

Black Sea History Working Papers, vol. 3

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Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchkoitze (eds)

BETWEEN GRAIN AND OIL FROM THE AZOV TO THE CAUCASUS: THE PORT-CITIES OF THE EASTERN COAST OF THE BLACK SEA, LATE 18TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY



Research project within the THALIS 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 2020

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



ISBN: 978-618-81780-7-6

Black Sea History Working Papers Series

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2. Evrydiki Sifneos, Oksana Iurkova and Valentina Shandra (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, forthcoming.
3. 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 century*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 3, Rethymnon, 2020, published in www.blacksea.gr.
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14. Iannis Carras and Eugene Chernukhin, *The Balkan Merchants of Nezhin 17th-19th centuries*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 14, forthcoming.

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Acknowledgements

This is the third volume out of the 14 books to be published from the “Black Sea project”; a collaboration of Greek, Ukrainian, Russian and Georgian scholars. The “Black Sea project”, as we all call it, was conceived by our dear friend and colleague Evrydiki (Roura) Sifneos (1957-2015) together with Gelina Harlaftis. Evrydiki Sifneos was a historian and Director of Studies at the Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation. Her great-grandparents, and grandparents, two generations of Sifneos, hailing from the island of Lesbos, had lived and prospered in Taganrog and Rostov in the Azov Sea, where they formed the commercial and shipping business the “Sifneo Frères”, a business that lasted from 1850 to 1923.

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 all coasts of the Black Sea. Sifneos carried out with Gelina Harlaftis the first Black Sea project project during 2007-2010 titled “The Development of the ports of the Sea of Azov and the Greeks in the 19th century”, a collaboration of the Ionian University and Hellenic National Foundation financed by Kostopoulos Foundation, Alpha Bank and Levendis Foundation. Many of the authors of this volume first met during this first project during which three scientific missions took place in Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog, Mariupol, Berdyansk and Kiev. Two conferences, one in Rostov-on-Don and one in Kiev (with the active involvement of the SSC RAS and the IHU NAS Ukraine) took place and two books came out of this endeavour.¹

1. *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], Collection of scientific articles, Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kiev 2012. Evrydiki Sifneos and 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], National Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, Athens 2015.

The Azov project became really the pilot project for the formation of the much larger one, 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 that the project was submitted and in 2011 that it was accepted. Evrydiki Sifneos 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, Kiev, Braila, Kalafat, Istanbul, Boston and New York.

It is important to note here that the “Black Sea project” still continues. The immense amount of the collected archival material that was amassed is still being processed and the authors of the rest of the volumes are still working to have them published. The Black Sea project continues today under the title the “History of the Black Sea, 18th-20th century”, in the Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation of Research and Technology.

There is a large number of people we would like to thank for the completion of this volume. The first person we would like to thank is Roman Mikhalyuk who facilitated enormously the visits and research of our group of scholars in Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog and Novorossyisk. Without Gennady Matishov the access to the Rostov-on-Don archives would have been much more difficult. Nikos Chrissidis has been invaluable in our last scientific mission in the Rostov-on-Don archives in June 2015 and we owe him many thanks. We met Sarkis Kazarov during this last visit who further introduced us to Natalya Samarina; this book is much richer with their contributions. We would like to thank also Mikhail Davidov for his advice and help in the area and particularly Novorossyisk. We were very glad to meet Nailya Tagirova in the XVIIth World Economic History Congress in Kyoto, Japan in 2015 and very happy to have her on board. Last but not least Marianna Abdullayeva who lives in Greece and is still working for the processing of the Black Sea archival material through the “History of the Black Sea,

18th-20th century” project of IMS-FORTH, happens to come from the area of Rostov-on-Don and her contribution was more than welcomed in the volume.

We are grateful to all the numerous Ukrainian crew members of the “Black Sea project” from Mariupol and Berdyansk to Odessa and Kiev, for the great teamwork, sharing ideas and materials. Outside the circle of project members, our sincere gratitude for supporting and assisting in working on the book goes to Dietlind Hüchtker (Leipzig), Heidi Hein-Kirchner (Marburg), Alexandra Hahn (Dresden), Martin Kröger and Michaela Utpatel (Berlin), Oliver Hochadel (Barcelona), David P. Sudermann (Northfield), Marius-Tiberiu Alexianu and Roxana-Gabriela Curcă (Iași), Taras Finikov (Kiev), Serhii Bilivnenko and Alexandr Tedeev (Zaporozhie) and Alexandr (Dnepro)”.

This has been a complex and very demanding book that has taken a very long time to be completed and we hope the result will satisfy our readers. Many authors were added along the way and most texts were in Russian in need of translations that involved a rather complex and painstaking procedure. We would like to thank Valerie Sunsov from Odessa for most of the translations and Christine Shaulyk, a student from Drexel University of the United States for the translation of Marianna Abdullayeva’s chapter. We are extremely grateful to Isabella Santossuso, also a student from Drexel University of the United States for the invaluable work she did in editing a large number of the chapters of the book.

1.
As an introduction:
Black Sea History and the Black Sea project

Gelina Harlaftis

This book deals with seven main port-cities that grew along the eastern coast of the Black Sea and became the main gateways to the West serving probably the largest hinterland of any port-cities in Europe: Kerch, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog, Rostov-on-Don, Novorossiysk and Batoum. Contrary to nation-centred analyses, this book follows a maritime history approach, beyond political boundaries; a history of transport and communication. The aim is to indicate the dynamic changes of the port cities that came from the formation of land and sea transport systems. It will further indicate the ways the area was integrated to the global economy.

By the beginning of the 20th century the eastern coast of the Black Sea was among the main grain and oil producing areas of the world. The formation of the transport systems led to the Black Sea ports as gateways of grain and oil. This was an incredible achievement of a combination of river, land and sea port transport systems that served a vast and sparsely populated hinterland that connected it to the global markets. This area was a frontier zone and market of an expanding Russian Empire. It took almost one hundred years for the Russians to conquer this coastline; a long term battle between the Russian, the Persian and the Ottoman Empire under the close supervision of the other Western European powers. The area includes the 'inner sea', the Azov Sea, the most known mountain of the Black Sea, the proud and insubordinate Caucasus, a vast hinterland that includes an incredible river network of Europe's largest rivers like the Volga and Don, endless steppes of grain fields grown on the fertile black earth, amazing coal – and mineral fields in the Donetz basin and amazing quantities of the black gold, petroleum, on the shores of the Caspian Sea that found its way to the world through

Batoum. From 1860s to 1910s Russia had become the world's largest grain producer and world's largest producer of petroleum.

Despite the richness of the land and coastline, the eastern coast of the Black Sea is among the least known in international bibliography. In fact this maritime region not only is little known to the wider public in relation to the Mediterranean but also in relation to the Black Sea. This was not the case before 1917. The port-cities were open to the world and by the beginning of the 20th century had established global linkages in all oceans: Batoum oil reached Hong-Kong and the Rostov grain to the U.K. and France. The apogee of the exporting activities of the eastern coast of the Black Sea took place particularly in the second half of the 19th century to the October Revolution. The importance of the external trade that really formed the prosperity of the port cities was almost extinguished by the Soviet intraversion and isolation was overshadowed in the post-Soviet political situation of turbulences and conflicts.

In order to identify the evolution of the port-cities we shall look at the development of groups of port-cities in four geographical maritime regions as analysed in the next section. The Russian political will of colonization, waves of immigration, trade and shipping brought urbanization. Urbanization triggered the modernization process of the Black Sea region and the port-cities were at the forefront of this transformation as railways and steamships approached them particularly after the second half of the 19th century. Victoria Konstantinova has indicated 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”. As “port” is understood as 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”.² All port-cities of the northern, eastern, southern and western coasts of the Black Sea were affected by state or private intervention in the

2. Victoria Konstantinova, “Urbanization and modernization processes of the port cities in the Northern Black Sea region, second half of the nineteenth – early twentieth century”, in Evrydiki Sifneos, Oksana Iurkova and Valentina Shandra (eds), *Port-Cities of the northern shore of the Black Sea: Institutional, Economic and Social Development, 18th – early 20th Centuries*, (Rethymnon: Black Sea History Working Papers), forthcoming, volume 2.

formation of port infrastructure. They witnessed an unprecedented increase by their transformation to export gateways.

The basic function of a seaport is transport integration; but in the performance of this function a seaport may also grow into a major urban centre, an important source of employment, and an influential factor in national and regional development.³ As Frank Broeze wrote, “one cannot isolate, 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”.⁴ 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.⁵ In order to identify the evolution of the port-cities, five dynamic and interactive factors of change of the port-cities may be identified: the first is the location of the port and its relation to the political establishment. The second is the interaction of the port city with its environment; its hinterland, riverine and marine environment. The third is the response of the city to the local, regional and world trade situation. The fourth one is the entrepreneurship attracted to a port, the networks, the linkages. The fifth one is the effects to the port-city from the above situation: the social dimension, the architectural form and city planning, in the modernization process in a comparative perspective with the other port cities of the area. All or some of the aspects of these five factors are going to be discussed in all the chapters of this volume.

Political decisions and intervention did help or prevent the development of the port-cities in the Russian South since its conquest in the 1770s. The majority of port-cities was built and developed

3. B. S. Hoyle, “Maritime perspectives on port and port systems: the case of East Africa” in *Brides of the Sea. Port cities of Asia from the 16th-20th centuries*, (Kensington New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1989), p. 189.

4. Frank Broeze, “Introduction” in *ibid*, p. 3, 11, 42.

5. See also Amelia Polónia and Cátia Antunes (eds.), *Seaports in the First Global Age. Portuguese Agents, Networks and Interactions (1500-1800)*, (Porto: 2016); Malcom Tull, *A community enterprise: The history of the Port of Fremantle, 1897 to 1997*, Research in maritime history No. 12, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997).

as military-administrative units. The annexation of new areas necessitated new developments in the field of the imperial policy for administering the newly acquired territories and new people. As Shandra Valentina has indicated, a flexible system of administration was needed to allow for developing new socioeconomic relations that would favor the promotion of trade which promised a substantial profit to Russia.⁶ It was these motivations that underlay the introduction of the administration system of Governorate-Generals, 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. Odessa, however, was chosen as the seat of the Governor General of the South, and in this way Taganrog, the main port of the eastern coast, lost to Odessa that saw high urbanization rates. Moreover, the state decision to connect Rostov, instead of Taganrog, to the railway increased enormously the importance to this river port that witnessed an unprecedented growth in the last third of the 19th century that turned it to the prime city of the area. Furthermore, the annexation of Batoum and the rising importance of oil, in connection with the establishment of railway lines turned Batoum to the most important port-city of the southeastern Black Sea coast, overpassing the adjacent Trabzon which was the traditional seaport of the area. Political decisions then, affected the growth of the population of the port-cities.

The expansion of Russia to the southern and eastern coast of the Black Sea, took place at the time of imperial competition between western European colonial powers for the conquest of new territories and exploitation of economic resources. Russia did not need to be a maritime power for its overseas conquests. Its geographical position gave it the possibility to expand landwards to the east and south. The colonization of the Azov Sea and the establishment of the port-cities in the area was part of the achievements of Russia's conquests.

6. Valentyna Shandra, "General-Governors of Southern Ukraine: Formation and Implementation of Development Policy in 1770s-1880s", in Sifneos, Iurkova, Shandra (eds), *Port-Cities of the northern shore...* .

A strategic choice for international economic predominance was the development of grain exports through Black Sea. To achieve this goal Russians needed entrepreneurship; experienced seamen and traders as well as people that would colonize the new cities and would cultivate the land. Therefore, immigrants, like Greeks, as Venetian, Ionian and Ottoman citizens, that came in the Azov Sea, were regarded (and proved to be) particularly useful to to develop shipping and maritime trade, Jews and Armenians to develop land trade, while other nationalities like Germans and other central Europeans were regarded useful to develop agriculture and industry.⁷

Almost all port-cities of southern Russia established in the late 18th century, from Odessa to Taganrog, became the biggest export grain gateways on a global scale during the 19th century.⁸ The new conquered lands of southern Russia, known as “Novorossiya” or “New Russia” up to the 1860s were gradually urbanized and prospered, attracting large numbers of immigrants from central and southeastern Europe.⁹ Apart from encouraging the relocation of Russian and

7. Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: a multiethnic history*, (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001).

8. See Viktor Zakharov, “The development of external trade by foreign merchants in the Azov and Black Sea port during the second half of the 18th century [Внешнеторговая деятельность иностранных купцов в портах Азовского и Черного морей в середине и второй половине XVIII в], *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, 8:4 (2004), pp. 85-10; See also Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, (New York: Oxford University press), 1st edition 1963, reprinted 1993, pp. 254-257; and Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa. A History (1797-1914)*, (Cambridge MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 1986).

9. See Svitlana Novikova, “Η οικονομική ανάπτυξη της Μαριούπολης τον 19^ο αιώνα” [The Economic Development of Mariupol in the 19th century] in Evrydiki Sifneos and 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), pp. 391-414; Irina Ponomariova, “Η Μαριούπολη στα τέλη του 18ου και τον 19ο αιώνα” [Mariupol at the end of 18th century and in the 19th century] in *ibid*, pp. 369-390; See also Vasilis Kardasis, *Έλληνες ομογενείς στη νότια Ρωσία, 1775-1861* [Greek expatriates in southern Russia, 1775-1861], (Athens: Alexandria publications, 1998) and Gelina Harlaftis, *Η ιστορία της ελληνόκτητης ναυτιλίας 19^{ος}-20^{ος} αι.*, (Athens: Nefeli, 2001), (the first edition of this study was in English under the title *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping in the 19th and 20th centuries*) (London: Routledge, 1996).

central European populations in the new territories, special privileges were given to settlers from the Aegean and Ionian Seas as motivation to develop trade and shipping. The prosperity of the Russian port-cities on the Black Sea attracted hundreds of thousands of immigrants until the late 19th century. The population of “New Russia” from 163,000 people in 1782 reached 3.4 million in 1856.¹⁰

The south of “New Russia”, “Novorossiya”, offered new possibilities for economic growth. The port-cities of the Russian south grew rapidly, around the same time and at a parallel pace as the great American port-cities of the Atlantic. Settlers in the urban centers of Novorossiya, apart from Russians and Ukrainians, were Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Germans, Poles and others, creating prosperous and growing urban societies with many self-made businessmen.¹¹

10. Patricia Herlihy, “Russian Wheat and the Port of Livorno, 1794-1865”, *Journal of European Economic History*, 5 (Fall 1976), pp. 79-80.

11. For the participation of Greeks in trade and shipping of southern Russia a significant literature has developed over the last twenty years from Greek and Ukrainian historians. See Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-owned shipping...; Kardasis, Greek expatriates in southern Russia...; Sifneos and Harlaftis, Greek merchants in Azov...; Evrydiki Sifneos, “Οι αλλαγές στο ρωσικό σιτεμπόριο και η προσαρμοστικότητα των ελληνικών εμπορικών οίκων”* [Changes in the Russian grain trade and the adaptability of Greek trade houses], *Ta Istorika*, 40 (June 2004), pp. 53-96; Evrydiki Sifneos, “Εθνικός αυτοπροσδιορισμός σε ένα οικονομικά μεταβαλλόμενο περιβάλλον. Η μαρτυρία ενός έλληνα εμποροϋπαλλήλου από το ρωσικό εμπόριο σιτηρών” [“National self-determination in a changing economically environment. The testimony of a Greek merchant assistant of Russian grain trade”], in Maria A. Stasinopoulou and Maria-Christina Hadziioannou, *Διασπορά-Δίκτυα-Διαφωτισμός. Τετράδια εργασίας* 28 [Diaspora-Networks-Enlightenment. Workbooks 28], (Athens: 2005), pp. 116-125. See also for the importance of Greek merchants and ship-owners in Azov during 19th century O. Shliakhov, “Судовладельцы Азово-Черноморского бассейна в конце XIX – начале XX в. [“The ship-owners of Azov and the Black Sea late 19th – early 20th century”], *Ukrain'skii istorichnii zhurnal*, 1 (2006), pp. 61-72; Svitlana Novikova, “Внесок греків в економічний розвиток північного Приазов'я (друга половина XIX-початок XX ст)” [“Greeks’ contribution in the economic development of northern Azov (second half of 19th – early 20th century)”], (PhD thesis, Institute of History of Ukraine, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, Kiev, 2005).

The Black Sea project

The Black Sea to many historians is no more than a geographical term. The regions however, shared common political economy, trade, shipping, finance, industry, cultures and were linked together by land and sea-routes. The Black Sea project introduced 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.¹² Up to the present day there is a very limited number of studies on the economic activities of the Black Sea at the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century. The histories that exist are mainly political and social histories that are introvert, with the state as the unit of research. Some are voyage accounts of reporters that travel through the nations of the area. They all examine history with their back turned to the sea, they see only the land; and they examine the land squeezed in political borders that expand and contract according to political struggles. From the last third of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century more than 24 port-cities mushroomed in the coastline of the Black Sea attracting hundreds of thousands of immigrants mainly from central and southeastern Europe. Communication and linkages through the sea was pivotal for their economic development. The only holistic academic approach is by Charles King, *The Black Sea. A History*, 2005, mainly a political and social history, that has certainly turned its back to the sea.

This volume is part of the studies of the Black Sea History Working Papers. The history of the eastern shore of the Black Sea is explored in a interdisciplinary way by combining, economic and social history with political and cultural history, history of institutions, demography, economic geography, land, river and sea transport.¹³ 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

12. 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.

13. See the Gelina Harlaftis, “The Black Sea Project” in www.blacksea.gr.

importance, the Black Sea region is barely included in the discourse of global economic 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 that run during 2012-2015 was led by myself when I was in the Ionian University, was included in the Action “Thales”, and was financed by the Greek National Strategic Reference Framework, the E.U. and the Greek Ministry of Education. The research group was composed of 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, the University of Thessaly, the Hellenic Research Foundation and the 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 Boğaziçi University, Bilkent University, 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 Odessa, the State Archives of Nikolaev, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the University of Berdyansk, the University of Mariupol and the University of Kharkov; in Russia with members of the Institute of History/Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow), of the Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Rostov-on-Don), State Russian University of Human Studies, of the European University of St. Petersburg, of 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 interuniversity 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.¹⁴ 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 – FORTH 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, Instabul/Constantinople) and one “land-port”, Nizhyn. All the port-cities gradually formed an integrated market that became the largest 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

14. 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. 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 Black Sea databases 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 14 books, many of which are still under publication in 2020 and 2021.

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.

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. 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 (see Map 1.1).¹⁵ The second maritime region covers the port-cities of the northern coast of the Black Sea, Odessa, Nikolayev, Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia.¹⁶ 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 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 Ot-

15. 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, published in www.blacksea.gr, 2016) volume 1.

16. For this area there are four books: the first one is by Evrydiki Sifneos, Oksana Iurkova and Valentina Shandra (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), forthcoming, volume 2. The second one is a monograph by Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, published by Brill, Leiden, Boston 2018. The third one by Anna Sydorenko, *Η οικονομική και κοινωνική ανάπτυξη των πόλεων-λιμανιών της Κριμαίας στο δεύτερο μισό του 19^{ου} 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, 2017), volume 13, 2017; Ph.D. thesis, Ionian University, Corfu, 2017. The fourth one is Iannis Carras and Eugene Chernukhin, *The Balkan Merchants of Nezhin 17th-19th centuries*, (Black Sea History Working Papers, forthcoming), volume 14.

toman ports of the region and of course Constantinople/Istanbul.¹⁷

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 eight 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.¹⁸ Shipping, land transport, trade and industrial development of the northern and eastern coast are analysed in a single volume.¹⁹ An overview of the trade and shipping of all the Black Sea area is given through an overall statistical analysis.²⁰ The integration of the Black Sea in the global economy is the focus of one of the monographs of the Black Sea History series;²¹ there is another volume that examines the development of the ports and shipping during the Soviet and post-Soviet times.²² And, finally there is a volume examining the linkages of the Black Sea port cities with the West, cargoes and passengers.²³

17. 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, published in www.blacksea.gr, 2017) volume 5. 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).

18. Vassilis Colonas, Alexandra Yerolympos and Athina Vitopoulou, *Architecture and City planning in the Black Sea port-cities*, (Black Sea History Working Papers, forthcoming), volume 6; Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis (ed.), *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Trade and immigration*, (Rethymnon: Black Sea History Working Papers, forthcoming), volume 7.

19. 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*, (Black Sea History Working Papers, forthcoming), volume 4.

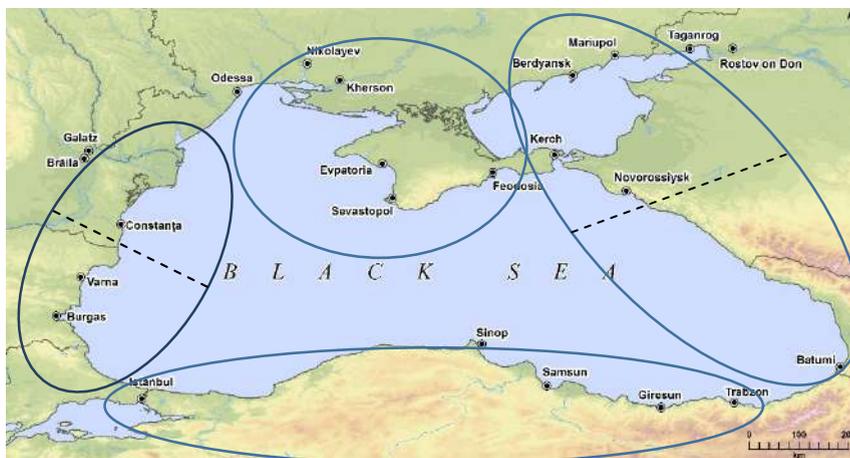
20. Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou (eds), *The development of 21 Black Sea port-cities. A statistical approach*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, forthcoming), volume 8; Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, (Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming).

21. Alexandra Papadopoulou, *The integration of the Black Sea markets to the Global Economy, 19th century*, (Black Sea History Working Papers, forthcoming) volume 1

22. 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, forthcoming), volume 10.

23. Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis (eds.), *Linkages of the*

Map 1.1 The maritime regions of the Black Sea



More information on the port-cities of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, the reader can find in the project's website www.black-sea.gr, in the *Port Cities – An Interactive History “Book”* with an average of 60 templates for the history of each port-city. The aim of this map 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. Urban landscape and geography, 3. Culture and Community 4. Economy and Infrastructure 5. Statistics. The website contains also annotated bibliography and archival sources for each port-city.

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 as the “History of the

Black Sea with the West. Trade and immigration, (Rethymnon: Black Sea History Working Papers, published in www.blacksea.gr, 2020), volume 7.

Black Sea, 18th-20th century”, ongoing in the Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies – FORTH.

The essence of this project is 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 aims at the renewal of the methodological analytical tools and in the internationalization of the historical studies in all countries involved. The communication with many of the universities and research institutes of the Black Sea countries was and remains 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.

One of the important contributions of this project is that it aimed in the development of an extravert academic policy from all participating sides. As a historian, I may be allowed to say that Greece has a comparative advantage from the other western European countries in its close relations and communications with this part of the world for historical reasons and much has been and can be benefited from networks of collaboration of Greek institutions with the universities and research institutions of the neighbouring eastern European countries. The produce of this fruitful large project, the “Black Sea vessel” with a crew of 93 scholars has shown what collaboration and communication can do. After all, the Black Sea, like the Mediterranean Sea, does not divide, it unites.

Black Sea History of the eastern coast

The theoretical approach on which the Black Sea project and this volume was conceived is the History of the Sea or Maritime History. The sea as a unit of analysis on the one hand and the interaction of humankind and the sea on the other, can give amazing possibilities

and new ways to understand in history the unity and the diversity, the continuity and change in the long and short term.

In order to proceed in the analysis of the History of the Sea I use five approaches.²⁴ It is of course what humans did *on the sea*. This category involves human activities on the surface of the sea. It includes the structure of the sea, commercial sea routes, navigation, violence at sea either by war or piracy, sea-trade of cargoes and “human cargoes”. The next one is human activities *in the sea*. This category includes human activities that deal with the resources of the sea and the environment of the sea. It includes the fishing fields, marine resources, oceanography, the environment of the sea. The third one is human activities *because of the sea*. This category includes the dynamic agents that challenge and ultimately change the path of the history of the sea. These are the maritime transport systems (sea/land/river transport, entrepreneurial networks, shipping markets), maritime empires, international maritime institutions and policy. The fourth one is what humans did *around the sea*. This category includes human societies that earn their living from the sea and the implication this has on their societies. In this way it deals with the economic and social development of the port cities, and their entrepreneurship. The fifth one is *about the sea*. This category explores maritime culture and heritage and the sea as inspiration to art and ideology.

This book is structured around these five categories through which one can follow continuity and change and can see how humankind interacted with the sea and how it affected the path of history at land. Furthermore, a clear geographic dimension is introduced, that of a maritime region, the eastern coast of the Black Sea, a study beyond political divisions. Furthermore, we are used to deal with land regions and not maritime regions. Maritime regions,

24. Gelina Harlaftis, “What is Maritime History”, paper presented in the “First International Symposium, *In memoriam Skip Fischer*, 25-26 April 2018, Centre of Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies-FORTH. See Gelina Harlaftis, “The true History of the Sea: A Maritime History. A new version of the old version”, Forum “What is Maritime History”, *International Journal of Maritime History*, June 2020. This approach is based on Frank Broeze’s classic definition of Maritime History in his “From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia’s Maritime History”, *The Great Circle, Journal of the Australian Association for Maritime History*, 11:1, 1989.

however, develop their own integrated markets as maritime communications play a very important role in their connectivity and the formation of the economic unity of the Black Sea.

Part 1 of the book deals with human activities that developed in the Black Sea *because of the Sea*. **Chapter 2** by Gelina Harlaftis gives a comprehensive total analysis of the maritime and economic history of all four maritime regions of the Black Sea from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century with a quantitative analysis on demographic, trade and shipping trends of its main port cities. The analysis places the Sea as the unit of analysis and brings out the Black Sea as a unified economy and the integration of the port-cities to the global economy. Key to the explanation of the unification of the Black Sea markets is the formation of the maritime transport systems of each maritime region that connected the hinterland with the foreland. The hinterland of the eastern coast is blessed with an extraordinary riverine network led by Europe's largest river, Volga and river Don. Nailya Tagirova in **chapter 3** unfolds the expansion of the Volga river economy and its connections with the Azov ports, which contributed to the economic development of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, particularly Rostov and Taganrog, the main export ports. The vast hinterland where Volga flows includes about two hundred river tributaries which at the time had almost one thousand wharves used by the thousands of small sailing craft and barges that carried the grain produce and determined the waterway communications. Tagirova analyses the impact of technology in the land and transport of the area in the form of railways and steamships, particularly after 1875.

The eastern coast was a frontier zone, and Victoria Konstantinova and Igor Lyman in **chapter 4** analyze under this insight, revealing the colonization and urbanization process of the eastern coast of the Black Sea by the Russian Empire. To reach the Black Sea was the desire of Russian monarchs since the 17th century. The change of the number, type, nationality of vessels on the sea came from political developments in the Black Sea, a sea described until then as an "Ottoman lake". This was the result of the Russian geopolitical and economic strategy for colonial expansion and economic power that began from the time of Peter the Great and was consolidated 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 select minorities of the Ottoman Empire with the aim of expanding its influence into the neighbouring state. The geopolitical activities of Russia have been described as that of "two crabs probing the claws of the Ottoman crab in the Danubian and Caucasian sectors and steadily pushing it back".²⁵ The ascension of Catherine the Great to the throne spurred further the expansionist policy of the Empire that witnessed some of its great victories in the two Russo-Ottoman wars of 1768-1774 and 1787-1792 by which they acquired the "New Russia" or "Novorossiia", and a great frontage to the Black Sea which covered its northern and northeastern coast. Russians continued their colonial expansionist policies in Caucasus until they conquered it by 1878. They massively depopulated the area by expelling local muslim populations who fled to the Ottoman Empire only to repopulate it with new Christian immigrants. Chapter 4 furnishes this historical background along with the analysis on the formation and development of the new port-cities and their ethnic composition.

Part 2 examines developments *on and in* the eastern Black Sea maritime region and particularly the Azov Sea. That is navigation problems, its maritime resources and maritime environment. The history of the Black Sea and of the Azov Sea has been marked by its geographic antithesis: their extremely narrow passage in the south that connects to the rest of the seas and oceans and its vast hinterland in the north that made it an "avenue" between Asia and Europe.²⁶ The sea "is short and troublesome" according to the British pilots and is difficult to enter from the Bosphorus. A large number of long and big rivers have their mouths in the Black Sea, in the northwest, the Danube, Bug, Dniester and Dnieper, while in the Azov the river Don. The rivers are frozen for 3-4 months and the melting of the ice during spring causes strong currents to the sea. The entrance to the Azov Sea is through the Straits of Kerch.

25. J. P. Le Donne, "Geopolitics, Logistics and Grain: Russia's Ambitions in the Black Sea Basin, 1737-1834", *International History Review*, 28:1 (2006), pp. 1-41.

26. Gelina Harlaftis, "Black Sea and its Maritime Networks, 1770s-1820s. The Beginnings of Its European Integration," in Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", *Maritime Networks as a Factor in European Integration*, Prato, Firenze University Press, 2019, pp. 355-382.

Anna Sydorenko in **chapter 5** examines the development of the port-city of Kerch in relation to its location, the navigation difficulties and the sea-trade problems. She analyzes the formation of the port infrastructure and how the geographical location of Kerch defined its commercial importance in the port system of the area. The Azov Sea apart from the growing trade was reknown for its important fishing resources. Alexei Kraikovski in **chapter 6** examines the eastern coast fisheries of the Azov Sea in the late 18th, beginning of 19 century. In this chapter, he explores the strategies used by the Cossacks in order to exploit the natural resources of the Azov Sea eastern coast as efficient as possible. The establishment of the Cossacks in the area and the development of the Cossack fisheries is considered within the framework of the Russian colonizational movement towards the Black Sea shore, part of the Russian territorial expansion. There the Cossacks had created a permanent system for the exploitation of fishing resources as opposed to the temporary seasonal expeditions of the past. The exploitation of the maritime resources went along with the understanding of the marine environment following the European natural science, allowing to the educated Russians a new understanding of their own environment known as Classical Natural History. The chapter following contemporary testimonies penetrates in the organization, infrastructure and everyday life of Cossacs and their fisheries. Genady Matishov in **chapter 7** gives the “Holocene history of the Azov Sea”, that is a geophysical scientific approach of the maritime environment of the Azov Sea. The holocene is the current geological period which began about 12,000 years ago and corresponds to the growth and impacts of humans including the development of their civilization and the transition to urban living. Azov Sea is a shallow inland basin of estuarine type and its history is connected with the one of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea as they were initially one single sea basin. The paper unfolds the upsurges and downsurges of the waters, the fluctuations of the temperatures, the formation of the layers of the sediments and the human settlements found by archaeologists during the ancient Greek colonization period particularly in Panticapaeum (modern city of Kerch), Phanagoria in the Taman Peninsula, (today west of Sennoy in Krasnodar Krai) and Tanais (modern Taganrog) since the 7th century BC.

Part 3 examines the economic activities *around and about* the eastern Black Sea maritime region which extends from the Azov along the Caucasian coast down to Batoum. It penetrates to the economic and social development of the seven port cities that became major export gateways of their hinterland. It brings out the entrepreneurship of the various ethno-cultural groups in the port-cities. It was grain exports from Kerch to Novorossiysk and oil exports from Batoum. This section starts with the Azov ports. From the 1780s to the 1830s Greeks in Mariupol and Taganrog and Armenians in Nakhichevan-on-Don were moved, supported and promoted by Russian policy makers in order to promote the economic development of the Azov Sea. Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis in **chapter 8** analyse the development Taganrog, the major port city of the Azov. The chapter identifies the Greek entrepreneurs and indicates how they linked the port-city, and ultimately the whole area, to the international market. By using their specialization in trade and shipping they helped create a new economic zone in the south of Russia and link it with international trade. Indeed the connection of South Russian grain market with the Mediterranean and Northern Europe was, partly, a Greek entrepreneurial achievement.

Greeks were also prominent in the neighbouring city of Mariupol. In **chapter 9** Irina Ponomariova discusses the ethnic processes in Mariupol and Russia's imperial migration policy. For the Russian Empire, the northern coast of the Sea of Azov was an important strategic military and economic region and the sea coast favored the growth of ports with all year-round activity. The Azov area was firstly populated by the Christian population of the Crimean Khanate; in 1778, thirty thousand Crimean Christians began their travel from the Crimea to the Province of Azov, where they settled down, having received some concessions by Catherine II. They were Greeks, that were eventually resettled in Mariupol and Armenians, that were resettled in New Nakhichevan. The ethnic composition of Mariupol in the nineteenth century was enriched reflecting the character of the population of "Novorossiya" in general. The Jewish community in the second half of the 19th century played a special role in the development of the town replacing the Greeks, while Slavs, Italians and others arrived later in the city. Their entrepreneurship and social activity promoted further integration of the

town into the European and Russian economic environment. Svitlana Novikova and Vira Volonyts in **chapter 10** study the economic development of Mariupol from the end of 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century.

Chapter 11 by Igor Lyman and Victoria Konstantinova investigates the great plans for developing Berdyansk. Berdyansk, was founded in 1827, as a potential “second Odessa”. However, by the last decades of the 19th century it became apparent that Berdyansk did not meet the expectations. The infrastructure of its port was never sufficiently built and the shallowness of the waters prevented the growth of its seatriade. Furthermore the produce from the hinterland did not arrive to Berdyansk due to the lack of an early establishment of railway line. Berdyansk, despite the aspirations of becoming an international hub in the Azov, increasingly lost in competition with other Azov ports, and remained important at a regional level.

The growth of the river port-city of Rostov-on-Don, particularly in the second half of the 19th century overshadowed the other cities of the Azov Sea. In **chapter 12** Marianna Abdullayeva follows the development of Rostov and of the wider Don and Azov area in the first half of the 19th century. She examines the integration of the Don region into the Russian empire in the 18th century, the population and agricultural development of the area and its administrative process. She examines the growth of the cities in the lower reaches of the Don River, Rostov, Novocherkassk, Azov and Nakhichevan. The composition of the population of the area, the Cossacks, the Russians, the Ukrainians along with the immigration the ethno-religious groups of Armenians, Kalmuks, Germans, Greeks and Jews. The rural inhabitants of the region involved in the process of agriculture were characterized by various forms of community and social organization (Cossack landowners, Armenian rural communities, German colonies, Jewish land proprietors). By the end of the 19th century all these groups were part of the rapidly growing export economy. Natalya Samarina in **chapter 13** focuses on Rostov-on-Don in the second half of the 19th century and analyses its dynamic economic growth into a commercial and industrial center, a place of residence of different ethnic groups and social classes and a locus of their diverse activities. Rostov grew into an important center of Russian trade largely due to the land and river trans-

portation networks in the first half of the 19th century. She further examines Rostov-on-Don in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century when it reached its peak as the metropolis of the area, a position it holds to the present day. The port-city grew from its Greek and Armenian merchants and shipowners with established international connections. The river port of Rostov-on-Don, also a land railway transport hub for the concentration of cargoes, was chosen firstly by the successful Taganrog Greek merchants after the 1870s for its best location as the main river port of lower Don. Secondly its agglomeration meant that it soon merged with the neighbouring booming town of Nakhichevan formed initially as an Armenian colony. It was grain exports and its traders that gave Rostov-on-Don the dynamism to develop further. Sarkis Kazarov in **chapter 14** gives an insight of the Armenian merchants that were moved from Crimea to Nakhichevan-on-Don. Armenians carried for centuries long the Eurasian trade in the area and had raised the importance of Astrakhan in the Volgan-Caspian route. This chapter brings out the business of the Armenians of the Don from the late 18th century, to the beginning of the 20th century. They were engaged in the trade of the area, in the processing agricultural produce, light industry and handicrafts. Armenian merchants played a prominent part in both the economic and public life of Nakhichevan-on-Don and were highly important for the impressive development of Rostov-on-Don in the last third of the 19th century.

At the northern edge of the northern Caucasian coast Novorossiysk was founded in 1839 while at the southern edge Batoum in 1878. Along the 400 miles that are between them there is no safe anchorage. Their formation and connection to a railway system which connected them with the hinterland of the Black Sea eastern coast from the Azov to the Caspian Sea, in combination to their direct location on the Black Sea and the fact that were ice free converted them at the beginning of the 20th century to the largest ports of the Black Sea after Odessa, a position they hold to the present day. Olga Popova discusses in **chapter 15** the formation and development of Novorossiysk which after the opening of the Tikhoretskaia-Novorossiysk Railroad in 1888 it was connected with the rich grain areas of the Kuban and oil fields of the Caspian. Along with the growth of the port activities the industry of the port-city grew.

This chapter indicates the development of the urban planning of the city, its buildings and architecture.

Last but not least, Eka Tchoidze gives a rounded and comprehensive geopolitical, economic and social view of the impressive growth of Batoum in **chapter 16**. The conquest of Batoum was of great strategic and military significance for Russia as it strengthened its position in the Southern Caucasus, blocked the British geopolitical aspirations in the area, known as the “Great Game”, and kept control over the whole Black Sea Eastern coast and the Ottoman Empire. Moreover further economic and geopolitical implications had the new important produce, petroleum from Baku. Batoum became the oil-export gateway of the Baku oil after the completion of the Baku-Batoum railway network, in the 1880s and the construction of Baku-Batoum pipeline which ensured the systematic transportation of Baku oil to the world market. World-wide known entrepreneurs like the Swedish Nobel, the Jewish Alphonso Rothschild (of the French branch of the family), the Armenian Mantshevis and the less known Greek Siderides and Arvanitides.

Globalization is about global connections. From the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca to the Russian Revolution the eastern coast of the Black Sea, along with the northern and western coast became the biggest exporters in the world of grain and oil and were fully integrated in the world’s sea-routes. An integration that was soon to be abruptly interrupted for the next seventy years.

Part 1

Because of the Sea

2.

Black Sea Maritime and Economic History. The integration of the port-cities to the global economy

Gelina Harlaftis

The aim of this chapter is to follow the methodology and analytical approach of the History of the Black Sea through the categories *around the sea* entering in the port cities and *because of the sea*, as described in the previous chapter, identifying the maritime transport systems. This is the economic history of the sea which involves the economic activities that have developed in relation to the sea that trigger development to trade and shipping and economic viability to its port-cities and their hinterland.

The Black Sea during this period witnessed a commercial revolution along its entire coastline and from “a sea of isolation” at the end of the 18th century had become “a sea of internationalization” at the beginning of 20th century. Despite the existence of old port-cities in the southern Black Sea coast, like Trabzon, during the period under examination, more than 20 port-cities were created/developed on the rivers and the coastline of the western, northern and eastern Black Sea (today’s Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Russia and Georgia). These port-cities developed to be export gateways of grain and oil and became centres of attraction for economic immigration from the whole region of central and south-eastern Europe. This paper will examine the main Black Sea port cities and will further penetrate to indicate how they formed port systems within the Black Sea maritime regions. These port systems created by the maritime transport systems of each region connected hinterland and foreland and were thus the mechanisms to incorporate them to the world transport system during the period before the Russian revolution.

This chapter attempts an overall approach of the maritime economic history of the Black Sea, with the sea as a unit of research. The development of the port-cities had implications not only in

the whole development of the area but also in its integration in the rising global economy of the era. Every port city belonged to a maritime region, and both are analysed as part of a wider entity, as part of the Black Sea, within and beyond political borders.

Around the sea: The port-cities

This section examines the effects on the growth of the economic activities of ports on the development of the port cities providing a theoretical background. Let us start with the concept of the port city. What is a port city? Following 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”. In the analysis of the port-cities, usually the cities draw all the attention and ports are not mentioned, or have been taken for granted.¹

It is usual to examine port cities singled out. A port-city, however, whose growth depends on the economic activities of its port is usually part of a port system. All Black Sea port-cities in every maritime region formed port-systems that acted as the conduits for the modernisation of the area. Urban studies usually 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 finance with banks, insurance and capital markets.² We can only understand the functioning of the port-city through a dynamic and multi-disciplinary synthesis of the port and the city.

Two periods can be clearly distinguished, before and after the

1. Frank Broeze, “Introduction” in Broeze (ed.), *Brides of the Sea...*, p. 11.

2. Peter Reeves, Frank Broeze and Kenneth McPherson, “Studying the Asian Port City” in *ibid* p. 35.

Crimean War. On the northern and eastern coasts the Crimean War indicated the lack of modern transport, railways, steamships and roads. On the western coast it gave the opportunity to the European powers to form the European Commission of the Danube and ensure its navigability.³ Demographic movements indicate the dynamism of the economic activities of the port-cities and we shall look at their population development within the various maritime regions. The first area to develop is the northern coast (see table 2.1). Odessa was not the first port-city to develop, as it was established in 1794. The Russian officials had first chosen Kherson (established in 1778) followed by Nikolaev (in 1789). The Crimea was the only area that had urban population. Theodosia was a Byzantine port-city which eventually became the Kaffa of the Genoese and later the Keffe of the Ottoman Empire. Other port-cities in Crimea were Evpatoria and Sevastopol established in 1783. As table 2.1 indicates the largest port-city by far, not only of the northern coast but of the whole of the Black Sea was Odessa. The city from nothing, by mid-19th century had grown to more than 100,000 and by the end of the century its population had quadrupled. Kherson did not indicate such growth, and although in the first half of the 19th century was the second city after Odessa, it remained relatively stagnant, the reason being mainly that the location of its port was not favourable for trade. The second biggest port city of the area was Nikolayev whose size tripled as did all the Crimean port-cities. However, Nikolayev interchanged with Sevastopol as a Naval base for the Russian fleet in the course of the following decades.⁴

3. See Constantin Ardeleanu, “The European Commission of the Danube and the Results of Its Technical and Administrative Activity on the Safety of Navigation, 1856-1914”, *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23:1, (2011), pp. 73-94; Constantin Ardeleanu, “The Opening and Development of the Black Sea for International Trade and Shipping (1774-1853)”, *Euxeinos*, 14, (2014), pp. 30-52.

4. Levchenko, “The Nikolayev International Port” in Sifneos, Iurkova, Shandra (eds), *Port-Cities of the northern shore...* .

Table 2.1 Population of the main Black Sea port-cities

City	1858	1897	City	1858	1897
<i>Northern coast</i>			<i>Southern coast</i>		
Odessa	114,265*	403,815	Trabzon	28,000	38,000
Kherson	41,140*	59,076	Giresun	5,000	18,000
Nikolayev	32,496*	92,012	Samsun	4,000	22,000
Evpatoria	6,433	17,913	Sinop	4,000	10,000
Sevastopol	10,296	53,595			
Theodosia	7,715	24,096			
<i>Eastern coast</i>			<i>Eastern coast</i>		
Taganrog	21,099	51,437	Galatz	52,000	62,000
Kerch	12,787	33,347	Braila	25,000	58,000
Rostov	12,000	119,476	Varna	16,000	40,000
Berdyansk	10,120	26,496	Constantza	3,000	10,000
Mariupol	5,289	31,116	Burgas	-	5,000
Novorossiysk	434	16,897			
Batoum	-	-			

* First half of 1860

Sources: **For the cities of the northern coast** see V. M. Konstantinova, *Урбанізація: південноукраїнський вимір (1861-1904 роки)* [Urbanization: the South-Ukrainian Dimension (1861-1904)] (Zaporozhie: AA Tandem, 2010), p. 497; *Городские поселения в Российской империи* [Cities in the Russian Empire], Vol. 2, (Saint Petersburg: 1861), pp. 185, 195; *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. Вып. 2. Население городов по переписи 28-го января 1897 года.* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. Population of the cities] (Saint Petersburg: Tovarishchstvo “Pechiatnia C. I. Iakovleva”, 1897), pp. 19, 22.

For the cities of the eastern coast see M. I. Sitenko, *Настольная справочная книга: “Ростов и Нахичеван”* [Guide: “Rostov and Nakhichevan”] (Rostov-on-Don: 1909); Svetlana Novikova, “The Economic Development of Mariupol in the 19th century” [Η οικονομική ανάπτυξη της Μαριουπόπολης τον 19^ο αιώνα”, in Evrydiki Sifneos and 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), pp. 391-414.

For the cities of the southern coast see Kara Tugba, “Sinop. Demography & statistical data on population”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020); Kara Tugba, “Giresun. Demography & statistical data on population” in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020);

For the cities of the western coast see 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, 2016) volume 1, p. 194; Ardeleanu Konstantin, “Galatz. Demography & statistical data on population”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020); Kontogeorgis Dimitrios, “Braila. Demography & statistical data on population”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020);

The majority of port-cities was built and developed as military-administrative units. 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 southern coast includes Trabzon or Trebizond, Samsun, Giresun or Kerassund and Sinop that constituted the most important ports of the area trading with Constantinople/Istanbul and with the northern coast of the Black Sea.⁵ Trabzon built “on a rocky table land sloping somewhat towards the sea”⁶ was the chief transit port, the gateway of land and sea routes between Central Asia and Europe. The port city along with Samsun, Giresun and Sinop were inhabited by Turks, Greeks and Armenians. Sinop had the safest anchorage between the Bosphorus and Batoum and it had dockyards where some of the finest ships of the Ottoman navy were built.⁷ The port-cities that belonged to the Ottoman Empire did not indicate the abrupt demographic changes that the rest of the Black Sea port-cities witnessed throughout the 19th century. Trabzon remained the largest port-city with a modest population rise. In the last third of the 19th century its growth was largely negatively

5. Eldem, Kechriotis, Laiou (eds), *The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast ...*

6. *The Black Sea Pilot*, London, 1884 (Hydrographic Office, Admiralty), third edition p. 114.

7. *Ibid*, p. 122.

affected by the rise of the neighbouring Batoum. Out of the other three port cities it was Samsun that had the largest growth with a five-fold increase of its population followed by Giresun and Sinop who tripled and doubled their population (table 2.1).

The western coast of the Black Sea is dominated by the fertile plains of the Danube which provided for centuries Constantinople, the great metropolis of the area. Despite the existence of linkages to western Europe since the first half of the 19th century, this area was only integrated in the international sea trade with the West in the second half of the nineteenth century. Two distinct maritime sub-regions are distinguished, the southwestern and northwestern. The southwestern coastline reaches up to the delta of the Danube. It was part of the Ottoman Empire, known as Eastern Rumelia, and had an array of small villages and towns many of which developed fleets that served the local sea-trade, like Agathopoli (Akteboli or Aktarpolee), Vassiliko, Burgas, Sozopol, Messembria and Balchik which are the only places of the southwestern coast of the Black Sea with good anchorages.⁸ Out of these only Burgas became of any importance later in the century. The port-city that developed along this southwestern coastline, as its main port, is Varna, which grew to importance after the formation of the new Bulgarian state. Varna, as the new state's main port, became the export gateway of its hinterland and tripled its population in the second half of the 19th century (table 2.1). At the end of the 19th century was the third largest city of the western coast of the Black Sea.

The northwestern maritime region of the Black Sea includes mainly the river ports of the Danube, Galatz and Braila, and Costantza.⁹ Politically they were the semi-independent Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia which formed the new independent state of Romania. The northwestern coast mainly stretches along the Danubian delta. The main ports of the area were river ports, Braila and Galatz, both insignificant villages, which, after the 1820s, grew to become vibrant cities, centres of grain exports later in the nineteenth century. Flats in the river which impeded navigation in the Sulina branch later were removed by the European Commission

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-24.

9. Ardeleanu, Lyberatos, (eds), *Port-Cities of the western shore of the Black Sea...*

that was formed after the Crimean War. Even so, the river was always subject to change and new shoals often formed. Galatz about 120 miles upriver and Braila 90 miles upriver were port-cities of equivalent size. They were transformed to the main grain export gateways of the Danubian plain in the second half of the 19th century. Braila showed the largest increase of population doubling it during the period under examination (table 2.1). They both had large Greek populations and more limited Jewish ones that handled the trade and shipping of the area.

The usual way to study port-cities is to examine them singled out, sometimes not even relating them to the wider geographical area they belong. In the approach of maritime history that we follow, we try see how these port-cities related to each other through sea routes on a Black Sea regional level as they became centre of attraction for economic immigration from the whole region of central and southeastern Europe. They thus became cosmopolitan places, “melting pots” of ethnic minorities: Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians, Polish, Greeks, Bulgarian, Germans, Jews, Armenians.¹⁰ Main agents of economic integration in all port cities proved to be the mobile groups of the so-called people of the classic diaspora like the Greeks, Jews and Armenians, as well as those of other central European groups as is clearly indicated in the third part of this volume. What is very interesting is to see how the diaspora business groups developed entrepreneurial networks which covered a large number of Black Sea port-cities and western European ports contributing thus to the unification of the Black Sea market. It was these mobile entrepreneurial groups that undertook the control of external trade and shipping and those that developed maritime and commercial networks and the linkages to the western European economy. Linkages to the West triggered development and convergence of regional markets in the global economy.¹¹

10. Kappeler, *The Russian Empire...*

11. For a detailed bibliography see “Introduction” in Victor N Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis, Olga Katsiardi-Hering (eds.), *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, (London: Pichering & Chatto, 2012). See also Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis and Ioanna Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks. Five Centuries of History*, (Oxford: Berg Publications, 2005).

Because of the sea: Maritime Transport systems

The Black Sea consists from the articulation of many maritime regions. So the aim of our study is to trace the mechanisms that integrate the port cities in the Black Sea with world economy. The mechanisms are the maritime transport systems. Maritime transport systems unite the hinterland of the sea port with the foreland, by linking ports through shipping by developing methods to co-ordinate sea transport and river/land transport. So the maritime transport system is an entrepreneurial system within a geographical area that indicates the link of the hinterland with the foreland through seaports.¹² We consider that each maritime region consists of dynamic systems of flows of movements and it is not just a static structure of places.

Central to this analysis are the concepts of region and port. As we have already indicated we use the concept not of land region, as is more commonly used, but that of maritime region. We have divided the Black Sea in four maritime regions and sub-regions as is already shown in map 1.1. A similar concept of a maritime region has been used by Werner Scheltjens, where he makes the unit of research the Dutch Deltas to explore the maritime transport systems and to “capture regional economic dynamics as well as changes in the structure of trade networks and transport systems”. According to Scheltjens, “Transport systems are complexes of physical attributes (rivers, roads, canals, seas, etc.) and communities populating them, thus allowing for the exchange of people, goods and information between the locations of a trade network. The delta is deemed to be an appropriate geographical unit for a comprehensive economic-geographical analysis of the Dutch maritime transport sector before 1850”.¹³ Equally we consider the coasts of the Black Sea

12. Gelina Harlaftis, “Maritime Transport Systems in Southeastern Mediterranean”, in Edhem Eldem and Socrates Petmezas (eds), *The Economic Development of Southeastern Europe in the 19th century*, (Athens: Historical Archives Alpha Bank, 2011), pp. 397-446; Gelina Harlaftis, “Greek Shipping as a unification factor of markets. The methodology”, in Gelina Harlaftis and Katerina Papakonstantinou (eds), *Η ναυτιλία των Ελλήνων, 1700-1821* [Greek Shipping, 1700-1821. The Heyday before the Greek Revolution], (Athens: Kedros Publications, 2013), pp. 39-90.

13. Werner Scheltjens, *Dutch Deltas. Emergence, Functions and Structure of the Low Countries’ Maritime Transport System, ca 1300-1850*, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 9.

maritime regions as appropriate geographical units for a maritime transport history analysis.

Sea ports are fundamental to understand maritime transport systems. According to the economic geographer B.S. Hoyle, an important division in port geography is between those elements that have to do with land side, the **hinterland** and those that have to do with maritime side, including the waterfront of the port and the **foreland**.¹⁴

A “hinterland” can be described as an organized and developed land space which is connected with a port by means of transport.¹⁵ Very important to the connections of the port with the hinterland are road, river and railway connections. The hinterland covers a productive area which produces goods to be transferred to the sea port that forms the export gateway. The supply of goods and the level of exports is not only depended from the level of production but can be confined or controlled by state, economic and geostrategic policies. The concept of “foreland” as opposed to that of hinterland, is what lies in front of the port, the shipping connections of a port. It is mainly the land areas on the seaward side of the port; the other ports with which a port is connected with sea routes, where cargoes are shipped or transhipped by either coastal or deep-sea going vessels.¹⁶

Technology plays a highly important role in the rise and fall of ports and in the formation of port systems. The arrival of steamship and railway dramatically affected the ports as well as their hinterlands in the Black Sea.¹⁷ This was evident in Crimea, where Theodosia became the main export port, in the Azov, where Rostov-on-Don surpassed the export capacity of the main port of the area, Taganrog, the growth of Novorossyisk which was linked with the transcaucasian railway system and Batoum which was linked with railway and pipelines with the oil from Baku.

The study of seaports is basically concerned with what happens

14. B. S. Hoyle, “Maritime perspectives on port and port systems: the case of East Africa” in Broeze (ed.), *Brides of the Sea...*, p. 188-206.

15. Guido G. Weigend, “Some Elements in the Study of Port Geography”, *Geographical Review*, 48:2 (April 1958), pp. 185-200.

16. *Ibid.*

17. For an excellent example on the effects of technology in the port system of a sea see Frank Broeze, “The Ports and Port System of the Asian seas: An Overview with Historical Perspective from c. 1750”, *The Great Circle*, 18:2 (1996), pp. 73-96.

at the waterfront, the maritime space across the frontier between land and sea, the area between port and foreland. After all, the “The port is the place of contact between land and maritime space, and it provides services to both hinterland and maritime organization. It is, therefore, a knot where ocean and inland transport lines meet and intertwine. Its primary function is to transfer goods (and people) from ocean vessels to land or to inland carriers, and vice versa. Traffic means life and prosperity not only for the port but also for the city and region around it.”¹⁸ The development of infrastructure is highly important for the development of a port. A port should be placed in a convenient site, have sufficient space, easy access, deep water, not a big tidal range and a good climate in order to function throughout the year.¹⁹ Very few ports in the Black Sea enjoyed such privileges. What they all did, however, was to provide efficient transport services through good circulation of information, division of labour, efficiency and productivity. All ports had warehouses, and in some, state investments were carried out in forming piers, quays, cargo-handling cranes, quarantines. The great strength of the ports and their influence in the port-cities is that ports were interconnected with the world’s fleet, oceans and seas and provide access from local to global forming thus vital elements of the process of globalization.

In order to understand the dynamics of maritime transport, we focus on the developments in shipping that led to the emergence of maritime transport systems. Port activity has usually been measured by the flow of cargo, ship or passenger flows, in different periods. Three aspects of cargo are important for the port: volume, nature, and direction of flow. Bulk cargoes like grain, ore, crude oil, and coal represent the largest tonnages of goods handled in ports. Ports are measured by their rising or falling volume or value of trade. It is important to stress that “a port does not create trade”.²⁰ While ports may be studied and compared, they are part of a much bigger picture and are vulnerable to effects that are not

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. Frank Broeze, “Dubai: from Creek to Global Port City,” in Lewis R. Fischer and Adrian Jarvis (eds), *Harbours and Havens: Essays in Port History in Honour of Gordon Jackson* (St. John’s: 1999), p. 161.

under their control. In each system, different kinds of ports may be distinguished and characterized as gateways or export-oriented ports, entrepôts, primate ports, hubs and small ports.²¹ The majority of the Black Sea ports are mainly export-oriented ports.

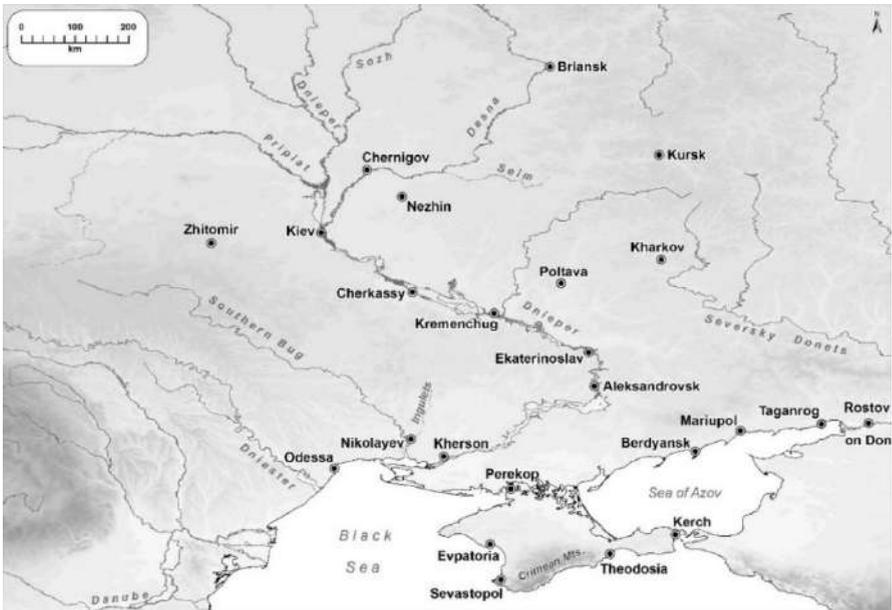
The main mechanism of the connectivity of maritime regions and subregions and ports is the sea transport system that each maritime region develops. Hence it is not space our main tool here, but what maritime economic activities generate: sea transport system. The transport system of each maritime region was the forefront for the formation of a productive system that integrated the markets within a maritime region and with other maritime regions. The main characteristic of the sea transport system is connectivity, where the sea-routes of the foreland are connected with the land routes of the hinterland forming in this way a dense chain of interactions and communications. Each maritime region is connected with the adjacent one uniting in this way the sea-transport of a whole region with the “fore-land” with the global.

There are four aspects to be considered to understand the formation of sea transport systems:

- In every maritime region small, medium and large port cities/towns were the loading places that formed the port system of the coastal zone.
- In every maritime region there is a hinterland where goods are brought by land, river and sea transport to the coastal loading export/import zone.
- In every maritime region there were port-cities/towns that developed or attracted fleets and acted as maritime centres. Small, medium and large maritime centres formed a maritime zone that integrated local markets and connected the region with the foreland.
- The maritime transport system linked the maritime zone of the maritime centres with the coastal import-export zone of the loading places.

21. Broeze, “The Ports and Port System”... .

Map 2.2 The northern coast



In the first **northern maritime region** the coastal zone stretched from Odessa to Theodosia (map 2.2). Within this coastal zone two port systems are distinct. The first one includes Odessa, Nikolaev and Kherson, and the second one the Crimean ports of Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia. As we have already indicated all new Russian port-cities were established under imperial orders, on a certain urban planning and under a geostrategic plan. What the policy makers could not foresee was the eventual commercial success of each town. In the northern coast the policy makers targeted Nikolaev and Sevastopol which they interchanged as naval stations and commercial ports.²² At the last third of the 19th century Nikolaev became a major commercial export/import at the footsteps of Odessa, while Kherson port was involved in the external trade. Odessa and Nikolaev were then exporting the produce from the

22. Levchenko, “The Nikolayev International Port” in Sifneos, Iurkova, Shandra (eds), *Port-Cities of the northern shore...* .

vast steppe behind, the hinterland. The steppe was the black earth, the known *chernozem*, which was perfect for grain cultivation. The hinterland was blessed with a dense web of rivers: the Dniester in Odessa, the Southern Bug for Nikolaev, Dnieper for Kherson. Cargo was moved by river craft and oxen carts on track roads and came even beyond Poltava, Briank and Zhitomir down to the Odessa (map 2.2).²³

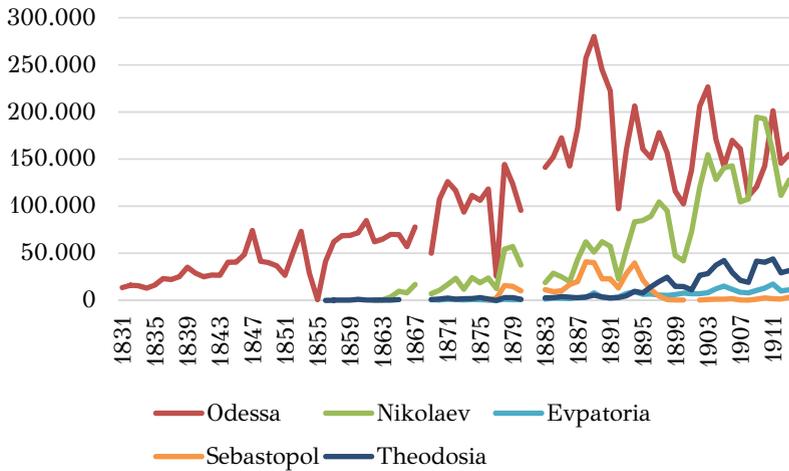
Figure 2.1, depicts the participation of the ports in the exports of the northern coast. Odessa was the prime exporter, culminating its activities from the 1870s to 1900s. Nikolaev witnessed an extraordinary growth after the 1880s catching up with Odessa at the eve of the First World War. Odessa from below 50 million French Francs worth of exports in the 1830s reached more than 200 million after 1880s, whereas Nikolaev from almost nil in the 1860s reached 200 million by 1913. The Crimean ports fall far behind as they never exported more than 50 million French Francs worth of exports.

Figure 2.2 indicates the port system of the northern coast. Odessa is by far the most important port and was also the main maritime centre of the northern coast with quite a number of sailing ships registered there. With the advent of steam, the main Russian steamship line, the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company was established there. The role was however, different than those of Odessa and Nikolaev. The role of the Crimean ports as smaller maritime centres were to serve as intermediary ports as they never froze. They did not really serve the hinterland of the northern coast but rather the grain export ports on both sides: Evpatoria, particularly grew as a feeder port of Odessa, while Theodosia, apart from being the main port of Crimea served the Azov ports.²⁴

23. Alexander Romantsov, “The Transportation Network of the Northern Black Sea Shore and the Black Sea Trade 18th-19th centuries” in Evrydiki Sifneos, Oksana Iurkova and Valentyna Shandra (eds), *Port-Cities of the northern shore of the Black Sea: Institutional, Economic and Social Development, 18th – early 20th Centuries*, (Rethymnon: Black Sea History series, forthcoming), volume 2, www.blacksea.gr.

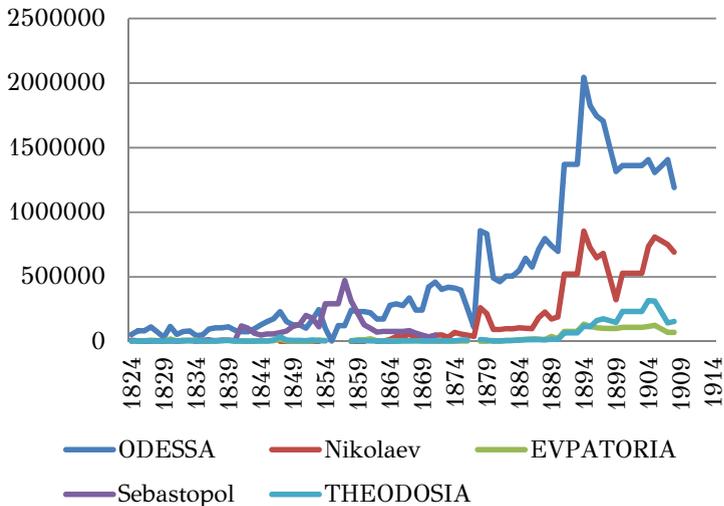
24. Anna Sydorenko, “The economic development of the crimean port-cities, second half of the 19th, beginning of the 20th century. Evpatoria, Sevastopol, Theodosia”, (Corfu: Ph.D. thesis, Ionian University, 2017).

Figure 2.1 Grain exports from the port cities of the northern Black Sea maritime region (in 000 French Francs)



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming.

Figure 2.2 Arrivals of ships at the port cities of the northern Black Sea maritime region (in tonnage)



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming.

Map 2.3 Eastern coast of the Black Sea



The **northeastern coast**, rose as the most important grain export district of southern Russia after the Crimean War, providing by the end of the 19th century 40-50% of total southern Russian exports and competing in importance with the ports of Odessa and Nikolaev who provided the other 40% (figure 2.10). Two coastal loading zones and ports are distinguished (map 2.3). The first one is the northeastern part and includes the Azov coastal and loading zone with five main ports and the second one in the southeast the transcaucasian coastal zone with two main ports at its two edges, Novorossiysk and Batoum. Taganrog, the foremost port on the Azov, developed slowly during most of the nineteenth century, but in the 1880s and 1890s the astonishing growth of its neighbouring river port, Rostov-on-Don, prevented a larger and more spectacular development. Until mid-19th century Taganrog was the main

exporting city. From the 1850s to the 1870s, Taganrog competed with the rising Rostov with exports up to 60 million French Francs (figure 2.3). By 1900 exports from Rostov and Novorossiysk had tripled, where Taganrog exports remained below 80 million French Francs. Berdyansk and Mariupol followed and Kerch remained the intermediate port-entrance to the Azov.

Apart from the Don Host Region behind Taganrog and Rostov, the vast hinterland of the coastal loading zone of the Azov Sea expanded to Kharkov, Voronezh, Tambov, Saratov (map 2.3). These areas also covered by the fertile black earth include the middle and lower Volga river basins and the Don river basin. Both rivers, of thousands of miles long are navigable and proved to be major waterways. River transport was combined with land transport, oxen carts and since the 1880s a large network of railroads led to Rostov and Novorossiysk. The latter, out of the Azov, had the great advantage of no ice and shallowness of waters (map 2.3).

Novorossiysk and Batoum served mainly the hinterland that stretched from Kuban to Baku and Kars. The conquest of Batoum was very important, because it firstly provided by far the best port of the whole southeastern coast, and secondly it really turned the Black Sea to a “Russian lake”.²⁵ After conquering Georgia, the Russians had tried to form three ports, Poti, Sukhum and Redut-Kale, none of which, however was adequate, and were fully surpassed by Batoum.²⁶ By conquering and developing the infrastructure of the port of Batoum, the Russians were able to turn it to a major commercial centre and replace the Ottoman port of Trabzon in the old and important land route Trabzon-Erzurum-Tabriz that connected the Black Sea with Iran.²⁷

The hinterland of this area as it was formed by the Russian guberniia (provinces) (see map 2.3), was composed in the northern Caucasus, by Kuban, Stavropol, Terek and in the southern Caucasus by Dagestan, Kutais, Tiflis, Batoum, Kars, Erivan, Elisavetopol and Baku. The area proved valuable as the Caucasus and the northern

25. Eka Tchekoidze, “Oil and Soil: the role of Batoum’s economic development in shaping of geopolitical significance of the Caucasus” in this volume, chapter 16.

26. Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on Batoum and its future prospects dated to 08/04/1882. Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1089.

27. *Ibid.*

Caspian coast were major natural resources of petroleum. At the last third of the 19th century, the United States were Russia's major rival in oil. In 1901 the output of Russian petroleum was 50.6% of the whole world's product, while the American petroleum was only 41.2%.²⁸ Oil came mainly from the Absheron peninsula on the Caspian coastline where Baku was situated. In fact from 1893 through to 1912, 91% of Russian crude oil was produced in four major oil fields near one city-Baku.²⁹

The Russian government proceeded in the formation of a railway network in the area in order to connect the oilfields with the main ports of the southeastern coast: Novorossiysk and Batoum. Vladikavkaz was connected with Novorossiysk in 1882 and further with Rostov. Novorossiysk from a small town had a spectacular growth providing oil and grain exports. This is the Russian port that today along with Tuapse, a small village in the south of Novorossiysk until the mid-1990s, are the most frequented lines for tankers in the Black Sea today.³⁰

Figure 2.4 indicates the port system of the eastern coast. Taganrog remained the most important port of the Azov and the main maritime centre of the eastern coast with quite a number of registered sailing ships and steamships. It is the Greek shipowners and merchants that led the shipping business in this region.³¹ With the advent of steam, tugs were introduced and facilitated shipping in the area. From 200,000 tons up to 1880s the ship movements of Taganrog grew spectacularly along with those of Novorossiysk to one million ship tonnage by 1910. Batoum, however, outdid them both and in 1908 reached 1.6 million ship tonnage, second only to Odessa in the whole of the Black Sea. The importance of ports in the southeastern Black Sea coast in the 1880s and 1890s was spectacular. From nothing in 1878 by 1900 they accounted for 38 per cent of the tonnage leaving all southern Russian ports.

