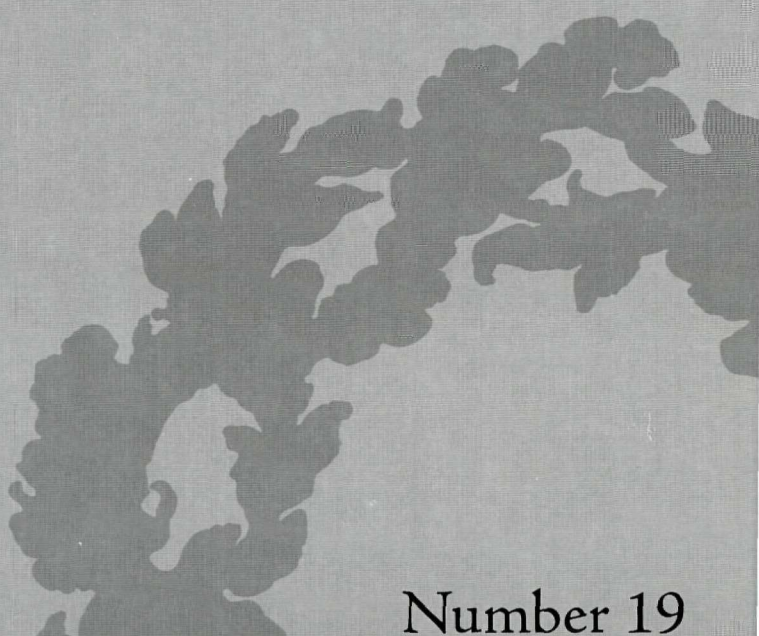


Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period

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9 ENTREPRENEURSHIP AT THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE. THE GREEK MERCHANT COMMUNITY/PAROIKIA OF TAGANROG IN THE SEA OF AZOV, 1780s–1830s

Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis

Taganrog developed as the first city-port in south Russia, part of the strategic plan of the Russian Empire to expand southwards into the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and to create a new economic zone which would later specialize in grain trade.¹ It was the most important port in the Sea of Azov up until the mid-1860s and the second most important of southern Russia after the port of Odessa. It was named after the horn-like shape of the peninsula (*tagan*) which dominates the small inlet of the north-eastern Sea of Azov. In this remote point for international trade, which developed based on the Russian imperial plans for expansion southwards, the Greeks contributed significantly to the integration of the area into the international economy. During the first half of the nineteenth century the large and affluent Greek merchant community or *paroikia* of Taganrog was so dominant in the economic and social life of the town to the extent that the Russian novelist Vassili Sleptsov referred to it as a 'Greek Kingdom'.² Greeks brought with them entrepreneurship, in other words capital, technical know-how and their networks in trade and shipping, and promoted the economic development of the area.³ Despite the fact that the Greek population in Taganrog was smaller than in Odessa it made up a dense ethnic-cultural group which demonstrated dynamism through their economic and social activities.⁴ The Greeks of Taganrog changed the look of the town with their endowments, and, as members of the city government and its collective bodies, as grain merchants and shipowners developed the economy of the area and the city's enhancement and embellishment.⁵

This paper explores the first phase of the evolution of the Greek *paroikia*, as is explained in the introduction of this book, from its formation in the last third of the eighteenth century to the first third of the nineteenth century. The theme

is studied in the light of new archival material from the rich south Russian and Ukrainian archives. The aim is to examine the establishment of a city-port, and the participation of the Greeks and the mechanisms they developed in opening up paths to the international market. The connection between the southern Russian grain market, the Mediterranean and northern Europe was, in part, an achievement of Greek business.⁶

Greek Merchant *Paroikies*

The issue of the diaspora of the Greeks and the boundaries of their 'homeland' have attracted the attention of many a Greek scholar.⁷ I. Hassiotis has defined the Greek diaspora as part of the Greek people that for various reasons have left the traditional lands of the Greek Orthodox east and have settled, even temporarily, in lands and countries far away but continued to keep close cultural ties with their land of origin.⁸ The numerous works on the Greek merchant communities of the early modern era have revealed their bonds with their homeland and, more recently, their process of integration into the country of reception. These two trends, between the imagined homeland and the day-to-day reality of the host country constructed the material and spiritual realm of the immigrants towards which they addressed their actions. Recent studies tend to emphasize the interaction among different ethnic groups of the city-ports and the ways they shared the common city space, according to their relation to the institutional framework and to other ethno-cultural groups.⁹

The formation of Greek *paroikies* in eastern and western Europe and the Mediterranean came as a result of the expansion of Greeks in land and sea transport during the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Greeks in the eighteenth century, who were Ottoman or Venetian subjects, linked the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea to western Europe through maritime and commercial networks. These expanded, on the one hand through the sea, by the development of a dense web of sea routes that linked the Mediterranean maritime regions, by seafarers based in the Aegean or Ionian islands, and, on the other hand, by land, that is, via mobile groups of organized Greek entrepreneurial families involved in continental trade. They handled international commodities by establishing a chain of Greek merchant *paroikies* that linked their activities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the large sea-oriented empires, the Venetians, the Spanish, the Dutch, and the British, as well as to the land-oriented empires, the Ottomans, the Austro-Hungarians and the Russians.¹¹

With the main interest of western European historians in the Venetian, the French, the English and the Dutch presences in the Mediterranean, there is a limited literature – in other than Greek languages – on one of the most active and mobile diaspora groups in the area, the seafarers of the Levant, Ottoman

and Venetian Greeks (see also Chapter 7 by Olga Katsiardi-Hering in the present volume).¹² The economic and social factors that conditioned the emigration of merchants and the growth of their activities lay in the particular circumstances of the eighteenth century.

It was the political and economic conjuncture in both sides, east and west, of the Mediterranean that favoured the expansion of Greek merchant *paroikies* in the whole of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea throughout the eighteenth century. Greeks served and exploited the political and economic policies of the empires: the Ottoman, the Habsburg and Russian in the east, the British, the French and the Dutch in the west. The expansion in each maritime region of the Mediterranean was facilitated by the almost continuous wars and resulting treaties that instigated economic opportunities for 'free traders' and subjects of neutral powers.

Important deep-sea going fleets of large merchant ships were formed in about forty islands and port towns of the Ionian Sea on both the Venetian and Ottoman sides and in the Aegean islands with captains and shipowners experienced in the management and operation of cargo vessels in the long-distance Mediterranean sea trade. By the end of the eighteenth century a 'production system' was thus gradually formed, carrying grain from the eastern Mediterranean with the island fleets of the Greeks consisting of about 1,000 large deep-sea going cargo vessels. The Greek diaspora traders created a 'production system' of closely knit small, medium and large businesses within a loosely organized network. This commercial and maritime web assumed a triple dimension: the local/regional, the national/peripheral and the international. It gave access to ports, agents and financial and human resources, providing the Greek diaspora networks with the strength to internalize many operations and survive international competition. Their cohesion was derived from the business culture they developed, and through shipping they were able to survive economically in the international arena.¹³

Why were the Greeks in Taganrog?

The expansion of Russia along the southern and the eastern coasts of the Black Sea took place during the Age of Empires, a period of intense competition between the colonial western European powers to acquire new lands for exploitation of economic sources. The colonization of the Sea of Azov and the establishment of the city of Taganrog was part of Russia's expansion to the south. The development of grain exports via the Black Sea was a central choice of its strategy to create a new economic zone. To achieve this the Russian Imperial state needed experienced seamen, businessmen and people to populate the new towns and cultivate the land. Thus the Greeks – Venetian/Ionian and Ottoman

subjects - with a long tradition in maritime trade were highly significant for the economy of the Sea of Azov region.

Almost all the port towns of southern Russia which were founded at the end of the eighteenth century, from Odessa to Taganrog, became gateways of grain exports during the nineteenth century.¹⁴ The new territories that Russia conquered from the Ottoman Empire attracted a large number of immigrants from central and south-eastern Europe who settled in rural areas, towns and cities and advanced economically.¹⁵ Economic incentives for immigration to new lands were offered to Russians, the populations of central Europe and the inhabitants of the Aegean and Ionian seas. The population of 'New Russia' (Novorossiia) mushroomed from 163,000 in 1782 to 3.4 million in 1856.¹⁶

The area of New Russia offered different possibilities than those of the north. All the Russian towns on the Black Sea from Odessa to Taganrog were new towns that had been established by immigrants from the end of the eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth. They flourished as gateways of grain export, since the Russian steppes with their precious 'black soil' proved to be ideal grain-producing and supplying areas for the industrializing western Europe.¹⁷ The port towns of southern Russia developed rapidly during approximately the same period that the large American port towns of the Atlantic were also growing. The inhabitants of the urban centres of New Russia, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Germans, Poles, along with Ukrainians and Russians, set up a thriving and evolving urban society with many self-made businessmen.

Despite the fact that Russian policy for the development of Odessa on the western coast of the Black Sea is better known, the development of Taganrog on the opposite less-accessible eastern edge of the north coast began at least twenty years prior to that of Odessa. The development of Taganrog and the other towns of the Sea of Azov is associated with the overcoming of the major obstacle, that of the access to the Sea of Azov. The geography of this area was special, not only as a result of its shallow waters which did not permit large-capacity vessels to approach the shores, but also due to the weather conditions created in the region.¹⁸ From November to March the ports were forced to cease operations due to the icing over of the sea, and the frequent high winds often caused damage to the ships and brought about shipwrecks. The dangerous weather conditions in the Sea of Azov (storms and gale-force winds) made the depth of the sea fluctuate suddenly from four to twelve feet.¹⁹ A characteristic example of the problems caused is the fact that the construction work for Taganrog port, which took thirty years to be completed, was entirely destroyed three times due to extreme weather conditions.²⁰

The development of the town of Taganrog directly correlates to the economic activities and affluence of the Greeks residing in the area. As traders and shipowners the Greeks were almost exclusively involved in the foreign trade of

the town which operated as an export port located at the particularly difficult and 'insubordinate' region of the Don Cossacks.²¹ The Greeks were co-founders of Taganrog and perhaps this is why they named it 'Taiganio' (Ταϊγάνιο) to be closer in sound to Tanais, the ancient Greek colony. The precious archival material discovered in the state archives of the region of Rostov-on-Don (GARO) presents the history of the foundation of the town on the coast of the country of the Don Cossacks. A town perched on a peninsula on the banks of the Sea of Azov which in some respects is like an island: faced with Lake Mæotis (the ancient name for the Sea of Azov) and backed by steppe land.

