the newly developing urban centers, while others gained economical and administrative weight. The case of the city of Kherson fits into this historical dynamics of rise and fall, with its beginning as the favorite city of Catherine II in the Black Sea area and the subsequent failure to conform to the role of the Southern sea

1. Olimpiada Petrovna Shishkina (*Олимпиада Петровна Шишкина*) was the maid of honor of Empress Elizabeth Alexeievna, wife of Emperor Alexander I. See Olimpiada Shishkina, “Заметки и воспоминания русской путешественницы по России в 1845 году” [Notes and Memoirs of a Russian Traveler in Russia in 1845], *Letopis' Prichernomor'ya. Arxeologiya, Istoriya, Numizmatika*, 1 (Kherson, 1999), pp. 93–96.

gate of the Russian Empire, a reason leading to its economic, demographic, and political decline. In the later 19th century, only nostalgic memories of the glorious past of Kherson could still feed the hopes for preserving the remains of its former influence in the region. Since Kherson was founded as on the river Dnieper as a strategic access point to the Black Sea, its future naturally depended on how effectively it could deliver on this mission.

The City Foundation and Its Administrative Status

Soon after the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768–1774 was over, the Russian government started looking for ways to implement the right of naval and merchant presence on the Black Sea that was secured in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. In 1775 Empress Catherine II ordered to find a place for the harbor and shipyard in the estuary of the Dnieper on the newly annexed territory. On 18 June 1778, Catherine II signed a decree titled “On Allocating the Land for Harbor and Shipyard in the Lyman [Estuary of the Dnieper] and on Naming it Kherson”.² The decree prescribed the Governor-General of Novorossiia and the Vice-President of the Admiralty Board (*Адмиралтейств-Коллегия*) Grigorii Potemkin to find such location “judging by its potential for maritime and inland development, would that be on the Dnieper itself or elsewhere upriver”.³

The very foundation of Kherson was closely connected with the so-called “Greek project” of Catherine II, which aimed at banishing Ottoman Turks from Europe and reviving the Byzantine Empire under the rule of Catherine’s grandson Constantine and with the capital in Constantinople. The name of Kherson was also homage to this ambition. It is quite remarkable that during Catherine II’s visit to Kherson Potemkin showed her the allegedly ancient gates with a Greek inscription “The trip to Byzantium starts here”.⁴

Kherson was founded as a key military and economic center, a foothold for the further expansion of the Russian Empire in the Black Sea region. Therefore, Governor-General Potemkin, who was a long-term favorite of Catherine II, directly supervised the

2. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XX (1775–1780), № 14764, pp. 722–723.

3. Ibid.

4. Sergei Sukhoparov, *Старый Херсон Сергея Сильванского. С приложением текстов работ С. А. Сильванского* [The Old Kherson of Sergei Silvanskii. With the Appendix of the Texts of S. A. Silvanskii], (Kherson: Editorial House “SLAZH”, 2002), p. 165.

construction of the city and its fortress,⁵ and kept the Empress informed about all the ongoing affairs.⁶

And yet, the place of Kherson in the administrative structure of the region was undermined from the very beginning, since it was⁷ Yekaterinoslav, and not Kherson,⁸ that became the capital of the new Guberniia. Named after the Empress herself and located upstream of the Dnieper, Yekaterinoslav was founded by the imperial decree on 22 January 1784 as a capital of the Yekaterinoslav Viceroyalty; by the same order Kherson became one of the 15 district cities (*uyezdnyj gorod*) of this Viceroyalty.⁹

After the death of Potemkin in 1791,¹⁰ the administrative map of the Viceroyalty underwent significant changes, since its new Governor-General Platon Zubov (1767–1822), who was also a new favorite of the Empress, was naturally jealous of Potemkin's legacy and started re-ordering the administrative map of the region immediately. Thus Yekaterinoslav lost its metropolitan status and Voznesensk became the capital of the Black Sea region. According to the decree of 27 January 1795, Kherson was placed under the

5. Российский государственный военно-исторический архив [Russian State Military Historical Archive] fond 846 “Военно-Ученый архив” [Military Scientific Archive], delo 22748 “План г. Херсона, с описанием адмиралтейских и других зданий. Рук. подп.: Кн. Потёмкин” [The City Plan of Kherson, with the Description of the Admiralty and Other Buildings, signed by Duke Potemkin], fol. 1.

6. These issues received special attention in the correspondence between the Empress and her viceregent in the region. See: *Екатерина II и Г. А. Потёмкин. Личная переписка 1769–1791* [Catherine II and G. A. Potemkin: Private Correspondence 1769–1791], (Moscow: Nauka, 1997).

7. Victoria Konstantinova, “Південноукраїнські міста в адміністративній системі Російської імперії останньої чверті XVIII ст.” [Southern Ukrainian Cities in the Administrative System of the Russian Empire in the Last Quarter of the 18th Century], *Історія і культура Придніпров'я. Невідомі та маловідомі сторінки: Науковий щорічник* [History and Culture of the Dnieper Region. Unknown and Little-known Pages: Scientific Yearbook], issue 3, (Dnipropetrovsk, 2006), pp. 48–54.

8. Yekaterinoslav later was called Dnipropetrovsk and since May 2016 it was renamed into Dnipro.

9. Державний архів Херсонської області [State Archives of Kherson Region, hereafter DAKhO], fond 207 (Kherson Spiritual Board), opys 1, sprava 42, “Decree of the Slavic Ecclesiastical Consistory on the Opening of the Yekaterinoslav Viceroy. 1784”, fols. 1–2 verso; PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXII (1784–1788), № 15909, pp. 11–12.

10. It is noteworthy that Potemkin was buried in Kherson. In the 19th century a bronze monument to Potemkin (executed by a sculptor Ivan Petrovich Martos and placed on the pedestal executed by an Italian architect Francesco Carlo Boffo) was erected in Kherson. See: DAOO, fond 1 (Administration of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governor-General), opys 2-a, sprava 4, “Book for Accounting of the Income and Expenditure of Money Donated to the Novorossiia Governor-General for the Construction of a Monument to Duke Potemkin-Tavricheskii in Kherson since July 1826”, 75 fols.; DAOO, fond 1, opys 2-a, sprava 4-a, “Documents Pertaining to the Book for Accounting of the Income and Expenditure of the Money Donated for the Construction of a Monument to Duke Potemkin-Tavricheskii in Kherson since 10 July 1826”, 73 fols.

Voznesensk Viceroyalty as a district center. The cities of Nikolayev and Berislav belonged to the district of Kherson.¹¹ But in less than two years, with the death of Catherine II, much larger changes happened, and this time at the national level. Since the new Emperor Paul I treated the legacy of his mother Catherine II just as Zubov treated that of Potemkin, the Voznesensk Viceroyalty was abolished and Kherson became part of the Novorossiia Guberniia.¹²

Alexander I started his reign by introducing further changes to the administrative map of the region: by the decree on 8 October 1802, he divided the Novorossiia Guberniia onto Nikolayev, Yekaterinoslav and Taurida Guberniias, assigning Kherson as a district city to Nikolayev Guberniia.¹³ This arrangement lasted less than a year: by the decree on 15 May 1803, the Guberniia Administration was transferred from Nikolayev to the newly founded Kherson Guberniia,¹⁴ making Kherson for the first time the capital of the region. Nonetheless, the rivalry of Odessa, a rising administrative center of the Novorossiia Governorate-General, as well as the proximity of Nikolayev deprived Kherson of many administrative institutions.

This latter phenomenon can be further understood by a closer look at the distribution of administrative power among these three cities. Even on the level of religious politics, when in 1837 the Russian Orthodox Church founded the Kherson and Taurida diocese, it was Odessa but not Kherson that became its administrative center.¹⁵ Throughout the entire imperial period, Odessa maintained higher than Kherson status as a center of educational and military districts. Even after the abolition of the Novorossiia and Bessarabia Governorate-General with its capital in Odessa (1874), Kherson did not gain any preferences in hosting of the administrative institutions; quite the opposite, in 1876 Kherson’s Department of State Property Management was transferred to Odessa. In 1877

11. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXIII (1789 – 6 November 1796), № 17300, pp. 641–642.

12. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXIV (6 November 1796–1797), № 17634, pp. 229–230.

13. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 20449, p. 272.

14. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 20760, p. 603; DAOO, fond 1, opys 220, sprava 20, “On the Transfer of the Kherson Guberniia Administration from Nikolayev to Kherson and Consequently on Renaming Nikolayev Guberniia into Kherson Guberniia. 1803”, 19 fols. [The case has not survived].

15. Igor Lyman, *Російська православна церква на півдні України останньої чверті XVIII – середини XIX століття* [Russian Orthodox Church in Southern Ukraine, Last Quarter of the 18th – Mid-19th Century], (Zaporizhzhia: RA “Tandem-U”, 2004), pp. 131–132.

the representatives of the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo Assembly (*Херсонское губернское земское собрание*) submitted a petition to the central government with a request of transferring all administrative institutions from Kherson to Odessa. Within the next few years, the Kherson Urban Prefect travelled several times to St. Petersburg in order to petition for the preservation of the administrative institutions in Kherson. Eventually, after the eight years of uncertainty, the case was settled in favor of Kherson.

Nikolayev, Kherson's first rival in the region, made several attempts to take over a part of its administrative power. The period of gradual transfer of maritime institutions from Kherson to Nikolayev, which started in 1795, ended in 1825.¹⁶ In the late 1870s the authorities of Nikolayev requested the Russian government to transfer the district court from Kherson to Nikolayev. The representatives of Kherson once again travelled to St. Petersburg in order to defend the interests of Kherson in this matter. Finally, the central government decided that the district court should remain in Kherson, but also obliged the Kherson City Duma to renovate the building of the court.¹⁷

Kherson maintained its status of the capital of the Guberniia until the end of the imperial period. After the revolution, in 1922, it became part of Odessa Guberniia created in 1920: the Bolsheviks continued the tradition of Kherson's administrative subordination to Odessa.

The City on a River as “the Sea Gate” to the “Foreland”

When Kherson was founded, the geopolitical situation in the Black Sea region did not allow building it right at the coast of the Black Sea, and hence the distance to the sea and to the estuary of the Dnieper was 96 and 32 km correspondingly; yet the main function of the newly founded city was to operate the harbor and the shipyard for military vessels, and this was still the best location that the Russian Empire could secure in the 1770s.

It is not surprising that almost immediately after the foundation of the fortress and shipbuilding of military vessels, Kherson started turning into “the sea gate” for the foreign

16. Dmitrii Gorlovskii (ed.), *Итоги двадцатипятилетия Херсонского городского самоуправления. Краткий историко-экономический очерк города Херсона* [The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government. Brief Historical and Economic Sketch of the City of Kherson], (Kherson, 1896), p. 40.

17. Ibid., p. 73.

trade of the Russian Empire.¹⁸ The lack of competition in the region contributed to the advantage of Kherson. In the early 1780s, Baron de Saint-Joseph Antoine, a merchant from Marseille,¹⁹ received a permission from Potemkin to trade “on the Black Sea up to Kherson until the new general regulations for the Black Sea trade are issued”. The merchant opened his Kherson office in 1782.²⁰ It is quite remarkable that the very same year Catherine II wrote to Potemkin referring to the city as to “a young Kherson Colossus”.²¹ In 1784 four ships were loaded with grain, rye, animal fat, bristle, wool, flax, hemp seeds, and dispatched from Kherson to Marseille, bringing back to the city fine cloth, silk, sugar, and wine. In 1787 19 vessels travelled from Kherson to Marseille and 18 vessels from Marseille arrived to Kherson. However, this trade stopped with the breakout of the French Revolution.²²

Soon after Baron de Saint-Joseph Antoine opened his office in Kherson, “The Polish Association” (*Польское товарищество*) and the Austrian merchant Fabrie (*Фабри*) opened their offices there.²³ The decree of 18 November 1784 stated that Kherson should be the only port through which the import and export trade with Poland could take place.²⁴ Isabel de Madariaga believes that during this period the regulation of foreign trade was guided not “so much because of the need to export as for political reasons”.²⁵

18. Российский государственный архив древних актов [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts], fond 1261, opis 1, delo 587, “Manifesto of Catherine II on the Opening of the Southern Ports of Kherson, Sevastopol and Odessa for the Free Trade of the Foreign Subjects with Russia. 1783”, fols. 1–2.

19. Antoine Ignace Anthoine de Saint-Joseph, *Essai historique sur le commerce et la navigation de la Mer-Noire, ou, Voyage et entreprises pour établir des rapports commerciaux et maritimes entre les ports de la Mer-Noire et ceux de la Méditerranée*, (Paris: H. Agasse, 1805), pp. 19–47, 71–72, 87–98, 113–158, 172–187, 211–215.

20. *Городские поселения в Российской империи* [Urban Settlements in the Russian Empire], vol. 5, part 2 (St. Petersburg, 1865), p. 10.

21. *Catherine II and G. A. Potemkin*, p. 153.

22. Aleksandr Korotetskii. *Летопись Херсона* [The Annals of Kherson], (Kherson, 2004), p. 48; DAOO, fond 1, opys 218, sprava 8, “About the House, which the Late Field-Marshal Duke Potemkin Purchased from the French Merchant Antoine. 1805”, 24 fols.

23. Apollon Skalkowski, “Херсон с 1774 до 1794 года (Отрывок из Хронологического обозрения истории Новороссийского края)” [Kherson from 1774 to 1794, an Excerpt from the Chronological Survey of the History of Novorossiia], *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveschenia*, 10 (1836), p. 297; *Urban Settlements*, vol. 5, part 2, p. 10.

24. *Urban Settlements*, vol. 5, part 2, p. 10–11; PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXII (1784–1788), № 16093, p. 244.

25. Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 364.

The foreign vessels in the Kherson port were strictly controlled. In 1786 Francisco de Miranda, a Venezuelan revolutionary, wrote in his diary upon arrival: “In the morning there came Grigorii Bau, a Greek and a lieutenant of cavalry in the Russian army, to find out whether I have documents, a passport, etc. They have a border control here, and the Customs Service is situated in Kherson on the Quarantine Island”.²⁶ However, in a few years the Customs Service was transferred from Kherson to Ochakov.²⁷ Balthazar Gaket, an Austrian scholar and encyclopedist who visited Kherson in 1797, remarked that foreign trade in the region suffered from the undependability of local trade firms, which disappeared as quickly as they were founded.²⁸

The Treaty of Jassy²⁹ changed the geopolitical situation in the late 18th century, bringing modifications also to the plans of the Russian government concerning Kherson. The Kherson Fortress lost its importance; the naval shipyard was transferred due to the serious difficulties in transporting the newly built ships through the Dnieper estuary.³⁰ With the Russian border moving further to the West, Kherson lost its importance as a commercial center. Among various circumstances contributing to this decline, there was the long distance from the sea, the difficulties in navigation through the Dnieper estuary, the death of Potemkin, who was the patron of the city, and the abolition of the *porto-franco*. The location of Kherson did not allow successful competition with seaport cities such as Odessa and Nikolayev. Dmitrii Nikolayevich Gorlovskii (Дмитрий Николаевич Горловский), a

26. Andrei Egorov, Vladimir Smolentsev, *Херсон – первый порт на Черном море: Исторические хроники 1778–2008 годов* [Kherson: the First Black Sea Port, Historical Chronicles of 1778–2008], (Kherson: Naddnipyranochka, 2008), p. 20.

27. “Письма Екатеринославского губернатора Василия Васильевича Коховского состоящему при делах Ея Величества Екатерины II тайн[ому] сов[етнику] В. С. Попову, для доклада князю Платону Александровичу Zubovu” [The Letters of the Governor of Yekaterinoslav Vasilii Vasilievich Kokhovskii to Privy Councilor for the Business of Her Majesty V. S. Popov, for Reporting to Duke Platon Aleksandrovich Zubov], *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, 12 (1881), pp. 354, 361–362.

28. Maria Valio, “Бальтазар Гакет (Аке) і його описи Півдня України та Криму наприкінці XVIII ст.” [Balthazar Hacquet and his Descriptions of Southern Ukraine and Crimea at the End of the 18th Century], *Pivdenna Ukraina XVIII–XIX stolittia. Zapysky Naukovo-Doslidnoi Laboratorii Istorii Pivdennoi Ukrainy*, issue 4 (5), (Zaporizhzhia, 1999), p. 113.

29. The Treaty of Jassy of 1791 confirmed the Crimea and Kuban as the Russian territories, while the Ottoman Empire renounced its claims on Georgia, as well as proclaimed the territory between the Southern Bug and the Dniester to be the Russian territory.

30. Gorlovskii (ed.), *The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government*, p. 13.

member of the Kherson city self-government, remarked that already by 1810 “the existing trade companies in Kherson stopped their activities completely”.³¹

According to Halyna Syhyda, a historian from Zaporizhzhia, in 1818 in the Black Sea ports there were 14 export companies founded by the Italian immigrants (in Odessa, Mariupol, Theodosia, Nikolayev); in 1832, their number reached 23 (in Odessa, Ismail, Mariupol, Theodosia, and Kerch), but these lists do not mention Kherson.³² Another source dated to the 1830s explicitly states that Kherson did not have foreign trade.³³ In the 1850s Kherson was the second port-city after Odessa, according to its population, but still was not involved at all in foreign trade, according to the reports of Mose L. Harvey.³⁴

A decision to open the Kherson port for the foreign vessels was made on 10 April 1862, along with the opening of the customs Office, scheduled for the 1 June 1862.³⁵ Yet within the next two years only few foreign vessels docked in the port of Kherson; according to the British Vice-Consul Stevens, who in 1864 filed a report about the trade and navigation in Kherson, this was due primarily to the shallowness of the port and Dnieper estuary.³⁶ In these circumstances, the Kherson Customs Office was abolished on 30 November 1865,³⁷ and by 1866 “the foreign trade through the Kherson port had

31. Ibid.

32. Halyna Syhyda, “Основні форми торговельної діяльності купецтва півдня України упродовж першої половини XIX століття” [The Main Types of Commercial Activity Among the Merchants in the Southern Ukraine During the First Half of the 19th Century], *Naukovi Pratsi Istorychnoho Fakul'tetu Zaporiz'koho Natsional'noho Universytetu*, 18 (2010), p. 59.

33. Count Terristori, *A Geographical, Statistical and Commercial Account of the Russian Ports of the Black Sea, the Sea of Asoph and the Danube: Also an Official Report of the European Commerce of Russia in 1835*, (London, 1837), pp. 22–23.

34. Mose L. Harvey, *The Development of Russian Commerce on the Black Sea and its Significance*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1938), p. 117.

35. *Urban Settlements*, vol. 5, part 2, p. 3; DAKhO, fond 7 (Kherson Customs Office), opys 1, sprava 17, “Information about Dismissals and Appointments. 1862–1863”, fols. 1–45; DAKhO, fond 7, opys 1, sprava 30, “Work Journal of the Customs 1.01.1865 – 28.02.1865”, fols. 1–41.

36. “Report by Mr. Vice-Consul Stevens on the Trade and Navigation of Kherson for the Year 1864”, in *Commercial Reports Received at the Foreign Office From Her Majesty's Consuls During the Year 1865*, (London: Harrison and Sons, 1866), pp. 993–994.

37. Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, p. 105.

virtually ended”. Now Kherson played the role of the “warehouse hub” having the cabotage connection with the Black Sea ports and piers on the Dnieper.³⁸

The 1st class Customs Office was opened again in Kherson on 13 April 1882,³⁹ but already on 29 December 1889, Alexander III ordered its closure because the foreign ships could no longer moor at the Kherson wharf, where the waters were both shallow and dirty; the order was specific about the redundancy of maintaining the customs in Kherson before the Dnieper estuary was dredged.⁴⁰ Part of the functions of the Customs Service were transferred to the Customs checkpoint of Kherson.⁴¹ In 1899 the Kherson City Board stated that “Kherson has no port and there is no export of grain either”.⁴²

On 14 June 1901, after the extensive work on the deepening of the shipping channel, the Kherson port was officially opened for the foreign trade, and the Black Sea squadron under the flag of Vice Admiral Yakov Apollonovich Giltebrandt (1842–1915) was first to enter the port.⁴³ The legal base for the reopening of the port was provided by the law of 8 June 1901, which listed Kherson among the port-cities of the Russian Empire.⁴⁴ In 1902 the central government inaugurated the fully-fledged Port Authority in Kherson.⁴⁵ On 17 March 1903, a Gendarmerie Unit was established in the Kherson port for the purposes of the passport control.⁴⁶

Soon after the reopening of the foreign trade, the company “Br. Valler” (The Valler Brothers) started to operate actively in Kherson. In the newspaper *Yug* on 19 August 1903, V. Tarle wrote that in 1902 “Br. Valler” dispatched abroad one million poods

38. Pyotr Semyonov, *Географическо-статистический словарь Российской империи* [Geographical and Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire], in 5 vols., vol. 1, (St. Petersburg, 1863), pp. 497–500; Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, p. 27.

39. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. II (1882), № 796, pp. 158–159.

40. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. IX (1889), № 6500, p. 725.

41. Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, p. 93.

42. Державний архів Запорізької області [State Archives of Zaporizhzhia Region], fond 24 (Aleksandrovskaia City Duma and Board), opys 1, sprava 113, “Correspondence with the Kherson City Board about the Opening of the River Port in Kherson to Stimulate Grain Trade on the Dnieper. 21.08.1897 – 16.03.1899”, fol. 1.

43. Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, pp. 66, 72.

44. Ibid., p. 92.

45. The Complete Port Department (*Полное портовое управление*), as it has been called in the legal documents, presupposed the functioning of the department with all the necessary administrative units based in Kherson. See: Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, p. 106.

46. PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. XXIII (1882), Sec. 1, № 22668, pp. 161–162.

(approx. 16,000 tons) of grain; the company also received a subsidy of 6,000 rubles, and paid four or five kopecks less for every pood of grain, when compared to the prices in Odessa (paying this price was possible because it was calculated on the basis of the previous year, before the inauguration of foreign trade and foundation of the company). Therefore, as Tarle puts it, “the firm took all the profit, while grain merchants and farmers did not share the benefits”. As a result, many traders preferred to send the grain from Kherson to Odessa on barges, since it was more profitable than selling it to “Br. Valler”.⁴⁷ However, not all the *Yug* journalists supported Tarle’s opinion. On 1 June 1904, the newspaper reported that in 1903 the Valler Brothers exported 949,500 poods of grain from Kherson on six steamships; another company, “General Company” (*Генеральное общество*), exported 309,000 poods of grain on two steamboats, and Vinter’s company exported 551,600 poods of grain on three steamboats. From January to 24 June 1904, 13 steamships arrived to Kherson (5 of Vinter’s, 5 of Galper’s, 1 of Gausner’s, and 1 of Zifzer’s). In addition to these and “Br. Valler” companies, grain sellers in Kherson were the “Russian Export Company” (*Русское вывозное общество*), M. A. Kaminskii, and “many others”.⁴⁸ In 1907 in Kherson the grain sellers were the Odessa merchant Bentzon Gauzner, the company “I. L. Trakhtengertz”, the Odessa Trading House of the Fukelman Brothers, the German exporter G. D. Vinter-Jampolsky, the Odessa merchant Yefim Yakolvevich Mendebebuch, the Moscow merchant A. Brodsky, the trade company “Louis Dreyfus and Co”.⁴⁹ In 1909 Kherson had five broker companies providing services in chartering foreign vessels. Until the beginning of World War I in 1914, the export of grain through the Kherson port was rapidly increasing: if in 1902 the export was only 35,000 poods of grain, then by 1913 it reached 49,949,824 poods.⁵⁰ Consequently, during this period the Kherson “foreland” (the network of ports, to which the cargo from Kherson was dispatched) expanded considerably.

47. Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, p. 127.

48. Ibid., pp. 141–142.

49. Viktoria Stepanenko, “Великий капітал у північночорноморській торгівлі (1890–1914 pp.)” [Big Capital in the North Black Sea Trade (1890–1914)], *Eminak*, 1 (2007), p. 50.

50. Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, pp. 73, 171.

The Foreign Consulates as an Indicator of the City Significance

The presence of foreign Consulates in the city reflected the changes in Kherson's importance for trade and its potential as an export gateway linking the hinterland with the foreland. The official website of the Kherson Regional State Administration refers to the French merchant Antoine, already mentioned here, a pioneer of international commerce, as to “a French Consul in Kherson”, although the article itself has no mention of him being a Consul.⁵¹ The “Kherson Calendar and Directory for 1896, with the Historical Survey of the City of Kherson” mentions that in 1787 the Black Sea trade “became huge”. Austrian and Neapolitan Consuls were established in Kherson.⁵² In the 1780s Poland also had its representatives in Kherson.⁵³

However, already in January 1788 due to the Russo-Ottoman War (1787–1792) Catherine II in her letter to Potemkin gave an order: “You don't have to stand on ceremony with the foreign Consuls. Tell them politely that till the end of the war actions Kherson is not a commercial city but a military fortress, where they cannot stay for military reasons, and therefore have to go home; the courts will also be informed about it from here”.⁵⁴

From 7 June 1793 until (presumably) October 1797 Kherson hosted the official representative of Venice,⁵⁵ as well the Consul of Naples, since 14 January 1794.⁵⁶

51. “Французские консулы в Херсоне: Антуан де Антуан, Юлиан Аллар, Александр Вадон” [The French Consuls in Kherson: Antoine de Antoine, Julian Allar, Alexandr Vadon], a digital publication in *Херсонщина. Офіційний веб-сайт Херсонської обласної державної адміністрації* [Khersonshchyna. The Official Website of the Kherson Regional State Administration], <http://www.oda.kherson.ua/ru/obyavleniya/francuzskie-konsuly-v-hersone-antuan-de-antuan-yulian-allar-aleksandr-vadon> (date of access: 10.07.2015).

52. *Херсонский адрес-календарь на 1896 год, с историческим очерком г. Херсона* [Kherson Calendar and Directory for 1896, with the Historical Survey of the City of Kherson], (Odessa, 1895), p. 14; Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, p. 26.

53. Sergei Cherevko (ed.), *История Херсона: малая иллюстрированная энциклопедия* [The History of Kherson: Small Illustrated Encyclopedia], part 1: 18th century. “Prosperous city of Kherson”, (Kherson, 2009), pp. 164, 166.

54. *Catherine II and G. A. Potemkin*, p. 263.

55. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Bailo a Costantinopoli. Lettere, b. 243 I, unnumbered documents, 1793–1796; Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia. 1a Serie, b. 556 B, unnumbered documents, 1793–1797; Cristian Luca, “Negustorii venețieni și triestini în porturile de la Gurile Dunării în ultimul sfert al secolului al XVIII-lea” [Venetian and Trieste Merchants in the Ports of the Mouths of the Danube in the Last Quarter of the 18th Century], *Revista Istorică, New Series*, XXIII/1–2 (2012), pp. 95–105. This information was kindly provided by Christian Luca.

56. Kherson, 14 January 1794 (Julian Day Calendar), Pietro Maria Locatelli to bailo Federico (Ferigo) Foscari: “Ad onta delle attuali circostanze critiche alla navigazione, particolarmente di questi Mari, il Signor

However, Pavel Ivanovich Sumarokov, who visited the city in 1799 mentioned that Odessa was “concentrating all the trade on itself”, and “took the former glory of Kherson”; for this reason, “only a small number of Greek ships come to Kherson now”. Sumarokov also noted that there was an Austrian Consul in Kherson at the time.⁵⁷ Several years earlier Balthazar Hacquet wrote about the General Consulate of Austria in Kherson, though he considered its activity insufficient. Hacquet stressed that the Kherson Consulate of Austria, just as other Austrian Consulates, should have employed highly educated, cultivated, and decent people, while in fact he mostly encountered the Austrian Consulate employees who knew neither the history and culture of their own country, nor did they have a command of foreign languages, including the languages of the countries they stayed in.⁵⁸

What concerns the Consulates’ activity in the 19th century, a single report for the span of one hundred years is found in London and is written by the British Vice-Consul in Kherson in 1865.⁵⁹ In the “Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1867” in the section entitled “Foreign Consuls”,⁶⁰ Kherson is not mentioned at all, while in “Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1873” Vice-Consul Julian Kazemirovich Allard,⁶¹ the French diplomat based in Kherson,⁶² is mentioned, who, according to some sources, served in Kherson as a Consulate agent since the late 1850s.⁶³

Console di Napoli fra pochi giorni intraprenderà pure di far il giro della Crimea e sino a Taganrok per acquistar una quantità di formento, di cui è commissionato non so, se da particolari o dalla Corte di Napoli”. (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Bailo a Costantinopoli. Lettere, b. 243 I, unnumbered documents, ad datum, bifoglio, original). This information was kindly provided by Christian Luca.

57. Pavel Sumarokov, *Путешествие по всему Крыму и Бессарабии в 1799 г. с историческим и топографическим описанием всех тех мест* [A Journey Around Crimea and Bessarabia in 1799 with the Historical and Topographic Descriptions], (Moscow: 1800), p. 24.

58. Valio, *Balthazar Hacquet and his Descriptions*, pp. 110, 113.

59. “Report by Mr. Vice-Consul Stevens on the Trade and Navigation of Kherson for the Year 1864”, in *Commercial Reports Received at the Foreign Office From Her Majesty's Consuls During the Year 1865*, p. 993.

60. “Новороссийский адрес-календарь” [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory], in I. Fedorov (ed.), *Новороссийский календарь на 1867 год* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1867], (Odessa, 1866), p. 102.

61. Bulletin consulaire français: recueil des rapports commerciaux adressés au Ministère des affaires étrangères par les agents diplomatiques de France à l'étranger, (Paris, 1877), p. 22.

62. “Новороссийский адрес-календарь” [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory], in Vladimir Mikhnevich (ed.), *Новороссийский календарь на 1873 г.* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1873], (Odessa, 1872), p. 97.

63. *The French Consuls in Kherson*.

In the late 19th century the decision was made to combine the positions of the French Consulate agent in Kherson and Nikolayev, with the preference given to the latter.⁶⁴ The position of the French Consulate agent in Kherson was renewed only in 1916. A bit earlier, in 1908, the British Vice-Consulate was reopened in the city.⁶⁵ The British Vice-Consul co-represented also the Ottoman Empire in Kherson.⁶⁶ Soon after World War I, there were changes both to the network of foreign representative offices in Kherson and to their activity.

Industrial Potential

The industrial importance of Kherson during the first period of its history was directly related to Catherine II and Potemkin's plans to make it a center of the imperial shipbuilding industry. Soon after the Empress signed the Act of 18 June 1778, the construction of first ship *Slava Yekateriny* began on the local wharf, and the wood for another four ships was stocked.⁶⁷ The shipbuilding in Kherson continued during the next years.⁶⁸ In 1790 the authorities opened in Kherson a foundry to produce canons for the ships of the Black Sea fleet.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, the industry of the city developed along the same lines with its trade.

On 9 September 1805, the Emperor adopted the report of the Minister of Internal Affairs, in which the latter stated that "It had been some time now that a new branch of industry had been developing in Kherson, which had been producing ships and other vessels providing jobs for the local people". To support shipbuilding in Kherson, the same document announced the state loans for the shipwrights.⁷⁰ The development of

64. *The French Conculs in Kherson*.

65. Russia. Report for the Year 1908 on the Trade and Commerce of the Consular District of Odessa. Edited at the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, (London, 1909), p. 81.

66. "Херсонская городская дума и городской голова" [The City Duma and the Prefect of Kherson], a digital publication in *Херсон туристический. Официальный туристический сайт города* [Touristic Kherson. The Official Tourist Site of the City], <http://www.kherson-gid.com/o-hersone/upraviteli-goroda/156-gorodskaja-duma-xix-nach-xx-vv.html> (date of access: 10.07.2015).

67. *Urban Settlements*, vol. 5, part 2, p. 10.

68. Korotetskii, *The Annals of Kherson*, pp. 36–37.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

70. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVIII (1804–1805), № 21908, pp. 1240–1241.

sheep farming in the region led to the introduction of wool-washing manufacture in Kherson; the first of such kind was built in 1828 by the French citizens Vassal and Deminitroit. Later, several other wool-washing workshops were built, among them those belonging to Hawthorn, Philibert, Feker, Fein, Tolstoy, Bagauer, Weinstein, Allard, Lempert.⁷¹

However, in the mid-19th century Kherson could not maintain the same high position in the economy, which it formerly had under Potemkin’s leadership. After visiting the city in 1845, Olimpiada Petrovna Shishkina, a maid of honour to the Empress, wrote: “Strange and sad is the fate of Kherson!” First, she explained, the city was rich but later in the 1830s when Nicholas I allocated a large allowance for the shipbuilding of commercial vessels in Kherson accompanying it with privileges to the ship-owners, this “grace raised appreciation but no action”. Shishkina noted also that in Kherson there were only 89 merchants, most at the 3rd guild; she mentioned that there were no merchants of the 1st guild, and there were only five of merchants of the 2nd guild, while half of the merchants of the city, were Jews.⁷²

In the meantime gradual industrial development started to take place in the city. In the 1830s–1850s in Kherson there were two large cable factories, one of which (the Chalov’s) processed over 20,000 poods of hemp. In the 1840s–1860s there were 11 lard processing plants, annually producing 12,000–15,000 poods of fat and several candle factories, the best of which belonged to “Pascal and Co”. In 1846 a brewery was founded. In 1850 there were 250 wind-mills in the city. In 1851 Hawthorn Darbier opened the first steam sawmill. In 1859 the steam mill with a saw-mill was constructed by the Weinstein Brothers.⁷³

In the mid-1890s among the “large enterprises” the following companies and factories were listed: the steamship companies of Kovalenko and Tikhonov; the sawmills of Rabinovich, Weinstein, Kulikovski, and Schulz; the sugar warehouses of the Aleksandr Company and Gnivan; the Maltsev Shareholders Company; manufacture wholesale stores of Gurland and Mishchenko; different wholesale stores of Vinkert, Totesh, Moskovchenko, Chepchikov, and Sekachev; the steam mills of Tissen, Samoilenko, and Savuskan; the

71. Gorlovskii (ed.), *The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government*, p. 21.

72. Shishkina, *Notes and Memoirs of a Russian Traveler in Russia in 1845*, pp. 93–96.

73. Gorlovskii (ed.), *The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government*, p. 21.

grocery and liquor stores of Dymchenko, Totesh, Sivani, and Sidorenko; the wood plants of manufactured goods of Valik, Lublin, Kogan, and Grinzeid; Vadonov's iron foundry; the city water company owned by Pastukhov.⁷⁴

Still, in 1902 in a report on the Kherson Excise Board (*Херсонское акцизное управление*) it was noted that the “industrial development is very slow and is prone to instability”; in Kherson there were 300 industrial enterprises with only 2,000 employees, while the sawmills did the major part of the industrial production.⁷⁵ In the early 20th century, the opening of the port and the railway network fostered the industrial development of Kherson. Yet, most of the production was made by the small-scale industries, as the local doctor Iosif Naumovich Veksler (*Иосиф Наумович Векслер*) observed in his memoirs, saying that in Kherson the artisan and handicraft enterprises prevailed over the businesses with a large number of workers.⁷⁶ It seems wise to agree with the conclusion about the economic development of Kherson drawn by Serhii Vodotyka, a Ukrainian historian: the city could not use the period after the Great Reforms of Alexander II efficiently, that is, increase its economic potential; compared to its two “advanced neighbors” Odessa and Nikolayev, Kherson was trapped in the gap between a major city and a rural community, open and closed societies, industrial and traditional cultures.⁷⁷

To a certain extent the tendencies of the city development correlated with the dynamics of its population. It is important to note that Table 6.1 reflects the tendencies rather than the real demographical data since the data from different years are taken from different sources and were collected and processed with different methodological tools and degree of veracity.

74. Ibid., p. 153.

75. DAKhO, fond 229 (Excise Board of the 6th District of the Excise Board of Kherson Guberniia), opys 1, sprava 11, “Reports, and Bulletins, and Other Papers on the Production and Business Activities of the Board in 1902–1903”, fol. 152.

76. Iosif Veksler, “Херсон и его жители” [Kherson and its Inhabitants], in Anatolii Boiko (ed.), *Мемуари та щоденники* [Memoirs and Diaries], part 2, (Zaporizhzhia, 2006), p. 524.

77. Serhii Vodotyka, “Загальний перепис населення 1897 р. про підсумки соціально-економічного розвитку Херсона у пореформену добу” [General Census of 1897 on the Results of Socio-economic Development of Kherson in the Post-reform Era], in *Naukovi zapysky. Problemy arkheolohii, etnohrafii, istorii, istoriografii, literaturoznavstva, mystetstvoznavstva, muzeieznavstva, onomastyky, sotsiolohii. Khersonsky kraieznavchyi muzei*, (Kherson, Ailant, 2004), p. 11.

Table 6.1. Population of Kherson, 1786–1909

Year	Population	Year	Population	Year	Population
1786	Up to 10,000	1846	23,652	1887–1888	65,880
1795	1,823	1857	34,050 (36,894)	1888	61,824
1799	1,959	1858	41,140	1894	87,357**
1816	8,650*	1861–1862	33,957	1897	59,076
1833	24,508	1863–1865	43,885	1904	64,554
1837	15,682*	1866	40,169	1908	Up to 80,000
1845	28,963	1872	45,872 (45,040)	1909	Up to 85,000

* Only taxable social estates were taken into account.

** Together with the suburbs.

Sources: Pyotr Semyonov, *Географическо-статистический словарь Российской империи* [Geographical and Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire], in 5 vols., vol. 5, (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 498–499; Gorlovskii (ed.), *The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government*, pp. 17–18; Leonid Maikov (ed.), *Список населенных мест по сведениям 1859 года* [List of the Settlements According to 1859], Vol. XLVII: Kherson Guberniia, (St. Petersburg, 1868), pp. LIV, LVIII; Count Terristori, *A Geographical, Statistical and Commercial Account of the Russian Ports of the Black Sea, the Sea of Asoph and the Danube: Also an Official Report of the European Commerce of Russia in 1835*, (London, 1837), p. 22; Nikolai Murzhakevich, *Очерк успехов Новороссийского края и Бессарабии в истекшее двадцатипятилетие, т.е. с 1820 по 1846 год* [Essay on the Achievements of the Novorossiia Region and Bessarabia in the Past Twenty-Five Years (i.e. from 1820 till 1846)], (Odessa, 1846), p. 22; A. Shmidt (ed.), *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами Генерального штаба* [Materials for the Geography and Statistics of Russia, Collected by the Officers of the General Staff], vol. XXIV: Kherson Guberniia, in 2 parts, part 2 (St. Petersburg, 1863), p. 736–737; *Urban Settlements*, vol. 5, part 2, p. 31; *Экономическое состояние городских поселений Европейской России в 1861–1862* [Economic Situation in the Urban Settlements of the European Russia in 1861–1862], in 2 parts, part 2 (St. Petersburg, 1863), pp. 1–48; “Список городов и других замечательных мест Российской империи” [List of the Cities and Other Remarkable Places of the Russian Empire], in N. G. Ovsiannikov (ed.), *Календарь на 1867 год* [Calendar and Directory for 1867], (St. Petersburg: Pechatnia V. Golovina, 1866), p. 88; “Города и значительнейшие местечки Новороссийского края и Бессарабии” [Cities and the Most Important Places of Novorossiia Region and Bessarabia], in Vladimir Mikhnevich (ed.), *Новороссийский календарь на 1873 г.* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1873], (Odessa, 1872), p. 106; Статистический отчет по Херсонской губернии. 1887–88. Издание Херсонской Земской Управы [Statistical Report for the Kherson Guberniia. 1887–88. Edition of the Kherson Zemstvo Board], (Kherson, 1887–1888), p. 4; *Список населенных мест Херсонской губернии* [List of the Settlements of Kherson Guberniia], (Kherson, 1888), p. 4; *Список населенных мест Херсонской губернии и статистические данные о каждом поселении* [List of the Settlements of Kherson Guberniia and Statistical Data on Each Settlement], (Kherson, 1896), p. 1; Nikolai Troitskii (ed.), *Первая Всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года* [The First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897], in 89 vols., vol. XLVII: Kherson Guberniia, (St. Petersburg, 1904), p. 1; Nikolai Troitskii (ed.), *Города России в 1904 году* [The Cities of Russia

in 1904], (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 95; *Russia. Report for the year 1908 on the Trade and Commerce of the Consular District of Odessa. Edited at the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade*, (London, 1909), p. 85; *Russia. Report for the year 1909 on the Trade and Commerce of the Consular District of Odessa. Edited at the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade*, (London, 1910), p. 86.

Communication with “Hinterland”

Economic (social and cultural) development of Kherson depended on its communications with the *hinterland*, whence the regional products were brought and sent to the port. The natural communication line connecting Kherson with the hinterland was the Dnieper, to which the city owed its existence. From the first years of its foundation the Dnieper served as a way to transport the wood and other products down the river, which in the 19th century at least partially “supported the commercial importance” of Kherson, the provincial city.⁷⁸ It’s quite clear why the preservation of traditional trade flows, coming to Kherson by the river remained among the main tasks for both the local authorities and the local self-government.

A proper illustration of this is “The Memorandum to the Head of Council of Ministers Authorized by the Kherson City Council to Submit a Request on the Question of Construction of Pridneprovskaya Railway Line” (*Докладная записка председателю Совета Министров уполномоченных Херсонской городской думой для ходатайства по вопросу о сооружении Приднепровской железнодорожной линии*) aimed at cancelling the major plans of the landlords Falz-Fein and Skadovsky to join their private ports in Khorly and Skadovsk with Tsarekonstantinok through the railway. According to the citizens of Kherson, the realization of these plans would have completely changed the trade flows, historically centered on the water ways, along with the negative impact on the operations in the “young and still weak port of Kherson, which embraces the whole region along the Dnieper”, on which the state spent 5 million rubles and where the city provided the large coastal territory for free. The Kherson citizens were convinced that, apart from the direct damage to the port of Kherson, the realization of such plans would have entailed further negative consequences for the towing and sailing cabotage on the Dnieper and income estimated at several million of

78. Gorlovskii (ed.), *The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government*, p. 14.

rubles which provided jobs for over 5,000 local sailors of the commercial fleet. The probable bankruptcy of the wharfs in Kakhovka, Velyka Lepetikha, Mala Lepetikha, and in Kamenka was mentioned among other negative consequences of the trade flow changes.⁷⁹

Concerning the in-land ways of transportation, in the 1780s, during the first decade of Kherson’s existence “the attention was paid to the construction of postal roads, which covered all the Guberniia like a thick net”;⁸⁰ according to the report of 1859, the roads in Kherson Guberniia remained in their “virgin” and poor state.⁸¹ In a book *A Historical Sketch on the Activity of the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo, 1865–1899* published by the Zemstvo Executive Board of the Kherson Guberniia (*Херсонская губернская земская управа*), it was stated that before the establishment of the *zemstvo* system of self-government the communications were dealt with by the Guberniia authorities. There acted through the Guberniia Commission on Construction and Roads with a special staff of architects and engineers at their disposal. Only large postal and commercial roads were financially supported. Other roads, including country roads, were supported only by the “natural duties”: the villages provided the workers, while the landowners provided the necessary construction material. The local police had to monitor the conditions of the roads. Despite that, “in fact roads were left to themselves”. The repairs on the roads were done only in case of emergency, primarily before the probable passing of the high rank officials.⁸²

79. DAKhO, fond 4 “City Board of Kherson”, opis 1, delo 5 “Reports, Minutes and Excerpts from the Minutes of the Meetings of the Odessa Court Chamber and Kherson City Board together with the Railway Commission about Allocating the Land for the Construction of the Quay in the Kherson Port, about Assigning the Former Castle and Admiralty to this Territory, about Constructing Magisterial and Access Roads and about Other Questions. 27.04.1892 – 23.06.1910”, fols. 5–5 verso.

80. Shmidt, *Materials for the Geography and Statistics of Russia*, part 1, p. 49.

81. Maikov, *List of the Settlements According to 1859*, p. LXXVII.

82. *Исторический очерк деятельности Херсонского Губернского Земства за 1865–1899 гг.* [A Historical Sketch on the Activity of the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo, 1865–1899], issue II, (Kherson, 1905), p. 1. For more details on the road system see Chapter 5 in this volume by Oleksandr Romantsov, “Transportation Networks of the Northern Black Sea Coast in Relation to the Black Sea Trade in the 1700s – 1800s”.

In 1864 in the act issued by the Administration of the Kherson Guberniia (*Херсонское губернское правление*) it was stated that “the rotten, partially sagging or completely tumbled down milestones without any plaques and enumeration better than anything represent the absolute negligence of duties on the part of the Guberniia Commission on Construction and Road”.⁸³ Finally, in 1865 the Zemstvo of the Kherson Guberniia had 12 postal roads renovated (with the total length of 1554 $\frac{3}{4}$ versts, which is approx. 1,660 kilometers), two of which were running through Kherson. However, this did not guarantee the quick improvement of the transportation network connecting Kherson with other places. In 1871 the Kherson Guberniia Board (*Херсонская губернская управа*) registered the complete chaos concerning road control. In particular, they noted that, beside the postal roads, the military and commercial roads were controlled by the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo, meanwhile neither the postal, nor the military roads were described and “checked on site” and, thus, they were not registered under the jurisdiction of *zemstvo*. Additional difficulty was coming from the fact, that the country roads partially coincided with the commercial roads, while the country roads “in most areas, especially in densely populated areas, are in an unimaginable state”.⁸⁴

Simultaneously, another problem with the in-land roads arose: according to the account of the *Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government. Brief Historical and Economic Sketch of the City of Kherson*,⁸⁵ the development of the railway in the area but not in Kherson caused a decrease of economic development in Kherson by the end of the 19th century, as compared with the previous hundred years (1780s–1880s); the absence of the railway was referred to as a “huge obstacle” for the economic development of Kherson. During 25 years the citizens of Kherson

83. *A Historical Sketch on the Activity of the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo, 1865–1899*, p. 4.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

85. Gorlovskii (ed.), *The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government*, pp. 62, 63.

filed many requests for the permission to build a railway, which would lead to the city⁸⁶ but no positive decision followed.⁸⁷

The hard-won railway line opened in 1907: in October the first train arrived to the city and since then the communication between Nikolayev and Kherson was regular.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, it took several years more to connect the railway road with the port. The cargo arriving to Kherson by the railroad had to be loaded onto the horse-drawn transport and delivered to the port, which was located over five kilometers away from the station. Finally, in 1915 a railway line was built to the station Kherson-Port.⁸⁹ Beside the line Kherson – Nikolayev, according to a special regulation of the Supreme Headquarters, a railway line Merefa – Kherson was under construction and a line Dzhankoi – Kherson was to be constructed, which would give both lines a common station. The expected result was the transformation of Kherson into the important railway nod,⁹⁰ with a further positive impact on the trade and the passenger flows.

86. As early as in 1872 when the Nikolayev railway was under construction, the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo made a decision to file a request to the highest authorities to connect Nikolayev and Kherson by the railway. Ten years later, in 1882, the Kherson Guberniia Council expressed their ideas on the issue. In 1886 the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo returned to the same question again, now taking into account a proposition from a private company to build the railroad at its own expense. In 1887 this proposition was rejected by the Government, which did not want to pass the construction of a strategic object to the private business. In 1889 and in 1894, the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo petitioned the Government to connect Kherson with Nikolayev or one of other points on the Nikolayev railway road once again. Other variants how to connect Kherson with the railway network were also considered. In particular, in 1874 the Kherson Guberniia Zemstvo petitioned the Government to build the railway road Mayaki – Odessa – Nikolayev – Melitopol with a connection to Kherson. It argued that the crop failure made it necessary to provide the population of Kherson Guberniia with an income, which the railway would enable. This time was stated that the road should be built on the state expense, not by the private contractors. In 1894 the Council of the Odessa Uyezd petitioned about the construction of the railroad line Odess – Nikolayev – Kherson with a bridge through the Dnieper and the line's extension up to the Dzhankoi, which was a station on the Kharkov – Sevastopol railway line. Nonetheless the Government left this petition without reaction. See: *A Historical Survey of the Development of the Railway in Russia*, pp. 25–26, 29. The persisting attempts to have a railroad line in Kherson, which in 1900 was called by municipal councilor Luka Karpovich Popov “an old and chronic railway disease of the Kherson people”, were reflected in the exchange of petitions on the part of city authorities and their rejection on the part of the higher authorities. See: Dmitrii Gorlovskii (ed.), *Отчет Херсонской городской Управы за 1900 год* [Report of the Kherson City Board for the Year 1900], (Kherson, 1901), pp. 277–281.

87. Gorlovskii (ed.), *The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government*, pp. 62–63.

88. Egorov, Smolentsev, *Kherson: the First Black Sea Port*, p. 71.

89. Ibid., pp. 67, 71.

90. Hennadii Tsybulenko, Larysa Tsybulenko, “Транспортні системи у розвитку кооперативного та муніципального підприємництва на Півдні України” [Transport Systems in the Development of the

Attention of Legislators and Visitors towards the City

The frequency with which the legislators turned their attention toward Kherson reflects the changing priorities of the St. Petersburg officials concerning the city and its place among other cities in the region. While during the first decades of its existence Kherson received almost exclusive attention on the part of central government, later this attention was focused primarily on Odessa and Nikolayev leaving Kherson behind. This tendency was observed in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century: from 1861 till 1904 68 legislative acts from the *Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire* were adopted concerning Kherson, while 511 and 155 acts concerning Odessa and Nikolayev respectively.⁹¹

Table 6.2: The Number of Legislative Documents Concerning Port-Cities, Included Into the *Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire*

City	19 Feb. 1861 – 15 June 1870	16 June 1870 – 28 Feb. 1881	1 March 1881 – 10 June 1892	11 June 1892 – 31 Dec. 1904
Kherson	15	21	16	16
Odessa	63	186	84	178
Nikolayev	41	58	21	35

Source: Created on the basis: Victoria Konstantinova, *Урбанізація: південноукраїнський вимір (1861–1904 року)* [Urbanization: the Southern Ukrainian dimension (1861–1904)], (Zaporizhzhia, 2010), pp. 507–509.

Cooperative and Municipal Entrepreneurship in the Southern Ukraine], *Pivdennyi Arkhiv. Zbirnyk Naukovykh Prats'. Istorychni Nauky*, 1 (1999), p. 101.

91. Victoria Konstantinova, “Від селянської до міської реформи: матеріали щодо міст Південної України в Повному Зібранні законів Російської імперії” [From the Peasant to Urban Reform: Materials on the Cities of Southern Ukraine in the Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire], *Pivdennyi Arkhiv. Zbirnyk Naukovykh Prats'. Istorychni Nauky*, 31–32 (2010), pp. 86–93; Konstantinova, “Законодавство щодо міст Південної України в період від Маніфесту про воцаріння Олександра III до Міського положення 1892 р.” [Legislation on the Cities of Southern Ukraine in the Period from the Manifesto on the Enthronement of Alexander III to the City Regulations of 1892], *Aktual'ni problemy vitchyznianoï ta vsesvitnoï istorii. Naukovi zapysky Rivnens'koho derzhavnoho humanitarnoho universytetu: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*, 19 (2010), pp. 191–195; Konstantinova, *Урбанізація: південноукраїнський вимір (1861–1904 року)* [Urbanization: the Southern Ukrainian dimension (1861–1904)], (Zaporizhzhia, 2010), pp. 507–509.

High officials and famous people visiting Kherson may well serve as another indicator of its importance. Kherson enjoyed a great number of visitors coming here during the first decades after its foundation, when the city developed at amazing pace. Apparently, the most famous guest Kherson ever hosted was Catherine II, her entourage and companions (including the Austrian Emperor Josef II), who visited the city during her trip around the Southern region in May 1787. The intensive construction, which unfolded in the whole region and in Kherson in particular under the leadership of Potemkin and especially after the visit of Catherine II, attracted travelers willing to see the results of the big transformation in person. Among such travelers, who visited Kherson in the last quarter of the 18th century and wrote about it in their diaries, were: the German doctor Ernest Drimpelman (1758–1830),⁹² the French intellectual Charles-Gilbert Romme (1750–1795),⁹³ the German scientist and encyclopedist on the Russian service Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811),⁹⁴ and Pavel Sumarokov (1767–1846), a writer and a statesman.⁹⁵

With the foundation of Nikolayev and Odessa, which took the primacy in the region and pushed Kherson aside, the city lost the travelers’ attention significantly. Among the high authorities who visited the city in the 19th century were: Emperor Alexander I (in 1818), Emperor Nicholas I⁹⁶ with the heir to the throne Alexander Nikolayevich (in 1845), the Great Princes, the children of Nicholas I (in 1854 and 1855), Emperor Alexander II (1855), Great Princess Alexandra Yosifovna (in 1873),⁹⁷ Emperor Nicholas II with the heir to the throne Aleksei Nikolayevich (1915)⁹⁸, etc. Besides, in the 19th – early 20th century numerous writers⁹⁹ and artists visited Kherson, among them: Alexander Pushkin (1799–

92. Ernst Drimpelman, “Записки немецкого врача о России в конце прошлого века” [Notes of a German Doctor about Russia at the End of the Last Century], *Russkii Arkhiv*, I–1 (1881), pp.32–51.

93. *The History of Kherson*, pp. 164, 166.

94. Peter Simon Pallas, *Наблюдения, сделанные во время путешествия по южным наместничествам Русского государства в 1793–1794 годах* [Observations During the Journey Around the Southern Viceroyalties of Russia in 1793–1794], transl. from German, (Moscow: Nauka, 1999), pp. 211–212.

95. Sumarokov, *A Journey Around Crimea*, pp. 19–25.

96. Korotetskii, *The Annals of Kherson*, p. 84.

97. Gorlovskii (ed.), *The Outcomes of the Twenty-Five Years of the Kherson Local Government*, p. 41–42.

98. Korotetskii, *The Annals of Kherson*, p. 98.

99. “Херсон у житті відомих і визначних діячів літератури” [Kherson in the Lives of Famous and Prominent Writers], a digital publication in *Херсон туристический. Официальный туристический сайт города* [Touristic Kherson. The Official Tourist Site of the City], <http://www.kherson-gid.com/ru/hersone/obrazy-hersona/v-proze/405-herson-pismenniki-tvorchist2.html> (date of access: 10.07.2015).

1837), Vissarion Belinski (1811–1848), Mikhail Shchepkin (1788–1863), Lev Tolstoy (1828–1910), Borys Hrinchenko (1863–1910), etc. But already by the late 19th century, the guests did not praise the brilliant prospects of the city anymore – which was a usual *topos* in the descriptions of Kherson made in the times of Catherine II and Grigorii Potemkin.

Cultural Landscape of Kherson

Upon its foundation, when the hopes of the citizens were with the growth of the city, Kherson mounted as a center of social life of the entire Russian Black Sea shore. The diaries of a Venezuelan military official Francisco de Miranda, who visited Kherson in 1786, shed light on this role of the city.¹⁰⁰ Among the bright representatives of the city's intellectual elite were the former Archbishop of Slavyansk and Kherson Evgenios Voulgaris,¹⁰¹ “a learned Greek” settled here in 1781.

Later on, with the rising of Odessa and Nikolayev, Kherson started to lose its military, economic, and administrative importance. This process was accompanied by the loss of influence in the sphere of culture as well. In the 19th century Kherson was as an ordinary

100. Francisco de Miranda, *Путешествие по Российской Империи* [A Journey Around the Russian Empire], transl. from Spanish, (Moscow: MAJK Nauka/Interperiodika, 2001), pp. 23–54.

101. Igor Lyman, “Славянский и Херсонский архиепископ Евгений (Булгарис): «славяно-болгарин по происхождению, грек по рождению и русский по предрасположению»” [Eugenios Bulgaris, Archbishop of Slavyansk and Kherson: Bulgarian Slav by Origins, Greek by Birth, Russian by Disposition], in Ihor Pushkov (ed.), *Православные храмы в болгарских и гагаузских селениях юга Украины и Молдовы* [Orthodox Churches in the Bulgarian and Gagauz Villages in the Southern Ukraine and Moldavia], issue 1, (Bolgrad, 2004), pp. 194–200; Lyman, “Матеріали з історії Слов’янської та Херсонської єпархії за архієпископа Євгенія (Булгаріса)” [Materials on the History of the Diocese of Slavyansk and Kherson under Archbishop Eugenios Bulgaris], *Poltavs'ki ieparkhial'ni vidomosti*, 10 (2004), pp. 102–138; Lyman, “Розбудова мережі духовних правлінь Слов’янської та Херсонської єпархії за архієпископа Євгенія (Булгаріса)” [Development of a Network of Spiritual Boards in the Diocese of Slavyansk and Kherson under Archbishop Eugenios (Bulgaris)], *Pivdennyi Arkhiv. Zbirnyk Naukovykh Prats'. Istorychni Nauky*, 21 (2006), pp. 138–144; Lyman, “Становлення Слов’янської та Херсонської єпархії за архієпископа Євгенія (Булгаріса)” [The Foundation of the Diocese of Slavyansk and Kherson under Archbishop Eugenios (Bulgaris)], *Naukovi Zapysky. Zbirnyk Prats' Molodykh Vchenykh ta Aspirantiv*, 13 (Kyiv, 2007), pp. 183–208; Lyman, “Владика Євгеній (Булгаріс): «Слов’яно-болгарин за походженням, грек за народженням і росіянин за схильністю»” [Archbishop Eugenios (Bulgaris): Bulgarian Slav by Origins, Greek by Birth, Russian by Disposition], in Andrii Serdiuk, Olha Sienicheva, Strashymir Tsanov (eds.), *Матеріали Міжнародного науково-методичного семінару з болгарської мови, літератури, культури та історії (17–18 травня 2012 р.)* [Proceedings of the International Conference on Bulgarian Language, Literature, Culture and History, 17–18 May 2012], (Berdyansk, 2012), pp. 21–25.

imperial provincial city in all aspects of the city life, hiding in the shade of its successful neighbors. By the late 19th – early 20th century the cultural landscape of Kherson changed under the influence of both its changing place in the economic and cultural life among other cities of the region and the tendencies of Empire’s cultural development. Kherson’s cultural development can be traced in the monuments, periodicals, libraries, museums, theatres, clubs, and societies, although these cultural institutions alone cannot reveal the city’s cultural history.

According to an observation made by Lieutenant Colonel of the Supreme Headquarters A. Schmidt in the mid-19th century, “the life in Kherson was not alike the life in other cities. It has no residents who would come here for the merits of the city life, and, spending their wealth, would decorate the city... The city adjusts to the low demands of its guests”.¹⁰² In this “average provincial city” the new coexisted with the old both, in the appearance and mentality of its inhabitants.¹⁰³ According to Nataliia Shushliannikova, a historian from Kherson, the cultural life of Kherson in the mid-19th century was quite diverse and the rise in the cultural quality of city life was closely linked to the economic development of the whole region.¹⁰⁴

Andrei Firsov, a write of the early 20th century, provided a colourful description of the Kherson provincial life: “The street life is nonexistent! During the day a coachman with a passenger would rarely pass and several people would slowly walk along the street. In the evening, when the street life in the Southern cities begins, Kherson is again dead empty: the music is heard in the city garden only twice a week; in other days only the children run around the garden; the Gymnasium Park is the meeting point for most of the public, but how serious and silent is the crowd wandering around its alleys!”¹⁰⁵ It is worth remembering that the critical evaluation of Kherson cultural life on the part of some contemporaries was caused by the increasing needs in the cultural sphere on the part of the city inhabitants, which might be read as one of the distinct features of modernization.

102. Shmidt, *Materials for the Geography and Statistics of Russia*, part 2, p. 744.

103. Vodotyka, *General Census of 1897*, p. 11.

104. Nataliia Shushliannikova, *Розповіді з історії Херсонського краю* [Stories from the History of the Kherson Region], (Kherson, Vidavniststvo KHDU, 2003), pp. 45, 47.

105. Qtd.: Viktor Pivorovich, Sergei Diachenko, *Улицами старого Херсона* [On the Streets of the Old Kherson], (Kherson, 2003), p. 119.

Afterword

Such was the evolution of the city founded as a base for the Black Sea fleet and the imperial outpost on the lands gained by the Peace Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. During this period of Russian expansion Kherson was the only favourite in the Northern Black Sea region, due to its commercial potential. However, the Russian expansion that gave birth to Kherson was also the one which caused its decline: the further expansion of the Russian Empire to the West resulted in the foundation and rapid development of Nikolayev, which had a better strategic location from the military perspective, and Odessa, which was built right at the sea coast and thus took the leadership in maritime trade. As early as in the 1790s Kherson started to lose its military, commercial, and industrial potential, and never regained its initial importance until the very end of the imperial period. The ultimate decline of the city was stopped in 1803 when it received the status of a Guberniia center. Since then the imperial government prioritized the administrative function of Kherson, not the military or commercial one. However, even in the administrative sphere Kherson took no leading role: a special status of Odessa and Nikolayev not only placed these cities outside the Guberniia's jurisdiction but also presupposed Kherson's subordination to Odessa in a number of cases. The city on the Dnieper even had to fight back the plans of Odessa and Nikolayev officials to transfer the Guberniia and other administrative institutions out of Kherson. Regarding trade, during the 19th century several attempts were made to preserve and renew the direct connections with the foreign ports. The shallowness of the Dnieper estuaries and the incompatible dominance of Odessa prevented these attempts from any successful realization: for more than half a century Kherson had to perform the function of a "transit terminal" along the route, by which the cargo was dispatched down the Dnieper to Odessa for the purpose of further export trade. The export operations were renewed only in the early 20th century and Kherson's *foreland* began to develop quite rapidly. This development was supported by the improved communications with the *hinterland*, which became possible with the opening of the hard-won railway (even one that did not lead directly to the port) in 1907. The outbreak of the First World War and the events after the Bolshevik *coup d'état* in Petrograd considerably influenced the city history. The image of Kherson as the city of the "glorious past" remained with Kherson till the present.

Chapter 7

The Economic History of the Nikolayev International Commercial Sea Port, Late 18th – Early 20th Century

Larysa Levchenko

Nikolayev port is one of the major ports in Ukraine; nevertheless scholars have paid little attention to its economic history.¹ The maritime trade at the site of Nikolayev has a long historical record. The emergence of the port dates back to the late 18th century and happened prior to the founding of the town. But the formal inauguration of the Nikolayev International Commercial Port (as it was called in the 19th century) happened only in 1862, when Russian Emperor Alexander II, by the highest decree, allowed the foreign merchant vessels to dock in Nikolayev.

This contribution aims to trace the historical development of the Nikolayev port, from the emergence of merchant shipping in the area to the beginning of the 20th century, and to place it in the context of the city's historical growth into the industrial and commercial center of Southern Ukraine. This research is based on various archival documents now hosted in the State Archives of Mykolaiv Region.²

1. Boris Nesterovskii, Piotr Perepelitsin, and Gennadii Trufanov, *Порт на Буге (К столетию основания Николаевского морского торгового порта)* [Port on the Bug. For the Centenary of the Foundation of the Nikolayev Commercial Sea Port], (Moscow, 1962); Boris Nesterovskiy, *Огни на причалах. Очерк истории Николаевского морского порта* [Lights on the Quay. A Historical Survey of the Nikolayev Sea Port], (Odessa, 1972); Stanislav Strebko, A. Sukovatyi, Boris Nesterovskiy, and Ekaterina Dudnikova, *Порт, овеянный славой* [A Port in the Blaze of Glory], (Odessa, 1988).

2. More specifically, we examined a selection of documents from the following collections of the State Archives of Mykolaiv Region: Office of the Mayor of Nikolayev (fond 229), Chancellery of the Military Governor of Nikolayev (fond 230), Nikolayev City Police (fond 231), Nikolayev Statistics Committee (fond 239), Nikolayev International Commercial Port, at the Ministry of Trade and Industry (fond 255), Nikolayev Customs Office of the Department of the International Trade (fond 264), Nikolayev Port Customs (fond 266), Nikolayev Branch of the State Bank (fond 48), as well as public reports and surveys prepared by the administration of Nikolayev, including the Military Governor, the Urban Prefect, and the Head of the International Commercial Port.

The port descriptions compiled by the engineers D. D. Gnusin (1889) and L. K. Yustus (1913), the survey of grain trade made by Yu. Yanson (1870), and the history of Nikolayev written by the member of the Nikolayev City Duma G. N. Ge on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the city in 1890 are also invaluable sources for this research on the history of the port.

Nikolayev was established at a site used for trade since the Middle Ages. A medieval trade route “from the Varangians to the Greeks” passed through this region already in the 9th–13th centuries, connecting the Baltic region, Kyivan Rus and the Byzantine Empire. During the 16th–18th centuries, numerous trade routes crossed the area of the present-day Mykolaiv. Those were primarily the *chumak* routes known under the following names: the Gardovyi (Royal), the Sichovyi Vyschyi (High Sich), the Sichovyi Nyzhnii (Low Sich), the Kuchmanskyi, the Black, and others.³ In 1788 a port called Svobodnaya Gavan’ (the Free Harbor) was founded on the left bank of the Ingul river, on the territory of the present Dykyi Sad urban district. This is considered to be the “birth-place” of the Nikolayev commercial seaport. The harbor was opened to the vessels carrying construction materials to the shipyard and other ship building facilities for the Black Sea military fleet and the city of Nikolayev.

The early records on the port and city of Nikolayev are insufficient. It seems that the port was open only to national vessels, but the closing of the port of Nikolayev for the foreign vessels is not attested in any written documents either. Similarly, no Imperial decree ordering the foundation of a new town is known to the historians. The earliest mention of Nikolayev in administrative documents can be found in the Order issued by Duke Potemkin on 27 August 1789, which says: “[from now on] Faber’s *dacha* should be called Spasskoye, Vitavka should be called Bogoyavlenskoye, and the newly founded shipyard on the Ingul should be called the city of Nikolayev”.⁴ The Ukrainian historian Dmytro Bahaliy mentions that in 1792, the city had one church, four public houses, one hundred military barracks, thirteen warehouses, 158 stone or wooden houses, 209 mud huts

3. Oktiabryna Kovaliova, *Бугогардівська паланка: науково-популярне дослідження* [Bugogardivska Palanka: Nonfiction], (Mykolaiv, 2011), pp. 34–36.

4. Державний архів Миколаївської області [State Archives of Mykolaiv Region, hereafter DAMO], fond 230, opys 1, sprava 30, fol. 8.

(*mazankas*), 61 dugouts (*zemlyankas*), 149 trading shops and 23 cellars, 1,566 inhabitants of both sexes, and 1,734 temporary workers.⁵

Duke Potemkin regarded Nikolayev as a future “grand Admiralty and the cradle of the new Russian Black Sea fleet”. The history of the port of Nikolayev can be compared to history of the city of Sevastopol, which initially functioned as an international trade port. By the Manifesto dated 22 February 1784, Empress Catherine II opened Sevastopol, among other cities, for “all the nations being on friendly terms with the Empire, and having an advantage of trading with our subjects”.⁶ In 1785 all the wharves of Crimea, including Sevastopol, received exemptions from customs fees for five years starting on 1 January 1786.

However, the Imperial Decree issued by Catherine II on 27 May 1794, mentions Sevastopol as a military port only. “Not only foreigners, but also our people, who are not marine service or admiralty clerks, should not be allowed in the military harbors without permission from the Commander of the port”, and “the people not necessary for the fleet should leave the military harbor and the port and stay in the city; there should be no private homes, except for the houses of marines”.⁷

In 1798 the whole Crimean peninsular received the status of *porto-franco*, except for “Sevastopol, since it was a military harbor”, and on 24 February 1804 the Committee for the Founding of the Fleet announced Sevastopol to be the main military harbor on the Black Sea, closed for commercial vessels. The government of the Russian Empire believed that in such a way they could control the information about the location of the fleet and the marines, and, by limiting the latter’s contacts with the merchants, keep them focused on the military training.⁸

Differently from Sevastopol, the imperial policies regarding trade in Nikolayev were not so strict. On 28 April 1795, Nikolayev became the seat of the Black Sea Admiralty

5. Dmitrii Bagalei, *Колонизация Новороссийского края и первые шаги его по пути культуры. Исторический этюд* [Colonization of the New Russian Lands and Beginnings of Its Culture. A Historical Essay], (Kiev, 1889), p. 51.

6. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXII (1784–1788), № 15935, pp. 50–51.

7. D. I. Kallistov, *Краткое изложение правительственных мер, касающихся военного и торгового портов в городе Севастополе* [Summary of Government Measures Regarding the Military and Commercial Ports in the City of Sevastopol], (Sevastopol, 1907), p. 4. The manuscript is kept in the fund of the Museum of Heroic Defense of the City of Sevastopol (Музей героїчної оборони м. Севастополя, КП-30899, ІНВ. № 1021).

8. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXV (1798–1799), № 18373, pp. 64–68; Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 21039, pp. 1018–1019; Col. 1, Vol. XXVIII (1804–1805), № 21171, p. 148.

Administration. A year earlier, several departments of the Navy Ministry as well as the headquarters of the head of the Black Sea Admiralty Administration Nikolai Semionovich Mordvinov (*Николай Семёнович Мордвинов*, 1754–1845) were transferred to Nikolayev. In a short run, all administration of the Black Sea Navy resided in Nikolayev. The city became a part of Kherson *uyezd*, Voznesensk Viceroyalty in 1795, and center of the newly founded Nikolayev Guberniia in 1802. The office of the governor was formally inaugurated on 20 May 1803.⁹ However, right before this event the Military Governor of Nikolayev and the civil administrator in the governments of Yekaterinoslav, Nikolayev, and Taurida Lieutenant-General Sergei Andreyevich Bekleshov (*Сергей Андреевич Беклешов*, 1752–1803) reported to Alexander I that Nikolayev was already overcrowded with the Navy Administration and could not house the headquarters of the Governor. Thus, on 15 May 1803, while the people of Nikolayev were celebrating the establishment of Nikolayev Guberniia, Alexander I ordered to transfer its center to Kherson, also changing the name of Guberniia from “Nikolayev” to “Kherson”. By the imperial decree of 24 October 1803, the Navy Commanders received the rights of Military Governors, with the use of a corresponding title. The purpose of this decree was to unite military, civil, and port authorities of the region, vesting them in a single post: “In the ports of the first category and also in military ports ... all the administrative branches should lead to the Navy Command”.¹⁰ Since 20 May 1805 the positions of the Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet and Harbor and of the Nikolayev Military Governor merged into the position of the Nikolayev and Sevastopol Military Governorate, the mission of this new administrative unit was to foster the development of the Black Sea Military Fleet.¹¹ Until 1864 the city of

9. DAOO, fond 1, opys 220, sprava 3, fol. 75-a.

10. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 21007, pp. 947–954.

11. The names of the Black Sea Fleet Admirals who also ruled the Military Governorate during its century-old history: Jean-Baptiste Prévost de Sansac, marquis de Traversay (*Иван Иванович де Траверсе*, 1754–1831), Nikolai Lvovich Yazykov (*Николай Львович Языков*, 1754–1824), Aleksei Samuilovich Greig (*Алексей Самуилович Грейг*, 1775–1845), Mikhail Petrovich Lazarev (*Михаил Петрович Лазарев*, 1788–1851), Morits Borissovitch Berkh (*Мориц Борисович Берх*, 1776–1860), Nikolai Fiodorovich Metlin (*Николай Фёдорович Метлин*, 1804–1884), Alexander Ivanovich Panfilov (*Александр Иванович Панфилов*, 1808–1874), Grigorii Ivanovich Butakov (*Григорий Иванович Бутаков*, 1820–1882), Gottlieb Friedrich von Glasenapp (*Богдан Александрович фон Глазенап*, 1811–1892), Nikolai Andreyevich Arkas (*Николай Андреевич Аркас*, 1816–1881), Mikhail Pavlovich Manganarie (*Михаил Павлович Манганари*, 1804–1887), Aleksei Alekseyevich Peshchurov (*Алексей Алексеевич Пещуров*, 1834–1891), Reyngold Andreyevich

Sevastopol was part of the joint Military Governorate. The villages of the Black Sea Admiralty (these were smaller municipal units, whose population either worked or paid taxes in Nikolayev at the military port, Admiralty, or various factories, such as rope or sail cloth, subordinated to the Navy Ministry; after the abolition of serfdom in 1861, these villages became suburban areas) also belonged to the Military Governorate. After the Crimean War, the Military Governors of Nikolayev would simultaneously hold a number of other administrative posts, such as the office of the maritime administration of Nikolayev (in 1856), Commander of Nikolayev Military Port (1860), Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet and Ports (1871), Commander-in-Chief of the Black and Caspian Seas (1887–1891). In 1895 the Headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet were transferred from Nikolayev to Sevastopol, which resulted in restructuring the Nikolayev Military Governorate into the Nikolayev Urban Prefecture (in 1900). However, despite these administrative innovations, the style of the city management did not change.

In accordance with the adopted system of military government, Nikolayev had to have no commercial relations with foreign countries; the priority of the Russian government was to integrate the newly annexed territories with the rest of the Empire, a task that was especially urgent in the first half of the 19th century. The Nikolayev merchants traded exclusively with the factories of the Navy Ministry, delivering different raw materials necessary for the construction and maintenance of the military fleet, or conducted small local business. According to a survey of the Nikolayev Statistics Committee, the merchants delivered grain, lard, fur, and leather to Nikolayev, which was the entrance point of the Kherson Guberniia. From Nikolayev the products were delivered by cabotage to Odessa and other ports on the Black Sea, as well as to the Podolia Guberniia, Kingdom of Poland and inner parts of the Russian Empire.¹² Nonetheless, the Military Governor of Nikolayev controlled not only merchants themselves, but also the prices for the products they sold.

The first City Duma was elected in Nikolayev on 7–8 January 1798, in accordance with the “Charter on the Rights and Privileges of Cities in the Russian Empire” (*Грамота на права и привилегии городам Российской империи*) issued by Empress Catherine II on 21 April

Grenkvist (*Рейнгольд Андреевич Гренквист*, 1837–1890), Nikolai Vasilievich Копытов (*Николай Васильевич Копытов*, 1833–1901), Sergei Petrovich Тыртов (*Сергей Петрович Тыртов*, 1839–1903).

12. ДАМО, фонд 239, опус 1, справа 5, fol. 48.

1785. At that moment, the number of Nikolayev citizens with the right to vote was not exceeding two hundred. Until 1872 the elections to Duma were held every three years. Before 1909 the merchants elected their representatives to the Duma, which among other business also registered the files on merchants. Members of the General Duma elected representatives called *glasnye* for the six-voice duma (*shestiglasnaya дума* / *шестигласная дума*), which included one representative from each social estate. Only a member of the nobility or a merchant of the 1st guild could be elected to the post of a Mayor. The results of these elections had to be approved by Military Governor of Nikolayev. The latter also was responsible for terminating the service of Duma Representatives and appointing new ones. Therefore, the supervision of the elections by the Military Governor made them a formal procedure. Military Governors often exceeded their power and insisted on the favorable candidate for the position of the Mayor, who presided of the meetings of the Duma as well as presented the agenda.

The Office of Duma was divided into six Boards (*столы*): the Accountant Board, the Economic Board, the Revision (also Passport) Board, the Executive Board, and the Registration Board. Special representatives of the merchants revised their declarations of financial capital, important for maintaining merchant's membership in the guild. In addition, each representative of Duma had to take notes on the city income and expenses in the corded book (*shnurovaya kniga* / *шнуровая книга*). The corded books were regularly checked by the Office of the Nikolayev Military Governor. Overall, the activity of the City Duma was centered on small economic issues and was controlled by the Nikolayev Military Governor.

A special commission presided by the Rear Admiral Pavel Matveyevich Yukharin (*Павел Матвеевич Юхарин*, 1796–1876) revised the work of local self-government in 1862. The commission concluded that Military Governors hampered the initiatives of the City Duma; frequent interference of the military government into the affairs of municipal administration prevented the development of the city's independence and reinforced indifference towards public affairs among the citizens. The commission recommended to grant more freedom to the Duma representatives, and expressed hopes that it would make them “pay attention to their duties and gradually develop self-government among the townsmen”.¹³

13. DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 4503, fol. 23.

On 1 June 1872, the City Regulation of Alexander II (*Городовое положение*) took effect in Nikolayev. According to this document, tax requirements had to be observed when elections to the City Duma were to take place. The Duma became a regulatory authority, while the City Court became its executive institution. The Duma was elected for four years. The Mayor was the head of the Duma and the head of the Board, coordinating the activities of these institutions. The City Court had a permanent Office, which included Regulatory, Construction, Financial, and Accountant Divisions. There were several commissions in the Duma, for example, the Health Commission (in 1872–1876), the Education Commission (in 1879–1920), the Plumbing Commission (in 1874–1908) and other. As in the case of *shestiglasnaya* дума, election results had to be approved by the Military Governor. In case of a vacancy in the self-government authorities, the position was also filled by the Military Governor. According to the City Regulation, the Duma's authority expanded, it had the legal personality status, the right to acquire and to dispose of property, to secure contracts, to receive loans, to sue and be sued. However, a newly established Special Presence on City Affairs (*Особое по городским делам присутствие*) was supposed to control the Duma and the way it followed the City Regulation of 1870. In 1872 the Ministry of Internal Affairs put the activity of this department on hold and transferred its cases to the Office of the Nikolayev Military Governor. All the copies of the Duma's decisions were sent for the review and approval of Military Governor. Thus, the control over the local self-government was not reduced but, on the contrary, it was strengthened, which in consequence paralyzed the activity of the Duma: the townsmen were reluctant to participate in elections, the representatives (*glasnye*) did not attend the meetings, there were long delays in dealing with the city problems. This made the townsmen complain to the Governor: "... [we] were glad, that with the 72 representatives of all the social estates in the city government the things will be dealt with properly, successfully, and legally, however, we got disappointed: our representatives often skip the Duma meetings, when they do come, they mostly spend time on pointless talking and making jokes inappropriate in such places; and all this ends with personal enmity and quarrels...".¹⁴ In 1873 the Duma could not gather for a meeting to make a decision about the construction of the city hospital, in 1876 it allowed the

14. DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 9143, fol. 126.

embezzlement of the city money (the Mayor A. Bukhteyev resigned), in 1877 it failed to provide the hospital equipment for the wounded soldiers during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878 and tried to cut expenses for the schools for children from poor families. In 1887 the Mayor V. Datzenko had to file a request to the Military Governor A. Peshchurov to raise a question in the Senate about legal recognition of decisions made by the Nikolayev City Duma even in case of the absence of a quorum. Datzenko explained that “very often the meetings of the City Duma are canceled due to the absence of the necessary number of representatives”.¹⁵ On 26 March 1887 this question was discussed in St. Petersburg and the Senate refused to satisfy the request.

According to the City Regulation of 11 June 1892, the tax requirements for participating in the elections were substituted by the property requirements. Only the owners of property worth over 300 rubles – a value that had to be assessed by a special commission – had a right to vote. Jewish population could neither vote nor stand for election; instead, they were represented in the local self-governing bodies through guarantors. The Mayor and the Duma clerks received the status of civil servants. The Military Governor of Nikolayev retained full control over the Duma, since he had the authority to suspend the Duma’s decisions, if, in his view, they run counter to the affairs of the State. Thus, although the Duma had the right to appeal against the Military Governor’s decisions to the Senate, the State Council, or the Cabinet of Ministers, the local initiative was completely destroyed.

The last elections to the City Duma of Nikolayev in accordance with the described system of property qualifications was held in 1916 r. In 1917–1920, the city had two concurrent Dumas, since in addition to the Duma previously elected in 1916, there was a new, democratically elected Duma. On 15 April 1917, the Provisional Government adopted a resolution on holding elections in the system of city self-government, according to which the democratical composition of the Nikolayev Duma was elected. The electoral right was vested in residents who had reached the age of twenty years, without distinction of sex and nationality. The property qualification was excluded. Lists of candidates for the Duma were made on a partisan basis. This electoral system was radically different from

15. DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 12097, fols. 6–10.

elections to Zemstvo Assemblies and City Councils before the February Revolution of 1917 and was in line with the democratic principles of the leading states of that time (England, Belgium, Norway, the USA, France, Switzerland, etc.).

During the revolutionary events of 1917–1921 in Ukraine, compositions of Duma alternated. Its democratical composition was recognized by the Ukrainian Central Council, the government of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, and the Directory. In 1920 the institution of the Nikolayev City Duma was abolished.¹⁶

During the time of *shestiglasnaya дума* (1798–1872), all Mayors belonged to merchantry. These were, to name them in chronological order: P. Turchaninov, I. Rezaka, S. Krylov, Ye. Kustov, Solovyev, P. Korolecki, A. Litvinov, I. Sibirtsev, S. Maklakov, I. Sobolev, A. Bukhteyev, K. Sobolev, I. Nikolayev, F. Sobolev. Since 1872, most of the Mayors were members of nobility or military officers: A. Akimov, retired Major General; A. Bukhteyev, hereditary distinguished citizen; M. Parizo, retired Captain of Cavalry; V. Datsenko, retired Junior Captain; F. Kroun, retired Vice Admiral; A. Sokovnin, hereditary nobleman; P. Grekhovodov, a nobleman; I. Baptizmanski, retired Lieutenant; N. Leontovich, Kh. Matveyev, N. Dmitriyev, noblemen; and B. P. Kostenko, engineer-shipbuilder. The fact that representatives of merchantry were among the leaders of the Nikolayev City Duma does not mean that they influenced the city's commercial and civil life. In 1823 the Nikolayev Military Governor Admiral A. S. Greig and the City Duma went through a conflict concerning allocation of funds for the road pavements. Since then Admiral Greig dealt with all the questions regarding the city without the City Duma's intermediation. Admiral Greig's approach was adopted by Admiral M. P. Lazarev, who also ignored the city government. Thus, in the city matters the Military Governors acted mostly at their own discretion and gave the City Duma orders to allocate funds for certain activities.¹⁷ It is worth

16. Larysa Levchenko (compiler), *Миколаївщина у вирі революційних подій: березень 1917 р. – квітень 1918 р.: Документи та матеріали* [Mykolaiv Region in the Whirlwind of Revolutionary Events: March 1917 – April 1918: Documents and Materials], (Mykolaiv: Ilion, 2019); Larysa Levchenko, Volodymyr Shchukin (compilers), *Миколаївщина у вирі революційних подій: травень 1918 р. – квітень 1919 р.: Документи та матеріали* [Mykolaiv Region in the Whirlwind of Revolutionary Events: May 1918 – April 1919: Documents and Materials], (Mykolaiv: Ilion, 2020).

17. Grigoriï Ge, *Исторический очерк столетнего существования города Николаева при устье Ингула (1790–1890)* [Historical Sketch of the Centenary Existence of the City of Nikolayev at the Mouth of

noting that it was due to the Mayor E. Kustov's initiative that Admiral Greig established the City Committee (*Городовой комитет*), a special bank enterprise giving loans to merchants, who were the residents of Nikolayev Governorate as well as those from other guberniias. This decision had a mildly positive effect on the local trade. The merchants started to stock rusks, cereals, butter, wine, salted butter, meat, lard, which they later sold not only to the fleet and to local inhabitants but also on the Odessa markets.¹⁸

In 1822 a newly built wharf opened in Nikolayev (opposite the Pervaya Slododskaya street), yet there was no foreign trade.¹⁹ In the next years the access of the foreign citizens and national minorities to the city markets was further inhibited. In 1829, the imperial authorities evicted Jews from the cities of Nikolayev and Sevastopol. During and after the Crimean War (1853–1856), all the foreign subjects were forced out of these cities.²⁰ Russian merchants, on the contrary, received privileges, but these measures could not stimulate major businesses to transfer their capitals to Nikolayev.

In the *Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire* (vol. XI on Kherson Guberniia) conducted and published in 1849 by the General Staff Officer Aleksandr Rogalev, Junior Captain August von Witte, and Junior Captain Grigorii Pestov, Nikolayev is presented as a solely military-maritime port and a citadel with a 1,457 *sazhens* long masonry wall on the eastern side. The industry of the city consisted the state-owned Admiralty, two shipyards (one on the bank of the Southern Bug and another on the river Ingul), the rope factory of the Navy Ministry, and several private factories: the brick factory, three tile factories, two wool-washing factories, four candle factories, ten lard processing factories, and one brewery. The city trade was not limited to minor operations. The local shops sold only dry goods, groceries and other small items, while merchants traded wood, lard, leather and salted fish. There were 216 shops, 43 pubs, 38 wine cellars in Nikolayev. There was no yearly fair, however, Mondays and Fridays were market days.

the River Ingul (1790–1890)], in *Именованъ – город Николаев. Историко-краеведческий выпуск* [To Be Named the City of Nikolayev. An Issue Dedicated to the Regional History], (Mykolaiv, 1989), pp. 141, 188.

18. DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 63, fols. 2–3.

19. Dmitrii Gnusin, *Материалы для описания русских портов и истории их сооружения* [Materials for the Description of Russian Ports and History of Their Construction], issue IX: Nikolayev Port, (St. Petersburg, 1889), p. 4.

20. Levchenko, *History of Mykolaiv and Sevastopol Military Governorates*, pp. 145–153.

The city population reached 38,618 people (not taking into account the regular army), out of which seven men and eighteen women were the merchants of the 1st guild, five men and fourteen women belonged to the merchants of the 2nd guild, and eighty men and seventy-two women represented the merchants of the 3rd guild.²¹

After the Crimean war, under the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1856), the Russian Empire had to liquidate the military-maritime fleet and stop shipbuilding on the Black Sea. The same year, the Administration of Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet and Ports in Nikolayev was abolished. Many seamen were transferred to other fleets of the Russian Empire or dismissed from service. The fleet-oriented city economy faced crisis: craftsmen and workers were leaving the city to work elsewhere; contractors and suppliers moved businesses. The population numbers fluctuated dramatically, with a tendency to drop, from 40,838 in 1850, to 34,753 in 1853, 44,280 in 1856, in 40,457 in 1857, 35,225 in 1858, 34,309 in 1859, and 32,174 in 1860.²²

In these circumstances, N. A. Arkas (the future Military Governor of Nikolayev) and N. A. Novoselskii (the future Odessa Mayor) came up with an idea to create the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (ROPiT, 1856). The company's task was to realize cargo and passenger transportation in peacetime, but also, secretly, to perform transport operations during wars. Odessa became the headquarters of the company. In 1858 the ROPiT already owned 35 steamships, which transported 123,000 passengers and four million poods of cargo. The ROPiT stimulated the development of regular maritime transport between the ports of South Ukraine, the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Italy, Great Britain, France, China and other countries as well as the local sea traffic.²³ Nonetheless, the ROPiT did not play any significant role in the economy of Nikolayev. The ROPiT vessels transported cargoes and passengers to Nikolayev primarily for the purposes of

21. Aleksandr Rogalev, August von Witte, Grigorii Pestov, *Военно-статистическое обозрение Российской империи* [Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire], vol. XI: Kherson Guberniia, part 1, (St. Petersburg, 1849), pp. 5, 138, 150–151, 205, 206–208.

22. Levchenko, *History of Mykolaiv and Sevastopol Military Governorates*, p. 76.

23. Andrii Demidov, *Діяльність Російського товариства пароплавства і торгівлі (1856–1920 рр.) на Півдні України* [Activity of the Russian Society of Shipping and Trade (1856–1920) in the Southern Ukraine], (Ph.D. Dissertation Summary, Odessa, 2011), p. 8.

Admiralty, decked in the military harbour or their own private wharf in Spasskoye, and used the Navy factories to do the repairs of ships.

In 1860, Nikolayev Military Governor Admiral B. A. von Glazenap proposed to open the Nikolayev port for foreign vessels and allow import and export operations, but faced severe criticism from three ministers, of Foreign Affairs, of Finance, and of Navy. Nonetheless, von Glazenap succeeded in persuading the government to permit foreign vessels to enter the port of Nikolayev. He proved that Nikolayev had unique natural conditions and geographic location for the development of grain trade. The permission to open the port for foreign trade was received on 1 June 1862 together with an order to establish in Nikolayev Customs Service of the 1st class and foreign Consulates there. The first foreign vessel to arrive to the Nikolayev Commercial Port was the Norwegian naval corvette *Smaragd* in June 1862.²⁴

The Nikolayev International Commercial Port was organized on the left bank of the Southern Bug, eight and a half miles away from the mouth of the river Ingul, in the area called Popova Balka (*Попова балка*). Several factors determined the importance of this port: 1) its central location, in the middle of region producing large quantities of grain: this included parts of Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kharkov, Kursk, Chernigov and Kiev Guberniias; 2) the long period of maritime navigation (285 days a year); 3) during the winter months, two icebreakers (*Haidamak* and *Ledokol I*) kept the work of the port uninterrupted (since 1903); 4) the vicinity of the railroads to the port of Nikolayev, especially in comparison to other ports of the Black Sea.²⁵

In 1862–1870, Nikolayev Statistics Committee collected first set of data on the Nikolayev Commercial Port. The number of foreign ships arriving to the port was constantly increasing, from 9 in 1862 to 20 in 1863, 86 in 1864, 214 in 1865, 187 in 1866, 211 in 1867. The numbers of the ships leaving the port increased accordingly: from 10 in 1862 to 20 in 1863, 85 in 1864, 222 in 1865, 195 in 1866, 271 in 1867, 134 in 1868, 113 in 1869, 170 in 1870. The ships were coming from all the parts of the world, to give

24. DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 5023, fols. 1–103.

25. Lorents Yustus, “Экономическое значение порта” [Economic Importance of the Port], in Lorents Yustus, *Описание Николаевского торгового порта* [Description of the Nikolayev Trade Port], (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 1–3.

only one example, in 1863 out of the total of 20 ships, 8 came from Austria, 3 from Italy, 5 from Greece, 1 from the Ionian Islands, 2 from Norway, and only one ship was Russian. The cargoes brought to Nikolayev included different industrial goods, wood, coal, but also ballast. From Nikolayev they transported wheat, rye, oat, barley, flax, millet, iron. During the first years of the existence of the Nikolayev International Commercial Port, the value of export exceeded the value of import considerably (export/import in rubles): 135,723 / 4,275 in 1862, 264,007 / 8,610 in 1863, 1,733,742 / 85,820 in 1864, 4,304,627 / 129,777 in 1865, 5,805,480 / 80,475 in 1866, 10,831,933 / 26,992 in 1867, 3,524,679 / 42,956 in 1868, 3,571,470 / 118,403 in 1869, 4,685,867 / 21,196 in 1870.²⁶

After the port opened for the export-import operations, von Glazenap addressed the government of the Russian Empire with a request to give Jews permission to return to Nikolayev. The Senate's decree of 24 June 1859 granted to the Jewish merchants of all guilds the right to reside, trade, and own property in Nikolayev. On 11 April 1860, von Glazenap filed a report to the Navy Ministry, in which he outlined the benefits of inviting Jewish population back to the city. As a result, on 28 October 1860, retired Jews of lower ranks also received permission to permanently reside in Nikolayev. In 1861 Jewish tradesmen received the right to trade in Nikolayev. In 1865 von Glazenap addressed the Navy Ministry with the request to give all petty entrepreneurs (*мещане*) of Jewish descent permission to reside in Nikolayev, which was granted on 24 March 1866. After that the number of Jews in the city increased.²⁷ Many Jews engaged in grain trade and thus contributed to the economic growth in Nikolayev. Jewish merchants opened their stores also outside of the city limits, in *steppe*, close to the producers of grain. Even those Jews who did not have a formal status of a merchant carried grain trade, using Russified names as a cover. But despite this burgeoning activity, the big Odessa trading houses (such as Ephrussi & Co., Kogan, Rodocanachi, and others) accumulated most of the grain trading. The merchants of Nikolayev dispatched less than thirty per cent of grain export.²⁸

26. DAMO, fond 239, opys 1, sprava 21, fols. 24–29.

27. Levchenko, *History of Mykolaiv and Sevastopol Military Governorates*, pp. 153–154.

28. Yulii Yanson, *Статистическое исследование о хлебной торговле в Одесском районе* [Statistical Research on Grain Trade in Odessa Region], (St. Petersburg, 1870), p. 401.

Although the economic development of Nikolayev was initially hampered by the absence of the railway connection, postal and telegraph service, pilot stations in the port, stock market, and banks, the city began to flourish. “The Statistical Note of the City of Nikolayev” (*Статистическая записка г. Николаева*) compiled by the Nikolayev Statistics Committee, provides the following data on the number of city inhabitants: in 1863 the population consisted of 43,053 people, out of which 1,216 were merchants, of both sexes, of the 2nd guild.²⁹ In 1875 the Nikolayev Statistics Committee did the one-day census of the city and the Military Governorate on the whole. According to this calculations, the 60,328 people resided in Nikolayev, out of which 668 men and 684 women represented the social estate of merchants.³⁰ In the last quarter of the 19th century, the population of Nikolayev increases due to both the natural growth and the increase in the number of merchants and trademen (see Table 7.1)

Table 7.1. Population of Nikolayev, 1863–1897

Year	Population	Year	Population	Year	Population
1863	43,053	1880	69,893	1893	85,000
1875	60,328	1885	74,187	1894	86,608
1877	64,197	1890	76,578	1895	88,730
1878	62,994	1891	77,211	1896	91,908
1879	67,588	1892	83,363	1897	92,012

Sources: DAMO, fond 239, opys 1, sprava 4, fol. 70; *Николаев с его пригородами и хуторами по переписи, произведенной 27 апреля 1875 года* [Nikolayev with its Suburbs and Farmsteads according to the Census of 27 April 1875], (Nikolayev, 1877), pp. 5–50; Всеподданнейший отчет Николаевского военного губернатора о состоянии г. Николаев за 1880 год [The Most Loyal Report of the Military Governor of Nikolayev on the State of Nikolayev in 1880], in *DAMO, Research Library*, inventory number 10931, 16 p.; *Краткий статистический отчет Николаевского губернаторства (Херсонская губерния) за 1876 год* [A Short Statistical Report of the Nikolayev Governorate (Kherson Guberniia) for the Year 1876], (Nikolayev, 1876), Table on p. 1; *Краткий статистический отчет Николаевского губернаторства (Херсонская губерния) за 1877 год* [A Short Statistical Report of the Nikolayev Governorate (Kherson Guberniia) for the Year 1877], (Nikolayev, 1877), Table on p. 1; *Краткий статистический отчет Николаевского губернаторства (Херсонская губерния) за 1878 год* [A Short Statistical Report of the Nikolayev Governorate (Kherson Guberniia) for the Year 1878], (Nikolayev, 1878),

29. DAMO, fond 239, opys 1, sprava 4, fol. 70.

30. *Николаев с его пригородами и хуторами по переписи, произведенной 27 апреля 1875 года* [Nikolayev with its Suburbs and Farmsteads according to the Census of 27 April 1875], (Nikolayev, 1877), pp. 5–50.

Table on p. 1; *Краткий статистический отчет Николаевского губернского правления (Херсонская губерния) за 1879 год* [A Short Statistical Report of the Nikolayev Governorate (Kherson Guberniia) for the Year 1879], (Nikolayev, 1879), Table on p. 1; *Краткий статистический отчет Николаевского губернского правления (Херсонская губерния) за 1880 год* [A Short Statistical Report of the Nikolayev Governorate (Kherson Guberniia) for the Year 1880], (Nikolayev, 1880), Table on p. 1; *Обзор Николаевского военного губернского правления за 1890 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1890], (Nikolayev, 1891); *Обзор Николаевского военного губернского правления за 1891 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1891], (Nikolayev, 1892); *Обзор Николаевского военного губернского правления за 1894 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1894], (Nikolayev, 1895); *Обзор Николаевского военного губернского правления за 1895 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1895], (Nikolayev, 1896); Larysa Levchenko, “Статистичний аналіз національного складу населення Миколаївського військового губернского правління в XIX столітті (за матеріалами офіційної статистики)” [Statistical Analysis of the National Composition of the Population of the Mykolaiv Military Governorate in the 19th century (Based on Official Statistics)], in *Naukovi Pratsi: Naukovo-Metodychnyi Zhurnal*, issue 4: Historical Sciences, (Mykolaiv, 2002), pp. 37–42; Nikolai Troinitskii (ed.), *Первая Всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года* [The First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897], in 89 vols., vol. XLVII: Kherson Guberniia, (St. Petersburg, 1904).

By the end of the 19th century Nikolayev became an industrial and commercial centre, its labour market attracted unemployed workers from all the Russian Empire. According to the National Population Census of 1897, the city population was 92,012 people, including 690 male and 734 female merchants.³¹

In 1870 the Russian Empire, using the Franco-Prussian War as an excuse, refused to observe the restrictions of military fleet shipbuilding on the Black Sea, prescribed by the Treaty of Paris (1856). This decision was internationally recognized at the London Conference in 1871. In this context, the Admiralty of Nikolayev started the construction of military fleet. On 1 April 1871 the first armor-clad ship *Novgorod* was launched. Along with this, the Administration of the Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet was restored in Nikolayev. The city economy received a tremendous boost. In 1870 the industry of Nikolayev was represented by 22 state and private factories and 796 craftsmen.³²

In 1871 famous engineer K. I. Konstantinov built in Nikolayev, for the first time in the Russian Empire, a rocket plant producing military, lighting, signalling, and lifesaving rockets. He had 33 workshops, 6 warehouses and a laboratory. In 1873 Nikolayev had

31. Nikolai Troinitskii (ed.), *Первая Всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года* [The First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897], in 89 vols., vol. XLVII: Kherson Guberniia, (St. Petersburg, 1904).

32. DAMO, fond 239, opys 1, sprava 18, fol. 48.

115 factories and plants with 1,224 workers; the value of their production was estimated at 964,360 rubles.³³ As is evident in Table 7.2, in 1880 Nikolayev had 131 industrial enterprises, and only in nine years, in 1889, this number reached 862 (including the shipbuilding facilities). In 1894 the Military Governor of Nikolayev N. V. Kopytov launched the construction of large shipyards. On 25 September 1895 in Brussels (Belgium) J. Francois and E. Delois established the Anonymous Company of Shipyards, Workshops and Foundries in Nikolayev (*Анонимное общество корабельных верфей, мастерских и плавилен в Николаеве*), which launched its first shipyard in October 1897. Official documents frequently refer to it as the “Navale” or “French” yard. The main capital of the company (4,5 million of rubles) was in Brussels. On 27 April 1896 Kopytov reported the foundation of the Nikolayev South-Russian Mechanical Plant (*Николаевский южнорусский механический завод*) owned, on paper, by the Company of Mechanical Production in South Russia (*Общество механического производства в Южной России*); the actual owner, bank “Societe Generale”, was international.

Table 7.2. Industrial Development of Nikolayev in the 1880s–1890s

Years	Industrial factories and plants			State Enterprises of the Navy Ministry				
	Total number of plants and factories	Overall Production, in rubles	Number of workers	Number of Enterprises	Overall Production, in rubles	%	Number of workers	%
1880	131	1,996,159	2,085	27	721,042	6	1,257	0
1883	171	3,110,064	2,964	27	1,932,502	2	2,783	3
1886	157	2,877,297	3,306	22	2,063,497	1	2,741	2
1890	191	3,591,659	3,672	24	2,450,409	8	2,704	3
1891	191	3,313,523	3,773	26	2,166,509	5	2,607	9
1894	204	4,009,188	3,831	26	2,591,508	4	2,875	4
1895	258	4,520,695	3,904	30	2,602,831	7	2,507	4
1899	862	12,126,324	8,356	33	1,993,953	6	1,548	8

33. DAMO, fond 239, opys 1, sprava 20, fol. 56.

Sources: Всеподданнейший отчет Николаевского военного губернатора о состоянии г. Николаев за 1880 год [The Most Loyal Report of the Military Governor of Nikolayev on the State of Nikolayev in 1880], in *DAMO, Research Library*, inventory number 10931, p. 12; DAMO, fond 239, opys 1, sprava 74, fol. 25; fond 239, opys 1, sprava 85, fol. 27; *Обзор Николаевского военного губернаторства за 1890 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1890], (Nikolayev, 1891), p. 11; *Обзор Николаевского военного губернаторства за 1891 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1891], (Nikolayev, 1892), p. 15; *Обзор Николаевского военного губернаторства за 1894 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1894], (Nikolayev, 1895), p. 25; *Обзор Николаевского военного губернаторства за 1895 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1895], (Nikolayev, 1896), p. 30; *Обзор Николаевского военного губернаторства за 1899 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year of 1899], (Nikolayev, 1900), pp. 6, 37–42; “Из условий деятельности в России «Анонимного общества корабельных верфей, мастерских и плавилен в Николаеве»” [On the Activity of the “Anonymous Company of Shipyards, Workshops and Foundries in Nikolayev” in Russia], in *Собрание узаконений и распоряжений правительства, издаваемое при Правительствующем Сенате* [A Collection of Laws and Government Orders Issued by the Governing Senate], (St. Petersburg, 1896), No. 113, p. 4267; DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 13865, fols. 1–3.