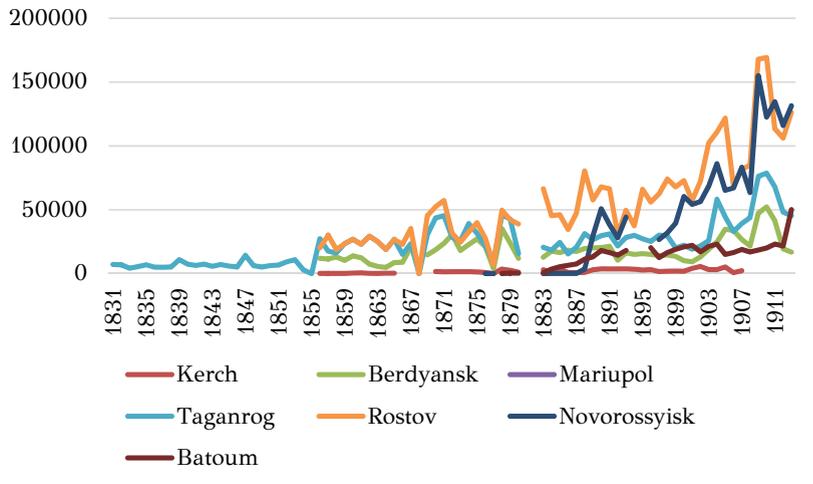
28. E. K. Reynolds, "The Economic Resources of the Russian Empire", *Geographical Review*, 1:4 (April 1916), pp. 249-265.

29. William J. Kelly, "Railroad Development and Market Integration in Tsarist Russia: Evidence on Oil Products and Grain", *The Journal of Economic History*, 36:4 (December 1976), pp. 908-916.

30. Pallis, Theotokas, Lekakou, *Black Sea Ports, Shipping and Cities in Modern Times...*

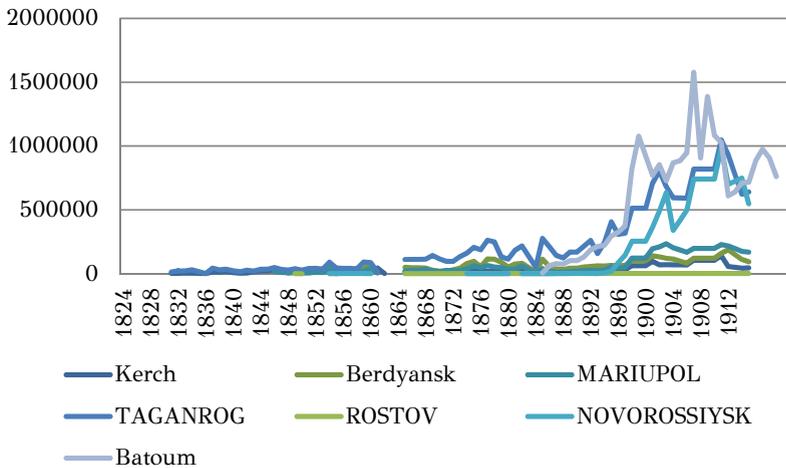
31. Sifneos, Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...* .

Figure 2.3 Grain exports from the port cities of the eastern Black Sea maritime region (in 000 French Francs)



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou (eds), *The development of 21 Black Sea port-cities. A statistical approach*, (Rethymnon: Black Sea History Working Papers), forthcoming, volume 8.

Figure 2.4 Arrivals of ships at the port cities of the eastern Black Sea maritime region (in tonnage)



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming.

The development of these ports enabled exports of the rich mineral resources of the Caucasus. The desire of the Russian government to develop this part of the country was realized with the construction of basic infrastructure: ports, quays and the opening of the Trans-Caucasian railway in 1883. The first port to achieve some importance was Poti. But this was short-lived, for it soon lost its predominance because of unsafe port conditions and the acquisition of Batoum from the Ottomans in 1878. In the 1880s and 1890s Novorossiysk became the main outlet of the northern Caucasus, exporting grain, petroleum and cement.

The steady growth of this new port caused a considerable reduction in the amounts shipped from Taganrog. In winter, when the Azov was frozen, Novorossiysk was accessible to shipping and grain held in Rostov-on-Don could leave from there. Batoum drew the government's particular attention by rapidly constructing a maritime infrastructure and becoming the most important port in the Transcaucasus. Its importance lay in the fact that it had the safest harbour along the coast from Kerch to Sinope.

Map 2.4 Western coast of the Black Sea



In the **western maritime region** the coastal zone stretched from the delta of the Danube to Burgas (map 2.4). The consuming demands of the Ottoman capital had necessitated close economic relations between the imperial centre and the western Black Sea coast, that is the Ottoman province of present day Bulgaria (formed as an independent state in 1878) and the semi-autonomous Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia were united in 1859, named Romania in 1866, and became an independent state in 1878) that for centuries supplied Constantinople with significant amounts of grain. Within this coastal/loading zone two port systems are distinct. The first one includes the **southwestern coast** below the Danube (see map 2.4). The main port-cities that developed were after the formation of the Bulgarian state, Varna and Burgas. Varna became the outlet of the southern Danubian plains that stretched as far back as Vidin and used the right bank of the river as loading places to gather the produce. Both ports witnessed a remarkable growth in grain exports. From very few exports in 1879, they reached grain exports up to 40 million French Francs each at the eve of the First World War contributing in this way even more to the development Black Sea grain exports (figure 2.5).

The other **northwestern** loading/coastal zone stretches from the delta of the Danube to Dniester. The main loading place of the area were on the river, and the largest ones were the Wallachian river port of Braila, and the Moldavian river port of Galatz each exporting the grain produce of its Principality. As figure 2.5 indicates from 1830 to 1870s the grain exports from Braila and Galatz varied between 20 million to 40 million French Francs. It was in the last twenty years of the 19th century that the western coast became as important in the grain exports as the northern and eastern coast ports. In the 1880s and 1890s grain exports from Braila shot up five times and reached above 100 million French Francs followed by those of Galatz at about 40 million French Francs in exports. Braila was by far the largest exporter not only of its region but of the whole western coast and three times as much as its rival port, Galatz. It became the main gateway of the largest fertile Danubian plain of Wallachia which was double the size of Moldavia. Braila had a comparative advantage; whereas the Wallachian produce was more cheaply transported through the waterway of the Danube, the more expensive land transport was used to carry to Galatz the Moldavian grain (despite the attempts to ameliorate the navigability of the Danubian tributaries

Sireth and the Pruth that crossed its land). Land routes, as was the case in all Black Sea hinterlands, were underdeveloped. They were really natural track roads with non-existent paved roads and very few bridges. The main land transport means, as was the case in the northern and eastern coast, were oxen driven carts which were slow and expensive. As Constantin Ardeleanu mentions, “it was as expensive to carry grain overland on a distance of 100 miles as it was to ship it from Galați to London”.³² Constantza was a new port-city, and it became part of Romania after the annexation of the province of Dobrogea in 1878. As it was the only Romanian port on the sea it attracted the government’s attention as the future Romanian naval and commercial hub. Despite the state investments, however, it took time to take off. Its exports remained at low levels in comparison with those of Braila and Galatz (figure 2.5).

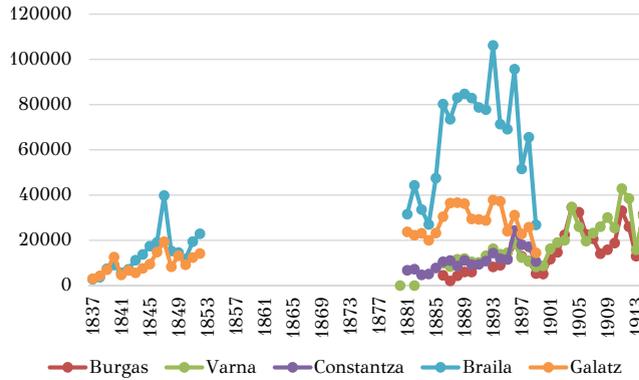
Figure 2.6 indicates the rise of shipping from the western coast. In the southwestern maritime zone Varna and Burgas together reached about one to 1.5 million tons at the turn of the century. Both port cities seem to grow as maritime centres with sailing ships and steamships registered in their ports. This area had a long, and still under-researched maritime tradition. It included a significant number of smaller port-towns that were smaller maritime centres of sailing ships like Vasiliko, Achtopol/Agathopolis, Sozopol, Balchik that served throughout the 19th century the local and peripheral Black Sea trade.

On the northwestern part, the Danubian sea-going ship tonnage from 500,000 tons in 1850, tripled in 1890 and reached the amount of 2.5 million tons in 1910. New developments here brought structural changes in the Danubian sea-trade. In 1856 the European Commission of the Danube (CED) was established at Paris by the Great Powers with the aim to improve navigation in Lower Danube River. Although this aimed to develop the Danubian river ports of Galatz and Braila due to the imposed dues and to the continuation of the navigational difficulties it caused a loss of tonnage under the circumstances. Almost one-third of the ship tonnage loading grain on the Danube in the last two decades of the 19th century loaded in Sulina and not in the river ports of Braila and Galatz which were 90 and 120 miles upstream. Sulina, a tiny port, a “parasitical middleman” as Ardeleanu has char-

32. Constantin Ardeleanu, “Romania’s Investments in Its Maritime Ports (1878-1914)” in Ardeleanu, Lyberatos (eds), *Port-Cities of the western shore of the Black Sea...*

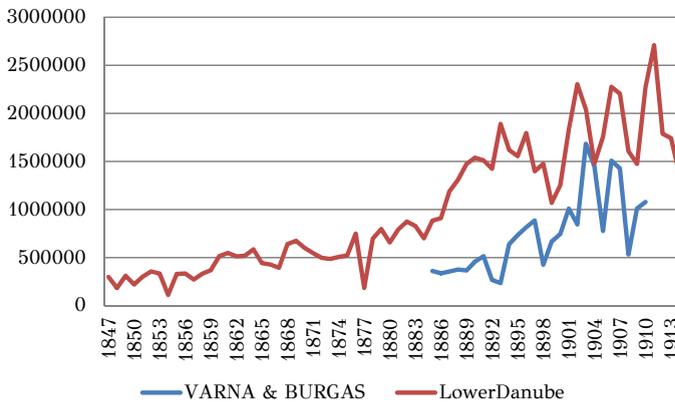
acterized it, was practically on an island at the entrance of the Danube where lighters full of cargo came from upstream to load the vessels.³³

Figure 2.5 Grain exports from the port cities of the western Black Sea maritime region (in 000 French Francs)



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming.

Figure 2.6 Arrivals of ships at the port cities of the western Black Sea maritime region (in tonnage)



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming.

33. Ibid.

Map 2.5 Southern coast of the Black Sea



The **southern coast** of the Black Sea covers the Ottoman and later Turkish area from Istanbul to east of Rize, an area populated until the beginning of the twentieth century mostly by Muslims, but with a significant non-Muslim population, mainly Greeks and Armenians both in the port-cities and the hinterland. The cargoes of the southern shore did not consist of the huge grain exports of the other shores of the Sea. Apart from the “oriental” goods from Asia, opium, dried plants for dyeing, fruit, nuts, cloves, tea and other kinds of agricultural produce were the goods of the hinterland of the area, along with silver and copper extracted and manufactured in the inland cities of the province of Sivas and coal, later, from Zonguldak.

Within this coastal zone two port systems are distinct. The first one, the southeastern part includes the area that expands from Rize to Sinop and the other, the southwestern part from Sinop to Istanbul. In the hinterland of the southern coast, land transport was carried out predominantly with camel caravans, mules and horse driven carts. There was also inland river transport, on river Çoruh

in the province of Trabzon and on Kizil river in the province of Samsun.³⁴ Roads were narrow passes and the absence of sufficient carriage roads hindered the communication of the hinterland with the coastal zone. The land route network, however, connected the coast to all main cities, Amasya, Tokat, Merzifon, Sivas, Yozgat, Kayseri and even Harput (map 2.5).

This area was overshadowed by Constantinople/Istanbul, the great metropolis and port of the Ottoman Empire that was really the grand maritime centre of Black Sea shipping as all ships had to pass the straits.³⁵ The southern coastal zone of the Black Sea was more engaged on local and peripheral Black Sea trade and its international connections developed mainly through Constantinople.³⁶ The most important port of the area was Trabzon whose remarkable growth in shipping movements is pictured in figure 2.8. Trabzon developed as the most international entrepot of the area, for centuries long the main gateway of Asian trade from Persia and India and with direct export connections to Constantinople. Trabzon had reached in 1914 1.2 million tons of ship tonnage competing hard in the Asian trade with its main next door competitor, Batoum, that in 1908 had reached 1.6 million ship tonnage. Figure 2.9 indicates thirteen ports of the southern coast in 1900 in terms of ship tonnage arriving to the ports in 1900. Trabzon and Samsun are the largest ports of the area followed by Giresun and Inebolu with a volume varying between 400,000 and 650,000 tons. There were five medium sized ports, like Ordu, Ereğli, Sinop, Rize, and Ünye with a ship tonnage

34. Erler Mehmet Yavuz, “Samsun. The hinterland of the port-city”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr ; See also Özdis Hamdi “Trabzon. Road transportation network” and “Trabzon. River network” in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr, (date of access: 20 February 2020).

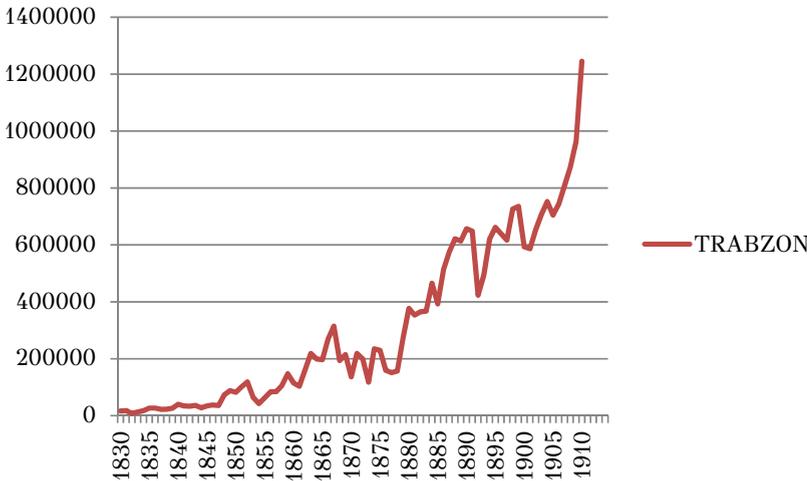
35. Edhem Eldem, “Scanning the Ottoman Black Sea in 1900 through the *Revue commerciale du Levant*”, in Eldem, Kechriotis, Laiou (eds), *The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, ...* ; Gelina Harlaftis and Vassilis Kardasis, “International bulk trade and shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea” in Jeffrey Williamson and Sevket Pamuk, *The Mediterranean Response to Globalization*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

36. Sophia Laiou, “The Ottoman state and the Black Sea Trade, end of the 18th – beginning of the 19th century” in Eldem, Kechriotis, Laiou (eds), *The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast... .*

100,000 and 300,000 tons, and four small ports Zonguldak, Platana, Bartın, and Amasra, with less than 20-30,000 tons.

The southern coast of the Black Sea, after the 1820s developed as a maritime zone for Muslim shipowners and seafarers with important shipbuilding activities. Ünye developed as an important ship-building site mainly for the construction of brigs and ships between 50-200 tons, followed by Rize, Tirebolu and Giresun.³⁷ The Ottoman Muslim ships of the southern coast were mainly involved in the local and peripheral trade of the Black Sea whereas Greeks (of Greek, Ottoman or other nationality) were involved in the international trade.³⁸

Figure 2.8 Arrivals of ships at the port cities of the southern Black Sea maritime region (in ship tons)

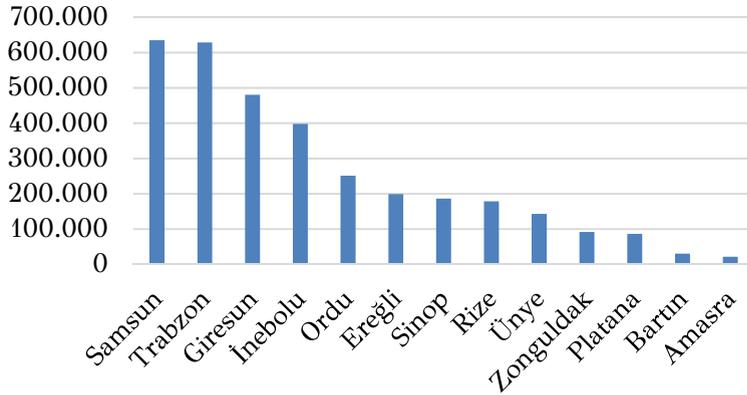


Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming.

37. Ekin Mahmuzlu, “The Transformation of the Mercantile Shipping in Eastern Anatolian Black Sea Ports between 1834 and 1914”, in *ibid.*

38. Christos Hadziiossif, “Parallel lives: Greek shipping and the port of Istanbul”, Ekin Mahmuzlu, “The Transformation of the Mercantile Shipping in Eastern Anatolian Black Sea Ports between 1834 and 1914” in *ibid.* See also Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-owned shipping...*

Figure 2.9 Volume of shipping in Black Sea southern coast, 1900



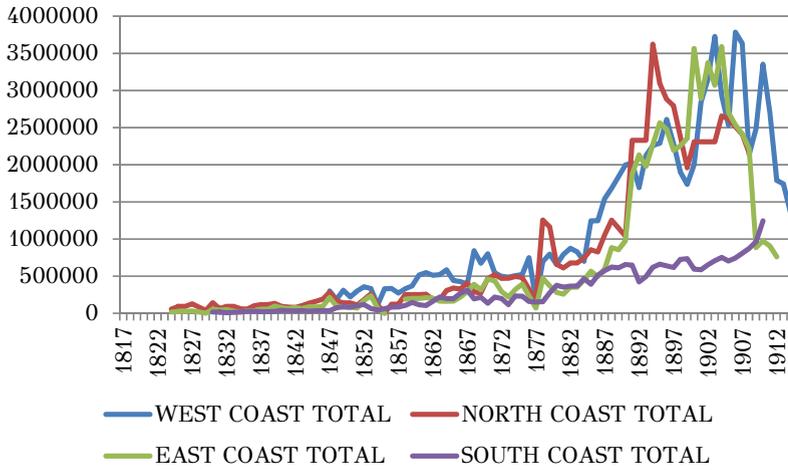
Source: Edhem Eldem, “Scanning the Ottoman Black Sea in 1900 through the *Revue commerciale du Levant*”, in Edhem Eldem, Vangelis Kechriotis, Sophia Laiou (eds), *The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th – Beginning of the 20th century*, (Corfu: Black Sea History Working Papers, 2017) volume 5.

The globalization process of the Black Sea

Maritime history by making the sea as the unit of reseach, is written crossing borders and seas, without dealing with different countries.³⁹ Without disregarding the political developments that brought decisive changes to the coastal zones and their hinterlands, we have proceeded in the analysis of the Economic History of the Black Sea following developments *around the sea and because of the sea*. In this way we identified maritime regions, the formation of port systems and maritime transport systems focusing on shipping and trade. We have used as the main mechanism of the connectivity of maritime regions and subregions and ports the maritime transport system. The transport system of each maritime region was the forefront for the formation of a productive system that integrated the markets within a maritime region, with other maritime regions and the global economy.

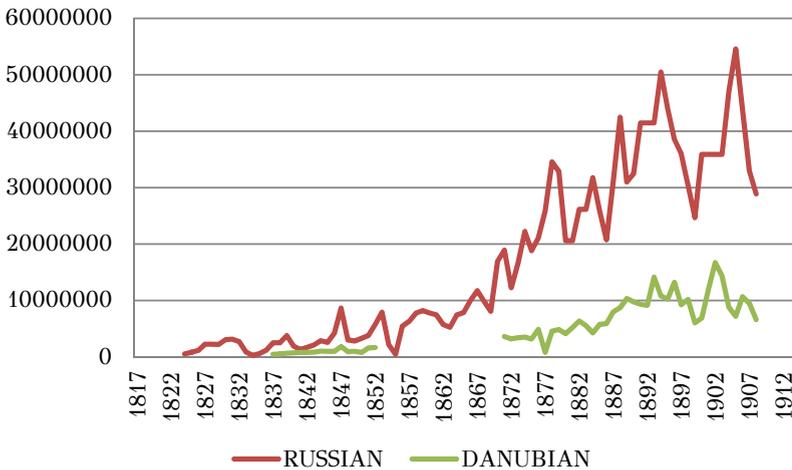
39. See also Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, *Maritime History as Global History*, Research in Maritime History 43, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2010).

Figure 2.10 Departures of ships (in tons) from all coasts of the Black Sea



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming.

Figure 2.11 Grain exports from the western, northern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea, 1813-1914 (imperial quarters)



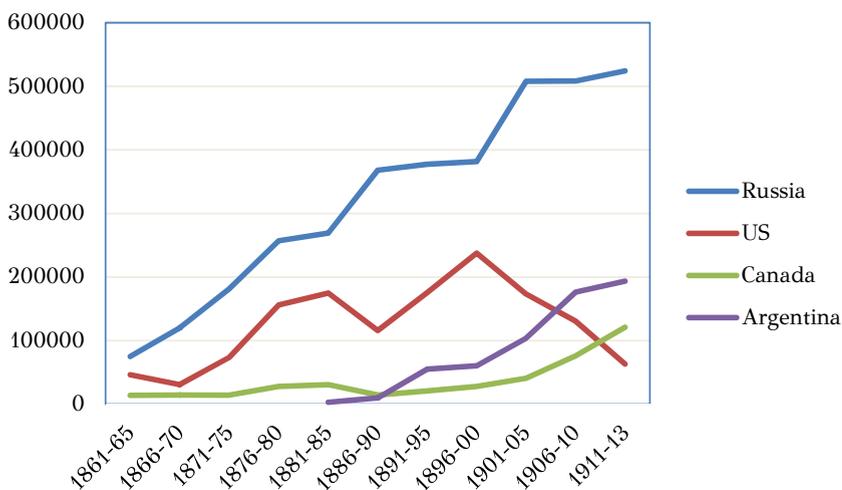
Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou (eds), *The development of 21 Black Sea port-cities. A statistical approach*, (Rethymnon: Black Sea History Working Papers), forthcoming, volume 8.

As the previous analysis indicated, from the last third of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century more than 20 port-cities mushroomed in the western, northern and eastern coastline of the Black Sea attracting hundreds of thousands of immigrants mainly from central and southeastern Europe. The port cities of the Black Sea region that emerged as grain and oil export gateways and were linked to the expanding European metropolises during the period of the industrial revolution. The linkages to western European port-cities triggered development and convergence of regional markets.

Statistical analysis indicated a unity and a formation of a Black Sea market where there was increase of trade and shipping on all shores at the same periods. Figures 2.10 and 2.11 indicate the aggregate development of shipping and trade at all shores of the Black Sea. By 1900, 24% of total ship tonnage came from the Western coast, 27% from the northern coast, 42% from the eastern coast and 7% from the southern coast (figure 2.10). The development of grain exports was also spectacular as figure 2.11 indicates. More than 60 million imperial quarters were exported from the Black Sea at the turn of the century from all its western, northern and eastern coast. It was after the Crimean War, that major institutional and structural changes on all sides took place, and a truly globalized Black Sea market emerged. The end of the Crimean War coincided with major changes in the global economy, mainly through the introduction of new technologies in an international scale. The introduction of steamships and railways in transport and telegraph in communication triggered dramatic changes and accelerated international trade from ports of the Sea. An important impact of the introduction of new technology was the great fall of transport costs and freight rates that boosted exports and shipping.⁴⁰ During this time American grain was developing as a main world grain exporting market; it only took over the Black Sea after Balkan wars in 1911.

40. On the fall of transport costs See Knick Harley, "Ocean Freight Rates and Productivity, 1740-1913: The Primacy of Mechanical Invention Reaffirmed", *The Journal of Economic History*, 48:4 (December 1988), pp. 851-876. On the impact of information technology in globalization see Mette Ejrnaes and Karl Gunnar Persson, "The gains from improved market efficiency: trade before and after the transatlantic telegraph", *European Review of Economic History*, 14, pp. 361-381.

Figure 2.12 Comparison of Russian exports in world grain market, 1861-1913 (in 000 poods)



Source: M.L. Harvey, “The Development of Russian Commerce on the Black Sea and its Significance”, (Ph.D. thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1938).

Proper comparison between the Black Sea grain exports and the American grain exports has not yet being done. The comparison is impressive with this the major competitor, if only Russian exports are used. Despite the enormous importance of the Russian grain, very little has been written on this subject.⁴¹ The United States while

41. The grain trade from Russia or America to Europe has been studied in two outstanding doctoral dissertations that were supported in the USA and which unfortunately have remained unpublished. For the development of Russian grain exports from Black Sea the dissertation of Harvey is unique, “The Development of Russian Commerce on the Black Sea and its Significance”, (Ph.D. thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1938), which is based on Russian statistics of the 19th century. For the American grain exports during the same period, is also unique the dissertation of Morton Rothstein, “American Wheat and the British market, 1860-1905”, (Ph.D. thesis, Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University, 1960). It is also particularly interesting the unpublished dissertation of Susan Fairlie, “The Anglo-Russian Grain Trade, 1815-1861”, (University of London, 1959). For the grain trade of Russia also see M. E. Falkus, “Russia and the International Wheat Trade, 1861-1914”, *Economica*, New Series, 33:132 (November 1966), pp. 416-429.

successfully competed with Russian grain exports, at the turn of the 20th century they saw their exports shrinking. The Russian grain exports were unbeatable. Despite the impressive growth of Canada and Argentina after the 1890s, in the second half of the 19th century until World War I southern Russia was undoubtedly the largest granary of the world. As it is clearly visible in figure 2.12, during the period under consideration, Russian grain (wheat, barley, oats and rye) exceeded over two thirds the American (of North and South America). The economic development policy of the South through the promotion of the strategic field of grain exports was proved successful for the Russian Empire.

On the part of the Soviet Union see B. A. Zolotov, *Хлебный экспорт России через порты Черного и Азовского морей в 60-90-е годы XIX века* [Grain trade through the ports of Black and Azov Sea in the decades 60-90 of the 19th century], (Rostov on Don: Rostovskii universitet, 1966). In post-Soviet bibliography we could only identify the study of A. G. Belozertsev, *Зерновое хозяйство России (1865-1997 гг.)* [Russian grain economy (1865-1997)], (Moscow: 1998), which although covers a very long period it is not of course a depth analysis of the 19th century.

3. The Volga-Don road to the Black Sea: evolution and reality of the 19th century

Nailya Tagirova

The aim of this chapter is to examine the evolution and changes of the main waterways of eastern region of the Black Sea, the rivers Volga and Don in the commodity traffic, particularly grain. The historical background of the Volga-Don route to the Black Sea, will be examined along with its geographical features, the opportunities it provided, the development and changes due to railway construction in the last third of the 19th century Russia. The effects on the main river/sea ports of the area like Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog and Tsaritsyn will also be considered. The main questions this chapter seeks to answer are the following: How far into the East did the influence of the Black Sea spread? Can we consider that the Volga River region economy and the economy of the Black Sea area interrelated? What were the changes in time (geographical, technical, organizational or political) that had the greatest influence on the development of economic life in the eastern part of the Black Sea coast? Which river/sea ports develop as the main economic centres of the area?

Among the historical sources used are those of Central Statistical Committee of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union concerning grain produce and other cargo transport via railways and waterways, including information on the infrastructure like private wharves, or on joint stock companies involved in the transport. Additionally, 19th century memoirs and studies enlightened the processes that took place in the region. Evidence from the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which studied the economic situation in the area of the Azov Sea in the 1860s, were particularly helpful. In 1862 the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (IRGS) organized an Azov expedition under the supervision of Professor K. M. Baer to explore the situation of the Azov Sea, its shores and ports. The following year

the Secretary of the Society V. P. Bezobrazov travelled along the Volga River from Nizhny Novgorod to Tsaritsyn and further to the Don River to the Azov Sea. The purpose of the trip was “the general study of the commercial commodity traffic between the basins of the Volga and the Don Rivers, between the Volga lower provinces and the sea of Azov”. The trip, which lasted several months (only in Tsaritsyn V. P. Bezobrazov stayed for a month), was performed because of the “huge pre-eminent importance” of the area for the Russian Empire. The report of the Society Secretary V. P. Bezobrazov about the trip along the Volga-Don route in 1864 gave an opportunity to study the situation in the region during the 1840s-1860s.¹

A very interesting source is the one from a series of British publications that was prepared by the British Foreign Office for participants of International Peace Conferences following the First World War.² It contains the studies of the history, demography and economics in the areas of the Volga and the Don River basins. The source made it possible to trace the evolution in the organization of transportation and trade infrastructures in the late 19th – early 20th centuries.

Geographical features

Volga is Europe’s longest river with a length of 3.690 km.³ For centuries it has played the role of the frontier line between Europe and Asia. The desire of people to cross it to get further beyond it or use it to connect the adjacent territories goes back to the ancient times. Looking at the Volga River on the geographical map one can

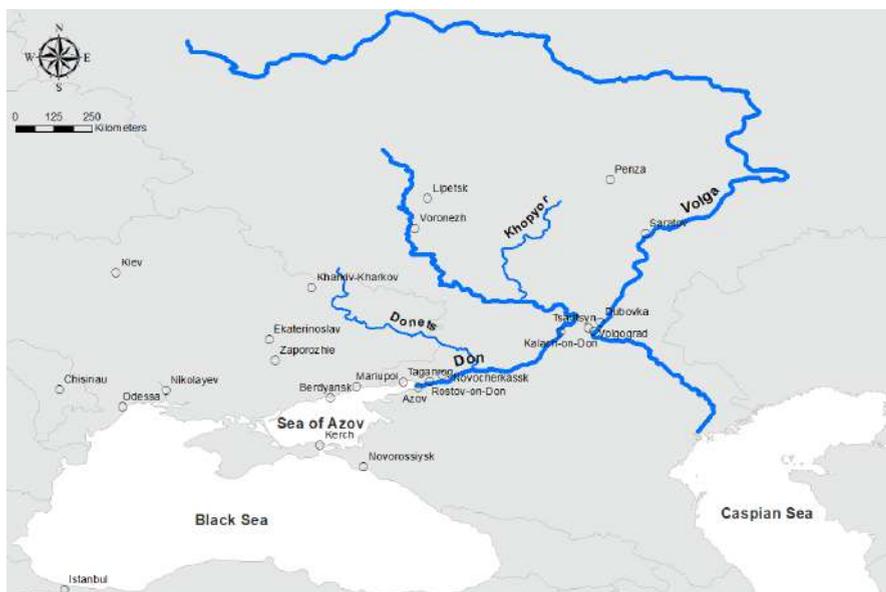
1. Vladimir P. Bezobrazov, “Предварительный краткий отчет о путешествии секретаря Общества В. П. Безобразова по России в 1864 году” [Provisional summary record of the journey of the Secretary V.P. Bezobrazova society in Russia in 1864 in K. N. Bestouzhev-Rumin (ed.), *Записки Императорского Российского Географического общества, 1864* [Notes of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, 1864], (Saint Petersburg: Tip. V. Bezobrazova I Ko, 1864) p. 4, <http://lib.rgo.ru/dsweb/View/ResourceCollection-22> (last accessed 01.28.2016).

2. *The Don and Volga Basins*, (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1920) pp. 41-42. <https://www.wdl.org/ru/item/9157/view/1/1/#q=%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B3%D0%B0> (accessed at 11.02.2016) .

3. The length of the Volga river after the construction of reservoirs is considered

easily see that it looks like a tree with a large crown and a weak root system. Numerous rivers flow into the Volga River, the largest of which are the rivers Oka and Kama that make the Volga “crown” (see map 3.1). As a rule, it was exactly at the confluence of two rivers that river port-cities sprang and flourished. This peculiarity of the Russian urban development was spotted and described by the famous geographers P. P. and V. P. Semenov-Tian-Shansky ⁴.

Map 3.1 The Volga, Don Rivers



in 3.530 km. In the 19th – early 20th c. the length of the river was considered from the source, including the non-navigational part, in this case its length will be 3.690 km.

4. Veniamin P. Semenov-Tian-Shansky, Peter P. Semenov-Tian-Shansky, Vasily I. Lamansky. *Россия. Полное географическое описание нашего Отечества. Настольная и дорожная книга для русских людей* Том. 6. Среднее Поволжье и Заволжье [Russia. Full geographical description of our Motherland. Table and road book for Russian people. Vol. 6. Middle Volga and Zavolzhie], (Saint Petersburg: A. F. Davrien, 1901); Veniamin P. Semenov-Tian-Shansky, *Район и страна* [District and country], (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo, 1928); Ibid, *Город и деревня в Европейской России. Очерк по экономической географии с 16 картами и картограммами* [City and village in European Russia. Essay on economic geography with 16 maps and cartograms], (Saint Petersburg: Tip. Imp. akademii nauk, 1910).

The Volga “tree roots” are on the Caspian Sea. The main part of the Volga River – the “trunk” of the tree – is quite winding. The most important river port cities of Volga such as Nizhny Novgorod, Kazan, Ulyanovsk (Simbirsk in the 19th century), Samara, Saratov, Volgograd (Tsaritsyn in the 19th century) and Astrakhan are located in the places where the river twists and changes its stream. The most westwardly situated cities are the ones of Nizhny Novgorod and Tsaritsyn, the most eastwardly situated is Samara. Different administrative and economic zones of the Russian Empire and ex-Soviet Russia divided the Volga region territories either into two parts – Povolzhye (the right bank of the river) and Zavolzhye (the left bank of the river) or into three parts – the so-called Upper Volga, Middle Volga and Lower Volga regions.

This division was determined by various factors: 1) the time the Russian State annexed a certain territory, 2) population density, 3) economic development, and 4) natural climatic conditions. Forestlands, forest-steppes and steppe strips, interchangeably from Northwest to Southeast, create three bands of different types of agricultural and economic specialization in these fertile lands.

Near the city of Tsaritsyn, where Volga is in its most western position, the river changes its course from the Southwest to Southeast and it is here that it comes close and has the shortest distance to the other river – the Don. The proximity of Volga and Don, the distance between which is slightly more than 70 km, used to be very attractive from the economic development point of view and provided opportunities for merging the two rivers into an entire concurrent route, leading further to the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea.

Due to its natural geographical features, the above-mentioned region was of geopolitical significance. There were two routes that connected the Volga with the Mediterranean via the chain of Rostov-on-Don, the river port of the Azov, Taganrog, Berdyansk and Mariupol to: 1) through Kerch Channel to the Crimea, to the Black Sea and ultimately to the Mediterranean, 2) through the Kerch Channel to Novorossiysk and further to the southern coast of the Black Sea and then to the Black Sea.

Before the railway construction there had been only one way of communication between the Volga and the Black Sea – by horse-drawn wagons overland to the Don and further to the seas.

Throughout its history, the Volga-Don lands used to be the territory of collaboration and cooperation, competition, rivalry and hostility at the same time.

Historical background

The regions of the Volga and the Don rivers have been very important in European and world trade for many centuries as they have had a long history of fairly intense trade contacts and connected northern and southern Europe, the Baltic and northern Seas with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Archaeologists testify that the use of the Volga River for trade and business traffic had existed as early as the 8th-3rd centuries BC.⁵ Currently it crosses the Eastern European plain from the North to the South, being a nexus linking the White, Baltic, Caspian, Azov and Black Seas. Contrary to other rivers, Volga is a navigable waterway in most of its lengthy routes, and in the Middle Ages it proved a major shipping route called the Great Volga Waterway. During the 9th-13th centuries it used to be under the Volga Bulgaria State's control. Its capital city, the river port-city Bulgar and such cities as Kazan, Oshel and Bilyar performed significant trade functions with Bulgar acting as an important transit center.

Somewhat about forty rivers and lakes formed the entire system of the Great Volga Waterway. The whole trade-shipping route, originating from Britain and Holland, was virtually divided into three parts. The first part of Volga connected the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, while the Gulf of Finland, the Ladoga Lake, the Volkhov River and the Ilmen Lake constituted the northern part of the Great Volga Waterway. The cities of Ladoga, Novgorod and the settlements in the Ladoga Lake area (known as Preladozhye) were considered to be the most important ones in this part of the Great Volga Waterway. Next on through the "Seliger way" it was stretching to the place where the Volga River springs (its riverhead). The Volga-Oka interfluvium was settled and developed by Finno-Ugric tribes and the Slavs. Naturally, it was used for trade contacts with the Scandinavian peoples.

5. Igor V. Dybov, *Великий Волжский путь*, [The Great Volga Waterway], (Leningrad: Leningradskii Universitet, 1989), pp. 17-32.

The second and the main part of the Great Volga Waterway lay along the Volga River reaching the regions bordering the Caspian seashore. Contacts with the Eastern world, including China, spread over wide territories and reached the Volga-Kama interfluve. In the 8th-9th centuries, this part of the route was the main one in connecting Europe and Asia. It used to be the way through which silver for money manufacturing was transferred from the eastern parts of Russia to the western regions.⁶

The third part of the Great Volga Waterway was in the South and had to do with the areas around the Caspian Sea. The key point of trade was the city of Itil (the capital of Khazaria). From here, there was an overland road to the cities of Ray (Teheran) and Baghdad. There also were overland roads which were used for transportation in the direction of Hungary. The Volga trade used to provide economic prosperity to Derbent, Baku and many Persian cities.

While the main part of the Great Volga route with the basins of the rivers Belaya (White), Vyatka and Kama was under the Volga Bulgaria State's control in the 9th-13th centuries, its southern part was controlled by the Polovtsians who collected trade taxes from arriving ships. Povolzhye (areas along both banks of the Volga River) became an economic and cultural centre of Ulus Jochi State (the Golden Horde). It was in that period that the Volga-Don direction of business and trade exchange resumed its development. According to modern researchers, due to the events in that historical period of the Russian State a new cycle of active reciprocal trade along the Volga River developed. However, international significance of the Great Volga route tended to dilute, which was most commonly explained by a reduction in the flow of silver from Asia to Europe. The business contacts and trade in the southwestern regions were pretty much related with the Black Sea. According to Ibn al-Asir, in the pre-Mongolian period the Kipchaks who used to receive goods through the city of Sudak controlled those areas.⁷ A new stage in the develop-

6. Ivan M. Kylisher, *История русского народного хозяйства. 2-е изд.* [The History of Russian National Economy, 2nd ed.], (Chelyabinsk: Sotsioum, 2004), pp. 12-14.

7. *История татар с древнейших времен в семи томах. Том III. Улус Джучи (Золотая Орда). XIII-середины XV в.* [The History of Tatars from ancient times in the 7 volumes. Vol. 3 Ulus Jochi (the Golden Horde). 13 – the middle 15 c.], (Kazan: Institut im. Sh. Mardzhani, 2009), p. 288.

ment of the Great Volga Waterway and the Volga-Don transportation links had much to do with the state of Golden Horde (the Golden Horde) during the 13th-15th centuries that gained control of the Great Volga Trade Route and used to monitor and maintain its traffic.

There are various historical sources to enlighten us on the Volga region during this period. Guillaume Rubruk in 1253-1254 described two Russian settlements on the Don River in the upper and lower reaches and one Russian-Muslim settlement on the Volga which were known to have trading privileges.⁸ Apparently, the region between the Volga and the Don rivers was the site of the city Beldzhamen – a city-fair marked on the map of the Pitsigani brothers.⁹ The way along the Don River through the steppes towards the Lower Volga River led from the West to the city of Sarai – the new capital of the Ulus Jochi State (currently – the city of Astrakhan).

The business and trade traffic upwards the Volga River was known to take place up to the city of Bulgar (near today's Kazan). In these circumstances the economic significance of the cities in the Crimean coast of the Black Sea (Sudak, Kaffa, etc.), as well as the trade relations of Povolzhye with the states of the Mediterranean littoral grew.

Concurrently there was a route through Kaffa (modern Theodosia) and Azak (modern Azov) to India, China and Egypt. The city of Azov played a special role: tenancy and control of the city gave access to the Black Sea and next through the Don River allowed to penetrate deeper into the continent. Historians mention the 14th century as the period of the rise of Italian trading posts in the Azov Sea ports and the mouth of the Don River. Near the city of Azak in the

8. "They are not obliged to anything, only to transfer those traveling back and forth, "the right to charge from merchants a great tribute", *Ibid.*, p. 278.

9. F. and D. Pizzigani, perhaps brothers, or father and son, were professional cartographers who in 1367 made a map reflecting the medieval views of Europeans about the world. They were neither monks-missionaries, nor merchants. The descriptions of these places were also left by P. Karpini (1243 and F. Mauro (1459) see V. A. Kuchkin, "Samar, Самара и Поволжские города в XIII–XVI в. (окончание)" [SAMAR, Samara and the Povolzhskie cities in the 13th-16th centuries (ending)], *Drevniia Rus*, No. 4:50 (December 2012), <http://www.drevnyaya.ru/vyp/v2012.php> ; Edward L. Dubnman, *Поволжский фронт в середине XVI–XVII вв. Очерки истории* [The Volga frontier in the middle of the 16th-17th centuries Essays on history], (Samara: Samarskii universitet, 2012), pp. 69-83.

early fourteenth century two colonies were known – one of Venetian and the other of Genoese merchants. The trading colonies had their own commercial consuls, whose numbers ranged from 7 to 15.¹⁰ International trading agreements of the Golden Horde and the Italian cities of Genoa and Venice were also identified by the researchers as early as the 13th-14th centuries.¹¹ Italian (Francesco Balducci Pegolotti,) and Arab (Ibn Battut) historical sources of the 14th century describe the harbours of the Azov Sea and the Crimea. This route was actively used for wheat and slave trade to Venice and Genoa.

Lots of changes in terms and stipulations characterized world trade during the 15th-16th centuries. In the Black Sea the Ottoman Turks conquered Byzantine Empire and the centuries-old trading route through the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea was closed for Europeans. The new era of great geographical discoveries was searching for new ocean routes. The significance of the Azov-Black Sea region in the world trade declined. Numerous wars and military expeditions to conquer lands beyond Europe were taking place that made the business and trade of the region a backwater. Annexation of disintegrated territories of the ex-Golden Horde (Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates) to the Russian State in the 16th century turned the Volga a river of internal communication. Foreign contacts of the Russian State along the Volga River were linked to the Caspian Sea and were not too numerous. The Volga-Don route for the European and/or Asian trade and eventually world trade ceased to be.

At the beginning of the 17th century business and trade traffic of the Volga River was directed mainly upwards. The cities of Rybinsk, Nizhny Novgorod and Yaroslavl became the major grain trading centers of Volga that distributed the produce to the entrepreneurial and commercial areas of the Upper Volga that were mostly consuming provinces. It was grain cargoes to the Upper Volga provinces and Moscow that turned Nizhniy Novgorod into a prosperous river port city, and the main grain supplier in Russia in the second part of 17th century. When later in the beginning of the 18th century Russian Empire a got access to the Baltic Sea, the northern direction of the Great Volga Waterway became a highly-demanded area again.

10. *The History of Tatars ...*, p. 288.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

This route had lots of navigation difficulties due to numerous river rapids and made shipping particularly costly. However, in the early 19th century the Great Volga route was expanded through the connection of the Volga and the Neva rivers (the Mariinskaya river system) in 1808, as well as through the construction of the Tikhvinskaya and Vyshnevolotskaya river systems. A Volga-Baltic waterway was in this way connecting the Russian capital, St. Petersburg, with the vast interior.

At this time the Volga River fleet became huge, with thousands of small sailing craft and barges, some of which were drawn by barge-haulers, the so-called “burlaki” – poor peasants hired for work in the Volga wharves. Stereotypical images of human labour in the Volga River associated with “burlaki” were created during this era. Thus, during the 18th-19th centuries opportunities and facilities for steady sustained development of the Great Volga waterway were formed, supported by a system of transportation, sufficient workforce, warehouses, port infrastructure, commercial and institutional networks.

The territories bordering the Azov and Black Seas as well as the Crimean Peninsula became part of the Russian Empire in the late 18th century. Profound work from the Russian state apparatus to populate the territories, followed by intensive economic development, began.¹² A number of cities such as Taganrog, Mariupol, Berdyansk and Nikolaev were founded in those years. Urban construction works, building of new ports and infrastructures on shorelines, economic development of the coastal areas – all of that contributed greatly to the growth of business activity in the South of the Russian State.¹³ Yet, the area remained a frontier zone marked by major wars like the Crimean War (1853-1856) or continuous warfare in the Caucasus region. The Russian expansive strategy to the southeast ended with the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) that defined the borders of the Russian Empire in the Black Sea. By the beginning of the early twentieth century, the Volga River basin consisted of nearly two hundred river tributaries and had nine

12. Shandra, “General-Governors of Southern Ukraine... .

13. Vladimir V. Morozan, *Деловая жизнь на Юге России в XIX – начале XX века* [Business life in the South of Russia in 19th-20th c.], (Saint Petersburg: “Dmitrii Bulanin”, 2014), p. 9.

hundred wharves. It was the river that determined the direction of the grain produce traffic and the possibilities of the waterway communications. The main export gateways in the Azov became Rostov-on-Don and Taganrog.

The Volga River Wharves

Meanwhile, the Volga region was experiencing a steady economic and demographic growth. An intensive migration of ex-residents from the central provinces of Russia to Zavolzhye territories contributed to extensive development of agriculture that created more and more opportunities for rapid development of commodity farming in the area; consequently, the Volga River traffic saw a great development. Technology in the form of steamships boosted the possibilities of larger cargo traffic to the northern direction towards the upper Volga territories and the northern ports of the Russian Empire. The arduous toil of “burlaki” was to pass into oblivion as Guido Hausmann has described so vividly in his last book.¹⁴

The introduction of steamships in the traffic services had a strong impact on the functioning of the Volga River wharves, as many had to be reconstructed and modernized. The amount of work concentrated into the larger and more efficient wharves whereas the amount of work of smaller wharves along the way was decreasing.¹⁵ The wharves located next to the cities – provincial and district centres – had a great deal of more opportunities to attract resources for modernization. They received a far greater status and trade opportunities if there was a railroad connection to the river wharves linking thus water-land transport in the most efficient way. The development of commodity production in the Volga River regions was accompanied by an increase in cargo handlings of the wharves and railway stations. The Volga River wharves next to the cities of Samara, Saratov, Kazan, Tsaritsyn, Pokrovskaya Sloboda and Buzuluk railway stations in the early twentieth century were known to

14. Guido Hausmann, “Mütterchen Wolga. Ein Fluss als Erinnerungsort vom 16. bis ins frühe 20. Jahrhundert”, *Historische Anthropologie*, 2011, 19:2, pp.312-314

15. Bezobrazov, “Provisional summary record...”, p. 4.

have a turnover of more than 10 million poods a year (see picture 3.1 and 3.2) The wharves next to Khvalynsk, Serdobsk, Kamyshin, railway stations in the villages of Bekovo, Satykovka, Atkarsk in the Saratov province, the wharves next to Rovnoye, Baronsk, Balakovo, Dukhovnitskoye, Vasilievka, Stavropol, Krasny Yar, the railway station in Bogatoye, Neprik, Tolgay, Sorochinskaya, Abdullino, Buguruslan in the Samara province had a turnover over 1 million poods per year. The southbound shipment of grain was carried out in the wharves of Balakovo in the Samara province, Pokrovskaya Sloboda in the Saratov province and the city of Tsaritsyn.¹⁶

V. P. Bezobrazov noted that from a geographic and economic point of view, Kazan was the best traffic point, faster, cheaper and more convenient than Samara and Saratov, to carry the goods down the Volga River to the southern seas.¹⁷ However, as far back as the 1850s grain trade in the upper direction of the Volga River the way towards the Don River and the Azov Sea were from Samara to Tsaritsyn through the big warves in Balakovo, Volsk, Saratov and Pokrovskaya Sloboda, Kamyshin.¹⁸ The path from Kazan to Tsaritsyn has been described as follows: “the distance from Samara to Tsaritsyn is 938 miles and on its way there are many important cities and towns, among which are Spassk, Simbirsk, Stavropol, Samara, Sysran, Volgsk, Saratov and Kamyshin. The normal draught of vessels is 7 ft. There are 37 commercial landing stations and 28 harbours; of the latter six are thoroughly safe and ice-proof, namely, those as Spask, Samara, and Tsaritsyn. In the place 15 miles above Tsaritsyn the Volga River is divided into two arms which join again some 70 miles lower the river stream”.¹⁹

16. Nailya F.Tagirova, *Рынок Поволжья (вторая половина XIX-начало XX вв.)* [The Market of Volga Region (second half of 19th –beginning of 20th centuries], (Moscow: Moskovskii obshchestvennyi nauchnyi fond, 1999), p. 158.

17. Contemporaries highly appreciated the reliability of the information of V. P. Bezobrazov. In the beginning of the 1860, apparently, the infrastructure of the pier in Kazan was better than in Samara, which survived the terrible fires in the 1850s, which V. P. Bezobrazov recorded.

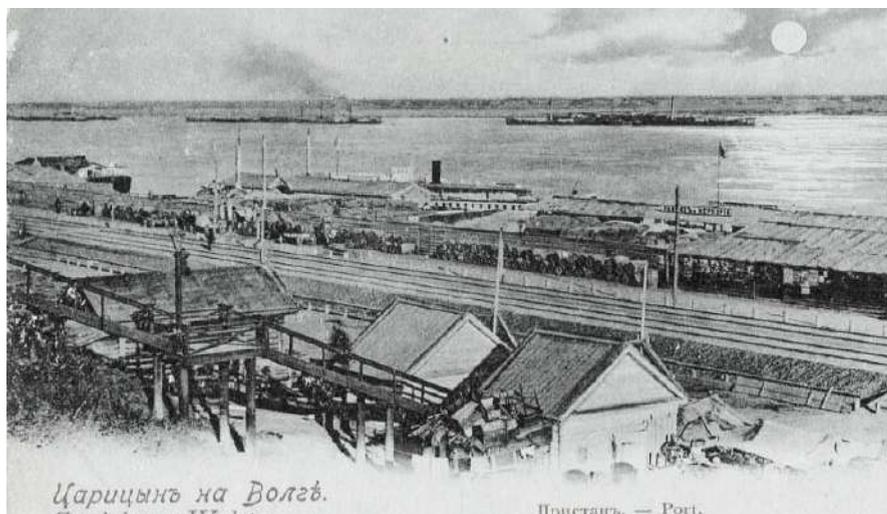
18. Bezobrazov, “Provisional summary record...”, p. 15.

19. *The Don and Volga Basins ...*, pp. 41-42.

Picture 3.1 Samara. Grain wharve. Postcard, late 19th century

It is worth taking a closer look at the last part of the path from Kamyshin. In the times prior the railway construction the main destination point of grain cargoes on the way further than Kamyshin was the trading quarter called Dubovka. Here at this point the commodities were loaded into wagons and then were transported to Kalach. The cargo was taken a little further down the Volga River, to the town of Tsaritsyn, and was then moved to the direction of the Caspian Sea. The wharf of the trading quarter of Dubovka was famous for its starobriadtsi (Old Believers) population and its importance in the trade. The length of the wharf, 1.5 miles, was very convenient for unloading of goods. Any wholesale merchant used to have his own point of sale where the trade was conducted. There used to be warehouses in which the commodities were safely kept during cold wintertime. Dubovka was surrounded by numerous villages; the locals were specialised in the land transport trade, grew oxen and horses for drawing wagons. Centuries-old communication between Dubovka and Kachalin and Rostov-on-Don, which became the largest export river-port of the region, vitalized and provided business opportunities and profits not only to people who were busy in the transport trade – coachmen, drivers, porters and anyone involved, but also to major merchants and capitalists.

Picture 3.2 Tsaritsyn. Wharve. Postcard, late 19th century



In 1863 the Volga and the Don rivers were connected by rail. It was the Volga-Don railway. The railway construction changed the route in its last part. The Volga-Don road started from Tsaritsyn, bypassing the trading quarter Dubovka to the station of Kalach (Kalach-on-Don, where there were backwaters of the Don River) and further to Rostov-on-Don. This circumstance was crucial both for Dubovka and the whole of traditionally known Volga-Don route.

The very first working year of the Volga-Don railway, which was built from the wharf next to the city of Tsaritsyn through the village of Kalach and further to Rostov, showed the superiority of the new way of communication over the existing before traditional one. During the same year, the cost of horse-drawn transportation in the trading quarter of Dubovka dropped from the usual 9-10 kopecks per pood to 3-4 kopecks. Those involved in the land transport considered their business “completely lost”²⁰ because of the new railway. The Volga-Don railway owners contributed to the modernization and improvement of the Tsaritsyn and Kalach wharves. According to V. P. Bezobrazov there was another advantage of railway communication in comparison with the old waterway as it allowed to overcome

20. Bezobrazov, “Provisional summary record..., p. 4.

the inconvenient and dangerous rapids of the river Don. During the next fifteen years the situation changed even more drastically.

Railway conditions of the nineteenth century

The importance of railways for the economic development of any country cannot be overestimated. The history of their emergence and development in the South of Russia and in the Volga River region is a separate subject for studies and discussion. At this point it is worth mentioning that the region bordering the Azov and Black Seas coasts was included in the plan of the railway construction at its first stage (in the 1860s-1870s) and the second stage of the railway construction which covered the Volga River region (the 1880s-1890s). The first railway construction stage meant the building of the railroads to connect the northern and southern capitals and ports with the grain-producing provinces. The second construction stage aimed at the advance deeper into Russia, beyond the Volga, the Ural and into Siberia. An overview of the railway construction in the above-mentioned region are as follows.²¹

The Volga-Don railway was one of the first railways not only in the region but also in the whole of Russia. Its story reflects the successes and challenges of transport and technical innovations in general. The first railway in the southeastern direction – the Volga-Don railway, was built with the funds of the joint stock company whose initiator was V. A. Kokorev, a would-be founder of the Volzhsko-Kamsky Commercial Bank. The length of the railroad was 74 km.²² The railway replaced the horse-drawn carriage transportation of goods from the Volga River regions to the regions along the Don River .

However, the advantages of the new kind of transportation from the Volga River regions to the Black Sea territories weakened with the necessity of transshipment from the train to river craft at the wharf of the Kalach city. The Volga-Don Railway and the Don River Shipping Joint Stock Company did not have enough steamers and

21. Petr I. Lyashchenko, *Очерки аграрной эволюции*, Том. 1 [Essays on the agrarian evolution, Vol. 1], (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo finansov, 1908), p. 238-240.

22. Currently, the Volga-Don branch railway flooded, it replaces the Volga-Don Canal, built in 1950.

barges to perform regular river transport. Weeks could pass before dispatching. And most importantly merchants had to take care of the security of the goods. Moreover, the work of the wharves of the Volga and the Don rivers depended on seasonality, which led to decrease of the effectiveness of the railway transport. Besides, peculiarities of the Don River – moorage, variability of the river depth, sandbars and rapids – all those made the navigation of the river barely possible and did not contribute to the increase of traffic. Elimination of these problems demanded great expenses. Hence transportation of commodities along the Don River to the Azov Sea was risky and as a result the cost of the transported grain was nearly doubled.

Another feature of the Don River route was connected with the challenges of the reverse movement: the navigation from Rostov-on-Don up the Don River was practically impossible. What is more, as it has been already noted, the lack of reverse traffic via the Volga-Don road increased the cost of the transport. As V. P. Bezobrazov noted, the Azov Sea ports mostly dispatched cargoes but did not take in foreign ones. The prevailing exports orientation of the Russian foreign trade infringed its import. The average annual exports from the Taganrog port was approximately 10 million roubles, whereas its import amounted to only 2 million roubles (wine, grocery and colonial goods).²³

By 1869 the railway had reached the city of Taganrog on the Azov Sea. A year later the railway was constructed from Kursk through Kharkov and Taganrog to Rostov-on-Don.²⁴ A famous entrepreneur S. S. Polyakov, whose family roots originated in the city of Taganrog²⁵, was granted a concession for the construction of the railway. The Black Sea became accessible by means of Kharkov-Nicholaevsk²⁶ railway (1868-1872) and Lazovo-Sevastopol rail-

23. Bezobrazov, "Provisional summary record...", pp. 20-21.

24. Alexandr S. Senin, "Курско-Харьково-Севастопольская железная дорога" [Kursk-Kharkov-Sevastopol railway], in *Экономическая история России с древнейших времен до 1917 года. Энциклопедия. Том 1.* [Economic History of Russia from ancient times to 1917. Encyclopedia Vol. 1.], (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2008), p. 1185.

25. Morozan, *Business life in the South of Russia ...*, p. 539.

26. Alexandr S. Senin, "Харьково-Николаевская железная дорога" [Kharkov-Nikolaev railway], in *Экономическая история России с древнейших времен до 1917 года. Энциклопедия. Том 2.* [Economic History of Russia from ancient times to 1917. Encyclopedia Vol. 2.], (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2008), p. 1064.

way was launched in 1875, with the construction concession granted to P. I. Gubonin. Later, railway branches were built to Theodosia, Kerch and other destinations. The year of 1875 was the start of the Rostov-on-Don-Vladikavkaz railway route traffic (concession for the construction was granted to R. V. Shteyngel), which significantly accelerated agricultural sales from the Kuban and Tersk regions, the Don Cossack region, Stavropol, the Black Sea coastal areas and other southern territories.²⁷ Soon the railway road reached Novorossiysk, connecting the lands of the Northern Caucasus with the regional market.²⁸ In the early twentieth century all these routes were merged into the entire southern railway system. Market opportunities for the grain produced in the Volga River regions diminished due to the proximity of other grain-producing areas to the southern seas.

In 1871 one more railway road starting in Tsaritsyn was launched – Gryasi-Tsaritsynskaya – which passed through Russia's fertile black soil regions to Moscow and the Baltic Sea ports. The Volga-Don railway connected to this railway system.²⁹ The cargoes from Tsaritsyn could now be transported not only to the direction of the Azov and Black Seas, but also to the northern direction to the Baltic Sea.³⁰ In 1874 the Gryasi-Tsaritsynskaya railroad was known to have transported over 15 million poods of grain to the North, to the Baltic ports, and more than 7 million poods to the South.³¹

In 1875 the construction of the Donetsk coalfield railway began (concession for the construction was granted to S. I. Mamontov) which led to Mariupol.³² This railroad contributed much to the rapid de-

27. Alexandr S. Senin, “Владикавказская железная дорога”, in *Economic History of Russia...*, Vol. 1, pp. 400-401.

28. Taisia M. Kitanina, *Хлебная торговля в России в конце XIX-начале XX вв. Стратегия выживания, модернизационные процессы, правительственная политика* [Grain trade of Russia in the end of XIX-XX: a survival strategy. Modernization processes, government policies], (Saint Petersburg: “Dmitriy Bulanin”, 2011), p. 66.

29. T. V. Shlevkova, “Major trends of commercial and industrial development of the city of Volgograd in the second half of XIX century”, *Bulletin of the University of Volgograd*. Series 3. Economics. Ecology, 1:120 (2012), p. 59-65.

30. Lyashchenko, *Essays on the agrarian evolution...*, p. 239.

31. Alexandr S. Senin, “Юго-Восточные железные дороги” [South Eastern Railway], in *Economic History of Russia...*, Vol. 1, p. 1259.

32. Alexandr S. Senin, “Донецкая каменноугольная железная дорога” [Donetsk coal railroad], in *Economic History of Russia...*, Vol. 1, p. 713.

velopment of industries in the region and to Mariupol which became the main export gateway of the area. In 1893 the Kozlov-Ryazan, the Gryasi-Tsaritsynskaya and the Donetsk coalfield railways were consolidated in the Shareholding Company of the South-Eastern Railways. The industrial products of the southern region along with grain exports were directed to northern ports by the South-Eastern Railways also diminished the role of the Volga-Don route to the Black Sea.

As A. I. Chuprov, Professor of Moscow University and a specialist in the field of the railways at the beginning of the twentieth century wrote, “the new railroads overtook almost half of the lower Volga River cargoes towards the ports of the Baltic Sea”.³³ P. I. Lyashchenko recorded severe competition among the ports of the Baltic and the southern seas, which was especially noticeable in the southeast, in the basins of the lower Volga River and the Don.

In 1880 a railway bridge across the Volga River (near Syzran) was built, which allowed transportation to Siberia (see picture 3.3). The commodities produced in the Volga River regions were now mostly transported to the Central regions of Russia and to the north-western territories. The Samara-Ufa direction of the Siberian railway began to attract grain and other commodities from the Urals and Siberia. But the biggest part of all the cargoes was transported to the northwestern direction to Moscow and St. Petersburg.³⁴ In the early twentieth century the exports carried by the southern line of railway at the railway stations of Rayevka (the Ufa province) and Neprik (the Samara province) were only very small quantities, at the level of 2-5% of the total export, and this mostly in the years of crop failure in the South of the country.³⁵ The main destinations of cargoes were the cities of Rostov-on-Don and Novorossiysk.³⁶ I sup-

33. Alexandr I. Chuprov, *Ученые труды. Том II. Железнодорожное хозяйство*, [Scientific works, Vol. 2 Railway economy], (Saint Petersburg: Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet, 1910), pp. 408-410.

34. Tagirova, *The Market of Volga Region...*, p. 88.

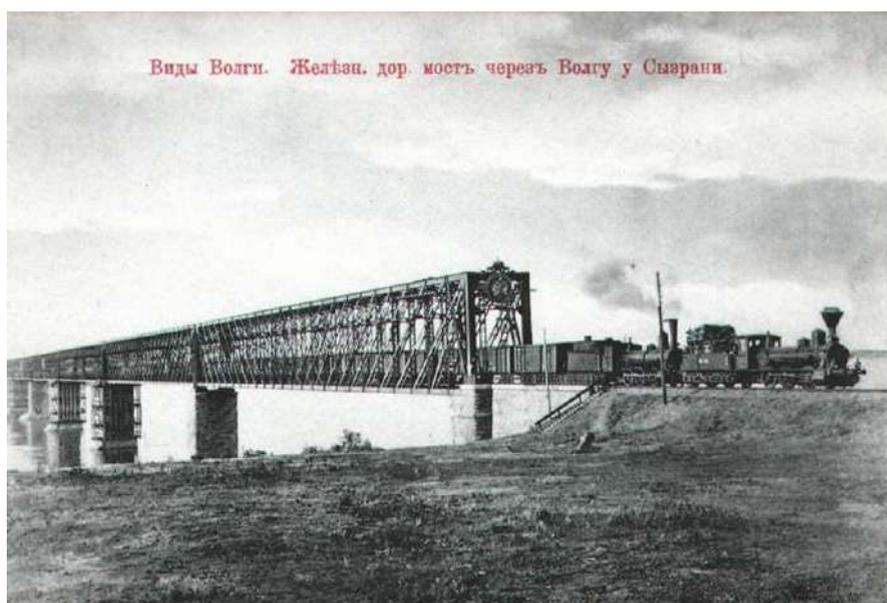
35. On average, over 5 years (1907-1911), 1196.5 thousand poods of grain was taken out from the elevator at Neprik station to the domestic markets; 551.7 thousand poods to the Baltic Ports; 11.4 thousand poods to the southern ports. See: *Неприкский элеватор Государственного банка. Пять лет работы (1907-1911)* [Nepriksk's elevator of the State Bank. Five years of work (1907-1911)], (Saint Petersburg: 1913), p. 3.

36. M. I. Rodnov, *Пространство хлебного рынка (Уфимская губерния в конце*

pose, that railway stations Raevka and Neprik) can be considered as extreme points of attraction of goods to the South.

The changes in the specialization of the regions that accompanied the process of industrialization of the Russian economy, highly increased competition between the areas of agricultural production and changed the role and capacities of the Volga-Don route. Besides, it had no transit traffic. Some other reasons also had to be taken in consideration. And there was even more to it.

**Picture 3.3 Railway bridge across the Volga River (near Syzran),
Postcard, late 19th century**



So to summarize, after a fifteen year railway development, the Volga-Don route lost its significance and served only regional trade. According to the witty remark of V. P. Bezobrazov, “Steam shipping only strengthens the traffic that already exists but the railroads completely rebuild the directions of this traffic”. Every decade of new railways construction in Russia changed the configuration and direction of trade

XIX-начале XX вв.) [The space of the grain market (Ufa Guberniia at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries)], (Ufa: DizainPress, 2012), pp. 63-64.

flows. By the end of the nineteenth century, the southern direction of communications between the Volga and the Don rivers, and the Volga River and the seas became the second in importance after the Baltic ports.

New economic business and trade centers and organization of trade in the 19th century

The Volga-Don railroad slightly changed the path to the sea. And gradually new different river-port towns were becoming central business points on the route, namely the ones that had all the competitive advantages in the nineteenth century. Their important features were a convenient water quay, a railway station available for trans-shipments, specialized trade technical and institutional support facilities.

The British publication of 1920 recorded the results of this “natural selection”, which lasted in the previous half of the century. Speaking of the grain trade, there were two most important centres: “Samara in the Volga and Rostov-on-Don received great quantities, owing to their position as river-ports. Samara is also interested in Asiatic trade, owing to its situation on the road between the Russian industrial districts and Siberia and additional advantage of being a first-rate river port. Saratov also had flourishing trade due to its position on the river. Its merchants acted as intermediaries between the southeastern Russia and the central provinces”.³⁷

The city of Tsaritsyn, known before as having “an insignificant place compared with the trading quarter called Dubovka”³⁸, witnessed an impressive development firstly due to the launch of the Volga-Don railway and then, a decade later, due to the start of the Gryasi-Tsaritsynskaya railroad. As V. P. Bezobrazov noted in his report, the prices on the urban plots of land in the city, that were practically impossible to sell “even dog-cheap” earlier, began to grow rapidly: those were the waste plots of land near the railway station one and a half kilometers from the city. The number of steamboats the wharf possessed also increased much.³⁹

37. *The Don and Volga Basins ...*, pp. 89-90.

38. Bezobrazov, “Provisional summary record...”, p. 17.

39. *Ibid.*

In the early 20th century, the city of Tsaritsyn was the central market for the fish, timber and oil-seed. “The transit trade of Tsaritsyn is great as it lies at the point where the Volga and the Don most nearly approach one another, the distance between them here being only 40 miles. The transfer from the river to the rail and vice versa in Tsaritsyn is very active. It is a great storage center for cargoes moving northward or westward on the way from the Caspian: both fish, timber, wool, oil-seeds and cattle are distributed through it”. The note of the trading quarter Dubovka went into oblivion. Anyway, “the fairs of the Don and Volga regions were numerous. In the current phase of commerce they represented the largest market of the area, and nearly had a monopoly in the commercial transfer of certain commodities”.⁴⁰

In the Azov Sea area beginning from the end of the 18th century the cities of Azov and Taganrog were known to be the major economic and business centres. Taganrog was the first seaport in the South of Russia.⁴¹ There early appeared and later successfully performed their functions the customs office (1776), the commercial court (1808), the branch of the State Bank (1863-1864), the railway station (1869). The period of the 1870s was the one of rapid economic development for the city.⁴² The city competed with Odessa until the 1820s. Despite the remarkable growth of Odessa thereafter, Taganrog remained the second main port city of the South to the end of the nineteenth century. Various economic institutions were founded, for example the Azov-Don Bank which later became one of the

40. *The Don and Volga Basins ...*, p. 89.

41. See Gelina Harlaftis and Evrydiki Sifneos, “Taganrog: Greek entrepreneurship and development in the Russian frontier of international trade”, in this volume, chapter 8.