The archives reveal the Russian institutional framework within which the Greeks managed to develop an extensive community involved in sea trade. It must not be forgotten that Taganrog was located on the southern border of the Russian Empire in the 1770s and that the chief concern of the government was to populate the town and ensure its economic development. Therefore, the imperial government offered many incentives so as to create permanent settlements in the new port towns and transform them into export gates of the agricultural production of the hinterland. Yet, in terms of port infrastructure and facilities these coastal towns remained backward in comparison to Odessa and the other ports of the Mediterranean.²² Most ships were obliged to wait at the roadstead in order to be loaded and warehouses were insufficient. Grain had to be loaded and unloaded once more at the Kerch Straits before leaving the Sea of Azov. This situation was unsuitable and risky for the merchandise, it cost time and money and made the eastern businessmen rather reluctant to send their merchandise and to purchase grain in the Sea of Azov ports.

A permanent concern for the Russian government throughout the eighteenth century, aside from access to the Black Sea, was the development of markets in the south and their links to the Mediterranean. Russia's only outlet to the Black Sea in the eighteenth century was via the Sea of Azov.²³ I. Carras's recent study on Greek traders in Russia mentions that the first wave of development in Greek sea trade for the Greeks of the Black Sea is noted during the period 1739–74. The signing of the Treaty of Belgrade (1739) played an important role in opening up the sea trade between the Ottoman and Russian Empires and was particularly significant for the development of the trade of the Black Sea by the Ottoman Greeks, particularly in the Sea of Azov. As the ninth article of the treaty determined, it allowed for 'freedom for trading subjects throughout the Russian Empire to trade in the Ottoman Empire and whatever concerned the Russian trade in the Black Sea. This would be carried out in ships owned by Turkish subjects'.²⁴ An important route followed by the Greeks in trading between Russia and the Ottoman Empire was via the Sea of Azov, the river Don and the town of Cherkessk.²⁵ The Greeks developed measurable activity centring around Temernikov, a port north of the river Don and south of Cherkessk

and Taganrog on the banks of the Sea of Azov. Between 1746 and 1760, six to seventeen ships traded in Taganrog.²⁶ The majority of these ships must have been Ottoman Greeks and many of the merchants were Greek traders of the continental urban centre of Nezhin, which was, together with Moscow, one of the first eighteenth-century mainland towns in which Greek merchants settled. Trade via the Sea of Azov arrived in Moscow having followed a challenging route from Constantinople, via Kerch and Temernikov or via Taganrog, Cherkessk, Voronezh and Toula and operated as an alternative route for the Greek merchants of Nezhin, Constantinople–Nezhin–Moscow.²⁷

Finally, foreign trade from southern Russia took a more systematic and extensive form following the victories of the first Russo-Ottoman war and the Treaty of Kuçuk Kainardji (1774) through which Russia not only achieved the much sought-after access into the Black Sea but also successfully gained free sea communications between Russia's southern areas and Europe. The right for ships sailing under the Russian flag to freely pass through the Dardanelles Straits and the lack of a Russian merchant fleet in the southern ports provided a great opportunity for the Greek captains who were sailing in the Aegean and Black Seas under the Ottoman flag to also use the Russian flag. Gradually the right to sail through the Straits was bestowed on others via agreements between the Ottoman Empire and Austria (1784), followed by England (1799) and France (1802).²⁸ The complete freedom for ships to enter the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov was achieved with the Peace Treaty of Adrianople in 1829.²⁹

The Ottoman archives bear witness to a dense sea trade activity particularly in the areas of the Sea of Azov and the Crimea towards the end of the eighteenth century.³⁰ Many licences were issued to ships owned by Ottoman-Greeks heading towards the Black Sea. Trade between the Ottoman and the Russian Empires comprised grains, preserved meats, animal fats, timber, furs and slaves from the Caucasus.³¹ More specifically, during the period 1780–7 a significant number of 212 Greek-Ottoman ships were recorded as trading in the Russian ports of the Black Sea, a figure which reached its peak during the period 1792–1806 with 993 ships.³² Russia's access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean trade presented an opportunity for Greeks to expand their trade and shipping activities beyond the Ottoman frontier.

In Greek history the use of the Russian flag by Greeks – Venetian, Ionian or Ottoman subjects – has mistakenly been considered as a panacea for the rise of the Greek shipping in the so-called pre-revolutionary period. New research reveals that Greek shipping in the eighteenth century developed mainly with the use of the Ottoman flag and the support of the Sublime Porte for the greater part of the period 1750–1821. Specifically, during the period of the French and Napoleonic Wars only 6 per cent of Greek-owned ships sailed under the Russian flag.³³ Russian archives reveal that the Russian flag was adopted mainly by members of families who had taken up residence, either temporarily or permanently,

along the southern Russian coast.³⁴ For example, the Ginis family from Spetses and the Koundouri, Couppa, Lykiardopoulo families from Cephallonia (Ionian islands) had members of their kin residing in Taganrog (see Tables 9.1 and 9.6). An excellent example of the Greek-Russian relationship of the time can be seen in the name of Captain Spyros Lykiardopoulos's ship *Prince Alexander and Virgin Mary of Sparta* from Cephallonia in 1786 which sailed under the Russian flag (Table 9.1).³⁵ Despite the fact that the use of the Russian flag was not so important in the development of Greek shipping, the Russian conquest of the lands on the northern and north-eastern coast of the Black Sea and the spectacular rise in the export of grain from said area were fundamental in the development of Greek shipping.³⁶

Table 9.1: A sample of Greek ships sailing under the Russian flag and trading in Russia.

| Date of register | Ship | Flag | Captain | Place of origin | Port of arrival | Port of departure | Crew |
|------------------|---|---------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------|
| 11/8/1804 | <i>Aghios Nikolaos</i> | Russian | Ginis Georgis | Spetses (western Aegean Sea) | Malta | Taganrog | 43 |
| 1/8/1802 | <i>Aghios Nikolaos</i> | Russian | Ginis Thodoris | Spetses (western Aegean Sea) | Malta | Crimea | 22 |
| 26/9/1803 | <i>Triton</i> | Russian | Dakrosis Dimitris | Syros (central Aegean Sea) | Malta | Sebastopol | 14 |
| 11/9/1806 | <i>Aghios Spyridon</i> | Russian | Igglesis Spyros | Cephallonia (Ionian Sea) | Malta | Odessa | 15 |
| 28/1/1786 | <i>Count Alexander Andreovich Besborontiev</i> | Russian | Koundouris Dionysis | Cephallonia (Ionian Sea) | Malta | Taganrog | 16 |
| 7/9/1806 | <i>Evangelistria</i> | Russian | Koundouris Dionysis | Cephallonia (Ionian Sea) | Malta | Taganrog | 16 |
| 13/10/1785 | <i>Dorothea</i> | Russian | Koundouris Panagis | Taganrog | Malta | Taganrog | 14 |
| 11/9/1806 | <i>Great Duchess Maria</i> | Russian | Coupas Giannis | Cephallonia (Ionian Sea) | Malta | Taganrog | 18 |
| 22/12/1806 | <i>Aspasia</i> | Russian | Lazarou Lazaros, son of Andreas | Spetses (western Aegean Sea) | Malta | Taganrog | 29 |
| 5/11/1786 | <i>Prince Alexander and Virgin Mary of Sparta</i> | Russian | Lykiardopoulos Spyros | Cephallonia (Ionian Sea) | Malta | Azov | 18 |
| 5/1/1787 | <i>Karolos Konstantinos</i> | Russian | Milesis Gian-nis | Zakynthos (Ionian Sea) | Malta | Black Sea | 11 |
| 28/9/1806 | <i>Panaghia Agriliotisa</i> | Russian | Panas Kon-stantis | Cephallonia (Ionian Sea) | Malta | Taganrog | 14 |
| 9/10/1805 | <i>Panaghia Plastiriotisa</i> | Russian | Rosolymos Nikolas | Cephallonia (Ionian Sea) | Malta | Taganrog | 15 |

Source: *Amfirititi* Database, Research Programme of the Ionian University 'Greek Shipping History, 1700–1821', funded by the European Union and the Greek Ministry of Education and included in the 'Pythagoras I' Operational Programme, 2004–7.

The development of Taganrog, the largest exporting port in the Sea of Azov, began immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Kuçuk Kainardji. Greek settlers were the catalysts for its trade apogee and contributed significantly to the evolution of the town. Greeks from the shipping families of the main shipping centres in the Ionian and Aegean moved after the announcement of Catherine the Great's incentives for the creation of the new port towns in New Russia. In effect it was the businessmen of the sea who opened the Sea of Azov up to international trade at the end of the eighteenth century, loading their ships with Russian grain and transporting it to Malta, Livorno, Genoa, Marseilles and Barcelona. Greeks became competitive in the international market of the Mediterranean. Their success lay in low cost sea transport services and the existing business networks which had been developed throughout the Mediterranean for the transportation of sea trade from the east to the west.³⁷

The policy of attracting a population experienced in particular sectors of the economy was widely implemented by the Russian Empire in the lands of 'New Russia' throughout the nineteenth century. Maritime hegemony as a geopolitical and economic strategy for colonial expansion and economic power began from the time of Peter the Great and became a reality during the reign of Catherine II. Furthermore Russia's colonial policy in the south can be seen in the wider context of the Eastern Question and Russia's attempt to provide, as a great European power, 'protection' to a select minority of the Ottoman Empire with the aim of expanding its influence into the neighbouring state. It resulted in a fixed policy of the Russian officials to support the multi-ethnic composition of the southern areas in order to colonize them and exploit the special abilities of each ethnic group in order to ensure economic development.