The *Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year 1899* contains information about 62 private enterprises, 33 workshops of the Navy Ministry, the rocket plant, a waste treatment factory, workshops of the Kharkov – Nikolayev Railroad, and 768 other medium and small enterprises of various kinds. In 1899, private business employed 5,459 people making 6,890,819 rubles in the annual production. To mention only few examples: a mechanically operated bakery of the Company of Mechanical Bakeries, with the fixed capital of 195,000 rubles; two factories of agricultural machinery belonging to of K. A. Essen and the Donski Brothers; a plant of boiler valves owned by A. I. Umansky, two sawmill plants of the Vadon Brothers, the mills of D. I. Obremchenko and K. I. Kobaykov, and an oil press of Levin and Ratner.³⁴ In 1897 a Belgian company launched the horse-drawn tram, connecting the neighbourhood Slobodka with the shipyard “Navale”, the yacht club and the port. In a few years electric engine replaced the horses.³⁵

In 1868 the City Committee of Nikolayev (*Городовой комитет*) was abolished, replacing it by the Nikolayev City Public Bank (*Николаевский городской общественный банк*), the Nikolayev branch of the State Bank (*Николаевское отделение Государственного банка*) and the affiliate with the latter First Credit and Savings Bank

34. *Обзор Николаевского военного губернаторства за 1899 год* [A Survey of the Military Governorate of Nikolayev for the Year 1899], (Nikolayev, 1900), pp. 4–5.

35. Vadim Alyoshin, Natalia Kukhar-Onishko, Vladimir Yarovoi, *Николаев: архитектурно-исторический очерк* [Nikolayev: A Survey of Architecture and History], (Kyiv: Budivel'nyk, 1988).

(*1-ая кредитно-сберегательная касса*).³⁶ In 1891, merchant of the 1st guild, hereditary honorary citizen, and Greek national Ivan Spiridonovich Bakk and merchant of the 1st guild Miron Shulim Naftulovich Kobylansky opened their banking houses in the “Odessa” district of Nikolayev.³⁷ Soon several other banks opened their branches in Nikolayev, where they functioned until 1917. These were the Petrograd International Commercial Bank, the Russian Bank for Foreign Trade, the Odessa Discount Bank, the Odessa Merchant Bank, the United Bank, the Nikolayev Agricultural Mutual Loan Association, the Nikolayev Mutual Loan Association, the Bereznegovatskoe Mutual Loan Association, the Shirokov Mutual Loan Association, the Krivorog Merchant Mutual Loan Association, the Novy-Bug Agricultural Mutual Loan Association, the Snegirev Mutual Loan Association, the Orlov Mutual Loan Association, the Karlsruers Mutual Loan Association, the Pokrovskoye Mutual Loan Association. These bank and loan associations were subject to the regulations of the Nikolayev branch of Russian State Bank.³⁸

During the second half of the 19th century, Nikolayev had several markets: the main market situated on Bazarnaya Ploshchad’, and the markets on the Voyennaya, Sennaya, and Shlagbaumskaya squares. In 1895, annual fairs (*yarmarka*) started to take place in the city, with the newly established Administration of Fairs regulating their business. The First Boriso-Glebskaya Yarmarka took place during the first week of May in 1895. The establishment of the fair contributed to the economic development and promoted Nikolayev as a centre of cattle trade. Cows, horses, pigs, and sheep were brought to the city from Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, Poltava and Kiev Guberniias. The agricultural equipment (seeders, winnowers, and plows) was sold at the First fair of crafts named “Alexadnrovskaya”, which was first held on 20–26 August of the same year, attracting merchants from the guberniias of Kherson, Odessa, Yelisavetgrad, Voznesensk, Kiev, Taurida, Bessarabia and even Orlov, Moscow, and Kursk.³⁹

36. Ge, *Historical Sketch of the Centenary Existence of the City of Nikolayev*, pp. 127–128.

37. DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 12712, fol. 4.

38. DAMO, fond 48, opys 1, sprava 246, fols. 1–19.

39. Evgenii Gorburov, Kirill Gorburov, “Базарный смотритель” [Market Inspector], a digital publication in *Николаевская информационно-аналитическая интернет-газета* [Mykolaiv Information and Analytical Online Newspaper], <http://www.mk.mk.ua/rubric/social/2014/07/22/15744/> (date of publication: 22.07.2014; date of access: 15.06.2020)

The Nikolayev Grain Exchange, the Stock Exchange Committee, the Exchange Court of Arbitration, and the Exchange Analytical Bureau opened in 1885, and on 13 December 1885 Alexander III approved the Statute of the Nikolayev Grain Exchange, which was administered by the Department of Trade and Manufactures in the Ministry of Finance. All the traders or their representatives could attend the Nikolayev Grain Exchange to get necessary information or to conduct trade operations. The exchange-market year began on 1 January; by the end of December, the future traders had to submit their application to the Stock Exchange Committee and pay annual fee. The Exchange Association in Nikolayev consisted of 54 merchants of the 1st and 2nd guilds, both residents and non-residents of Nikolayev. The first elections for the Exchange Committee were held on 2 February 1886 at the presence of the Mayor V. Datsenko and 42 members of the Exchange Association, who voted I. D. Erlich, A. P. Mavrokordato, Ph. Fisher, P. Shteer, Lipavski, V. I. David, E. A. Berg, I. Ivanov, N. Serbos to serve as regular members, and E. Essen, A. Birstein, K. Kobayakov as alternates. A. P. Mavrokordato became the first elected Head of the Exchange Committee; V. David was elected his associate. For a long time, K. A. Essen performed the functions of a speaker, later succeeded by L. N. Dmitriyev; on 10 October 1910, these functions has been taken over by G. A. Vlastelitsa. The first brokers were elected on 10 May 1886. They were the merchants of the 2nd guild: the subjects of Russian Empire L. M. Trakhtenberg, I. R. Nemirovski, G. M. Kenigsberg, A. C. Kamener, R. I. Berendorf, A. M. Milio, S. V. Kamenski, and Greek nationals S. S. Kologeras, Kh. V. Razis, German national A. A. Fischer; Russian subject D. B. Chernikhov was elected as a broker candidate. The merchant L. M. Trakhtenberg was appointed senior broker. In 1887 the “Instruction on the Order of Appointing and Dismissing and on the Rights and Duties of Brokers of the Nikolayev Exchange” (*Инструкция о порядке определения и увольнения и о правах и обязанностях маклеров при Николаевской бирже*) was approved. A successful candidate for broker ought to be a Russian subject, merchant of the 2nd guild, to have experience in bank or business management in a company owned by the merchant of the 1st guild, to have worked as a clerk under the supervision of the merchant of the 1st guild, to own a certificate of the merchant of the 2nd guild, and to meet the lower age limit of 30. The Exchange Committee elected brokers by secret ballot, and the Department of Trade and Manufacture had a mandate to endorse

the results of the elections. After taking an oath, the brokers received a silver badge with an engraving “Broker”. Each broker registered trade operations in the corded book and submitted it for review to the Kherson Treasury (*Казённая Палата*) at the end of each year. Trade operations had stamp duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ kopeck per each ruble, paid by both the seller and the buyer, while the fee for money transfers and promissory notes was 0.125 per cent of the amount in roubles. Brokers had an obligation to report the prices of merchandise and interest bearing securities to Senior Broker on a daily basis; using this data, Senior Broker compiled priced catalogues and exchange rates and presented it to the Exchange Committee, which published them in the newspaper *Gubernskiye Vedomosti*.

Since, against the regulations, several foreign nationals were present among the initially elected brokers, a new election took place on 14 February 1888. The new set of members included: G. M. Kenigsberg, R. I. Berendorf, A. S. Kamener, I. R. Nemirovski, S. V. Kamenski, L. M. Trakhtenberg, D. B. Chernykh, A. M. Milio, and G. V. Shlemin. L. M. Trakhtenberg was elected Senior Broker. During the same period of time the Nikolayev Exchange Committee engaged in a dispute with the Ministry of Finance about increasing brokerage fees, promoted by the Committee. The Ministry of Finance did not approve this decision, fearing an increase in grain prices that would further complicate grain sales on international market, which was already very competitive.⁴⁰ The first and the only historian of the Nikolayev Exchange V. I. Nikitin wrote: “The exchange concentrating wealth, power and influence of local merchants, as well as the business representatives from other cities; this fact allowed quick expansion of grain trade. Due to the grain exchange, Nikolayev received an important role of the distribution market in the vast area of grain harvesting and trade”.⁴¹ Taking a more cautious stand, I argue that the contribution of the Nikolayev Grain Exchange to the development of grain trade in the region was mainly in regulating the export of grain, improving the process of bidding, and providing money to the city budget; but it did not have immediate impact on increasing the amount of grain export. G. N. Ge described the Nikolayev grain trade of the time the following

40. DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 11622, fols. 10–12, 55–56, 60; see also “The Instruction on the Procedure of Appointing and Dismissing of Brokers at Nikolayev Exchange, and on their Rights and Responsibilities. Nikolayev, 1887”, in DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 11622, fols. 32–39.

41. Vasilii Nikitin, *Николаевская хлебная биржа. Прошлое и настоящее* [Nikolayev Grain Exchange. Past and Present], (Mykolaiv, 1993), p. 22.

way: “During the dispatch of grain, the wide streets leading to the port of Nikolayev were crowded with people and carriages. Sometimes, those who were in a hurry to reach the port had to cross over the carts with grain. A barefoot man without a hat would come to the Exchange Market and make up to 30 rubles a day”.⁴² The grain export played significant role in the economy of the port-city and depended not so much on the activities of the Grain Exchange Market as on the foreign policy of the Russian Empire, harvest, and rather poor logistics of the time.

Table 7.3. Grain Export from the Nikolayev International Commercial Port in 1862–1882

Year	Grain Products in <i>chetvert</i>	Grain Products in <i>rubles</i>	Year	Grain Products in <i>chetvert</i>	Grain Products in <i>rubles</i>
1862	19,446	123,882	1873	621,802	5,229,449
1863	29,826	236,502	1874	1,252,505	10,132,938
1864	248,197	1,685,144	1875	942,482	8,176,385
1865	774,419	4,098,587	1876	1,262,988.5	12,054,547
1866	623,925	5,596,696	1877	610,744	7,025,538
1867	1,013,873	10,755,283	1878	3,441,626	29,773,638
1868	537,586	4,237,692	1879	3,335,795	33,983,143
1869	362,663	3,461,328	1880	1,628,878.5	21,200,395
1870	603,802	5,928,180	1881	1,731,526	22,381,635
1871	900,121	8,976,362	1882	1,368,729.5	14,873,357
1872	994,546	10,281,650	1883	1,578,577	10,756,795

Source: “Вывезено из Николаева за границу” [Exported from Nikolayev], in *О коммерческом порте в г. Николаеве. Из “Николаевского листка” (ныне “Южанин”)* [On the Commercial Port in the City of Nikolayev. From the newspaper *Nikolaevskii Listok* (now *Yuzhanin*)], (Nikolayev, 1884), a table on the page without number at the end of the issue.

In the next several years, the export of grain was the following (in poods and rubles):
1884 – 17,980,000 poods / 17,088,000 rubles; 1885 – 16,876,000 poods / 14,829,000 rubles;

42. Ge, *Historical Sketch of the Centenary Existence of the City of Nikolayev*, p. 62.

1886 – 14,732,000 poods / 12,276.000 rubles; 1887 – 32,668.000 poods / 29,367.000 rubles.⁴³

The increase of the export trade in the second half of the 19th century in Nikolayev necessitated the opening of the foreign Consulates of the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Great Britain, Germany, Turkey, Italy, Greece, Austro-Hungary, France, and Brazil. The Consulates were issuing passports and visas, legalized documents, kept the records of marital status, performed the notary functions, controlled the realization of the trade agreements and different conventions, informed their governments about the condition of trade and seafaring in the region, about the new laws, change in tariffs, prices, as well as protected the interests of their nationals. By the order of the Military Governor of Nikolayev N. A. Arkas, all the Consuls had an obligation of attending the receptions hosted by the Military Governor (1871). Nikolayev was part of the Odessa Consular District, administered by Consul Generals or Consuls. Vice-Consuls or Consulate agents appointed to work in Nikolayev were usually the agents of the 4th consul rank.⁴⁴

During the first half of the 19th century Nikolayev had a customs post, established by the Highest order of 22 November 1793, and initially subordinate to the Collegium of Commerce (*Коммерц-коллегия*). Since 1811, it belonged to the Odessa Customs District and was administered by the Department of Foreign Trade of the Ministry of Finance. In 1817–1859, the post functioned mainly in connection to the status of *porto-franco* granted to Odessa.⁴⁵ The custom post identified and examined foreign goods if they were smuggled outside of the borders of Odessa's *porto-franco* against the Customs Regulation. Upon locating and confiscating the smuggled goods, the customs post conducted an investigation and calculated the customs duty (which was the double price). If the merchants did not agree and contested the decision, the case was sent to court. The work of customs officers, except the high salary, was rewarded with a percentage from the value

43. Gnusin, *Materials for the Description of Russian Ports*, pp. 36–37.

44. Levchenko, *History of Mykolaiv and Sevastopol Military Governorates*, pp. 89–90; DAMO, fond 229, opys 2, sprava 4423, 8731, 12524, 12612, 12835, 12948, 13348, and 14184; fond 231, opys 1, sprava 1214 and 1639.

45. Valentyn Kovalskyi, *Становлення та розвиток митної справи на Півдні України з давніх часів до 1917 року (на матеріалах Миколаївської митниці)* [Formation and Development of Customs in South Ukraine from Antiquity to 1917 (on the Example of the Nikolayev Customs)], (Ph.D. Dissertation Summary, Odessa: 2004).

of the confiscated goods. Customs officers also collected the information about the inspectors of goods, brokers, exchange auctioneers, notaries and average adjusters in the region, and submitted it to the Ministry of Finance, though almost all these functions were at that time performed by the same person, commoner Fyodor Sharlaimov, who was broker at the Nikolayev City Magistrate (*Николаевский городской магистрат*) and also performed the functions of a notary. The Customs officers paid special attention to the military contraband, which could be transported on the Black Sea Fleet vessels and then moved either in or outside of the country, to the Ottoman Empire and Asia Minor.

Letukhovskii was the outpost supervisor until 1826. In 1828 the outpost staff consisted of the supervisor (Titular Counsellor Andrei Kolomoitsev), the supervisor of the packhouse (Titular Counsellor Fyodor Chigrintsov), clerk (Nikolai Novikov), inspector (Collegiate Secretary Sadykov, Collegiate registrar Shvenkovskii, non-commissioned officer Ivanitskii, under-clerk (*подканцелярист*) Alexandrov and private Petrov, one clerk post was vacant).⁴⁶ The customs post was abolished according to the regulation of the Ministry of Finance of 20 April 1859, due to the termination of the status of *porto-franco* in Odessa.⁴⁷ At that moment, the post of the supervisor was held by the Titular Counsellor of the 9th class Faddei Yashinkii, Glizian was the supervisor of the packhouse, Feldwebel Mikhailov, boatswain Volik, non-commissioned officers Zimov, Smoldyrev, Shved, Aliabiev, Gonianok, and private Krasnoperov were the inspectors, while the Titular Counsellor Ivan Umanski and the Richelieu Lyceum student Zibarov served as clerks.

The Nikolayev Port Customs of the 1st class 2nd rank was established on 1 June 1862, and was part of the Odessa Customs District. In 1882 it was transferred to the Crimea Customs District, and in 1901 it became part of the Southern Customs District. On the state level the Nikolayev Customs was administered first by the Department of Foreign Trade and later by the Department of Customs Duties at the Ministry of Finance. Its first staff was approved on 10 April 1862, and consisted of the manager (the Court Counsellor for special assignments at the Department of Foreign Trade, the nobleman Valentin Andreyevich Sredin), the member-treasurer (the Titular Counsellor Mikhail Sukhomlin, who was soon substituted by the Titular Counsellor, Baron Alexander Pilar von Pilchau),

46. DAMO, fond 264, opys 1, sprava 5, fols. 76, 97, 116, and 141.

47. DAMO, fond 264, opys 2, sprava 56, fols. 1–4, 26, 27.

the secretary (Collegiate Secretary Yosiph Grigoriev), the interpreter (August Tavastshern performed these functions temporarily; the same year he was substituted by the student Myshkovskii), the accounting clerk, responsible for calculating the duties (Collegiate Secretary Shkliarevskii), packhouse supervisor (the clerk of the Department of Foreign Trade Yegor Kulinskii), Wagstempelmeister (Collegiate Secretary Pyotr Berezov), the ship superintendent (Collegiate Assessor August Tavastshern), an expert for the examination of pharmaceutical materials and paints (Guberniia's Secretary Pavel Karpinskii).⁴⁸ The personnel rotation at the Customs Service was high. In 1866 almost all the officers stepped back from their duties because of the reorganization of the Customs Service of the Russian Empire (1857–1868) conducted by Alexander II. During the reorganization, the Nikolayev Port Customs was under the care of the Titular Counsellor I. A. Grigoriev and the Titular Counsellor Ziberov⁴⁹, and the Collegiate Secretary Rostislav Vladimirovich Elagin since 1868. In the 1880s – 1890s the State Councillor Mikhail Stepanovich Palitsin became the head of the Port Customs. He was the son of the Decembrist S. M. Palitsin and a former Adjutant of the Commander of Artillery in the Caucasian Army, and the Lieutenant.⁵⁰ The State Councillor Mikhail Vasiliyevich Nikonov was appointed to the position of the Head of the Port Customs on 11 February 1895 as a person with considerable experience in the field and a decorated officer. On 13 April 1908, for his service he was rewarded with a golden tobacco box decorated with diamonds and the engraved image of the Tsar.⁵¹ The State Councillor Fyodor Grigoriyevich Kukliarskii was the next Head of the Nikolayev Port Customs. The Customs Artel, established at the Port Customs, marked the goods produced abroad at half a kopeck for the seal.⁵²

From the very beginning, the Nikolayev Port Customs functioned not without difficulties. Among other things, there was no wharf where the cargo examination could take place. The only wharf available within the range of the Port Customs was Kupecheskaya Pristan' (the Merchants' Wharf), but the coastal ships and the ROPiT vessels did not dock there; the captains did not attend the Ship Office to have their passports

48. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 2161, 198 fols.

49. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 2163, fols. 1–170.

50. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 2192, fol. 3.

51. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 2219, fols. 2–20.

52. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 1, fols. 4, 11–12.

issued; they also neglected the obligation to attend the Customs Office to submit their declaration.⁵³ Lack of the office space for the Customs officers in the coastal harbour was also a major problem. Even in bad weather the Customs officers worked outside; the headquarters of the Foreign department of the Ship Office, where they were temporarily hosted, was over 3 kilometres away.⁵⁴ Eventually, all the ships, with the exception of military vessels, were ordered to stop at the Merchants' Wharf. Meanwhile, in 1892, the merchant of the 2nd guild and the Honorary Citizen Shakhno Gershovich Rabinovich made an agreement with the Nikolayev Port Customs for constructing the Customs Office building in the Coastal Harbor of the port.

The archival fond of the Nikolayev Port Customs contains reports and surveys about the works of the Customs Service in the years 1896, 1897, 1898, 1901, 1902, and 1906. In his report for the year 1896, the Customs manager M. V. Nikonov wrote: "According to the Nikolayev Customs data, this year's import exceeded the numbers of all the previous years and the customs duty increased to half a million rubles (518,764 rubles and 21 kopecks). The commercial development accelerated due to the industrial growth in Southern Russia, which required import of different machinery and other items. Despite that, the increase in import also took place due to the merchants' desire to establish long-lasting trade relations with the foreign markets and thus avoid buying the foreign goods through mediators in places like Odessa, as it had been done before. The industrial development led to the further increase of population numbers, which in turn created favourable climate for the trade. In the future, import, one should believe, will increase, since all the measures are taken to make the port better for the navigation and the city; without a doubt, together with the advantageous location of Nikolayev, it will have a beneficial impact on the trade... The construction of new expansion of the old factories has started only recently and is not finished yet; many materials will be delivered from abroad to equip these factories. In the next year (1897) the construction of the Nikolayev horse-driven railroad will begin; the rails, fastenings and wagons will be imported. There are also plans to illuminate the city with electric power, which also requires import of materials. Presumably, due to these reasons, the import through

53. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 1, fols. 6–9, 12–13.

54. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 305, fols. 14–15, 24–25.

the Nikolayev Customs will be increasing and the Nikolayev port in the near future will reach considerable numbers in import production”.⁵⁵

In fact, the customs duty in the year 1895 in gold (the numbers are rounded) made 142,000 rubles, in 1896 it made 519,000 rubles, but in 1897 it made 862,000 rubles. However, in the following years the numbers went down: in 1898 the customs duty made 787,000 rubles, in 1900 it was 626,000 rubles, in 1902 it made 518,000 rubles, and in 1906 it made 667,000 rubles. The reasons for the decrease of customs duties, according to the reports of M. V. Nikonov, were the failure of crops in 1899–1900, the increase of interest rate on loans, and the limited number of loans approved. Thus, in comparison with the year 1898, in 1900 the trade activity decreased by 50 per cent. Except for rye, oat, bran, flax and sugar, the demand for which increased abroad, the export of goods decreased considerably, which led to the decrease in import. In 1902 in the areas close to the Nikolayev Port the grain harvest was high, which allowed to export 82,940,817 poods of grain, mainly wheat, and 1,408,906 poods of other products. Despite large export, a lot of grain remained unsold and the year 1903 began with its intensified export. In his report of 1902 M. V. Nikonov wrote: “With this export one would expect to gain a lot but, unfortunately, the results did not live up to our expectations. Some merchants gained small profit, others hardly levelled income with consumption, others suffered losses”. Nikonov explained that the exporters expected large crop and made deals to supply the grain abroad at low prices in advance. However, the purchase prices went up unexpectedly, leading to losses at selling. The second reason behind this situation was connected to the situation on the railway. The rail transportation of grain was often delayed, thus keeping the ships waiting in the harbour, which in its turn resulted in the increase of prices for the vessel downtime. To meet the agreed deadlines for grain delivery the exporters had to hire the carts and transport the cargoes to the port by horse-driven carts, which also increased their expenses. The quality control of the exported grain was the third reason behind the massive losses; the control, although started in good faith, led to the negative consequences. More specifically, the Nikolayev Exchange Committee and its Analytical Bureau introduced actual monitoring of the exported cargoes, quality of the exported grain

55. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 280, fols. 5–7.

in particular. The grain exported from Nikolayev was rated above the North American grain, but sold on the European markets at a lower price because of its contamination. The exporters often intentionally admixed impurities to the grain, though the public opinion scapegoated small-scale Jewish traders, who, reportedly, were “Dishonest and impudent enough to shamelessly admix sand and pebbles to the grain”. The names of dishonest tradesmen were posted in the local newspaper, thus cautioning the clients and motivating other tradesmen to behave properly. But as an indirect consequence, this policy of the Exchange Committee negatively affected bank lending and greatly impeded the trade. Finally, the forth reason was hiding in the short length of the berth in the Nikolayev Port, which allowed loading only 15 ships at a time, while the usual number of the docked ships was be 25. Thus, the expansion of the port was a crucial task for the further development of import-export operations in Nikolayev.⁵⁶

As we have seen it above, the opening of the port for foreign trade stared a completely new page for the city of Nikolayev. Nonetheless, the port itself required considerable improvements. In its October issue (10–16 October) in 1884 the newspaper *Nikolaevskii Listok* wrote: “The problems of the Nikolayev Commercial Port were neglected for years. Far from taking the issue into consideration and raising it as it deserved, the public – quite the contrary – confused it, crumpled and tossed to the corner. Yet, the time passes, the life brings new demands – they remain largely unmet. Therefore, once again do we turn to the same painful subject, even if this discussion of the port problems might bore some of our readers”. The areas around Nikolayev – the Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Kiev, Poltava, Kharkov, Kursk regions – annually produced approx. 35 million *chetverts* of grain, however, the grain export through the Nikolayev Port in 1884 was 1 ½ million *chetverts*. The rest “was transported to Königsberg by the railway at high cost, because the Nikolayev Port cannot meet the demand... That is why we emphasize that the first and foremost task is to bring the port to the point of being able to meet all the demands regularly and at medium cost”.⁵⁷

In 1872 a powerful storm destroyed the city wharf. The city initiated repair works and engaged in lengthy correspondence with the Ministry of Transport about finding a place

56. DAMO, fond 266, opys 1, sprava 280, fols. 1–25; sprava 302, fols. 1–39; sprava 310, fols. 1–45; sprava 338, fols. 1–17; sprava 368, fols. 2–37; sprava 419, fols. 2–8.

57. *On the Commercial Port in the City of Nikolayev*, pp. 40–41, 44–45.

for building a new port. In 1873 the city financed the construction of its second wharf located opposite of the Sadovaya street. The Kharkov – Nikolayev Railroad in 1873 boosted the commercial activity in the port, did not led to the reorganization of the port. In his *Historical Sketch of the Centenary Existence of the City of Nikolayev at the Mouth of the River Ingul (1790–1890)* G. N. Ge described the port of Nikolayev in the following way: “The organization of the port was very unfortunate, it resembled a village. The loading took place on an old berth built at the times of Kustov. Even after the city built a second, similar, berth, the loading of grain in Nikolayev during the navigation period – for instance in 1878 – was literally terrifying. Overall, the cost of receiving grain in Nikolayev and loading it on foreign steamship exceeded the cost of the transportation from Nikolayev to London”.⁵⁸ The port functioned in this way until 1888.

In 1874 the Ministry of Transport sent to Nikolayev a special commission chaired by the Active State Councillor and engineer Karl Felixovich Bentkovskii. In 1875 Vasili Matveyevich Petrashen, engineer of Kharkov – Nikolayev Railroad conducted technical evaluation for the selection of the best location for the future port. The chosen site was close to the already existing city wharves in Popova Balka. However, the project has been deferred for the financial reasons. In 1879 the city of Nikolayev filed another request for port construction, because the increased in the previous year (1878) grain export showed the facilities of the old port to be inadequate and inconvenient. The deepening of the Ochakov canal was also on the agenda, as well as paving of the streets. The city also demanded the right to collect export duty, half of kopeck per each pood of grain. In 1881, a new commission arrived to Nikolayev, chaired by the transportation engineer Dmitrii Dmitriyevich Gnusin, who drafted a proposal for the renovation of the port and dredging of the Ochakov Canal. In 1885 the State Council of the Russian Empire approved the proposal, and the hopes for renovation of the port rose anew.⁵⁹

The system of the port management has been set up only in the late 1890s. Before that, all the decisions were made by the Nikolayev Military Governor, the Nikolayev City Duma, the Nikolayev Exchange Committee in collaboration with the Ministry of Finance,

58. Ge, *Historical Sketch of the Centenary Existence of the City of Nikolayev*, p. 42.

59. Gnusin, *Materials for the Description of Russian Ports*, pp. 4–6.

the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Transport, the Kharkov – Nikolayev Railroad and other departments as well.

In 1891 a proposal for “The Regulation on the Administration of the Nikolayev Commercial Port and the Port Police, Drafted by the Commission Appointed by the Nikolayev Military Governor in his Order of 5 June, 1891, No 1853” appeared. On 10 September 1893, the Minister of Transport A. K. Krivoshein visited Nikolayev, and received from the Nikolayev Exchange Committee the following four appeals regarding: 1) deepening of the navigation ways near the Nikolayev Port; 2) cancelling $\frac{1}{4}$ duty on goods transported through the Southern Bug; 3) collecting export duty, half of kopeck per each pood of grain; 4) establishing the Administration of Commercial Port in Nikolayev. The latter was opened in 1894.⁶⁰

The initial title of the chief of the port administration was Captain of the port of Nikolayev (*капитан над Николаевским портом*); the holder of this post was nominated by the Military Governor of Nikolayev in consultation with the Navy Ministry, and appointed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs; the Captain reported to the Military Governor, who supervised his work. At the beginning of the 20th century the post was renamed into the Head of the Port (*начальник порта*). Officers of the Port Administration were on active duty at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and reported to the Military Governor. In 1903, the special instruction approved by the Head of the Port defined the responsibilities and timetable of the Port Administration officers; these instructions were based on the “Regulation on the Administration of the Trade Ports”, and other governmental decisions.

According to the regulations, the Captain of the Port (1) held responsibility for the implementation of state legislation on maritime trade, shipbuilding, and river trade. In case if law was violated, he could act within the limits of his authority, imposing administrative penalties. (2) Captain dealt with minor disputes in maritime and river trade. Keeping the public order in harbour, port, wharves, and berths was also his responsibility, he had police authority in supervising the railroad on the territory of the port. (3) Captain managed repairs of all port vessels: the ice-breakers, the dredging machines, towing steamship, and others;

60. DAMO, fond 230, opys 1, sprava 12790, 81 fols., sprava 13215, 15 fols.

supervised the loading and unloading of steamships; he was also responsible for the good condition of warning signs, safe storage of flammable substances, ballast, and cargo storages, and placement of the ships. (4) In the case of a shipwreck, Captain took rescue measures, making decisions about the allocation of rescued people and goods, returning the goods to owners and rewarding the saviours; he also authorized inspections of vessels, mechanisms, boilers and coastal vessels. (5) Captain collaborated with the Customs Post and other state services, fought contraband, illegal trade, theft and storage of the stolen goods.

Unfortunately, no archive papers on the biographies of the leading personnel in the Nikolayev International Commercial Port survive. Establishing the names of the highest administrators, from the moment of the renovation to the first years of the Soviet Union was already a challenge. Dmitrii Dmitriyevich Gnusin, the transportation engineer was the first head of the commercial port. Gnusin arrived to Nikolayev in 1881 as the head of the state commission and surveyed technical and financial issues pertaining to the renovation of the port and digging of the Ochakov Canal at the Mouth of Dnieper and Bug. Gnusin was the author of the project of renovation, and in 1887 he supervised the works in the port and canal. In 1889 Gnusin published a description of the Nikolayev Commercial Port in the *Materials for the Description of Russian Ports and History of Their Construction*, which remains the most valuable source on the history of the Nikolayev Port. The next Head of the Port was a former Nikolayev chief of the police, Colonel Appolon Platonovich Pereleshin. In the years 1894–1908 he held the title of retired Lieutenant General and the post of the Captain of Nikolayev Commercial Port and the Head of the Committee on Port Affairs. On 4 December 1908, he took a medical leave and never returned to his duties. On the same day Active State Councillor Nikolai Alexandrovich Lapin was appointed as his substitute. Lapin was also the interim head of the Nikolayev Trade Port in 1918–1919 (until March). In the years 1894/1895–1905 supervisor of the buildings in the Nikolayev Port was the engineer of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Collegiate Secretary Lorents Karlovich Yustus. In 1895 Yustus proposed a project for further expansion of the Nikolayev Port, explaining the necessity of building a longer berth by the increase of grain cargo turnover: in 1888 the grain export reached 85 million poods, in 1893–1894 it was 138 million poods, while there were 608 deep-sea vessels and 1910 coastal vessels arriving to the port. On 17 April 1905, Yustus was promoted to the rank of the acting State

Councillor. In 1907 he became a member of the Nikolayev Port Committee at the Ministry of Trade and Industry, a position that he held, with interruptions, until 1917. During 1909–1913 he was the Head of the Nikolayev Commercial Sea Port as well as the Head of the Committee on Port Affairs. During 1913–1917 he supervised the works in the ports of Nikolayev, Kherson, Skadovsk, and Khorly (*начальник работ Николаевского и Херсонского портов*). Yustus is also known as a member of the Nikolayev Branch of the Imperial Russian Technical Society (since 1893) and a Deputy Director of the Imperial Russian Technical Society (since 1900). In 1913 he published his *Description of the Nikolayev Trade Port*, which along with Gnusin's work is an important source on the history of the port. Since 1913 until January 1918 the positions of the Head of the Nikolayev Trade Port and the Head of the Committee on Port Affairs were occupied by Acting State Councillor, former Inspector of the Maritime Classes (since 1901), Rear Admiral Alexander Kirilovich Drizhenko.

The Administration of the Nikolayev Port was an executive institution led by the Head of the Port. The Administration included: one assistant, two port technicians (marine engineer and marine architect), a port secretary, a senior port inspector, and a junior port warden. There were also civilians working in the Port Administration: an accountant (he also performed functions of the secretary's assistant), a doctor, a medical assistant, three scribes, two senior officers of coastal command, four senior and fourteen junior port sailors, a watchman, a carrier, fifty six people of the crew of the two port ice-breakers, and eleven crew members of the two port motor boats.

The Committee on Port Affairs was established according to the "Regulation about Administration of the Nikolayev Commercial Port" (*Положение об административном заведывании Николаевским коммерческим портом*). Among the duties of the Committee were: 1) issuing regulations on safety and order, proper usage of the harbor, wharves, warehouses, port machinery and equipment, elevator, transporting within the port, towing, carting, loading and unloading facilities, boatmen, and prevention of flood; 2) giving permissions to rent port territories, warehouses the river to private people doing fishery and trade; 3) compiling rules for the proper usage of the port territories, quays, the harbor, port contrivances, for the payment for the use and lease; 4) dealing with the questions about establishing places for loading and unloading goods, ballast, and

flammable substances; 5) filing propositions on the improvement and development of the port to the higher authorities; 6) filed petitions to higher authorities about the port needs, constructing the port buildings, approving pilot and other maritime agencies; 7) dealing with the complaints filed in the name of the Governor or the Urban Prefect.

The meetings of the Committee on Port Affairs were held at least once a month, and the decisions were taken by a majority vote. The Military Governor (or the Mayor) had the right to veto the Committee's decisions and to pass them to the Ministry of Internal Affairs or other Ministries for revision with the limit of seven days.

The Head of the Port also chaired the Nikolayev Committee on Port Affairs. The Committee consisted of the representatives of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Justice, the Navy Ministry, the Maritime and State Control Department, the Department of Southern Railroads, the Nikolayev Mayor, the head of the Nikolayev Exchange Committee and two representatives of merchantry. In addition, the Head of the Port could invite two specialists in an advisory capacity or other interested party, to participate in the meetings of the Committee.

The construction and technical activity of the Nikolayev Port (together with the ports of Kherson, Skadovsk, and Khorly) was realized under the supervision of a separate institution called the Administration of Port Work Management. It consisted of the head of administration, the manager performing also the functions of deputy director, two contractors, two technicians, an accountant, the crews of vessels and dredging machines, lower executive ranks, and other office clerks.

The Nikolayev Commercial Port was divided into two parts: the foreign and the coastal, each having its own port supervisor. Direct control was realized by the lower executive ranks. These were the first sergeant of the coastal crew, two senior and eight junior port sailors, and the first sergeant of the foreign crew, two senior and six junior port sailors in the foreign and coastal departments correspondingly. The first sergeants and senior sailors were responsible for the port patrolling, checking stations (sailors), presence at the steamships' arrivals and departures, collecting various data, supervising the ship placement and port sanitary conditions, supervising the execution of obligatory regulations and orders of the Head of the Port. The port sailors were permanently on duty: in the foreign

department there were 3 patrols during the day and 2 patrols during the night, in the coastal department there were 2 patrols.

Two technicians supervised the technical issues in the port; they inspected the ships, examined and repaired mechanisms on all the port vessels (machine-engineer), as well ships and port buildings.

The foreign department annually employed approx. 2,000 workers, including up to 300 women. The distribution of work was organized in the following way: 1) in grain stores and on the loading docks, there were handlers; at the barge reloading there worked various categories of handlers (some specialized in handing the cargo, others in delivering, handling, filling in the containers, scaling, sifting, winnowing, and aerating grain); 2) the port staff included transport workers and carriers of all kinds, as well as specialized categories of female workers who made sacks, tested and aired grain; 3) loaders of cargoes for mining and metallurgical industries.

Port workers organized semiformal cooperative associations known in Russian as *artel*⁶¹, which had their own administration and budget. Let us mention only few: the first and the second *artels* of the workers delivering and handling cargo; “Artelnaya Birzha”; and the first *artel* of male and female grain aerators.

The water area of the Nikolayev Commercial Port was defined by the Committee on Port Affairs according to the regulation of the Ministry of Trade and Industry in 1911: “The border of the Nikolayev Trade Port begins on the left bank of the Southern Bug, at the west edge of the Black Sea Mechanical Plant. It continues along the waterline to the South, from the border of the state-owned area of the Coastal harbor (*Каботажная гавань*) near Popova Balka, and includes the wharf of the Black Sea Mechanical Plant, the wharf of the oil factory, and the wharf of the shipyard. Then the border covers the state-owned area of the Coastal Harbor and stretches along the bank of the river Bug including the area of the bank, to Cape Stanislav. From there the border goes straight across the river Bug to the end of Cape Adziogol; then it ascends North following the right bank of the river Bug and extending 10 *sazhen* deep into the bank. Thus it stretches to the extremity of the cape near

61. *Artel* was a workmen’s cooperative association; *Artel* exchange (*birzha*) was an association of workers registered as a separate organization.

the village Malaya Korenikha. From there the border crosses the river Bug and joins the beginning of the border at the western part of the Black Sea Mechanical Plant”.

In winter the river Southern Bug near Nikolayev freezes and covers with ice. According to the observations done in the years 1870–1888, the river froze the earliest on 25 November and the latest on 5 January, while the average date for freezing was 25 December. The ice broke the earliest on 11 February, and on 31 March the latest, while normally the ice would break on the river around 5 March. Thus, the navigation in the Nikolayev port continued approx. 280–285 days a year. Even after the freezing, the Bug Liman would frequently clear from ice in the middle of winter. The ice on the Bug Liman became hard only after a lasting period of very low temperatures, while most of the time it was weak and loose. There was no ice drift on the Bug.

Despite these favorable conditions for the port development, there was also a serious natural obstacle. The vessels coming from the Black Sea could enter the port only via the passage of the Ochakov Bar and Dnieper-Bug Liman; the waters in this area were shallow. During 1828–1836, the Navy Department dredged and maintained the sea canal through the Ochakov Bar; the canal was six *verstas* long, 25 *sazhens* wide and 21 feet deep (according to other data: length – 3,5 *verstas*, width – 25 *sazhens*, depth – 18 feet). However, when after the Crimean War Russian empire was forced to abolish the Black Sea Military Fleet, the Navy Department neglected the maintenance of the canal.

In 1881, upon the investigation of technical and economic issues pertaining to the further development of the port, the dredging works started. In 1885–1887, the Ochakov Canal on the Dnieper-Bug Liman was dug out and handed over in operation. It was 7,2 *verstas* long, 50 *sazhens* wide, and 20 feet deep. These allowed stopping the previously existing practice, which was to load the vessels in the Nikolayev port only partially and later load them additionally in the port of Ochakov. But even the newly dug canal proved to be too shallow, since the majority of the new steamships already had a deeper, 20 to 30 feet, draft. In 1894 the Navy Department, which was interested in developing the port into a site for shipbuilding and riding of the Black Sea Military Fleet ice-breakers, once again raised the question of deepening the Ochakov Canal. In 1897 the Ministry of Transport forwarded to the State Council a project of digging the entrance to the Nikolayev port to the depth of 30 feet. The reconstruction of the canal was planned in two stages: on

the first stage the canal had to be expanded to the depth of 25 feet and to the length of 35 *verstas*, maintaining the previous width of 50 *sazhens*; on the second stage, it had to be dug 30 feet deep and lengthened correspondingly. The first set of works was performed in 1898–1902. After this reconstruction, the canal was 36,25 *verstas* long, 52 *sazhens* wide and 25 feet deep. In June 1912, the second stage of the reconstruction began. By 1915, the canal was 30 feet deep. Overall, the deepening of the canal minimized losses in grain trade. Since 1886 the additional loading in the Ochakov port decreased considerably, and in 1902 it was finally stopped.

Because of the tortuosity of the Ochakov Canal in the Dnieper-Bug Liman and in the river Souther Bug, the lighthouses and warning signs played an important role for the ships entering the Nikolayev port. Entering the canal, the vessels first had to look out for the Suvorov Lighthouse, which was situated on the sea shore west of Ochakov, and later to look out for the lighthouses and warning signs placed along the liman from Ochakov to the mouth of the Bug, which were the following: Victorovskii, Batareinyi and Adziogol range markers, floating beacons along the Ochakov Canal, the Adziogol floating lighthouse, the Sary-Kashimsk flasher, the Khablovsk, Kisliakovsk and Sviato-Troitsko-Adziogol range markers. Moving further along the Southern Bug to the Nikolayev port the vessels had to look out for the Verkhnie-Voloshskii and Nizhnii-Voloshskii lighthouses, the Sivers leading line, the Constantinovskii lighthouse, the port beacon at the beginning of the coastal quay and two port beacons located at the groin of the wharf in the foreign department of the port. All the lighthouses and warning signs were operated by the Office of the Lighthouses and Sailors Directions of the Black and Azov Seas. At the wharf of the Coastal harbor a port lighthouse produced a permanent red stream of light with two electric incandescent lamps.

Another waterway to enter the Nikolayev port, through the middle current of the Southern Bug, could be used only by the shallow-draft vessels, such as barges and *berlinas*, which transported grain from the wharves of Voznesensk area so as it might be reloaded on the deep-sea vessels.⁶²

62. DAMO, fond 255, opys 1, sprava 27, 52 fols.; sprava 43, 24 fols.; sprava 51, 21 fols.; sprava 185, 14 fols.; sprava 188, 61 fols.; sprava 191, 320 fols.; sprava 196, 10 fols.; sprava 197, 149 fols.; sprava 198, 6 fols.; sprava 200, 117 fols.; sprava 201, 7 fols.; sprava 202, 8 fols.; sprava 204, 44 fols.; sprava 205, 9 fols.;

The foreign department of the port covered port territory, a granite quay and an adjacent raid. The coastal department included an arched quay stretching from the shore to the east, a harbor between the quay and the shore, and a small patch of port territory. The total stretch of the port's coastal line in 1913 was 1,495 *sazhens*: including 690 *sazhens* in the foreign and 805 *sazhens* in the coastal departments. In 1913 the total length of the mooring line open for public use was 1,542 *sazhens*.

The granite quay of the foreign department was built during 1888–1890 out of the state funds; its construction and equipment were estimated at 1,878,839 rubles. A 550 *sazhens*-long quay was built on stilts, with raked mooring piles joined together in pairs reinforcing its walls. On the western side the 150 *sazhens* of quay mooring piles were substituted by the raked wooden frames made of paired vertical support pillars, fixed to the wall by the double fender bars. Every two yards the mooring rings were fixed to the wall; in between the rings there were built-in iron mooring dolphins. The water depth at the quay was 25 feet, the height of the cordon stone wall above the plain water surface was one *sazhen*. In 1916 the quay area of the foreign department was made one *sazhen* wider and 30 feet deeper. The granite quay was open for public use.

For the home-trade vessels in the coastal department there was an open for public use coastal quay with the mooring line 476 *sazhens* long; the depth of the water was 22 feet on the external side of the quay and 14 to 18 feet on the inner side; the quay's width in the main part varied from 31.5 to 40 *sazhens*. The walls could have been built of cribs of reinforced concrete placed on the wooden stilt basement. The forefront of the crib wall was protected from the jolts and knocks by the protective wooden frame. Along the whole quay 1.80 *sazhens* away from the external edge and 10 *sazhens* one from another there were 33 granite and 11 iron mooring dolphins built-into the stone masses of the rubble limestone. In between the dolphins there were built-in mooring rings. The height of the upper edge of cordon stone above the plain water surface was 0.85 *sazhens*. The coastal department quay was built by the state in 1891–1893 and its cost was estimated at 1,059,896 rubles.

sprava 242, 123 fols.; sprava 256, 5 fols.; sprava 261, 15 fols.; *Контракт на работы по устройству Каботажной гавани в Николаевском порте и углублению мелей в Днепро-Бугском и Бугском лиманах. 14 февраля 1891 г.* [The Contract for the Construction of the Coastal Harbor in the Port of Nikolayev and the Deepening of Shallows in the Dnieper-Bug and Bug Estuaries. 14 February 1891], (St. Petersburg, 1891).

In 1902 the state financed the winter landing place 60 *sazhens* long and 3 *sazhens* wide. It was organized in the western part of the port for the dredging vessels of the Administration of Port Works.

In the western end of the granite quay along the slope of the protective wall the St. Petersburg International Company of Loading Equipment and Warehouses constructed the first wooden quay, which was 33 *sazhens* long and 22 feet deep. Behind it the same company built the second pontoon quay (parallel to the western slope of the protective wall of the granite quay), which was 56 *sazhens* long and 25 feet deep under the pontoons. Behind the eastern end of the granite quay there was a third wooden quay with a groin; it was equipped with a railway and transporters for loading ore materials on the deep-sea vessels. It belonged to the same company and was 50 *sazhens* wide and 25 feet depth in the front. In 1913 the same company finished the construction of concrete quay on the left bank of the Southern Bug, which was 275 *sazhens* long with the water depth of 25 to 29 feet. This quay was situated partially on the land owned by the company and partially rented from the state. The northern end of the quay was adjacent to the public quay of Nikolayev. The constructing company maintained the right of main use of all these quays, with one exception: on 14 November 1913, the new concrete quay opened for public use and was transferred to Port Administration.

In the 1900s, the city began the construction of a permanent 275-*sazhens* long quay for the deep-sea vessels. The construction site was next to the foreign department of the port. The quay consisted of two lines with a break in the middle. In 1913, when the construction was about to be finished, there was revealed a damage of the 20 *sazhens*-long section in the western part of the quay. The construction had to be paused. The reason behind the damage was a mistaken implementation of the construction project: the original direction of stilts was changed and they leaned towards the sea, which resulted in the sagging of the quay cordon to the depth of 4 to 8 *vershoks*. The Public Administration of the City had to locate funds for repairs with the initial cost of 500,000 rubles.

On the external side of the coastal quay, in the western part of the port, there was built a temporary wooden quay “Kaprash and Kogan” intended for loading iron ore on steamships; it was 41 *sazhens* in length and 6,5 *sazhens* in width; the water depth was 25 feet.

Between the quay of “Kapras and Kogan” and the shore outside of the coastal quay, there was a wooden quay for the steamships of the *Dobrovolny Flot* (Russian Volunteer Fleet). The length of the quay was 40 *sazhens*, its width was 2 *sazhens*. Two barges were placed between the stilts and the quay; their decks functioned as a pickup ground between the quays and the steamships.⁶³

The Port Administration supervised the coastline in Popova Balka, a district in the southern part of the city allocated for the construction of the port. Summarily, the Port Administration controlled the area of 55,118.87 square *sazhens*, out of which 30,019.87 square *sazhens* belonged to the foreign department and 25,099 square *sazhens* to the coastal department. This port area also included the land situated south-east of Popova Balka on the left bank of the Bug, up to the khutor Shirokaya Balka (*хутор Широкая Балка*). This 51 *desyatinas* and 170 square *sazhens* large territory was granted to the Port Administration by the Department of Military Engineering. Out of the entire area, 3,707.12 square *sazhens* were occupied by different buildings of the Administration of Port Works, and 924.39 square *sazhens* occupied by the buildings of the Port Administration. In addition, the Ministry of Finance used an area of 2,525 square *sazhens* for the needs of the Port Customs. The ministry of Transport (the Administration of Southern Railroads in particular) used another patch of 658,028 square *sazhens*.

With the exception of a small patch of land right next to the coastal line approx. 10 *sazhens* wide, as well as some areas allocated for roads and public use, the land was let on long- and short-term leases at the rate of 5 rubles per year for one square *sazhen*. The land patches of the foreign departments were rented for warehouses and various handling facilities, necessary for shipping iron and manganese ores, rails, wood and other cargoes. The territory of the coastal department was rented by steamship companies for their

63. DAMO, fond 255, opys 1, sprava 4, 30 fols.; sprava 7, 42 fols.; sprava 29, 5 fols.; sprava 42, 19 fols.; sprava 47, 296 fols.; sprava 57, 11 fols.; sprava 86, 45 fols.; sprava 92, 299 fols.; sprava 107, 5 fols.; sprava 201, 7 fols.; sprava 204, 44 fols.; sprava 205, 9 fols.; sprava 217, 5 fols.; sprava 218, 62 fols.; sprava 228, 29 fols.; sprava 230, 26 fols.; sprava 231, 21 fols.; sprava 297, 18 fols.; *Контракт по работам устройства пристани в г. Николаеве* [The Contract for the Construction of the Coastal Harbor in the City of Nikolayev], (St. Petersburg: 1886); *Правила пользования участками территории Николаевского торгового порта* [Regulations for the Use of Land Patches on the Territory of the Nikolayev Commercial Port], (Nikolayev, 1910); *Отчет начальника Николаевского коммерческого порта за 1914 год* [Report of the Head of the Nikolayev Commercial Port for the Year 1914], (Nikolayev, 1915).

warehouses, as well as by other local businesses delivering coal, salt and other products to the port. The Administration of Port Works, too, frequently used the land of the coastal department for the repairs of barges and *berlinas*.

The foreign department of the port had a grain elevator at the western end of the granite quay. It could store, clean and load 1,500,000 *poods* of grain on three ships simultaneously. The elevator complex consisted of two major parts: a machine and a boiler, which was located outside of the port. Each part of the elevator had a wooden storage tank and a brick 10-storey tower. The bin structures were covered with flat iron, while the towers were covered with undulated sheet iron. The constructions were equipped with underground elevator pumps / marine legs, weights, cleansers, belt coupling, carts, and other appliances. Each division had five lateral and seven transverse belts brought to action by two electric engines (15 horsepower each). Along the quay wall in front of the elevator on the iron-polarized pipes there was a conveyor 135 *sazhens* long with four lateral belts and sixteen outgoing tubes. Inside the engine division of the elevator there were three steam engines with horizontal machines, 130 horsepower each; each engine had an electric generator with the characteristics of 100 kilovolt, 240 volt and 600 spins a minute. These machines provided service for all the engines of the elevator. Its capacity reached 15,000 *poods* when receiving grain, and 22,000 *poods* when forwarding it. The elevator was owned by the Nikolayev Commercial Agency of the Administration of Southern Railroads.

During the summer navigation period, 6 or 7 floating elevators of the South-Russian Company of Floating Elevators (*Южно-русское общество плавучих элеваторов*) usually forwarded grain from barges and *berlinas* to steamships. The administration of this company was local and resided in Nikolayev. The capacity of one ordinary floating elevator reached 3,600 *poods* per hour, while the capacity of double elevators reached 7,500 *poods* per hour.

To unload iron ore in the foreign department of the port, the Company “Deutscher Kaiser” (*Общество “Дойчер Кайзер”*) installed the following mechanical appliances: 1) two semi-portal overhead-travelling cranes of the Bleihert system with the lifting capacity up to 10 tons each and a belt transporter carrying the cargoes from a warehouse to the deck opening on a ship; 2) a transporter of the Bleihert system, a kind of an iron bridge with a span in 36,5 meters, which could move parallelly to the landing line along

the quay and warehouse on the rails, installed on a special concrete basement. To load the ships docked at the second landing line, the upper part of the transporter moved forward on the idlers up to the middle of the bulge of the steamship. All the mechanisms of cranes and transporters worked on the electric engines. To have electricity the Company “Deutscher Kaiser” built an electric station on the port premises equipped with compound-locomobile for hot vapor with the 320 horse-power capacity and two dynamo-machines 160 kilovolt each. The total capacity of these appliances reached 15,500 *poods* (or 250 tons) per hour.

There were also facilities for transporting and loading the exported iron and manganese ores. These were installed on the rented patches at the Foreign Department by the St. Petersburg International Company of Loading Means and Warehouses, and included: 1) four towered transporters of the Templier (referred as “Temperl” in Russian) system equipped with steam engines (the capacity of each was approx. 3,000 *poods* per hour), 2) five movable cranes, 3) 16 smaller transporters of the Temperl system on saw-horse and for the fixing to the pillar (the capacity of each crane and a smaller transporter was approx. 1,800 *poods* per hour). The St. Petersburg International Company of Loading Means and Warehouses also owned a floating crane with the capacity of 25 tons and four coastal overhead-travelling cranes with the capacity of 1,5–3,5 tons each, three of which were self-propelled vehicles.

To load the exported iron ore at the Karpas and Kogan quays in the coastal department, there were four transporters of the Templier system and steam windlasses with the capacity of 6,000 *poods* per hour. Loading and unloading of coastal vessels was done by cranes and loading booms placed on the steamship, while loading and handling of cargoes in the warehouses was done using manual labor. For heavy cargoes, floating cranes of the St. Petersburg International Company of Loading Means and Warehouses were used.

In the foreign department of the port there were the warehouses of the Administration of the Southern Railroads situated next to the elevator (two wooden shelters for grain 450 square *sazhens*; to store other cargoes there were three cylinder packhouses with the capacity of 600 cubic *sazhens*, the warehouses of the Port Customs (a stone packhouse of 256.20 cubic *sazhens*. The ores, rails and wood before loading was stored in the open-air space within the port premises.

In the coastal department of the port there were the following warehouses: two cylindrical packhouses of the Administration of the Southern Railroads; two wooden packhouses of the ROPiT with the capacity of 432 cubic *sazhens*; southern wooden packhouse of the A. Shavalda Steamship Company, with the capacity of 99.40 cubic *sazhens*; northern stone packhouse of the A. Shavalda Steamship Company, with the capacity of 99.20 cubic *sazhens*; a wooden packhouse of the Russian Company of Insuraning and Transporting and Luggage, with the capacity 300.6 cubic *sazhens*; the N. Avraamov concrete barn, with the capacity 136 cubic *sazhens*; the F. Kogan wooden barn, with the capacity 15.6 cubic *sazhens*; the wooden packhouse of the *Dobrovolny Flot* (Russian Volunteer Fleet), with the capacity 166.25 cubic *sazhens*; the Broitman wooden barn, with the capacity 70.5 cubic *sazhens*; four wooden stores of Ioffe and Breger for the storage of the Crimean salt with the total capacity of 331.9 cubic *sazhens*, two of the stone stores had salt-grinders installed; four warehouses for the open-air storage of coal (of the Administration of Port Works, 275.5 square *sazhens*; of the Society of Products, 443.99 square *sazhens*; of Broitman, 127.51 square *sazhens*; of Pheophani, 176 square *sazhens*).

There were special warehouses for storaging, cleaning, and separating of grain cargoes meant for export. These were situated on Melnichnaya and Zavodskaya streets and equipped with a railroad. There were 98 warehouses with a total capacity of 20,515,000 *poods*. The grain cargoes were delivered to these warehouses by rails from the railway station “Nikolayev”, unloaded manually and delivered on carts to the steamships in the port. 80 more warehouses were situated on the bowery Vodopoi and Shlagbaum Market (the eastern suburb of Nikolayev), in the village of Varvarovka (on the right bank of the Southern Bug), in Solianychk (on the right bank of the Ingul). Their total capacity was 7,055,000 *poods*. The grain was delivered here by cartage and sent to the port in the same way.⁶⁴ Thus, after the reconstruction and improvements done in the port and the

64. DAMO, fond 255, opys 1, sprava 260, 30 fols.; sprava 261, 15 fols.; sprava 263, 152 fols.; sprava 264, 167 fols.; sprava 265, 295 fols.; sprava 266, 176 fols.; sprava 267, 215 fols.; sprava 268, 17 fols.; sprava 269, 144 fols.; sprava 270, 36 fols.; sprava 271, 193 fols.; sprava 272, 79 fols.; sprava 273, 35 fols.; sprava 276, 37 fols.; sprava 277, 261 fols.; sprava 278, 127 fols.; sprava 279, 12 fols.; sprava 280, 9 fols.; sprava 281, 175 fols.; sprava 282, 136 fols.; sprava 283, 8 fols.; sprava 284, 14 fols.; sprava 286, 34 fols.; sprava 287, 18 fols.; sprava 289, 13 fols.; sprava 291, 69 fols.; sprava 292, 31 fols.; sprava 294, 3 fols.;

deepening and widening of the Ochakov Canal, the Nikolayev International Commercial Port finally met the expectations in the international trade as is evident from Table 7.4.

Table 7.4. International trade of the Nikolayev International Commercial Port Based in the Years 1877–1916

Year	Export in <i>poods</i>	Import in <i>poods</i>	Total trade in <i>poods</i>	Conditions, influencing the change in cargo production
1877	588,900	98,000	5,987,000	The Russo-Ottoman War
1878	33,558,000	1,142,000	34,700,000	
1879	33,478,000	1,405,000	34,883,000	
1880	16,500,000	863,000	17,363,000	
1881	16,924,000	660,000	17,584,000	
1882	13,789,000	251,000	14,040,000	
1883	15,620,000	328,000	15,948,000	
1884	17,980,000	521,000	18,501,000	
1885	16,876,000	372,000	17,248,000	
1886	14,732,000	560,000	15,292,000	
1887	32,668,000	573,000	33,241,000	The opening of the Ochakov Canal 20 feet deep
1888	48,625,000	877,000	49,502,000	
1889	34,668,000	715,000	35,383,000	
1890	37,839,000	336,000	38,175,000	
1891	31,250,000	765,000	32,015,000	
1892	16,524,000	497,000	17,026,000	The prohibition of grain export due to poor harvest
1893	48,569,000	1,406,000	49,975,000	
1894	87,729,210	1,034,483	88,763,693	
1895	77,860,182	1,338,157	79,198,338	
1896	69,013,140	2,155,082	71,168,222	
1897	72,926,837	2,554,904	75,481,841	
1898	59,076,425	1,884,257	60,960,686	

sprava 299, 47 fols.; sprava 301, 35 fols.; sprava 302, 182 fols.; sprava 303, 30 fols.; fond 266, opys 1, sprava 112, 8 fols.; sprava 260, 28 fols.; sprava 290, 14 fols.; sprava 367, 15 fols.

Year	Export in <i>poods</i>	Import in <i>poods</i>	Total trade in <i>poods</i>	Conditions, influencing the change in cargo production
1899	32,894,571	2,521,327	35,415,898	The poor grain harvest in the Southern regions of the Russian Empire, in areas along to the Kharkov-Nikolayev railway.
1900	30,038,023	814,554	30,852,477	
1901	55,092,964	561,012	55,653,976	
1902	84,349,723	200,854	84,550,577	The opening of the Ochakov Canal 25 feet deep and incessancy of the winter navigation with the help of ice-breakers.
1903	117,707,631	342,087	118,049,717	The rich crop and incessancy of the cargo transportation by the Kharkov-Nikolayev railway.
1904	90,717,778	229,340	90,947,118	The Russo-Japanese War, the reduction of railway rolling stock.
1905	120,541,211	248,919	100,790,160	
1906	119,072,586	1,141,679	120,214,245	
1907	94,055,463	302,629	94,458,092	The crop failure in the Southern areas of the Russian Empire.
1908	76,003,239	628,499	76,531,738	
1909	125,242,387	436,284	125,678,671	
1910	150,986,103	156,783	151,142,886	
1911	133,395,513	763,580	134,328,346	
1912	88,749,800	900,007	89,649,807	
1913	109,190,545	4,538,762	113,629,307	
1914	548,10,902	2,341,921	57,152,823	Termination of commercial navigation since late June in 1914 due to the war actions.
1915	Export-import operations through the Nikolayev Port were terminated due to the war actions.			

Source: *Обзор Николаевского градоначальства за 1916 год* [A Survey of the Nikolayev Urban Prefecture for the Year 1917], (Nikolayev, 1917), p. 34.

The exported cargo was mainly grain (wheat, rye, barley, and oat), sugar, sand as well as wood, coal, various ores; among the imported goods there were wine, wood and wooden products, coal, chemical products, tanning substances and dyes, instruments, machines, equipment and manufacture. The customs duties went up as well. For example, Nikolayev Customs collected 818,394 rubles in 1910; 893,293 rubles in 1911; 1,002,506 rubles in 1912; 1,309,508 rubles in 1913; and 1,167,726 rubles in 1914.⁶⁵

Table 7.5. Grain Export through the Nikolayev International Commercial Port in Poods in the Years 1902–1914

Years	Grain Export in <i>poods</i>	Years	Grain Export in <i>poods</i>
1902	83,029,392	1909	102,312,117
1903	108,010,539	1910	115,529,833
1904	84,850,408	1911	92,179,480
1905	91,612,949	1912	61,262,029
1906	97,731,141	1913	78,551,522
1907	56,227,024	1914	37,742,274
1908	57,399,275		

Source: Обзор Николаевского градоначальства за 1914 год [A Survey of the Nikolayev Urban Prefecture for the Year 1914], (Nikolayev, 1915), p. 14.

The ships from England, Greece, Austria, Italy, Germany, France, Holland, Danmark, Sweden, Romania, Belgium and Norway arrived to Nikolayev (see Table 7.6). The exported grain was transported to London, Hull, Liverpool, Belfast, Glasgow, Bergen, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, Hamburg, Weser, Emden, Marseille and Rouen, Genoa, Venice, Onelia, the Gibraltar region, and Alexandria (Egypt). The grain export operations in Nikolayev were realized by the following companies and trading houses: Louis

65. Отчет начальника Николаевского торгового порта за 1914 год [Report of the Head of the Nikolayev Commercial Port for the Year 1914], (Nikolayev, 1915), p. 14.

Dreyfus & Co., M. Neufeld & Co., Z. N. Frangopulo, F. I. Franshen, I. D. Erlich, M. I. Ortenzato, I. Y. Kogan, Ephrussi & Co., Rodocanachi and others.

Table 7.6. Departures and arrivals at the the Nikolayev International Commercial Port in the Years 1902–1914

Years	Arrived Ships	Departed Ships	Years	Arrived Ships	Departed Ships
1902	409	399	1909	496	486
1903	478	497	1910	527	531
1904	406	399	1911	470	475
1905	413	414	1912	324	323
1906	481	483	1913	395	386
1907	371	370	1914	203	209
1908	318	321			

Source: Обзор Николаевского градоначальства за 1914 год [A Survey of the Nikolayev Urban Prefecture for the Year 1914], (Nikolayev, 1915), pp. 12–13.

In 1914 in Nikolayev there were 43 factories and plants with 16,921 workers and a total production of 35,909,606 rubles. Among the largest owners of these plants, there were the Company of Nikolayev Plants and Wharves, the Russian Shipbuilding Company, and the division of the Neva (Baltic) Mechanical and Shipbuilding Plant.⁶⁶ According to the documents of the Nikolayev City Board, the total number of industrial enterprises in the city was 659, with the production of 52,341,358 rubles.⁶⁷ There were 5,725 commercial enterprises, which focused primarily on shipping of grain abroad as well as supplying grain to the city. The shipbuilding, the port activity, and the grain trade occupied the leading positions in the city economy. In the beginning of the 20th century, the Nikolayev International Commercial Port held the first place in the amount of grain export, as compared to other ports of the Russian Empire. This statement can be proved by the

66. Обзор Николаевского градоначальства за 1914 год [A Survey of the Nikolayev Urban Prefecture for the Year 1914], (Nikolayev, 1915), p. 4.

67. Статистико-экономический обзор Херсонского уезда за 1915 год [Statistical and Economic Review of the Kherson District for the Year 1915], (Kherson: 1917), pp. 46–48.

analysis done by L. K. Yustus published in the *Description of the Nikolayev Trade Port* (1913) by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Yustus concluded that during 1902–1911 13,7% of the whole grain exported from the Russian Empire went through the Nikolayev Port. Export of the iron ore, coming from the mines of the Kryvorizkyi Iron Ore Basin (Kherson and Yekaterinoslav Guberniias), was the second important cargo exported through the Nikolayev Port. According to the data collected by Yustus, the iron ore exported through the Nikolayev Port constituted (in thousands of *poods*) 8,183 in 1903; 4,738 in 1904; 6,808 in 1905; 16,595 in 1906; 31,710 in 1907; 13,353 in 1908; 15,678 in 1909; 32,048 in 1910; 39,223 in 1911; and 21,534 in 1912.⁶⁸

Table 7.7. Comparative Table of Grain Export in the Russian Empire and the Nikolayev International Commercial Port in 1902–1911

Years	Total Grain Export from the Russian Empire, in thousands of <i>poods</i>	Grain Export through the Nikolayev Port, in thousands of <i>poods</i>
1902	579,160	83,029
1903	650,393	108,010
1904	647,609	84,850
1905	695,781	91,612
1906	588,928	97,731
1907	467,152	56,227
1908	399,627	57,399
1909	760,746	102,312
1910	847,093	115,529
1911	821,057	92,179

Source: Yustus, *Economic Importance of the Port*, pp. 1–2.

With the outbreak of the WW I, the ports of Odessa, Nikolayev, Mariupol, Novorossiysk and other major ports on the Black and Azov Seas were closed for international trade. However, the coastal department of the Nikolayev Port continued to

68. Yustus, *Economic Importance of the Port*, pp. 1–2.

export grain. In 1915 the Nikolayev elevator accepted 1,515,540 *poods* of grain for storage; by 1 January 1916, there was 136,273 *poods* of grain left, the rest was shipped by coastal vessels to the internal regions of Russia. Nonetheless, the stagnation in grain trade began. The farmers continued to supply the market with their grain products. Despite the loan provided by the State Bank to the farmers, speculations based on the market fluctuation made the grain prices go down. But soon the situation reversed. The quartermaster service started to buy grain for the military needs, and also the acute shortage of grain in Galicia stimulated the prices, as the tradesmen started to send grain to this region. “The rise of prices was so unusual at the time that only under the threats or requisitions could stabilize it”.⁶⁹ The Kherson Zemstvo was responsible for the purchase of grain for the military needs. In 1915 the Kherson Zemstvo purchased 9,202,761 *poods* (4,700,706 *poods* arrived), while in 1916 11,407,924 *poods* arrived. The rise in prices, which started in 1914, increased in 1915. As compared to the years preceding the war, the rye flour prices increased by 44 %, the wheat flour prices increased by 37 %, the millet prices increased by 50 %, the crushed sugar prices went up by 35 %, the kerosene prices went up by 37 %, the carbon anthracite prices went up by 60 %. Consumer demand for these products was high. The retailers increased the prices even more. The prices increased by 45 % for sugar, by 27 % for tea, by 44 % for oil, by 45 % for wheat flour, by 80 % for salt, by 66 % for meat, by 51 % for kerosene, by 90 % for soap, by 108 % for matches, by 108 % for anthracite, by 285 % for forging coal, by 126 % for nails, by 114 % for boots. The population suffered from the extreme shortage of coal, burning wood, kerosene, and sugar.⁷⁰ These data show that a serious economic crisis which could not be stopped was unfolding in the country in the time of war and revolutionary unrest. The Russian Empire was facing two revolutions, a civil war and its disappearance from the world map.

The Nikolayev International Commercial Port regained its international activity during the Soviet times. In the independent Ukraine, Mykolaiv and its port continue to be the leaders in cargo production and export of grain. In 2014 3,9 million tons of grain, which

69. Хозяйственная жизнь и экономическое положение населения России за первые 9 месяцев войны (июль 1914 года – апрель 1915 года) [The Economic Life and Economic Situation of the Population of Russia during the First Nine Months of the War (July 1914 – April 1915)], (St. Petersburg, 1916), pp. 10–11.

70. *Statistical and Economic Review of the Kherson District for the Year 1915*, pp. 24–26.

made 40 % of port cargo production, went through the Mykolaiv Maritime Trade Port abroad.⁷¹ According to the rating done by the Ukrainian Agrarian Confederation upon completion of the 2013–2014 marketing year, the top position is occupied by the Mykolaiv company “Nibulon”, which dispatched 4,5 million tons of grain, which made 14 % of all the Ukrainian grain export.⁷² In general, during the marketing year 2013–2014 Ukrainian agro holdings exported 32,2 million tons of grain, a record quantity of grain in the last several years, which put Ukraine onto the 3rd place in the world after such grain exporters as the USA and the EU.⁷³

Recently, the citizens of Mykolaiv celebrated the 225th anniversary of the port. While the location of the port did not change since the 19th century, its size expanded considerably: the port water area is 323 ha, the total territory is 69,2 ha. The following materials are processed in the port: black metals of all sorts and profiles; cast iron; pipe of small and large diameter; various ores; coal; pellets; ferrous-based alloys; phosphate rocks, clays, fertilizers; equipment (including oversized and heavy equipment); grain; food products; timber and lumber; agricultural oil, molasses. The port warehouse make 273,000 square meters; the unsheltered storage area makes 1,815,000 square meters. The port is connected to the Black Sea through the Dnieper-Bug Liman Canal, which goes through the Dnieper-Bug Liman and the Southern Bug. It begins at Berezan Island and stretches for 44 miles up to the Port of Nikolayev. The Canal comprises 13 bends, six of which are in the Dnieper Liman and the rest are in the Southern Bug. The width of the Canal is 100 meters, its depth is 11,2 meters.⁷⁴ The Mykolaiv Maritime Trade Port is a

71. Andrii Kirieiev, “Війна портам не перешкода” [War is No Obstacle for Ports] (date of publication: 30.09.2014), a digital publication in *Економічна правда. Українська правда* [Economic Pravda. Ukrains'ka Pravda], <https://www.epravda.com.ua/publications/2014/09/30/494577/>, (date of access: 15.06.2020).

72. “Нибулон стал лидером среди экспортеров зерна в Украине” [“Nibulon” Became a Leader among the Grain Exporters in Ukraine] (date of publication: 16.07.2014), a digital publication in *Ніквесті* [Nikvesti], <http://nikvesti.com/news/politics/56194> (date of publication: 16.07.2014), (date of access: 15.06.2020).

73. “Житниця планети: Україна на третьем месте среди экспортеров зерна” [Granary of the Planet: Ukraine is Third among the Exporters of Grain] (date of publication: 28.07.2014), a digital publication in *ЛІГАБізнесІнформ* [LIGA Biznes Inform], <https://biz.liga.net/all/prodovolstvie/article/zhitnitsa-planety-ukraina-na-tretem-meste-sredi-eksporterov-zerna>, (date of access: 15.06.2020).

74. “Николаевский морской торговый порт – интермодальный хаб на юге Украины” [Nikolayev Commercial Sea Port: an Intermodal Hub at the Southern Ukraine] (date of publication: 19.10.2011), a digital

budget forming enterprise not only of the city of Mykolaiv, but for the entire region. Its importance for the state economy is strategic. At the end of 2014 the cargo turnover of the port reached a record number in the entire history of the port: 12 million tons of cargo were processed (although the port capacity is 9,5 million tons a year); the port received an award of the National Maritime Rating of Ukraine “The Golden Ton”.⁷⁵ This study shows that the important role of the port was predestined at the time of its foundation, while the basis for its successful economic development was laid in the 19th century.

publication in *Адміністрація Николаевского морского порта* [Administration of the Mykolaiv Sea Port], <https://bit.ly/3zTFFo5> (date of access: 15.06.2020).

75. “Николаевский морской порт снова побил абсолютный рекорд” [Nikolayev Sea Port Once Again Beats the Record] (date of publication 26.12.2014), a digital publication in *Морські бізнес-новини України* [Maritime Business News of Ukraine], <http://www.maritimebusinessnews.com.ua/news/news/2014/12/26/26718.html>, (date of access: 15.06.2020).

Chapter 8

The Commercial Rivalry

Between Odessa and the Lower Danubian Ports (1829–1853)

Constantin Ardeleanu

The Development of Danubian Trade and Shipping after 1829

The Russian-Ottoman Treaty of Adrianople (2/14 September 1829) marks a decisive turning point in the economic history of the Lower Danubian area. Besides the general clauses included in the main text of the document, “The separate act relative to the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia”, which was part of the peace treaty, referred in more detail to the political, administrative and juridical organisation of the two countries, which were *de jure* autonomous states under Ottoman suzerainty and Russian protection.¹ From a commercial perspective, article V of the main treaty stipulated that the Danubian Principalities preserved “all [former] privileges and immunities” and enjoyed “full liberty of commerce”. The abolishment of the obligation to supply the Porte with grain and other commodities (livestock, animal fat, butter, pressed cheese, honey, wax, timber, salt-peter, etc.) either free or at fixed prices much under their real value was further developed in “the separate act”: Wallachia and Moldavia had “the full liberty of trade for all the productions of their soil and of their industry [...], without any restrictions, except those which the Hospodars, in concert with their respective Divans, may consider it expedient to establish”.²

1. For an English version of the main and separate treaties, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. XVI (London: H.M.S.O., 1832), pp. 469–474; in French, in Ghenadie Petrescu, Dimitrie A. Sturdza and Dimitrie C. Sturdza (eds.), *Acte și documente relative la istoria renascerei României* [Acts and Documents Relative to the History of Romania's Revival], vol. I, 1301–1841, (Bucarest: Carol Göbl Printing House, 1888), pp. 318–328. The political context is detailed in Barbara Jelavich, *Russia and the Formation of the Romanian National State 1821–1878*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 29–30.

2. *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. XVI, pp. 650, 656.

During the next quarter-century, the two principalities witnessed a real commercial revolution, as a result of three converging economic and political factors.³ Firstly, the introduction of steam navigation on the Danube (1830) and the use of the river as an international highway which was meant to link Central and South-Eastern European agricultural lands to the world maritime routes. In the following decades, after the passage of the formerly insurmountable gorge of the Iron Gates, the Danube appeared as one of the most promising channels of world trade, destined to connect and collect the resources of almost half of Europe.⁴ Secondly, the Danubian grain entered the Mediterranean and Western markets, cultivated land, production and exports grew exponentially and placed the ports of Brăila and Galați on the economic map of the world grain trade. Thirdly, there was a gradually increasing international interest for the Romanian Principalities, nourished by the political developments in the Near East and the collective efforts of the European diplomacy to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. With the provinces lying on the frontline of Russia's offensive and with Bucharest and Jassy turned into a laboratory of diplomatic intrigue, the Western cabinets understood that the Porte's future had to be defended in the buffer zones in which the two empires met: on the Danube and Pruth rivers and in the Caucasus area. The Danube was thus imagined as a symbolic natural border of the Ottoman Empire, which, once assaulted, posed a threat to the Straits themselves.⁵

Shortly after 1829, the Danubian exports increased so as to disturb economic and political circles in Odessa, and starting with the early 1830s Russia was officially accused of using her position as master of the Danube Delta to limit the trade of her commercial rivals, by hindering the access of foreign ships to the growing outlets of Brăila and Galați. These objections followed the very acquisition by Russia of the mouths of the Danube,

3. For all these issues see my book – Constantin Ardeleanu, *International Trade and Diplomacy at the Lower Danube: the Sulina Question and the Economic Premises of the Crimean War (1829–1853)*, (Brăila: Istros Publishing House, 2014).

4. Idem, "The Navigation of the Lower Danube (1829–1853)", *Transylvanian Review*, 22, supplement no. 2 (2013), pp. 230–241. Supplement title: Iosif Marin Balog, Rudolf Graf and Cristian Luca (eds.), *Economic and Social Evolutions at the Crossroads of the World-Systems. Eastern and Central Europe from the Early Modern Ages to the Twentieth Century*, (Cluj – Napoca: Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2013).

5. Idem, "The Lower Danube, Circassia and the Commercial Dimensions of the British-Russian Diplomatic Rivalry in the Black Sea Basin (1836–37)", in Ivan Biliarsky, Ovidiu Cristea and Anca Oroveanu (eds.), *The Balkans and Caucasus: Parallel Processes on the Opposite Sides of the Black Sea*, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), pp. 39–56.

including the Sulina branch (the only navigable channel of the river), particularly as the court of St. Petersburg had declared at the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war to seek no territorial gains. The first incrimination was that the Tsarist officials obstructed free navigation by exacting illegal tolls for allowing ships to continue their navigation towards upstream Moldavian, Wallachian or Turkish ports. In February 1836, Russia introduced new quarantine rules along the Sulina branch of the Danube, a rigorous application of which was calculated to bring great impediments and financial losses to merchants and ship-owners. In a strained international context, after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman Convention of Hünkâr İskelessi (1833) and the ensuing outburst of Russophobia, public reaction in Britain was highly disapproving, with diplomatic protests stating that, “under the pretence of preserving health, [Russia] was really and truly intended to embarrass commerce”.⁶ It was the formal birth of the “Sulina question”, a diplomatic conflict that opposed for two decades Russia and several European cabinets interested in trading the commercial resources of the Romanian Principalities. Besides its economic and political-diplomatic dimensions, it developed two other components: a juridical facet related to the application on international rivers of the principles of the 1815 Treaty of Vienna guaranteeing free navigation for all flags, and a technical side concerning the best solutions for securing the navigable depth at Sulina or of finding alternative exits for Romanian grain, by means of a canal or a railway.⁷

The critical phase of the “Sulina question” commenced in the late 1840s, when Danubian exports boosted, following the repeal of the Corn Laws in Britain and the increasing demands of Romanian grain on the foreign markets. However, the larger number of ships that headed to Galați and Brăila faced major difficulties in crossing the Sulina bar, whose water level continuously dwindled after Russia’s acquisition of the Danube Delta. As Sulina became a barrier equally difficult for British vessels that strived to get in and for Austrian steamers that attempted to get out, diplomatic protests at St. Petersburg increased exponentially.⁸ During

6. *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, vol. XXXII (London, 1836), House of Commons Debates, 30 March 1836, pp. 854–856.

7. Details in Ardeleanu, “Danube Navigation and the Danube-Black Sea Canal (1830–1856)”, *Revista istorică*, XXIII:5–6 (September – December 2012), pp. 415–432.

8. Idem, “Russian-British Rivalry Regarding Danube Navigation and the Origins of the Crimean War (1846–1853)”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, XIX:2 (2010), pp. 165–186.

the summer of 1853, the bar reached the lowest level ever recorded, seemingly confirming the apprehensions that Russia aimed to check the trade of Moldavia and Wallachia and favour the outlet of Odessa. When the Western cabinets embroiled themselves in the conflict that was to become the Crimean War, the status of the Danubian Principalities and free navigation on the Danube were shortlisted for careful official scrutiny.

Although this emerging jealousy is well documented in 19th century sources, it has received little attention from modern historians, who seem to doubt *a priori* the fact that the resources of two small governorates could have really competed against Russia's trade through the greatest port of the Black Sea. This rivalry is usually regarded as an imagined contest, a leitmotif of optimistic Danubian merchants who enjoyed comparing their Lilliputian ventures to the almighty Ukrainian outlet. However, the important fact is that informed contemporaries really believed in this competition and considered that without Russia's chicaneries the Danubian trade would have developed at an even more accelerated pace.

Starting from these assumptions, this paper aims to analyse the main components of Russia's policy regarding the area of the mouths of the Danube during the quarter-century preceding the Crimean War and then to compare and contrast available statistical data related to the trade and shipping of Odessa and the Danubian port-cities of Brăila and Galați. Such an approach, to put on one plate of the balance two ports and Odessa alone on the other plate, shows from the very beginning the real difference in size between these ports. However, the distance between the two Danubian harbours (only about 15 miles), the fact that most commercial houses acted in both outlets and the similar arrangements necessary for trading the agro-pastoral resources of the area (despite the fact that the two settlements were placed in two different political entities – Galați in Moldavia and Brăila in Wallachia) made them appear as a unique commercial destination for foreign traders and ship-owners. And, as important, the apparent Russian hindrances on the maritime Danube affected both equally and received a consistent protest from the two mercantile communities together.

Russia and the Danube Navigation⁹

During the 1830s, the gradual development of the Danubian trade alarmed the Russian authorities, interested to secure the prosperity of the Empire's southern provinces. The first problems appeared for the Danubian ports of Ismail and Reni, which Russia got in 1812 after annexing Bessarabia, the province lying between the Pruth and Dniester rivers. In the next decades, the imperial cabinet took several measures meant to encourage the trade of the Bessarabian ports, to intensify shipping, to create better conditions for exporting local agricultural goods and to encourage the importation of foreign wares.¹⁰

But these actions were far from really boosting the trade of the ports of Ismail and Reni, caught between the emerging Moldavian and Wallachian outlets, on the one side, and Odessa, on the other side.¹¹ In a report dated 7 October 1833, the authorities in Ismail complained about the advantages of Galați, where lower customs rates attracted foreign merchants and secured the port a consistent growth. As detrimental to its trade was the competition of Odessa, which gathered most Bessarabian goods. The main problem for Ismail was related to the difficult navigation along the Kilia branch of the Danube, which made it quite difficult for ships to get there. Reni was better placed, but both towns were frustrated by the fact that Bessarabian products usually headed to Odessa, where the trade infrastructure allowed greater profits for producers and merchants. Faced with these problems, Ismail and Reni were doomed to commercial stagnation, especially as the

9. Parts of these sections were published, with minor alterations, in chapters 4–6 of Ardeleanu, *International Trade*.

10. Valentin Tomuleț, Andrei Emilciuc, “Un document inedit despre măsurile guvernului rus de contracarare a concurenței porturilor Galați și Brăila în favoarea comerțului prin portului Odesa (1838)” [An Unpublished Document on the Measures of the Russian Authorities to Counteract the Competition of the Danubian Ports of Galați and Brăila and to Favour the Trade of Odessa], *Analele Universității Dunărea de Jos din Galați*, series XIX, History, XI (2012), pp. 56–57.

11. A presentation of the trade of the two Bessarabian ports in Maria Maftai, “Exportul de mărfuri prin portul Ismail în anii '30 –'50 ai sec. al XIX-lea” [The Export of Goods through the Port of Ismail During the 1830s–1850s], in *200 de ani de la anexarea Basarabiei de către Imperiul Țarist: consecințele raptului teritorial pentru românii basarabeni* [200 Years Since the Annexation of Bessarabia by the Tsarist Empire: the Consequences of the Territorial Rupture for the Bessarabian Romanians], (Cahul: Cahul University Press, 2012), pp. 156–170; idem, “Considerații privind comerțul cu cereale din Basarabia prin porturile Ismail și Reni (anii 1812–1856)” [Remarks on the Grain Trade of Bessarabia Through the Ports of Ismail and Reni (1812–1856)], *Tyragetia*, new series, I [XVI]:2 (2007), pp. 211–216. Ismail exported about the same quantities of grain in the 1820s and two decades later – Ibid., p. 215.

Russian central authorities were aware that Odessa could be harmed by their increase. In 1828, Count Yegor Frantsevich Kankrin, Russia's Finance minister, refused to grant larger privileges to Ismail, as a rapid development of its trade would "substantially harm Odessa, especially as Odessa, despite its safe and convenient location, is not completely assured to have a prosperous situation".¹²

The development of Brăila and Galați was also regarded as a danger to Ukrainian commerce, so that local authorities considered several solutions for controlling the Danubian navigation. When the issue of clearing the mouths of the Danube was raised in the Russian cabinet, Prince Menshikov, chief of Russia's General Maritime Staff, insisted for choosing the most northern (Kilia) mouth of the river. He considered that although it was more expensive to deepen the Kilia branch, it was definitely worthwhile, as it was placed in Russian territory and could be more easily controlled, whereas Sulina was only advantageous for foreign navigation and could "even undermine our shipping".¹³

The Russians thoroughly analysed grain exports through the Danubian outlets of Brăila and Galați. When steam navigation was introduced, their interest grew proportionately. Competition became even greater as in 1835 the inhabitants of Odessa lost some of their ancient fiscal privileges. In 1836, when the quarantine station was established at Sulina and the modern settlement started to be erected, two attitudes were expressed in Russia regarding the subsequent role of this new settlement. Firstly, Kankrin and a part of the commercial circles in Odessa, afraid of the growth of the Danubian commerce, desired to use the possession of Sulina in order to paralyse the Danubian trade and shipping. Secondly, there were merchants in Odessa who advocated otherwise, and a similar attitude existed among some of the most influential figures in Russia: Tsar Nicholas I, Chancellor Karl Robert Nesselrode, and Count Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov. From a political perspective, they were well aware of the importance of the entente with the Austrian Empire (consolidated in 1833, after the meeting of Münchengrätz), and were not disquieted

12. Tomuleț, Emilciuc, *An Unpublished Document*, p. 59.

13. Apud Ibid., p. 61; also in Emilciuc, "Dificultăți obiective și impedimente geopolitice în dezvoltarea navigației comerciale la gurile Dunării (1829–1853)" [Objective Difficulties and Geopolitical Impediments in the Development of the Commercial Navigation at the Mouths of the Danube (1829–1853)], in *Buletin științific al tinerilor istorici. Materialele Conferinței științifice internaționale anuale a tinerilor cercetători. Serie nouă* 2 (7), 25 aprilie 2013, Chișinău, (Chișinău, 2013), pp. 90–97.

by the increasing commerce on the Danube. In fact, as Vorontsov reported, by making Sulina the emporium of the Danube, the Russians could even gain great economic advantages. “Sulina is the key of the Danube”, a great entrepot that could receive goods from Ismail, Reni, the Romanian Principalities, Austria and England. It enjoyed a growing trade, and “we have to master it. Sulina is an important place for us”.¹⁴

Therefore, a dual attitude of the Russian authorities was felt in relation to the Danubian trade. On the one side the statesmen in St. Petersburg and Odessa gave continuous and formal assurances that Russia did not hinder in any way free trade on the Danube; on the other side, the representatives of the economic circles in Odessa complained about the negative consequences of the increasing prosperity of the Romanian Principalities. The navigational problems at Sulina seemed the natural result of the latter attitude. But available sources do not prove that an official policy was decided on hindering trade on the Danube. An interesting statement belongs to Nicholas Karlovich Giers, then in service at the Russian Consulate in Moldavia. Referring to the difficult situation in Sulina, the diplomat mentioned that “it was Russia’s responsibility to clean the estuary, but we did this for the sake of appearances only, because it was not to our advantage to make this route easier for foreign trade with the Black Sea region to the detriment of Odessa, whose development was rapidly proceeding at that time”.¹⁵ However, this opinion seems rather biased by the subsequent developments, and although alluring for such an approach it needs to be supported by more reliable archival sources.

In 1837, two Russian agents were sent to investigate the economic situation in the Romanian Principalities.¹⁶ Possibly as a result of their enquiry, a report regarding the grain trade of Odessa stated that the commerce of the Principalities and of Austria would harm the prosperity of Odessa; the same concerns were expressed in a report drafted in 1838 by the president of the State Council K. Toli and addressed to Kankrin: “after the late war the trade of the Principalities has flourished so much that it nourishes fears regarding the

14. *Arkhiv knyazya Vorontsova*, vol. XL, (Moscow: Universitetskaya tipografiya, 1895), p. 213 (Count Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov to Chancellor Karl Robert Nesselrode, Odessa, 26 February 1837).

15. Charles and Barbara Jelavich (eds.), *The Education of a Russian Statesman: the Memoirs of Nicholas Karlovich Giers*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1962), p. 220.

16. Vernon John Puryear, *International Economics and Diplomacy in the Near East. A Study of British Commercial Policy in the Levant 1834–1853*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935), pp. 135–136.

competition that will harm Odessa and the southern areas in general, especially concerning the grain trade”. Kankrin elaborated a report on the trade of Moldavia and Wallachia and its influence on Russia’s Black Sea trade, proposing the urgent improvement of the transport infrastructure towards Odessa, by encouraging the construction of railways and roads. Odessa was disadvantaged from this perspective, as Wallachia for example could supply more easily its outlet of Brăila by way of the ports upstream the Danube. The Principalities were a dangerous commercial rival for Russia’s Black Sea ports, especially for Odessa, but according to international agreements Russia could not hinder the Danubian trade. The report received due attention from Tsar Nicholas I himself, who wrote on it that it was not possible to obstruct the Danubian navigation, which nevertheless was difficult in the upper sections of the river.¹⁷ A year later, in a conversation with the Austrian Ambassador to St. Petersburg, Charles Louis Ficquelmont, Nicholas I stated that, contrary to the opinions of several ministers, he considered “that we can only benefit from free navigation on the Danube; it will lead to an increase in commerce in the Black Sea, and we will see an increase in profits for us”.¹⁸

After a severe diplomatic crisis in 1836, related to the institution of the Russian quarantine in the Danube Delta, Vorontsov attempted to limit the abuses committed at Sulina. Such a measure was the separation between the naval and the sanitary command in the Danube Delta. More facilities were allowed “for the tracking of ships from the left and pratique bank though great inconvenience will necessary ensue from the increased risk of collision between the crews and the wards of the [sanitary] cordon”.¹⁹

But such good intentions were badly received at Odessa, where the treaty of Adrianople was overtly criticised by merchants.²⁰ In July 1838, Austria and Britain concluded a commercial treaty in which two articles referred directly to the Danubian navigation. By far, the most important provision for this approach was article 4: “All Austrian vessels arriving from the ports of the Danube, as far as Galacz inclusively, shall,

17. Apud Tomuleț, Emilciuc, *An Unpublished Document*, p. 75.

18. Apud Miroslav Šedivý, *Metternich, the Great Powers and the Eastern Question* (Pilsen: University of West Bohemia, 2013), pp. 616–617.

19. The National Archives of the United Kingdom (hereafter TNA), Foreign Office, FO 65, file 246, unnumbered (Consul James Yeames to Viscount Palmerston, Odessa, 6 June 1838).

20. Puryear, *International Economics*, p. 139.

together with their cargoes, be admitted into the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of all the possessions of Her Britannick Majesty, exactly in the same manner as if such vessels came direct from Austrian ports, with all the privileges and immunities stipulated by the present Treaty of Navigation and Commerce. In like manner, all British vessels, with their cargoes, shall continue to be placed upon the same footing as Austrian vessels, whenever such British vessels shall enter into or depart from the same ports”.²¹ This commercial agreement made sensation at Odessa. “The extension of a trade in close competition with Russian interests cannot be regarded with indifference by the government of this country, and the language held by persons in offices here sufficiently confirms so natural a surmise”. The chief inspector of the Russian customs, who had recently visited Sulina, considered that the quarantine was insufficient for the protection of the empire and that it had to be increased.²² In other words, it was a clear invitation to use the quarantine as a means of obstructing the growing Danubian trade.

The increasing protests of foreign Consuls regarding the navigational conditions at Sulina and the plans to build a canal or a railway between the Danube and the Black Sea, bypassing the Danube Delta, raised natural concerns in Russia, especially regarding the fate of the Bessarabian ports.²³ More ready to yield to the Austrian and British demands, but also to counteract the proposals to establish a private company for clearing the mouths of the Danube, Tsar Nicholas I allowed the conclusion of a Russian-Austrian commercial

21. The text, in English and French, in *Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Her Majesty, and the Emperor of Austria, Signed at Vienna, July 3, 1838, presented to both Houses of the Parliament, by command of Her Majesty*, (London: Harrison and Sons, 1839), pp. 2–6. An analysis is included in “The Austrian Commercial Treaty”, *The British and Foreign Review*, London, VIII (January – April 1839), pp. 95–134 and “The Commercial Treaty with Austria”, *Spectator*, no. 12550, 12 January 1839, p. 39. Also see J. H. Clapham, “The Last Years of the Navigation Acts”, *The English Historical Review*, XXV:99 (1910), pp. 493–494; Henry Hajnal, *The Danube. Its Historical, Political and Economic Importance*, (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1920), pp. 57–62; Lucia Bădulescu, Gheorghe Canja, Edwin Glaser, *Contribuții la studiul istoriei regimului internațional al navigației pe Dunăre. Regimul de drept internațional al navigației pe Dunăre până la Convenția Dunării din 18 august 1948* [Contributions to the Study of the History of the International Regime of Navigation on the Danube. The International Juridical Regime of the Danubian Navigation until the Conclusion of the Danube Convention of 18 August 1948], (Bucharest: Scientific Publishing House, 1957), pp. 103–104.

22. TNA, FO 65, file 246, unnumbered (Yeames to Palmerston, Odessa, 2 December 1838); Puryear, *International Economics*, p. 143.

23. *Arkhiv knyazya Vorontsova*, vol. XXXIX, (Moscow: Universitetskaya tipografiya, 1893), p. 310 (Count A. P. Butenev to Vorontsov, Constantinople, 9/21 April 1840).

and navigation convention. “Animated by the desire to facilitate, extend and develop even more the commercial relations” between their states and wishing to develop Danube navigation, convinced that the best solution was to apply on the river the principles of the 1815 Vienna Act for the navigation of international rivers, the two countries concluded a special convention, signed on 25 July 1840 by Ficquelmont, on the one side, and Nesselrode and Vorontsov, on the other.

Navigation on the entire course of the Danube, on the sections under the complete sovereignty of the two states, was declared “completely free, either upstream or downstream”; it could not be forbidden to anyone, from a commercial perspective, subjected to any obstruction or passage tax, and no other navigation fees than those settled in the agreement were to be paid (art. 1). Commercial ships under Austrian or any other flag “could freely enter the Danube embouchures, go up, go down or leave, without being, for this, subjected to any custom or passage tax”, except those imposed by the convention; Russian commercial ships received the same rights on the Austrian Danube (art. 2). Austrian ships had the right to be tracked on the maritime Danube on the tracking paths established by Russia, “according to the sanitary requirements adopted in conformity to the quarantine regulations, whose observance should not be a hindrance to the navigation” (art. 3). Austrian ships could be stopped at their entering the Danube only for the time needed to check the papers (art. 4). The Russian Government agreed to commence, in the shortest time, “the necessary works to stop the silting up of the Sulina Mouth and to make this passage practicable, so as to no longer be a hindrance to navigation. These works will be resumed and continued whenever they are necessary, and the season and weather condition allow it, to prevent a new silting of the said embouchure of Sulina” (art. 5). At the same time, the Russians acquiesced to build a lighthouse, with powerful reflectors, in the most adequate position at Sulina (art. 6). To cover the expenses for the engineering works stipulated in article 5 and those necessary to build and maintain the lighthouse, “Austrian ships crossing the Sulina mouth loaded or empty, will pay only one time, at entrance and clearance, the stipulated taxes in a fixed and invariable way”. These fees amounted to three Spanish piasters or three thalers for the ships with three masts as clearance expenses, and one Spanish piaster or thaler as lighthouse tax for all vessels, irrespective of size or tonnage. Both taxes were to be paid

when ships cleared the Danube, so as to allow ships to proceed upstream without any loss of time (art. 7). To facilitate commercial relations between Danubian countries and the Ukrainian Black Sea ports, Russia assimilated “Austrian steam navigation on the Danube, concerning sanitary precautions, with that of the Black Sea through the Dardanelles, admitting that the produce sent from Vienna or Hungary on the Danube onboard Austrian steamboats to be treated at Odessa or in other Russian ports similarly to those coming from Trieste, Leghorn or other Mediterranean ports, whenever these merchandise or packets or bales containing them will be confirmed with the seal of the Russian embassy in Vienna or of the Russian Consulate at Orșova” (art. 8). The convention was to last for ten years (art. 9), and the ratification instruments had to be exchanged in maximum two months (art. 10).²⁴

The convention was, undoubtedly, a great success for Austria, whose vessels were given special treatment at the Sulina Mouth of the Danube. Moreover, although it was a bilateral agreement, the convention stipulated the extension of free navigation to nations which enjoyed that right in the Black Sea and which were at peace with Russia. However, the reference to the principles of 1815 was rather theoretical, as the extension of freedom of navigation became inoperable through articles 3 and 4, which provided for facilities and regulations exclusively for Austrian and Russian vessels, leaving for interpretation the status of foreign vessels mentioned in article 2. Another vague provision was contained in article 7, as navigation fees were only fixed for Austrian vessels, and they could be deemed as arbitrary and variable for other flags.²⁵

24. *British and Foreign State Papers, 1839–1840*, vol. XXVIII, (London: H.M.S.O., 1857), pp. 1060–1063; Ștefan Stanciu, Alexandru Duță, *Traités, conventions et autres documents concernant le régime de la navigation du Danube maritime*, (Galați: Scorpion Publishing House, 2003), pp. 12–14. The convention was ratified by the Austrian Emperor on 5 September 1840. L. von Neumann, *Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par l’Autriche avec les Puissances étrangères 1763–1856*, vol. IV, (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1858), pp. 460–463; a critical analysis in “Occupation of Sulina by Russia”, *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, XCI (February 1851), pp. 145–147; Puryear, *International Economics*, pp. 144–145; Ardeleanu, *Evoluția intereselor economice și politice britanice la gurile Dunării (1829–1914)* [The Evolution of the British Economic and Political Interests at the Mouths of the Danube (1829–1914)], (Brăila: Istros Publishing House, 2008), pp. 52–53; on the financial effects of this treaty, cf. Emilciuc, *Objective Difficulties*, pp. 7–8.

25. Spiridon G. Focas, *The Lower Danube River. In the Southeastern European Political and Economic Complex from Antiquity to the Conference of Belgrade of 1948*, (Boulder, New York: East European Monographs – Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 203.

At the same time, another complaint was that Russia's intention in negotiating this agreement was to obtain *de jure* recognition of her occupation of Sulina. The Sardinian Consul at Galați reported in 1840 that "Russia through the stipulations of the Convention had as her principal aim the formal and immediate recognition of her dominion over the useable mouth of the Danube", and the Tsar's aim was "to force other nations in time to conclude similar conventions".²⁶ A British agent travelling in the Danubian Principalities a decade later made a similar remark: "the occupation of Sulina by the Russians received the sanction of Austria in a special convention".²⁷ Despite such ambiguities and vagueness, the convention seemed to regulate on just principles the situation of the Danubian navigation and was well received by the British Consuls in the Principalities.²⁸

In October 1840, a few weeks after the ratification of the agreement, the Russian authorities met, under the supervision of Count Vorontsov, and discussed the application of the document. Several of the problems related to the towing paths along the left bank of the Danube were solved in a satisfactory manner, and the following year the Russians started to erect a lighthouse at Sulina and one on the Serpents Island.²⁹ The main problem remained that of the depth of the bar, which continued to decrease. A simple rake was used to stir the mud at the bar, but this machine worked, according to Russian sources, insufficiently (nine months in 1842, four in 1843, none in 1844 and three in 1845) for producing any results whatsoever.³⁰

26. Dimitrie Bodin, *Documente privitoare la legăturile economice dintre principatele române și Regatul Sardiniei* [Documents Regarding the Economic Relations Between the Romanian Principalities and the Kingdom of Sardinia], (Bucharest: The National Printing Press, 1941), p. 65 (Bartolomeo Geymet to Count Clemente Solaro della Margarita, Galați, 19 November 1840); Focas, *The Lower Danube*, p. 203.

27. "Occupation of Sulina", p. 145; James Henry Skene, *The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk, Comprising Travels in the Regions of the Lower Danube in 1850 and 1851*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), p. 378; Focas, *The Lower Danube*, pp. 202–203.

28. See the reports sent to Palmerston by Vice-Consul Charles Cunningham on 4 March 1841 (TNA, FO 78, file 446, fols. 240–241) and Consul Robert Gilmore Colquhoun, 21 April 1841 (Ibid., FO 78, file 445, fol. 299).

29. Manfred Sauer, "Österreich und die Sulina Frage, 1829–1854" [Austria and the Sulina Question, 1829–1854], part II, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, XLI (1989), pp. 96–98; in 1840, Vorontsov complained to Metternich about Kankrin's opposition to the clearance measures and the reduction of the quarantine – Šedivý, *Metternich*, p. 616.

30. *Arkhiv knyazya Vorontsova*, vol. XL, pp. 335–336 (Nesselrode to Vorontsov, St. Petersburg, 17 January 1847); Tudose Tatu, *Cheia Dunării împărătești. Sulina cea mălită* [The Key of the Imperial Danube. The Muddy Sulina], (Galați: Sinteze, 2013), pp. 161–162; Emilciuc, *Objective Difficulties*, pp. 5–6.

By the mid 1840s, all parties concerned were aware that many problems were related to the local officials and inhabitants at Sulina, who had no interest in removing these navigational obstacles. In 1843, an Austrian agent, Ferdinand Mayerhofer, inspected the facilities of the Austrian Steam Navigation Company (DDSG) at the Lower Danube and reported that the Russians had fulfilled most of their obligations, except for securing a convenient depth over the Sulina bar. He thus suggested to send a Consul thither, as he could be of great help in preventing all abuses against the Austrian merchants and ship-owners.³¹ The authorities in Vienna required the appointment of a Consul at Sulina, which was not granted, as the place was officially only a provisional settlement, but also because the Russians wanted to avoid similar demands from other foreign governments. However, it was allowed for the Austrian Vice-Consul at Ismail, Nicolo Sgardelli, to deal with the problems from Sulina.³²

During the following years the abuses from the embouchure of the Danube were constantly presented in the European press, and the authorities in Odessa and St. Petersburg had to deal with clear allegations against the sheer lawlessness reigning at Sulina. In the spring of 1845 an investigation was conducted against General Pavel Ivanovich Fedorov, the Military Governor of Bessarabia, who would have tolerated all these mistreatments.³³ The central authorities were aware of the situation, and Chancellor Nesselrode condemned the fact that Fedorov protected the real culprit, Colonel Solovyov, his own son-in-law. The latter had to be replaced by an honest naval officer, and only then the evil could be destroyed from its roots. But it was difficult, as Fedorov was at the same time “judge and defendant”, and the situation caused disagreeable discussions not only with Austria, but with all European powers, England in the first place.³⁴

In 1847, Nicholas I sent to the Principalities and to Sulina a personal investigator, Radofinikin, who promised to solve all these problems in a few months. The outcome of his mission was well summarised by Giers: “complaints from foreign powers with

31. Sauer, “*Österreich*”, part II, pp. 98–99.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

34. *Arkhiv knyazy Vorontsova*, vol. XL, pp. 335–336 (Nesselrode to Vorontsov, St. Petersburg, 17 January 1847). See also the interesting considerations of an Austrian diplomat in Comte de Ficquelmont, *Examen de conscience à l’occasion de Guerre d’Orient*, (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1856), pp. 27–30.

respect to this became so insistent that in order to pacify them the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to send to Sulina the Active State Counselor Radofinikin [...] to investigate the question on the spot. This pacified the foreign governments, but not for long, because they soon were convinced that the Danubian commission headed by Radofinikin would achieve nothing”.³⁵ After 1848, the Sulina question entered into a new, critical phase, with Sulina regarded as the indicator of Russia’s intention of hindering the Danubian trade.