42. According to the memoirs of contemporaries, on the roadsteads of Taganrog in 1860-1870 there stood sailboats and steamers, and “the customs table overloaded with bills of lading in the Greek and Italian languages”. The elder brother of the writer Anton Chekhov, Alexander served in the Taganrog customs in the 1880s. See: A. Smirnov, “Таможенник Чехов (детство, молодость, служба в Таганрогской таможе)” [“Customs officer Chekhov (childhood, youth, service in Taganrog customs)”], *Uchenye zapiski Sankt-Peterburgskogo filiala Rossiyskoi tamozhennoi akademii*, 2:36 (2010), p. 277; Also, the history of the city Taganrog is also described in detail in the memoirs of contemporaries of that time, see: P. P. Filevskiy, *История города Таганрога. 1698-1898*, [History of the city of Taganrog 1698-1898], (Moscow: 1898), <http://historic.ru/books/item/f00/s00/z0000089> (last accessed 10.02. 2106).

ten largest commercial banks in the country, was established there.⁴³

However, the port of Taganrog was not convenient for seaborne trade. The shallow waters of the Azov Sea, the location of the roadstead that lay 20 miles away from the city for both the deep-sea going ships and coastal vessels, made loading operations too expensive and difficult. The city of Taganrog had close economic links with Rostov-on-Don. They were situated at a distance of 70 km between each other. Big grain merchants used to live near the sea in Taganrog. As for business relations, as V. P. Bezobrazov noted, they were establishing and developing them in Rostov-on-Don. The river port, the Volga-Don railway and later other roads transformed Rostov-on-Don to a transportation hub for the entire Russian South.⁴⁴ In the nineteenth century a certain specialization became obvious: Rostov-on-Don was the city-port providing exports of goods, whereas imports were organized via the city of Taganrog.

In the beginning of the 20th century grain was exported via the city of Taganrog to Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany, but the total turnover in Rostov-on-Don was higher.⁴⁵ This was a “storage place for our (Russian) exported commodities (especially wheat)”, noted V. P. Bezobrazov. Half a century later a British newspaper called the city of Rostov-on-Don a great wool, timber and oil-seed export-market of the southern Russia. “People are swarming here all the time”, noted V. P. Bezobrazov, “on a typical day you get an impression of being in the centre of a trade fair”. Rostov-on-Don “has a character of a really free cosmopolitan city alien to any national element. It is exclusively commercial and industrial interests that the city seems to be subjected to, ... it seems that ... no other needs and thoughts exist at all”.⁴⁶ Rostov-on-Don’s cosmopolitan nature made it very similar to Odessa.

The data of waterway transportation from the two main wharves of the Volga-Don route are represented in table 3.1.

43. Vladimir Morozan, “Οι δραστηριότητες της Εμπορικής Τράπεζας Αζόφ-Ντον στον νότο της Ρωσίας στα τέλη του 19^{ου} αιώνα” [The activities of the Azov-Don Commercial Bank in the South of Russia in the late 19th century], in Sifneos, Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...* pp. 463-479.

44. See Natalya Samarina, “Rostov-on-Don in the Second Half of the 19th – early 20th century: Dynamics and Specificities of the Socio-Economic Development”, in this volume, chapter 13.

45. *The Don and Volga Basins ...*, p. 93.

46. Bezobrazov, “Provisional summary record...”, pp. 24, 25-26.

Table 3.1 The dynamics of turnover of the quantity of cargoes at the Volga and Don ports 1900-1905 (in thousands of poods)

year	Total of all goods		Major grain cargoes		Rye		Rye flour	
	sent	arrived	sent	arrived	sent	arrived	sent	arrived
The Volga River. Harbor Tsaritsyn								
1900	5,530	81,228	759	5,680	20	2,591	-	62
1901	6,899	89,205	2,709	3,723	1	1,340	-	-
1902	10,817	74,662	5,101	383	157	37	-	9
1903	13,680	108,416	4,265	950	218	67	294	20
1904	19,897	123,814	4,952	3,739	120	221	5	-
1905	11,730	98,517	2,392	3,288	2	322	5	-
1905 in % from 1900	212,1	121,3	315,2	57,9	10	12,4	-	-

year	Wheat		Wheat flour		Oats		Barley		Groats	
	sent	arrived	sent	arrived	sent	arrived	sent	arrived	sent	arrived
The Volga River. Harbor Tsaritsyn										
1900	205	1,754	527	161	1	1,111	6	1	27	117
1901	1,737	1,706	880	258	77	419	14	-	83	99
1902	1,746	205	3,085	109	12	23	101	-	43	66
1903	1,016	546	2,478	77	135	240	126	-	83	153
1904	262	2,744	4,121	187	225	587	219	-	58	128
1905	93	2,043	2,259	55	14	867	19	1	3	64
1905 in % from 1900	45,4	116,5	428,7	34,2	1400	78	316,7	100	11,1	54,7

year	Total of all goods		Major grain cargoes		Rye		Rye flour	
	sent	arrived	sent		sent	arrived	sent	arrived
The Don River. Harbor Rostov-on-Don								
1900	3,991	38,305	408	26,154	3	12,365	-	-
1901	4,282	31,610	793	21,011	-	8599	-	-
1902	5,903	30,672	1082	21,383	4	8871	-	-
1903	6,317	37,200	1561	30,724	2	8466	-	-
1904	5,957	44,943	880	37,497	2	10,883	-	-
1905	5,803	43,774	900	37,376	-	10,426	-	-
1905 in % from 1900	145,4	114,3	220,6	142,9	-	84,3	-	-

year	wheat		Wheat flour		Oats		Barley		Groats	
	sent	arrived	sent	arrived	sent	arrived	sent	arrived	sent	arrived
The Don River. Harbor Rostov-on-Don										
1900	42	9,983	359	-	4	1,059	-	2,747	11	24
1901	41	10,239	746	2	5	413	1	1,758	10	38
1902	81	8,039	978	2	10	9	9	3,562	14	14
1903	83	14,330	1,463	913	8	98	5	6,917	18	58
1904	22	17,560	850	14	3	84	3	8,956	13	56
1905	17	19,119	874	94	3	648	6	7,089	11	15
1905 in % from 1900	40,5	191,5	243,5	-	75	61,2	-	258,1	100	62,5

Source: *Товарооборот по внутренним водным путям досоветской России и СССР. Статистический сборник* [Commodity traffic on the inland waterways of the pre-Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union. Statistical publication] (Moscow: Statisticheskoe izdatel'stvo TSSU SSSR, 1929), part 2, pp. 64-79

According to table 3.1, at the beginning of the twentieth century the port of Tsaritsyn became an important point of departure with a double increase of exports of non-agricultural goods during the years 1900-1905. In Rostov-on-Don, the total export of goods also grew faster and particularly of grain exports that increased up to 120%. The main flow of cargo from the Volga river did not go to the Don-river, but to other parts of the country. Even if we assume, that all the grain cargo sent from the Tsaritsyn (2,392 thousand poods in 1905), arrived to the Rostov-on-Don, we will see, that the share of Tsaritsyn bread was not decisive (6.4% from 37,376 thousand poods of total grain cargo of Rostov-on-Don).

Foreign trade in the Azov and Black Seas areas in the nineteenth century made it possible for some well-known entrepreneurs in the South of Russia to raise great capital. Russian and foreign researchers⁴⁷ noted that Greek traders from Odessa and Taganrog (Ralli, Scamaranga, Rodochanaki, Mavrocordato, Vagliano, Inglessi and others), were leading the international trade in the South of Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century. As a rule, the business used to be family-owned and understandably, it tended to be inherited within the family. A bit later Jewish (Dreyfus, Neufeld) and German (Maas) exporters entered the market.⁴⁸

At the second half of the 19th century W. Sartor noted, this circle became wider due to the number of Russian entrepreneurs (S. Morozov, Malyutin, Minaev) who entered the international trade business. Yet, only five companies (Ralli, Scamaranga, Rodochanaki, Dreyfus and E.G. Barndt) continuously kept accumulating in their hands around 20-30% of the Russian foreign trade turnover in Russia, including the Northern ports. They had an overall control of the Russian foreign trade and a cosmopolitan view.⁴⁹

47. W. Sartor, “Международные фирмы в Российской империи, 1800-1917” [International Companies in Russia Empire, 1800-1917], *Ekonomicheskaja istoria: ezhegodnik*, (2005), pp. 114-115; Morozan, *Business life in the South of Russia ...* pp. 25-35, 80-122, 449-575 ; S. Thompson, *Российская внешняя торговля XIX – начала XX в.: организация и финансирование* [Russian foreign trade 19th – beginning of 20th century: the organization and financing], (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2008).

48. Harlaftis, Sifneos, “Taganrog: Greek entrepreneurship and development...”.

49. Gelina Harlaftis, “Introduction. The Black Sea project and the eastern coast” in this volume, chapter 1; W. Sartor, “International Companies in Russia Empire”.

With the construction of the railways a new generation of entrepreneurs with other kinds of business activities entered the active trade and economy. S. U. Witte in his memoirs described the railway “kings” of the South of Russia in the following way: “As soon as anyone was at the head of the railways, they certainly were at the head of some banks, since all financial transactions are made through banks”.⁵⁰ The new era created conditions for operators such as L. S. Polyakov and V. A. Kokorev, who later became banker-industrialists, to enter the number of concessionaires of the railways. L. S. Polyakov was one of the founders of the Azov-Don Commercial Bank, V. A. Kokorev established the Volga-Kama Commercial Bank.

Both of these financial credit institutions being included in the top ten largest commercial banks of the Russian Empire carried out profound intermediary trade activities in the Volga River region through an extensive network of regional offices. An entire network of institutional relationships was developing around the banking institutions. For instance, the holding of merchant Polyakov, who was born in Taganrog, by the early twentieth century had strong personal and business relationships with eighteen trade, industrial and transportation joint stock companies.⁵¹ Moreover, in different years representatives of the Polyakov family in Taganrog performed the functions of the Persian Consul General, of the Ottoman Consul General, of the United States Trade Consul, of the Danish Vice-Consul and had a variety of international business relationships.⁵² This was a practice carried out by the top merchants of the area. For example the Greek big grain merchant Ivan Ralli based in Odessa was the United States Consul for three decades from 1830s to 1860s. V. A. Kokorev was the initiator and founder of at least six joint stock companies.⁵³ The activities of these entrepreneurs covered were of a wide all-Russian scale, including the Volga and Volga-Don regions, connecting the area with the Western markets.

50. S. Witte, *Избранные воспоминания, 1849-1911* [Selected memories, 1849-1911], (Moscow: Mysl', 1991), p. 78.

51. Y. Petrov, *Коммерческие банки Москвы, конец XIX – 1914 г.* [Commercial banks in Moscow, end of 19th c. – 1914], (Moscow: ROSSPEN), pp. 330-331.

52. Morozan, *Business life in the South of Russia ...* pp. 538-539.

53. Petrov, *Commercial banks in Moscow...*, p. 20-21.

The grain trade opportunities on the Volga River were also significant. However, the Volga River grain trade was mainly aiming at the domestic market. The organization of grain trade there in the early twentieth century was a highly complicated chain of relationships. A minimum of ten structures – producers (farmers and landowners), farmers' cooperative societies, the local district councils called Zemstvos, as well as the Military Department (since 1905), carrying out the state orders for the supply of grain, local buyers (resellers), agents of commercial banks, millers (or sales representatives of grain milling companies), commissioners of Russian and foreign business companies – were among its participants.⁵⁴ Major exporters in the early twentieth century were unable to operate in this complicated system of relationship without intermediaries. Commercial banks, including the Volga-Kama and the Azov-Don banks tried to undertake this function and in the early twentieth century these operations acquired an unprecedented scale.

The Azov-Don Bank, the Russian Bank of Commerce and Industry, the Foreign Trade Bank in Russia, the International Bank in St. Petersburg, the Nordic Bank, the Russian-Asian Bank – all had their branches in the Volga River region. The banks were selling grains on their behalf (“from themselves”), issued secured loans (with grains as collateral) and kept records of bills (debt securities). In the late nineteenth century the Volga-Kama Bank bills were intended for payment in the southern cities – Kremenchug, Kiev, Kerch, Melitopol, Kharkov, Odessa.⁵⁵ In the early twentieth century the southern geographical areas of these bills expanded. Other types of payment documents – receipts and warrants – were also becoming more and more common. Big private business (domestic and foreign) was the main clientele of those banks.

In the early 20th century regional commodity exchanges worked very actively, especially in Samara, Tsaritsyn and Pokrovskaya Sloboda. An average annual turnover of the three exchanges (Samara, Balakovo, Pokrovskaya Sloboda) in 1908-1912 was 40.5 million poods. Foreign

54. Nailya F. Tagirova, “Организация зерновой торговли Российской империи (начало XX в.). Опыт сетевого анализа” [Organization of the grain trade in the Russian Empire (the beginning of the twentieth century.). Experience Network Analysis], *Ekonomicheskaja istoria: ezhegodnik*, (2013), pp. 81.

55. Tagirova, *The Market of Volga Region...*, p. 220.

companies worked in all trade centers of the Middle Volga River region like Dreyfus export trade company. At the same time initial steps of grain supplies – from peasant farms to the local market – remained in the hands of smaller buyers and intermediaries. Numerous intermediaries – dealers – held the leadership among the other bidders (the so-called “Zemstvos”, cooperators, millers, sales representatives).

Conclusion

For centuries long the Great Volga River was the main waterway of the Volga-Don route. In each epoch our ancestors used the proximity of the Volga and Don (a distance of about 70 km) as a unique opportunity for the development of exchange and trade contacts. Waterway and the Great Silk Route, overlapped in the areas of the Azov Sea. This routes in the period of the 15th-18th centuries had severely decreased because of various political reasons and wars between the states. Peter the Great made an unsuccessful attempt to connect the two areas by the Volga-Don channel but it was not until the 1860s that cargoes from the Volga River regions to the Don River areas could be transported by animal-drawn carts in the points of the trading quarter Dubovka, Kalach-na-Donu and further to the cities of Azov and Taganrog.

By the early 20th century economic and trade relations between the Volga River region and the Azov and Black Seas territories had been renewed. The influence of the Black Sea economic areas of port-cities in the eastern coast spread to the Middle Volga River territories. The communication between the Volga River areas and the Black Sea were maintained through the Don River at the point of their closest proximity. The Volga-Don railway road (length of 74 km) changed the prior route trajectory, passing a bit lower from the railway station of Tsaritsyn to the station of Kalach and then towards the city of Rostov-on-Don. The new economic and business centers of Tsaritsyn and Rostov-on-Don successfully developed with modest contribution of the Volga-Don railway. They became major industrial hubs and river and railway transport centers. Because of this, they gained a favorable opportunity of cargo transportation to the Northern ports and the Central regions of the country.

The railway construction in Russia in the 1870-1890s changed

the economic space of the country. In the Volga River region each administrative centre (Nizhniy Novgorod, Kazan, Samara, Saratov) in the second half of the 19th century possessed its own railroad. In this way the railroads increased horizontal relations with the Central Russian Empire regions (Moscow, Petersburg) and reoriented agrarian produce transport. In those years the cities of Samara and Saratov supplied the main consumer markets in the country (the cities of Moscow and Petersburg) but remained a distant periphery of the Black Sea economic regions' influence.

4.

From the Azov to Batoum: evolution of the port-cities in the Russian frontier land. Politics and administration

Victoria Konstantinova and Igor Lyman

Introduction, or “History with Geography”

In the historiographical tradition of the area there are several “geographic” approaches to the study of regional history near Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, which in the 19th – early 20th centuries belonged to the Russian Empire, later to the Soviet Union, and at present to Ukraine, Russia and Georgia. The borders of a state in which a researcher works have largely determined the geographical regions which history he/she studies. For example, in Ukraine a strong branch of historical regional studies has been formed with researchers that identify themselves with a certain region; historians of the Southern Ukraine, for example, study the lands of the northern coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, within the Ukrainian state borders.¹ It is clear that such restriction of geographical framework is not always the best way to do research in order to explore specific problems on a wider scale. That is why another popular approach is to focus on the borders that existed in the period which is under examination, the borders of the Russian Empire. At the same time, because of the vastness and heterogeneity of the imperial territories adjacent to the coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, researchers usually study the past not all these lands together, but focus their attention on specific geographic regions (sub-regions, areas, territories etc). As a rule, in this

1. Igor Lyman (compiler), *Дослідники історії Південної України: біобібліографічний довідник* [Researchers of History of the Southern Ukraine: Biobibliography], Volume 1 (Kyiv, 2013).

case, geographical units are determined by administrative-territorial units – Governorate-generals, viceroyalty, guberniia, Zaporozhie Volnosti, Oblast of the Don Cossack Host etc. Economic regions can also be taken as a unit of research; one such region, for example, is the Donbass area which had and has access to the Sea of Azov. It is more rare to find a framework of research to be based on natural geographic characteristics (for instance focusing on the lands of the Northern Azov (Priazovie)).²

Despite the variety of the above described “geographical” approaches, they all share a fundamentally important common feature: they are oriented mostly “to the inner lands”, despite the fact that we are talking about the regions, whose development in many aspects depended not only on the land, but also on the sea. Fundamentally different idea is the approach of the multidisciplinary international project “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774-1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy” that analyze the port-cities “not only looking in the land behind, but also, and in the sea in front” as is also evident from the introduction of the present volume.³ The geography of the project is defined not by national boundaries, but by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. At the same time, though the project focuses on examining the region within the context of its integration in the rising global economy, all the same arguments of vastness and heterogeneity of the studied territories cause, according to the mastermind and the “engine” of the project, professor Gelina Harlaftis, the need to distinguish several maritime regions of the Black Sea basin, which formed corresponding port and transport systems as she analyses in chapters 1 and 2.

At this point some questions might arise: which maritime re-

2. Igor Lyman, “Історія Північного Приазов'я як складова історичної регіоналістики” [History of the Northern Pryazovia as a component of historical regional studies], in *Northern Pryazovia*, (Donetsk-Berdyansk: Nord-Press, BSPU, 2008), pp. 68-73.

3. The project, as well as the book, presents an ambitious attempt to overcome a situation where the Black Sea region remains on the periphery of academic discourse and public attention. It brings to the fore the idea that the sea is a determining factor of the historical change of this region something by no means clear in the Black Sea historiography as, say, the corresponding idea in the Mediterranean history.

gions are better to distinguish, and, in particular, can we divide “the eastern coast” in maritime regions or can we study it as a “unified area”? Taking into account the chronological framework of the studied period, it is logical to consider in the same context all the lands of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov coast, belonged to the Russian Empire. This does not mean that in the framework of the “Russian”⁴ coast there is no sense to allocate maritime regions (sub-regions). Quite reasonably in the project “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774-1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy” on the territory of the Russian Empire three maritime regions have been allocated as is referred to in the introduction of the present volume: the first one includes the port-cities of the northern coast of the Black Sea (Odessa, Nikolayev and Kherson) and the Crimean port-cities (Evpatoria, Sevastopol and Theodosia); the second one covers the coast of the Sea of Azov with port-cities of Kerch, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog and Rostov; the third “Russian” maritime region includes directly eastern coast of the Black Sea with the port-cities of Novorossiysk and Batoum.⁵

Of course, in many aspects the second of these maritime regions had more common with the first region than with the third. However, the more interesting (primarily from the comparative perspective) could be an attempt to explore in a single volume the development, on the one hand, the port-cities of the steppe Azov region, which in the exploring period was and until now remains a part of the “breadbasket of Europe”, on the other hand – the port-cities of the mountain eastern Black Sea⁶, through which in the second half of the 19th century the transit of not less important wealth –

4. That is belonging to the Russian Empire.

5. See “Methodology” in “The Black Sea project”, www.blacksea.gr. (date of access: 13 February 2020).

6. Published in 1902 “The Caucasus illustrated practical guidebook” informed about the geographical features of this part of the region that “under the name “Black Sea coast” is commonly understood the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea from Novorossiysk to Batoum”, which is quite a narrow strip of land clamped between the sea and the mountains more than 500 *versts* in length and 25-150 *versts* in width. Grigoriy Moskvich, *Иллюстрированный практический путеводитель по Кавказу. Издание седьмое* [The Caucasus illustrated practical guidebook. Seventh edition] (Odessa: Tipografia L.Nitche, 1902), p. 376.

oil – was held. The fact that both these regions were acquired by Russia as a result of aspirations to get access to seas, a result of expansion, confrontation with the Ottoman Empire, both were on the periphery of the Russian Empire and had strategic importance for it, can serve as just a starting point for such a study.

The Black Sea and Azov frontier in relations between the Ottoman Empire and Moscovia / the Russian Empire

The concept of “frontier” in many respects is the key to understanding almost all of the processes that took place in the lands of the northern and eastern Black Sea (including the territories adjacent to the Sea of Azov) at the times when a considerable part of the region was known as the “Wild Field” as well as in the initial period of the Russian imperial colonization of the region. We are talking about the concept, which is a continuation and development of ideas of the American researcher Frederick Jackson Turner about the frontier as a moving line between cultures, which formed a new type of society, which was not just a sum of its parts, or their complete fusion in “a melting pot”.⁷ In recent years, the use of the concept of “frontier” regarding to this region is gaining more followers. In this context, Serhii Plokyh (Harvard professor, who was born, studied and worked in the Southern Ukraine) has reflected on the question “What kind of history needs contemporary Ukraine?” and he is inclined to think that it should be not national or multinational history, but history, in which Ukraine would be considered as a boundary between various states, a frontier between different civilizational and cultural zones. It is important, that Serhii Plokyh bases the argumentation of this approach mainly on the examples relating to the steppe of the Southern Ukraine, that is, the northern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region.⁸

7. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920).

8. Serhii Plokyh, “Якої історії потребує сучасна Україна?” [What kind of history needs contemporary Ukraine?], *Ukrain'skii istorichnii zhurnal*, 3 (2013), pp. 4-12. With regard to the main argument of our research, it is revealing that a similar approach is used in the Southern Ukraine historical-cultural anthology “City’s

For centuries, the region was really on the frontier of civilizations, religions and cultures. And, although it might seem paradoxical, namely its very closeness to the sea, which could be a powerful factor of the progress (as it had been, say, in the period of antiquity), was the important obstacle for mastering the economic development of this region.

The matter is that after the fall of Byzantium for a long time, over the centuries the Black and Azov Seas were a peculiar “inland lake” of the huge Ottoman Empire. The coastal lands of the northern and eastern Black Sea, as well as the Sea of Azov were the periphery served for the empire as a buffer with Moscovia, which under Peter I was transformed into the Russian Empire. This undeveloped buffer zone was a serious obstacle to the realization of possible plans of northern neighbors to change the established order of things, to get access to seas and through them threaten other parts of the Ottoman Empire and Constantinople itself.⁹ It is significant to note that these neighbors called the region the “Wild Field”. For the Porte it was better when the vast steppes of the Black Sea and Azov region had no cities (here we are not talking about the Crimea) and had a meagre population, composed mainly by nomads and Muslims. The presence, since the late 15th century, Cossacks did not change the situation radically; the peculiar Cossack military communities that were formed there for the most part were fugitives from the feudal areas, seekers of freedom and adventure,¹⁰ that organically fit into

Frontiers” published by the Editorial Board. Its concept was declared in the publication of the first issue: the anthology, using the idea of Frederick J. Turner as a starting point, does not restrict itself to American historiography, but focuses on cities of the steppe space of Eastern Europe as a complex of ethnic and cultural “strip farming”, which was formed during the colonization and was preserved later. See: Vladislav V. Hrybovskiy, *Фронтіри міста* [City’s Frontiers], in Research Institute of Urban History: URL: <http://ri-urbanhistory.org.ua/projects/39-frontiers> (date of access: 25 February 2015). It is conceptually important that the anthology is not dedicated to “frontiers” of any one city or even region within the framework of the current state borders, but places the history of Southern Ukraine within the wider European (and non-European) context.

9. Charles King, *Історія Чорного моря* [The Black Sea: a History], (Kyiv: Nika-Center, 2011), pp. 173-174.

10. It is worth mentioning that today many theories about the origins of Cossacks coexist.

the steppe frontier. Although Moscovia (which became since 1721 Russian Empire), as well as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzecz Pospolita*) sought to use Cossacks for protection against Muslims, Cossacks created a lot of problems for the authorities of these Christian states, while in many aspects interacted closely with the Turks, Tatars and Nogais. It is not accidentally that a number of researchers drew attention to the formation of a peculiar Cossack identity under the influence of this kind of interaction.¹¹ They wrote about the “destruction” by the Cossacks of the cultural boundaries between Christianity and Islam, between the “wild steppes” of nomadic pastoralists and agricultural settled population, between the Polish gentry (*szlachta*) democracy, Moscow autocracy¹² and Ottoman absolutism, which for its preservation provided a broad privileges for the residents of the outskirts of the Empire.

Compelled to pay tribute to the Crimean Khanate, Moscovia for a long time just wanted to protect its borders from the Steppes. At the same time, as Charles King has noted, in the Steppes met two very different models of organization of government and society, as well as different ways of relations between property and violence that caused conflicts between the two systems.¹³

The reign of Peter I became the turning point of this conflict, marked the transition of Moscow (and soon the new capital, St. Petersburg) to the ideology of expansion and colonization, which was later “dressed” in the imperial form of “civilizing” mission.¹⁴ The tsar of Moscovia, and later the first emperor of the Russian Empire, had a clear accentuation on his aspiration to gain access to seas in his foreign policy; at the beginning of his reign he had access only to the northern White Sea, which most of the year was unfit for navigation because of the ice. However, by obtaining access to the Baltic Sea, which was previously controlled by the Swedes, Peter I succeeded to satisfy the ambition to turn Moscovia/the Russian

11. It is clear that there is need to make allowances for periodization, as well as take into account the heterogeneity of Cossacks. There are significant differences between the Cossacks of Zaporozhie, Don, Black Sea, Kuban, Azov etc.

12. Plokyh, “What kind of history...”, p. 11.

13. Charles King, *Історія Чорного моря* [The Black Sea: a History], (Kyiv: Nika-Center, 2011), pp. 175-176.

14. *Ibid*, p. 176.

Empire into a maritime power, particularly in the northern seas. On the Black and Azov Seas the achievements of Peter the Great were much more modest and short-lived. After the disastrous Crimean campaigns organized by his predecessor on the throne, *tsarevna* Sophia, Peter I undertook two Azov campaigns (1695 and 1696).¹⁵ The first campaign was not successful, but in the second campaign Moscovia's troops, largely due to the support of Ukrainian Cossacks, were able to take the fortress of Azov, located not far from the estuary of the river Don. However, the significance of this victory should not be overestimated, as the Kerch Straits remained under the full control of the Ottomans, and therefore the Russian ships were unable to go beyond the Sea of Azov. Besides, the fortress of the Azov had no convenient harbor, where the fleet could be based. Therefore soon, on September 12, 1698, the order about the establishment of Troitskaya fortress was signed. This event is considered as the beginning of the history of the city of Taganrog.¹⁶

Moscovia failed to gain a foothold on the Sea of Azov for a long time. In 1700 the Great Northern War with Sweden and its allies broke out and the main forces of Peter I were concentrated on this war. The question of dominance on the Baltic Sea as well as in

15. Dmitriy Sen, “Из истории борьбы России за Азов в 1695-1696 годах: участие ахреян в защите османской крепости” [Some aspects from the history of warfare of Russia for Azov in 1695 / 1696 years: ahreyan's part in the protection of the Ottoman fortress], *Menshikovskie chteniia – 2014: nauchnyi al'manakh*, 5:13, (2014), pp. 160-167.

16. *Городские поселения в Российской империи* [Cities in the Russian Empire] (Saint Petersburg, 1861), Vol. 2, p. 173. It was September 12, 1698 when *Pushkarsky prikaz* (military authority in Russia) ordered to establish “a harbor for ships of sea caravan... at Taganrog”. The fortress, which was established near the cape (*Rog*), was named Troitskaia; correspondingly the city was originally named “Troitskiy on Tagan-Rog”. For the construction of the fortress up to 20,000 Ukrainians were sent, see: N. Nikitin (ed.), *Альманах-Справочник по гор[оду] Таганрогу и его округу на 1911 год* [Almanac-Handbook of Taganrog and its *okrug* for 1911] (Taganrog: Typo-lithographia of N. Razi, 1911), p. 162; Studying the evolution of the name of the settlement, Pavel Filevskiy noted that in the tsar's letters it alternately was called Troitsk (Troitsk on Taganrog) and Taganrog. In 1711 in the Senate documents also appeared alternately Taganrog, Troitsk and “Troitsk that on Tagan-rog”. At the same time, local people mostly called the settlement namely Taganrog, see: Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog...*, p. 55.

Eastern Europe was at stake in this military conflict. In the meantime, in 1710 the Ottoman Empire (not without the participation of Sweden) declared war against Moscovia. The so-called Pruth River Campaign was extremely unfortunate for the latter, and in accordance to the terms of the Treaty of the Pruth (1711) Peter I had to return the fortress of Azov to the Ottoman Empire and was ordered to demolish the Taganrog fortress.

Taganrog was regained by Russians during the next Russo-Ottoman war, after the capture of Azov in 1736. On January 11, 1737 the Russian Empress Anna imposed a resolution on the Senate “about construction of the harbor and fortress in Taganrog”.¹⁷ However, the conditions of the Treaty of Belgrade, signed on September 18, 1739, did not allow the implementation of these plans, and the fortifications were not finally rebuilt. However, the Treaty of Belgrade ratified the conquest of the fortress of Azov to the Russian Empire.

Under the Empress Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, on September 23, 1761, a new fortress was ceremonially founded close to the Sea of Azov on the Don river.¹⁸ According to Apollon Skalkovskiy, the “mission” of building this fortress for the Russian Empire was similar to the mission to Zaporozhian Sich (the administrative center of the Zaporozhian Cossacks). Both missions were targeting on the one hand, to develop connections with the foreign trade between the Ottoman Empire and Crimea, and on the other hand, to form a military advanced post to monitor the movements of the “enemies-neighbors”: the Ottomans, the Nogais and the Caucasian mountaineers. In addition the fortress had another task: to ensure greater control of the empire over the Don Cossacks.¹⁹ According to the order of Empress Elizabeth, the fortress was named after Saint Dimitriy of Rostov, a metropolitan bishop of the town of Rostov the Great at northern Russia. Therefore the settlement at the fortress (*posad*) came to be called commonly as Rostov. Often this name informally was applied to the fortress.²⁰

17. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire], Col. 1, Vol. 10, (Saint Petersburg: 1830), pp. 16-17.

18. *Urban settlements in the Russian Empire...*, p. 152.

19. Apollon Skalkovskiy, *Ростов-на-Дону* [Rostov-on-Don] (Saint Petersburg: tipografia Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del, 1847), pp. 15-16.

20. *Urban settlements in the Russian Empire...*, p. 152.

In 1762 Catherine II ascended to the Russian throne. Under her reign the Black Sea region began to play a role that cannot be overestimated. The Empress was able to successfully and radically redraw the political map of the region: the senescent Ottoman Empire failed to resist the expansionary plans of Russia, which tried in every way to gain access to the sea. Empress Catherine II raised to a new level Russian expansionism and colonialism, introduced by Peter I.

It was quite logical that Taganrog became the base for the beginning of Catherine's expansionist policy in the region. The next Russo-Ottoman war, which broke out in 1768, canceled the provisions made by the Treaty of Belgrade which prohibited a Russian fleet in the Azov and Black Seas. Already by November 10, 1769 Empress Catherine II ordered Vice Admiral Seniavin to organize the necessary infrastructure of the Taganrog harbor for the anchorage and the construction of ships.²¹ On May 24, 1770 Catherine II ordered the settlement of Ukrainian farmers and craftsmen ("Little Russians"),²² near Taganrog; according to the edition "Urban settlements in the Russian Empire", by 1770 merchants, craft workers and farmers that had settled around the fortress Taganrog and transformed it from a fortress to a town.²³

The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca signed in 1774, indicated the victory of the Russian Empire.²⁴ According to the terms of this Treaty, the Russian Empire, not only gained the lands between the Southern Bug and Dnieper, but also expanded its lands directly in the Sea of Azov region, from the estuary of the Berda river to the estuary of the Yeya river (including Taganrog and Azov). The Russian Empire also got Kerch and Yeni-Kale in the Kerch Peninsula in the Crimea. The Crimea itself was declared independent from the Ottoman Empire. What is more, Russian vessels were allowed passage of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles.

Despite its great victory Russia was yet not satisfied. It an-

21. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 44, p. 153.

22. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 19, p. 66-67.

23. *Urban settlements in the Russian Empire...*, p. 173.

24. Elena Druzhinina, *Кючук-Кайнарджийский мир 1774 года: его подготовка и заключение* [The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca of 1774: its preparation and signing] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1955).

nounced much more ambitious plans at St. Petersburg, that included “the removal of the Ottoman Turks from Europe”. The so-called “Greek Project” included plans of conquest of the territories of the Ottoman provinces of Moldavia, Bessarabia and Wallachia, the state of Dacia, to be headed by Grigoriy Potemkin (who was a favorite of Catherine II). The boundaries of the Russian Empire were thus to move further to the West from the estuaries of the Dnieper and Bug to the banks of the Dniester. Moreover, the lands of Thrace, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania and northern Greece were to be conquered and be united to the Empire and headed by the grandson of Catherine II, Constantine established in the capital in Constantinople, thus reviving the Byzantine state.²⁵ However, there are serious reasons to believe that the “Greek Project” was largely a gigantic bluff, conceived to threaten the rulers of the Ottoman Empire and Western European countries and prepare them to sacrifice some lands neighbouring the Russian Empire in order to prevent such great geopolitical restructuring.²⁶ This Machiavellian-scale project was cynically built on the idea of exploiting the glorious historical

25. Roman Shiyan, *Козацтво Південної України в останній чверті XVIII ст.* [Cossacks of the Southern Ukraine in the last quarter of the 18th century] (Zaporozhie: RA “Tandem – U”, 1998), p. 9; P. Usenko, “Віхи “грецького проекту” на попелищі козацьких вольностей” [Milestones of the “Greek Project” on the ashes of Cossack liberties], in *Zaporoz’ke kozatsvo v pamiatkakh istorii ta kultury. Materialy mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktichnoi konferentsii (Zaporizhzhia, 2-4 zhovtnia 1997)*, Sections III, IV, V (Zaporozhie: RA “Tandem – U”, 1998), p. 129.

26. On this subject Anatoly Boyko wrote that the “Greek Project” was not only grand but also mythical. “The project was a terrible thing for all because it was mythical. For Russia, the project had a concrete embodiment and spread Russian influence on the Black Sea, straits and even the Balkans... In Europe, everybody told about the aggression, aggressiveness and diktat of Russia. Russia reached its goals. In comparison to the unacceptable and therefore terrible for European countries “Greek Project” the consistent incorporation into the Russian Empire of lands between the Dnieper and Bug, Bug and Dniester, along with the annexation of the Crimea, Moldavia and Bessarabia were considered the lesser evil”, see: Anatoly Boyko, “Джерела з соціально-економічної історії Південної України останньої чверті XVIII століття: Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня доктора історичних наук” [Primary sources of social and economic history of the Southern Ukraine of the last quarter of the XVIII century] (Ph.D. thesis, Zaporizhzhia National University, Zaporozhie, 2001), p. 322.

past of Byzantium hidden by the noble slogan of liberation of Orthodox Christian Nations from the power of the Muslims. In reality, one of the first victims of the “Greek Project” was Crimea, or rather, the Crimean Khanate.

The method used to prepare the annexation of the Crimea was its economic weakening by orchestrating the mass migration of the Crimean Orthodox people to the lands of the Russian Empire in 1778.²⁷ On March 9, 1778 Catherine II signed the edict to the commander of the Russian army P. Rumyantsev and the decree to G. Potemkin about the preparation of migration of Christians with a plan of further measures. In April, negotiations took place between, on the one hand, representatives of the Greek and Armenian communities, headed by the Metropolitan Ignatij, and on the other hand, the Russian resident at the court of the Crimean Khan, A.Konstantinov. Greeks and Armenians formulated the conditions under which they would agree to leave the Khanate. In July the relocation began, and took place under the supervision of Russian troops led by A.Suvorov. The population was moved from an inhabited area with a mild climate and cultivated lands for centuries, to a deserted, empty and uncultivated land with much harsher weather conditions. In this way promises to them, in most cases, were not fulfilled by Russians in due course, because the newcomers had to suffer significant hardships, losing several thousand people during the winter stay in different places of the Azov province.

On May 21, 1779 Catherine II signed the Letter of Grant, which

27. Historiography of the mass migration of Christians from the Crimea is much more representative than historiography of any other aspect of the colonization of the region in 1775-1783. The main topics are: the political situation on the peninsula; reasons, initiators and targets of the resettlement; the process of preparing the resettlement and its progress; the question whether it was a voluntary or compulsory migration; circumstances winter stay in Novoselytsia; establishment of Mariupol and other settlements in the Azov province; economic and property status of the Greeks; damage caused by the mass migration to the Crimean Khanate; other effects of the resettlement; the role of some individuals in the mass migration. See the bibliography: М. Aradzhyni, *Греки Крыма и Приазовья: история изучения и историография этнической истории и культуры (80-е гг. XVIII в. – 90-е гг. XX в.)* [The Greeks of the Crimea and Azov region: history of the study and historiography of ethnic history and culture (the 1780s – the 1990s)] (Simferopol: Amena, 1999), p. 49-55.

provided privileges for the Greeks, including certain administrative and religious autonomy.²⁸ In September and October of that year, the territory for new Greek settlements was determined: it was lands on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov, where Mariupol uezd was established.²⁹ Not all Greeks wanted to go exactly there; opinions expressed that it would be better to return under the rule of Khan. Nevertheless, in the spring and summer of 1780 the majority of Orthodox Greeks settled in the uezd, in couple dozen of settlements and the city of Mariupol.³⁰ Armenians were settled in new Nakhichevan by the Don, a town which was later merged with Rostov.³¹

The annexation of the Crimean Khanate was fixed by the manifesto of Catherine II on April 8, 1783. The maritime borders of the Russian Empire in the region were thus significantly expand-

28. Мариупольский краеведческий музей [Mariupol museum of local history, MKM], D-3471, “Letters of Grant about settling of Christian Greeks that transmigrated from the Crimea. 1779”; Российский государственный исторический архив [Russian State Historical Archive, RGIA] фонд 796, opis 60, delo 98 “According to the decree with the request to Gotfeyskij Metropolitan Ignatij, who was withdrawn from the Crimea to Azov province, 1779-1793”, list. 1-6.

29. MKM, D-3354, “Map of the part of lands of Mariupol uezd, the Azov province, which is determined for the Greeks, withdrawn from the Crimea. 1779”.

30. Igor Lyman (compiler), *Православна церква на півдні України (1775-1781). Джерела з історії Південної України*. Том 4. [Orthodox church in the South of Ukraine (1775-1781). The primary sources in history of the South of Ukraine. Volume 4] (Zaporozhie: RA “Tandem – U”, 2004), pp. 27-29. The fact that the manipulations of the Russian authorities with the Crimean Greeks were aimed at achieving primarily political rather than religious purposes, is confirmed by the effects of the migration for the Orthodox Church on the peninsula. Orthodoxy in the Crimea suffered losses, which were felt for decades. In December of 1783 in the Crimea there were only 58 churches, 25 of which were destroyed. Archpriest Lebedintsev later described the situation in these words: “In what conditions were Christianity in the Crimea at the time of the annexation of these lands to Russia? It would be correct to say that in 1783 we found here only the sad traces of it”, see: A. Lebedintsev, “Столетие церковной жизни Крыма. 1783-1883” [A century of church life of the Crimea. 1783-1883], in *Записки Одесского Общества Истории и Древностей* [Notes Odessa Society History and Antiquities], Vol. 13, (Odessa: 1883), p. 204. After the migration of the Greeks and Armenians from the peninsula the situation would had been even worse, but Khan ordered to reopen worship services in some religious buildings.

31. See Sarkis Kazarov, “Nahichevan-on-Don: Armenian merchants and their role in the commercial development of the Azov-Black Sea region”, in this volume, chapter 14.

ed. They stretched from Kinburn to Taman, including the entire coastline of the Sea of Azov.³² The key strategic points for the preparation of the further expansion of the Russian Empire were the coastal Taganrog, Azov, Kerch and the Petrovskaya fortress, which had been established during the Russian-Ottoman War of 1768-1774. However, already in the late 1770s the main interest had shifted from the urban settlements of the Azov coast, to the West to the development of a new city, Kherson, aimed to become the main base for the construction of the Russian naval fleet.³³

Thus, Russia continued its policy to strengthen its naval power by building a Naval base and shipyards on coastal riverine towns near the Black Sea. It is worth recalling that under Peter I, at the end of the 17th – early 18th centuries, ships of the Azov Flotilla were built on the Don river, in Voronezh. As early as 1768, Rear-Admiral A. Senyavin was sent to the same river fortress of Saint Dimitriy of Rostov on the river Don in order to prepare the construction of the Naval fleet here. It was planned to lay 10 slipways and to build six frigates by the following year.³⁴ The same was now undertaken in Kherson on the Dnieper river. It became a center of imperial attention, and, accordingly, the focus was moved from the Sea of Azov region to the West. However, Kherson remained a favorite for relatively short time, as the focus of imperial attention was moved to building on the much better strategically located Nikolayev, which was also located not on the sea coast, but at the confluence of the rivers Ingul and the Southern Bug.

Nikolayev itself began to be built during the next Russian-Ottoman War (1787-1791) caused by the ambitions of the Ottoman Empire, supported by Britain, France and Prussia, to regain the Crimea and prevent strengthening of Russia on the northern Black Sea, the

32. Elena Druzhinina, *Северное Причерноморье в 1775-1800 гг.* [Northern Black Sea region in the 1775-1800] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1959), p. 92.

33. Екатерина II и Г.А.Потемкин. Личная переписка 1769-1791 [Catherine II and Grigoriy Potemkin. Personal correspondence, 1769-1791] (Moscow: Nauka, 1997), p. 125.

34. *Ростов-на-Дону: страницы истории. 260-летию Ростова-на-Дону посвящается* [Rostov-on-Don: the pages of history. Dedicated to 260 anniversary of Rostov-on-Don] (Rostov-on-Don: Omega, Golden Section, 2009), p. 17.

Sea of Azov and the Transcaucasus. In practice, the war ended as the next stage of Russian expansion: the Treaty of Jassy (1791) not only confirmed the conquest of Crimea and Kuban by the Russian Empire, not only deprived the Ottoman Empire from any claims on Georgia, but also stipulated the incorporation into the Russian Empire of the lands between the Southern Bug and Dniester. Now the new border between the two empires-rivals in the West was the Dniester and in the Caucasus – the Kuban river (see maps 2.1 and 2.2 in chapter 2).

One of the consequences of the Treaty of Jassy was the founding in 1794 of the city of Odessa on the newly acquired lands. Odessa rather quickly took the leading position on the “Russian” coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, thereby making more peripheral the status of the Azov region and its port cities. An attempt to change somehow the balance of power and extend the network of port cities on the coast of the Sea of Azov was made only in the second quarter of the 19th century. Berdyansk was founded not far from the former Petrovskaya fortress, which had long lost its former importance.³⁵ And the inception of this town was due to economic but not military reasons.

The war of 1787-1791 was not the last of the confrontations of the Russian and Ottoman empires. The Ottoman Empire made an unsuccessful attempt of *revanche* in the war of 1806-1812, and the war of 1828-1829³⁶ which further expanded the importance of the

35. Ivan Bastryga and Igor Lyman, *Начала истории Бердянска* [The beginnings of Berdyansk history] (Zaporozhie, 2002), 132 p.; Igor Lyman and Sofia Podkolzina, *Поширення імперських практик взаємин держави і церкви: релігійне життя Бердянська першого десятиріччя його існування* [The spread of imperial practices of the relations between State and Church: religious life of Berdyansk at the first decade of its existence] (Berdyansk, 2015), 118 p.

36. The Russo-Ottoman war of 1828-1829 broke out immediately after the Russo-Persian war of 1826-1828, and it resulted to the victory of the Russian Empire that realized its aspirations to gain a foothold in the Transcaucasus and the Caspian region. Thus, the struggle for lands between two seas – the Black and Caspian, was fought between the three empires – the Russian, the Ottoman and the Persian. But directly for the lands near the Black Sea the first two were competing. However, in the region another actor was present, which for a half century “confused the cards” of the Russian Empire in its expansionist game and its desire to conquer the land, which became an enclave after the accession of Georgia. We

Russian Empire in the Black Sea region. Among the conditions of the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) were the Russian dominion that extended from the mouths of the Danube with islands, to the lands of the eastern Black Sea coast; from the mouth of the Kuban river to the pier of St. Nicholay in the northern Adjara with the seaside fortresses of Poti, Anapa, and Sujuk-Qale. It is there, on the shore of the Tsemess bay, that the Russian Empire established the last new port-city of Novorossiysk, whose official founding date of is considered September 12, 1838. By the 1830s, the chain of forts (the Black Sea Coastal Line) was formed on the eastern coast. This Line consisted of the forts, arranged mainly in mouths of rivers.³⁷ The Black Sea Coastal Line was liquidated in 1854.

Confrontation in the region was not “an internal affair” of the Russian and Ottoman empires. Western European empires had their own geopolitical and economic interests here that were promoted by diplomatic and strategic methods. A key player was Great Britain, well aware of the inability of the Ottoman Empire to confront Russia. The British were trying to prevent the transformation of the Black Sea into the “inland lake” of the Russian Empire.

In the middle of the 19th century a culmination of the struggle for spheres of influence in the region became the Crimean War of 1853-1856 between the Russian Empire on the one hand and the Ottoman Empire, Britain, France and the Kingdom of Sardinia – on the other. Russian imperial plans to expand their influence to the South failed. Moreover, under the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 Russia (along with the Ottoman Empire) lost the right to have a navy and arsenals on the Black Sea.

The Russian Empire could not tolerate such “humiliation” for a long time and already at the beginning of the 1870s refused to comply to the corresponding clauses of the Treaty of Paris. The victory in the Russo-Ottoman war that broke out in 1877 for influence

are talking about the local population, Caucasian highlanders (Chechens, Adygs (Circassians), Ingush, Dagestanians and others), who desperately fought for their freedom during the so-called Caucasian War (1817-1864).

37. A. Vereschagin, *Исторический обзор колонизации Черноморского побережья Кавказа и ее результат* [Historical overview of the colonization of the Black Sea coastal zone of the Caucasus and its result] (Saint Petersburg, 1885), p. 2.

over the Balkans and the Danube Basin³⁸, extended the possessions of the Russian according to the Treaty of San Stefano of 1878. The Russian Empire obtained Southern Bessarabia (which Russians had lost with the Treaty of Paris of 1856), and, in addition, Batoum, Ardahan, Kars and Beyazid (the last one was returned to the Ottoman Empire by the Congress of Berlin in the same 1878).

Thus, Batoum became the last of the port-cities of the region, to pass from the Ottoman to Russian jurisdiction.³⁹ The geopolitical interests of both these empires, Great Britain and Persia for the region lying between the eastern coast of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, as well as “Georgian context” of changes of the political map of these lands, are described in detail in chapter 16 by Eka Tchkoïdze. In some sense it was symbolic for the Ottomans, that the next military conflict that involved the Ottoman Empire and Russia was the invasion of the Ottoman troops in the Batoum region, and a little later the bombardment of Odessa, Sevastopol, Theodosia and Novorossiysk by the Ottoman and German cruisers. The very next day the Ottoman Empire officially entered World War I.

38. Though hostilities in this war were far from the Azov region, the Russian authorities admitted the possibility of a retaliatory strike of the Ottomans and just in case examined, in particular, the plan for the evacuation of establishments from Kerch to Taganrog: Государственный архив в Автономной Республике Крым [State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, GAARK] fond 162, opis 2, delo 545, “Correspondence about the transfer of Kerch establishments to Taganrog in case of an enemy attack, 1877-1878”.

39. М. Vladykin, *Путеводитель и собеседник в путешествии по Кавказу* [Travel Guide and companion in the journey through the Caucasus], Part 1 (Moscow: tipografia I. I. Rodzevich, 1885), pp. 335-336; А. Vereschagin, *Влияние сухопутных и морских сообщений на колонизацию и развитие Черноморского побережья Кавказа* [Influence of land and sea communications on the colonization and development of the Black Sea coastal zone of the Caucasus] (Saint Petersburg, 1885), pp. 46-47; E. Veydenbaum, *Путеводитель по Кавказу* [Guide to the Caucasus] (Tiflis: tipografia Kantseliarii Glavnonachalstvuyshago grazhdanskoï chatiou na Kavkaze, 1888), pp. 365-366; P. Nadezhdin, *Опыт географии Кавказского края* [Experience of geography of the Caucasus region] (Tula: tipografia N. I. Sokolov, 1891), pp. 267-268; А. Kaspari (compiler), *Покоренный Кавказ* [Conquered Caucasus] (Pyatigorsk: SNEG, 2010), pp. 655-658.

Colonization and urbanization

For an adequate understanding of the colonization processes in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region it is very important to understand that before the expansion of the Russian Empire, the “Wild Fields” were “wild” exactly from the point of view of Europeans, and in particular of officials in Warsaw and Moscow. The features of such wildness were the instability of the frontier, the lack of a centralized power, the lack of cities and roads, the dominance of the nomadic population and so on. But in fact the main problems was the civilizational differences. The Steppe was just “different”.

This “otherness” was quite successfully adapted by the Cossacks, who began unauthorized folk colonization of the region long before the “civilizing mission” of the Russian Empire. The Cossacks did not aspire to create cities in the Steppe. Instead, they preferred other forms of settlements, which were much more effective for the development of the vast frontier region with low population density. In particular, the predominant form of settlements of the Zaporozhie Cossacks was the *zimovnik*; there were more than 6,000 zimovnik in the lands of Zaporozhie Vol’nosti during the period of the New Sich (1734-1775). Zimovniks were small settlements, in which owners (wealthy Cossacks) and their farm workers lived. Many modern scholars characterize the zimovniks as “diversified farms of the capitalist type”, that is, commercial farms primarily focused on the market needs.⁴⁰ And we are talking about the times when the feudalism and serfdom system prevailed in the Russian Empire as a whole. It is quite understandable why soon after the abolition of the Zaporozhie Cossackdom in 1775 the Russian authorities actively began liquidation of the zimovniks and forced their residents to relocate to larger settlements, including newly established towns.

The eastern neighbors of the Zaporozhie Cossacks – the Don Cossacks also preferred scattered settlements and not concentration in large cities. And this trend continued throughout their pre-revolutionary history. The same can be said about other Cossack troops

40. Oleksandr Oliynik, *Запорозький зимівник часів Нової Січі (1734-1775)* [Zaporozhye zimovnik during the period of the New Sich (1734-1775)] (Zaporozhie: Dike pole, 2005), p. 7.

that already existed in the region in the times of its active imperial colonization.⁴¹ We should take under consideration that the imperial authorities perfectly understood that colonization could be a prerequisite for the development of the vast region, which had quite a small population at the beginning of the last quarter of the 18th century. It should be recalled that the policy of Catherine II in the region was formed under the significant influence of the ideas of the Physiocrats, the essence of which was quite simple: because the people, not money, make the power of a state, a ruler should take care of the growth of the number of population⁴². Natalia Polonska-Vasilenko, who convincingly described the impact of the implementation of this belief for the development of the South of Ukraine, wrote that there were two main ways to achieve the goal of population growth: the protection of existing residents and the attraction of foreign colonists.⁴³ However, there was a third way, which we described above – the annexation of new territories to the state. The successful implementation of this plan by Catherine the Great is indicated by the fact, that territorial acquisitions of the empire under Catherine II exceeded the conquests of Peter the Ist.⁴⁴

41. For example, the Black Sea (*Chernomorskoe*) Cossack Host during its stay in the northern Black Sea region (1788-1792) was based in the large villages (*slobody*) and *zimovniki*. Dispersed settlements (including so-called “hovel (*kurin*)” settlements”) prevailed also during the Kuban period of its history (1792-1860), when the Black Sea Cossack Host was on the eastern and southern coast of the Sea of Azov, on the right bank of the Kuban river. However, among other settlements, the Black Sea Cossacks founded the city of Ekaterinodar, which became the administrative center of all the lands of the Black Sea Cossack Host and at the same time, along with Taman and Yeisk, the center of one of the districts (*okrugs*) of the Host. The network of settlements was expanded in the period after 1860, when the Kuban Cossack Host was formed on the basis of the Black Sea Cossack Host and a part of the Caucasus Line Cossack Host. The Azov Cossack Host, which in the 1830s – early 1860s occupied the territory of so-called “Berdyansk wasteland” between Berdyansk and Mariupol did not have cities.

42. Natalia Polonska-Vasilenko, *Запоріжжя XVIII століття та його спадщина* [Zaporozhie of the 18th century and its legacy], Volume 1, (Munich: Dniprova hvylya, 1965), p. 171.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

44. M. Geller, *История Российской империи: в 2 томах* [History of the Russian Empire: in 2 volumes], Volume 2 (Moscow: MIK, 2001), p. 111.

The policy of increasing the population of the South, which had been carried out by the Russian Empress so vigorously, was continued by her successors on the throne. Russian monarchs did it despite changes in their priorities of the ways of the development of the region. According to the statistics of the Synod, while in 1782 in the Slavic and Kherson diocese there was an Orthodox population of 547,505 people, in 1859 this figure for Kherson and Taurian diocese had climbed to 1,132,094, and for Ekaterinoslav and Taganrog diocese to 901,717 people.⁴⁵ Prior to the 1820s, colonization and immigration rather than natural growth was the main source of replenishment of the population of these parts of the region.

Of course, an important role to this end was played not only foreign but also internal immigration that is resettlement to the Black Sea region people from other territories of the Russian Empire. The development of lands near the seas with the simultaneous decrease of agrarian overpopulation of “old” imperial provinces was of primary importance.

The nature of the imperial colonization of the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus was noted already in the 19th century by A. Vereschagin: here political interests came into conflict with economic interests. Whereas the first required resettlement of “pure Russians, to create in all respects a trustworthy population on the border of the state”, the second, due to geomorphological and climatic features of the area, determined the preference of relocation not of residents of the interior provinces of the Russian steppes, but inhabitants of the mountains and foothills. Imperial authorities gave preference to political priorities: it was decided to prefer Russian migrants, at the same time accepting just Orthodox settlers from the Transcaucasian region, Anatolia and “Slavic lands”.⁴⁶

45. I. Pokrovsky, *Русские епархии в XVI-XIX вв. Их открытие, состав и пределы. Опыт церковно-исторического, статистического и географического исследования* [Russian Dioceses in the 16th-19th centuries. Their opening, composition and limits. Attempt of church-historical, statistical and geographical research], Volume 2 (Kazan: Tsentral'naz tipographia, 1913), p. 19; *Извлечение из отчета по ведомству православного исповедания за 1860 год* [Extract from a report on department of the Orthodox confession for 1860] (Saint Petersburg: Sinodal'naia tipographia, 1862), pp. 44-45.

46. Vereschagin, *Historical overview of the colonization ...*, p. 8.

In this context of imperial priorities it is important not to forget that the imperial colonization feared a colonization that would backfire; the resettlement of part of the local population, which either was or was considered hostile or at least was not enough loyal to the Russian authorities. Let us recall just a few examples. In 1775, immediately after the dissolution by Catherine II of the Zaporozhie Cossack Vol'nost, a part of the, now, former Zaporozhian Cossacks moved to the Ottoman lands. After the annexation of the Crimean Khanate in 1783 many of its inhabitants went to the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, a large percentage of the Nogais and Tatars of Taurida guberniia followed to the same direction after the end of the Crimean War. As a result of the continuous wars of the Russian Empire against the mountaineers, further waves of refugees of Caucasian people moved to the Ottoman Empire and Persia.⁴⁷ One of the final episodes of the Caucasian Wars was precisely “the conquest of western mountaineers” who lived in Transkuban and along the eastern coast of the Black Sea from Anapa to Gagra. As one of apologists of the Russian expansion in the region wrote in the early 20th century, it was decided in 1859 at any cost to move western mountaineers from the coast, “Highlanders fought with extraordinary courage and ferocity, but they had to retreat step by step to the sea. Defeated but not conquered, whole communities departed to Turkey”.⁴⁸ Extremely indicative for the imperial perception of ethnic cleansing of the eastern Black Sea region as a “civilizing mission” is the following quote, used in the volume “Caucasus” of the edition *Picturesque Russia*: “The country of future hopes! Prior to 1865 populated by the wild Adygeian tribe, it has been waiting for working hands and developed minds until now”.⁴⁹ As we can see, almost twenty years after the end

47. Berat Yildiz, “Emigration to the Ottoman Empire: an Overview”, in Ergün Özgür (ed.), *The North Caucasus: Histories, Diasporas and Current Challenges. Proceedings of the Sukhum Conference “Towards a New Generation of Scholarship on the Caucasus”*, (Ankara: Social Science Research Council, 2009), pp. 148-149; Zarema Kırkeeva, *Северный Кавказ в Российской империи: народы, миграции, территории* [The Northern Caucasus in the Russian Empire: people, migrations, territories] (Stavropol: Publishing House of SSU), pp. 376-388.

48. Moskvich, *The Caucasus illustrated practical guidebook...*, p. 40.

49. Живописная Россия [Picturesque Russia], Volume IX (Caucasus), (Saint Petersburg: M.Wolf, 1883), p. 8.

of the “pacification of mountaineers” even adherents of the imperial policy had to speak only about hopes for the future of this land and had no evidence to praise the situation that resulted after Russian conquest. The fact is that the depopulation of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, a result of the eviction of the indigenous people, was not overcome yet. In 1885, one of the authors reported on the failure of colonization of the coastal lands and wrote that along and beyond the coast from Adler (region near Sochi) to Anapa, that stretched 250 miles, over 300,000 mountaineers had lived until 1863; and after that because of the lack of free lands and the poor conditions of means of communication “wild boars are still the main inhabitants of these places”.⁵⁰

If we speak not of losses but about the increment of the population, we must not forget that, along with the resettlement from abroad and from the interior provinces of the empire, migration within the region took place. A characteristic feature of this migration was from the countryside to the cities, which is one of the characteristics of urbanization. For the cities of the region, and more specifically, for the port-cities, Louis Wirth’s thesis is correct: urban population did not provide its own reproduction and had to recruit migrants from other cities, from the countryside of its own country and from other countries. That’s why cities historically were melting pots of peoples and cultures, creating fertile ground for the emergence of new “biological and cultural hybrids”.⁵¹

Unfortunately, we have to agree with the common historiographical point, that the calculations of the urban populations, which took place in the Russian Empire both before and after the census of 1897, due to a complex of reasons have numerous significant inaccuracies.⁵² Therefore, we will use the available statistical

50. M.Vladykin, *Путеводитель и собеседник в путешествии по Кавказу* [Travel Guide and companion in the journey through the Caucasus], Part 1 (Moscow: tipografia I. I. Rodzevich, 1885), p. 360.

51. Louis Wirth, “Урбанизм как образ жизни” [Urbanism as a way of life], in Louis Wirth, *Избранные работы по социологии. Сборник переводов* [Selected works on sociology. Collection of translations] (Moscow: INION 2005), p. 102.

52. I. Vologodtsev, “Особенности развития городов Украины. Труды комиссии по изучению перспектив развития городов” [Features of development of Ukrainian cities. Proceedings of the commission on studying the prospects of urban develop-

data to determine rather trends than precise figures. For a better understanding of the role of migration in the growth of the urban population of the region it is advisable to use the materials of the census of 1897, which recorded information about birthplaces of the inhabitants of cities and uyezds.

Table 4.1 Birthplaces of urban inhabitants

City	Percentage of people born in the same uezd	Percentage of people born abroad
Kerch	51.01	5.18
Berdyansk	67.27	2.08
Mariupol	44.83	1.05
Taganrog	54.05	1.96
Rostov	33.36	1.31
Novorossiysk	16.83	7.27
Batoum	9.86	29.84

Source: *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. XIII. Екатеринославская губерния* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. XIII. Ekaterynoslav guberniia] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia E. Porohovschikova, 1904), p. 36; *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи. 1897 г. XLI. Таврическая губерния* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. XLI. Taurian guberniia] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia P. Yablonsky, 1904), p. 40; *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. LXX. Черноморская губерния. Тетрадь 2* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. LXX. Black Sea guberniia. Notebook 2] (Saint Petersburg, 1901), p. 61; [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. LXVI. Kutaisi guberniia] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia V. Meschersky 1905), p. 38.

ment], Issue 2 (Kharkov, 1930), pp. 95-96, 128; Peter Gatrell, David Macey and Gregory L. Freeze, “Социальная история как метаистория” [Social history as metahistory], in Boris Mironov, *Социальная история России периода империи (XVIII – начало XX в.)*: В 2 томах [Social history of Russia in the period of the empire (17th – beginning of 20th century): In 2 volumes], Volume 1 (Saint Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin 2003), pp. VI, 313-314.

It is important to note that the actual percentage of those who were born within these cities was less, because the corresponding data of the census did not distinguish between urban dwellers and residents of their uezds. At the same time, as can be seen from the above table, it was internal migration and not the immigration of foreigners, that contributed to the growth of the urban population in the second half of the 19th century. Batoum with 29.84% had among the highest percentages of people born abroad (table 4.1). This was of course due to the fact that the city had been on the territory of the Ottoman Empire less than 20 years before the census.

As indicated in table 4.2 for the population growth rate, we should note that in the middle of the 19th – early 20th century the city-port of Mariupol had among the highest growth rates of all cities of the Ekaterinoslav guberniia, second only to Ekaterinoslav, the capital of the guberniia. More modest corresponding figures were for Berdyansk, that conceded to the rates of population growth of the other Taurida towns, namely Yalta, Sevastopol, Staryi Krym, Melitopol and Theodosia. Kerch was relatively close to Berdyansk population growth rates. At the same time, Berdyansk and Kerch outpaced Evpatoria, Simferopol, Balaklava, Nogaisk, Orehov, Aleshki, Bakhchisarai, Karasubazar and Perekop.⁵³ Rostov was very close to Mariupol: the number of its inhabitants in 1897 compared to 1858 increased at 582%, in 1904 compared to 1858. For Taganrog the corresponding figures were growth of 247% and 296%, very much resembling the figures of Berdyansk. The most impressive of all, was the population growth of Novorossiysk (in 1897 compared to 1866, a growth of 3930%). The reason for this was the tiny number of inhabitants (just 430 persons), with which the town started its growth, when its status was changed in 1866. Rapid population growth was shown also by Batoum. According to some sources, at the time of its inclusion in the Russian Empire in 1878, it had a population of 3000 people; at 1902 there were already more than 30,000 inhabitants, that is, during less than a quarter of a century the population growth rate was at least 1000%.

53. Konstantinova, *Urbanization: A South-Ukrainian dimension ...*, pp. 390-391.

Table 4.2 The urban population growth rate

City	Population growth in 1897 compared to 1858	Population growth in 1897 compared to 1861	Population growth in 1904 compared to 1858	Population growth in 1904 compared to 1861
Kerch	272 %	180 %	389 %	257 %
Berdyansk	262 %	278 %	291 %	309 %
Mariupol	588 %	522 %	608 %	540 %

Source: Victoria Konstantinova, *Урбанізація: південноукраїнський вимір (1861-1904 роки)* [Urbanization: A South-Ukrainian dimension (1861-1904)] (Zaporozhie: AA Tandem, 2010), pp. 390-391.

It is important to compare how our calculations are correlated with calculations made by the famous Russian geographer and statistician Veniamin Semenov-Tian-Shansky for a slightly shorter period. According his calculations, “for the last 40 years of the 19th century” in Ekaterinoslav guberniia the population growth increased in Mariupol, 7.2 times, in Ekaterinoslav, 6.5 times, in Aleksandrovsk 5.1 times, in Luhansk 2.5 times, in Pavlograd 2.1 times, in Verkhnedneprovsk 2.0 times, in Bakhmut 1.6 times; in Taurida guberniia Yalta 13.5 times, Sevastopol 10.5 times, Simferopol 9.9 times, Genichesk 7.0 times, Kerch 3.4 times, Theodosia 3.1 times, Balaklava 3.1 times, Melitopol 2.9 times, Berdyansk 2.8 times, Alushta 2.8 times, Evpatoria 2.7 times, Orehov 1.5 times, Aleshki 1.4 times, Perekop (with Armenian Bazar 1.1 times. On the territory of the Oblast of the Don Cossack Host the population of Rostov (calculated together with Nakhichevan) increased by 4.2 times, Novocherkassk by 3.5 times, while Taganrog only 1.6 times. About the population growth of Novorossiysk Veniamin Semenov-Tian-Shansky did not give corresponding information, instead he put a question mark in the table, but at the same time noted that in 1897 the city population was 16,900 people, and at the time of writing the book – already, “probably”, 45,000⁵⁴ (contemporaries

54. Semenov-Tian-Shansky, *City and village in European Russia...*, pp. 150-156, 165-166, 173-176.

emphasized that although the port of Novorossiysk was opened in 1846, it, due to the Caucasus, had no value until the completion of construction of the railway, which took place only in 1889).⁵⁵

Speaking about the overall picture of urbanization in the region, according to the calculations contained in “Statistical tables for the Russian Empire in 1856”, the townspeople constituted 9.44% of the population of Ekaterinoslav guberniia. And this is taking into account Rostov, posad Azov, Taganrog and Nakhichevan, Rostov uezd, Taganrog and Nakhchivan okrug.⁵⁶ On 1897, we have the following picture. The percentage of the townspeople in Ekaterinoslav province (now – without Taganrog, Rostov, Nakhichevan and Azov) was 11.4% which means a double increase in comparison with the middle of the 19th century. But in the Taurida guberniia the townspeople accounted for an increase of 20.0% compared to 1856. The percentage of the townspeople of the Taurida guberniia in 1897 was on the fourteenth place among the 89 guberniias and oblasts of the Russian Empire (including the island of Sakhalin), while the Ekaterinoslav guberniia was at the forty third place. However, this should not be perceived as a sign of a delay of the urbanization in the region; after all the area has a higher than average for the Empire total population growth of both guberniia. While between 1856 and 1897 the corresponding figure for the empire was 193.64%, for the Ekaterinoslav guberniia (within the Southern Ukraine) it was equal to 221.39%, and for the Taurida guberniia, 219.53%. It is crucial to emphasize that the above calculations are taking into account only the settlements which had the official status of a city (town). If we considered other official urban settlements, including industrial settlements (*poselki*), the level of urbanization of the Southern Ukraine would be much higher. Speaking about other parts of the northern

55. S. Melnikov-Razvedenkov, *Города северной части восточного побережья Черного моря* [Cities of the northern part of the eastern coast of the Black Sea], in *Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа* [Collection of materials for describing places and tribes of the Caucasus], Volume 27 (1900), in URL: http://apsnyteka.org/411melnikov_razvedenkov_goroda_severnoi_chasti_vostochnogo_poberejia_chernogo_moria.html (date of access: 5 April 2015).

56. *Статистические таблицы Российской империи за 1856 год* [Statistical tables for the Russian Empire in 1856] (Saint Petersburg, 1858), pp. 38-41, 130-131, 148-151.

and eastern Black Sea area, the Black Sea guberniia, with Novorossiysk as its provincial center, in 1897 was in the leading position of the empire, ranking fifth (after St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw and Piotrków guberniias) by the percentage of townspeople among overall population. The Oblast of the Don Cossack Host was at the thirty-seventh place and the Kutaisi guberniia, which Batoum as its capital, was only fifty-seventh (see table 4.3).⁵⁷

Table 4.3 Level of urbanization of administrative-territorial components of the region in 1897

Guberniia (oblast)	The percentage of permanent urban residents among the entire population	Place of the guberniia (oblast)* in terms of percentage of the townspeople	The absolute number of urban population	Position of the guberniia (oblast)** in terms of the absolute number of urban population
Taurida	20.0	14	289,316	12
Ekaterinoslav	11.4	43	241,005	17
Oblast of the Don Cossack Host	12.4	37	318,693	9
Black Sea	34.2	5	19,641	86
Kutaisi	9.2	57	97,516	56

* Among 89 subjects of the Russian Empire.