D. Sherry claims that according to Russian government reports, contained in the Georgian State Archives, the privileges which had been given to the foreigners of the south and particularly to the Greeks for the development of sea trade were aimed at the economic development of the area and the creation of the suitable 'social alchemy' along the coast of the Black Sea in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁸ Control of the empire's foreign trade via the Black Sea rested entirely in the hands of Greeks, Jews and Armenians. The area from Odessa to the Crimea was mainly dominated by Greeks and Jews and the area from the Azov to Georgia was in the hands of Greeks and Armenians.³⁹

The Russian governors attributed economic characteristics to every ethnic minority group. They recognized, for example, the need for the existence of the Cossacks for military purposes, but believed that the Don Cossacks alone could not fulfil the plans for the creation of a new economic zone, and that an urban population was needed which did not exist in the area. The country of the Don Cossacks was considered the most insubordinate in Russia and it was an area with more freedom for its inhabitants in which serfdom was not applied. Due to

their location in the frontier zone of the river Don, the Cossacks were granted the right to farm fertile soils and were given fishing rights for the river. However, agriculture spread hesitantly throughout the Don region. Being a military people with the obligation to protect the empire's frontiers, the Cossacks could not successfully contribute to the Russian government's major interest which was to promote the development of a Russian merchant fleet.⁴⁰ The Imperial government believed that a heterogeneous ethnic population was necessary to develop the farming, industry and sea trade. In this way the ethnic groups who would be encouraged to immigrate were thought to serve as an example and would encourage the Russians to develop similar activities. It was believed that the Greek presence would enhance the development of sea trade since the Greeks were a ready force who would diffuse their know-how in trade and shipping and would assist with the formation and training of future Russian shipping.⁴¹ As will become evident later, this expectation was indeed confirmed.

The Foundation of the Greek *Paroikia* in Taganrog, 1775–1836

The history of the Greek 'colony' or *paroikia* in Taganrog begins in 1775 and ends at the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, with the victory of the Red Army over the anti-revolutionary forces and their European allies (1919). Although we will deal here only with the first period, the phase of its establishment (1775–1836), we must also refer to the next two phases, which form part of the proposed periodization for the history of the Greek merchant community. Major historical events for the Greek *paroikia* delineate its life cycle. The first phase begins with the foundation of the settlement and ends with the abolition of the Greek Magistrate. The second period, 1837–80, begins with the formation of a single merchant body in the town and the predominance of the grain trade as the principal economic activity of the region and ends with the fraud at the Taganrog customs house in which many Greek merchant houses were implicated. The third, 1881–1919, begins with the trial against the biggest Greek merchant of Taganrog, Mari Vagliano, and ends with the exodus of a significant portion of the Greek population of the city during the Russian Civil War (1919). In this article, we will deal with the initial phase, the settlement of the Greek merchant community.⁴²

Catherine the Great's decree of 28 March 1775 inviting Greek seafarers and their families to the newly acquired areas of southern Russia was accepted with relief by the seamen who took part in the Russo-Ottoman war.⁴³ The houses, the churches and land in the host country would be generously offered by the empress. Tax breaks were given, incentives for trade, free ports were established and the right to self-governance (through the creation of a separate institution for the Greeks, the Greek Magistrate) were among the basic privileges offered.

Amongst the first settlers were the members of the Greek contingent who had initially settled in Kerch-Yenikale and to whom Catherine II had promised 'the transportation of their belongings from the Crimea to the Sea of Azov settlements at her expense'.⁴⁴ The two contingents of soldiers settled in Pavlofsk Castle, on the city's hill, while the merchant population settled in Taganrog, in the Greek neighbourhood from which the Greek street begins today (*Gretseskaya Oulitsa*). With Russia's conquest of the Crimea in 1783 the Greek military corps moved to Sebastopol and then on to Balaklava.⁴⁵ With the abandonment of the stronghold on the Taganrog hill its radial layout dictated the directions of the first roads in the town. Land was given to the discharged members of the military, while the traders had to make do by themselves.

As the tsarina had promised the higher military officials, soldiers and certain merchants were granted 15,946 desiatines⁴⁶ of fertile land⁴⁷ which had been initially marked out and calculated by the representatives of the Greek Magistrate (6 August 1811) to be distributed amongst ninety-one lots. Nobles, former military men who had been rewarded with a title for their services to Catherine the Great, active military men (colonels, commanders, corporals), discharged members of the military, citizens, widows and heirs of deceased members of the military and merchants became landowners with plots outside the town. These plots of land could be cultivated and after 1819 they could be inherited by their descendants.⁴⁸ Greek landed gentry, who had at their service a good number of peasants, received land in this initial dividing up performed by the representatives of the Greek Magistrate. Some examples of the sharing out of land can be seen with Vice Colonel Georgios Kandiotis who received 479 desiatinas, Major Georgios Kokkinos 523, Georgios Venardakis 261 and Athanasios Houliaras 349.⁴⁹ The commander of the Greek battalion, Dimitrios Alfierakis from Mystra in Lakonia, Peloponese, held the land west of Mious River which he named *Lakedaimonovka*, after the ancient Greek name of his homeland. The Greek presence in the area did not allow the Russians to obtain land, which they laid persistent claims to before the emperor.⁵⁰ However, despite state support, the majority of Greeks sold their land and shifted to urban occupations and trade activities. Only the nobles, Alfierakis, Venardakis⁵¹ and Houliaras, expanded their landed property. In 1852 their serfs included 393 Orthodox Christian peasants.⁵²

After the end of the Russo-Ottoman war in 1775, reforms took place which divided up the empire into provinces of equal-sized population sections called *guberniya*. Each *guberniya* consisted of regional administrations (*uyezds*) which reported to each local governor.⁵³ The Novorossiia (New Russia) area was divided into two *guberniyas*, Azov and Novorossiia. Taganrog belonged to the *guberniya* of Azov, and was headed by Governor Lt. General Valerii A. Tserchov. Only in the 1890s was it brought within the jurisdiction of the Don Cossack province. The first Greek government body in Taganrog was set up in 1781 in

accordance with the decree of the Provincial Chancellor of Azov, under the administration of Tserchov. The decree was in the same spirit as the Imperial Decree of 28 March 1775 which sought to improve the situation and number of Greek immigrants (merchants and petit bourgeois) in Taganrog. This Greek self-government institution, initially called the Board of Trade, was later named the Greek Magistrate when approved by decree of the Governor of Ekaterinoslav, and the proclamation of the commencement of its activities by the Chairman of the Upper Provincial Court.⁵⁴

The creation of the Greek Magistrate was considered necessary not just for administrative reasons to resolve the problems which would arise during the settlement of the Greeks, but also to consult with the Russian authorities (in the name of Greeks) about the provision of services and supplies. A separate body was also set up which would seek to attract and administrate the Russian settlers to the area. Therefore, the Russian Magistrate was founded. Both administrative bodies were under the jurisdiction of the governor. They equally shared rights and duties and their representatives sat on advisory committees which assisted the governor in his work. From the data available, it is clear that the Greek Magistrate had more revenue from the arrival of ships at the port than the Russian one.⁵⁵

The Magistrate, an institution of German origin, was the main administrative body for the cities. It was a critical link between the Governor and the registered inhabitants.⁵⁶ In towns and cities where there was a large Greek element, Greek Magistrates were set up which operated in parallel with the Russian ones and reported to the supreme authority, the governor. They had administrative, policing and judicial powers and resolved all civil disputes amongst their members. The control over merchant and petit bourgeois mobility was particularly important, with information on this frequently being reported to the central administration. In 1781, for example, the Greek Board presented to the governor three lists of its members, one for thirty-eight merchants with their capital and possessions, one with twenty-eight individuals who were temporarily missing and one for another thirty-eight Greeks who wanted to register with the Greek Board of Trade.⁵⁷ The Greek administrative body was comprised of three elected representatives but important decisions were taken collectively at the meeting of all members of the Greek Board of Trade.⁵⁸

Involvement of Greek merchants in the self-government institutions and the respective committees during the first period of the foundation of the city attracts our attention and confirms B. Mironov's argument of the *de facto* self-government of the merchants and the petit bourgeois in the pre-reform Russian city administration.⁵⁹ Staff shortages and lack of finances made the state delegate part of its power to the local merchants who fulfilled their public service, on many occasions, with great efficiency. They thus became dominant in the administration of city affairs and often defended local interests against government encroachment.

In 1710 under Peter the Great, the Greeks had been granted privileges of administrative autonomy within the Russian Empire. In 1785 the Greek Magistrate in Nezhin was established.⁶⁰ In the same year another three Greek Magistrates were founded, the Bosphorus Magistrate which covered the ports of Crimea⁶¹ and the Taganrog and Mariupol Magistrates.

In order to enjoy the privileges granted by the Russians, the Greeks who registered for the Greek Magistrate had to become Russian citizens. The new residents of the territories of the south, stripped as they were of population, no matter what their origin became 'Greek Russians' as E. Karakalos called them⁶² and joined the social and professional system of Russian society. In Russia until the end of the nineteenth century the population was divided into four social groups: the nobles, the clergy, the urban population and the rural population. The urban population was divided into four subgroups: the honoured citizens, the merchants, the petit bourgeois and the artisans. Merchants were divided into three guilds and registration in those guilds was open to all who could pay the guild tax.⁶³

Guilds were a uniform commercial body which someone had to register with in order to engage in trade. Under Peter the Great, there were two categories, while under Catherine II there were three. In the first category one had to declare a working capital of over 10,000 roubles, in the second between 5,000 and 10,000 roubles and in the third between 1,000 and 5,000 roubles.⁶⁴ Holders of a third guild license could only engage in retail trade and were not exempt from military service. Merchants in the first guild could engage in wholesale trade and trade abroad without any limit on their annual transactions. Merchants in the second category had a limit on their annual trading activities for both the empire and abroad. The third guild, which could engage only in retail trade within the empire was abolished in 1865.

The social position of merchants was exceptionally precarious. It depended on how much capital the merchant would declare each year in order to obtain the relevant license. If he went bankrupt or was destroyed due to the impact of frequent military conflicts on trade, the burden of excessive taxation or just bad management of his enterprise, he automatically fell into the petit bourgeois category. His social position and the position of the members of his family was not secure. For that reason a key aim of merchants was for them to acquire titles granted to the nobility. In its attempt to limit the rise of merchants to the nobility, the Russian Government in 1859 devised the title of honoured citizen which was granted to merchants in the first guild after ten years of service.⁶⁵

Members of the Greek community who fell within the jurisdiction of the Taganrog Magistrate were both merchants and petit bourgeois. It was relatively easy to move from one category to the other. In the first years of the Greek *paroikia*, the Magistrate prepared two lists which it submitted to the Russian authorities, one for merchants and one for the petit bourgeois. It had to report

the date of their registration, the capital with which each merchant traded, his family members and their precise occupation. The Russian authorities and the Greek administration wanted to know where its members were at any given time.