Former “motherland of fishermen and pilots”, Sulina witnessed a rapid development and became, by the 1840s, a prosperous and cosmopolitan town of several thousand inhabitants who, under the lax control of corrupt Russian officials, earned huge profits. The most difficult barrier to proper navigation was the bar, the natural sand bank formed at the mouth of the Danube, a river discharging millions of cubic meters of alluvium and detritus into a closed, tideless sea.³⁶ This bar gradually increased and so the navigable depth decreased to below 10 feet, and these impediments resulted in considerable financial injuries for foreign shipping, on account both of the expenses of transshipping the cargoes into lighters and of the dangers to which vessels and cargoes were exposed.³⁷ British Consuls complained that the state of Sulina caused losses amounting to at least 100,000 sterling pounds a year.³⁸ But a man’s loss is another man’s gain. As Cunningham reported, “no parties here in the Danube have any direct interest in clearing the bar or facilitating the navigation [...]. The bar of Sulina furnishes the means of existence to the inhabitants of Sulina, by the employment of lighters, pilots, and the expenses incurred by the vessels during their detention”.³⁹

35. Jelavich (eds.), *The Education of a Russian Statesman*, p. 221.

36. A valuable approach on the Sulina bar in Focas, *The Lower Danube*, pp. 113–122; also Puryear, “Odessa: Its Rise and International Importance, 1815–1850”, *Pacific History Review*, III (1934), pp. 203–215.

37. “*Occupation of Sulina*”, p. 145.

38. *Correspondence with the Russian Government Respecting the Obstructions to the Navigation of the Sulina Channel of the Danube*, (London: Harrison and Son, 1853), pp. 14–15 (Cunningham to Palmerston, Galați, 16 September 1850).

39. Ibid., p. 50 (Vice-Consul Lloyd to Sir Stratford Canning, Sulina, 4 June 1853). “It is not the interest of any parties, either of the local authorities themselves, or of the inhabitants of Sulina, that the obstacles to the navigation should be removed” – Ibid., p. 7 (Lloyd to Consul Neale, Tulcea, 30 January 1850). See also Paul Cernovodeanu, *Relațiile comerciale româno-engleze în contextul politicii orientale a Marii Britanii (1803–1878)* [The Romanian-English Commercial Relations in the Context of Britain’s Eastern Policy], (Cluj Napoca: Dacia Publishing House, 1986), pp. 132–133.

Transhipments added to the price of Danubian grain, placing it in a disadvantageous position as compared to the produce exported from Odessa.⁴⁰ Moreover, by these operations, the Russians gained not only indirectly, by favouring their own ports, but also directly, as local officials earned large profits by employing their own vessels, for which they charged huge rents. Thanks to the Russian Government's "able negligence" these onerous transfers were apparently done by means of some 300 lighters owned by the officer in charge at Sulina, "Major Solovyov, the nephew of General Fedorov, the Governor of Bessarabia". Very probably, most of the officials employed at Sulina were also proprietors of lighters and "in order to keep up rates care is taken that too many lighters are not allowed to ply at Sulina". As all lighters had to receive permission from the police master of the place, their owners paid an unofficial commission of 10 per cent on the freight received. Plenty of arguments for making travellers understand "why the passage was badly maintained"⁴¹ and for considering that the officers at Sulina live entirely from the misfortune of vessels.⁴² Naturally enough, for Russian military and civil officials Sulina was "a little California and an officer or an employee is considered very lucky if he can get an appointment there, [as] all those having been there, made [much] money".⁴³

The Sulina bar controversy played an important part in the diplomatic conflict that opposed, prior to the Crimean War, the British and Russian cabinets. Viscount Palmerston sent repeated dispatches to St. Petersburg, referring to the Russian Government's juridical responsibility, by the provisions of the Treaty of Vienna, to guarantee the freedom of navigation on the Danube⁴⁴ and even suggesting whether it might not be advisable "to have

40. In 1853, the cost of lighterage was 10 per cent of the value of cargo – "The Mouth of the Danube", *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, Dublin, 26 July 1853.

41. J. D. de Bois-Robert, *Nil et Danube. Souvenirs d'un touriste. Égypte, Turquie, Crimée, Provinces-Danubiennes*, (Paris: Librairie de A. Courcier, 1855), p. 319.

42. TNA, FO 195, file 136, fol. 540 (Report on the navigation of the Danube ..., drafted by Cunningham, Galați, 6 February 1840); other details, according to an Austrian source, in Tatu, *Cheia Dunării*, pp. 152–155.

43. Apud Radu R. Florescu, *The Struggle against Russia in the Romanian Principalities: a Problem in Anglo-Turkish Diplomacy 1821–1854*, 2nd edition, (Iași, 1997), p. 298, note 70. "The officers of the station at Sulina have a direct and decided interest to make masters of vessels believe that there is less water on the bar than there actually is, as the more lighterage a vessel pays, the more the officers gain". (TNA, FO 195, file 136, fol. 538 (Report on the navigation of the Danube ..., drafted by Cunningham, Galați, 6 February 1840).

44. *Correspondence*, p. 14 (Palmerston to Bloomfield, London, 4 October 1850). As the Treaty of Adrianople was never recognised by the European powers and the Russo-Austrian convention of 1840 was

a meeting of representatives of the river-bordering states in the same manner as has been done for the Rhine and the Elbe”.⁴⁵ But more often than not he insisted on the desirability of using the rakes or harrows system,⁴⁶ stating that “Europe never will believe that what was so easily accomplished by the Turkish Government is impossible for the far more enlightened and skilful Government of Russia”. In the autumn of 1851, diplomatic relations were strained enough to make Ambassador George Hamilton Seymour consider that it was more appropriate not to act upon Palmerston’s instructions: “I am very unwilling to increase the soreness of feeling already apparent by the Imperial Government at the mistrust manifested as to their intentions upon this affair. At this moment I am convinced that fresh remonstrances upon the subject on my part would only produce an angry reply from the Russian Chancellor”.⁴⁷

Leaving aside the stereotypical accusations and the common incriminations of the British Consuls, an objective presentation of the situation from Sulina reveals a series of hydrographical and technical problems that made clearing works more complex than believed. In fact, absolutely all information provided by England’s representatives at the Lower Danube with respect to dredging and the general status of the Sulina mouth was unconfirmed by the works carried out later by the engineers of the European Commission of the Danube (ECD).⁴⁸ In February 1865, the Austrian delegate in the ECD reported that a “current theme in the reports of the Consuls, the navigators and the merchants was the complaint that Russia is deliberately letting the Sulina mouth silt. Nothing is groundless than this reproach”.⁴⁹ John Stokes, the first British commissioner in the ECD, also expressed his conviction “that the Russian Government had been unjustly maligned, and that nothing could have been done by their agents on the river in this direction; also that

not binding on England, “the unanimous settlement of the general interests of Europe, in 1815, is the only contract in which we participated. We, therefore, possess an undeniable right to claim, and even to enforce, its fulfilment; and we are invested with a legal title to exercise a direct influence over the state of the bar at Sulina, for we have never divested ourselves of the rights acquired by us through the Treaty of Vienna, as Austria has done by her special convention with Russia” – “*Occupation of Sulina*”, pp. 145–146.

45. *Correspondence*, pp. 16–17 (Palmerston to Bloomfield, London, 4 November 1850).

46. *Ibid.*, p. 27 (Palmerston to Buchanan, London, 20 August 1851).

47. *Ibid.*, p. 39 (Seymour to Palmerston, St. Petersburg, 20 October 1851).

48. Focas, *The Lower Danube*, p. 117.

49. Bădulescu, Canja, Glaser, *Contribuții*, p. 119; also Focas, *The Lower Danube*, p. 121.

the accusation made against them of having encouraged the silting up of the entrance by sinking vessels was equally unjust and unfounded”.⁵⁰

As mentioned earlier, apparently the diplomatic circles in St. Petersburg had real intentions to solve this problem. In April 1852, Nesselrode bitterly referred to the fact that the dredger no longer worked at Sulina, and he required its being immediately returned to the mouth of the Danube, so as not to “gravely compromise ourselves in front of Austria and England”.⁵¹ But, as a Romanian proverb wisely says, “before you get to God, the saints will get you”. The seemingly good intentions of the Russian central authorities came across the indifference or the adverse priorities of the local circles in Sulina.

The Danubian Ports and Odessa

Returning now to the question of the commercial rivalry between Odessa and the Danubian port-cities, we should mention that there are several historians who contend that there was no real boom in the grain exports of the Principalities following the Treaty of Adrianople. The main argument is the erratic access of Romanian grain on the Western markets before 1860 and the fact that most exports were directed not to British, but to the Mediterranean Ottoman, Austrian or Italian ports.⁵² This argument was augmented by Romanian historians, who insisted on the idea that the growth in the Romanian grain exports to the West was only gradual during the 1830s – 1850s, and that the quantities increased only in late 19th and early 20th centuries. Investigating the causes of this slow growth of quantities, it is considered that the price difference was highest in the 1830s, it decreased but stayed high in the 1840s, and it remained relatively stable until the early 1870s. Referring to the fact that the institutional arrangements to promote trade were established during the 1830s, it is argued that the main factor that precluded higher exports was not on the demand side (although British import restrictions until 1846 played their part), but on the supply side.

50. John Stokes, “The Danube and Its Trade”, *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XXXVIII:1954 (1890), p. 562.

51. *Arkhiv knyazyia Vorontsova*, vol. XL, pp. 433–434 (Nesselrode to Vorontsov, St. Petersburg, 17 April 1852).

52. John R. Lampe, Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History. 1550–1950. From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 104.

Agricultural production in the Romanian Principalities was too low and too slow in its adjustment to demand and it did not allow for bigger exports.⁵³

Several of these arguments are valid, but there are still some remarks to be clarified. The Treaty of Adrianople effectively nourished a commercial revolution in the Principalities, which can be attested both in qualitative and in quantitative terms. It really freed the economic forces in Moldavia and Wallachia and allowed a certain political stability that invited capitalist investments. It is evident that to escape the periphery of the world market, Romanian grain passed through a transition phase in the 1830s and 1840s. Grain trade patterns during this period and the gliding scale system in use in the West did not allow the direct access of Eastern products to the British and northern markets. The deposit ports system, with the Mediterranean storing ports of Constantinople, Leghorn, Genoa, Trieste or Marseille, was almost compulsory during this period. But the Danubian Principalities were among the largest grain growing areas in the world, and the upsurge of exports from the Danube was recorded in almost all contemporary economic magazines. In the 1850s, Galați and Brăila were included among the greatest grain ports in the world. According to an American commercial report, the two Danubian outlets were only surpassed by New York and Chicago, but were placed before the largest European outlets: St. Petersburg, Odessa, Dantzig, Riga, Arkhangelsk, etc.⁵⁴

Thus, it would be helpful to compare the trade of Brăila and Galați to that of Odessa, the greatest port of the Black Sea during that period and the outlet of modern Ukraine. Founded at the end of the 18th century and greatly supported by the Russian authorities,

53. Bogdan Murgescu, “Tratatul de la Adrianopol (1829) și limitele impactului său asupra exporturilor românești de cereale” [The Treaty of Adrianople (1829) and the Limits of Its Impact on the Romanian Grain Exports], in Maria Mureșan (ed.), *Economie, instituții și integrare europeană* [Economy, Institutions and European Integration], (Bucharest: Academy of Economic Sciences Publishing House, 2007), p. 71; the same ideas in idem, Viorel Bralosi, “Ponderea cerealelor românești în comerțul european (secolele XVI–XX)” [The Share of Romanian Grain in the European Trade (16th – 20th Centuries)], in Maria Mureșan (ed.), *Experiențe istorice de integrare economică europeană* [Historical Experiences of European Economic Integration], (Bucharest: Academy of Economic Sciences Publishing House, 2006), pp. 31–38; Murgescu, *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice: 1500–2010* [Romania and Europe. The Accumulation of Economic Gaps: 1500–2010], (Bucharest: Polirom, 2010), pp. 114–123.

54. “The Greatest Grain Port in the World”, *De Bow’s Reviews and Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc.*, New Orleans and Washington City, vol. XVIII, new series, vol. I, 1855, p. 381.

who invested massively in its infrastructure, Odessa soon became a thriving outlet, especially after being declared a free port.

During the quarter-century preceding the Crimean War, it was a constant incrimination that Russia was purposely obstructing, by every means possible, Danubian trade in order to favour the port of Odessa. In 1834, for example, a French diplomat, Bois le Comte, drew up a very elaborate report, focussing on the idea that the development of the Principalities was distressing the Russians, who noticed that “the trade of Odessa and that of the Principalities depend on the same merchandise”. By 1833, the Russian government sent an enquiry mission to Brăila and Galați, with the aim of investigating if the growing trade of the Romanian outlets could rival the trade of Odessa. This mission alarmed the Austrian and Sardinian Consuls at Galați, who were convinced that Russia would hinder this growth, the same opinion being supported by most foreign merchants settled in the Danubian ports.⁵⁵

At first, the tradesmen of Odessa did not consider the competition too seriously. The idea of rivalry was regarded as mere imagination, as Danubian products could not compete, quantitatively and qualitatively, with the capacities of the southern governorates of the Tsarist Empire. However, things completely changed thereafter, and in 1837 John Ponsonby, the British Ambassador to Constantinople, wrote to Palmerston that “it is quite apparent that all the grain from the Principalities enters into competition with the grain of Russia”.⁵⁶ By 1838, this rivalry was keenly felt in Russia; the British Consul at Odessa reported that “the Russians’ jealousy became excessive” and made them interested to restrict the navigation of the Danube. “At Odessa, particularly, where wheat no longer is delivered as cheaply as formerly, in consequence of the increased cost of land carriage from the Polish provinces, great dissatisfaction prevails; and the stagnation of the grain market is attributed, in some degrees unfairly, to the competition of the Principalities”.⁵⁷

55. Charles de Bois le Comte, in Daniela Bușă (ed.), *Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea* [Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Lands in the 19th Century], new series, vol. III, 1831–1840 (Bucharest: Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2006), pp. 153–157.

56. Apud Florescu, *The Struggle*, p. 288. A very intelligent merchant from Odessa “expressed a decided opinion that the export trade of Odessa will be materially affected by the extension of the trade of the Principalities, if no obstacle be append to it” – TNA, FO 78, file 290, fol. 125 (Consul Samuel Gardner to Palmerston, Jassy, 4 September 1836).

57. Puryear, *International Economics*, p. 136.

And it was, indeed, an increasing commercial struggle, as the development of Galați and Brăila, enjoying the prospects offered by the introduction of steam navigation, tended to turn them into the outlets of the entire valley of the Danube. By 1839, the British officer Adolphus Slade referred to the natural resources of the two provinces, “various and most abundant, particularly in corn, wool, and fruits”, “the superb forests of timber”, the good and numerous “cattle and horses”, with the result that “Southern Russia begins to feel the competition of Moldavia and Wallachia, and I doubt not that in a few years Odessa and Taganrok will decline in consequence”.⁵⁸ The French diplomat Edouard Thouvenel also mentioned that Moldavian grain was sold on the Western markets 4–5 per cent cheaper than the Odessa sorts, and with the large number of ships calling at Galați and Brăila “these two cities are a redoubtable competitor for Odessa, hence Russia’s discontent and the obstacles which this power creates at the Danube”.⁵⁹ A few years later, in 1852, another British traveller alluded to the increasing export of maize from the Principalities, being evident “that these provinces are annually becoming more formidable as rivals to the south of Russia. Wheat exported from the Danube ranks higher, and obtains better prices, in the London market than Polish Odessa; while there can be no doubt that, if the encouragement hitherto afforded by foreign markets to these provinces be continued, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Roumelia will soon equally divide with Russia the corn trade of the Black Sea”.⁶⁰ That this view was largely accepted throughout Western Europe also results from numerous other contemporary sources, including the public speeches of the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston. In a discourse in the House of Commons, the statesman presented the difficult situation of the Danube navigation, completely neglected by the Russians, interested “to obstruct the exports of commerce by the Danube, to increase the exports of Odessa”.⁶¹

58. Adolphus Slade, *Travels in Germany and Russia, Including a Steam Voyage by the Danube and the Euxine from Vienna to Constantinople, in 1838–39*, (London: Saunders and Otley, 1840), p. 200.

59. Edouard Antoine Thouvenel, *La Hongrie et la Valachie (Souvenirs de voyage et notices historiques)*, vol. III, (Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1840), pp. 834–835.

60. Laurence Oliphant, *The Russian Shores of the Black Sea in the Autumn of 1852 with a Voyage Down the Volga, and a Tour through the Country of the Don Cossacks*, (London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1853), pp. 345–346.

61. *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, vol. CXXVIII, (London, 1853), House of Commons Debates, 7 July 1853, pp. 1374–1375.

Three historians have analysed aspects related to this rivalry. The first to deserve mention is Vernon John Puryear, an American scholar who treated the outstanding development of the Russo-Danubian rivalry, notable between 1838 and 1853, in its international economic and diplomatic context. On the basis of few statistical data, he concluded that there could not have been a real competition between Odessa and the Danubian ports, as “it is quite clear that the Principalities were not able to expand their production as rapidly as the increases effected by the southern ports of Russia”.⁶² The Greek-Romanian Spiridon Focas, in a detailed monograph devoted to the Danube question, also analysed “the controversy on the competition between Brăila and Odessa”, concluding that “the real competition with Odessa took place only after Russia’s removal from the mouths of the Danube, in 1856, followed by the application of the international regime of navigation”.⁶³ There were too many differences of size and hinterland between Odessa and Brăila / Galați, as well as of political interest to create a veritable rivalry. Recently, a young Moldavian researcher, Andrei Emilciuc, published a paper on the grain trade in Galați and Odessa, with more consistent statistical data from Russian archives and from Constantin Bușe’s work on the foreign trade of Galați. His conclusions confirm that there did exist at least a relative competition between the Danubian ports and Odessa.⁶⁴

Statistical Analysis of the Shipping and Trade of Odessa and the Danubian Ports

All these approaches are, from several perspectives, problematic. Firstly, they are not based on sufficient and consistent statistical data regarding the foreign trade and shipping of the Danubian ports. Secondly, the statistics employed vary greatly in terms of tabular structure, and the diverse measurement units used in the Danubian ports and in Southern Ukraine made it difficult to have complete and comparable statistical series. Nevertheless, to see if Danubian ports could have really threatened the commercial prosperity of Odessa, we shall refer to several of the most important dimensions of

62. Puryear, *International Economics*, p. 144.

63. Focas, *The Lower Danube*, p. 210.

64. Emilciuc, “Comerțul cu cereale prin porturile Galați și Odesa (1837–1853)” [The Grain Trade through the Ports of Galați and Odessa (1837–1853)], in *Românii din afara granițelor țării. Iași – Chișinău: legături istorice* [The Romanians from Beyond the Country’s Borders. Iași – Chișinău: Historical Relations], (Iași: Demiurg Editorial House, 2008), pp. 189, 194.

economic exchanges, according to the data provided by contemporary sources during the decade preceding the Crimean War (1843–1852).

In terms of the ships that called at the three ports (Table 8.1), an annual average of 1,058 maritime vessels was recorded at Odessa, 894 at Brăila and 523 at Galați. We have to mention that the decline recorded during the period 1848–1850 is related to the 1848 revolution and to a subsequent three years long military occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia by Russian troops. If we add up the ships that called at both Danubian ports, we get to the following figures: a total of 10,577 ships for Odessa and 14,167 seagoing vessels for Brăila and Galați, making the Danubian outlets some of the busiest ports of the Black Sea. To these maritime vessels, we should add the frequent entries of 500–1,000 lighters, small fluvial ships that loaded grain in upstream Wallachian ports and carried it to Brăila or charged the cargoes of Brăila or Galați and carried them down to Sulina, where the grain was transhipped into the larger maritime vessels that could not or would not ascend the Danube.

Table 8.1. Shipping at Odessa and the Danubian Ports, (1843–1852), (number of ships)

Year	Galați	Brăila	Odessa
1843	327	772	745
1844	509	875	919
1845	464	832	1,192
1846	644	911	1,467
1847	662	1,553	1,581
1848	397	726	1,063
1849	588	587	878
1850	391	505	783
1851	619	1,049	698
1852	628	1,128	1,251
Average	523	894	1,058

Source: For the Danubian ports, data is taken from Paul Cernovodeanu, Beatrice Marinescu and Irina Gavrilă, “Comerțul britanic prin Galați și Brăila între 1837–1852” [The British Trade Through Galați and Brăila Between 1837–1852], *Revista de Istorie*, XXXI:1 (1978), p. 634; Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, “British Trade in the Danubian Ports of Galatz and Braila between 1837 and 1853”, *Journal of European Economic History*, VIII:3 (1979), p. 713. For Odessa, TNA, FO 359 (British Consulate at Odessa), file 1.

In terms of the tonnage of these ships, things are rather different. Available statistics for the Romanian ports only mention the tonnage of ships for the last three years of this period (1850–1852), which are, nevertheless, relevant for proving the large difference in tonnage between Odessa and the Danube. Thus, the total tonnage of ships that loaded cargoes in Odessa was much larger than of the vessels that could enter the Danube, as it results from Table 8.2. This is even clearer by referring to the average tonnage of ships, which amounted to about 275 tons for Odessa and 175 tons for the Danubian ports. However, this lower tonnage was in its turn directly related to the depth of the Danube at Sulina, whose sandbar greatly impeded navigation on the river.

Table 8.2. Total and Average Tonnage of Ships Recorded at Odessa and the Danube (1850–1852)

Year	1850			1851			1852		
Port	Ships	Tonnage		Ships	Tonnage		Ships	Tonnage	
	Number	Total	Average	Number	Total	Average	Number	Total	Average
Odessa	783	226,334	289	698	196,218	281	1,251	336,156	269
Danube	896	157,806	176	1,668	300,845	180	1,756	299,607	171

Source: For the Danubian ports, data is taken from The National Archives, Galați County, Archive of the European Commission of the Danube, *Statistique of the European Commission of the Danube*, 1847–1856. For Odessa, see Table 8.1.

The analysis of flags is as interesting. Considering the entire decade, the shipping of Odessa was equally divided between ships sailing under Austrian, Sardinian, British, and Greek flags, each with a share of 15 to 18 per cent (see Table 8.3). However, Danubian shipping presents a completely different situation, being clearly dominated by small Greek and Ottoman vessels, with 36 and 24 per cent respectively of the ships that called at Galați and Brăila.

Table 8.3. Share of Flags at Odessa and the Danube (1843–1852)

Flag	Odessa		Danube	
	Total	Per cent	Total	Per cent
British	1,878	17.76	1,503	10.61
Russian (Odessa) / Ottoman (Danube)	1,125	10.64	3,340	23.58
Austrian	1,933	18.27	995	7.02
Sardinian	1,909	18.05	894	6.31
Greek	1,611	15.23	5,138	36.27
Others	2,121	20.05	2,297	16.21

Source: For the Danubian ports, data is taken from sources mentioned at Tables 1 and 2, plus Constantin Ap. Vacalopoulos, “Données statistiques sur la prédominance du potentiel hellénique dans la navigation et le commerce au bas Danube (1837–1858)” [Statistical Data on the Predominance of Hellenic Potential in Navigation and Trade on the Lower Danube (1837–1858)], *Balkan Studies*, XXI (1980), pp. 109–110. For Odessa, see Tables 8.1 and 8.2.

The increase of British shipping at the Lower Danube is completely remarkable. Whereas Odessa was a traditional destination for British ships, and the number of British vessels that called at the Ukrainian port varied within a lower interval, the Danubian ports were “discovered” after the repeal of the Corn Laws and the great famine in Ireland, with the number of British ships recorded in the Principalities increasing from 7 in 1843 to 394 in 1847, 299 in 1851 and 339 in 1852 (see Table 8.4).

Table 8.4. British Shipping at Odessa and the Danube (1843–1852)

Year	Odessa	Danube
1843	177	7
1844	175	26
1845	132	19
1846	220	52
1847	204	394

Year	Odessa	Danube
1848	296	132
1849	189	129
1850	128	106
1851	126	299
1852	231	339

Source: See Table 8.1.

The second dimension of this statistical analysis is related to exports. For wheat, the annual average exports were 1.2 million quarters from Odessa and 440,000 quarters from Brăila and Galați, proving that in quantitative terms the Ukrainian outlet completely surpassed the two Danubian ports (see Table 8.5). However, the export of maize greatly compensated the gap, as the Danube supplied seven times more maize than Odessa. Adding up these two cereals, it gets to yearly averages of 1.02 million quarters for the Danubian ports and 1.26 million quarters for Odessa. As the export of wheat and maize represented at least 80 per cent of the total exports from these outlets, we can conclude that, at least in quantitative terms, the differences between the exports of the Danubian Principalities and of Tsarist Empire through Odessa are not as great as previously considered.

Table 8.5. Grain Exports from Odessa and the Danubian Ports (quantities in quarters)

Product	Wheat		Maize	
Year	Danube	Odessa	Danube	Odessa
1843	429,977	842,576	261,971	–
1844	514,423	909,385	302,244	28,522
1845	494,972	1,279,505	281,815	20,698
1846	438,428	1,407,827	499,772	26,025
1847	571,678	2,016,692	937,720	27,409
1848	273,089	1,409,963	435,842	2,664
1849	291,143	1,127,000	591,295	31,227
1850	423,942	980,377	272,609	32,963
1851	417,580	718,835	997,299	98,252
1852	531,139	1,362,251	1,054,538	225,635
Average	438,637	1,205,441	563,511	49,340

Source: Cernovodeanu, Marinescu and Gavrilă, “*Comerțul britanic*”, pp. 635–639; Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, “*British Trade*”, pp. 716–717. For Odessa, see Table 8.1.

However, the analysis in terms of values reveals a greater difference between these ports: the Danube exported goods for an annual average of 1.2 million sterling pounds, whereas Odessa amounted to an average export of 3 million sterling pounds a year (see Table 8.6).

Half of this gap results from the difference of price between wheat and maize, as a quarter of maize was only half the price of a quarter of wheat. The rest accounts for the larger variety of goods exported from southern Ukraine, such as tallow, wool, hides, furs, etc. The same reality is visible in terms of imports, with the Danube importing for an average value of 650,000 sterling pounds a year, about half the imports of Odessa – 1,350,000 sterling pounds a year. This clearly relates to the difference in size, development, population and hinterland between the Danubian ports and Odessa.

Table 8.6. The exports and imports of Odessa and the Danubian ports (1843–1852), (values in sterling pounds)

Year	Exports		Imports	
	Danube	Odessa	Danube	Odessa
1843	674,901	1,863,719	365,254	852,766
1844	854,929	2,916,537	395,527	940,863
1845	1,078,477	2,895,513	432,029	1,288,289
1846	1,357,487	3,628,576	NA	1,239,265
1847	2,368,472	1,030,330	692,226	1,821,852
1848	945,229	5,699,174	506,632	1,435,750
1849	1,113,272	2,973,275	799,324	1,608,272
1850	839,712	2,694,503	898,705	1,392,604
1851	1,274,525	2,100,944	896,895	1,223,813
1852	1,484,043	3,976,754	889,665	1,637,893
Average	1,199,105	2,977,933	652,917	1,344,137

Source: For the Danube: “Commerce of the Danube”, *Hunt’s Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review*, New York, XXVII:3 (September 1852), pp. 293–297; Cernovodeanu, Marinescu and Gavrilă, “*Comerțul britanic*”, pp. 646–649; For Odessa, see Table 8.1.

Conclusions

The Treaty of Adrianople completely altered the commercial significance of the two Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Commerce and its huge opportunities stood at the basis of a veritable economic revolution that shook the medieval production

and sale mechanisms and rearranged them for suiting a capitalist environment. Three factors converged towards this end: the introduction of steam navigation on the Danube and its encouragement by Austrian investors, the new commercial liberty of the provinces and the Western merchants' interest for the agrarian resources of the area. The Tsarist authorities carefully scrutinised the growth of the Principalities' foreign trade, and some of the leading officials suggested that Russia could use her mastery of the Sulina branch and mouth of the Danube (the only navigable channel of the river) in order to obstruct the growth of the Danubian outlets of Brăila and Galați, prospective commercial rivals of the great port of the Ukrainian governorates, Odessa. This belief became generalised by the 1840s, and most westerners tended to blame Russia for all problems and obstructions that impeded free shipping on the maritime Danube. This so called "Sulina question" had several episodes in which it inflamed European diplomacy, but more interested to obstruct trade and shipping on the Danube were the very inhabitants of Sulina, a small settlement that grew during these decades into a prosperous settlement.

Former fatherland of Turkish and Russian fishermen, Sulina became the heaven of several thousand pilots, lightermen, stevedores and tavern keepers living from the huge profits derived from shipping and all its rewarding operations – towing, trans-shipping, piloting, dislodging grounded vessels, etc. As we get closer to the outbreak of the Crimean War, and the depth of the Sulina bar continuously dwindled, the vehemence of foreign diplomats and merchants settled in Galați and Brăila grew proportionally. Convinced of the easiness and cheapness with which the obstructions hindering proper navigation at Sulina could be removed, the British and Austrian Consuls from the Lower Danubian ports became veritable prosecutors of Russia's abuses and preachers of imposing an international control over Danubian navigation.

It is true that Russia did tolerate at Sulina a state of arbitrariness, disorder, despotism and anarchy, which deprived trade of the "most elementary guaranties of security", although it is more reasonable to consider that this was due to the particular position of Sulina in relation to Russia, the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian Principalities, in a difficult to reach and completely unhealthy environment, making the area a paradise for all those interested to maximize profits. But for most contemporaries the problems from Sulina

were regarded as deliberate actions of the Russians, meant to undermine the growing prosperity of the Principalities and to support the Ukrainian outlet of Odessa.

A statistical analysis of the trade and shipping at Odessa and the Danube during the decade that preceded the Crimean War clearly shows the difference in size between the two areas. The Danube was a busier destination for smaller Greek and Ottoman ships, whereas Odessa was the harbour where larger maritime ships loaded their grain cargoes. At the same time, Odessa was specialised in the export of good wheat, whereas Brăila and Galați found a profitable market opportunity in selling cheaper maize. However, Odessa remained a much greater port than the two Danubian outlets together, as the difference in size, resources and population between their hinterlands was very large. Still, Brăila and Galați increased during this period at a rate that reminded everyone of the growth of Odessa after its foundation, in late 18th century Brăila was regarded as the “new Odessa”, a settlement that architecturally and commercially owed so much to its Ukrainian model. Relying solely onto the resources of the Danubian Principalities, the two ports could not have competed against the largest port of the Black Sea, but with European efforts to turn them into the entrepôts of the entire valley of the Danube this rivalry could have turned into a more serious question.

Chapter 9

The Legal Status of Foreign Entrepreneurs in Odessa and Ismail (1807–1860)

Andrei Emilciuc

The development of national bourgeoisie and propagation of the national ideas represented the main attribute of the 19th century across the Europe. In this context, we see the research of the problems related to the legal status of foreign entrepreneurs as an important step in the comprehension of the modernization process as a premise for formation of national states, both from historical point of view and in terms of shift in mentality, with regard to Russia, but not only.

The chronological limits of the paper, don't include the whole 19th century, but only the period between 1807 and 1860, years when in the Russian Empire there were adopted special decrees which radically changed the status of foreign subjects, namely the Manifest of Alexander I of 1 January 1807, and the resolution of Alexander II of 7 June 1860, both thoroughly analyzed in the paper. It must be noted, though, that Russia took Ismail only in 1809, and only after the signing of the Peace Treaty of Bucharest on 28 May 1812 it was included in its borders. Also, the town was returned to the Principality of Moldavia before the end of the researched period, namely according to Peace Treaty of Paris 30 March 1856.

The 18th century was a time when foreigners gradually 'invaded' Russia in such fields as economic,¹ military, and politic,² after the so called "opening" to Europe of Peter the Great, expressed in offering of large rights for foreigners. This "invasion" was forced; because of the extremely low rates of capital accumulation, Russia simply could not make

1. Victor N. Zakharov, *Западноевропейские купцы в российской торговле XVIII века* [Western European Merchants in Russian Trade of the 18th century], (Moscow, 2005).

2. Oleg Stolyarov, *Иностранцы в правящей элите России в первой половине XVIII века: проблема интеграции* [Foreigners in the Ruling Elite of Russia in the First Half of the 18th Century: the Problem of Integration], (Ph.D. thesis, Saratov State University, Saratov, 2014); Aleksei Shishov, *Знаменитые иностранцы на службе России* [Famous Foreigners in the Service of Russia], (Moscow, 2001).

the transition to a new stage of development on its own.³ The early 19th century marked the beginning of a contrary tendency.⁴ But the active external policy in the southern direction meant annexation of new territories, the development of which required a different approach, namely maintaining old privileges and facilities, also granting others. The problem of integration, assimilation and devotement often has been put in discussion.⁵ The dimension of the matter was even in epoch one with many controversies, especially the status and perception of foreigners who entered Russian subjection, but still were called and perceived as foreigners. In our paper, we don't intend to discuss such deep matters of psychology and inter-ethnic relations in a multi-national state, such as Russian Empire. Rather we focus on legal aspect, that is the official policy of the state, which was determined and influenced by a very small part of the upper nobility, and gradually by a narrow group of very rich entrepreneurs.

General Overview

The period of institution of Odessa and Ismail as Russian commercial ports, coincided with the time when Russian industrialists and merchants intensify their struggle for the weakening of the foreigners' economic positions within the empire. A major marking point in this process was the Manifesto of 1 January 1807. According to its provisions foreigners who did not wish to take Russian citizenship were not to be allowed to enter the merchant guilds. Also foreign merchants were allowed to engage only in the wholesale trade, either as *guests* (required for stays of longer than six months) or, as *visitors*. In both cases, they were to pay a fee of 1.25 % of the capital, which for the first category was a minimum of 50,000 roubles, and for the second – 25,000 roubles. Moreover foreign merchants were forbidden to enter into trade relations with each other, and only were allowed to deal with

3. Vasilii Galin, *Капитал Российской империи. Практика политической экономики* [The Capital of the Russian Empire. The Practice of Political Economy], (Moscow, 2015), p. 79.

4. Olga Kupriyanova, *Правовое положение иностранцев в России в XVI–XVIII вв.* [The Legal Status of Foreigners in Russia in the 16th – 18th Century], (Doctoral dissertation, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, 2010); Anastasiia Tikhonova, *Надзор за иностранцами в Российской империи (1801–1861 гг.)* [Supervision of Foreigners in the Russian Empire (1801–1861)], (Doctoral dissertation, Ivan Petrovsky Bryansk State University, Bryansk, 2014).

5. Vladimir Morozan, *Деловая жизнь на Юге России в XIX – начале XX века* [Business Life in the South of Russia in the 19th – early 20th Century], (St. Petersburg, 2014), pp. 25–34.

Russian guild merchants. *Foreign guests*, though had to pay the city duties, could not be elected in city services. *Visiting merchants*, had even less rights, as they were not allowed to carry out operations within the city, but only at bourse or customs. Instead they did not have to pay city taxes.⁶ The only exception was provided regarding the port-cities of Kherson, Taurida and Yekaterinoslav Guberniias, territories of which were annexed by Russian Empire between 1775–1792, and later those of Bessarabia, a territory annexed in 1812. This was an important benefit for the developing port-cities on the northern coast of the Black Sea, a region with a huge geopolitical importance for Russia. The ports of Odessa and Ismail were such cases.

The Khadjibey Fortress on the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, conquered by Russian armies on 14 (25) September 1789, during Russian Turkish War of 1787–1792, was shortly to become one of the main ports of Russian Empire. Indeed the location of the fortress was more appropriate for a commercial port than that of Ochakov, another candidate for this role. From this point of view, the Khadjibey settlement offered several advantages, including, most importantly, the proximity with the new frontier of the Empire.⁷ On the other hand, unlike Ochakov, the location of Khadjibey was too open for a military port, another important requirement of Russian officials. Commander J. M. de Ribas and military engineer F.-P. S. de Wollant who participated in the conquest of the fortress, insisted on Khadjibey.⁸ They managed to convince Count P. A. Zubov, Yekaterinoslav and Taurida Governor-General, on the advantages Khadjibey's location offered for a commercial port.⁹ The main advantage was considered the fact that the bay provided good protection for vessels during storms.¹⁰ Consequently, by Ukase of Catherine II of 27 May 1794, given to Count P. A. Zubov, Khadjibey was designated as

6. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXIX (1806–1807), № 22418, p. 973.

7. Vladimir Timofeenko, *Города Северного Причерноморья во второй половине XVIII века* [Cities of the Northern Black Sea Shore in the Second Half of the 18th Century], (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1984), pp. 150–156.

8. Dmitrii Bantysh-Kamenskyi, *Словарь достопамятных людей Русской земли* [Dictionary of Memorable People of the Russian Land], part IV, (Moscow, 1836), p. 312.

9. Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794–1914*, p. 7.

10. Gabriel Castelnau, *Essai sur l'histoire ancienne et moderne de la Nouvelle Russie*, Tome II, (Paris, 1820), p. 289.

the new, much needed, military port-city with commercial dock.¹¹ The elaboration of the project was entrusted to J. M. de Ribas and F.-P. S. de Wollant, who received 26 thousand roubles from the sources of imperial Navy.¹² By Ukase of 27 January 1795, Khadjibey, called for the first time in official documents Odessa, was enlisted among the 19 cities in the Voznesensk Guberniia.¹³ Emperor Paul I withdrew from Odessa the statute of military port, leaving it barely for commercial use.¹⁴

Similarly, based on the Ukase of the Senate of 14 October 1812, nearby the Ismail Fortress there was founded a city, named Tuchkov. It was done at the request of the Military Minister, Lieutenant General Gorchakov, following the report of the Supreme Commander of the Danube Army, Admiral P. V. Chichagov. He wrote that General S. A. Tuchkov, sanctioned to local settlers (Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jews, Nekrasov Cossacks and of other ethnicity) the construction in the suburb of Ismail Fortress, of more than 1,500 houses and shops. The foundation of the town took place under personal auspices of General S. A. Tuchkov, with no expenses from the government.¹⁵

It must be noted that among four ports the province between the Dniester and Prut, improperly called Bessarabia,¹⁶ had on the Kilia branch of the Danube (Reni, Ismail and Kilia) and on the Dniester Lyman (Akkerman), it was decided that only one to be given the full rights of commerce, both export and import, with the establishment of the custom and quarantine. At first it was decided that Reni would suit better the needs. But following the difficulties that functioning of custom and quarantine in Reni showed up, the Russian government was obliged to move them to Ismail, and thus the latter became the main outlet of Bessarabia.¹⁷ Thus, even though there are apparently huge differences between Odessa

11. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXIII (1789–1796), № 17208, p. 514.

12. Konstantin Smol'yaninov, "История Одессы" [The History of Odessa], *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, 3 (1853), p. 345.

13. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXIII (1789–1796), № 17300, p. 642; Aleksei Orlov, *Исторический очерк Одессы с 1794 по 1803 год* [Historical Sketch of Odessa, 1794–1803], (Odessa, 1885), p. XI.

14. Smol'yaninov, *The History of Odessa*, p. 375.

15. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXII (1812–1813), № 25248, p. 443.

16. Historically Bessarabia was called only the southern part of the territory between the Prut and Dniester, and Russians were those who extended it to the whole province.

17. For more information on this matter see: Andrei Emilciuc, "Izolarea comercială a Basarabiei după anexarea la Imperiul Rus (1812–1830)" [Commercial Isolation of Bessarabia After the Annexation to the Russian Empire (1812–1830)], in *Tratatul de Pace de la București din 1812 și impactul lui asupra istoriei românilor. 200 de ani de la anexarea Basarabiei. Materialele Conferinței internaționale, Chișinău, 26–*

and Ismail, on a closer look we find actually more similarities. Both were international trade centres, mainly outlets for grains and other agricultural products to Constantinople and Mediterranean Sea ports. Even though they had different turn over, both were seen as a catalyst for the economical growth of the adjacent territories, which were just distinct in surface and production capacity. Moreover, from 1830 when Russian government starts to reduce its support for Odessa, Ismail in adverse gains more government support, in a effort to get a higher share of the Danubian commercial navigation.

In the process of annexation of named territories mostly suffered Turkish subjects, who largely had to leave the provinces. Even those who accepted Orthodoxy and entered into Russian Subjection were exempted from their prior rights and properties, buildings of Turk's owners were transferred to state ownership. Few former owners, who decided to stay, attempted to recover property rights and initiated lawsuits, generally with no success. Odessa and Tuchkov were newly built cities, but unlike Khadjibey Fortress, Ismail one was not abandoned, which meant the former merchants kept real properties in there. One such case is that of the daughter of the Turkish chief of artillery of the Ismail Fortress, who in 1809 according to a notarized act conveyed her all the properties held in the city – 2 houses and 23 stalls, having decided to leave the province. Initially General S. A. Tuchkov allowed her to take possession of these properties, as she entered the Russian Obedience and married a Russian subject, taking her new name as Lavrova. However, in 1815 a house and five stalls were transferred by imperial ukase to Armenian archbishop, and for the rest of the properties she was claimed to pay 38 lei annual tax for rent. Due to refusal of payment of this tax, her properties were fully withdrawn in 1819. Although she filed a case against the decision in the Governing Senate in St. Petersburg, attaching two documents as evidence, judges refused her on the pretext that the evidences presented were questionable, as they were not emitted by a Russian institution.¹⁸

On 20 April 1820, the issue of foreigners holding different buildings in Ismail was put in front of the Provincial Administration of Bessarabia by Chief of Ismail Police, annexing

28 aprilie 2012 [The Bucharest Peace Treaty of 1812 and its Impact on Romanian History. 200 Years Since the Annexation of Bessarabia. Materials of the International Conference, Chisinau, 26–28 April 2012], (Chişinău: Pontos, 2012), pp. 97–108.

18. National Archive of the Republic of Moldova (hereafter NARM), fond 22, inventory (hereafter inv.) 1, dossier (hereafter d.) 606, fols. 33–33 verso.

a copy with the assessment of properties of foreign merchants who were not paying taxes for the benefit of the city. However a decision on the matter was not adopted, and, after a while, on 28 September 1831, the file was forwarded to the Urban Prefect of newly instituted Ismail Urban Prefecture,¹⁹ as part of his competences.²⁰

The Regime of Entry, Departure and Stay for Foreign Entrepreneurs

Apart from foreigners who remained after annexation of named territories, the new comers were also obliged to comply with Russian Law. All the foreigners, bounding to Russia, either by land or by sea, were obliged to have passports issued by Russian Missions and Consulates from abroad.²¹ Every foreigner was due to observe strict formalities on arriving to Russia and on departing from the Empire.²² For a foreign merchant to obtain a written permission from the local government for his indwelling, he was required to indicate the

19. Urban Prefecture (*градоначальство*) represented a status enabling powers of self-government or jurisdiction, with substantial administrative and fiscal independence from Guberniia's Administration.

20. NARM, fond 6, inv. 2, d. 471, fol. 5.

21. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVIII (1804–1805), № 21284, pp. 301–302, PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXIV (1817), № 26674, pp. 70–71.

22. “Every foreigner who arrives in Russia furnished with a Passport duly authenticated, ought to present himself, in the chief-town of the first government on his road, before the Governor, in order to deliver to him his Passport and get a ticket for his journey, that he may be able to prosecute the same into the interior of the Empire. This ticket must be renewed in every Government-town, through which he passes on his road, and on his arrival at the place of his destination, he ought again to present himself before the respective Governor, in order to have this ticket exchanged for a permission for residence. In both the Metropolies of the Empire, viz: Moscow and St. Petersburg, this permission or ticket of residence is to be obtained at the Address-Office for Foreigners.

Every foreigner who wishes to leave Russia, ought to present a petition to that Office, to the Military Governor, Governor-General or Civil-Governor, accompanied with a certificate from the Police, that there is no legal impediment to his leaving the Empire; besides he must advertise his intended departure in the newspapers, if such are published in the chief-town of the government where he resides. After having observed these formalities, the foreigner receives his Passport without delay, and in case of necessity he can also obtain the Passport with which he crossed the frontiers of the Empire.

The Passports for departure delivered to foreigners in the governments on the frontiers, are valid for the term of three weeks, and those from the governments of the interior for three months. After the lapse of this term these Passports must be revised by the Governor, in order to enable the foreigner to pass the frontiers of the Empire”.

Exact copy of the paper handed to English speaking foreigners at the crossing of Russian borders. Also French, German and Italian versions were available. See “Устав о паспортах и беглых” [Charter on Passports and Fugitives], *Свод Законов Российской Империи* [Digest of Laws of the Russian Empire], vol. 14, part 3, (St. Petersburg, 1842), p. 185.

precise time of the stay, have a valid travel passport²³ and get approval of the police of the city he aimed to establish in.²⁴

For foreigners coming for business purposes to Russia, an even more major problem was to travel abroad after completing their mission. Foreigners enlisted as guests in merchant guilds had to pay city taxes in advance for three years for each departure from Russia.²⁵ The departure of other categories was similarly restrictive.²⁶ In this regard it is very eloquent the contract proposed in 1843 by 18 Greek subjects from Ismail to work on the pontoons for cleaning the mouth of the Soulina. Apart from the financial requirement was the point: “if anyone of them will meet the need to go to their country or to depart anywhere from Soulina, nobody will forbid them”.²⁷ It is true that special, less strict rules were applied to Austrian and Moldovan subjects, in accordance with bilateral treaties or agreements.²⁸ For example, Austrian subjects coming for short commercial activities to border localities of Volhynia and Podolia Guberniias and Bessarabia province, were

23. In 1805, 20 foreigners dwelling in Odessa were sent to forced labour as serfs in the fortress of Odessa just for the fact that on a control they were caught with expired passports and living tickets. Only on the insistence of Kherson Military Governor they were released and accepted in the category of petty entrepreneurs of Odessa. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVIII (1804–1805), № 21829, pp. 1120–1121.

24. NARM, fond 17, inv. 1, d. 65, fols. 845 verso – 846.

25. This provision existed from 1785 and was later reconfirmed, when foreign subjects attempted to annul it in 1833. See PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXII (1785), № 16187, p. 380; PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. VIII (1833), Sec. 1, № 6544, p. 639.

26. Few positive measures were taken in this regard in the 1840s. Thus according to Regulation for permanent steamship connection between Odessa and Constantinople of 23 February 1843, foreign subjects who were coming by this way to Odessa were allowed to stay up to one week and return abroad, only with the City Police assurance of lack of any obstruction to the exit. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XVIII (1843), Sec. 1, № 16560, p. 103–104. Foreign subjects who were coming to Odessa by steamships from Galatz were granted the same rights according to the Ukase of 8 August 1847. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXII (1847), Sec. 1, № 21463, pp. 649–650.

27. In addition to trade and crafts, foreigners were permitted in Bessarabia and Novorossiia’s port-cities to activate as free-sailors, because of acute lack of sailors for the necessity of Russian commercial fleet. Thus the report of captain of port of Soulina, P. V. Soloviev, addressed to Military Governor of Bessarabia, in response to his order of 21 January 1843, stated that despite the announcement to inhabitants of Soulina and St. George with the proposal to engage on pontoons to work on deepening of the Soulina branch, of necessary 32 people had expressed the will only 18 Greeks of Ismail, who requested for work 12 Spanish thalers each. The captain believed that they could be persuaded to reduce their financial claims to 10 thalers, labelling them as real sailors, who had worked on the wharves. But eventually, due to the conditions claimed by Russian officials, they did not agree to engage. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 4250, fols. 6–7.

28. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. I (12 December 1825 – 1826), № 24, p. 36, item 4; PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XVI (1841), № 14296, pp. 140–141.

allowed to return with the same passports they came.²⁹ On the other hand, foreign merchants bounding to Radyvyliv through Odessa, despite transit trade treaties Russian Empire signed with Habsburg Empire and Prussia,³⁰ were still obliged to get special passports from the Military Governor of Kherson Guberniia (later Governor-General of Novorossiia) to be able to leave the city.³¹

The right to travel was a delicate issue not only for foreigners, but also Russian subjects, because of the fiscal system. In Odessa, for example, there were large numbers of non-resident Russian merchants and petty entrepreneurs (*мещане*). This was the result of a very restrictive legislation, when a citizen was actively blocked the opportunity to leave the urban society, in which he was enlisted. The procedure to obtain an internal passport for travel of a Russian citizen outside the city or province he lived in was sometimes even more complicated compared to those the foreigner should endure for the right to travel abroad from Russian Empire.³² The situation of foreigners who entered Russian subjection was not at all easier. For example, former subjects of Ottoman Empire who entered into Russian subjection were not issued passports for travelling abroad for a period of three years after settling down in Russia.³³

After the establishment of Odessa, in 1794, Vice Admiral J. M. de Ribas, noble of Spanish origin, was designated as head of the city. The government city Voznesensk, where the residence of Governor-General P. A. Zubov was located, lied about 150 km away. That is why, by the provision of the latter, of 8 May 1795, Admiral J. M. de Ribas received the right to issue passports for travelling outside the empire, a basic requirement for convenience of merchants.³⁴ Later, this right was transfer to Odessa Urban Prefect, which which function was instituted in 1803.³⁵

29. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. I (1825–1826), № 102, p. 166.

30. Russian Empire offered its territory for transit trade of the Habsburg Empire, Prussia and Romanian Principalities, and vice versa. The transit trade was to be realized through Odessa. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVIII (1804–1805), № 21196, pp. 191–194.

31. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXX (1808), № 23034, p. 264.

32. Pavel Ryndzyunskii, *Городское гражданство дореформенной России* [Urban Citizenship in Pre-reform Russia], (Moscow, 1958), pp. 46–47.

33. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. VI (1831), № 4239, pp. 8–9; PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. VII (1832), № 5680, pp. 713–714; PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XVII (1842), № 15273, pp. 78–79.

34. Aleksei Markevich, “Документы, относящийся к истории города Одессы” [Documents Relating to the History of the City of Odessa], *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, 16 (1893), p. 84.

35. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 20600, p. 443; № 20601, pp. 444–445.

Actually one of the main purposes of the establishment of Urban Prefectorates in several southern Russian ports (Odessa, Taganrog, Theodosia, Kerch-Yenikale, Ismail) was to create an adequate entrepreneurial framework for foreign merchants, so that to attract them for the sake of augmentation of Russian exports and development of newly acquired territories. The general laws and practices the Russian cities existed under, were even in the first half of the 19th century improper for the necessities of the capitalist model. Russian merchants as a distinct social estate were much in the process of primitive accumulation of capital, and segregation from other social categories, such as militaries, nobles or free peasants. Namely, the general directives for the occupants of the function of the Urban Prefect contained instruction to attract, with stimulations and benefits, foreigners to settle in the city.³⁶

Besides, within an important administrative reform, Odessa became the government city of Novorossiia. Namely, on 13 March 1805, Russian government invested the Odessa Urban Prefect, count A. E. duc de Richelieu, as Kherson Military Governor with the subordination of Yekaterinoslav and Taurida Guberniias to him.³⁷ Apparently questions related to the issuing of foreign passports should have been solved. Actually, according to the information of Fiscal Administration of Kherson, at least from 1812 it was granting to foreigners, but also to merchants from other cities of Russian Empire, the right to dwell in Odessa and to benefit from privileges granted to merchants of Odessa based on reports of Odessa City Magistrate. Because the Ukase of 31 December 1810 clearly forbid that, an investigation was started, which showed that it was issuing the dwelling tickets according to an old disposition of Ministry of Finance of 7 August 1805.³⁸ As a result on 11 January 1826 the Senate issued an ukase that stated that foreign merchants that wanted to enlist in the guilds of a city shall take four month dwelling tickets personally from Gubernial Fiscal Administrations, offering instead their passports and other documents for keeping in the respective institution, until they were accepted as guests in city guilds. If for some reason the question of enlisting in city guilds was not resolved in this time, the Fiscal Administrations should had issued for them dwelling tickets for another four month. After

36. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 20600, p. 443; № 20601, pp. 444–445; № 20755, pp. 596–598; PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXVII (1820–1821), № 28776, p. 874; PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. V (1830), Sec. 2, № 3953, pp. 73–74.

37. Smol'yaninov, *The History of Odessa*, p. 386.

38. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXIX (1824), № 29938, p. 350.

successful enlisting in the city guilds, the dwelling tickets should had been returned and destroyed, in order to prevent misuse.³⁹

Of course, travelling to Kherson in order to respect this bureaucratic procedure was not well seen by foreign merchants. Their dissatisfaction and pressure determined on 10 May 1830 Count M. S. Vorontsov, Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia, to ask Minister of Finance for a solution. After discussing the matter, on 28 July 1830, Senate decided to grant the Odessa Urban Prefect the right to issue dwelling tickets to foreigners and Russian merchants from other cities, who expressed their will to enlist in guilds of Odessa.⁴⁰ Later, by the Ukase of 6 December 1837, the function of the Odessa Urban Prefect was suppressed, and the powers on civil matters were transferred to the Odessa Military Governor, a newly instituted function.⁴¹

In case of Ismail, the passports were issued by Civil Governor of Bessarabia, whose residence was in Chisinau, situated about 230 km away. Only by the Ukase of 12 January 1826, it was decided that passports for departure from Ismail were to be issued in Ismail Commercial Court, on blankets signed in advance by Civil Governor of Bessarabia.⁴² With the establishment, by Ukase of Senate of 26 September 1830, of the Ismail Urban Prefecture, all the authority was attributed to the Urban Prefect.⁴³ The Ismail Urban Prefecture was instituted based on the Regulations and principles of institution of the Taganrog Urban Prefecture, from 9 May 1803 and 31 October 1807.⁴⁴ The explanation is that like Taganrog Urban Prefecture, Ismail one included other cities and also adjacent territories.⁴⁵

In the post of the Ismail Urban Prefect, by decision of the Senate of 27 September 1830 and the Imperial Ukase of 27 December 1830, was designated General S. A. Tuchkov, the founder of city of Tuchkov, which only in 1856 was renamed to Ismail,

39. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. I (12 December 1825 – 1826), № 42, pp. 55–56.

40. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. V (1830), Sec. 1, № 3821, pp. 752–753.

41. *Продолжение Свода Законов Российской Империи* [Continuation of the Digest of Laws of the Russian Empire], 1838–1839, part 1, (St. Petersburg, 1839), № 2549, p. 382.

42. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. I (12 December 1825 – 1826), № 55, pp. 84–85.

43. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1459, fol. 1–1 verso.

44. NARM, fond 6, inv. 2, d. 359, fols. 1–2; PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXVIII (1802–1803), № 20755, pp. 596–598; PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXIX (1806–1807), № 22671, p. 1318.

45. Taganrog Urban Prefecture included Taganrog, Nahichevan, Mariupol and Rostov, while Ismail Urban Prefecture included Tuchkov, Reni and Kilia. Odessa Urban Prefecture included only one city – Odessa.

according to the name of the port and fortress. On 13 January 1831 S. A. Tuchkov informed Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia, A. I. Sorokunski, on this decision.⁴⁶ Already on 13 May 1831 Regional Administration of Bessarabia transferred to General S. A. Tuchkov all the competencies related to the Ismail Urban Prefecture.⁴⁷ Due to the fact that in the city of Ismail (Tuchkov) there were many foreign merchants, who had no knowledge of Russian, based on the decision of the Senate of 12 September 1835, in the Administration of the Ismail Urban Prefecture was appointed a translator, with an annual salary of 300 silver roubles,⁴⁸ a measure that also should have eased the issuing of travelling passports for foreigners.

Nevertheless the situation didn't last, since by imperial decision of 4 December 1835, General S. A. Tuchkov was dismissed, and the post of the Ismail Urban Prefect was decided to be cumulated by Civil Governor of Bessarabia.⁴⁹ Receiving this decree, Civil Governor of Bessarabia, P. I. Fyodorov, gave disposition to transfer the Administration of the Ismail Urban Prefecture to Chisinau, transform it into a simple bureau and entrust its rule to a special clerk. All dossiers were to be submitted again to Chancellery of Civil Administration of Bessarabia in Chisinau.⁵⁰

Available Means for Foreign Subjects to Defend Their Enterprise

A relative more autonomous status of Odessa and Ismail also meant great advantages from the access to municipal governing bodies and institutions. Given the special city administration statute, the authorities of such cities as Odessa and Ismail had larger rights as in comparison to the rest of the cities of the empire, and thus foreign tradesmen saw in these functions not only a mean to protect their enterprise but also to facilitate it. In accordance with Russian legislation in areas where there was a large community of foreigners (500 families), they were allowed to delegate representatives to the municipal

46. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1459, fol. 28.

47. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1459, fols. 54–54 verso.

48. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. X (1835), Sec. 2, № 8405, p. 969.

49. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. X (1835), Sec. 2, № 8653, p. 1161.

50. Aleksei Nakko, *Бессарабская область в историческом, экономическом и статистическом отношении* [Bessarabia in the Historic, Economic and Statistical Regard], (Chisinau, 1879), p. 165.

governing bodies.⁵¹ The large number of foreign merchants, for example in Odessa, determined their active presence in various municipal bodies in the city, even for Jews, despite the government's restrictions in their case. For example, in the years 1835–1837 as member of the Odessa City Duma was elected Austrian subject Moses Trakhtenberg.⁵²

The presence of foreigners was also regulated for other city establishments. According to the Ukase of 24 October 1819, referring to the states of Odessa Office of the Commercial Bank, *foreign guests* were admitted to the election of 12 candidates for the position of Director of the Office, from whom the Bank's managers chose four Directors.⁵³ Also foreigners could be elected in this city as bourse or ship brokers.⁵⁴ Thus foreign traders had important instruments in promotion of their interests and defending of their rights.

As we refer to Odessa, the immediate extension of Russian law marked a fast inclusion of the entire region between the Southern Bug and Dniester to Russian socio-economic system. In contrast to it, in Ismail and other cities in the territory between the Pruth and Dniester, Russian law was implemented gradually. Until 1828 the region kept its former legal framework, with Russian laws being introduced in several stages. Actually, during the period at least until 1818, and partially until 1828, the statute of foreigners in Ismail was almost the same as in period before annexation to the Russian Empire. Foreign merchants, mostly Austrian subjects, continued to benefit from the former rights. And, on the other hand, merchants from Russian Guberniias who tried to explore the facilities of Ismail port were treated much like foreigners, with Russian legislation having only partial effect in Bessarabia.

However, these shortcomings were not able to stop the merchants of internal Russian Guberniias to come to Bessarabia, due to the good income perspective in the province, competing more and more with the foreigners and attacking their rights. But Plenipotentiary Governor rigorously defended the rights of foreign merchants with

51. *Российское законодательство X–XX вв.* [Russian Legislation of the 10th–20th Centuries], in 9 vols., vol. 5 (Moscow, 1987), p. 120.

52. Yuliia Prokor, "Роль евреев-иностранцев в социально-экономической и культурной жизни Херсонской губернии в конце XVIII – первой половине XIX в." [The Role of the Jewish Foreigners in the Socio-economic and Cultural Life of the Kherson Guberniia at the End of 18th – first half of 19th Century], *Istorychnyi arkhiv. Naukovi studii: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*, (Mykolaiv), 12 (2014), p. 78.

53. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXVI (1819), № 27950, p. 361.

54. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XII (1837), Sec. 1, № 10063, pp. 192–193.

permanent residence in Bessarabia. Actually, imperial and local government attempted a balanced policy, trying not to disillusion the population of this newly acquired border territory. Thus, receiving a complaint of a group of Austrian merchants, to whom the Regional Government of Bessarabia refused to issue permits to practice foreign trade as to local merchants, A. N. Bahmetev emitted on 2 June 1820 an ordinance to this body to immediately issue a provision in this respect, since “those traders had submitted complaints of this kind earlier, and he already had exposed his position”.⁵⁵ His reaction was similar to complaint of two Austrian subjects, Nota Edelstein and Leiba Duvid Veniaminovich, who, in order to practice trade in Ismail, paid the necessary taxes in advance for one year, but had not received permission from the City Police. Thus, on 5 June 1820 A. N. Bahmetev ordered the police chief of Ismail that the named merchants to be allowed to trade in the city, asking him to submit a report on the causes of the ban.⁵⁶ The support of local authorities greatly explains why the number of foreign merchants continued to be high in Bessarabia even after 1818,⁵⁷ when the autonomy of the province was partially limited and the Russian legislation was gradually imposed. The situation has not changed much even after when in July 1820 A. N. Bahmetev was removed from the post of Plenipotentiary Governor for abuse and involvement in the smuggling business and in his place was appointed General I. N. Inzov.

Besides that, it is necessarily to mark that foreign merchants had an extended legal framework that allowed defending of their rights institutionally. Namely, the pure trade disputes, but not only, against Russian subjects or other foreigners, could be solved locally and conveniently in Odessa or Ismail Commercial Courts.

The Statute of the Odessa Commercial Court was approved on 10 March 1808, and was developed on the basis of statutes of similar institutions existing in the port-cities of the northern Mediterranean.⁵⁸ Thus, the court consisted of four members elected by the

55. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 677, fol. 315.

56. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 677, fol. 354.

57. NARM, fond 75, inv. 1, d. 105, fols. 1–16.

58. Aleksei Semyonov, *Изучение исторических сведений о российской внешней торговле и промышленности с половины XVII-го столетия по 1858 год* [The Study of Historical Information About the Russian Foreign Trade and Industry From the Half of the 17th Century to 1858], in 3 parts, part 2, (St. Petersburg, 1859), p. 185.

merchants of the city from their count. The court was entitled to consider all matters relating to trade of Odessa, regardless of their citizenship. The only way of appeal was the Senate. Foreigners were allowed to appoint special *consulents*⁵⁹ or solicitors, they could entrust their defence, not attending the court.⁶⁰ On 26 November 1808 the court began its work.⁶¹

Still, it should be noted, that even though for foreigners there were appointed two *consulents*, their services were rarely used, because no one specialized in jurisprudence agreed for this job. Also, even though from the start for foreigners there were appointed two translators, from 1 January 1814, after dissolution of the *Neutral Commission*, only one remained.⁶² On the other hand, by Ukase of 2 March 1822, in order to defend the merchants of Odessa from judicial abuses, it was ordered the exclusive right of Odessa Commercial Court to examine the claims brought by merchants from there, against people of any state,⁶³ and vice versa, when related to the trade Odessa sea-port.⁶⁴ The Statute of the Odessa Commercial Court subsequently became the basis of the statute of the similar institution in Reni (1 April 1819), which was later transferred to Ismail (2 September 1824).⁶⁵

After the annexation of territory between the Prut and Dniester, merchants from Ismail were less defended in trade disputes with traders from outside the region. Lacking own such institution as the Commercial Court in Odessa, merchants of Bessarabia were looking for one. They clearly understood the need and the powers of such an institution, in cases filed in Commercial Court of Odessa against them by merchants from there. For example, on 28 July 1816 Plenipotentiary Governor of Bessarabia ordered Ismail City Police to force local merchant K. Popandopulo to present himself to Odessa Commercial Court for the support of his defence against claims of 15,000 assignation roubles from merchant of Odessa Fyodor Serdinov.⁶⁶ The refuse of the merchant to present in the court is obvious, if

59. Lat. *consulens*, -ntis. Literally – counseling.

60. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXX (1808), № 22886, pp. 116, 119.

61. Smol'yaninov, *The History of Odessa*, p. 388.

62. Charles Sicard, "Письма об Одессе" [Letters on Odessa], in *Первые Книги Одессы* [First Books of Odessa], (Odesa: "Optimum", 2011), pp. 98–99.

63. Nobles, who had their own judicial organs, refused to respect the authority of the Court.

64. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXVIII (1822–1823), № 28953, pp. 98–99.

65. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 665, fol. 8.

66. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 467, fol. 452.

we consider that in addition to government officials, the composition of the court included four merchants from Odessa, who tend to take the side of those from the same city.

Still until 1831, from juridical point of view the status of merchants from Russian Guberniias in the cities of Bessarabia was not very clear, in comparison to that of foreign merchants. Numerous cases of conflict with local bodies aroused because of that. We present just a few cases as a concrete argument for that statement. In one of them, in order to accomplish an order from the English government, commercial counsellor and knight Reno, enlisted as 1st guild merchant in Odessa, sent merchant Feodor Mosculi to Bessarabia, where the latter gathered a certain amount of wheat and decided to send it to Odessa by sea from Ismail port. Without any legal explanation, deputies of Ismail City Duma, Ivan Sterio Papanopulo and Ivan Georgandopulo, requested him for each kile⁶⁷ of exported wheat a fee of 65 para. Following complaints received from Reno on 24 July 1815, the Odessa interim Urban Perfect, F. A. Koble, addressed interim Civil and Military Governor of Bessarabia, I. M. Hartingh, the request for reimbursement of perceived contribution, or at least the clarification of the grounds on which the tax has been levied from the named merchant, but with no result.⁶⁸

Another such case was that of the 3rd guild merchant from Odessa Simon Blanc, who while managing business activities in the city Ismail failed to gain support from the local City Police and Quarantine Commissioner of the port, in order to recover the money lent to a petty entrepreneur from Nikolayev, also activating in Ismail. The merchant was forced to address to Plenipotentiary Governor of Bessarabia, A. N. Bahmetev, and only after that, on 10 July 1816, the police chief of Ismail, stable master Vizergen, began investigation of the case, so that if the merchant of Odessa claims would prove just, to take action to recover monies from his debtor.⁶⁹ Simply for the reason that Simon Blanc was not resident of Ismail and Bessarabia, he could not benefit from the City Police support, in order to resolve his case.

67. Kile – measure of capacity for grain, of Turkish origin, with variable value in different regions. In Bessarabia it was equal to 2.0725 Russian *chetverts* (1 *chetvert* ~ 2.09 hl), that is 4.35 hl.

68. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 245, fols. 78–79.

69. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 467, fols. 116 verso – 117.

A similar situation happened to the merchant of the 1st guild from Odessa Vasili Portnov, who had a house in Ismail, which he used when coming for business purposes in this port-city. The house was, however, taken to quartering of chancery of a regimental commander. Disappointed, Vasil Portnov addressed to Plenipotentiary Governor of Bessarabia, A. N. Bahmetev, with a complaint asking intervention in this case. On 1 September 1816 A. N. Bahmetev sent back the request letter to merchant from Odessa, on which he noted that the merchant should contact the City Police of Ismail. Police chief had suggested, on the other hand, that if there were no other homes available to offer, a cash reward for Vasili Portnov, collected from the people residing in Ismail.⁷⁰ There are many other similar cases filed by Russian merchants from outside the province, but we found very few filed by foreign merchants. Thus, we conclude that merchants from Russian Guberniias, without having a specific legal framework that clearly stipulated their rights in Bessarabia, could fall into difficult situations from the perspective of Russian legislation, and juridically were less protected in comparison to foreigners.

Actually, Ismail merchants were more infringed upon the inviolability of foreigners, especially the Austrian subjects who had much like an extraterritorial statute. In consequence they tried to obtain from the provincial government in 1816 and 1817 the institution of a court in which they would be entitled to judge with foreign subjects.⁷¹ Following discussions between A. N. Bahmetev and Provincial Committee, it was agreed that such a deputation could not be enough to eliminate the difficulties that local merchants faced in judicial processes of a commercial nature, because it would analyze only cases of dispute with foreign merchants. Thus the Committee proposed A. N. Bahmetev to require from the imperial authorities the establishment of a commercial court based on the rules under which activated the Commercial Court in Odessa. As a result, in a letter of 19 September 1817 to Secretary of State, Count I. Capodistria, A. N. Bahmetev justified the need for a Commercial Court in Bessarabia, even though not in Ismail, but in Reni port-city, with authority to analyze the claims of Ismail merchants too, asking him to arrange it for the Emperor to approve the initiative.⁷²

70. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 467, fols. 1007 verso – 1008.

71. NARM, fond 17, inv. 1, d. 65, fol. 153.

72. NARM, fond 7, inv. 1, d. 65, fols. 154–154 verso.

An imperial ukase in this respect followed on 1 April 1819, and stipulated the establishment of a commercial court in Reni, under the existing statute of the one in Odessa. However, the ukase remained for a period with no effect. Only after the appointment in July 1820 of General I. N. Inzov as Plenipotentiary Governor of Bessarabia, at his insistence, the Supreme Council of Bessarabia ordered to Regional Government on 18 October 1820 to discuss measures needed to implement that ukase.⁷³

Due to the fact that Ismail was outrunning Reni by the number of merchants and commercial transactions, the regional authorities were soon forced to seek the transfer of Reni Commercial Court to Ismail. Consequently the Committee of Ministers ordered on 2 September 1824 the relocation of the Commercial Court to Ismail, keeping its authority on the merchants of Ismail, Reni, Akkerman and Kilia.⁷⁴ On 27 May 1825 the regional government ordered the opening of the Commercial Court in Ismail and the election from the members of trade societies of Akkerman, Kilia, Reni and Ismail of two members and of two candidates each.⁷⁵ Elections were to be held on 13 June, but it was found that some of the proposed candidates were from Nezhin or other cities than those specified, and as in fact was required.⁷⁶ These merchants were actually trading in Ismail or Reni. In case of Nezhin merchants it is clear that they didn't want to change their place of residence because of the fiscal privileges granted to the city they were enlisted in. In case of the others, it was probably difficult and costly to change their residence, as city councils just didn't want to lose tax payers and found different ways to impede the phenomenon.

Provision to base its activities on the statute of Commercial Court in Odessa was also maintained. Still, in accordance with the decision of the Committee of Ministers of 16 March 1837, to judicial proceedings of the Commercial Court of Ismail were subjected all the persons dealing with trade, either local or from outside the province, including foreigners, but only if the contracts would stipulate that these disputes were to be examined in Ismail,⁷⁷ which was a major disjunction in comparison to the right of the similar institution in Odessa.

73. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 665, fol. 8.

74. NARM fond 3, inv. 1, d. 753, fols. 47–47 verso.

75. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1002, fol. 1.

76. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1002, fol. 1 verso.

77. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XVI (1841), № 14377, p. 195.

Thus even after the establishment of this court, we encounter cases where Bessarabian merchants tried to obtain from the Regional Government the examination of the cases against foreigners in other resorts, such as the Civil Court of Bessarabia, even if, from 16 March 1837, the authority of Ismail Commercial Court was extended on the whole of Bessarabia. Mainly the reason was the fact that as a court of appeal it was the Second Department of the Russian Governing Senate in St. Petersburg, which obviously greatly complicated proceedings and distract those affected from their activities by the need to conduct long and costly travel. For this reason the 3rd guild merchants and petty entrepreneurs were frequently requesting review of lost cases in Civil Court of Bessarabia. Thus, in a case of this kind, the merchant of the 3rd guild from Ismail Dm. Egorov addressed on 11 November 1832 to Minister of Justice D. V. Dashkov, a request for reconsideration of a lost case in the Commercial Court of Ismail against Turkish subject Sofia Kikirova, by which his goods had been seized, thus depriving him from credit and lacking him from the possibility to defend himself in the Second Department of the Senate. Prior to this, on 21 July and 31 August 1832, similar requests were submitted to the Second Department of the Senate by the mediators – Ismail merchant D. Kolodino and H. Angelopulo.⁷⁸

It is true that not only purely commercial cases were in the jurisdiction of the Commercial Court of Ismail and Odessa. For example, on 5 March 1840 two Turkish subjects established in Ismail filed a complaint in court against Nikolai Bahteev, 1st guild merchant of Nikolayev, activating in Ismail, as owner of the vessel *Lady of Kazan* and Turkish subject George Gunari, Captain of concerned vessel, on which the two were hired as sailors, for unpaid salary on verbal agreement for the period 1 November 1839 – 5 March 1840.⁷⁹

Beside Commercial courts, foreign merchants could rely much on the authority given to foreign Consuls to defend their rights. In Odessa first Consulates, opened in 1804, were of the Habsburg Empire (Consul C. S. von Thom), Spain (Consul Ludwig Castilla) and Naples (Consul G. Gulielimuchi).⁸⁰ In the following period, in Odessa appeared other Consulates representing England, Bavaria, Holland, Portugal, Tuscany, Parma, Sardinia,

78. NARM, fond 22, inv. 1, d. 252, fols. 4–4 verso.

79. NARM, fond 352, inv. 1, d. 3, fols. 1–3.

80. Smol'yaninov, *The History of Odessa*, p. 383.

USA, Brazil, Belgium, Bremen, Württemberg, Hanover, Hesse-Darmstadt, Denmark, Mecklenburg-Sverinia, Oldenberg, Rome, Prussia, Saxony, Sublime Porte, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Frankfurt, Norway, Greece, etc.⁸¹

Due to the large number of Austrians subjects in the cities of Bessarabia Austrian Consul in Odessa C. S. von Thom intended in 1817 to delegate a special agent in province in the person of merchant Varvati. However Plenipotentiary Governor of Bessarabia A. N. Bahmetev did not consider it suitable for the agents of foreign states to reside in Chisinau, because it was not a commercial city and did not offer any privileges for foreigners. Still, he informed on 25 July 1817 Count C. V. Nesselrode on this matter, asking him to inform the Emperor and to communicate him the supreme decision.⁸² Finally A. N. Bahmetev had to comply with the initiative of the Austrian Consul in Odessa, so that Varvati eventually became his agent in Chisinau.⁸³ But in Ismail Consular offices were instituted only in the 1840s, due to the accentuation of Soulina problem. Austria used a Consular agent at Ismail for service at Soulina. In 1849 Count C. V. Nesselrode suggested this method also to British. Palmerston there upon transferred Lloyd representation from Tulcha to Ismail, although there were neither British interests nor trade in this Russian port.⁸⁴

Russian Law offered Consulates significant attributions in protection of the interests of subjects of their nation. Such diplomatic missions have appeared in Odessa due to the large number of foreign nationals who conducted their business in the city. Most of the Consuls and Vice-Consuls were merchants of the 1st and 2nd guild of Odessa, simply because their main objective was to provide information to the governments they represented about stocks of goods for export and the needs and demand for imported goods. On request of the government, the Consul was to intermediate the export and import of

81. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1822, fol. 1; fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1822, fol. 17 verso; fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1822, fol. 22 verso; fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1822, fol. 25 verso; fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1822, fol. 50; fond 2, inv. 1, d. 2285, fols. 61, 112; fond 2, inv. 1, d. 5427, fols. 6–7; *Новороссийский календарь на 1852 год* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1852], (Odessa, 1851), pp.198–199, *Новороссийский календарь на 1854 год* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1854], (Odessa, 1853), p. 99; *Zhurnal Manufaktur i Torgovli* (St. Petersburg), September (1842), p. 339; *Zhurnal Manufaktur i Torgovli* (St. Petersburg), July – August (1846), p. 62.

82. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 528, fols. 800 verso – 801 verso.

83. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 677, fol. 337 verso.

84. Vernon John Puryear, *International Economics and Diplomacy in the Near East. A Study of British Commercial Policy in the Levant 1834–1853*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935), p. 210.

goods.⁸⁵ Consuls could be elected as representatives of the city *birzha*, at least in Odessa, where such institution existed.⁸⁶ They could defend their country's citizens at the level of the city, but in a few cases they attempted to do so at a higher level, but this practice was not welcome. For instance, French General Consul in Odessa attempted in 1818 to obtain from the Russian government the cancelation of a port duty on the sale of ships between foreign subjects, but the decision of the Senate of 28 February 1818 refused him.⁸⁷ In this context, it must be noted that the Odessa Urban Prefect was instructed to supervise foreign Consuls not to exceed their legal attributions and permissions, such as to issue passports of citizenship to persons not belonging to their nation, but also to protect their rights against abuses of local bodies.⁸⁸

Besides their commercial attributions, Consuls and Vice-Consuls were involved in matters regarding the fugitives and deserters, usually such provisions were included in bilateral commercial treaties.⁸⁹ For example, at the behest of the Austrian Consul in Odessa, C. S. von Thom, the Governor-General of Novorossiia and Plenipotentiary Governor of Bessarabia, Count M. S. Vorontsov, sent on 19 April 1827 to the Regional Government of Bessarabia a note asking that some Austrian fugitives who wandered in Hotin to be caught and handed over to Austrians.⁹⁰

The Regime of Fiscal Imposition of Foreign Entrepreneurs

Of course the most important issue in regard to the status of foreigners is their fiscal obligations, in comparison to Russian subjects. Given the privileges and facilities, foreign subjects coming to southern Russian sea-ports, for trade business, actively used the

85. See as an argument the reports of different consuls in Odessa published and mentioned in: J. C. Platt, *The History of the British Corn Laws*, (New York, 1845), pp. 228–229, William Jacob, *Tracts Relating to the Corn Trade and Corn Laws: Report Respecting the Agriculture*, (London: John Murray, 1828), p. 262; *An Improved and Greatly Enlarged Supplement to Mr. McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary* (London, 1842), p. 133; Herlihy, *Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 401.

86. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXIII (1848), Sec. 1, № 22459, p. 430.

87. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXV (1818), № 27297, pp. 131–132.

88. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 20601, p. 445.

89. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXV (1850), Sec. 1, № 24197, p. 507, item 19; PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXVI (1851), Sec. 1, № 24887, pp. 100–101, item IX.

90. NARM, fond 6 inv. 3, d. 193, fol. 1.

opportunity to enlist as merchants of the city and benefit from privileges, that is tax exemption, granted to Russian guild merchants.

In Ismail, as in other cities of Bessarabia, foreigners had even a more privileged position in terms of paid taxes. Administrations of Bessarabia's cities insisted that the practice of subjection of foreign merchants to taxation for the benefit of cities in which they operated, to be extended to Bessarabia as in the rest of Russian Empire. This request was addressed to the Plenipotentiary Governor of Bessarabia, A. N. Bahmetev, who demanded a report on the matter, which was presented to him on 4 November 1816, and stated that in cities of Bessarabia there were activating many foreign merchants, who however did not pay any local taxes.⁹¹ Consequently, Plenipotentiary Governor called the Provisional Committee on this issue, demanding to be clarified if such a provision would not be contrary to local customs and laws.⁹²

On 16 November 1817, Bessarabia Provisional Committee decided that except flour, salt and other food products, but also tobacco, goods brought by traders who did not reside in towns of Bessarabia must be subjected to a 2 % *ad valorem* tax, stressing that this does not violate the local laws.⁹³ Consequently, on 17 November 1817 A. N. Bahmetev wrote to the Committee that he agrees with these proposals and that merchants who activate in Bessarabia, but have no local residence, to be subject to such payments under the regulation that exists in Russian internal Guberniias. Following this idea, he prescribed to the Department I of the regional government the application of his decision.⁹⁴

Still, the introduction of 2 % *ad valorem* tax on goods sold in the cities of Bessarabia by merchants with no legal residence in the province did not passed without their opposition. Foreign subjects attempted to distance from the provisions of the ukase. A group of Austrian subjects addressed to Plenipotentiary Governor a complaint stating that they had been imposed to pay that duty without a legal base, because it was only aimed at Russian subjects. As a result, on 2 March 1818, A. N. Bahmetev requested details on the tax the Austrian merchants were imposed, stating that the distribution of the taxes and

91. NARM, fond 22, inv. 1, d. 4, fol. 1.

92. NARM, fond 4, inv. 2, d. 22, fol. 1.

93. NARM, fond 4, inv. 2, d. 22, fol. 19.

94. NARM, fond 17, inv. 1, d. 65, fols. 701 verso – 702.

duties for those practicing trade in the cities of the Guberniia should be different for Russian subjects residing in a particularly city, Russian subjects with temporary residence in that city, and foreign subjects with permanent or temporary residence in that city. Also, A. N. Bahmetev stressed that, it needs to be taken into account that, until the annexation of the territory between the Prut and Dniester to Russian Empire, certain foreign subjects enjoyed different privileges, granted by the former rulers of Moldavia to their nation, and Russian government assumed their preservation.⁹⁵ As the problem became acute, A. N. Bahmetev proposed on 18 June 1818 to Regional Government of Bessarabia to analyze the collective complaint of Austrian merchants. Government was to determine to what extent the provision of imposing foreign subjects to 2% *ad valorem* duty on traded goods in the cities of the province corresponded to the rights granted to certain foreign merchants by former rulers of Moldavia and local custom. In case there would be detected any contradiction in this regard, the Government should make proposals on bringing the existing rules in accordance to the former provisions, and to develop new dispositions. Until then, foreign subjects were to be exempted from any taxes.⁹⁶

On 23 August 1818 A. N. Bahmetev addressed also to the Supreme Council of Bessarabia with the request to issue a provision that, based on the rights and customs of the land and those granted by the Russian Emperor, would stipulate differentiated taxes in favour of the cities of Bessarabia for non-resident Russian and foreign merchants activating in them.⁹⁷ On the other hand, on 18 July 1819, A. N. Bahmetev ordered to customs office of Ismail that the goods exported through the port to be imposed to a duty of 10 % *ad valorem*, whether it was performed by merchants with or without residence in town, Russian or foreign. In addition, the same provision introduced new rules on trade activities. Foreign merchants were to be divided into two categories, those who were permanently settled in Bessarabia and those who were temporarily in the Province. The latter ones were to be prohibited to do business in hinterland, only allowing them to sell their goods wholesale to local merchants in customs area. The merchants were to be informed that in

95. NARM, fond 17, inv. 1, d. 119, fols. 363 verso – 364.

96. NARM, fond 17, inv. 1, d. 119, fols. 896–897.

97. NARM, fond 17, inv. 1, d. 117, fols. 120 verso – 121.

a month the new provisions would enter into force.⁹⁸ That decision was intended to exclude gradually the foreign traders from commerce of Bessarabia without disturbing those already established in the region.

On the other hand, in 1815, after signing of the Treaty of Vienna, Russia took a liberal approach in its commercial policy. Odessa was granted the status of *porto-franco*, making it even more attractive for foreign capital. But already in 1822 the supporters of protective commercial policy, succeeded to convince the Emperor for a complete turn, while their leader Ye. F. Kankrin was named in 1823 as Minister of Finance. Namely by the efforts of the latter, in 1824 in the Russian Empire was effectuated a guild reform, which is in our opinion a distinct point in discussed matter, as it reduced more drastically the rights foreign merchants held in Russian Empire, and greatly threatened the fiscal privileges foreigners benefit from in southern ports. Adopted on 14 November 1824 the law was actually called *Additional Ordinance Regarding the Organization of Guilds and Trade of Other Social Categories in Russian Empire*.⁹⁹ We will not insist on all of its provisions, as it is a bulky document and is well known. We will focus only on issues directly related to the problem addressed in this article.

According to its provisions *foreign guests* could activate only in port and border cities. They were to procure 1st guild certificates and pay all city taxes. In addition, *foreign guests* were forbidden to sell retail goods in shops, stores, apartments, basements, or by delivery. Most importantly the *Regulation of Guilds* of 1824 lacked foreigners of the tax exemptions in the privileged port-cities on the Black Sea and Sea of Azov.¹⁰⁰

As trade port of Odessa was in decline, the foreign merchants of the city, including English subject Edward Moberly, who signed up in 1824 as a guest in the first merchant guild in Odessa, protested against the decision to limit their rights and privileges, especially the abolition of tax benefits that foreign merchants had in the Black and the Azov Seas port-cities. On 19 May 1825, in response to their protest, a decree was issued which confirmed that the tax exemptions referred only to Russian subjects. Moreover, the decree of the Senate of 16 September 1825 stipulated that the residents of the three port-cities

98. NARM, fond 17, inv. 1, d. 126, fols. 3–3 verso.

99. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXIX (1824), № 30115, pp. 588–612.

100. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXIX (1824), № 30115, pp. 589–597.

Odessa, Taganrog and Theodosia were exempt from paying taxes only for the following 5 years, then for 5 years they would benefit only from ½ of tax exemption, afterwards they had to pay all taxes along with residents of other Russian Empire's cities.¹⁰¹

But soon the government made concessions. Firstly, it allowed foreign merchants in the port-cities of Novorossiia to sale in retail, according to the rights of 3rd guild merchants, though with the full payment of fees and duties. This decision, unacceptable to the other cities of the empire, was stipulated by the Ukase of 30 September 1825, as the result of urgings of Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia, Count M. S. Vorontsov.¹⁰² Soon after that, in 1826, foreign merchants operating in Odessa quietly were entitled to tax exemptions granted to merchants residing in the city with Russian citizenship, for the whole duration of privileges.¹⁰³ Foreign merchants who conducted their business in Odessa, but did not want to accept the Russian citizenship, declared the capital required to be recorded in the 1st and 2nd guild, had in Odessa real estate and practiced wholesale trade, were the only foreigners to be exempted from paying taxes. Those foreign merchants, who did not own property or those who wanted to sale in retail, had to pay an extra fee, required for the certificate of the 3rd guild, and pay city taxes, along with non-resident merchants. In other Russian cities, regardless of the amount of produced trading, foreign guests were paying guild dues similar with the merchants of the 1st guild, that is, before 1839 – 2,200 assignation roubles, or from 1 January 1840 – 660 silver roubles. In comparison, the 3rd guild tax was 220 assignation roubles, in addition to which a regional tax of 20 roubles and a contribution to the city's revenue of the same value were to be paid.¹⁰⁴

The implementation of guild reform of 1824 in Bessarabia would be decided only in 1830. Meanwhile there was a legislative vacuum for fiscal imposition of foreign merchants. A case was filed on 23 November 1828 in the provincial administration of Bessarabia in order to oblige foreign merchants to pay taxes in benefit of Ismail, for temporarily trading

101. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XL (1825), № 30486, p. 473.

102. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XL (1825), № 30520, pp. 510–511.

103 Nikolai Murzhakevich, *Очерк успехов Новороссийского края и Бессарабии в истекшее двадцатипятилетие, т.е. с 1820 по 1846 год* [Essay on the Achievements of the Novorossiia Region and Bessarabia in the Past Twenty-Five Years (i.e. from 1820 till 1846)], (Odessa, 1846), p. 9; PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. II (1827), № 1623, p. 1078.

104. NARM, fond 1219, inv. 1, d. 1, fol. 83.

in the city.¹⁰⁵ There is documentary evidence that a request was sent to the Odessa City Duma for clarification of which contributions are levied from foreign merchants, and the answer was used as an argument “not to burden them [...] for the example of Odessa”.¹⁰⁶ Thus, without being taken any decision, the case was transferred in September 1831 to the Ismail Urban Prefect.¹⁰⁷

Foreign merchants benefited in Bessarabia from Ottoman capitulation system, which offered them even larger fiscal privileges than locals had. As such, several cases are known when indigene merchants attempted to become Austrian subject in order to be exempted from fiscal dues. Eloquent in this regard is the example of brothers Constantine and George Prasinov, inhabitants of Galatz, who until 1812 entered to their interest under the “protection” of different states. After the Peace of Bucharest they succeeded to obtain Russian passports, but continued living and activating in Galatz. In 1820, Constantin Prasinov, presenting himself with the Russian passport to the Russian agent in Galatz, has waived the “protection” of Russia, expressing his will to enter into the subjection of Austria. After this, the merchants moved to Ismail, where they benefited from the fiscal privileges, granted under Ottoman capitulations, until the abolition of the autonomy of Bessarabia. Being pushed by this shift in the status of the province, they succeeded to obtain the title of Russian nobles, not even being Russian subjects, basic legal requirement in this case. The need for noble title is easy to explain, because, according to Russian law, representatives of this social category were able to practice commerce freely, being exempted from guild and other city taxes. In the case filed by the Ministry of Interior in St. Petersburg in 1830, the basis on which the deputies of the nobility adopted this decision were the passports issued to Prasinov brothers by the Danubian Army Commander, General Major S. A. Tuchkov, in which they were written as first category merchants and nobles (most probably for some services). As Russian General Consul in the Romanian Principalities was mentioning in his report to the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople, when they refused Russian subjection, these merchant showed “a lack of respect for the dignity of the Russian subject and weak loyalty to Russia”. Consequently, Russian Foreign

105. NARM, fond 6, inv. 2, d. 471, fol. 2 verso.

106. NARM, fond 3, inv. 2, d. 114, fols. 1, 13.

107. NARM, fond 6, inv. 2, d. 471, fol. 2 verso.

Minister Count K. V. Nesselrode had requested from interim Minister of Justice, D. V. Dashkov, to be informed about the actions undertaken on quashing of the decision of Bessarabian Nobility Assembly from 10 February 1827, by which Prasinov merchants were granted noble titles.¹⁰⁸

With the adoption on 29 February 1828 of a new *Regulation of Administration*, Bessarabia is lacked of legislative and judicial autonomy and imperial authorities initiated actions needed to definitively accord the trade of province to Russian legal norms. In early 1829, Manufacturing and Internal Trade Department had started a correspondence intended to clarify the wishes of Bessarabia merchants about the planned implementation in the region of *Guilds Regulation* of 14 November 1824. To the proposal to give foreign merchants activating in Bessarabia broad rights like in Georgia, that is the monopoly, the merchants of Bessarabia asked that they enjoy only the rights and obligations outlined in the Manifesto of 1 January 1807, i.e. in strict compliance with Russian legislation.¹⁰⁹

The emphatic position of local merchants, who were already in majority Russians, Ukrainians or Russian Jews,¹¹⁰ has been reflected in the draft submitted by the Deputy Governor Golubitskii and adviser Klimsha to imperial institutions, dated 1829, on the measures that were to be taken to bring the financial system of Bessarabia to that of Russia, within the framework of implementation of guild structure in the Province. Under this, non-resident traders in the towns of Bessarabia, whether Russian or foreign subjects, were to join the guilds as *guests*, submitting to the city bodies written statements about their capital and conclusive evidence of this. Foreign merchants were to pay all taxes as local merchants, but were exempted from personal service. They could leave to their homelands with the fulfilment of all obligations set in the 129th article of the *City Regulation*.¹¹¹ They

108. NARM, fond 6, inv. 1, d. 203, fols. 1–2.

109. M. Muntyan, “Экономическое развитие дореформенной Бессарабии” [Economic Development of the Pre-reform Bessarabia], *Uchenye zapiski Kishinevskogo universiteta*, (Chişinău), 117 (1971), p. 276.

110. Valentin Tomuleţ, *Politica comercial-vamală a țarismului în Basarabia și influența ei asupra constituirii burgheziei comerciale (1812–1868)* [Trade and Customs Policy of Tsarism in Bessarabia and its Influence on the Formation of Commercial Bourgeoisie (1812–1868)], (Chişinău, 2002), pp. 340–341.

111. This article stated that foreigners and residents of other cities could leave a town after informing city magistrate, returning debts to creditors and paying the city tax for three years in advance. *Russian Legislation of the 10th–20th Centuries*, vol. 5, p. 120.

were not allowed to practice internal trade and could only join the merchant guilds in accordance with the Manifesto of 1 January 1807. They were to perform trade only as long as they were in Bessarabia, and could not leave to other Guberniias for these purposes.¹¹²

Implementation in Bessarabia of guild system was ordered by Ukase of 26 September 1830. Thus, since 1 January 1831, merchants from Bessarabia, regardless of origin, were imposed to trade practices based on the principles laid down in *Guilds Regulation* of 14 November 1824. In order to prevent any disturbances, merchants were granted large privileges for the following 10 years, except for the foreigners, who could benefit from these privileges only by entering Russian citizenship.¹¹³

Thus the guild system was introduced in Ismail only from 1831, as in the rest of the Guberniia. From that time, foreign subjects of Ismail, as in other cities of Bessarabia, suddenly lost all of their extensive rights, offered to them under the terms of the capitulations of Ottoman Empire. Due to the fact that the law preserved their right to benefit from the privileges granted to local traders only on condition that they become subjects of Russian Empire, the number of foreign merchants gradually began to decline. From the weakening of their position took advantage not local merchants, but mainly those coming from neighbouring Guberniias.

Using the provisions of *Guilds Regulation* of 14 November 1824, which granted the right to foreign trade only to the first two guilds of merchants, on 14 November 1831 several representative of the 1st and 2nd guild wholesalers merchants of Ismail, addressed through City Duma to the Ismail Urban Prefect, General S. A. Tuchkov, a complaint in which they wrote that “... in the port of Ismail are still admitted to external trade all without distinction, both local traders and people from other cities and foreigners, who are not part of the guilds and as such don’t have the right to this trade”.¹¹⁴ In response, on 26 March 1832, S. A. Tuchkov addressed to the head of Ismail customs district,

112. Valentin Tomuleț, *Politica comercial-vamală a țarismului în Basarabia (1812–1830). Documente inedite din arhivele Rusiei, Ucrainei și Republicii Moldova* [Trade and Customs Policy of Tsarism in Bessarabia (1812–1830). Unpublished Documents from the Archives of Russia, Ukraine and Moldova], (Chișinău, 2002), pp. 328–329.

113. Ibid., pp. 186–188.

114. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1619, fol. 1.

Ignatiev, urging him to order that only merchants with necessary certificates to be admitted to trade through Ismail port.¹¹⁵

Measures taken by the customs' administration of Ismail caused dissatisfaction of the 3rd guild merchants, many of whom just accepted to become Russian subjects. Thus on 28 May 1832, 18 Greek merchants wrote to General S. A. Tuchkov, that according to the owned capital many of them enlisted in the 3rd guild, but historically are dealing with foreign trade. Thus after receiving the requested documents of guild merchants, they had addressed to the customs officials to allow them to export grain abroad, but were refused on the ground that the merchants of the 3rd guild are not entitled to foreign trade.¹¹⁶ Appealing to the provisions of the Ukase of the Senate of 26 September 1830, which provided to all merchants in the first five years after the implementation of *Guilds Regulation* the complete freedom of trade both by land and sea¹¹⁷ the merchants of the 3rd guild requested to be entitled to free trade through the ports of Ismail and Reni.¹¹⁸ On 8 July 1832, after much debate, meeting the demand of the 3rd guild merchants of Ismail, local customs official Ignatiev is instructed to allow free access of the 3rd guild merchants to foreign trade.¹¹⁹

It is obvious that even in Ismail and Odessa, where foreigners had quite larger rights in comparison to other Russian places, their number was smaller in comparison to merchants from other Russian cities. The latter were quite numerous, especially when we refer to Odessa, as the Russian law was quite restrictive when a citizen expressed his will to leave the city he was enlisted in. That is why in the first half of the 19th century the requests from the resident merchants, addressed to local or regional administration were aiming primarily the question of subjection to taxes of this category, and only after that of the foreigners. A major problem was not only in the regular taxes, but also in extraordinary taxes, decided in local councils. Foreign and non-resident merchants didn't accept to pay these taxes, which were obligatory for residents, and thus determined the unrest of the latter. As a result,

115. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1619, fol. 2.

116. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1619, fol. 12.

117. Российский государственный исторический архив [Russian State Historical Archive, hereafter RGIA], fond 571, opis 5, delo 769, fol. 94.

118. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1619, fol. 12 verso.

119. NARM, fond 2, inv. 1, d. 1619, fols. 19–19 verso.

residents pleaded in front of regional and imperial institutions for the increase of the regular taxes for non-resident categories, and for the limitation of their rights.¹²⁰

The Naturalization of Foreign Entrepreneurs

Of course all the privileges granted to foreign entrepreneurs in southern regions and sea-ports of Russian Empire aimed at assimilation not of only of their capital, but also of their holders, for the benefit of the nation. But when the assimilation process stuck, Russian government started to make efforts in order to determine the reduction of the number of foreign subjects not only in the cities of Bessarabia, but also in Odessa. The official motivation was formulated by the official of Ministry of Finance, Grigorii Nebolsin, who asserted that fluctuations of capital involved in the trade of Odessa is a consequence of the high number of foreign-subjects, who reacted very quick on the state of market and profit, and not long hesitated whether to leave or move their business to a more acceptable European port-city.¹²¹ On the other hand, A. Skalkowski, on the contrary, argued that the number of Russian subjects and their capital was overwhelming, and this was not an issue. He estimated that in the period 1837–1844, in the first and second merchants' guilds of Odessa there were recorded an average of 723 persons, of which the Russian subjects – 589 (81.7 %) and foreign nationals – 132 (18.3 %).¹²²

Still, the Russian government was convinced it has to take urgent measures to determine foreigners to enter the Russian citizenship and decided to simplify the procedure. On 26 June 1840 foreigners of Odessa, Kerch and Taganrog were allowed to swear allegiance to the Russian state in City Dumas, and not in front of Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia.¹²³ After a couple of months, on 4 February 1841, such permission was given to foreigners of Ismail, with the presence of the representatives of

120. Andrei Emilciuc, “Statutul negustorilor fără reședință în orașele Basarabiei și Odesa (1812–1861)” [The Statute of Non-resident Merchants in Cities of Bessarabia and Odessa (1812–1861)], *Tyragetia: Revista Muzeului Național de Arheologie și Istorie a Moldovei, Seria nouă*, Vol. III (XVIII), nr. 2: Istorie și Muzeologie, (Chișinău, 2009), pp. 39–60.

121. Grigorii Nebolsin, *Статистические записки о внешней торговле России* [Statistical Notes on Russia's Foreign Trade], part II, (St. Petersburg, 1835), pp. 66, 74.

122. Herlihy, *Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 401 apud Apollon Skalkowski, *La population commerciale d'Odessa* (Odessa, 1845).

123. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XV (1840), Sec. 1, № 13598, p. 450.

the City Commercial Court.¹²⁴ Thus, after 1835 the number of foreign subjects was constantly going down: between 1837 and 1844, the number of foreign subjects in the first two guilds of Odessa declined from 167 to 112.¹²⁵ This was actually a trend in all Russian Empire.¹²⁶

A different situation in this regard was that of Jews. From 1824 foreign Jews were forbade to settle in Russian Empire.¹²⁷ The efforts of those already settled to gain Russian subjection had also many impediments. In 1831, about half of the Jews of Odessa were foreign subjects.¹²⁸ Their will to become Russian subjects become a primary goal after the Committee of Ministers adopted on 4 July 1833 the decision to forbid foreign-subject Jews to enlist as foreign guests in merchant guilds and to practice commercial affairs within the Empire for a period over one year.¹²⁹ Only by the decision of the same Committee of 7 February 1839, Minister of Finance and that of Internal Affairs were allowed to issue permissions for a period greater than that.¹³⁰

Another point of convince was the restriction of the right to hold and dispose the real property. Foreigners were historically allowed to own land and houses in Bessarabia and Novorossiia. By Decree of 20 July 1848 they were forbidden to demise to other foreign nationals,¹³¹ but under their protest, on 20 March 1850, the State Council decided to lift the ban until another decision was taken in this regard.¹³²

Skilful policy of the imperial government determined a large decrease in the number of foreign merchants, some of them entering in subjection of Russian Empire, some returning to their homeland, being distressed by Russian merchants. Rights that they once held in Bessarabia and Novorossiia were almost eradicated. The final note in this regard must be considered the Resolution of Alexander II of 18 December 1859, which coincided

124. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XVI (1841), Sec. 1, № 14247, p. 96.

125. Herlihy, *Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 401 apud Apollon Skalkowski, *La population commerciale d'Odessa* (Odessa, 1845).

126. William L. Blackwell, *Beginnings of Russian Industrialization, 1800–1860*, (Princeton, 1968), p. 247.

127. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXIX (1824), № 30004, pp. 458–460.

128. Prokop, *The Role of the Jewish Foreigners*, p. 76.

129. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. IX (1834), Sec. 1, № 6736, pp. 69–70.

130. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XIV (1839), Sec. 1, № 12005, p. 133.

131. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXIII (1848), Sec. 1, № 22456, p. 484.

132. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXV (1850), Sec. 1, № 24009, p. 187.

with the abolition of *porto-franco* status Odessa port benefited for 40 years. As it was already mentioned, the Regulations of the Committee of Ministers of 23 March 1837 allowed foreigners to sale in retail in preferential trading cities of Novorossiia, even after 1835.¹³³ But, according to the Regulation of the Committee of Ministers of 17 January 1850 the right of foreigners in Odessa to sale in retail was limited only for the following five years.¹³⁴ Regulation of the Committee of Ministers on 15 March 1855 extended this right for another three years.¹³⁵

When this period was over, in May 1858 there was issued a ban, while enlisting in the guild was held in December and January, so foreign subjects were allowed to use this right for the rest of the year.¹³⁶ Thus imperial government established that foreign subjects in Odessa could enlist only in the first merchant guild, as in the rest of the Empire. Annual excise amounted to 1,000 silver roubles, amount that not all could afford or were willing to pay. Many foreign merchants were forced to go abroad or to enter the Russian subjection in order to be able to enlist in the 2nd or 3rd guild, the annual tax for which were 401.97 and 116 silver roubles respectively. However, 47 French merchants in Odessa, in protest against this decision, signed a petition demanding that the old law to be kept.¹³⁷ Consequently, Emperor Alexander II, allowed them on 12 December 1858 to maintain their previous status for another year, till 1860, without requirement to change their citizenship, but no other French citizen would be allowed to enlist into the 2nd or 3rd guild without going into subjection of Russian Empire.¹³⁸ Following insistence of Greek Consul, Prince Suzzo, Russian Emperor nodded on 27 February 1859 that Greek subjects could enjoy this facility too.¹³⁹ Moreover the Ukase of 18 December 1859 stipulated that all foreign subjects were allowed to enlist in the 2nd and 3rd guild in Odessa and other southern cities also for the year 1860.¹⁴⁰

133. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XII (1837), Sec. 1, № 10063, pp. 192–193.

134. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXV (1850), Sec. 1, № 23842, p. 60.

135. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXX (1855), Sec. 1, № 29135, p. 203.

136. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXXIII (1858), Sec. 1, № 33884, p. 475.

137. Herlihy, *Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 404.

138. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXXIII (1858), Sec. 1, № 33884, p. 475.

139. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXXIV (1859), Sec. 1, № 34190, p. 135.

140. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXXIV (1859), Sec. 2, № 35254, p. 365.

In complete dissonance to this tendency, by Emperor Ukase of 7 June 1860, foreign subjects were allowed, throughout the Empire, to enter all merchant guilds and to benefit from all the rights Russian merchants held according to code of laws of 1857. As the preamble of the law stated, because of the progresses in means of transportation and of the quick development of international commercial relations, the restrictions imposed by the Law of 1 January 1807 were no longer meeting the requirements of the time.¹⁴¹

The analysis of document sources and published works let us conclude that along the first half of the 19th century, Odessa and Ismail offered large privileges to foreign subjects who wanted to practice business without the limitations imposed by the general regulations. Imperial government granted those privileges as a mean for encouraging the development of these port-cities in order to gain a growing share in European grain market. In many respects, foreign entrepreneurs held larger rights than those from other cities of the Russian Empire, who were practicing business in Odessa and Ismail. The increasing influence of the Russian merchants and industrialists, though, determined the government to reduce these rights over the time. But foreigners used all their leverage to obtain from the authorities more and more delays in implementation of the common laws.

Our research has shown that in the study of this problem is necessary to distinguish two periods, separated by introduction in Bessarabia from 1 January 1831 of guild reform and expiry in 1830/1835 of privileges granted to merchants of Odessa. The end of the first period meant the end of an active policy of attracting foreign capital for the development of Novorossiia, and the beginning of the second – the gradual displacement of foreign merchants from Ismail and Odessa, by depriving them from the rights and privileges which they enjoyed hitherto. Foreigners could either agree to enter into Russian subjection or leave, and their place was occupied by merchants from other cities of Russian Empire, especially Jews, driven out by the imperial government to the periphery of the state.

141. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXXV (1860), Sec. 1, № 35880, pp. 706–707.

Chapter 10

The “Discovery” of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea by Ionian Maritime Entrepreneurs (Late 18th – Early 19th Century)

Gerassimos D. Pagratis

The 18th century, particularly the latter half of it, was a noteworthy period for international maritime trade. Increasing demand for food items and consumer goods as a result of population growth and the expansion of global markets benefited both old and new rulers of the seas.¹ In this time frame a particular and enduring development of Greek’s merchant shipping is evident, due mainly to the favourable conjuncture of existing surplus of export products, of accumulated capital and of auspicious prospects for profitable investments in shipping enterprises.²

During the last years many studies of quantitative and qualitative character were undertaken in this field, creating the conditions for a variety of revisions based on archival material.³ It was thanks to exactly these achievements of recent historiography that it became possible to identify two main phases in the development of maritime enterprises of Greeks. The first of them concerns us here, as regards the so called Ionian phase, which is related generally to the era of sail and relies heavily on the involvement of the Ionian Islanders in the Black Sea.⁴

1. John A. Davis, “Tra espansione e sviluppo economico nell’Europa del XVIII secolo”, in Antonio Di Vittorio (ed.), *Dall’espansione allo sviluppo. Una storia economica d’Europa*, (Torino: G. Giappichelli Editore, 2002), pp. 165–173.

2. Gheorghios Leontaritis, *Ελληνική Εμπορική Ναυτιλία (1453–1850)* [Greek Merchant Marine (1453–1850)], (Athens: EMNE, 1981), p. 37; Gelina Harlaftis, *Ιστορία του Ελληνόκτητου Στόλου στο 19ο και 20ό αιώνα* [History of the Greek-owned Fleet in the 19th and 20th Century], (Athens: Nefeli, 2001), pp. 43–82.

3. See in Gelina Harlaftis and Katerina Papakonstantinou (eds.), *Η Ναυτιλία των Ελλήνων 1700–1821* [Merchant Marine of Greeks 1700–1821], (Athens: Kedros), 2013.

4. Gelina Harlaftis, “Η ναυτική πολιτεία του Ιονίου και του Αιγαίου. Στόλος και ανταγωνιστικότητα” [The Maritime State of the Ionian and the Aegean Sea], in Harlaftis and Papakonstantinou (eds.), *Η Ναυτιλία των Ελλήνων*, pp. 407–443. On the opening of Black Sea ports to the international trade see between others

Main aim of this paper is to examine the terms and conditions that paved the way for the Ionians’ access to the Black Sea, in a period spanning the last quarter of the 18th century, when the islands were ruled by the Venetians, to the first decade of the 19th century, when a new State was established there, the Septinsular Republic. Therefore this paper will illustrate the institutional background of the Ionian presence in the Black Sea, but also the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the maritime economy in the area.

I.

Ionian Islanders had already found the way to Russia in various ways, as subjects of Venice⁵. From the early 18th century, the efforts of Peter the Great to modernize his country and at the same time to create the profile of liberator of the Greeks led him to invite to his court various persons, who came mostly from the Ionian Islands, and in particular from Cephalonia. To this select group of Greeks were added later the refugees of the failed insurrections organized by the Orloff brothers in the 1770s. To all these people Russia opened the markets of New Russia, while offering to the more trusted collaborators among them a career in the army, in the administration and in the diplomatic service. Thus was formed a numerous group of Greeks who were dependent for their survival upon the Tsar and promoted the liberation of their compatriots with the help of the Russians.⁶

Exactly at this time, in the last quarter of the 18th century, Ionian captains used various ploys to overcome the bureaucratic obstacles to their participation in Black Sea maritime

in Costantin Ardeleanou, “The Opening and Development of the Black Sea for International Trade and Shipping (1774–1853)”, *Euxeinos*, 14 (2014), pp. 14–52.

5. For the Venetian trade in the Black Sea during the early modern period see in Olexandr Halenko, “Ελληνες επιχειρηματίες και ναυτικοί στις βόρειες ακτές της Μαύρης και Αζοφικής θάλασσας την περίοδο της οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας και των ρωσικών κατακτήσεων, 15ος–18ος αιώνας” [Greek Businessmen and Sailors on the Northern Shores of the Black and Azov Seas], in E. Sifnaiou – G. Harlaftis (eds.), *Οι Έλληνες της Αζοφικής, 18ος – αρχές 20ού αιώνα. Νέες προσεγγίσεις στην ιστορία των Ελλήνων της νότιας Ρωσίας* [The Greeks of Azov, 18th – Early 20th century], (Athens: NFR/IHR, 2008), pp. 245–263; Victor N. Zakharov, “Οι ξένοι έμποροι και το εξωτερικό εμπόριο στα λιμάνια της Μαύρης και Αζοφικής θάλασσας τον 18ο αιώνα” [Foreign Traders and Foreign Trade in the Ports of the Black and Azov Seas], in Sifnaiou – Harlaftis, *ibid.*, pp. 265–285.

6. Nicholas Ch. Pappas, *Greeks in Russian Military Service in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, (Thessaloniki, 1991), pp. 48–53; Grigori Arsh (ed.), *Η Ρωσία και τα πασαλίκια της Αλβανίας και της Ηπείρου. Εγγραφα από τα ρωσικά αρχεία* [Russia and the Pashaliks of Albania], (Athens, 2007), introduction.

trade. The most famous of these were the occasional use of various flags and of the corresponding shipping documents, together with various other contrivances, such as smuggling, investment in Ottoman ships, as well as the more stable movement in Ottoman or Russian territories. It has been estimated that throughout the 18th century Greek ship-owners, usually Ionian Islanders subjects of Venice, in 30 % of their voyages used seven different flags, apart from the Venetian, and that 40 % of the voyages made by ships of Venetian subjects started off from a non-Venetian harbour. Thus are explained the Venetian Senate's successive threats and bans on subjects' participation in external trade, which almost one in two subjects flouted and disregarded, obliging the Venetian authorities to repeat them.⁷

The quantitative imprint of the participation of Ionian subjects of Venice in Black Sea trade is not impressive, especially if we compare it to the numbers of the next decades of the 19th century. We can attribute the limited presence of the Ionians in the Black Sea to a number of reasons related to the difficulties they had to overcome. On the one hand the Sultan seemed reluctant to open the Black Sea to the Venetians. On the other the Venetians raised even higher obstacles. Apart from the standing prohibitions on the participation of their subjects in foreign trade, the Venetian authorities were worried that their subjects' involvement in Black Sea trade would threaten the declared Venetian neutrality vis-a-vis Russian-Turkish rivalry. They were also worried about the possibility of Ionian, Jewish and German merchants forming monopolies that would jeopardize the interests of the Venetian entrepreneurs.⁸

Faced with these concerns, in the framework of Russia's policy of attracting foreigners to the Black Sea trade, in 1786 the Governor of the Crimea, Prince Grigorii Potemkin, granted six permits to Venetian ships, on condition that they fly the Russian flag for five years. In the sources we have identified five Venetian ships that seized this opportunity,

7. Gerassimos D. Pagratis, "Shipping enterprise in the eighteenth century: the case of the Greek subjects of Venice", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 25:1 (2010), pp. 67–81.

8. Despoina Er. Vlasi, "Μια μετανάστευση Κεφαλλήνων στην Κριμαία (1794) και η αντίδραση της Βενετίας" [An Immigration of Kefalonians in the Crimea (1794) and the Reaction of Venice], *Kefalliniaka Chronika*, 6 (1992), pp. 189–236.

following the advice of the Venetian Senate, to travel as far as Tenedos flying the Venetian flag, and then to hoist the Russian flag in order to enter the Straits.⁹

But were these five ships the only ships of Venetians and their subjects to sail through the Dardanelles? To answer to this question we must bear in mind the following:

From research conducted to date it has become clear that from the early decades of the 18th century Greek captains began to say goodbye to Venice. The persistence of the “Most Serene Republic”, exactly in the century of the triumph of economic liberalism, in out-of-date policies, such as the occasional deployment of the convoys or the maintenance of protectionism, essentially pushed Ionians and other subjects of Venice towards alternative maritime routes.¹⁰

Many of them found a way out in using the Ottoman flag. Some entrepreneurs chose to transfer their businesses and sometime their families to neighbouring Ottoman territories. Others just invested in Ottoman merchant shipping, but continued to reside in the Ionian Islands.¹¹

The Venetian *provveditor general da mar* Francesco Grimani (1760), in a period when *laissez-faire* economics held sway almost all over Europe, emphasized in his report to the Senate the relativity of taxes and the need to liberate the circulation of products. He had also discerned the tendency of Ionian Islanders (mainly Cephalonians and Ithakans, but also Zakynthians) to invest in the ships of the inhabitants of Missolonghi and Etoliko (Ottoman towns in western Greece with ports on the homonymous lagoons), arguing that this phenomenon was related to the subjects’ attempts to avoid the Venetian taxation system, which was heavier than the Ottoman one. Indeed, he calculated that the sums of money that Ionian Islanders had invested in these fleets represented one-third of the overall value of these fleets.¹²

9. Ibid., p. 216.

10. Pagratis, “*Shipping enterprise in the eighteenth century*”.

11. Ibid.

12. Francesco Grimani, *Relazioni Storico-Politiche delle isole del Mare Jonio*, (Venezia, 1856), p. 87. On the merchant fleets of Missolonghi see also in Katerina Papakonstantinou, “The Port of Messolonghi: Spatial Allocation and Maritime Expansion in the Eighteenth Century”, *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique*, 7 (2011), pp. 277–297.

The consequences of the Russian-Turkish wars in the second half of the 18th century offered one more alternative. The Russians proposed to the Ionians islanders to do in the Tsar's newly acquired territories in the Black Sea exactly what they used to do in the Ottoman ports. Namely, to transfer to these their maritime enterprises and/or their families. Despite the reactions of the Venetian authorities, several Ionian Islanders responded positively to this invitation and began to colonize the Crimea and Azov from 1783, and Odessa in the 1790s. In this way, they began gradually to set up their own business networks or to enter pre-existing ones. Thus they acquired familiarity with a place to which they had previously never had easy access.¹³

When, in 1800, international circumstances brought together two otherwise traditional enemies, Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and led to the founding of the Septinsular Republic, a significant number of Ionian Islanders already established in the Black Sea ports were ready to seize the business opportunities created in the framework of the international conjuncture. The main challenge of the early 19th century was to commercialize the grain production of this region and to satisfy the nutritional and other requirements of the growing population of New Russia.¹⁴

Their role became even more advantageous, due to a number of privileges conceded them by the Ottomans and Russians:

Firstly, the Ionian Islanders secured their defence and national integrity, since the main burden of defensive expenditure in the islands was shouldered by the Russians, who kept numerous mercenary troops there.¹⁵

Secondly, the Russians and the Ottomans undertook to protect Ionian shipping in various ways. Since 1774, with the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, the Russians had already permitted the Greeks to fly the Russian flag and have access to the grain-exporting harbours

13. Vlassi, *An Immigration of Kefalonians in the Crimea*, p. 190.

14. See in Evridiki Sifnaiou – Gelina Harlaftis, “Το Ταϊγάνιο των Ελλήνων: Ελληνική επιχειρηματικότητα στην παραμεθόριο του διεθνούς εμπορίου” [Taganrog of Greeks: Greek Entrepreneurship on the Border of International Trade], in Sifnaiou – Harlaftis (eds.), *Οι Έλληνες της Αζοφικής 18ος – αρχές 20ού αιώνα*, pp. 57–154.

15. Ermanno Lunzi, *Della Repubblica Settinsulare libri due*, (Bologna, 1863), pp. 107, 119, 177–178; Charles W. Crawley, “John Capodistrias and the Greeks before 1821”, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 13, no. 2 (1957), pp. 167–168; Pappas, *Greeks in Russian Military Service*, pp. 326, 334.

on the north coast of the Black Sea, where numerous Greek communities had settled,¹⁶ an advantage which the Greeks utilized as a rule after the Treaty of Commerce of 1783, when the Black Sea ceased to be *mare clausum*.¹⁷

The Ottomans, on the other hand, had assumed the obligation of protecting the islands’ ships and the merchants who were active in ports of the Empire’s territory, mainly in the Barbary States of North Africa. It was to protect Ionian vessels from the Barbary corsairs that their captains were supplied not only with the *regia patente* but also with a firman signed by the sultan.

The third comparative advantage of Ionian shipping was the neutrality kept by the Septinsular Republic in the wars of this period, initially between Britain and France (1803) and subsequently between France and Russia (1805).¹⁸

Ionian Sea captains (and the Greeks in general) exploited the Franco-British conflict, and the consequent withdrawal of these countries’ merchant ships from the Levant, which however does not apply to the whole period studied here,¹⁹ and took over the transport of cargoes from the Ottoman Empire to the ports of Italy and Malta, and vice-versa, with much less competition. Circumstances were particularly favourable for the Ionian Islanders to apply what they had been taught in the years of Venetian domination: that is, the

16. For the Greek diaspora in Southern Russia, see in Vassilis Kardassis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775–1861*, (Lanham, 2001); Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794–1914*, pp. 12–20, 23–24, 27–29; Sifnaiou – Harlaftis, “*To Ταϊράνιο των Ελλήνων*”, pp. 57–154.

17. Daniel Panzac, “International and Domestic Trade in the Ottoman Empire During the 18th Century”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24:2 (1992), pp. 195, 203–204.

18. Owen Connelly, *The Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon 1792–1815. Warfare and History*, (London, New York, 2006), pp. 115, 128–141; Roger Charles Anderson, *Naval Wars in the Levant, 1559–1853*, (Liverpool, 1952), p. 427 ff.; Norman Saul, *Russia and the Mediterranean 1798–1807*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 187–193.

19. The ceasefire in October 1801, when negotiations for the signing of the Treaty of Amiens began, was followed by a long period of peace that lasted until the early summer of 1803. During this interval, French trade in the eastern Mediterranean recovered, while the participation in this trade of ships from the Italian States, the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb increased. With the resumption of Franco-British hostilities, in the early summer of 1803, the French once again left the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, the British began to trade, at high level, agricultural products of the Levant and Russian wheat, in armed convoys.

See in Tom Pocock, *The Terror Before Trafalgar: Nelson, Napoleon, and the Secret War*, (New York, 2003); John Grainger, *The Amiens Truce: Britain and Bonaparte, 1801–1803*, (Woodbridge NJ, 2004); Frederick C. Schneid, *Napoleon’s Conquest of Europe: the War of the Third Coalition*, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2005).

development of commercial and maritime enterprises in a strictly protectionist regime. So, they devised the appropriate institutional framework for the smooth operation of trade and shipping, and set up a dense network of Consulates.²⁰

The conditions were favourable to investments in Ionian shipping. So, in a period of seven years the Ionian authorities granted clearances to 441 ships capable of sailing across the Mediterranean, with an average capacity of 129 tonnes per vessel (see Table 10.1). It has been argued that much of this investment was made by Greeks of Southern Russia, which is very possible but remains incompletely documented.

Table 10.1: Merchant Fleet of the Septinsular Republic

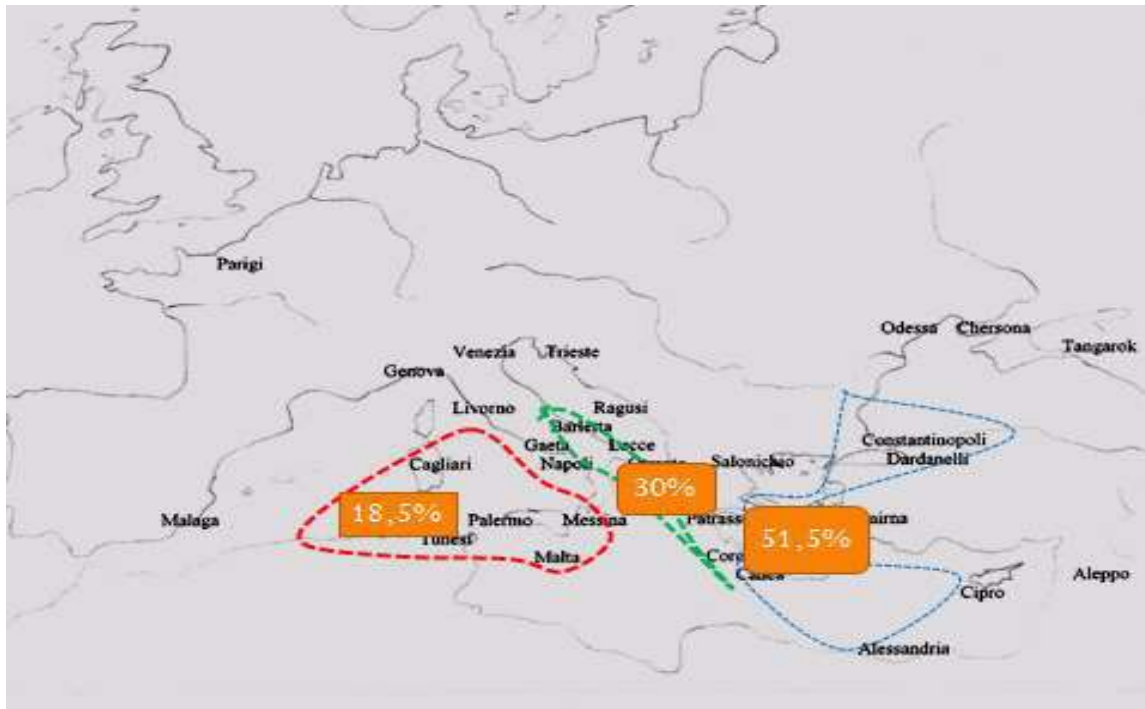
Capacity (tons)	Number of ships	%
20 – 100	185	42
101 – 200	193	44
201 – 300	54	12
301 – 450	9	2
TOTAL	441	100

Source: General State Archives of Corfu, Septinsular Republic.

On the contrary, better documented is the overall geography of Ionian maritime trade. A general mapping indicates that, contrary to expectations, more than half the voyages of the Ionian ships were not to the Italian ports, just a few hours from the islands, but in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, which linked the Black Sea and Constantinople to Crete²¹.

20. See more in Gerassimos D. Pagratis, “Le funzioni mercantili dei consoli della Repubblica Settinsulare (1800–1807)”, in Arnaud Bartolomei, Guillaume Calafat, Mathieu Grenet & Jörg Ulbert (eds.), *De l'utilité commerciale des consuls. L'institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVIIe–XXe siècle)*, (Roma – Madrid: École Française de Rome – Casa de Velázquez, 2018), <http://books.openedition.org/efr/3313>

21. Idem, “Shipping and Trade in the Ionian Islands: The Merchant Fleet of the Septinsular Republic (1800–1807)”, *Journal of the Oxford University Historical Society*, 8 (2012), <https://sites.google.com/site/jouhsinfo/issue-8-hilary-2011>.

Map 3. Geography of the Ionian Maritime Trade (1800–1807)

The massive scale of these activities indicates that, beyond the obvious business profits, the peculiar status of the Septinsular Republic must have created a kind of commitment for the Ionian entrepreneurs to serve the trade of the two guarantors, in return for the protection that Russians and the Ottomans gave the Ionian merchant fleet. Archival research indicates that in the period from 1800 to 1807 Ionian ships acted as if they were Russian or Ottoman. Two examples: In March 1801, almost simultaneously with the first official use of the Ionian flag in the harbour of Constantinople, 51 Septinsular ships were chartered by the Sublime Porte to carry cargoes between the eastern Aegean and the Black Sea on behalf of the Sultan. In 1803, a time of explosive growth of trade in the Black Sea, in a statistic of ships arriving at ports of southern Russia, ships flying the Septinsular flag ranked fourth, after those of the Ottoman Empire, Austria and Russia, well above French and British vessels.²²

22. Saul, *Russia and the Mediterranean 1798–1807*. Cf. Gerassimos D. Pagratis, “The Ottoman Empire and Ionian maritime enterprises in the late 18th and early 19th centuries”, in Edhem Eldem and Sophia Laiou (eds.), *Istanbul and the Black Sea Coast: Trade and Shipping (1770–1820)*, (Istanbul: Isis, 2018), pp. 27–33.

II.

Beyond the protection of Russians and Ottomans, Ionian maritime enterprises could rely on services both of Russian Consuls where they hadn't their own representation,²³ and of a dense consular network which included the Black Sea. There, from 1801 until 1807, three General Consulates were founded in Kherson, Odessa and Taganrog.²⁴

The general profile of the Ionian Consuls shows that these persons (Kerson: Gheorghios Vrettos from Itaca, Official of the Russian army, Zissimos Mihalopoulos from Itaca, Odessa: Ioannis Destunis, merchant from Kefalonia, Taganrog: Frangkiskos Kallerghis, merchant) were closely connected to Russian interests, resulting from the fact that these posts were occupied either by officers of the Tsar who, after the dissolution of the Ionian State, continued to serve the Russians from other places (Vrettos was appointed as Consul General of Russia in Tinos), or by Ionian merchants residing permanently in ports where they served.

Table 10.2. Ionian Ships in the Black Sea (1803–1806)

Origin of captains	Number of captains	%	Number of voyages	%
Cephalonia	18/31	58.0	22/45	48.8
Zakynthos	6/31	19.3	12/45	26.6
Ithaca	4/31	12.9	5/45	11.1
Corfu	2/31	6.4	4/45	8.8
Lefkada	1/31	3.2	2/45	4.4

Source: General State Archives of Corfu, Septinsular Republic.

III.

For a quantitative estimation of the contribution of the Ionian Islanders to the Black Sea trade, we studied the archives of the Consulates established by the Septinsular Republic in

23. Gerassimos D. Pagratis, "I Consolati della Repubblica Settinsulare (1800–1807) in Sicilia", in M. d'Angelo, G. Harlaftis & C. Vassallo (eds.), *Making Waves in the Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 2nd Mediterranean Maritime History Network Conference, Messina / Taormina (3–7 May 2006)*, Istituto di Studi Storici "Gaetano Salvemini", (Messina, 2010), pp. 419–432.

24. General State Archives of Corfu, Septinsular Republic, vols. 56, 59, 187, 192.

the various ports of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Although these documents refer to a short period and do not constitute the total of the archival material produced, they nonetheless allow us to discern trends in trade and shipping, by processing data that have the advantage of completeness and uniformity in the methods of registration.

Available to us was information on forty-five trips made between 1803 and 1806 by thirty-two ships flying the Ionian flag and belonging as a rule to ship-owners from Cephalonia, and to a lesser extent from Zakynthos.

Ionian ships used a total of five Black Sea ports: mainly Odessa (42/49), but also Taganrog (3), Nikolayev (2), Sevastopol (1) and “Lubocco” (1) which I couldn’t identify. Odessa held a central role in these movements (see Table 10.3). Beyond her anyway important role in the commerce of this period, this should to some extent be attributed to the fact that Odessa was the only port in the region from which we have consular archives.

Table 10.3. Frequency of Use of Ports in the Black Sea

Port	Number of voyages	%
Odessa	42/49	85.7
Taganrog	3/49	6.1
Nikolayev	2/49	4.0
Sevastopol	1/49	2.0
Lubocco	1/49	2.0

Source: General State Archives of Corfu, Septinsular Republic.

Arriving in these ports, were loaded as a rule with agricultural products from the Seven Islands (such as olive oil, wine, raisins, sea-salt from Lefkada, manufactured goods such as soap from Zakynthos) and from neighbouring territories in Epirus and the Peloponnese, but also goods transited through the islands (tobacco and rum) or loaded in other intermediate ports, such as dried figs in Smyrna.²⁵ Of all the commodities exported to the Black Sea ports, the most important seem to have been Ionian wine and olive oil. This we

25. See in Gerassimos D. Pagratis, “From the Septinsular Republic to the “White Sea”. Ionian Shipping in the Port of Smyrna (1800–1807)”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 19:2 (2010), pp. 335–350.

have ascertained (from both quantitative data, as these two products were the cargo of almost half the Ionian ships sailing to the Black Sea (3/8), and the persistence of the Ionian authorities in achieving tax reductions for them. It should be noted here that the movements of these two products were usually made on behalf of members of the Iglessi family, to which the governor of the city of Odessa in the early 19th century Dimitrios Iglesis also belonged.²⁶

The tax regime of Ionian ships entering the Black Sea favored these movements, as the interests of the Ionians coincided with those of the Ottomans and the Russians. According to Kahraman Sakul on 22 August 1799 the Russians and the Ottomans agreed on a new tariff that would increase the tax revenue of the Sublime Porte. Based on this tariff, Ionian ships would be taxed at 6 to 9 %, just like those in Ragusa. From October 1801 the Ionian ships that would participate in the trade of the Black Sea would pay even lower taxes: 3 % for exports and imports and 5 % for those that would trade in the Ottoman territories.²⁷

On the return journey, the vast majority of Septinsular vessels loaded wheat in Odessa. The main receiver of this cargo seems to have been Constantinople (15/44). But only one-fifth of these ships (3/15) had the capital of the Ottoman Empire as final destination. The others called in there to unload part of their cargo, to pay their taxes or to resolve bureaucratic issues that would allow them to continue their journey to other ports. Of these ports the most preferred was Leghorn (12/44), with the main recipient there members of the Palli family, followed by Messina (5/44) which in essence was a stopover for grain shipments destined for Leghorn and Genoa (2).

According to Table 10.4, the Ionian Islands received about the same quantities of wheat as were destined for Leghorn. But the reality is somewhat more complex. This is because the islands were not the final destination of these trips (with just one exception), but a stop over for the transfer of Russian wheat to Leghorn or Genoa. At these stops, the captains and sailors had the opportunity to meet their families, and ships could change

26. Theophilus Proussis, "Demetrios S. Inglezes: Greek Merchant and City Leader of Odessa", *Slavic Review*, 50:3 (1991), pp. 672–679.

27. Kahraman Sakul, "Ottoman Attempts to Control the Adriatic Frontier in the Napoleonic Wars", in A. C. S. Peacock (ed.), *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 268.

crew, load new merchandise, and unload some of the existing cargo, thus contributing to the supply of the islands.

Table 10.4. Destinations of Ionian Ships Carrying Russian Wheat

Destination	Voyages	%	Destination	Voyages	%
Constantinople	15	31.2	Smyrna	1	2
Leghorn	12	25.0	Corfu	1	2
Zakynthos	6	12.5	Cephalonia	1	2
Messina	5	11.3	Aghios Stefanos	1	2
Genoa	2	4.1	Pozzuolo	1	2
Ithaca	2	4.1	Ponza	1	2

Source: General State Archives of Corfu, Septinsular Republic.

It is characteristic that only in 2 of the 28 cases unloaded grain from the Black Sea to an Ionian port. In other words Ionian captains functioned as carriers between international destinations obeying business interests that determined these movements or political constraints, probably associated with the operating conditions of the Ionian State. This could explain the ascertainment and the grievance expressed by the Ionian Senate that although the Septinsular Republic had such a large number of vessels, in the year 1805 Ionian Islands had reached conditions of starvation.

We shall now attempt below to synthesize all the above information, while also making some observations. The Septinsular ships operating in the ports of New Russia, by being able to move with relative ease in the area of the central and eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, served two goals: first the commercialization of agricultural production of the Ionian Islands in markets such as those of the Black Sea ports, which showed great interest in the islands' main products (wine, olive oil, raisins, salt), and second the transfer of Russian wheat to Leghorn, main transit port of this product to Western Europe. Spin-offs of this second goal were the supply of both Constantinople and their homelands, in a manner similar to other Italian or Ottoman vessels which had found the way to the Black Sea.

Focusing on the case of the Ionian Islanders, their entrepreneurial behavior displays many similarities with what was happening during the period of prosperity of Venice.

During these years the Ionian subjects of Venice were loading wheat and other grains and raw materials in harbours on the west coast of Ottoman-ruled Greece and transporting about half of them to their home islands and the other half in Venice.²⁸ The main difference now was that the place of the capital city of Venice was taken by Constantinople, which has become a main administrative centre of reference for the Ionians.

Comparing the mapping of Ionian trade during the early 19th century to that of the Venetian period of the islands, brings to mind the steps followed by Ionian merchant shipping from the 18th century until the period studied here: From the strictly controlled movements during the time of Venetian rule, they passed to the occasional use of the Ottoman flag and the exploitation of incentives offered by the Russians to Christian merchants and ship-owners in the last quarter of the 18th century.

The opening of the Black Sea to the Ionian Islanders and then the establishment of the Septinsular Republic were for them an important school. So they had the opportunity to be trained in markets that were previously virtually inaccessible to them, thus contributing to the linking of the Russian and the Ottoman ports with those of the west coast of the Italian Peninsula.

The developments described here could be seen overall as a gradual progress of Ionian merchant shipping, but also as a necessary step towards the further internationalization of Septinsular maritime enterprises, which was to happen after the arrival of the British.

28. Gerassimos D. Pagratis, *Κοινωνία και Οικονομία στο Βενετικό Κράτος της Θάλασσας: Οι Ναυτιλιακές Επιχειρήσεις της Κέρκυρας (1496–1538)* [Society and Economy. Maritime Enterprises of Corfu (1496–1538)], (Athens: Pedio, 2013), chapter 4.

Chapter 11

The Economic Role of the Greek Community in the Crimean Ports Under the Ottoman Rule and the Decline of the Crimean Ports After the Russian Conquest

Oleksandr Halenko

The famous grain export of the Russian Empire unquestionably was the main factor in development of the port-cities in the Northern Black Sea area in 1774–1914. It was not alone, though. Particularly in the early phase of this period, which was ended by the Treaty of Bucharest of 1812, the Russian Empire was predominantly occupied with the conquest (although conquest stayed forever the primary goal of the its policy). But historians, dealing with the history of the Northern Black Sea area after its conquest by the Russian Empire often see it through the lens of the grain trade.

The Russian historiography of all times clearly saw in the grain trade a flattering proof of Russia's importance in the world. Soviet historians even presented it as an excuse for the conquest, as they drew upon the economic determinism of Karl Marx, who asserted, that Russia's economy (predominantly rural) naturally dictated an access to the Black Sea.¹

Recently Charles King in his special narrative of the Black Sea history connected the grain trade with the decline of the old ports in the Crimean peninsula by what he termed as “the imperatives of geography and strategy”. He argued that being surrounded by the mountains these ports were poorly accessible from inland and in fact they were closer

1. Although this essay was not accessible for the Soviet historians, they often referred to this citation: “It has been said that no great nation has ever existed, or been able to exist, in such an inland position as that of the original empire of Peter the Great; that none has ever submitted thus to see its coasts and the mouths of its rivers torn away from it; that Russia could no more leave the mouth of the Neva, the natural outlet for the produce of Northern Russia, in the hands of the Swedes, than the mouths of the Don, Dnieper, and Bug, and the Straits of Kertch, in the hands of nomadic and plundering Tartars; that the Baltic provinces, from their very geographical con figuration, are naturally a corollary to whichever nation holds the country behind them; that, in one word, Peter, in this quarter, at least, but took hold of what was absolutely necessary for the natural development of his country”, – Karl Marx, *Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Swan Sonnenschein&Co, 1899), p. 87.

connected to the Anatolian ports across the Black Sea. Also he surmised that Russians preferred to build the new ports outside the Crimean peninsula rather than to use the old ones, because of the fear of the Ottoman counter-offensive.² Both arguments are untenable. Firstly, all former Ottoman port-cities, including those situated outside the Crimea, such as Ochakov (ukr. Ochakiv, tr. *Özi*), Kilia (tr. *Kili*), Belgorod (now Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'ky, tr. *Ak-Kerman*), Azov (tr. *Azak*) experienced decline, or at least were no match to the newly-founded (or said to be so) Odessa (tr. *Koca-Bey*), Kherson, Nikolayev, Mariupol, Berdyansk, Taganrog (tr. *Taygan*). Russians also built their principal naval port of Sevastopol (tr. *Ahtiyar*) in the Crimean peninsula. Secondly, mountains do not surround major Crimean ports (Evpatoria (tr. *Gözleve*), Theodosia (tr. *Kefe*), and Kerch). Only two ports of Soudak (tr. *Soğdak*) and Balaklava (tr. *Balıklağı*) may look hidden behind the mountains. Yet they were small and for that reason alone they did not provide conditions, necessary for the grain trade. Still, the port of Soudak since its foundation approximately in the seventh century was well connected not only with the nearby steppe, but even with the Inner Eurasia, which is very well attested by its very name, meaning Sogdian, that is a native of the famous center of international commerce in the Central Asia (around the cities of Bouchara and Samarkand).

The port of Kefe, when it was the colony of the Genoese for two centuries (till 1475), was their main emporium in the commerce with the Eastern Europe and Central Eurasia. The anchorage of Kefe was probably the best on the northern coast of the Black Sea. It also well served the Genoese for export of the bulky commodities, including grain, brought from inland. In fact, it was the export of the local produce, such as grain, skins, wax, salt, which became the lifeblood of the Genoese commerce in Kefe after the slowdown of the export from China and Central Asia in the middle of the fourteenth century. In the end of the same century Kefe was on the peak of economic power and ranked among the largest European cities.³

The international project “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774–1914: Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”, which is sponsoring this conference,

2. Charles King, *The Black Sea: A History*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 162–163.

3. Michel Balard, “Gênes dans l’histoire économique de la Mer Noire (XIIIe–XVe s.)” in *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi II: Deuxième symposium international, Nessebre, 26–30 Mai 1982*, (Sofia, 1988), pp. 86–127.

by bringing under analysis the port-cities of the Russia's Black Sea coast, provides a sound methodological alternative to the general concepts, such as mentioned above economic determinism or "imperatives of geography and strategy". Taking advantage of the opportunity to participate in this project, I would like to suggest in this paper an assessment of the economic role of the Greek population in the port-city of Kefe under the Ottoman rule. This can help to explain the decline of Kefe and perhaps other Crimean ports by the depopulation of these cities and surrounding villages caused by relocation of the Greeks from the Crimean khanate to the Russian Empire. This relocation was conceived by the Russian government and realized by the Russian army corps, stationed in the Crimean khanate under command of General Aleksandr Suvorov in 1778–1779. The Greeks, taken from the Crimea, settled in the small area on the northern coast of the Azov Sea around the recently founded port-city of Mariupol (now Donetsk Region in Ukraine), where they have been staying till present time. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss controversial aspects of this event, although its predominant definition as a mere resettlement (*переселение*) seems purely euphemistic and deceptive. The purpose is to estimate its detrimental effect for the economy of the Crimean ports, which must have become important factor of their subsequent decline and preconditioned foundation of the new ports.

The source for this assessment is the Ottoman tax-register of the province of Kefe, drawn in 1542.⁴ Although it predates the 1778 by more than two centuries, this Ottoman province is not known to undergo any significant political or economical changes, unlike some other provinces, as it belonged to the very isolated area of the Ottoman Empire, which was mainly reserved for provisioning of the imperial capital Istanbul. Nothing prevents from assumption that realities of the mid-16th century were much similar in this corner of the empire to those in 1778, only seven years after the Russian expulsion of the Ottomans from the Crimean peninsula.⁵ At the same time it provides unique possibility to assess the economic activities of various ethnic groups of the population, including that of the Greeks.

4. Its only extant copy is preserved in the Archives of the Pime-Minister of Turkey in Istanbul: Başbakanlık Arşivleri, Tapu ve Tahrir defterleri, No 214.

5. The confidence for such assumption provides my own study of the wine production in this Ottoman province, as its estimations for 1542 turned out comparable to the amounts of wine, reflected in the statistics of the early 20th century. See Oleksander Halenko, "Wine Production, marketing and consumption in the

The data for the register were collected in the following areas of the province: the Southern coast of the Crimean peninsula with the ports in Kefe, Sudak, Balıkklağı and In-Kerman (known before the Ottoman time as *Kalamita*), the port-city of Kerş (Kerch) in the eastern end of the Crimean peninsula, as well as the river Don estuary with the port-city of Azak and the Taman peninsula across the strait of Kerch. This tax-register lists the taxes assessed on each settlement and the tax regulation. Also it contains a list of the tax-payers, identified by their names and affiliation to ethno-religious communities. Although some data, taken from this source, already was exploited in a number of studies of population and economy of this province,⁶ the estimation of the economic role of the Greeks is being undertaken here for the first time.

The list of taxpayers provides a direct evidence of the economic activities, engaged by Greeks, by the way of mentioning occupational titles for individual taxpayers. It reflected division of the population in the Ottoman Empire into ethno-religious communities. The Greeks appear in the list of taxpayers as communities (*cema`at*) or quarters (*mahallat*) of *Rumiyan* (pl., sing. *Rumi* – ‘a Roman’). Appendix 1 list 85 Greek taxpayers, entered in the tax-register together with their occupational titles.

The majority of these Greeks resided in the city of Kefe and the towns on the Crimean coast. Majority of them plied various trades and services, usual for urban settlements and necessary for ports as well. For example, Greeks were attested as tailors, bakers, ironsmiths, shoemakers, butchers. Some of them, such as sailors (1 martoloz), fishermen (2) and porters (5) clearly indicate direct involvement of local Greeks in the

Ottoman Crimea, 1520–1542”, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient (JESHO)*, 47 (4) (2004), pp. 507–547. DOI:10.1163/1568520042467145

6. Mihnea Berindei, Gilles Veinstein, “Règlements de Süleyman Ier concernant le livā’ de Kefe”, *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, XVI (1975), pp. 57–104; Berindei, Veinstein, “La présence ottomane au sud de la Crimée et en mer d’Azov dans la première moitié du xvie siècle”, *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, XX (1979), pp. 389–390; Veinstein, “La population du Sud de la Crimée au début de la domination ottomane”, in *Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, (Paris, A. Maisonneuve, 1980), pp. 227–249; Alan Fisher, “The Ottoman Crimea in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Some Problems and Preliminary Considerations”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, III–IV (1979–1980), pp. 215–226; Yücel Öztürk, *Osmanlı hakimiyetinde Kefe (1475–1600)*, (Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000), p. 570; Halenko, “Les diasporas grecque et arménienne en Crimée ottomane dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle”, in Michel Bruneau, Ioannis Hassiotis, Martine Hovanessian, & Claire Mouradian (eds.), *Arméniens et Grecs en diaspora: approches comparatives: Actes du colloque européen et international organisé à l’École française d’Athènes (4–7 octobre 2001)*, (Athènes, 2007), pp. 107–119.

functioning of the port of Kefe. Merchants, cart-makers, broker and superintendent were professionals, also indispensable for operating the port-city.

It is not surprising to find in the register also locals, who supplied markets of the province with specific local products, such as soap, alcoholic beverages (wine, *boza*, spirit ‘*arak*), ice. Greek villagers engaged in herding (4) and serving as ‘*azabs*. The latter term applied to garrison troops, but also could refer to military guard on the ships.

This list of professions by no means is complete. It was not the purpose of the tax-register to provide the statistic information. The occupational title more often was mentioned, because it was easier to identify those, who recently arrived to the place of the registration by their trade rather than their patronymic, as usually.⁷ This pattern of identification is particularly well illustrated in this case by the fact, that 19 Greeks, nearly every fourth on the list, were registered in the community of the former citizens of Trapezund/Trabzon, perhaps deported from that city. The fact of deportation is reliably conceivable, given that this community of Trabzonians is not detectable in the earlier tax-register from ca 1520.⁸ Conversely, no newcomer appears among the Greek ‘*azabs*, entered into this register, as admission of non-Muslims to the military service, even irregular, most certainly would have required the Ottomans’ confidence, which is hardly expectable in the case of the recently arrived deportees.

Despite its limited representation, this list of professions illustrates involvement of the Greek residents of the Crimean cities in urban services, which were necessary for the functioning ports. In this case the sheer percentage of Greeks in the population of the cities reflect their importance for the operation of the Crimean ports and – proportionally – the detrimental effect of their removal. In Kefe, the share of Greeks, according to this source, reached 18 %, 92 % in Soudak, 64 % in Balıkklağı, 78 % in In-Kerman, 21 % in Kerş.⁹

7. See explanation of this feature in the Ottoman census-taking in Heath Lowry, “Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478”, in *Studies in Deftology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1992), pp. 87–99.

8. See Başbakanlık Arşivleri, Tapu ve Tahrir defterleri, No 370. The published facsimile: *370 Numaralı muhtasebe-i vilayet-i Rum-ili defteri (937/1530)*, (Ankara, 2002). This tax register does not contain the list of tax-payers like the one, which is used in the present study.

9. Halenko, “*Les diasporas grecque et arménienne en Crimée ottomane dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle*”, p. 115.

The removal of 18 % of population of Kefe may look not too grave for the city and its port. However, in 1778 Russians organized removal of important Armenian community as well. Armenians accounted for 36 % of the population in Kefe, according to the tax-register from 1542. Muslims, who constituted about the half of the city population, were also abandoning this city following the annexation of the Crimean Khanate by the Russian Empire in 1783. Thus the city was simply depopulated and degraded right before the beginning of the grain trade. It was simply devastated. Certainly, similarly suffered other ports of the Crimean peninsula, where Greek population was predominant during the Ottoman time.

Rural population of the Southern Crimea in 1542 remained predominantly Greek, as it unquestionably remained by 1778. Although the Ottoman census-takers distinguished in the villages only Muslim and non-Muslim communities, labeling the latter as *gebran* (“non-believers”), the personal names of *gebran* were mostly of Greek origin. There was a significant share of persons, whose name or patronymic or the both were of Turkic origin,¹⁰ but this phenomenon reflected the cultural influence, quite natural in the circumstances of the Ottoman supremacy.

The rural population of three judicial districts of the province, situated on the southern shore of the Crimean peninsula comprised, according to the *defter*, 2351 taxpayers. In the Greek communities these represented the heads of households and the widows. The data on unmarried bachelors (*mücerred*) are not included in this calculation on the ground of their ambiguity, as much as for the fact, that such individuals are believed to be members of the households. Muslims accounted for 286 or 12.1 % of all households, registered in the aforementioned villages.¹¹ This prompts quite obvious conclusion that Greeks supplied the ports of the province with almost all agricultural products.

10. Namely I recognized 873 persons, whose name or patronym, or both, were of Turkic origin. They account for 18.7% of all the registered 4667 members of the communities of Greek Orthodox Christians (Rumiyan) and “non-believers” (*gebran*). I treated this issue in depth in my unpublished paper “Hellenes in the Land of the Cyclops: Language and Identity of the Greek Orthodox Community in the Post-Mongol Crimea”, presented at the weekly seminar of the Center for Hellenic Studies, Princeton University on March 7, 2003.

11. Compare to 13 % of Muslims in the villages, as estimated G. Veinstein on the basis of the limited selection of data, concerning only 42 villages: Veinstein, *La population du Sud de la Crimée au début de la domination ottoman*, p. 233.

The tax-regulation of the province of Kefe, included in the tax-register, provides a reliable picture of the products, local and imported, which were delivered to the markets of the two main port-cities of the province, Kefe and Kerş. Imported products arrived from the Crimean Khanate, with the Tatar Gate being obviously the point of entry for them in Kefe. Otherwise they were shipped across the sea from the Caucasus or Anatolia. In view of the excellent study of G. Veinstein and M. Berindei, who attempted to identify the products of agriculture and husbandry, delivered by the local producers, it makes sense only to name them. The fresh fish was abundant in the north of the Black Sea and in the Asov Sea, whence it was brought to Kefe. The fish was caught in the harbor of Kefe itself. Cattle came to the city both from the ‘country of Tatars’, but also from the peasants of the province. Grain, peas, lentils, vegetables were supplied by local peasants and Tatars. Fruits and vegetables were delivered from the coastal villages and the boats served as a unit for taxation. Wine and other alcoholic beverages traditionally were in demand and they were produced locally in the province too.¹²

Many local products were exported to the inner provinces of the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere, although the data of the register do not allow clear cut observation.

The data, presented above, demonstrate that Greek population of the Ottoman Crimea played fundamental role in providing the port-cities of the Crimean peninsula, notably the largest one like Kefe and Kerch, with products and services, indispensable for maintaining urban and transporting activities. Removal of Greeks, initiated and realized by the Russian Empire in 1778–1779, most certainly made irreparable harm to the economy of those ports and ultimately contributed to their incapability to meet the requirements, which emerged with the development of the grain trade few years later.

12. Berindei, Veinstein, *Règlements de Süleyman Ier concernant le livā' de Kefe*, pp. 64–68.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 11

Appendix 1. The Greek Taxpayers, Entered in the Tax-register of the Ottoman Province of Kefe (1542) Together with Their Occupation Titles.

Place of registration	Text of the entry
Cart-maker (<i>macarcı</i>)	
Sogudaq, mahalle-i Baba Petqa veled-i Agab	Qosta macarci
Distiller ('<i>araqiye</i>ci')	
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyen	Lefter 'araqiye
Garrison troops ('<i>azab</i>')	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Mankenar	Server 'azab
Qutlaq	'azab Sultan
Sogudaq, mahalle-i Baba Todor veled-i Agab	Todorqa 'azab
Sogudaq, mahalle-i Baba Qutlubek veled Anasti	Dimitri 'azab
Sogudaq, mahalle-i Baba Qutlubek veled-i Anasti	Paraskeva 'azab
Quri Uzen	'Azab Hrisul
Kiçi Uzen	'azab Haraci
Aluşta, cemaat-i gebran	'Azab Bayo
Mangub, unbelivers (gebran-i nefis-i şehir)	Todor v Hristod
Mangub, unbelivers (gebran-i nefis-i şehir)	'Azab, 'azab
Qoqolos	'an Mangub amed Yorgi 'azab
Inkerman, mahalle-i Baba Niqola	'Azab Alobek
Dere, belonging (tab'i-i) Yalta	'Azab Yova
Dere, belonging (tab'i-i) Yalta	Istefan, 'azab
Qurzuf	Yorgi v Yani, 'azab
Qurzuf	'Azab Yorgi
Qurzuf	Yani, 'azab
Fishermen (<i>balıqçı</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Iskender	Kiryaqos Balıqçı
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyen	Todoris v Hristodulos, Balıqçı
Grocers (<i>baqqal</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Mankenar	Izerbek Pasqal
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Esenbek	Baqqal Yançı
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Esenbek	Baba baqqal v Devletiki
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Balıqçı	Baqqal Sotire
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Balıqçı	Baqqal Mihaya çime?

Place of registration	Text of the entry
Barber (<i>berber</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyân	Todoris v Yanaki, berber
Knife-makers (<i>bıçaqçı</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyân	Danil Bıçaqçı
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyân	Danil v Qalyoros, Bıçaqçı
Tanner (<i>boyacı</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Balıqçı	Minebek Boyacı
Boza-maker (<i>bozacı</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Taştaban	Mihail Bozacı
Ice-seller (<i>buzcu</i>)	
Muskomya Buzurg	Buzcu Qutlubek
Wine-sellers/producers (<i>çaqırcı</i>)	
Muskomya Kuçuk	çaqırcı Todor
Faros and Sahtik	Çagırcı Sava
Suren	Çaqırcı Qaqoç v Vasil
Çerkes Kirman	Qaqoç nam-i diger çaqırcı Qalyan
Çerkes Kirman	Qostandin v Çaqırcı
Inkerman, mahalle-i Baba Niqola	Çaqırcı Todor
Inkerman, mahalle-i Baba Mihal	Çaqırcı Qalyan
Çekmenci (tailor of outerwear)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Mankenar	Hristofor Çekmenci
Ironsmiths	
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyân	Lefter v Aleksı, çilingir
Inkerman, mahalle-i Baba Vasil	amed ‘an Kefe Niqola Demirci
Inkerman, mahalle-i Baba Vasil	Biy-Bane, demirci
Shepherds (<i>çoban</i>)	
Manastır	Niqola Çoban
Manastır	Qosta v Yani çoban damad-i Niqola
Balıqlagu, mahalle-i Baba Qostandin	Çoban Aleksı
Qurzuf	Mitro, çoban Duzana
Ambulant merchants (<i>çumaq</i>)?	
Aluşta, cemaat-i gebran	Sadi Çumaq
Lanbad Buzurg ve Kuçuk	Çumaq Todor
Broker (<i>dellal</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i ‘Ali Yüzbaşı	Pasqal Dellal

Place of registration	Text of the entry
Superintendent (<i>emin</i>)	
Mangub, gebran-i nefis-i şehir	Todor Emin
Bakers (<i>habbaz</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Vasil v Habbaz Kiryaqos
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Pandazi v Habbaz Kiryaqos
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Hristoforis v Habbaz Kiryaqos
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Qostandin v Fotinas Habbaz
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Yorgi v Todoris, habbaz, alçaq
Azaq, Qal'a-i Hak, cemaat-i gebran-i rumiyan	Re'is Züluf, Habbaz
Porters (<i>hammal</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Toros	Miqal Hammal
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Esenbek	Sir hammal v Qaragöz
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Esenbek	Todorqa Hammal
Kefe, cemaat-i 'Ali Yüzbaşı	Lefter Damad-i Horoz hammal
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Mankenar	Hristofor b Nikita, hammal
Tailors (<i>hayyat</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Paraskeva Nerod v Vasil, hayyat
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Grigor v Qostandin, Hayyat
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Laboz v Yorgi, Hayyat
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Lefter digger, Hayyat
Makers/sellers of <i>helva</i>?	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Toros	Yorgi Helve
Big merchants (<i>hoca</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Harosb	Papaç Hvaca
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Vasil	Hvaca Esen Niqola
Suren	Hvaca Yanul Trabzoni
Sailor (<i>martoloz</i>)	
Qoca Salası	Yosif Martoloz
Inn-keepers (<i>meyhaneci</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Paraskeva v Aslanbek Meyhaneci
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Vasil meyhaneci
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Kiryaqos v Andriqos, Meyhaneci
Foti Salası	Sotire v Qoçmar
Azaq, Qal'a-i Hak, cemaat-i gebran-i rumiyan	Meyhaneci Quciger

Place of registration	Text of the entry
Candle-maker/seller (<i>mumcu</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Vasil	Dimitri Mumci birader-i Bayo
Forester (<i>ormanci</i>)?	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Mankenar	Ormanci Kiryaqos
Shoemaker (<i>papuççı</i>)	
Uğri Qosta	Niqola Papuççı
Butcher (<i>qassab</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Harosb	Paraskeva Qassab
Kefe, cemaat-i Trabzoniyan	Pandazi, veled-i Sava, <i>damad-i</i> qassab Pavlos
Makers/sellers of soap (<i>sabuni</i>)	
Kefe, cemaat-i Rumiyan Toros	Saranda Sabun
Balıqlagu, mahalle-i Baba Nikita	Qostandin Sabuni
Vikne nam-i diger Papa Balkez	Sabun Tak-Yariq
Merchant (<i>tacir</i>)	
Bartenit and Gurgulat Degimenkoy	Tacir Qısqancı

Appendix 2. Households of Muslims and Greeks in the Crimean Villages of the Province of Kefe, Entered in the Tax-register from 1542

Village	Muslims	Greek house-holds	Greek widows
District (<i>kaza</i>) of Kefe			
kariye-i Tay-Beg, cema'at-i Çerkesan	30	0	0
cema'at-i müsülmanan der Çair-i Saru-Göl	18	0	0
kariye-i Sultan Salası	16	0	0
District (<i>kaza</i>) of Sudak			
Qozlar	4	9	1
Qopsen	10	9	3
Toqluq	0	13	1
Ay-Yorin	0	37	3
Arpadi	0	7	0
Duvaq	0	9	0
Şima	1	15	0
Qutlaq	3	64	13
Vorin	10	15	4
Qapshor	0	39	6
Uskut	0	82	3
Çölmekçi	0	0	0
Manastır	0	43	2
Quri Uzen	1	91	10
Ulu Uzen	0	53	1
Demurci	5	44	2
Gurbaqlı	5	25	4
Kiçi Uzen	0	33	10
District (<i>kaza</i>) of Mangub			
Albati ma 'Ay-Todor	10	8	0
Adım Çoqrağı	0	1	0
Kirmançuq	0	3	0
Gavri	8	15	1
Suren	0	38	5
Obi	1	3	3
Marqur	4	11	1
Yanço	0	3	0
Qoqolos	0	11	0
Bocagan nam diger Çölmekçi	3	16	3

Village	Muslims	Greek house-holds	Greek widows
Muskomya-i Kuçuk	3	32	7
Baydar	0	21	4
Savatiki	0	13	1
Qılındı	1	12	1
Qamra	0	26	8
Hayto	0	49	5
Nihora nam-i diger Qadı	80	27	0
Taş Iskele	1	18	1
Alubka	3	28	3
Mishor	5	46	4
Has Petri	0	21	4
Faros ma' Sahtik	1	49	3
Qarano	8	16	1
Çerkes Kirman	0	44	7
Bahadur	0	41	4
Uğri Qosta	6	41	0
Tulı	0	29	1
Çirgona	7	25	5
Muskomya-i Buzurg	1	30	6
Limena	6	18	2
Semyos	0	31	1
Sikita	0	49	1
Şulı	4	0	0
Sotire	4	0	0
Qoca Salası	7	55	6
Vikne nam-i diger Papa Balkez	2	72	10
Foti Salası	0	35	10
Yalta	1	57	2
Dere, tab'i-i Yalta	0	39	2
'Avtiki, tab'i-i Yalta	0	33	2
Marsanda, tab'i-i Yalta	0	14	0
Qurzuf	4	110	18
Bartenit ma' Gurgulat Degimenkoy	6	87	4
Lanbad-i Buzurg ve Kuçuk	7	57	7
Kikineyoz	0	34	3
Total	286	1856	209

Chapter 12

Crimean Port-Cities on a Race of Export Grain Trade: Infrastructure, External Trade and Shipping. Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Theodosia (Second Half of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century)

Anna Sydorenko

Introduction

During the era of industrial revolution, the Southern region of Russia (nowadays Ukraine) developed into one of the world's richest grain-producing areas geared towards in the Western European market. One of the main features of the countries experiencing industrial revolution was the import of raw materials for their developing industry and of foodstuffs for their constantly growing urban population. The nutritional needs of Western Europe were thus partly covered by Russian cereals thanks to Black Sea's opening up to international trade and shipping. The gradual liberalization of European maritime trade after the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts, as well as of other protectionist measures, led to the increase of grain exports from Russian ports. It seems that the openness of international trade in the first half of the 19th century was not sufficient for the development of Crimean ports and their inclusion in the European maritime trade, as it was the case for Odessa and Taganrog ports. It was at the second half of the 19th century that this integration was made possible.

The three main Crimean port-cities, Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia, during the second half of the 19th century were trying to rise from the ashes of the Crimean War. The agricultural economy of the peninsula had been irreparably affected. Landowners and peasants were selling their land for nothing, leaving Crimea, as there was an acute shortage of food. Evpatoria and Sevastopol had been demolished, Theodosia had been severely damaged. The state benefits and compensations could not regenerate the economy of peninsula; it was clear that the Crimean economy needed more drastic measures. The construction of the land transport system and the growth of the external trade became the

main development strategies for the peninsula. The new path of Crimean development was a result of the shift of the imperial policy towards modernization and transformation of the empire's economy and society. The technological changes in the land transport system, a result of the railroad network construction in Southern Russia and Crimea, expanded greatly the grain-producing hinterland of the peninsula's ports. As a consequence, the ports' existing infrastructure were partly improved or new infrastructure were constructed. The above reasons together with the advantage of faster and cheaper maritime communications, thanks to the transition from sail to steam, created the ideal conditions for the ports of Crimea to emerge as important Southern Russian export ports. In the present chapter I will firstly show how the infrastructure of each port supported or not its economic development. Then the analysis will focus on the export trading activity and shipping of the ports and the ways each one responded to the local and international developments and changes.

Ports Infrastructure

Evpatoria: a Small Port Looking for Economic Growth

The commercial port of Evpatoria began operating a few years after Crimea's annexation to the Russian Empire, and was granted the status of *porto-franco* in 1798.¹ It developed in two directions: as a small exporting port during the whole 19th century, involved mainly in grain trade. At the same time, in the last quarter of the century it developed as a tourist resort, due to its thermal springs.² Its role as a small exporting port was defined by two factors. Firstly, Evpatoria's hinterland with grain cultivation that supplied the exports was limited to the western and central part of the peninsula. Secondly, there was no railroad connection of the port to southern Russia's crop-rich hinterland.³

1. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXV (1798–1799), № 18373, pp. 64–68.

2. For more information on the city's development as a tourist destination, see: 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], (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ionian University, Corfu, 2017), chapter six.

3. Analysis about Crimean and Russian South hinterland see at: Anna Sydorenko, "The Crimean Port-Cities: Port-Hinterland Connections. The Dynamics of Change (19th – Beginning of the 20th Century)", *International Journal of Maritime History*, vol. 33, no. 1 (August 2021), pp. 668–689.

Evpatoria port is situated in Crimea's western coast. While approaching from the northwest, one comes across the homonymous cape on which there was an iron lighthouse, indicating the entrance to the city's bay. Passing the bay towards east led to the Karantinniy bay, which demarcates the port's bay from the west and where the quarantine buildings were located. The water depth in the western side of the bay ranged from 4.88 to 49 metres, suitable for mooring of ships with low draft. The big ocean-going ships moored in the eastern part of the port, approximately 850 metres away from shore, where the water depth reached 7–7.6 metres.⁴

Evpatoria port did not freeze, so the navigation was not discontinued at any time throughout the year, a fact that offered the port a comparative advantage over the ports of the Sea of Azov, Odessa, and Kherson. However, the big ships that anchored offshore faced major issues because of the south-westerly winds. As the engineer Konstantin Skalkowski informs us “not even one storm or tempest has come and gone without a few shipwrecks or damages in the ships”.⁵ The wind problem was due to the fact that Evpatoria natural port was an open type bay, which wasn't protected by piers. As a result, sometimes the ships could not dock and unload their cargo or passengers. They had to bypass Evpatoria and head to other, more protected ports of the area, such as Odessa or Sevastopol. Regarding the merchant ships, the disadvantage of a port unprotected from the harsh weather conditions had a severe negative impact on the city's trade, making the port uncompetitive and costly.⁶

The port did not have pilots and the ships used maps and lighthouses to enter the bay. After a ship had passed the quarantine process, the role of the pilot was assumed by the customs officers, who would lead the ship to the piers or the anchorage by indicating the anchoring place.⁷ At the end of the 19th century the port facilities only consisted of a few piers, two warehouses, the customs office, and the quarantine. In 1905, the port had nine wooden piers: one belonged to the Customs Office, one to the Russian Transport and

4. Vladislav Rómmel, *Материалы для описания русских коммерческих портов и истории их сооружения* [Essays on the Description of the Russian Commercial Ports and the History of Their Construction], vol. 27: Dzharylhach bay, Evpatoria, Sevastopol, (St. Petersburg, 1899), p. 80.

5. Konstantin Skalkowski, *Русский торговый флот и срочное пароходство на Чёрном и Азовском морях* [The Russian Trade Fleet and the Regular Services in the Black and Azov Seas], (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 170; DAARK, fond 369, opys 1, sprava 734, and fond 369, opys 1, sprava 769.

6. DAARK, fond 681, opys 1, sprava 733, fol. 3.

7. DAARK, fond 681, opys 2, sprava 292, fol. 2 verso.

Insurance Company (T.I.Co), and one to the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (known as ROPiT), and – each one of them was equipped with two sets of rails to transport the cargo aboard the ships. The remaining five piers belonged to the local merchants and to foreign exporting houses, such as Martin Dreyfus, Waller, Pambulov, and to the Karaite timber merchant, Gelelovich. There was one more pier for supplying ships with petroleum that belonged to the local Karaite merchant, Arabatzhi. Moreover, apart from the piers mentioned above, inside the port's cove, spreading along 213 metres to the west and east of the port, there were more piers which belonged to private companies and on which took place the loading and unloading of ships that carried mostly salt and grains.⁸

The port did not have any other mechanism or equipment to facilitate the transporting process, which often became difficult, as mentioned above, due to the weather conditions. The goods exported were burdened with multiple transshipment costs: transport of the goods from the warehouses to the piers, loading from the piers to the *lotikas* (light sailing ships), transport to the ships with *lotikas* and transshipment from the *lotikas* to the ships. This process was time consuming and expensive; in total the additional charge reached 3.5 to 4 kopecks per 1 *pood*.⁹ There were only two warehouses at the port and they belonged to the ROPiT and T.I.Co. The rest of the grain warehouses were spread across the city and their total capacity was 98,280 tons.¹⁰

As we saw above, the absence of port infrastructure and protected bay combined with the absence of a railroad and good land roads led to increased expenses of transport, ship loading and costly fares. The grain merchants of Evpatoria were finding it more and more difficult to compete the businessmen of the other ports of Crimea and Southern Russia. The imperative need to solve the problems was expressed through a series of efforts to create a properly equipped port and to construct a railroad to connect the port with the rest of the empire's railroad network. The proposals for the improvement of the facilities were always

8. DAARK, fond 681, opys 2, sprava 292, fol. 2; *Статистический обзор железных дорог и внутренних водных путей России с приложением карт и графических изображений* [Statistical Review of the Railroads and the Internal Aquatic Roads of Russia, Maps and Graphical Displays], (St. Petersburg: Ministry of Transport, 1900), p. 20G.

9. The additional charge is not accurate, due to the authorities' inability to collect the right information. Rómmel, *Essays on the Description...*, vol. 27, p. 102.

10. DAARK, fond 681, opys 1, sprava 579, fol. 12; Yulii Yanson, *Крым. Его хлебопашество и хлебная торговля* [Crimea. Arable Farming and Grain Trade], (St. Petersburg, 1870), p. 28.

connected with the construction of a railroad. At that point it was obvious that without expanding the hinterland, the port's traffic could not be significantly improved, but also that the expensive construction of port facilities from scratch would not be funded by the state treasury without a guaranteed return to the investment. That only in April 1915 that the construction of a railroad line to connect Evpatoria to the rest of Russia began and was completed a few months later, in December 1915. Indeed, the railroad had mostly strategic role for the peninsula, but also for the rest of the empire as a whole. However, the plans for converting the city into a tourist resort had also been taken into account.¹¹

Sevastopol: in Between a Main Commercial Port and Naval Base

The military and commercial history of Sevastopol port is intertwined for more than two centuries, from the city's founding to the present day. The city's and its bays' geographic characteristics and location made it of a prime importance. Two years after the first Russian warships anchored into Sevastopol's bay in the beginning of 1784, the decision to build the admiralty, the fort, and the military port was made, at the same time that Catherine the Great decided to grant the city the *porto-franco* status. As a result, the naval base and the commercial port developed along each other.¹² A few years later, the port's development was initially interrupted by the hostilities in the Black Sea, and later by Sevastopol's declaration as the Black Sea main naval base, on 23 February 1804.¹³ Up until the Crimean War the repeated pleas by Sevastopol merchants and military agents for the creation of an

11. Aleksei Senin, "Евпатория и железнодорожные проекты начала XX в." [Evpatoria and the Railroad Plans in the Beginning of the 20th Century], *Uchenye zapiski Tavricheskogo natsional'nogo universiteta im. V. I. Vernadskogo, Seriya "Istoricheskie nauki"*, 24 (63):1 (2011), pp. 153–162.

12. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXII (1784–1788), № 15935, pp. 50–51.

13. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVII (1802–1803), № 21039, pp. 1015–1019; PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXVIII (1804–1805), № 21171, p. 148.

exporting commercial port were turned down by the authorities.¹⁴ Things changed after the Crimean War, which demolished both the city and the port.¹⁵

Russia's low economic growth rate, and Alexander II's (1855–1881) decision to turn to internal politics and reforms, combined with the Treaty of Paris (1856) which turned the Black Sea into a neutral zone that actually closed down Sevastopol naval base, also defined the city's growth as an important external commercial port in the following years. Its reconstruction was realised slowly, mostly due to the lack of funding, if we consider the range of works that needed to be done. In the beginning of 1860, the authorities realised that rebuilding the city could not be done only through state funding. The only solution for the city's reconstruction and growth was to attract merchants and private funds and connect them to the global market by supporting an export oriented commercial port.

For the development of the commercial port and the city, apart from geostrategic reasons, it was decided to construct a railway line which would connect the port and the peninsula with the railway network of the southern region. We need to point out that the first plans and concessions to the right of the construction a railroad line were put forward already since 1856; however its construction began only in 1871 and was completed in 1875.¹⁶ In 1863, the 1st class customs office began operating, followed by the quarantine in 1867.¹⁷ According to the Russian pre-revolutionary and Soviet historiography the starting date of operation for the exporting commercial port was 1875, but recent studies have shown that the port opened in 1867, following the quarantine's start of service.¹⁸ However, the important increase of the export trade is noted as late as 1875, when

14. For more information about the proposals see *Севастополю 200 лет, 1783–1983: Сборник документов и материалов* [Sevastopol is 200 Years Old, 1783–1983: Collection of Documents and Materials], (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1983), pp. 33–34; D. P. Shevyakova, “Севастопольский торговый порт. История. Возможности и реальности (вторая половина XIX – начало XX века”, [Sevastopol Commercial Port. History. Potential and Reality (Second Half of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century)], in Valerii Krest'annikov (ed.), *Севастополь: взгляд в прошлое: сборник научных статей сотрудников Государственного архива г. Севастополя* [Sevastopol: a Look into the Past: Collection of Articles by Archivists of the State Archives of Sevastopol], (Sevastopol, 2006), pp. 85–87.

15. Only 14 buildings remained in the city. Pavel Nadinskii, *Очерки по истории Крыма* [Essays on History of Crimea], part 1, (Simferopol: Krymizdat, 1951), p. 166.

16. RGIA, fond 446, opis 26, delo 18, reference 76.

17. PSZRI, Col. 2, Vol. XXXVIII (1863), № 40225, Sec. 2, pp. 176–177; DAOO, fond 1, opys 140, sprava 54, fols. 61–70.

18. *Sevastopol is 200 Years Old*, p. 62; Shevyakova, *Sevastopol Commercial Port*, pp. 85–87.

Sevastopol railroad opened. Grains were now transported from Southern Russia's deeper hinterland; Sevastopol did not have its own productive hinterland. The connection with the railway has formed Sevastopol as Crimea's main exporting gate.

Sevastopol is situated at the southwestern coast of the peninsula. Across the whole coastline around the city stretch natural, tooth-like and well protected bays. The Yuzhnyi bay lies on the south approach to the port it was decided that the commercial port should be built there, so the eastern part of the coastline of the bay was to be conceded for trade activities, and the western to remain as it was, for military purposes.¹⁹ The port in question was considered the empire's best natural deep bay, as it permeates far into the mainland, creating a bay protected from the winds and currents. Moreover, the most important advantage of Sevastopol port is that it never freezes – as a result, the loading and unloading of goods and the ships' navigation is feasible the whole year round.

The entrance to the port was defined by two capes; Nikolaevskii bay at the western entrance, and Pavlovskii bay at the eastern. At the eastern side were located the military storehouses, the admiralty building, the ROPiT and the customs office pier, as well as the latter's buildings. Then, the trade piers that belonged to the City's Administration were situated all the way to the peak of the inlet. The piers were distinguished into two main categories; piers for unloading the imported products and piers for loading the grains. All the trade piers were wooden and tin padded. Thirty to thirty-five ships could load and unload cargo at the same time in the port.²⁰

Also, eight three storey grain warehouses made by stone were lined up along the whole eastern coastline of Sevastopol port, with a total capacity that surpassed 16,380 tons; they belonged exclusively to the City's Administration and were rented by civilians.²¹ Each storehouse was connected to the railroad's central line with railroads, something that reduced the cost and the time needed for loading and unloading cargo. In 1890 the total charge of the transshipments ranged between 2.77 and 3.75 kopecks per 1 *pood*.

19. DAOO, fond 1, opys 140, sprava 54, fol. 70.

20. Rómmel, *Essays on the Description...*, vol. 27, pp. 147–148, 151, 153, 155.

21. The grain warehouses in questions belonged to the City's Administration, because the latter, in the framework of the creation of a commercial port, provided for their construction by funding them from their state treasury, through the Ministries of Transports and Finance. RGIA, fond 1284, opis 69 (1875), delo 370, fol. 7 verso.

Furthermore, other grain warehouses were spread out in the city, three of which were connected to the port by a railroad. The city's storehouses' capacity reached 1,801.8 tons. In addition, the grains were also deposited in open spaces along the port's coastline as well as in temporary iron storehouses, because the room in the warehouses was not enough. The average storing capacity of those two storage methods ranged between 32,769 and 40,950 tons. As the exporters characteristically said, storing the grains in the open spaces and in the iron storehouses was "the curse of Sevastopol commercial port". The reason for that is that the grains in those spaces were stored in sacks, which meant that the grain needed to be ventilated in order not to go bad. So, the grain had to be emptied from the sacks and then put back. Considering the enormous quantities involved, it is easy to understand how time-consuming and costly that process was.²²

The lack of storage space and of commercial activities' spaces in the port's coastline was also the biggest problem for the development of its commercial activities, since almost half of the grain cargoes were loaded on the ships straight out from the wagons. And because a big part of the grains was directed to Switzerland and Italy, where the best quality grains were sent, the exporters were forced to complete the sorting and cleaning process at the places of purchase and not at the warehouses or the port. These were the restricting factors for the increase of exports from Sevastopol, which became increasingly unable to handle the growing volume of grain cargoes arriving at the port.²³

Sevastopol commercial port ended having a short history of only 29 years, since the authorities decided to shut it down for the trading ships in 1896. Although at first it had been decided that the trade and the military port would co-exist, five years after 1885 when the naval base was transferred from Nikolayev to the military port, the Minister of Shipping made a new decision, according to which the commercial port was to be transferred from Sevastopol to Theodosia.²⁴

22. According to the experts on the subject it was impossible to calculate the additional cost for the storage in question. Mikhail Fyodorov, *Хлебная торговля в главнейших русских портах и Кёнигсберге. Доклад съезду представителей железных дорог II группы* [Grain Trade in the Main Russian Ports and in Königsberg. Report to the Congress of 2nd Group Railroad Representatives], (Moscow, 1888), pp. 64–65.

23. Rómmel, *Essays on the Description...*, vol. 27, p. 161–164, "Sevastopol", *Taganrogskii Vestnik*, no 138 (26 November 1886), pp. 2–3.

24. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 1113, fol. 2 verso; Fyodor Erantsev, *Доклад севастопольского городского головы по вопросу об изменениях в судьбе севастопольской портовой деятельности*

To conclude, we can see that Sevastopol commercial port shut down at the apex of its development (see Diagram 12.1). On the one hand the government and the military agents believed that the co-existence of a trade and a military port was not possible. However, on the other hand, they had achieved their initial goal; namely the reconstruction and development of the city, by opening it up to trade and then shutting it down after having it re-established a major naval base. Finally, the state authorities managed to revive the city and construct the exporting port. The city's population was increased by eight times during the thirty years of the commercial port's operation, from 5,747 people in 1864 the total number of population reached 47,781 people in 1894. The number of buildings also vastly increased forty years after the end of the Crimean War: from 14 buildings that remained after the end of the Crimean War, to 3,271 stone buildings in 1894.

Theodosia: Crimea's Main Exporting Grain Port

The imperial authorities' plans for restoring Theodosia's glorious past as a great Genoese commercial port-city began right after Crimea's annexation to the Russian Empire. Under 1784 decree of Catherine the Great, Theodosia along with Kherson and Sevastopol was declared an "open" port offering privileges to the foreign traders that wished to conduct business in the aforementioned cities.²⁵ In 1787, Emperor Paul I (1796–1801) granted the *porto-franco* status to Theodosia for a period of thirty years. However, this effort did not flourish; Theodosia stayed an open port for only a year and a half. Up until the end of the 19th century the city showed minimal development, mostly due to the small trade that it conducted with the opposite coast of the Ottoman Empire.²⁶

[Report of the Mayor of Sevastopol on the Issue of Changes of the Sevastopol Port Activity], (Sevastopol, 1890); idem, *Севастополь или Феодосия?* [Sevastopol or Theodosia?], (Sevastopol 1890); Ivan Vyshnegradskii, Ministry of Finance, *Соображения по избранию в Крыму места для коммерческого порта* [Thoughts on the Selection of a Place for the Commercial Port in Crimea], (St. Petersburg, 1890).

25. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXII (1784–1788), № 15935, pp. 50–51.

26. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXV (1798–1799), № 18373, pp. 64–68. For more information on the reasons the *porto-franco* status failed in Theodosia and on the city's course of development until 1895, see Yuliya Pospelova, *Становление внешней торговли России через Азовские и Черноморские порты в последней четверти XVIII – начале XIX века* [The Formation of Russia's Foreign Trade Through the Azov and Black Sea Ports in the Last Quarter of the 18th – Early 19th Century], (Ph.D. thesis, Moscow State Regional University, Moscow, 2012), pp. 56–62; Vasilii Vinogradov, *Феодосия. Исторический очерк* [Theodosia. History Essay], (Theodosia: Art-Life, 2011), pp. 105–136; Pavel Sumarokov, *Путешествие по*

In 1895, as mentioned above, the trade exporting port was transferred from Sevastopol to Theodosia. The port of Theodosia was connected with the Lozovaya – Sevastopol railroad line and through it to the south railway network of the Russian empire. In 1891, together with the railroad construction, the construction of the port's infrastructure had begun and both were completed in 1895. Theodosia's port infrastructure had been constructed almost exclusively to serve the export grain trade. The port served Theodosia's steppe grain producing hinterland, as well as the grain producing regions across the South railroads reaching the city of Kursk.²⁷

Theodosia's port is situated in the so-called "corner" formed from Kerch Peninsula's southern coast and Crimea's eastern coastline. The western part of the bay is enclosed by the Theodosia bay in the south, creating an anchorage protected from all the winds, which does not freeze in winter. A protective pier was constructed on the eastern side, on top of which a lighthouse was erected.²⁸

When the necessary dredging operations for the bay of Theodosia were completed, the port's aquatic area covered at 300 square miles and had a depth of 7 metres. To the west, the bay was protected from the Shirokiy mole, where the railroads terminated and where many piers stretched. At 107 metres alongside its outer side, seagoing vessels with a maximum draft of seven metres were docking; these ships were mostly loaded with bulk cargoes. The temporary grain warehouses were situated next to the piers and the imported products were usually piled up at the open spaces. An anchoring pier for seagoing ships with a maximum draft of eight metres, as well as for the ROPiT ships, was located at the end of the sea wall along with one of the latter's grain warehouses. Russian Transport and Insurance Company (T.I.Co) ships and I. G. Drevitskii's Shipping Company ships anchored at the inner part of the harbour.

Next came the so-called "oblique" pier; the western pier and a part of the southern pier – 640 metres in total – which was used exclusively for the anchoring of big seagoing ships that transported grains. The second part of the southern pier was adapted mainly for the anchoring

всему Крыму и Бессарабии в 1799 году [A Journey Throughout Crimea and Bessarabia in 1799], (Simferopol: Business-Inform, 2012), pp. 82–90.

27. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 1113, fol. 2 verso; *Контракт на работы по устройству Феодосийского порта, 16-го сентября 1891 года* [Contract for the Construction of Theodosia Port, 16 September 1891], (St. Petersburg: Ministry of Transport, 1891), pp. 1–71.

28. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 945, fols. 5–5 verso.

of coastal ships and sailing ships carrying charcoal, construction materials and timber. Smaller vessels were anchoring at the inlet of the bay that stretched until the protective pier to the east, since the waters reached six metres in depth. ROPiT also owned a wooden pier on that spot. Fourteen ships could be loaded and unloaded at the same time in the port, much less than in any other Crimean port. Since entering the port was an easy task, the navigation was carried out by only one pilot who took orders from the port's director and the Port's Administration, at a fee of twenty-five to thirty-five rubles paid by the ship captain.

The terrestrial part of the port was a single continuous area of land, which had been backfilled during its construction. This was the area where the administrative buildings, the grain warehouses and the companies' offices were located. There were many railroad shunts on the port's northern side. The customs office was located at the southern part of the port. The parts of the port that had no buildings were usually used to temporarily store grains, construction materials, charcoal, and cotton, since the warehouses located at the port and in the city were often unable to cover the increasing needs of the commercial traffic.²⁹

Theodosia's port was built in order to become an exporting grain gate and, for this purpose, a total of twenty-six grain warehouses were constructed in different periods, twenty-three of which belonged to the Ministry of Transport.³⁰ Twenty one of the grain warehouses were made of iron and were temporary; however, they were used for over fifteen years. The total warehouse capacity did not exceed 19,656 tons. The warehouses were rented to the merchants and the exporters. Moreover, the Ministry of Transport owned two silos made of stone, with a total capacity of 11,466 tons, of which only a part was rented out for storing grain. Moreover, there was a four-storey silo in the port, with a total capacity of 2,359 tons that belonged to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and which had grain lifting mechanisms, although due to their bad condition they were not fully used. Furthermore, the same Ministry owned two stone warehouses located at the western pier.

The unsuitability of the port's state grain warehouses, as well as the lack of privately owned silos, was creating serious problems to the exporters, who were repeatedly and in vain asking for a solution. All merchant and businessmen requests to build privately owned grain warehouses within the borders of the port were repeatedly denied by the Ministry of

29. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 1113, fols. 4–11.

30. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 1113, fol. 7.

Transport, which opposed the presence of the private sector within the port's borders. It is obvious that the Ministry did not want to lose the income from renting out its property. This resulted to the creation of a network of small privately owned grain warehouses in various parts of the city.³¹

It should also be noted that the port had a well organised and fully equipped quarantine, infrastacture that began operating in 1887. Since 1899 it was Southern Russia's main quarantine station for ships that came from port-cities where plague had been recorded. In this case, the ships, irrespective of their destination, had to go through Theodosia's quarantine and then continue their journey. Apart from the usual inspection of incoming ships, all the ships carrying pilgrims from Mecca that were returning to Russia also had to go through Theodosia's quarantine.³²

From all the information presented above, it is obvious that the port was constructed and developed its infrastructure according to a specific plan to serve the development of the exporting grain trade. Up until the prevalence of the Soviet regime, no other investment on the development of the infrastructure abrooped place in order to further increase the volume of the exported grains.

External Trade, Shipping and Synthesis of Grain Export Trade of the Three Crimean Port-cities

Before dealing with the Crimean sea trade and maritime shipping, it is necessary to remind that not all the ports of Crimea were open to external trade during the 1856–1914 period. The ports opened and closed according to governmental decisions taken on geopolitical or financial reasons. Although Evpatoria operated as an export port during that period, Sevastopol only operated in this capacity in the time span from 1867 to 1895, according to official law provisions. As we can see in Diagram 12.1 Sevastopol's significant exporting activity only starts in 1876 and continues, despite a notable drop, after 1895. The port of Theodosia remains

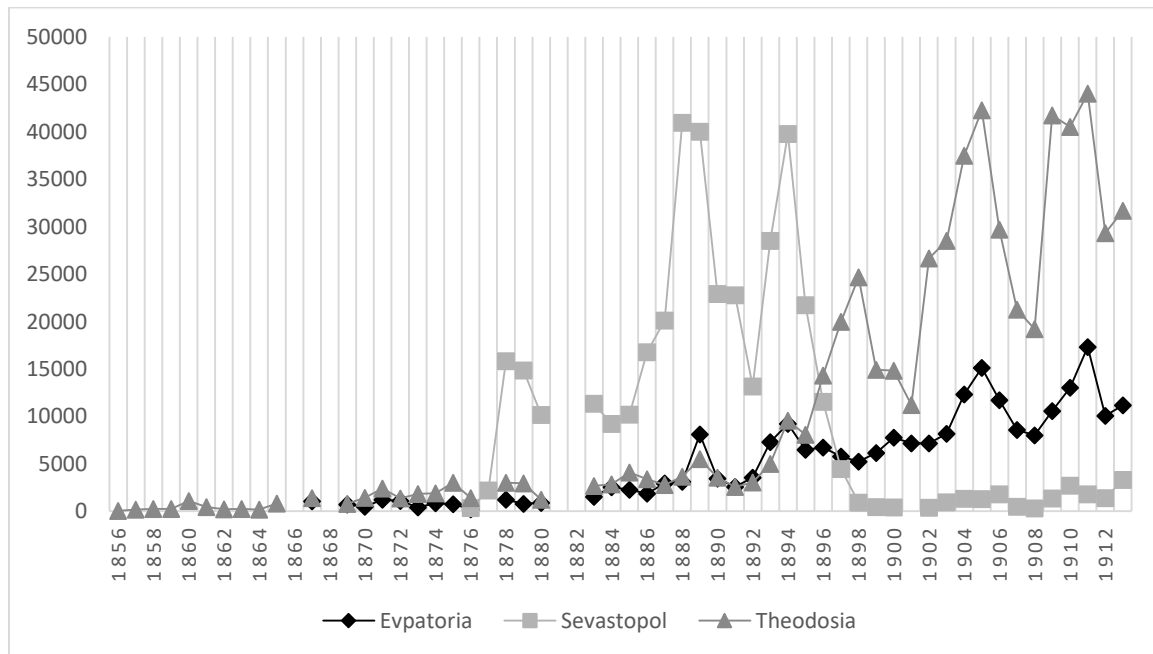
31. *Отчет о деятельности Биржевого комитета Феодосийской Биржи за 1908–1909 год* [Report on the Operation of the Stockbroking Committee of Theodosia Commodity Market, 1908–1909], (Theodosia, 1910), p. 7.

32. For example, in 1907, thirteen ships arrived, carrying 11,794 pilgrims. DAOO, fond 2, opys 1, sprava 2815, fols. 98 verso – 99, and DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 1113, fols. 18 verso – 19.

open to external trade in the course of the entire 19th century. However, the increase in its exporting activity is observed after 1895, when the activities of Sevastopol export port are transferred there. The decision to invest on the construction of two railroad lines connecting the port of Sevastopol and later the port of Theodosia with the rich grain-producing hinterland of Southern Russia was of the naval importance. Hence, the ports either opened to international export trade or intensified their exporting activity. In spite of the political and geostrategic character of the above, especially concerning Sevastopol, the railway lines proved a driving force for the economy of not only the ports but also of the entire Crimea.

In the comparative analysis of the operation of the three ports, we distinguish three general phases of operation in the port system of Crimea (see Diagram 12.1). The first phase spans the 1856–1875 period; it is the phase of postwar stagnation. The second phase takes place between the years 1876 and 1895 and it is the period during which the port of Sevastopol grew into a leading position. Finally, the third phase extends from 1896 to 1913 and it is characterised by the development of Theodosia.

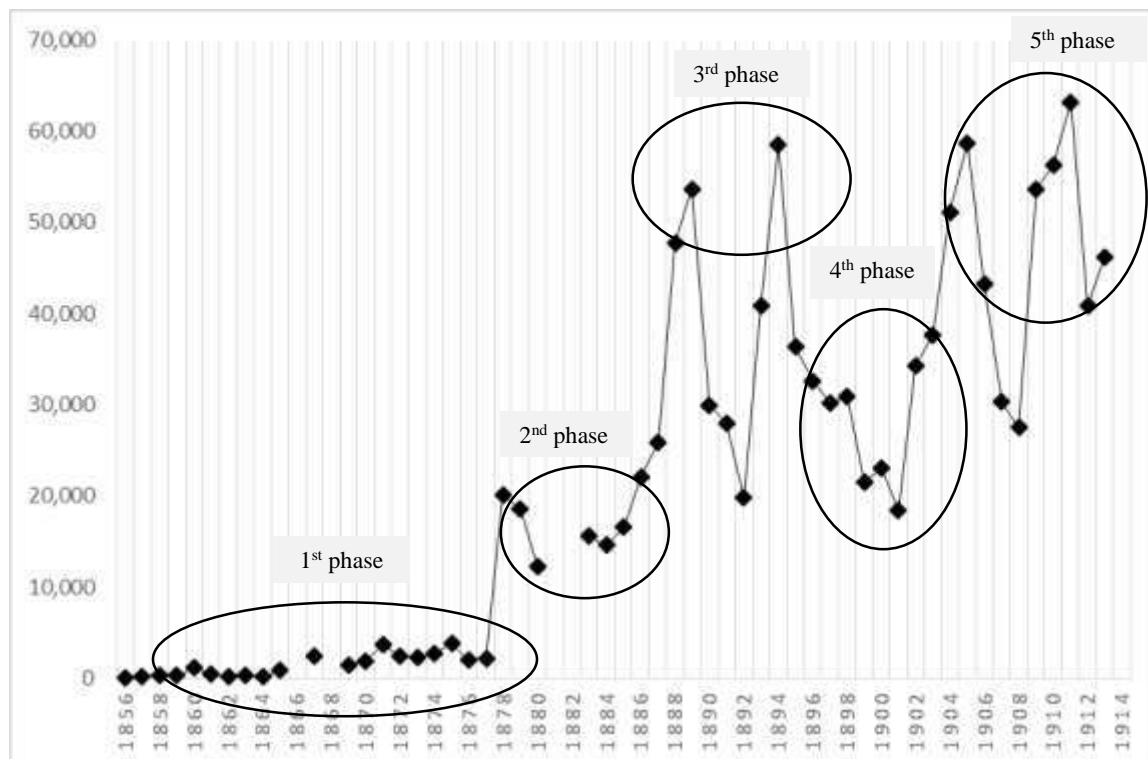
Diagram 12.1. Exports of Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia, 1856–1913, (in French gold francs)



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 1.

In fact, if we were to further divide the period of the Crimean ports' exporting activity, we would come across five shorter time periods: 1856–1877, 1878–1884, 1885–1894, 1895–1901, and 1902–1914. These five phases can be seen in Diagram 12.2, which reflects the total value of the exports from the three port-cities of Crimea from 1856 till 1914. The figure's graph shows that in the first phase, in the years 1856 to 1877, the value of exports was quite limited. In 1878, though, that is in the second phase, a rise was recorded whereas after 1884 there was a downward trend. Then in the third phase, there is an upward trend until 1890, only to be followed by an abrupt decline from 1890 to 1892. Following a three-year rise, in the fourth phase from 1895 till 1901, another downward trend is recorded. In the ultimate phase, another upward trend is recorded until the Balkan Wars, despite an intermediate three-year decline from 1906 to 1908.

Diagram 12.2. Total Exports From the Three Ports of Crimea [Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Theodosia], 1856–1913 (in French gold francs)



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 1.

The *first phase* is a period of export trade development, of reconstruction, of radical internal reforms in the empire but also of external turmoil. The Crimean War inflicted incalculable damages on Crimea: Sevastopol was destroyed to the ground and the coastal cities suffered considerable material damages. Moreover, the cities of the peninsula were afflicted by a severe lack in foodstuffs, building materials and firewood. In fact, during 1856 the inhabitants of Crimea were supplied with grains and flour by sea from the ports of Odessa and Ismail.³³ From 1860 to 1862 of about 140,000 to 150,000 Tatars, mostly farmers,³⁴ fled from Crimea; depopulation was an additional facet of the material damages. The limited land of the grain-producing hinterland, the absence of a railroad connection of Crimea with the rest of Russia, and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 are reflected in the stagnation of external trade from the ports of Crimea during the first two post-war decades (see Diagram 12.2).

The low value exports from the port of Theodosia during the first decade after the Crimean War are based on the traditional trade relations of the port with the opposite Ottoman coast. This specific export trade consisted of leathers, wool, foodstuffs, grains and scrap metal. During this period, the export trade of the Crimean ports is still at an embryonic stage.³⁵ It is only after 1867 and up to 1878 (see Diagram 12.1) that a small but steady rise is noted, mainly due to the contribution of Evpatoria exporting activity. At this point we should observe that despite the completion of the construction of the railway line that connected the port of Sevastopol with the productive hinterland of Southern Russia, Sevastopol's participation to the Crimean export trade does not seem to significantly affect the increase in exports. As data shows, this is due to the fact that it took three years to establish the chain of combined transports for the grain trade, which transformed Sevastopol into a new exporting gateway of Southern Russia and Crimea. Sevastopol had never before operated as a trade hub; neither during the Tatar khanate era nor during the empire's century-long domination over the peninsula. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 halted the upward trend; if in 1876

33. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 366, fols. 89, 97–99.

34. More on the Tatar immigration wave, see 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], (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ionian University, Corfu, 2017), pp. 39–40.

35. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 366, fols. 5–8, 89, 97–99; fond 369, opys 1, sprava 419, fol. 88.

the exports only amounted to 3,520 French gold francs, after the end of the war they increased by 4.5 times, amounting to 15,848 French gold francs.

The *second phase*, from 1878 to 1884, starts with a sudden rise in exports in 1878, that subsequently wanes in 1879 reflecting the beginning of the agricultural crisis in Russia, which is related to a fall in international grain prices, and the onset of the great European recession. Nevertheless, after 1884 the exporting activity recovers only partially and an upward trend is recorded until 1894. In spite of the transitory downturn of 1890–1892 caused by the shortage of grains and the prohibition on grain exports,³⁶ the exports of the three Crimean port-cities continue to rise, tripling the exporting activity of Crimea during the *third phase* of 1885–1894. This rise is due to the rapid increase in exports from Sevastopol (see Diagram 12.1); it is this port-city that during that time becomes the principal export port of the peninsula accounting for 74 % of the total export value from all three ports. This newly-shaped picture is characteristically described in 1886 by the correspondent of the Taganrog newspaper: “After the deep stagnation in exporting activities that lasted for a few years, this year the port is experiencing an unprecedented vast ‘influx’ of grains to be exported. All stations of the Lozovaya – Sevastopol rail line are literally ‘drowning’ in grain cargoes. Our port hasn't experienced such a ‘strange period of exports’ ever since the railway line first operated”.³⁷ The ports of Evpatoria and Theodosia hold the second place, with only 13 % each (see Table 12.1).

For the year that followed the rapid increase in exports during the 1885–1894 phase, the records show a fall of 36.83 %, a downward trend that run on until 1901. As we can see in Diagram 12.1, the fall is caused by the significant decrease in Sevastopol's exporting activity, as the first decision for the transfer of the export port from Sevastopol to Theodosia started taking place in 1895. According to that decision, it was scheduled that in 1895 the

36. Although the grain shortages affected mostly the grain-producing areas of the Volga river and the central Russian Guberniias next to the southern regions, the prohibition on grain exports was extended to include the ports of the Azov and Black Seas. The first export prohibition was issued on 30 July 1891 and pertained to rye, rye flour and bran. It was put into force on 15 August 1891. The second prohibition was issued on 16 October of the same year for the remaining grain types and the potatoes, with the exception of wheat. The third decision was issued on 9 November 1891 and prohibited the export of grains and all derived products. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 749, fols. 1, 42; PSZRI, Col. 3, Vol. XI (1891), № 7939, pp. 545–546; № 8037, pp. 589–590.

37. *Taganrogskaa Vestnik*, no 138, (26 November 1886), p. 2.

construction of Theodosia's infrastructure would be completed, supplementing the general plan for this particular port that had already been connected with Russia via railway line since 1892. This phase could be described as a period of transition for the port system of Crimea, owing to the fact that by means of a state-issued decision the exporting activity's centre of gravity shifts from one port to another. Sevastopol's exports had a decrease in this period of 21 % of total exports. On the opposite end, Theodosia's exporting activity gradually increased reaching 56 % of total exports, followed by Evpatoria with 24 % (see Table 12.1).

Table 12.1 Exports of Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia, 1856–1913 (in French gold francs)

Phases	Evpatoria	Sevastopol	Theodosia	Evpatoria	Sevastopol	Theodosia
1st-1856–1877	6,853	2,563	19,384	24 %	9 %	67 %
2nd-1878–1884	7,019	61,469	12,696	9 %	76 %	16 %
3rd-1885–1894	44,437	255,285	43,237	13 %	74 %	13 %
4th-1895–1901	45,329	39,555	107,978	24 %	21 %	56 %
5th-1902–1913	133,259	14,526	392,493	25 %	3 %	73 %

Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 1.

During the fourth phase the conditions necessary for the growth of Theodosia's exporting activity were established. In the course of the fifth phase (1902–1913) the exports show an upward trend with the exception of a fall in the period of 1906–1908 and in 1912. The rise of the three ports' total exports is owed, as it can be seen on Diagram 12.1, to the increase of Theodosia's exporting activity: it becomes the principal export port of the peninsula with exports amounting to 73 % of the total, leaving Evpatoria to the second place with 25 %. In this phase, Sevastopol port is experiencing a deep stagnation having reduced its exports to 3 % (see Table 12.1).

Although during the period of 1904–1905, two crucial years for Russia due to the Russo-Japanese War and the revolution that resulted in the temporary suspension of the operation of the railroads for the transport of goods, the repeated strikes and pogroms against the Jewish population do not seem to have had any negative effects on the exporting

activity of the Crimean ports. The crises of this two-year period are counterbalanced by two factors: first, the good crops during those two years and, second, the alternative solutions that the merchants of Theodosia came up with in order to solve the problem of rail transport. More specifically, in order to handle the volume of exports that the railroad couldn't carry, the merchants transported the grain cargos to the port either by carts or by coastal sailing ships.³⁸ As a matter of fact, 1905 was the year with most exports since 1856. The decline in exports that ensued in the following years seems to be a result of the decrease in crops and the increase in grain prices, but also of the strikes organized in 1907 and 1908 by the harbour labourers in Theodosia. At the same time, the grain market and fares were negatively affected by the financial crisis in America, which in turn had a negative impact on the exporters operating in Theodosia's market. In fact, according to the British Vice-Consul, those circumstances were “fatal” for some local grain merchants and the speculators.³⁹ The local grain merchants of Theodosia consisted to a large extent of representation offices of important foreign trading houses such as Dreyfus, Neufeld and others that were directly affected by the international turmoil. The poor harvests recorded in 1911 and in 1912 combined with the first Balkan War caused a decline of 341 % in exports from Crimean ports in 1912, as we can see in Diagram 12.2.⁴⁰

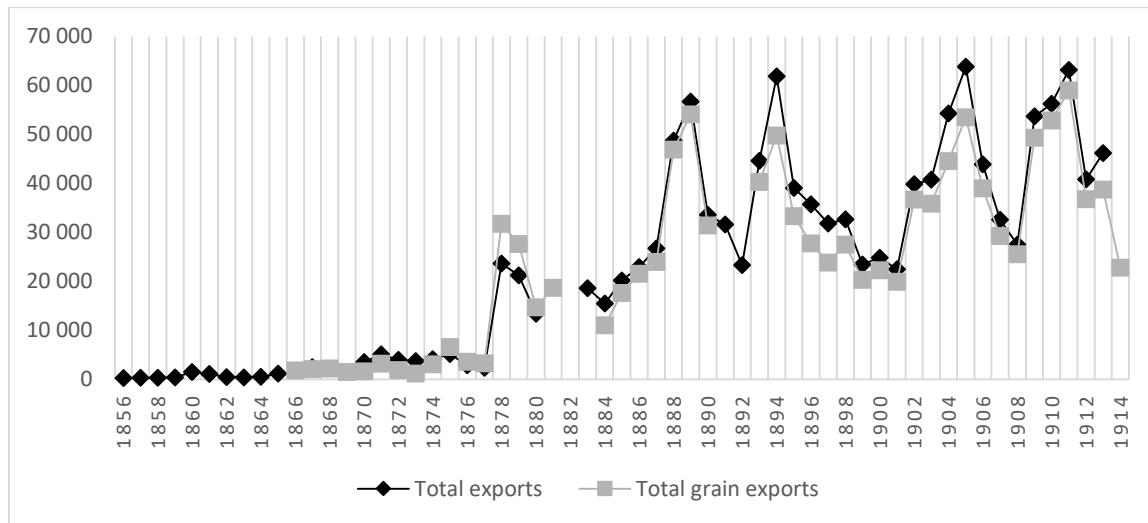
Diagram 12.3 shows that grains were the main product exported by the Crimean ports, i.e. 88 % of the total value of exports. Every port on the peninsula possessed its own grain-supplying hinterland. Evpatoria and Theodosia experienced an impressive increase in exports since 1885, while Sevastopol's grain exports had an exponential increase from 1885 to 1894 (see Table 12.2).

38. DAARK, fond 221, opys 1, sprava 945, fols. 15–15 verso.

39. “Report by Vice-Consul Carassarini on the Trade and Commerce of Theodosia for the Year 1907”, in *National Bank of Greece Historical Archive*, 1908, vol. 4138, p. 67; “Report by Consular-Agent Martin on the Trade and Commerce of Theodosia for the Year 1906”, in *National Bank of Greece Historical Archive*, 1907, vol. 3834, p. 67; “Report by Consular-Agent Martin on the Trade and Commerce of Theodosia for the Year 1907”, in *National Bank of Greece Historical Archive*, 1908, vol. 4238, pp. 69–70.

40. *Бюллетень Феодосийской биржи* [Theodosia Birzha Bulletin], (No 46, 21 June 1911); *Ibid.*, (No 53, 15 July 1911); “Report by Vice-Consul W. von Stuerler on the Trade and Commerce of Theodosia for the Year 1911”, in *National Bank of Greece Historical Archive*, 1912, vol. 4965, p. 161; “Report by Vice-Consul W. von Stuerler on the Trade and Commerce of Theodosia for the Year 1911”, in *National Bank of Greece Historical Archive*, 1912, vol. 5114, p. 91.

Diagram 12.3. Comparative View of Total Exports and Total Grain Exports of the Crimean Ports, 1856–1914 (in French gold francs)



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 1.

Table 12.2. Grain Exports from the Three Crimean Port-cities, 1856–1913 (in tons)

	Grains		
	Evpatoria	Sevastopol	Theodosia
1856–1877	20,265	138,767	125,705
1878–1884	32,049	366,957	99,224
1885–1894	402,681	2,690,747	508,284
1895–1901	530,258,2	151,241	1,273,259
1902–1913	1,389,771	0	3,396,532

Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendixes 2, 3, 4.