** Among 89 subjects of the Russian Empire.

Source: *Общий свод по империи результатов разработки данных Первой всеобщей переписи населения, произведенной 28 января 1897 года* [Common set for the empire of data of the first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, conducted January 28, 1897], Volume 1 (Saint Petersburg: N.Nyrkin, 1905), pp. 4-6.

We have quite a different picture in terms of the absolute numbers of urban population in 1897. As we can see in table 4.3, the

57. *Общий свод по империи результатов разработки данных Первой всеобщей переписи населения, произведенной 28 января 1897 года* [Common set for the empire of data of the first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, conducted January 28, 1897], Volume 1 (Saint Petersburg: N. Nyrkin, 1905), p. 6.

Black Sea guberniia, which was at a leading position by the percentage of the townspeople, occupied one of the last places in the empire by their absolute number. And the absolute majority of urban population of this sparsely populated guberniia was concentrated directly in the guberniias capital, Novorossiysk. Indicative that just three urban settlements were in the guberniia and only one of them (Novorossiysk itself) had official status of the city, while Tuapse and Sochi were posads.

There is no doubt that one of the important factors that affected the character of urbanization processes in the region, was the ethnic composition of the population. Representatives of dozens of ethnic groups moved to the coast of the Sea of Azov. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the new arrivals were both Ukrainians, migrants from the right bank and the left bank of the Dnieper, and Russian, to a greater extent to the lands of the Don Cossack Host. However, this statement is true to a greater extent in relation to the rural population than in relation to urban centres, especially coastal cities at the beginning of their existence.⁵⁸

Besides, there were significant difference in the ratio of Ukraini-

58. Enough to recall that Mariupol long remained “the Greek city” (Stefan Kaloerov, *Греки Приазовья: Аннотированный библиографический указатель* [The Greeks of Azov region: Annotated bibliography] (Donetsk, 1997); Larisa Yakubova, *Маріупольські греки (етнічна історія): 1778 р. – початок 30-х років ХХ ст.* [Mariupol Greeks (ethnic history): 1778 – the beginning of the 1830s] (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, 1999); Anna Gedyo, *Джерела з історії греків Північного Приазов'я (кінець ХVІІІ – початок ХХ ст.)* [Primary sources on the history of the Greeks of Northern Azov (end of the 18th-20th centuries)] (Kyiv, 2001), 241 p.; Irina Ponomareva, *Етнічна історія греків Приазов'я (кінець ХVІІІ – початок ХХІ ст.). Історико-етнографічне дослідження* [Ethnic History of Azov Greeks (the late 18th – beginning of the 21st century). Historical and ethnographic research] (Kyiv: Referat, 2006). Taganrog was considered for a long time a “Greek kingdom”. See Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis, “Entrepreneurship at the Russian Frontier of International Trade. The Greek Merchant Community/*Paroikia* of Taganrog in the Sea of Azov, 1780s-1830s”, in Viktor Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis and Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Merchant ‘Colonies’ in the Early Modern Period (15th-18th centuries)*, (London: Chatto & Pickering, 2012), pp. 157-180. At the end of the 19th century Greeks accounted for only 1.96% of its residents; it seems that in the second or third generation, a number of Greeks of the town were russo-phone and were considered Russian.

ans and Russians in the cities and in the countryside of the Northern Azov: the percentage of Ukrainians in the overall population of the two guberniias, adjacent to the Sea of Azov, was significantly higher than their percentage among the townspeople. That's why some researchers assert that city people were hostile to Ukrainian villages and peasants; Ukrainians "preserved" for themselves the countryside⁵⁹, and they were not able to integrate themselves properly into the urban population. As a result, urbanization in the region took place with their minimal participation.⁶⁰ The opposite situation is observed regarding Russians: according to materials of the census of 1897, in the cities of Ekaterinoslav guberniia Russians accounted to 40.68%, and in the cities of Taurida guberniia, 49.10% of townspeople. At the same time among the overall population of these guberniia their representation was much lower: 17.27% and 27.90%, respectively.

Russians dominated Novorossiysk, and by the percentage of Ukrainians among all coastal cities of the eastern coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region, Novorossiysk was only second to Berdyansk. Taking under consideration the above mentioned priorities of imperial colonization of lands of insubordinate mountaineers, there was nothing surprising in such a state of affairs.⁶¹ It is indicative that among residents of Novorossiysk Russians accounted for 63.63% and among the entire population of the Black

59. Fedir Turchenko, "Рецензія: Присяжнюк Ю. Українське селянство Наддніпрянської України: соціоментальна історія другої половини XIX – початку XX ст." [Review: Yuri Prysiazhnyuk, Ukrainian peasantry of Naddniprianshchyna Ukraine: socio-mental history of the late 19th – early 20th century, 637 p.], *Naukovi pratsi istorichnogo fakultety Zaporiz'kogo natsional'nogo universitetu*, 26, (2009), p. 397.

60. Fedir Turchenko and Galyna Turchenko, *Південна Україна: модернізація, світова війна, революція (кінець XIX ст. – 1921 р.): Історичні нариси* [Southern Ukraine: modernization, World War, Revolution (the late 19th century – 1921): Historical Essays] (Kyiv: Geneza, 2003), pp. 40-43.

61. In addition, as even modern Russian researchers have to admit, imperial policy of providing greater cultural homogeneity of the population of the region in general was manifested in a tougher line of Russification, in efforts to boost Russification of the multi-ethnic population of the Caucasus and to strengthen the "Russian element" here, see: Arthur Tsutsiev, *Атлас этнополитической истории Кавказа (1774-2004)* [Atlas of ethno-political history of the Caucasus (1774-2004)] (Moscow: "Europe", 2006), p. 33.

Sea province only 42.53%; Ukrainians among residents of Novorossiysk were 12.86%, while among the entire population of the province, 16.06%.⁶² Discussing the diversity of the population of the Black Sea guberniia in general, an author of the early 20th century wrote that there lived Czechs, Moldovians, Greeks of Asia Minor, Armenians, Germans, as well as “Russians”, some of whom, belonged to the coastal and linear military battalions, settled in separate stanitsas.⁶³

In comparison with port-cities of the Sea of Azov region and of the Black Sea guberniia, Batoum was different radically. Russians there accounted only for 21.83% of the population, Ukrainians, only 2.99%, while representatives of the Kartvelian languages 21.35% (including 18.07%, the native speakers of the Georgian and Ajarian), Armenians 23.99% (see table 4.4). Greeks formed 9.70% of the population of Batoum, having the highest percentage of surpassed Novorossiysk and any port-city of the Sea of Azov region.⁶⁴

Overall, as of 1897 the ethnic composition of population⁶⁵ of the port-cities of the region was as follows:

62. *The first general census ... LXX. Black Sea guberniia.....*, pp. 34-39.

63. Moskvich, *The Caucasus illustrated practical guidebook...*, p. 45. Note that it was a common phenomenon in the statistical sources of the Russian Empire not to distinguish Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian ethnic groups, which, as a rule, were all called “Russians” or if they were mentioned separately, the calculations were given for the entire group. We are not talking only about the Ukrainian lands. Indicative of the description of the ethnic composition of the Kuban oblast and the Black Sea province, is what Grigoriy Moskvich correctly wrote in 1902: that these lands in the 1790s had been inhabited by “the Cossacks of the Black Sea Cossack Host (Zaporozhian Cossacks)”, and “Little Russian [Ukrainian] nationality of the Black Sea Cossacks persists to the present day, despite the 100-year-old proximity of other peoples”. But all this information Grigoriy Moskvich placed under the subheading “Russians” see *ibid.*, pp. 17-18).

64. *The first general census ... LXVI. Kutaisi guberniia ...*, pp. 88-93.

65. Ethnicity has been filed on the basis of information about mother tongue.

Table 4.4 Ethnic composition of population of the port-cities

City	Ethnic groups											
	Russians	Ukrainians	Belarusians	Jews	Germans	Greeks	Tatars	Poles	Moldovans	Turks	Bulgarians	Armenians
Kerch	57.80	7.99	0.21	12.86	0.81	5.29	6.70	2.57	0.10	0.13	0.15	2.04
Berdyansk	66.06	15.53	0.07	10.46	2.77	1.58	1.09	0.40	0.02	0.19	0.49	0.28
Mariupol	63.22	10.04	0.55	15.14	0.80	5.11	0.73	0.70	0.00	2.96	0.01	0.16
Taganrog	79.51	9.09	0.58	5.22	0.84	1.96	0.16	1.24	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.49
Rostov	79.24	4.70	0.50	9.36	0.99	0.59	0.98	1.21	0.01	0.08	0.01	1.85
Novorossiysk	63.63	12.86	0.49	4.98	1.07	1.09	0.71**	2.04	0.06	0.03	0.59*	1.28
Batoum	21.83	2.99	0.24	3.73	1.05	9.70	1.05	2.53		5.80	0.05	23.99

* Together with Azerbaijanis.

** Together with the Czechs, Slovaks and Serbs.

Source: *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи. 1897 г. ХLI. Таврическая губерния* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. ХLI. Taurida gubernia] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia P. Yablonsky, 1904), pp. 2-3, 94; *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. ХIII. Екатеринославская губерния* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. ХIII. Ekaterynoslav guberniia] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia E. Porohovshchikova, 1904), pp. 3, 74-75; *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи. 1897 г. ХII. Область Войска Донского* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. ХII. Oblast of the Don Cossack Host] (Saint Petersburg, 1905), pp. 1, 78-82; *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. LXX. Черноморская губерния. Тетрадь 2* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. LXX. Black Sea guberniia. Notebook 2] (Saint Petersburg, 1901), pp. 34-39; *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. LXXVI. Кутаисская губерния* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. LXXVI. Kutaisi guberniia] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia V. Meschersky 1905), pp. 88-93.

Port-cities in urban space and their role in changes of the administrative-territorial structure of the region

The configuration of the urban network of the “Russian” Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region was formed not according to the principles of the spatial uniformity of population distribution (which prevailed in the densely populated Western Europe with an extensive network of cities), but under the influence of the historical realities of the urban history of these lands. The network of the existing cities, already there since ancient times or the Middle Ages, was supplemented by cities, which were “the products” of colonization of the region in the 18th – early 19th century. The locations of such cities were largely chosen according to the stages of incorporation of the new territories to the Russian Empire, the phase of colonization and the military needs emerging in a particular historical moment. To a certain extent, however, some principles based on the idea called by modern architects as “planimetric urbanism” and “mathematical fortress urbanism” were taken into account⁶⁶. The uneven spatial distribution of the official cities also was determined by the natural-geographical factors.

In the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries the network of settlements of the Northern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov coast, which had the official status of the city, underwent several changes, which were neither numerous nor cardinal. The conservatism of the authorities, the complexity of the procedure of changes of the status of an urban settlement and a number of other factors led to the fact that the number of official urban settlements progressed quite slowly, something that did not reflect the real level of urbanization. If we proceed from the definition of “network of cities” proposed by architects as an “optimal form of city location under the influence of a complex of factors specific to a certain historical period”⁶⁷, the network of cities, which the region had in the second half of the 19th century, remained in general optimal for the needs of the

66. G. Petrishin, U. Ivanochko, Yu. Idak and others, *Історичні архітектурно-містобудівні комплекси: наукові методи дослідження: Навчальний посібник* [Historical architectural urban complexes: methods of research. Manual] (Lviv: “Lviv Polytechnic”, 2006), p. 55.

67. Ibid, p. 74.

state. However, from the perspective of correspondence to modernization and industrialization the network was far from optimal. As a result, movements in a “differential chain” were occurring: “old” cities which did not correspond to new factors, moved to the end of the chain⁶⁸, experiencing stagnation or even degradation; “skipping ahead”, were the more successfully located cities. In the second half of the 19th century the changes in the network of official cities on the lands adjacent to the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea were somewhat more substantial. This is logical, if we take under consideration that this area was the more recent acquisition of the Russian Empire.

It is crucial to keep in mind that the network of official cities did not exist in isolation of the wider network of urban settlements of the region. And the last network was developing quite dynamically, far outpacing the rate of changes in the number of official cities. From the very beginning of intense imperial colonization of the region the majority of cities were built and developed here mainly as military-administrative or purely administrative centers. We have reasons to believe that in spite of the fact that in the Russian Empire as a whole and in Black Sea region in particular in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries there was a tendency to turn cities into multifunctional centers, the administrative functions of the official cities remained the priority of the state authorities.⁶⁹ It was quite natural for the absolutist empire. Lydia Koshman was right in asserting that “the post-reform city retained its administrative functions as the most important”.⁷⁰ Therefore it is reasonable

68. Ibid, p. 81.

69. Konstantinova, *Urbanization: A South-Ukrainian dimension*, pp. 133-165.

70. Lydia Koshman, *Город и городская жизнь в России XIX столетия: Социальные и культурные аспекты* [City and urban life in Russia of the XIX century: Social and cultural aspects] (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2008), p. 62. It is worth to cite a more radical statement regarding the cities of the Russian Empire, this time expressed by a New York professor of history: “In many instances the only compelling reason for the existence of “cities” was that they were needed as administrative centers for local agencies of the central government”, Walter Hanchett, “Tsarist Statutory Regulation of Municipal Government in the Nineteenth Century”, in Michael F. Hamm (editor), *The City in Russian History*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1982, p. 91).

to trace the evolution of these functions of the port-cities in the context of the changes of the administrative-territorial structure of the Sea of Azov and the eastern Black Sea region.

After the completion of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1768-1774 and signing the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, which extended the possessions of the Russian Empire in the region, the Azov guberniia was established here by the decree of Catherine II on February 14, 1775. It consisted of two provinces (provincia) – Azov and Bakhmut. The decree of the Empress specified that Taganrog and the fortress of Saint Dimitriy of Rostov belonged to the first of them.⁷¹

At the end of the 1770s Mariupol was founded, and became the administrative center of the Mariupol Greek okrug and Mariupol uезд. On January 22, 1784 Mariupol, Taganrog and the fortress of Saint Dimitriy of Rostov became part of the newly established Ekaterinoslav viceroyalty.⁷² Already on February 10, 1784 Catherine II signed a decree “About the construction of new fortifications on the boundaries of Ekaterinoslav guberniia”, according to which Taganrog lost its status of a fortress because it “remained within the boundaries of the state” due to the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Empire.⁷³ At the same time, the fortress of Saint Dimitriy of Rostov was officially abolished only in 1835, although it had lost its military importance much earlier.⁷⁴

After the administrative map of the region had been redrawn in accordance with the decree of 12 December 1796 which included the dissolution of the Voznesensk guberniia and Taurida oblast and its replacement by the Novorossiysk guberniia, on August 29, 1797 Emperor Paul I approved the report of the Senate, according to which Taganrog became part of Rostov uезд of Novorossiysk guberniia with the fortress of Saint Dimitriy of Rostov as the uезд’ administrative center. Although the document did not provide for the existence of a Taganrog uезд, it was specifically stipulated that public offices (*prisutstvennyye mesta*) were to continue to operate in

71. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 20, pp. 55-56.

72. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 22, pp. 11-12.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 21-22.

74. А. Ил’ин, *История города Ростова на Дону. Очерк с рисунками в тексте* [The history of the city of Rostov-on-Don. Essay with drawings in the text] (1909), p. 61.

Taganrog.⁷⁵ According to the decree of October 8, 1802, Rostov became the center of the uezd of Ekaterinoslav guberniia, and Taganrog had to get a urban prefect of the town, who, among other duties, had to manage the city police and “to compel the magistrate for the speedy resolution of affairs”.⁷⁶ On August 17, 1806 it was ordered finally to transfer the public offices of Rostov uezd from Taganrog to Rostov⁷⁷, but already by October 31, 1807 Rostov itself, along with Mariupol and Nakhichevan, for the better development of trade and industry became part of the Taganrog urban prefectorate “on issues of the police, trade and merchant shipping”.⁷⁸ The following year Taganrog was recognized as the administrative center of the entire Azov coast in the economic sphere: according to the imperial rescript, the urban prefect of Taganrog remained at his post, becoming at the same time the “chief trustee of merchant shipping in the Sea of Azov”. On May 12, 1808 the Emperor signed a decree on the establishment of Taganrog Merchant court of Justice; its jurisdiction covered not only the commercial matters of Taganrog but also of Mariupol, Rostov and Nakhichevan.⁷⁹ By October 16, 1816 the Emperor, according to the request of Taganrog urban prefect, ordered to return all public offices from Rostov to Taganrog.⁸⁰

Thus, Taganrog step by step became in some sense the main administrative center of the Sea of Azov coast. But already in the 1820s, after the establishment of the Governorate-Generals centred at the city of Odessa, the Taganrog urban prefectorate⁸¹ as well as the whole of the northern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov were

75. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 24, p. 706-707.

76. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 27, p. 272.

77. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 29, p. 695-696.

78. Государственный архив Одесской области [State Archive of Odessa region, DAOO], fond 1, opis 221, delo 4, “By imperial order about joining the cities of Rostov, Nakhichevan and Mariupol to Taganrog urban prefectorate and about submission of adjacent Greek villages, suburban residences, Nikolaev volost and Nakhichevan colonies to Taganrog” (1807); *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 29, p. 1318.

79. Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog...*, pp. 218-220.

80. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 33, p. 1051.

81. It is noteworthy that in 1821 on the lands adjacent to the Sea of Azov another urban prefectorate (Kerch-Yeni-Kale) was established.

subordinated to the administrative structures of Odessa. This significantly transferred the balance of power from the Azov ports to the western coast. Odessa “subjugated” Taganrog and did not give it a chance to rise at an upper level.

Soon Taganrog in several aspects lost its administrative superiority over Rostov. According to the regulation of the Committee of Ministers approved by Nicholas I on July 25, 1833 the public offices were moved again from Taganrog to Rostov.⁸² In connection with this already by March 20, 1834 it was decided to withdraw Rostov from the jurisdiction of Taganrog urban prefectorate and to subordinate it to the Ekaterinoslav gubernator.⁸³

It has been suggested that one of the reasons of the “degradation” of Taganrog was the dislike towards it of the omnipotent governor-general of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Mikhail Vorontsov.⁸⁴ Perhaps Vorontsov tried to create an alternative to Taganrog in the Azov region: in 1827 on the Azov coast of neighboring guberniia of Taurida a wharf was founded, which gave rise to the port-city of Berdyansk. For some time this new settlement was attributed to Nogaisk, which appeared on the shore of the Sea of Azov a decade earlier. However, a more convenient location was found that allowed the construction of a port, which quickly removed Berdyansk from the “shadow” of Nogaisk⁸⁵, that now had to be satisfied with the status of *zashtatnyi* [unimportant] town, while Berdyansk officially became a city on January 1, 1841, and by 1842 the capital of Berdyansk uezd.⁸⁶

82. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 8, Sec. 1, p. 443.

83. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire], (Saint Petersburg: 1835), Col. 2, Vol. 9, Sec. I, p. 220.

84. Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog...*, p. 126.

85. DA00, fond 1, opis 191, delo 30, “About establishment of a wharf on the Sea of Azov and lands of Nogais, the opening of the town of Nogaisk and in generally about the institutions for the benefit of the Nogais, and about the town of Berdyansk, 1831”; GAARK, fond 26, opis 1, delo 10325, “On the report of the acting Police Chief of Nogaisk requesting a permit to refer some cases to the Police Chief of Berdyansk, 1834-1836”, lists. 1-2.

86. DA00, fond 1, opis 192, delo 13, “About Nogais, who settled in Taurida guberniia, about towns of Nogaisk and Berdyansk and the new separation of Dneprovsky and Melitopol uezds, 1841”; *ibid*, fond 1, opis 192, delo 12, “About Nogais, who settled in Taurida guberniia, about towns of Nogaisk and Berdyansk

Since the second half of the 1830s there were plans for the creation of a new guberniia in the Sea of Azov region, which remained divided between the Taurida, Ekaterinoslav guberniias and the Don Cossacks Host. In 1838, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Bludov, raised the question about establishing there Taganrog or Petrovsk⁸⁷ guberniia, which would include: a) the Nogai Steppe (later, Berdyansk uezd), b) the territories of the Ekaterinoslav guberniia adjacent to the Sea of Azov, c) the Miuss okrug (which was a part of the lands of the Don Cossacks). His main argument was the fact that all these areas “are linked by common interests because of their natural struggle with the Sea of Azov”.⁸⁸ Emperor Nicholas I supported this idea, but for some time the project was postponed. In 1844, Senator Zhemchuzhnikov, conducting an audit of the Taganrog urban prefect, also spoke for the creation of Taganrog guberniia that, in his opinion, should contribute to the development of the Azov trade. To consider the projects of Bludov and Zhemchuzhnikov a special committee was formed, which also supported the creation of a new guberniia. However, the committee refused an earlier proposal for the inclusion of Kerch in the new province, because the city of the Taurida guberniia was too far from Taganrog, which was to become the guberniia center. In addition, the committee considered it inappropriate to include Miuss okrug in the new guberniia, “in order to avoid infringing the inviolability of the lands of the Don Cossacks”.⁸⁹

Later consideration of ideas for the transformation of the ad-

and the new separation of Dneprovsky and Melitopol uezds, 1842”; GAARK, fond 26, opis 1, delo 12432, “About transfer of cases related to Melitopol and Berdyansk uezds, from Perekop magistrate and orphaned court to Berdyansk Hall and orphaned court, 1842”, lists. 1-2.

87. In honor of Peter I.

88. DA00, fond 5, opis 1, delo 186, “Materials about measures on transformation of administrative management of Taganrog urban prefectorate, organization of management of Pryazovia area, about establishment of Rostov urban prefectorate (decrees, position papers, projects of staff, map of Ekaterinoslav guberniia etc. May 5, 1881 – January 4, 1888”, list. 36 verso.

89. DA00, fond 5, opis 1, delo 186, “Materials about measures on transformation of administrative management of Taganrog urban prefectorate, organization of management of Pryazovia area, about establishment of Rostov urban prefectorate (decrees, position papers, projects of staff, map of Ekaterinoslav guberniia etc. May 5, 1881 – January 4, 1888”, list. 37.

ministrative-territorial structure of lands adjacent to the Azov coast recurred several times; in the second half of the 19th century proposals were introduced to make Rostov, not Taganrog, the center of the new guberniia (which, alternatively, could be called *Priazovskaya*)⁹⁰, or to establish a new Northern Azov urban prefectorate which would include Taganrog, Rostov and Nakhichevan. One of the major obstacles for the integration of the lands near the Sea of Azov into one administrative-territorial unit remained the problematic inclusion of Miuss okrug, because it would limit the privileges of the Cossacks. Various options of territorial issues (including the town of Azov) and other compensations to the Cossacks for the lands of Miuss okrug were proposed. However, since at least 1867 quite the opposite idea was proposed, not only to separate Miuss okrug from the lands of the Don Cossack Host but to join the latter with the Taganrog urban prefectorate and Rostov uezd. Finally, unexpected for many, exactly this option was chosen. The discussion for the reformation of the system of governance of the Sea of Azov

90. Sometimes, Mariupol was suggested as as the center of the future guberniia. Besides, a more radical idea was expressed: to make “a main port of the Sea of Azov” on Belosaray Spit between Berdyansk and Mariupol, because places for the foundation of Mariupol and Taganrog had been selected “accidentally”, while Belosaray Spit was located in a strategic position and the foundation of a port here might allow to organize better the export of coal from the rapidly developing Donbass, see: Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog...*, pp. 238-239. As for Berdyansk, Mikhail Vorontsov expressed the idea not to include it in the new administrative-territorial unit and to leave the city as a part of Taurida guberniia. On the other hand, opponents of the status quo argued that “the subordination of Berdyansk to the Kerch urban prefect in trade issues, due to the remoteness of Berdyansk, at a distance of 340 versts from Kerch, also does not provide any special benefits for the first. On the contrary, benefits of Berdyansk and its uezd seem obvious if this city will depend on Taganrog governor, who at the same time can be a chief trustee of merchant shipping in the Sea of Azov and a head of the customs district, as now the Taganrog governor of the town does”. Another argument was given in favor of adding Berdyansk to the new guberniia: “It is known that the merchants, in whose hands the whole trade of the ports of the Sea of Azov is now, are the same engines of this extensive trade in Taganrog, Rostov, Mariupol and Berdyansk, and the trade of this last city, as well as trade of all other cities, depends on the same merchant firms” DAOO, fond 1, opis 192, delo 147, “About transformation of Ekaterinoslav province and opening of Petrovsk or Taganrog guberniia, 1847”, lists. 61 verso – 62.

region which lasted for half a century⁹¹, ended in May 19, 1887, when Emperor Alexander III approved the document of the State Council “About the inclusion of Taganrog urban prefectorate and Rostov uezd of Ekaterinoslav guberniia to the Oblast of the Don Cossack Host”. This document required the formation on the base of Taganrog urban prefectorate, the Rostov uezd, Miuss okrug and part of Cherkassk okrug, two civil okrugs, Taganrog and Rostov. The document came into force on January 1, 1888.⁹²

Taganrog and Rostov became a part of the same administrative unit, which was “from top to bottom subordinated to the arbitrariness of the military administration”.⁹³ With the abolition of the urban prefectorate Taganrog lost its former administrative importance.⁹⁴ While the economic primacy now belonged to Rostov, the main administrative city of the area became Novocherkassk.⁹⁵

91. DAOO, fond 1, opis 139, delo 170, “About formation of Taganrog province, 1864”; Ibid, fond 1, opis 192, delo 147, “About transformation of Ekaterinoslav province and opening of Petrovsk or Taganrog guberniia, 1847”; Ibid, fond 1, opis 17, delo 41, “About the establishment after the formation of Taganrog guberniia of a common branch of the Commercial Council for the entire Pryazovia, 1870” [The delo is lost]; Ibid, fond 5, opis 1, delo 186, “Materials about measures on transformation of administrative management of Taganrog urban prefectorate, organization of management of Pryazovia area, about establishment of Rostov urban prefectorate (decrees, position papers, projects of staff, map of Ekaterinoslav guberniia etc. May 5, 1881 – January 4, 1888”.

92. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire], (Saint Petersburg: 1889), Col. 3, Vol. 7, p. 403; DAOO, fond 5, opis 1, delo 1837, “Correspondence with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other institutions about the trip of the Governor-general to Saint Petersburg and subordinated guberniias; printed materials about inclusion of Taganrog urban prefectorate and Rostov uezd of Ekaterinoslav guberniia to Oblast of the Don Cossack Host. January 1, 1887 – December 31, 1887”.

93. S. Svatikov, *Россия и Дон (1549-1917). Исследование по истории государственного и административного права и политических движений на Дону* [Russia and Don (1549-1917). Research on the history of the state and administrative law and political movements on the Don] (Don Historical Commission, 1924), p. 403.

94. N. Nikitin (ed.), *Альманах-Справочник по гор[оду] Таганрогу и его округу на 1912 год* [Almanac-Handbook of Taganrog and its okrug for 1912] (Taganrog: Типо-lithographia N. Razi, 1912), p. 209.

95. Ibid, pp. 216-218.

The administrative importance of Rostov increased slightly by the establishment of Rostov urban prefectorate in February 23, 1904, which included Rostov and Nakhichevan.⁹⁶ However, in 1908 an English vice-consul in Rostov wrote in a report to London that administratively Rostov could be called as the stepdaughter of the Oblast of the Don Cossack Host: the government concentrated administrative offices in Novocherkassk, the number of inhabitants of which amounted hardly half of the population of Rostov.⁹⁷ S. Svatikov had to state in 1920 that the inclusion of Rostov and Taganrog to the lands of the Don Cossacks “turned out rather mechanical and was not planned to provide satisfaction of historical claims of Don or to restore administrative and economic unity of the Don region”.⁹⁸

As for the administrative and territorial changes on the coastal lands lying to the south from the Oblast of the Don Cossack Host, from the 1790s the territory of the Black Sea Cossack Host was formed.⁹⁹ With the conversion of the latter into the Kuban Cossack Host in 1860, a new administrative-territorial unit, the Kuban oblast, was created with Ekaterinodar as the administrative center in, which previously had been the administrative center of the Black Sea Cossack Host. On the territory of this oblast, which was adjacent to the Sea of Azov, the Kerch Straits and the Black Sea, the port-city of Yeisk was created, which received the status of the port city only in 1848. Within Kuban oblast, Yeisk became the administrative center of Yeisk uезд.¹⁰⁰

96. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire], (Saint Petersburg: 1907), Col. 3, Vol. 24, Sec. I, pp. 163-165.

97. Diplomatic and Consular reports. Russia. Report for the year 1908 on the trade and commerce of the consular district of Odessa: Harrison and Sons, 1909, p. 103.

98. Svatikov, *Russia and Don...*, p. 163.

99. Lands of this Host even after its conversion continued to be called among the people “*Chernomor'ye*”. These lands included the Taman Peninsula, as well as the area between the rivers of Yeya and Kuban till the stanitsa of Ust-Labinsk. As of 1888 the territory of *Chernomor'ye* was a part of Ekaterinodar, Temryuk and Yeisk uyezds, see: Veydenbaum, *Guide to the Caucasus...*, p. 8.

100. Ейск [Yeisk], in *Новый энциклопедический словарь* Ф.А. Брокгауза, И.А. Эфрона [New Encyclopedic Dictionary of F. Brockhaus and I. Efron] (Saint Petersburg: tipografia Brockhaus and Efron, 1914), Volume 17, p. 388; Veydenbaum, *Guide to the Caucasus...*, p. 212.

In 1866, the Black Sea (Chernomorskii) okrug was established on the north-eastern coast with the port-cities of Novorossiysk (which became its administrative center) and Anapa.¹⁰¹ The creation of this okrug was directly related to the imperial plans of the development of the lands, which had recently been inhabited by recalcitrant Caucasian highlanders. The territory of the Black Sea okrug, which had Novorossiysk as its administrative center, consisted of three *otdels* and the *posads* Velyaminovskiy (Tuapse) and Dahovskiy (Sochi)¹⁰².

After the Russian Empire annexed Batoum, the Russian eastern coast of the Black Sea administratively consisted of the Black Sea okrug and the Kutaisi guberniia that had the port-cities Sukhumi and Batoum, subordinated to the civilian department. Under the military department there were the Sukhumi *otdel* and Batoum *oblast*.¹⁰³ It is interesting to note that almost simultaneously with the beginning of changes related to the inclusion of the eastern part of the Sea of Azov region with Taganrog and Rostov into the Oblast of the Don Cossack Host, in 1879 the need for unification and coordination of planning was expressed by the commission, established after annexation of Batoum: “The Black Sea coast, which has become property of Russia all the way from Kerch to Batoum, allows now for the planning of joint activities with the aim of getting all the benefits which can be provided by this beautiful and the rich area, making it possible to export numerous and valuable goods by sea to Russia and Europe”.¹⁰⁴

However, this did not mean that the lands of the eastern Black Sea coast from Anapa to Batoum were to be united within a single administrative unit. A restructuring did take place, however in 1888. Because of its small population and the poor development, the Black Sea okrug was annexed to the Kuban oblast. But already in 1896 there was a new change in the administrative structure of the eastern coast: the Black Sea (*Chernomorskaya*) guberniia was

101. Vereschagin, *Historical overview of the colonization ...*, pp. 4-5.

102. A.Vereschagin, *Путевые заметки по Черноморскому округу* [Travel notes on Black Sea okrug] (Moscow: edition of N.Mamontov, 1874), pp. 126-128; Veydenbaum, *Guide to the Caucasus...*, p. 215.

103. Vereschagin, *Historical overview of the colonization ...*, pp. 33-34.

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

organized here.¹⁰⁵ Novorossiysk became its guberniia center.¹⁰⁶ Regarding the southern part of the region, in 1883 Batoum oblast (formed by Batoum and Artvin okrugs) was incorporated in the Kutaisi guberniia; in 1903 these okrugs and the city of Batoum itself formed the separate Batoum oblast, which was excluded from the Kutaisi guberniia and operated by a military governor.¹⁰⁷

As we can see, the eastern coast of the Black Sea in the last third of the 19th – early 20th century experienced a period of quite active administrative-territorial transformations. These transformations can be compared to the administrative-territorial changes that the northern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region had experienced approximately a century earlier, in the last quarter of the 18th – early 19th century. It is quite understandable: in both cases, the imperial authorities were looking for the most appropriate model for the adaptation of the lands which recently had been acquired as a result of Russian expansion, to Russian Empire.

Concluding remarks

Such was the evolution of the port-cities of the Russian frontier lands in the context of the expansion of Moscovia / the Russian Empire to the Azov and the eastern coast of the Black Sea. Russia pressed forward; it started with territorial acquisitions in the region with the fortress of Azov and finished by Batoum. The succession of redrawing the boundaries of the administrative-territorial units in the Sea of Azov (as well as in the northern Black Sea region) took place in the last quarter of 18th – early 19th centuries, which reflected a) the ambition of the imperial power to transform the acquired lands as to fulfill the geopolitical and economic tasks in the best way, and b) the actions and inconsistencies of the monarchs of the Russian Empire and their protegés in the region. For the port-cities of the Azov coast these administrative-territorial transformations

105. This province stretched as a narrow strip along the coast, and consisted of Novorossiysk, Sochi and Tuapse okrugs.

106. Melnikov-Razvedenkov, *Cities of the northern part of the eastern coast ...* .

107. *The first general census ... LXVI. Kutaisi guberniia ...*, p. V.

were important but none ended to become a major provincial administrative center. In this regard, the empire continued to focus “on the land” rather than “on the sea”. After creating in the very beginning of the 19th century Kherson, Taurida and Ekaterinoslav guberniias only minor administrative-territorial changes occurred in the northern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region, although for half a century the discussion lasted about variants of unification of various parts of the Azov coast in one province, and one of the port-cities to become its administrative center. However, the result of this episode was the contrary, the weakening of the role of the major coastal cities of the area in the administrative hierarchy: since 1888 the port-cities of Taganrog and Rostov had to subordinate to the “continental” Novocherkassk. In contrast to the Sea of Azov, greater transformations of an administrative-territorial nature took place on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. This was directly related to the fact that now Russian expansion moved exactly to the southern direction. And it was here that the only guberniia on the whole territory of the Russian coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov was established and had a port-city as its main administrative center. At the same time, within the framework of the imperial colonization of the region, coastal cities more often obtained special status, whether the status of a center of a urban prefectorate or a center of an oblast, which was not subordinated to any provincial center. In such a way a special role of the port-cities in the military-strategic and economic spheres was taken into account and at the same time was enhanced.

Part 2
On and In the Sea

5. Controlling the straits: The development of the port of Kerch

Anna Sydorenko

Introduction

After the integration of the region along the northern coast of the Black Sea to the Russian Empire, a “fortunate coincidence” of the region’s simultaneous access to the markets of industrialized Western Europe, paired with the opening of the Black Sea to international shipping, allowed for the development of a series of port cities. Moreover, this new access to the productive hinterland as the highly fertile land (*chernozem*) was incorporated to the Russian Empire. For about a century the southern parts of the Russian territory were the breadbasket of the Western Europe. Most port-cities in southern Russian were developed through the management of the maritime grain export trade, and eventually evolved into major export gates and maritime centers for the Eastern Mediterranean.¹ However, the Kerch port-city followed a different development path compared to the eleven other trade centers of the northern Black Sea coast.

The history of Kerch within the territory of the Russian Empire began in 1774. The Kuchuk-Kainarji Treaty (1774) in the Russian Empire included, among other things, the Fortresses of Kerch and Yeni-Kale, which were strategically important forts at the eastern point of the Crimean Peninsula, where the Azov and Black Seas connect. The Russians gained control of the straits and the right to free navigation in the Black

1. For the development of port-cities on the North Black Sea coast, see recent studies: Sifneos, Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...* ; Sydorenko, “The economic development of the Crimean port-cities...”; Mikhail Davidov, “Transportation of grain to the ports of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, 1893-1913”, in Davydov, Harlaftis, Kulikov (ed.), *The Economic Development of the Port-Cities...* ; Herlihy, *Odessa: A History...*, pp. 96-108.

Sea. The city of Kerch played an important role in the military and commercial policy of the Empire in the first half of the 19th century. It was developed to serve two purposes: on one hand, as a port that handled all traffic to and from the Azov Sea, and on the other hand, as the Russian bastion in conquering the opposite coasts of the Caucasus (see map 5.1).

Map 5.1 Crimean Peninsula (Late 18th Century)



Source: W. G. Rummel (ed.), *Материалы для описания русских коммерческих портов и истории их сооружения, Керчь-глубокий порт, судоходный канал от р. Кубани к Анапе, Сухум* [Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports and the history of their construction, Kerch-deep port, fairway from river Kuban till Anapa, Sukhum], Vol. 20, (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo putei soobshchenia, 1900).

Early Phase of Development of the Port-City of Kerch

The initial phase of the creation of the city evolved within the framework of the defense and colonial policy of Catherine the Great. The southern affiliated areas were characterized by low population densities and were under constant military threat from the Ottomans. The fortresses of Kerch and Yeni-Kale were important defensive forts for the security of the newly acquired areas. The defense of the Straits of Kerch-Yeni-Kale was achieved through the installation of the “Greek Regiment,” which took part in the sea martial operations

and was distinguished in the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774. By the decree of March 28, 1775, the new settlers were granted a number of privileges, among others, Tsarina promised to build them houses and temples, and introduced a 30-year tax exemption.² Additionally, she legislated that the development of the city would be based on trade. This ultimately granted the right to free trade. The triptych of defense, colonization, and trade (porto franco status) were the main pillars of Catherine's policy that were integrated into the imperial space, which contributed to the development not only of Kerch-Yeni-Kale, but also to that of all the newly acquired areas on the northern Black Sea coast.³

Defense and military priorities, coupled with the financial difficulties of establishing new settlers, did not allow the status porto franco to be implemented – rather this promise remained on paper. However, in the context of the wider trade developing policy in the Azov and Black Sea during 1776, a custom and quarantine were opened in Kerch.⁴ Yet, the development process was interrupted by the creation of new commercial ports in Crimea. By the decree of Paul I, in 1798, porto-franco was opened in Theodosia and Evpatoria. The port of Kerch gradually lost its importance, the custom and quarantine were abolished, and it was forbidden to unload goods.⁵

2. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи 1775-1780*, [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire 1775-1780], No. 14284, Vol. 20, (Saint Petersburg: 1830); *Записки Одесского Общества Истории и Древностей* [Notes Odessa Society History and Antiquities], Vol. 1, (Odessa, 1844), p. 217.

3. For overview of the colonization policy in the South regions of the Russian Empire see: Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004); Leonard Friesen, *Rural Revolution in Southern Ukraine. Peasants, Nobles, and Colonists, 1774-1905*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); pp.23-63. Roger P. Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia, 1762-1804*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

4. *Complete collection of laws ...*, No. 14473, Vol. 20, *Notes Odessa society history...*, p. 217.

5. *Complete collection of laws ...*, No. 18373, Vol. 25, Natalia Bykovskaia, “Открытие в Керчи порта и его влияние на экономическую ситуацию в Керчь-Еникальском градоначальстве” [Opening of the port in Kerch and its impact on the economic situation in the Kerch-Yeni-Kale urban prefect] in *Пилигримы Крыма, Сборник научных статей и материалов* [Pilgrims of Crimea, Collection of scientific articles

Despite the commercial port's operation, the city of Kerch during the first twenty years of its life, and during the next two decades after its abolition, did not appear to have made any significant progress. In 1804, the Russian geographer, Shchekatov, reported that there were, "one hundred miserable houses", in the city, and ten years later, there were several hundred men in Kerch, and only a few piteous shops where one could hardly buy tea or sugar.⁶

Creation of a Transit Port

Despite the stagnant situation that characterized the city's evolution, its favorable geographical location (at the point where the Black and the Azov Sea were united) would determine its development for about a hundred years. Alexander I, in his decree published on October 10, 1821, legislated the creation of a commercial port, defining both the type of port and the commercial influence it would have to the port system of southern Russia.⁷ The port's role was identified as a transit, transshipment point for goods going to and from the ports of Azov, which due to its shallowness, posed serious navigation problems. The port of Kerch would have been of auxiliary character, initially to the development of the Taganrog port and later to other Azov ports such as Mariupol, Rostov-on-Don and Berdyansk. In paragraphs 11 and 26 of the decree, the Tsar characteristically states: "Because the imported goods going through the Kerch quarantine will be directed to the Azov Sea, for the development and benefit of the Taganrog port ... these goods

and materials], Vol. 2 (7), (Simferopol: Krymskii arkhiv, 2003) p. 22.

6. S. N. Avseniova, "Записки путешественников первой половины XIX века о Крыме: Керчь и ее окрестности в описании Роберта Лайэлла" [Traveler's notes of the first half of the 19th century about Crimea: Kerch and its surroundings in the description of Robert Lyal] in *Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету* [Scientific works of the Faculty of History of the National University of Zaporizhzhya], Vol. 38 (Zaporizhzhya: Zaporozhskii Natsionalnyi Universitet, 2014), p. 42.

7. *Complete collection of laws ...*, No. 28776, Vol. 37. For a more detailed view of the types of ports see: Broeze, "The ports and port system ...", pp. 73-96; Atiwa Habeeb Kidwai, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues: Ports, Port Cities and Port-Hinterlands" in Indu Banga (ed.), *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India (1700-1950)*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1992), pp. 7-43.

will be unloaded at ferry boats in the Kerch Straits [SA] ... One of the most important reasons why the port was built in Kerch is that it is the most appropriate export point for Russian products from all parts of Azov.”⁸ The port officially opened in 1822.

Strategic Role of Kerch in the Conquest of the Northwestern Caucasus

Although the area’s geopolitical significance was lost in the empire’s expansive policy, Kerch’ played a supportive role in the development of the Azov trade ports, specifically in the northwestern Caucasus region, where the indigenous Circassians lived. The imperial authorities believed that by developing and strengthening trade relations between the Russians and the locals in the northwestern Caucasus, the annexation of the region would be easier argued, and would also help to undermine the trade with the Ottomans.⁹ According to the trade regulations with the Circassians, which were approved by Emperor Alexander I, the Russian authorities aimed to strengthen the already existing trade of the Circassians not only with the Cossacks of Kuban, but also with merchants in other areas. The idea was to strengthen relations with the inhabitants of the north-west Caucasus through commercial activity, “instill” the benefits that they could derive from it, and both gradually and systematically cultivate the habit of using Russian products. For this purpose, a special institution called, “The Kerch and Bugaz Trade Observation Post”, was established.¹⁰ The observation post staff was appointed by the foreign ministry, whose

8. *Complete collection of laws ...*, No. 28776, Vol. 37.

9. For the economic penetration of the Russian Empire in the Caucasus see: M. V. Pokrovskii, *Из истории адыгов в конце XVIII — первой половине XIX века: Социально-экономические очерки* [The history of the Adyghe, late 18th – first half of the 20th century: Socio-economic essays], (Krasnodar: Krasnodarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 1989). More about Russian Empire expansive policy in the Caucasus see: V. A. Potto, *Кавказская война в отдельных очерках, эпизодах, легендах и биографиях* [Caucasian war in different essays, episodes, legends and biographies], Vol. 1-4, (Saint Petersburg, 1887-1889), Charles King, *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

10. *Complete collection of laws ...*, No. 28776, Vol. 37.

director was based in Kerch. The director had three assistants, one of which was based on the opposite side in Bugaz, while the other two were in the mountains of Circassia. These observation post members were responsible for overseeing the proper management of trade between the two sides. The achievement of the development of trade between them would be based on the conduct of duty-free imports and exports, which had been in place for ten years, though at the same time, trading was based on barter. Often merchants and captains from the Russian side paid mooring fees in kind. In 1826, the trade with the Circassians from the Russian side could then be carried out not only by traders who belonged to merchant estate, as it was before, but also by representatives of other estates of the empire through the port of Kerch. This greatly expanded the range of participants in trading. In Kerch, ships that arrived from the opposite side were required to go to quarantine, as well as, to present documents (typically a certificate issued by observation post) proving that the cargo they were carrying came from a transaction with the Circassians. Although we do not have statistics on the size of the trade being carried out between the two sides, it nevertheless appears that it was profitable. In 1824, merchants reported to the governor-general of Novorossiia¹¹ about the great benefits of this trade and their intentions to double the ships for carrying trade in the coming period. The main Russian export product to the opposite coast was salt. Entrepreneurs from all over Crimea (like Theodosia's merchant, Lagorio, or petty bourgeois, Moishe Kalore, from Bakhchysarai) were sending cargos of salt to the Circassians. They later imported wood and wheat.¹²

Thus, Kerch functioned as a transit port and political center for the imperial authorities to consolidate their position in the north-western Caucasus until 1829, when the signing of the Treaty of Adrianople ended the Russian-Turkish War, and Circassia came under the domination of the Russian Empire. At the same time, during the hostilities between the Russians and the Ottomans, the

11. The governor-general of Novorossiia administered the homonymous unit established in the south of the empire as a hierarchically superior administrative division covering a large territory and subordinate to the center, more specifically to the institution see: A. Sydorenko, "The economic development...", p. 51-54.

12. DAOO, fond 1, opis 219, delo 633, "About the opening of a port in Kerch", list 101, 104, 119.

role of the port was strategically important, because it functioned as a supplying foodstuff center for Russian troops. This function was carried out by the merchants of the Kerch.¹³

The placement of Kerch along with its straits, “on the military and commercial map,” of the empire seemed promising for the development of the city and the economic prosperity of its inhabitants. According to the authorities’ plans, rebuilding a city according to European standards would be done in part with the revenue generated by the port’s operation and the management of the traffic in its straits. The city’s treasuries included the tax on docking, anchoring at the straits, and the tax on the capacity of ships. At the same time, since 1828, and for 25 years to follow, 10 per cent of the customs revenue was directed to the city’s funds. The economic activity of the inhabitants of Kerch was largely linked to the operation of the trading port and fishing, but even more to the management of the movement of ships to and from the Azov Sea. At the end of 1820, the residents and administration of the city of Kerch received from the government a number of benefits, including: tax reductions, annual grants for the city’s landscaping, and loans for the construction of coastal boats and ships suitable for managing of the traffic in the straits.¹⁴ Although the measures taken were insufficient to build a new, European-style city, despite the insistence of Novorossiia governor-general Mikhail Vorontsov. Rebuilding a city was a costly affair. At the end of 1839, the view of the city from the deck of a sailing ship that approached the straits from the Black Sea, seemed beautiful, when in fact, the infrastructure and embellishment of Kerch was quite botched and sloppy. Governor-general, Gregory Phillips, who had visited the city several times between 1837 and 1845, described it in his memoirs as: “... looking at Kerch, you see decorations of every kind, ambitions for Europeanism, inventions of petty bourgeoisie grandeur ...”. The development of Kerch followed the same pace until the Crimean War, when it suffered major disasters, as did other port-cities of Crimea. The export-import activity of the port remained at very low levels and was confined mainly to small-scale, intra-sea trade with ports on the Ottoman Black Sea Coast.¹⁵

13. *Ibid.*, list 68, 69.

14. *Ibid.*, list 111; Natalia Bykovskaia, “Opening of the port in Kerch ...”, p. 23.

15. The foreign trade activity of the port was small enough not to be record-

Second Phase of the Development of the Port-City of Kerch

After the end of the Crimean War and during the period of “Great Reforms” (aimed at modernizing and developing various sectors of the empire, including port infrastructure and port policy), Kerch continued to develop in relation to the Azov and the Caucasus. It also adapted partially to the period of changes by developing its own wealth and resources. Evaluating Kerch’s position in the Empire’s economy, contemporaries, scientists, and government officials, concluded that its autonomous development process as an export center did not appear to have significant profits in comparison with other port-cities of the South Russia. This limited its importance in managing the movement of ships in its straits.¹⁶ Indeed, the position of the port of Kerch largely determined the economic activities of the people who made up that entity. The position of the port, which defines its relationship with hinterland and foreland trade routes, seems to have clearly determined its evolution.¹⁷ In this case, the weak relationships of Kerch, as we will explain below, mainly with the hinterland, prevented it from developing into another export center in southern Russia. At the same time, this led to the opportunity to develop in other directions. It is true that its export activity fluctuated at very low levels throughout the second half of the 19th century compared to the main export centers of the Azov Sea (see figure 5.1).

The most important export commodities were cereals, flour, linseed, wool, fish, caviar, and pelts. The main consumer markets of the products from Kerch were still the Ottoman ports, mainly on the southern coast of the Black Sea. Although, in the last quarter of the 19th century, export markets expanded to the Black Sea ports (including those of Bulgaria and Romania), but also to the countries of northern Europe, such as Great Britain. One of the first places to accept cargoes from Kerch was Gibraltar, a transit point for cargoes in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁸ How-

ed by the Ministry of Finance in the Empire’s annual foreign trade statistics.

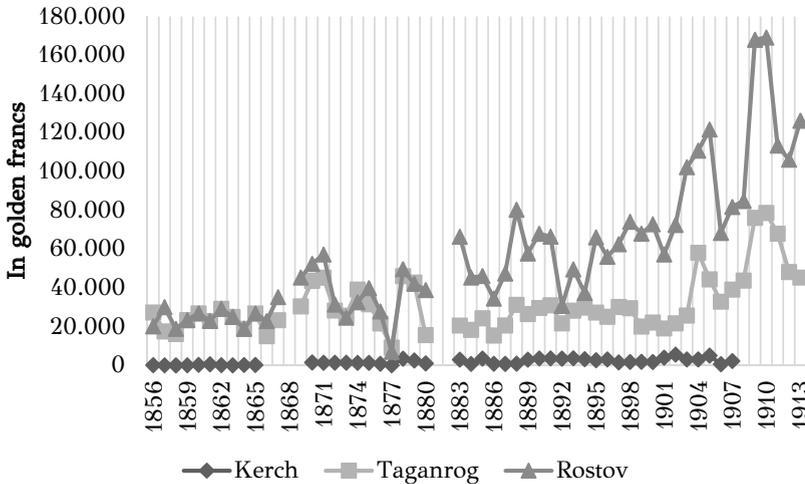
16. К. Skalkovski, *Русский торговый флот и срочное пароходство на Черном и Азовском морях* [The Russian merchant fleet and steamship companies in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov], (Saint Petersburg: 1887); pp. 173-174, Rummel (ed.), *Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports...*, pp. 22-25.

17. Frank Broeze, “The ports and port system... .”

18. *Обзор внешней торговли России по Европейской и Азиатской границам*

ever, the expansion of the sales market alone was not sufficient enough to substantially increase exports from Kerch. In order to become a major export center of the region or its economy, it would need to specialize only in cereal exports, like what happened with other Southern Russian ports.

Figure 5.1 Comparative View of Exports from the Ports of Kerch, Taganrog, and Rostov, 1856-1913



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming

As shown in the figure, comparatively, the large divergence between the three ports was due to the small natural grain hinterland that served the port of Kerch, which was enclosed in two productive areas in the Kerch Peninsula and in the north-eastern part of Theodosi. In addition, grain from the natural hinterland was supplemented by cereals from the opposite peninsula of Taman which was transported by coastal boats, yet nevertheless these were still not sufficient to make Kerch an export center. Even the changes in the transport system of southern Russia during the second half of the 19th century did not influence the port of Kerch. The development

3a 1879 год [Overview of Russia’s external trade per European and Asian borders, 1879] (Saint Petersburg: Departament tamozhennykh sborov, 1880) table 23.

of new technology, such as that of steam, in various sectors on the European continent that started in the late 18th century. In the south of Russia, this technology gradually evolved in the second half of the 19th century and led to the transformation of the transport system of the region. The internal infrastructure of roads and rivers that served the productive hinterland of cereals changed. Nearly all Russian ports in the south in the second half of the 19th century were developed to serve a significantly expanded, productive grain hinterland through a combined transport network using rail, river, and inland routes, or at least two of these. This important technological development, however, left the port of Kerch untouched.¹⁹ The shortage of land and river transport routes near the port did not allow the extension of the hinterland to the north to the rich productive areas, which prevented the port from becoming an export hub of the region.²⁰

Map 5.2 The Hinterland of the Kerch

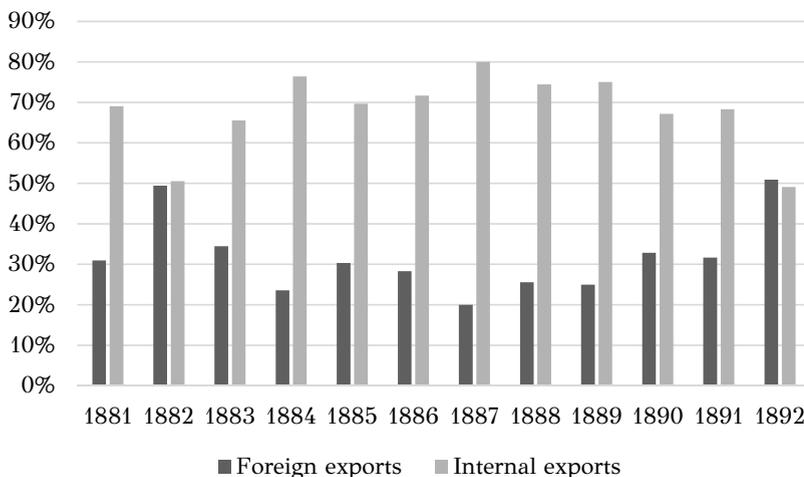


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19. About the transformation of the transport system and hinterland of the southern Russia see: Sydorenko, “The economic development of the Crimean port-cities...;

20. The port of Kerch was connected to the rest of the Empire’s railway network in

Figure 5.2 Foreign and Internal Export of the Kerch, 1881-1892



Source: W. G. Rummel (ed.), *Материалы для описания русских коммерческих портов и истории их сооружения, Керчь-глубокий порт, судоходный канал от р. Кубани к Анапе, Сухум* [Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports and the history of their construction, Kerch-deep port, fairway from river Kuban till Anapa, Sukhum], Vol. 20, (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo putei soobshchenia, 1900), p. 27.

At the same time, however, coastal trade continued to grow significantly. The wider Caucasus region continued in the second half of the 19th century to be an internal consumer market for Kerch products. The region's main consumer goods were flour, salt, fish, and limestone, commodities that were key to Kerch's economy. When one compares the export volumes from the Port of Kerch abroad to those of the Azov and Black Sea in Russia between 1881-1892, it is clear that internal exports were superior to foreign exports (see figure 5.2). An exception was the last year, proving that Kerch had evolved

1900, but the railway line was not convenient for the transport of grain and other export products, as the line did not reach the wharves where large seagoing ships were loaded. Государственный архив в Автономной Республике Крым [State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea GAARK] fond 162, opis 1, delo 6251, "Report of the port of Kerch", list 94; Rummel (ed.), *Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports...*, p. 42.

differently, surpassing the model of development of small Russian port-cities such as Berdyansk and Theodosia (grain entrepôts). Due to difficult access from the mainland (because of an underdeveloped land transport network and the distance to the developing Caucasus region) coastal trade was still one of the driving forces of the development of the Kerch market. At the same time, in the early 1850s, Europe was undergoing the second phase of industrialization, while Russia continued to be a rural country until the 1880s, where the industrial sector gradually began to form. Simultaneously, as we see below, all three sectors of Kerch's economic activity were developing. It was a significant development considering that in 1866 it was a city of approximately 16,000 inhabitants²¹, which had been destroyed by the Crimean War and suffered from underdeveloped land transport systems that were very far from the central and regional economic and administrative centers of the empire.

Searching for new paths: industry development

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the economy of Kerch was no longer solely centered on intra-Black Sea trade and the management of the straits. It was following the general trend of the Russian economy by acquiring an industrial sector. The port-city of Kerch was prevented Kerch from specializing in grain exports because it was not connected by rail, though like other ports in the region, this disadvantage seemed to open new doors for economic growth. The port-city instead developed by means of utilizing non-renewable natural resources via new technology.

The first attempts to develop industrial activity were in-part a result of penetrating the Western interests in the region, as well as a Russian initiative. The research of Russian scientists searching for oilfields in the Kerch Peninsula, Kuban and Caucasus, during the beginning of the annexation to the empire, attracted the interest of foreign oil companies. After 1863, the American entrepreneur, J. E. Gowen (who was based in London), conducted drilling projects in

21. GAARK, fond 162, opis 2, delo 222, "Office of urban prefect of Kerch-Yeni-Kale. Reports of Kerch-Yeni-Kale urban prefectorate", list 63.

the wider Kerch area. His efforts were successful after several years, for example, one of his 116-metres-deep wells was able to produce 100 tons of oil per day. At the same time, on the Kerch Peninsula, many other companies participated in the “Oil Fever” as the press of the time called it. In 1871, the French Limit Liability Company was born, as well as, the world’s largest oil producer, “Nobel and Co”. At the beginning of the 20th century, significant results were achieved by Anton Raki’s drilling company (founded in 1910 with a substantial capital of 6,000,000 rubles), which in 1912, extracted 640 tons of oil within three days. Despite significant progress and the good quality of the oil being extracted, the area’s deposits were much smaller than those of Baku. However, extraction of oil continued in the Soviet period until the 1960.²²

Furthermore, mining and processing of ore (mainly cast iron), which started in 1846, was a noteworthy part of industrial sector of Kerch. One of the largest ore-processing plants and a major industry of the early 20th century was built in 1897 with a capital of 15 million rubles. However, its operation was often interrupted and the factory changed owners. The minerals mined in the Kerch area were of medium iron content, making the industry less profitable. It was not until 1912 that the iron ore production process improved, beginning a new phase for Kerch’s industry. Nevertheless, it was interrupted by the revolution of 1917. At the same time, two smaller factories of cast iron production were operating in the city. During the last quarter of the 19th century, the mining and production of ore employed approximately 2,338 people of total population of 33,347 inhabitants (see table 5.1), rendering this industry one of the most important sectors of the city’s economic development in the

22. L. A. Mikhailov, *Керчь. Документы и материалы по истории города* [Kerch. Documents and essays on the history of the city], (Simferopol: Redotdel Krymskogo komiteta po pečati, 1993), pp. 85-86; Manin-Tarkovskii, “Манин-Тарковский. Залежи нефти на Кубани и Тамани” [Oil reserves in the Kuban and Taman], *Nefitianoe delo*, 10:8 (1908), pp. 11-15; E. F. Shniukov, S. P. Naumenko, *Полуостров сокровищ* [Peninsula of treasures] (Simferopol: Tavriia, 1973), “Report by Mr. Consul Clipperton on the Trade and Commerce of Kertch for the year 1864”, *Ιστορικό Αρχείο Εθνικής Τράπεζας Ελλάδας* [Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece ΙΑΕΤΕ], 1865, Vol. 209, http://sultanov.azeriland.com/books/etudi_po_kvazu/pages/page_03.html (access 04/03/2018).

turn of the century.²³

According to turnover, the major industries in the secondary sector were those of the manufacturing and production of flour and tobacco (see table 5.1). Flour production was gradually industrialized, take for example, if in 1866 there was one steam flour mill in Kerch with an annual turnover of 35,000 rubles and 7 windmills; in 1895 there would then have been 5 steam mills (see table 5.1) with a total turnover exceeding one million rubles. The flourishing development of the flour industry in the last quarter of the 19th century was due to the fact that flour was a major commodity transported to the ports of the Azov and Russian Black Sea. Ultimately, the windmills that operated in the first half of the 19th century were replaced by steam mills to grind the grain from the opposite coast (the Kuban Region), which would be transported by local merchants to the Caucasus region.²⁴

At the same time, the Greek merchant, Constantine Massaxoudis, spurred the development of the tobacco industry via his business endeavors which capitalized on the phase of development that the city faced after the devastating Crimean War in 1863. In the early 19th century, a small tobacco processing workshop was opened. It gradually developed into the modern tobacco industry of the city and later all of Southern Russia. In 1902, it employed 400 workers.

23. The records of the Kerch industries enclosed in table 1 is not complete and exhaustive. Although according to a law of 1894 that the statistics on the industries of the empire would be based and collected on a particular form, not all entrepreneurs have complied and did not send the data on industries to the Ministry of Finance. Also, the data for 1902 contained in the table are now recorded on the basis of another form which is more concise than that of 1895. *Перечень фабрик и заводов* [A list of factories and plants of European Russia] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia E. A. Efrona, 1897); *Список фабрик и заводов европейской России* [A list of factories and plants of European Russia] (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo Finansov, 1903).

24. W. G. Rummel (ed.), *Материалы для описания русских коммерческих портов и истории их сооружения, Керчь, Геническ, Ейск, Темрюк, Анапа* [Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports and the history of their construction, Kerch, Genichesk, Temriuk, Anapa], Vol. 20, (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo putei soobshchenia, 1896), p. 26; GAARK, fond 455, opis 1, delo 1453, “About statistic data in the urban prefectorate of Kerch, 1883”, list 5-5 verso, fond 162, opis 2, delo 222, “Office of urban prefect of Kerch-Yeni-Kale. Reports of Kerch-Yeni-Kale urban prefectorate”, list 57-59.

This exemplary business applied the newest technologies and organization, but it also pioneered a social policy for its employees. The family-owned company supplied high-quality cigarettes and tobacco to the Russian Imperial Court and exported its products in partnership with the largest Greek merchant houses of southern Russia.²⁵

The Kerch Straits was characterized by its large population of fish that filled it in order to travel between the two seas it connected. Naturally, this allowed for a significant development of fishing activity,²⁶ which proved to be an important part of the city's economy. The development of ships that combined both fishing and artisan work reached a number of 23 in 1897, employing a total of 500 workers per year. This provided a significant number of jobs. At the time, the entire Kerch population had reached 33,347 people, though the number of fishermen was a much smaller number of 208 men. Fresh, salted fish such as sturgeon, mullet, and herrings, as well as, canned fish fueled the Russian Empire's internal market and even more so, that of neighboring geographical areas.²⁷ It should be noted that fishing was a traditional occupation for the residents of Kerch since its inception and still continues, though to a lesser extent, today.

25. For more on the successful example of the Greek diaspora company see: G. Pagonitakis, “Η οικογένεια των καπνοβιομηγάνων Μεσαξούδη στο Κερτς της Κριμαίας, 19^{ος}-20^{ος} αιώνες” [Mesaxoudis Family of tobacco manufacturers in Kerch of Crimea, 19th-20th centuries] in Sifneos, Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...* pp. 481-499.

26. More for fish population in Kerch straits see: Alexei Kraikovski, “Fisheries of the Eastern Coast of the Azov Sea in the Late 18th-19th Centuries – Organization, Infrastructure and Everyday Life”, in this volume, chapter 6.

27. Alexei Kraikovskiy, “The fish population of the Azov Sea: The Straits of Kerch – environmental”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020); N. A. Troinitskii (ed.), *Первая всеобщая перепись населения*, Т. XLI Таврическая губерния [The first all-Russian population census, Vol. XLI, The Taurida guberniia] (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del, 1904), pp. 57, 190-191.

Table 5.1 Kerch Industries

Industries	Year of estb.	Owners	1895				1902	
			Turnover	Number of workers	Number of machines	Machine power (in horses)	Turnover	Number of workers
Flour mill	1879	Foyn Grigoriy Semenovich	140,400	20	1	32	-	-
Flour mill	1885	Ivanov Vasilii Fillipovich	352,787	17	1	81	-	-
Flour mill “Viktoria”	1887	Sokolskii Samouil Borisovich (merchant)	500,000	32	2	143	759,100	32
Flour mill “Mitridate”	1893	Charitonov Iakov Pertsevizh (merchant)	322,452	26	1	36	806,600	43
Flour mill	1899	Obershmoukler A.A., Obershmoukler G.A.	-	-	-	-	1,500	42
Pasta factory	1888	Serganidi Dmitrii Konstantinovich	144,000	33	-	-	-	-
Tobacco factory	1895	Apostolenko Michail Stepanovich (merchant)	-	-	-	-	62,000	15
Tobacco factory	1863	Mesaksoudi Konstantin Ivanovich	741,722	262	1	4	649,800	400
Iron foundry and mechanical plant	1872	Bukhshtab Michail Andreevich, Kitai-gorodskii El (merchants)	-	-	-	-	40,100	67
Iron foundry and mechanical plant	1893	Zolotarev A.A. (merchant)	-	-	-	-	25,780	32
Iron mine	1896	Taganrog Metallurgical Company	-	-	-	-	-	160
Kerch Metallurgical Plant	1897	-	-	-	-	-	-	2079 (1900)

Source: *Перечень фабрик и заводов* [A list of factories and plants of European Russia] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia E. A. Efrona, 1897); *Список фабрик и заводов европейской России* [A list of factories and plants of European Russia] (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo Finansov, 1903).

Controlling the Straits: Port Infrastructure

The supply of the Caucasian market and the development of the industries were not the only growth sectors of the city's economy. As mentioned above, its geographical location at the intersection of the two seas made it a major forwarder for all shipping and cargo traffic to and from the Azov Sea. Kerch's maritime services and transport sector present perhaps the most interesting and special picture in the history of the port-city, which is trapped in "social regularities," local and central government institutions, as we shall see below, by acting restrictively on adaptation to the steam age and adjustment of new technologies.

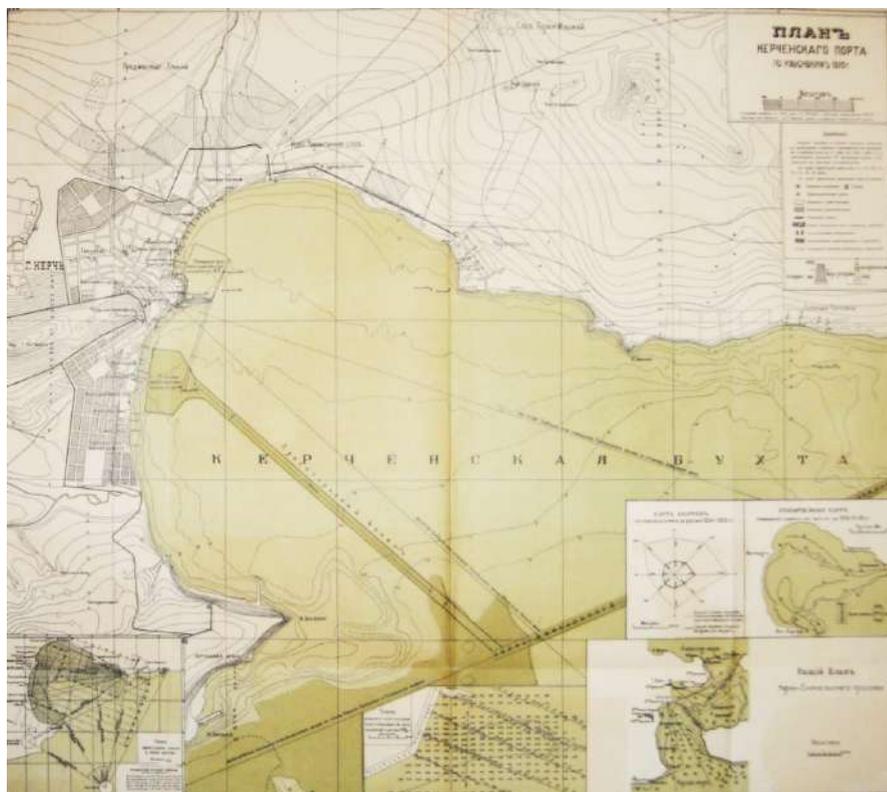
From the geological morphology point of view, which is an important parameter for the development of a port, the port of Kerch was lagging behind due to strong winds despite being located in a fairly protected bay. Its shallowness created significant accessibility problems. At the same time, the existing development of the port infrastructure fully reflected the role of the port, the social practices developed in the maritime services provided by the local seafaring community, and the development of the port's Empire policy. Traffic management practices in the straits are a typical example of the behavior of a part of the mosaic of Russian society while trying to modernize the legislation regarding various sectors of the economy.