In the lists for 1795 to 1804, there were 583 registered merchants, 148 petit bourgeois and 70 foreigners. Along with their families, they comprised a total population of 1,569 individuals, an exceptionally high number given the small size of the city (7,000).⁶⁶

Table 9.2: Allocation of merchants from the Greek Magistrate of Taganrog into guilds, 1795–1804.

| Guild | No. of merchants | Capital in roubles |
|--------|------------------|--------------------|
| First | 10 | 159,100 |
| Second | 262 | 2,126,825 |
| Third | 311 | 642,080 |
| Total | 583 | 2,928,005 |

Source: Государственный архив Ростовской области [State Archive of the Rostov Region], f. 579 op. 3, d. 2, 'List of Merchants in the Taganrog Greek Magistrate, 1795–1804'.

As is clear from Table 9.2, the ten merchants in the first guild had a registered capital of 16,000 roubles on average. In particular, they were the Cephallonians Pavlos Kountouris, Athanasios Panas and Nikolaos Typaldos, the Santorinian Theodoros Miserlis, the Psariot Nikolaos Koumianos, the Constantinopolitan Michail Zografos, along with Ioannis Popov and Ioannis Fistis.⁶⁷ As expected, the majority were merchants in the second and third guilds, in other words all those who had come to Taganrog with small to medium amounts of capital. Both the big merchants and most of those in the second and third categories who were registered with the Greek Magistrate were Greek Ottoman or Venetian citizens. There was also a limited number of Orthodox Balkan merchants who registered with the Greek Magistrate, such as Vassily Goikovich.⁶⁸ The same occurred with the petit bourgeois to a larger degree, whose work was related to clerical positions in administrative bodies (the Magistrate, customs office), urban occupations (tailors), services (servants), handicrafts and small industry.

The surnames of the merchants reveal their origins. As one might expect, the majority of the first merchants who settled in Taganrog came from shipping families from the Ionian and the Aegean Seas. Of the 583 merchants, we were able to identify the origin of 199 merchants from the Greek Magistrate of Taganrog. Of that significant sample, it is clear that the Ionians played an important role in populating the city. Of that sample 55 per cent came from the Ionian Sea, while 43 per cent came from the Aegean (see Figure 9.1). Of those merchants from the Ionian Sea, the majority are from the island Cephallonia, followed by Mesolongi, Galaxidi (in mainland western Greece), the islands of Zakynthos, Corfu, Ithaca and Lefkada. In the Aegean Sea, 17 per cent came

from the eastern Aegean (the islands of Psara, Chios, Patmos, Lesvos, Kassos and the Asian Minor port Aivali), 13 per cent came from the central Aegean (islands of Santorini, Mykonos and Sifnos) and the remaining 13 per cent from the western Aegean (islands of Hydra, Skopelos and Spetses). The rise of Greek shipping during the eighteenth century is consistent with the opening up of new areas and new sea routes. Moreover, it is well known that the opening up of the Black Sea to global trade and the establishment of Greeks there was of definitive importance not just for creating the Greek state but also for the continued growth of Greek shipping in the nineteenth century.

Table 9.3: Origin of merchants who settled in Taganrog, 1795–1804.

| Origin | Number | % of the whole |
|---|------------|----------------|
| The Aegean | 90 | 43% |
| <i>The eastern Aegean</i> | 30 | 17% |
| Psara | 14 | 7% |
| Aivali (Kydonies) | 6 | 3% |
| Chios | 4 | 2% |
| Patmos | 3 | 2% |
| Lesvos | 1 | 1% |
| Lemnos | 1 | 1% |
| Kassos | 1 | 1% |
| <i>The central Aegean</i> | 25 | 13% |
| Santorini | 17 | 9% |
| Mykonos | 6 | 3% |
| Sifnos | 2 | 1% |
| <i>The western Aegean</i> | 25 | 13% |
| Hydra | 11 | 6% |
| Skopelos | 6 | 3% |
| Spetses | 4 | 2% |
| Other | 4 | 2% |
| The Ionian Sea (including the Corinthian Gulf) | 105 | 55% |
| Cephalonia | 63 | 32% |
| Mesolongi | 9 | 5% |
| Galaxidi | 8 | 4% |
| Zakynthos | 7 | 4% |
| Corfu | 4 | 2% |
| Ithaca | 2 | 1% |
| Lefkada | 1 | 1% |
| Other | 11 | 6% |
| Constantinople | 4 | 2% |
| Total | 199 | 100% |

Source: Государственный архив Ростовской области [State Archive of the Rostov Region], f. 579, op. 3, d. 2, 'List of Merchants in the Taganrog Greek Magistrate, 1795–1804'.

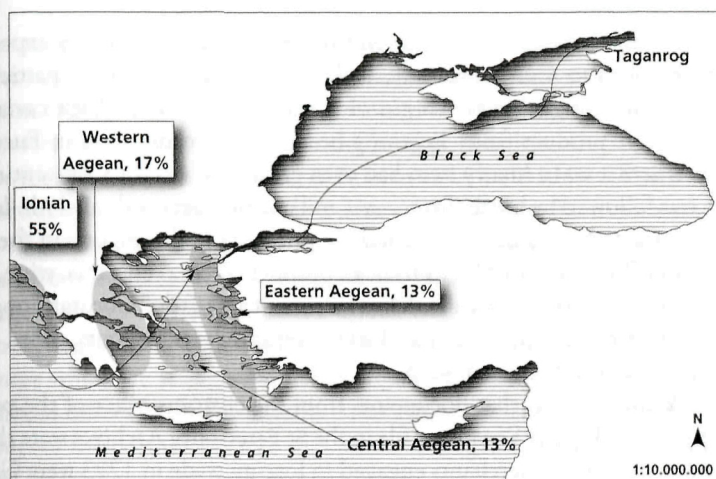


Figure 9.1: Greek immigration from the Aegean and Ionian Seas to Taganrog, 1795–1804.

In parallel with attracting populations, even before the Greek Magistrate was established, the Russian Government ensured that the necessary economic institutions were in place to run and develop foreign trade in the south.⁶⁹ Trade at Taganrog without a customs office and quarantine could not exist. In 1776 with imperial consent the customs office was moved from the river Temernik to Taganrog, employees were appointed and the new reduced tariffs took effect for imported and exported products.⁷⁰ The detailed customs office list, part of which is presented in Table 9.4, served as an incentive especially for Constantinopolitan merchants who came to trade in the city. The tariff list shown in Table 9.4 is indicative of the trade at Taganrog before grain became important and suggests that Constantinople was the main supplier and recipient of the products of southern Russia.⁷¹

Table 9.4: Tariff list of products exported from Taganrog, 1776 (in roubles).

| Items exported | Purchase price in Taganrog | Export tariff | Fare to Constantinople | Import tariff to Turkey | Unloading charges | Cost | Sale price in Constantinople | profit % |
|--|----------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------|------------------------------|----------|
| Butter from cows' milk (in <i>berkovets</i> *) | 27.1 | 2.92 | 1.65 | 10.5 | 0.30 | 42.47 | 53 | 20% |
| Candles (in <i>berkovets</i>) | 26.5 | 2.86 | 1.65 | 1.05 | 0.30 | 32.36 | 37.5 | 14% |
| Black caviar (in <i>berkovets</i>) | 23.5 | 0.85 | 1.65 | 1.20 | 0.30 | 27.5 | 38 | 28% |
| Iron (long pieces in <i>berkovets</i>) | 7.80 | 37.5 | 1.65 | 40.5 | 0.30 | 87.75 | 13.40 | -65,5% |
| Iron (sheets in <i>berkovets</i>) | 15.9 | 6 | 1.65 | 0.60 | 0.30 | 24.45 | 30.90 | 21% |
| Sails (in 1000 <i>arsin</i>) | 160 | 2.50 | 1.65 | 5 | 0.30 | 169.45 | 195 | 13% |
| Badger furs (in 100 pieces) | 80 | 7 | 1.65 | 3.90 | 0.30 | 92.85 | 135 | 31% |

* 1 *berkovets* is equal to 163.8 kilos; 1 *arsin* is equal to 0.71 metres.

The above table reveals that at the end of the eighteenth century exports of certain products to Constantinople, such as furs and caviar, were particularly beneficial generating a profit margin of around 30 per cent. Black caviar was the top export product from Taganrog because its consumption in European markets where it was a luxury item had even greater profits for Constantinople. Caviar was followed by butter from cows' milk, iron sheets and sailcloth. Iron in long rods was to be avoided as its purchase price was high. Imports in the years 1775–7 were primarily in Mediterranean products such as currants, wine, lamb skins and particularly foodstuffs. Most of them came from Constantinople or the wider Ottoman region, such as Turkish syrup sweets, walnuts, dates, olives and fresh fruit as well as green soap.

V. Zakharov reveals that documents from the customs office of the port of Taganrog located in the Vorontsov file in the St Petersburg Archives state that 67 per cent of the ninety merchants engaged in foreign trade in 1793 were Greeks, holding either Russian or Ottoman citizenship.⁷² Two thirds of the new colonists came on their own in search of work without their families. When their work was assured, they brought their wives and children. Most families consisted of between three and five members, confirming the average size of families found in other urban communities such as Odessa.⁷³ The most important colonization data revealed by our sources is that male relatives of the first or second degree often came to settle. This is proved both by the 'List of merchants and petit bourgeois for the period 1785–1804' and by the family registers of Taganrog which indicate the successive migration of brothers.⁷⁴

Table 9.5 highlights the social ranking of the Greek merchant *paroikia* which may be deduced by their specialized activities and assets. Most, eighty-nine per cent, had no property and came to Taganrog with funds or merchandise to set up foreign trade. Of these, fifty-three per cent had no property, yet they possessed considerable capital and were engaged exclusively in foreign trade, while nineteen per cent engaged in foreign and domestic trade. Ten per cent were owners of vessels, engaged in foreign trade and had their own means for transporting their products. Another category of merchants, seven per cent, moved inland dealing in small-scale trade (the second guild) with other cities. From the list of professional occupations of merchants it is clear that the social ranking was based on the acquisition of properties and the type of trade engaged in.