Table 12.3 provides data on the proportion of the four grain types exported from the three ports of Crimea in the time span of 1856–1913. It can be seen that wheat and barley are the two main exported cereals of all three ports during the period under examination, with the exception of Sevastopol. As a matter of fact, wheat and barley were the first two grain types cultivated across Southern Russia (see Table 12.4), and more specifically in the

hinterland of Evpatoria and Theodosia: in 1894 49 % of the sowing concerned wheat and 30.3 % was barley.⁴¹

Table 12.3. Percentage Ratio of Four Grain Types' Exports From the Three Crimean Port-cities, 1856–1913 (in tons)

	Wheat			Rye			Barley			Oat		
	E	S	TH	E	S	TH	E	S	TH	E	S	TH
1856–1877	84	84	81	0	5	0	13	10	13	3	1	6
1878–1884	98	55	90	0	20	0	2	16	2	1	9	7
1885–1894	80	47	70	2	21	1	17	26	24	1	6	6
1895–1901	66	55	64	1	8	5	29	28	26	4	9	5
1902–1913	70	0	69	1	0	3	27	0	27	3	0	2

Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendices 2, 3, 4.

Table 12.4. Total Harvests of the Four Grain Types in European and Southern Russia, 1909–1913 (in percentages)

Grain types	European Russia	Southern Russia
Wheat	20.6%	44.7%
Rye	38.9%	17.1%
Barley	15.8%	29.1%
Oat	24.7%	9.1%

Source: Processed data: Aleksandr Ostrovskii, *Зерновое производство Европейской России в конце XIX – начале XX в.* [Grain Production in European Russia in the Late 19th – Early 20th Century], (St. Petersburg: Poltorak, 2013), p. 359.

At this point we will move on to examine the synthesis of grain export trade for each port separately. The two main exported cereals from the port of Evpatoria (see Table 12.3), owing to the Taurida Guberniia production, are wheat and barley. The fact that the hinterland,

41. Vasilii Lepeshinskii, *Лозово-Севастопольская железная дорога в коммерческом отношении* [Lozovaya – Sevastopol Railway in Commercial Terms], (Kharkov, 1896), pp. 9–10; M. Benenson, *Экономические очерки Крыма* [Economic Essays of Crimea], (Simferopol, 1919), pp. 22–23.

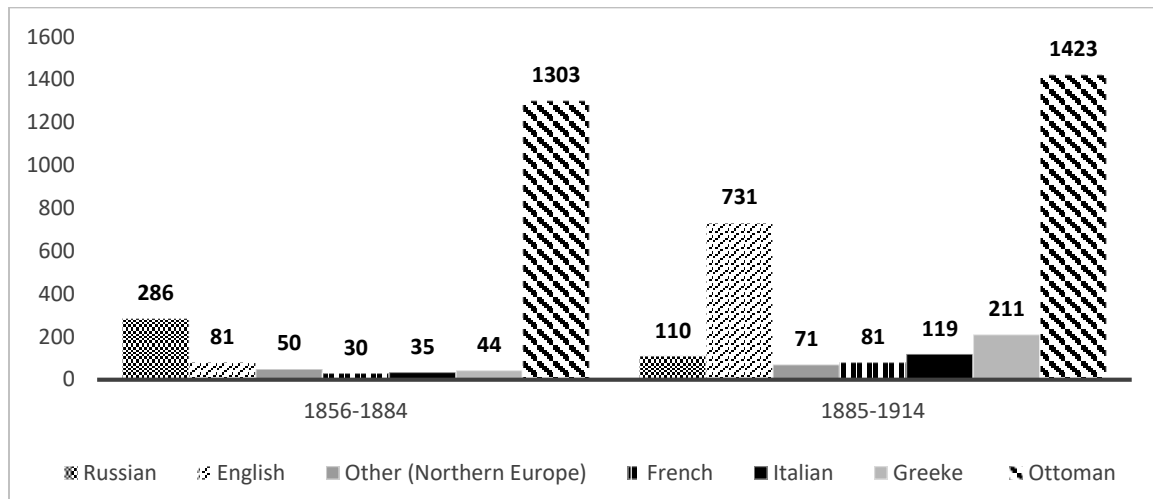
due to the lack of railroad network, could not be extended towards other productive Southern Russian Guberniias does not modify the export synthesis; the wheat and barley production becomes a key factor for the formation of individual consumer markets.

As it can be seen in Diagram 12.4, grain exports from the port of Evpatoria are mainly carried on ships under Ottoman flag. If we compare the two periods, it seems that in 1856–1884 the second place is held by the Russian flag; during the period of increased grain exports in 1885–1914 the British flag makes its presence in cargo transport particularly felt as opposed to the Russian flag, while the Greek flag also steps up. The analysis of statistical data shows that in this case the predominance of the Ottoman flag does not mean that the biggest part of the exported cargoes were carried by this particular flag.

Diagram 12.6 illustrates that the majority of the ships under Ottoman flag towards the Ottoman Empire are leaving in ballast, i.e. with no cargo at all. The conclusion that the ships under the Ottoman flag transport the biggest part of Evpatoria's exports does not correspond to the real situation. In fact, we should point out that the majority of Ottoman flag departures consists of sailing ships, whose total capacity is much smaller than that of other flags. The explanation can be found in the import trade relations of Evpatoria with the ports of the Black Sea's southern coast. Each year a rising number of Ottoman-flagged sailing ships arrives to the port – a number almost equal to departures – carrying cargoes of small quantity and value for the import trade, and leaves empty, in ballast.

In order to explain the significant increase in British flag presence after 1885, we should look into the identity of the merchants operating in the export trade in that time span. The analysis of merchant population and of the trading houses' operation in Evpatoria demonstrates that the small-scale export grain trade in this port is conducted by a minimal number of merchants. We know that since 1886 the highest percentage of grain exports belongs to three French citizens: Hippolytus, Augustine and Charles Martin. As a matter of fact, Hippolytus serves also as the British Consular agent. A couple of years later, in 1894, large trading houses, such as Neufeld and Co., Louis Dreyfus and Co., Waller Brothers and Martin Webrg (an Austrian citizen), establish offices thus introducing Evpatoria's maritime grain transports into the international European trade.

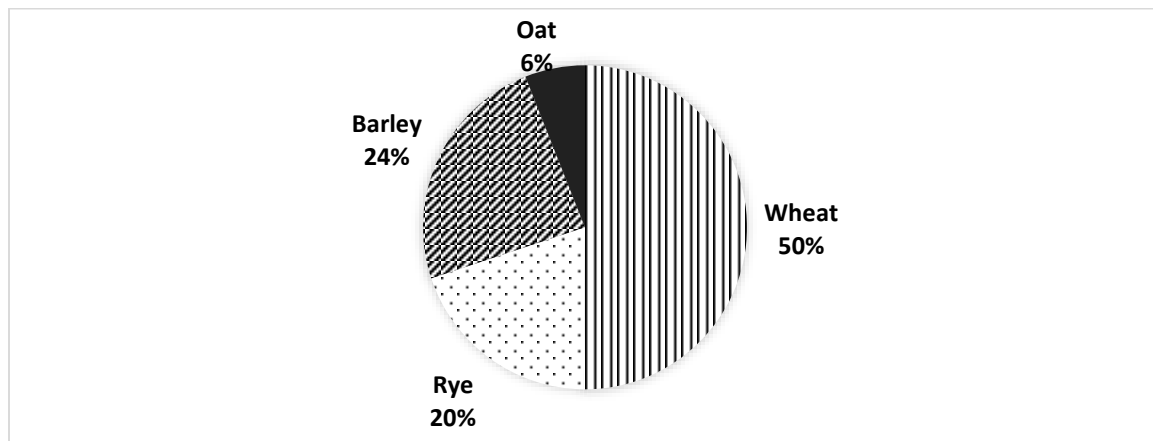
Diagram 12.4. Departures of Ships From Evpatoria per National Flag, 1856–1884, 1885–1914



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 5.

The port of Sevastopol shows a different picture in its exported grain synthesis compared to the other ports. The cereal exports from Sevastopol during the port's operation are split between three grain types. Wheat holds the first place at 50 %, barley is second at 24 % and rye comes third at 20 %. The oat exports, as in the case of Evpatoria, remain at low levels (see Diagram 12.5).

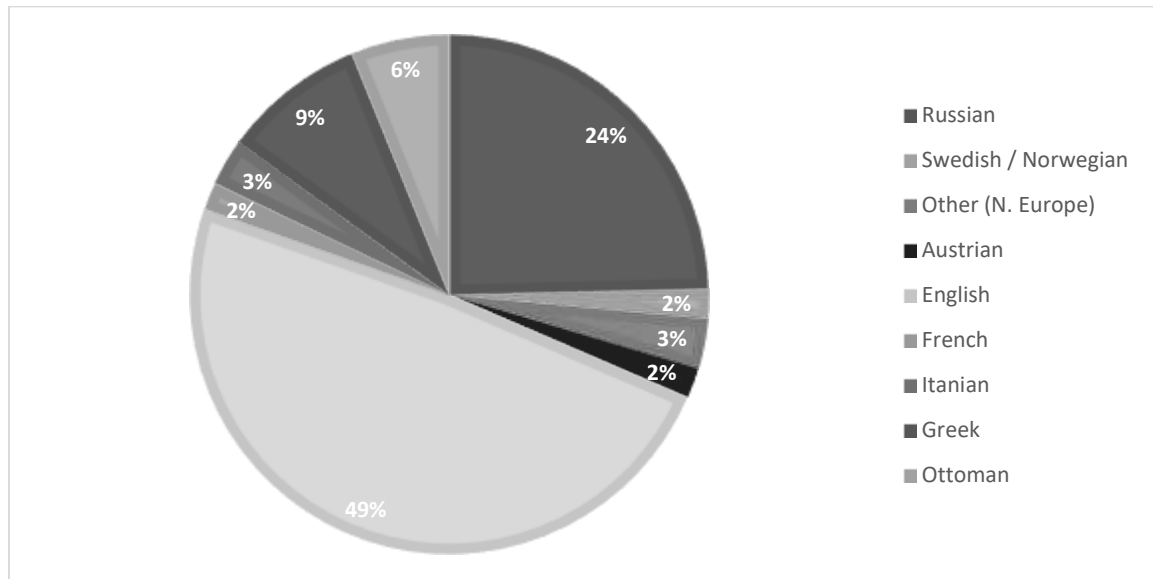
Diagram 12.5. Exports of Four Grain Types from the Port of Sevastopol, 1871–1897 (in tons)



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 3.

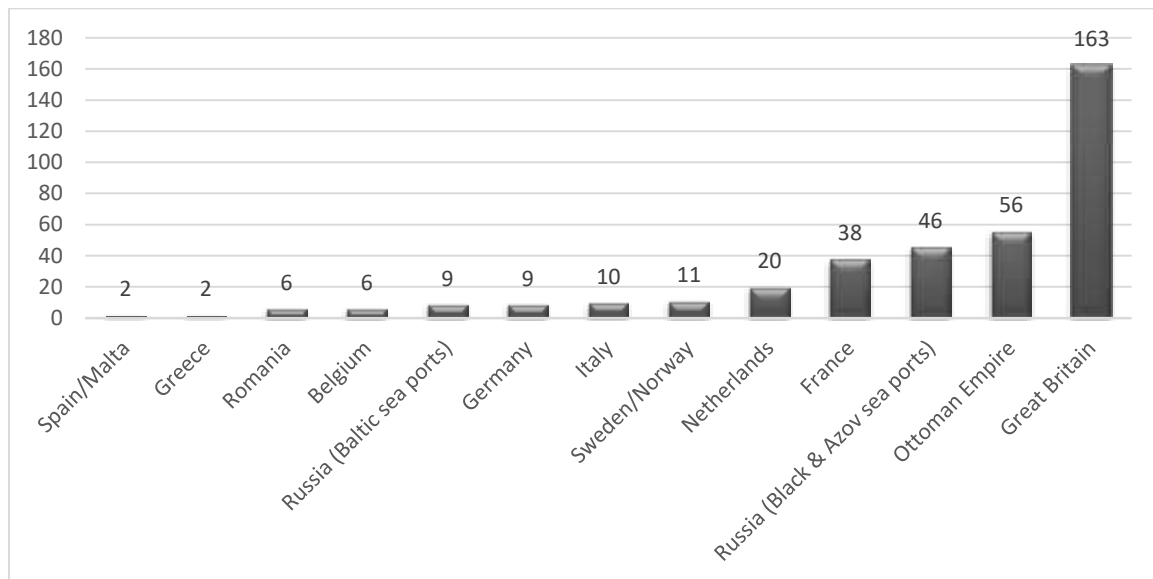
The grain productive hinterland of Sevastopol stretched along the railway line that transferred the grains to the port. Wheat and barley were cultivated in all Guberniias that the railroad crossed. On the other hand, rye grew on sandy soil on the banks of the river Dnieper. As for oat, it originated from the hinterland around the stations that the rail line of Kursk – Kharkov –Azov served, extending hence Sevastopol’s hinterland further to the north. According to the report submitted to the Congress of Railroad Representatives in 1886⁴² by the company Dreyfus Bros. and Co. that operated also in Sevastopol, large oat shipments were bought to provision of the British and French army following the disturbance of the political balances in Europe. The report even mentions that the purchased oat shipments were not exported in 1886, but a part of them remained in Sevastopol’s warehouses. Table 12.3 shows that in 1887 the oat exports had doubled since the previous year and were highest than ever. Therefore, we could assume that the new oat cargoes that arrived at Sevastopol by rail were added to the existing last year’s stock.

Diagram 12.6. Departures of Ships from Sevastopol per National Flag, 1871–1897



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 5.7.

42. This report was compiled to a great extent by information coming from the traders themselves or their representatives, rather than from official data gathered from customs offices or port authorities. Therefore, this report is considered revealing, as it strays from the limitations of “dry” official reports. Fyodorov, *Grain Trade*, pp. 68–69.

Diagram 12.7. Destination Countries of Grain Exports from Sevastopol, 1888

Source: *Обзор внешней торговли России по европейской и азиатской границам за 1888 год* [Overview of Russia's External Trade per European and Asian Borders, 1888], (St. Petersburg: Department of Customs Duties, 1889), pp. 32–34.

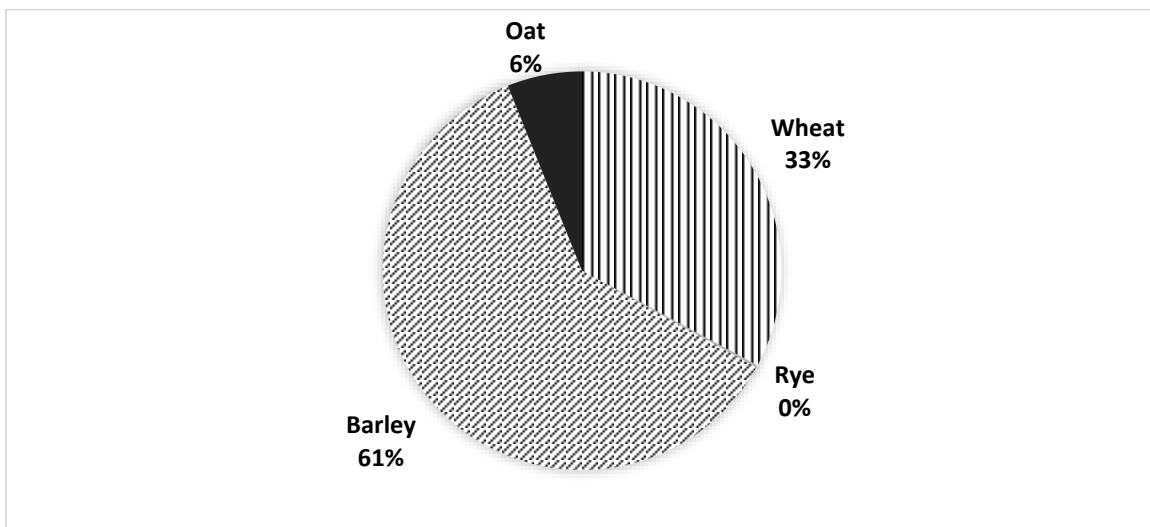
During the period that Sevastopol export port operated, British ships occupy the first place with 49 % of the total exports, the Russian flag comes second at 24 %, and the Greek flag comes third at 9 % (see Diagram 12.6). Diagram 12.7 shows that in 1888 the principal countries importing grain from Sevastopol port are Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire and France. In order to establish why those were the main importing countries, we should look into the exporting trading houses. The grain-exporting trade of Sevastopol was conducted by Greek and Jewish trading houses and by merchants operating through their trading houses' branch offices or their representatives at the port. Some of them were the Vaglianos, the Rodochanachis, Ambanopoulos, Durante, Louis Dreyfus and Co., Dreyfus Bros. and Co., Neufeld and Co., etc.⁴³ We know that Ambanopoulos and Durante traded with Greece and the Ottoman Empire, whereas Dreyfus and Neufeld were doing business exclusively with England, France and Germany. The advantage of this port that does not freeze during the winter period as opposed to other Southern Russian ports, in addition to a wind-shielded bay, seems one of the key factors that leaved businessmen to do exports

43. More about the operation of trading firms in Sevastopol on sub-chapter 6.2 of the present thesis.

via Sevastopol.⁴⁴ The British Acting Vice-Consul Grierson also comments on Sevastopol's convenient location, reporting that "English shipowners now seem to appreciate the advantages of this splendid harbour, accessible at all times and never closed by ice".⁴⁵

Diagrams 12.8 and 12.9 compare the grain exports from Theodosia in two different time periods. The first export period from 1865 till 1895 reflects the exports of Crimea's hinterland and witnesses how barley exports occupy the first place at 61 % and the wheat exports the second place with 33 %, followed by oat and rye with smaller-scale exports. During the 1896–1914 phase, when Theodosia's hinterland expanded due to the port's railroad connection with a hinterland beyond the limits of the peninsula, the differentiation is attributed to the rise in wheat exports at the expense of barley: wheat exports now amount to 68%, whereas barley drops at 26 %. Rye and oat exports, which remain at especially low levels – at only 3 % each – gave evidence that the port's hinterland expansion does not affect the consumer market pertaining these two grain types.

Diagram 12.8. Exports of Four Grain Types from the Port of Theodosia, 1865–1895 (in tons)

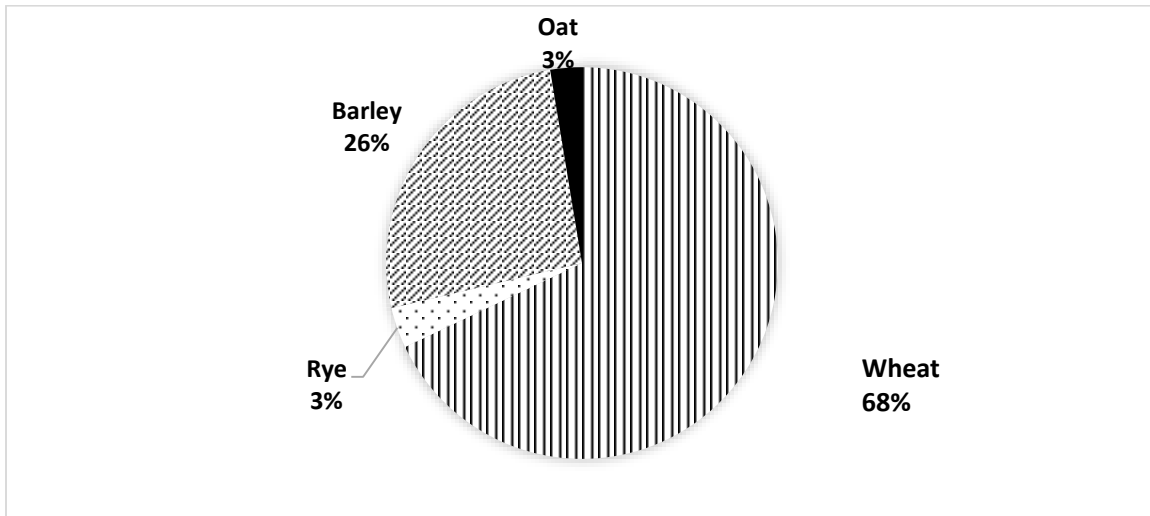


Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 4.

44. State Archives of Sevastopol, fond 15, opys 1, sprava 3, fol. 5.

45. "English shipowners now seem to appreciate the advantages of this splendid harbor, accessible at all times and never closed by ice", Report by Vice-Consul Grierson on the Trade and Commerce of Sevastopol for the Year 1884, in *National Bank of Greece Historical Archive*, 1885, vol. 1309, p. 599.

Diagram 12.9. Exports of Four Grain Types from the Port of Theodosia, 1896–1914 (in tons)



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 4.

But which are the principal consumer countries for the cereals coming from Theodosia and who were responsible for their transport? In Diagram 12.10 we can see that from 1896 to 1907⁴⁶ Theodosia's cereals were destined to more than ten ports in different countries. However, we should note that under no circumstances all those countries were also consumer markets for Theodosia's grain; they were likely serving as transit stations, as most probably is the case of Gibraltar, etc. The countries holding the first three positions, closely to each other, are the Netherlands, France and Italy. This ranking confirms the finding that the high-quality winter hard wheat cultivated in Crimea was coveted by Switzerland for bakery products and by Italy's pasta factories. According to Pavel Martsinkovskii, wheat was transported to Switzerland via Rotterdam and Marseilles⁴⁷; this finding is corroborated by the fact that the two cities occupy the first two places among the

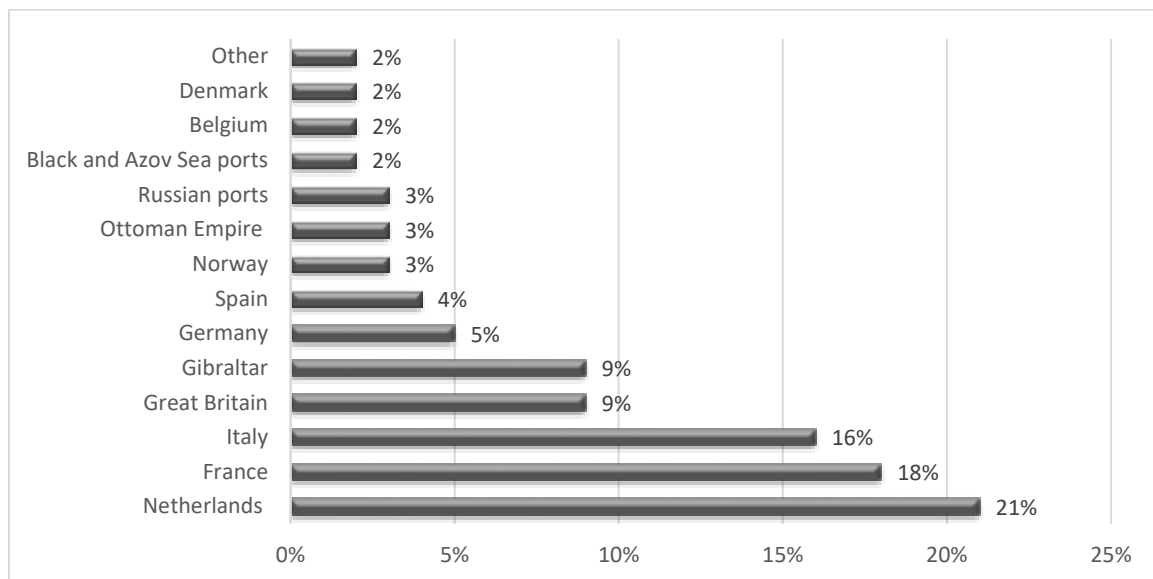
46. We must bear in mind that the recorded time period does not stop in 1907 because we set a special time limit, but because the Russian statistical authorities cease to keep statistical records of the destination countries in the following years.

47. Pavel Martsinkovskii, *Крым в международной торговле (1856–1914)* [Crimea in the International Trade (1856–1914)], (Ph.D. thesis, M. V. Frunze Simferopol State University, Simferopol, 1997), p. 155.

cities that received the grains shipped from Theodosia.⁴⁸ The trading houses involved in Theodosia's grain trade – mainly of Italian, Jewish and Karaite origin – affirm that the first grain destination port was Rotterdam and secondarily the ports of Genoa, Marseilles, Naples and Hamburg. Great Britain, which traditionally obtained winter wheat produced in Crimea elsewhere, takes the fourth place with 9 %. It was after 1902 that the British market opened to Theodosia's wheat, as the records show an upward trend in the departures of vessels directed towards Great Britain.⁴⁹

Theodosia's grain appears to be mainly carried on British vessels (49 %). In second and third position, by a small difference, we find the Greek (17 %) and Italian (15 %) flags, while the French flag is at the fourth place (6 %) (Diagram 12.11).

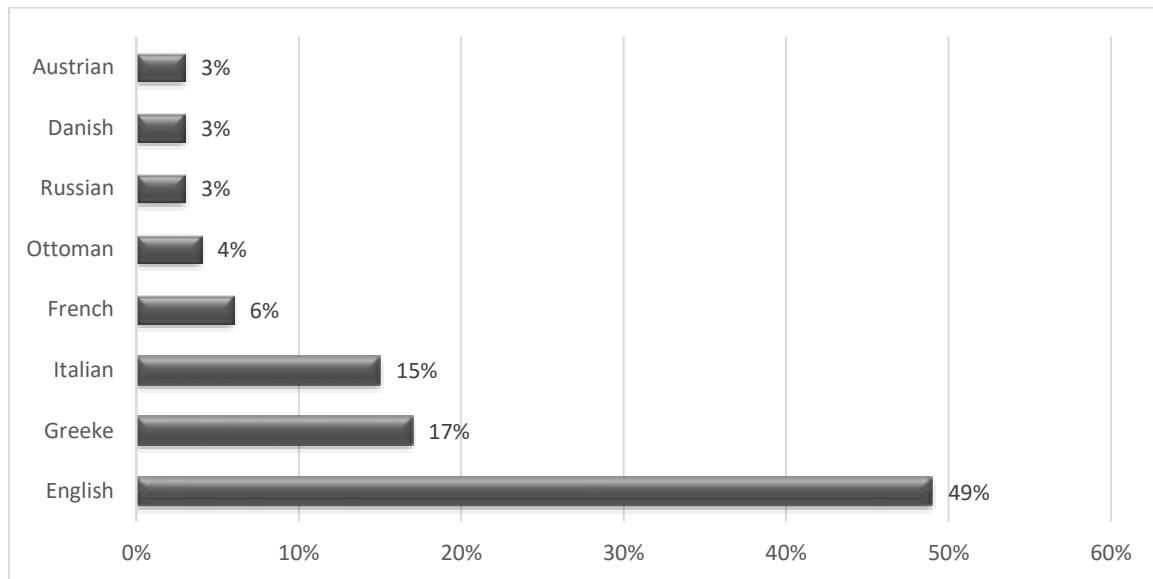
Diagram 12.10. Destination Countries of Grain Exports from Theodosia, 1896–1907



Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 9.

48. *Report on the Operation of the Stockbroking Committee of Theodosia Commodity Market, 1908–1909*, pp. 70–71.

49. 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], (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ionian University, Corfu, 2017), Appendix 9.

Diagram 12.11. Departures of Ships from Theodosia per National Flag, 1896–1914

Source: Anna Sydorenko, *The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities*, Appendix 8.

Conclusions

The development opportunities of the Crimean port-cities in the second half of the 19th century were based on the exports of grain trade. The three port-cities, Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia were opened officially to the international trade gradually after the Crimean War. But the difficulty of inland connections and communication has restricted the boost of export activity. Nevertheless, the export proliferation of ports has been encouraged only after the construction of railway lines that connected the Crimean ports with the richest grain-producing areas of the South.

The growth and decline of the Crimean ports were affected also by political and geostrategic factors; the Sevastopol port commercial activity was interrupted because of the Emperor's political decision of transferring there the naval base of the Black Sea. At the same time the port of Theodosia was promoted to become the main exporting port of peninsula. The ports' infrastructure was built to service the grain exports. The most basic problem for the further development of all the Crimean ports' infrastructures was the lack of funding the works from the state treasury and the imperial authorities' refusal to allow private

funds to contribute to this process. Besides, until now the basic decisions and forces of the state port policy in every country is the state operation or the privatisation of the ports.

Nevertheless, the statistical analysis of the present essay demonstrated that in a time span of approximately sixty years (from 1856 until 1914) the ports of Crimea managed to gradually enter the markets of the Mediterranean Sea and of Northern Europe. By partially diverting from their former exclusive commercial relations mainly with Black Sea's southern coast, which were established since the era of the Crimean Khanate, the ports achieved to expand their geographical area of activity. In particular, the ports of the peninsula achieved numerous outcomes, an export and transit character; their dynamic introduction into Southern Russia's grain export trade towards the Mediterranean and Northern European markets; the re-orientation and important expansion of their foreland, especially in the direction of Great Britain, the Netherlands, France and Italy; and their own major economic development. In fact, the reconstruction of the cities following the damages that the Crimean War caused was founded on the grain export trade. On the other hand, we discovered a low – rather negative – growth or even contraction of the ports' importing activity in the second half of the 19th century, especially in the case of Evpatoria. Yet, even with a quite limited volume of imports, the ports of Crimea preserved their traditional trading relations with the Ottoman centres located on the opposite southern coast of the Black Sea.

PART III

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Chapter 13

The Sevastopoulos in Odessa:

The Contribution to the Socio-Economic Development of the City

Valerii Tomazov

The family legend of Sevastopoulos tells that their ancestors (*sevastos*) come from one of the oldest aristocratic families in the Byzantine Empire. In 1092, part of the family left Constantinople for Crete, where the Sevastopoulos merged with the local nobility. In the early 13th century, Constantine and Mikhail Sevastos were implacable enemies of the Republic of Venice and led numerous military campaigns against it.¹

It was most likely in the 13th century that the Sevastopoulos from Anatolia moved to the island of Chios, where they maintained their aristocratic status, developed family ties with the local nobility, and owned considerable property. The sixteenth-century Chios chronicles and acts mentioned the Sevastopoulos regularly. In the 17th century, another part of the Sevastopoulos family settled in Smyrna, and the in early 18th century re-located to Constantinople, where they became known as merchants, celebrated for their wealth and charity work.²

In the early 1820s, the Ottoman subject Eustratii Skarlatovich Sevastopoulo (*Евстратий Скарлатович Севастопуло*³) settled in Odessa. In 1822, he founded a trading company, in 1830 he and his family were accepted to the second guild of merchants in Odessa, a status that Sevastopoulo maintained for the twenty continuous years, until joining the 1st guild merchantry in 1842.⁴ On 22 December 1842 Eustratii took an oath of

1. Philip P. Argenti, *Libro d'oro de la noblesse de Chio*, in 2 vols., vol. 1, (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 125.

2. Ibid., pp. 125–126.

3. In the chapter, the names of representatives of the Sevastopoulo family are presented in the Russian form, since in this form they are saved in the documents of imperial period. In a certain way, the Russification of the Greek names indicates their changes in identity and assimilation into Russian society.

4. RGIA, fond 1343, opis 39, delo 4327, fols. 2–3.

allegiance and became subject of the Russian Empire.⁵ On 25 February 1849 he petitioned for the title of hereditary honorary citizen to the Emperor.⁶ On 14 April 1849 the Senate granted the request to Sevastopoulo and his family, and the relevant certificate was signed on 20 January 1850.⁷

Eustratii Sevastopoulo was a typical representative of Chios merchants, who in the late 18th and early 19th century conducted their business in the Black and Azov Sea Areas and frequently settled in this region. He did not speak Russian, which is demonstrated by his Greek handwriting on the petition to Heraldic authorities.⁸ The primary activity of Eustratii Sevastopoulo, similar to other merchants from Chios, was export of the grain from the Russian Empire to the European countries.⁹ During that period, the Greek merchants still controlled the trade in the Mediterranean. For example, in 1836 the firm “Mavrogordato, Petrokokkino and Co” (*Маврогордато, Петрококкино и К^о*) founded by Pantelei Amvrosiyevich Mavrogordato (*Пантелей Амвросьевич Маврогордато*, approx. 1795–1871) and his uncle Lavrentii Petrokokkino (*Лаврентий Петрококкино*) loaded with grain and dispatched from Odessa seven ships to Constantinople, five ships to Livorno, two ships to Marseille, and one ship to Trieste, and received in Odessa one ship loaded with paving stones from Trieste, and one ship with coffee from Marseille. In 1870, ten out of twenty Odessa trading houses that controlled the export of grain, were founded by Greeks; to mention only the most significant names, these were the “F. P. Rodocanachi” (*Ф. П. Родоканаки*) and “Fyodor Mavrogordato and Co” (*Фёдор Маврогордато и К^о*). In 1827 the general turnover of the “F. P. Rodocanachi” was 1.2 million rubles, and ten years later, in 1838, it reached 5.5 million.¹⁰

It seems that Eustratii Sevastopoulo, just as his relatives and other Greek immigrants considered Odessa as a temporary place of residence. This may be inferred from the fact that even in 1849, his large family still did not own its own house and rented

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., fols. 1–1 verso.

7. Ibid., fols. 19–20.

8. Ibid., fols. 1–1 verso.

9. Newspaper *Odesskii Vestnik* [Odessa Herald], no 13 (1827).

10. For additional information, see: Valerii Tomazov, “Греки-хіосці в Російській імперії: соціальна адаптація та національна самоідентифікація” [The Greek Immigrants from Chios in the Russian Empire: Social Integration and Ethnic Self-Identification], *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, 4 (2014), pp. 100–108.

accommodations from Dmitrii Paleolog (Дмитрий Палеолог), one of the Odessa honorary citizens.¹¹

Eustratii Sevastopoulo was known for his donations for the support of the Greek culture, and book production in Greek specifically. In 1834 together with other immigrants from Chios (Fyodor Rodocanachi, Jannis Ralli, and his future in-laws Matvei Mavrogordato and Mikhail Petrokokkino) Sevastopoulo funded the edition of the “Logical Grammar of the Greek Language” by I. G. Pitsipiu’s (И. Г. Пиципиу).¹²

According to the records of the Odessa City Duma, in 1849 the family of Eustratii Sevastopoulo consisted of his wife Tarsitsa Markovna (Ταρσιτσα Μαρκοβνα), his sons Skarlat, Konstantin, Mark, Alexander, Ivan, and two daughters, Ekaterina and Maria.¹³ In 1856, Sevastopoulo¹⁴ and the members of his family (Tarsitsa Markovna, aged 62; sons Skarlat, aged 45; Konstantin, aged 37; Mark, aged 35; Alexander, aged 31; and Ivan, aged 28) were registered as the honorary citizens of Odessa.¹⁵ Eustratii Sevastopoulo died in Odessa on 18 December 1854 at the age of 69,¹⁶ which allows calculating 1785 as the year of his birth.

Sevastopoulo’s sons Mark and Ivan were born when the family already lived in Odessa. In the register of birth of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa, there is the record of birth of Mark Evstratievich Sevastopoulo, who was born on 18 August 1822, and baptized on 25 August of the same year. Stamatii Martari (Σταματιύ Μαρταρυ), “the English subject”, became his godfather.¹⁷ According to another record from the registry of the same church, Ivan Evstratievich Sevastopoulo was born on 13 June 1828, and baptized on 17 June. The daughter of a foreign Greek national Zoitsa Mikhailovna

11. RGIA, fond 1343, opis 39, delo 4327, fols. 2–3.

12. Kostas G. Avgitidis, *Θεόδωρος Παύλου Ροδοκανάκης. Ο μεγάλéμπορος, επιχειρηματίας, πλοιοκτήτης και τραπεζίτης της Οδησού* [Theodoros Rodocanachis, son of Paulos. Great Merchant, Entrepreneur, Shipowner and Banker of Odessa], (Chios: Alpha Pi, 2004), p. 110.

13. RGIA, fond 1343, opis 39, delo 4327, fol. 1 verso.

14. In the records of the RGIA, his full name is written as Evstratii Karlovich Sevastopoulo, and there is a note of his death in 1854.

15. The age recorded in the archival documents does not match the age given in registers of birth. See DAOO, fond 16, opys 125, sprava 2, fol. 31.

16. Liliya Belousova et al., *Греки Одессы. Именной указатель по метрическим книгам Одесской Греческой Свято-Троицкой Церкви* [The Greeks of Odessa: Name Index According to the Metrical Books of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa], in 7 parts, part III: 1853–1874, (Odesa, 2004), pp. 188–189.

17. *The Greeks of Odessa*, 2nd ed., part 1: 1799–1831, 1836, (Odesa, 2014), pp. 428–429.

Vasilieva (*Зоица Михайловна Васильева*) became his godmother.¹⁸ However, there is no record of the birth of Alexandr Eustratievich, who was born to Sevastopoulo approximately in 1825, between the births of Mark and Ivan.

In addition to the already mentioned Ekaterina and Maria, Sevastopoulo had three other daughters: Elena, Elisaveta, and Ariadna. The oldest daughter Elena married a Greek national Fotii Pavlov from Nezhin in the Greek Holy Trinity Church of Odessa (hereafter the Trinity church) on 6 June 1826. The witnesses to this marriage were the Odessa merchants Christopher Velara (*Христофор Велара*) and Vasilii Evstafii (*Василий Евстафий*) as well as the Greek subject Vasilii Skina (*Василий Скина*).¹⁹ Elisaveta, who was apparently born in 1820, before her parents came to Odessa, died at the age of two on 22 October 1822.²⁰

The most well known daughter of the Sevastopoulos Ariadna was born on 17 August 1825, and baptized in the Trinity church on 20 August of the same year. Her godmother was Zoitsa Mikhailovna Vasiliyeva.²¹ When Ariadna was 20, she married a rich widower, commerce counselor Konstantin Fotievich Papudov (*Константин Фотьевич Панудов*), aged 47. Their witnesses were the college secretary Feodosii Georgiyevich Papudoglo (*Феодосий Георгиевич Панудогло*) and the bride's father Eustratii Skarlatovich Sevastopoulo.²²

Konstantin Papudov (Papadzis) was born on 18 May 1789 in Constantinople,²³ and died on 17 May 1879 in Odessa at the age of 97.²⁴ He was one of the wealthiest and most influential Greek merchants in Odessa. As early as in 1812 Papudov founded a trade house "Papudov and Co" (*Панудов и К°*), which for years was one of the top ten export-and-import enterprises in Odessa. Papudov's company predominantly exported grain and imported citrus fruit, wine, olives and cotton from the Greek islands, Smyrna, Marseille, and Livorno. In its best years, the company's annual turnover was 2.5 million in silver

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., pp. 428–429, 352–353.

20. Ibid., pp. 428–429.

21. Ibid.

22. *The Greeks of Odessa*, part II: 1834–1852, (Odesa, 2002), pp. 274–275, 226–227.

23. Vladimir Morozan, *Деловая жизнь на Юге России в XIX – начале XX века* [Business Life in the South of Russia in the 19th – early 20th Century], (St. Petersburg, 2014), p. 526.

24. The register of death indicated this particular age, see *The Greeks of Odessa*, part IV: 1875–1891, (Odesa, 2004), pp. 194–195.

rubles. Constantine Fotiyevich owned lots of property in Odessa: large grain warehouses, several houses, family residency at Sobornaya square, which was rebuilt according to the project of the popular in Odessa architect Francesco Carlo Boffo (*Франц Карлович Боффо*, 1796–1867), a summer house on the Malofontanskaya Road, and several estates. Papudov became famous as a public figure: in 1822 he was elected the Urban Prefect, in 1825 he was elected member of the Odessa Port Customs, in 1828 the merchants of Odessa elected him to serve as the Head of the Odessa Office of Commercial Bank, in 1829 he was a member of the Odessa Commercial Court, in 1830 he was a member of the Odessa Construction Committee. Papudov served again as Odessa Urban Prefect in 1842–1845, and invested much effort into charitable activities, donating to the shelters for the poor, orphanages, nursing houses as well as to the invalids of the Crimean War. For this activity, Papudov was awarded the medal “For Effort”, the title of commercial counselor, and the status of hereditary honorary citizen both for himself and his family members.²⁵

Papudov was closely connected with the aristocratic immigrants from Chios both through financial affairs and family ties: his first wife Despina Panteleyevna Rodocanachi (*Деспина Пантелеевна Родоканаки*, 1809–1838) came from a renowned and wealthy family. His second wife Ariadna Sevastopoulo was celebrated for her beauty and musical talents: she performed vocal, played piano and hosted a popular salon in Odessa.²⁶ Just as other women from the families of Chios immigrants, she participated in charity. In 1854 together with the Countesses Elena Griroriyevna Tolstaya (*Елена Григорьевна Толстая*) and Maria Alexandrovna Liders (*Мария Александровна Лидерс*), as well as other ladies from high society in Odessa, she raised more than 5,000 rubles for the needs of the wounded and killed veterans of the Crimean War.²⁷ In 1867 together with Maria Ralli

25. For further information see: Kostas G. Avgitidis, “Торговый дом Константина Папудова” [Trading Company of Konstantin Papudov], in Valerii Smolii (ed.), *Подвижники й меценати. Грецькі підприємці та громадські діячі в Україні XVII–XIX ст.* [Zealots and Benefactors. The Greek Businessmen and Public Figures in Ukraine, 17th – 19th Century], (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2001), pp. 141–152; Moroza, *Business Life*, pp. 526–527.

26. Aleksandr Deribas, *Старая Одесса. Забытые страницы: Исторические очерки и воспоминания* [Old Odessa. The Forgotten Pages: Historical Sketches and Memoirs], (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 2004), pp. 132, 259–260.

27. Vladimir Moroza, “Крупнейшие зерновые экспортеры Причерноморья и Приазовья: методы торговли, общественная и частная жизнь” [The Major Exporters of Grain in the Black and Azov Sea Regions: Trading Practices, Public and Private Life], in Hennadii Boriak, Evrydiki Sifneos, Gelina Harlaftis,

(Мария Ралли), Maria Tsitsini (Мария Цицини), and her niece Erato Sevastopoulo (Эрато Севастопуло) Ariadna became a founder of the Relief Committee for the Poor Cretan Families (Комитет помощи обездоленным критским семьям), which was gathering funds for the Greek victims of the Greek revolt against the Ottoman rule (1866–1869). In March 1867, the Committee raised 23,500 silver rubles through charity concerts, theatrical performances, fairs and lotteries.²⁸ Ariadna Papudova was also the trustee of the Greek Rodocanachi School for Women in Odessa.²⁹ She died of breast cancer on 12 July 1892 at the age of 68, and was buried at the Old City Cemetery of Odessa.³⁰

Ariadna and Konstatin Papudov had three daughters named Eugenia, Olga, and Ariadna, and a son Anatolii, but the register of honorary citizens for 1856 mentions only Anatolii (at the age of six) and Ariadna (at the age of four).³¹ Eugenia died at the age of eight on 28 April 1852 in Odessa.³² Apparently, Olga also died young, though the death registers of the Trinity Church, where the Papudovs were parishioners, have no related record. It is possible that Olga died during one of the longer family sojourns abroad. Anatolii died of epilepsy at the age of 47 on 3 July 1894 in Odessa, and leaved no heirs.³³ Thus Ariadna, born in 1852,³⁴ inherited considerable wealth and became a wife of Andrei Dmitriyevich Martynov (Андрей Дмитриевич Мартынов, 17 June 1838 – 17 May 1913 in St. Petersburg), the General of the Cavalry, Chief of Staff of the Don Cossak Army, a participant of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878, and a descendent of an aristocratic family from the Don region.³⁵ This marriage attests to the significant changes in the social

et al. (eds.), *Грецьке підприємництво і торгівля у Північному Причорномор'ї XVIII–XIX ст.* [Greek Entrepreneurship and Trade in the Northern Black Sea in the 18th – 19th Centuries], (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2012), p. 119.

28. Grigorii M. Piatigorskii, “The Cretan Uprising of 1866–1869 and the Greeks of Odessa”, *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, vol. 14–15 (Minneapolis, 1998/1999), p. 133.

29. Avgitidis, *Trading Company*, p. 151.

30. *The Greeks of Odessa*, part V: 1802, 1892–1906, (Odesa, 2005), pp. 216–217.

31. DAOO, fond 16, opys 125, sprava 2, fol. 36 verso.

32. *The Greeks of Odessa*, part II: 1834–1852, pp. 226–227.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 216–217.

34. Some sources give a different information about the date of birth, which is 1 October 1853 or 10 March 1853. See: Ivan Grezin, *Алфавитный список русских захоронений на кладбище в Сент-Женевьев-де-Буа* [The Alphabetical Index of Russian Burials at the Cemetery Sainte-Geneviève-des-Bois], (Moscow: Staraya Basmannaya, 2009), p. 313.

35. For more information see: Sergei Volkov, Генералитет Российской империи: энциклопедический словарь генералов и адмиралов от Петра I до Николая II [Generals of the Russian

status of the Papudov-Sevastopoulos, who were gradually integrating into the Russian society and local establishment. Ariadna Konstantinovna Martynova, née Papudova died at the age of 83 on 1 October 1935, and was buried on 4 October 1935 in the Sainte-Geneviève-des-Bois Russian Cemetery in Paris, France.³⁶

Mark Sevastopoulo, the hereditary honorary citizen and the merchant of the 1st guild, was the most successful male offspring of Evstratii Sevastopoulo. Mark was home schooled³⁷ and, just like most of the second- and third-generation immigrants from Chios, started his career helping in family business. But within the next few years, he joined the public service, a step up the social ladder and a key to the further advancement of his social status. This, too, could be interpreted as gradual integration of the Sevastopoulos, and more generally, the Greek immigrants, into the realities of life in the Russian Empire.³⁸

On 20 April 1856, the Odessa Merchants' Society elected Mark Sevastopoulo as a candidate to the Odessa Commercial Court; the Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia approved the election, and on 2 June of the same year Mark Sevastopoulo started his service. Since 5 March 1859, Mark Sevastopoulo was on a prolonged leave, to manage family business. On 20 March 1867 Sevastopoulo was elected a member of the Commercial Court, where he served from 26 January to 23 February 1871, and from 31 January to 1 September 1872.³⁹ In 1867, the Odessa merchants elected him a member of a Trust fund for the Odessa Commercial School (*Одесское коммерческое училище*), a position that Mark Sevastopoulo held until his voluntary resignation in 1885.⁴⁰ On 12 January 1879, the local merchants elected Mark Sevastopoulo a member of the Odessa Committee of Trade and Manufacture (*Одесский комитет торговли и мануфактуры*) for four years, in 1881

Empire: Encyclopedic Dictionary of Generals and Admirals from Peter I to Nicholas II], in 2 vols., vol. 2, (Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf, 2009), p. 111.

36. Grezin, *The Alphabetical Index*, p. 313; Vadim Chuvakov (ed.), *Незабытые могилы. Российское зарубежье: некрологи 1917–1999* [Unforgotten Graves. Russian Emigrants Abroad: Obituaries 1917–1999], in 6 vols., vol. 4, (Moscow, Pashkov dom, 2004), p. 415.

37. RGIA, fond 1343, opis 29, delo 1763, fols. 5 verso – 6.

38. See Valerii Tomazov. “Соціальний статус купців-хіосців Маврогордато в Російській імперії: пошуки дворянства” [Social Status of the Chios Merchants Mavrogordato in the Russian Empire: the Pursuit of Nobility], in *Henealohiia. Zbirka naukovykh prats*, issue 1, (Kyiv: VD “Antykvary”, 2013), pp. 287–301.

39. RGIA, fond 1343, opis 29, delo 1763, fols. 5 verso – 6.

40. Ibid., fols. 5 verso – 12.

he was elected a representative (*выборный*) from the Odessa Commercial Society for three years and a member (*гласный, glasnyi*) of the Odessa City Duma for four years.⁴¹

All the above-mentioned facts demonstrated that Mark Sevastopoulo had well-established reputation among the Odessa merchants, and had ingratiated himself with the local authorities, since all his appointments were coordinated with the Governor-Generals and Urban Prefects. The latter is further confirmed by the awards granted to Mark Sevastopoulo for his service: on 3 August 1872, Mark Sevastopoulo and other members of the Trust fund for the Odessa Commercial School received a gratitude from the Governor-General for the significant alleviation of the maintenance cost and successful management of the School; the same year, on 23 October, Mark Sevastopoulo received the Order of Saint Stanislav of the 2nd degree for his efforts and concern for the benefit of the Odessa Commercial School; the award was presented by the Governor General; on 23 April 1876, by the presentation of the Committee of Ministers of the Russian Empire, Sevastopoulo was awarded the Order of Saint Anna of the 2nd degree for his promotion of public education; on 28 March 1882, he was awarded the Order of Saint Vladimir of the 4th degree for his charitable work and effort.⁴² Together with his relatives Fyodor Rodocanachi, Nikolai Mavrogordato and others Chios immigrants, Mark Sevastopoulo became the founder of the Greek Charity Fund of Odessa (*Одесское греческое благотворительное общество*).⁴³

After his entry to the state service, Mark Sevastopoulo did not completely abandon commerce. After the death of his father in 1854, Mark and his brothers, Odessa honorary citizens and 1st guild merchants Alexander, Konstantin, Ivan, and Karl (Skarlat), carried on the business of the deceased. In 1857, they requested the Odessa City Duma to grant them permission to establish a trade house named “Eustratii Sevastopoulo” so that “the name of their father would last unchanged”.⁴⁴ The founding of the company was the probable reason of Mark’s long leave from the public service. The commercial house of Sevastopoulo was of a large scale: in 1857, it consisted of 24 companies, with the yearly export equal to

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Sergei Reshetov, Larisa Izhik, *Григорий Маразли: честь наче почесу* [Grigorii Marazli: the Honor Matters more than Praise], (Odessa: TES, 2012), p. 193.

44. DAOO, fond 2, opys 1, sprava 497, fols. 1–7.

300,000 – 1,000,000 rubles per year.⁴⁵ It is possible that soon the company was liquidated, like most such companies owned by the Chios families.⁴⁶



Fig. 1. Erato Matveyevna Sevastopoulo, nee Mavrogordato. Portrait by Sergei Zaryanko (?), ca. 1860. Odesa Fine Arts Museum.

When in 1870 the Commercial Bank of Odessa was founded, Mark Sevastopoulo was a candidate to its members, later he became member of the administration that liquidated the bank.⁴⁷ In 1885, he testified that he owned no inherited real estate property, except for one house in Odessa, while his wife owned one inherited and one purchased house.⁴⁸ In 1856 Markos Sevastopoulos married Erato Matveyevna Mavrogordato in the Trinity Church. His wife belonged to a wealthy and prominent family of merchants from Chios.⁴⁹ She was born in Odessa on 25 March 1837.⁵⁰

45. Newspaper *Odesskii Vestnik* [Odessa Herald], no 40 (1858).

46. For more details see Tomazov, *The Greek Immigrants from Chios*, pp. 104–105.

47. Morozan, *Business Life*, pp. 313 and 344.

48. RGIA, fond 1343, opis 29, delo 1763, fol. 5 verso.

49. Argenti, *Libro d'oro*, pp. 2, 94.

50. Ibid.

Erato's father Matvei Panteleyevich Mavrogordato (approx. 1780, Chios – 22 March 1868) was Ottoman subject and Odessa merchant of the 3rd (later of the 2nd) guild, who traded grain and owned the Tyrlovka estate in the Haisyn *uyezd* of Podolia Guberniia. Matvei Mavrogordato belonged to the branch Lakana of the Mavrogordatos and was the oldest son of Pantelei Matveyevich Mavrogordato and Marietta Skaramanga, daughter of Lorenzo Skaramanga. Erato's mother was a philanthropist and member of the Odessa Women's Charitable Society Angelina Panteleyevna Kondostavlo (approx. 1802 – 19 March 1876, Odessa), and the daughter of the Ottoman subject from Chios Pantelei Likardovich Kondostavlo (*Пантелей Ликардович Кондоставло*).⁵¹

Erato's older sister Ekaterina (22 September 1834, Odessa – 9 July 1923, Paris) was a well-known philanthropist and wife of Fyodor Panteleyevich (Pandiyeich) Rodocanachi (13 November 1825, Livorno – 21 September 1889, Baden-Baden), who was an influential liquor tax-farmer from St. Petersburg, commercial councilor, 1st guild merchant, and later Italian nobleman. Fyodor Rodocanachi was a nephew of Fyodor Pavlovich Rodocanachi (1799, Chios – 24 February 1882, Odessa), a wealthy Odessa merchant of Chios descent.⁵²

Erato's older brother Fyodor Mavrogordato (approx. 1818, Chios – 16 April 1874, Odessa) was the 1st guild merchant, the hereditary honorary citizen, the owner of the trading house "Fyodor Mavrogordato and Co", the member (*гласный*, *glasnyi*) of the Odessa City Duma. Erato's nephew Matvei Mavrogordato (6 September 1848, Odessa – 21 December 1935, Paris) was State Councilor, hereditary nobleman of the Russian Empire, chevalier of several orders, a prosperous and prominent in Odessa man, philanthropist, and benefactor.⁵³

51. On the Mavrogordato family see: Valerii Tomazov, "Під Маврогордато (гілка Лакана) в Одесі: історико-генеалогічна розвідка" [The Dynasty of Mavrogordato (Lakan Family Branch) in Odessa: Historical and Genealogical Investigation], *Arkhiv Ukrainy*, 269: 3–4 (2010), pp. 72–86; idem, *Το γένος των Μαυρογορδάτων (Μαυροκορδάτων) στη Ρωσική Αυτοκρατορία. Η ιστορία του γένους μέσα από τα έγγραφα και γεγονότα* [The Mavrogordatos (Mavrokordatos) Family in the Russian Empire. The Family's History as Reflected in Documents and Events], trans. By Xenia Tiskevits, (Athens: Ekdoseis Alpha Pi, 2010).

52. See Valerii Tomazov, "Соціальний статус Родоканакі у Російській імперії" [Social Status of the Rodocanachi in the Russian Empire], *Problemy Istorii Ukrainy XIX – Pochatku XX Stolittia*, vol. 20, (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2012), pp. 201–209; idem, "Социальный статус семьи Родоканакі в Российской империи" [Social Status of the Rodocanachi Family in the Russian Empire], *Genealogicheskii Vestnik*, 49 (2014), pp. 37–47.

53. See Tomazov, *Social Status of the Chios Merchants*, pp. 287–301; idem, *The Dynasty of Mavrogordato (Lakan Family Branch)*, pp. 72–86; idem, *The Dynasty of Mavrogordato (Maurokordato)*, pp. 82–108.

Erato Sevastopoulo enjoyed long stays abroad but nonetheless supported charity organizations in Odessa. To give only one example, together with her aunt Ariadna Papudova, Erato was a member of the Relief Committee for the Poor Cretan Families.

Mark Sevastopoulo and Erato Mavrogordato had a marriage traditional for the Chios aristocracy,⁵⁴ and contributed to the strengthening of the economic and social status of the Sevastopoulo family in Odessa. Mark and Erato had three sons. The oldest son Eustratii was born in Odessa on 9 December 1857⁵⁵ (according to other sources, he was born on 8 January 1858), on 8 January 1858 he was baptized in the Trinity Church. Eustratii's godparents were his grandfather, the merchant of the 3rd guild Matvei Panteleyevich Mavrogordato and his aunt Jenie Matveyevna, wife of the Greek subject Fyodor Matveyevich Mavrogordato.⁵⁶ Their second son Matvei was born in Odessa on 16 November 1864, and baptized in the same church on 12 December. Matvei's godparents were his uncle, the honorary citizen Skarlat Eustratiyevich Sevastopoulo and his aunt Jenie Matveyevna, wife of the 1st guild merchant Fyodor Matveyevich Mavrogordato⁵⁷. The youngest son Karl (Skarlat) was born in Odessa on 13 January 1871 and was baptized on 14 March of the same year in the Trinity Church. Karl's godparents were his uncle, honorary citizen Alexander Eustratiyevich Sevastopoulo and his aunt Yekaterina Matveyevna, wife of the Italian citizen Fyodor Rodocanachi.⁵⁸

On 28 September 1885, Matvei Eustratiyevich addressed the Gentry Assembly of the Kherson Guberniia (*Херсонское губернское дворянское депутатское собрание*) with a petition to grant him and his family the title of hereditary nobleman on account of being awarded the Order of Saint Vladimir of the 4th degree.⁵⁹ On 29 October 1885, the Assembly granted part of the request and put the name of Mark Sevastopoulo into the 3rd part of the Gentry Genealogy Book of the Kherson Guberniia,⁶⁰ recommending that the spouse and adult children of Mark Sevastopoulo submit a similar request on their own behalf.⁶¹ But on

54. See Tomazov, *Social Status of the Chios Merchants*, p. 102.

55. RGIA, fond 1343, opis 29, delo 1763, fol. 6.

56. *The Greeks of Odessa*, part III: 1853–1874, pp. 188–189.

57. Ibid.; RGIA, fond 1343, opis 29, delo 1763, fol. 6.

58. Ibid.

59. RGIA, fond 1343, opis 29, delo 1763, fol. 4.

60. Ibid., fol. 1.

61. Ibid., fols. 15 verso – 16.

28 February 1886, the Department of Heraldry reviewed the case of Mark Sevastopoulo and on rejected his petition.⁶²

Mark Sevastopoulo died of heart failure on 3 January 1903 in Odessa at the age of 80 and was buried at the Old City Cemetery.⁶³ His wife Erato Matveyevna died on 22 December 1925 in Nice.⁶⁴ Their son Eustratii died at the age of 31 in Odessa on 20 December 1888.⁶⁵ He was survived by his brothers Matvei and Karl, who continued to strengthen the positions of their family in Russia.

Matvei Sevastopoulo joined diplomatic service and made a remarkable career: in 1895 he was assigned to the Russian mission in the Netherlands, in 1898 he was appointed a secretary of the mission in Romania, in 1900 he occupied the same position in Belgium, in 1904 he was the 2nd secretary (promoted to the 1st secretary in 1908) at the Russian embassy in Great Britain, in 1913 he was advisor to the Russian embassy in France. He was a State Councilor and a chamberlain of the Imperial Court. On 3 June 1917, Matvei Sevastopoulo was appointed by the Russian Provisional Government an Ambassador of Russia in Denmark and since 27 October he became a *charge d'affaires* of the Russian Provisional Government in France. After the Bolshevik revolution, the new Foreign Commissar Leon Trotsky released Matvei Sevastopoulo from service on 26 November. Matvei Sevastopoulo never returned to Russia, he died in 1943.⁶⁶ He was unmarried and left no offspring.⁶⁷

Matvei's brother Karl (Skarlat) Sevastopoulo opted for the service at the Ministry of Justice, and was a famous in Odessa philanthropist and public figure. Karl was a State Councilor, honorary magistrate, member of the board of the Discount Bank of Odessa

62. Ibid., fol. 17.

63. *The Greeks of Odessa*, part V: 1802, 1892–1906, pp. 246–247.

64. Argenti, *Libro d'oro*, pp. 2, 94.

65. *The Greeks of Odessa*, part IV: 1875–1891, pp. 226–227.

66. “Матвей Маркович Севастопуло” [Matvei Markovich Sevastopoulo], in *Дипломаты Российской империи* [The Diplomats of the Russian Empire], a digital publication at <http://www.rusdiplomats.narod.ru/sevastopulo-mm.html> (date of access 20.12.2014); “Список послов России и СССР в Дании” [A List of the Ambassadors of Russia and USSR in Denmark], in *Wikipedia*, at https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Список_послов_России_и_СССР_в_Дании (date of access 20.12.2014); Leon Trotsky, “Приказ народного комиссара по иностранным делам” [The Order of the People's Foreign Commissar], *Pravda*, no 201 (11 December (27 November) 1917).

67. RGIA, fond 727, opis 2, delo 378, fols. 3–3 verso.

(Одесский учетный банк), a deputy director of the Patronage Society for Homeless Children (*Общество покровительства бездомным детям*), a member of the administration of the Odessa Committee of the Trustee Society for Prisons (*Одесский комитет Попечительского общества о тюрьмах*), a deputy director of the Odessa branch of the Russian Gardening Society (*Российское общество садоводства*) and a member of the Odessa branch of the Russian Technical Society (*Российское техническое общества*).⁶⁸ Karl Sevastopoulo actively supported the efforts of his aunt Ekaterina Matveyevna Rodocanachi, the trustee of the Blagoveschenskii Orphanage (in 1871 it was renamed into the Yekaterininskii Orphanage) in St. Petersburg. In 1890 on the occasion of its 50th anniversary, Ekaterina Rodocanachi made a donation of 50,000 rubles to the orphanage. It was then that due to this financial help, the Emperor signed a decree according to which the orphanage was renamed in honor of Ekaterina's husband Fyodor Rodocanachi, while Karl Sevastopoulo together with his aunt became the trustees of the institution.⁶⁹

On 10 November 1896, Karl Sevastopoulo, aged 25, married Maria Valerianovna Ligin, aged 22, in the Trinity Church. The witnesses to this event were the bride's brother, nobleman Valerian Valerianovich Ligin, baron Nikolai Eduardovich Steiger, the State Councilor Valerian Nikolayevich Ligin (father of the bride) and the Privy Councilor Grigorii Grigoriyevich Marazli.⁷⁰ Maria was born in 1874 in Odessa;⁷¹ her father, Dr. Valerian Nikolayevich Ligin (26 July 1846, St. Petersburg – 6 January 1900, Hyères, Var, France) was a famous mathematician, and public figure. He was a professor and Dean of the Department of Physics and Mathematics at the Novorossiia University, honorary magistrate, *glasnyi*, Odessa Deputy Mayor and Odessa Mayor, a trustee of Warsaw school district, the head of the Odessa branch of the Russian Technical Society, deputy director of

68. Ibid., and *Вся Одесса. Адресная и справочная книга всей Одессы с отделом Одесский уезд на 1914 год* [All Odessa. Address and Reference Book for Odessa for 1914], (Odessa, 1913), p. 368.

69. Andrei Kerzum, “Детский приют в память Фёдора Пандиевича Родоканаки” [The Orphanage Named After Fyodor Pandievich Rodocanachi], in Andrei Kerzum, Oleg Leikind, Dmitrii Severyukhin (eds.), *Благотворительность в Санкт-Петербурге, 1703–1918: историческая энциклопедия* [Charity in St. Petersburg, 1703–1918: a Historical Encyclopaedia], (St. Petersburg: Liki Rossii, 2016).

70. *The Greeks of Odessa*, part V: 1802, 1892–1906, pp. 246–247, and 160–161.

71. Dating Maria's birth to 13 January 1871 is incorrect. This date is the birthdate of her husband, Karl Markovich Sevastopoulo. See “Лигин Сергей Валерианович” [Ligin Sergei Valerianovich], in *Николаевская область. Электронная историческая библиотека* [Nikolayev Region. The Digital Historical Library], at <http://history.mk.ua/ligin-sergej-valerianovich.htm> (date of access: 20.12.2014).

the Odessa branch of Russian Society of Gardening and the head of various trust funds, as well as the Privy Councilor and the cavalier of several awards. He was married to Elisaveta Egorovna Parputi (*Елизавета Егоровна Парпути*, approx. 1850 – after 1910), a representative of the wealthy family of the Greek merchants in Odessa, daughter of the Austrian subject Yegor Lukich Parputi (*Егор Лукич Парпути*, approx. 1810 – approx. 1888) and Ekaterina Antonovna Gofman (*Екатерины Антоновны Гофман*, 1825–1878). It should be noted that the Parputi had family ties with the Chios merchants: Elisaveta's aunt Lubov Lukinichna (1 September 1819, Odessa – after 1848) was married to Andrei Ivanovich Petrokokkino (approx. 1812 – approx. 1847).⁷² Their oldest son Valerian Valerianovich Ligin (1873, Odessa – after 1917) was the State Councillor, the Vice-Governor of the Kalisz Guberniia and Governor of the Kielce Guberniia. Their younger son Sergei Valerianovich Ligin (1877 – after 1927) was a well-known traumatologist and surgeon, the author of academic works, head and chief medical officer of the military department of the Nikolayev City Hospital.⁷³

Maria Valerianovna Sevastopoulo was a talented sculptor, a member of the Society of Southern Russian Artists. Using the pseudonym Sevasto, she participated in the exhibitions of the Society of the Southern Russian Artists in 1909, 1910 and 1916.⁷⁴ She also was a well-known public figure: she served as the assistant of the female trustee at the Mariinskii Orphanage in Odessa and the trustee of the Odessa City Trust Fund for Orphanages (*Одесское городское попечительство детских приютов*).⁷⁵

Karl and Maria Sevastopoulo had three sons and a daughter. Their elder son Mark was born on 21 November 1897 and was baptized the same year in the Trinity Church on 21 December. The godparents were Mark's great uncle, the hereditary honorary citizen Karl (Skarlat) Eustratiyevich Sevastopoulo (represented at the ceremony by the Privy

72. Liliia Belousova, *Το γένος των Πετροκοκκίνων: περίοδος της Οδησσοῦ 19οῦ – 20οῦ αἰῶνα* [The Dynasty of Petrokokkinoi: the Odessa Period, 19th – 20th Century], (Chios: Ekdoseis Alpha Pi, 2007), pp. 75–76.

73. For further reading about the Ligin, see Reshetov, Izhik, *Grigorii Marazli*, pp. 128–130, and *Ligin Sergei Valerianovich*, cited in fn. 71.

74. Vasilii Afanasiev, Olga Barkovskaya (eds.), *Товарищество южнорусских художников. Биобиблиографический справочник* [Society of South Russian Artists. Biobibliographic Guide], (Odessa: Odes'ka natsional'na naukova biblioteka, 2014), p. 307.

75. *All Odessa*, p. 368.

Councillor Grigorii Grigoriyevich Marazli) and his grandmother Erato Matveyevna, wife of the hereditary honorary citizen Mark Sevastopoulo.⁷⁶ Their younger son Alexander was born on 30 November 1901, and baptized in the same church as his siblings on 17 February 1902. His godparents were the Privy Councillor Grigorii Grigoriyevich Marazli and his grandmother Erato Matveyevna Sevastopoulo.⁷⁷ Their middle son Valerian was born in Florence on 27 November 1898, and their daughter Elisaveta was born in Paris on 19 January 1900.⁷⁸

Karl Sevastopoulo considerably increased the wealth of his family in Odessa through the business of renting the warehouses. On 1 November 1901, Karl's cousin Matvei Fyodorovich Mavrogordato, who emigrated to Paris, sold his luxurious mansion, located at the corner of the Ekaterininskii and Voennyi descents and the Sabaneyev bridge, to Karl Markovich.⁷⁹ This very mansion became the family residence of Karl Sevastopoulo.⁸⁰ On 31 January 1908 he bought from Matvei Mavrogordato another house on 13 Knyazheskaya Street.⁸¹

After the Bolshevik coup d'état, the Sevastopoulos emigrated to France, where they lived in Nice, and then to the USA. Their collections of art objects and libraries, fortunately, replenished the funds of museums in Odessa: the Museum of Fine Arts at the Novorossiia University, which holds a collection of 204 books from the library of Karl Matveyevich Sevastopoulo,⁸² and the Public Museum of Fine Arts, which houses, though not as a single collection, the paintings previously owned by the Sevastopoulo family.⁸³

According to some sources, Karl Sevastopoulo died in Mentone, France on 23 April 1923, and his wife Maria died on 4 March 1861 in the USA.⁸⁴

76. *The Greeks of Odessa*, part V: 1802, 1892–1906, pp. 246–247.

77. *Ibid.*

78. Argenti, *Libro d'oro*, pp. 2, 252.

79. DAOO, fond 35, opys 1, sprava 27678, fol. 9 verso.

80. *All Odessa*, p. 368; RGIA, fond 727, opis 2, delo 378, fol. 32.

81. DAOO, fond 35, opys 1, sprava 27678, fols. 1–4, and 10–13 verso.

82. Valerii Levchenko, “Музей изящных искусств’ Императорського Новоросійського університету: історія та доля скарбниці” [The Museum of the Fine Arts in the Emperor's Novorossiia University: The History and the Fate of the Collection], in *Полікультуротворча діяльність 2010: Матеріали Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції, м. Київ, 12–13 квітня 2010 р.* [Multicultural Activity in 2010: Proceedings of the International Workshop in Kyiv, 12–13 April 2010], pp. 112–115.

83. *Society of South Russian Artists*, p. 307.

84. *Unforgotten Graves. Russian Emigrants Abroad*, vol. 6, part 1 (2005), p. 471.

Among the Sevastopoulos, one should also mention Alexander Eustratiyevich, Karl's uncle, who lived in Odessa and was one of the founders of the Discount Bank of Odessa, established in 1879.⁸⁵ Alexander died of chronic pulmonary tuberculosis in Odessa on 11 June 1892, at the age of 64; he was buried at the Old City Cemetery.⁸⁶ Other brothers of Alexander left Odessa for business matters and lived abroad. For example, Konstantin Eustratiyevich Sevastopoulo, aged 83, lived in Livorno, and even renounced his Russian citizenship in 1902.⁸⁷

Thus, the history of the Sevastopoulo family in Odessa had a development similar to the most immigrant families from Chios: they evolved from the owners of the grain trading companies, belonging the closed ethno-social group, to the elite members of the Russian society: big landlords, estate owners, and public officers with family, cultural and business ties to the local aristocracy.

85. Morozan, *Business Life*, p. 346, and Reshetov, Izhik, *Grigorii Marazli*, p. 208.

86. Alexander was married to Maria Ivanovna, who received her passport on 18 August 1892 after the death of her husband; no data about their children could be found: DAOO, fond 16, opys 125, sprava 2, fol 31. In academic literature one can also come across the mention of Maria Alexandrovna Sevastopoulo-Kiriakova (approx. 1835 – 4 May 1915, Petrograd), actress, a writer and a playwright, who was related to the Odessa Sevastopoulos, however no documentary testimony of this connection could be found so far. See *The Greeks of Odessa*, part V: 1802, 1892–1906, pp. 246–247.

87. RGIA, fond 1284, opis 100, delo 3361, fol. 16.

Chapter 14

Priestly Scandal and Civic Association Among the Greeks of Odessa: The Case of the Holy Trinity Church¹

Nikolaos Chrissidis

This essay investigates some chapters in the history of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa in the 19th and early 20th centuries. As John Mazis has convincingly argued, the creation of the Greek Benevolent Association of Odessa (GBAO) in the 1870s was a successful attempt on the part of the Odessa Greek business elite to acquire centralized control of the chief educational and religious institutions serving the city's Greek colony.²

1. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Liliia Bilousova and the staff at the State Archives of Odesa Region (DAOO, Odesa, Ukraine) for their unstinting help and support. Similarly, I owe an enormous debt to Sofronios Paradeisopoulos, director of the Odessa Branch of the Hellenic Foundation of Culture, for generously offering me access to his research materials, and for all his help during my research trips in Odessa. I also thank Anna Sydorenko, Nadia Kizenko, Olga Katsiardi-Hering, Gelina Harlaftis and the late Evrydiki Sifneos. To Dr. Eleftheria Daleziou, Archivist at the American School of Classical Studies, Athens, I owe a special thanks of gratitude for her support, help and patience; I also thank to Pelagia Avramidou, of the Diplomatic and Historical Archive, Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ol'ga Edel'man, at the Publications Department of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF, Moscow) and Nina Abdulaeva and Aleksei Trefakhin, in the Reading Room of GARF. Work on this project has been supported by several grants from the Connecticut State University system.

2. On the terms colony, paroikia (παροικία), community and others, as used to denote various organizations of immigrant groups, and especially merchants, and for discussions of types of Greek associations, both administrative and trading, see: Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Central and Peripheral Communities in the Greek Diaspora: Interlocal and Local Economic, Political, and Cultural Networks in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in Minna Rozen (ed.), *Homelands and Diasporas. Greeks, Jews and their Migrations* (London-New York, 2008), pp. 169–180; eadem, "Αδελφότητα, Κομπανία, Κοινότητα. Για μια τυπολογία των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Κεντρικής Ευρώπης με αφορμή το άγνωστο καταστατικό του Miskolc (1801)" [Brotherhood, Compagnia, Commune. Towards a Typology of Greek Communities of Central Europe on the Basis of the Previously Unknown Foundation Charter of Miskolc (1801)], *Ἑῴα καὶ Ἑσπέρια*, 7 (2007), pp. 247–310; eadem, "Από τις 'ελληνικές κοινότητες του εξωτερικού' στην ιστοριογραφία του μεταναστευτικού φαινομένου (15ος–19ος αι.)" [From the 'Greek Communes Abroad' to the Historiography of the Immigrant Phenomenon], in Paschales M. Kitromilides and Triantafyllos E. Sklavenites (eds.), *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας 1833–2002* [Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece, 1833–2002], (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 223–250; eadem, "Greek Merchant Colonies in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", in Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina

The founders of the GBAO utilized the opportunity offered by newly-instituted Russian governmental policies permitting the creation of civic associations. Several prominent members of the Odessa Greek community successfully undertook the takeover of both types of institutions. They did so at a time when many of them gradually diversified their commercial activities, leaving the grain trade and investing instead in other commodities, real estate, manufacturing and hospitality services.³ In this essay I argue that the GBAO's creation was originally conceived in the wake of a priestly scandal in Odessa's Greek church in the mid-1860s. I also contend that the GBAO's leadership imposed its own favorites for the position of chief priest of the church. Finally, I also maintain that the GBAO imprinted its own civic control on the religious activities of the Odessa Greek community by manipulating the messages that were projected to believers regarding Russian-Greek relations.

The history of the Greek Holy Trinity Church in Odessa can be conditionally divided into three phases.⁴ During the first phase, lasting until the 1820s, Odessa's Greeks sought

Harlaftis and Olga Katsiardi-Hering (eds.), *Greek Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, (London: Pickering and Chatto Publishers, 2012), pp. 127–139; Olympia Selekou, “Ελληνικές παροικίες και κοινότητες στην Κριμαία (18ος–19ος αιώνας). Τυπολογία και εννοιολογικές αποσαφηνίσεις”, [Greek Paroikies and Communes in Crimea (18th–19th Centuries). Typology and Definitional Clarifications], *Επιθεώρηση Κοινωνικών Ερευνών* [Review of Social Research], 104–105 (2001), pp. 249–267, esp. fn. 7, where a distinction is made between *παροικία* (*paroikia*) and *κοινότητα* (*koinoteta*), with the latter indicating an organized association. The Russian term *общество* is used in the Greek Benevolent Association's title to refer to association. Sometimes, in the documents the term *колония* is also used, which renders colony.

3. John A. Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa. Diaspora Leadership in Late Imperial Russia* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2004).

4. This brief overview is based on L. Rossolimo, *Η εν Οδησσώ ελληνική εκκλησία της Αγίας Τριάδος, 1808–1908 / Греческая церковь Святой Троицы в Одессе, 1808–1908* [The Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa, 1808–1908], (Odessa: Slavianskaia Tipografiia E. Khrisogelos, 1908), bilingual Russian-Greek edition, with texts in parallel columns; and on the collective volume, Protoirei Viktor Petliuchenko (ed.), *Свято-Троицкая (Греческая) церковь в Одессе (1808–2001)* [Holy Trinity (Greek) Church in Odessa (1808–2001)], (Odessa: n. p., 2002). For another overview see Konstantinos Papoulides, *Οι Έλληνες της Οδησσού* [The Greeks of Odessa], (Thessaloniki: Ekdotikos Oikos Adelphon Kyriakide, 1999), pp. 265–315. For a more recent overview, solidly based on archival materials, including a prosopography of some clergymen, see Liliya Belousova, “Одесская Греческая Свято-Троицкая церковь: история в лицах” [“The Odessa Greek Church of the Holy Trinity: Individual Stories”], in eadem et al., *Греки Одессы. Именной указатель по метрическим книгам Одесской Греческой Свято-Троицкой Церкви* [The Greeks of Odessa: Name Index According to the Metrical Books of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa], part 1: 1799–1831, 1836, 2nd ed. with additions, (Odessa: Udacha, 2014), pp. 7–26; also eadem, “Одесская Греческая Свято-Троицкая церковь: история и документальное наследие” [The Odessa Greek Church of the Holy Trinity: History and Documentary Heritage], in eadem et al. (eds.), *Державний архів Одеської*

to get their bearings and create a permanent ecclesiastical presence in the city. The erection of a church building in the period 1795–1808 was supported by the Russian state and by monetary collections among the believers themselves, and especially after 1804, by a regular percentage collection among more wealthy merchant parishioners. The second phase started in the 1820s and lasted until the early 1870s. The decade of the 1820s witnessed a temporary internal rift within the community. During that period some richer and more socially prominent Greeks sought to separate themselves from the rest and create a distinct parish with a new church building. This effort did not pan out for a variety of reasons, and the community, at least nominally, remained concentrated around the Church of the Holy Trinity. Starting in 1864 a body of trustees, called the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, was briefly established in order to oversee the church's operations, but the extent to which the brotherhood's control was effective remains unclear. According to one contemporary commentator, the brotherhood ceased functioning once Archimandrite Gregorios Vegleres, its main sponsor, died in 1866.⁵ The third phase began in the early 1870s, with the establishment of the Greek Benevolent Association of Odessa. Soon after its creation in 1871, the GBAO succeeded in centralizing church affairs under the guidance of its executive council.⁶ The GBAO council thus controlled both the church's finances and the employment of its clergy. At least some of the clergy employed at the church appear to have been favorites of prominent members among the Association's strongmen. This third and last phase ended in the early 1920s, when the Bolshevik regime expropriated the church building and turned it into a sports venue.

In celebration of the 100th anniversary of the opening of the Holy Trinity Church, Leonid Rossolimo (Leonidas Rossolymos) published an overview of the church's history that still remains indispensable. Nevertheless, it is written from the perspective of an ardent supporter of amicable Russian-Greek relations. Rossolimo was a church elder (*церковный*

області. Зведений каталог метричних книг [State Archives of Odesa Region. Compiled Catalog of Metrical Books], issue 1: 1797–1939, (Odessa: Pres-kur'ier, 2011), pp. 101–115.

5. The establishment of this Brotherhood is credited to Archimandrite Gregorios Vegleres, the chief priest of the Holy Trinity in the period 1861–1866: see in Konstantinos Kallias (ed.), *Γρηγορίου Βεγλερή του αρχιμανδρίτου λόγοι δύο...* [Two Sermons of Archimandrite Gregorios Vegleres...], (Odessa: Typois P. Frantsov, 1868), p. 6.

6. Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa*, p. 51.

εμπόρεμα) of the Holy Trinity and, by his own admission, based his exposition on sources from the Greek church itself and from consistory records.⁷ Published in Russia under censorship conditions, Rossolimo's account sought to emphasize the importance of eternal ties between the two peoples, Russians and Greeks, and thus tended to smooth over both internal divisions among the Greeks and especially the friction between Greeks and Russians at the local and the international level. The account appeared at a time when, according to some observers, some of the Greeks in Odessa asserted a more nationalistic line and were increasingly willing to openly resist the power of a Russified, or Russophile group that had dominated the GBAO's operation in the previous forty years.⁸ However, several chapters of the church's administrative history and of the broader religious life of Odessa's Greek community still remain to be researched. The present essay is an attempt to shed light on some of them.

Reading the Gospel Individually to Wives of Prominent Community Members

Archimandrite Gregorios Vegleres (died 1866) came from a prominent family of Constantinople with connections to church circles.⁹ After graduating from the Theological School of Chalki, he studied for two years at the Theological Academy of Kiev. He first seems to have passed through Odessa on his way to Kiev. In two of his letters, both dated to 1851, to Konstantinos Oikonomos of the Oikonomos family, the retired conservative thinker and Odessa resident Alexander Stourdza indicated that he met and found the then hierodeacon Gregorios Vegleres likeable. He added that as a graduate of the Theological School of Chalki, Vegleres was living testimony of the school's high quality.¹⁰ In a

7. Rossolimo, *The Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa*.

8. John A. Mazis, "The Greek Association of Odessa: Nationalist Politics on two Fronts", *Balkan Studies*, 42, no. 2 (2001), pp. 199–224.

9. According to Papoulides, Vegleres was a relative of both the Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos IV (1842–45 and 1852–3) and of Metropolitan Neophytos of Derkoi, a metropolitanate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate: see Papoulides, *The Greeks of Odessa*, p. 302.

10. On Konstantinos Oikonomos, see his biography in Kostas Lappas and Rode Stamoule (eds.), *Konstantinos Oikonomos ho ex Oikonomon*, *Αλληλογραφία* [Correspondence], in 2 vols., (Athens: Akademia Athenon, Kentron Ereunes tou Mesaionikou kai Neou Hellenismou, 1989–2002), v. 1, introduction, pp. 20–47; on Stourdza, see Stella Ghervas, *Réinventer la tradition. Alexandre Stourdza et l'Europe de la Sainte-Alliance*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008); Stella Ghervas, *Alexandre Stourdza (1791–1854): un intellectuel orthodoxe face à l'Occident*, (Genève: Editions Suzanne Hurter, 1999).

subsequent letter, Stourdza noted that he had enjoyed a sermon by Vegleres which exhibited his natural talents as an eloquent speaker. Stourdza added that he and an unspecified archbishop (this must have been the Archbishop of Kherson and Taurida Innokentii) had interceded with the Kiev Theological Academy so that Vegleres would spend only two (instead of the regular four) years studying there, since he had already attended classes in philosophy and theology.¹¹ After his Kievan sojourn, Vegleres relocated to St. Petersburg, where he worked at the headquarters of the Holy Synod. It was there that he managed to convince Demetrios Vernardakes to fund the building of the Greek Orthodox Church of St. Petersburg.¹² The connection to the Vernardakes family must have been mutually beneficial and continued even after Vegleres left St. Petersburg (at least partially for health reasons) and relocated to Odessa where he took over as rector of the Holy Trinity Church.¹³

According to Konstantinos Kallias, Vegleres sought to establish officially a Brotherhood of the Church of the Holy Trinity in 1864.¹⁴ The foundation charter (*καταστατικό*) of the

11. Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Αμερικανική Σχολή Κλασσικών Σπουδών, Αρχείο Κωνσταντίνου Οικονόμου [Gennadeios Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Archive of K. Oikonomos], Letters to K. Oikonomos, box 1, letters to Oikonomos, letters 58 (dated 10 August 1851) and 59 (dated 24 August 1851). Incidentally, it is interesting that Stourdza seems to have relations with the priests among the Odessa Greek community, but not with the community at large: maybe it was an issue of social class or, alternatively, education. Stourdza came from a different, aristocratic world, not that of the merchants. For example, in letter 54, Stourdza agreed to intervene on behalf of Oikonomos on an unspecified cause in favor of Frangiskos Mauros, but he says that he does not have much hope, since he is not in close relations with the Mauros family: *ibid.*, letter 54, dated 18 April 1851.

12. Tatiana Triantaphyllidou, “Δημήτριος Γ. Μπερναρδάκης: η ζωή και το έργο ενός ευεργέτη του ελληνισμού μέσα από τη ρωσική βιβλιογραφία” [Demetrios G. Mpernardakes: The Life and Activity of a Benefactor of Hellenism as Seen in Russian Scholarship], *Μακεδόν: Περιοδική Επιστημονική Έκδοση της Παιδαγωγικής Σχολής Φλώρινας του Πανεπιστημίου Δυτικής Μακεδονίας*, no. 14 (2005), pp. 109–123.

13. See the biography of Gregorios Vegleres, in Kallias (ed.), *Two Sermons of Archimandrite Gregorios Vegleres*, pp. 5–7. See Vasileios Th. Stavrides, *Η ιερά Θεολογική Σχολή της Χάλκης. Τόμος Α'. 1844–1923* [The Holy Theological School of Chalki. Volume 1. 1844–1923], (Athens: Typ. G. Tsiveriotis, 1970), p. 144: Vegleres is said to have graduated in 1848, and to have died in 1886 while on the way from Odessa. This latter date is wrong, and must be a typo. See also Apostolos D. Mexes, *Η Εν Χάλκη Ιερά Θεολογική Σχολή. Ιστορικά Σημειώματα (1844–1935)* [The Holy Theological School of Chalki. Historical Notes (1844–1935)], (Constantinople: Typois “Phazilet”, 1935), p. 198. It was Nikolaos Vernardakes, the son of Demetrios, that financed the silver and gold κουβούκλιο (canopy) covering the tomb of the hieromartyr Gregorios V, the patriarch of Constantinople hanged by the Turks. For Vegleres’s official appointment to the church in Odessa, *Χερσονησικές επαρχιακές ведомости* [Kherson Eparchial News], no. 3 (1861), p. 31.

14. The effort is almost certainly connected to the parish reform of the time in the Russian Empire and the creation of parish guardianships (*приходские попечительства*). On them see Vera Shevzov, *Russian*

Brotherhood as ratified stipulated that members could be not only Orthodox Greeks but also any pious philhellene.¹⁵ The brotherhood's main aims were the upkeep of the church in a manner befitting “national dignity” (*χάριν της εθνικής αυτής αξιοπρεπείας*), the organization of poor relief and also the performance of Orthodox ecclesiastical rituals. The rector of the church was to be de facto presiding over the meetings of the council of trustees (*εφορεία*, *eforeia*). Still, the rector was not envisioned as the president of the *eforeia* (the text is not clear about the exact titles of the officers in the *eforeia*, but refers to a five-member body including a chair and a secretary-cum-treasurer). This was a substantial distinguishing nuance between this iteration of the brotherhood and the subsequent set-up of the Greek Benevolent Association of Odessa, where the presiding officer was a layman, until the chief priest Angelos Pephanes assumed the position of chair sometime in the early twentieth century. Much of the text of the foundation charter mirrors the later charter of the GBAO, with the main difference being that the brotherhood was under the religious supervision of the local bishopric, whereas the GBAO, as a lay organization, was under the supervision of the secular Russian authorities.¹⁶

The background to the appearance of the Brotherhood of the Church of the Holy Trinity is not immediately clear in all its details. Still, a 1864 report of Gregorios Vegleres himself to the Metropolitan of Athens Theophilos and the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece sheds some light on the issues at hand. It appears that, while in St. Petersburg, Vegleres had been accused by the Greek charge d'affaires (*επιτετραμμένος*) in St. Petersburg I. Soutsos of being a Russophile and an ardent supporter of Panslavists.¹⁷ Vegleres described Soutsos's actions

Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 24–25; Aleksei L'vovich Beglov, *Православный приход на закате Российской империи: состояние, дискуссии, реформы*, [The Orthodox Parish Around the End of the Russian Empire: Conditions, Discussions, Reforms], (Moscow: Indrik, 2021).

15. Eleutherios Pavlides, *Ο ελληνισμός της Ρωσίας και τα 33 χρόνια του εν Αθήναις Σωματείου των εκ Ρωσίας Ελλήνων* [The Greeks of Russia and the Thirty-Three Year Anniversary of the Association of Greeks from Russia], (Athens: Ekdosis tou Somateiou ton ek Rosias Hellenon, 1953), pp. 172–176, here p. 173.

16. Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa*, pp. 66–73; DAOO, fond 765, opys 1, sprava 1.

17. See Anta Dialla, *Η Ρωσία απέναντι στα Βαλκάνια. Ιδεολογία και πολιτική στο δεύτερο μισό του 19ου αιώνα* [Russia vis-à-vis the Balkans. Ideology and Policy in the Second Half of the 19th Century], (Athens: Alexandria, 2009), esp. pp. 147–187; Denis Vovchenko, “Modernizing Orthodoxy: Russia and the Christian East (1856–1914)”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 73, no. 2 (2012), pp. 295–317; idem, *Containing Balkan Nationalism: Imperial Russia and Ottoman Christians, 1856–1914*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

as a continuing smear campaign against him that included writing to the Greek Consul P. Tzitzinias in Odessa, when Vegleres sought a transfer to the southern port-city in order to assume a clergy position in the Church of the Holy Trinity at the suggestion of the Russian Holy Synod.¹⁸ In Vegleres's telling, the Holy Trinity Church was then undergoing a period of conflict, due to (unspecified) neglectful behavior on the part of its clergy. Vegleres claimed that, once he arrived in Odessa, he undertook to put church matters in order and in accordance to "national dignity", as he put it (one notes here the running theme of Greek national dignity expressed in the context of the otherwise cosmopolitan city of Odessa). Part of Vegleres's efforts was to bring together the fractious groups of local wealthy Greeks and to create with their support a philanthropic organization or brotherhood that would unite them around the church. However, the Odessa Greek consul did not approve of such an undertaking that would sideline him, and prevent him from chairing the resulting organization. Opponents of the consul's plans argued that out of the 10,000 Greeks (the number is an obvious exaggeration) residing in the city no more than 1,000 were Greek citizens (thus indicating that the issue of citizenship was at least partially a major bone of contention regarding leadership positions); therefore they concluded that chairmanship of it should be left open to election. For his part, Vegleres endeavored to create an ecclesiastical organization (not a lay one, as he emphasized) that was named the Greek Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, under his chairmanship and with the approval of the local Russian archbishop. This organization would focus on poor relief for local Greeks and for those coming from the East (that is, the Ottoman Empire). Elections for the trustees (*ἐφοροί*) took place and the organization began functioning. What followed were continued efforts on the part of the Greek consul to create a separate and different organization that he could control. In other words, in Vegleres's telling, at stake was control of the activities of any Greek organization by the Greek consul, a lay official. To Vegleres's continued consternation, the consul even went as far as trying to regulate the order of the thanksgiving service on Greek national independence day, March 25. Vegleres repeatedly sought to assert his independence from any consular interference, pointing out that the Greek Church was under the supervision of the local

18. Tzitzinias (alternatively spelled Zizinias) had been honorary Consul General since at least 1856: see *Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως του Βασιλείου της Ελλάδος* [Government Gazette of the Kingdom of Greece], no. 53 (1856), p. 307.

Russian archbishopric and was answerable to it. Notably, for his sermon on March 25, Vegleres chose the theme of national concord and cooperation. Nevertheless, the consul interpreted the sermon as a direct attack on himself, even claiming that Vegleres had called for physical harm to the consul, and complained about it to the Russian governor-general (γενικός έπαρχος). The governor-general dismissed the consul's accusations as improbable but promised to investigate. Indeed, the governor-general instructed the Urban Prefect to visit the consul and ask him to stop his smear campaign against Vegleres. As a result, the consul made some conciliatory moves, but his demands of an apology from Vegleres were not ones that the latter was ready to accept, so he (Vegleres) resigned from his position in Odessa. The intervention of members of the brotherhood and of the local archbishop led to a reversal of his decision, and to yet another reprimand addressed to the consul by the governor-general.¹⁹ In Vegleres's telling, therefore, in the early 1860s Odessa's Greek community faced two problems: a general decline of church affairs because of priestly neglect, and the fractiousness of the local Greek community, possibly among more or less nationalist factions, over the issue of control over community affairs. This was an internal Greek conflict but it also directly concerned the Russian side and that is why the Russian authorities intervened as a referee. Matters however soon became much more complicated.

In 1866, a scandal broke out which for some time further shook the Greek community and certainly threatened to discredit the chief clergyman of the Church of the Holy Trinity. As told in a rather flippant and highly humorous way by the businessman and archeology aficionado Heinrich Schliemann, the story for a time became the focus of Odessa's gossip. Vegleres knew Schliemann since at least his St. Petersburg sojourn and may in fact have been the latter's teacher in Greek.²⁰ The scandal occurred when members of the

19. The report is published in Papoulides, *The Greeks of Odessa*, pp. 343–351. On the Greek population of Odessa, which certainly did not amount to 10,000 people, see the works of Sofronios Paradeisopoulos: “Народжуваність в грецькій громаді Одеси під кінець XIX ст.: можливості історико-антропологічних реконструкцій”, [Fertility in the Greek Community of Odessa at the End of the 19th Century: Possibilities of Historical and Anthropological Reconstructions], *Zaporizhzhia Historical Review*, vol. 5 (57) (2021), pp. 27–33; idem, “Младенческая смертность в греческой общине Одессы (1860–1920)”, [Infant Mortality in the Greek Community of Odessa (1860–1920)], *Revista de etnologie și culturologie*, vol. 31 (2022), pp. 41–53; “Greek Subjects in Odessa, 1879: Characteristics of the Community in the Light of Census Data” (unpublished article: my thanks to the author for allowing me access to it).

20. Gennadeios Library, American School of Classical Studies, H. Schliemann Papers, Series B, Correspondence, Box 35, Letter no. 982, Vegleres to Schliemann, 17 October 1857, from St. Petersburg;

Sevastopoulos family and their associates were rumored to have beaten up Archimandrite Vegleres after he was caught in flagrante with the wife of Markos Sevastopoulos.²¹ The Greek community, with the help of two prominent doctors, managed to cover up the affair and to stifle any public official discussion and police investigation of it. Vegleres himself was transferred to Constantinople where he died shortly thereafter.²²

In the aftermath of the scandal, at least some individuals among the Greek community of Odessa sought to memorialize Vegleres as a patriotic, educated and highly beneficial clergyman by printing some of his sermons, in a publication that included Vegleres's biography as well. In particular, Konstantinos Kallias edited and, two years after the scandal, in 1868 published two sermons by Vegleres in Odessa. One of the sermons was delivered on the Sunday of Orthodoxy in 1863, whereas the other was presented on March 25, 1862, both of them in the Holy Trinity Church. The Sunday of Orthodoxy sermon dealt with two of the major differences between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches (the *filioque* and papal primacy), whereas the sermon on March 25 extolled the Greek revolution of 1821, while emphasizing, predictably, the many Russian benefactions towards the Greeks at the time and subsequently.²³ The resulting portrait of Vegleres,

H. Schliemann Papers, Series B, Correspondence, Box 36, Letter no. 238, Vegleres to Schliemann, 27 March 1858; H. Schliemann Papers, Series B, Correspondence, Box 37, Letter no. 479, Vegleres to Schliemann, 26 August 1858.

21. The sources I used do not mention either the first name of Sevastopoulos, or that of his wife. I have consulted Valerii Tomazov, Το γένος των Μαυρογορδάτων (Μαυροκορδάτων) στη Ρωσική Αυτοκρατορία. Η ιστορία του γένους μέσα από τα έγγραφα και γεγονότα [The Mavrogordatos (Mavrokordatos) Family in the Russian Empire. The Family's History as reflected in Documents and Events], trans. by Xenia Tiskevits (Athens: Ekdoseis Alpha Pi, 2010), pp. 87–88: based on this information, the names must have been, respectively, Markos and Erato. They were married in 1856 and had three sons.

22. Gennadeios Library, American School of Classical Studies, H. Schliemann Papers, Series A: Diaries, Diary A10 (1866), pp. 40–45. On the case, see also DAOO, fond 2, opys 2, sprava 949. See also Государственный архив Российской Федерации [State Archive of the Russian Federation], fond 109, opis 206 (4th expedition, 1866), delo 102, which are records from the Third Section. For a discussion of the sources and an analysis of the scandal, see Николаос Хриссидис (Nikolaos Chrissidis), “Внезапная смерть выдающегося священника: случай с архимандритом Григориосом Веглерисом” [“Problems Associated with the Sudden Death of an Outstanding Clergyman: The Case of Archimandrite Gregorios Vegleres”], *Odissei: Chelovek v Istorii*, 2022 (forthcoming).

23. Indeed, the theme of the brotherhood and concord of the two peoples (Russians and Greeks) because of their Orthodoxy was recurrent on a variety of public occasions in the church's activities: see for example the description of the celebrations for the altar day of the Holy Trinity Church on May 22, 1895, in *Kherson Eparchial News*, no. 11 (1895), прибавления [appendix], p. 309.

therefore, was one of a committed patriot and a highly educated and effective theologian, a true rhetor with impeccable Orthodox credentials. This portrait was explicitly meant, again by Kallias's own admission, to counter the ill-founded and evil-intentioned gossip among the Greeks about the deceased archimandrite and to highlight Vegleres's contributions to the community itself. To this aim, the publication of the sermons was accompanied by a letter that the Patriarch of Jerusalem had sent to the Vegleres' family in Constantinople expressing his condolences for Gregorios's death.²⁴

The Scandal's Aftermath: Creating the Greek Benevolent Association of Odessa

A concerted effort to preserve the reputation of the former rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity was not the only consequence of the scandal. Indeed, the available sources make it possible to advance the argument that the scandal may have been closely connected with (indeed, may have triggered) the eventual creation of the Greek Benevolent Association. The first application to the Russian authorities seeking approval for the establishment of the Greek Benevolent Association of Odessa was made soon after the scandal broke out in 1867.²⁵ On the face of it, the application was also connected with the control of the Greek Commercial School for Boys.²⁶ The Russian authorities did not necessarily agree with the plans of the applicants and their application was not approved until later, in 1871. The school and the church were two prime institutions serving the Greek community of Odessa, and the de facto leaders of this community, Odessa's Greek wealthy businessmen, seem to have been intent upon controlling them both. The scandal offered them the opportunity to move on the church front, as well. Thus, although there is no clear-cut cause and effect relationship that can be determined easily, one could argue that by the late 1860s, the

24. See the introduction by Kallias in the publication of Vegleres' sermons: *Two Sermons of Archimandrite Gregorios Vegleres*, pp. 3–4.

25. According to Paradeisopoulos, the attempts to create the GBAO were already apace in 1867: see Sofronios Paradeisopoulos, “Деятельность греческого благотворительного общества в Одессе в последней трети XIX века” [“The Activity of the Greek Benevolent Association in Odessa in the Last Third of the Nineteenth Century”], *Odes'kyi natsional'nyi universytet imeni I. I. Mechnykova, Zapysky istorychnoho fakul'tetu*, 9 (1999), pp. 298–304, esp. p. 299.

26. On the Greek Commercial School Boys, see Kharalampos Voulodemos, *Πρώτη πεντηκονταετηρίς της εν Οδησσώ Ελληνεμπορικής σχολής, 1817–1867* [The First Fifty Years of the Odessa Greek Commercial School, 1817–1867], (Odessa: Typ. L. Nitse, 1871).

following picture emerges: The eminent Greek merchants and businessmen of Odessa slowly but steadily were withdrawing from the grain trade and expanding into other areas of the economy (such as real estate, commodities trade and manufacturing).²⁷ At a time when the Russian state was willing to permit the creation of civic organizations, these individuals endeavored to institutionalize with state sanction their control over key areas of the Greek community's life, the church and education.²⁸ Simultaneously, through philanthropic activity they were trying to ensure that their leadership would not be challenged by potential newcomers. They thus presented themselves as the natural defenders of the totality of Greek interests in Odessa. The creation of the GBAO allowed them to fold into their own hands the control of church and school, and also later to expand their undertakings to women's education. Starting in the early 1870s, the archpriest of the Church of the Holy Trinity (*npomouepeï*) was a member of the executive council of the Greek Benevolent Association, thus becoming a sort of representative of the clergy's interests. However, he was the only clergyman in the council and could be easily overpowered. In theory, the Church of the Holy Trinity retained its board of trustees, but in practice this board was subordinate to the supervision of the board of trustees of the GBAO.²⁹ Thus, the direction and management of religious, philanthropic and educational activities passed into their control. In the process, the GBAO trustees appear to have utilized their personal contacts and social capital to curry favor and arrange deals with the Russian authorities behind the scenes. Their informal but significant power in the city thus became formalized and institutionalized with state sanction. The GBAO was the instrument through which they achieved these goals.

Interestingly, another aspect of the connection between priestly scandal and the GBAO's creation appears to be the attempt by the Odessa Greek consul to control the organized life of the Greeks of Odessa. The resulting conflict was an internal Greek one and focused on the disagreements over national issues between the long-established Greeks of Odessa who were Russian citizens, and those who may have been there for a shorter

27. Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa*, pp. 43–48; Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa. Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 99–144.

28. Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, pp. 145–172.

29. Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa*, pp. 51–52.

time, and were Greek citizens. It appears that more recent arrivals in Odessa were more prone to openly beating the nationalist and patriotic drum as compared to those who were more established and richer and therefore were more careful at least in their public expressions of such patriotism so as not to offend their Russian hosts or express open disagreement with Russian foreign policy. Not that the latter were not willing to participate in activities beneficial to Greek national causes, as the case of support for the Cretan Revolt in the late 1860s shows: they just wanted to make sure that they did so with the full but tacit support and knowledge of the Russian government and the local Russian authorities.³⁰ Illustrating this communal rift is the report of the locum tenens at the Odessa consul's position at the time. He bemoaned the loss by many rich Greek families of Odessa of the ability to speak Greek on top of the loss of their national identity (*εθνισμού*).³¹ It would appear that some temporary lull to this conflict came about when Ivan (Ioannes) Georgievich Voutsinas became the consul of Greece in Odessa in 1874.³² Ivan Voutsinas controlled the consulate and was involved in the GBAO's leadership council. He came to the position of consul after the appointment of his brother Alexandros was turned down by the Russian authorities ostensibly due to the fact that Alexandros had Italian citizenship and also because they were not consulted about his appointment in advance. Ivan (who had

30. Grigorii M. Piatigorskii, "The Cretan Uprising of 1866–1869 and the Greeks of Odessa", *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, vol. 14–15 (Minneapolis, 1998/1999), pp. 129–148.

31. Διπλωματικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών, Εκθέσεις εξ Οδησού [Diplomatic and Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Reports from Odessa], 1872, folder 79/3, letter dated 21 October 1872. In the original: "...αι δε πλείσται των ευπορουσών Ελληνικών οικογενειών, αμνημονήσασαι του Εθνισμού των, εκινδύνευον ν'απολέσουν και την ομιλίαν της μητρώας αυτών γλώσσης".

32. Ioannes (Ivan) Voutsinas was appointed Consul of Greece in Odessa on March 7, 1874, replacing his brother Alexandros in that position: see Diplomatic and Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Greece, Consular Correspondence, Consulates of Odessa and Kerch, 1874, folder 39. Alexandros Voutsinas was involved in the effort to build a monument to the fallen of the Sacred Band of fighters (in the 1821 revolution) in 1873. On Ioannes and Alexandros, see Elias A. Tsitseless, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα. Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν και λαογραφίαν της νήσου Κεφαλληνίας εις τόμους 3* [Cephallonian Miscellany. Contributions to the History and Folklore of the Island of Cephallenia in three volumes], vol. 1, (Athens: Typois Paraskeua Leoni, 1904), pp. 66–68. Aspects of the tension were publicized in a diatribe of V. P. Veriopoulos. *Διορθωτέον εν λάθος* [A Mistake That Must be Corrected], (Odessa: n.p., 1871), which was an attack on what the author saw as the lack of patriotic feelings and leadership on the part of Stephanos Ralles, a rich business man and for a short time Greek consul in Odessa. For a history of the Greek Foreign Ministry, see Marilena Griva, *Το Υπουργείο Εξωτερικών 1833–2007* [The Foreign Ministry 1833–2007], (Athens: Ekdoseis Papazeses, 2008).

Greek citizenship) was more to the liking of the Russian authorities, it appears.³³ Still, the internal Greek communal conflict does not seem to have completely stopped flaring up following the ebbs and flows of life in Odessa and in the wider Greek world. Interestingly, echoes of this rift between Greeks with Russian citizenship and more recent arrivals who appear to have been more interested in asserting a separate and enhanced Greek identity can be found in the early twentieth century with regard to the Greek Commercial School for Boys. At least that much is evident from a 1916 report by a Russian inspector who criticized the school for having acquired a clearly Greek character and curriculum, as opposed to ones that conformed with the Russian authorities' emphasis on Russianness. The inspector attributed this result to the fact that previously the school was run by Cephallonians (this meant individuals originating from the island of Caphallonia such as Pephanes and other pro-Russian individuals, such as his patrons) and now it was under the control of Greeks from Anatolia, that is the Ottoman Empire, who were very nationalistic.³⁴

The above picture of the internal dynamics and conflicts in the Greek community of Odessa in the last quarter or so of the 19th century is admittedly not easy to prove in all its details. However, it goes some way towards explaining the mobilization of the resources and efforts by Odessa's Greek business elite in a period during which they were diversifying their activities, the Russian state was allowing the function of civic associations and, finally, the Russian state was also starting on a series of policies aiming at Russification.³⁵ It also provides some background to the subsequent GBAO

33. Or so at least it appears, because Ivan Voutsinas did not specify the reasons for Alexandros's replacement, although he alluded to a variety of them. Alexandros himself did claim that the reason that the Russian authorities refused to ratify his appointment was because as chair of Odessa's local theater council, he [Alexandros] had fired a female dancer who had been the Odessa Urban Prefect's favorite: see Diplomatic and Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Greece, Consular Correspondence, Consular Reports, 1873, folder 39, subfolder 3, letter of Alexandros Voutsinas to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 17 November 1873.

34. Papoulides, *The Greeks of Odessa*, p. 103.

35. The discussion on the origins, practices and aims of Russification policies is ongoing. For contributions to it relative to the Russian Empire's northwest regions, see among others: Theodore Weeks, "Russification: Word and Practice 1863–1914", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, v. 148, no. 4 (Dec. 2004), pp. 471–489; Mikhail Dolbilov, "Russification and the Bureaucratic Mind in the Russian Empire's Northwestern Region in the 1860s", *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, v. 5, no. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 245–271; Darius Staliūnas, "Did the Government Seek to Rusify Lithuanians and Poles in the Northwest Region after the Uprising of 1863–64", *ibid.*, pp. 273–289; Andreas Kappeler, "The Ambiguities of Russification", *ibid.*, pp. 291–97.

micromanagement of the church. Mazis rightly presents the takeover of the Greek Commercial School for Boys as an attempt to control it on the part of GBAO. He also appropriately presents the school as thriving financially; nevertheless, the school seems to have undergone a crisis of identity in the mid-1870s.³⁶ As the locum tenens of the Greek consul's position in Odessa argued in a letter to the Greek foreign ministry in 1872, the school was rich in endowment but performed poorly academically as a result of administrative incompetence and the teachers' limitations. Specifically, the explanation given was that the school was served inadequately by teachers who did not have good credentials because they were not educated in Greece, and thus were not well prepared to in turn prepare satisfactorily educated and patriotic Greeks. Change in the teaching personnel and securing the energetic support of appropriate members of the Greek community would allow the Greek foreign ministry "to give to the [Greek] Community the language, the education and the learning which it has lacked for a long time".³⁷ I would submit that it may be interpretatively more fruitful to see the GBAO intervening in both church and schooling and trying to sort out the ways in which Odessa's major Greek institutions were functioning. The GBAO's takeover was of troubled, not of thriving, communal institutions.

The Clergy Between the Golden Fleece and the Onion Domes

Starting from its inception, the GBAO's leadership appears to have tightly controlled the appointment of clergymen of the Holy Trinity Church. Indeed, such appointments, at least to the extent that they are reflected in the documentation of the GBAO, became an internal association affair. Moreover, the GBAO leadership seems to have selected individuals with whom one or the other of its council members had patron-client relationships. For example, in the first half of 1874 the GBAO council's members selected Archimandrite Angelos Pephanes for a clergy position in the church, and then submitted their choice to the Russian

36. Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa*, pp. 79–83.

37. Diplomatic and Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Greece, Consular Correspondence, 1872, Odessa, folder 79/3, letter dated 21 October 1872. Quote in the original: "...αποδίδετε τη Κοινότητι ταύτη γλώσσαν παιδείαν και μόρφωσιν ων από πολλού ήδη απεστερήθη".

archbishop, after the fact, for the latter's approval.³⁸ The selection of Pephanes, who was a favorite of I. Voutsinas, was the result of internal negotiation by prominent members of the Greek community, which was submitted to the archbishop as a *fait accompli*. It is notable that the selfsame Angelos Pephanes, at the time still a hierodeacon, had expressed in public and in print his gratitude for the patronage that the Voutsinas family, and especially Georgios Voutsinas (Ivan's father), had bestowed upon him. In 1870 and 1871, Pephanes delivered speeches/eulogies for his patron on the island of Cephallonia, upon receiving the news of Georgios Voutsinas' death.³⁹ The first speech was an impromptu move (or so we are told), upon receipt of the news and on the occasion of a memorial service for Voutsinas in the Church of Saint George in Argostoli. In it, Pephanes painted Georgios Voutsinas as a patron to himself and many others, calling him a true benefactor of the nation. Referring to Voutsinas as "a living example of a rich Christian", Pephanes argued that Voutsinas was the prototype of the proper and beneficial use of one's wealth to support the poor, the widows, the orphans, the church and all those who found themselves in difficulty. Although they had never met in person, Pephanes claimed that Georgios Voutsinas wrote to him of the great joy he felt in helping him. This indeed was a rare person in this century of materialism, Pephanes argued, since beyond being charitable, Voutsinas also took care not to advertise such philanthropic acts. Voutsinas was also a true Greek and his name deserved a place in the array of benefactors of the Greek nation, as shown in his support for the Cretan Revolt in the late 1860s.⁴⁰ On the occasion of the one-year memorial service since Voutsinas's death, Pephanes delivered a second, longer eulogy in which he first defended the practice of memorial services by the church as an ancient one despite the opinions of innovators who had doubted their efficacy or utility. Pephanes further argued that heroes create nations, but pious and noble citizens support their continuation and efflorescence. Support for the poor and the establishment of the Voutsinaios poetic competition were

38. DAOO, fond 765, opys 1, sprava 2, fols. 16 verso, 17, 18. At least three candidates were discussed (one from Athens, one from Syros, and Pephanes from Cephallonia).

39. Angelos Pephanes, *Επιτάφιοι λόγοι εις τον αείμνηστον Γεώργιον Βουτζινάν εκφωνηθέντες εν τω εν Αργοστολίω ναώ του Αγίου Γεωργίου υπό Α. Πεφάνη, ιεροδιακόνου κατά τα έτη 1870 και 1871* [Funeral Orations in Honor of Georgios Voutsinas, Pronounced in the Church of Saint George at Argostoli, by A. Pephanes, Hierodeacon, in the Years 1870 and 1871], (Cephallonia: Typois He Kephallenia, 1871).

40. Ibid., pp. 3–7.

evidence of the benefactor's interests in charity and intellectual activity.⁴¹ Pephanes also added a personal tone to his speech by referring to his own case as evidence: he had written a letter to Voutsinas when he was 15 and had requested help for his studies at the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School, in Athens. And he did not neglect to mention Ivan Voutsinas's support in a footnote in the same speech. Thus, both the Voutsinas father and son were his benefactors. The speeches were a reflection of patron-client relations: they were the tools through which the beneficiary returned the benefactors' favor.

After the GBAO's takeover of church affairs, the position of the Holy Trinity's clergy, high and low in the hierarchy, was complicated by the fact that they had to serve under two bosses. Indeed, the clergymen were caught between the golden fleece (that is, the rich and prominent merchants/entrepreneurs of Odessa's Greek community) and the onion domes (that is, the Russian Orthodox Church and its local leaders and representatives). One of the two bosses was the ecclesiastical authorities of the Russian Empire, in particular the Holy Synod, the local archbishop under whose eparchy Odessa came, and also the local dean of clergy (called in Russian *благочинный*, in Greek *ενταξίας*).⁴² The second boss was the Greek community's *de facto* and *de iure* leaders, who in essence employed the clerics, in particular after the GBAO absorbed the brotherhood's operations under its own auspices. This condition of being caught between two bosses is clearly reflected on a variety of occasions. Thus, for example, in 1892 the GBAO initiated an effort to build an old age home (*γηροκομείο*). The discussions about the project must not have included the church's clergy, but the undertaking affected them directly since the new institution was to be established on church property, where moreover some of the clergy themselves lived. That was when the Holy Trinity clergy asked the Association's board to inform them about where the old age home would be built and also how many people it would house. As they indicated, the clergy needed this information in order to provide it to the *ενταξίας* of the area. It should be noted that the relevant communication was signed by the totality of the clergy, which thus was trying to receive information from one set of bosses in order to

41. See Panayotis Moullas, *Les concours poetiques de l'Universite d'Athenes 1851–1877*, (Athens: Secreteriat Generale de la Jeunesse, 1989), pp. 167–369.

42. On the ecclesiastical policy of the Russian state in the Northern Black Sea coast, see Mara Kozelsky, "A Borderland Mission: The Russian Orthodox Church in the Black Sea Region", *Russian History*, 40 (2013), pp. 111–132.

fulfill their obligations to the other set of bosses. But it is obvious, as well, that the clergy were worried about the extent to which their places of residence could be affected by the new buildings.⁴³

To what extent the Holy Trinity's clergy depended on the patronage of laymen from Odessa's Greek community until the 1870s remains an open question. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Holy Trinity Church earned income from the leasing of stalls in the Odessa market. Moreover, the church was monetarily subsidized by the city government at least until the 1850s, if not later as well. It is true that the clergy were dependent on the salaries they received from the community itself, but at least until 1850, if not later, they also appear to have received financial subsidies from the City Duma (*городская дума*).⁴⁴ A report by the *благочинный* Mikhail Zhukovskii, dated 1850, indicates that the Holy Trinity's clergy were paid 505 assignation rubles (*ассигнациями*). As Zhukovskii himself remarked, the clergy's salary was small (*скудное содержание*).⁴⁵ In other words, in 1850, the clergy were supported (at least in part) by the city. This was not unusual since clergy of other Odessa churches were also subsidized by the City Duma, an indication that the churches themselves and their communities could not yet operate independently without outside support.

The prestige of the rector of the Holy Trinity Church seems to have remained high, and appears to have increased under the GBAO's tutelage. In his report (*έκθεσις*) published in 1912, the Odessa Greek consul A. Kapsampeles remarked that the Church of the Holy Trinity was under the jurisdiction of the local ecclesiastical authorities (which meant the archbishop of Kherson and Odessa) but that its archimandrite had the rights of bishop.⁴⁶ For

43. DAOO, fond 765, opys 1, sprava 7, fol. 73; also, *ibid.*, fond 765, opys 1, sprava 6, fols. 5–6 verso. The Russian episcopal authorities did not control the Greek church, but this occasion shows a more complicated picture. Indeed, the bishopric did not control the church in its every day affairs, but it certainly kept a supervisory role in cases in which major decisions were taken such as creating an old age home on church property. Rossolimo also indicates that the bishopric kept a supervisory role and approved the appointments of clergy and also other acts: Rossolimo, *The Greek Church of the Holy Trinity in Odessa*, pp. 54–55.

44. DAOO, fond 37, opys 2a, sprava 529 and sprava 497 (the former for the year 1850, the latter for 1848): a comparison shows that the rent the church received from its stall (*лавка*) in the market has gone up in 1850. On the other hand, the subsidy it received from the City Duma remained the same.

45. DAOO, fond 37, opys 2a, sprava 529, "Personnel lists (*формулярные списки*) of Odessa's city and suburban clergy for the year 1850", fol. 11 verso.

46. "Εκθεσις περί γεωργίας, εμπορίας, βιομηχανίας και ναυτιλίας εν Ρωσία εν γένει και ιδία εν Οδησσώ" [Report on Agriculture, Commerce, Industry and Shipping in Russia in General and in Odessa in

at least the second half of the nineteenth century, it is evident that when there was an archimandrite heading the clergy in the Church of the Holy Trinity, there was also a archpriest (*протоиерей*) who was second in command. If there was no archimandrite heading the clergy, then the chief priest became the rector (*настоятель*) accompanied by regular priests. In some cases, the rector and the archpriest came from abroad (such as the cases of Eustratios Voulismas and Angelos Pephanes) and most of the remaining clergymen were locals, that is, originated in the Russian Empire itself.⁴⁷ In the nineteenth century, priests of Greek origin were found regularly among the Holy Trinity's clergy, although there always were some Russian-speaking clergy, as well, such as a deacon (*дьячок* or *дьяк*) that was always Russian.⁴⁸ More research is needed into the background of the church's personnel before safer pronouncements can be made. Still, a first perusal of some relevant sources indicates that most local (that is, originating in the empire itself) clergy hailed from clergy and/or from merchant families, and several of them were of Greek origin. For example, the priest Nikolai Paksimades is mentioned as being of the Greek nation.⁴⁹ Several of the priests also taught religion (*закон божий*) in the Greek Commercial School for Boys or in other educational establishments of Odessa, as a side job.⁵⁰ Some of the priests had started their

Particular], Δελτίον του επί των εξωτερικών Βασιλικού Υπουργείου. Μέρος Δεύτερον. Μελέται και Εκθέσεις επί Πλουτολογικών, Γεωργικών, Εμπορικών, Βιομηχανικών, Ναυτιλιακών, Στατιστικών κλπ. Θεμάτων [Bulletin of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Part Two. Studies and Reports on Plutological, Agricultural, Trade, Industrial, Maritime, Statistical etc. Matters], issue 10, (Athens: Ek tou Ethnikou Typografeiou, 1912), pp. 1–48, reference to churches, pp. 13–14.

47. Indeed Voulismas was rector in the years 1871–1884, while Pephanes was archpriest between 1874–1884, and then starting in 1884 until his death in 1916 was rector (after the death of his wife, archimandrite 1907–1916). On Voulismas, see Viktor Mikhali'chenko, *Духовенство Одессы, 1794–1925* [The Clergy of Odessa, 1794–1925], (Odesa: Izdanie muzeia “Khristanskaia Odessa”, 2012), p. 93; Belousova, *The Odessa Greek Church of the Holy Trinity: Individual Stories*, p. 17. On Pephanes, see Mikhali'chenko, *The Clergy of Odessa*, pp. 21–22; Belousova, *The Odessa Greek Church of the Holy Trinity: Individual Stories*, pp. 17–18; *Kherson Eparchial News*, no. 20 (1907), unofficial part, pp. 568–69.

48. A quick look at the sources gives one the impression that until 1861 the chief priests seem to be of non-Greek origin, whereas the opposite is true starting then and all the way up to the end of the imperial period. However, only systematic prosopographic research will allow safe pronouncements.

49. DAOO, fond 37, opys 2a, sprava 529, fol. 13 verso.

50. DAOO, fond 37, opys 2a, sprava 529, fols. 12 verso – 13 verso for the case of the *настоятель протоиерей* (rector archpriest) Ioann Rodostat: he is the son of a *протоиерей* (archpriest) and knows Greek, which must have played a role in his assignment to the church in Odessa. He has had a lot of teaching experience, including in the Commercial School for Boys, which means that there was already a tradition of such teaching even before the tenures of Voulismas and Pephanes. Similarly, Rodostat serves as father confessor (*духовник*) of the clergy of the Odessa Deanery (*Одесское благочиние*), which also enhances his

career in other Greek parishes of the northern Black Sea region, before being transferred, always with the approval of the relevant local bishops, to the Holy Trinity Church.⁵¹ Some appear to have finished seminary education whereas others, usually the ones in the lower ranks of the priesthood, had not. In 1850, the Holy Trinity parish numbered 1,733 men and 1,486 women.⁵² From the church's metrical books it also becomes evident that the leading clergymen of the Church of the Holy Trinity often officiated in the ceremonies that involved the richer members of the Greek community.⁵³

The Holy Trinity Church was considered to be one of the most important churches in the city, since it was also one of the first to be established in Odessa. The church retained this status for a long time, possibly to the end of the old regime in Russia. The ecclesiastical documentation supports such an assertion, since the Greek church frequently appears in second place after the chief cathedral of the Transfiguration of Odessa in administrative documents and other sources. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is evident that such a high status for the church secured for its rector second place among all clergy in Odessa in official functions, such as important celebrations, state occasions and ecclesiastical holidays. Certainly at the time of Eustratios Voulismas (1871–1884), if not before, the Holy Trinity's chief clergyman appears to have been second in the hierarchy of clergy in Odessa. This is evidenced from the lists of clergy officiating on city-wide important occasions that were published in the *Kherson Eparchial News* (*Херсонские Епархиальные Ведомости*, an ecclesiastical publication) and from the place accorded to

already elevated status. Note also that he is 51 and his wife 37, and that she pretty much was giving birth to a child every 3–4 years on average, as they had a total of 7 children.

51. Ibid., fol. 15 for the case of Paksimades. Hailing from a merchant family, Paksimades also taught in Greek in various places and was moved to Odessa by request of the parishioners. Of course, it is not clear whether the totality of the parishioners or the influential among them were the ones who had asked for him. He was assigned as guardian of the poor (*попечитель о бедных*) among the clergy. In other words, as we see with Rodostat as well, the clergy of the Church of the Holy Trinity were involved in other capacities in the city of Odessa and they were not simply priests of that church. They were integrated into the city's clerical hierarchy and shared responsibilities for other functions, as well. They were not simply catering to the needs of the Greeks.

52. DAOO, fond 37, opys 2a, sprava 529, fol. 19 verso. For analysis of Odessa's population with an emphasis on the Greeks see: Evrydiki Sifneos and Sofronios Paradeisopoulos, "Οι Έλληνες της Οδησσού το 1897: Διαβάζοντας την πρώτη επίσημη ρωσική απογραφή" [The Greeks of Odessa in 1897: Revisiting the First Official Russian Census], *Τα Ιστορικά*, vol. 44 (June 2006), pp. 81–122.

53. For sample prosopographies of the church's clergy, see Belousova, *The Odessa Greek Church of the Holy Trinity: Individual Stories*, pp. 14–19.

the church in the personnel lists (*формулярные ведомости/ формулярные списки*). One explanation for this special place of honor for the Holy Trinity's chief clergyman would be the social, economic and even local political prominence of his bosses, the GBAO's leadership, after the latter took over control of the church. To put it differently, given that Greek merchants and entrepreneurs held a prominent place in Odessa, their church and its leading clergyman also were accorded prominence in the city's public arena. The wealthy Greek community members mobilized their social capital in a variety of ways. In this mobilization, personal contacts and connections to the ecclesiastical establishment of the Russian Empire played an important role. For instance, when the chapel (*придел*) of St. Demetrios was dedicated in the Holy Trinity Church on February 3, 1875, it was none other than the Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa Leontii who officiated in the ceremonies.⁵⁴ After Archbishop Dimitrii passed away in 1883, prior to the memorial service (*панихида*) on the 9th day after his death, Eustathios Voulismas delivered a speech in Greek at the Odessa Cathedral of the Transfiguration. In the speech, he mentioned that Dimitrii had been awarded a medal from Greece and that the Patriarch of Constantinople had sent his condolences. Voulismas also noted that Dimitrii was particularly solicitous of the Greeks in Odessa and made them feel very welcome. Dimitrii even went as far as performing the mass in Greek at the Church of the Holy Trinity, and delivered sermons with Greek themes.⁵⁵ Archimandrite Voulismas also co-officiated on several important church celebrations associated with particular feasts or with memorial services in honor of members of the tsarist family, always appearing in lists near the top of the clerical

54. Слово Высокопреосвященнейшего Леонтия Архиепископа Херсонского и Одесского, по случаю освящения придела в Одесской Греческой Троицкой церкви во имя св. Великомученика Димитрия Солунского, 3-го Февраля 1875 года [Sermon of the His Eminence Leontii, Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa, on the Occasion of the Blessing of the Chapel Dedicated to the Holy Great Martyr Demetrios of Thessaloniki in the Odessa Greek Church of the Holy Trinity, on February 3rd, 1875], (Odessa: Tipografiia P. Frantsova, 1875).

55. Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa Dimitrii (Muretov) had died on 14 November 1883: see *Kherson Eparchial News*, no 23 (1883), прибавления [appendix], pp. 1041–1094; also *ibid.*, p. 1070 for brief reference to Voulismas's speech; *ibid.*, p. 1071 (telegram was sent from Constantinople to Ivan Georgievich Voutsinas, not as a consul, but in his capacity as a good child (*τέκνον*) of the church; *ibid.*, pp. 1091–1094 for Voulismas's speech, which is published in both its Greek original and in Russian translation. On Dimitrii (Muretov), see P[avel] V[asil'ev], "Димитрий (Муретов)" [Dimitrii (Muretov)], *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона* [The Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopaedic Dictionary], vol. 10A (1893), p. 611.

hierarchy.⁵⁶ Angelos Pephanes, in particular, appears to have established a very close working relationship with Gregorios Marasles. Moreover, Pephanes was behind many initiatives, and also he was very involved with Marasles in the creation of the Marasles library.⁵⁷ When Pephanes was promoted to Archimandrite in 1907, Archbishop Dimitrii and the then rector of the Odessa Theological Seminary presided over the ceremonies, which were described in the *Kherson Eparchial News* as a “Celebration of the Odessa Greek Colony” (*Торжество Одесской Греческой Колонии*).⁵⁸ Moreover, when then Archimandrite Pephanes died in 1916, the funeral rituals were performed by the archbishop of Kherson and Odessa, a bishop and an assortment of 30 priests from around Odessa.⁵⁹ Finally, another function of the Holy Trinity’s clergy, beyond their liturgical duties, was as witnesses in petitions by poor Greeks for support from the GBAO. Indeed, the GBAO’s archive is replete with such letters, signed by the Holy Trinity’s clergy, testifying to the poverty and/or genuine need or needs of the requesters.⁶⁰

Relations with other churches, including the ecclesiastical institutions outside the Russian Empire, appear to have been sporadic, at least at the official level. For the last quarter of the 19th century in particular, judging by the minutes of the GBAO’s council, any correspondence or contact with other Orthodox institutions was always filtered through the GBAO council and depended on its deliberations. For instance, on a couple of occasions when there is indication of correspondence with the patriarchate of

56. See for example, *Kherson Eparchial News*, no 5 (1884), pp. 127–28: Voulismas was among the co-officiating priests in the Odessa Cathedral on February 26, on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (*Торжество Православия*) and also on the birthday of Tsar Alexander III. The services were led by Archbishop Nikanor. Voulismas’s name appeared first among the co-officiating priests. Interestingly, the Odessa cathedral archpriest (*протоиерей*) comes after Voulismas. The same order of precedence obtained during the March 1st memorial service for Tsar Alexander II; and for the March 2 service on the day of accession of Alexander III. Not unexpectedly, he appeared in the ritual of the washing of the feet (*омовение ног*) on April 5 (page 129), that is, on Holy Thursday; and on April 10, “светлый вторник, всенощное бдение, с чтением Акафиста Пречистой Деве” [Bright Tuesday, all-night vigil with reading of the Akathistos to the Most Pure Virgin]. In other words, Voulismas was there for the celebrations during important imperial family days and, naturally, also for purely religious feasts, and his name is referenced in a high order of precedence.

57. On the Marasles Library, see Sergei Reshetov, Larisa Izhik, *Григорий Маразли: честь на чужбине* [Grigorii Marazli: the Honor Matters more than Praise], (Odessa: TES, 2012), pp. 203–206.

58. *Kherson Eparchial News*, no. 20 (1907), unofficial part, pp. 566–569.

59. *Kherson Eparchial News*, nos. 1–2 (1917), unofficial part, pp. 4–6.

60. For discussions see Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa*, pp. 93–103; Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa. Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, pp. 160–172.

Constantinople, the council's response to the patriarchate was non-committal and very mindful of what the local Russian authorities (*εγχώριες αρχές*) may say.⁶¹ Finally, the Holy Trinity Church also served as a locus of religious and national life for the Greeks, a focal point of public life, and in some ways even as a private church (given the burials of prominent Greeks in it). To begin with, the church became the epicenter of a cult of Patriarch Gregorios V, lasting even after 1871 when his remains were moved to Athens.⁶² Every year, there was a service dedicated to him, which was one of the main landmark events in the annual cycle of the community's life. Beyond the periodic and repeated services of the ecclesiastical calendar, the church also was the focal point of celebrations on other, extraordinary occasions. Thus, for example, as a landmark of the city of Odessa the Holy Trinity Church was the focal point of the celebrations during the visit of Queen Olga of Greece (herself a Russian princess) in 1873. Beyond visiting the church during her sojourn in Odessa in that year, the queen also participated in the foundation ceremonies of some of the GBAO's projects, such as the Girls' School (*Παρθεναγωγείο*). On that occasion, the GBAO council deftly exploited the presence of the Greek Queen to obtain permission from the local bishop to add buildings to the church complex.⁶³ Moreover, indicating the overarching influence of prominent families in the Holy Trinity's affairs, the church became the burial place for three distinguished members of Odessa's Greek community, that is, Grigorios Marasles, Theodoros Rodocanachis, and

61. DAOO, fond 765, opys 1, sprava 2, fol. 9 verso and fol. 36 verso.

62. DAOO, fond 1, opys 221, sprava 3, and sprava 3, part II (on the burial of the patriarch in 1821); fond 37, opys 1, sprava 2428 (on the translation of the relics of the patriarch to Athens). See also H. Exertzoglou, "Πολιτικές τελετουργίες στην νεότερη Ελλάδα. Η μετακομιδή των οστών του Γρηγορίου Ε' και η πεντηκονταετηρίδα της Ελληνικής Επανάστασης" [Political Rituals in Modern Greece. The Translation of the Bones of Patriarch Gregorios the Fifth and the Fifty-Year Anniversary of the Greek Revolution], *Μνήμων*, vol. 23 (2001), pp. 153–182. See also Protoierei S. Serafimov, *Жизнеописание Священномученика Григория Патриарха Вселенского* [Biography of the Holy Martyr Ecumenical Patriarch Gregorios], (Odessa: V tipografii P. Frantsova, 1862), first published in *Kherson Eparchial News*, no. 2 (1860), прибавления [appendix], pp. 67–81, and no. 3 (1860), pp. 109–26; also, translated into Greek and published in *Συλλογή εκ των γραφέντων και παραδοθέντων περί του Οικουμενικού Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου Ε'* [Selection from the Writings and Traditions Regarding the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregoios the Fifth], (Athens: Ek tou typographeiou "Merimnes", 1863), pp. 341–73.

63. DAOO, fond 765, opys 2, fols. 13–13 verso. See also, Nikolaos Chrissidis, "A Silver Hammer and a Trowel for Queen Olga of Greece: Projecting Russian-Greek Kinship in Late Nineteenth-Century Odessa", in Anastasia Papadia-Lala et al. (eds.), *Ho Neos Hellenismos. Hoi kosmoi tou kai o kosmos. Aphieroma sten Olga Katsiarde-Hering*. Festschrift for Prof. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, (Athens: Eurasia 2021), pp. 197–208.

Elisavet Hypselante.⁶⁴ In this way, it was transformed into a mausoleum after the reburial of Patriarch Gregory in Athens. It is also notable that the chapel in honor of Saint Demetrios was paid for by Marasles' uncle, Demetrios Theodorides: thus there were two martyrs in the church, one that had left, Patriarch Gregorios, and the other, Saint Demetrios, that had recently arrived.⁶⁵ The church of course was also used in the nexus of Russian-Greek relations, and became part of the effort of the Greek community to show its loyalty to the state and adherence to its commands. Thus, in 1883, in the main hall of the Greek Commercial School for boys, the Archimandrite Eustratios Voulismas conducted a memorial service (*панихида*) in honor of Tsar Alexander Nikolaevich attended by the supervisors (*έφοροι*) of the school including the Greek Consul Ivan Voutsinas, and also the teachers and students of the school.⁶⁶

Conclusion

Financial support from the city appears to have been reduced or even eliminated once the GBAO took over control of the church in the early 1870s. Indeed, the sources provide

64. For the eulogy pronounced by Archbishop Dimitrii on the occasion of Hypselante's death, see *Kherson Eparchial News*, no. 20 (1866), pp. 177–187. Interestingly, Hypselante was reputed to be either 106 or 116 years old, when she died: see Consul Tzitzinias's report to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Diplomatic and Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1866, Births–Marriages–Deaths, folder 90, subfolder 1, letter of Tzitzinias dated 24 September 1866. On Rodocanachis, see Kostas G. Avgitidis, *Θεόδωρος Παύλου Ροδοκανάκης. Ο μεγαλέμπορος, επιχειρηματίας, πλοιοκτήτης και τραπεζίτης της Οδησσού* [Theodoros Rodocanachis, son of Paulos. Great Merchant, Entrepreneur, Shipowner and Banker of Odessa], (Chios: Alpha Pi, 2004).

65. On the consecration of the chapel of Saint Demetrios, see Belousova, *The Odessa Greek Church of the Holy Trinity: Individual Stories*, p. 17. It is not without interest here to note that Matvei Nikolaevich Mavrokordato in 1900 received permission to fund construction of a church on land belonging to the Greek Old Age Home at the end of the Udel'nyi pereulok, in the region of Malyi Fontan. He also received permission to have the remains of his relatives moved to a crypt there. Matvei Nikolaevich was a member of the first guild of merchants of Odessa, a prominent philanthropist and a holder of several honorary supervisory positions of educational and social welfare institutions in Odessa. The church was dedicated to Saint Nicholas and to the Martyr Ariadna (in honor of his parents) and was completed in 1902. See Tomazov, *The Mavrogordatos (Mavrokordatos) Family in the Russian Empire*, pp. 114–122. For a short overview of the involvement of Greeks in the construction of churches in Odessa, see V. V. Germanchuk, “Греки-меценаты и храмы Одессы” [Greek Maecenases and the Churches of Odessa], in Kostiantyn Balabanov (ed.), *Розвиток еллінізму в Україні у XVIII–XXI ст.* [The Development of Hellenism in Ukraine from the 18th to the 21st Century], (Mariupol, 2007), pp. 95–97.

66. Newspaper *Odesskii Vestnik* [Odessa Herald], no. 51 (6 (18) March 1883), p. 2: “Панихида в греческом училище” [Memorial Service in the Greek School].

indications that the GBAO not only absorbed the church's board of trustees (the brotherhood), but also fully controlled the hiring of clergy and many of their activities. The internal documentation coming from the GBAO archive shows this total dependence on the lay leaders of the GBAO who themselves were prominent, wealthy and influential members of the Odessa Greek community. The local bishop and his consistory had a supervisory role (one boss) while the decision-making about the church's operation was largely in the hands of the GBAO (the second boss). The golden grain seekers had growingly transformed themselves into golden real estate seekers.⁶⁷ In the process, they had managed to assume control of some of the most important 'real estate' in the religious and educational landscape of the city of Odessa.

67. In 1908, during the celebrations for the one-hundred year anniversary of the church, a contemporary indicated that the Greeks had arrived in Odessa and the northern coasts of the Black Sea not in search of the golden fleece but in search of the golden grain. See the report on the celebration in *Kherson Eparchial News*, nos. 12–13 (1908), unofficial part, pp. 308–312, reference on p. 311: the golden grain of Russian wheat (золотое зерно русской пшеницы). The services were presided by then Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa Dimitrii (Koval'nitskii): see *ibid.*, p. 344.

Chapter 15

Public Charitable Institutions in Odessa at the End of 18th – Beginning of 20th Century

Svitlana Gerasymova

This article is devoted to the history of the system of public charity in Odessa from the late 18th to the beginning of the 20th century, with a purpose to analyze the contribution of state authorities to the development of charity and social services and to survey the history of the local charitable institutions.

Under the term “government-regulated charity”, we understand the government policies aimed at providing social services to the poor. The term “government-regulated” points specifically to the fact that, at this period, the state authorities did not directly execute charitable functions, but, rather, developed relevant legal norms and regulated their implementation. In this category we include: (1) the activity of two local administrative bodies, the Order of Public Charity (*Приказ общественного призрения*), which functioned during the first half of the 19th century, and the Odessa City Board, from the second half of the 19th to the early 20th century; and (2) public organizations established by the members of the imperial family and institutions founded by the administration of the Guberniia, which used both direct governmental funding and public resources.

The emergence of public charity happened together with the development of the city in the late 18th century. The initiative came from city officials and was funded by private donations. In 1795, due to the high cost of grain, the local government allocated 1,000 rubles for the purchase of bakery equipment, which allowed increasing the production of baked goods and, subsequently, reducing their price. In the lean years of 1799 and 1805, city authorities distributed bread from the reserves to the needy; in 1805, Governor-General of Odessa duc de Richelieu ordered to purchase the limited amount of flour at the expense of the city earnings, and sell it to the citizens at a reasonable price.

In 1798, the local authorities funded through city taxes the foundation of the *City Hospital*, which functioned both as medical and charitable institution, which duties included “caring for the poor”.¹ The registry of archival records of the Odessa City Magistrate includes a title “On assigning a Shelter Home to the poor, needy, and disabled” (*Об отводе пристойного дома для нищих, убогих и искалеченных*) dated 1799. Documents relating to this record were lost during the military operations in Odessa and its occupation during the Second World War. Nevertheless, the title in the registry allows assuming that already in 1799 the city authorities had a concern for the founding of a charitable institution providing relief to the poor.²

In 1800, the Odessa Construction Committee resumed its activities and financial support of charitable institutions. Duc de Richelieu, the Governor-General of Odessa, was also the chief administrator of all public buildings of the city, including that of the hospital.³ In 1804, the city started the construction works for the new hospital building. Richelieu assigned its design to the well-known architect J. F. Thomas de Thomon,⁴ and commissioned the architect F. Frapolli to further develop and manage the building project. On 10 November 1806, the contractor Viktor Podzhio reported to the Odessa Construction Committee that the “he had fully completed the construction of the hospital”. On 22 November, a specially appointed commission conducted a survey and concluded that “The contractor Podzhio not only perfectly fulfilled all terms of the contract but also went above and beyond them”, and registered the acceptance of the work in the inventory.⁵ The

1. Irena Grebtsova, Vladislav Grebtsov, *Становление государственного попечительства и общественной благотворительности в Одессе в конце XVIII – 60-е гг. XIX ст.* [The Formation of State Guardianship and Public Charity in Odessa in the Late 18th – the 60s of the 19th Century], (Odessa, 2006), p. 317; *Памятная книжка Одесского градоначальства на 1870 г.* [Pamyatnaya Knizhka (Official Reference Book, with Calendar and Directory) of the Odessa Urban Prefect for 1870], (Odessa, 1870), p. 123.

2. DAOO, fond 17 (Odessa City Magistrate), opys 1, sprava 72, “On the matter of housing beggars, the poor and disabled situated in Odessa, into decent living situations”. The case was lost during the Second World War, the title of the case was preserved in the inventory (opys).

3. DAOO, fond 59 (Odessa Construction Committee), opys 1, sprava 5, “According to the actions of Odessa Military Governor duc de Richelieu following the Highest Order regarding the management of Odessa City”, fols. 1–2 verso.

4. DAOO, fond 59, opys 2, sprava 11, “On the construction of a hospital by the retired Major Podzhio”. The case was lost during the Second World War, the title of the case was preserved in the inventory (opys).

5. DAOO, fond 2 (Office of the Odessa Urban Prefect), opys 5, sprava 258, “Journal of the Meetings of the Odessa Construction Committee, 1806”.

hospital began its operations in 1808. In the early 19th century, the hospital served as an almshouse, taking in only the poor and disabled. The costs of its maintenance varied from 5 to 16 thousand rubles yearly, and were covered from the municipal budget. With the passage of time, the expenses increased, and by 1816 they reached 45 thousand rubles a year.⁶ In the 1820s, the Odessa City Hospital consisted of three departments: the medical building, an orphanage, and a nursing home.

The building of the *Orphanage* began no later than 1813. At that period, the Construction Committee, at the behest of Richelieu, had been paying 1,000 rubles a year to support the choir of the city cathedral, since the church itself did not have regular funds for the choir, and supported it from the city funds and private donations. Hence the Committee agreed to establish a home for 24 orphans, where they would be trained in ecclesiastical chanting and instrumental music. In 1821, the Odessa Urban Prefect N. Ya. Tregubov inaugurated it as a Foster Home for Orphans (*Сиропитательный дом*) with a chanting school; its early budget was 10,600 rubles.

The Orphanage accepted children over 6 and under 9 years of age. The school curriculum included reading and writing classes, religion, elementary math, and, before 1821, geography and history. A three-member commission run the affairs of the institution; the members of the commission were the archpriest Kunitskii, a representative of the merchantry Koshelev, and a member of the Construction Committee, the Head of the Office Bogdanovich.⁷ Depending on their skills, the students could be sent either to manufactories or paramedic (*feldsher*) school.

From the very beginnings, the city authorities paid special attention to education. In 1817, the *Odessa City School for Girls* was established. The idea belonged to the Odessa Urban Prefect, merchant Protasov, and received full support of the regional administration, which submitted the relevant request to the School Committee of Kharkov University, which was then in charge of the educational policy in all the Southern Guberniias. The Odessa City Duma found the opportunity to allocate 10,000 rubles per year to support this school and thus played the most important role in founding of the institution. These funds were used to rent the house of the Lieutenant Colonel Dakhnov, and turn it into the school

6. DAOO, fond 59, opys 1, sprava 5.

7. DAOO, fond 59, opys 1, sprava 218, "On the establishment of the Orphanage", fol. 9.

building. On 12 March 1817 the school was opened. Girls of all estates, except serfs, could be admitted to the school free of charge. The school was unusual for the time, since, unlike popular in this period boarding schools, girls did not live on the premises, but rather (similar with modern schools) attended daily lessons in a small building. Using the funds allocated from the Odessa City Duma, the house on the corner of Koblevskoi street and Gulevoi street was bought from the Archpriest Kunitskii for 10,000 rubles. In 1820, the members of the Odessa City Duma and trustees of the Odessa City Girls School Semen Androsov and Georgii Popudolgo petitioned the Urban Prefect A. F. Lanzheron to allocate 5,000 rubles for the purchase of a second school building, which would allow expanding school premises.

In the first decades of the 19th century, the functions of the government-regulated charity in Odessa were partly assigned to the Kherson Order of Public Charity (*Херсонский приказ общественного призрения*),⁸ which was a central body of the Guberniia administration. Thus, in addition to the funds of the City treasury, Odessa's charitable institutions started receiving support from the Kherson Office. However, this additional funding was very limited, since Kherson Order had to finance charitable institutions all around the Guberniia, with its quickly growing population.⁹

8. The formation of the system and bodies of the government-regulated public charity started in Imperial Russia in the last quarter of the 18th century, when on the basis of a new legislative act passed on 7 November 1775 under the name of "Regulations on the Administration of the Guberniias of the Russian Empire" specific administrative bodies – the Orders of Public Charity – were established. These were the first governmental institutions to deal with social issues. Originally, the Orders were under the supervision of the Economic Board. In 1802 Ministries were established, replacing the Board, and the Orders came under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. From 1810 to 1819 the Orders were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Police. With its termination they were once again transferred, this time to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Senate.

In the south of the Russian Empire, with the initiative from Emperor Alexander I, the Kherson Order of Public Charity, which oversaw Odessa, began its activities in 1802.

The Order of Public Charity was a governmental body under the supervision of the Governor. But the central provincial orders were not always able to provide social support to the poor in the major cities of the Guberniia. For this reason, it was necessary for the larger cities of the southern Russian Empire to establish their own orders. See Irena Grebtsova, Satsita Nakaeva, *Очерки развития женского благотворительного движения на юге Российской империи (первая половина XIX ст.)* [Essays on the Women's Charity Movement in the South of the Russian Empire (first half of the 19th Century)], (Odessa: Astroprint, 2007), pp. 32–33, 35.

9. Grebtsova, Grebtsov, *The Formation of State Guardianship and Public Charity in Odessa*, p. 52.

Starting from 1821, the administrator of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Count Viktor Kuchubei and Governor-General of Kherson Alexander Langeron corresponded on the subject of founding in Odessa a Committee of Charitable Institutions, or Order of Public Charity, similar with those functioning in Trieste, London, and Marseilles.¹⁰ The Decree on 25 July 1823, established the Odessa and Taganrog Orders of Charity. Each institution had its own legislative base and reported to the Governing Senate.¹¹ The structure of the Order consisted of two mutually independent bodies: the *Council*, which had supervisory functions, and the *Administration* with executive functions. Both the *Council* and the *Administration* were supervised by the Urban Prefect.

The *Council*, by order of the Emperor, consisted of twelve or more members and a secretary, approved by the Minister of Internal Affairs. Members of the Order fulfilled their work “without any monetary reimbursement”.

The *Administration* consisted of a chairman (the Urban Prefect), and four members, elected among and by the members of the Council to serve for two years. The charitable institutions of the Odessa Order were supervised by the trustees, whom the *Council* elected among those members who were not already serving in the *Administration*. For each of the charitable institutions supervised by the Office, the latter appointed a warden, whose duties included “serving the needy within the institutions, overseeing order and exact compliance with duties, according to the officials assigned, maintenance of buildings, property and all things; making sure all these working parts are in order”. The wardens received salaries.¹²

Along with the state funding similar for all Orders of Public Charity in the Russian Empire, the Odessa Order had some additional sources of revenue. First, the City gave a yearly allowance the amount of which varied, depending on “what the city of the earnings allowed for”. Second, the Kherson Order sent to Odessa additional funding. Third, it received the money from penalties (*пенные деньги*) gathered by the Odessa City Board from various places and individuals, donations of individual citizens, who were previously directed to the Kherson Order; duty fees from the sales of sea vessels, which previously

10. DAOO, fond 2, opys 1, sprava 46, “On the establishment of a Committee for Charitable Institutions or an Order of Public Charity in Odessa”, 76 fols.

11. PSZRI, Col. 1, Vol. XXXVIII (1822–1823), № 29549, p. 1120.

12. DAOO, fond 2, opys 1, sprava 46; Grebtsova, Grebtsov, *The Formation of State Guardianship and Public Charity in Odessa*, p. 317.

came into possession of the Odessa City Duma and were collected by the Odessa Commercial Court. Additionally, any random incomes could be assigned to charitable needs if deemed appropriate by the Urban Prefect or other officials.¹³

The Odessa Order of Public Charity had the right to accept deposits “from state institutions and individuals”, as well as to use both deposits and its own funds to earn interest, secured on the stone houses and land property of the Odessa City Board. The *Council* of the Committee had the right to accept private donations. In addition to monetary funds, the Order was allowed to collect money in a “donation box” (*кружечный сбор*) for specific institutions. The procedure of such collections was highly regulated: the box ought to be placed, together with an orthodox icon, at the entrance to the institution, which was usually a church; the box had a lock and the seals of the trustee and warden with an inscription “For the Charity House of the Poor” The same box, with the same inscriptions with the lock and seals of the trustee and warden was also placed at the entrance to the cemetery church, located near the Charity House. Another donation box was placed in 1848 at the entrance to the Odessa Prison Castle.¹⁴

The representatives of the nobility, merchants, and clergy worked in the Odessa Order of Public Charity. Thus, in the early 1830s, the Urban Prefect A. I. Levshin served as the chair of the Order, and archpriest P. Kunitskii, archpriest N. Sviatenkov, Lieutenant Colonel K. I. Prokopeus, collegiate advisor O. F. Olenskii, colonel-engineer G. C. Morozov, collegiate assessor P. T. Morozov, collegiate assessor A. G. Troinitskii, and Doctor of Medicine E. S. Andreevskii were the members of the *Council*, which also included members from merchantry: M. A. Kramarev, Kh. F. Vellara (1st guild), and O. L. Baliukov, P. I. Rostovtsev (3rd guild). V. O. Kyz’menko was appointed as the Council secretary. In the same period, Lieutenant Colonel K. I. Prokopeus, F. K. Al’brekht, merchants Kh. F. Vellara and O. L. Baliukov were members of the *Administration* of the Office, the Secretary of the Order was K. Z. Budnitskii, later succeeded by A. G. Vreto.¹⁵

13. DAOO, fond 2, opys 1, sprava 46.

14. DAOO, fond 361 (Odessa City Guardianship Committee for Prisons), opys 1, sprava 111, “On the establishment a donation mug at the prison gate”, fol. 3; Grebtsova, Grebtsov, *The Formation of State Guardianship and Public Charity in Odessa*, p. 317.

15. Grebtsova, Grebtsov, *The Formation of State Guardianship and Public Charity in Odessa*, p. 55.

The Odessa Order of Public Charity supervised the earlier founded City Hospital, the Orphanage, the Nursing Home, and Odessa Girls' School. The City Hospital was under the constant control of the Order of Public Charity and city authorities. The report of the Order of Public Charity for the year of 1854 notes that more than 81,000 rubles were allocated for the maintenance of the City Hospital. In 1863, a paramedic school for 20 male students opened its doors for the first time. A church and a pharmacy were also a part of the hospital complex. And yet, even though the Hospital acted as the main medical institution in the city of Odessa, it could not meet the medical needs of its steadily growing population. The hospital facilities, too, needed renovation: "The beds were crowded and the ventilation was neither sufficient nor functional, and lavatories were especially cold".¹⁶

The Order of Public Charity paid significant attention to the Orphanage home. The shelter was located in a rented, two-story stone house owned by General-Mayor Koble, but occupied only the upper floor. The house had 10 bedrooms and a lunchroom. When P. Kunitskii and A. Troinitskii became the trustees of this foundation, they managed to solve a series of important problems. At that point, the orphanage hosted up to 100 boys, but just as ten years ago, it was housed at the rented property. In 1832, the Order of Public Charity granted the request of the trustees, and provided a building specifically for the Orphanage. The children received primary education and learned specific trades, which often became their professions. The Order of Public Charity allocated more than 20,000 rubles annually for the maintenance of the orphanage. In 1836, the orphanage already had 119 boarders. On several occasions, the orphanage graduates became clerks of the Order of Public Charity. In the 1830s–1840s, this was the case of F. Krestino, a young man "from the Greek nobility", and later the son of subaltern officer A. Falinskii, who was recruited to join the Order in 1857. In the 1850s, the Odessa Order of Public Charity had already allocated more than 14,000 rubles for the needs of the Orphanage, but it could not yet accept all homeless children of the city.

The Odessa Order of Public Charity managed the finances of the Odessa City Girls' School, allocating to its needs from 7,000 to 8,000 rubles annually, while the Richelieu Lyceum (considered as the best and senior school in the region) was in charge of the

16. *Pamyatnaya Knizhka ... of the Odessa Urban Prefect for 1870*, p. 123.

educational process. Later the Bessarabia Governor-General M. S. Vorontsov and Odessa Urban Prefect A. I. Levshin considered it necessary to merge the Odessa Institute of Noblewomen and the Odessa City Girls' School, which already belonged to the same department. In the year of 1835, the joined school was transferred to the jurisdiction of the educational institutions of the Department of Empress Maria, which at that time was expanding.

The Odessa Office opened a Charity House in order to provide shelter to homeless and poor people. The honorary citizen of Odessa Elena Klenova donated 6,000 rubles for its construction. Several members of the Odessa Order of Public Charity, with permission of the administration, opened a voluntary subscription to build a Charity House for 60 people. In a short period of time, the amount of the donations collected through the subscription reached 25,000 rubles; and the Order added another 15,000 rubles to this sum. With this money, the construction of the Charity House began near the church at the old cemetery. The Charity House opened in July 1832 and accepted first 60 residents (40 male and 20 female). The Order, with the help of private donations, finances the expenses of running the shelter.

On 30 March 1834, Nicholas I approved the "Regulations on the Administration of Shelter Homes for the Poor in Odessa". The first paragraph of this Regulation described the goals and objectives of the institution as follows: "the Shelter Home for the poor is established to provide shelter and comfort weak, disabled, and elderly, who are unable to earn bread with the work of their hands, and to contribute to the eradication of begging and vagrancy in the city".

The shelter for the poor was administered and funded by Odessa Order of Public Charity. The management of its finances was assigned to a warden, and a trustee appointed from the members of the Order oversaw all other business. The *Charity House* accepted individuals upon the petition of the assigned trustee and approval of the Order. Serves, people without passport (since the government feared that they could be runaway serves), as well as residents of other cities could not be placed within the institution. The records on all residents were kept in a special journal, which specified the name, the social estate, and the time and reason for the admission. The residents of the House received clothing, two meals per day, and necessary medical care. In addition to the warden, the residents elected a House representative (*староста*), and a female warden (*надзирательница*),

who kept the order. The gates of the House opened at 7 am and closed at 9 pm; during these hours the residents could leave the facility with the permission of the warden. On Sundays and holidays, the residents were required to attend the service at the cemetery church. They were strictly forbidden to beg at the church, or anywhere else. Everyone who had enough physical strength performed household duties, while the wardens distributed the chores. Men stoked the furnace, carried water, chopped wood for winter, and cleaned the yard. Women washed clothing, helped in the kitchen, cleaned the house, sewed and mended clothing. The Order could also hire residents for individual tasks, such as needlework, which could be sold; in this case, the shelter received two-thirds of the money earned, and another third was given to the master, either as a direct payment or in equivalent products. Any non-residents were strictly forbidden from staying in the Charity Home, and visitors were allowed to the facility only twice per week for a few hours (from 10 am to 2 pm). The right to visit the Charity Home at any time was extended only to the Order members.

Within the very first years of its establishment, the Charity House was effective in fighting the poverty; the city authorities could respond to the needs of the poor in such a way, that, according to the evidence of the contemporaries, during the tough winter 1833–1834, the townspeople “did not see beggars on the streets of Odessa”. However, very soon Charity House could no longer accommodate all poor and disabled of the growing town. In 1851, the shelter housed 106 individuals, and in the 1850s the amount of the residents reached 119. But the funding was cut dramatically: in the mid-1850s, the Order could allocate only 4,338 rubles yearly for the needs of the shelter, which was only half of the sum given twenty years ago.¹⁷ After the abolition of the Odessa Order of Public Charity, the Charity House came under the control of the City Public Administration, and in 1868, the name was changed to Odessa City Charity House (*Одесская городская богадельня*).

The famine of 1833–1834 became the reason for the establishment of public non-governmental charity committees. In Odessa, such a committee was established in 1828 with the name *Odessa City Guardianship Committee for Prisons* (*Одесский Попечительный Комитет о Тюреммах*), following the model of the English Prison Committee. But unlike its English counterpart, the Odessa Committee for Prisons did not have any rights with

17. Grebtsova, Grebtsov, *The Formation of State Guardianship and Public Charity in Odessa*, p. 65.

respect to the reformation of prisons, keeping only the charitable functions. Tsar Alexander II took the Committee for Prisons under his protection. The Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia M. S. Vorontsov and the Odessa Urban Prefect A. I. Levshin became the first vice-presidents of the Committee. In 1857 the vice-presidents were: the Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Alexander Grigorievich Stroganov, Archbishop of Kherson and Taurida Innokentii, the Odessa Urban Prefect, General Mayor Count Fyodor Davidovich Alopeus. The list of the directors included more than 20 names, among them Gagarin, Karuzo, Rafalovich, Funduk Lei and others.¹⁸

The Regulation for the Prison Committees allowed establishing separate female committees for the supervision of female prisoners. In the 1830s–1840s, the spouse of the Governor-General of Novorossiia and Bessarabia E. K. Vorontsova headed the *Odessa Women's Guardianship Committee for Prisons* (*Одесский женский Попечительный Комитет о Тюреммах*). The purpose of the committee was to help the women released from prisons as well as those still serving sentences, and ransoming female debt prisoners. The Women's Committee also took care of the children of the imprisoned women. Some of the children were transferred to the Odessa Orphanage Home, and others placed under the foster care in families. Most members of the Committee were women of nobility and wealthy merchants: G. A. Lanzheron, R. S. Edling, O. C. Naryshkina, S. I. Vassal', E. A. Pushchina, E. I. Zolotareva, A. P. Zontagb and others. Many of them were also members of the Odessa Women's Charitable Society.

During the reign of Tsar Nicholas I, the structure of the Odessa Order and public non-governmental charitable institutions underwent significant changes. The amount of the elected members gradually declined. Rather, the government appointed its officials as permanent members of the Order, and the Governors and local administration directly controlled the business of the charity organizations. The decree issued on 28 February 1852, cut the state funding of the Order in half, which had a negative effect on its financial standing and social activities. The absolute power of the appointed permanent members caused the increasing corruption and abuse of power within the context of the Order activities, while elected members, remaining in minority, had no means of control. The

18. *Новороссийский календарь на 1857 год* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1857], (Odessa Gorodskaya tipografiya, 1856), pp. 362–368.

progressive development of the government-regulated charity during the first decades of the 19th century has changed into stagnation, and in the middle of the century was followed by regression. The state increased funding for the court, bureaucracy, army, and wars; thus little was left for charitable institutions. While the population was constantly growing, the number of charitable institutions did not increase. Crop failures, famines, epidemics, and the consequences of the Crimean and Caucasian wars had a negative impact on the amount of poor, disabled, and other vulnerable groups.¹⁹

In the 1860s, the government decided to reformat the system of state-regulated guardianship, transferring the functions of the Orders of Public Charity and public non-governmental committees to the Self-Government of cities and *Zemstvo*. As a result, the Odessa Order of Public Charity was abolished on 15 September 1865, and its functions were transferred to the City Duma.²⁰

During the first decade of its operation, the *Odessa City Public Administration* (*Одесское городское общественное управление*) did not open a single new charitable institution. Its primary concern was expanding and managing the already existing facilities: the City Hospital, the Charitable House, and the Orphanage. The Duma paid significant attention the guardianship of orphans and other minors. The first related to charity case of Duma dates to 24 June 1865, and was related to admitting the young girl Thelka and soldier's wife Tatiana Ridskaia to the Charity House. In 1866, the Duma gathered again to place the orphan Thelka Neizvestnaya in the care of Ms. Spiridulova, Greek national and resident of Nezhin. By the middle of the 19th century, the adoption procedure became more developed. If a family wanted to adopt a child, they submitted an application to the administration of the orphanage and provided a certificate of their reliability. The final decision was taken by the Duma administration, which issued for the orphans the permission to "join families".²¹

19. Grebtsova, Nakaeva, *Essays on the Women's Charity Movement*, p. 47.

20. DAOO, fond 4 (Odessa City Duma), opys 96 (Charity Department, 1865–1872), sprava 126; fond 362 (Odessa Order of Public Charity of the Ministry of Interior Affairs), opys 1 (1826–1865).

21. DAOO, fond 16 (Odessa City Board), opys 96, sprava 44, "On the bestowal to the Odessa meschane Arkhipu Pudashanskomu of a nursling from the Odessa Orphanage called Maria Bondarenko for the adoption by a family. 1872", fol. 12; DAOO, fond 16, opys 96, sprava 44, "On the placement of various persons of poor condition to be entered into the City Almshouse or who were retired from it for various reasons. 1872", fols. 1–3.

Archival records show that the representatives of merchantry and craftsmen became adoptive parents most often, which was their contribution to public charity.

The City Police supervised the beggars, vagabonds and prostitutes on the streets of Odessa. According to the decision of the Odessa District Court, the detainees were usually distributed between the Charity House (“for not choosing a path for life”), Hospital and Orphanage.²²

In 1873, based on the “City Regulations” released on 16 June 1870, and the “Special Rules on the Application of the City Regulations in the Capitals and in Odessa”, the Odessa City Board was established to function as Duma’s executive body in financial, administrative matters, including public charity as a part of the system of common good, which comprised the following subjects: 1. Provisions of food and water for the case of deficiency; 2. Measures against fires, disasters, and their losses; 3. Protection of public health (management of hospitals, hygiene measures, etc.); 4. Maintaining peace and quiet; 5. Measures against poverty and assistance to the poor; establishment of charitable institutions; 6. Advancement of learning and education, such founding of schools, libraries, and museums. Despite some uncertainty in the wording, especially those found in paragraph 5, the purpose of the rules was to hand over all of the regulatory power in public welfare matters to Odessa Public Administration. The Ministry of Internal Affairs was not fully prepared for the legislative changes in this area, which can explain the lack precise and specific regulations of public charity in Odessa. In this situation of relative absence of strict regulatory norms, the local authorities had to take the initiative.²³

The Odessa City Board founded a *Charity Department* to deal with the affairs of charity. It reported to the Urban Prefect on a yearly basis, who then provided this information to the Odessa Mayor, preparing report for the central government.²⁴ In the 1870s, the Odessa Public Administration ran four charitable institutions: the Charity

22. DAOO, fond 4, opys 96, sprava 126, fols. 36 verso, 38 verso, 50.

23. *Благотворительность в России* [Charity in Russia], in 2 vols., vol. 1, (St. Petersburg: Tipolitogr. N. L. Nyrkina, 1902), p. 133.

24. DAOO, fond 16, opys 96 (1877), sprava 2, “Activities of the Charity Department of the Odessa City Board with a report on the cities charitable institutions for the Full Report for the year of 1876”, fols. 20–24.

House, the Cemeteries, the Orphanage, and the City Hospital.²⁵ Let us treat the history of each of these institutions separately.

Odessa City Hospital

The Odessa City Hospital was funded by the Odessa Public Administration. By 1876, the hospital had about 1,000 – 1,200 beds and consisted of 6 departments: 1. Mental Diseases; 2. For patients with rheumatism and scrofula; 3. For chronicall illnesses, with 150 beds in a separately rented house; 4. A 60-beds Ophthalmology Department in specially constructed building (since 1876), later known as the Eye Clinic of P. Kotsebu; 5. For female patients with syphilis, with 150 beds; 6. A temporary military unit, with 300 beds. In addition, the Hospital had a 20-beds Department “Mariniskoe” for free services to the poor, funded through the interest earned from the private donation of Viktoria Marini, widow of the privy councilor. In addition, the Hospital had seasonal wards, which functioned only in summer: these were a metal and four wooden wards “to be used during the airing out of hospital building and for the placement of patients with contagious epidemic diseases...”. In the main building located on Khersonskaia Street there was also an outpatient clinic for ambulatory patients, where drugs were distributed for free from the pharmacy of the Hospital.²⁶ During the epidemic of cholera in 1872, the Hospital opened a special cholera division; 8 beds were also prepared for cholera patients in the Jewish Hospital.²⁷

In 1888, the hospital consisted of the following departments: surgical, therapeutic, maternity, gynecological, urology, infectious disease ward in a separate building, chronic illnesses (later – the Shelter of Vallikha), male and female syphilis wards (located in a separate building on Staroportofranskovskaia Street).

The department of Mental Diseases was independent in medical sense and was chaired by a psychiatrist. The building was located in the military yard of the hospital on Khersonskaia Street, and in 1892 it moved to a new building on Slobodka-Romanovka Street. It was the first time in Odessa that a care home for patients with mental diseases

25. DAOO, fond 16, opys 96, sprava 24, “Statements of Charitable institutions with expenditures, 1872”.

26. DAOO, fond 16, opys 96 (1877), sprava 2, fol. 21.

27. DAOO, fond 16, opys 96 (1872), sprava 51, “On the adoption of protective measures for the cessation of cholera and the opening at the City Hospital cholera department”, fols. 6–7.

was opened. There were shoe-making, tailoring, carpentry, and art workshops, where the patients worked under the supervision; this proved to be beneficial for their health; in addition, there was an orchard and a vegetable garden. For the needs of the garden, some of the residents manufactured brooms, straw mats, rugs, and other things. The monthly payment for an individual was set at 10 rubles for standard, and 25 rubles for improved service. There was also a department of free care for unidentified individuals brought by the police; debtors who could not pay for the care; foreign nationals who failed to return to their homelands and had no relatives; members of the taxed estate, whose payments could not be guaranteed by their community; poor citizens of Odessa, referenced either by the City Board or by the police; and even poor members of the nobility who had no relatives. Doctor B. Shpakovskii became the first chief psychiatrist of the department.²⁸

After a bacteriological unit was opened in Odessa, the hospital received a new ward for patients with rabies. In the same year, the hospital opened a new department, with 70 beds, for male residents of the Charity House suffering from chronic diseases. The Charity House funded this department. The hospital also had an outpatient clinic for the free care and distribution of medicine to the poorest people. In 1887, more than 10,000 people referred to this clinic for aid.²⁹

In 1888, the so-called *Medical Center* located at Khadzhibeiskoe estuary acquired an independent status, with a special budget and separate reports. Yet in financial respect it belonged to the jurisdiction of the Odessa City Board. The Medical Center was supervised by a Special Doctor and functioned only in summer (from 15 May to 25 August); patients were admitted for the therapy with mud baths. The cost for care was 25 rubles a month, but poor patients were treated without cost. In 1890, the City spent 17,000 rubles for the care of 70 patients.³⁰

28. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1895), sprava 28, "Compilation of reports on the activities of the subordinate Charitable Department of the Administration of godly and charitable institutions for the year of 1894", fols. 23–25, 69.

29. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1888), sprava 3, "On the information to the Odessa Mayor, necessary for the All-encompassing report for the year of 1888", fols. 7–15.

30. Ibid.; DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1891), sprava 12, "On the information to the Odessa Mayor, necessary for the All-encompassing report for the year of 1890".

The *Jewish Hospital* (est. 1802), was under the jurisdiction of the Odessa City Duma. The complex of the Hospital included a pharmacy, a prayer house, and a ward with 18 beds for the care of the elderly. In 1870, the hospital received a sum of 29,750 rubles for its upkeep. The cost for care per month was 7 rubles and 50 kopecks, and free for the poor.³¹

The *Eye Clinic of Count P. E. Kotsebu* (est. 1875) was devoted solely to the treatment of patients with eye diseases. The building of the clinic was owned by the city. The head of the clinic, Doctor of Medicine Shmidt, dealt with both medical and financial issues, and doctor V. Vagner replaced him in 1888.³²

At the end of the 19th century, the City Duma founded an Executive Commission for the supervision of the medical institutions of Odessa. This decision was based on the implementation of the article 103 of the City Regulations (1892). Initially, the Executive Commission managed only the economic issues, but starting from 1903, it assumed full responsibility for the functioning of the medical institutions in Odessa.³³

Charity House

As of 1894, the Charity House had the charge of Department of Chronic Diseases in the City Hospital, the Home for Disabled, three City Cemeteries and an Anatomy Board. The building of the Charity House, with three Departments (Masovskii, Pokrovskii, Dontsovskii, of Chronic Diseases was located at the Old Cemetery, and faced Staroportofrankovkaia Street.³⁴

31. *Pamyatnaya Knizhka ... of the Odessa Urban Prefect for 1870*, pp. 124–125.

32. DAOO, fond 16, opys 96 (1884), sprava 8, “Information for the All-encompassing report and other reports on charitable institutions for the year of 1883”, fol. 24; DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1888), sprava 3, “On the information to the Odessa Mayor, necessary for the All-encompassing report for the year of 1888”, fol. 50.

33. *Отчет Одесской городской управы за 1898 год. Деятельность о состоянии подведомственных городу учреждений и объяснительные записки к финансовому отчету Управы за 1898 г.* [Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1898. Information of the state of institutions under the management of the City and explanatory notes for the financial report of the Board for 1898], (Odessa: Slavic Printing House N. Khrisogelos, 1899), p. 372; *Отчет Одесской городской управы за 1903 год. Деятельность о состоянии подведомственных городу учреждений и объяснительные записки к финансовому отчету Управы за 1903 г.* [Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1903. Information of the state of institutions under the management of the City and explanatory notes for the financial report of the Board for 1903], (Odessa: Slavic Printing House N. Khrisogelos, 1905), p. 254.

34. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1888), sprava 3, fol. 7.

Cemeteries

The *Old City Cemetery*, with the church, was located at the end of Preobrazhenskaia Street. The Anatomy Board was located at the site of Old Cemetery with the goal of conducting forensic autopsies to establish the causes of suicides, sudden, and violent deaths.

The *New City Cemetery* was located in the neighborhood of Dalnikh Melnits, at the church of St. Dmitrii.

The *Third Cemetery* was opened on 25 May 1894 at a location designated by the City Duma behind the Tiraspol Outpost across from the chemical factory of Brodskii. Poor people were buried for free at this cemetery; often they died at one of the charitable institutions, and city covered the expenses for the grave crosses. The Charity House employed gardeners and guards to look after the cemeteries, arrange flower beds and clean the graves.

The *Charity House* admitted all poor and unable to works citizens of Odessa, regardless of their class, origins, or previous states of employment. The Home for the Disabled accepted only military veterans whose need in a shelter was proven . In 1895 there were 648 people residing in the Charity House, and 100 among them resided in the Home for the Disabled.³⁵

Nighttime Shelter and Low-Price Refectories

On 20 September 1888, the Odessa City opened a *Nighttime Shelter*, a *Children's Refectory* and a *Low-Price Refectory*, located at the square Starobazarnaia, in a building, donated by the Urban Prefect G. G. Marazli. The City allocated 3,000 rubles for the renovation of the building. The shelter and refectories came under the jurisdiction of the Charity Department of the City Board, which appointed special supervisors for the Refectory and the Shelter, and a female trustee for the Children's Refectory.

The Children's Refectory functioned as a daycare institution. The working class parents could bring their children for keeping at the Refectory during the daytime, where children ate, studied, and were looked after. The Children's Refectory was open from 7 am to 6 pm in summer, and to 4 pm in winter. Children of the ages from 3 to 7 were accepted,

35. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1895), sprava 28, "On the drafting of the report on the activities of the charitable institutions under the jurisdiction of Charitable Department in 1894", fols. 23, 25, 47 verso, 69.

regardless of their religion, the payment was 5 kopecks per day. The meal program included tea and bread in the morning, and a two-course lunch at 12 pm (borscht or meat soup, and hot cereal), and dinner at 4 pm. In addition, the children were taught how to read and write, to recite prayers, as well as a variety of crafts and handworks. The Odessa Duma appointed Baroness Zoia Frideriks to serve as a trustee of the Refectory. On the feast days, she distributed gifts among the children: dresses, shoes, school supplies and sweets. Their parents were mostly from the working class (day-laborers, blue collars cab drivers).³⁶ Children from the ages from 5 to 10 attended the Refectory from 7 am to 5 pm. By 1889, the Refectory had been visited by 3,650 children, and in 1900 the number reached 11,000.³⁷

In the *Low-Price Refectory*, a full dinner was sold at 10 kopecks. During the first year after the opening, Refectory provided meals to an average of 100 people a day, and in 1894 this number increased to 173; in 1899, it could reach 300 on some days. Despite the fact that the establishment provided the meals for a moderate price, not everyone could afford a full portion. A report from 1888 notes that “cheap restaurants and taverns contributed to the low number of persons attending the dining hall, because there, in addition to food, they could consume alcoholic beverages and spirits”. The Easter meal was free for all attending at the expense of the city.³⁸

The Nighttime Shelter had 90 beds for both sexes. The aim of the institution was “to provide the poorest members of society with an opportunity to spend the night in a warm shelter, on a soft straw mattress, and to hide from cold and harsh weather”. The cost of a one-night stay was 4 kopecks. The shelter was popular among singles with such occupations as day-laborers, porters, loaders and carriers.³⁹

36. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1888), sprava 3, fols. 28–30; DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1895), sprava 28, “On the drafting of a report on the activities of the charitable institutions under the jurisdiction of Charitable Department in 1894”, fols. 60 verso – 61.

37. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1890), sprava 2, “On the information to the Odessa Mayor, necessary for the All-encompassing report for the year of 1889”, fol. 24; *Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1898*, p. 372.

38. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1890), sprava 3, fols. 28–30; DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1895), sprava 28, fol. 60 verso; DAOO, fond 16, opys 99 (1900), sprava 68, “Report on the activities of the Charity Department and its subordinate institutions for 1900”, fol. 36.

39. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98, sprava 3, “On the information to the Odessa Mayor, necessary for the All-encompassing report for the year of 1888”, fols. 28–30.

In October 1889 the city of Odessa funded the foundation of a *Shelter for Men and Women in Need due to Unfortunate Circumstances*, located at Kulikovo Pole. The facility featured 20 warm, well-lit rooms with comfortable living conditions and electric buzzers. In addition, the building had a garden, a large common room, a library, a dining hall, bathing rooms, a laundry room, and other amenities. Doctor Dmitrii Nikolaevich Inglezi provided medical care for free to the residents; Yu. Baranovich became a warden. In 1894, the cost was for the maintenance of the institution was 5,963 rubles.⁴⁰

The City Orphanage

At the end of the 19th century, the Duma assigned the matters related to the management of the Orphanage to the Board of Trustees of the Orphanage.⁴¹ According to the guidelines approved by the City Duma on 19 October 1895, the aim of the Orphanage was to educate orphan boys from the poorest families of Odessa. The boys could be educated either on the premises of the institutions or sent to professional schools, factories, or workshops. In the first case (education on the premises of the Orphanage), boys attended a six-year primary school. In 1900, the Orphanage Home consisted of: 1. A six-year primary school, which according to the Regulations of 31 May 1872, was a second-category private educational institution; 2. A private industrial school; 3. The following five workshops: locksmith's, carpenter's, book-binding, tailor's, shoe-maker's; 4. A orchestra-room for practicing wind instruments; 5. A library. The students of the orphanage attended musical evenings. Long walks, visits to exhibitions and factories were arranged for the summertime. The orphanage was run by the city up until July of 1903.⁴²

Odessa City Public Administration did not have its own orphanage for girls. Starting from 1868, the City Public Administration started placing orphan girls in semi-public and private orphanages managed by the *City Trusteeship for Orphan Homes and Women's*

40. DAOO, fond 16, opys 98 (1895), sprava 28, fols. 57–58.

41. *Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1898*, p. 372.

42. *Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1903*, p. 254; *Отчет Одесской городской управы за 1900 год. Деятельность о состоянии подведомственных городу учреждений и объяснительные записки к финансовому отчету Управы за 1900 г.* [Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1900. Information of the state of institutions under the management of the City and explanatory notes for the financial report of the Board for 1900], (Odessa: Slavic Printing House N. Khrisogelos, 1901), pp. 282–283.

Charitable Society, paying 100–150 rubles yearly for each girl placed into care. The absence of its own orphanage for girls presented a serious problem for the city system of public charity. The female graduates of the *City Home for Orphan Infants* could not receive proper educations and were usually placed in foster care for a fee of 5 rubles per month.⁴³

Therefore, by the early 20th century, the Charity Department of the Odessa City Board run the following charitable institutions: the Charity House, the Home for the Disabled, the City Cemetery, the Anatomy Board, the Orphanage for Infants, the Shelter in Memory of the Events of October 17, 1888, the Nighttime Shelter with Refectories, Subsidized Apartments “Pavlovskie”, and City Laundry⁴⁴ with a Bakery.⁴⁵ In 1905, the city received a new shelter named after the Icon of the Mother of God “Joy of All who Sorrow” and in honor of Countess Alopeus.⁴⁶

In addition to managing the medical charitable institutions of Odessa, the Charity Department was in charge of issuing salaries of the doctors working for the city, subsidies to the poor. In addition, they were responsible for registering adoptions and acting as trustees for orphans, placing them in the city shelters when necessary, as well as the issuing the dowries for poor brides.

The Odessa City Public Administration participated in the maintenance of charitable institutions, which were not under their direct authority by issuing annual grants. Amongst these institutions were: Outpatient Clinic, Nursing Home for Infants “Pavlovskii” (for the care of foundlings), the Odessa Jewish Hospital, the Jewish Orphanage, the Trusteeship for Orphanages, Shelter of the Reigning Empress, and the Shelter for the Poor.⁴⁷

43. *Отчет Одесской городской управы за 1905 год. Деятельность о состоянии подведомственных городу учреждений и объяснительные записки к финансовому отчету Управы за 1905 г.* [Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1905. Information of the state of institutions under the management of the City and explanatory notes for the financial report of the Board for 1905], (Odessa: Slavic Printing House N. Khrisogelos, 1908), p. 563.

44. The City Laundry was located in the hospital on Staroportofrankovskoi Street up until 1900. After that, it was located in its own building next to the Psychiatric Hospital. The new laundry building was equipped with a disinfection chamber for washing contagious linen, and its own soap factory. See *Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1900*, p. 252.

45. *Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1903*, p. 254.

46. *Report of the Odessa City Board for the year of 1905*, p. 563.

47. DAOO, fond 16, opys 96 (1877), sprava 2, “Case from the Charity Department of the Odessa City Administration with information on the cities charitable institutions for the All-encompassing report for

In order to raise funds for the charitable institutions, the City Duma invested in small and medium-scale business. To give just one example, the city paid for the construction of wooden counters at the city market and rented them for cash. Private donations formed another source of income: the donated property could be sold, rented or used for charitable purposes. Amongst the donors were members from all social estates. According to the archival data we can see the variety of individuals who donated to the Duma, who in part, were Greeks. In 1867, Konstantin Makri donated 100 rubles to “the poor”; the Trustee of the City Hospital Zarifi made a gift of 25 rubles of silver for the hospital use; Vasili Karapavli also bequeathed funds for charity.⁴⁸

To sum up the governmental policies in charity, it should be noted that the Odessa Order of Public Charity (1823–1865), the City Duma (1865–1870), and the Charity Department of the Odessa City Board (1870–1919) played an important role in the development and formation of the governmental system of social protection in Odessa. These policies, naturally, had their limitations. The merit of the government bodies is the organization of charitable activity and social services in the city and providing state guarantees to its development, creating a relatively reliable structure for private charities, which allowed them to hope that the future of their institutions would not be left to the mercy of fate.

1876”, fols. 24–24 verso; DAOO, fond 16, opys 97, sprava 2, “On the information to the Odessa Mayor, necessary for the All-encompassing report for the year of 1887”.

48. DAOO, fond 4, opys 96, sprava 126, fols. 15, 25, 25 verso.

Chapter 16

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

Sofronios Paradeisopoulos

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

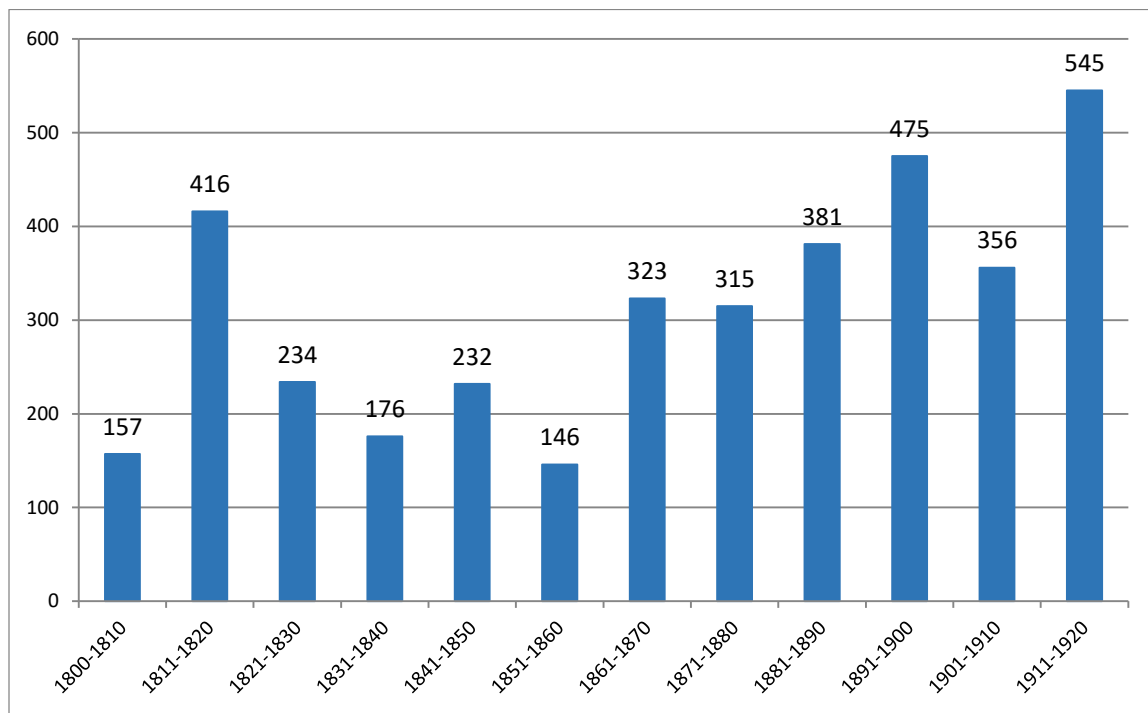
indicators depend on information available in the church documentary sources and as such are restricted to (a) season of marriage / family formation, (b) average age at first marriage, (c) typical age difference between the spouses, (d) widowhood and remarriage, and (e) extramarital relationships.⁵ Third,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

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

Table 16.1. Marriages in Odessa, 1800–1920

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

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

Diagram 16.1. Marriages in Odessa, 1800–1920

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

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

Table 16.2 Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1850–1920

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

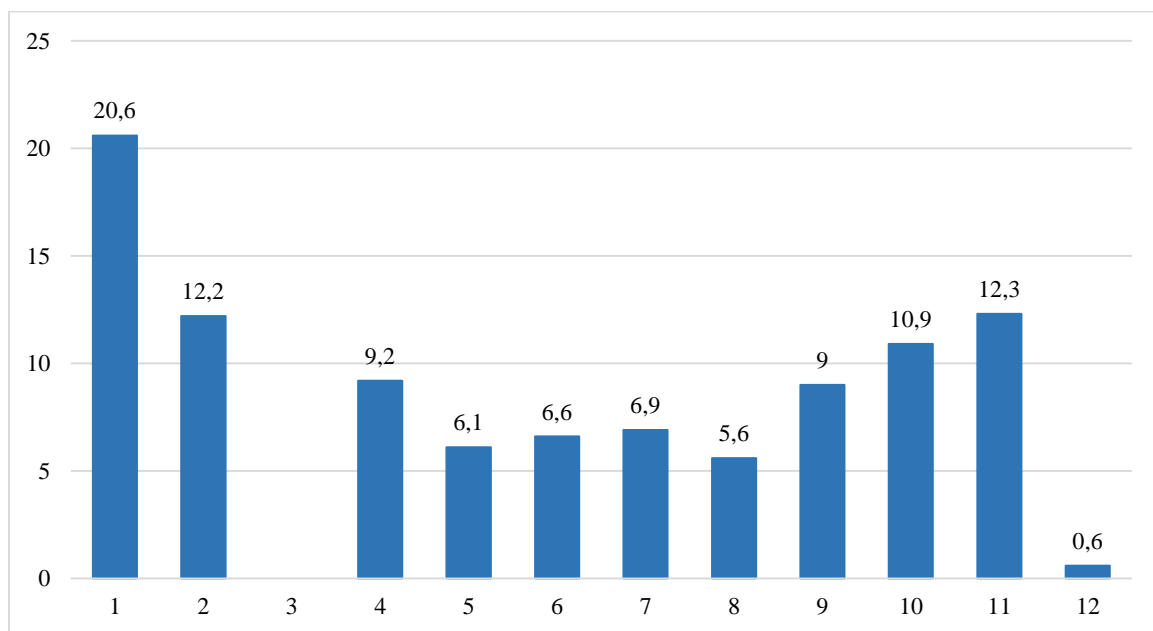
Diagram 16.2. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1800–1850

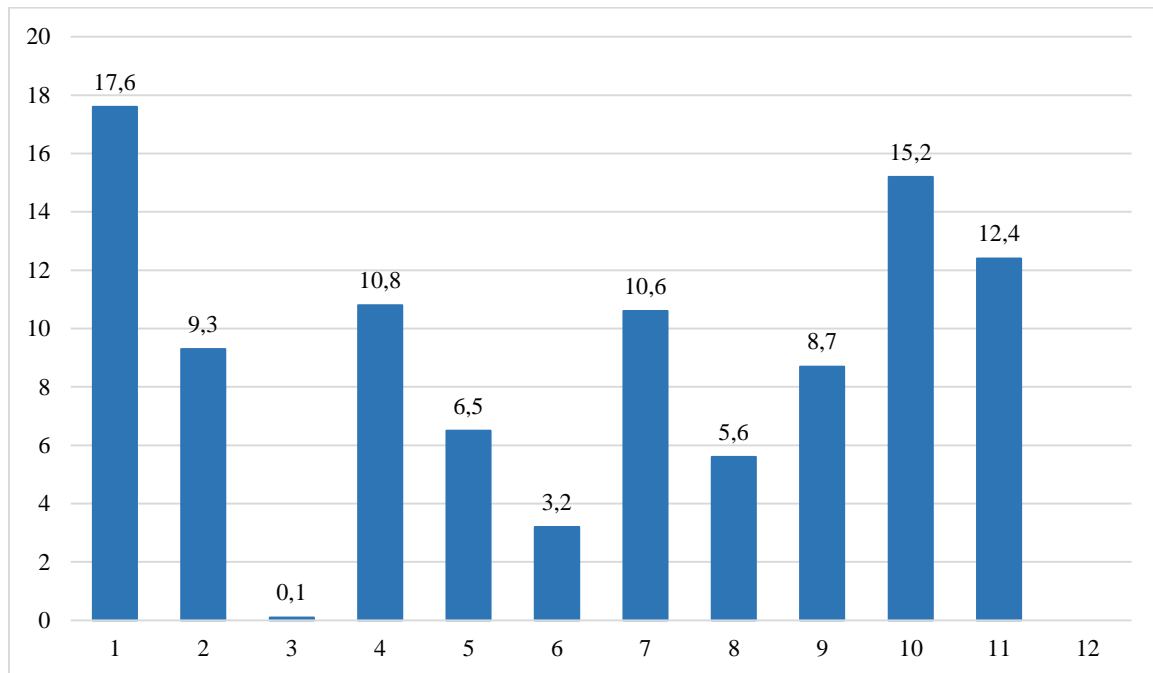
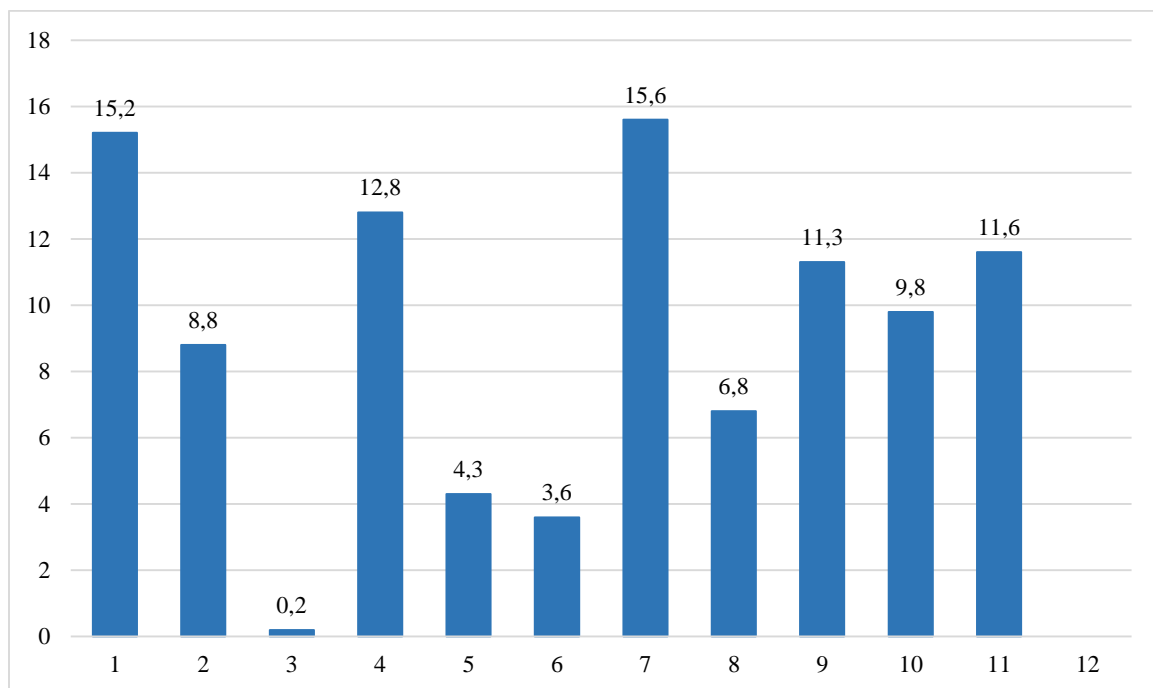
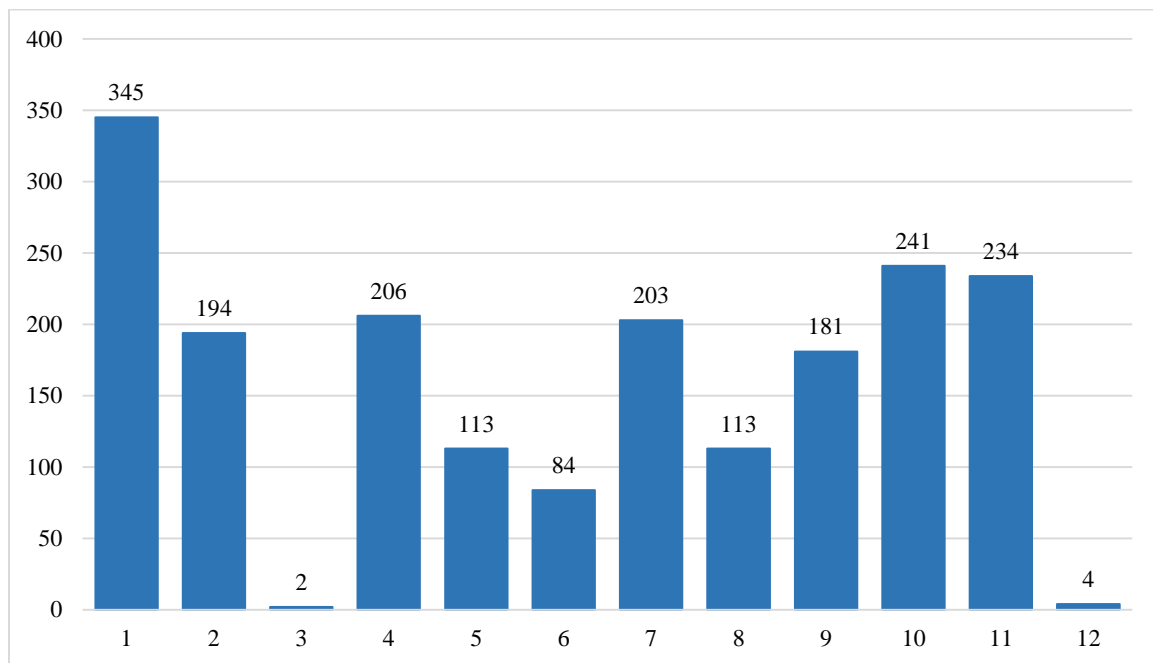
Diagram 16.3. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1851–1900**Diagram 16.4. Seasonality of Marriages by Months, 1901–1920**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

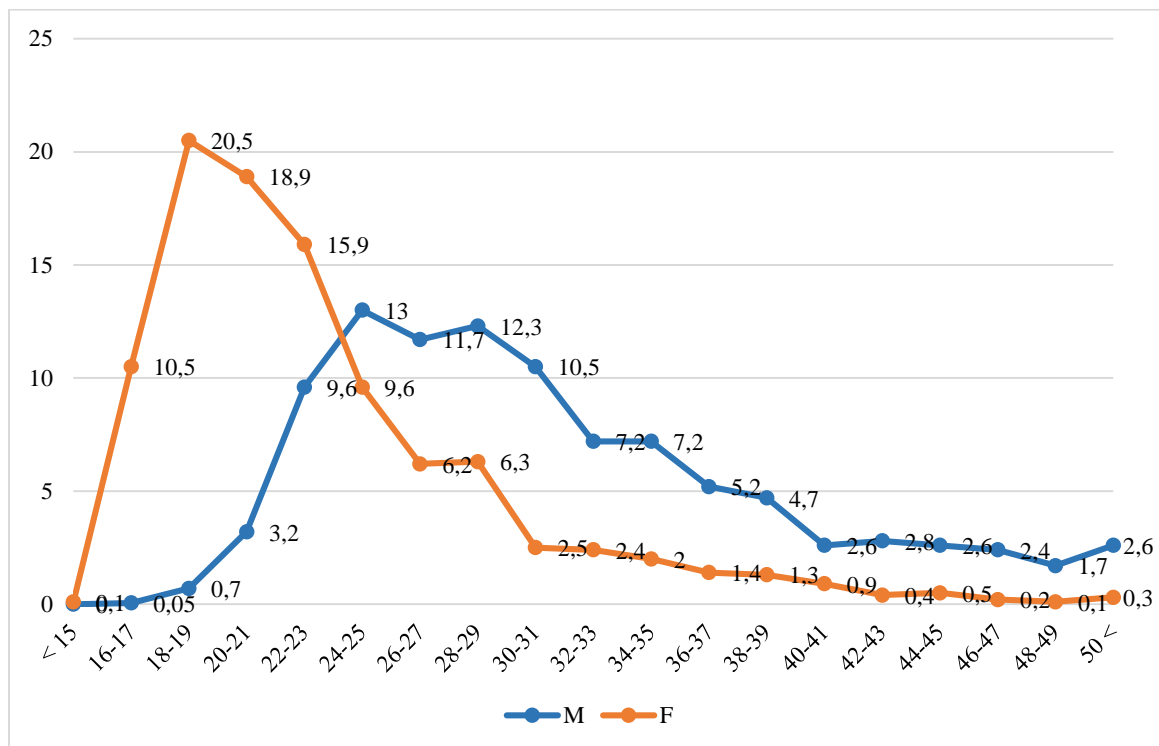
- based on the age distribution of the spouses concluding marriages (including the first one) in a specific year, or on the basis of absolute numbers of the married at different ages;
- based on data from census tables about the distribution of people by their marital status;
- by drawing up nuptiality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

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

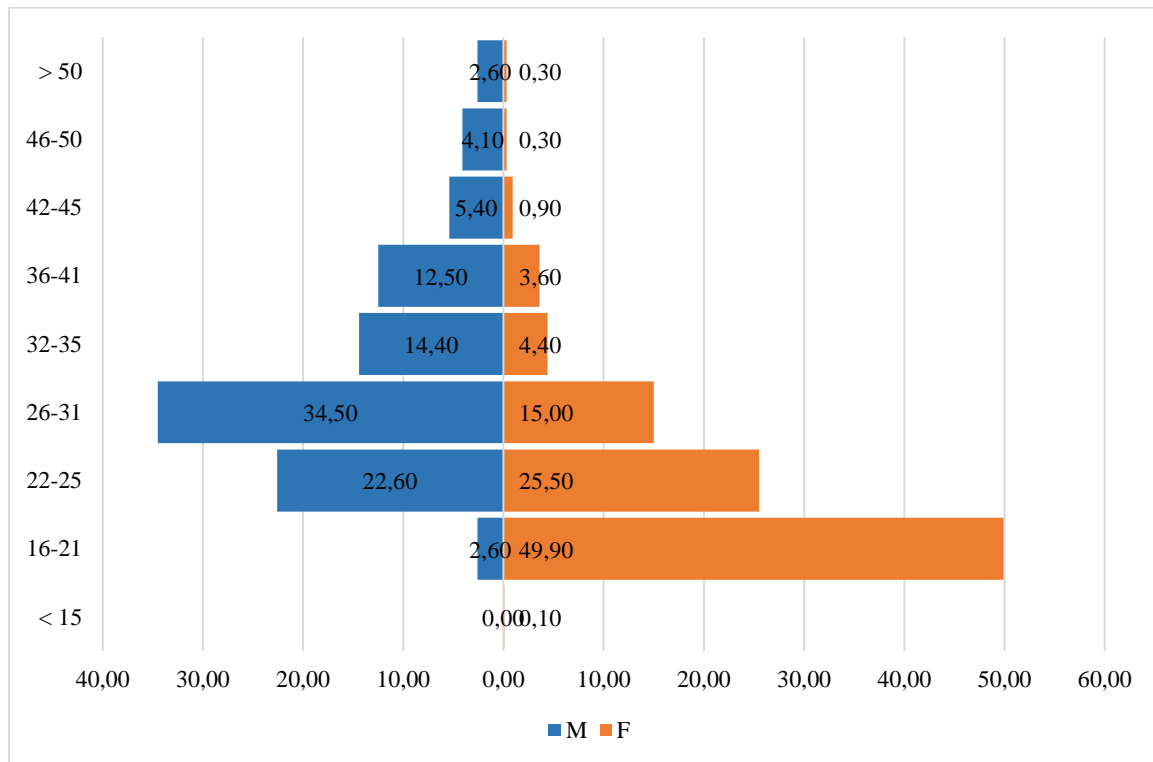
Given the nature of data in the church registers, we take the first method as the most acceptable for our study. Based on the indications of spouses' age at the times of their weddings, we developed tables summarizing distribution by age and sex for each year. In 1840–1920 Greeks of Odessa demonstrated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

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

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

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

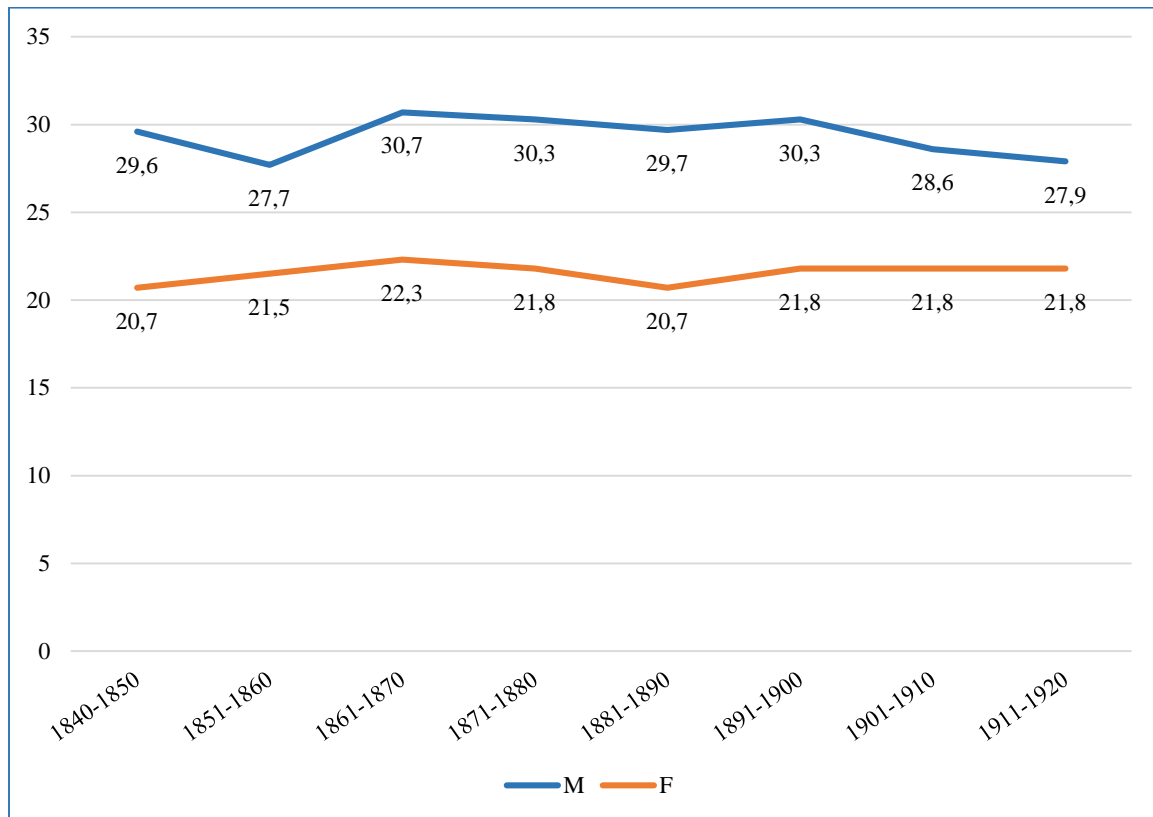
Age	Male	Female
< 15	0	0,1
16–21	3,9	49,9
22–25	22,6	25,5
26–31	34,5	15
32–35	14,4	4,4
36–41	12,5	3,6
42–45	5,4	0,9
46–50	4,1	0,3
50 <	2,6	0,3
Total	100,0	100,0

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

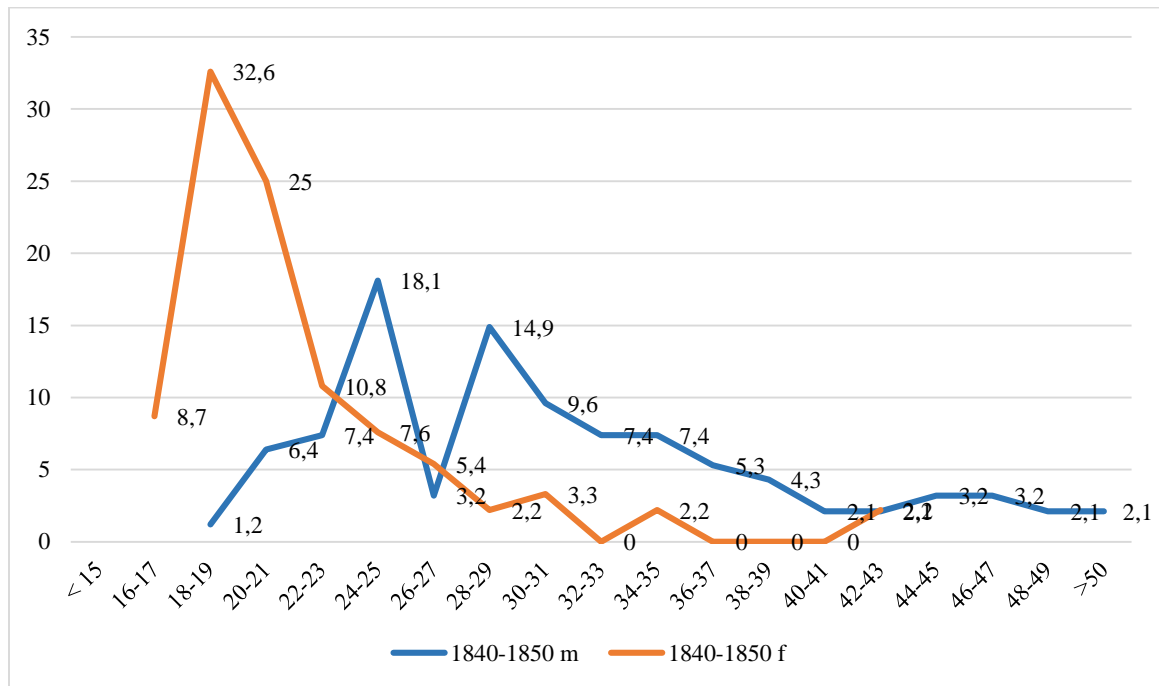
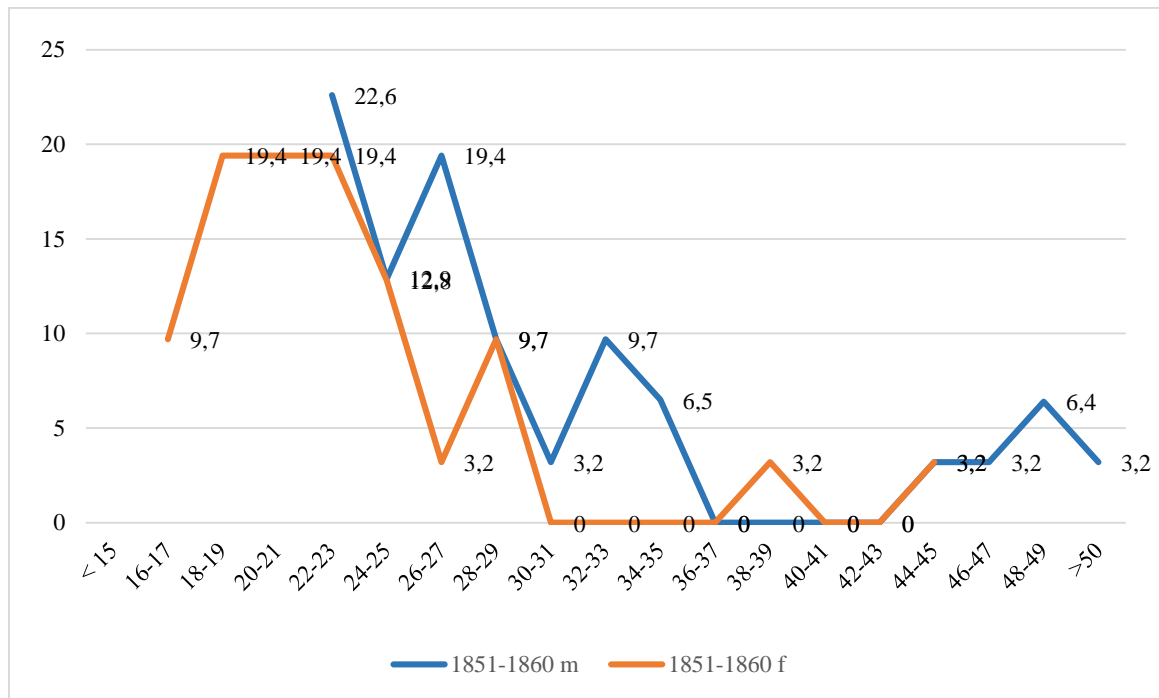
Diagram 16.9. Age at Marriage, 1841–1850**Diagram 16.10. Age at Marriage, 1851–1860**