The homonymous bay of Kerch is located on the east coast of the Crimean Peninsula. The waterfront section of the port consists of the homogeneous, 37-metre long strait that connects the Black Sea and Azov Sea to the bay. The latter is situated between two capes, in the North Zmeinyi and in the South Ak-Burun. The bay forms two natural inlets, the first extending to the northwestern part of the 5-metre long bay and the second extending to the southwestern part for 4 metres (see map 5.3). The depth of the waters in the bay of Kerch, up to the first dredging in 1876, ranged from 3.66 to 4.57 metres. As you can imagine, the Kerch bay occupies a large protected area of approximately 106 square metres.²⁸

The Port of Kerch that freezes, on average for a month during a year. This is because it is located further south than the other ports of

28. GAARK, fond 162, opis 2, delo 2728, "About the port needs", list 15-15 verso.

Map 5.3 Plan of the Port of Kerch, 1893



Source: W. G. Rummel (ed.), *Материалы для описания русских коммерческих портов и истории их сооружения, Керчь-глубокий порт, судоходный канал от р. Кубани к Анапе, Сухум* [Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports and the history of their construction, Kerch-deep port, fairway from river Kuban till Anapa, Sukhum], Vol. 20, (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo putei soobshchenia, 1900), p. 27.

Azov. Unlike the other ports, this interruption of navigation usually lasted from mid-January to mid-February (see table 5.2), though it did allow for ships that were headed to and from the Azov Sea to winter in the anchorage and the straits. The Azov freezes for over 3 months, and many times, ships have had to spend the whole winter in Kerch. In the winter of 1912, for example, 14 steamships and 36

sailing ships, as well as, other smaller vessels, remained in the anchorage and the straits.²⁹

From the establishment of the commercial port of Kerch, to the beginning of the 20th century, port infrastructure remained underdeveloped, or rather nonexistent. At the beginning of the 20th century the port facilities included: lighthouses, wooden wharves, two small private shipyards, some administrative buildings, customs, and a quarantine. The infrastructure image was intertwined with the magnitude of the development of maritime trade conducted in Kerch. Although export sizes were small, infrastructures required improvements because of the transition from sailing to steamships. However, the port infrastructure responded to a lack of state funding and the empire's difficulty in modernizing the eleven ports that were operated along the north and east coasts of the Black Sea.

Table 5.2 Navigation Periods in Kerch and the Azov Sea, 1885-1892

Year	Interruption of navigation		Periods of navigation		Total number of days of navigation break		Days difference
	Azov Sea	Kerch	Azov Sea	Kerch	Azov Sea	Kerch	
1885	28/11	02/01	14/03	10/02	104	38	66
1886	30/11	20/01	21/03	23/02	110	33	77
1887	19/12	28/01	12/03	17/02	83	19	64
1888	29/11	16/02	01/03	21/02	110	5	105
1889	16/11	14/12	24/03	29/01	128	45	83
1890	27/11	11/12 & 14/01	25/03	11/01 & 02/03	118	46	72
1891	09/12	13/01	25/02	21/01	76	8	68
1892	07/12	18/12	08/03	04/02	90	46	44
Average					102	30	72

Source: W. G. Rummel (ed.), *Материалы для описания русских коммерческих портов и истории их сооружения, Керчь-глубокий порт, судоходный канал от*

29. GAARK, fond 162, opis 1, delo 6251, ““Report of the port of Kerch”, list 82; Rummel (ed.), *Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports...*, p. 20.

р. Кубани к Анапе, Сухум [Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports and the history of their construction, Kerch-deep port, fairway from river Kuban till Anapa, Sukhum], Vol. 20, (Saint Petersburg: Ministerstvo putei soobshchenia, 1900), p. 20.

More specifically, in 1894, the port had 31 wharves, the construction of which was done exclusively from local authorities, shipping companies, and merchants. Most of the wharves (20 in total) were in the North Bay. All wharves, except one stone belonging to the custom authority, were wooden. Six of them were temporary and were dismantled for the winter season. The entire shoreline where the wharf stretched was shallow with depths of water reaching only 1.52 to 3.81 metres. Each wharf was used for loading different kinds of goods. Most wharves were intended for loading goods such as: timber, stones, salt, fish (12 wharves), and five for cereals³⁰ (see picture 5.1).

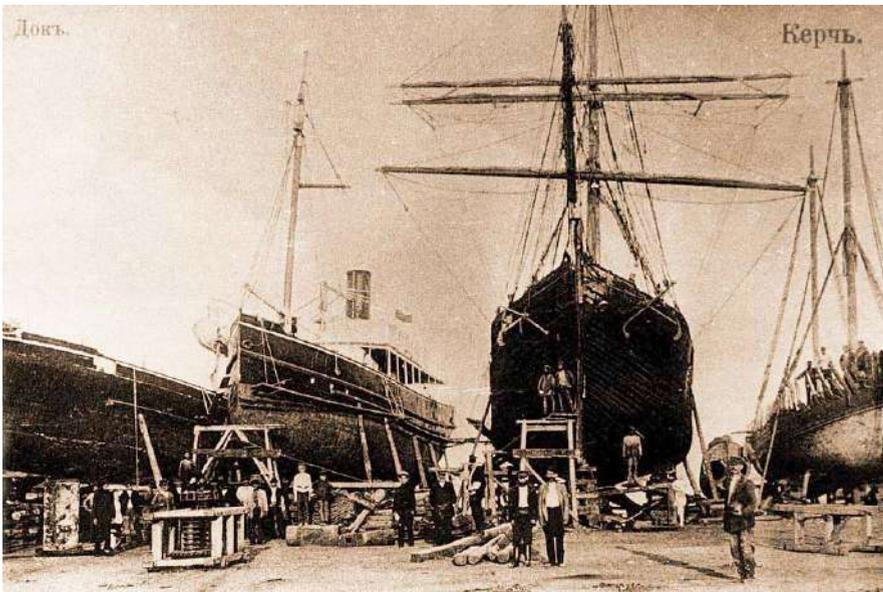
**Picture 5.1 The Wharves at the Port of Kerch, Postcard,
late 19th century**



30. Rummel (ed.), *Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports...*, p. 20.

In spite of the urgent need for repairs due to the constant accidents during their wintering in the straits of Kerch, there were only two shipyards in 1893: one privately owned, and one owned by the city authorities. Both were located in a coastal area of the bay and were fitted with basic equipment for vessels with draught up to 3.66 metres. These shipyards were mobile; the owners were always given permission from the city authorities to place them. There were also 11 other private shipyards located in the so-called “coastal yards” intended for the construction of fishing boats and lifeboats for ships.³¹ Despite the inadequacy of the existing shipyards and repeated requests for improvement marked by the port and the city authorities, the situation did not change until the end of the period³² (see picture 5.2).

Picture 5.2 The Kerch Shipyard, Postcard, late 19th century



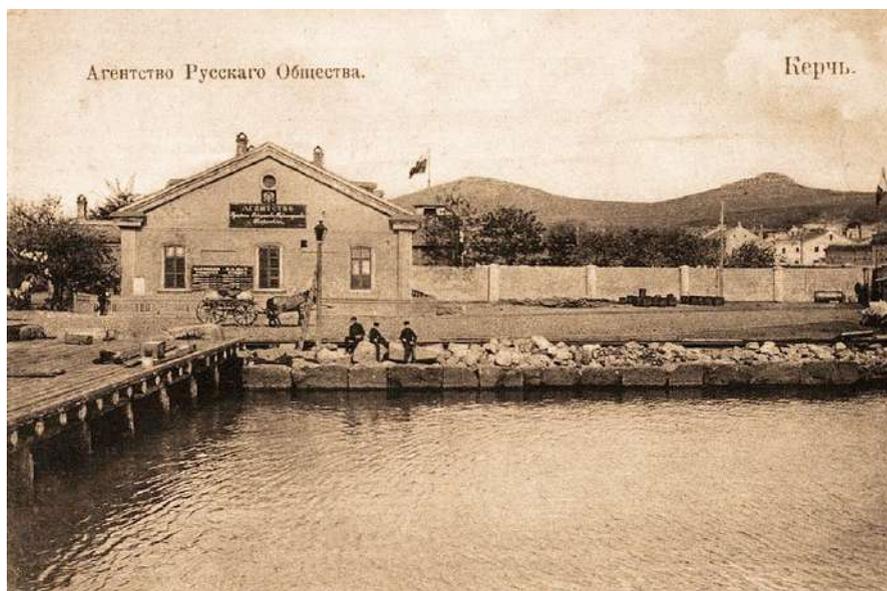
31. In 1911, for example, there were 11 such kind of yards, all the shipbuilders had Greek origin. GAARK, fond 162, opis 1, delo 6251, “Report of the port of Kerch”, list 66-66 verso.

32. GAARK, fond 162, opis 2, delo 2728, “About the port needs”, list 19 verso, 20, GAARK, fond 162, opis 1, delo 6251, “Report of the port of Kerch”, list 66-66 verso, fond 455, opis 1, delo 4555, “About city squares. The reasons for the decrease in income from wharves and from places given for warehouses”, list 99-100 (a).

houses. Only private warehouses were scattered in the port: two salt warehouses, a grain store, and a coal warehouse. It was also common practice for merchants to rent from the urban prefectorate open spaces in the coastal port area for the temporary storage of goods. The rest of the cargo was stored in private warehouses within the city, on the streets that usually ended up at the port.

In the southern part of the northern bay of the port were three of the five private steam mills, the Admiralty building, the offices of the ship's surveillant, and the office of the Storozhenko Shipping Company. Located on the southern bay were the custom and the agency of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (RSNTC)³³ (see picture 5.3).

Picture 5.3 Agency of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company in Kerch, Postcard, late 19th century



33. GAARK, fond 455, opis 1, delo 4080, “list of persons occupied in trade”, list 2 verso-29 (a), fond 455, opis 1, delo 4555, “About city squares. The reasons for the decrease in income from wharves and from places given for warehouses”, list 17-18 verso; Rummel (ed.), *Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports...*, p. 20.

Seventeen years after the end of the Crimean War, almost no major improvements were seen in the infrastructure of the port of Kerch. Only in the last quarter of the 19th century did various plans to improve the port begin to be worked out. Four plans (in the years of 1873, 1875, 1884, 1886) were drawn up by various state institutions, such as military engineers, special committees, and even by the urban prefect of Kerch. The bold and often fantastically unrealistic plans were sunk, either because of their high cost, or because they did not solve the problem at hand, but mainly because of their sloppiness. Only the plan that was made out in 1873 was based on a previous study of infrastructure and geomorphology of the harbor and straits.³⁴

However, the plans clearly identified the problems and defined the objectives of developing, improving, and revising the port's role. These plans can be summarized as follows: (a) deepening the bay of the port for large steamships; (b) deepening the Kerch Straits; (c) creating a channel from the Kerch Straits to the harbor; (d) constructing moles for the purpose of creating protected bays, e) creating two separate ports, one for deep seagoing ships and the other for coastal ships.

In 1893, the Port Development Committee under engineer, Wilgel Rummel, carried out precise and detailed studies of the infrastructure and aquatic area of the port of Kerch, on which new improvement plans were based, which were ratified on the 29th of March, 1899 by State Council. A loan of 3,196,000 rubles was granted for the construction of two separate ports. However, the plan did not come into force. Six further plans, based on the previous study, were followed for the plan of the engineer, A. Florin, in 1905, which was then implemented. The so-called Port Administration Service was created to execute the plan.

According to A. Florin's plan, work began in 1905 on the creation of two separate ports: one for deep seagoing ships, and the other for coastal ships. The work was extremely slow. At the end of 1912, the plan was partially completed. The construction of the Shirokiy mole in the north-western bay of the port (46.432 sq. metres)

34. Rummel (ed.), *Essays on the description of the Russian commercial ports...*, p. 44-49.

was almost finished. The excavation around the mole and extension of the coastline that now reached 1.365 sq. metres was completed. On one side of the mole, a wharve of 426.72 metres was constructed for mooring vessels with a depth up to 6.1 metres deep, as well as, a 128-metre-long wharve front for vessels with a depth of 4.27 metres. At the same time, in 1910, work began on the construction of another mole Yzkiy landing, next to which, it was decided that a bay would be created for the docking of smaller coastal ships with a depth of 3.96 metres. Thus, by 1914, two harbors were created in the north-western bay of Kerch: one in the south coastal harbor, and another in the north harbor for large seagoing ships. The coastal part of the port was not significantly expanded, making warehouses in the city rather than concentrating on port boundaries. This made the transportation of products more expensive and time-consuming.³⁵

A few years before the construction of the port infrastructure, in 1900, the construction of the railway that linked the city of Kerch with the rest of the Empire's railway network was completed. However, the railway line did not reach to the port. Despite repeated requests by the city authorities to the Ministry of Transport for an extension of the railway line to the Shirokiy mole, where large seagoing ships were loaded with goods, it was not completed until 1928. This made the line ineffective for increasing exports of cereals or other products from Kerch.³⁶

Controlling the Straits, from Illegality to Regularity: Cargoes, Captains, Pilot's Association, and Entrepreneurs

As mentioned above, the Kerch Straits played a major role in the port and city economy. The depth of the straits during the foundation of the port was only 3.66 metres, presenting serious problems with navigation. The winds affected the speed and direction of the streams in the straits, causing additional problems. The strong southern winds

35. GAARK, fond 162, opis 1, delo 6251, "Report of the port of Kerch", list 90; S. A. Knushevitsky, *Обзор коммерческой деятельности Южно-русских портов* [Review of the commercial activity of the Southern Russian ports] (Kharkov: Commercial department, 1910), p. 136.

36. GAARK, fond 162, opis 1, delo 6251, "Report of the port of Kerch", list 94.

almost stopped the natural flow of water from the Azov to the Black Sea, creating a reverse flow at a speed of 1.5 miles per hour, raising the water level by 0.3 metres. When the southern winds broke, the water that gathered in the Azov which was headed for the Black Sea, created a speed of 2 miles per hour. The dominance of the north winds enhanced the natural flow of currents heading towards the Black Sea – on the one hand facilitating the passage of ships, and on the other reducing the water level by 0.46 metres.³⁷

In order to pass the shallow straits, the ships had to unload some of their cargo onto boats, which then followed the ship to the entrance of either the Azov or the Black Sea, where they then reloaded the cargo back to the ship. Although the shallow straits created serious problems for navigation, the first deepening and expansion works were carried out in 1876, with the depth of the straits reaching 5.49 metres, as well as, 64 metres wide and 22 miles long.³⁸ In 1870, the cargo was transshipped by 93 different types of boats. The total capacity of five steamships was 186 last, 17 barge of total capacity 558 last and 76 sailing ships of 2,400 last capacity. This number was continuously fluctuating, as did most of the vessels owned by the residents of Kerch and Yeni-Kale.³⁹

Under the given circumstances, in order for a ship to cross the straits, most of the time it was necessary to use the services of a pilot. It was the pilot who decided whether the ship needed to unload a part of its cargo in order to pass the straits. The transshipment, also known as “libarisma”, was carried out with light boats that were

37. A. Soukhomlin, *Лоция Азовского моря и Керчь-Еникальского пролива* [Navigation in Azov Sea and in the straits of Kerch-Yeni-Kale] (Nikolaev: Imperatorskii Universitet, 1894), p. 15.

38. DAOO, fond 5, opis 1, delo 946, “Extract from the report of the chief engineer of the commercial ports of the Novorossiia about condition of Nikolaev, Kherson and other commercial ports”, list 4; Н. Valdemar, *Доклад члена-делопроизводителя Императорского общества для содействия русскому торговому мореходству о его путешествии по побережьям черного моря, летом 1876* [Report of a member-secretary of the Imperial Company for the Development of Russian Trade Shipping on his journey to the coasts of the Black Sea, in the summer of 1876] (Moscow: Tipografia N. I. Koumanina, 1876), p. 51.

39. Alexander K. Gaynes, *О торговле по Азовскому побережью* [On the trade at the Sea of Azov] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia F. S. Souschinskogo, 1871), p. 103

used widely in Azov, known to Greek entrepreneurs as “lotika”. The “libarisma” often created the possibility of embezzling part of the load from “gangs” of illegal businessmen. There was a need for pilots in order to cross the straits, because by using their service the captains could avoid a long-lasting and dangerous transshipment. The first detailed and effective regulation of the navigation regulations of the straits and of the Union of Pilots of Yeni-Kale was formulated in 1861, but this only partially solved the navigation issues.⁴⁰

Two suitably designed boats, moored at the north and south ends of the straits, were the coastguard floating offices, which were in charge of providing information, surveillance, and for guarding the straits. They measured the depth of the waterways of the straits, informing the captains about the depth, and placing special signals on their boats, at the custom house and Yeni-Kale lighthouse. The process was repeated every time when the water level changed. Also, they were in charge of taking care of the buoys which marked the waterway, making sure that they remained in place. They checked the documents which proved that the ship had gone through quarantine, and recorded all the ships. In addition, they observed that the captains would not throw their ballast into the straits nor in the port. The Coast Guard could not completely fulfill its obligations. Having particularly expanded powers, coupled with the small number of boats and employees, there was room for illegal activity by captains, pilots, and uploaders.⁴¹

On the one hand, the new rules of operation of the Yeni-Kale Pilots' Union defined the legal framework for the pilots' operation, but on the other it left many gaps. This created an easy framework for abuses and underground collaboration, creating a peculiar order of things. The Yeni-Kale Pilots' Union was subordinate to the urban prefect of Kerch, which appointed the director of the Union, determined the total number of pilots, and served as the committee responsible for conducting the pilot's certification examinations. Anyone, aged 18 to 60, had the right to be examined, regardless

40. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи, 1775-1780* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire 1775-1780], No. 37083, Vol. 36, (Saint Petersburg: 1863).

41. DA00, фонд 5, opis 1, delo 749, “Report of the urban prefect of Kerch-Yeni-Kale about situation in the urban prefectorate”, list 23.

of social estate or place of residence. Each pilot who hired by the Union received a certificate and had to pay a sum of 150 rubles, which was deposited in a bank as a guaranty in case of penalties or fines. In addition, each newly hired pilot had to prove that he had the resources to buy his own boat.⁴²

According to the regulation, the pilots could freely direct to the inbound ships to a straits whenever and wherever they wished, suggesting their services. The only limitation was that one-fifth of the total number of pilots had to remain under the orders of their chief, in case a captain ask for a pilot himself. The services of a pilot cost 8 rubles, regardless of capacity or type of ship, which was clearly disproportionate given the difficulty of navigating a small or a large vessel. After the quarantine process was completed, the captain paid for the navigational services by receiving two colored receipts. One of receipts was meant to be given to a pilot after the navigation was completed and the other was given when the vessel returned from the Azov Sea. The wage of the pilot was dependent on the number of the receipts that he received. Also, each captain had the ability to make remarks on a receipt about the pilot's behavior, capability, or any complaints about his services.⁴³ The pilots were each responsible for their own actions, not the Union. In case of damage, the pilot had to pay compensation from the 150 rubles that they deposited as a guarantee. Also, if the captain used a pilot who did not have a certificate of the Union, a fine of 75 rubles would be issued to be paid to the customs authorities in the ports of Azov, as they had the right to request the certificate.⁴⁴

The creation of the aforementioned legislative framework and the deepening of the straits did not solve the problem of needing to create a safer and faster passage through the straits. This was due to a number of factors. The deepening of the straits in 1876 to a depth of only 5.49 metres was not enough for bigger ships. The depth of the straits was reduced continuously due to the sand

42. In 1911, for example, the Union consisted of 33 pilots and 6 apprentice pilots, 40% of the pilots were Greek. *Complete collection of laws...*, No. 37083, Vol. 36.

43. The captain could report the pilot either by arriving at the port, or by reporting a complaint in a specific book on board of the vessel that carried out the seabed measurements, or by reporting to the consul in the first port of his arrival. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

brought in by the Azov streams and large quantities of ballast that captains were illegally throwing out. New peculiar regulations of the Union and the incomplete policing and control of the straits led to the birth of a network of illegals.

Unregistered agreements were determined between the pilots, captains, and owners of boats and barges, with the aim of making extra and illegal profit. For example, the local Greek and Italian merchants, Alexander Francesco, G. Pontesto, Svoronos, Kefalas, Magoulas, etc., set up a “collective business” of loading and unloading cargoes. When a ship anchored, the company sent an agent who offered his services to a captain. All “business practices” were based on the captain’s surprise and the “art” of negotiation. Very often the envoy arrived at the ship before the pilot, as the envoy used steam boats, trying to convince the captain that the ship could not pass without first unloading, betting on his ignorance. There were also cases when the envoy arrived at the ship, after the pilot had already reached the ship, and despite the pilot’s assurances that the ship could cross the straits without unloading, the envoy managed to persuade the captain to do quite the opposite. In these cases the captains were unnecessarily damaged, enriching the businessmen.

This type of business became a characteristic conflict faced among smaller entrepreneurs. It seems that the pilots were involved in both navigation and unloading operations separately. Take for example, a pilot, Atamanakis, who in his spare time was also involved in the loading and unloading business and owned a number of boats for it. A characteristic incident took place on August 5th, 1881, on the English ship “Razdkhil” which was returning loaded with grain from Azov. The two competitors, Atamanakis and G. Pontestos, met on board of the ship and there was tension between the two men. In this case, an intermediate solution was found, which benefited both Greeks, but not the British captain, who, nevertheless, said at the end he was very pleased by the solution. On one hand, Pontestos commanded the seamen Tselentis, who was with him to, “take the ship to the straits instead of the pilot”, apparently for a higher fee than the standard 8 rubles. On the other hand, Atamanakis undertook the unloading of the grain. After completing the passing of the straits, the captain wrote two notes in which he stated that he was satisfied with the services of both of Tselentis and Atamanakis.

In another case, when an English ship, “Steinsack”, anchorage, the agent of the company Magoulas arrived first, he tried to persuade the captain to pay 60 pounds for unloading a part of cargo. The captain, finding the price too high, went down to the port in order to search for better prices and deal with the well-known Atamanakis for 25 pounds. Some companies, such as Francesco’s company, apart from the unloading goods, also illegally undertook the navigation of the ships through the straits. For example, that same year, the captain of the English ship, “Merkator”, paid 15 pounds, opposed to 8 rubles, to the Francesco company in order to take the ship through the straits.⁴⁵

The cost of transshipment was not the only profit that the entrepreneurs and pilots made. The most important part of the abuse during transshipment was the stealing of cereals, since they were the main transported product. The pilots had the authority to measure the draft of the ship and to inform the captain how much he had to unload in order to pass the straits. Therefore, the pilots who also undertook the unloading of cereals had an immediate interest in unloading as much as possible. For example, a ship loaded with 12,594 kg of grain had to unload one-third of the cargo, i.e. 4,198 kg on two or three boats. The unloading was done through pipes, shedding the grain until the ship draft reached the required point without recording the quantity that were unloaded. The boats that were used for unloading cereals often had a double floor, where the cereals were hidden. In other cases, captain could not follow the course of these boats due to bad weather or dense fog, so some of the grain could be reloaded to other boats. Further, there were even reports of attacks by local residents to boats in attempt of stealing the grain.⁴⁶

45. В. В. Zmerzlyi, “Предпосылки к подготовке и принятию “временных правил для общества Керчь-Еникальских лоцманов” 25 ноября 1888 г.” [Pre-requisites for the preparation and establishment of the “Temporary rules about the Association of Pilots of Kerch-Yeni-Kale” November of 25th of 1888], *Uchenye zapiski Tavricheskogo natsional’nogo universiteta im. V. I. Vernadskogo, seriia “Iuridicheskie nauki”*, 27:1 (2014), pp. 37, 41; Gaynes, *On the trade...*, p. 105.

46. Natalia Bykovskaia, “Η συμβολή της ελληνικής κοινότητας στην οικονομική ανάπτυξη της περιοχής Керчь-Гені-Калé” [The contribution of the Greek community to the economic development of the Kerch-Yeni-Kale area, 18-20 century] in Sifneos, Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...* p. 105-106.

The captains, on the other hand, did not take any precautionary measures, as when the cargo arrived to the agent and if the waybill showed deficit, the latter charged the deficit to the dispatcher that was based in some of the Azov ports and not to the captain. Indeed, there have even been cases where the unloader paid the captain to transship the grain, without asking for payment for his work, as the amount of stolen cereals was higher than his pay, so both sides yielded a profit.

After all, in the Kerch market you could always find wheat-gyrka, which was not produced in the hinterland of Kerch. This type of illegal trade flourished especially as the authorities of Taganrog took strict measures to restrict theft of grain at their anchor. As Lieutenant General A. Gaines mentioned, after 1856, the Greek community of Yeni-Kale and the, “poor Neapolitan descendants”,⁴⁷ of Kerch, thanks to their peculiar business practices, greatly increased their standard of living. For example, in 1867, during the unloading process, 210 kg of grain was stolen from a ship with a total cargo of 12,594 kg (i.e 1.6%), a negligible amount. As mentioned, the coast guard of the port of Kerch was unable to eliminate such abuses. So as result some grain merchants of Azov took protective measures, creating their own private coast guard. The big merchants Skaramagas, Yeammms, and Vagliano jointly built a boat, which supervised the transshipment of cereals into the straits. For this service each captain had to pay 25 rubles. Although the merchants were not able to substantially reduce the abuses, the unloaders and some captains had also direct interests in such illegal practices.

Along with private transshipment and the whole situation of legal and illegal practices, in the transshipment market a new competitor emerged. It was the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (RSNTC) which was virtually privileged by central authorities to participate in the transshipment process at the Kerch Straits.⁴⁸ The agents of RSNTC were thus permitted to approach

47. The author obviously refers to the Genoese descendants of the Genoese colonies of the northern Black Sea coast. From 1318 to 1475 Kerch (Bosporus) was a colony of the Republic of Genoa.

48. RSNTC is a liner steamship company, founded in 1856, developed with government subsidies and on the basis of a series of significant concessions and privileges to compete with other foreign steamships companies operating in the Black Sea. Among other privileges the company was given the right to build

a ship to arrange a transshipment agreement after it had gone through the quarantine process. From April 1870, this exception was decided, ultimately allowing agents of RSNTC to approach the ships even in the quarantine area in order to make a transshipment agreement, before the unloader companies. For this purpose, the company provided 10 barge and 1 tug. The entry of a new strong player changed the market of transshipment. RSNTC established lower freights and provided swift uploading and integrity for the cargos attracting the biggest part of captains. The Kerch-Yeni-Kale loaders responded by lowering their freights. A few months later, RSNTC increased the freights to 25-30 kopecks (see table 5.3). However, the boats of RSNTC were not enough during high movement of ship through the straits and in October hired 20 people with their own boats, paying them 65 rubles for every 2,000 kg they uploaded.⁴⁹ The privilege that was given to RSNTC was one of the authorities' efforts to curb abuse, while giving the latter the opportunity to take the lion's share in profitable activity, thus further consolidating its position in the port and in the wider region.

wharves, warehouses, establish commercial offices and educational institutions for the preparation of pilots, machinist and captains. In the course of its development it took on the role of the main freight carrier under the Russian flag, and it also covered the gap of the regular routes that served passenger traffic. Its fleet, consisting of 35 steamships in 1858, almost doubled in less than 20 years. The company provided 10 regular lines covering all major ports of the Black and Azov Sea Basin and the Mediterranean. More specifically about RSNTC see: S. M. Shevchenko, "Деятельность Русского общества пароходства и торговли (РОПиТ) в 1856-1878" [Activity of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (ROPiT), 1856-1878] in V. V. Krestiannikov (ed.), *Севастополь: взгляд в прошлое: сборник научных статей сотрудников Государственного архива г. Севастополя* [Sevastopol: a look on the past: collection of scientific articles of partners of Sevastopol's National archives], (Sevastopol: Arefiev, 2006), pp. 98-104; *Новороссийский календарь на 1857 год* [Novorossiia's diary for the year 1857], (Odessa: Izdanie ot Rishelievskogo litseia, 1856), pp. 179-190; G. N. Trifonov, B. V. Lemachko, *Русское общество пароходства и торговли (РОПиТ) 1856-1932 годы* [Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, 1856-1932], (Saint Petersburg: LeKo, 2009); V. V. Iarovoi, *Русское общество пароходства и торговли. Исторический список судового состава, 1856-1932 гг.* [Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company. Historical list of the ships], (Odessa: FLP Karpenkov, 2017).

49. Gaynes, *On the trade...*, pp. 106-107.

Table 5.3 Grain transshipment freight rates at the straits of Kerch, 1868-1870 (Kopecks per 2,099 kg)

Year	Navigation Periods	Kerch-Yeni-Kale loaders (Freights)	RSNTC (Feights)
1868	February-August	8-12	-
	September-January	20-35	
1869	All year	10-25	-
1870	February-August	10-15	16-25
	September-January		25-30

Source: Alexander K. Gaynes, *О торговле по Азовскому побережью* [On the trade at the Sea of Azov] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia F. S. Soushchinskogo, 1871), p. 107.

The members of Pilots Union practiced illegal and imprecise performance of their duties. Although the salaries of the pilots were remarkable, they did not miss an opportunity to do more. The case of the pilot A. Velentzis, who was paid 100 rubles to navigate the English ship “Milo” through straits, is typical. The case reached the office of the English Vice Consul in Kerch, who asked the governor to take up the matter, as this case was not the only one. After the investigation the authorities concluded that the captains had bravely paid the pilots to obtain a safe passage of the ship, as it was cheaper to pay the pilot extra than to pay for the transshipment of cargo.⁵⁰

But the problems of crossing the straits were not only caused by the local pilots and merchants of Kerch. The captains of the foreign ships were also illegitimate, as they were often stranded in the straits, preventing navigation. As Kerch-Yeni-Kale urban prefect, N. K. Veis, informs us in 1883, “many times the captains, mainly of English ships, hired at Constantinople itinerant Greek pilots who claimed to be a pilot from Azov Sea”. When they arrived in Kerch, they refused to call a pilot from the local Union, so the first, being unaware of the local conditions, they were unable to carry out his mission. Besides, the fine that would be imposed on the captain if he were to

50. Ibid, pp. 40-41.

take a pilot on board without an official certificate from Kerch-Yeni-Kale was 75 rubles, if that were to be revealed. Such incidents have been a frequent occurrence, and even the head of the pilots addressed this matter to the English Vice-Consul, asking to inform the English captains to contact the Union, in order to avoid accidents.⁵¹

All of the above practices could have been avoided simply by the deepening of the straits, which eventually took place very late, in 1899. The depth of the water was 6.4 metres, a few years later, in 1908, a second deepening followed creating a new depth of 7.32 metres, making it easier to access the large steamships in Azov. During the period between 1902-1903, another significant improvement was made in the system of port and straits infrastructures. A 5.49-metre-deep waterway was connected the straits to the port of Kerch, thereby effectively opening the opportunity for the development of its port. Kerch, as it was now possible, could reach larger ships at the port without anchoring in the roadstead.

Epilogue

In summary, from the founding of the port-city of Kerch in the last quarter of the 18th century, to the transition to a new historical period, the latter showed a distinctive growth potential compared to other port-cities in the northern and eastern Black Sea coasts. Despite the latter growth mainly as grain exporting ports, the economy of Kerch developed in a different way. It took advantage of its geographical position in the union of the Azov and Black Seas and initially developed as a key geostrategic factor in the attempt to conquer the northwestern Caucasus, benefiting from economic processes along the opposite coast. At the same time, the absence of navigable rivers and the poor road network encouraged the coastal and intra-sea trade, in which the townspeople specialized. Simultaneously, because Kerch was a key location for the Azov Sea, it developed by controlling and managing all the traffic at the straits, basing a part of the city's economy and the wider area on this ac-

51. DA00, fond 5, opis 1, delo 749, "Report of the urban prefect of Kerch-Yeni-Kale about situation in the urban prefectorate", list 21-21 verso.

tivity. On the other hand, Kerch has probably tried as much as any other small port-city in the wider area to develop other productive sectors. Many of them, such as the flour, tobacco, ore, and oil production, achieved remarkable results if one took into account the absence of any previous industrial activity in a rural economy that characterized the wider region of the south and all of Russia, which made her first steps in process of industrialization, focusing more on the region of the capital of the country and other northern areas. Essentially, in the second half of the 19th century, residents of the port-city of Kerch, as well as foreign entrepreneurs and merchants, were able to exploit Kerch's geographical location and natural resources using technology, and presenting an economic diversity.

6.
**Fisheries of the eastern coast of the Azov Sea
in the late 18th – 19th century. Organization,
infrastructure and everyday life**

Alexei Kraikovski

Introduction

In 1792, the officer (esaul) of the Black Sea Cossack Host, Mokii Gulik, was sent to the Eastern coast of the Azov Sea, namely the Taman Peninsula and the Kuban River basin. He was tasked with observing the grounds reserved by the Russian Empress Catherine the Great for the Cossacks, who had agreed to move from their previous territories on the North-Western coast of the Black Sea. Gulik was impressed with the abundance of natural resources in the observed territory and even reported that nothing better could be found for the settlement's agriculture and fisheries. Noticeably, the rich fish resources were one of the major advantages of the new country that made it attractive for the perspective settlers.

This mission was a key component in the last stage of the transition in which the eastern coast of the Azov Sea moved hands to the Russians. They fought against the Muslims in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, moving south towards the Azov sea. Initially this frontier zone was occupied by the autonomous militarized communities of the Cossacks, who escaped from the feudal state and settled on the big rivers like the Don and the Dnieper. At the time of the Gulik expedition, they had at least 200 years of experience in dealing with the Azov sea fish. The Cossacks of the Don and the Dnieper regions had sent fishing teams to the Azov shore since the 16th century, taking advantage of a seasonal economy that was quite essential for their supply and commerce.¹

1. See for details Mihail I. Kumancov, *Возникновение и развитие рыболовства*

However, in the 18th century the situation changed. The eastern coast on the Azov Sea, together with the other Ottoman possessions in the North Black Sea region, gradually became part of the expanding Russian Empire. Step by step, the Cossacks gradually became more controlled by the central Russian Government, which eventually led to the formation of a specific estate of the Russian society that had united as self-governed militarized communities, otherwise known as, the Cossack Hosts.²

This process changed the life of the Don Cossacks. Their territory became a specific self-governed part of Russia known as the “Don Cossack Host”. As Russian expansion in the Azov region continued, the Don River downstream was included into this territorial unit. Finally, by the mid-18th century, this territory came under the full control of the central imperial power.³

The Dnieper Cossacks were forced to leave their initial possessions on the Dnieper River rapids and move to the Black Sea shore. When the Russian Empire conquered the area of the Kuban River downstream and the Taman Peninsula, the Government decided to then move the Cossacks from the Dnieper River to a newly appropriated frontier region as officer Mokii Gulik reported. As a result, for the next two years, approximately 25,000 men, women and children had to move to the new territory.⁴ The government organized the settlers into the Black Sea Cossack Host (later known as

Северного Причерноморья. Часть 1. (от древности до начала XX в.) [The emergence and development of the Northern Black Sea fisheries. Part 1: (from ancient times to the beginning of the XX century.)] (Moscow: VNIRO, 2011), pp. 110-127.

2. On the general history of the Cossacks see: Nicholas V. Feodoroff, *History of the Cossacks*. (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 1999); Serhii Plokhyy, *The Cossack Myth. History and Nationhood in the Age of Empires*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

3. For more details, see Jurii P. Tushin, *Русское мореплавание на Каспийском, Азовском и Черном морях (XVII век)* [Russian navigation in the Caspian, Azov and Black seas (17th c.)] (Moscow: Nauka, 1978). Nancy Sh. Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450-1801* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 99-101.

4. See for details: Boris E. Frolov, *Переселение Черноморского казачьего войска на Кубань*. [The relocation of the Black Sea Cossack troops in the Kuban] (Krasnodar: KGIAMZ, 2005); F. A. Shherbina and E. D. Felitsyn, *Кубанское казачество и его атаманы*. [Kuban Cossacks and their chieftains] (Moscow. Veche, 2007), pp. 37-42.

the Kuban Cossack Host). This autonomous militarized community controlled over a vast territory including the fisheries in the Azov Sea and inflowing rivers.⁵

Since that time, the Cossacks had created a system to exploit the fishing resources available to them under their new permanent control opposed to the temporary seasonal expeditions of the past. This process can be considered in several contexts. First, one may consider the development of the Cossack fisheries in the framework of the Russian colonizational movement towards the Sea shore, constituting the essence of the Russian territorial expansion in modern times.⁶ The Azov Sea played a particular role in Russian maritime activities even before Peter the Great as a possible outlet to the Mediterranean.⁷ In fact, this region later became the place of Peter the Great's first experience in a modern, urban environment based on its European examples, including a fortified port and the naval base.⁸ Ultimately, this experience was essential for the later development of St. Petersburg.

A second context for the story is the development of understanding within the Russian environment during the 18th century. This was a time when the Russians had access to European natural science, allowing the educated, "Europeanized" part of their society to, in conjunction with the traditional Russian perspective, adopt a new understanding of their own environment through what is known as Classical Natural History. As a result of this shift, the Russian Government supported research expeditions sent by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences throughout the Empire,⁹ and de-

5. For the history of the Kuban Cossacks see for instance: F. A. Shherbina and E. D. Felicyn, *Kuban Cossacks ...* .

6. See for instance Mairin Mitchell, *The Maritime History of Russia: 848-1948*. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1949). Mihail N. Tikhomirov, "Из истории борьбы русского народа за выход к морю" [From the history of struggle of the Russian people for access to the sea] in M. N. Tihomirov, *Российское государство XV – XVII веков*. [The Russian State in the 15th-17th c.], Nauka, Moscow, 1973, pp. 18-41.

7. See Jurii P. Tushin, *Russian navigation ...* .

8. See: Edward J. Phillips, *The Founding of Russia's Navy: Peter the Great and the Azov Fleet, 1688-1714*. (Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1995).

9. See for more details O. A. Aleksandrovskaia, V. A. Shirokova, O. S. Romanova and N. A. Ozerova, *М. В. Ломоносов и академические экспедиции XVIII века*. [MV Lomonosov and academic expeditions of XVIII century], (Moscow. RTSof. 2012).

veloped projects of modernization and westernization of the natural resources of the Sea.¹⁰ From this point of view, the development of the Cossack permanent system of fisheries on the Eastern coast of the Azov Sea can be considered as an integral part of Europeanization of the territories that were previously controlled by the Ottoman Empire (i.e. by the Oriental world).

In this chapter, we will explore the strategies used by the Cossacks in order to make their system of exploiting the natural resources of the Azov Sea eastern coast as efficient as possible. This demonstrates that in a way, the Cossacks understood efficiency, yet their prerogative remained the preservation of the local environment. Because of this, Officer Mokii Gulik was very much impressed.

The Environment of the Eastern part of the Azov Sea

The Azov Sea is regarded as quite special for its unique geographic position. Situated in the North-Eastern corner of the Black Sea area, the Azov Sea is connected with the Black Sea only through the narrow Straits of Kerch (the southern edge of the Azov basin). When considering the distance between the Sea and the Ocean, the Azov Sea is thus the most continental sea on the globe. The northern and north-eastern coast of the Sea (including the delta of the Don River) is formed by the Eurasian steppe, while the eastern side is formed with the relatively hilly Taman Peninsula and the delta of the Kuban River. On the west, the Sea is bordered with the Crimean Peninsula. This part of the basin, known as the Gulf of Sivash, is a peculiar environment semi-isolated from the rest of the sea by the narrow sand spit.

See also: Denis J.B. Shaw “Utility in Some Eighteenth-century Russian Perceptions of the Living Environment”. *Istoriko-biologicheskie issledovanija*, 2,4 (2010), pp. 35-50.

10. On the links between the development of the Natural Studies and the projects of the marine resource use modernization see Alexei V. Kraikovski, Margarita M. Dadykina and Julia A. Lajus. *Природные ресурсы Шпицбергена и проекты преобразования русских морских промыслов в XVIII в.* [Natural Resources of Spitsbergen and transformation projects Russian marine fisheries in the XVIII century] in E. Gololobov (ed.) *Jekologičeskaja istorija Sibirskogo Severa: perspektivnyje napravlenija issledovanij*, RIO SurGPU, Surgut, 2015, pp. 74-94.

Overall, the Sea is rather small (less than 40.000 km²) and is, in fact, the most shallow in the world (with the average depth of 7-8 m and a maximum depth of 13 m, while the Gulf of Sivash is for the most part, not more than 1 m deep). The Azov Sea is strongly influenced by the inflows of big rivers such as the Don and the Kuban. As a result, the water salinity is very low and the water biota is quite specific for the marine environment. Moreover, the water salinity is not the same in various parts of the sea. It increases from the East to the West due to the constant inflow of the fresh water from the Don and the Kuban Rivers.

Significant seasonal fluctuations of the water temperature are another peculiarity of the Azov Sea environment. In summer, the shallow sea is rapidly warmed by the sun, while in the winter the water freezes, creating chunks of moving ice that create problems for both fishing and shipping.

The fish population of the Azov Sea is exceptional. In the early 21st century the Sea accommodated 117 species and subspecies of fish,¹¹ and even more so in the periods of high water salinity, which allows fish migration from the Black Sea to increase the biodiversity of the Azov Sea to include 140-150 species and subspecies of fish.¹² Up to the second half of the 20th century, the Azov Sea was the most productive aquatory in the world providing from 70 to 85 kg of catch from each hectare of the water.¹³

The presence of sturgeons (*Acipenseridae*), locally known as the Red fish, made the Azov Sea one of the most valuable fishing regions in the world. Beluga sturgeon (*Huso huso*), Russian sturgeon (*Acipenser gueldenstaedtii*), stellate sturgeon (*Acipenser stellatus*), and

11. A. R. Boltachjov and V. N. Eremeev, “Рыбный промысел в Азово-Черноморском бассейне: прошлое, настоящее, будущее” [Fisheries in the Black Sea region: past, present, future], in Valerii N. Eremeev et al (eds.) *Промысловые биоресурсы Черного и Азовского морей* [Commercial bioresources in the Black and Azov Seas], ECOSI-Gidrofizika, Sevastopol, 2011, p. 9.

12. V. A. Demchenko, *Трансформация иктиофауны Азовского моря в условиях изменения климата и возможные социально-экономические последствия* [Transformation of the fish fauna of the Azov Sea in the context of climate change and the possible socio-economic consequences]. *Biologichni sistemi*, 4, 4 (2012), p. 428.

13. A. R. Boltachjov and V. N. Eremeev, “Fisheries in the Black Sea region: past, present, future....”, p. 9.

sterlet (*Acipenser ruthenus*) also provided high quality market commodities including caviar and fish glue. Other commercial species of fish traditionally have been included into the group of White fish. The most important species of this kind are pike perch (*Sander lucioperca*), bream (*Abramis brama*), sea roach (*Rutilus heckelii*), Azov herring (*Alosa maeotica*), and others.

The Azov coastline has been settled and urbanized since antiquity. Both the Red and White groups of commercial fish were highly in demand on the market from very early on. The archaeological and historical data on the delivery of these fish proves that the Azov Sea was well used from times of antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages. During the 16th-18th centuries, the fish resources of the Azov Sea became one of the driving forces for the Russian expansion into the area that finally resulted with the incorporation of the Azov Sea shore into the Russian Empire.¹⁴

The most important parts of the Sea for our topic are the Don (including the Gulf of Taganrog), the Kuban River Delta and the Straits of Kerch, all of which deserve special discussion. The Gulf of Taganrog is the most north-eastern corner of the Sea. The River of Don is well-known from an environmental point of view for the body of water it creates together with the Don Delta. The Don is one of the biggest rivers in Europe, with approximately 1.900 km in length and a catchment area of about 420.000 km². The river holds an average water discharge of approximately 900 m³ per second. In the downstream, the Don creates a delta of about 540 km² which inflows into the Azov Sea through numerous branches.¹⁵ Some hydrologists even consider the Azov Sea itself as part of the Don River.¹⁶

The Gulf of Taganrog is quite shallow even in comparison with the rest of the sea at approximately 5 m in average depth. The Don

14. See for details Mihail I. Kumancov, *The emergence and development...*

15. For more details, see Viktor A. Minoranskii, *Уникальные экосистемы: дельта Дона (природные ресурсы и их сохранение)* [Unique ecosystems: the delta of the Don (natural resources and conservation)], (Rostov-on-Don: CVVR, 2004), pp. 6-7.

16. See A.V. Starcev and B.D. Kalinkin, *Гидрологические и икhtiологические наблюдения в Таганрогском заливе и устье Дона.* [Hydrological and ichthyological observations in the Taganrog Bay and the mouth of the Don.] (Rostov-on-Don: UNC RAN, 2008), pp. 15.

river keeps the water in this Gulf fresh, though salinity increases a bit from the East to the West,¹⁷ which has influenced the distribution of the fish fauna. The environment of the area has always been important for the development of the local infrastructure. As previously discussed, the Don River provided a connection between the Azov Sea and inner Russia, and the delta as a result, served as one of the most important strategic points of the area. The Fortress of Azov served as the major local center before the 18th century when the Russians built the Port of Taganrog, and later the city of Rostov-on-Don (one of the major urban centers of the Southern Russia).¹⁸ This network of big and small ports has always depended on the environment, but in turn, has also shaped that environment to some extent. For instance, the port authorities of all the harbors conducted reasonable groundwork in order to create and support the fairways, which thus changed the underwater relief.¹⁹

The downstream fish population of the Don River made it one of the richest fishing areas in the Russian South. For centuries, the river, along with the adjacent sea area, has been one of the richest aquatories in terms of sturgeons (locally known as the Red Fish). Today the population of wild sturgeons in the area is supported artificially, because the species is nearing extinction.²⁰

The White fish in the area historically included pike perch, bream, carp, sea roach, etc. The life cycle of these fishes normally

17. See for details A. V. Starcev and S. S. Savickaja, *Современный видовой состав ихтиофауны и его сезонная дифференциация в восточной части Таганрогского залива и водотоке дельты Дона – Свиное Гирло* [Modern species composition of fish fauna and its seasonal differentiation in the eastern part of the Gulf of Taganrog and in the watercourse of the Don delta – Pork Girlie]. <http://www.ceemar.org/ceemar/bitstream/11099/1460/1/a15.pdf>

18. See for details Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog...*

19. See Alexandr K. Vinogradov, Julia I. Bogatova and Ivan A. Sinegub, *Экосистемы акваторий морских портов Черноморско-Азовского бассейна (Введение в экологию морских портов)*. [Ecosystems of the Sea ports of the Black and Azov Sea basins. (Introduction into the ecology of the Sea ports)] (Odessa: Astroprint, 2012).

20. For historical data see Anatolii N. Svetovidov, *Рыбы Черного моря* [The Black Sea fishes], (Moscow, Leningrad: Nauka, 1964), pp. 44-59. See also K.V. Dem'janenko, "Состояние популяций рыб семейства Acipenseridae в Азовском море" [Status of populations of fish of the family Acipenseridae in the Sea of Azov]. *Ribogospodars'ka nauka Ukraini*. 3 (2011), pp. 54-58.

included spawning migrations upstream the Don River, sometimes for hundreds of kilometres (the same is true for the Red fish). These migration patterns stress the inseparable link between the marine and riverine environments of the Don area. Historically, these fish populations were explored intensively by both the local population and visiting fishermen coming from the upstream zones.²¹ As early as in middle of the 18th century, the Cossacks controlled all the points suitable for – either from the Don River or from the Dnieper River.²² From that time on, the fisheries in the area have mainly been controlled by the Administration of the Don Cossack Host. The Cossacks used to protect their exclusive rights for fishing both in conflicts with peasants and other local inhabitants that did not belong to the privileged Cossack community.²³

The Kuban River is one of the biggest rivers of the Russian South. At approximately 860 km long it has the catchment area of 58.000 km². The river collects water from the Western part of the Caucasus which it carries into the eastern part of the Azov Sea. This forms a vast and productive delta of approximately 4.500 km². The natural annual water discharge of the Kuban River was about 12 km³ of water, though after the regulation works it has decreased to a level of 9.5 km³. Consequently, the ports situated in the area (most recognizably Temriuk Port) belong to the so-called “river-sea system”. This environment is to a great extent defined by the interaction between the Sea and the River.²⁴ One of the most visible

21. See for details Mihail I. Kumancov, *The emergence and development ...*, pp. 110-127.

22. P.A. Avakov, “Описание рыболовецких селений и ватаг донских и запорожских казаков в северном Приазовье 1768 г.” [Description of fishing villages and a troop of Don and Zaporozhian Cossacks in the northern Sea of Azov in 1768], *Sicheslavs'kij al'manah* 7 (2014), p. 110. See also Lidia T. Tocenko, “География рыбопромыслового освоения Азовского бассейна в XVII-первой половине XIX вв.” [Geography of the fishery development in the Azov basin in the 17th – the first half of 19th centuries] in *Istoricheskaja geografija Dona i Severnogo Kavkaza*. RGU, Rostov-on-Don, 1992, pp. 116-117.

23. A.V. Venkov, “Рыбная ловля в дельте Дона и казачье-крестьянские противоречия” [Fishing in the estuary of the Don and contradiction between Cossacks and peasants], *Vestnik Juzhnogo Nauchnogo Centra*. 9. 2 (2013), pp. 80-84.

24. See for details: Alexandr K. Vinogradov, Julia I. Bogatova and Ivan A. Sinegub, *Ecosystems of the Sea ports ...*, pp. 170-174.

features of the Kuban River delta environment is its unstable water level. Historic documents contain numerous data on the floods influencing the local life through centuries.²⁵

For centuries, the fish population of the Kuban area was a major environmental resource. The Sea shore near the Kuban delta for about 100 km to the North from the Gulf of Temriuk consists of shallow firths (*liman*). This specific environment historically occupied about 150.000 ha, while now the total square of the Kuban firths is about 126.000 ha. The firths are exceptionally productive fishing areas where both feeding and spawning are possible²⁶ and the Kuban delta zone is considered as one of the basic areas for the fish population of the Azov sea as a whole.²⁷ The fish population of the Kuban delta includes all the major species of commercial fish living in the Azov Sea. In the first half of the 20th century the biologists counted 60 species, now there are about 80 including the Red fish (sturgeons – *Acipenseridae*).²⁸ This group of species historically formed the most valuable part of the catches in the area.

The Russians used to catch fish in the Kuban firths since the Middle Ages. After they moved to the North, the area became of interest for the merchants of Genoa. In the 17th century it was controlled by the Ottomans who almost left the fish resources of the firths undisturbed. The Cossacks from the Don River and the Dnieper River used to come for fishing despite the Ottoman re-

25. See for details: D. V. Magrickij and A. A. Ivanov, “Наводнения в дельте р. Кубани” [Flooding in the delta of the Kuban], *Vodnye resursy* 38. 4 (2011), pp. 1-20

26. See: G. A. Moskul, Ju. I. Kovalenko, N. G. Pashinova and O. A. Bolkunov, *Современное состояние и перспективы рыбохозяйственного использования Азово-Кубанских лиманов*. [Current state and prospects of fisheries use of the Azov-Kuban estuaries], <http://www.ceemar.org/dspace/bitstream/11099/1444/1/a12.pdf>

27. See: Anastasia S. Kuznecova, *Становление и развитие азовских рыболовных промыслов Кубани (XVIII-XX вв.)*. [Formation and development of Azov fisheries on the Kuban (XVIII-XX centuries)], (Slaviansk-na-Kubani: SK GPI, 2009), p. 24. For the basic environmental description of the Kuban firths see: G. A. Moskul, Ju. I. Kovalenko, N. G. Pashinova, O. A. Bolkunov. *Current state and prospects of fisheries use of the Azov-Kuban estuaries* <http://www.ceemar.org/dspace/bitstream/11099/1444/1/a12.pdf>

28. The full list see: G. A. Moskul, Ju. I. Kovalenko, N. G. Pashinova, O. A. Bolkunov. *Current state and prospects of fisheries use of the Azov-Kuban estuaries* <http://www.ceemar.org/dspace/bitstream/11099/1444/1/a12.pdf>, pp. 71-73.

sistance.²⁹ So in the late 18th century, the newcomers (those who settled after the Guliks expedition) already had good experience dealing with the local fish resources.

The Straits of Kerch is 43 km long in a straight line and 48 km along the fairway. It is between 3.7 and 42 km wide. It has an average depth of 5.5 m, with a maximum depth of 18 m. The Straits has a surface area of 805 km² that holds approximately 4.56 km³ of water.³⁰ It lies between the Kerch Peninsula on the West and Taman Peninsula on the East. The hydrographic regime of the Straits is quite exceptional. It is defined by the interaction between the Azov Sea (shallow and relatively less salty) and the Black Sea (deep and relatively far more salty). As a result, the Straits water circulates in two streams. The Azov stream moves southwards and is much less salty than the Black Sea stream which moves to the North. In the Summer, the Azov stream is much warmer, while the Black Sea stream is significantly stronger. This is because of the intensive water evaporation water in the Azov Sea. As a result, the Straits of Kerch receives a lot of relatively cold and salty water from the South.³¹ At the same time, in general, the Azov stream dominates the Straits. This major mass of water moves southwards in accordance with the water discharge of the Don and the Kuban rivers.³²

This dynamic circulation of water in the Straits of Kerch provides conditions for a rich and diverse fish population. It is important to note that the major part of the fish population in the Straits consist of migrating species moving from the Black Sea to the Azov

29. See: Anastasia S. Kuznecova, *Formation and development...*, p. 24-25. See also: Mihail I. Kumancov, *The emergence and development ...*, pp. 110-127.

30. See: V. N. Eremeev, V. A. Ivanov and Yu. P. Il'in, "Океанографические условия и экологические проблемы Керченского пролива" [Oceanographic conditions and environmental problems of the Kerch Straits], *Morskoi ekologicheskii zhurnal* 3. 2 (2003), p. 28.

31. See for details: B. G. Trotsenko, S. S. Zhugailo, L. K. Sebah, O. V. Evchenko, N. B. Zarembo and N. A. Zagainyi, "Оценка влияния изменчивости гидрологических, гидрохимических и гидробиологических параметров на биопродуктивность Керченского пролива" [Assessing the impact of the variability of hydrological, hydro-chemical and hydro-biological parameters on the productivity of the Kerch Straits], *Trudy VNIRO* 50 (2012), pp. 86-97.

32. V. N. Eremeev, V. A. Ivanov and Yu. P. Il'in, *Oceanographic conditions ...*, pp. 31-33.

Sea and vice versa. The annual cycle starts in spring (March–April) with the migration of the Black Sea herring (*Alosa immaculate*) from the Black Sea to the Azov Sea. Anchovies (*Engraulis encrasicolus*) follow the same migration pattern from late April to early May. During the period from March to June the Black Sea mullet (*Liza Aurata*) migrates northwards, whereas the Azov Sea mullet (*Liza haematoheilus*) migrates to the Black Sea for spawning.

The autumn migration starts in July and lasts until late November, consisting of species returning to the deeper waters of the Black Sea. In winter season, the Straits has very few commercial fish.³³

In conclusion, the Cossacks dealt with a rather complicated and patchy environment. The natural conditions of the Eastern coast of the Straits of Kerch differ greatly from those in the Gulf of Taganrog. The knowledge was used by the authorities and the fishermen to create strategies aimed at obtaining a maximum profit from the abundant, yet unpredictable waters.

Organizational Structures and Property Rights

As soon as the Russian expansion reached the sea coast, the problem of land property emerged. Take for example the year 1701, 5 years after the Fortress of Azov (with vicinity to the downstream Don River and the adjacent part of the Gulf of Taganrog) was conquered and included into the Russian Tsardom as the Azov Governance. The local authorities were then given order from the central Government to make a document with a list of all fishermen in the downstream Don River. The document reflects quite a patchy picture. Apparently, fishing plots were distributed at random between the soldiers, officers, Cossacks and the representatives of the social strata recorded as “the loafing people” (“guliashie liudi” in the document). It should be noted that the latter group incorporated the peoples who came to this remote edge of the country in attempt to

33. See for details: Gennady G. Matishov, S. V. Berdnikov and R. M. Savitskii, *Экосистемный мониторинг и оценка воздействия разливов нефтепродуктов в Керченском проливе. Аварии судов в ноябре 2007 г.* [Ecosystem monitoring and evaluation of the impact of oil spills in the Kerch Straits. Ship casualties in November 2007] (Rostov-on-Don: Izdatelstvo UNC RAN, 2008), pp. 27–28.

escape the feudal system, and were therefore obviously excluded from the established social groups. Take for instance, two soldiers, Gavrila Roskashchikov and Grigorei Nekliudov, who established traps on the distance of two versts (about 2.1 km) from the coast in the opened Sea, while the loafing man, Rodka Fedorov, together with the soldier, Andrei Mesnik, had the right to catch fish with seine in Gunchevskoe Girlo (one of the branches of the Don delta).³⁴

Noticeably, all of these fishing ground owners were representatives of a population that appeared in the area together with the Russian power. Consequently, the establishment of property rights caused conflicts between the newcomers and the local population that lived there long before the Russian conquest. For instance, in the same year (1701), the team of fishermen lead by Stenka Samoïlov Nevotchik³⁵ petitioned to the Tsar for protection. The petitioners reported that they waged 6 local Kalmyk people for help with the seine and paid them the entirety of what was contracted. However, those same 6 people brought 300 relatives and tribesmen, and even robbed the fisherman. In fact, they took all of their catch (beams and carps) for 30 silver roubles.³⁶

These sources demonstrate that the Cossacks who came to Taman and Kuban in the late 18th century faced very similar problems, as demonstrated by the situation in the Straits of Kerch. As an important crossing of trade routes, the Straits became a rather highly populated area very early on. In the late 18th century, the main urban settlements were the Kerch and Enikale peoples on the Crimean coast, as well as the Taman and Temriuk peoples on the Caucasian shore.

After 1792, the Cossacks settled on the Eastern Coast of the Azov Sea (including the Taman Peninsula) leaving the local population faced the new political reality. The newcomers brought with

34. Государственный Архив Воронежской Области (State Archives of Voronezh Region, hereafter GAVorO), fond I5, opis 1, delo 322. “Decree on the census of fishermen on the Don”, 1702, list, 9.

35. Quite notable name used in the document deserves some comment. Stenka is a form of Stepan, Samoïlov is patronym, not a family name, means “son of Samoïla”, while Nevotchik is obviously the nickname connected to “nevod” – the Russian word for seine. This was the most traditional fishing gear for the Russian fishermen.

36. GAVorO, fond I5, opis 1, delo 277, “Correspondence of damage and theft of fish nets”, 1700, list, 5.

them important economic and political advantages from the Central Power, including the priority access to the fishing grounds. The Straits of Kerch immediately became a conflict zone where the Cossacks tried to defend their interests in the face of old-timers. It is important to note here that the locals in the late 18th century were mainly supported by the fisheries, making the fish of the Straits were a vitally important base of their relative wealth.³⁷

In November 1794, the Cossack Host Administration reported to the Central Authorities that the Cossacks were attempting to catch fish on the grounds the Government granted to them, when they met opposition from the Greeks who lived on the Crimean coast of the Straits in Kerch and Enikale. The Cossacks had no suitable vessels for fishing in the specific environment of the Straits and had to rent boats. As a result, the Russian fishermen were forced to rent boats in the nearby ports and sell their catch to the owners of the boats (predominantly Greeks from Kerch and Enikale) for very cheap prices. According to their estimation the rate was two times less than what it could be sold for on the free market.³⁸

As a result, the Cossacks were forced to offer their fishing grounds for rent “to the South and to the North from the town of Taman and to the fairway,” comprising practically all of the Eastern part of the Straits.³⁹ The Greeks established in Kerch finally got this contract on exclusive, profitable conditions.⁴⁰ The records of the fisheries in the Eastern part of the Straits in 1795 contain data on 15 fishing boats owned by the citizens from Kerch and Enikale and only 9 boats that came from the Cossacks.⁴¹ Thus, the Greeks used the well-developed infrastructure of their Crimean homeport towns as an important advantage for the control over the productive fisheries of the Straits. Additionally, the fairway was used as a

37. See: Natalia V. Nebozhaeva, “Из истории рыбных промыслов Керчи (конец XVIII – начало XX века) in *Nauchnyi sbornik Kerchenskogo Zapovednika*, Vol. II, KMZ, Kerch, 2008, p. 369.

38. Государственный Архив Краснодарского края (State Archives of Krasnodar Region, hereafter GAKK), fond 250, opis 1, delo 10, “On the call for those wanting to rent the Black Sea Spit in Fanagoriya County”, 1794, list, 2a.

39. Ibid., list, 2a verso, 4.

40. Ibid., list, 66-66 verso.

41. Ibid, list.84.

borderline between the grounds, involving the ship-owners in the interrelations between the fishermen.

However, after some time of “turbulence” of this kind, property rights were completely established when the Cossack authorities developed more-or-less stable borders between the fishing grounds of the region. The management of fisheries was predominantly based on the idea that fishing places were a collective property owned by all of the competent members of the Cossack Host (the Cossacks in the terms of the contemporary documents). At the same time, the people living on the territory of the Cossack Hosts that were excluded from the Cossack community, known as “people from other towns” (“in-ogorodnie”), consequently had no share in the communal grounds.

Along the downstream Don River, the area of the Don Cossack Host was distributed among the administrative units called “stanitsa,” i.e. the group of settlements with the biggest one in the center that could provide 100 Cossacks for the Imperial Army. Each stanitsa was considered as community that possessed the collective property rights on a certain square of land and water. Depending on the productivity, the “stanitsa” waters were distributed among the owners who operated the grounds on their own expense. For instance, in January 1849, the Aksaiskaia stanitsa had 15 owners of fishing grounds (the document mentions them as “fish producers” (“rybopromyshlenniki”)) in contradiction to the fishermen who were directly involved in the fish catching and preservation (they were called “the workers” (“rabotniki”)). At the same time, the Gnilovskaia stanitsa had 83 “fish producers”, while Elizavetovskaya (the most productive point of the Don delta) had 700.⁴²

On the other hand, the Kuban Cossacks had developed their own system of ground administration that was connected more to the natural geographic objects rather than to the human settlements. The entire shore of the Azov Sea (including the rivers downstream that constituted the most productive part of the fishing grounds that were controlled by the Cossack community) was divided into 7 sections with clearly marked natural borders.

42. Государственный архив Ростовской области (State Archives of Rostov Region, hereafter GARO), fond 301, opis 22. delo 31, “Correspondence on the delivering of statements on fish catch”, 1849, list, 3 verso – 27.

Take for instance, Section 2 which was situated “on the Azov Sea”, ranging “5 versts long alongside the Kamyshevskaja spit, and another 7 versts to the open Sea”, while the section of Achuevo fishing ground (the most productive place for sturgeon fisheries) extended 20 versts along the Sea shore to the right and 20 versts to the left towards the mouth of the Protoka river (the right branch of the Kuban river delta), and 7 versts upstream the river Protoka from its mouth.⁴³

In comparison, the Don Cossack Host system of collective property was based on the division of the community of property-owners, while the Kuban Cossacks obviously preferred the division of the natural resource itself. Yet, in reality these two principals were apparently mixed.⁴⁴ Moreover, late 19th century observers informed that even though the fisheries legally belonged to the Cossacks, in actuality this industry to a great extent was controlled by the companies owned by the people “of other towns”, where the representatives of the Cossack estate served as nominal figures.⁴⁵

Be that as it may, after the property rights were established, the fisheries became the scene for interaction between the groups of actors. The most important were the authorities, the owners of the grounds, and the fishermen.

The Major Actors

The authorities considered the fisheries as an important source of income. For instance, in the late 19th century, the fisheries of the Don delta provided to the Don Cossack Host up to 170,000 rub. per year, which was about 6% of total income.⁴⁶ In addition to the

43. GAKK, fond 252. opis 2 delo 541, “Annual reports on the fisheries”, 1862, list, 47 verso – 48, 88 verso.

44. For more details see: Fedor A. Sherbina, “История земельной собственности у кубанских казаков” [The history of land ownership in the Kuban Cossacks] *Kubanskii sbornik* 1 (1883), pp. 89-123.

45. See: Georgii K. Korolkov, *Военно-статистическое описание Кубанской области* [Military and statistical description of the Kuban region], (Tiflis: Tipografiia Shtaba Kavkazskogo Voennogo Okruga, 1900), p. 214.

46. See: A. A. Karasev and H. I. Popov (eds.) *Краткое историческое и*

direct profit from fish caught in the controlled waters, the Cossack administration would also impose taxes on the “people from other towns” who were interested in the fisheries. For instance, in 1814, the Kuban Cossack Host collected 2,176.5 rub. in taxes. A year later this income had reached 7,500 rub.⁴⁷

The owners were interested in the development of infrastructure. Moreover, they were the major investors responsible for the construction of the material base for the industry. We know the structure of the fisheries from the 19th century documents, but we must assume that the system was rather stable and did not change a lot since the earlier time. The fish-preparing enterprise (*rybospetnyi zavod*) or the fishing station (*rybnyi stan*) were the main organizational units for the fisheries in the Cossack areas. Every enterprise exploited a certain area of the fishing grounds. The enterprise consisted of living space for the workers and working space for fish preparing. Storehouses for fishing gear and products were also a necessity.

The factories were normally situated significantly far from each other. For instance, on the 7 versts (a bit less than 7 km) along the Protoka River, in Spring 1811, the authorities only recorded 5 factories.⁴⁸ Though it is known that later, a lot of factories existed illegally out of the administrative records.⁴⁹ These factories normally consisted of several structures, both capital (built of wood or clay) and temporal (built of reed),⁵⁰ though the actual combination of structures obviously depended of the owners’ wealth.

This infrastructure, to some extent, united the owners and the waged laborers (the group of actors that was by far the greatest in

статистическое описание Войска Донского. Географо-статистический отдел [A brief historical and statistical description of the Don Cossacks. Geographic and Statistics Division],/Под ред. А. А. Карасева и Х. И. Попова. (Novocherkassk : Dons. obl. stat. kom, 1887), p. 7.

47. See: Anastasia S. Kuznecova, *Formation and development...*, p. 45.

48. GAKK, fond 250 opis 2 delo 216 “Book of Achuevo fish factory on the collection of fees for exported fish”, 1811, list, 3 verso.

49. Nikolai Borodin, “Кубанское рыболовство, его современное положение и нужды” [Kuban fishing, its current situation and needs, *Kubanskii Sbornik* 11 (1905), p. 26-27.

50. Perfect example of typical average fishing ground see in: Nikolai Borodin, *Kuban fishing...*, p. 16 and 17.

number). For instance, in 1862, the authorities of Kuban Cossack Host recorded that along the Azov Sea shore in the vicinity of Yeisk, among the fishermen directly involved in fish catching and preserving were: 9 owners of factories (who were the Cossacks officers), 18 independent fishermen, and 166 waged fishermen (including both Cossacks and those “from other towns”).⁵¹ A bit more complicated situation existed in the Don downstream in 1868. The documents recorded in total 16,550 fishermen, of which: 9,800 were the waged workers, 568 were owners of fishing gear to catch fish in the sea, 1,429 that harvested the Don River permanently (i.e. through all the fishing season), and 4,753 that harvested it occasionally (i.e. during some part of the season).⁵² It is not evident from the sources whether those waged workers were permanently linked to the particular factories working in the same place one year after another or if they used to change place more frequently. According to the Description of the Black Sea region (*Opisanie Chernomorii*) completed in 1852, in general the system of recruitment in the first-half of the 19th century looked quite simple and in a way “patriarchal”. The owners of the factories waged the workers from the number of candidates who came annually to the fishing grounds before the fishing season (in spring or autumn) started. The team members then had to elect the most experienced fisherman to be their head. After that and under his supervision, according to the document, the fishermen had to prepare the fishing gear using the materials provided by the owner in order to start fishing.