Table 9.5: Social ranking of Greek settlers in Taganrog, 1795–1804.

| Assets and business activity | Greek settlers | % |
|---|----------------|------|
| A. Foreign and domestic trade and ships | 513 | 89% |
| B. Domestic trade | 49 | 8% |
| C. Ownership of houses and shops | 16 | 3% |
| Total | 578 | 100% |

Source: Государственный архив Ростовской области [State Archive of the Rostov Region], f. 579, op. 1, d. 535, 'List of merchants from Taganrog and Mariupol 1804–1841'.

Real estate properties were a sign of climbing the social ladder and integrating into the host society. Shops, warehouses, homes and landed estates declared the intention of their owners to put down roots and to be assimilated into the Russian society by developing ties with the local population. The capital used to finance foreign trade which was brought in by merchants of non-Russian origin was particularly important because it filtered through to the city's market and was used for certain services and committees. For that reason, merchants were released from military service and personal taxation. As is clear from a letter from the customs authorities to the Greek Magistrate, the Greek merchants who travelled abroad were obliged to leave part of their capital behind as a guarantee which we assume would have financially facilitated the operation of the custom offices and committees.⁷⁵ The same happened with merchants, as members of the port committee who financed, together with the municipality and the government, the port infrastructure.

As previously mentioned, engaging in trade meant registering with a guild and becoming a Russian citizen. However, a merchant could retain his nationality for a time period and register as a foreigner or guest merchant. Foreign merchants and petit bourgeois who maintained their nationality were also declared by their place of origin, their occupation and the area of the city where they resided.⁷⁶ Foreigners were primarily involved in specialized industrial occupations, services and trade. The police authorities kept a close eye on them to discern any suspicious activities or persons who wanted to subvert the regime or to serve the interests of the foreign powers. Many revolutionaries found refuge in remote cities of the Russian south. For example, Giuseppe Garibaldi, the father of Italian unification, is known to have visited Taganrog in April 1833.⁷⁷

The archives are full of details and interesting facts on foreigners residing in Taganrog. Ambrose Mokkna, of Swiss descent, for example, who claimed to be an officer, and who served for ten years as an architect on the Building Works Committee, was described by the police authorities as 'easily roused, given to secrecy and doubtful forms of behaviour'.⁷⁸ Referring to Dimitrios Parvaris, an Ottoman citizen who had arrived with his wife from the Aegean in 1812 and who worked as an employee of the merchant Vagliano, the police stated that his behaviour was 'good, his mind simple and he caused no problems'. Referring to Pavlos Adrianopoulos, an Ottoman citizen who had arrived with his wife in 1811, the police stated that he did not work and stayed with his brother who was a merchant from Odessa.⁷⁹

Although information on the founding of companies is scarce at this period, we know that Greeks were involved in family partnership or partnerships among fellow countrymen. The type of chained emigration among family members who bore the same surname and registered among the merchants of the Greek Magistrate makes us assume that the basic type of enterprise was of family type which

allowed merchants to trade with more capital, help their kin and reduce their costs. The advantages of family enterprises in Taganrog are well presented in the monograph on the Sifneo Frères family business that operated in the second half of the nineteenth century but was similar to enterprises of the first half.⁸⁰

Table 9.6: Greek merchant families* in Taganrog, registered by the Greek Magistrate, 1795–1804.

| Surname | Name | Year |
|--------------|-----------|------|
| Anagnostis | Ioannis | 1804 |
| Anagnostis | Dimitrios | 1804 |
| Ane(s)tis | Iakovos | 1804 |
| Ane(s)tis | Spyridon | 1804 |
| Avgerinos | Gerasimos | 1798 |
| Avgerinos | Mihail | 1800 |
| Bastakis | Stamatis | 1795 |
| Bastakis | Ioannis | 1804 |
| Bekatoros | Panaiotis | 1804 |
| Bekatoros | Vangelis | 1804 |
| Bekatoros | Yerasimos | 1804 |
| Bertoumis | Manouil | 1803 |
| Bertoumis | Panaiotis | 1804 |
| Bertoumis | Ioannis | 1804 |
| Damianos | Nikolaos | 1804 |
| Damianos | Spyridon | 1804 |
| Dimakis | Zaharis | 1804 |
| Dimakis | Francesco | 1804 |
| Divaris | Spyridon | 1800 |
| Divaris | Dimitrios | 1804 |
| Droustos | Vassilios | 1803 |
| Droustos | Pantelis | 1804 |
| Frangopoulos | Dimitrios | 1803 |
| Frangopoulos | Kosmas | 1804 |
| Frangopoulos | Marios | 1804 |
| Kaleris | Dimitrios | 1798 |
| Kaleris | Nikolaos | 1804 |
| Kaleris | Georgios | 1803 |
| Kaligas | Nikolaos | 1803 |
| Kaligas | Zisimos | 1804 |
| Kaligas | Georgios | 1804 |
| Kaligas | Panagis | 1804 |
| Kambanakis | Nikolaos | 1800 |
| Kambanakis | Georgios | 1804 |
| Kapetanakis | Ioannis | 1796 |
| Kapetanakis | Mihail | 1800 |
| Kondoglou | Ioannis | 1795 |
| Kondoglou | Georgios | 1798 |
| Koumianos | Nikolaos | 1795 |
| Koumianos | Mihail | 1799 |
| Koundouris | Pavlos | 1804 |

| Surname | Name | Year |
|----------------|--------------|------|
| Koundouris | Athanasios | 1804 |
| Koundouris | Nikolaos | 1804 |
| Linardakis | Grigorios | 1797 |
| Linardakis | Antonis | 1804 |
| Logothetis | Nikolaos | 1797 |
| Logothetis | Georgios | 1804 |
| Matako[i]s | Dimitrios | 1800 |
| Matako[i]s | Stavros | 1804 |
| Mavromatis | Diamantis | 1795 |
| Mavromatis | Georgios | 1796 |
| Mavromatis | Mattheos | 1804 |
| Mavroudis | Ilarion | 1795 |
| Mavroudis | Nikolaos | 1795 |
| Miserlis | Theodoros | 1795 |
| Miserlis | Panaiotis | 1800 |
| Mitilinaios | Nikolaos | 1804 |
| Mitilinaios | Konstantinos | 1804 |
| Moshonisiotis | Ioannis | 1795 |
| Moshonisiotis | Dimitrios | 1804 |
| Nomikos | Nikolaos | 1795 |
| Nomikos | Ioannis | 1802 |
| Paleologos | Georgios | 1795 |
| Paleologos | Dimitrios | 1803 |
| Paleologos | Konstantinos | 1804 |
| Panaiotopoulos | Panos | 1795 |
| Panaiotopoulos | Pavlos | 1795 |
| Panaiotov | Dimitrios | 1804 |
| Paniotov | Georgios | 1804 |
| Papadopoulos | Panaiotis | 1798 |
| Papadopoulos | Athanasios | 1803 |
| Papadopoulos | Efstathios | 1804 |
| Papapavlos | Dimitrios | 1804 |
| Papapavlos | Emmanuel | 1804 |
| Politov | Savvas | 1795 |
| Politov | Pavlos | 1800 |
| Politov | Ioannis | 1804 |
| Politov | Georgios | 1804 |
| Popov | Ivan | 1795 |
| Popov | Anastasis | 1800 |
| Popov | Georgios | 1803 |
| Poulos | Yerasimos | 1798 |
| Poulos | Anastasios | 1804 |
| Renieris | Georgios | 1804 |
| Renieris | Leontios | 1804 |
| Sarris | Apostolos | 1802 |
| Sarris | Dimitrios | 1802 |
| Spatis | Theodoros | 1795 |
| Spatis | Nikolaos | 1804 |
| Svoronos | Panagis | 1795 |

| Surname | Name | Year |
|----------------|--------------|------|
| Svoronos | Ioannis | 1804 |
| Valsamakis | Nikolaos | 1795 |
| Valsamakis | Andreas | 1804 |
| Varvarigos | Konstantinos | 1803 |
| Varvarigos | Nikolaos | 1804 |
| Varvarigos | Ioannis | 1804 |
| Velisaropoulos | Komninos | 1804 |
| Velisaropoulos | Ioannis | 1804 |
| Zaharopoulos | Polihronis | 1795 |
| Zaharopoulos | Dimitrios | 1902 |
| Zaharov | Leontios | 1803 |
| Zaharov | Dimitrios | 1804 |
| Zaharov | Georgios | 1804 |
| Zaradin | Pavlos | 1797 |
| Zaradin | Andreas | 1803 |

* The above Table does not contain all merchants registered in the Greek magistrate. It contains those whose surname is mentioned more than once.

Source: Государственный архив Ростовской области [State Archive of the Rostov Region], f. 579, op. 3, d. 2, 'List of Merchants in the Taganrog Greek Magistrate, 1795-1804'.

Greeks during this first period were also involved in industrial ventures. In 1806, for example, the merchants H. L. Vrakopoulos and I. Manetis opened two macaroni factories but detailed information is scarce. It was during the period of Russian industrialization in the last third of the nineteenth century that Greeks invested also in the industrial sector. Yet manufacturing was never their preferred economic sector. Commercial and seafaring skills prevailed over technological know-how and agricultural capacities.

In 1836 the imperial authorities abolished the Greek Magistrate. The policy of integration and assimilation of foreign citizens attempted by the Russian authorities abolished the privileges which had been granted to useful groups of the population, such as the Greeks. A uniform trade body was set up for all merchants. The number of Greeks in the guilds in relation to the period of the Magistrate appears to have been drastically reduced. Examining the surnames in the list for 1840 it is clear that only 125 were Greek merchants (Table 9.6).⁸¹ Yet the Greeks still remained dominant in the guilds.