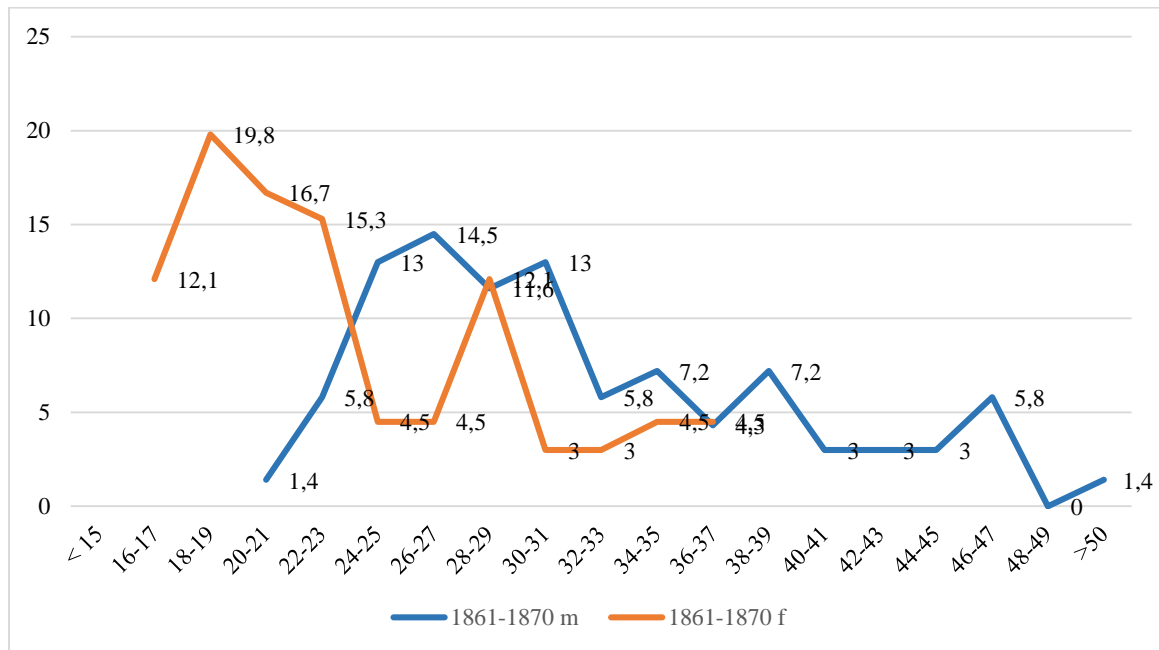
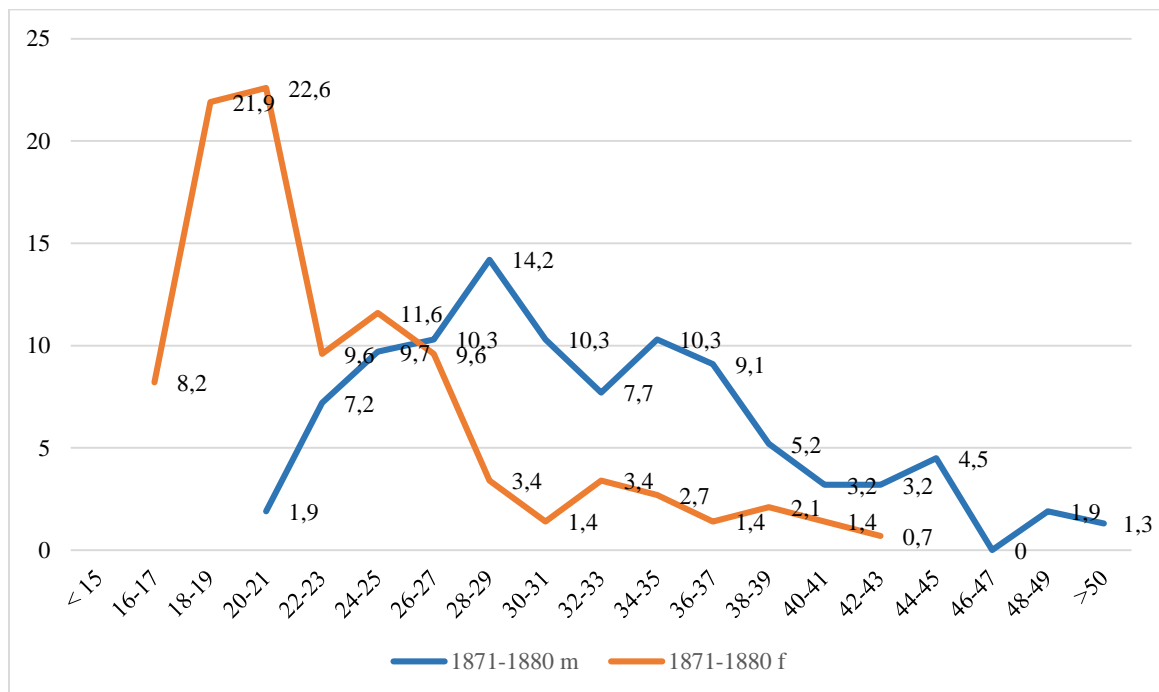
Diagram 16.11. Age at Marriage, 1861–1870**Diagram 16.12. Age at Marriage, 1871–1880**

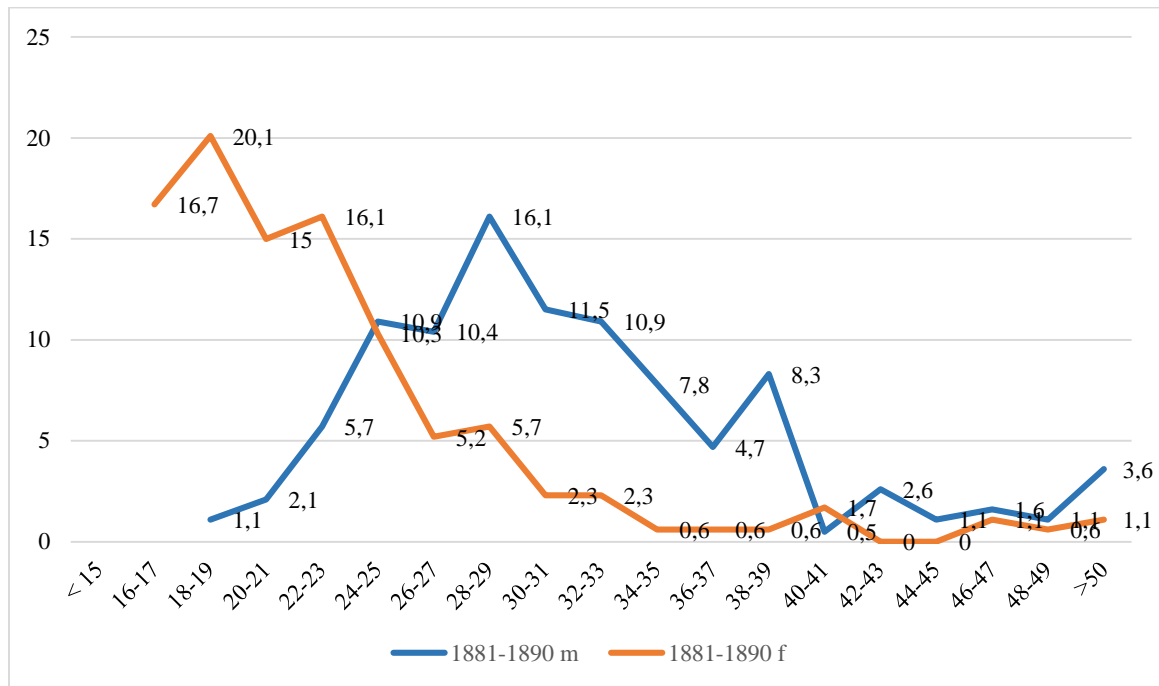
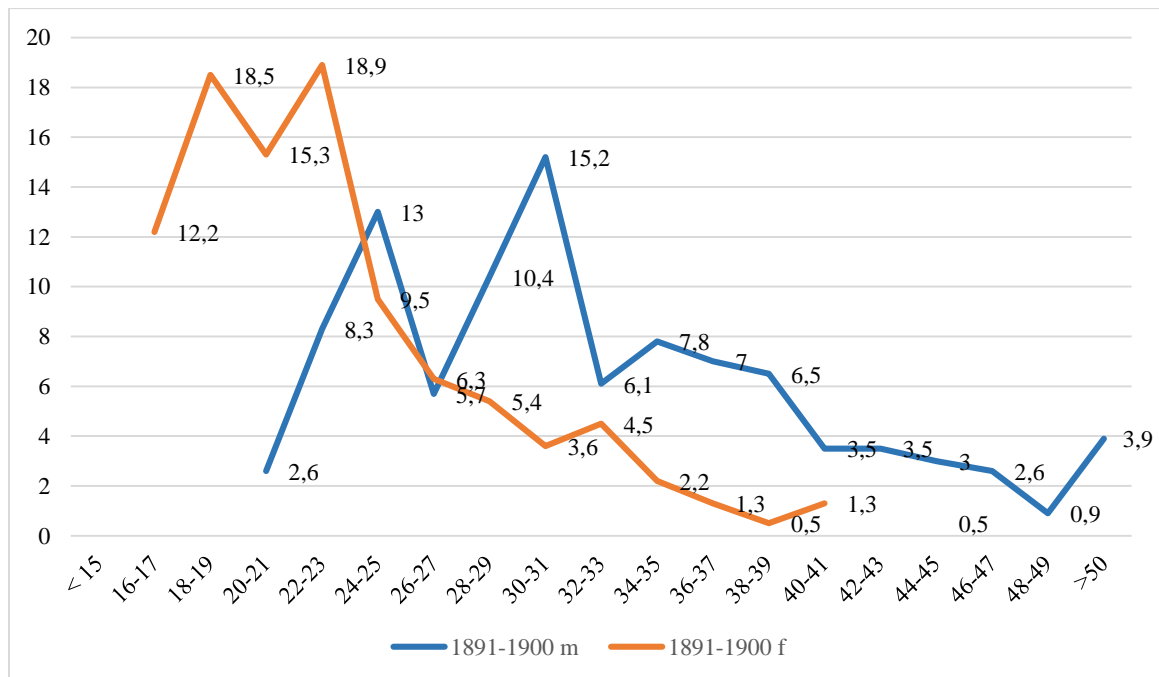
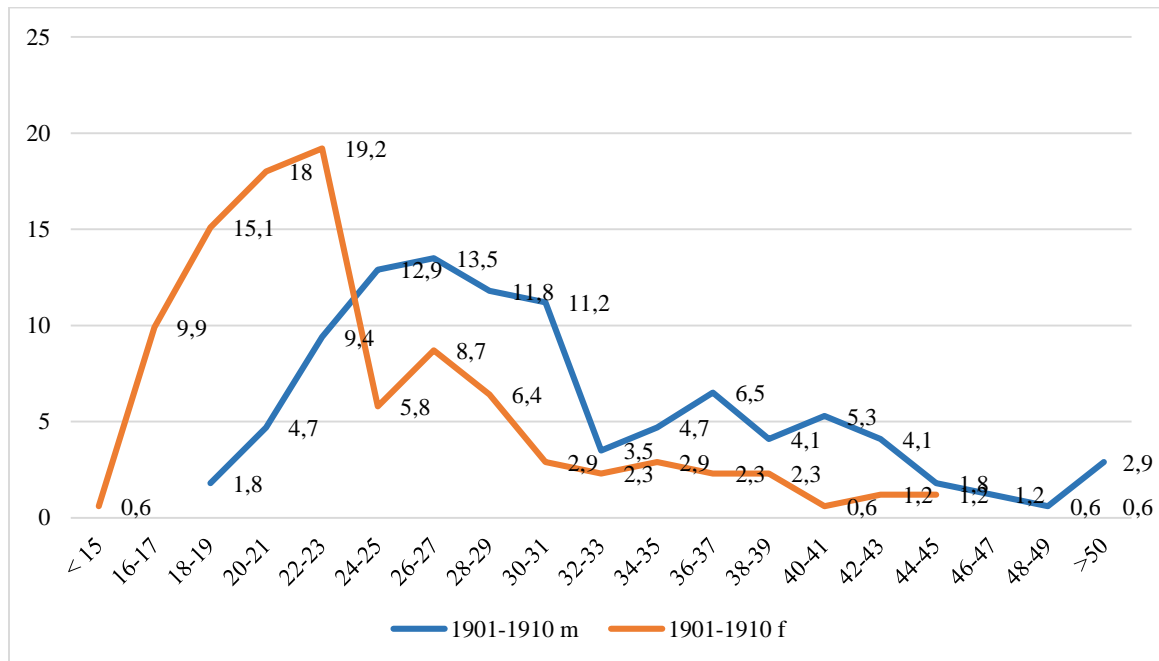
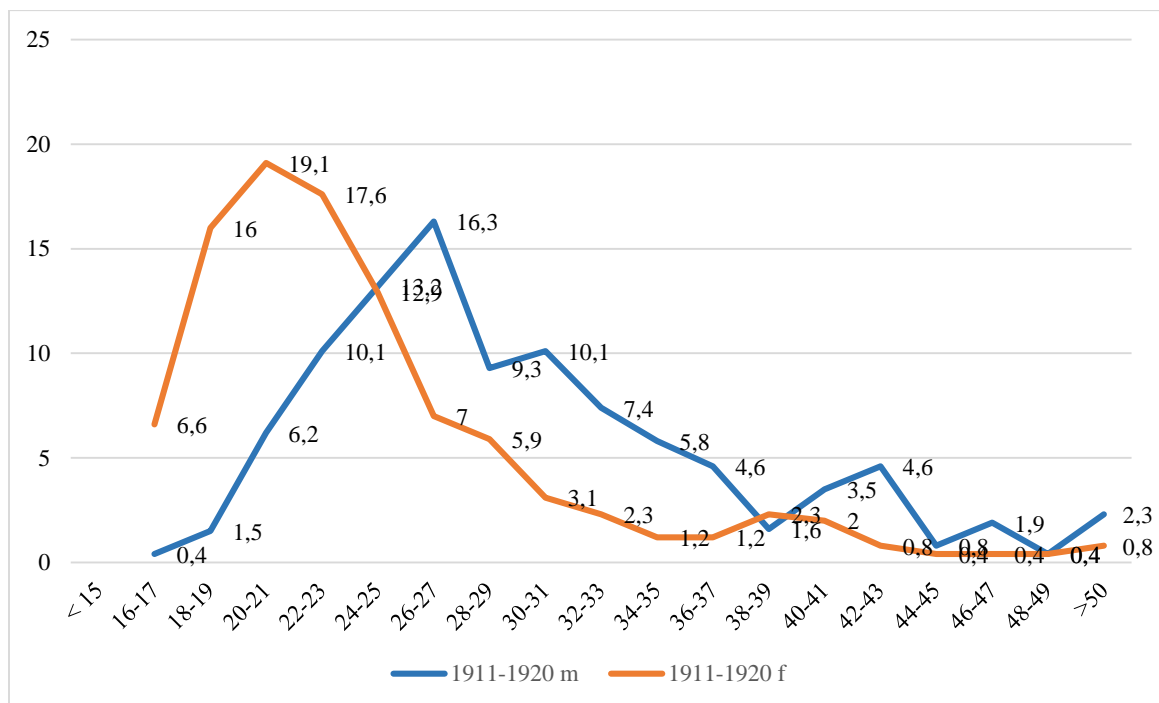
Diagram 16.13. Age at Marriage, 1881–1890**Diagram 16.14. Age at Marriage, 1891–1900**

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

The above Diagrams 16.9–16.16 show several trends:

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

Table 16.7. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1840–1880

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

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

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

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

Table 16.8. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1880–1920

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

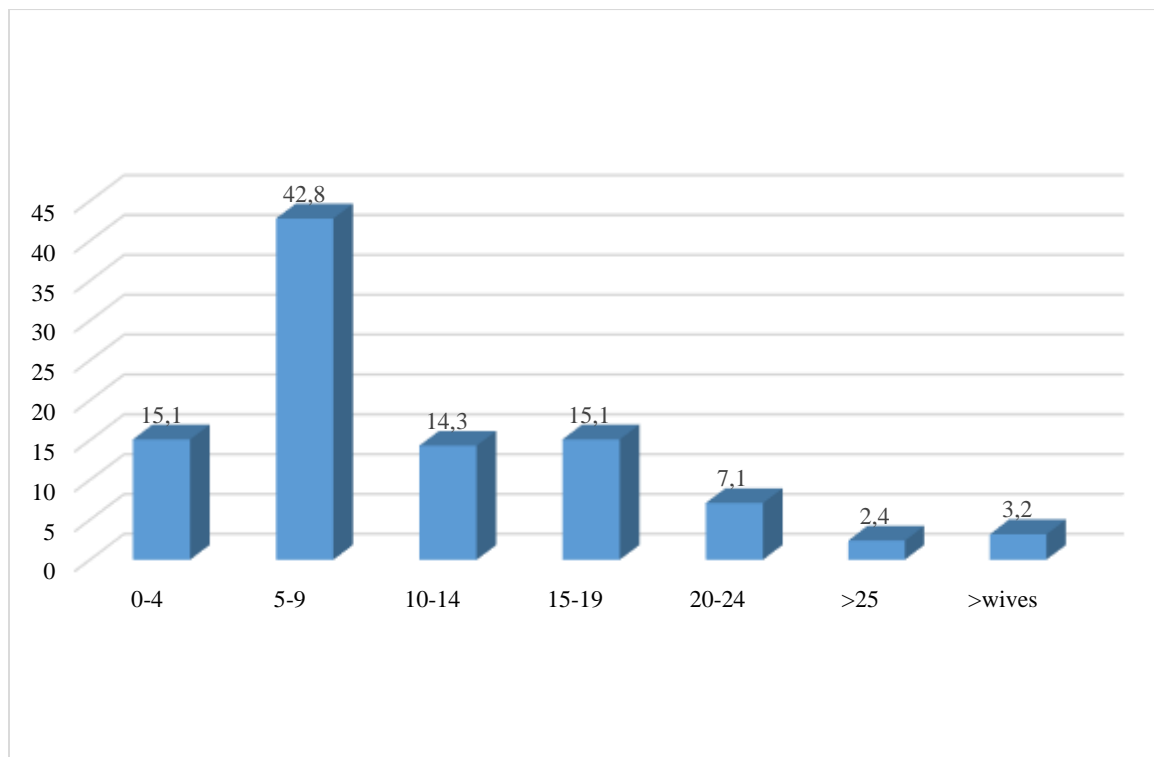
Diagram 16.17. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1840–1860

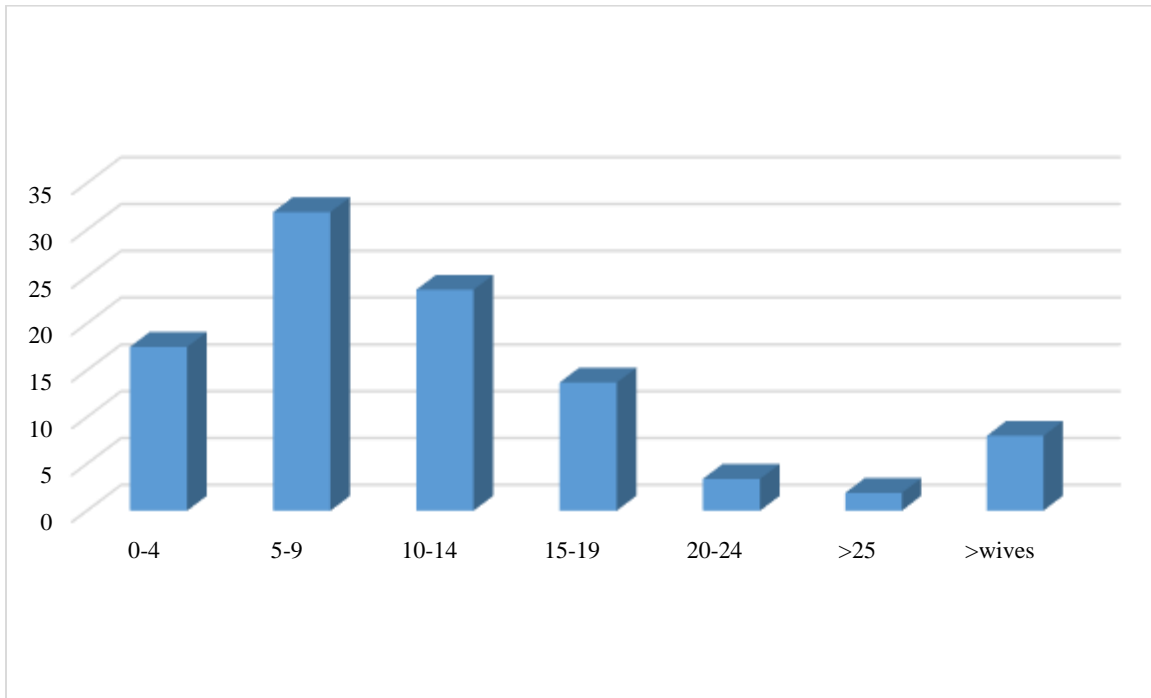
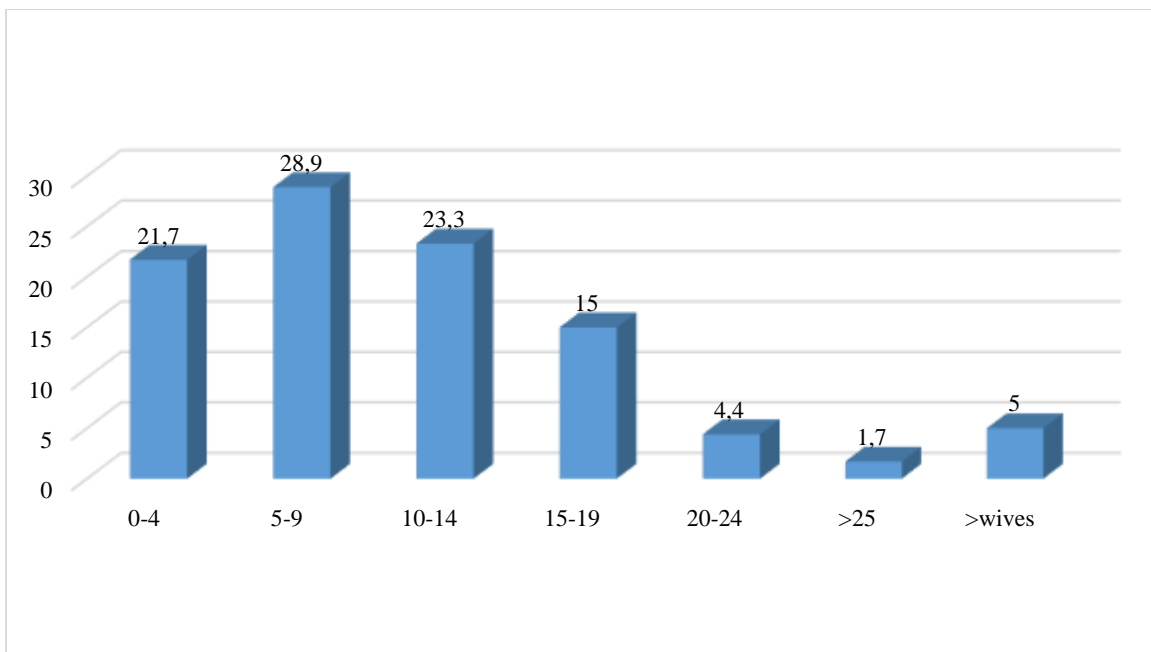
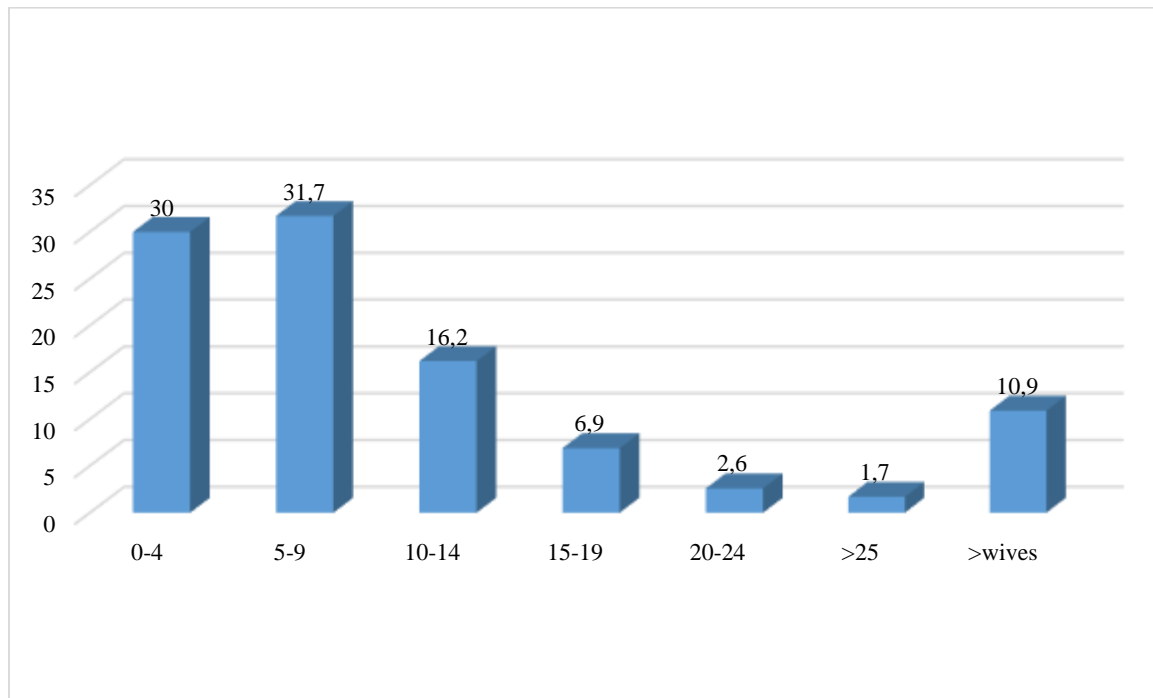
Diagram 16.18. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1860–1880**Diagram 16.19. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1880–1900**

Diagram 16.20. Age Difference Between Spouses, 1900–1920

Our analysis produced several observations:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13. Ibid., pp. 122–123.

14. Ibid., pp. 230–231.

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

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

Chapter 17

Mortality in the Greek Community of Odessa in 1800–1920

Sofronios Paradeisopoulos

Mortality is the second important demographic process after fertility. Studies in mortality as a constituent part of biometry focus on how deaths influence a population, its size and structure. Mortality is generally referred to as a process of extinction of a generation and perceived as a mass statistical process composed of a number of individual deaths coming at different ages and defining in their totality a sequence of extinction of a real or a conditional generation. As a category of historic demographic process it implies examination of “a mass process composed of a number of individual deaths coming at different ages and defining in their totality a sequence of extinction of a real or a conditional generation”¹ or is referred to as “frequency of incidents of death in a social environment”.² Together with fertility, mortality shapes natural movement (reproduction) of a population.

Death is a primary vital event for which systems of demographic statistics collect and combine data. The principal data include, among others, annual indices and rates of mortality among a population, its age and sex structure, infant and child mortality and factors of generational change. These characteristics disclose the level of development of a society and permit making judgments about a population’s reproductive strategy.

The Greek community of Odessa is certainly a bright phenomenon, both in the history of the city and in the entire Greek world in general. Until recently, most of research has focused on studies in political and public history of the Greek presence on the coast of the Black Sea. It was only at the end of the 20th century that we began seeing a shift of research interests towards studies in everyday life, social structure and

1. Gennadiy Melikyan (ed.), *Народонаселение: Энциклопедический словарь* [Population. An Encyclopedic Dictionary], (Moscow: Bolshaya Rossiiskaya enciklopediya, 1994), p. 448.

2. Vladimir Borisov, *Демография: Учебник для вузов* [Demography: A Textbook for Universities], (Moscow: NOTA BENE, 1999), p. 196.

demographic features. For these, a very important corpus of sources is represented by so-called “records of mass registers”. When Greeks of Odessa are concerned, these include data from population censuses, where Greeks are presented both separately and among other social estates, primary statistical documents as well as entries from church registers and population records. The qualitative data on the Greek community have been published previously. Publications by many researchers, from Apollon Skalkowski to Patricia Herlihy, present general information about size and structure of the Greek community of Odessa and the dynamics of these characteristics. However, it is only the study of the above mentioned sources that shall allow of analyzing actual demographic processes and phenomena.

In addition to that, we shall refer to publications and electronic database of parish registers of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity (1800–1920), compiled by the State Archives of Odesa Region in collaboration with the Branch of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture in Odesa.³ Studies of these sources shall allow of learning more details about some important historical and demographic characteristics of the Greek community of Odessa within a wide chronological range.

It has to be specified, however, that not all parishioners of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity were mentioned in the parish registers, i.e. not all of them were of Greek origin. Nonetheless, if close attention is paid, one can easily mark out non-Greeks by their distinctive surnames such as Shevchenko, Kalinovskiy and so on. The parishioners found their way into the parish registers on three major occasions of their life: christening, wedding and death (funeral service).

Since our calculations come from just a single parish, we realize that they cannot be directly applied to describe the population of the entire city. Nevertheless, the size of our sample population exceeds 4%, which makes it fairly representative of the entire population (sociological research of the same scale normally operates with much smaller samples of 4 per mille (‰)).

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

General Trends and Indices of Mortality

Records of funeral services amount to just above one third of all records in parish registers of the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity (6225 entries, or 38,8%). This type of data, however, is obviously incomplete since it does not contain information about deaths that occurred outside of Odessa, among yet unbaptized infants and the like. Moreover, parts of parish records from individual years have been lost (e.g. 1801, 1810, 1873, 1884). For these reasons some computations presented in this paper are rather approximate figures. Correlation of this inaccuracy is achieved at the level of ten-year periods since such time range smoothes out the influence of incomplete data from individual years and permits making more adequate reconstructions.

In absolute figures dynamics of mortality in the Greek community of Odessa are presented below in Table 17.1 and Diagram 17.1.

Table 17.1. Mortality in the Greek Community by Decades, 1800–1920
(Total Number, Male Index (M) and Sex Ratio (C))

	1800–1810	1811–1820	1821–1830	1831–1840	1841–1850	1851–1860	1861–1870
F	67	159	279	197	352	208	280
M	103	236	372	235	460	241	383
Total	170	395	651	432	812	449	663
<i>M</i>	0,606	0,567	0,571	0,544	0,567	0,537	0,578
<i>C</i>	153,7	148,4	133,3	119,3	130,7	115,9	136,8

	1871–1880	1881–1890	1891–1900	1901–1910	1911–1920	Total
F	212	221	240	170	242	2627
M	289	306	321	239	413	3598
Total	501	527	561	409	655	6225
<i>M</i>	0,577	0,581	0,572	0,584	0,631	0,581
<i>C</i>	136,3	138,5	133,8	140,6	170,7	138,8

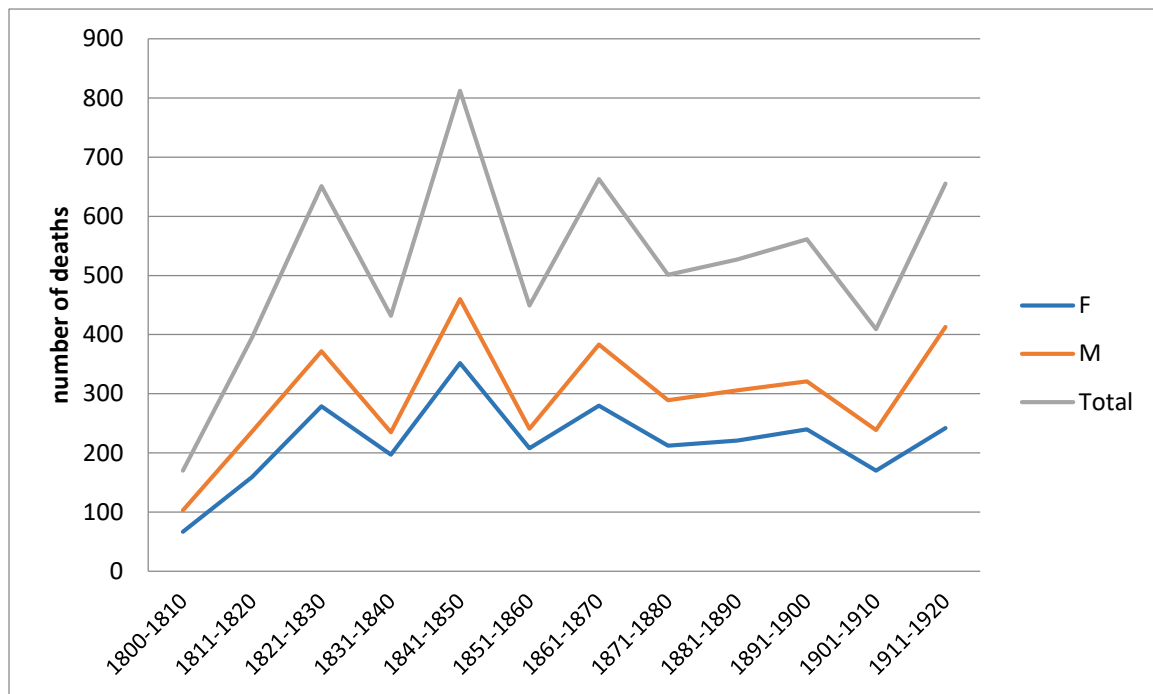
Diagram 17.1. Mortality in the Greek Community by Decades, 1870–1920

Diagram 17.1 demonstrates several principal points. It shows a clear prevalence of deaths among males over those among females (almost twice as many). This picture is typical of traditional populations in which mortality among men is generally higher than that among women. In the above series of data we see some exceptions represented by period of 1831–1840, 1851–1860 and 1901–1910. These decades show minimal prevalence of male mortality (respective mortality sex ratios show the lowest indices of 19%, 15% and 40%).

Disparity between different sexes appears even more pronounced in contexts of the calculated male index (where M is a number of man per 100 women) and the sex ratio (where C is an actual ratio of males to females multiplied by 100). These categories clearly indicate an exogenous (i.e. open) group. Not in a single examined time period does the group shows figures approaching average ones (110 for the male index). Such instances are referred to by researchers as under-registration of a specific sex.⁴ In our case (Diagram 17.2a and Diagram 17.2b), we are dealing with simply an open group since the

4. Louis Henry, Alain Blum, *Методика анализа в исторической демографии* [Methods of Analysis in Historical Demography], (Moscow, 1997), p. 27.

Greek community consisted of not only local residents but also a considerable number of incomers. It was this factor that brought about such high indices. Their rises coincided almost directly with periods of active migrations in 1800–1810 and 1900–1920, while fall of these indices in the 1830s and 1850s concurred with periods of emigration and stabilization of the Greek community of the city.

These falls among the Greek population of Odessa coincided with major unfavorable events for demographic environment of Kherson Guberniia including epidemics, wars, crop failures and droughts as demonstrated by military statistics of the first half of the 19th century.⁵

Diagram 17.2a. Mortality in the Greek Community by Decades, 1800–1920, (Male Index (M))

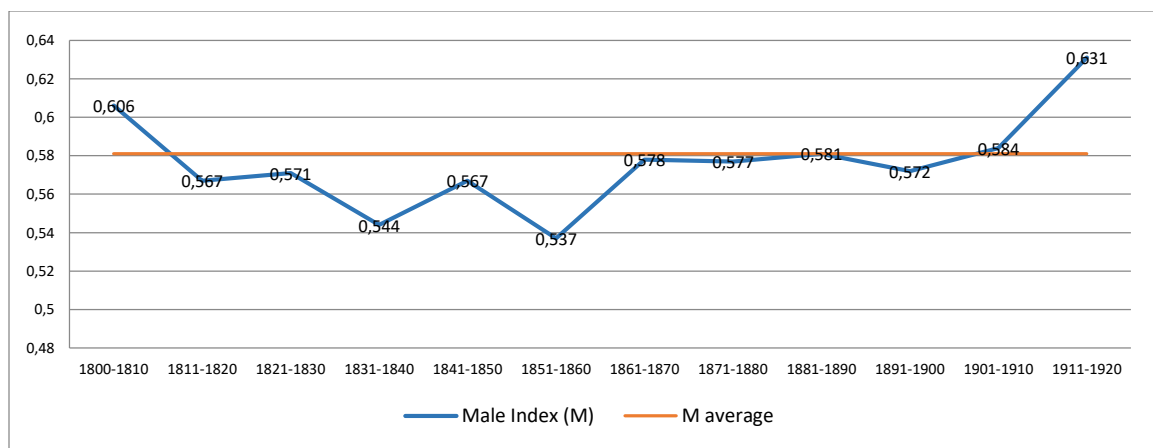
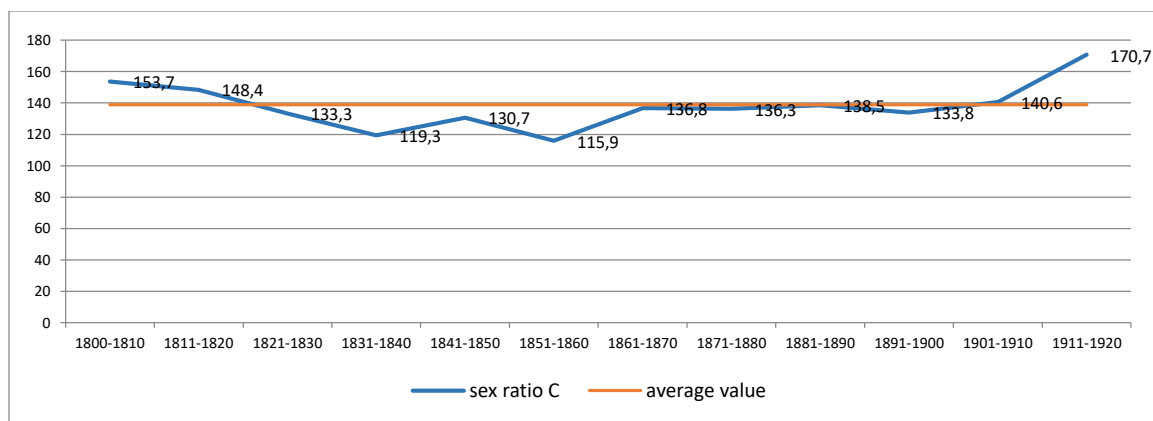


Diagram 17.2b. Mortality in the Greek Community by Decades, 1800–1920, (Sex Ratio (C))



5. Nikolai Obruchev (ed.), *Военно-статистический сборник* [Digest of Military Statistics], vol. 4, (St. Petersburg, 1871), pp. 51–52.

Comparison of indices of the Greek population of Odessa with those from the general regional context has proven informative. For example, similar indices for Kherson Guberniia in 1847 showed figures 111,6 and 0,527 (total number of the deceased amounted 40,476 people, of which 21,350 were males and 19,126 were females).⁶ The military statistical records demonstrate a similar ratio of male/female deaths – 1:0,88.⁷ In our case, these indices show figures of 113,6 and 0,531. In the Greek community of Odessa we observe higher indices than those in the region in general. This can be explained by the fact that average mortality rate in the city was somewhat higher than the regional one.

We believe that this also can indirectly explain the general situation with mortality in the Greek community of Odessa. The male population prevailed over that of females, and hence the number of deaths among men dominated. The majority of Odessan Greeks were migrants. It appears that the detected chronological ranges correlate with a decrease in number of the incoming Greek males, which naturally lowered the rate of mortality among Greek of Odessa and influenced general trends accordingly. The observed peaks of mortality in 1821–1830, 1841–1850, 1861–1870 and 1911–1920 must have been caused by some external factors. During the first three time periods high rates of mortality were caused by epidemiological factors such mass deaths of people from plague, cholera and typhus. This interpretation finds support from data for 1848 when, according to estimates by a contemporary, because of epidemics instances of death outnumbered those of birth by 1,638 people or nearly 5% of the overall volume of population movement (30,765 people died and 27,084 babies were born).⁸ Much is known about “plague” years in Odessa (1812–1813, 1829, 1835, 1837–1838).⁹ In our instance, however, we clearly see the consequences of one of 8 outbreaks of cholera (1823, 1829–1830, 1837, 1847–1848, 1852, 1865, 1892).¹⁰

6. *Новороссийский календарь на 1849 г.* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1849], (Odessa, 1848), p. 80, table 2.

7. Aleksandr Rogalev, August von Witte, Grigorii Pestov, *Военно-статистическое обозрение Российской империи* [Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire], vol. XI: Kherson Guberniia, part 1, (St. Petersburg, 1849), p. 105.

8. Apollon Skalkowski, “О смертности и долговечности в Новороссийском крае” [On Mortality and Longevity of Life in Novorossiia Region], *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennix Del*, 1:XXIX (1850), p. 4.

9. Veniamin Belilovskii, Nikolai Gamaleya, Mikhail Burda, *Чума в Одессе* [Plague in Odessa], in 2 vols., (Odessa, 1904).

10. Konstantin Vasil'ev, Aleksandr Segal, *История эпидемий в России (материалы и очерки)* [History of Epidemics in Russia (Materials and Essays)], (Moscow, 1960), pp. 215–216.

It was one of the most dramatic outbreaks in terms of both number of deaths and geographical range. That time the epidemic spread over many European cities, and particularly those on the coast of the Black Sea.

Similarly, a high mortality rate during the last of these time periods (1911–1920) shall be explained by warfare and the Revolution of 1917.

Now, we shall attempt estimating a share of Greek mortality in the overall demographic process among the population of Odessa. In the middle of the 19th century mortality among the Greeks made up 1/25 or 4,3% of the total number of deaths in the city. Out of 2,509 deaths recorded in the municipal area,¹¹ 107 incidents fell on parishioners of the Greek church of the Holy Trinity.

In studies of mortality it is also important to estimate the number of deaths *per annum*. For these reconstructions, however, one needs to have complete data on the total number of the population for each year. In our case, we have such data only for 1892 and 1897. Therefore, we chose to make these estimates for the 1890s. We assume that an average number of parishioners of the Greek church of the Holy Trinity corresponded to a number of Greeks who resided in two central districts which roughly matched the boundaries of the parish area.¹²

The number of Greeks residing in Bulvarny and Aleksandrovskiy districts of Odessa amounted to 2,430 people (in 1892) and 2,472 people (in 1897). It is assumed that not all Greeks from these districts were parishioners of the Holy Trinity Church. However, it appears also reasonable to assume the quantity of the latter should have been compensated for by an approximately equal number of parishioners among foreign Greek non-residents of Odessa. Thus, the average number of parishioners of the church is estimated as 2,451 people.

The application of a formula for calculating the mortality index $m = (M / P \times T) \times 1000$ (where M is the number of deaths during a specific period, P is the average population size, T is longevity of a time period)¹³ gives us $m = (561 / 2451 \times 8) \times 1000 = 28,61\%$.

11. Apollon Skalkowski, “Пространство и народонаселение Новороссийского края в 1845 г.” [Territory and Population of Novorossiia Region in 1845], in *Новороссийский календарь на 1849 г.* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1849], (Odessa, 1848), p. 368.

12. This assumption shall be considered as reliable, see Herlihy, *The Greek Community in Odessa, 1861–1917*, p. 239.

13. *Демографический энциклопедический словарь* [Demographic Encyclopedic Dictionary], (Moscow, 1998), pp. 438–439; Viktor Medkov, *Демография* [Demography], (Rostov-on-Don: Feniks, 2002), pp. 232–233.

Table 17.2. Distribution of Greek Population in Administrative Districts of Odessa, 1892 and 1897

Greeks by native tongue						
District	1897			1892		
	M	F	%	M	F	%
Bulvarny	980	574	30,55	942	490	27,10
Aleksandriovskiy	548	328	17,22	602	438	19,68
Khersonskiy	601	379	19,26	656	411	20,19
Petropavlovskiy	359	214	11,26	327	209	10,14
Mikhaylovskiy	295	174	9,22	304	173	9,02
Peresypskiy	351	176	10,36	321	203	9,91
Port	32	2	0,66	93	4	2,65
Dalnitskiy	40	33	1,43	47	20	1,26
Total	3,206	1,880		3,292	1,991	

Sources: Anton Borinevich (ed.), *Результаты однодневной переписи населения г. Одессы 1 декабря 1892 года* [Results of the One-day Population Census of Odessa on December 1st, 1892], (Odessa, 1894); Nikolai Troinitskii (ed.), *Первая Всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года* [The First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897], in 89 vols., vol. XLVII: Odessa, (St. Petersburg, 1904).

Calculation of this index on the basis of direct data available for these years gives the respective figures of 33,9‰ and 28,9‰. These empirical estimates for individual years show somewhat higher values than the average figures for the decade.

In average, this index for the residents of Odessa in the middle of the 19th century amounted to 32,3‰,¹⁴ a little lower than that for the European part of Russia in general (35,0‰).¹⁵ For the purpose of comparison, we shall mention that in 1901–1913 this index demonstrated values of less than 17‰ in Scandinavian countries, 19‰ in England, 22‰ in

14. Calculated after Skalkowski, *Territory and Population of Novorossiia Region in 1845*, p. 368.

15. Vasilii Pokrovskii, Dmitrii Rikhter, “Население России” [Population of Russia], in *Россия: Энциклопедический словарь* [Russia: Encyclopedic Dictionary], (St. Petersburg: F. A. Brockhaus & I. A. Efron, 1898), p. 99; Boris Mironov, *Социальная история России периода империи (XVIII – начало XX в.)* [Social History of Russia in the Imperial Period (XVIIIth – Beg. XXth Century)], in 2 vols. 3rd ed., corrected and expanded, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), p. 191.

France and 24‰ in Germany. The contemporaries related high values of this index in Russia with “poor cultural and sanitary standards in the country”.¹⁶

This comparative analysis of mortality indices characterizes that the Greek community of Odessa as the one in transition from a traditional state to modern properties. The Greek population showed a lower rate of mortality at the national level, but on the continental scope both Odessan Greeks and Russian society in general demonstrated dramatic differences from the population in West European countries (see Table 17.3).

Table 17.3. Mortality Indices in European Countries (Early 20th Century)¹⁷

Country	1901	1913	Difference	Country	1901	1913	Difference
Spain	27,8	22,1	–5,7	Scotland	17,9	15,5	–2,4
Hungary	25,4	22,3	–3,1	Ireland	17,8	17,1	–0,7
Austria	23,1	18,3	–4,8	Belgium	17,2	14,6	–2,6
Italy	22,0	18,7	–3,3	The Netherlands	17,2	12,3	–4,5
Portugal	21,1	20,6	–0,5	England&Wales	16,9	13,8	–3,1
Germany	20,7	15,0	–5,7	Sweden	16,1	13,7	–2,4
Finland	20,6	16,1	–4,5	Danmark	15,8	12,5	–3,3
France	20,1	17,7	–2,4	Norway	15,0	13,3	–1,7
Switzerland	18,0	14,3	–3,7				

Source: Pyotr Kurkin, *Рождаемость и смертность в капиталистических государствах Европы* [Fertility and Mortality in the European Capitalistic Countries], (Moscow: Soyuzorguchet, 1938), p. 26.

From the available annual records of deaths it is also possible to calculate the mortality index for the entire Orthodox population of Kherson Guberniia in the 1830s–1840s.

16. Grigorii Khlopin, Fyodor Erismann, “Современное состояние России” [The Current State of Russia], in *Россия: Энциклопедический словарь* [Russia: Encyclopedic Dictionary], (St. Petersburg: F. A. Brockhaus & I. A. Efron, 1898), p. 225.

17. Pyotr Kurkin, *Рождаемость и смертность в капиталистических государствах Европы* [Fertility and Mortality in the European Capitalistic Countries], (Moscow: Soyuzorguchet, 1938), p. 26.

Table 17.4. Mortality Among the Orthodox Population of Kherson Guberniia, 1838–1847

1838	1839	1840	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847
26,991	31,466	31,109	36,478	4,0631	30,243	26,294	38,289	36,617

Total	Annual average
338,594	33,859.4

Source: Andrei Zablotskii, “Движение народонаселения России с 1838 по 1847 год” [Population Change in Russia from 1838 to 1847], in Mikhail Zablotskii (ed.), *Сборник статистических сведений о России, издаваемый Статистическим отделением Императорского Русского географического общества* [Collection of Statistical Data about Russia, Published by the Statistical Department of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society], Book 1, (St. Petersburg, 1851), pp. 76–79.

Considering that the population size ranged from 719,865 (in 1835) to 850,172 (in 1845),¹⁸ the average population size for this period can be estimated at the level of 785,000 people. Thus, the annual mortality index for this period is 47,9‰. We suspect that it might have been a little lower for urban Greek population but, in any case, toward the end of the 19th century we clearly observe a considerable (more than two-fold) decrease in the values of this index.

Table 17.5. Mortality in Russia, 1801–1860 (in ‰)

1801–1810	1811–1820	1821–1830	1831–1840	1841–1850	1851–1860
27,1	26,5	27,5	33,6	39,1	39,4

Source: Vasilii Pokrovskii, Dmitrii Rikhter, “Население России” [Population of Russia], in *Россия: Энциклопедический словарь* [Russia: Encyclopedic Dictionary], (St. Petersburg: F. A. Brockhaus & I. A. Efron, 1898), p. 92.

Comparing of these figures to those from other countries demonstrates that the mortality index in European Russia and Kherson Guberniia was two times higher than that

18. Skalkowski, *Territory and Population of Novorossiia Region in 1845*, p. 368.

in certain regions of Europe. For example, during this period this index showed values of 21,5‰ in Sweden, 23,1‰ in France and 20,3‰ in Denmark.¹⁹

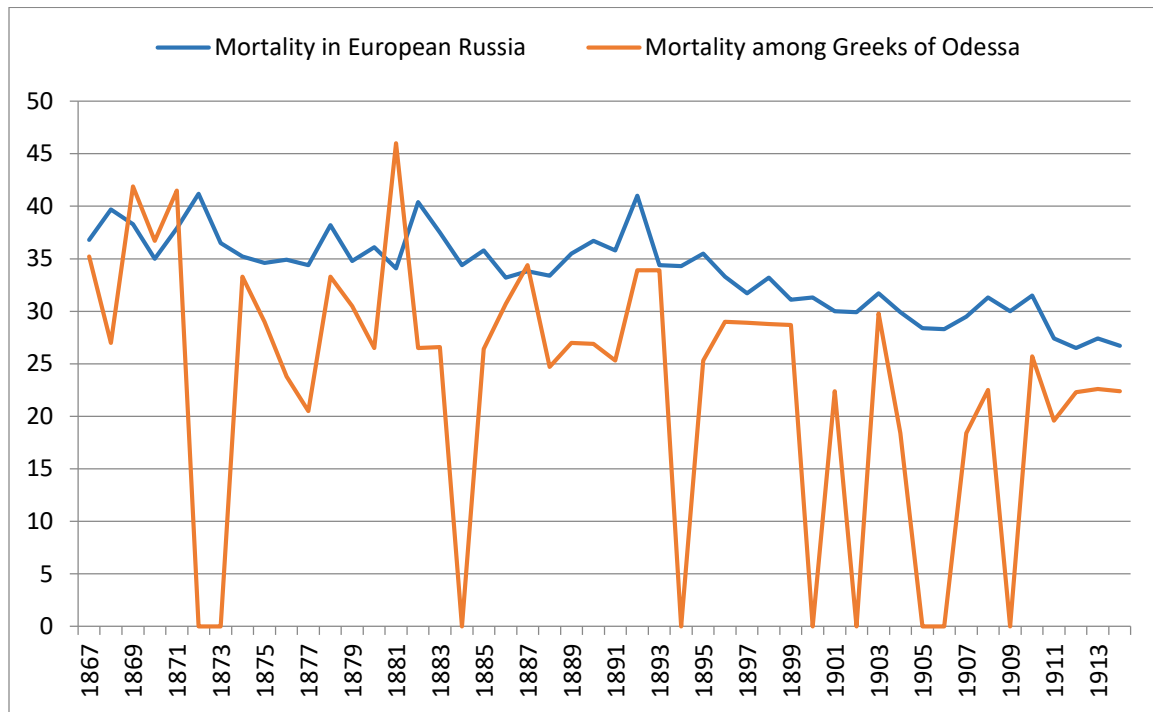
Table 17.6. Mortality in European Russia and the Greek Community of Odessa, 1867–1914

Years	Mortality (in ‰)		Child mortality (in ‰)	
	European Russia	Greeks of Odessa	European Russia	Greeks of Odessa
1867	36,8	35,2	24,3	1,7
1868	39,7	27,0	29,9	9,4
1869	38,3	41,9	27,5	12,9
1870	35,0	36,7	24,8	4,6
1871	37,9	41,5	27,4	11,6
1872	41,2	–	29,5	–
1873	36,5	–	26,2	–
1874	35,2	33,3	26,2	8,5
1875	34,6	29,0	26,6	4,8
1876	34,9	23,8	27,8	14,4
1877	34,4	20,5	26,0	11,0
1878	38,2	33,3	30,0	11,3
1879	34,8	30,5	25,2	5,3
1880	36,1	26,5	28,6	8,0
1881	34,1	46,0	25,2	6,5
1882	40,4	26,5	30,1	8,0
1883	37,5	26,6	28,4	8,4
1884	34,4	–	25,4	–
1885	35,8	26,4	27,0	14,6
1886	33,2	30,7	24,8	7,0
1887	33,8	34,4	25,6	12,8
1888	33,4	24,7	25,0	8,4
1889	35,5	27,0	27,5	8,7

19. Calculated from annual tables of mortality in: Kurkin, *Fertility and Mortality in the European Capitalistic Countries*, p. 31.

Years	Mortality (in ‰)		Child mortality (in ‰)	
	European Russia	Greeks of Odessa	European Russia	Greeks of Odessa
1890	36,7	26,9	29,2	7,5
1891	35,8	25,3	27,2	6,6
1892	41,0	33,9	30,7	7,6
1893	34,4	33,9	25,2	6,3
1894	34,3	–	26,5	–
1895	35,5	25,3	27,9	7,1
1896	33,3	29,0	27,4	8,5
1897	31,7	28,9	26,0	5,5
1898	33,2	28,8	27,9	8,5
1899	31,1	28,7	24,0	8,7
1900	31,3	–	25,2	–
1901	30,0	22,4	27,2	3,7
1902	29,9	–	25,8	–
1903	31,7	29,8	25,6	6,4
1904	29,9	18,4	23,2	7,3
1905	28,4	–	27,2	–
1906	28,3	–	24,8	–
1907	29,5	18,4	22,5	3,3
1908	31,3	22,5	24,4	5,5
1909	30,0	–	24,8	–
1910	31,5	25,7	27,1	5,0
1911	27,4	19,6	23,7	1,7
1912	26,5	22,3	–	8,1
1913	27,4	22,6	–	4,2
1914	26,7	22,4	–	4,2

Source: Kurkin, *Fertility and Mortality in the European Capitalistic Countries*, p. 83, Table 17; Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union: History and Prospects*, (Geneva: League of Nations, 1946), p. 34, Table 13; figures for the Greeks of Odessa are calculated from the metric books of the Holy Trinity Church.

Diagram 17.3. Mortality in European Russia and Among Greeks in Odessa, 1867–1914

Source: Kurkin, *Fertility and Mortality in the European Capitalistic Countries*, p. 83, Table 17; Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union: History and Prospects*, (Geneva: League of Nations, 1946), p. 34, Table 13; figures for the Greeks of Odessa are calculated from the metric books of the Holy Trinity Church.

Comparisons of the estimated annual mortality indices for the Greek community of Odessa from 1867 to 1914 with those for the Russian population in general show, at large, similar trends. Principal declines in mortality are related to the quality of our sources. Since we are dealing with an open society, part of the deaths represents a general tendency better than local factors do. This is confirmed by minimal values in 1877 and 1904. Military activities in those years “sealed” the community and, correspondingly, external circumstances exerted no influence on mortality rates.

The average mortality index for Russia in 1867–1914 was 33,7‰²⁰ while for the territory of Ukraine it showed somewhat lower values of 29,8‰²¹ (the same as the average index for Kherson Guberniia). The average mortality index among Greeks of Odessa during this period showed a lower value of 23‰. This, once again, points to a transitional character of the Greek community of Odessa.

Structure of Mortality

As far back as 1916 S. A. Novoselskii pointed out that one can make clear and explicit judgments about the nature and specificities of mortality only by examining mortality in each age group separately because at different ages people have different physiological resistibility to death.²² Following this approach, it is a common practice in historic demography to study the sex and the age structure of deceased people focusing on individual indicators (male and female mortality, age-related risks, infant and child mortality etc.).

In order to study dynamic changes in the sex and the age structure of the deceased through time, we refer to primary data presented in Tables 17.7–17.9.

The primary data from Tables 17.7–17.9 clearly show the uneven distribution of deaths among sexes and ages. We can also observe some characteristic features such as improvement in recording infant mortality starting from the 1860s, general decrease in mortality among children under 10 years of age by the end of the 19th century, general prevalence of male mortality over that among females, gradually increasing age at death etc.

20. Adolf Rashin, *Население России за 100 лет (1811–1913 гг.). Статистические очерки* [Population of Russia for 100 years (1811–1913). Statistical Essays], (Moscow: Glavstatizdatelstvo, 1956), p. 186, Table 114.

21. Mykhailo Ptukha, *Смертність у Росії й на Україні* [Mortality in Russia and Ukraine], (Kharkiv, Kyiv, 1928), p. 152.

22. Sergei Novoselskii, *Смертность и продолжительность жизни в России* [Mortality and Life Longevity in Russia], (Petrograd, 1916), p. 4.

Table 17.7. Sex and Age Structure of the Deceased in the Greek Community by Decades, 1800–1840

Age (years)	1800–1810			1811–1820			1821–1830			1831–1840		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
< 1												
1–4	33	37	70	118	101	219	165	154	319	85	89	174
5–9	6	1	7	7	7	14	28	16	44	20	20	40
10–14	1	5	6	3	2	5	6	15	21	7	5	12
15–19	1	2	3	4	2	6	12	13	25	4	11	15
20–24	1	3	4	7	9	16	9	8	17	7	3	10
25–29	3	4	7	10	10	20	10	10	20	12	12	24
30–34	7	4	11	16	2	18	16	8	24	10	7	17
35–39	14	3	17	8	6	14	18	10	28	11	8	19
40–44	9	1	10	13	5	18	29	8	37	16	5	21
45–49	4	1	5	7	2	9	12	5	17	4	6	10
50–54	5	2	7	11	2	13	10	6	16	8	4	12
55–59	4	1	5	7	2	9	3	3	6	5	4	9
60–64	3		3	7	1	8	17	6	23	12	6	18
65–69	5	1	6	3	2	5	4	2	6	3	2	5
70–74	2	1	3	4	2	6	11	7	18	9	1	10
75–79	2	1	3	4		4	1	1	2	2	3	5
80–84				2	2	4	13	3	16	5	4	9
85–89	1		1				4	2	6	8	3	11
90–94	1		1	1		1	2		2	2	2	4
95–99				2		2	1		1	1	1	2
100–104										1	1	2
105–109												
110–114								1	1			
115–119											1	1
Total	102	67	169	234	157	391	371	278	649	232	198	430

Table 17.8. Sex and Age Structure of the Deceased in the Greek Community by Decades, 1840–1880

Age (years)	1841–1850			1851–1860			1861–1870			1871–1880		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
< 1					1	1	28	27	55	44	24	68
1–4	168	136	304	78	79	157	78	62	140	45	39	84
5–9	23	19	42	7	9	16	8	16	24	17	12	29
10–14	10	13	23	4	5	9	6	6	12	4	2	6
15–19	14	25	39	3	10	13	12	14	26	9	11	20
20–24	21	23	44	11	10	21	13	14	27	12	14	26
25–29	18	17	35	8	10	18	21	16	37	12	10	22
30–34	6	8	14	11	8	19	18	12	30	8	8	16
35–39	17	14	31	10	7	17	19	17	36	6	5	11
40–44	17	15	32	7	7	14	19	6	25	18	6	24
45–49	19	14	33	7	3	10	25	10	35	15	6	21
50–54	24	13	37	15	12	27	11	8	19	23	7	30
55–59	22	9	31	14	7	21	22	13	35	16	10	26
60–64	23	9	32	21	10	31	16	12	28	16	10	26
65–69	22	3	25	14	7	21	22	9	31	8	13	21
70–74	13	9	22	11	9	20	12	16	28	9	11	20
75–79	10	5	15	9	7	16	23	9	32	14	4	18
80–84	10	5	15	5	2	7	8	3	11	5	9	14
85–89	9	2	11	3	3	6	13	2	15	3	4	7
90–94	7	5	12	2	1	3	6	4	10	1	4	5
95–99	3	3	6	1	1	2				1	1	2
100–104	2	1	3				1	1	2			
105–109							1		1	2		2
110–114								1	1			
115–119												
Total	458	348	806	241	208	449	382	278	660	288	210	498

Table 17.9. Sex and Age Structure of the Deceased in the Greek Community by Decades, 1880–1920

Age (years)	1881–1890			1891–1900			1901–1910			1911–1920		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
< 1	81		81	76		76	19	14	33	26	18	44
1–4	41	36	77	44	23	67	12	21	33	26	17	43
5–9	5	14	19	11	10	21	3	7	10	12	5	17
10–14	3	8	11	9	6	15	8	4	12	5	8	13
15–19	11	8	19	2	8	10	6	5	11	9	12	21
20–24	11	11	22	13	7	20	10	8	18	28	12	40
25–29	10	9	19	8	11	19	10	10	20	21	7	28
30–34	16	8	24	12	10	22	5	8	13	18	4	22
35–39	13	7	20	17	8	25	6	6	12	23	17	40
40–44	14	9	23	19	7	26	19	5	24	24	7	31
45–49	11	10	21	28	10	38	15	9	24	23	10	33
50–54	19	10	29	19	9	28	16	8	24	38	11	49
55–59	17	5	22	18	6	24	22	14	36	31	19	50
60–64	21	11	32	36	15	51	21	8	29	41	18	59
65–69	19	10	29	16	11	27	25	8	33	37	19	56
70–74	7	9	16	16	19	35	20	12	32	15	21	36
75–79	16	10	26	11	17	28	12	12	24	24	18	42
80–84	6	7	13	4	4	8	4	4	8	8	10	18
85–89	1	2	3	3	7	10	3	4	7	3	5	8
90–94	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	4		2	2
95–99	1	2	3		2	2					2	2
100–104		1	1				1		1			
105–109												
110–114												
115–119												
Total	324	188	512	363	191	554	239	169	408	412	242	654

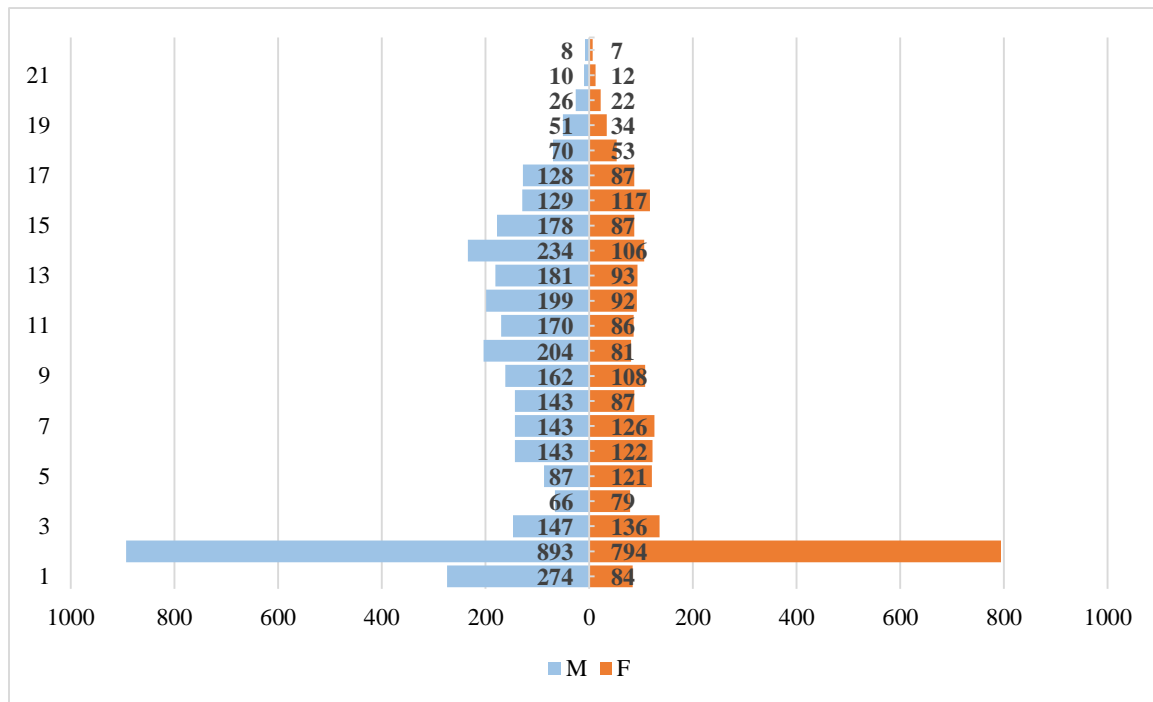
For the purposes of a more functional analysis, the same primary data have been combined into 20-year periods (Table 17.10, in 2 parts).

Table 17.10. Sex and Age Structure of the Deceased in the Greek Community by 20-year Periods, 1800–1920. Part 1 (1800–1860)

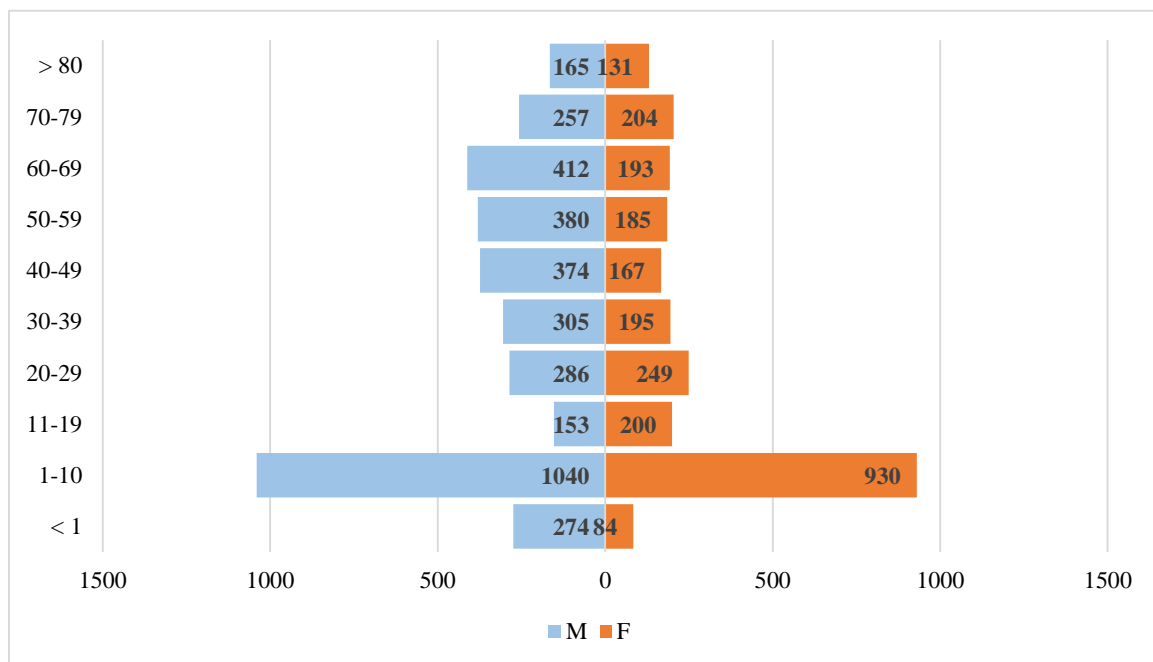
Age (years)	1800–1820			1821–1840			1841–1860		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
< 1								1	1
1–4	151	138	289	250	243	493	246	215	461
5–9	13	8	21	48	36	84	30	28	58
10–14	4	7	11	13	20	33	14	18	32
15–19	5	4	9	16	24	40	17	35	52
20–24	8	12	20	16	11	27	32	33	65
25–29	13	14	27	22	22	44	26	27	53
30–34	23	6	29	26	15	41	17	16	33
35–39	22	9	31	29	18	47	27	21	48
40–44	22	6	28	45	13	58	24	22	46
45–49	11	3	14	16	11	27	26	17	43
50–54	16	4	20	18	10	28	39	25	64
55–59	11	3	14	8	7	15	36	16	52
60–64	10	1	11	29	12	41	44	19	63
65–69	8	3	11	7	4	11	36	10	46
70–74	6	3	9	20	8	28	24	18	42
75–79	6	1	7	3	4	7	19	12	31
80–84	2	2	4	18	7	25	15	7	22
85–89	1		1	12	5	17	12	5	17
90–94	2		2	4	2	6	9	6	15
95–99	2		2	2	1	3	4	4	8
100–104				1	1	2	2	1	3
105–109									
110–114					1	1			
115–119					1	1			
Total	336	224	560	603	476	1079	699	556	1255

Table 17.10. Sex and Age Structure of the Deceased in the Greek Community by 20-year Periods, 1800–1920. Part 2 (1860–1920)

Age (years)	1861–1880			1881–1900			1901–1920			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
< 1	72	51	123	157		157	45	32	77	274	84	358
1–4	123	101	224	85	59	144	38	38	76	893	794	1687
5–9	25	28	53	16	24	40	15	12	27	147	136	283
10–14	10	8	18	12	14	26	13	12	25	66	79	145
15–19	21	25	46	13	16	29	15	17	32	87	121	208
20–24	25	28	53	24	18	42	38	20	58	143	122	265
25–29	33	26	59	18	20	38	31	17	48	143	126	269
30–34	26	20	46	28	18	46	23	12	35	143	87	230
35–39	25	22	47	30	15	45	29	23	52	162	108	270
40–44	37	12	49	33	16	49	43	12	55	204	81	285
45–49	40	16	56	39	20	59	38	19	57	170	86	256
50–54	34	15	49	38	19	57	54	19	73	199	92	291
55–59	38	23	61	35	11	46	53	33	86	181	93	274
60–64	32	22	54	57	26	83	62	26	88	234	106	340
65–69	30	22	52	35	21	56	62	27	89	178	87	265
70–74	21	27	48	23	28	51	35	33	68	129	117	246
75–79	37	13	50	27	27	54	36	30	66	128	87	215
80–84	13	12	25	10	11	21	12	14	26	70	53	123
85–89	16	6	22	4	9	13	6	9	15	51	34	85
90–94	7	8	15	2	2	4	2	4	6	26	22	48
95–99	1	1	2	1	4	5		2	2	10	12	22
100–104	1	1	2		1	1	1		1	5	4	9
105–109	3		3							3		3
110–114		1	1								2	2
115–119											1	1
Total	670	488	1158	687	379	1066	651	411	1062	3646	2534	6180

Diagram 17.4. Sex and Age Structure of the Deceased in the Greek Community, 1800–1920

(Y axis show age at death with a 5-year interval for females (left) and males (right))

Diagram 17.5.

(Y axis shows ages at death, in years: 1 – < 1; 2 – 1–10; 3 – 11–19; 4 – 20–29;
5 – 30–39; 6 – 40–49; 7 – 50–59; 8 – 60–69; 9 – 70–79; 10 – > 80)

Diagrams 17.4–17.5 demonstrate the highest mortality figures for the period of childhood (up to 4 years of age): 10,8% among boys and 2,3% among girls. Yet, 25,5% of the girls and 41,0% of the boys died before reaching 10 years of age. In their juvenile ages both sexes demonstrate almost similar rates of mortality with greater number of deaths among girls than among boys (200 to 153). Further risks are related with problems of child-bearing among females or hard labor among males. For the males, the prevalence of deaths at their reproductive and socially active ages (21–49 years) falls out of the traditional models of reproduction among populations. It is common that male mortality rates are lower than those among females,²³ but in the Greek community of Odessa the former is almost twice as much the latter. The reason for this appears two-fold. On the one hand, gynecological and obstetric services were in good condition in Odessa. On the other hand, a migratory character of the group promoted the prevalence of men and correspondingly increased absolute figures of male mortality. It seems that hard labor, perils of the sea and dangers of doing commercial business raised figures of mortality among males as well.

It is worth noting that the group shows a certain balance in a rather high share of deaths of elderly people over 80 years of age: 5,2% among females and 4,5% among males. Apparently, during the 19th – early 20th century mortality among the Greek population of Odessa was significantly influenced by exogenous factors (diseases, warfare etc.).

Dynamics of the observed trends are well seen when the data is combined into longer periods (Table 17.11).

23. Władysław Bortkiewicz, *Смертность и долговечность женского православного населения Европейской России* [Mortality and Life Longevity of the Female Orthodox Population of European Russia], (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 5, 13–14.

Table 17.11. Sex and Age Structure of the Deceased in the Greek Community by 40-year Periods, 1800–1920

Age (years)	1800–1840			1841–1880			1881–1920		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
< 1	0	0	0	72	52	124	202	32	234
1–9	462	425	887	424	372	796	154	133	287
10–19	38	55	93	62	86	148	53	59	112
20–29	59	59	118	116	114	230	111	75	186
30–39	100	48	148	95	79	174	110	68	178
40–49	94	33	127	127	67	194	153	67	220
50–59	53	24	77	147	79	226	180	82	262
60–69	54	20	74	142	73	215	216	100	316
70–79	35	16	51	101	70	171	121	118	239
> 80	44	20	64	83	52	135	38	56	94
Total	939	700	1639	1369	1044	2413	1338	790	2128

Diagram 17.6a. 1800–1840

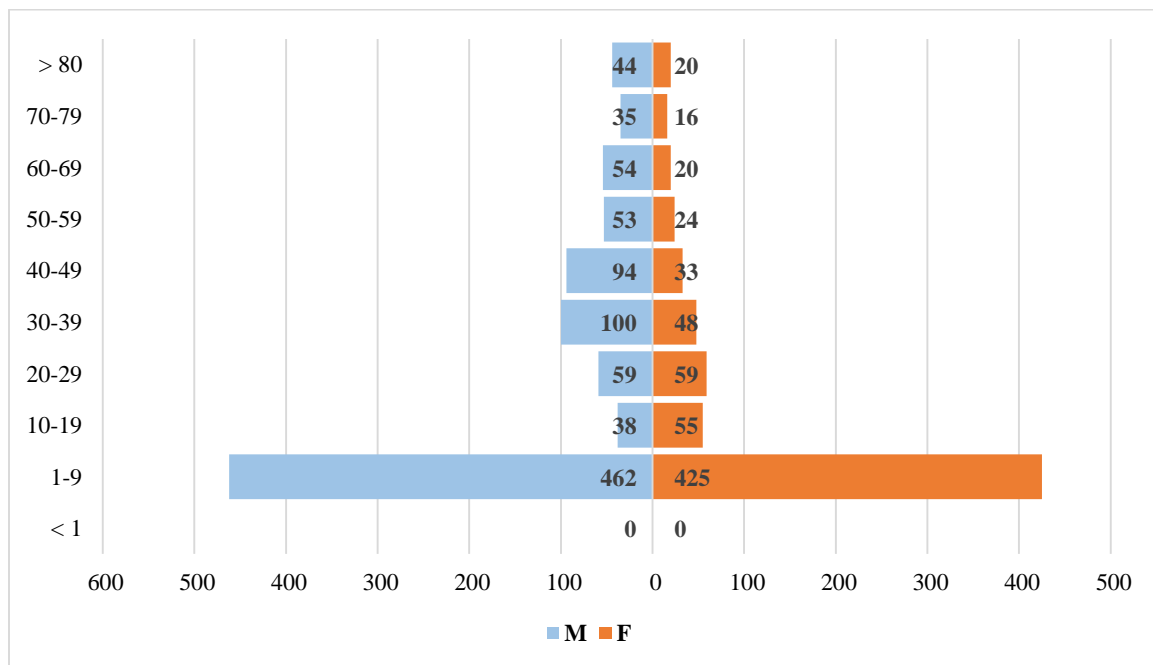
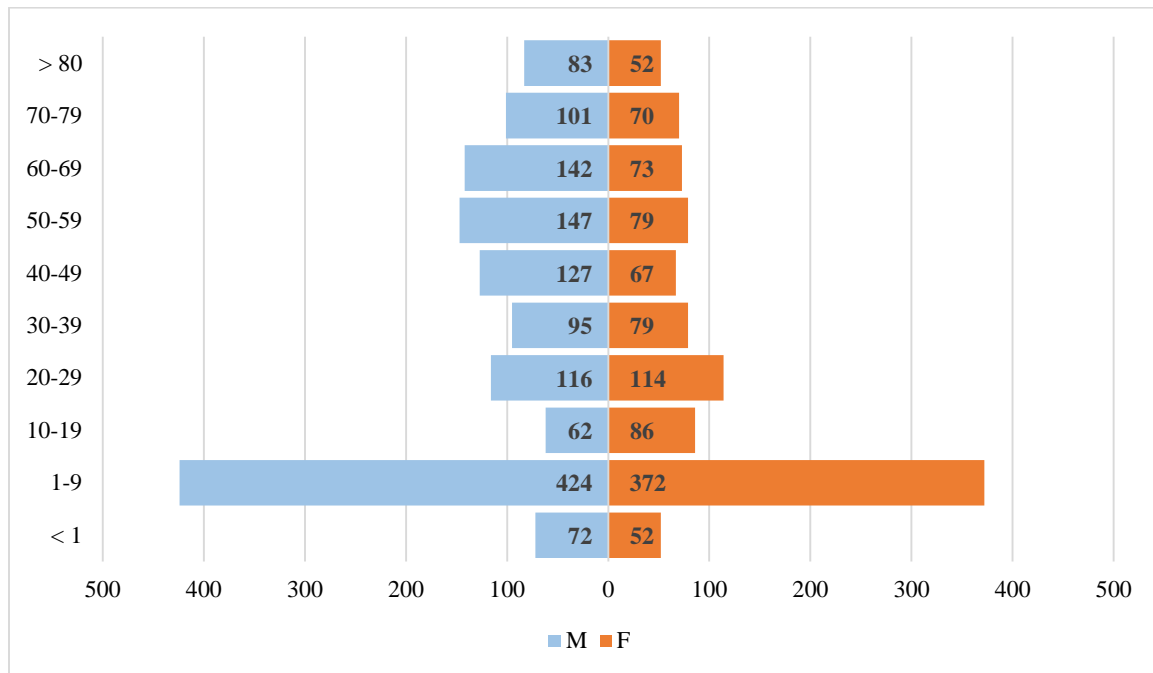
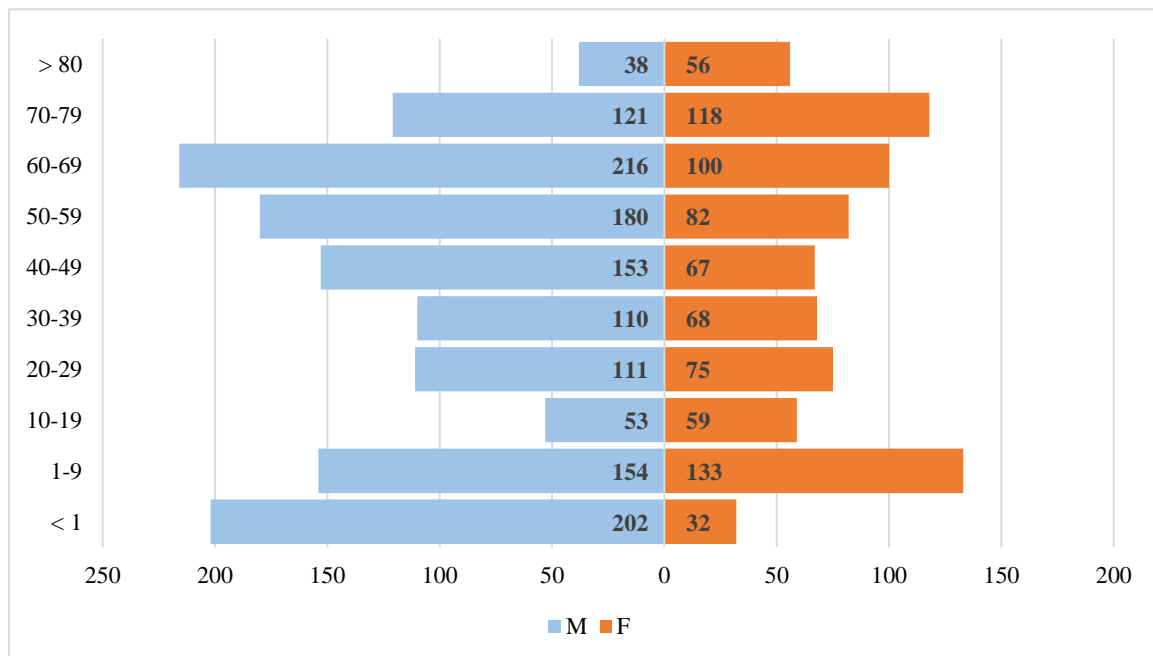


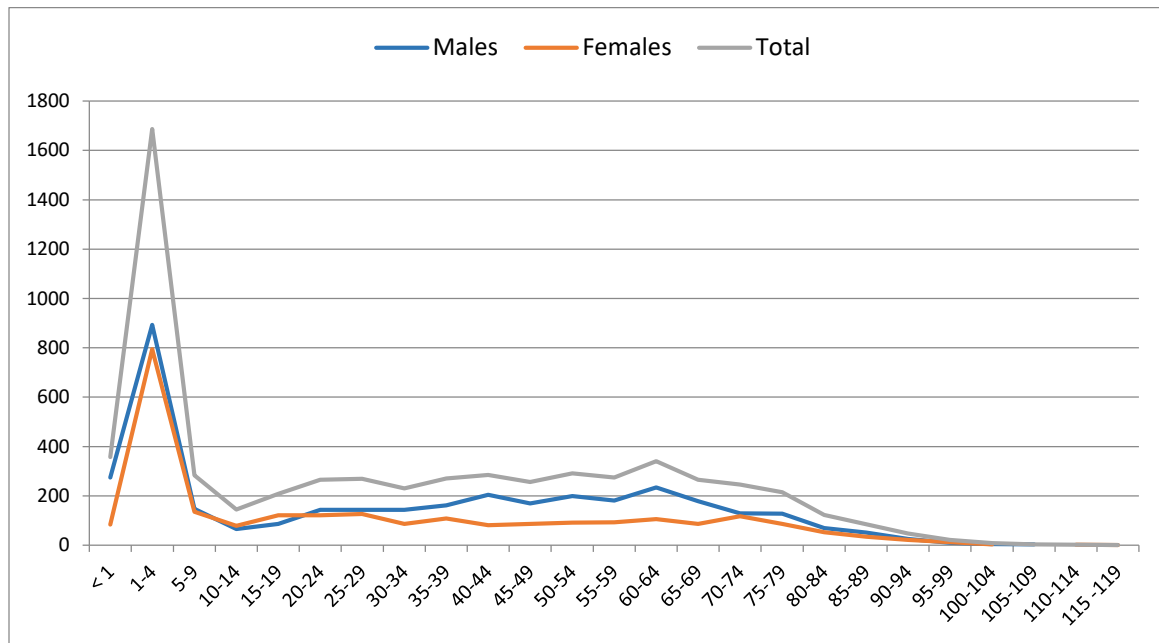
Diagram 17.6b. 1840–1880**Diagram 17.6c. 1880–1920**

The analysis of dynamics in sex and age composition of the Greek population of Odessa during the 19th – early 20th century (Diagrams 17.6a–17.6c) show a trend indicating its transition from a traditional to a modern pattern of reproduction. Indications of this are found in the relative decline of infant and child mortality rates and the increase in age of the deceased. However, the remaining high risk of dying before reaching 10 years of age suggests that Greeks of Odessa were yet to grow into a modern reproductive population. Similarly, death rates among females in their reproductive age remained as high as before. Prevalence of male deaths over those among females shows consistency through time.

When compared with the population of Russia of the second half of the 19th century in general, the above data reveal certain specificities of the Greek population of Odessa. Such features as lower child mortality, prevalence of deaths among men over those among women and relatively low rate of mortality among females at their reproductive age suggest that the Greek community represented a group in transition to the modern type of demographic reproduction.

These diagrams also clearly demonstrate improvements in recording system through time. Data from Diagram 3a show incomplete record and seem to demonstrate little balance just because of incomplete recording of deaths rather than due to some specific features of the Greek group.

Now we shall describe the distribution of mortality in sex-age groups. When presented graphically (Diagram 17.7), the data demonstrate uncommon distribution of deaths by age. In a traditional closed community the diagram shows a relatively smooth rise of mortality rate in accordance with aging of cohorts. In our diagram, on the contrary, we observe its gradual decline with minor spikes at the age of 20–25, 35–50 and 60, and both sexes demonstrate the same trend.

Diagram 17.7. Mortality in the Greek Community of Odessa by Age Categories, 1800–1920

(Y axis – number of deaths; X axis – death age at 4-year intervals)

The distribution of deaths among generations was a typical one for the population of the region in the 19th–early 20th century. Characteristic of Kherson Guberniia in 1847 were many deaths among infants under 1 year (6780), children from 1 to 5 years (5300) and people over 60 years of age (6890),²⁴ i.e. 35,7%, 25,9% and 38,4% of the respective age groups. These ratios for the Greek community of Odessa are showed in Table 17.12.

Table 17.12. Structure of Mortality in the Greek Community, 1800–1920

Age (years)	Males	Females	Total	Per cent	
				of age group size	of total number of deaths in Greek community
< 1	274	84	358	10,5	5,8
1–5	893	794	1687	49,6	27,3
> 60	834	525	1359	39,9	66,9
Total	2001	1403	3404	100,0	100,0

24. *Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire*, p. 106.

The striking differences observed in ratios of child cohorts are related to clear undercount of infant mortality. Besides, it shall be taken into account that already in the late 19th century child deaths dropped significantly in their number and thus influenced the whole picture of mortality.

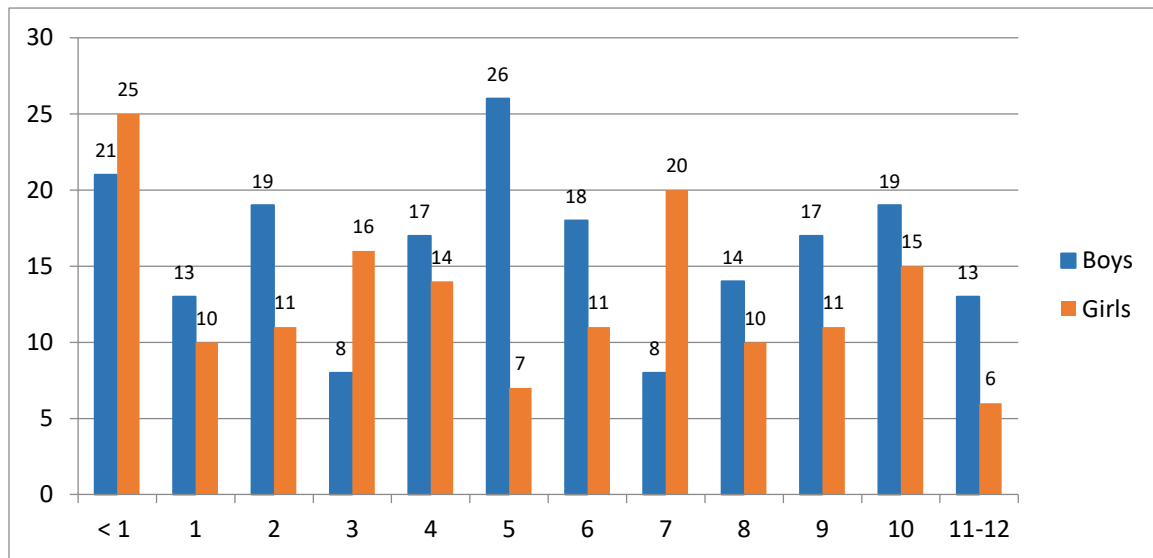
Infant and Child Mortality

This is a separate category of mortality indicative of a level of demographic behavior in any population.²⁵ The respective data is of fragmentary and occasional character in registers of births from the Holy Trinity Church of Odessa dated prior 1860s. After that time the registers already contained entries about deaths of all infants, not just baptized ones. Since 1860 even stillborns had been recorded in the church registers. Over a period of 60 years there were recorded 349 deaths of infants under one year of age (or 10,6% of the total of 3286 deaths recorded for that period).

Table 17.13. Infant Mortality in the Greek Community of Odessa, 1860–1920

Age, in months	Boys	Girls	Total	
			Quantity	%
< 1	21	25	46	13,2
1	13	10	23	6,6
2	19	11	30	8,6
3	8	16	24	6,9
4	17	14	31	8,9
5	26	7	33	9,5
6	18	11	29	8,3
7	8	20	28	8,0
8	14	10	24	6,9
9	17	11	28	8,0
10	19	15	34	9,7
11–12	13	6	19	5,4
Total	193	156	349	100

25. See, for example: Yordan Venedikov, “Метод определения интенсивности смертности в первый год после рождения” [The Method for Determining the Intensity of Mortality in the First Year After the Birth], in Leonid Darskii (ed.), *Методы демографических исследований* [Demographic Research Methods], (Moscow: Statistika, 1969), pp. 133–142.

Diagram 17.8

(X axis – age in months; Y axis – number of deaths)

In the middle of the first-year period we see a certain misbalance between sexes. Peaks of deaths among infants occurred at the ages of under 1 month, 2 months (especially among girls), 5–6 months (among boys), 7 months (among girls) and 10 months. At large, boys showed more liability to the risk of death at an infant age. In the infant group the ratio of girls / boys deaths was 1:1,24 while the overall male index showed figure of 0,808 (i.e. 808 boys to 1000 girls).

Almost every sixth infant died before reaching one month of age. Of the deceased in this age category 18 infants (or 5,2%) died in the perinatal period during the first week of life, 12 infants died within two weeks from their births and 16 infants died before reaching 4 months in age. In the neonatal period (up to 28 days from birth) there died 46 infants (or 12,2%) while the number of deaths among infants in the post-neonatal period (up to one year of age) amounted to 303 (or 86,8%).

On the basis of data from fertility and mortality tables for the region of Novorossiia, Skalkowski concluded that thousands of infants had died before reaching 5 years of age. He estimated that infant deaths amounted to over 1/3 of the total number of deaths, while those among children up to 10 years of age constituted 1/12 from the overall mortality rate.²⁶

26. Skalkowski, *On Mortality and Longevity of Life in Novorossiia Region*, p. 6.

Table 17.14. Infant Mortality in the Cities of European Russia, 1890–1894

Age at death (in moths)	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	Average
<i>Number of deaths</i>						
≤ 1	19,729	18,379	17,058	16,591	16,696	17,691
1–2	15,294	14,438	14,627	13,762	13,355	14,295
3–5	13,612	13,873	15,029	13,354	12,927	13,759
6–11	18,269	18,330	21,383	16,951	17,229	18,432
Total for all age groups	187,023	190,770	223,134	196,200	183,000	196,025
Deaths before 1 year of age (quantity)	66,904	65,020	68,097	60,658	60,207	64,177
Deaths before 1 year of age (per cent)	36	34	31	31	33	33
<i>Age structure of infant mortality (in %)</i>						
≤ 1	29	28	25	27	28	28
1–2	23	22	21	23	22	22
3–5	20	21	22	22	21	21
6–11	27	28	31	28	29	29
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Alexandre Avdeev, “Младенческая смертность и история охраны материнства и детства в России и СССР” [Infant mortality and the history of maternal and child health care in Russia and the USSR], in: Mikhail Denisenko and Irina Troitskaya (eds.), *Историческая демография* [Historical demographics], (Moscow: MAKSS Press, 2008), p. 16.

Skalkowski related this enormously large number of deaths among infants to “the absence of necessary childcare as well as to the deficit of educated midwives and lack of sufficient medical allowances for parents, which have been among the major beneficent concerns of our government”. Similar views have also been expressed by modern researchers of historical and cultural aspects of obstetrics.²⁷ In 1848 there were only 18 officially practicing midwives in Odessa populated by 70,000 inhabitants.²⁸

27. Olena Boriak, *Баба-повитуха в культурно-історичній традиції українців: між профанним і сакральним* [Midwife in the Cultural and Historical Tradition of Ukrainians: Between the Secular and the Sacred], (Kyiv, 2010).

28. *Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1849*, pp. 327–328.

Let us now compare infant mortality among Greeks of Odessa to that in other cities of Russian Empire. In the latter, in general, 13,2% of infants died during the first month of their age, 13,8% at the age of 1–2 months, 25,3% at the age of 3–5 months and 46,3% at the age of 6–11 months. While these figures show a rather even distribution of deaths among different age categories within the infant group, mortality figures for Greek infants from Odessa demonstrate that the majority of their deaths occurred during the second half of the first year of their lives. This trend in Greek mortality might indicate better pediatric conditions in Odessa compared to those in other cities. Such a suggestion also finds indirect support in generally lower figures of mortality among Greek infants of Odessa (5,8%).

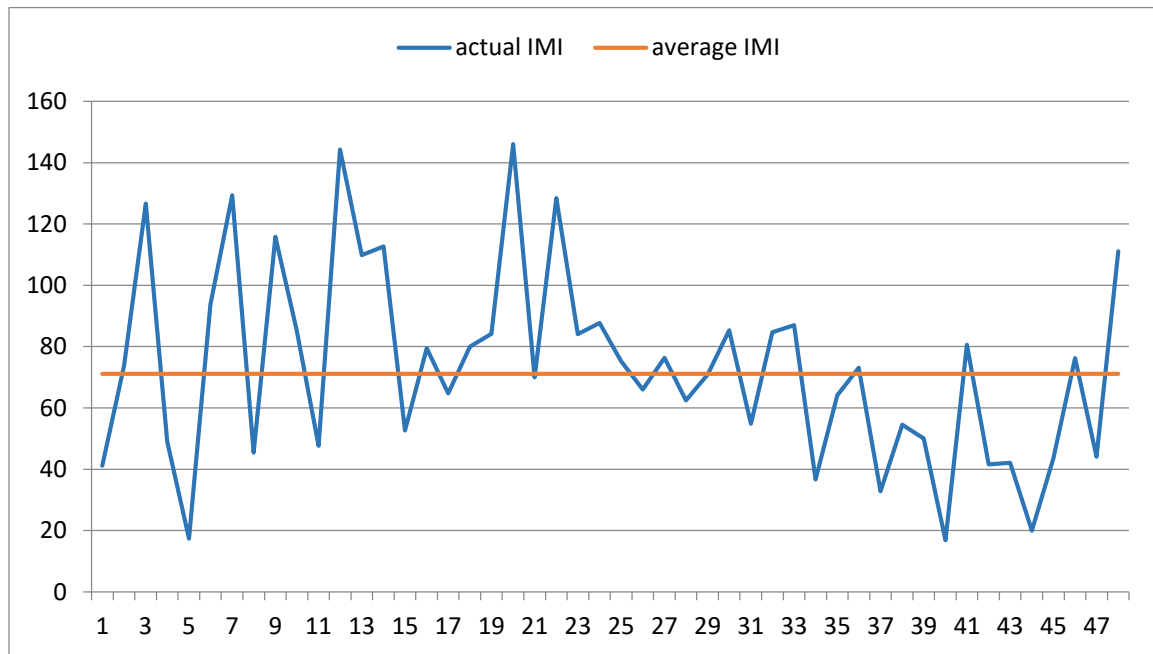
Now we consider a ratio between child deaths and child births. We shall do this by calculating the infant mortality index (IMI) which shows how many infants died before reaching one year of age. For the purposes of comparison, we calculated it in *per mille* according to a general method of Laplace.²⁹

Table 17.15. Infant Mortality Index Among the Greek Population of Odessa, 1861–1919

Year	Number of infant deaths (under 1 year of age)	Number of infant births	IMI, ‰
1861	4	97	41,2
1863	7	95	73,7
1864	10	79	126,6
1866	5	102	49,0
1867	2	115	17,4
1868	12	128	93,8
1869	11	85	129,4
1870	4	88	45,5
1871	11	95	115,8
1874	8	94	85,1
1875	4	84	47,6
1876	14	97	144,3
1877	9	82	109,8
1878	8	71	112,7
1879	7	133	52,6

29. Novoselskii, *Mortality and Life Longevity in Russia*, p. 17.

Year	Number of infant deaths (under 1 year of age)	Number of infant births	IMI, ‰
1880	7	88	79,5
1881	7	108	64,8
1882	6	75	80,0
1883	8	95	84,2
1885	13	89	146,1
1886	7	100	70,0
1887	14	109	128,4
1888	9	107	84,1
1889	10	114	87,7
1890	7	93	75,3
1891	7	106	66,0
1892	9	118	76,3
1893	9	144	62,5
1895	10	141	70,9
1896	11	129	85,3
1897	8	146	54,8
1898	10	118	84,7
1899	12	138	87,0
1901	4	109	36,7
1903	6	113	64,1
1904	8	109	73,1
1907	4	122	32,8
1908	6	110	54,5
1910	1	20	50,0
1911	2	118	16,9
1912	10	124	80,6
1913	5	120	41,6
1914	4	95	42,1
1915	2	100	20,0
1916	4	92	43,5
1917	8	105	76,2
1918	6	136	44,1
1919	3	27	111,1
Total	353	4963	71,1

Diagram 17.9

(X axis – years from 1861 to 1919; Y axis – IMI)

In general, we see that in 1861–1919 the IMI in the Greek community of Odessa showed rather low figures, from 20‰ (in 1915) to 146‰ (in 1885) with the average index of 71,1‰. There is also no gradual decline in the index figures towards the end of the period. Most likely, the data are influenced by poor registration of deaths among infants. The data also indirectly point out to unfavorable years of 1864, 1868, 1871, 1876–1878, 1885, 1887 and 1919 when the actual IMI approached the average index for the entire period.

In the late 19th century Russia less than one half of the children survived until the age of twenty.³⁰ Only 556 in a thousand newborn boys and 593 in a thousand newborn girls managed to survive until after five years of age, while a quarter of all respective deaths occurred during the infantile period.³¹

30. Anatolii Vishnevskii and Andrei Volkov (eds.), *Воспроизводство населения в СССР* [Reproduction of the Population in the USSR], (Moscow: Finansy i statistika, 1983), p. 297.

31. Mikhail Ptukha, *Очерки по статистике населения* [Essays on Population Statistics], (Moscow: Gosstatizdat, 1960), pp. 194–204.