After the season the owner was responsible for the commercial operations. He had to sell the fish for the highest possible price and then share the money with the workers. Normally, he had to pay the taxes first, then deduct the price of the food supply he provided for the fishermen during the season. The owner would then distribute one-half of the remaining amount of profits equally among the members of the fishing team. According to the authors of the description, this system was considered as fair and profitable for both

51. GAKK, fond 252 opis 2 delo 541“Annual reports on the fisheries”, 1862, list, 20 verso – 21.

52. Andronik M. Saveliev, *Статистическое обозрение Войска Донского за 1868 год*. [Statistical Review of the Don Cossacks in 1868] (Novocherkassk: Dons. obl. stat. kom, 1869), pp. 26-27.

parties, by which the workers could support themselves (and even improve their economic situation) and the owners could also make other investments such as in agriculture. However, by the middle of the 19th century, the prices and the catches decreased greatly and the industry became far less profitable.⁵³

Production, Commerce and Everyday Life

The detailed analysis of the productivity of the Azov fisheries is beyond the scope of this paper. It is necessary to note that the contemporary sources of the second half of the 19th century both in the Don and in the Kuban area, stressed the significant decrease of the fish population and consequently the catches. Nikolai Borodin, a well-known late 19th to early 20th century fisheries expert, determined the situation in the Kuban river basin in 1905 as very bad. He named among the major causes for this: overfishing, the pollution of the rivers with sand, and the use of illegal fishing gear. He recommended the establishment of strict control by the Cossack Host authorities in order to prevent the catastrophic decrease of fish population in the area.⁵⁴

However, it is important to note that the superb reputation of these waters as superabundant existed much longer than the plentiful fish population itself. In 1889, Prince Alexander Dondukov-Korsakov published a paper on the situation in the Black Sea region (comprised of the Cossack territories, as well as, the Caucasian Black Sea shore). In this document he stressed the special importance of marine resources for the local people, who “in some places have to eat predominantly or even almost exclusively fish.”⁵⁵ Moreover, he argued that the Russian authorities had to focus their attention on the development of fisheries and combine fishing with wine mak-

53. P. P. Korolenko, *Описание Черноморши, составленное Якименко и Ярин-ым в 1852 году*. [Description of Black Sea coast, composed Yakimenko and Yarin in 1852] *Kubanskii sbornik* 5 (1899), p. 26-28.

54. Nikolai Borodin, *Kuban fishing ...*, p. 11-37.

55. Alexander M. Dondukov-Korsakov, *Записка о настоящем положении Черноморского округа и о предложениях по будущему его устройству* [Note about the present situation of the Black Sea districts and on proposals for the future of his unit] (Tiflis: 1889), p. 6.

ing, beekeeping, and gardening. He suggested that these activities yield better profits than grain agriculture, which is far less promising industry in that particular Black Sea area.⁵⁶ In 1961, a reprinted excerpt from the miscellany “Kubanskii sbornik” (published in the U.S. during the 1950s – 1960s) by the well-known Cossack historian, Fedor Scherbina, described the unbelievable abundance of fish in the waters of Kuban Cossack Host “in the old time,” as an important part of a nostalgic narrative about the “Paradise lost,” that existed “before the Bolsheviks”. Indeed, the emigrants argued, this was the time when everyone was free to catch fish in the Sea or in the rivers and “the water used to flood the banks because of the plenty of fish going for spawning.”⁵⁷ This impressive picture obviously had some political importance rather than a purely environmental or economic message.

However, what is important for the topic of this paper, is the clear fact that during all the periods under study, the fisheries of the Eastern part of the Azov Sea (and the inflowing rivers) were quite a significant source of supply for various fish markets in European Russia. The general history of this commerce was recently studied by Mikhail Kumantsov. There is no need to repeat his data and conclusions here.⁵⁸ Instead, the human dimension of the fishery industry will be examined. Indeed, the important place the fisheries have occupied in the life of the local population is mentioned more than once in the literature, but what did it mean in practice? A portion of the local people were professional fishermen. The fish they caught provided them a means for life, but what about the others? To what extent they were involved in the fisheries’ activities and what was the place of fish in their life (and perhaps worldview)? Fedor Kriukov, writer and journalist, created a wide and impressive description of the Cossack life in the late 19th to early 20th century. We will use his texts almost as a guidebook into the everyday life of the Cossacks in order to answer these questions.⁵⁹

56. Alexandr M. Dondukov-Korsakov, *Note about the present situation...*, p. 12.

57. Fedor A. Scherbina “О рыболовстве в Черномории” [About fishing in Black Sea Coast] in V. Naumenko (ed). *Kubanskii istoricheskii i literaturnyi sbornik* 13 (1961), p. 19.

58. See for details: Mihail I. Kumantsov, *The emergence and development ...*, pp. 199-210.

59. For more details on this outstanding person see: Ljudmila N. Maljukova,

First of all, the fisheries took significant part in the formation and perception of the landscape (riverscape, seascape) itself. Describing the trip onboard of the steamboat Esaul downstream the Don in the late 1890s, Fedor Kriukov has mentioned “the fisherman’s huts... and the fishermen themselves, in their rolled pants, holding the kiddle and looking with hostility from their boats on the steamship,” as a characteristic part of the view of the left, lowland, bank of the river. The “numerous boats with fishermen” are also very visible in the lower coast of the Don, near the Starocherkasskaia Stanitsa, and in general the fishing grounds (huts with primitive piers for the fishing boats) were very visible in the landscape, situated under countless willows, which were very characteristic of the area.⁶⁰ The big fishing grounds could change the view of the riverscape significantly. For instance, the Achuevo fishing ground on the Protoka river, famous as the most productive place for sturgeon fisheries in the Kuban area, included quite sophisticated infrastructure like the canal and the garden, quite visible in this steppe region.⁶¹

As for the fishing itself – it was normally quite an important part of the everyday life of the local people, regardless of their age and occupation. For instance, Fedor Kriukov has described the angling as a very important part of the local childhood. The schoolboys of the Don downstream he met on his way considered Spring as the best season of the year, because this was the time when one could “catch fish right through the window” (obviously due to the Spring high water). In Summer their favorite pastime was to wander through the shallow water with a fishing rod in their hands looking for the good chance to catch fish. Moreover, the schoolboys immediately invited their new friends to take part in the fishing ex-

“И покатылся с грохотом обвал...” Судьба и творчество Ф. Д. Крюкова [“And with a roar rolled collapse ...” Fate and work of F. D. Kryukov], (Rostov-on-Don: Donizdat, 2007).

60. See Fedor D. Kriukov, *На Тихом Дону (летние впечатления и заметки)* [On the Peaceful Don (summer impressions and notes)] http://az.lib.ru/k/kryukow_f_d/text_1898_na_tihom_donu.shtml

61. See: GAKK, fond 421 opis 1 delo 263 “About Achuevo fish factory”, 1898, list, 94.

peditions which was obviously their favorite summer amusement.⁶²

Therefore, the adult inhabitants of the Don and the Kuban downstream had a rather intimate knowledge of the local fish population stemming from their childhood and were actively involved in fishing activities even if it was not their major occupation. Kriukov also described the organization of fishing expeditions he took along the downstream of the Don River. The inhabitants of stanitsa organized the fishing trip to the nearby small river as a common work, but also for a bit of amusement. Further, Kriukov noted that the fun atmosphere of his day was quite specific of the area since fishing for the Cossack people “is more fun than work”. According to Kriukov, the fishing team consisted of a rather soldered group of young Cossacks that had been fishing together for a long time, however, any member of the local community was free to join them. One of these fishermen brought a musical instrument, giving the expedition the character of a picnic.⁶³ It is worth noting here that the professional fishermen who were permanently involved in these activities normally considered their occupation as hard and dangerous work. Further, the authors of this description of the Black Sea area argued that because the payments received as a fisherman could be unsatisfactory, a lot of these men eventually became criminals and social marginal. This demonstrates the social importance of the development of fisheries and fish commerce.⁶⁴ Noticeably, Kriukov, as an extraneous observer, believed that the typical professional fishermen in the famous productive grounds of the area was actually quite wealthy despite the unpleasant gleam he caught of their houses. He stressed, “the Cossack himself is black because of the work in the water, but his wife looks like a generals’ wife; his house cost not more than 100 rubles, but the furniture inside valuse not less than 1,000 rubles,” though these legends were most probably far from reality.⁶⁵

62. See Fedor D. Kriukov, *On the Peaceful Don* http://az.lib.ru/k/krjukow_f_d/text_1898_na_tihom_donu.shtml

63. See Fedor D. Kriukov, *На реке Лазоревой* [On the Lazorevaia river] http://az.lib.ru/k/krjukow_f_d/text_1911_na_rechke.shtml

64. P. P. Korolenko, *Description of Black Sea coast*, p. 29.

65. See Fedor D. Kriukov, *On the Peaceful Don* http://az.lib.ru/k/krjukow_f_d/text_1898_na_tihom_donu.shtml

The process of fishing was represented as a process of interaction, and to some extent competition, between the humans and the fish – which were considered as the “quite smart, though voiceless creature.” The process involved vivid and aggressive discussion between experienced fishermen in order to develop the best method of using the fishing gear and to get the biggest possible catch (including the most valuable fish such as the big catfish). If victorious, the fishermen would enjoy public recognition of the high authority for managing this complicated process.⁶⁶

The good catches were an important part of the Cossack wealth. According to the Russian law the Cossacks had to serve in their own militaries. For example, it was their obligation to get the horse and weapons. As a result, a decrease in catches proved to be a direct threat to the Cossacks of modest means who would likely become indebted to the rich and (or) to the community, as well as, exposed to the threat of losing their land possessions.⁶⁷ On the other hand, the fish proved to hold an even more important place in the life of the local inhabitants, far beyond simply a source of income. The young Cossack, Filipp, in the essay “Gulebshiki” by Fedor Kriukov, considered the fisheries an important part of his obligation to his family and of his manhood. As soon as he was able to provide some fish in a row, along with some game from the forest, and a complete sowing of grain – he felt that he was free to get go out and even get drunk without any reprimands from his mother.⁶⁸ The fish was an important part of food consumption and it certainly was consumed during the fishing time. The aforementioned fishing team had cooked *shcherba* (a kind fish soup). This moment served as a culmination of this fishing expedition, which represented some kind of specific male club.⁶⁹

66. See Fedor D. Kriukov, *On the Lazorevaia river* http://az.lib.ru/k/kriukow_f_d/text_1911_na_rechke.shtml

67. See Fedor D. Kriukov, *On the Peaceful Don* http://az.lib.ru/k/kriukow_f_d/text_1898_na_tihom_donu.shtml

68. See Fedor D. Kriukov, *Гулебщики* [Revellers] http://az.lib.ru/k/kriukow_f_d/text_1892_gulebschiki.shtml

69. See Fedor D. Kriukov, *On the Lazorevaia river*. http://az.lib.ru/k/kriukow_f_d/text_1911_na_rechke.shtml

Conclusion

Examining the marine and riverine biota in the historical context of the life of the Eastern coast of the Azov Sea inhabitants, one may question whether the observations drawn could reveal a more general importance of fish, specifically for the history of human activities in the North Black Sea region. Indeed, if the Cossack fisheries are considered in a broader context, we will perhaps be able to come to important conclusions.

Recalling the main issues discussed in the paper, namely: (1) property rights, (2) the organizational structure of fisheries and the links between major actors (the authorities, owners and waged workers), and (3) the “human dimension” of fisheries, it becomes evident that we have revealed several useful trends for the understanding of the general development of the Black Sea ports.

Property rights were quite essential for the development of shipping facilities, and vice versa. The development of a port could influence the value of the fishing grounds both positively and negatively. The fairways of the ships following the recognized trade routes served as the borders between the fishing spots, the best example of which being the Straits of Kerch. The Cossacks, after moving to the Kuban River area, controlled the Straits “to the South and to the North from the town of Taman and to the fairway.”⁷⁰ To the West from the fairway, the waters belonged to the Greeks from Kerch and Enikale.

In the eyes of the authorities, the principals of the fishery organization looked quite flexible and the officials supposed they could be easily transferred inside the region or even imported from other parts of the Ocean. For instance, Prince Alexandr Dondukov-Korsakov in 1880’s proposed to resettle the communities of the Orthodox old-believers known as Lipovane⁷¹ from the Danube delta to the Caucasian

70. GAKK fond 250 opis 1 delo 10, “On the call for those wanting to rent the Black Sea Spit in Fanagoriya County”, 1794, list, 2a verso, 4.

71. For more details on Lipovane see: Alexandr A. Prigarin, *Русские старообрядцы на Дунае. Формирование этноконфессиональной общности в конце XVIII – первой половине XIX вв.* [Russian Old Believers on the Danube. Formation of ethnic and religious community at the end of 18th – first half 19th centuries] (Odessa, Izmail, Moscow: Arheodoksija, 2010).

coast of the Black Sea to the South from the Kuban Cossack Host. Being an Imperial Commissar in Bulgaria, he had the opportunity to see that this community consisted of experienced fishermen, which was critical in his point of view for the colonization of this area.⁷²

Perhaps the best example of importing technologies and structures from different areas of history and government was the European herring preservation project. This was an integral part of the transformation and Europeanization of Russia that started in the late 17th century in the time of Peter the Great. The Azov military expeditions of 1695 and 1696 finally resulted with the capture of the territory of the Don River downstream with the adjacent part of the Sea shore. Peter considered this a critical breakthrough, for it granted the necessary access to the Sea that eventually led to Europe. During the Grand Embassy, while in the Netherlands the tsar had in mind the reorganization of life in the small piece of the sea coast, for which he waged many experts to be sent there in order to construct the town of Azov and the Fortress of Taganrog.⁷³ It is no coincidence that the earliest data on the introduction of the Dutch herring preservation technologies refers to this area, as well.

According to the report, found in the archives of Voronezh and sent on October 26, 7208 (Byzantine calendar, equal to 1699 AD – A. K.) by the officials of Azov administration Stenka Saltykov with companions, the tsar ordered on September 23 to catch herring in the Don estuary and the adjacent sea waters, salt the catch, and put it into the barrels under the supervision of a foreigner, named Isak Knop. Then, in Winter, ten or fifteen barrels of herring were to be sent to Moscow. The officials sent Isak Knop with fishermen to the Sea in order to get herring and the fishing team spent some time on the grounds. However, the foreign expert reported that herring comes to these waters in spring, while in autumn herring fishing is impossible.⁷⁴ Therefore, the idea failed, but it was not completely abandoned. In the 18th century the herring preservation improve-

72. Alexandr M. Dondukov-Korsakov, *Note about the present situation...*, p. 10-12.

73. See for more details for instance: Edward J. Phillips, *The Founding of Russia's Navy...*

74. GAVorO fond I-5 opis 1 delo 168 "Correspondence about catching and salting", 1700, list, 4.

ment was introduced quite unsuccessfully in the North of Empire, in the White and Barents Sea areas,⁷⁵ but in the 19th century the local authorities controlled by the General Governor, Mikhail Vorontsov,⁷⁶ returned to the idea of improvement of the Black Sea herring fisheries using British technologies, as well as British experts. The detailed history of Vorontsov's project is a matter for future research, however, in a few words those activities were the same, useless.⁷⁷ This failure demonstrated that the traditional organization of fishing industry was far more sustained than it could be seen by the governmental officials.

The human dimension of the fisheries still seems to be rather understudied and quite a promising direction of research. At the moment, this side of everyday life is predominantly studied by the anthropologists,⁷⁸ as it seems that historians overlook the importance of the development of the interrelations between the humans and the water. Meanwhile, the contemporaries apparently used to pay a lot of attention to the fish and could clearly see the interrelations between the state of fisheries, the environmental conditions, the port infrastructure and their own everyday practices.

In general, a comprehensive history of ports and shipping cannot be studied without attention to the interrelations between the human actors and the marine biota. The history of the Eastern Azov Sea fisheries is a perfect example of such.

75. See for details: Alexei Kraikovski "The governmental projects of modernization of herring fisheries in Russia" in D. Makowiecki et al. (eds). *Fishes – culture – environment through Archaeoichthyology, Ethnography and History. The 15th meeting of ICAZ FRWG. Environment and Culture, Vol. 7*. Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznan: 2009, pp. 96-98.

76. For more details on this outstanding person see for instance: Anthony L. H. Rhineland, *Prince Michael Vorontsov: Viceroy to the Tsar*. (Montreal, Quebec; Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

77. See the final report on this issue from the authorities of the Don Cossack Host written in 1850, GARO fond 301 opis 15 delo 4, list. 224, cited after Lidia T. Totenko, *Рыбные промыслы казачьих областей Азовского бассейна во второй половине XVIII – первой половине XIX в.* [Fisheries of the Cossack regions of the Azov basin in the second half of 18th – first half of 19th century]. Dissertation department of the library of the Southern Federal University, p. 144.

78. See for instance Alexandr A. Prigarin, *Russian Old Believers on the Danube...*, p. 299-307.

7.
**The history of the Azov Sea
and the northern Azov Sea area during the holocene**

Gennady Matishov

The Azov Sea is a shallow inland basin of estuarine type, almost fully surrounded by land. Only in the South it is connected with the Black Sea through the Kerch Strait, the one that separates the Taman Peninsula and Kerch Peninsula. The maximum length of the Azov Sea (from Arabatskaya Strelka sand bar to the mouth of the Don river) is 360 km, maximum width (between the peaks of the Temryuk and Belosaraysk bays) is 180 km. The sea area is 39K km², the volume at average is 290 km³ and the average depth is 7 meters.¹ The depth gradually increases to the centre and in the south near the Kerch and Taman Peninsulas. At some parts, the depth can reach 14 m (Map 7.1).

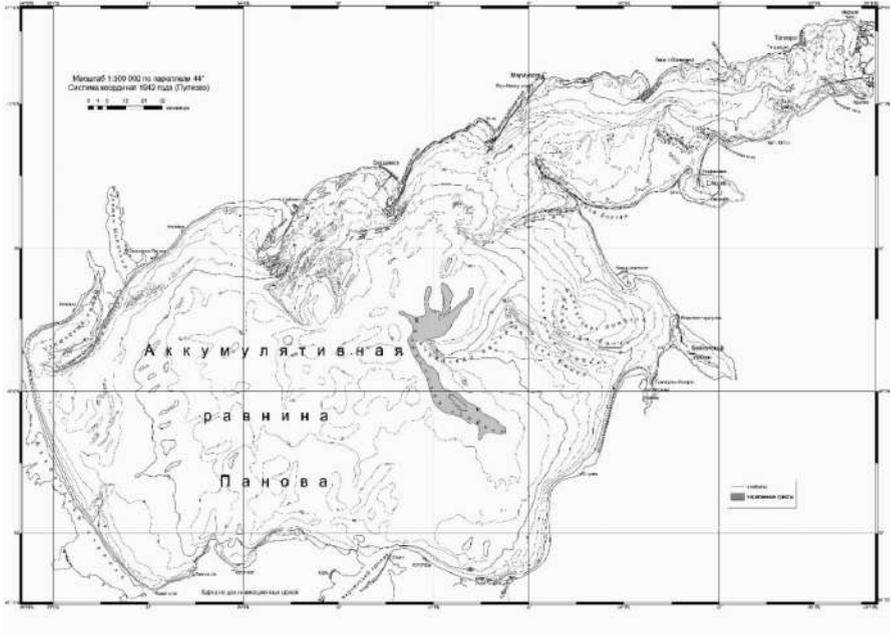
The whole history of the Azov Sea is tightly connected with the one of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. Their common long-term development within a single sea basin, the transgressive – regressive phases alternation caused numerous biological invasions and frequent hydrological and hydrochemical conditions changes. In the Holocene, there was a separation of the basins to the modern borders, and a limited connection with the World Ocean promoted the development of each basin.²

The surface area, which in modern times is the Azov Sea has been transformed during the Holocene under the influence of various endogenous and exogenous processes. As a result the shoreline and the

1. *Гидрометеорология и гидрохимия морей СССР. Том 5. Азовское море* [Hydro-meteorology and hydrochemistry of the USSR seas. Volume. 5. The Azov Sea.] (Saint Petersburg: Gidrometeoizdat. 1991).

2. Gennady G. Matishov, V. V. Polshin, I. V. Shokhin, “Влияние геоморфологических особенностей дна Азовского моря на распределение бентоса” [The influence of the geomorphological features of the bottom of the Azov Sea on the benthos distribution], *Vestnik SSC RAS*, 6:2, (2010), pp. 14-20.

Map 7.1 A bathymetrical chart of the Azov Sea



Source: Gennady G. Matichov, *Батиметрия Азовского моря. Карта* [Bathymetry of the Azov Sea. Map] (Rostov-on-Don: Izdatelstvo UNTS RAN, 2006)

sea level changed. Frequent level changes caused a graded structure of the sedimentation mass.³ The analysis of organic material of autoch-

3. I. P. Balabanov, Ya. A. Izmailov, “Изменение уровня и гидрохимического режима Черного и Азовского морей за последние 20 тыс. лет” [The Black and Azov Seas level and hydrochemical regimes changing over the last 20 thousand years], *Vodnye resursy*, 6, (1988), pp. 54-62; Yu. P. Khrustalev, D. A. Shcherbakov, *Позднечетвертичные отложения Азовского моря и условия их накопления* [Late Quaternary sediments of the Azov Sea and the conditions of their accumulation], (Rostov-on-Don: Izdatelstvo Rostovskogo Universiteta, 1974), p. 148; P. V. Fedorov, “Геологическая история Керченского пролива в связи с новыми данными бурения на его дне” [The geological history of the Kerch Strait in connection with new drilling data], *Bull. MOIP. Geology*, 48:5, (1973), pp. 72-82; V. I. Myslivets, “Морфоструктурная основа экосистемы Азовского моря” [The morphostructural basis of the Azov Sea ecosystem], *Kompleksnyj monitoring sredy i bioty Azovskogo*

thonous and allochthonous origin (pollen, valves of shells of diatoms, and mollusk fauna) in combination with the data on the absolute age of marine sediments, and the results of lithological and seismic surveys and studies allow us to judge in what conditions the process of sedimentation was the process of sedimentation. This information may be of scientific interest for paleogeographic reconstructions.

Similar studies in the Azov Sea have been conducted by the Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SSC RAS) staff in recent years. During the time a great amount of material on biota, biostratigraphy, geology and geomorphology of the basin was collected and analyzed. Numerous full-scale studies of the bottom cores, selected from different parts of the sea were conducted. The absolute age dating was taken from different bedrocks. The peculiarities of the bottom relief and sedimentation mass structure of the Gulf of the Taganrog Bay were studied with the help of seismoacoustics. Many archeological data had been analyzed because during the Holocene (especially in the last 2,500-3,000 years) the Northern Azov Sea Region had been actively developed by people and cultural artefacts can be important markers for reconstructing the landscape of the past.

Biostratigraphic, geological, and archaeological research was conducted by employees of the SSC RAS. Absolute age dating was obtained in the Laboratory of paleogeography and geochronology of the Quaternary period, at the Institute of Geography, St. Petersburg State University (Lab Supervisor Kh. A. Arslanov).

The results allow us to characterize the wide-spread New-Azov sediments at the top of the sedimentation mass. The examination of the core sample taken from the western part of the Azov Sea together with the data on the absolute age indicates the Ancient-Azov sediments. The results of spore-pollen and diatom analyses of the core sample in combination with the archaeological data allow us to trace the sea level and climate changes of the Northern Azov during the last 3,000 years.

basseina, 6, (2004), p. 28-43; Gennady G. Matishov, “Сейсмопрофилирование и картирование новейших отложений дна азовского моря” [Seismic profiling and mapping of recent sediments at the bottom of the Azov Sea], *SSC RAS Vestnik*, 3:3, (2007), pp. 32-40, D. G. Panov, Yu. P. Khrustalev, “Об истории развития Азовского моря в голоцене” [About the story of the Azov Sea development during the Holocene], *Geologiya*, 166:2 (1966), pp. 429-432; E. F. Shnyukov (ed.), *Геология Азовского моря* [Geology of the Azov Sea], (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1974).

The Azov Sea level changes are recurrent and have different duration. Thus it is possible to distinguish rhythmical fluctuations of different orders: the eustatic cycles lasting a few thousand years and the phases, the duration of which does not exceed several hundred years.⁴ Such long-termed level change resulted in regressions and transgressions. As a result, the area and the depth of the sea had been changing, as well as the coastline, the structure of the bottom topography and composition of the sediments. The advance of the sea resulted in river sediments covering with the marine ones and marine erosion. The recession of the sea caused the sediments washing out and the accumulation of alluvium.

In addition to the hundreds and thousand years-lasting level changes there are also the short ones (annual). These changes primarily include wind-induced and seiche fluctuations of the sea level. The duration of upsurges and downsurges varies from several hours to several days and may lead to sea level changes up to several meters. Seiches in the Azov Sea last from several minutes to several hours. In the Kerch Strait seiches duration may be 45 minutes, from 1-1.5t to 3 hours and the level fluctuations from 10 to 30 cm. The seiches with daily period are well expressed in the sea. Their nodal line goes from Berdyansk sand bar to Achuevski cape.⁵

Temperature also affects the sea level fluctuations. While it is warm, the sea level is higher, when it is cold the level is lower. The difference between June and November levels is 19 cm. The maximum of seasonal fluctuations of the average level is 33 cm and the minimum is 7 cm.⁶ The difference between the sea level during warm and cold season tends to reduce during the last 20-25 years. It is the result of the river flow increase in autumn and winter and the decrease in spring and summer.⁷

4. Balabanov, Izmailov, “The Black and Azov Seas level... .

5. *Hydrometeorology and hydrochemistry... .*

6. *Ibid.*

7. Y. M. Gargopa, “Закономерности многолетней динамики океанографических процессов и компонентов биоты Азовского моря” [Patterns of long-term dynamics of Oceanographic processes and components of the biota of the Azov Sea], in Genady G. Matishov (ed.), *Среда, биота и моделирование экологических процессов в Азовском море* [Environment, biota and modelling of ecological processes in the Azov Sea], (KSC RAS, 2001), pp. 44-71; Y. M. Gargopa, “Изменения стока

The pattern and the scale of the Azov Sea transgressions and regressions were largely influenced by the neighboring Black Sea. That is why the changes of the Azov Sea borders during the Holocene should be studied together with the Black Sea changes.

In general, in recent years a convergence of views among scientists concerning the common development of the Azov-Black Sea basin in the late Pleistocene and the Holocene is taking place. The vast majority of researchers agree that during this period, there was a major regressive-transgressive cycle of development associated with the cooling in the late Pleistocene and the subsequent warming in the Holocene. At the same time there is a disagreement over the appearance and progression of the superimposed oscillation that made the transgression development more complicated.⁸ The so called “Phanagorian regression” period is highly disputable among the specialists (geologists, paleogeographers, historians, archaeologists). It concerns the hydrological regime of the sea, its depth and shape of the shoreline at that time. Very often, scientific discussion of the parties, completely contradicts each other. The views are different: some claim the sea not existing; others exclude the possibility of any regression at this time.

There are numerous graphs and diagrams of paleogeographic reconstructions based on the results of study the Azov-Black Sea basin during the Holocene.⁹ The data on the examination of the

рек бассейна Азовского моря и океанографических условий формирования его биоресурсов под влиянием климатических факторов” [The change of river runoff of the Azov Sea basin and Oceanographic conditions the formation of its biological resources under the influence of climatic factors], in Gennady G. Matishov (ed.), *Закономерности океанографических и биологических процессов в Азовском море* [Regularities of oceanographic and biological processes in the Azov Sea], (KSC RAS, 2000), pp. 10-81.

8. Balabanov, Izmailov, “The Black and Azov Seas level... .

9. P. V. Fedorov, “Последледниковая трансгрессия Черного моря и проблема изменений уровня океана за последние 15 000 лет” [Postglacial transgression of the Black Sea and the problem of sea level changes over the past 15,000 years], in *Колебания уровня морей и океанов за последние 15000 лет* [Fluctuations in the level of seas and oceans over 15,000 years.], (Moscow: Naouka, 1982), pp. 151-156; K. K. Shilik, “Изменение уровня Черного моря в позднем голоцене и палеотопография археологических памятников Северного Причерноморья античного времени” [Changes of Black Sea level in the late Holocene and paleo-

Holocene-Pleistocene age layers indicate a limited extent of ancient Euxine and Karangat layers and the development of the new Euxine ones. Ancient- and New-Azov (modern) sediments at the top of the sedimentation mass are widespread.¹⁰

At the end of the Pleistocene the level of the Azov-Black Sea basin had multiple fluctuations that are well correlated with the changes in the sea level of the Mediterranean Sea and the World Ocean as a whole. During that period, the Black Sea level fell to a

topography of archaeological sites of the Northern Black Sea region of ancient time], in P. A. Kaplin, F. A. Shcherbakov (ed.), *Палеогеография и отложения плейстоцена южных морей* [Paleogeography and the Pleistocene sediments of the southern seas of the USSR.], (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), p. 158-163; S. I. Varoushchenko, “Анализ позднеплейстоценовой и голоценовой истории развития природной среды северо-западного шельфа Черного моря” [Analysis of late Pleistocene and Holocene history of the development of the North-Western Black Sea shelf natural environment] in G. P. Kalinin (ed.), *Колебания уровня Мирового океана и вопросы морской геоморфологии* [Fluctuations in Global sea level and the issues of marine geomorphology], (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), p. 50; Balabanov, Izmailov, “The Black and Azov Seas level...”; Shnyukov, *Geology of the Azov Sea...*; E. F. Shnyukov, I. Yu. Inozemtsev, N. A. Maslakov, “Основные черты палеогеографии Азовского моря в плейстоцене” [The main features of paleogeography of the Azov Sea in the Pleistocene], in E. F. Shnyukov (ed.), *Геология Чёрного и Азовского морей* [Geology of the Black and Azov Seas], (Kiev: NPM of NAS of Ukraine, 2000), p. 6-17; V. P. Koryulov, V. G. Rylov, “Историко-географические предпосылки начала освоения греками устьевой области реки Танаис” [Historical and geographical background of the beginning of the Greek reclaiming of the mouth area of the Tanais river], in V. P. Koryulov (ed.), *Древнее Причерноморье* [Ancient Black Sea region], (Odessa: Germes, 2006), pp. 86-94; V. A. Dikarev, “Новые данные об изменении уровня моря на северном побережье Керченского п-ова за последние 5000 лет” [New data on changes in sea level on the Northern coast of the Kerch Peninsula during the last 5000 years], in *Геология, География и Экология Океана* [Geology, geography and ecology of the ocean], (Rostov-on-Don: SSC RAS, 2009), pp. 92-96; Yu. V. Artyukhin, “К геоморфологической интерпретации природных условий античной колонизации вершины таганрогского залива” [To the geomorphological interpretation of the natural conditions of the ancient colonization of the vertices of the Gulf of Taganrog], *Drevnosti Bospora*, 14 (2010), pp. 28-38.

10. Shnyukov, *Geology of the Azov Sea...*; Khrustalev, Shcherbakov, *Late Quaternary sediments of the Azov Sea...*; Matishov, “Seismic profiling and mapping of recent sediments...”; V. V. Polshin, “Донные отложения позднего голоцена Азовского моря” [Late Holocene bottom sediments of the Azov Sea], in *Geology, geography and ecology...* pp. 269-272.

mark of 100 m and then rose to 30 m. Thus a set of new Euxine sediments dated from 18 to 11-8 k. years ago was formed in desalinated sea basin.¹¹ Their thickness does not exceed 10 meters over a larger area of the bottom of the Black Sea and only to the North of the Kerch Strait there is a sharp increase to 30 metres.¹²

The larger part of the Azov Sea during that period was lowland with a flow of the paleo-Don. Besides there are also the outlines of the rivers Salgir, Molochnaya, Kalmius, which flowed into the Don from the North. The ancient Beysug, Yeya and one of the arms of the paleo-Kuban fell on the southern side of the river.¹³ The outlines of these river valleys are smoothed due to the overlying thickness of marine sediments formed during the ancient and the New-Azov stage of the sea development.

Continental sediments of different genetic types became widely spread at that time. They vary from loess-like formations to lacustrine-alluvial and marshy ones. In the North-Western part of the sea alluvial liman sediments with traces of short continental layers in the upper levels had been building up. In the South-Western part there was an accumulation of subaquatic continental sediments, that formed gently sloping alluvial plain. The Western part of the basin was a swampy land where there were deposits of brown clay enriched with organic matter and peat layers containing the fauna of mollusks of freshwater species. In the Gulf of the Taganrog Bay the sediments of the paleo-Don mostly consist of fine-grained quartz sand.¹⁴

In the beginning of the Holocene, approximately 8-9 thousand years ago (*Bugaz stage*) the salt water of the Black Sea began to penetrate the waters of the Azov Sea to the erosional valleys of paleo-rivers and other bottom lows, leading to a gradual salinization of the water. The sea level rise at that time was due to the penetration of more saline Mediterranean waters through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea and their subsequent migration in the Azov Sea

11. V. G. Trifonov, R. V. Trifonov, “Происхождение и экологические последствия фанаторийской регрессии Черного моря” [The origin and ecological consequences of the Phanagorian regression of the Black Sea], *Geoekologia, inzhinernaia geologia, gidrogeologia, geokriologia*, 6 (2006), pp. 509-521.

12. Shnyukov, *Geology of the Azov Sea...* .

13. Panov, Khrustalev, “About the story of the Azov Sea

14. Shnyukov, *Geology of the Azov Sea...* .

basin.¹⁵ The change in the salt composition of water led to a gradual displacement of the New Euxinian desalinated water fauna and an increase of the amount of invasive species of stenohaline.

The low-lying areas of land were gradually flooded by the advancing sea and an accumulation of clay and aleurite-clay silts began. In the South-Eastern, Western and Northern parts of the waters there had been piling up the marine sediments, mainly consisting of shell rock and shell detritus with subordinate amount of mulch. In the Taganrog Bay area the Western part consists of silty sediments, while to the East there are more aleurite ones. In the Central part of the Bay the sand left after the paleo-Don had been accumulating.¹⁶

For a time step corresponding to the Holocene, the maximum rise of the Azov Sea level was observed during the periods from 7 to 4 thousand years ago, and from 2 to 1 thousand years ago. The time interval from 7 to 4 thousand years ago corresponds to the Ancient-Azov stages of Azov and Kalamita and Dzhemetin stages according to the Black Sea stratigraphic scales of L. A. Nevevskaya.¹⁷ The time interval from 2 to 1 thousand years ago refers to the New-Azov time according to the Azov stratigraphic scheme (from 3100 years ago to the present day) and Nymphean stage according to the Black Sea one. These stages correspond to the New Black Sea (the Ancient-Azov) and (the New-Azov) Nymphean transgressions, and are separated by short period of levels fall during the time of the Phanagorian regression (Figure 7.1).

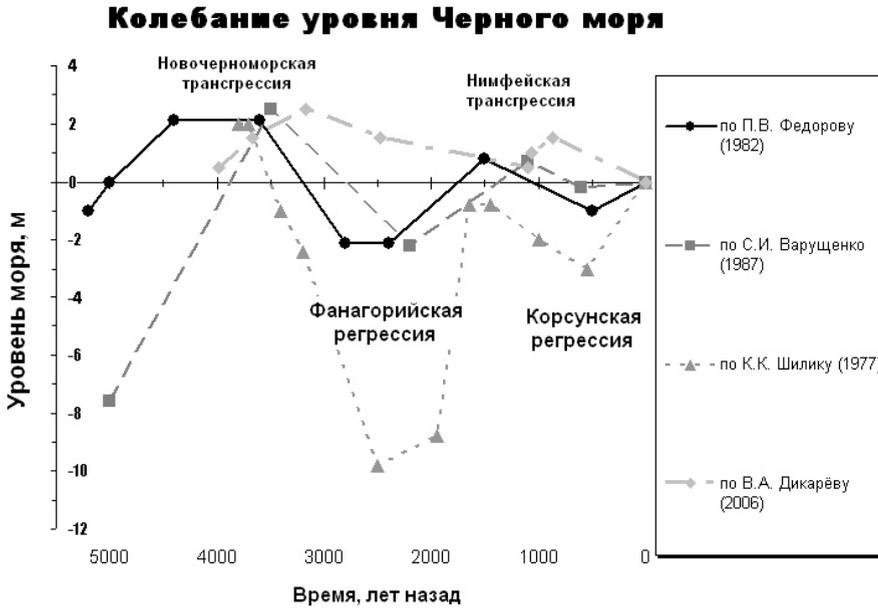
The period of the maximum Azov Sea level rise in the middle of the Holocene corresponds with the Kalamita stage (7 – 5.9 thousand years ago). This time is characterized by a deep sea ingression to the mouth reach of river valleys, which had not been surpassed even in subsequent stages of the Holocene transgression. Thus, for example, the ancient beach barriers that indicate the shoreline at

15. Ibid; Balabanov, Izmailov, “The Black and Azov Seas level... ; Trifonov, Trifonov, “The origin and ecological consequences... .

16. Shnyukov, *Geology of the Azov Sea...* .

17. L. A. Nevevskaya, *Позднечетвертичные двустворчатые моллюски Черного моря, их систематика и экология* [Late Quaternary bivalves of the Black Sea, their systematics and ecology] (Moscow: Nauka, 1965).

Figure 7.1 The sea level change in the Azov-Black Sea basin during the Holocene



Source: V. A. Dikarev, “Новые данные об изменении уровня моря на северном побережье Керченского п-ова за последние 5000 лет” [New data on changes in sea level on the Northern coast of the Kerch Peninsula during the last 5000 years], in *Геология, География и Экология Океана* [Geology, geography and ecology of the ocean] (Rostov-on-Don: SSC RAS, 2009), pp. 92-96;

that time were found at a distance of about 40 km from the modern shore of the Azov Sea.¹⁸

The data of the study of the bottom cores, taken by the SSC RAS employees from the Azov Sea allow us to say that lithological composition of the Ancient-Azov sediments differs from the New-Azov ones in fractional composition, that they are coarser. This fact may indicate that the sediments were formed in more shallow waters.¹⁹

18. Balabanov, Izmailov, “The Black and Azov Seas level... .

19. V. V. Polshin, “Гранулометрический и минералогический состав современных донных отложений Азовского моря” [Granulometric and mineralogical composition of the modern bottom sediments of the Azov Sea.], in Gennady G.

They are notable for the increase of the content of shell, aleurite and sand. Thus, the lower part of the core presented consists of sediments of the confirmed Ancient-Azov age (6480±120; 4680±110) and is represented by silted shell with the clay silt layers. There are silty fine sands mixed with shells and aleurite silts sandy fraction (Figure 7.2) in the composition of the sediments of the same age (5900±140) taken out with coring device to the east of Zhelezinskaya bank. Among the benthic species living in the sea about 6000 years ago, mytiloids (*Mytilus galloprovincialis*) and biocenosis of the rich Mediterranean fauna (*Chamelea gallina*, *Gastrana fragilis*, *Paphia aurea*, etc.) dominated, living in waters with salinity of not less than 15-18 ‰.

The beginning of the Dzhemetin stage (6-2.6 thousand years ago) coincides with the climatic optimum of the Holocene.²⁰ Basically the sea level fluctuated during this stage. In the Dzhemetin stage there were two sub-stages separated by a considerable regression of 4-4.2 k years that was registered due to a big amount of fossil peat in different parts of the Caucasian seacoast.²¹

The results of the diatom analysis carried out by the employees of SSC RAS can also indicate the unstable sea level of the Azov Sea during that time. A permanent presence of dinophytes algae spores (Dinophyta) and spores of diatoms of the *Chaetoceros* in the layers of the selected cores may indicate a sea-level rise. And the presence of *Actinocyclus octonarius* Ehr. shells indicates the sea level at that time.²²

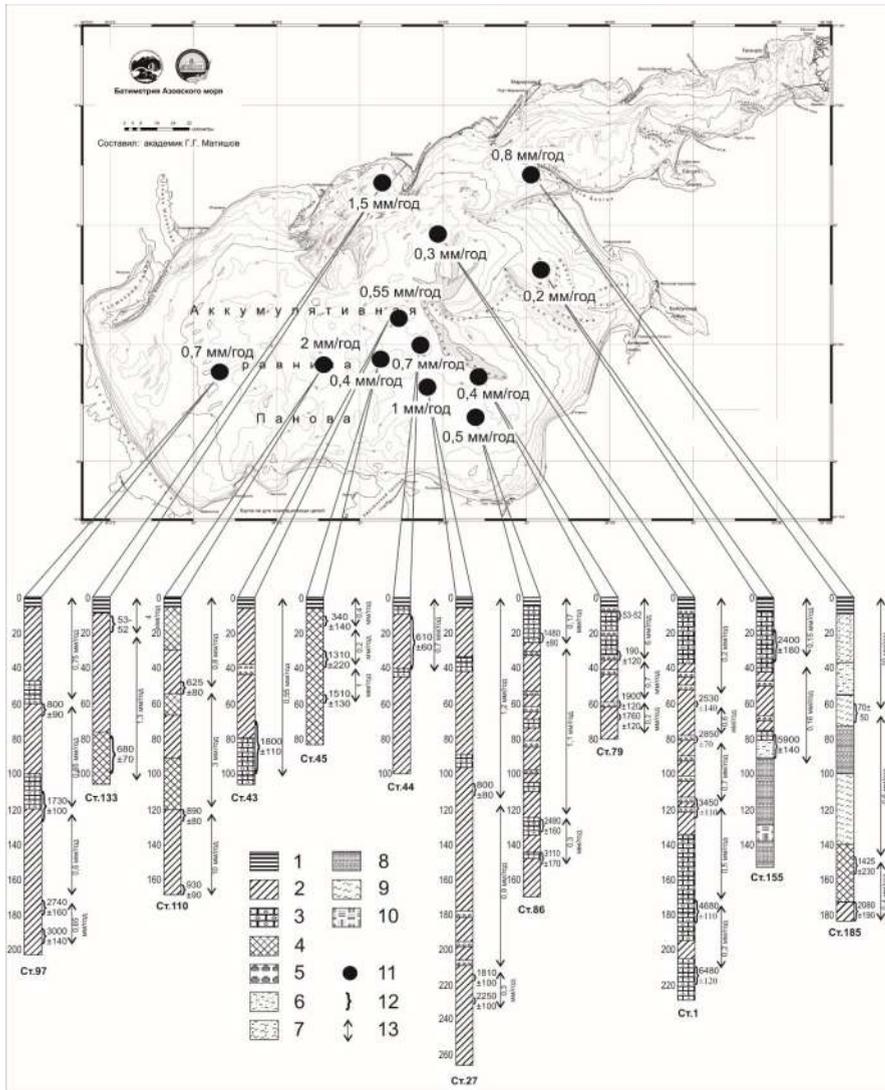
Matishov (ed.), *Экосистемные исследования среды и биоты азовского бассейна* [Ecosystem studies of the environment and biota of the Azov basin] (Rostov-on-Don: SSC RAS, 2012), pp. 90-103.

20. Yu. V., Gorlov, A. V. Porotov, “Изменения уровня Черно-го моря в позднем голоцене по материалам геоморфологических и археологических исследований” [The changes of Black Sea level in the late Holocene according to the materials of geomorphological and archaeological research], *Problemy istorii, filologii, kultury*, 6 (1998), pp. 94-101.

21. Balabanov, Izmailov, “The Black and Azov Seas level... ; Ya. A. Izmailov, *Эволюционная география побережий Азовского и Чёрного морей*. Книга 1: *Анапская пересыпь* [Evolutionary geography of the coasts of the Azov and Black Seas. Book 1. The Anapa bar] (Sochi, 2005).

22. G. V. Kovaleva, Ya. A. Izmailov, A. E. Zolotareva, “Диадомовые водоросли из позднеголоценовых отложений Азовского моря, как индикаторы колебаний уровня водоема” [Diatoms from the Late Holocene sediments of the Azov Sea as indicators of the level fluctuations], *Vestnik SSC RAS*, 11:1 (2015), pp. 53-62.

Figure 7.2 Lithological characteristics of the Azov Sea sediments of Ancient and New Azov age with an absolute age dating



Legend: 1 – clayey mud, 2 – silty shelly ground, 3 – shelly ground; 4 – highly calcium hydrated silty shelly ground; 5 – shell rock and detritus; 6 – silty fine sand; 7 – sandy aleurite clay silt; 8 – sand-clay fine aleurite silt, 9 – aleurite-clay silt, 10 – sandy aleurite; 11 – sample station, 12 – the interval of collection of samples with an age dating, 13 – average sedimentation rate for a certain stage.

The Azov Sea level rise was especially evident in the modern Kuban delta area. Here the beach barriers of Dzhemetin age are found at a distance of 35 km from the modern shoreline.²³ Apparently, the ingress of the sea was observed in the estuarine part of the river Don. The composition of the sediments of the transgressive phases that ranged from 4.5 to 4 thousand years ago, is indicated by the sediments that consist of grey clays with a high content of molluscs shells.²⁴

The spore-pollen sediments formed from 3000 to 2500 years ago (it is the end of the Dzhemetin age according to the Black Sea stratigraphic scale and the end of the New-Azov age according to the Azov Sea one) indicate the predominance of humid conditions during that time.²⁵ About 2500 years ago the hydrological regime of the sea basin began to change gradually. In scientific literature this phase is called “Phanagorian regression” and it roughly lasted from 2700 to 2400 years ago.²⁶ According to K. K. Shilik the regression started 3000 years ago.²⁷

According to the most popular scientific point of view the off-

23. Ya. A. Izmailov, H. A. Arslanov, T. V. Tertychnaya, S. V. Chernov, “Реконструкция и датирование голоценовых береговых линий в дельте Кубани (Восточное Азово-Черноморье”, *Vestnik LGU*, 6:7 (1989), pp. 61-69; Izmailov, “Evolutionary geography of the coasts of the Azov...; Ya. A. Izmailov, “Позднеголоценовые морские береговые валы в дельте реки Кубани” [Late Holocene sea coastal bars in the Delta of the Kuban river], in A. A. Svitoch (ed.), *Черноморский регион в условиях глобальных изменений климата: закономерности развития природной среды за последние 20 тыс. лет и прогноз на текущее столетие* [The Black Sea region in the context of global climate change: development trends of the natural environment over the last 20 thousand years and the prognosis for the current century] (Moscow: Geograficheskii fakultet MGU, 2010), pp. 71-78.

24. A.V. Zaitsev, G.V. Zelenshnikov, “Голоцен дельты Дона” [The Don delta during the Holocene], in *Geology, geography and ecology...* .

25. Gennady G. Matishov, E. Yu. Novenko, “Палинологические исследования донных отложений Азовского моря” [Palynological studies of bottom sediments of the Azov Sea], in Gennady G. Matishov (ed.), *Азовское море в конце XX начале XXI веков: геоморфология, осадконакопление, пелагические сообщества* [Azov Sea in the late 20th – early 21st centuries: geomorphology, sedimentation, pelagic communities] (Apatites: KSC RAS, 2008), pp. 112-133; G. G. Matishov, E. Yu. Novenko, K. V. Krasnorutskaya, “Landscape dynamics of the Azov Sea coast in late Holocene”, *SSC vestnik*, 7:3 (2011), pp. 35-43.

26. Balabanov, Izmailov, “The Black and Azov Seas level... .

27. Shilik, “Changes of Black Sea level..., p. 158-163.

shore zone decreased and the sea level fell beyond the modern one during that period.²⁸ There was a chain of islands separating the Black and the Azov Seas on the territory of the modern Taman Peninsula. In Eastern and South-Eastern part of the Azov Sea there was an accumulation of silt of liman-lagoon type in an intensive income of terrigenous material from the Kuban river.²⁹

The degree of the fall is still disputable. According to the available geological data (the depth of coastal-lagoon peat formation) obtained on the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea it is amounted to 2-3 meters compared to the modern level.³⁰ According to P.V. Fedorov the Black Sea level was lower than the modern one by about 4-10 meters.³¹ According to Balabanov and Izmailov³² the sea level was 4-6 meters below the modern level. According to V.P. Kopylov and V.G. Rylov in the eastern part of the modern Taganrog Bay the decrease reached 5-5.5 meters at the peak of regression.³³

The results of acoustic studies of the bottom of the Taganrog Bay conducted by SSC RAS employees in 2006 and 2011 may be the indirect evidence of the sea level drop during the Phanagorian period.³⁴ *The erosion surface was registered during the bay physiography*

28. Matishov, "Seismic profiling and mapping ...", pp. 32-40; E. G. Maev, V. I. Myslivets, A. S. Zverev, "К истории развития Таганрогского залива" [To the history of the development of the Gulf of Taganrog], in *Геология морей и океанов: Материалы XVII Международной научной конференции (Школы) по морской геологии. Т. IV.* [Geology of seas and oceans: Materials of XVII International scientific conference (School) on marine Geology. T. IV.] (Moscow: GEOS, 2007), pp. 133-135; Artyukhin, "To the geomorphological interpretation ...", pp. 28-38; Panov, Khrustalev, "About the story of the Azov Sea ..."; Shnyukov, *Geology of the Azov Sea...*; Balabanov, Izmailov, "The Black and Azov Seas level...".

29. Khrustalev, Shcherbakov, *Late Quaternary sediments of the Azov Sea...*;

30. Gorlov, Porotov, "The changes of Black Sea level ...", pp. 94-101.

31. Fedorov, "Postglacial transgression of the Black Sea ...", pp. 151-156.

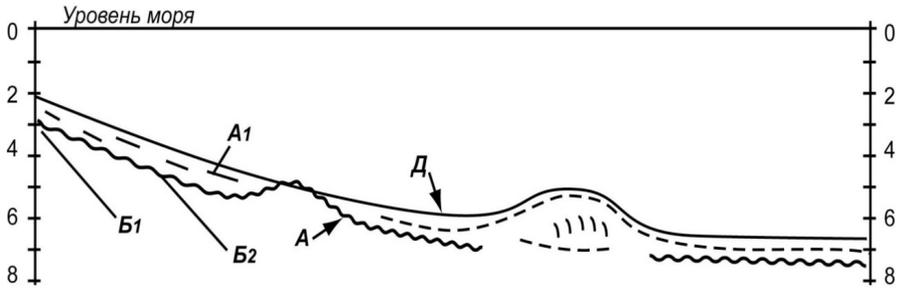
32. Balabanov, Izmailov, "The Black and Azov Seas level...".

33. Kopylov, Rylov, "Historical and geographical background ...", pp. 86-94;

34. Matishov, "Seismic profiling and mapping of recent sediments..."; Gennady G. Matishov, V. V. Polshin, M. A. Boldyrev, V. I. Myslivets, E. G. Maev, A. S. Zverev, "Новые представления о голоценовых отложениях шельфа Азовского моря (по данным картирования и сейсмопрофилирования дна)" [New views on the Holocene sediments of the Azov Sea shelf (according to mapping and seismic profiling of the bottom)], in *Экосистемные исследования Азовского, Черного, Каспийского*

study. It was formed in subaerial environment and buried under the layer of new (New-Azov) sediments that were after due to the sea transgression. The depth of this surface, its thickness and structure of the top layer suggests that it is relatively young (Phanagorian age) (Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3. Composite seismologic lithologic profile of the Taganrog Bay



Source: Gennady G. Matishov, “Сейсмопрофилирование и картирование новейших отложений дна азовского моря” [Seismic profiling and mapping of recent sediments at the bottom of the Azov Sea], SSC RAS Vestnik, 3:3, (2007), pp. 32-40. Legend: D – the sea bottom surface; A – the erosion surface of the Phanagorian regression; A1 – upper formations of the post-Phanagorian age; B1 – surface layers of placer bedrock of the bay bottom; B2 – surface of denudation elements of an submarine near-shore slope of the ancient bay (presumably).

The boundary between the placer bedrock layers and overlying modern sediments is at different depths and is better seen in the coastal area under the accumulative debris and in areas of river influx. The denudation surface relief is smoothed out and the thickness of the overlying layer of marine sediments increases to 2 metres or more, according to the bottom acoustic study.

морей и их побережий [Ecosystem studies of the Azov, Black, Caspian seas and their coasts. Vol. IX] (Apatites: KSC RAS, 2007), pp. 42-50. V. V. Polshin, S. P. Tarasov, G. V. Soldatov, P. P. Pivnev, “Результаты сейсмоакустического профилирования дна таганрогского залива Азовского моря” [The Results of acoustic profiling of the bottom of the Gulf of Taganrog of the Azov Sea], in *Фундаментальные проблемы квартера, итоги изучения и основные направления дальнейших исследований* [Fundamental problems of Quaternary period, results of the study and the directions for further research] (Rostov-on-Don: SSC RAS, 2013), pp. 524-527.

A big amount of halophilic gastropods shells (Gastropoda, mainly *Rissoa*, *Retusa*, *Ebala* genera) show a slight sea level fall, as they live among macrophyte of shallow lagoons and seagrass. Saline water lagoons of this kind, with mollusk fauna of relic type can be found at the peripheral area (the Utliuk and Molochnyi limans, the Taman Bay).³⁵ According to the diatom analysis there are a lot of *A. octonarius* shells in the bottom cores aged $3110 \pm 170 - 1900 \pm 120$ years. It can also prove the regression during that time because of the ecology features of this species.³⁶

Despite the area and depth reduction, during its regressive stage the Azov Sea was a basin with the Black Sea mollusk fauna and salinity no less than 8‰ according to the diatom analysis of the shells from the bottom cores (aged 2400 ± 180 , 2450 ± 130 , 2300 ± 120 years). This is indicated by the presence of a great variety of Mediterranean species in the sediments of that time. *Cerastoderma glaucum*, *Abra segmentum*, *Abra nitida* and *Mytilus galloprovincialis* dominated among them.³⁷ The higher salinity during that period can be explained by the straits between the Azov and Black Seas and an intensive sea waters inflow.³⁸

Thus we can say that 2700-2300 years ago there was at least a basin with a well-developed mollusk fauna of the Mediterranean type in the eastern and central parts of the modern sea – from the Temryuk Bay in the South and the distal zone of the Belosaraiskaya sandbar in the North.

Numerous archaeological studies are one of the main sources of information about level changes in the Black and Azov Seas during

35. M. V. Nabozhenko, “Реконструкция и динамика таксоценоза двустворчатых моллюсков (mollusca: bivalvia) азовского моря в позднем голоцене в связи с изменением солености” [Reconstruction and dynamics of bivalves taxocenosis (*Mollusca: Bivalvia*) in the Azov Sea in late Holocene due to changes in salinity], *Trudy Zoologicheskogo instituta RAN*, 3 (2013), pp. 182-191.

36. Kovaleva, Izmailov, Zolotareva, “Diatoms from the Late Holocene ... pp. 53-62.

37. Nabozhenko, “Reconstruction and dynamics ..., pp. 182-191.

38. H. Brückner, D. Kelterbaum, O. Marunchak, A. Porotov and A. Vött, “The Holocene is sea level story since 7500 BP – Lessons from the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black and the Azov Seas”, *Quaternary International*, 225 (2010), pp. 160-179.

the Phanagorian regression.³⁹ It is explained by the fact that there was an active Greek colonization of the northern part of the Black Sea region and the western part of Northern Azov. So the landscape of that time should be taken into consideration because of this fact.

It is obvious that the sea level fall created good conditions for settling in the coastal area that was not fit for human habitation before. Big ancient cities such as Olbia, Tyras, Chersonesos, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria and Dioskuria appeared during that period. Now their ruins are partially or completely flooded.⁴⁰ Further to the East in the second half – end of 7th century BC to the third quarter of 6th century BC on the coast of the Taganrog Bay there was a Greek colony, known as the Tanais settlement. There were dozens of encampments and settlements in the Don delta. And their administrative centre was Elizavetovskoe settlement.⁴¹ Many of the settlements were located on the sand dunes. The nature of the finds suggests that the local population was mainly engaged in fishing.⁴² At the beginning of the 5th century BC, a nomads' cemetery and a large permanent winter road appeared in the Don delta. Gradually,

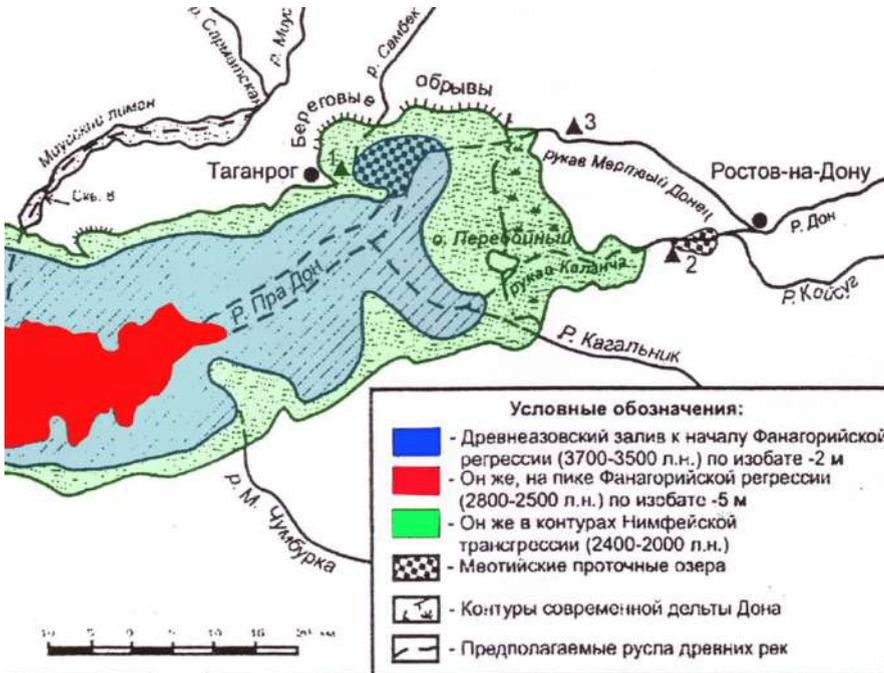
39. М. А. Миллер, “Обследование памятников материальной культуры северного побережья Азовского моря” [The coast of the Azov Sea artifacts examination], *Vyulleten Severo-Kavkazskogo kraevogo Vyuro kraevedeniya*, (1927), pp. 81-85; V. D. Blavatsky, “Работы подводной Азово-Черноморской экспедиции 1960 г.” [Work of underwater Azov – Black Sea expedition in 1960], *Sovetskaia archeologia*, 4 (1961), pp. 148-157; N. Blagovolin, A. N. Shcheglov, “Колебания уровня Черного моря в историческое время по данным археолого-геоморфологических исследований в Юго-Западном Крыму” [Level fluctuations of the Black Sea in historical times according to archaeological and geomorphological research in South-Western Crimea], *Izvestiia AN SSSR*, 2:195a (1968), pp. 49-58; Gorlov, Porotov, “The changes of Black Sea level ... pp. 94-101; Kopylov, Rylov, “Historical and geographical background ... pp. 86-94; Artyukhin, “To the geomorphological interpretation ..., pp. 28-38;

40. Gorlov, Porotov, “The changes of Black Sea level ... pp. 94-101;

41. I. V. Brashinskiy, K. K. Marchenko, “Елизаветинское городище на Дону – поселение городского типа”, *Sovetskaia archeologia*, 1 (1980); K. K. Marchenko, V. G. Zhitnikov, V. P. Kopylov, *Елизаветовское городище на Дону* [Elizavetovskoe settlement on the Don] (Moscow: IA RAN, 2000); Kopylov, Rylov, “Historical and geographical background ..., pp. 86-94;

42. K. K. Marchenko, V. G. Zhitnikov, E. V. Yakovenko, “Елизаветовское городище греко-варварское торжище в дельте Дона” [Elizavetovskoe settlement – Greco-barbarous market place in the Don delta], *Sovetskaia archeologia*, 3 (1988), pp. 63-79.

Map 7.2 Paleogeographic reconstruction of the shoreline of the top of the Taganrog Bay during the Late-Holocene



Палеогеографическая реконструкция береговой линии вершины Таганрогского залива и места греческих поселений: 1 - Таганрогское поселение; 2 - Елизаветовское городище; 3 - Танаис

Source: V. P. Korylov, V. G. Rylov, “Историко-географические предпосылки начала освоения греками устьевой области реки Танаис” [Historical and geographical background of the beginning of the Greek reclaiming of the mouth area of the Tanais river], in V. P. Korylov (ed.), *Древнее Причерноморье* [Ancient Black Sea region], (Odessa: Germes, 2006), pp. 86-94;

however, the steppes around the Don delta nomadic burials decreased, and a sort of desolation came to the Lower Don steppes.⁴³

43. V. G. Zhitnikov, “Политическая и демографическая ситуация конца VI–нач. V в. до н.э. на Нижнем Дону и возникновение Елизаветовского поселения” [Political and demographic situation of the late 6th – early 5th century BC in the Lower Don and the Elizavetovskoe settlement’s appearance], *Античная цивилизация и варварский мир в Подонье -Приазовье*. [Ancient civilization and

According to V. P. Kopylov and V. G. Rylov a short Azov Sea reliction caused the formation of land of about 1500 km in the Eastern part of the Taganrog Bay. In the drained area there was a system of open lakes. The paleo-Don flowed through them into the sea to the West of the present location of Taganrog (Map 7.2). At the base of the Taganrog Cape on a low terrace on the shore of a freshwater lake there was an ancient Greek settlement.⁴⁴

Yu. V. Artyukhin has a slightly different point of view. He has analysed the drilling results of Yu. Zilov, an engineer (1913). So he considers that at the place of the modern Don delta and the part of the Taganrog Bay adjoining it during the period between Dzhemettin (4-5 thousand years ago) and Nymphean ages (about 2 – 1.5 million years ago) there was a ridge-and-runnel water track system, that was separated by a series of islands. These tunnels were full of silty sediments with thickness from 2 to 4 m. Most probably they were formed by a streamflow that scoured epicore sediments of the paleo-Don (Figure 7.4).⁴⁵

Despite the differences in the paleogeographic reconstructions schemes presented above, their authors agree on the existence of large areas of land theoretically suitable for settlement at the place of the modern Taganrog Bay (Eastern part) bordering the Don delta.

The spore-pollen spectra analysis of the cores selected from the Azov Sea showed that 2800-2500 years ago there was the forest area extension on the coastal territories and floodplains of large rivers. It consisted of oak, elm, linden and alder. Average January temperatures ranged from -8 to -11°C, average July temperature was in the range of 18-20°C. The average annual temperature was also lower than the present one on about 4-6°C. The average annual rainfall remained within the 400-500 mm, that in conditions of a considerable cooling led to significant humifying of the area by reducing evaporation.

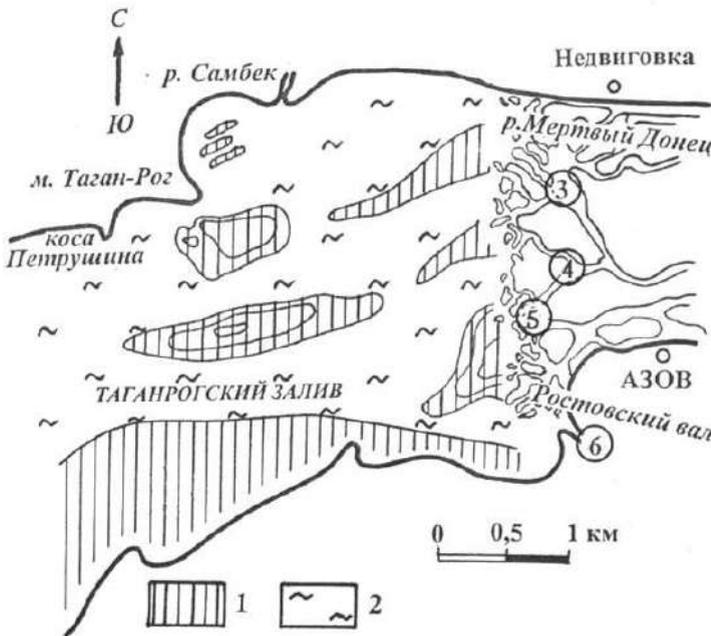
Climate change towards aridity is seen due to the study of spore-pol-

barbarian world in the Don region – Pryazovia] (Novocherkassk, 1987), pp. 12-14; Ibid, “К проблеме возникновения Елизаветовского городища в дельте Дона” [To the problem of the appearing of the Elizavetovskoe settlement in the delta of the Don], *Sovetskaia archeologia*, 1 (1997), pp. 50-59.

44. Kopylov, Rylov, “Historical and geographical background ...”, pp. 86-94.

45. Artyukhin, “To the geomorphological interpretation ...”, pp. 28-38;

Figure 7.4. The arrangement of paleo-islands at the top of the Taganrog Bay, revealed by drilling



Source: Yu. V. Artyukhin, “К геоморфологической интерпретации природных условий античной колонизации вершины таганрогского залива” [To the geomorphological interpretation of the natural conditions of the ancient colonization of the vertices of the Taganrog Bay], *Drevnosti Bospora*, 14 (2010), pp. 28-38.

Legend: 1 – islands, exposed on the bottom or covered with a thin layer of silt, broad abrasion terrace in the southern part of the summit; 2 - erosion of a trough-runnels filled with silts. The numbers in circles indicate the arms: 3 - Kuterma; 4 - Mokraya Kalancha; 5 - Merinovi; 6 - Kagalnik river

len spectra of bottom sediments formed 2500 years ago. According to palynological analysis warm dry conditions prevailed in coastal areas 2500-2000 years ago. The predominant type of vegetation was motley-grass and absinthic-Chenopodiaceae steppes. Solonchak biocoenosis combined with halophytic ground were in the saline lowlands.⁴⁶

46. Gennady G. Matishov, E. Yu. Novenko, K. V. Krasnorutskaya, “Landscape dynamics of the Azov Sea coast in late Holocene”, *SSC vestnik*, 7:3 (2011), pp. 35-43; Ibid, “Climate change in Pryazovia in the late Holocene”, *Reports of the Academy*

About 2300 years ago the sea level started to rise again. This period coincides with the Nymphaean transgression and an accumulation of sediments of the New-Azov age. According to some data the sea-level rise at the peak of the transgression could reach + 0,5 – 2 m, but was not likely to exceed + 1 m relative to the modern level.⁴⁷ The results of archeological researches in the Azov-Black Sea basin indicated that the cultural layers of Olbia, Tyra, Phanagoria dating back to the second half of the first Millennium BC are located at a depth of 3-4 metres, and the ones of Dioscuri – at the depth of 10 metres.⁴⁸

At that time, the contours of the Don delta began to change gradually. The groundwater level had risen, which ultimately could lead to habitable areas flooding and to the migration of population in the 3rd century BC to the higher parts of the bank. It was during that period when the city of Tanais was founded by Bosphorus Greeks on the high right bank of the Mertviy Donets, a tributary of the Don. The city became an important economic centre and the second important bazaar after Panticapaeum, the capital of Bosphorus. Later, in the first century AD, the settlements of the Tanais district at the lower reaches of the Don were located mostly around the edges of the delta in the upland areas of the valley wall. There are several findspots of ceramics of the first centuries AD on the territory of the delta.

The area of the Azov Sea increased at the peak of the Nymphaean transgression (5th century AD). Large parts of the regions near the shore became flooded and the delta of the Don moved eastern of its modern position.⁴⁹ However the sea ingression to the modern Don delta area was relatively short both in time and distance. This scenario may be proved by the results of the core study of the samples taken by the SSC RAS researchers from different parts of the Don delta and the Taganrog Bay littoral zone. The mollusk shells of *Cerastoderma glaucum* and *Hydrobia acuta* in particular, live in the water with salinity of no less than 7‰ (Figure 7.5).

of Sciences, 444:3 (2012), pp. 320-324.

47. P. V. Fedorov, *Pleistocene Of The Ponto-Caspian Region*, (Moscow: 1978), p. 166; Fedorov, "Postglacial transgression of the Black Sea ...", pp. 151-156; Trifonov, Trifonov, "The origin and ecological consequences...".

48. Gorlov, Porotov, "The changes of Black Sea level ...", pp. 94-101;

49. Zaitsev, Zelenshnikov, *The Don delta ...*; Matishov, Novenko, Krasnorutskaya, "Climate change in Pryazovia ...", pp. 320-324.

Figure 7.5 The scheme of the well bores location in the Don delta and the littoral zone of the Taganrog Bay



1 – Novomargaritovo village; 2 – Chumbur-Kosa; 3 – Beglitskaya kosa; 4 – interfluvial area between the Azovka river and the Don river (the Don delta); 5 – Zaimo-Obryv village.