Table 9.7: The merchant body of Taganrog, 1840.

| Guilds | Russians | Greeks | Greeks as a % of the whole | Total |
|-----------|----------|--------|----------------------------|-------|
| 1st guild | 8 | 18 | 69% | 26 |
| 2nd guild | 7 | 8 | 53% | 15 |
| 3rd guild | 93 | 99 | 51% | 192 |

Source: Государственный архив Ростовской области [State Archive of the Rostov Region], f. 579, op. 1, d. 535, 'List of merchants from Taganrog and Mariupol 1804-1841'.

The drop in the number of Greek merchants should come as no surprise as there was a widespread reduction in the overall number of merchants in Russia. In the period from 1809 to 1824 the number of Russian merchants registered in the guilds decreased by two thirds.⁸² The frequent price fluctuations, wars, changes in the tariffs, etc. discouraged all those who wished to assume the risk of trading. The increase in the number of honorary citizens, in other words big merchants, reflected the desire of the merchant class to climb the social ladder in order to ensure stability and a better place in society.

We will analyse the Greek members of Table 9.7. In the first guild, there were three Zaharov brothers, Zacharis, Ioannis and Leontios from Constantinople. They were followed by merchants from Cephallonia who were the largest group by number: Michail and Alexandros Avgerinos, Stavros Vagliano, Spyridon Mousouris, Dionysios Koundouris, Michail Metaxas, Haralambos Panas, Dionysios Razis, Pavlos Travlos and Damianos Fokas. The 'golden' list of merchants from the 1840s' first guild included Nikolaos Rallis and Loukas Skaramanga from the island of Chios, Nikolaos Alafouzos from Santorini, as well as Emmanuel Koumanis and Angelis Glykis whose origins could not be identified. It is interesting to note that two thirds of the above families were still engaged in trading activities of the region in 1912.⁸³ However, new individuals also appear who built a name for themselves in the grain trade over the next forty years, Maris Vagliano and Loukas Skaramanga.

The major boom in trade brought about widespread economic prosperity which was gradually reflected in the planning of the town. According to the constitutive charter of rights and privileges of cities issued by Catherine II in 1785, the planning of provincial cities from above sought to ensure uniformity, standardization, to safeguard public order and also to reflect the strength of public power.⁸⁴ The primary concern was to organize trade, to mark out roads, squares and marketplaces which were the areas where citizens could circulate, primarily merchants, artisans and the petit bourgeois. The public administration was also concerned about controlling the movements and accommodation of citizens. Merchants in particular who conducted business abroad and frequently travelled were obliged to publicly disclose their intention to travel abroad in newspapers within a specific deadline before departing.

The city of Taganrog began to develop in a ring shape around the ruined fortress and castle. Residential areas sprang up in three zones (the Peter, Catherine and Alexander zones). Each zone had numbered building blocks and in each block there were numbered properties.⁸⁵ The Construction Works Committee of Taganrog (1806) was responsible for the building method and the form of public and private buildings in the city, roadworks, bridges, street lamps and public works. Money came from the municipal fund. The committee, other than the mayor, was comprised of four municipal counsellors from the Greek and

Russian Magistrates. The general street plan had been approved by the tsar and the buildings were constructed in accordance with the general building rules.⁸⁶ However, the façades of buildings had to be approved in every single detail by the construction works committee. Any change, even to the colour, meant new plans had to be submitted and approved.

In the period 1806–10, building work was intense. The first priority was to build the commodity exchange (*birzha*) with wooden shops and warehouses, and the customs office building. At the same time, private individuals built wooden houses along the length of the Greek street which were replaced by stone buildings after 1830.⁸⁷ In 1806 the Greek wooden church dedicated to Saints Constantine and Helen was constructed, followed by the building that housed the Greek Magistrate, the guards' house (1806–15), the hospital, the post office (1812–16) and the cathedral church dedicated to the Virgin Mary (1823). In 1809 a wooden lighthouse was built at the entrance to Taganrog and floating lighthouses were set to facilitate navigation.⁸⁸ The municipal gardens were also laid out in 1806 and the commercial club in 1812.

Major works were built with donations from the Greek residents of the city. The nobleman, Ioannis A. Varvakis, who held the monopoly on sturgeon fishing in the Caspian Sea, wished to move from Astrakhan down to the milder climate of Taganrog in 1809 and marked his arrival in the city with two very important donations: a hospital and a stone church. The Greek community, spurred on by Varvakis's donation, requested that the minister of the interior provide the plans for the stone church of the Holy Wisdom in St Petersburg in order to build the Greek church.⁸⁹ The representatives of the Greek community proposed that a twenty-four-bed hospital be built on the same plot. The minister replied that the tsar wished to honour Varvakis with a new noble title after the work was completed, but the architect Mokkna considered that the site was at risk of landslides and the building was particularly large.⁹⁰ In the end the Greek church was built with money from the Greek community of the city and Varvakis built the Holy Trinity Monastery (1813) at Jerusalem Square which was dedicated to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. In line with the legator's wishes, the monastery was built in the Catherine zone of the city in block 17 close to the merchandise market on a plot of land which had been offered by the widow of General Sarandinakis.⁹¹ Today the supplementary building erected by Varvakis as a home for the monks still stands.

Another Greek that marked the city was Gerasimos Typaldos, a merchant from Cephallonia (1788–1825), who donated a sum of money to the city to build a home for seamen and stone steps which would link the Greek street to the seafront.⁹² This monument is a symbol of the city because it links the historical centre on the hilltop with the coastal peripheral road, the seafront walk and the yacht club. Typaldos's stone steps set the overall style for the city. This was followed by the municipal park, three outdoor markets, where merchant fairs were held. In 1825 the building intended as a residence for Tsar Alexander I was

built. In terms of grandeur it can be compared to the municipal theatre which officially opened in 1827. While staying in Taganrog, Tsar Alexander I died suddenly on 1 December 1825. His body was put on public display in the church of the Greek monastery built by Ioannis Varvakis.

Conclusion

The current study confirms the success of Catherine the Great's 'Greek plan' to invite Greeks to populate the newly founded port cities of New Russia. In the framework of the 'social alchemy' among different ethno-cultural groups in the region the Greeks were needed for their shipping and trading expertise in an effort to activate a new economic zone linked to international trade. Indeed, with regard to the particularities of the Sea of Azov the Greek entrepreneurs possessed both trading and seafaring skills and therefore offered an important advantage over merchants of other nationalities. The lack of a Russian merchant fleet was covered and international links with the European ports were ensured. The Greeks residing in Taganrog managed to successfully compete with all the western European merchants due to their family business organizations and dense networks among relatives and fellow countrymen which provided them with reduced costs. In addition to enjoying local links with the producers of the country of the Don Cossacks they also had international bonds for the transporting and supplying Russian grain. Their coastal and seagoing fleet afforded them a practical monopoly on the transportation of agricultural produce from the shores and rivers of the region towards the moorings of Taganrog and the Mediterranean ports of destination.

Of particular importance was their knowledge of trade organization under primitive conditions with limited infrastructures and state support. The operation of the Greek merchants of the Sea of Azov through family business and their ties with international networks of the Mediterranean ports and England provided them with increased profits and immediate contact between production and consumption without the intervention of middlemen. Another important advantage was the geographical proximity of the Greeks either to the Greek state or the Ottoman Empire with the coastal areas of south Russia. The Greeks had a strong presence in the strategic location of Constantinople prior to the opening of the Black Sea to international trade and throughout the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. Constantinople was the springboard for expansion to the Sea of Azov as well as being a safe retreat when navigation out of the Black Sea was 'closed' by the Ottoman government. The Greek merchant *paroikia* of Taganrog made a significant contribution to the creation of a new economic zone in the south of Russia and its linkages to international markets via the import/export activities.

136. Storozhevskii, *Nezhin Greeks*, p. 10; Lascarides, *The Charter*, p. 13; Kharlampovich, 'Essays on the History of the Nezhin Greek Colony', p. 92.
137. For a discussion of legal pluralism, see S. E. Merry, 'Legal Pluralism', *Law and Society Review*, 22:5 (1988), pp. 869–96.
138. Thus even Greeks might prefer: 'that the issue be presented at the Nezhin Magistracy': GACHO, f. 101, op. 1, d. 4267, 1773, l. 2; f. 101, op. 1, d. 4248, 1771, l. 1. See also GACHO, f. 101, op. 1, d. 4259, 1771, ll. 2–3. On other occasions disputants might bypass the *Kriterion* and appeal directly to the Little Russian College, GACHO, f. 101, op. 1, d. 4255, 1771, l. 1–1ob.
139. 'Печать нежинского греческого компромиссиального суда 1736 года, генваря 1 дня', Storozhevskii, *Nezhin Greeks*, p. 10; Kharlampovich, 'Essays on the History of the Nezhin Greek Colony', p. 38.
140. 'Печать Ея Императорскаго Величества Суда Нежинскаго Греческаго Братства', Storozhevskii, *Nezhin Greeks*, p. 10; Kharlampovich, 'Essays on the History of the Nezhin Greek Colony', pp. 20, 38, 68.
141. Lascarides, *The Charter*, pp. 39, 46.
142. PSZ, collection 1, vol. 22, no. 16250, p. 441, 1 September 1785.
143. Kharlampovich, 'Essays on the History of the Nezhin Greek Colony', p. 1.
144. I note the use of the term 'structural differentiation of functions' to describe this process. 'Structural differentiation' encompasses the division of labour but is not confined to the economic field. It also refers to the specialization of institutions. D. Rueschemeyer, *Power and the Division of Labour* (Cambridge and Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 2–3, 51, 141–2.
145. GACHO, f. 101, op. 1, d. 4272, 1773, l. 2ob.
146. 'πολιτεία', see GACHO, f. 101, op. 1, d. 4285a, 1779, l. 4.