Conversion of the IMI into percentages produces extremely low figures. The average infant mortality rate stands at 7,1% which is half as much as that in Europe during the same period.³² Even in the successful Switzerland this index measured from 15% to 17%, while in England it ranged from 13,8% to 16,6% and in Germany fell between 21% to 24%. In the 1880s, this index for European Russia, in general, ranged from 25,45% to 30,1% (on average – 28%).³³

Seasonality of Deaths

Studies in this aspect of mortality permit to identify the presence of exogenous factors in populations' place of residence. Due to specific climatic, environmental and economic conditions, each human habitat favors its own peaks of mortality representing risks which certain environments impose upon people living in them. Were there such risks in Odessa? Did they change through time during the 19th – early 20th centuries?

In order to address these questions, we compiled a table of death incidents by months and decades which show the distribution of mortality in the Greek community of Odessa throughout the entire 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

Tables 17.16 and 17.17 show both general seasonal indices and their dynamics. At large, unfavorable periods are confined to March and June – August. During these four months the data demonstrates 39% of deaths, or 8,3% for each of these months which is a little higher than the generalized average index. The lowest number of deaths occurred in October (6,7%) and December (7,1%). Peaks of mortality are observed during months with uncomfortable climatic conditions (summer heat favored propagation of heart diseases) and unfavorable economic factors (the most laborious working period for residents of Odessa).

In the middle of the 19th century contemporaries mentioned an increasing number of deaths in summer seasons. One of them observed that “frequent atmospheric changes, summer draughts, shortage of good water, residents' lifestyle and their practices such as consumption of meat and hot drinks, which doesn't conform to the local climate, and excessive eating of fruits give rise to various kinds of diseases which result in an increasing mortality”.³⁴

32. Kurkin, *Fertility and Mortality in the European Capitalistic Countries*, pp. 35, 37.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

34. *Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire*, p. 105.

Table 17.16. Seasonality of Deaths in the Greek Community of Odessa, 1800–1920, (in absolute figures)

Table 17.16.a

Month	1800–1810	1811–1820	1821–1830	1831–1840	1841–1850	1851–1860	1861–1870
January	13	18	48	53	67	37	63
February	14	42	49	34	60	41	50
March	14	34	47	53	75	37	70
April	13	41	58	23	46	36	53
May	11	17	31	42	58	40	43
June	13	19	55	34	77	37	68
July	21	50	87	54	132	47	76
August	21	55	79	34	89	44	56
September	9	42	64	33	74	31	40
October	17	33	34	21	32	26	44
November	19	23	57	26	44	40	48
December	5	21	42	25	58	33	52
<i>Females</i>	67	159	279	197	352	208	280
<i>Males</i>	103	236	372	235	460	241	383
Total	170	395	651	432	812	449	663

Table 17.16.b

Month	1861–1870	1871–1880	1881–1890	1891–1900	1901–1910	1911–1920	Total
January	63	40	58	45	42	67	514
February	50	49	55	42	24	54	473
March	70	48	43	63	36	77	560
April	53	55	48	36	33	48	454
May	43	40	38	46	30	65	421
June	68	60	51	37	25	54	493
July	76	38	50	48	34	47	637
August	56	43	39	42	43	52	553
September	40	38	27	51	30	37	445
October	44	27	34	54	45	52	393
November	48	35	42	47	30	53	424
December	52	28	42	50	37	49	409
<i>Females</i>	280	212	221	240	170	242	2419
<i>Males</i>	383	289	306	321	239	413	3357
Total	663	501	527	561	409	655	5776

Table 17.17. Seasonality of Deaths in the Greek Community of Odessa, 1800–1920, (in %)**Table 17.17.a**

Month	1800–1810	1811–1820	1821–1830	1831–1840	1841–1850	1851–1860	1861–1870
January	7,6	4,6	7,4	12,3	8,3	8,2	9,5
February	8,2	10,6	7,5	7,9	7,4	9,1	7,5
March	8,2	8,6	7,2	12,3	9,2	8,2	10,6
April	7,6	10,4	8,9	5,3	5,7	8	8
May	6,5	4,3	4,8	9,7	7,1	9	6,5
June	7,6	4,8	8,4	7,9	9,5	8,2	10,3
July	12,4	12,7	13,4	12,5	16,3	10,5	11,5
August	12,4	13,9	12,1	7,9	11	9,8	8,4
September	5,3	10,6	9,8	7,6	9,1	6,9	6
October	10	8,4	5,2	4,8	3,9	5,8	6,6
November	11,2	5,8	8,8	6	5,4	9	7,2
December	3	5,3	6,5	5,8	7,1	7,3	7,9
<i>Females</i>	<i>39,4</i>	<i>40,3</i>	<i>42,9</i>	<i>45,6</i>	<i>43,3</i>	<i>46,3</i>	<i>42,2</i>
<i>Males</i>	<i>60,6</i>	<i>59,7</i>	<i>57,1</i>	<i>54,4</i>	<i>56,7</i>	<i>53,7</i>	<i>57,8</i>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 17.17.b

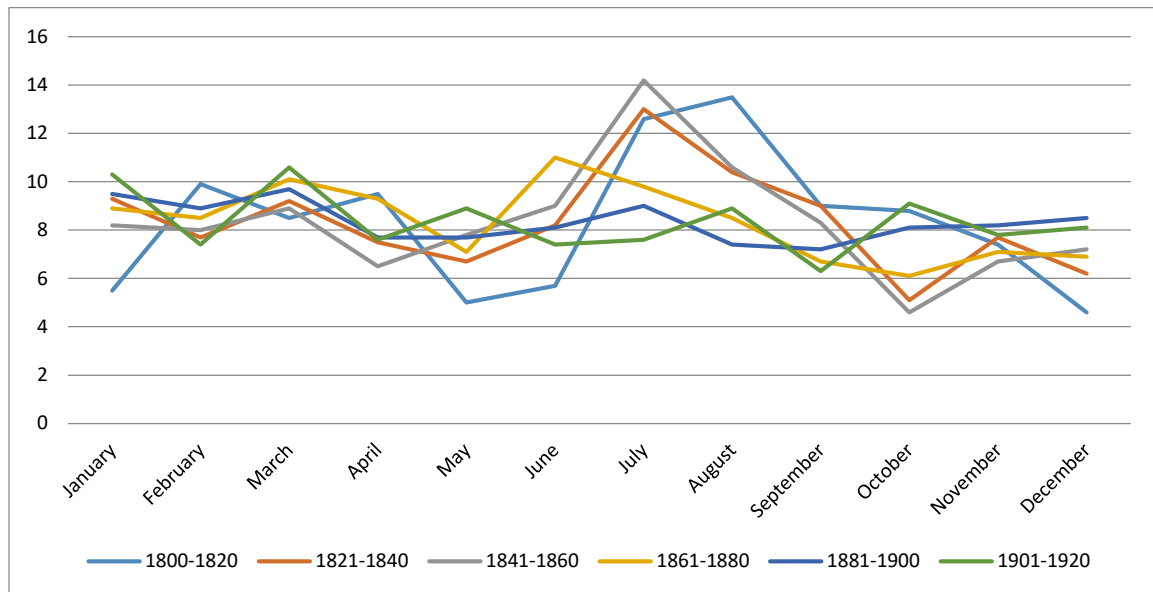
Month	1871–1880	1881–1890	1891–1900	1901–1910	1911–1920	Total
January	8	11	8	10,3	10,2	8,8
February	9,8	10,4	7,5	5,9	8,3	8,2
March	9,6	8,2	11,2	8,8	11,8	10
April	11	9,1	6,4	8,1	7,3	7,8
May	8	7,2	8,2	7,3	9,9	7,4
June	12	9,7	6,6	6,1	8,3	8,5
July	7,5	9,5	8,6	8,3	7,2	11
August	8,6	7,4	7,5	10,5	7,9	9,5
September	7,5	5,1	9,1	7,3	5,6	7,6
October	5,4	6,4	9,6	11	7,9	6,7
November	7	8	8,4	7,3	8,1	7,4
December	5,6	8	8,9	9,1	7,5	7,1
<i>Females</i>	<i>42,3</i>	<i>41,9</i>	<i>42,8</i>	<i>41,6</i>	<i>36,9</i>	<i>42,2</i>
<i>Males</i>	<i>57,7</i>	<i>58,1</i>	<i>57,2</i>	<i>58,4</i>	<i>63,1</i>	<i>57,8</i>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Breaking this index down by decades shows a gradual progress in overcoming negative effects of these ecological and social conditions. For example, summer months demonstrate a little-by-little reduction in risk factors through time from outbreaks of epidemic diseases in the first half of the 19th century to more safe medical conditions in the early 20th century. The same is apparently also responsible for a decrease in the percentage of deaths in September from 9,8–10,6% in the 1810s–1830s to 5,6% in the 1910s.

Table 17.18. Seasonality of Deaths in the Greek Community of Odessa, 1800–1920 (in %, by 20-year periods)

Month	1800– 1820	1821– 1840	1841– 1860	1861– 1880	1881– 1900	1901– 1920	Total
January	5,5	9,3	8,2	8,9	9,5	10,3	8,9
February	9,9	7,7	8,0	8,5	8,9	7,4	8,3
March	8,5	9,2	8,9	10,1	9,7	10,6	9,6
April	9,5	7,5	6,5	9,3	7,7	7,6	7,9
May	5,0	6,7	7,8	7,1	7,7	8,9	7,4
June	5,7	8,2	9,0	11,0	8,1	7,4	8,5
July	12,6	13,0	14,2	9,8	9,0	7,6	11,0
August	13,5	10,4	10,6	8,5	7,4	8,9	9,6
September	9,0	9,0	8,3	6,7	7,2	6,3	7,6
October	8,8	5,1	4,6	6,1	8,1	9,1	6,7
November	7,4	7,7	6,7	7,1	8,2	7,8	7,4
December	4,6	6,2	7,2	6,9	8,5	8,1	7,1
<i>Females</i>	40,0	44,0	44,4	42,3	42,4	38,7	42,2
<i>Males</i>	60,0	56,0	55,6	57,7	57,6	61,3	57,8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The above trends appear more evident when the data are analyzed at the level of 20-year intervals (Table 17.18). As the time scale approaches the beginning of the 20th century, the mortality percentage lines run in more harmony with each other. However, the 1901–1920 line is already fundamentally different from its nineteenth-century counterparts. Here, spikes in May and October show directly inverse position to drops in other lines. On the contrary, the February drop in 1901–1920 concurs with a general accession of other lines.

Diagram 17.10

(X axis – seasonality of deaths by months; Y axis – percent of mortality)

Even more obvious these trends show themselves if analyzed at longer time intervals, namely, two major periods before and after the mid-point year of 1860 (Table 17.19).

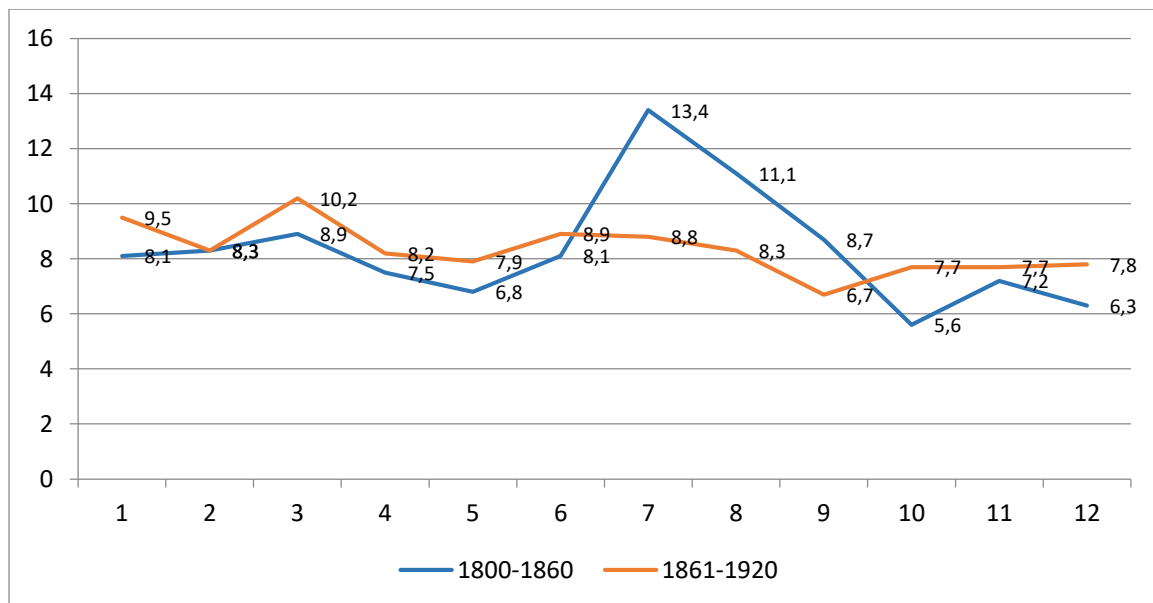
The high mortality rate was typical for Odessa in general. In his work about the population of the entire Region of Novorossiia in 1845 A. A. Skalkowski reports that ratio of births to deaths in the Municipality of Odessa amounted to 0,77 which was much higher than that in the Guberniias of Kherson (0,64) and Tauris (0,53).³⁵ He, however, warned against unmindful use of these figures arguing that the increase in number of deaths was connected with the advancing of hospitals and medical establishments into which large numbers of wounded and ill people had been coming and thus putting the health of the urban population at additional risk.³⁶ Therefore, like in other cities, newcomers and visitors could not help playing their adverse role in rising mortality rates in Odessa. It is obvious that the petty bourgeois of Greek decent were subjected to this deadly influence as well.

35. Skalkowski, *Territory and Population of Novorossiia Region in 1845*, p. 368.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 369.

Table 17.19. Seasonality of Deaths in the Greek Community of Odessa, 1800–1920

Month	1800–1860		1861–1920		Total	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
January	236	8,1	315	9,5	551	8,9
February	240	8,3	274	8,3	514	8,3
March	260	8,9	337	10,2	597	9,6
April	217	7,5	273	8,2	490	7,9
May	199	6,8	262	7,9	461	7,4
June	235	8,1	295	8,9	530	8,5
July	391	13,4	293	8,8	684	11
August	322	11,1	275	8,3	597	9,6
September	253	8,7	223	6,7	476	7,6
October	163	5,6	256	7,7	419	6,7
November	209	7,2	255	7,7	464	7,4
December	184	6,3	258	7,8	442	7,1
<i>Females</i>	1262	43,4	1365	41,2	2627	42,2
<i>Males</i>	1647	56,6	1951	58,8	3598	57,8
Total	2909	100	3316	100	6225	100

Diagram 17.11

Death Factors

In traditional societies the majority of population dies in consequence of the so-called endogenous death caused by diseases. In historic demography it is commonly accepted that diseases are related to such factors as poor nutrition, hard labor, insanitary living conditions, absence of hygienic standards and medical knowledge.³⁷ Based on this comprehension, we will further focus on the identification of factors which caused deaths among the Greek population of Odessa and analyze their character.

To address the issues, we have two sets of data at our disposal. These come from the years 1800–1827 and 1892–1904 when corresponding information on causes of deaths was recorded in the church registers. It shall, however, be mentioned that causes of deaths were recorded not by professional doctors but deacons on the basis of information received from relatives of the deceased. Therefore, their identification expressed rather an understanding of diagnoses by the Greeks themselves than the official medical knowledge of the time, and as such shall be referred to as “oral” or “folk” in character.³⁸ This is particularly well seen during the earliest period when the recorded “diagnoses” showed little resemblance to real diseases.

From all church registers available for the two periods we collected respectively 1758 and 643 records of diseases which caused deaths. The first period (1800–1827) turned out to be among the most hazardous times in the history of medicine in Odessa suffering from several epidemics of infectious diseases and lack of effective infrastructure of medical services. On the contrary, the second period (1892–1904) was relatively safe in terms of epidemics or any other cataclysms which might have caused massive deaths in Odessa. Besides, contemporaries have also left positive accounts of medical services in the city during this time. In spite of the observed differences, analysis of mortality structures from the two periods reveals features typical of urban communities (see Tables 20–21 and Diagrams 17.12–17.13).

37. Anatolii Vishnevskii, *Демографическая революция* [Demographic Revolution], (Moscow: Statistika, 1976), p. 57.

38. For details see: Yuliya Arnautova, *Колдуны и святые. Антропология болезни в средние века* [Sorcerers and Saints. Anthropology of Disease in the Middle Ages], (St. Petersburg: Aleteiya, 2004), p. 20.

Table 17.20. Causes of Deaths in 1800–1827

General category	Number	Original diagnoses	Number
Mechanical injuries	8	Murdered by villains	1
		Drowned	2
		Murdered with a stone	1
		Choked with charcoal fumes (carbon monoxide)	1
		“accidentally, from excessive bleeding after phlebotomy at night”	1
		Hanged him(her)self	1
		Killed him(her)self with a knife during hypochondriac attack	1
In childbirth	18	In childbirth	18
Children’s deaths	554	From diarrhea (over 40 died before reaching one year of age)	455
		From angina (“ <i>zavalka</i> ”) ³⁹	30
		From measles	32
		From convulsions (“ <i>rodimets</i> ”) ⁴⁰	30
		From general health problems among infants	4
		From asthenia at birth	2
		From dental problems	1
Age-specific diseases	395	“died naturally”, “natural death” ⁴¹	380
		“sudden death”, “died suddenly”	8
		“from old age and weakness”, “from old age”, “from old age sickness”	7
Infectious diseases	381	From scarlet fever	1
		“from black disease”	1
		From “pestilence”	1
		“From fever” (<i>goryachka</i>), “from nerve fever” ⁴²	303
		From smallpox	60
		From cholera	5
		From fever (<i>likhoradrka</i>)	10
Diseases of internals	33	From internal disease	2
		From hernia	1

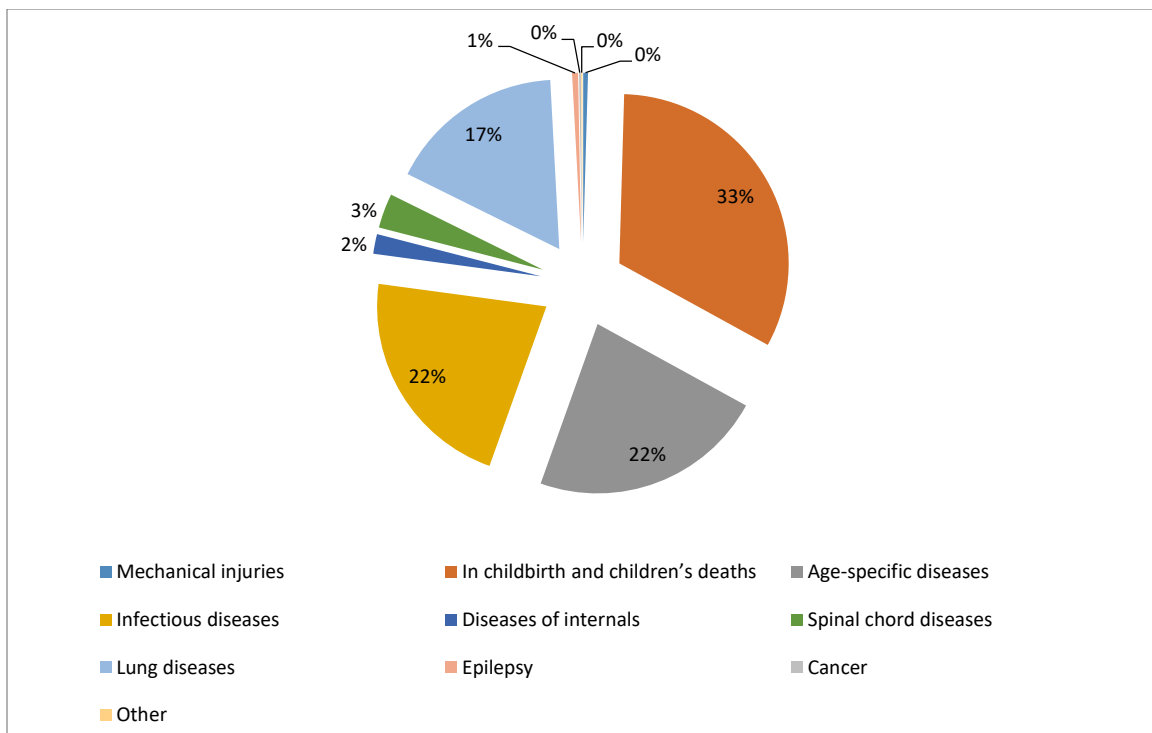
39. *Zavalka* is a folk name of angina.

40. Also known as eclampsy.

41. Including all natural deaths, not only those at old age (near one third of all these deaths occurred among people in their young and even infant ages).

42. “Nerve fever” (*nervnaya goryachka*) is an old Russian name of typhus.

General category	Number	Original diagnoses	Number
Diseases of internals		From bleeding	1
		From dropsy ⁴³	29
Spinal chord diseases	58	From ache	3
		From tabes	55
Lung diseases	296	From asphyxia	1
		From consumption	119
		From cough	75
		From cold	94
		From pneumonia	7
Epilepsy	10	From epilepsy	8
		From apoplectic stroke	1
		From paralysis	1
Cancer	3	From cancer	3
Other	2	“from <i>zhaba</i> ” (stenocardia?)	2

Diagram 17.12

43. Also known as edema, an abnormal accumulation of a fluid in the interstitium, located beneath the skin and in the cavities of the body.

Table 17.21. Causes of Deaths in 1892–1904

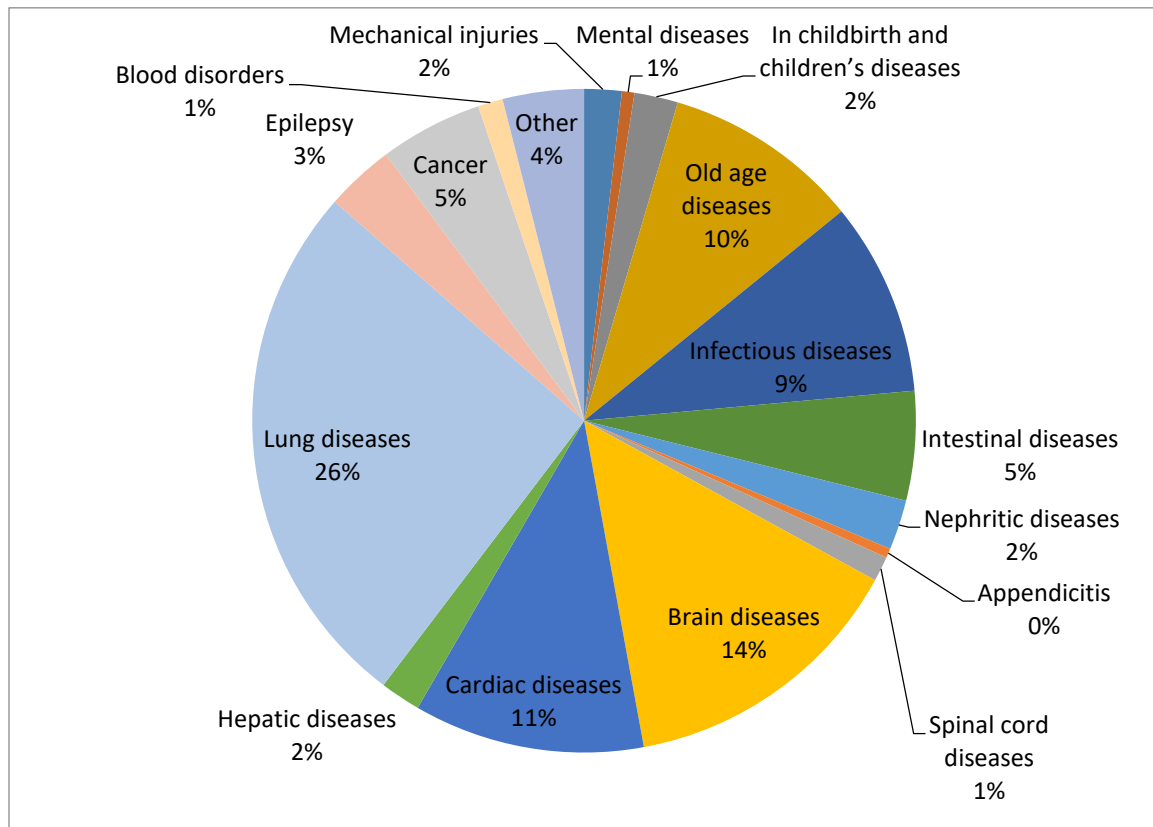
General category	Number	Original diagnoses	Number
Mechanical injuries	12	From bullet wounds in heads and necks	1
		From body burns	2
		From shooting him(her)self	3
		From gangrene of fingers (toes) resulting from frostbite	1
		Ran down by a tramway car	1
		Drowned by accident	1
		From skull cracking	1
		From brain concussion	1
		Choked with charcoal fumes (carbon monoxide)	1
Mental diseases	4	From hanging him(her)self being in an abnormal psychic state	1
		From <i>dementia consecutiva</i>	1
		From going mad	1
		From mental disorder of a brain tunic	1
In childbirth	5	From puerperal fever	3
		From eclampsia of pregnancy (an infant 8 days of age and a woman 32 years of age)	2
Children's diseases	9	From childish convulsions	1
		From childish diarrhea	5
		From childish dryness	1
		From hypoplasia (infants 12 days of age)	2
Old age diseases	63	From marasmus	7
		From old age	5
		From old age emaciation	5
		From senile marasmus	7
		From senile infirmity	12
		From old age sickness	13
		From senile emphysema of lungs and intestinal hemorrhage	1
		From senility	12
		Natural death	1
Infectious diseases	62	From malaria	2
		From typhus	2
		From smallpox	2

General category	Number	Original diagnoses	Number
Infectious diseases		From influenza	2
		From measles	5
		From whooping cough	3
		From scarlet fever	9
		From galloping consumption	1
		From dysentery	4
		From dyspepsia	1
		From diarrhea	17
		From typhoid	11
		From diphtheria	2
		From face erysipelas	1
Intestinal diseases	35	From chronic catarrh of intestines	3
		From chronic diarrhea	2
		From acute gastric inflammation and enteritis	1
		From disorders of intestines	2
		From inflammation of peritoneum	7
		From inflammation of intestines	2
		From gastroenteritis	5
		From gastrointestinal catarrh	1
		From catarrh of intestines	4
		From disorders of ventral glands	1
		From tuberculosis of peritoneum	1
		From tuberculosis of intestines	1
		From indigestion	1
		From chronic inflammation of intestines	1
		From acute gastrointestinal catarrh	2
		From feeding disorders	1
Nephritic diseases	16	From chronic nephritis	3
		From nephritis	10
		From tumors in urinary bladder and intestines	1
		From blennocystitis	2
Appendicitis	3	From inflammation of a blind gut	1
		From peritonitis	2
Spinal cord diseases	8	From inflammation of spinal cord	1
		From disorders of a spinal column	1
		From disorders of spinal cord	1

General category	Number	Original diagnoses	Number
Spinal cord diseases		From tuberculosis of vertebral joints	1
		From hemorrhage in vertebral canal	1
		From spinal dryness	1
		From osteomyelitis in a sacral bone	1
		From dryness	1
Brain diseases	93	From degeneration of vessels and a heart; hemorrhage in cavity of skull	1
		From acute brain fever	1
		From brain tumor	1
		From brain stroke	1
		From insufficiency of a butterfly valve and cerebral apoplexy	1
		From meningitis	6
		From hemorrhage of the brain	1
		From brain stroke	11
		From cerebral apoplexy	1
		From tuberculosis and meningitis	1
		From dryness of the brain	1
		From tuberculosis and inflammation of brain tunic	1
		From cerebral hemorrhage	4
		From meningitis	1
		From brain fever	27
		From inflammation of brain tunic	1
		From cerebral hemorrhage	1
		From embolism of cerebral vessels	1
		From disorders of a parotid muscle	1
		From brain stroke	1
		From acute hydrocephaly	1
		From brain disorders	4
		From arteriosclerosis	1
		From apoplexy	21
		From progressing paralysis	2
Cardiac diseases	74	From degeneration of heart and vessels	1
		From cardioplegia	13
		From cardiac rupture	4
		From valvular defect	38

General category	Number	Original diagnoses	Number
Cardiac diseases		From inflammation of cardiac muscles	1
		From inflammation of heart	1
		From chronic inflammation of heart	2
		From heart diseases	2
		From chronic myocarditis	1
		Died from cardioplegia in Munich and transferred for burial to Russia	1
		From myocarditis and arteriosclerosis	1
		From aortic aneurysm	3
		From chronic valvular defect	1
		From stenocardia	5
Hepatic diseases	13	From chronic hepatitis	1
		From hepatitis	2
		From disorder of liver	1
		From hepatocirrhosis	6
		From degeneration of liver	1
		From liver abscess	1
		From acute parenchymatous hepatitis	1
Lung diseases	172	From chronic lung consumption	1
		From pulmonary emphysema	10
		From lung disorders	1
		From pneumonia	41
		From (chronic or acute) bronchitis	6
		From bronchopneumonia	2
		From lung catarrh	1
		From croup	1
		From lung consumption	1
		From (purulent) pleurisy	2
		From purulent inflammation of pleura	1
		From capillary bronchitis	2
		From catarrhal pneumonia	6
		From croupous inflammation	11
		From pulmonary hemorrhage	2
		From pulmonary consumption	5
		From tuberculosis (of lungs)	22
		From chronic pneumonia	12

General category	Number	Original diagnoses	Number
		From edema of lungs	3
		From consumption	39
		From capillary bronchitis	1
		From gastric ulcer and tuberculosis of lungs	1
		From tuberosity	1
Epilepsy	22	From epilepsy	1
		From convulsions	18
		From falling sickness	1
		From paralysis	2
Cancer	33	From cancer (of gullet, stomach, uterus)	27
		From sarcoma	3
		From malignant tumor of rectum	1
		From foot inflammation	1
		From fungous inflammation of a knee joint	1
Blood disorders	8	From sepsis	1
		From putrefactive inflammation of neck	1
		From pancreatic diabetes	2
		From hyperglycemia	2
		From insular (pancreatic) diabetes	1
		From chronic anemia	1
Other	26	From emaciation	4
		From asthenia	3
		Sudden death	2
		From an unknown disease	11
		From English disease (rickets)	1
		From Basedow's disease	1
		From chest disease	1
		From dermatitis and formation of deep abscesses	1
		From common dropsy	1
		From adipose degeneration	1

Diagram 17.13

Only a small number of natural deaths took place as a result of accidents both in the first third of the 19th century (8 instances, or 0,5%) and in the later period (12 instances, or 1,87%). In 1800–1827 these included people who were murdered “by villains” or “with a stone”, who “drowned” and “choked with charcoal fumes” and died “accidentally, from an excessive bleeding after phlebotomy at night”. In the late 19th – early 20th century these died from “bullet wounds in heads and necks”, “body burns”, “gangrene of fingers (toes) resulting from frostbite” and “skull cracking”, “drowned by accident” and “choked with charcoal fumes” or were “ran down by a tramway car”.

Only two deaths in the earlier period bore suicidal character – “hanged him(her)self” and “killed him(her)self with a knife during a hypochondriac attack”. Similar causes of deaths were recorded almost a century later among four people – “shot him(her)self to death” and “hanged him(her)self being in an abnormal psychic state”. The later period also saw a small number of deaths (0,62%) caused by mental disorders (“from *dementia*

consecutiva”, “from going mad” and “from mental disorder of a brain tunic”). Noteworthy, these latter diseases were not recorded as causes of deaths in the earlier period.

Deaths caused by diseases associated with a generally low level of obstetrics and pediatrics were common for that time. Causes of infant and child mortality are demonstrated by records of deaths from “childish convulsions”, “childish diarrhea”, “childish dryness” and “hypoplasia”. Women died from “puerpetal fever” and “eclampsia of pregnancy”. In the beginning of the 19th century these deaths amounted to 572 instances (or 32,5% of all deaths in the earlier period). It is also characteristic that a large number of children died from “diarrhea” (under one year of age), “*zavalka*” (angina), “*rodimets*” (eclampsy), “general childish diseases” and “asthenia at birth”. During the later period the number of deaths recorded in this category decreased to only 2,18%. This figure, however, seems to represent a significant underestimation of a factual number of deaths in this category since the church registers very rarely contained entries about yet unbaptized infants.

In the later period the “old age diseases” form a quite large group of death causes amounting to 8,24%. This means that almost every tenth Greek of Odessa survived into his (her) elderly age, at which he (she) died from “senile marasmus”, “senility”, “senile emaciation”, “senile infirmity”, “senile sickness” or “by natural death”. However, it appears impossible to compare figures from this category through time. In 1800–1827 the relevant entries in the church registers referred to not only old people but also young ones and even children. Among these, the old age (senile) diseases proper formed only a small group of causes. During that time all inexplicable fatal outcomes were interpreted as “natural” or “sudden” deaths which amounted to 22,5%. This figure, however, makes an erroneous impression that every fifth of the deceased “survived into his (her) senility” and died without apparent cause.

Similar number of people (21,7%) died from infectious diseases. This figure, however, does not seem to account for mass victims of plague, cholera and smallpox epidemics which periodically took lives of hundreds of residents of Odessa in the first third of the 19th century (three pandemics of cholera took place in 1823, 1829–1831 and

1846–1848).⁴⁴ In our data direct evidence for such causes of deaths (“from black disease” and from “pestilence”) during these times are found in only 2, 5 and 60 cases respectively. Insufficient medical knowledge seems responsible for the low percentage of deaths from scarlatina and fever (*likhoradka*). Deaths from another kind of fever (“*goryachka*”) amounted to 303 cases.

It is also possible to calculate the actual losses of population from outbreaks of these epidemic diseases among all residents of Odessa. In 1848, according to medical statistical records, 5,541 residents of Odessa got infected and 1,793 people died.⁴⁵ Among the entire Odessa’s population of 77,778 people at that time these figures represent 71,2‰ and 23,1‰ respectively. The comparison of these figures to the annual index of population loss at that time (2,509 people⁴⁶ or 32,3‰) demonstrates that epidemics raised mortality rates by over 70% taking almost as many lives as natural causes of death did. In a similar vein, the population loss by 7,61‰ in the Kherson Guberniia in 1848 was related to the concurrent scurvy and the crop failure.⁴⁷

Data from the late 19th – early 20th centuries show drastic lowering of these indices. Although the number of people fallen in various infectious diseases remained rather high at the level of 9,64‰, it clearly decreased more than two times. The range of such diagnoses also widened indicating rising levels of medical knowledge and service. Nearly a half of all diagnoses of infectious diseases falls down to “typhus” and “scarlatina”. These are followed by “measles”, “dysentery”, “pertussis”, “erysipelas” and other diseases. Under this category also fall numerous cases of death from “consumption”, which is a disease of infectious and epidemiological character. Of all lung diseases (296 cases or 16,8% of all lethal outcomes in the first third of the 19th century and

44. Skalkowski, *On Mortality and Longevity of Life in Novorossiia Region*, p. 2.

45. Об эпидемической болезни холере в городе Одессе и его уезде в 1848 году [Concerning the Epidemic Disease of Cholera in the City of Odessa and its District in 1848], in *Новороссийский календарь на 1849 г.* [Novorossiia Calendar and Directory for 1849], (Odessa, 1848), p. 402.

46. Skalkowski, *Territory and Population of Novorossiia Region in 1845*, p. 369.

47. Vasilii Pokrovskii, “Влияние колебаний урожая и хлебных цен на естественное движение населения” [Influence of Fluctuations in Harvests and Grain Prices on the Natural Movement of the Population], in: Aleksandr Chuprov and Aleksandr Posnikov (eds.), *Влияние урожаев и хлебных цен на некоторые стороны русского народного хозяйства* [The Influence of Harvests and Grain Prices on Some Aspects of the Russian National Economy], in 2 vols., vol. 2, (St. Petersburg, 1897), p. 190.

172 cases or 26,44% 70 years later), almost a half of cases (119 and 72 respectively) show references to consumption and tuberculosis.

The rest of deaths in this category occurred from catarrhal diseases such as “pneumonia”, “bronchitis” and “bronchopneumonia”. The early 19th century medical diagnostics appear rather poorly developed registering deaths “from cough”, “from cold” and from “fever” (*likhoradka*). A contemporary wrote that “In spite of the southern climate, cough is a commonplace disease here in winter... The affection of mucous tunics frequently declare itself as the intermittent fever when very strong attacks sometimes pass into general physical exhaustion... Different kinds of intermittent fevers are rife and rampant everywhere... they represent the native and often mass epidemic disease in the region”.⁴⁸ In the early 20th century every year deaths from acute respiratory diseases (influenza) constituted nearly 2% of all death cases.⁴⁹

Table 17.22. Structure of Diseases with Lethal Outcomes, 1906

Disease	Number of deaths in a part of Russia (69 million people), in thousands	%
<i>Scarlet fever</i>	108,2	27,0
<i>Typhus</i>	67,1	16,7
<i>Pertussis</i>	63,0	15,7
<i>Measles</i>	58,4	14,6
<i>Diphtheria</i>	50,0	12,5
<i>Smallpox</i>	36,3	9,1
<i>Dysentery</i>	17,6	4,4
Total	400,6	100,0

Source: *Отчет о состоянии народного здоровья и организации врачебной помощи в России за 1906 г.* [Report on the State of Public Health and Organization of Medical Care in Russia for 1906], (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 23.

48. *Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire*, p. 107.

49. Boris Ulanis, *История одного поколения (социально-демографический очерк)* [History of One Generation (Socio-Demographic Essay)], (Moscow, 1968), p. 60.

Table 17.23. Structure of Causes of Deaths in Russia, 1906

Cause of death	Number of deaths (in thousands)	%
<i>Infant diseases</i>	1600	38
<i>Acute infectious diseases</i>	800	19
<i>Malignant tumors</i>	800	19
<i>Diseases of cardiovascular system</i>	300	7
<i>Tuberculosis</i>	120	3
<i>Violent death</i>		1
<i>Croupous pneumonia</i>		2
<i>Other causes</i>		25
Total	4300	100

Source: *Отчет о состоянии народного здоровья и организации врачебной помощи в России за 1906 г.* [Report on the State of Public Health and Organization of Medical Care in Russia for 1906], (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 23.

The actual percentage of infectious diseases should be supplemented with some diseases of internals such as bowels, kidneys and liver, but there is no direct evidence for their etiological nature. These diseases caused deaths in every tenth case (10,42%). Other diagnoses included diseases of intestine (35 cases), kidneys (16 cases) and liver (13 cases) as well as appendicitis (3 cases). These figures, however, demonstrate rather unskilled diagnoses than the real medical situation. Most frequently, these included “dropsy” or “water sickness”.

Almost all deaths from infectious diseases took place in summer. This observation supports the foregoing assumption concerning the influence of this factor on general mortality among the Greeks during the time period under study.

Among main causes of deaths were diseases of spinal cord and brain. These causes were responsible 15,55% of all deaths among Greeks of Odessa in the late 19th – early 20th century, while in earlier times they constituted only 3,3%. Later in the 20th century medical science got over many of these diseases, but more than a hundred years ago they remained formidable foes to human health.

Another large group of causes that led to lethal outcomes were cardiac diseases responsible for 11,51% deaths in our data sample. It is notable that corresponding records contained both professionally stated diagnoses (“myocarditis”, “arteriosclerosis”, “aortic aneurysm”) and their folklore counterparts (“heart rupture”, “breast pang”). In almost a half of the cases (34 of 74) there are references to “heart disease”. When compared with a general situation in Odessa, we observe that in 1906 from diseases of the circulatory system there died 789 people (8,19%).⁵⁰ Clearly, in the early 19th century no such diseases were diagnosed.

Epilepsy (“falling sickness”, “convulsions”) caused 0,6% of deaths in 1800–1827 and 3,42% in 1892–1904. The development of medical knowledge is clearly demonstrated in the field of oncology. Oncological diseases were diagnosed as causes of deaths in only 0,2% of all cases in the earlier period, while later in time their proportion rose to 4,82%. Of all 9637 death cases in 1906, the number of deaths caused by malignant tumors amounted to 475 (or 4,93%).⁵¹ It appears that in some of these cases the diagnoses were made rather inaccurately. A similar situation is observed among deaths from blood diseases in the late 19th century (1,24%).

In a considerable number of death records, however, the available information presents practically no diagnoses or causes of deaths but rather general statements like “sudden death” or “death from an unknown disease” (4,04%). Into this category we also include singular cases of “English disease” (rachitis), “common dropsy” or “Basedow’s disease” and social diseases such as “cachexia” or “asthenia”.

The general structure of causes of deaths among the Greeks of Odessa in the late 19th – early 20th century shows a pattern very similar to that observed among the middle class population of the city of Bremen (Germany) in 1901–1910.⁵² Similar percentages of “diagnoses” suggest similarity in living conditions in European cities at that time. The only exceptions concern rates of lung diseases (related to environmental factors), violent

50. *Отчет о состоянии народного здоровья и организации врачебной помощи в России за 1906 г.* [Report on the State of Public Health and Organization of Medical Care in Russia for 1906], (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 23.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Kurkin, *Fertility and Mortality in the European Capitalistic Countries*, p. 48.

deaths and suicides which show smaller percentages among the Greeks of Odessa compared to residents of Bremen.

Our study in causes of deaths among the Greek population of Odessa in 1800–1920 has also showed a high percentage of accidental deaths, which gradually decreased throughout the period in question. Anatolii Vishnevskii noted that “The essence of a turnover in mortality lies in a radical change in the structure of causes from which people die. Before the turnover most people had died from causes related to external living conditions – hunger or malnutrition, epidemics, infectious and parasitical diseases, tuberculosis, violent death, etc. These so-called exogenous causes of deaths, external as opposed to natural processes taking place inside a human body, are neither inherent in a growing organism nor connected with its congenital malformations”.⁵³ Prematurity and eliminability of this kind of mortality resulted in appearance of the modern type of mortality in which accidental deaths were minimized. The Greeks of Odessa were at the stage of transition.

Social Characteristics of the Diseased

The class and social composition of the diseased along with information about their descent and citizenship is summarized in the Table 17.24.

Table 17.24. Socio-Territorial Composition of the Diseased, 1800–1920

Descent and citizenship of the diseased	1800–1860		1861–1920	
	Number	%	Number	%
Foreign citizens	1464	50,8	2500	75,4
Ottoman citizens	684	43,7 ⁵⁴	632	25,3
Greek citizens	339	21,6	1756	70,2
Ionian natives	72	4,6	9	0,4
English citizens	103	6,5	22	0,9
Foreign Greeks	102	6,5		

53. Anatolii Vishnevskii, *Избранные демографические труды* [Selected Works in Demography], vol. 1, (Moscow: Nauka, 2005), p. 42.

54. Hereinafter figures in *italics* show percentage from the overall value in a category.

Descent and citizenship of the diseased	1800–1860		1861–1920	
	Number	%	Number	%
Austrian citizens	100	6,5	37	1,5
Moldavian and Wallachian citizens	25	1,6	7	0,3
French citizens	12	0,8	8	0,3
Danish citizens	6	0,4	4	0,1
Neapolitan citizens	2	0,1	11	0,4
Foreigners ⁵⁵	121	7,7		
Bulgarian citizens			2	0,1
German citizens			2	0,1
Spanish citizens			2	0,1
Montenegrin citizens			8	0,3
Military personnel (active and retired)	112	3,9	17	0,5
Priests and their family members ⁵⁶	16	0,6	13	0,4
Meschane	239	8,3	200	6,1
of Odessa	197	82,4	160	80
of Akkerman	13	5,3	9	4,9
of Ovidiopol	10	4,0		
of Grigoriopol	4	2,0		
of Dubossary	9	3,9		
of Kiev	2	1,0		
of Mogilev	3	1,4		
of Moscow	1			
of Chisinau			20	10,0
of Kerch			11	5,1
Other categories of Greeks	130	4,5	48	1,4
Citizens of Balaklava	17	13,0	6	11,5
Greeks of Nezhin	102	78,5	37	77,1
Colonists from Maly and Bolshoy Buyalyks	11	8,5	5	11,4

55. People with no indication of their citizenship, of whom 102 persons are directly referred to as “Greek” and 2 persons as “Bulgarians”.

56. First of all, priests and service staff of the Holy Trinity Church.

Descent and citizenship of the diseased	1800–1860		1861–1920	
	Number	%	Number	%
Nobles, civil servants, hereditary citizens	89	3,1	118	3,6
Merchants	340	11,8	201	6,1
Peasants	22	0,8	26	0,8
Other	53	1,8		
Armenians	6	11,3		
Arnauts (Albanians)	2	3,8		
Bulgarians	3	5,6		
Solitary residents and their children	40	75,5		
Gypsies	2	3,8		
<i>Unspecified</i>	<i>416</i>	<i>14,4</i>	<i>190</i>	<i>5,7</i>
TOTAL	2881	100,0	3313	100,0

The social structure of the diseased was determined by the character of the Greek community of Odessa in the 19th – early 20th centuries. As we have already demonstrated, it was composed basically of foreign incomers, and their part in the community increased significantly from 1800 to 1920. If before 1860 they had constituted just over a half of all the diseased for whom funeral services were held in the Holy Trinity Church, in the later period of similar duration they represented three fourth of the size of the community population. Of all the foreigners in Odessa the largest increase is shown by Greek citizens, from 21,6% to 70,2%. The number of Ottoman citizens remained rather stable showing only a slight decrease from 684 to 632 people. Other numerically significant groups included citizens of Italy, England, Austria and other European countries. By the end of the 19th century the geographic limits had expanded for account of citizens of Bulgaria, Spain, Montenegro and Germany. This geography reflects a wide range of economic activity of the Greek community of Odessa. At the same time, one shall keep in mind that no less than a half of all foreigners belonged either to the second generation of Odessans or among people living in the city for a long time.

Prior to 1892 the majority of the diseased had been buried at the First (Old) Christian Municipal Cemetery, and only some were buried at the cemetery in Slobodka area. Later in time, after 1892, burials took place at the Second and Third Municipal Cemeteries. The

Old Cemetery remained still in use by the upper classes of population (nobles, merchants and honorary citizens). Some honorary and pious figures were buried by the Church of Ascension in the Fontan area and in the fence around the Convent of the Dormition in Bolshoy Fontan area. These distinctions reflected socio-territorial stratification within the Greek community of Odessa as well as a well-developed infrastructure of funerary services in the city experiencing a need of new territories for cemeteries.

To sum up our research, several conclusions can be made. First, there is a strong evidence for refinement of the system of death recording in the church statistical documents throughout the first half of the 19th century. Second, these novelties had led to the rise in mortality indexes for the Greek community from 22‰ to 37‰. In general, this index is somewhat lower than that for the entire Guberniia and European Russia. This may indicate a more favorable urban environment in Odessa during that time period. Third, most of the deaths were caused by diseases. The evidence indicates a very low level of medical services in general, not to mention unrecorded infant and child mortality. Fourth, our study in seasonality of deaths has revealed a specific local pattern in which the spikes reflect living conditions in Odessa. Finally, in the Holy Trinity Church there were held many funerary church services for the dead foreign citizens. This underscores the complex structure of population in Odessa and, simultaneously, the economic activity of its residents.

Chapter 18

Perceptions of Odessa in a Changing World.

The Rise of a Port-City and its Public Image Among the Greeks

Nassia Yakovaki

From the larger picture of the economically booming and cosmopolitan Odessa of the long 19th century, I would like to turn the attention to a smaller one: its first years, the first two to three decades after its founding. For at the heart of what I am going to develop here is exactly a central feature of this identity: that it was a new city – a “newly-founded [νεοσύντακτος] city”, as well put by a Greek visitor from that period, in 1817.¹ Or even more correctly, “a new city in a new land”, as the city’s major historian, Patricia Herlihy, summed it up.²

Odessa was founded as a port-city in 1794, during the reign of Catherine the Great, in order to create, according to a familiar formulation, a Russian window towards the south and the Mediterranean. The new land, of course, was Novorossiia,³ the New Russia, the administrative extension of Russia to the northern shores of the Black Sea, achieved in the course of recurrent Russo-Ottoman wars during the 18th century.⁴ It was an enormous, multi-layered change, important not only for the two empires that made the Black Sea a bone of contention, but also for the Christian subjects of the Porte. In other words, it was a

1. *Ermis o Logios*, 1817, p. 604. *Ermis o Logios* (Ερμής ο Λόγιος) is the well-known and most prestigious Greek literary journal, published in Vienna since 1811.

2. Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa. A History, 1794–1914*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 311.

3. For a general introduction on the colonization and economic reorganization of Novorossiia, the new guberniia organized by Catherine the Great and governed by Potemkin just after the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, see Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great*, (London: Phoenix, 2002), 2nd edition, ch. 23, and from the point of view of economic history see also Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775–1861*, (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2001), esp. ch. 2 “The Settlement of New Russia”, pp. 11–45.

4. Virginia Askan, *The Ottoman Wars 1700–1870. An Empire Besieged*, (London: Longman/Pearson, 2007), pp. 129–179.

change with huge consequences for the social, economic, cultural and political developments of the wider region.

Something which perhaps has not been given its due is also worth considering in relation to this major geopolitical change – this passage from the time of the Kara Deniz to that of Chernoe More,⁵ from the closed Black Sea of the Ottoman era to the era of openness to international trade under Russian hegemony. To what extent, I wonder, did this enormous change contribute to the emergence, from that time forward of a new neighboring and still Ottoman-ruled region that, later in the same century, would acquire the name we use today: the Balkans? Is it possible to conceive of the Balkans (or of Southeastern Europe), as a distinctive region of rising importance, without reference to the great change marked by the reorganization and unprecedented growth of the Black Sea region? Without, that is, this new neighborhood, the rapidly developing New Russia, the new hinterland open and accessible in particular to Ottoman Christians?

Here, in this neighborhood, in any case, Odessa belongs, and to this transformation its existence is due. It is not wrong to say that it was the most impressive, spectacular product of this great change. It quickly became – and kept a leading economic and cultural role for the whole of the long 19th century – a great port-city.⁶

Odessa was a dynamic and elegant modern city which arose suddenly on Russian imperial soil in the environs of what was commonly referred to as European Turkey; indeed, a breath away, especially after 1812, from the Ottoman border,⁷ and not so far away from what was to become Greece by the end of the 1820's. At the same moment that all of Europe was experiencing the maelstrom of the Napoleonic Wars and was in search of a new post-war stability, quietly at the turn of the 19th century became a beacon of “progress” or “modernity” for those living in the Ottoman Empire or the Balkan peninsula. It produced a new status, until then monopolized by the “civilized” West and the far side of the Adriatic,

5. Apart from the monumental “biography” of the Black Sea by Neal Ascherson (see Neal Ascherson, *The Black Sea: The Birth Place of Civilisation and Barbarism*, (London: Vintage Books, revised edition 2007, 1st edition 1995)), a useful and eloquent historical introduction is offered by Charles King, *The Black Sea. A History*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).

6. For a brief presentation of its impact and role see Stella Ghervas, “Odessa et les confins de l’Europe. Un éclairage historique”, in Stella Ghervas et Francois Rosset (eds.), *Lieux d’Europe*, (Paris, 2008), pp. 107–124.

7. The river Prut and the Danube Delta is the border of 1812, as agreed by the Treaty of Bucharest, after the end of the Russian Ottoman war of 1806–1812, see Virginia Aksan, *The Ottoman Wars...*, pp. 270–281.

but now drawing the attention in the opposite direction, to the other side of the Balkan peninsula, beyond the Aegean and the straits, beyond Istanbul: towards the Northeast, expanding the mental map of Europe's eastern frontier.

Europe was practically brought through Odessa to the Black Sea, its qualities and values were rooted in new quarters; it proved that “European soil” was not a fixed territory but a fluid concept and reality, attainable by those who wish to follow the same spirit; for in this case it was not only the military victory or the backing of the state and the planning of its personnel, but also the zeal and the efficiency of the entrepreneurial response to the opportunity that was at hand, that turned finally and rapidly Odessa to a success story.

Odessa's critical founding years, however, witness a development that runs in parallel to its emergence – a co-incidence that is the central theme of this chapter. At the turn of the 19th century, and particularly during its first two decades, as is well known, the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire experienced their own period of dynamism. Many factors, which there is no room to analyze here, converge exactly in these same years, leading to the wholesale ferment of a modern Greek society in the making – a mutation that was at the time referred to as “la regeneration morale”,⁸ while nowadays it is customarily associated with the efflorescence of what has been termed the Modern Greek Enlightenment.⁹ This chronological coincidence needs to be stressed, regardless possible underlying connections, because timing is what gave the encounter of Greeks with Odessa the exceptional character of a unique opportunity; it also licenses us to consider what Odessa – “the city where honey and milk flow”, as one Greek inhabitant put it¹⁰ – represented for the Greeks of the time. Let me stress, by the way, the suggestive fact that this is the same period during which the two terms, Hellene (Ἑλλήνας) and Greek (Γραικός), became freely interchangeable in Modern Greek, while a third term, Romios (Ρωμιοί) declined in usage, itself an indicator of the changes taking place.

8. The phrase was introduced by Adamantios Korais and provided his central argument in his [Coray]. *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce: Lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'homme*, Paris, 6 janvier 1803.

9. See the most recent and valuable panorama of Modern Greek Enlightenment studies in the synthesis offered by the new and revised English edition of his classic study: Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013).

10. “πόλις, ὅστις ρέει μέλι και γάλα”, *Ermis o Logios*, 1817, Supplement 1, p. 11.

Odessa represented an opportunity for the Greeks of the time; but what sort of opportunity?

This is the question that I seek to raise and highlight. That opportunity, evidently and before all else, had a private (individual or familial) character. The creation of the city, the advantages, including official privileges, that it offered to the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire for settlement, and their favorable position in relation to the ongoing international – and especially sea – trade, led to the distinctive, active presence of the Greek element from the first moment that the new city appeared on the scene. It was an opportunity that bore fruit and rapidly created a new, powerful group of major merchants, with new wealth in Greek hands, while orbiting around them was a host of Greek migrants: petty merchants, employees, servants and professionals.

We will not, however, recount here the story of this early presence, which unquestionably marked the city's initial steps, at least up to the dramatic decade of the Greek Revolution.¹¹ It is a matter well known in broad terms, acknowledged in all general histories of the city of Odessa and also a subject of specialized studies by Russian and Greek historians.¹² At the same time, a research desideratum worth noting, but yet to be realized, is a systematic, synthetic study (similar to that of Anna Makolkin on “the Italian

11. Still, the reputation of an influential Greek presence in Odessa and to that extent the Greek version of the myth of Odessa, if such a myth exists, is rather connected with mid and late 19th century Odessa: the grand trade firms with the legendary names (Rallis Bros., Rodocanachis or Mavrokordato companies) and, certainly, with the powerful presence of the famous mayor of Odessa Gregorios Marasles (1878–1892) who also became a great public/national benefactor in Greece at the turn of the 20th century.

12. Regarding these early years see indicatively, Viron Karidis, “A Greek Mercantile Paroikia: Odessa 1774–1829”, in Richard Clogg (ed.), *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981), pp. 111–136; Grigorii M. Piatigorskii, “Греческие переселенцы в Одессе в конце XVIII – первой трети XIX в.” [Greek Migrants in Odessa at the End of the 18th – the First Third of the 19th Centuries], in Vladimir Vinogradov (ed.), *Из истории языка и культуры стран Центральной и Юго-Восточной Европы* [From the History of the Language and Culture of the Countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe], (Moscow: Nauka, 1985). For the later period, there are specialized articles on the Greeks merchants of Odessa by Patricia Herlihy (see Herlihy, “The Greek Community in Odessa, 1861–1917”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, VII (1989), pp. 235–252; Eadem, “Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century”, in Ihor Ševčenko and Frank E. Sysyn (eds.), *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*, (2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1979–1980), vol. I, pp. 399–420), and a monograph by John Athanasios Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa: Diaspora Leadership in Late Imperial Russia*, (East European Monographs. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). See also a broader perspective in Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea ...*, esp. for Odessa pp. 45–62.

protohistory” of Odessa¹³) focused specifically on early Odessa and the Greek presence prior to the Greek Revolution of 1821, or to anchor it more securely in the history of Odessa itself, at least from 1803, when Richelieu was appointed governor of the city, to 1822, when Langeron left office;¹⁴ namely, during the years of the town’s spectacular rise. It is unfortunate that we still don’t possess a comprehensive and solid picture of the lives and deeds of the Greeks of Odessa in the formative years of this new and so unique city.

Although intrinsically connected with this Greek protohistory of Odessa (to paraphrase Makolkin), the issue that concerns this paper is something else: what did Odessa represent from a Greek perspective during that short but critical period during which this new port-city was booming, while the Greeks were still living in their places of origin under Ottoman domination, very often dispersed in the Ottoman milieu or successfully trading beyond its borders, in central Europe and the Mediterranean? Is it possible to think in terms of a distinct public image of Odessa among the Greeks, prior to 1821? And if so, why does this matter?

What is then here at stake is to assess the impact that this early presence of the Greeks in Odessa had on the newly emergent Greek public sphere then also taking shape. Not an easy task to accomplish, but the public impact of this presence is tangible and has an interest of its own. The private opportunities generated in this conjuncture, I would argue, were, at another level, perceived as a *national* opportunity – that is to say, as something *public* in nature. And the means to both cultivate and decipher this type of perceptions were also on the rise among the Greek speaking world: the newspapers and the periodicals.

Allow me to reference directly – and in extenso – a letter written by a Greek student in Paris and published in a Greek periodical¹⁵ in April 1819:

13. Anna Makolkin, *A History of Odessa, the Last Italian Black Sea Colony*, (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004).

14. The role of Richelieu for the rise of Odessa and the whole region can hardly be overestimated, see Emmanuel de Waresquiel, *Le duc de Richelieu, 1766–1822: un sentimental en politique*, (Paris: Perrin, 1990), esp. ch. 4 (Nouvelle Russie) and ch. 5 (Odessa, naissance d’une capitale), pp. 106–173. Unfortunately, and if I am not mistaken, there is no biography dedicated to comte de Langeron (1763–1831) and no special study concerning his important role in Odessa, it was under his administration that Odessa became a freeport in 1817 and it was under his guidance that the famous Lycée Richelieu was founded during that same year. Moreover, both of them had close connections with many among the Greeks of the town or the Empire and they were in sensitive positions, in Paris or in Odessa respectively, while the Greek Revolution was under preparation or exploded, this is an extra reason why further research on their ideas and politics will be very welcome.

15. The name of the student is Eustathios Ioannidis. He published to the periodical a letter to his benefactor Dimitrios Nikolaidis, a Smyrniote, merchant in Odessa. The letter serves as a preface to the

“[Odessa]...already began to draw the attention of enlightened and business-minded Frenchmen. The commercial newspaper of Paris entitled *Le Pilote*, and others like it, proclaimed joyfully the rapid and great progress of the newly-constituted city of Odessa, and the industry of its residents. How dear such news is to me is impossible to describe. Everything that I read about Odessa in the abundant memoranda of judicious Frenchmen I gather with great zeal and hasten to share with [my] compatriots, and even with *Odissini* themselves. Not to learn about the situation in their city, but so that they will see that the trade, which they have already begun to cultivate regularly and decently, has fixed on this city the eyes of all Europe, which has already started to place it in the ranks of the well-governed, noteworthy cities of commerce. The most populous nation [national group] in Odessa and the most predominant, as it were, are Greeks. All the Greeks have known that well, all our souls are thrilled with joy when we learn of their worthy deeds and their zeal to prove themselves as those who first refined the until then insignificant and barren place, to be first in culture, first in virtue, first in education. In short, *eager to demonstrate all that adverse circumstances have prevented the rest of the Greeks from accomplishing*. During my brief time residing in Odessa, I was eyewitness of the truly Greek spirit that inflamed the virtue-loving *Odissini*”.¹⁶

translation of a “Description of Odessa” published in *Ermis o Logios*, 1819, pp. 104–109. For the periodical see here, footnote 1.

16. *Ermis o Logios*, 1819, p. 104. All translations (and the emphasis) is mine. “Ἡ [Ὁδησός] [...] ἀρχισεν ἤδη να ἐλκύη την προσοχήν των φωτισμένων και φιλεμπόρων Γάλλων. Ἡ ἐμπορικὴ εφημερίς των Παρισίων ονομαζομένη –Le pilote- και με αὐτήν ἄλλαι, ἐκήρυξαν μετ’ ευφημίας τας ταχείας και μεγάλας προόδους της ἀρτισυστάτου πόλεως Ὁδησσοῦ, και των κατοίκων, την βιομηχανίαν. Πόσον αὶ τοιαῦται εἰδήσεις μου εἶναι προσφιλεῖς, δεν δύναμαι να παραστήσω. Ὅλα ὅσα περί Ὁδησσοῦ ἀναγινώσκω εἰς των σοφῶν Γάλλων τα δαυιλὴ υπομνήματα, συνάζω με μέγαλον ζήλον και σπεύδω να κοινοποιῶ εἰς τους ὁμογενεῖς, και εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀκόμη τους Ὁδησσινοὺς. Ὅχι δια να μάθωσι την κατάστασιν της πόλεως των, ἀλλὰ δια να ἴδωσιν ὅτι το ἐμπόριον, το ὁποῖον ἤδη ἀρχισαν να καλλιερῶσι τακτικῶς και κοσμίως, προσηλῶνει εἰς την πόλιν των τα βλέμματα ὅλης της Ευρώπης, ἥτις ἀρχισεν ἤδη να την κατατάττει εἰς την σειράν των ευνομουμένων ἀξιολόγων ἐμπορικῶν πόλεων. Το ἐπιπολάζον εἰς την Ὁδησσὸν ἔθνος, κ ἐπικρατέστερον να εἶπω οὕτως εἶναι Ἕλληνες: ὅλοι οἱ ὁμογενεῖς το ἐξεύρωμεν, ὅλων μας αὶ ψυχαὶ σκιρτῶσιν ἀπὸ την χαράν, ὅταν μανθάνωμεν τας σπουδαίας των πράξεις κ τον ζήλον των εἰς το να δειχθῶσιν οὗτοι ω οἱ πρῶτοι πολίσαντες το πρὶν ἀσημον και ἔρημον αὐτὸ μέρος: πρῶτοι εἰς πολι[τι]σμόν, πρῶτοι εἰς την ἀρετήν, πρῶτοι εἰς την παιδείαν. Ἐν συντόμῳ, πρόθυμοι να δείξωσιν ὅσα περιστάσεις ἐναντία ἐμπόδισαν τους ἄλλους Ἕλληνας να πράξωσιν. Εἰς την ὀλιγοχρόνιον μου εἰς την Ὁδησσὸν διατριβήν, ἐγέναι αὐτόπτης και μάρτυς των Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν ὀντι φρονημάτων, ἀπὸ τα ὁποῖα φλέγονται οἱ φιλόκαλοι Ὁδησσινοὶ”.

This article is an interesting and sophisticated portrait of the city exactly during the years of its initial ascent, from a particularly Greek point of view. And it is worth indicating from the outset the kind of argument that is indirectly developed and gives that portrait its strength: the very success of Odessa is here recorded as a Greek success.

Odessa seemed to matter, the article suggested, and not just for the obvious reasons: namely, its status as a new, thriving, well governed commercial city in the vicinity or as a place of attraction – as an Eldorado – where opportunities were lying open for those among the Greeks ready to take the risk. The attraction of Odessa, as it seems, went well beyond individual motives, its significance had by then acquired a collective implication. It is because of the active participation of Greeks in the founding and rise of this new city, that the very name of Odessa, Οδησσός, or rather Οδέσσα, along with its Greek inhabitants, Οδησσινοί/Odissini¹⁷ came to symbolize in the Modern Greek vocabulary of that period, quite plainly, the Greek potential (to be more precise: *the modern Greek national potential*). In other words, Odessa's early urban and commercial triumph offered to the Greeks in those times a political argument.

For, according to the young writer, the *Odissini* provide a practical case of what it is possible for Greeks to accomplish when “adverse situations” do not prevent them from acting. The phrase is cautious and allusive, since the *Ermis o Logios*, published in Vienna, was under strict censorship, but the implication is clear. The overt political innuendo of the “adverse circumstances”, i. e. the obstacles due to Ottoman domination, should not be taken for granted. It is rather a clear sign of an already politicized mentality towards the collective assessment. Indeed, the Greek accomplishments in Odessa were taken by their compatriots as evidence, as tangible proof of what the Greek nation as a whole was capable of if only given the chance. The achievements of the *Odissini* consist not merely in the beneficent works undertaken on behalf of their fellow Greeks (schools hospitals, theatre etc.), but also in their substantial contribution to the growth, wealth and glamour of a new (European) city. In other words, the active engagement of the Greeks in more or less the same terms as everybody else, in the foundation and rise of the city, which European public opinion now

17. Apart from this form of the name in Greek which prevails in published material and is part of a rather elevated vocabulary, one should note that there is also another version, namely Οδεσσίτες/ Odessites, with equally positive connotations still.

placed in the company of well-governed and noteworthy cities, made Odessa different and spoke for the peculiarity of the Odessan Greeks, that is of *Odissini*. From a Greek perspective it is not difficult to spot their difference from the rest of the Greek diaspora.

This is the subtle, but substantial difference between the *Odissini* and the Greeks of other long-established, well-governed and noteworthy cities of more westerly Europe – Venice and Trieste, Livorno and Vienna. For the case of Odessa differs from these older communities of the Greek diaspora of Europe's urban centers in this respect: in Odessa, everything began from scratch and the Greeks were there from the start. The Greek colony was as new as the city itself – not an addition to an already estimable town. For that reason, the city's success was assumed to be at once their success. And that is why I call the argument political: the success of the Greeks in Odessa was seen by their compatriots as a practical demonstration of the potential that Greeks have when they are not confronted by obstacles – when they are given the opportunity. The perception does not simply shore up national self-regard, it does not simply cultivate national self-confidence: it argues implicitly the need for political change.

The young Greek writer in Paris addressing himself to a diasporic Greek public via a Greek periodical was not an isolated voice. Let us not underestimate what such a public voice presupposed: that the *Odissini* not only had the opportunity to succeed but that their actions were also visible and observed. In other words, that the means of public communication had already been activated among the Greeks. It is interesting to note how by 1819, whatever was praiseful and prideful in what was published about Odessa and the Odessan Greeks no longer had need of further proof for the readers of the Greek journal. By then, information about the progress of Odessa and the *Odissini* seems to have been common knowledge for most people, and not only for those who read the Greek or foreign press. One can reasonably assume that whatever was written publicly constituted only a part of what was conveyed orally or in correspondence about the successes of *Odissini* by visitors and travellers on their business trips to other European or Ottoman cities or their homelands. In this direction, moreover, we are prompted by another publication one year later, where we read: "You heard the voices of a hundred rumors, which for some time have trumpeted the burning zeal in favour of an enlightened Greece of patriotic and

cultivated *Odissini*”.¹⁸ For that reason, I believe, we must see in this political argument that the Greek experience of “Odessa” represents a locus communis already in circulation, at least among circles of informed Greeks, both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire, a commonplace which most probably has taken shape gradually during the decade of 1810.

Greek journals, particularly between 1816 and 1821, also point us in this direction. From this interesting and exuberant literature, it is worth listening to one excerpt, from an undoubtedly experienced, demanding critic and prolific writer, the distinguished Konstantinos Koumas, director of the Philological Gymnasium of Smyrna. I suspect that, with this publication, we find ourselves at the origins of this commonplace regarding the virtues of the *Odissini*:

“So many Greeks, and with such a patriotic disposition, never until now have been gathered in another city of a foreign territory. You could call it a Greek colony *which was in many respects more fortunate than its homeland*. In today’s Odessa they also strive to speak our language more clearly, and the means of the nation’s improvement they are constantly keen to debate upon and with a free hand they eagerly and generously contribute to the constitution of whatever is good”.¹⁹

Indeed, from 1817 onwards, the *Odissini* had become a favourite theme for *Ermis o Logios*, due to the number of widely known collaborators who rushed to provide onsite witness, to report on successes, to comment on and convey that which the editors of the journal already supported: the example of the “brave”, as they are somewhere called, “*Odissini*”,²⁰ an example which roused the spirits and challenged the Greeks of other cities: “May the other Greek communities emulate the Greek spirit of the *Odissini*...”.²¹ Between 1810 and 1820, the *Odissini* – this new presence in the Greek public sphere – made their

18. *Ermis o Logios*, 1819, p. 204. “Ηκουσες την φωνήν της εκατοστόμου φήμης, ήτις προ καιρού εσάλπισεν τον υπέρ του φωτισμού της Ελλάδος διακαή ζήλον των φιλογενών και φιλομούσων Οδησινών...”.

19. *Ibid*, 1817, Dec, p. 604. “Τόσοι Έλληνες, και με τιαούτην φιλογενείας διάθεσιν πούποτε ακόμη δεν συνηθροίσθησαν εις άλλην ξένης επικράτειας πόλιν. Εμπορείς να την είπής αποικίαν Ελληνικήν εις πολλά ευτυχεστέραν αναντιρρήτως από την μητρόπολιν της. Εις την Οδησσόν την σήμερον και την γλώσσαν μας αγωνίζονται να λαλώσι καθαρώτερα: και περί των μέσων της του γένους προκοπής φιλοτιμούνται να προσδιαλέγωνται συνεχώς, και με ελευθέραν χείρα πραγματικώς συνεισφέρουσιν εις παντός αγαθού σύστασιν”.

20. *Ibid*, 1817, p. 467.

21. *Ibid*, 1816, p. 310.

appearance bringing along with them the air of progress, which they shared with their newly founded city.

This newly acquired name, the *Odisssini*, calls for comment. But first, allow me to complement, if only sketchily, this new public visibility that they had attained with an intriguing element that they themselves have provided. Indeed, the rich literature about Odessa in *Ermis o Logios* was launched by an initiative altogether singular for the practices of journal publishing, whose exact paternity, however, remains unknown.

A special Supplement to the 1st issue of the year 1817 was published to host the anonymous “Dissertation of a Greek ‘patriot’ (φιλογενής) on the state of the Greeks dwelling in Odessa during the year 1816” – with the additional indication “from Odessa”, as a subtitle. It is an impressive piece of writing, not least because of its length – 15 pages long. It is impressive for the audacity of the writer towards its topic, the articulate and consistent way he develops his opinions, the wealth of information he offers, the open and hard criticism he undertakes vis-à-vis his nation and the Odessan Greeks as well as the breadth of his vision.

It is yet an impressive publication for a different reason: because it provoked an equally strong response from Odessa, from another Greek, in an article entitled “Objection [to the dissertation...]”. A second publication on Odessa of equal length and quality in his argumentation was thus printed, as a Supplement again to the issue of June in *Ermis the Logios*, the same year 1817. It was anonymous again, although in this second case the author reveals (or obscures) an element of his identity: a Greek from Symferopol of Tauris. Is this not a pseudonymic identification?

Given the era and its usual practices, the two articles constitute an impressive public exchange on public issues (Greek affairs in the city and on the course that they should take) – an open dialogue before the Greek public. What was at stake in this exchange? The heart of the matter is found in their contrasting positions on the policies of leadership groups and the overall performance of the Greek community of Odessa. Even more interesting is the method: on the one hand, the two anonymous writers offer detailed accounts that contrast in their evaluation of the accomplishments of the Greeks, from the first days of the city’s founding and particularly in the post-1803 period to the present. On the other hand, both espouse and advance reforms, innovative ideas regarding the policies

that the leaders of these explicitly identified groups should follow. The most obvious differences in their judgments concern their divergent assessment of the possibilities – one being more militant and maximalist and the other more pragmatic and moderate. There is no room, nor is it of interest here, to get into specifics. What counts is the process itself.²²

In fact, in a single gesture, the *Odissini* themselves entered, self-appointed, onto the public stage both as an object of public interest and inquiry and as participants/collaborators of the periodical. Equally important is that they do not engage in a polemic, but instead in an exemplary exchange of ideas supported by arguments and counter-arguments that merit being called a genuine public dialogue. The most striking thing is exactly that. The *Odissini* themselves, or at least some of them, have the daring to judge publicly their compatriots and co-citizens. They have the courage of their convictions and primarily make use of this new medium – the press and publicity – for public inquiry.²³ The *Odissini*, prior to arousing the interest of others, became themselves the creators of their own public image. Is this not also a distinctive aspect of their modernity?²⁴

Just one phrase from the first “dissertation” may be pointed out for a concluding comment. In describing the first Greek/Γραικοί residents, the founders of the city and their weaknesses, back in the 1790s, the author turns into a colloquial phrase still in use today: “they were, in common language, εκ χιλίων καρυδιών καρύδια” (meaning that they were a strange mixture of nobodies, Greeks/Γραικοί who came from all over)²⁵. And this apt demythologizing characterization reveals indirectly the road traversed until, some twenty

22. It is interesting to note that these two articles (the two “dissertations”) have not passed unnoticed: quite to the contrary, the information they offer is easily discernible place in recent historiography on Odessa; they have been repeatedly exploited by historians exclusively as a reliable source of information about Odessa, without commenting of the context within which this “information” was published. The rare case of the publication of supplements as well as the form of an open debate has not as yet been an object of inquiry – or as part of the history of Odessa.

23. It should be stated that until then there was no local press (in any language) in Odessa. The first periodical publication (in French) was published in 1825.

24. For a more detailed exploration of this dimension of the periodical press, namely the promotion of public debate, and especially of *Logios Ermis* see: Nassia Yakovaki, “Ο Λόγιος Ερμής ως τόπος διαμόρφωσης του ελληνικού κοινού” [*Logios Hermes* and the Greek Public], in *Λόγος και χρόνος στη Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία. Τιμητικός τόμος στον Αλέξη Πολίτη* [Discourse and Time in Modern Greek Literature: Festschrift in Honour of Alexis Politis], (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2015), pp. 207–238.

25. The Greek expression (literally: every walnut of the walnut tree) could have been translated as “every Tom, Dick and Harry”. Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* defines the term to specify “a set of nobodies; persons of no note”.

years later, these persons of no note (a set of nobodies) were transformed into respectable *Odissini* – into persons whom others referred to with respect and moreover were put forth as examples:

“So brilliant and glorious are the monuments which the *Odissini* erected in the annals of Greece”.²⁶

With these words, the young Greek writer in Paris ends the 1819 text with which we began.

For indeed, the term “*Odissini*” (along with its usual attributes: virtuous, cultivated etc.)²⁷ had become at least around the years 1816–1817 a well-established name, whose invocation seems to have resonated with enviable dignity. And the prestige of that name, which time and again flows naturally from the pen of writers, leaves no doubt that it had had taken hold. It cannot be precluded that this took root initially amongst themselves within the rapidly developing city.

Despite the temptation, I do not propose that we take at face value and adopt for ourselves the common rhetoric regarding the *Odissini* – a rhetoric which the Greeks were in a position to create and disseminate for their own purposes and needs during the heady decade of 1810. It does make sense, however, for those who study the social and political history of this era to be aware that, aside from the covert Etairists (the members of the *Philiki Etaireia*, i.e. the Society of Friends),²⁸ the underground secret voluntary association, with which we almost automatically associate the city of Odessa at the start of the 19th century, the educated Greeks or a Greek public space in the making had at their disposal, and in the open, an “idol”, that it was equally political, albeit in another way: the *Odissini*.

My main thesis as stated above, i.e. the political implication of the public image of Odessa among the Greeks, important as it is, is also of interest because it opens up a new,

26. *Ermis o Logios*, 1817, p. 104. (“Ούτω λαμπρά και ένδοξα είναι τα μνημεία, τα οποία στήνουν οι Οδησσινοί Έλληνες εις τα χρονικά της Ελλάδος”).

27. Φιλόκαλοι, Φιλόμουσοι, Γενναίοι.

28. Among recent contributions to the general history of this secret society see, first of all, Vassilis Panagiotopoulos, “The Filiki Etaireia. Organisational preconditions of the National War of Independence”, in Petros Pizani (ed.), *The Greek Revolution of 1821. A European Event*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2011), pp. 101–138, and also Nassia Yakovaki, “The Philiki Etaireia Revisited: In Search of Contexts, National and International”, *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 11 (2014), pp. 171–187. More directly connected with Odessa is Evridiki Sifneos, “Preparing the Greek Revolution in Odessa in the 1820s: Tastes, Markets and Political Liberalism”, *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 11 (2014), pp. 139–170.

and perhaps unexpected window for us to reflect on the impact of the rise of Odessa and *Odissini* on the ongoing politicization among the Greeks. Politicization though in Odessa is customarily, if not automatically, linked, as just said, with the obvious suspect: the Odessa-born Philiki Etaireia. A further question than may arise and be left open: Why the Philiki Etaireia was founded there? How the first Etairists connect with the respectable *Odissini*?

Still, the *Odissini*, as I have tried to reconstitute them, do not belong exclusively to the Modern Greeks and their national history. They are also of use, I would like to suggest, from the standpoint of Odessan history. In a relatively recent co-authored article, “The persuasive power of Odessa myth”, published at the beginning of the 21st century, Patricia Herlihy and Oleg Gubar, the two scholars perhaps most knowledgeable about its history,²⁹ record the ability of the city, from early on, to create its own myths – myths that, as they demonstrate, are in great variety. In the panorama that they offer, a Greek “persuasive Odessa myth” of the early 19th century – the *Odissini* – deserves a place.

29. Patricia Herlihy and Oleg Gubar, “The Persuasive Power of the Odessa Myth,” in John Czaplicka, Nida Gelazis, Blair A. Ruble (eds.), *Cities after the Fall of Communism: Reshaping Cultural Landscapes and European Identity*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 137–166.

Weights and Measures

1 chetvert (1 quarter), unit of volume of bulk materials (grain): $209.91 \text{ L} \approx 0.21 \text{ m}^3$

(not to be confused with *chetvert* as measure of length, or measure of weight, or measure of liquid materials)

1 desyatina, unit of area: 1.09 ha

1 feet, unit of length: 0.3 m

1 kile, unit of volume of bulk materials (grain), variable; in Bessarabia equal to 2.0725 Russian *chetverts*: $435.038475 \text{ L} \approx 0.44 \text{ m}^3$

1 pood, unit of weight: 16.38 kg

1 sazhen, unit of length: 2.13 m

1 vershok, unit of length: $4.445 \text{ cm} \approx 0.045 \text{ m}$

1 versta, unit of length: 1.067 km

List of Abbreviations

DAARK	State Archives in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (Ukraine)	Державний архів в Автономній Республіці Крим (Україна) [Derzhavnyi Arkhiv v Avtonomnii Respublitsi Krym (Ukraina)]
DADO	State Archives of Donetsk Region (Ukraine)	Державний архів Донецької області (Україна) [Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Donets'koi Oblasti (Ukraina)]
DAKhO	State Archives of Kherson Region (Ukraine)	Державний архів Херсонської області (Україна) [Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Khersons'koi Oblasti (Ukraina)]
DAMO	State Archives of Mykolaiv Region (Ukraine)	Державний архів Миколаївської області (Україна) [Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Mykolaivs'koi Oblasti (Ukraina)]
DAOO	State Archives of Odesa Region (Ukraine)	Державний архів Одеської області (Україна) [Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Odes'koi Oblasti (Ukraina)]
ECD	European Commission of the Danube	
FO	Foreign Office	
GARF	State Archive of the Russian Federation Moscow (Russia)	Государственный архив Российской Федерации (Россия) [Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Rossiya)]
GBAO	Greek Benevolent Association of Odessa	Греческое благотворительное общество в Одессе [Grecheskoe Blagotvoritel'noe Obshchestvo v Odesse]
IMI	Infant Mortality Index	
NARM	National Archive of the Republic of Moldova	

PSZRI	Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire	Полное собрание законов Российской империи [Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii]
RGIA	Russian State Historical Archive (Russia)	Российский государственный исторический архив (Россия) [Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv (Rossiya)]
ROPiT	Russian Society of Steam Navigation and Trade	Русское общество пароходства и торговли, РОПиТ [Russkoe Obshhestvo Parokhodstva i Torgovli]
T.I.Co	Russian Transport and Insurance Company	Российское транспортное и страховое общество [Rossiiskoe Transportnoe i Strakhovoe Obshhestvo]
TNA	The National Archives of the United Kingdom	
TsDIAK	Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (Ukraine)	Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ (Україна) [Tsentral'nyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv Ukrainy, m. Kyiv (Ukraina)]

Glossary

Birzha (биржа): market exchange

Census lists (ревизские сказки): documents reflecting the results of audits of the taxable population of the Russian Empire in the 18th and 1st half of the 19th centuries

Chernozem (чернозём): black earth, the highly fertile land

City Duma (городская дума): City Council

Governorate-General (генерал-губернаторство): an administrative-territorial division of the Russian Empire, usually consisting of a set of Guberniias

Governor-General (генерал-губернатор): governor of the Governorate-General

Guberniia (губерния): administrative unit of the Russian Empire, imperial province comprised of uezds

Liman (лиман): landform, enlarged estuary formed as a lagoon at the wide mouth of one or several rivers, where flow is constrained by a bar of sediments

Mayor (городской голова): elective office in the Russian Empire, head of the city self-government

Meshchanin, pl. meshchane (мещанин, мещане): urban middle class (petite bourgeoisie)

Mestechko (местечко): historical type of a market-like urban settlement, with a significant or even predominant Jewish population, had a special administrative status other than that of town or city

Plenipotentiary Governor (полномочный наместник): position in the Russian Empire, the head of a large administrative-territorial unit

Treasury (казённая палата): administrative and financial institution in the Russian Empire

Uezd (уезд): administrative unit (district) of the Russian Empire, subdivision of Guberniia, comprised of volosts

Urban Prefect (градоначальник): an official who ruled the Urban Prefecture

Urban Prefecture (градоначальство): administrative territorial unit of the Russian Empire consisting of a city and its adjacent territory

Uyezdnoye zemstvo (уездное земство): elected body of the uezd self-government

Viceroyalty (наместничество): administrative territorial unit of the Russian Empire

Volost (волость): smaller territorial administrative unit (canton), subunit of the uezd

Zaporozhian Sich (Запорожская Сечь): the administrative center of the Zaporozhian Cossacks

Zemstvo (земство): elected body of local self-government

Biographical Notes

Constantin Ardeleanu is Professor of Modern Romanian History at the Department of History, Philosophy and Sociology of “The Lower Danube” University of Galați and Long-Term Fellow at the New Europe College – Institute for Advanced Study, Bucharest. Ardeleanu is interested in the social and economic history of Danubian Europe and the Black Sea region since the eighteenth century. His latest monograph is *The European Commission of the Danube, 1856–1948. An Experiment in International Administration* (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2020); he is a co-editor (with Olena Palko) of *Making Ukraine: Negotiating, Contesting and Drawing Borders in Twentieth Century Ukraine* (McGill-Queen’s University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 2022).

Liliia Bilousova is a historian, archivist, genealogist, editor of the Odesa TV & Radio Company “GRAD” (since 2019), Vice-Chair of the Scientific Society of History of Diplomacy and International Relations (Ukraine). She has graduated from the Odesa I. I. Mechnikov State University. She received Ph.D. degree on “The Dynasty of Greek Merchants Petrokokkino in the Economic, Social and Cultural Life of the Russian Empire (19th – the beginning of the 20th cc.)” from the Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University (2008). She started her career at the Odessa Historical Museum (1980–1984) and continued at the State Archives of Odesa Region as the Head of Information Department (1986–2001), Deputy Director (2001–2017) and Acting Director (2017–2018). She is the author of books, book chapters and numerous papers on the history of ethnic and religious communities in the Southern Ukraine, ethnic migrations, international relationships, history of Odesa and the Black Sea Region, archeography, archival sources, genealogy, history of ethnic and religious communities in the Southern Ukraine, ethnic migrations, international relationships, history of Odesa and the Black Sea Region, archeography, archival sources, genealogy. Her current project is a study of Odesa port customs in the 19th century.

Nikolaos Chrissidis is Professor of Russian History at Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, CT, USA. He received his BA from Aristotle University of Thessalonike (1990), and his Ph.D. from Yale University (2000). He specializes in the

religious and cultural history of early modern and modern Russia and is particularly interested in Russian-Greek cultural relations across time. He has authored articles and essays on tobacco use, ritual drinking and political ideology, and on education in early modern Russia. He co-edited the volume *Religion and Identity in Russia and the Soviet Union: A Festschrift for Paul Bushkovitch* (Bloomington, Indiana: Slavica Publishers, 2011). His monograph *An Academy at the Court of the Tsars: Greek Scholars and Jesuit Education in Early Modern Russia* is forthcoming from Northern Illinois University Press. He has also recently published “The World of Eastern Orthodoxy” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History*. His current project is a study of pilgrimage from the Russian Empire to the Holy Land in the long 19th century.

Andrei Emilciuc is Senior Researcher at the Institute of History of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Research of the Republic of Moldova. He has graduated from the State University of Moldova and has completed his graduate studies at the same institution: in 2006 – MA in History, and in 2011 – Ph.D. in History. His Ph.D. thesis scrutinizes the role of Odessa seaport in the European grain trade system (1794–1853). His academic career passed already 15 years, and included also work at the National Museum of History of Moldova and the State University of Moldova. Between 2013 and 2019 he was member of the Scientific Council of the Institute of History in Chisinau, from 2012 – member of Scientific Seminar for defending of Ph.D. theses for the specialty World History at the State University of Moldova, from 2020 – scientific secretary of the Seminar for defending of Ph.D. theses for the specialty Romanian History at the Institute of History in Chisinau. He participated in several projects related to museum heritage, and socio-economical development of Bessarabia in the 19th century, and led a national project on the First World War. In the 2020–2021 academic year he was Gerda Henkel fellow at New Europe College (Bucharest, Romania). He is the author of 2 books and over 70 articles, researches and book chapters, mainly related to the economic history of Bessarabia in the first half of the 19th century and WWI, but also of over 50 smaller publications, as conference thesis, book reviews etc. His latest book, published in 2021 in Romanian, is entitled *Bessarabia in the process of integration of the Russian Empire into the European trade system (1812–1860s)* (Chişinău: Lexon-Prim, 2021).

Svitlana Gerasymova is a historian, archivist, librarian and journalist. In 2008–2019 she was a Researcher at the State Archives of Odesa Region. Since 2019 she is a Senior Librarian at the Odesa National Scientific Library. Since 2016 she is a member of the Scientific Society of History of Diplomacy and International Relations (Ukraine). She is the author of scientific and popular science articles on the urban history, Ukrainian culture, biography studies, librarianship, library information work, manuscript books, and book heritage of Ukraine.

Oleksandr Halenko is Professor at Freie Ukrainische Universität, München, and Assistant Professor at the department of Turkology, Institute of Linguistic, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. He explores the past of the Southern Ukraine, when this area was home for the Eurasian nomads, and seeks to evaluate it in the larger context of Ukrainian and world history. Therefore his interest addresses broad range of issues pertaining to political and economic history, political culture and art. His research draws primarily on original sources written in Turkic languages, mainly the Ottoman Turkish. His publications include commented translation into Ukrainian of excerpts from the Ottoman chronicle: *History of Na'ima: Reports, pertaining to Ukraine* (Kyiv, 2017).

Gelina Harlaftis is Director of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation of Research and Technology-Hellas (FORTH) since 2017. She has graduated from the University of Athens and has completed her graduate studies in the Universities of Cambridge (M.Phil.) and Oxford (D.Phil.). She started her academic career at the University of Piraeus (1990–2002), continued at the Ionian University (2003–2018), and is presently Professor of Maritime History in the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete. She was President of the International Maritime Economic History Association (2004–2008). In 2009 she was a Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford University, and in 2008 an Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., International Visiting Scholar in the Business History Program, Harvard Business School. Her research interests are in maritime history, economic and social history, business history, global history and diaspora history. She has extensive experience in the coordination and implementation of large research projects and has established a large international research network with scholars

from all continents. She has published 26 books in English, Canadian and Greek publishing houses and more than 60 articles in edited volumes and international peer-reviewed journals. Her last book is *Creating Global Shipping: Aristotle Onassis, the Vagliano Brothers and the Business of Shipping, c.1820–1970* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Victoria Konstantinova is Director of the Research Institute of Urban History (<http://ri-urbanhistory.org.ua/en/>), Professor at Berdyansk State Pedagogical University (Ukraine). In 2004 she defended the Ph.D. theses “*Primary Sources of Social and Economic History of Southern-Ukrainian Cities (the last quarter of the 18th century – 1854)*”, in 2011 – Doctoral theses “*The Processes of Urbanization in Southern Ukraine (the second half of the 19th – the early 20th century)*”. She has authored or co-authored 23 books, focused on various aspects of urban history of the Southern Ukraine (the Northern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region) of the 18th – the early 20th century. Her latest monographs are *The Greek Community and Consuls of Greece in Berdyansk of the Nineteenth – early Twentieth Centuries* and *German Consuls in the Northern Azov Region* (both in co-authorship with Igor Lyman).

Larysa Levchenko is Director of the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (since 2021) and former Director of the State Archives of Mykolaiv Region (2003–2020). Simultaneously, she is a Professor of History at the Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University (since 2010) and a Senior Researcher at the M. Hrushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (since 2021). She graduated from the Moscow State Institute for History and Archives in 1992 as a specialist in records management and information process technologies. In the same year, she started her career in the archives of Ukraine from the position of the Leading Archivist at the State Archives of the Mykolaiv Region. In 2004, she defended her first dissertation on the history of the Nikolaev and Sevastopol Military Governorate (1805–1900) and received a Degree of the Candidate of Historical Sciences (Ph.D. in History of Ukraine). In 2014, she defended her second dissertation on the history and organization of archives and archival affairs in the United

States of America (late 18th – early 21st century) at the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, and received a Degree of the Doctor of Historical Sciences (in the Record Management and Archival Sciences). She has a double interest in the history of Southern Ukraine from the late 18th till the early 20th century as well as the World history of Archives. She has published about 200 scientific works in Ukrainian and English including three individual monographs. Her latest book was *Black Sea Central Naval Archives (1794–1934). Research. Documents. Register of Fonds: Reconstruction* (Mykolaiv: Ilion, 2018).

Igor Lyman is Professor, Head of the Department of History and Philosophy and Coordinator of International Relations at Berdyansk State Pedagogical University (Ukraine). His books and articles have been published in Ukrainian, Russian, English, German, Spanish, Polish and Greek in Ukraine, USA, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, Mexico, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, Romania, Russia, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia and Kazakhstan. His recent books include: *British Consul and Industrialist John Edward Greaves* (2017, in co-authorship with Victoria Konstantinova and Eugene Danchenko), *German Consuls in the Northern Azov Region* (2018, in co-authorship with Victoria Konstantinova), *The Ukrainian South as Viewed by Consuls of the British Empire (Nineteenth – Early Twentieth Centuries). Volume 1: British Consuls in the Port-City of Berdyansk* (2018, in co-authorship with Victoria Konstantinova), *Descendants of the Zaporozhians: the Makhno Movement in the Northern Azov Region (1918–1921)* (2019, in co-authorship with Volodymyr Chop), and *The Greek Community and Consuls of Greece in Berdyansk of the Nineteenth – early Twentieth Centuries* (2020, in co-authorship with Victoria Konstantinova).

Gerassimos D. Pagratis is Professor of Italian History and Civilization and Head of the Department of Italian Language and Literature at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (NKUA). He received his Ph.D. degree in 2001 on the dissertation “Maritime Trade in Venetian-Ruled Corfu: 1496–1538”. During the period 2003–2004 he was a postdoctoral researcher at the same Department working on the research project “Trade and Shipping in the Ionian Islands during the Napoleonic Wars” with a scholarship from

the State Scholarship Foundation. His researches on the post-medieval and early modern history of Italy, the sources and historiography of early modern Italy, the maritime economic history of early modern Mediterranean, the Latin monastic orders in the Venetian maritime state, as well as the economic, social, and political history of the Septinsular Republic have been published in Greek and international scientific journals, conference proceedings and collective volumes. His recent publications are: *Le fonti della storia dell'Italia pre-unitaria* (ed.) (Athens: Papazisi, 2019), and *History of Italy (15th cent. – 1861)* (Athens: Papazissi).

Sofronios Paradeisopoulos is a historian. He graduated from the Odesa I. I. Mechnikov State University, Department of History (Ukraine) with a scientific degree of Master of Arts in History. He received Ph.D. degree from the Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University. He was a History Lecturer at the Odesa I. I. Mechnikov State University and, at the same time, worked as an external employee at the State Archives of Odesa Region. Since 1994, he has been working at the Hellenic Foundation for Culture. In November 1994, he was appointed the Director of the Foundation's Branch and the Museum of the Filiki Etairia ("Friendly Society") in Odessa. He has various scientific and popular publications on the history of the Greek community in the pre-revolutionary Odessa. He contributed to and edited various publications of the Odessa Branch of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture.

Oleksandr Romantsov is a historian. He received his MA in History from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in 2006. He received Ph.D. degree on "The Institute of Military Governors in the System of Russian Territorial Administration of the Right-Bank Ukraine (Late 18th – First Third of the 19th cc.)" from the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (2009). In 2008–2018 he was a Researcher at the Institute of History of Ukraine, in 2013–2015 he was also a member of the National Union of Local Historians of Ukraine. He is the author of a book and over 20 articles and book chapters, mainly related to the history of civil and military administration of the Right-bank Ukraine, and the economic history of Southern Ukraine in the 19th century.

Valentyna Shandra is Senior Researcher at the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Professor of the Department of History at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Her research interests are in history of state and public institutions, the relationship between state administration and society in the late 18th – early 20th centuries. She is the author of the books *Governorates in Ukraine: 19th – Early 20th Centuries* (Kyiv, 2005, in Ukrainian); *Conscientious Courts in Ukraine (the Last Quarter of the 18th – the Middle of the 19th cc.)* (Kyiv, 2011, in Ukrainian), *Bureaucratic Organs of State Self-Government in Ukraine (End of the 18th – Beginning of the 20th Century)* (Kyiv, 2016, in Ukrainian); book chapters in *From Walls to Boulevards: Creation of a Modern City in Ukraine (End of the 18th – Early 20th Century)* (Kyiv, 2019, in Ukrainian). She is a compiler of corpus editions of documents *Ukrainian Identity and the Language Issue in the Russian Empire: Demand for State Regulation* (Kyiv, 2013, 2015, in Ukrainian) and *Investigative and Supervisory Cases of Taras Shevchenko (1847–1859)* (Kyiv, 2018, in Ukrainian).

†**Evrydiki Sifneos** (1957–2015) was a historian and Director of Studies at the Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation in the programme of History of Enterprises and Industrial Archaeology. She took her first degree from the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens, her Diplôme d'Études Aprofondies (D.E.A.) and her doctorate from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. Her Ph.D. thesis was titled “Lesbos, la ville de Mytilène et sa région. Économie et société (1840–1912). Evridiki Sifneos was an internationally renowned economic historian, one of the few Greek scholars in her field known abroad. She received scholarships from the Business School of the University of Harvard, from the Institute for Advanced Study, School for Historical Studies, of Princeton University and from Jordan Center for Advanced Study of Russia, Department of Russian and Slavic Studies, New York University. She had publications in prestigious international academic journals and carried out research in and outside Greece and particularly in Russia, Ukraine, France, Great Britain, and United States. Throughout her career Evrydiki took part in more than 20 Greek, Mediterranean and European research programmes that she developed systematically in four thematics: first in the economic and social history, second in

industrial archaeology, third in business history and fourth in the history of the diaspora. She wrote almost 50 articles and chapters in edited volumes, Greek and foreign journals and ten books. From 1995 to 2015 she took part in 55 conferences in Greece, Ukraine, Russia, Romania, Italy, France, the Netherlands, and the United States. She has given seminars and lectures in the Universities of Princeton and Yale, City University of New York, New York University, in École Des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, University of Athens, University of the Aegean, University of Thessaly and University of Crete. Evrydiki turned her academic interest to the Black Sea, the land of her ancestors twenty years ago. All her publications ever since were focused on the business, economic, social and cultural aspects of the Greek commercial populations of the Black Sea. Her last book was published two years after her death, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, with Brill Publishers, in Leiden and Boston in 2018.

Anna Sydorenko graduated from the Department of Political Science at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. She completed her Ph.D. thesis at the Ionian University (Corfu) entitled “The Economic Development of the Crimean Port-Cities, Second Half of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Century. Evpatoria, Sebastopol, Theodosia”. She is currently a postdoctoral researcher in the project “Janissaries in Ottoman Port-Cities: Muslim Financial and Political Networks in the Early Modern Mediterranean” (ERC Starting Grant 2019, project coordinator Yannis Spyropoulos), in the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation for Research and Technology, Hellas. Her research focuses on maritime economic and social history, port history, Russian imperial history, history of the Black Sea, and the Greek diaspora. She has participated in research projects on maritime and economic history and she has several publications in peer-reviewed journals and collective volumes.

Valerii Tomazov is Head of the Sector Genealogical and Heraldic Research at the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Senior Researcher at the Institute of Biographical Research of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. He has graduated from Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University and has completed his graduate studies at the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of

Ukraine. Ph.D. in History (2006) and Doctor of History (2021). He specializes in genealogy, prosopography, social and ethnic history of Ukraine, in particular the history of Greek merchant and aristocratic families of different Ukrainian regions. He is a member of many scientific societies and expert state commissions. He has repeatedly been a graduate of various international foundations, participated in international research projects. As a guest professor, he teaches author's courses at the Ukrainian universities. He is the author of more than 400 scientific works, including the monograph *Το γένος των Μαυρογορδάτων (Μαυροκορδάτων) στη Ρωσική Αυτοκρατορία. Η ιστορία του γένους μέσα από τα έγγραφα και γεγονότα* [The Mavrogordatos (Mavrokordatos) Family in the Russian Empire. The Family's History as reflected in Documents and Events], transl. by Xenia Tiskevits (Athens: Ekdoseis Alpha Pi, 2010). His last book is *Greeks-Chians in the Southern Ukraine (end of the 18th century – 1917): between traditions of national self-preservation and practices of socio-cultural adaptation* (Kyiv, 2020).

Larysa Yakubova is Head of Department of History of Ukraine (1920s–1930s) at the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. She has graduated from the Donetsk State University (1989). She received Ph.D. degree on “Socio-economic, political and cultural life of the Greek population of Ukraine. 1917 – the beginning of the 1930s” from the the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (1993). She received the degree of the doctor of historical sciences on the “Ethnic minorities of the USSR and power: the dynamic of socio-economic, political and cultural transformations in the context of korenization (1921–1935)” from the the Institute of History of Ukraine (2007). In 2018, she was elected a Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences. She is studying the ethno-national history of Ukraine in the 19th – early 21st centuries, modern history of Ukraine, Russian-Ukrainian relations and Russia's war against Ukraine since 2014. She has managed a number of research projects, authored more than 200 scientific publications, including more than 20 scientific and popular science books. She was the head of the author's team and the author of the the 3-volume book *Testing Fate, Tempering the Will. Ukraine and Ukrainians in the 20th – at the beginning of the 21st century* (Kyiv, 2021, in Ukrainian).

Nassia Yakovaki is Assistant Professor of Modern and Contemporary Social and Political History in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens since 2009. She has taught at the University of Thessaly (Modern History, Volos) 2001–2009. A graduate of both Athens and Ioannina Universities, she pursued postgraduate studies at the Universities of Essex and Thessaloniki (2001, Ph.D). Her main research area has been the exploration of the emergence of a European self-consciousness in connection with the reception of Greek antiquity. Her current research and teaching focuses on the Age of Revolution in the Mediterranean, the Balkans and the Black Sea. She is particularly interested in the study of the dynamics of politicization and the interaction with public sphere formation in European and especially in Greek-Ottoman contexts. She is the author of the book *Ευρώπη μέσω Ελλάδας: μια καμπή στην ευρωπαϊκή αυτοσυνείδηση, 17^{ος}–18^{ος} αιώνες* (*Europe via Greece. A Turning-point in European Self-consciousness, 17th–18th centuries*, Athens 2006, Chinese translation 2012) and she has published widely in collective volumes and academic journals in Greek, English and French. From 2019 up to 2021, she has been a member of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens Committee for the celebration of the 200 years since the Greek Revolution.

Oksana Yurkova is a historian, source researcher, and editor. Since 2010 she has been a Leading Researcher at the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. She has graduated from the Kyiv T. H. Shevchenko State University in 1989. She received Ph.D. degree on the “Activities of the Research Department of the History of Ukraine Headed by Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1924–1930)” from the Institute of History of Ukraine (1999). She studies the history of Ukraine, especially focusing on the interwar period (1920s–1930s). Her special research interests include Ukrainian historiography of the 20th century, iconography (in particular, visual sources of the Holodomor), anthropology of academic life. In recent years, she has devoted much of her time to digital humanities, including initiating or participating in the creation of several digital resources, such as the *Mykhailo Hrushevsky Digital Archives*, and the *Holodomor Digital Archives*. She is the author of several books and numerous scientific and popular articles on the history of Ukraine, the compiler of valuable documental publications on academic history.