If we talk about the whole Nymphaean stage of the Azov Sea development, we should note that the sea-level increase during that time was not unidirectional and consisted of 2-3 phases of low-amplitude separated by the regressions of this kind. These phases are reflected in the respective generations of coastal – marine bars, common in the coastal areas of the Azov-Black Sea basin at different distances from the modern coastline.⁵⁰ The sediments of the Nymphaean stage in the Don delta (the New Azov sediments) are represented by the sands enriched with mollusk fauna (up to 30%) overlaid by clay sand and loam.⁵¹

The rhythmic character of the New Azov sediments also indicates the recurrent sea-level change. There is an alteration of layers

50. Balabanov, Izmailov, "The Black and Azov Seas level... .

51. Zaitsev, Zelenshnikov, *The Don delta*

with a big amount of *Actinocyclus octonarius* Ehr., *Actinoptychus senarius* (Ehr) Ehr. shells and diatom spores of *Chaetoceros*. The dominance of *A. octonarius* and *A. Senarius* correlates with the water level fall ($800 \pm 90 - 600 \pm 60$ years ago), and *Chaetoceros* sp. coincides with the water level rise ($1730 \pm 100 - 1310 \pm 200$ years ago).⁵²

Lithodynamic development and sedimentogenesis of the Azov Sea in the New Azov time were largely determined by the heterogeneity and the roughness of the bottom.⁵³ Shelly ground and inequigranular organogenous-detrital sand were accumulating at the tops of ridges and bars, on their slopes – organogenous-detrital sand – and their bases were silty shell rock and slime of different granulometric composition. At the central part of the sea, clay and aleurite-clay silts with a rhythmic alternation with thin layers of shell accumulated. According to our data, closer to the coast, the content of shelly material, aleurite and sand in marine sediments of New-Azov age increases. That is obviously due to the intensification of hydrodynamic processes in this area and the general transverse motion of sediments directed from the centre of the sea to its coastal area.

The sea salinity gradually decreased. Benthic communities with stenohaline *Bivalvia* dominance were followed by the communities with euryhaline species. This is well illustrated by the species composition of the mollusk fauna from the sediments formed ~1700 years ago.⁵⁴ Palaeoclimatic reconstructions based on palynological data showed that the average January temperature 1800-1500 years ago was on the average $-(5-8)^{\circ}\text{C}$, July temperature was $20-22^{\circ}\text{C}$. The average annual temperature fluctuated quite heavily and was often in the range of $4-6^{\circ}\text{C}$. The average annual amount of rainfall reached 800 mm that is 100-200 mm higher than the modern one. The spore – pollen spectra of the studied sediment cores of the New-Azov age was characterized by a high content of spores and pollen of alder and birch. That can be an indicator of the floodplain forests development in the valleys of the Don and Kuban rivers. The increase of oak, horn beech and nut tree pollen in the sediments may indicate

52. Kovaleva, Izmailov, Zolotareva, “Diatoms from the Late Holocene, pp. 53-62.

53. Matishov, Polshin, Shokhin, “The influence of the geomorphological, pp. 14-20.

54. Nabozhenko, “Reconstruction and dynamics, pp. 182-191.

the expansion of broad-leaved oak and oak-horn beech forests.⁵⁵

There, a late medieval regressive phase corresponding to the period of cooling in the Little Ice Age may be separated from the Nymphean stage of the Azov Sea development. It lasted from the 16th to the 19th century.⁵⁶ A number of severe winters in that period gradually increased reaching the maximum in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁵⁷ The strong fall in sea level was in the 13th and 17th centuries, forcing the Ottomans to transship the goods from large ships which could not sail in the Taganrog Bay onto light sailing crafts.⁵⁸

According to the data of the dendrological studies conducted in the Caucasus there are 4 cold extreme phenomena for that period during which there were snow line lowering and the glaciers thickness increases. They date back to 1577, 1635, 1789, and 1878. This process could affect the water content of influent rivers of the Azov and the Black Seas.⁵⁹

According to the data of spore-pollen analysis there were noticeable changes in vegetation cover at that time (650-150 years ago). A sharp increase of tree pollen in the spectra probably reflects the expansion of the riparian forests area in the valley of the Don and its tributaries and the ravine forests development in the Pryazovia. According to estimates, this interval was characterized by significant cooling. January temperature fell to -11°C and in July it was in the range of 18°C. The average annual temperature dropped to 4-6°C. The rainfall was 500-600 mm/year. Climatic and landscape reconstruction, as well as the results of the diatomic analysis of the New-Azov sediments formed over the past 150 years reflect the

55. Matishov, Novenko, Krasnorutskaya, “Climate change in Pryazovia”, pp. 320-324.

56. Balabanov, Izmailov, “The Black and Azov Seas level... ; Gorlov, Porotov, “The changes of Black Sea level ...”, pp. 94-101;

57. E. P. Borisenkov, V. M. Pasetky, *Экстремальные природные явления в русских летописях XI-XVII вв* [Extreme natural phenomena in Russian Chronicles of the XI-XVII centuries] (Leningrad: Gidrometeoizdat, 1983).

58. E. Chelebi, *Travel book*, Vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1979); Artyukhin, “To the geomorphological interpretation ...”, pp. 28-38.

59. E. V. Maksimov, N. N. Maksimova, “Дендрохронологические аспекты внутривековой изменчивости горных ледников” [Dendrochronological aspects of the interdecadal variability of mountain glaciers], *Izv.VGO*, 6 (1971).

conditions close to the modern era and show a slight rise in sea level following the fall correlated with the Little Ice Age.⁶⁰

It should be noted that the rate of sedimentation during the Ancient and the New Azov stages varied within a wide range and the Holocene (that lasted 6,000 years) average according to our data was in the range of 0.2 to 2 mm/year. The peaks of the sedimentation rate are correlated with the Nymphaean stage of the basin development (Figure 7.2).

The minimums of sedimentation rate are in the zones of transit and a low accumulation of sedimentary material. They coincide with the directions of the main sea currents. Geomorphologically these zones are associated with the abrasion and accumulative – abrasion plains. Maximums of sedimentation rate are characteristic of the central and southern parts of the sea, which is the main accumulation zone. It coincides with the maximum depths. The high values of the sedimentary material accumulation velocity at the present stage to a few mm/year in some coastal areas (article 133, 185) can be explained by the morphological peculiarities of the bottom topography that prevents movement of sediment to the lower bathymetric levels and by the solid flow of big rivers that flow into the Azov Sea.

The latest tectonic movements can also influence the sediments distribution. Thus, the speed of sedimentation is much higher in areas of stable downwarping in the Holocene, which in structural terms corresponds to the Indolo-Kuban downfold. The bottom areas characterized by an intensification of upward movements during the New-Azov period have the much lower speed of sedimentation or erosion processes in the original substrate of the bottom.

The results of the studies above show that during the Holocene the level of the Azov Sea fluctuated repeatedly during the general transgression that correlates with the changes of the Black Sea level and the migration of the population to the region. Tectonic movements and climate changes, which, judging by the results of biostratigraphic research, were frequent, had a great influence on a relief-forming processes and sediment genesis.

(The study was supported by the Russian Science Foundation, Project No. 16-17-10170.)

60. Matishov, Novenko, Krasnorutskaya, "Climate change in Pryazovia ..., pp. 320-324.

Part 3

Around and about the Sea

8.

Taganrog: Greek entrepreneurship in the Russian frontier of international trade¹

Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis

Taganrog, known as Peter's forepost, was the first most important Black Sea port of the Russian Empire in the 18th century; it was formed and developed before Odessa. It remained the main port of the northeastern coast, the main export gateway of the vast hinterland that stretched in the Don, and the lower and middle Volga plains. It got its name from the horn-like shape² peninsula that dominates on a cliff the shallow sea at the edge of the Azov Sea (picture 8.1). The port-city in a way resembled an island: on three sides was the Azov Sea and behind the steppe, endless like the sea.

It is no exaggeration that this city was characterized as a “Greek” city, or even “a Greek kingdom”, nicknames given by both Russian historians and writers,³ due to the importance of the Greek commer-

1. A longer version of this article has been published in Evrydiki Sifneos and 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); for the period before 1830 see Sifneos and Harlaftis, “Entrepreneurship at the Russian Frontier ...”, pp. 157-180.

2. Taganrog, namely, the horn of buffalo.

3. For the Greeks in Chekhov see Marina T. Larionovna, “Greece and Greeks in the works of Anton Pavlovits Chekhov” in Sifneos and Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...*, pp. 201-212; Gelina Harlaftis, “Противостояние с правительством России: Мари Вальяно, крупные греческие торговцы зерном и судебное разбирательство дела о Таганрогской таможи в 1885-1886 гг [Confronting the Russian Government: Mari Vagliano, the Greek Big Merchants and the Court Case of the Taganrog Customs 1885-1886]” in *Грецьке підприємництво і торгівля у Північному Причорномор'ї XVIII-XIX ст. Збірник наукових статей*, (Kiev: Institute of Ukrainian History, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2012). The novelist Vasili Sleptsev refers

cial and maritime community that thrived in the city. In this utmost geographical location of international trade which developed on the basis of Russian imperial and colonial plans of expansion to the south, Greeks supported the Russian policy in its strategic choice to open up to the Mediterranean and to create a new economic zone in the south engaged in grain trade.⁴ Greeks brought capital and entrepreneurial expertise in trade and shipping and their networks, contributed decisively to the economic integration of the area to the global economy. Although in Taganrog the Greek population was less compared to that of Odessa,⁵ it formed a solid ethno-cultural group⁶ that exhibited a remarkable dynamism. Greeks of Taganrog proved to be the prime traders of the city defining its economy; they run administrative posts in the city's institutions and public collectivities; and marked with their bequests and legacies the physiognomy of the city.

In this chapter we attempt to bring out the role of Greek entrepreneurship in the history of the development of the port-city of Taganrog. The aim is to identify Greek entrepreneurs and to indicate how they linked the port-city, and ultimately the whole area, to the international market. As will be indicated the connection of South Russian grain market with the Mediterranean and Northern Europe was, partly, a Greek entrepreneurial achievement. To this end the chapter consists of five sections. The first analyzes the reasons for which the Russian policy supported the attraction of Greeks in Taganrog and the settlement of the Greeks in town. The second section

on the importance of Greeks of Taganrog, see Ala A. Chymbal, "Greeks as Urban Perfects of Taganrog", in Sifneos and Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...*, pp. 181-200.

4. For the opening of Russia on the south see Robert E. Jones, "Opening a Window on the South: Russia and the Black Sea, 1695-1792", in Lindsey Hughes & Maria 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. 123-130.

5. In the first official all-Russian census 1,066 Greeks were registered in Taganrog and 5,086 in Odessa. For an analysis of census data see E. Sifneos and S. Paradeisopoulos, "Οι Έλληνες της Οδησσού το 1897: διαβάζοντας την πρώτη επίσημη ρωσική απογραφή" [The Greeks of Odessa in 1897: reading the first official Russian census], *Historica*, 44 (June 2006), pp. 81-122.

6. Criteria for identifying the Greek presence in the area are the Greek surnames and the respondents' statement that their native language was Greek. Greeks had Greek, Turkish or Russian citizenship. See also Sifneos and Paradeisopoulos, "Greeks of Odessa in 1897,

Picture 8.1 The Shallow Waters of the port of Taganrog, 1828



analyses the overall external trade and shipping of Taganrog and its importance in the Azov Sea from 1780s to 1912 along with the importance of the Greeks in all southern Russia. The third section brings out the merchants and shipowners of Taganrog that handled its trade and shipping until 1881 and the fourth section delves in the famous in Russia scandal of the Taganrog Customs that shook the city from 1881 to 1885. The fifth and last sections examines the merchants and shipowners of the port-city from 1881 to 1912.

Why Greeks in Taganrog?

Although the Russian policy for the development of Odessa in the western edge of Black Sea is better known, the development of Taganrog in the other eastern edge of the northern coast, was preceded by at least twenty years. The development of Taganrog and

the other cities of Azov Sea is associated with overcoming a fundamental obstacle, the accessibility of the Azov Sea. The character of the maritime environment and navigability of the Azov was particular, not only for its shallowness, that didn't allow large cargo sailing ships to approach the coast, but also because of the weather conditions.⁷ The sea was frozen and ports closed down from November to March, while frequent high winds caused difficulties to ships, damages, accidents and shipwrecks. In the Azov, hazardous weather conditions (storms, gales, strong winds) altered sharply the sea depth, that ranged from 4 to 12 feet.⁸ It is indicative of the conditions of the Azov marine and weather conditions that the construction works of the port of Taganrog were completely destroyed at least three times because of the weather.⁹

The composition of the population of the port-city of Taganrog, was similar to all the other new South Russian port-cities. Greeks, among the first settlers of Taganrog, proved to be particularly important. They had even given their own hellenized version of its name, calling it “Taiganio” with a softer sound of the “g” so as to be closer to the ancient name Tanais. Greeks, as merchants and ship-owners dealt almost exclusively with the foreign trade of the city that functioned as an export port of a hinterland particularly difficult and “undisciplined”, that of the Don Cossacks.¹⁰ The valuable State Archives of Rostov on Don Region (GARO, *Gosudarstvennyi Archiv Rostovskoi Oblasti*), unfold the evolution of the Russian institutional framework, within which, Greeks were able to develop a cohesive

7. Apostolos Delis, “Navigating perilous waters: routes and hazards of the voyages to Black Sea in the 19th century in Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Trade and immigration”, in Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis (eds.), *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Trade and immigration*, (Rethymnon: Black Sea Working Papers, www.blacksea.gr, 2020), volume 7.

8. Sh. 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. 133-148.

9. On October 25th 1843, September 23rd 1868 and June 6th 1877. See Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog...*

10. For the Cossacks of Don see Shane O'Rourke, *Warriors and peasants: the Don Cossacks in late Imperial Russia*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan in cooperation with St. Antony's College, Oxford: 2000); Brian J. Boeck, *Imperial Boundaries: Cossack Communities and Empire-Building in the Age of Peter the Great*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

trade and shipping community. Let's not forget that Taganrog in the 1770s is located on the southeast frontier of Russian Empire. The main concern of the government was the colonization and the economic growth. Therefore, the aim of the imperial governments was to provide enough motivation for permanent settlements in the new coastal town and to convert them into export gates of the hinterland.

A fervent desire of Russian governments throughout the 18th century, apart from the access to the Black Sea, was the development of the markets in the south and their connection to the Mediterranean markets. The only way out of Russia in the Black Sea in the 18th century was through the Sea of Azov and Greeks as Ottoman and Venetian subjects were involved in the trade of the area from the very beginning.¹¹ The first upsurge of Greek maritime trade in the area was detected in the period 1739-1774.¹² Historian Ioannis Carras mentions that between 1746 and 1760, 6 to 17 ships annually traded in Taganrog.¹³ Most of these belonged to Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and many of the traders were Greek merchants of Nizhyn.

Eventually, foreign trade in the Russian south started in a more systematic and massive way only after the Russian victory in the first Russo-Ottoman War and the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), when Russia not only obtained the much-desired way exodus to the Black Sea, but also achieved the free navigation of its southern regions with Europe.¹⁴ The right of Russian flag ships for free passage through

11. For the continuous efforts of Russians to develop the region's trade in the 18th century, starting with the Don Delta see Zakharov, "The development of external trade...", pp. 85-102. For the importance of Greeks in the region of Kazakhia (now Ukraine) with Nizhyn as center, from which had extended their activity to the Azov Sea, see Ioannis Carras, "Εμπόριο, πολιτική και αδελφότητα: Ρωμιοί στη Ρωσία 1700-1774" [Trade, policy and fraternity: Greeks in Russia 1700-1774] (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Political Science and Administration, National University of Athens, Athens: 2011), pp. 97, 103.

12. Carras, "Trade, policy and fraternity ...", p. 97. See also Iannis Carras, "Community for Commerce: An Introduction to the Nezhin Greek Brotherhood Focusing on its Establishment as a Formal Institution in the Years Between 1692-1710" in Zakharov, Harlaftis and Katsiardi-Hering, *Merchant 'Colonies' in the Early Modern Period ...*, pp. 141-156.

13. Ibid.

14. Druzhinina, *The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca of 1774...*, pp. 279-352. Roderic H. Davison, "Russian Skill and Turkish Imbecility: The Treaty of Kuchuk Kain-

the Straits and the lack of the Russian merchant fleet in the southern ports, offered a unique opportunity to Greek captains, who sailed in the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea under Ottoman flag, to become “protégés” of Russia and use the Russian flag. Ottoman archives offer us ample evidence of a great maritime commercial activity, particularly in the region of the Azov and the Crimea in the last third of 18th century.¹⁵ Gradually the right to cross the Straits was granted through bilateral agreements of the Ottoman Empire to other countries as well, first to Austria (1784) and then to England (1799) and France (1802). The final “liberation” – free navigation of all states into the Black Sea and the Azov – was granted by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829.

The development of Taganrog, started immediately after the signing of the Treaty in 1774 and the Greek settlers were catalysts for the development of its trade. All new Russian port cities developed under state control on fixed city plans and buildings that were largely designed by Italian and French architects and city planners after the model Russian city, St. Petersburg. The legal framework was firstly promulgated with the foundation of ordinances of ports and cities. Administrative hierarchies were set: governor generals of the guberniias, governors of the towns, town councils etc. The development of the cities and the ports was under strict control and instructions for the construction of private and public buildings and public spaces. As most port-cities were on the top of cliffs, they were embellished with public staircases, promenades, parks, gardens, theatres sanatoriums, and baths.¹⁶

All the cities were provided with what was important for their

ardji Reconsidered”, in Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History 1774-1923, The Impact of the West*, (Austin: 1990), pp. 29-50.

15. Gelina Harlaftis, “International Business of Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, 18th century: Sources, Methods and Interpretive Issues”, in Francesco Ammannati (ed.), *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 April 2010, (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2011); Haci Veli Aydin, “Greek merchants and seamen in Black Sea 1780-1820”, in Harlaftis and Papakonstantinou, *Greek shipping, 1700-1821....*, pp. 683-701.

16. Vassilis Colonas, Alexandra Yerolympos and Athina Vitopoulou, *Architecture and City planning in the Black Sea port-cities*, (Black Sea Working Papers, forthcoming), volume 6.

economic lives: Merchant courts of Justice, Chambers of Shipping, Commercial Exchanges, and particular areas and buildings for the local markets. River and road transportation systems were formed despite the lack of proper roads. The hinterland was connected to the foreland by land, river and sea, by wagons, barges, lodkas (small sailing ships) and large sailing vessels. Despite the ice, the frost, the mud, the lack of navigability at many parts of the rivers, the grain “came down” to be transported to the West. In the meantime public works and postal services were organised. The organisation and administration of ports were of primary importance as the Customs Houses were made along with warehouses, wharves, lighthouses and quarantines. The towns full of Russians, Greeks, Germans, Polish, Bulgarians, Serbians, Romanians, Italians, Jewish, Armenians, Tatars built churches, houses of worship, monasteries, synagogues, mosques. All the southern ports were filled with multiple ethnicities and thus almost all western European nations established foreign consuls on the ports.

Greeks, either as Ottoman or Venetian citizens during the 18th century, especially after the second half, developed the most important fleet and maritime business networks in the eastern Mediterranean. They transported goods, mainly under the Ottoman flag but also under other flags, to the Western Mediterranean ports.¹⁷ The announcement of Russian measures that gave incentives for Greek settlers at the new port-city of Taganrog, triggered the establishment of many members of Greek shipping families of the Ionian and Aegean maritime islands.¹⁸

17. Gelina Harlaftis and Sophia Laiou, “Ottoman State Policy in Mediterranean Trade and Shipping, c.1780-c.1820: The Rise of the Greek-Owned Ottoman Merchant Fleet”, in Mark Mazower (ed.), *Networks of Power in Modern Greece*, (London: Hurst, 2008), pp. 1-44; Gelina Harlaftis, “The ‘eastern invasion’. Greeks in the Mediterranean trade and shipping in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries” in Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood, Mohamed-Salah Omri (eds.), *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel’s Maritime Legacy*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 223-252; Gelina Harlaftis, “The Fleet” Dei Greci”. Ottoman and Venetian Greeks in the Mediterranean Sea Trade of the Eighteenth Century” in Michela d’Angelo, Gelina Harlaftis and Carmel Vassalo (eds), *Making the Waves in the Mediterranean. Sulle onde del Mediterraneo*, Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the Mediterranean Maritime History Network, Messina and Taormina, 4-7 May 2006, (Messina: Istituto di Studi Storici Gaetano Salvemini 2010(12)), pp. 492-523.

18. See Harlaftis, “Greek Shipping as a unification factor ...”, pp. 39-90 and

What is important to note here is that the leading merchants and shipowners of Taganrog and of the other main merchants of the port cities of southern Russia that settled there and brought prosperity and wealth to the area did not start their business in the new Russian port cities. A large number of them belonged mainly to mobile trading groups of the so-called people of the classic diaspora like the Greeks, Jews and Armenians usually Ottoman or Austro-hungarian subjects,¹⁹ as well as those of other European groups like citizens of the Italian states, or Croats, already carrying the trade of eastern Europe and the Black Sea since the early 18th century, at least. Members of these families were already dispersed in the main Western European port cities forming international trading and shipping businesses.²⁰

Attracting populations specialized in specific economic activities was a policy which the Russian Empire followed consistently for the colonization of the lands of “New Russia”, which continued during 19th century. The dominance at sea as a basic geopolitical and economical choice for the colonial expansion and the economic strengthening of Russia was initiated by Peter the Great and implemented by Catherine the second. After all, Russia’s colonization policy of its southern part belongs to its wider policy for the “Eastern Question” and in its effort to provide “protection”, as a great European power to selected minorities of the Ottoman Empire in order to expand its influence in the neighboring country.²¹ It was a standing policy of Russian officials to rely on the multi-ethnic com-

Gelina Harlaftis, “‘*Η ναυτική πολιτεία*’ του Ιονίου και του Αιγαίου. Στόλος και ανταγωνιστικότητα” [“The maritime city” of the Ionian and the Aegean Sea, Fleet and competitiveness], in Harlaftis and Papakonstantinou, *Greek shipping ...*, pp. 353-405.

19. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis and Ioanna Minoglou (eds), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks. Five Centuries of History*, (Oxford: Berg Publications, 2005); Carras, *Trade, policy and fraternity...* .

20. Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775–1861* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001); Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, (London: Routledge 1996), pp. 3–38.

21. Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire 1500-1800*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); J. T. Kotilaine, *Russia’s Foreign Trade and Economic Expansion in the Seventeenth Century, Windows on the World*, (Leiden/Boston: Brill. 2005)

position of the southern areas, in order to colonize them and exploit the special skills of each group of population for their economic development.²² They considered that the Greek presence would encourage the development of maritime trade, since “they constituted an already existing element that could prepare, in a way, a seedbed of future Russian seamen”.²³ Therefore, the Greeks in Taganrog, the first and only port of Don Cossack Host that formed the hinterland of the port city would have had a catalytic role in the maritime trade and the establishment of links with international trade. The history, as will become clear below, confirmed this expectation.

Greeks in town

It has been written that Taganrog was known in the West for two reasons: first, as the Tsar’s Alexander I death place in 1825 and second as the birthplace of Anton Chekhov in 1860.²⁴ Taganrog remained a relatively small town. Its population, which in 1830 was only 8,841, rose to 25,282 in 1865 and to 68,085 in 1910 (see table 2.1, this volume). In contrast to Taganrog, Rostov-on-Don, which evolved to the largest urban center in the area in the 20th century, grew rapidly from 12,000 in 1856, to 69,000 in 1883 and 140,000 in 1908.²⁵ The period 1840-1881, is the heyday of Taganrog and of the great prosperity of the big Greek merchants; it is the period of rapid growth of grain exports, which formed its cosmopolitan character when most of its emblematic buildings were built (picture 8.2). But it is also the period in which the problems of the city are highlighted, which ultimately led it to its relative decline and its replacement by the neighbouring Rostov-on-Don, as the leading port-city of the Azov.

22. Sifneos and Harlaftis, “Entrepreneurship at the Russian Frontier

23. Ibid.

24. Irene Nemirovsky, *A life of Chekhov*, (London: The Grey Walls Press Ltd, 1950).

25. Sitenko, *Guide: “Rostov and Nakhichevan ...; Rostov-on-Don was initially developed as a location of Armenians who came from Crimea with Greeks, and was called New Nakhichevan, which was later united with Rostov-on-Don. See Sarkis Kazarov, “Nakhichevan-on-Don: Armenian Merchants and their Role in the Commercial Development of the Azov-Black Sea Region”, in this volume, chapter 14.*

Picture 8.2 View of Taganrog, Postcard, late 19th century

Greeks settled in the town since its very foundation. The first settlers came from Crimea, about 10,000 Greeks and 10,000 Armenians²⁶ and the other mainly seamen that took part in the Russo-Ottoman war of 1769-1774 originating from certain maritime Ionian and Aegean islands. Populations from the latter continued to come to Taganrog up to the early twentieth century.

The decree of the Empress Catherine the Great on March 28, 1775 invited the Greek crews and their families in the newly acquired territories of southern Russia and it was accepted with relief by the Greek seamen who had participated in the Russian fleet in the Aegean during the Russo-Ottoman war of 1769-1774.²⁷ Houses, places of worship, and land at the host country were generously offered by the Empress. Self administration, tax exemptions and ex-

26. Irina Ponomariova, "Ethnic Processes in Mariupol and Russia's Imperial Migration Policy, 19th – early 20th centuries", in this volume, chapter 9, and Kazarov, Nakhichevan-on-Don; S. K. Batalden, *Catherine II's Greek Prelate Eugenios Voulgaris in Russia, 1771-1806*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

27. Ibid.

emption from military service, trade opportunities in Russian cities and abroad, free commercial ports and self-administration privileges, were the main advantages of the proclamation.²⁸ The first body of Greek self-administration in Taganrog was created in 1781 which eventually took the name “Greek Magistrate” in 1784.²⁹

In order to enjoy the given privileges by Russians, Greeks who were registered in the Greek Magistrate had to become Russian citizens.³⁰ The new settlers, whatever their origins, became the “new Russians,” and were integrated into the social and professional system of Russian society. In Russia, until the late 19th century, the population was divided into four social groups (*soslovie*): the nobility, the clergy, the urban population and the rural population. The urban population was divided into four subgroups (*sostoyiania*): honorary citizens (*pochyotnye grazhdane*), merchants (*kuptsy*), petty bourgeois (*meshchane*) and the artisans (*tsechi*). Merchants were divided into three guilds and registration was open to anyone who could pay the guild tax.³¹

The guilds constituted a single trade body, in which anyone who wanted to exercise the trade profession had to register. During the time of Peter the Great consisted of two categories, while during the time of Catherine II consisted of three. In the first they had to enter with a working capital of over 10,000 rubles, in the second of 5-10,000 rubles and in the third from 1000-5,000 rubles.³² The merchants of the first guild could do wholesale business and trade with the foreign countries without limit of annual transactions. Those of the second category had a limit in their annual

28. Ο εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος, “Ιστορική περιγραφή της πόλεως Ταγανρόγ”, *Εικοσιπενταετηρίς 1861-1886* [The Constantinople Greek Philological Association, “Historical Description of the city of Taganrog”, *The twenty-five years 1861-1886*] (Constantinople: 1888), p. 116.

29. Sifneos and Harlaftis, “Entrepreneurship at the Russian Frontier

30. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen and A.V. Remnev, *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 2007); Tatian Borisova and Jane Burbank, “Russia’s Legal Trajectories”, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 19:3, (2018), pp.469-508.

31. Alfred J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia*, (University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. xxiii.

32. Ibid, Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great*, (London: Phoenix Press, 2002) (First edition 1981), p. 300.

commercial transactions both inside and abroad. The third guild was abolished in 1865.

The merchant's social status was quite precarious. It depended on the amount of capital he would declare every year in order to get the relevant permit. If the merchant went bankrupt or destroyed either by the effects that the frequent warfare led to trade, or by the burden of excessive taxation, or simply by mismanagement, he would automatically "fall" in the place of the petty bourgeoisie. His social status and the status of his family members were not secure. So the ardent desire of merchants was to obtain a title of nobility. The Russian government, in its effort to control the rise of merchants in the class of nobility, invented, after 1850, the title of honorary citizen, which was granted to the merchants of the 1st guild after a decade of service.³³

The members of the Greek community within the administration of the Magistrate consisted of merchants and petty bourgeois. The transition from one category to the other was easy enough. During the first years of Greek emigration, the Magistrate drafted two lists, which testified to the Russian authorities: one for merchants and one for petty bourgeoisie. They had to register for their enrollment in the lists, their capital, the accompanying members and their exact occupation. The Russian authorities and the Greek government wanted to know at any time the members' status. On the lists of the Greek Magistrate of Taganrog of 1795-1804, 583 merchants and 123 petty bourgeois are recorded. Together with their families they formed a total Greek population of 7,000 people, an extremely high number for such a small town.³⁴ The opening of the Black Sea in world trade and the Greek establishment there, has been crucial not only for the growth of the city but also for the growth of Greek-owned shipping in the 19th century.³⁵

The archival material from the customs office of Taganrog's port for the year 1793, found in the Vorontsov file of St. Petersburg's Archives, reveals that 67% of the merchants engaged in foreign trade that year, were Greeks, subjects of either the Russian or the Ottoman

33. Reiber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs...*, pp. 33, 36.

34. GARO, fond 579, opis 1, delo 8.

35. Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping ...* .

Empire.³⁶ In the 1820s Greeks were still the main merchants of the city (see tables 8.1 and 8.2). The end of the self-administration of the Greek community of Taganrog is marked by the abolition of the Greek Magistrate in 1836. The imperial policy of the “homogenization” of the Russian citizens, which the Russian authorities sought through the abolition of privileges they had granted to useful population groups, such as the Greeks, was initiated. After the abolition of the Magistrate a single trade body in Taganrog was established with no ethno-cultural distinctions.

The city of Taganrog reached the peak of its development and acquired a strong industrial, commercial, and artistic life at the last third of the 19th century. Its public life was determined partly by the municipal leaders and the active social groups, among which were also the merchants. Distinguished citizens of Greek origin such as A. N. Alfierakis (1880-1888), Konstantinos G. Fotis (1889-1897), Paul Iordanov (1905-1909) and Z. A. Chandrin[s] (1909-1913) were elected as mayors of the town.³⁷ It is worth noting that the mayors were distinguished for their genuine interest in the social welfare of the town, a result of the intensification of social problems but also of their social conscience. In Odessa the charity-social work of the Greek mayor of the town Gregory Maraslis³⁸ was important along with that of Ivan Tollis, mayor of Kiev the corresponding one of.³⁹ The lack of ethnic conflicts in the generally quiet city of Taganrog, and specifically of the anti-Jewish pogroms, was probably due to the efforts of the Greek origin mayors.⁴⁰

36. See Zakharov, “The development of external trade....”

37. See Ala A. Chimbali, “Οι Έλληνες επικεφαλής της Δημοτικής Δούμας του Ταγανρόγ” [Greeks at the head of the Municipal Duma of Taganrog], in Sifneos and Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...*, pp. 181-200.

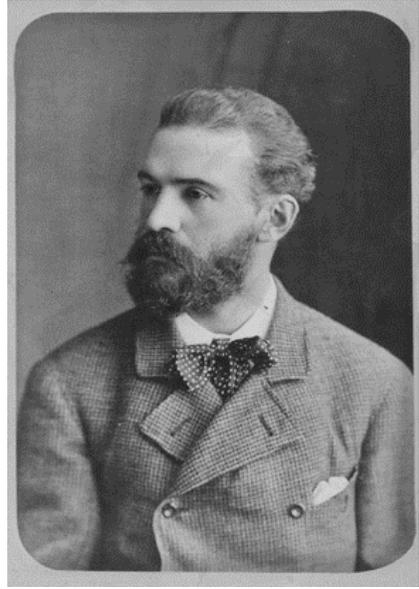
38. K. Papoulidis, *Grigorios Maraslis (1837-1907), His life and his work*, (Thessaloniki: 1989).

39. Ivan Tollis, merchant of the first guild and honorary citizen, became mayor of Kiev in 1884. He received a military decoration for his charity action and he was an honorary member of the Tax office of various charitable municipal committees and clubs during the period between 1866 and 1887. Державний архів міста Київ [State Archive of the City of Kiev, DAK], fond 164, opis 34, delo 1154, “Quality sheet of Ivan Tollis”.

40. Chimbali, “Greeks at the head...; See The National Archives (London), FO 65/1124.



Paul Jordanov (1905-1909)



Achilles Alfierakis (1880-1888)

Export trade and shipping of Taganrog and the Azov

Taganrog was transformed to a main gateway to the West as it served a vast hinterland. The enormous size of the Russia's territory and the disparity of its population suggest the importance of transport for its economic development. Efficient transportation network was pivotal for the development of its regions. As is evident in map 2.3 of chapter 2 in the present volume, there was a large and complex river system of the rivers Don and Volga and their tributaries. Volga's basin is divided in the upper, central and lower part along which his multiple tributaries provided navigable waterways of 3,690 km long connecting the area from Urals to Taganrog. The river Don with his tributaries covered about 1,400 km of navigable routes. Both Volga and Don provided 5,000 km of navigable waterways.⁴¹ Long-haul trade took place through the

41. G. G. Ershov, V. K. Tomashevskii, *Статистический обзор железных дорог и внутренних водных путей* [Statistical Review of Railways and internal Water-

rivers Volga and Don while short overland transport was by wagon. Through various types of barges and wooden river crafts, grain was moved in bulk mainly by waterways. The cargoes were flowing down stream to the ports mainly via rivers and canals and to a lesser extent by oxen-wagons. Land transport could take easily place on the steppes only during the dry summer season and with horse-drawn sleighs during the winter. The mud from the rains and melting of ice of spring and autumn made “roads” impossible.⁴² Any upstream movements in the waterways took enormous effort of horse and human labour.

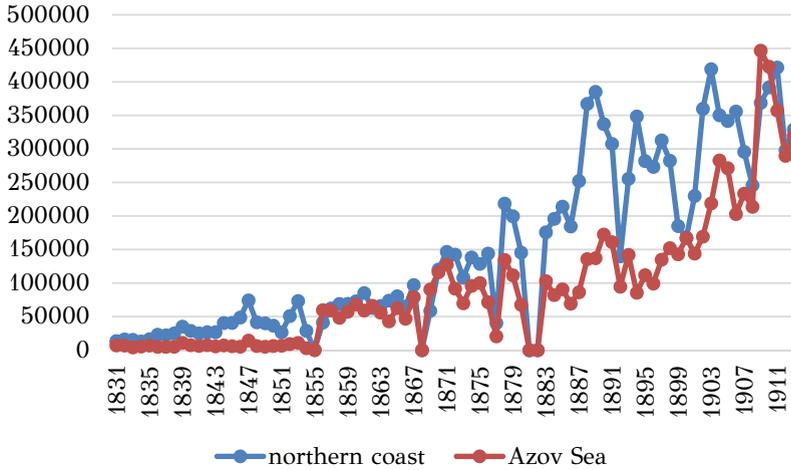
During the first decades of slow development, from 1792 to 1803, Taganrog figures as the prime export port-city of the area. Its primacy, however, was soon overtaken by Odessa after the turn of the century to the Crimean war.⁴³ The Crimean war and abolition of serfdom that followed brought major restructuring of the grain trade in the port-cities of the northern coast and triggered major development of the grain exports of the Azov ports. As is evident in figure 8.1 during the 1860s and 1870s Azov grain exports, with Taganrog leading the way, reached the same level as those of the ports of the northern coast. The exporting Azov ports involved up until 1889 are Taganrog, Rostov, Berdyansk, Mariupol. From 1889 onwards Novorossiysk is included (figure 8.1) and has a spectacular increase surpassing Taganrog and Rostov in exports; this is an ice-free port strategically developed along with the railway, in order to avoid the problems of navigation of the Azov.

ways of Russia] (Saint Petersburg: 1900), pp. 118-119. See also Nailya Tagirova, “The Volga-Don road to the Black Sea: Evolution and Reality of the 19th century”, in this volume, chapter 3.

42. Arcadius Kahan, *Russian Economic History. The 19th century*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1989, pp. 27-33.

43. Yuliya Alekseyevna Pospelova, “Становление внешней торговли России через Азовские и Черноморские порты в последней четверти XVIII-начале XIX века” [Formation of foreign trade of Russia through the Azov and Black Sea ports in the last quarter of the 18th – early 19th century] (Ph.D. thesis, Moscow Region State University, Moscow: 2012).

Figure 8.1 Grain exports from the northern Black Sea port cities (Odessa,) and the Azov port cities (Taganrog, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Rostov and Novorossyisk) in 000 French Francs



Source: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming; For Russian statistics processed data from *Государственная внешняя торговля в разных ея видах* [State Foreign Trade in different categories], (Saint Petersburg: Department vneshney trgovli, 1817-1863); *Виды государственной внешней торговли: Торговля по европейским границам* [Categories of the State's External Trade per European borders], (Saint Petersburg, 1864-1870); *Обзор внешней торговли России по Европейской границе* [Overview of Russia's External Trade per European borders], (Saint Petersburg, 1871-1916) see www.blacksea.gr

It was firstly external political factors like the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-1878 that brought Azov exports to a standstill as depicted in figure 8.1. It was also technological developments like the railway, after the 1880s that directed some of the Volga trade to the northern rather than southern ports.⁴⁴ Furthermore it was internal reasons that brought decrease of Azov grain exports and particularly that of Taganrog to a great depression during the 1880s. The famous, at the time, “scandal of Taganrog Customs” involved the biggest group of Taganrog merchants and shipowners, employees of the port and govern-

44. Nailya Tagirova, “*The Volga-Don Road...*”, in this volume, chapter 3.

ment officials that were accused by the Imperial Government for fraud and tax evasion. After the 1880s Taganrog was replaced as the leading grain export town by Rostov and Novorossiysk; it remained, however the largest Azov port (see picture 8.3) as we shall see later. Grain exports from the northern coast port cities, from Odessa to Theodosia, as shown in figure 8.1 accelerated after the 1880s, albeit in dramatic fluctuations. The grain exports from the Azov ports indicate a steady increase that caught up the exports of the northern coast after 1900s.

New material from the Russian statistics has provided us with hard comparative evidence on the importance of the Greek trading companies not only in the South of Russia but in the whole of the Russian Empire. Table 8.1 includes data we have processed from all the first guild merchants of the Russian Empire that had a turnover of over 50,000 rubles. During this period, in order to carry out trade in the Russian Empire, a merchant had to be registered in one of the “guilds”; as already mentioned, merchants were divided into three “guilds” and registration in those guilds was open to all who could pay the guild tax.⁴⁵

Table 8.1 First guild merchants engaged in South Russia’s external trade, 1813 and 1856

	All Russia		(a)/ (b)	Southern port-cities		(c)/ (d)
	All mer- chants (a)	Greek mer- chants (b)		All mer- chants (c)	Greek mer- chants (d)	
1813	274	35	13%	62	34	55%
1829	402	34	8%	42	29	69%
1856	537	52	10%	121	60	50%

1856	
Number of Merchants	Handled % of total imports and exports
60	66%

Source: *Государственная внешняя торговля в разных ее видах*, Департамент внешней торговли, [State Foreign Trade in different categories], (Saint Petersburg: Department vneshney trgovli, 1813, 1856).

45. Reiber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs...*, p. xxiii.

As is evident from table 8.1, Greek merchants in the first half of the 19th century constituted the most important group of merchants engaged in South Russia's external trade. More particularly, in 1813 Greek first guild merchants formed 55% of the total number of first guild merchants of South Russia, in 1829 69% and in 1856 50%. What is more they were handling at least two thirds of the export-import trade of the area; from 1856 we have calculated that Greeks that constituted half of the first guild merchants of southern Russia, handled 66% of the value of the total exports and imports.⁴⁶ Their importance was also highly significant in the whole Russian Empire as they constituted at least 10% of its most important merchants.

Who were these merchants and where did they come from? In the first fifty years, we can distinguish two phases for the settlement in Taganrog of Greek businessmen. The first wave of Greeks were mainly seafarers mostly shipmasters and shipowners from the Ionian islands and the seafaring islands of the Aegean. From the Russian archives of the Greek magistrate in Taganrog we have calculated that out of 200 merchants that were established in Taganrog between 1795 and 1803, 53% came from the island of Cephalonia and 45% from 12 Aegean islands among which Santorini, Psara and Hydra were the most important.⁴⁷ Table 8.2 clearly reveals that Odessa and Taganrog were the main port-cities where leading Greek merchants were established and they originated from Cephalonia, Chios and various other Aegean islands. But what is highly important, that table 8.2 furnishes new information that we did not know before, about the establishment at such an early stage of top Chiot Greek merchants that we thought had first become important in London and other western European port cities and then in Russia. It happened the other way around.

46. *Государственная внешняя торговля в разных ее видах*, Департамент внешней торговли, [State Foreign Trade in different categories] (Saint Petersburg: Department vneshney trgovli, 1856).

47. Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis, “Το Ταϊγάνιο των Ελλήνων: Ελληνική επιχειρηματικότητα στην παραμεθόριο του διεθνούς εμπορίου [Taganrog of the Greeks: Greek Entrepreneurship in the frontier of international trade]” in Sifneos and Harlaftis *Greeks in the Azov...*, table 1.3, p. 82.

Table 8.2 First guild Greek merchants engaged in Russia's external trade, 1813

Merchant	Port city	Imports	Exports	Total
Yanopulo Vasilii	Odessa	294,302	369,705	664,007
Paleolog Dmitri	Odessa	155,097	251,688	406,785
Skufi Ivan	Odessa	21,589	372,387	393,976
Kaliantzi Fedor	Odessa	196,882	182,796	379,678
Kiparissi Spiro	Odessa	32,370	258,882	291,252
Petrokockino Evstratii	Odessa		261,406	261,406
Inglessi Dmirtri	Odessa	80,368	155,070	235,438
Kumbari Alexandr	Odessa	49,263	186,122	235,385
Iliasko Mikhail	Odessa	123,274	86,140	209,414
Feognosti Anton	Odessa	6,109	197,321	203,430
Delvinosti Stavro	Odessa	98,792	96,653	195,445
Velissari Dimitri	Odessa	3,876	182,091	185,967
Papahadzi Kiriako	Odessa		173,798	173,798
Kitralaki Emanuel	Odessa	47,407	124,125	171,532
Manis Ilias	Odessa	17,769	152,739	170,508
Papudoglu Georgii	Odessa	77,835	72,735	150,570
Kalafati Dmitri	Odessa	6,128	113,610	119,738
Duma Dimitri	Odessa	22,411	89,903	112,314
Kostandi Nikolaki	Odessa	28,647	76,143	104,790
Papuzoglu	Odessa	22,089	79,835	101,924
Katsari Diamandi	Odessa and Taganrog	208,545	826,426	103,497.1
Pitako Grigoriy	Odessa and Taganrog	276,856	502,167	779,023
Dimas Nikolai	Taganrog	378,090	454,356	832,446
Stefanaki Ivan	Taganrog	163,709	302,041	465,750
Zaharov Leontii	Taganrog	138,207	231,258	369,465
Magula Mari	Taganrog	59,840	201,523	261,363
Depaldo Gerasim	Taganrog	108,260	108,260	216,520
Dechigala Anton	Taganrog	176,418	28,946	205,364
Popov Georgi	Taganrog	15,284	185,032	200,316
Vagliano Georgi	Taganrog	84,801	95,270	180,071
Stanopulo Dmitri	Taganrog	88,622	79,959	168,581
Sarantin Afanasii	Taganrog	18,747	91,073	109,820
Kalertzi Emanuel	Taganrog	4,965	99,328	104,293
Sigala Ivan	Taganrog		101,509	101,509

Source: *Государственная внешняя торговля в разных ее видах*, Департамент внешней торговли, [State Foreign Trade in different categories], (Saint Petersburg: Department vneshney torgovli, 1813).

Table 8.2 reveals that the Chiot merchant Evstrati Petrokockino, was established in Odessa in 1813. From the same source in later years we find that other Chiots or relatives like Ambrosios Scaramanga and Alexander Mavro were established in Odessa as First Guild merchants in 1814, Anton Galati in 1817, Igor Ralli and Grigori Marasli in 1818, Theodor Rodocanachi and Dimitri Skylitzi in 1822.⁴⁸ The top Taganrog merchants were mainly Cephalonians like the Vagliano or Depaldo. These merchants, before establishing themselves in Odessa or Taganrog, were in Constantinople and were involved in the Ottoman trade during the Napoleonic wars. Katerina Galani has revealed that between 1799 and 1813 the above developed a close relation with the British Levant Company based in Constantinople. The Chiot merchants like Ralli, Scaramanga, Petrokockino or Galatis, along with the Melas, Marasli and others sent and received cargoes for the Levant company, without however being officially merchants of the Levant Company.⁴⁹ They were involved in the grain trade from South Russia, and it seems, immediately after their involvement with the Levant Company they were established in Russia. At the same period, their involvement with the Levant Company turned them to London. In 1818 the Ralli brothers were established there, whereas in 1820 the merchant houses of Petrokockino, Galati and Kondostavlos were also established there.⁵⁰

The importance of the Chiot and Ionian networks in the trade

48. L. Bilousova, “Odessa: Register of merchants of 1st, 2nd, 3rd guilds in alphabetical order”, DAOO

49. The National Archives, SP 105/173 (Register of Impositions paid on Outward Cargoes, 1799-1813). For an analytical description of this archival material see Katerina Galani, “British trade and shipping in the Mediterranean in the Age of War, 1770-1815” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2011), pp. 294-303; a processed version of this thesis has been published as *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars: The untold Story of a successful Adaptation*, (Leiden: Brill series in Maritime History, 2017).

50. For the Ralli Bros Katerina Vourkatioti, “The House of Ralli Bros (c. 1814-1961)”, in Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Gelina Harlaftis, (eds), *Following the Nereids. Sea routes and maritime business, 16th-20th centuries* (Athens: Kerkyra Publications, 2006), pp. 99-110. For the others see Katerina Galani, *From Istanbul to the City of London. Greek Bankers, 1820-1880*, forthcoming. Galani has found this evidence in *The Post-Office London Directory* by Critchett & Woods, The Twenty First Edition, Vol. 226 (1820).

and shipping of southern Russia with the Western European port cities has been identified 25 years ago.⁵¹ The networks, however, that were identified from the analysis of shipping movements to western European ports, did not reveal the importance of the trading companies in Russia. What the archival evidence from the Russian archives brings out is the fact that the connections of the trading companies of both the “Chiot entrepreneurial network” that grew into prominence during the period 1820s-1860s and the “Ionian entrepreneurial network” that saw its peak during the period 1870s-1900s, brought both the establishment of Greek traders and shipowners in the European trade and the growth of the Black Sea port cities they were established.

Picture 8.3 Port of Taganrog, Postcard, late 19th century



By 1860 among the top twenty Russian trading companies of the whole of Russia stood the companies of John Ralli, Theodor Rodocanachi and John Scaramanga.⁵² At the same year, in the top

51. Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping ...*, chapters 2 and 3.

52. *Overview of Russia's External Trade...*, 1860.

twenty trading firms in Southern Russia more than half are Greeks and include the trading companies of the Chiots Scaramanga, Ralli and Rodocanachi and of the Cephalonians Mari Vagliano and Avgerino. Altogether they carried trade worth more than three million sterling pounds. It is thus not surprising that the members of the Greek business group of Southern Russia that established themselves in the City of London in the 1820s, got immediately access to the Baltic Exchange and the Bank of England, where they were considered and treated as a tight business group.⁵³

The merchants of Taganrog until 1881

Until 1881, the trade body of the Greek merchants of Taganrog belonging to all guilds was composed from 125 merchants that belonged to about 90 families, whose members participated and succeeded the family business creating many a time more than one company.⁵⁴ The total registered merchants in the Taganrog guilds rose from 212 in 1839 to 348 in 1871.⁵⁵ The Greeks constituted 43 percent of all city merchants in 1839, and the 27 percent in 1871. The decrease in the percentage of registered merchants is due to the abolition of Greek Magistrate and the privileges to the Greek, along with the commercial competition from the other ethno-cultural groups.

Three quarters of the Greek merchant body originated from the islands of the Ionian and Aegean Seas, from where the first settlers came to the city, as they were either direct descendants or relatives, or fellow citizens. As table 8.2 indicates, at the beginning of the 19th century, in the first guild appear the Zakharov brothers (Zakharis, John and Leontius) of Constantinople. The Cephalonian merchants, represented the largest group, Michael and Alexander Avgerinos, Stavros Vaglianos, Spyridon Mousouris, Dionysius Koundouris, Michael Metaxas, Charalambos Panas, Dionysius Rhazis, Pavlos Travlos

53. Gelina Harlaftis, *Creating Global Shipping: Aristotle Onassis, the Vagliano Brothers and the Business of Shipping, c.1820-1970*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 73-75, 92-93.

54. Sifneos and Harlaftis, "Taganrog of the Greeks...", table 9.

55. GARO, fond 579, opis 1, delo 534 (for 1839) and fond 589, opis 1, delo 17 (for 1871).

and Damianos Focas. In the 1880s, the Cephalonians were still the most compact group, with more than one fourth of the total number of merchants. The Cephalonian big merchant, shipowner and banker Maris Vaglianos was the largest shipowner and grain exporter not only of the city and the Azov but also of the whole Black Sea. The Cephalonians were followed by the group of merchants from the island of Chios (Vlastos, Negrepontis, Petrokockinos, Scaramangas and others, all relatives of the leading Ralli family)⁵⁶, from the island of Psara (Kosmas Varvakis and Emmanuel Koumanis), from the island of Santorini (Alafouzos and Darzentas), from the island of Kassos or from Nisyros (Sakellaridis), from the island of Lesbos (Koumbas and Sifneos), from the island of Skopelos (came Kambourov), and Spetses (Giourdis Isaias, Papageorgakopoulos and Anargiros). It is interesting to note that the two thirds of the members of the above families continued their activities in trade until 1912.⁵⁷ Two entrepreneurs excel in the grain trade from the 1856 to 1881: Mari Vagliano and Loucas Scaramanga.

Mari Vagliano from the island of Cephalonia, known also in Russian registers as “Marko” Vagliano, was by far the most important grain exporter of Taganrog handling 14% of its produce (table 8.3).⁵⁸ Mari Vagliano with connections in all ports of the Azov and relations with other top merchants like Ambanopulo and Cuppa of Berdyansk (married to his nieces) controlled more than one fourth of the Azov exports. The Chiot group of merchants who were the most important trading company in Russia before the 1860s diminished their importance in the second half of the 19th century as the Rallis, the leading trading company, had withdrawn its activities from Russia and, based in London, turned their attention to India

56. Gelina Harlaftis, “Εμπόριο και ναυτιλία τον 19ο αιώνα. Το επιχειρηματικό δίκτυο των Ελλήνων της διασποράς: η ‘χιώτικη’ φάση (1830-1860)” [Trade and shipping during the 19th century. The business network of the Greeks of diaspora: the “Chian” phase (1830-1860)], *Mnemon*, 15 (1993), pp. 69-127; Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping ...*, chapt. 4; Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea...*

57. GARO, fond 577, opis 1, delo 92 “List of merchants of Taganrog, 1912”.

58. On the Vaglianos see Harlaftis, *Creating Global Shipping...*; Gelina Harlaftis, “From Diaspora Traders to Shipping Tycoons: The Vagliano Bros”, *Business History Review*, 81:2, (Summer 2007), pp. 237-268.

and the United States.⁵⁹ The Scaramangas continued the legacy of the Chiots in the Azov and remained in town to the October Revolution.⁶⁰ The Italians Rocca were the third largest exporter in Taganrog, while other Italian merchants like the Turbino were based in Berdyansk and the Croat merchants Mimbelli were based in Mariupol. The British James Yeames, whose family was established in Odessa since the 1820s was the fourth largest exporter of the city.

Table 8.3 Main grain exporters of the Azov, 1869

Merchant		Port-city	Grain exports (chetverts)	% to total Azov exports
<i>Taganrog and Rostov</i>				
Vagliano Marko	G	Taganrog & Rostov	603284	14%
Scaramanga & Co	G	Taganrog & Rostov	425708	10%
Rocca		Taganrog & Rostov	206758	5%
Yeames James		Taganrog & Rostov	144355	3%
Petrokockino Dimitri	G	Taganrog & Rostov	119569	3%
Dellaporta Ivan	G	Taganrog & Rostov	34740	1%
Avgerino	G	Taganrog	64155	1%
Negroponte	G	Taganrog	56057	1%
Loukato	G	Taganrog	17006	0%
Anarghiro	G	Taganrog	16730	0%
Kondoyannaki	G	Taganrog	15760	0%
Sevastopoulo	G	Taganrog	15664	0%
Zbiza		Taganrog	15243	0%
Papastamatiadi	G	Taganrog	9200	0%

59. Especially the Chiot families of Rallis, Argentis, Petrokokkinos and Vlastos etc. see Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping ...*, chapter 2; Vourkatioti, “The House of Ralli Bros (c. 1814-1961)...”; Katerina Vourkatioti, “The House of the Rallis brothers, c. 1814-1961. The archetype of entrepreneurship of Greek diaspora”, (PhD thesis, Department of Political Science and History, Panteion University, Athens: 2004); Geoffrey Jones, *Merchants to multinationals : British trading companies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Stanley David Chapman, *Merchant enterprise in Britain: from the Industrial Revolution to World War I*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 288-289.

60. Georgios Kandyliis, *Ιστορία τριών μεγάλων οικογενειών της μεγάλης διασποράς : Σκαρραμαγκά-Σκαναβή-Κανδύλη* [History of Three Big Families of the Wider Diaspora: Scaramanga-Skanavi-Kandyliis] (Athens: Ermis, 1994).

Merchant		Port-city	Grain exports (chetverts)	% to total Azov exports
Kumba	G	Taganrog	5500	0%
Alexopoulo	G	Taganrog	3200	0%
Karrouterg		Taganrog	3000	0%
Chalibov		Taganrog	2620	0%
Yemerli	G	Taganrog	968	0%
Krendiropoulo	G	Taganrog	700	0%
Sougdouri Pericles	G	Rostov	91539	2%
Kanakari Emmanuel	G	Rostov	80889	2%
Efrussi Leon		Rostov	80831	2%
Zuravlev Arkadi		Rostov	65103	1%
Kuzmin Dimitri		Rostov	63256	1%
Mavrocordato Konstantin	G	Rostov	63232	1%
Zidro Pavel		Rostov	60091	1%
Mariolaki Pandi	G	Rostov	47018	1%
Drashkovich Mark		Rostov	33500	1%
Pedemonte Ivan		Rostov	26032	1%
Klissanich Ephest		Rostov	8200	0%
Rokko Palegro		Rostov	5000	0%
Davidov Michael		Rostov	4000	0%
Bacharov Michael		Rostov	211	0%
<i>Berdyansk</i>				
Cuppa	G	Berdyansk	253087	6%
Ambanopoulo	G	Berdyansk	142980	3%
Porro		Berdyansk	65515	1%
Tourbino		Berdyansk	56635	1%
Lupin		Berdyansk	44668	1%
Yemerli	G	Berdyansk	41142	1%
Paikos	G	Berdyansk	32650	1%
Chardallo	G	Berdyansk	31837	1%
Ostrovski		Berdyansk	15715	0%
Gleyzer		Berdyansk	13380	0%
<i>Mariupol</i>				
Kovachevich Brothers		Mariupol	152200	3%
Kiotsa I.B.	G	Mariupol	90.700	2%
Tripkovich A.		Mariupol	68900	2%
Charadzaev A.	G	Mariupol	61700	1%
Pelegatti E.	G	Mariupol	57450	1%
Cuppa G.	G	Mariupol	41000	1%

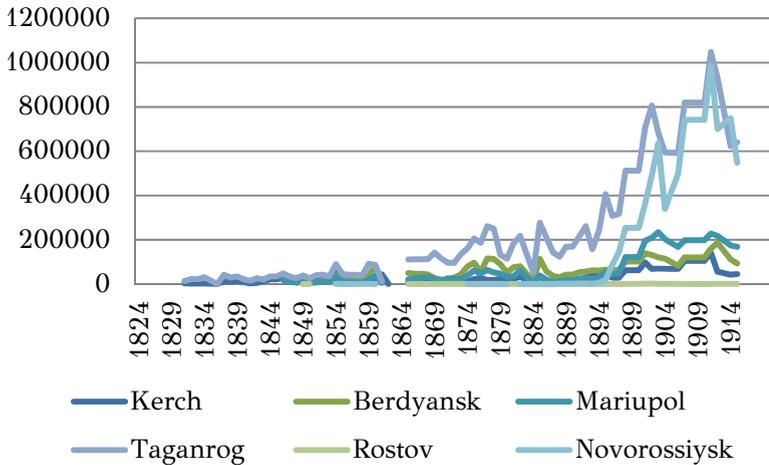
Merchant		Port-city	Grain exports (chetverts)	% to total Azov exports
Amoretti I.		Mariupol	36600	1%
Scaramanga I. & Co	G	Mariupol	31300	1%
Ralli I. & E.	G	Mariupol	31100	1%
Despoti Brothers	G	Mariupol	23000	1%
Kalogera P.M.	G	Mariupol	15700	0%
Tsebanenko A.		Mariupol	8500	0%
Paleologo E.	G	Mariupol	6000	0%
Mimbelli Brothers		Mariupol and Taganrog	161337	3%
Other				10%
Total exports			4455688	109.00%

Source: Processed data from Major General Geyns, *О торговле по Азовскому побережью* [Trade of the Azov], 1898, pp. 26-27.

Grain exports were directly linked with shipping. Taganrog remained the largest exporting sea port of the Azov as pictured in figure 8.2, throughout the 19th century. It was after the Crimean war to the Russo-Ottoman War in 1878 that was the first apogee. During that time shipping departures with grain produce more than quadrupled. The 1880s saw ship departures plummeting due to the scandal of the Taganrog Customs and the persecution of Taganrog's biggest merchants as we shall see later. After the end of the trial in 1885 the second wave of increase took place reflecting the prominence of Azov exports in South Russia. Shipping tonnage from Taganrog sky rocketed to above one million tons of shipping tonnage until the Balkan wars. The 1890s saw an unprecedented jump of the ship departures of the upgraded port of Novorossiysk which, however, never surpassed Taganrog. Rostov, a river port on the Don, remained a small port for sea-going vessels, while Mariupol and Berdyansk were never able to compete with Taganrog.

Greek shipowners under various flags, Greek, Ottoman, Russian, Wallachian etc were the main carriers of grain to the West handling 40-45 percent of Azov shipping up to the 1860. In the period between 1860 and 1880 this rate was around 35-40 per-

Figure 8.2 Shipping departures from the Azov ports (in tons)



Sources: Socratis Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 9, forthcoming; For Russian statistics processed data from *Государственная внешняя торговля в разных ея видах* [State Foreign Trade in different categories], (Saint Petersburg: Department vneshney torgovli, 1817-1863); *Виды государственной внешней торговли: Торговля по европейским границам* [Categories of the State's External Trade per European borders], (Saint Petersburg, 1864-1870); *Обзор внешней торговли России по Европейской границе* [Overview of Russia's External Trade per European borders], (Saint Petersburg, 1871-1916) see www.blacksea.gr

cent.⁶¹ There is certainly no coincidence that the leading exporter of the Azov, Mari Vagliano, and his brothers in Marseille and London, owned in 1875 62 deep sea-going sailing vessels, and other small coastal boats as well. Among the other largest ship-owners of Azov were Stefanos Mousouris, Antony, Pantelis and Constantine Avgerinos, John Delaportas and Aristides Travlos from the island of Cephalonia, John Alafouzos and Nicholas Barbarigos from the island of Santorini, Elias Isaias from the island of Spetses, Dimitris Petrokockinos⁶² from the island of Chios and from Constantinople

61. Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping...*, table 3.7.

62. More about the Petrokockinos family in Russia, see in the study of Liliya Belousova, *Το γένος των Πετροκόκκινων. Η περίοδος του Οδησού, 19ός-αρχές 20ού*

Zakharis Zakharov. Table 8.4 contains all the ships owned by the particular shipowners at any year during the period 1840-1881.

Table 8.4 The 10 leading sailing shipowners of Azov, 1840-1881

Family	Number of sailing ships registered in Azov (A)	NRT (B)	Total number of sailing ships registered elsewhere (C)	NRT (D)	% (B)/(D) Tonnage percentage of sailing ships registered in Azov and those registered elsewhere
Vagliano Mari	15	2993	62	10598	28%
Mousouris Stefanos	11	2378	31	5724	42%
Alafouzos John	3	844	8	3012	28%
Zakharov	3	1138	10	2001	57%
Avgerinos Antony, Pantelis and Constantine	19	3721	19	3721	100%
Petrokockinos Dimitris	4	736	16	1860	40%
Barbarigos Nicholas	4	875	9	1775	49%
Isaias	8	1402	8	1402	100%
Delaportas John	2	372	13	1918	19%
Travlos Aristides	1	85	8	1204	7%

Source: Gelina Harlaftis and Nikos Vlassopoulos, *Ιστορικός νηογνώμονας, Ποντοπόρεια. Ποντοπόρα ιστιοφόρα και ατμόπλοια 1830-1939* [Pontoporeia, Historical Registry Book of Greek cargo sailing ships and steamships, 1830-1939], (ELIA/Niarchos Foundation, 2002); GARO, fond 579, opis 1, delo 100, that contains registered ships in the Azov in 1867 and GARO, fond 579, opis 1, delo 106, for registered ships in the Azov in 1883.

αιώνα [The genus of Petrokockinos family. The period of Odessa, 19th – early 20th centuries] (Chios: Greek-Ukrainian Chamber and the State Archives of Odessa region, 2007).

As the last column indicates, apart from the Avgerinos and Isaias all the other merchants and shipowners established in Taganrog registered their ships not only in Taganrog but also, usually, in their island of origin, in the Ionian or Aegean seas. For example Maris Vaglianos registered most of the ships of the family company in Cephalonia.⁶³

The scandal of the Taganrog Customs, 1881-1885

After the Crimean war and until the late 1880s, the indisputable trade “tsar”, not only of Taganrog but of all the Azov, was Maris Vaglianos. Mari Vagliano arrived in the 1820s in Taganrog as a seaman, worked for the Cephalonian Anton Avgerino for a number of years, and soon became owner of lotkas, that is small sailing craft that was used to carry the grain exports from the Don to ships anchored on the roads of Taganrog.⁶⁴ He became shipowner of a number of deep sea-going sailing vessels in which his brothers Panagi and Andreas worked in the 1830s and 1840s. In 1846 he acquired Russian citizenship and became part of the Russian merchantry registered in the first guild; in 1861 he became “Honorary Citizen” the highest aristocratic distinction a merchant could get. By that time we find him among the three largest exporters of grain after the Rallis, the Scaramangas and the Rodokanachis.⁶⁵ The Crimean War brought the Vagliano house to an apogee, which was completed with the establishment of the younger brother Panagi Vagliano in London in 1858, and of youngest brother Andrea Vagliano in Constantinople in 1850 and then in Marseille in 1869.

In 1880 the businesses of the trading company Vagliano Bros., as it was known, had been extended to at least ten countries, and was administered by the three brothers from Taganrog, London and Marseille. The Vaglianos possessed agencies, warehouses, barges and sailing ships in ports of Azov and the entire Black Sea (Rostov-on-Don, Mariupol, Berdyansk, Yeisk, Azov, Novorossiysk, Odessa, Nikolayev,

63. For a more detailed analysis of this issue in the case of Vaglianos also see Gelina Harlaftis, “Μεγιστάνες του Ιονίου: Ο οίκος των Αδελφών Βαλλιάνου” [Tycoons of the Ionian: The House of Vaglianos brothers], *Ionios Logos*, Scientific journal of the Department of History of the Ionian University, 1 (2007), pp. 303-346.

64. Harlaftis, *Creating Global Shipping...*, pp. 31-32.

65. *Ibid*, pp. 63-65.

Sevastopol, Evpatoria, Theodosia, Galatz, Braila, Sulina, Varna, Burgas), in eastern Mediterranean ports (Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, Patras, Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Ithaca, Corfu, Galaxidi, Syros, Melos, Piraeus, Santorini, Poros, Spetses and Hydra), in western Mediterranean ports (Trieste, Malta, Livorno, Genova) and in northern Europe (Manchester, Liverpool, the Hague and Rotterdam). With 62 vessels in 1875, the Vagliano brothers were the owners of the largest sailing ship fleet of the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea.⁶⁶

The development of Mari Vagliano's interconnections in the hinterland had been critical to the growth of his economic activities. One of his major successes, and of the other Greek merchants of Taganrog, had been his close relations with the Cossack elite.⁶⁷ For the 19th century there is evidence for the development of family relations between noble Cossacks and Greek merchants. In addition to the Cossack elite, the Greeks developed relations with the Cossack stanitsas of the Lower Don. The border and isolated area of Don with its rudimentary road network made land transportation from the hinterland to Taganrog extremely difficult. For most of stanitsas the only transportation capacity was by carts and oxen. In order for 100 chetvert (that is 164 tons of grain) to be transported at a distance of 100 km, twenty carts were needed, forty oxen and two weeks.⁶⁸ A sailing ship of medium size (200 nrt) could load 425 tons of grain. So, in order to load a ship of 200 nrt, they had to use 60 carts and 120 oxen. Transport difficulties made only the southern regions that were near Don, competitive to international exports because a large part of their transports was made by barges through the river. Maris Vaglianos had developed a strong network inland making agreements on grain exports with the stanitsas of the Don Cossacks, as eloquently reveals Gregory Couppa, when he visited Taganrog on 25 July 1875.⁶⁹ “Vagliano is acquainted with

66. Ibid, table 5.1. See also Harlaftis “From Diaspora Traders ..., pp. 237-268.

67. Zoya A. Tsoumakova, “Εγγράφα για την ελληνική διασπορά του Ντον και της Αζοφικής στο Κρατικό Αρχείο της Περιφέρειας του Ροστόβ-στον-Ντον” [Documents on the Greek Diaspora of the Don and the Azov in the State Archive of the Region of Rostov-on-Don] in Sifneos and Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...*, pp. 537-559.

68. O' Rourke, *Warriors and Peasants*, p. 93.

69. Evrydiki Sifneos, “Εθνικός αυτοπροσδιορισμός σε ένα οικονομικά μεταβαλλόμενο περιβάλλον. Η μαρτυρία ενός έλληνα εμποροϋπαλλήλου από το ρωσικό

all the villagers of the ancient border line of Cossacks in Caucasus. These Cossacks do not trust to sell to other buyers and resellers”.⁷⁰

In November of 1881, a few months following the coronation of Tsar Alexander III, a three-member Committee by order of the Ministry of Finance arrived in Taganrog. After a month of interrogations, in late December, the Committee gave orders for numerous arrests and imprisonments. The first to be arrested was the “tsar” of the city, the 73-year-old Maris Vaglianos on charges of tax evasion, smuggling and counterfeiting. The British consul, in 1882, reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of England the following: “The richest merchant of the city, the head of the famous company Vagliano Brothers of London, which controls the trade of southern Russia, was arrested and imprisoned. Vagliano remained in prison for a month and, after paying one million rubles as a bail, a mythical amount for the time, he was released until his trial”.

The arrest of Maris Vaglianos was only the beginning. Then 21 big merchants and merchant employees were arrested. Along with these, the Commander of the Port Nikitenko, the Ship Inspector Kouzovlev, the Warehouse Inspector Aikanov and fifteen more civil servants of the Taganrog Customs were arrested (picture 8.4). The Chief of Police, Kouzovlev, who was the brother of the ship inspector, was made redundant. Thus, at Christmas of 1881 the city was paralyzed. The urban prefect of Taganrog, prince admiral Makt-soutov was accused of bribery and tolerance for the illegal disposal of the ballast of the ships in the port and urgently left for St. Petersburg. There he was not accepted by the Tsar for a hearing, and returned to Taganrog only to die of heart attack two months later.⁷¹

The trial of Taganrog’s customs office was conducted four years

εμπόριο σιτηρών” [National Self Definition in a Changing Economic Environment. A Testimony from a Greek Commercial-Employee in the Russian Grain Trade], *Research Notebooks*, 28, (2005), pp. 116-125.