9 Sifneos and Harlaftis, 'Entrepreneurship at the Russian Frontier of International Trade. The Greek Merchant Community/*Paroikia* of Taganrog in the Sea of Azov, 1780s–1830s'

1. On Russia's southward expansion, see R. E. Jones, 'Opening a Window on the South: Russia and the Black Sea, 1695–1792', in L. Hughes and M. di Salvo (eds), *A Window on Russia: Papers from the V International Conference of the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Rome: La Fenice, 1996), pp. 123–30.
2. Letter to his wife L. F. Lomofskaya-Nelidova, 6 October 1877, quoted from A. Tsymbal, 'Οι Έλληνες ως επικεφαλής της Δημοτικής Δούμας του Ταγκανρόκ [Greeks at the Head of the Duma of Taganrog]', in E. Sifneos and G. Harlaftis (eds), *Οι Έλληνες της Αζοφικής, 19ος αι.* [Greeks in the Sea of Azov, Nineteenth Century] (forthcoming). See also G. Harlaftis, 'Ο "πολυεκατομμυριούχος κύριος Μαράκης" Βαλλιάνος, το σκάνδαλο του Τελωνείου Ταγκανρόκ και οι 144 καταστροφές του Αντόν Τσέχωφ [The 'Multimillionaire Mr. Marakis' Vagliano, the Scandal of the Taganrog Customs Office and 144 Disasters of Anton Chekhov]', *Ta Istorika*, 54 (2011), pp. 79–122.
3. E. Sifneos, 'Merchant Enterprises and Strategies in the Sea of Azov Ports', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 22:1 (June 2010), pp. 259–68.
4. According to the 1897 All-Russian Census the Greek-speaking population of Odessa was 5,086 inhabitants and of Taganrog 1,006. See *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года* [The first All-Russian Population Census of 1897], vol.

- XLVII, Chersonskaya Gubernia, Odessa (Moscow, 1904), pp. 2–3 and *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года* [The First All-Russian Population Census of 1897], Oblast' voiska Donskogo (Moscow, 1905), pp. 2–3. For an analysis of the 1897 census and the Greeks, see E. Sifneos and S. Paradisopoulos, 'Οι Έλληνες της Οδησσού το 1897: διαβάζοντας την πρώτη επίσημη ρωσική απογραφή' [The Greeks in Odessa in 1897: Revisiting the First Official Russian Census], *Ta Istorika*, 44 (June 2006), pp. 81–122.
5. On the architectural choices of the Greeks of Taganrog, V. Colonas, 'Architectural Expression of the Greeks in the Nineteenth-Century Cities of the Sea of Azov Region: The Case of Taganrog', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 22: 1 (June 2010), pp. 269–78. On the cultural features of the Greek merchant diaspora in south Russia, E. Sifneos, 'Business Ethics and Lifestyle of the Greek Diaspora in New Russia: from Economic Activities to National Benefaction', in A. Kuijlaars, K. Prudon and J. Visser (eds), *Business and Society. Entrepreneurs, Politics and Networks in a Historical Perspective*, Proceedings of the Third European Business History Association (EBHA) Conference 'Business and Society', September 24–26, 1999, (Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Centre of Business History, 2000)
 6. See for example the case of the trading firm Sifneos Bros. (1850–1919) in E. Sifneos, *Έλληνες έμποροι στην Αζοφική. Η δύναμη και τα όρια της οικογενειακής επιχείρησης* [Greek Merchants in the Sea of Azov. The Power and Limits of a Family Business] (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, 2009).
 7. For Greek merchant communities/*paroikies* in central Europe see Chapter 7 by O. Katsiardi-Hering. Indicative bibliography on other merchant *paroikies* in the Mediterranean see Chr. Hadziiosif, 'La colonie Grecque en Egypte 1833–1856' (PhD dissertation, Université Paris-Sorbonne Paris IV, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, IV Section, Paris, 1980); O. Katsiardi-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης, 1750–1830* [The Greek 'Paroikia' [Community] in Trieste, 1751–1830] (Athens: Vivliothiki Saripolou, University of Athens, 1986); D. Vlami, *Το Φιορίνι, το Σιτάρι και η Οδός του Κήπου. Έλληνες Εμπόροι στο Λιβόρνο, 1750–1868* [The Florin, Wheat and the Street of the Garden. Greek Merchants in Livorno, 1750–1868] (Athens: Themelio, 2000); A. Mandilara, 'The Greek Business Community in Marseille, 1816–1900. Individual and network strategies' (PhD dissertation, European University Institute, Florence, 1998).

A selected list of the literature on the Greek communities in Russia includes P. Herlihy, 'Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century', in I. Sevchenko and F. E. Sysyn (eds), *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: 1979), vol. 1, pp. 399–420; eadem, 'The Greek Community in Odessa, 1861–1917', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 7:2 (1989), pp. 235–51; G. Harlaftis, 'The Role of the Greeks in the Black Sea Trade, 1830–1900' in L. R. Fischer and H. W. Nordvik (eds), *Shipping and Trade, 1750–1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History* (Pontefract: Lofthouse Publications, 1990), pp. 63–95; eadem, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1996); V. Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775–1861* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001); I. 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*, 10:1 (1998), pp. 61–104; J. A. Mazis, *The Greeks of Odessa: Diaspora Leadership in Late Imperial Russia* (New York: Boulder, distributed by Columbia University Press, 2004); E. 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*, 3 (2006), pp. 189–204; eadem, 'Business Ethics and Lifestyle of the Greek Diaspora in New Russia: From Economic Activities to National Benefaction', in A.-M. Kuijlaars (ed.), *Business and Society: Entrepreneurs, Politics and Networks in a Historical Perspective* (Rotterdam: Center of Business History, 2000), pp. 455–68; eadem, 'Εθνικός αυτοπροσδιορισμός σε ένα οικονομικά μεταβαλλόμενο περιβάλλον. Η μαρτυρία ενός έλληνα εμποροπαλλήλου από το ρώσικο εμπόριο σιτηρών' [National Self-Determination in an Economically Changing Environment. The Testimony of a Greek Trading Employee from the Russian Grain Trade], in M. A. Stassinopoulou and M.-C. Chatzioannou, 'Diaspora – Networks – Enlightenment', *Tetradia Ergasias* 28, (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, The National Hellenic Research Foundation 2005), pp. 116–25; O. Selekou, *Η καθημερινή ζωή των Ελλήνων της διασποράς δημόσιος και ιδιωτικός βίος (19ος–αρχές του 20ού αιώνα)* [Everyday Life of the Greek Diaspora, Nineteenth to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century] (Athens: EKKE, 2004); E. Sifneos, 'Οι αλλαγές στο ρωσικό σιτεμπόριο και η προσαρμοστικότητα των ελληνικών εμπορικών οίκων' [The Changes in the Russian Grain Trade and the Adaptability of the Greek Merchant Houses], *Ta Historica*, 40 (2004), pp. 53–96; Sifneos and Paradeisopoulos, 'Οι Έλληνες της Οδησσού το 1897' [The Greeks in Odessa in 1897], pp. 81–122; I. K. Hassiotis, *Οι Έλληνες της Ρωσίας και της Σοβιετικής Ένωσης* [The Greeks of Russia and the Soviet Union] (Salonica: University Studio Press, 1997); G. L. Arsh, *Этнеристское движение в России* [The Filiki Etaireia in Russia] (Moscow: n.p., 1970); I. V. Sapozhnikov and L. G. Belousova, *Греки под Одессой: Очерки истории п. Александровка с древнейших времен до начала XX века* [Greeks in the Region of Odessa. Historical Studies about Alexandrovka from the Ancient Times to the Present Day] (Odessa: n.p., 1999); Y. V. Ivanov (ed.), *Греки России и Украины* [The Greeks of Russia and Ukraine] (St Petersburg: Aleteia, 2004); O. B. Shliakhov, 'Судновласники Азово-Чорноморського басейну наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст.' [The Shipowners of the Azov and the Black Sea, Late Nineteenth beginning–Twentieth Century], *Ukrain'skii istorichnii zhurnal*, 1 (2006), pp. 61–72; S. Novikova, 'Внесок греків в економічний розвиток північного Приазов'я (друга половина XIX- початок XX ст.)' [The Contribution of the Greeks to the Economic Development of the Northern Azov (Second Half of the Nineteenth Century–Early Twentieth Century)] (PhD dissertation, Ukraine Institute of History, Ukraine National Academy of Science, 2005).
8. I. K. Hasiotis, 'Continuity and Change in the Modern Greek Diaspora', *Journal of Modern History*, 6 (1989), p. 9–24; idem, *Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς* [A Survey of the History of Modern Greek Diaspora] (Thessaloniki: Vantias, 1993), pp. 19–20.
 9. Sifneos and Paradeisopoulos, 'The Greeks in Odessa in 1897'; Sifneos, 'The Dark Side of the Moon'; M. Vassilikou, 'Greeks and Jews in Salonika and Odessa: Inter-ethnic Relations in Cosmopolitan Port Cities', *Jewish Culture and History*, 4:2 (2001), pp. 155–72; Harlaftis, 'The "Multimillionaire, Mr. Marakis"'.
 10. For analysis of the meaning of *paroikia* see the Introduction of the present volume.
 11. M.-C. Chatzioannou, 'Greek Merchant Networks in the Age of Empires (1770–1870)', in I. Baghdiantz-McCabe, G. Harlaftis and I. Pepelasis-Minoglou (eds), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks. Four Centuries of History* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), pp. 371–81; G. Harlaftis, 'The "Multimillionaire, Mr. Marakis"'.
 12. G. Harlaftis, 'The "Eastern Invasion". Greeks In The Mediterranean Trade And Shipping in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in M. Fusaro, C. Heywood and M.-S. Omri (eds), *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), pp. 223–52. See also G. Harlaftis,

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13. See G. Harlaftis, 'From Diaspora Traders to Shipping Tycoons: The Vagliano Bros.', *Business History Review*, 81:2 (2007), pp. 237–68 and G. Harlaftis and K. Papakonstantinou (eds), *Η ναυτιλία των Ελλήνων, 1700–1821* [Greek Shipping, 1700–1821] (Athens: Kedros, forthcoming), chapters 1, 8 and 9.
 14. N. V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 5th edn (1963; New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press 1993), pp. 254–75; V. N. Zakharov, 'Внешнеторговая деятельность иностранных купцов в портах Азовского и Черного морей в середине и второй половине XVIII в' ['The Development of Foreign Trade by Foreign Merchants in the Azov and the Black Sea Ports in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century'], *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, ser. 8, *Istoria*, 4 (2004), pp. 85–102; P. Herlihy, *Odessa. A History (1797–1914)* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
 15. Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea*; Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, pp. 3–38.
 16. P. Herlihy, 'Russian Grain and the Port of Livorno, 1794–1865', *Journal of European Economic History*, 5 (1976), pp. 79–80.
 17. M. Harvey, 'The Development of Russian Commerce in the Black Sea and its Significance' (PhD dissertation, University of California, 1938); S. Fairlie, 'The Anglo-Russian Grain Trade, 1815–1861' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1959); Herlihy, *Odessa. A History*.
 18. Sifneos, 'Merchant Enterprises and Strategies'.
 19. S. Osborn, 'On the Geography of the Sea of Azov, the Putrid Sea, and Adjacent Coasts', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 27 (1857), pp. 133–48.
 20. P. Filefsky, *История города Таганрога* [History of the City of Taganrog] (Taganrog, 1898).
 21. On the Don Cossacks see S. O'Rourke, *Warriors and Peasants: the Don Cossacks in Late Imperial Russia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, in association with St Antony's College, Oxford, 2000).
 22. E. Sifneos, 'Can Commercial Techniques Substitute Port Institutions? Evidence from the Greek Presence in the Black and Azov Sea Ports (1780–1850)', in Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR), Istituto di Studi sulle Società del Mediterraneo (ISSM) [National Research Council (CNR), Institute of Studies on the Mediterranean societies (ISSM)], *Istituzioni e traffici tra età antica e crescita moderna* [Institutions and exchanges from the ancient to modern times] (Napoli, 2009), pp. 77–90.
 23. On the importance of Greeks in the Kazakh area (modern-day Ukraine), with a focus on Nezhin, who had extended their activities as far as the Sea of Azov, see I. C. Carras, 'Εμπόριο, Πολιτική και Αδελφότητα: Ρώμοι στη Ρωσία 1700–1774' [Trade, Politics and the Brotherhood of the Greeks in Russia 1700–1774] (PhD dissertation, Department of Political Science and Administration, National and Capodistrian University of Athens, 2011), pp. 97, 103.
 24. Carras, 'Trade, Politics and the Brotherhood', p. 97.
 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 93–100.

26. Ibid., p. 98.
27. Ibid., pp. 68–87.
28. Harvey, 'The Development of Russian Commerce', pp. 19–21.
29. Ibid., pp. 36–8.
30. H. Inalcik and D. Quataert (eds), *An Economic History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 209–16.
31. C. King, *The Ghost of Freedom. A History of the Caucasus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 53–63.
32. H. V. Aydin, 'Greek Merchants and Seamen in the Black Sea 1780–1820', in Harlaftis and Papakonstantinou (eds), *Greek Shipping*, chapter 18.
33. Harlaftis and Papakonstantinou (eds), *Greek Shipping*, chapter 6.
34. *Amfirititi* Database, Research Programme of the Ionian University 'Greek Shipping History, 1700–1821', funded by the European Union and the Greek Ministry of Education and included in the 'Pythagoras I' Operational Programme, 2004–2007.
35. The ship is named after the church of the village of Spartia in Cephallonia. Spartia belongs to the province of Levatho, a region in Cephallonia renowned for its seafarers.
36. Harlaftis and Papakonstantinou (eds), *Greek Shipping*; G. Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping* (London: Routledge, 1996).
37. About the productivity and competitiveness of the fleet of the Greeks in the eighteenth century, Harlaftis and Papaconstantinou (eds), *Greek Shipping*, chapter 9.
38. D. Sherry, 'Social Alchemy on the Black Sea Coast, 1860–1865', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 10:1 (2009), pp. 7–30.
39. A. J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 68–70.
40. Sherry, 'Social Alchemy'.
41. Ibid.
42. For the growth of the Taganrog *paroikia* from the 1840s to the First World War see E. Sifneos and G. Harlaftis (eds), *Οι Έλληνες της Αζοφικής, 19ος αιώνας* [The Greeks of the Azov, Nineteenth Century] (forthcoming), chapter 2.
43. Catherine II's decree towards Count Orlov, 28 March 1775.
44. Catherine II's decree, 21 May 1779, Exhibited Document, Museum of the City of Mariupol.
45. O. C. Safonov, *греческих легионов в России, или нынешнее население Балаклавы* [The Remains of Greek Legions in Russia or Balaklava's Current Population], *Zapiski Odeskovo Obshestva Istorii*, vol. 1, (Odessa, 1849), 1, pp. 250–73.
46. 1 dessiatine = 1.09 hectares = 2.7 acres.
47. Catherine II's decree, 21 April 1808.
48. Filefsky, *History of the City of Taganrog*, p. 107.
49. Ibid., p. 103.
50. Ibid., p. 106.
51. Dimitrios Venardakis was born in Taganrog in 1800. At the age of 30 he left his military career and became secretary of the holder of the alcohol monopoly in the Charkov district. He was managing the Taganrog office of the state monopoly on alcohol. He donated his property to the Russian and the Greek state by sponsoring the publication of Ad. Korais's 'Greek Library' collection. See "Δημήτριος Βεναρδάκης» [Dimitrios Venardakis] in *Βοβολίνη Μέγα Ελληνικόν Βιογραφικόν Λεξικόν* [Vovolini Big Greek Dictionary of Biographies], vol. 1 (Athens: Kerkyra, Economía publishing, 1958), pp. 158–62.

52. Государственный архив Ростов области [State Archive of the Rostov Region, hereafter GARO] fond (collection, hereafter f.) 226, opis' (series of documents, hereafter op.) 21, delo (file, hereafter d.) 633, 'Greek Church of Saints Constantine and Helen, Taganrog, List of Church Attendees According to their Estate Status, 1852'.
53. I. de Matariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (London: Phoenix, 1981), pp. 287–91.
54. GARO, f. 579, op. 1, d. 409, report of the Greek Magistrate to the military governor of Taganrog, governor of the city and holder of many titles, Apollon Andreevich Dashkov, 2 June 1803.
55. GARO, f. 579, op. 1, d. 82, office of the governor, record of revenues of the Greek and Russian Magistrates from ships calling at the port 1804–5.
56. de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age*, pp. 91–2.
57. GARO, f. 579, op. 1, d. 409, 11 July 1781.
58. GARO, f. 579, op. 1, d. 409.
59. B. Mironov, 'Bureaucratic- or Self-Government: the Early Nineteenth Century Russian City', *Slavic Review*, 52:2 (June 1993), pp. 233–55.
60. Carras, 'Trade, Politics and the Brotherhood', pp. 241–52.
61. M. A. Arantzioni, *Греки Криму: історія і сучасне становище (етнокультурна ситуація та проблеми етнополітичного розвитку)* [The Greeks of the Crimea: History and Current Situation (Ethno-cultural Status and Problems of Ethno-political Development)] (Simferopol: Regional Annexe of the National Institute of Strategic Research in Simferopol, 2005), pp. 20–1.
62. E. Karakalos, a Greek judge who travelled in Russia in 1894 in order to promote the export of raisins from the Peloponnese into the Russian market, made a clear distinction among Greeks and Greek Russians or assimilated Greeks in Taganrog; E. Karakalos, *Ημερολόγιον περιόδου προς Διάδοσιν της Κορινθιακής Σταφίδος (1894–1895)* [Diary of a Tour for the Promotion of the Raisins of Corinth (1894–1895)], ed. K. Papoulides (Athens: Kyriakidi Bros., 2009), p. 76.
63. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs*, p. xxiii.
64. de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age*, p. 300 and Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs*, p. xxiii.
65. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs*, pp. 33, 36.
66. GARO, f. 579, op. 3, d. 2, 'Lists of Merchants, Petit Bourgeois and Foreigners, 1795–1802 and 1803–1804 of the Greek Magistrate'.
67. Their names have been transliterated according to the Greek language.
68. GARO, f. 579, op. 3, d. 2, 'List of Merchants of the Taganrog Greek Magistrate, 1795–1804'.
69. On these first attempts which did not succeed, see Zakharov, 'The development of foreign trade'.
70. Customs office at the delta of the river Temernik which joined with the river Don, which was created in 1749 so that the Don Cossacks could develop trade relations with Greek, Turkish and Armenian merchants.
71. Filefsky, *History of the City of Taganrog*, pp. 213–15.
72. See Zakharov, 'The Development of Foreign Trade'.
73. See Sifneos and Paradisopoulos, 'The Greeks in Odessa in 1897'.
74. GARO, f. 579 op. 3 d. 2, 'List of Merchants in the Taganrog Greek Magistrate, 1795–1804'.
75. GARO, f. 579, op. 3, d. 2, 'Letter from the Office of the Mayor of Taganrog to the Greek Magistrate', 7 April 1804.

76. GARO, f. 579, op. 3, d. 3, 'List of Foreigners Resident in Taganrog, 1812'.
77. V. I. Ratnik, 'Даты в истории города Таганрога' [Historical Dates of the City of Taganrog], *Enciklopedia Taganroga* (Taganrog: Anton, 1998), pp. 452–80.
78. GARO, f. 579, op. 3, d. 3, 'List of Foreigners Resident in Taganrog (Catherine Zone), 1812', from which the relevant comments come.
79. Ibid.
80. Sifneos, *Greek Merchants in the Sea of Azov*.
81. GARO, f. 579, op. 1, d. 535, 'List of Merchants of Taganrog, 1840'.
82. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs*, pp. 34–5, Table. 1.1.
83. GARO, f. 577, op. 1, d. 92, 'List of Merchants of Taganrog, 1912'.
84. D. Brower, *The Russian City Between Tradition and Modernity, 1850–1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 16–22.
85. Colonas, 'Architectural Expression'.
86. *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи* [Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire] (St Petersburg, 1857), vol. 12, pp. 26–68.
87. GARO, f. 577 inventory 1; E. B. Gorobets, 'Введение каталога архитектурных чертежей' [Introduction to the List of Architectural Designs].
88. GARO, f. 581, op. 1, d. 27, 'Taganrog Building Committee'.
89. GARO, f. 579, op. 1, d. 251, 'Letter from the Greek Magistrate to the Ministry of the Interior', 23 September 1808.
90. GARO, f. 579, op. 1, d. 251, 'Office of the Taganrog Town Governor. The Construction of the Greek Church and Hospital in Taganrog by the Landowner Varvatsi', 12 January 1808–30 December 1809.
91. Ibid.
92. On the asylum for aged and disabled seamen, see *Taganrog Vestnik*, 14 January 1894.

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Edited by Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis and Olga Katsiardi-Hering

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Contributors

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