70. Letter of Gr. Couppas from Taganrog, issue 8, 12/51875-5/11/1876, E.L.I.A. For Gr. Couppas see Sifneos, *ibid*.

71. The National Archives (London), FO 65/1146, 26 January 1882, “Letter from Consul Wooldridge to Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs”. Also see, FO 65/1146, 18 May 1882, “Letter from Consul Wooldridge to Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs”.

later and lasted from February to March of 1885.⁷² It has been considered by leading jurists of the 19th century as the largest trial in the history of Russian courts after the reforms of the judicial system in 1864, which modernized the Russian justice. It took enormous publicity for the time with daily reports on its outcome in all major newspapers of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Odessa and Kharkov. The court had to hear 1,315 charges for 37 defendants, of whom 19 were merchants and merchant employees (there were two more but they fled abroad) and 18 were civil servants of the customs office of Taganrog. The accused were defended by, at least, ten of the most famous lawyers of Russia. In the course of the trial it was proved that the big merchants in cooperation with the customs office officials, had developed methods for tax avoidance in collaboration with the merchants.⁷³

Very interesting are the reports of the experts consisting of members of the customs offices of Sevastopol and Odessa, who examined carefully all charges on declared imported goods. They found out that the fraud, ranged on a fixed and predefined rate of 4-5 percent. The decision of the court of Kharkov was announced on 10 March 1885. Of the thirty-seven defendants, twenty-five were acquitted. Twelve were found guilty, six of which, who were employees of the customs office, were dismissed on forgery and bribery, were deprived of their political rights and they were exiled to Tobolsk or Tomsk in Siberia.⁷⁴

72. Unique and valuable archival material on the famous trial is found in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kiev (Центральний державний історичний архів України), hereafter TsDIAK, in the fond “Харьковская судебная палата” [Court of Kharkov], 1072, opis 3, delo 1504-1508, “For the duty free imports of foreign goods from the customs office of Taganrog, January 1885 – 1 June 1887”. The files contain records of interrogation of witnesses and defendants, estimates of tax evasion, protocols of experts after the examination of the records, the commercial correspondence and other supporting documents (eg. bills of lading, charters) of the trade houses and their comparison with those of customs office, the judicial decisions, their enforcement and various applications of lawyers concerning their clients. For a detailed analysis of the trial and its impact in Russia see Gelina 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], *Istorika*, 54 (2011), pp. 72-122.

73. TsDIAK, fond 1072, opis 2, delo 1505, list 140.

74. Harlaftis, *Creating Global Shipping...*

Picture 8.4 The Taganrog Custom House



The Greek merchants who were found guilty of tax evasion, paid a sum, multiple of the amount of the tax evasion they committed, and they were released. The heaviest penalty was imposed on Mari Vagliano who was found guilty for tax evasion for receiving goods without duty and he was punished with the largest fine the Court had ever imposed, of 724,344 rubles.⁷⁵ But most importantly he was found guilty of criminal offense due to complicity in the forgery of a state document and he was punished with deprivation of civil rights, exile to Tobolsk and confiscation of his property. A month later, on 11 April 1885, he appealed to the Supreme Court of St. Petersburg for annulment of his penalty. On 17 October 1885, the Supreme Court of St. Petersburg annulled the Court judgment

75. On the first judgment of the Court of Kharkov concerning Maris Vaglianos see TsDIAK, fond 1072 “Kharkov Court”, opis 3, delo 1504, executive decision, 25 May 1885, list. 151. Ibid, on the second decision, after appeal, 23 April 1886, list. 153. Also see in the fond 1072, opis 3, delo 1508, p. 18, which states that according to the decision of 12 February/13 March 1885 he had to pay 724,344 rubles, and list 19, where on 23 April 1886 the fine was 327,866 rubles and with the additional charges reached 396,478 rubles.

of Kharkov and sent the case to the court for re-examination. The Court of Kharkov re-examined the Vagliano case on April 1886. On 23 April 1886 it found Mari Vagliano innocent for the criminal offense and repealed the sentence of the exile, the deprivation of his political rights and the confiscation of his property.⁷⁶ The fine was reduced from 724,344 rubles to 327,866, an amount exclusively the fivefold amount of the duty; along with other expenses the final calculation was 396,478 rubles.⁷⁷ After that Mari Vagliano was released, and he returned to his town Taganrog where he spent the remaining 10 years of his life until his death on January 1896. He left a huge fortune to his sons, who lived in Paris and London, which was estimated between 50 and 150 million rubles.⁷⁸

The results of the trial rose the question as to the reasons behind the attack to the big merchants of Taganrog, who finally came out unscathed from the whole affair. Was it the effort of the Russian state to control the corruption of the public servants and of the rich merchants in the frontier of the empire? This was the favorite interpretation of the Russian press. Was it a coincidence that the arrests in Taganrog took place just six months after the coronation of the Tsar Alexander III? The pogroms against the Jews in 1881, which the Russian government did not prevent, announced, in a way, the xenophobic and conservative policy of the new emperor. Moreover, this policy, as opposed to that of the liberal Tsar Alexander II, was in line with the wishes of the strong group of Moscovite big merchants, who competed with the foreign merchants in the export trade of the Russian South. Let us not forget that in 1881 the biggest economic crisis Western Europe had ever experienced was in progress, despite the achievements of the European industrial revolution. The aim of the powerful Moscovite group was in favour of the increase of state protectionism that would control the

76. On the abolishment of the confiscation of his property see TsDIAK fond 1072, opis, delo 1504, pp. 328-332, 346.

77. Ibid, list 19. For the entire opinion on the reduction of the fine see “Анатолий Федорович Кони” [Anatoli Fendorovitch Koni], part six, available on the web <http://www.pravoteka.ru/lib/raznoe/0002> (last web access on 17/12/2008). Anatoli Fendorovitch Koni was judge, famous jurist and an Appellate Judge in Saint Petersburg and he had consulted for the case to the Court of Appeal/Cassation Court of Saint Petersburg.

78. Harlaftis, *Creating Global Shipping...*, p. 266.

dominant position of merchants from the various ethno-cultural groups, in the exports of southern Russia. Taganrog, a small town, and its merchants were probably targeted as a scapegoat to stress the strength of the state power in the region and to consolidate the new, conservative and protectionist economic policy.⁷⁹

The fact is that the trial of the Taganrog Customs had devastating effects on the export trade of Azov. The temporary pause of the business of the major merchants of the city resulted in the vertical contraction of the Azov exports, which fell from 60% to 25% of total exports of the South. Respectively, exports from Taganrog were halved, they decreased from 20 percent to 40 percent in the total exports of Azov, compared to the previous year, (figure 8.1). Taganrog was hit hard and was surpassed by Rostov-on-Don in the exports of the region. Yet, the port of Taganrog maintained throughout this period its primacy in the Azov shipping and ranged at the same level as the previous period, namely the 60-80 percent of the all departures from the Azov Sea (figure 8.2).

Trade and Shipping of Taganrog, 1881-1912

After the customs office case, it took almost a decade for Greeks to regain their position. In the 1890s the Greek participation reached the 25 percent of the total number of merchants, and then came back dynamically to the high rate of 40 percent during the first decade of the 20th century.

Technological developments of the industrial revolution in the form of steam arrived to the land by train and to the sea by steamships. Steam was introduced since the 1870s in the costal shipping of Azov with steam tugs that facilitated the sea-routes to the anchorage of Taganrog and the loading and unloading of cargoes. In the decade of 1880 in Western Europe, and particularly in Britain, the use of the new technology of steel in the construction of the hull of the ship and the triple expansion engines had made steamers more competitive than sailing ships. The British steamers replaced the Greek sailing ships in the ports of Azov in the 1880s and 1890s. If the Greek businessmen wanted to be on the top of the grain trade

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-121.

it was necessary to invest in the new technology of steam. Panagi Vagliano who was in London and running the Vagliano business from there, had also opened the first shipping office in London from mid-19th century to the beginning of the 20th century providing information on sales and purchases of new and used steamers, chartering, broking, insurance, bunkering, repairs, etc. This office proved pivotal for the transition from steam to sail for the whole Greek shipping fleet as it granted loans for purchases of steamers.⁸⁰ After the withdrawal from business of the elderly Mari Vagliano in 1886, the Vaglianos presence remained on a top level in the Azov area with two Vagliano nephews, Michael Spyridon Vagliano established in Rostov and Athanassios Spyridon Vagliano in Novorossiysk who represented the House of Vagliano Bros in the area.⁸¹

Table 8.5 The largest shipowners of sailing ships and steamships registered in Azov, 1884-1914

Name	Number of sailing ships	Number of steamers	Tonnage of steamers (κκγ)
Theofanis	15	25	12,439
Svoronos	-	16	10,410
Sifneos	-	9	6,390
Vaglianos	3	4 (30)	4,245 (25,714)
Diamantidis	-	6	2,856
Mavrokordatos	7	6	2,084
Kourkoumelis/Couppa	7	3	729
Mousouris	34	-	-
Petrocockinos D.	18	-	-
Papoutzis	16	-	-
Charatzaev	14	-	-
Kazantziev (Berdyansk)	9	-	-
Alafouzos I.	8	-	-
Gerasimatos G.S.	7	-	-

Source: Harlaftis and Nikos Vlassopoulos, *Ιστορικός νηογνώμονας, Ποντοπόρεια. Ποντοπόρα ιστιοφόρα και ατμόπλοια 1830-1939* [Pontoporeia, Historical Register].

80. Harlaftis, “From Diaspora Traders to Shipping Tycoons...; Harlaftis, *Creating Global Shipping...*, pp. 122-146.

81. Harlaftis, *Creating Global Shipping...* .

try Book of Greek cargo sailing ships and steamships, 1830-1939], ELIA/Niarchos Foundation, 2002; GARO, fond 579, opis 1, delo 100, that contains registered ships in the Azov in 1867 and GARO, fond 579, opis 1, delo 106, for registered ships in the Azov in 1883; Svitlana Novikova, Внесок греків в економічний розвиток північного Приазов'я (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.) [The Contribution of the Greeks in the Economic Development of Northern Azov (second half of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century)], (Ph.D. thesis, Historical Institute of Ukraine, National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev: 2005).

Big merchants of Taganrog like Mousouris and Petrokockinos, and also those of other cities, like Charatzaev in Mariupol, Couppa (with Kourkoumelis as agent) and Papoutzis in Berdyansk continued to be shipowners of a large number of sailing ships (see table 8.5). A number of them invested in steamers. The Vaglianos until late 1870s owned more than 60 sailing ships and no steamships; by 1900 they owned only 3 sailing ships and 30 steamships of 25,714 nrt which made them the largest tramp shipping shipowners not only of the Black Sea but also of the whole eastern Mediterranean Sea.⁸² The medium-sized businesses of Diamantidis, Couppa, Mavrokordatos, Svoronos, and Sifneos invested in new and used British steamers and managed through their business networks to continue their activities outside the Azov Sea during the First World War. The “new generation” of ship owners also appeared in the Sea of Azov, namely those who were exclusively dealing with maritime transport and not with the grain trade, as Theofanis, Svoronos and Kourkoumelis.

The trade body of Greek merchants in Taganrog who belonged to the first and second guild between 1882 and 1912, consisted of 78 merchants from a total of fifty families most of which existed in the previous period.⁸³ During this period the total number of registered merchants in the guilds of Taganrog city were 208 in 1882 and reached 329 in 1912.⁸⁴ Greeks formed 25 percent of the total body of merchants, in the 1880s, a percentage that fell to 11 percent in the 1912. The decrease in the percentage of Greeks was due to the decline of Taganrog in grain exports related to the scandal and

82. *Ibid.*, table 5.1, p. 125.

83. Sifneos and Harlaftis, “Taganrog of the Greeks...”, table 12.

84. GARO, fond 589, opis 1, delo 32 (for 1882) and fond 577, opis 1, delo 92 (for 1912).

trial of the Taganrog Customs in the 1880s, the increased competition of the Russians and Jewish merchants and the development of Rostov-on-Don. Greeks, known for their flexibility and adjustment turned quite early to the new export center.

Most of the prominent Taganrog Greek merchants moved to the new metropolis of grain in the area: Rostov-on-Don. The first Greek merchant, who moved to Rostov-on-Don, was the visionary Ivan Scaramanga in 1858.⁸⁵ In the following decades the headquarters of the Greek houses of Michael S. Vaglianos, N. Mavrokordatos, Dimitrios N. Diamantidis, Ioannis Th. Sifneos, A. D. Mousouris, Dimitrios A. Negreponte and Nikolaos Falieros were transferred to the city of Rostov-on-Don. Along with E. L. Zifo, the Skanavis Bros and the houses of Rodocanachi and Sevastopoulo from Odessa, they played an important role in the exports of Rostov on Don in the period under consideration as indicated in table 8.6. According to table 8.7 the Greeks led the city's exports in the 1890s, managing on the average 40 percent of its exported goods.

Table 8.6 The exporters of Rostov on Don, 1895

Companies	Quantity / punt
Louis Dreyfus & Co	9,046,380
Scaramangas – Manousis & Co	8,149,649
Bank Azov-Don, of Rostov	7,374,165
D. N. Diamantidis	7,196,300
Feldman & Scaramangas	7,192,190
Vaglianos Michael Spyridon	5,479,100
E. L. Zifos & Co	3,808,900
Dreyfus Bros	1,596,100
A. Skanavis & Co	920,846
Others	17,330,344
Total exports for 1895	68,093,983
Participation of Greeks in the exports	48,01%

Source: Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 933/13, 1895.

85. Ioannis Scaramangas built his two-story house in Rostov-on-Don in 1858. It included a central building, his son's, Georgios Scaramangas, apartment, with a separate entrance, glass-house, depots, yard and a garden. It was located on the corner of Staraia Postovaia and Maliy Prospekt. See Kandyliis, *History of Three Big Families...*, p. 35.

Table 8.7 Exports of Greek merchants from Rostov on Don, 1893-1902 (in poods)

Year	Greek Exports	Total of exports	%
1893	17,488,348	41,887,504	42%
1894	14,850,283	47,532,230	31%
1895	32,746,945	68,093,980	48%
1896	23,158,840	53,610,000	43%
1897	15,879,400	46,354,000	34%
1898	15,637,000	45,785,700	34%
1899	7,310,100	51,790,000	14%
1900	4,083,000	58,914,400	7%
1901	9,784,000	46,385,600	21%

Sources: Отчет Ростовского на Дону биржевого комитета [Report of the Committee of the *Birzha* of Rostov on Don], 1886-1895; Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 933/13 for the years 1897-1898; R 9331/68 for the year 1899; P 9331/17 for the year 1900; and Российский государственный исторический архив [Russian State Historical Archive, RGIA], fond 22, opis 5, delo 274, for the year 1901.

The major competitor of Greeks in exports was the Franco-Jewish house of Dreyfus, one of the biggest grain exporters in the Russian north and south. Today it belongs – along with Cargill, Bunge & Born and Fribourg – to the four largest grain companies in the world. It was a family business which rose dynamically in the third quarter of the 19th century. It started in 1850 as a meat production and Distribution Company in the Alsatian city Sierentz and it was expanded in grain trade in Basel, Zurich, Pest, Bucharest, Taganrog, Odessa, Rostov, Marseille and Paris.⁸⁶ The headquarters of the company were transferred to Paris with the founder and the head of the company, Leopold Louis Dreyfus (1833-1915) moving there from 1876 until the First World War. In 1862 he entered the Russian market and evolved into the largest pre-revolutionary grain

86. See Wolfgang Sartor, “Λουί Ντρέυφους & Σία. Μια διεθνής, μεγάλη εμπορική επιχείρηση και η παρουσία της στη δημόσια ζωή της Ρωσίας” [Louis Dreyfus & Co. An International, Big Trading Company and its Presence in the Public Life of Russia], in Sifneos and Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...*, pp. 501-523.

exporter. His brothers Joseph, Nathan, Ruben and Constantine were posted in other important export centers. The Dreyfus got established, apart from Russia, in Romania, in America and in Argentina. They appeared in Rostov-on-Don through the three houses of Dreyfus Bros, Leopold Louis Dreyfus & Co and Joseph Dreyfus & Co. In 1906 they had 113 branches throughout Russia. The company exported from Russia millions of poods of grain each year: indicatively from 143 million during the five year period 1885-1889, it reached 248 million during the three year period 1908-1910.⁸⁷

In addition to the big rise in exports, the development of heavy industry characterised the southern Russian ports. All three port cities of the Azov, Taganrog, Mariupol and Berdyansk, acquired large metallurgical complexes of foreign interests. The European entrepreneurs, and especially Belgians, found extremely beneficial the investment terms offered by the Finance Minister Sergei Witte and enjoyed big profits.⁸⁸ There were a number of Greeks who also invested in the industry of the area although a more systematic work on the subject still remains to be done. Ivan Ambrose Scaramangas bought in the late 19th century the old tannery of Taganrog (founded in 1858) and he attempted to increase its productivity hiring the brothers Koressi as managers. Scaramangas further diversified in industry. However, the lack of necessary technological knowledge and management very soon led him to sell it to Belgian investors. Michael S. Vaglianos invested in coal mines in the Donetsk region,⁸⁹ and it seems that he was not the only one. The tobacco industry and the flour industry attracted the highest interest of the Greek capital holders. For example, A. D. Nomikos was pasta factory owner in Taganrog in the 1890s.⁹⁰ Greeks from Pontos (the southeastern coast of the Black Sea), established in Rostov-on-

87. Ibid.

88. John P. McKay, *Pioneers for Profit. Foreign Entrepreneurship and Russian Industrialization 1885-1913*, (Chicago and London: 1970), pp. 71-78. Natalia Gurushina, "Free-Standing Companies in Tsarist Russia", in M. Wilkins and H. Schröter (eds.), *The Free-Standing Company in the World Economy, 1830-1996*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998), pp. 160-201.

89. The National Archives (London), BT31/18602/100192 "Vagliano Anthracite Colliers".

90. Newspaper, *Taganrog Vestnik*, 16 March 1894.

Don, specialized in the tobacco industry importing tobacco from the southern coast to the Azov. The case of Constantine Mesaxoudis⁹¹ in Kerch and the Aslanidis brothers' in Rostov-on-Don indicate their tradition in tobacco processing, which has continued to the present day. The brothers Achilleas and Ioannis Aslanidis owned a tobacco company in Rostov with an annual turnover of 1,000,000 rubles in the early 20th century and possessed, besides the commercial house, a tobacco processing factory with 300 workers and steam-powered mills in Novorossiysk. The company went bankrupt in 1912 and was forced to compensate its creditors, to whom it owed 617,216 rubles, by selling its assets, as well as commodities and raw materials.⁹² On the same factory premises the company Donskoe Tabak is housed today, managed until recently by G. Savvidis, a Duma deputy in southern Russia.

Some conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to analyze how the Greeks became pivotal in developing the trade and shipping of Taganrog especially and of the Azov generally from the late 18th to the early 20th century. They did so by organizing a maritime transport system for the export of the grain cargoes, connecting the Azov port-cities to Western Europe. They did this in three ways, firstly by settling and engaging in the formation and running of the town; secondly by taking control and leading the external trade of the town and gaining access to the hinterland of Taganrog; and thirdly controlling the shipping of the town and thus being able to export grain cargoes to the foreland, that is the ports of the Mediterranean and northern European seas.

This study, a product of our research built up on Russian, Ukrainian, Greek and British archives, confirms the success of the “Greek plan” of Catherine the Great for the displacement of people in the territories of the new Russian dominions and the choice of Greeks for the creation of port-cities. Under the ethno-cultural alchemy in the area of southern Russia Greeks were preferred and

91. See Pagonitakis, “The Family of the Tobacco Industrialists ...”, pp. 481-499.

92. GARO, fond 1, opis 1, delo 11, “Bankruptcy of Aslanidis Bros 1903-1913”.

promoted because of their maritime skills and their trade capacities, in order to form a new economic zone and link it to international trade.

From the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca to the Crimean War, they were able to make linkages and contribute to the development the river and land transport to the Azov hinterland⁹³ and thus collect the harvest through the very difficult conditions of the primitive Russian South. One has to remember that grain came down through rivers, non-existent roads and that from November to March everything was covered with ice, rivers and the Azov Sea were frozen. They also had to have available fleets of small sailing craft to bring the produce from the river estuaries to the ports and have available sailing ships to transport them abroad. And then entrepreneurial risk had to be minimized somehow and information of prices in far away markets to be available at a time when letter-writing was the only means of communication. The formation of systems of communication that made the whole procedure of purchasing and bringing the produce from the hinterland to the port, promote it to other ports in the foreland and selling it is what we have described as entrepreneurial networks.

Taganrog's merchants and shipowners interconnected with the merchants and the shipowners of the other Azov port-towns and undertook the control of external trade and shipping establishing networks and linkages with the West. They all proved the catalysts for the trade apogee and contributed significantly to the evolution of the port-cities. Among the business groups of the various ethnic minorities that inhabited the newly formed South Russian port-cities of the northern and eastern coast of the Black Sea, the Greeks excelled in the first half of the nineteenth century by trading, shipping and financing more than half of the whole external trade. They continued the same business in the second half of the century, albeit the fierce competition of the Jewish trading companies, handling at least one third of the total south Russian production and carrying with their ships more than half.⁹⁴

93. See Nailya Tagirova, "The Volga-Don road to the Black Sea: Evolution and Reality of the 19th century", in this volume, chapter 3.

94. Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping...* .

Because the area of Azov has specific characteristics, the combination of trade and ownership of vessels of the Greek trading and shipping companies offered a significant advantage over the merchants of other nationalities: it covered the deficit of Russian merchant fleet and ensured international connections with European ports. The Greeks settled in Taganrog managed to successfully compete against all other Western nationalities, particularly the British, because of their business organization and networking that ensured reduced costs. Besides, their local linkages with the producers of the hinterland, the Don Cossacks, contributed to the handling and selling Russian grain. Their coastal and deep-sea going fleet allowed an almost monopolistic transport of agricultural products from the coasts and rivers to Taganrog and to further destinations.

Particularly important was their trade organization and ability to survive initially primitive conditions, and help built the infrastructure with limited state support. The function of the Greek merchants of Azov through family businesses with international entrepreneurial networks in Mediterranean and northern European ports allowed them to keep increased turnovers and direct communication between production and consumption without the mediation of agents. Another important advantage was the geographical proximity between Greece and the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire with the regions of Southern Russia. Greeks had a strong presence in Constantinople before opening the Black Sea in international trade as well as thereafter, during the 19th and 20th centuries. Constantinople proved to be the springboard for the “conquest” of Azov and the “safety net”, whenever the Black Sea “closed”.

The business strategy of the Greek merchant houses of Azov is characterized by mobility and flexibility, which they displayed in times of crisis moving into new geographical markets within and outside the Azov Sea. In the early 20th century, the limits of their expansion were determined by serious economic and political events, such as the Balkan wars, the First World War and the final blow give by the Russian revolution that put an end to the Greek business presence in Azov. However, in the 19th century, the great challenge to create a new economic zone in the south of Russia and link it with international trade was achieved, and the Greeks of the area have a prime and valuable contribution to this endeavor.

9.

Ethnic processes in Mariupol and Russia's imperial migration policy (19th – early 20th century)

Irina Ponomariova

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Russian Empire witnessed waves of strong migration movements in order to populate the areas conquered as a result of a series of military campaigns in the Black Sea and the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Russia expanded its territory by abolishing the Zaporizhian Sich (1775) and capturing the Crimean Khanate (1783). After the conquest the maps indicate the Province of “New Russia” or simply “Novorossiya”, which eventually was divided into the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav, Kherson (Nikolayev), Tauris and the Region of Bessarabia. The policy of populating this vast territory was to attract settlers of non-Slavic people, mainly from Crimea and western Europe. Since the time of Peter I, the Russian Empire sought to modernize Russian society following the example of European states. In the eighteenth – early nineteenth centuries, Russia's human resources showed limited numbers and low economic indicators, so the state, gave incentives to attract immigrants who in a rather short period of time managed to raise industrial and agricultural production similar to that of Western Europe. In 1762, Catherine II published the “Manifesto on allowing foreigners, except for Jews, to come and settle in Russia ...”¹, that granted the immigrants with benefits and privileges more significant than those

1. “Манифест о позволении иностранцам, кроме жидов, выходить и селиться в России и о свободном возвращении в свое отечество русских людей, бежавших за границу” [Manifesto on allowing foreigners, except for Jews, to come and settle in Russia and on the free return to their homeland of Russian people, who fled abroad], *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи 1762-1764* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire 1762-1764], No. 11720, Vol. 16, (Saint Petersburg: 1830), p. 126-127.

of the Slavic population of the region. Great economic opportunities were provided for foreigners by the “Manifesto on allowing all foreign newcomers to Russia to settle in the provinces of their will and on the rights granted to them” (1763).² These served as the basis of the Russian migration policy until 1804, when new regulations for immigrants were adopted.³

Despite the approval of the document titled “The plan for distribution of the state land in the Guberniia of Novorossiia for its development” (1764)⁴, the process of resettlement of ethnic migrants to the territory of the Russian Empire experienced difficulties because of the lack of a clear program for land distribution. For example, when the Greeks from the Crimean Khanate arrived to the lands of the Samar Palanka (see map 9.1), a certain confusion took place because the area had been already occupied by the Slavic population. Since the Greeks had been promised a compact monoethnic residence in Russia, they went looking for new territories to live in along the northern coast of the Sea of Azov. However, when they arrived at the mouth of river Kalmius, the site of the present-day Mariupol, they found Cossacks of the Kalmius Palanka living in 55 wooden buildings.⁵ The Greeks were given priority by the state for settling down in this area.

2. “Манифест о дозволении всем иностранца, в Россию выезжающим, поселиться в которых губерниях они пожелают и о дарованных им правах” [Manifesto on allowing all foreign newcomers to Russia to settle in the guberniia of their will and on the rights granted to them], *Ibid.*, No. 11880, Vol. 16, p. 513-515.

3. “Доклад министерства внутренних дел о местах для поселения иностранцев на юге России, утвержденный Александром I 22.02.1804” [Report of the Ministry of Interior on the places for the settlement of foreigners in Southern Russia approved by Alexander I February 22, 1804], *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи 1804-1805* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire 1804-1805], Vol. 28, (Saint Petersburg: 1830), p. 154-155.

4. “Высочайше подтвержденный план о раздаче в Новороссийской губернии казенных земель к их заселению” [The highly confirmed plan for allocating the state lands for the settlement in the Province of Novorossiia], *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи 1762-1764* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire 1762-1764], No. 12099, Vol. 16, (Saint Petersburg: 1830), p. 657-667.

5. Российский государственный архив древних актов [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, hereafter RGADA] фонд 16 “Domestic administration”, opis 1, delo 588 “Report to Prince Potemkin-Tavrisheskiy on the administration of the Province of Azov, Parts I-XIII, 1775-1784”, Pt. 6, list. 265.

Map 9.1 Samar and Kalmius Palankas



Карта Самарської паланки.

This happened along the line of the “Greek project” of Empress Catherine II which meant conquest of the lands of the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire, and revival of Byzantium by the Russians with Constantinople as capital. In 1770, the Empress shared with Voltaire her idea of a Russian crusade to the Mediterranean.⁶ The “Greek Project” found support in certain circles of the Russian society. Catherine II believed that her grandson, Constantine Pavlovich Romanov, could take the throne in Constantinople. When he was born, there appeared the following verse: “There has risen Constantine! Rejoice, you Greeks: you will resume the glory of your past, and he will raise Athens with his mighty hand”.⁷ In honour of the birth of the future emperor, the medal “For the birth of Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovich on April 26, 1779” was cast featuring a portrait of Catherine II (made by K. Leberecht) on the obverse and an image of Faith, Hope and Love with a child in her arms (made by I. Gass) on the reverse. On the right from the latter image, there is a depiction of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople, on the left is an image of two ships and a rising star, and above is the inscription “СЪ СИМИ” in the rays.⁸ A little later, in 1779, a commemorative medal was issued dedicated to the exodus of Christians from the Crimea and their settlement on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov. The medal shows a portrait of Catherine II on the obverse and the words “Here is a gracious shelter. May 21, 1779”

6. Вольтер и Екатерина II [Voltaire and Catherine II] (Saint Petersburg: 1882), p. 74; A.V. Gavryushkin, *Граф Никита Панин. Из истории русской дипломатии века* [Count Nikita Panin. From the history of the Russian diplomacy of the century] (Moscow: 1989), p. 134.

7. K.F.G. [Golitsyn F.N.], “Песнь на рождение его императорского высочества благоверного государя великого князя Константина Павловича, сочиненная в Царском Селе 27 дня 1779 года” [Ode to the birth of his Imperial Highness the faithful sovereign the Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich, composed in Tsarskoe Selo on the 27th day of 1779], *Akademicheskie izvestiya*, Pts. 2:6 (1779), p. 187.

8. “На рождение великого князя Константина Павловича 26-го апреля 1779 года: снимок с редкой медали” [On the birth of Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich on April 26, 1779: a photo of a rare medal], *Russkaya starina*, 5 (1877), Appendix; “Настольная медаль ‘В память рождения Великого Князя Константина Павловича’” [Table medal ‘In commemoration of the birth of Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich (1779)’], <http://www.etoretro.ru/pic41301.htm> (date of access 15 June 2015).

inscribed on the reverse.⁹ In Russian historical literature of the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries, it was unanimously claimed that Mariupol had been founded in 1779.

For the Russian Empire, the northern coast of the Sea of Azov was an important strategic military and economic region. Sources of raw materials, convenient geographic and climatic conditions, and the sea coast favored the growth of ports with all year-round activity. Russia was interested in populating the southern part of the country and establishing a reliable system of public administration in the region.¹⁰ The task fell on the Christian population of the Crimean Khanate. In 1778, thirty thousand Crimean Christians began their travel from the Crimea to the Province of Azov, where they settled down, having received some concessions declared in the “Letter of Grant of Catherine II”.¹¹ Greeks, that were eventually resettled in Mariupol, Armenians, that were resettled in New Nakhichevan¹² and Georgians were among the major taxpayers in the Crimean Khanate, known for their diligence and, thus, coveted by the Russian state as immigrants to develop the new frontier lands.

9. Мариупольский краеведческий музей. Фонды [Collection of the Museum of the Local History of Mariupol], No. 2468-omz, Commemorative medal ‘Here is a gracious shelter’; I. S. Ропомаріова, “Етнічна історія греків Приазов’я (кінець XVIII – початок XXI ст.). Історико-етнографічне дослідження” [Ethnic history of Greeks from the region of Azov (late 18th – early 21st centuries). Studies in history and ethnography] (Ph.D. Thesis, Kyiv 2006), p. 39.

10. А. А. Skalkovskiy, *Опыт статистического описания Новороссийского края* [Essay in statistical description of the region of Novorossiia], Pts. 1:2 (Odessa: 1850-1853), p. 552.

11. “Жалованная грамота христианам греческого закона, вышедшим из Крыма в Азовскую губернию на поселение” [The Letter of Grant to Christians of the Greek rite, who moved out of the Crimea to settle down in the Province of Azov], *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи 1762-1764* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire 1762-1764], No. 12099, Vol. 20, (Saint Petersburg: 1830), p. 657-667; N. Dubrovin, *Присоединение Крыма к России: Рескрипты, письма, реякции и донесения* [The accession of the Crimea to Russia: rescripts, letters, references and reports], Vol. 3, 1779-1780s (Saint Petersburg: 1887), pp. 319, 713; R. Saenko, *Из истории основания г. Мариуполя* [On the history of foundation of Mariupol] (Mariupol: 1997), p. 9.

12. See Sarkis Kazarov, “Nakhichevan-on-Don: Armenian merchants and their role in the commercial development of the Azov-Black Sea region”, in this volume, chapter 14.

As was emphasized above, the migration of Greeks and the founding of the city of Mariupol took place within the framework of the global project of the Russian Empress Catherine II aimed at achieving strategic colonization goals in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Due to the Empress' policy of resettlement, in 1780 the northern coast of the Sea of Azov was also populated by the Urums (Turkic-speaking Greeks), who immigrated from several Crimean towns and villages including Balaklava, Bakhchisaray, Evpatoria and Theodosia. In this way, the founders of the city of Mariupol spoke the Oghuz dialect of the Turkic group of the Altaic language family.¹³ Some researchers of the nineteenth and twentieth called these people Tatars and referred to their language as Tatarian because in Crimea they lived among Tatars.¹⁴ In addition to the town of Mariupol, the Greeks founded 21 villages in the District of Mariupol according to the order of Grigoriy Potemkin of March 29, 1779.¹⁵ By the time the Christians migrated to the Azov Province (1778), 26 ethnic groups lived there; among them Ukrainians predominated (75,338 men, 61,568 women). Russians were three times fewer in number (24,236 men, 21,576 women), and the third largest group of residents in the province included immigrants from Crimea (Greeks, Vlachs and Armenians).¹⁶ The Greeks were granted the opportunity to live in a mono-ethnic community, while people from other ethnic groups had to move out from their territory.

13. I. S. Ponomariova, "Місто Маріуполь та грецька спільнота (кін. XVIII – XIX ст.)" [The town of Mariupol and the Greek community (late 18th – 19th centuries)], *Gileya: Naukovyy visnyk*, Special issue (2009), pp. 34-39; I. S. Ponomariova, "Трансформація у часі та сучасне функціонування мови греків-тюркофонів Приазов'я" [Transformation through time and the present-day use of language of the Turkic-speaking Greeks of the region of Azov], *Skhodoznasnyvo*, 3 (2007), pp. 163-180; Irina Ponomaryova, "The Azov Urums: history, culture, migration", *Almanach VIA EVRASIA*, 2 (2013), CONTENT, <http://www.viaevrasia.com/bg/almanach-via-evrasia-2013-2-content.html>.

14. G. Titov, *Мариупольские греки. Письмо VII* [Greeks of Mariupol. Letter VII], in *Pisma iz Ekaterinoslava*, (Odessa: Tipografiya Brauna I. K. 1849), p. 137.

15. RGADA, fond 16 "Domestic administration", opis 1, delo 588 "Report to Prince Potemkin-Tavrisheskiy on the administration of the Province of Azov, Parts I-XIII, 1775-1784", Pt. 6, list. 261 verso., 262-264, 265 verso.

16. RGADA, fond 16 "Domestic administration", opis 1, delo 588 "Report to Prince Potemkin-Tavrisheskiy on the administration of the Province of Azov, Parts I-XIII, 1775-1784", Pt.5, list. 120.

To date, two main points of view have been expressed about the foundation of the town of Mariupol known as the “Greek” and the “Pre-Greek”. Most researchers using a wide range of archival materials such as M. Aradzhioni, A. Gede, Kaloerov, S. Pakhomenko, I. Ponomariova and L. Yakubova adhere to the former standpoint.¹⁷ Some local historians argue that there were more ancient settlements within the area of Mariupol, of which one of the earliest was known as Domaha. In the 14th-15th centuries, the basin of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea became attractive for commerce of European merchants, and on the shore of the Sea of Azov there appeared Venetian-Genoese outposts, including Adomaha.¹⁸ In the 16th century, the Zaporozhian Cossacks built there a fortress they named Domaha, which became the center of the Kalmius Palanka. This was a small Cossack outpost needed for fishing and defense, but in 1754, Metropolitan Timothei Shcherbatskiy of Kiev blessed the charter for the consecration of the field church of St. Nicholas built by the Cossacks.¹⁹ There is a certain history of the Kalmius Palanka as the place of residence of the Ukrainian Cossacks. The legends about the fortress of Domaha and the Kalmius Palanka as well as some documents about the alleged town of Pavlovsk in the place of Mariupol permit the local historians to link the earliest history of Mariupol to the Zaporozhian Cossacks (picture 9.1).²⁰

17. Irina Ponomariova, “Mariupol. The legal system – the orders on the foundation of the port and the town”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020).

18. S. P. Карпов, “Маршруты Черноморских навигаций венецианских галей “линии” в 14-15 вв.” [The navigation routes of Venetian ships in the Black Sea in the 14th and 15th centuries], in *Vizantiya, Sredizemnomorie, Slavyanskiy mir: Sbornik*, (Moscow: Izdatelstvo MGU, 1991), pp. 83, 86; V. Pirko, Заселення Донеччини у XVI-XVIII ст. [Settlement of the Donets region in the 16th-18th centuries] (Donetsk: Skhidnyy vydavnychiy dim, 2003), p. 180.

19. Pirko, *Settlement of the Donets...*, pp. 96-97; G. I. Timoshevskii, “Православные храмы” [The Orthodox churches], *Mariupol i ego okrestnosti: Otchet ob uchebnykh ekskursiyakh Mariupolskoy Aleksandrovskey gimnazii*, (Mariupol: Tipografiya A. A. Frantova, 1892), pp. 115-116.

20. V. N. Verenikin, Мариуполь. *История и современность. Путеводитель* [Mariupol. Past and present. A guidebook] (Mariupol: 2008), p. 17, *Окрестности Мариуполя: взгляд этнографа. История заселения, культура и быт жителей края. Конец XVIII-XIX вв.* [The surroundings of Mariupol: an ethnographer’s view. His-

Picture 9.1 River Kalmius

The Greek version, however, predominates, and we shall return to the Greek immigrants. New flows of the Greek migration took place first in 1829, when the Greeks of the Pontus in Asia Minor founded the village of Anadol²¹, and then in 1857, when the Greeks, who had fought in the Greek legion on the Russian side in the Crimean War, settled down in the suburbs of Mariupol (Volonterovka or Metropolitskoe).²² These migrations of the Greeks went in accordance with the political and economic interests of Russia in the development of the Azov region. During the entire nineteenth century, the un-

tory of the settlement, culture and everyday life of inhabitants of the region. Late 18th and 19th centuries] (Mariupol: 2008), p. 7. Saenko, *On the history of foundation of Mariupol...*, 22 p.; Lev Yarutskiy, *Мариупольская старина* [The antiquities of Mariupol] (Moscow: Sovetskiy pisatel, 1991), 432 p., A. Nikiforov, “Кем и когда основан Мариуполь. Приоритет принадлежит запорожским казакам” [Who and when founded Mariupol. The priority goes to the Zaporozhian Cossacks], <http://www.pandia.ru/text/77/335/62730.php>. (date of access 6 October 2015).

21. *Памятная книжка и адрес-календарь Екатеринославской губернии на 1889 год* [Memorial book and address-calendar of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1889] (Ekaterinoslav: 1889), p. 84.

22. RGIA, fond 571, opis 4, delo 2080, list. 1, fond 383, opis 19, delo 5073, list. 34-35.

inhabited steppes of the present-day Ukraine were mastered by the domestic and foreign immigrants. The chapter by Vira Volonyts and Svitlana Novikova in this volume shows that there were two groups of foreign colonists in Mariupol. The ones enrolled to professional guilds or crafts settled into towns, while the ones involved in agriculture settled down on state and private lands.²³ The state-owned lands were occupied by Greeks, Jews, Germans and Mennonites. Their activities were regulated by the “Statute of the Colonies of Foreigners in Russia” formed the migration policy makers known as the “Office of Guardianship of Foreign Colonists”. Judging from the available documents, foreign immigrants were not charged fees for crossing the border and bringing in their belongings. In order to attract migrants from Western Europe who did not have the means for immigration, Russian diplomatic missions abroad gave incentives to everybody interested in migration to the Russian Empire.

Naturally, the appearance of immigrants brought up changes in the ethnic and confessional composition of the population of the Russian Empire. This required adjustments in the system of registration, and thus “metric” books, that is register books, were introduced to keep the statistical information. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the religious communities in Mariupol expanded due to immigrants. Legislation on registering inhabitants of different religions was part of the need of the state to control its population. Entries in the metric books that contained data on birth, marriage and death of a person were made by a priest for Orthodox Christians, by a prior for Catholics, by an imam for Muslims and by a rabbi for Jews.

The ethnic composition of Mariupol in the nineteenth century reflected the character of the population of Novorossiia in general. This region shows similarity with the North American states, where in the second half of the nineteenth century, over several decades there occurred significant demographic changes due to the industrial revival. A particularly powerful influx of human resources took

23. A. Shmidt, *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами генерального штаба*. Ч. 2 [Materials for geography and statistics of Russia, collected by officers of the General Staff. Pt. 2] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia Kalinovskogo, 1863), p. 155.

place in the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav, where significant deposits of coal and iron ore had been found. The deposits of salt and the virgin black soils also drew commercial interest among foreign and domestic merchants and entrepreneurs. At the same time, the existence of navigable rivers that reached the coast from the hinterland as Nailya Tagirova indicates in chapter 3 of the present volume, promoted the development of maritime trade with many countries of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

In the new habitat, the first settlers of Mariupol, the Urum Greeks from the Crimean Khanate, built houses and churches followed by plants and factories that produced bricks, tiles, morocco and leather²⁴, but their main income came from fishing and numerous fish-processing factories.²⁵ The opportunities for commerce of Greeks expanded after the customs outpost (1799) and the port administration (1808) were established in the town.²⁶ During the earliest period of their residence in the Azov Region, the Greeks maintained economic relations with the Crimea. Historical relations of the two regions continued through connections of trade and exchange of commodities. Leather goods and craft products were transported to the Crimea, while fruit, wine and salt were brought to Mariupol. The merchants of the town also carried out shorter trade routes on tobacco trade between Mariupol and Rostov-on-Don.²⁷

24. *Статистические сведения о Екатеринославской губернии за 1864 год* [Statistical account of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1864] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1865), p. 73; *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1867 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1867] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1866), p. 142.

25. RGIA, fond 379 (Department of State Property of the Ministry of Finances), delo 193 “Cameral economic description of settlements of the Greeks of Mariupol, part 3, 1820.

26. RGADA, fond 276 “State Board of Commerce”, opis 2, delo 374, expedition 3, bundle 14.

27. Российский государственный военно-исторический архив [Russian State Archive of Military History, RGVIA] fond VUA, delo 18735 “Statistical materials on the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav, 1823”, list. 4., *Обзор Екатеринославской губернии за 1891 год* [Overview of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1891] (Ekaterinoslav: Gubernskaya tipografiya, 1892), p. 7, *Отчет Мариупольской земской управы за 1900 год очередной сессии земского собрания 1901 года* [Report of the Zemstvo Office of Mariupol for year 1900 to the next session of the Zemstvo Assembly of

According to the Sixth all-Russian Census (1811), more than a half of the Greeks of Mariupol were ascribed to the class of craftsmen, and only a small part of them were merchants trading in grain, livestock and fish. “In the spring and summer, the pier of Mariupol port is covered by mountains of different fish, which are sent to the western provinces and Poland”. Although Russian officials and commoners had begun to settle in Mariupol since 1820, the town retained its Greek character until the middle of the nineteenth century. The imperial policy of Russia sought to russify the Greek population. It was at this time that a two-year municipal parish school opened in Mariupol. “Now, some of the important families felt the benefits of technological and scientific developments and began living in the European manner. ... European civilization began to quickly spread in the town. The most striking proof of this is the club opened for the public in Mariupol, where one can find Russian newspapers and magazines and wonderful books To make a long story short, within a brief period of time Mariupol caught up the steps from Asia to Europe. If it gets rid of the Tatar language and adopts the natural Russian one, and paves, at least, the main street with stones, it will be a nice well-mannered town”. In this way by the 1840s, Mariupol turned from a small “Tatar” settlement into the capital “... of all Greeks of Mariupol, into their glory and pride” (see picture 9.2).²⁸ The trade of the residents of Mariupol became known in many foreign ports. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Greek merchants Ignatij Gazadinov, Nikolay Lagofetov (Logothetis in Greek), Aleksandr Kharadzhaev and Ivan Chebanenko had not only carried out grain trade within their own country, but also exported it far beyond the Russian Empire.²⁹ Mariupol was gradually becoming a city, which drew interest of many countries of the Black Sea region.

1901] (Mariupol: Типография А. А. Франтова, 1901), pp. 57-61, “Состояние табаководства в Екатеринославской губернии” [The state of tobacco cultivation in the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav], *Ekaterinoslavskie gubernskie vedomosti*, 17 (1872), pp. 114-115, *Памятная книжка и адрес-календарь Екатеринославской губернии на 1889 год* [Memorial book and address-calendar of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1889] (Ekaterinoslav: 1889), p. 211.

28. Titov, *Greeks of Mariupol...*, pp. 135, 137, 143, 145.

29. S. Novikova and V. Volonyts, “Grain... Trade in Mariupol (Second Half of

Picture 9.2 Mariupol, Postcard, late 19th century

With the beginning of the reforms of the Russian Emperor Alexander II, the ethnic structure of the region and the town changed markedly due to the influx of the Jews who had been granted the opportunity to settle down in the present-day Ukraine after the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1773 and 1793).³⁰ The Jewish community played a special role in the development of the town. The Jewish immigration radically changed the life of Mariupol and resulted in displacement of the Greeks from some economically most important areas.³¹ From 1864 to 1881, the number of Jews in Mariupol

the 19th – beginning of the 20th century)”, paper presented at 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 centuries”, Odessa, 22nd-27th September 2013, <http://blacksea.gr/ru/cities/mariupol>

30. RGIA, fond 1263 “Committee of Ministers”, opils 1, delo 467 “On the rejection of the petition of the Greeks of Mariupol concerning the allocation of new land to them and the cancellation of the dowry for the land granted to them”, list. 587 verso.

31. V. S. Volonyts and S. V. Novikova, “Промисловий розвиток Маріуполя у XIX – на початку XX ст.” [Industrial development of Mariupol in the 19th – early 20th centuries], *Grani*, 12 (2013), pp. 12-18.; *Фабрики, заводи и рудники Южной России. Справочно-иллюстрированная альбомная книга* [Factories, plants and mines of Southern Russia. Illustrated reference book] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1904), p. 103.

increased four times. The Jews occupied the most important economic niche, the small retail trade. Their activities raised the prices of grain and, thereby, contributed to the rise of welfare of Mariupol. The Greek and Jewish merchants made Mariupol one of the main grain ports in region of the Black Sea. In the late nineteenth century, Jewish entrepreneurs owned 80% of all grain trade in Russia. The ordinary Greek merchants (I. Karakurkchi, S. Kurkchi, P. Shapovalov and others) were engaged in fishing and selling expensive varieties of fish (beluga, sturgeon, stellate sturgeon, sterlet) and the production of fish oil and black caviar. They sold these products through Taganrog and Odesa to the central part of Russia and the Mediterranean countries.³²

The share of Jewish capital in banking sharply increased. In 1867, a public bank was established in the town, and five years later a branch of the Azov-Don Commercial Bank was opened.³³ Somewhat later, the Municipal Bank, the Mutual Loan Company and a branch of the State Bank were established. The Polyakovs Brothers Company operated in the transport sector. The construction of the railroad in 1882 was of prime importance for the town, for it allowed to receive Donetsk coal for exportation abroad.

The entrepreneurship and social activity of the Jews of Mariupol promoted further integration of the town into the European and Russian economic environment. The Jews were known not only for their commercial merits, but also as philanthropists.³⁴ The esteemed members of the town's Jewish community included Mikhail Iosifovich Averbakh (a silver medal graduate from the Men's Gymnasium

32. Государственный архив Донецкой области [State Archive of the Donetsk Region, GADO], fond 110 "Zemstvo Office of Mariupol of the District of Mariupol of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav", opis 1, delo 108 "Satute of the regional fishing organizations. Resolution on fishing regulations in the Sea of Azov. No date", list. 17, V. F. Zuev, "Путешественные записки В. Зуева от Санкт-Петербурга, касающиеся до полу острова Крым 1782 г." [Travel notes of V. Zuev from Saint Petersburg concerning the Crimean peninsula in 1782], *Mesyatseslov istoricheskii i geograficheskii na 1783 g.* (Saint Petersburg, 1783), pp.190-196.

33. Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis, "Taganrog: Greek entrepreneurship and development in the Russian frontier of international trade", in this volume, chapter 8.

34. Rena Saenko, "Мариупольские купцы: не торговлей единой" [Merchants of Mariupol: Not merely the trade], <http://donbass.name/705-mariupolskie-kupcy-ne-torgovlejj-edinojj.html/>

of Mariupol, an ophthalmologist and, later, the founder and the first director of the Central Ophthalmologic Institute in Moscow), Berko Mordukhovich Gurevich (the first sanitary doctor of the town), N. Sh. Bukshstein, known under the pseudonym Andrea Sperelli (the publisher and editor the socio-political and literary newspaper *Pri-azovskaya rech*, October 1915 – May 1916, 108 issues), A. I. Goldrin (the owner of a stationer's shop and a bookstore, 1914), E. I. Goldrin (the owner of a printing house, 1901, a philanthropist and donator to the Women's Saturday School of Mariupol, 1898-1900), Solomon Gorelik (the owner of the first printing house, 1870), Izrail Kh. Gorelov (a merchant, the owner of a sugar and confectionery factory, 1914, 1916, a member of the Board of the Society for the Benefit of Poor Jews); Z.L. Gorelov (a junior doctor of the Hospital of the Zemstvo of Mariupol; I.S. Gorenshtein (the owner of two factories of Marseilles tiles and refractory bricks), Gorodenskii (a doctor of the Zemstvo, 1901), Goffman (the owner of the "Society for Agricultural, Household and Milling Machines, 1914), S.I. Goff (the owner of a steam mill and flour warehouses, 1914), Abram Gurovich (a merchant, a member of the Board of the Society for the Benefit of Poor Jews), B.M. Gurevich (a sanitary and epidemiology doctor of the District of Mariupol, 1904), Isay Ekhievich Mateskii (a merchant of the first guild, 1910, a member of the Town Council, 1916, a treasurer of the Society for the Benefit of the Poor, 1910, a member of the Stock Exchange, 1911, a contributor to the Mariupol branch of the Office for the Care of Prisons) and David Grigorievich Rozental (an executive manager of the Branch of the Azov-Don Commercial Bank 1912, 1916). This incomplete list demonstrates that the Town Council consisting mainly of Greeks provided opportunities for self-fulfillment of the members of the Jewish community as well. Documents confirm that, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of the doctors, pharmacists, photographers, jewelers, watchmakers, hairdressers, tailors, shoemakers, small traders and usurers in the town were Jews. The Jews also owned mills, soap works, many tile factories, a saddlery, candy factories and other enterprises.³⁵

35. Irina Ponomariova, "Mariupol. The Jewish community", in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020); See also Svitlana Novikova and Vera Volonyts, "The ethnic factor

The availability of railway communication contributed to the construction a new commercial port of Mariupol in 1886-1889 (see picture 9.3).³⁶ As indicated above, the Greek and foreign merchants, who founded a number of trading firms, concentrated the entire export of grain in their hands. In the turnover of cargo, the port of Mariupol occupied the second position among southern ports after Odessa. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the export of goods from the port of Mariupol grew almost four times, and by 1913 Mariupol had developed into one of the largest ports of the Russian Empire.³⁷ In the town, there operated a number of transport companies, which contributed to the integration of Mariupol into the commercial relations with Taganrog, Rostov-on-Don, Odessa, Berdyansk, Nikolaev and the Black Sea countries.³⁸

The commercial port regularly accepted European ships: “In the foreign navigation, there prevails the English flag (44.7% of ships and 63.2% of tonnage). This is followed by ones of Greece, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Austro-Hungary and Russia (1.6% of ships and 1.1% of tonnage)”.³⁹ The increase in cargo traffic contributed to an increase in human resources. Most of the laborers engaged in loading and unloading cargoes were chiefly “alien” newcomers of Slavic origin, who enlarged the non-Greek part of the townspeople. As a result, in 1895, among 30,922 inhabitants of the town, there were 19,130 “indigenous persons”, of which 52% were Greeks, and 11,792 “newcomers”.⁴⁰

and the economic development of Mariupol (end of 18th c.–beginning of the 20th century)”, in this volume, chapter 10.

36. M. L. Lisovskiy, *Материалы для описания русских коммерческих портов и истории их сооружения. Мариупольский порт, постройка и оборудование* [Essays on the description of Russian commercial ports and the history of their construction; The port of Mariupol, construction and infrastructures] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia Ministerstva Putei Soobshcheniia, 1888), p. 9.

37. *Адрес-календарь Южного горного и торгово-промышленного района на 1908 год* [Address-calendar of the Southern mining and commercial-industrial region for year 1908] (Yuzovka: 1908), p. 92.

38. Sifneos and Harlaftis, “The Taganrog of the Greeks...”, p. 143.

39. K. K. Arseniev and F. F. Petrushevskiy (eds.), *Энциклопедический словарь* [Encyclopedic dictionary], Vol. 18A (36) (Saint Petersburg: Semionovsraya Tipo-litografiya (I.A. Efrona), 1896), p. 634.

40. GARO, fond 579 (Office of the Governor of Taganrog, town of Taganrog, 1803-1919), opis 1, delo 276, list. 1-20.

Picture 9.3 Port, Postcard, Late 19th century

The development of the port and the proximity of the coal of Yuzovska and iron ore of Kerch began attracting foreign investment and caused the construction of metallurgical enterprises in Mariupol. In 1896, two foreign businessmen, the German A. Rothstein and the American E. Smith, established the Mining and Metallurgical Society of Nikopol-Mariupol, which built the “Nikopol” pipe-rolling plant.⁴¹ In 1897-1899, the Belgian joint stock company “Russian Providence” built a metallurgical plant (see picture 9.4).⁴² The “metalworks” made profit and attracted a large number of workers (mainly Russian and Ukrainian), who migrated to the town from the central guberniias of the Russian Empire.

Now, we shall discuss in more detail the migration of Slavic people to Mariupol. Following the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861,

41. N. von Ditmar (ed.), *Статистический сборник по горнозаводской промышленности Южной России, других районов России и иностранных государств в 1897 – 1898 гг.* [Statistical digest on the mining industry in Southern Russia, other regions of Russia and foreign countries in 1897-1898] (Kharkov: 1899), p.14.

42. Irina Ponomariova, “Mariupol. History of enterprises”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020).

the region of the Sea of Azov began witnessing a progressive influx of Ukrainians and Russians from the provinces of Orel and Kursk⁴³, and among them there were much more men than women. This was due to the changing economic priorities in the region. Metallurgical plants required men's hands for heavy low-paid work, and thus at the beginning of the twentieth century, there began a powerful migration of people from all regions of European Russia. As the census shows, most of them were Russian men lacking qualification and means of subsistence. Often, they settled in the barracks that surrounded the industrial enterprises. Russian laborers prevailed in three sectors of production such as metallurgy, railroad construction and woodworking industry.⁴⁴ As a result, the population of Mariupol increased five times from 1845 to 1891, and two and a half times over only a ten-year period (1882-1891). In 1895, the Slavic immigrants amounted to about 40% of the town's population.⁴⁵

We shall now consider the ethno-migratory changes in the region and in Mariupol using the data from the First general census of the population of the Russian Empire (1897). It should be noted that ethnicity recorded in the Census was established solely on the basis of a native tongue. Therefore, the document mentions no Ukrainians, but rather Little Russians, as the bearers of the Ukrainian (Little Russian) language were referred to at the time. Mariupol was the administrative center of the uезд of Mariupol of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav, where “the majority of the population is made up of Little Russians (68.9% of the entire population of the province, or 1,456,000 persons of both sexes). In the guberniia of Kherson, the Little Russians constitute 53.5% of all inhabitants (1,083,600 persons of both sexes) ... the percentage of the Little Russians is somewhat lower (up to 42.2%) in the guberniia of Taurida”.⁴⁶ Due to the rapid growth of the town in connection

43. Ya. V. Boyko, *Заселение Южной Украины. 1860-1890 гг.* [Settlement of Southern Ukraine. 1860-1890s] (Cherkassy: 1993), p. 220.

44. Vsevolod Naulko, *Хто і відколи живе в Україні* [Who and since when lives in Ukraine] (Kyiv: GSRLMNMU, 1998), p. 36.

45. Arseniev and Petrushevskiy, *Encyclopedic dictionary...*, p. 634.

46. V. V. Alekseeva, “Распределение населения по территории Новороссии, его этнографический состав, быт и культура” [The distribution of population in the area of Novorossiia, its ethnic composition, everyday life and culture], in P. P. Se-

with the commercial and industrial revival, in the population of the uezd of Mariupol there prevailed “Great Russians”. In general, the population in the towns of Novorossiia increased in size by 270% from 1851 to 1897, and similar figures were noted in the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav (265%) and in Mariupol.⁴⁷

Picture 9.4 The metallurgical plant “Russian Providence”



The imperial policy of Russia sought to expand only the Russian language. Many members of various ethnic groups, especially those residing in towns, were compelled to indicate Russian as their native tongue. This applied also to the privileged communities of Ukrainians, Jews, Greeks and other ethnic origins. The Turkic-speaking Greeks of from the region of the Sea of Azov were recorded exclusively as the Tatars. Therefore, no clear picture of ethnic diversity in the region of the Sea of Azov Sea can be detected. As mentioned above, according to the census of 1897, in the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav the majority of inhabitants were Ukrainians, but in the uezd

mionov-Tian-Shanskiy (ed.), *Rossiya. Polnoe geograficheskoe opisanie nashego otechestva*, Vol. 14, (Saint Petersburg: 1910), p. 182.

47. Ibid, p. 175.

of Mariupol the Russians prevailed. According to the First general census, the population of the town consisted of 63% Russians (i.e., Russians, Ukrainians and Belorossians), 16.1% Jews and 5% Greeks.⁴⁸ In the handbook *The Towns of Russia in 1904*, the Greeks were no longer treated as a separate ethnic group, and the ethnic composition showed 49% Russians, 21% Jews and 30% others.⁴⁹ By 1910, this trend can be seen throughout the entire region of the northern coast of the Black Sea. According to the competent edition of *Russia. A complete geographical description of our fatherland*, in the Region of Novorossiia, Little Russians and Russians prevailed amounting to 42.4% of the population, and these were followed by Great Russians (31.8%), Moldavians, or Romanians (9.3%), Jews (6.4%), Germans (3.3%), Tatars (1.8%), Bulgarians (1.5%), Greeks (0.6%) and other ethnic groups including Belorossians, Poles, Turks, Armenians, Karaites, Krymchaks, Nogais and Kalmyks.⁵⁰ The population of the region contained mainly migrants of Slavic origin.

It was economic relations that caused migration of Europeans to the region. In the early twentieth century, the interests of foreign subjects, who resided or conducted business in the town were represented by consulates and consular agencies of Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Great Britain, Germany, Greece, Italy, France and Turkey.⁵¹

48. *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897], Vol. XIII, Ekaterinoslav guberniia (Saint Petersburg: 1904); N. Troinitskii, *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.* [Populated places of the Russian Empire of 500 or more inhabitants, indicating the total population and their creed, according to the first general census of 1897] (Saint Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia polza, 1905), p. 269; V.I. Lazebnik, “Населення Катеринославської губернії за матеріалами Першого загального перепису населення Російської імперії 1897 року” [Data on the population of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav from the first all-Russian population census of 1897], *Visnyk Dnipropetrovskoho universytetu. Istorii ta arkhelohiia*, 10 (2002), pp. 96-101.

49. Yu.V. Laevskaya, “Мариуполь 1904 года: благоустройство и условия жизни в зеркале статистики [Mariupol in 1904: the beautification and the living conditions in the mirror of statistics]”, in *Mariupol: istoriya I perspektivy*, (Mariupol: 2002), p. 39.

50. Alekseeva, *The distribution of population in the area of Novorossiia...*, p. 182.

51. Irina Ponomarivna, “Mariupol. Consulates”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Inter-*

The consulates functioned to ensure the rights and interests of its subjects as well as develop and strengthen the trade and economic relations. Foreign subjects residing in Mariupol belonged to different social group. Large entrepreneurs and merchants lived along small craftsmen and traders. Consular offices communicated with their subjects through local newspapers. For example, according to the order of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, all Greek subjects residing in Mariupol and the adjacent area were required to appear at the consulate for the presentation and verification of their documents, residence and occupation.⁵²

Italians and Croats were among the first European immigrants to settle down in Mariupol because the town on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov had caught their commercial interests. The flows of economic migration between Mariupol, the Italian Peninsula and the Dalmatian coast is owed to the activities of the trade houses of Gerbulini, Pinioni, Galleano, Pellagati, Sanguinetti, Marrello de Martino and Mimbelli. The Italians and Croats were engaged mainly in the grain trade and the production of pasta, which allowed them to earn considerable profits.⁵³ Initially, they used small coastal vessels, which were well suited for transportation of cargoes. It was the Italian subject Cavalotti who built the first ship in Mariupol.⁵⁴

As a result of two decades of Italian entrepreneurship, many of Italian merchants settled down with their families in the Greek town and built there their houses in the street they named Italian. Most of the merchants not only traded, but also contributed to the social

active history, 1780s-1910s, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020); Адрес-Календарь “Весь Мариуполь и его уезд” [Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”] (Mariupol: Типография S.A. Копкина, 1910), pp. 134-135; Адрес-календарь “Вся Екатеринославская губерния. 1913 год” [Address-calendar “All the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav] (Ekaterinoslav: Izdanie gubernskoy tipografii, 1913); Arseniev and Petrushevskiy, *Encyclopedic dictionary*, p. 634.

52. “От мариупольского греческого вице-консульства” [From the Greek Vice-Consulate in Mariupol], *Mariupolskaya zhizn*, (4 December 1913), p. 1.

53. *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1875 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1875] (Ekaterinoslav: Типография Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1875), p. 135.

54. A. A. Shchiptsov, *Транспортное освоение Азовского моря. Исторический экскурс и современность* [Transport exploitation of the Sea of Azov: historical sketch and present state] (Kyiv: Budivelnik, 1995), pp. 50-51.

development of the town.⁵⁵ In the middle of the nineteenth century, the community of Italian settlers decided to build a Catholic church. Mr. Gerbullini, the Italian consul in Mariupol, and the Croat Stepan Mimbelli launched a campaign to raise money for the church. The merchants supported their undertaking and donated the tax from every *chetvert* of the sold grain to the construction of the church. The Italian government supported the initiative of its subjects and donated 10,000 francs. In 1860, the consecration of the church took place in the name of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Since then, the church has been one of the architectural attractions in the town.⁵⁶ Many requests of the Italians received consideration and positive resolutions at the meetings of the Town Council of Mariupol.⁵⁷

There were many outstanding figures in the Italian community of Mariupol. These included Amoretti (a grain trader and the director of the club “Mariupol Public Assembly”), Gerbulini (the Italian consul and the initiator of the construction of the Catholic church in Mariupol), Stanislav Andreevich Galleano (a member of the Town Council), Ivan Antonovich Despot (a merchant of the second guild and the director of the club “Mariupol Public Assembly”), and Andrei Yakovlevich Sanguinetti (the owner of a macaroni factory and a benefactor of the Catholic church of Mariupol).

We shall give more detail about of Emmanuil Spiridonovich Di Pollone, the Italian subject, the consular agent of the Royal Italian consular agency, the consular agent of the Imperial Royal Austro-Hungarian consular agency (until 1914), a merchant of the first guild, a member of the Stock Exchange Committee of Mariupol and

55. Titov, *Greeks of Mariupol...*, p. 141; Arseniev and Petrushevskiy, *Encyclopedic dictionary...*, p. 634.

56. *Мариуполь и его окрестности: Отчет об учебных экскурсиях Мариупольской Александровской гимназии* [Mariupol and its surroundings: A report on educational tours of the Aleksandrovskaia Gymnasium of Mariupol] (Mariupol: Tipografiya A. A. Frantova, 1892), p. 326; *Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”...*, p. 144.

57. *Мариупольский краеведческий музей. Фонды. Журналы очередных и чрезвычайных заседаний Мариупольской городской думы за 1903 год* [Collection of the Museum of the Local History of Mariupol. Journals of the ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Town Council of Mariupol in 1903] (Mariupol: Tipografiya E. I. Goldrin, 1904), p. 52.

a member of the Port Office.⁵⁸ E. Di Pollone and the Greek shipowner from Cephalonia F. Zvorono (Fotios Svoronos in Greek) owned a steamship company of 14 steamers.⁵⁹ The Italian Vice Consul Di Pollone maintained a close relationship with the Greek community of Mariupol as can be judged from his collaboration and a report in a local newspaper: “On behalf of his government, Marquis of San Giuliano, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Government, expressed the ardent thanks to the local Greek colony for their friendly fraternal sentiments ...”.⁶⁰ It seems that Italians collaborated well with the Greeks like Io. Yur. Combotecro (Compothecras in Greek) (the owner of the Hotel “Petersburg”), Orfeas Yur. Combotecro (the owner of the Hotel “Severnaya”).

The Italian community of Mariupol consisted not only of merchants. Many of the Italians were engaged in smaller businesses. For example, the Italian subject Daniel Selverstovich Trambetto was the proprietor of an inn.⁶¹ The influence of Italians on the economic processes in the town, the region and in the Mediterranean was gradually decreasing as they were being replaced by other European ethnic groups.

In Mariupol some Austrian subjects were settled, who in fact were Italicized Slavs from the Adriatic Sea (called here Italians or Dalmatians). Most often, they served as captains on foreign ships and after they had earned certain capital, they settled down in Mariupol. Documents testify that much contribution to the commercial life of the town and the region was made by the families of Vidovich, Vuchetich, Despot, Kovachevich and Popovich.⁶²

The subjects of the European states who resided in Mariupol enjoyed a comfortable life conducting their business and commerce.

58. *Екатеринославской адрес-календарь. 1916 год* [Address-calendar of Ekaterinoslav. 1916] (Ekaterinoslav: Izdanie gubernskoy tipografii, 1916), pp. 23, 24.

59. *Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”...*, pp. 135-136; *Русский торговый флот. Список судов к 1 января 1915 г.* [Russian merchant fleet. Register of ships, 1st January 1915] (Petrograd: Типография V. Kirshbaym, 1915), p. XXII.

60. “Благодарность итальянского правительства” [Gratitude of the Italian Government], *Mariupolskaya zhizn*, (26 (13) October 1911).

61. *Collection of the Museum of the Local History of Mariupol. Journals of the ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Town Council of Mariupol in 1903*, pp. 203-204.

62. *Mariupol and its surroundings...*, pp. 327-328.

For example, the Montenegrin by birth Austrian consul Petr Bonachich settled down in Mariupol. In the early twentieth century, the Spanish Vice-Consulate was headed by Iosif Nikolaevich Vidovich. In the late 1880s, Petr Regir founded a private shipping company to transport coal from Mariupol to the ports of the Black Sea. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Czechs came in who also contributed to the development of the town. These were Voitech Iord. Karasek (the owner of well-known gastronomic and wine shops and a sausage factory) and I. Kucher, who founded a brewery that used German technologies.⁶³ The German subject Evan Karlovich Bremmer was the Vice-Consul of the Imperial German Agency (1910) and owned a plant of metallurgical products (1913). The British Ambassador William Fomich Walton was the Vice-Consul of the British Vice-Consulate (1910) and owned a graphite plant (since 1904), flour warehouses (1914), and was also a member of the Stock Exchange (1911) and the Chairman of the Council of the Society of Mutual Credit of Mariupol (1916). Such a variety of foreign subjects was typical for many towns on the northern coast of the Black Sea.⁶⁴

Along with the local residents, subjects of other states were engaged in a small-scale commerce. Often, they were owners of restaurants, inns, shops and taverns. In general, in the early twentieth century, in Mariupol, there were quite common public institutions selling hard liquors, and most of them were located at the Bazarnia (Sobornaia) Square. Taverns were very popular among laborers of steel mills, and therefore made a good income for their owners. The municipal authorities issued permits with no discrimination regarding the ethnicity of the owners. For example, in 1903, the administration of the town received a number of petitions for permits for the opening of public diners. The permits to open taverns were granted to the Greek subject Orphea Yurievich Kombotekro, the peasant from the guberniia of Tula Vasiliy Ivanovich Shabanov and the Ottoman subject Khristofor Paniotov Papandupulo. The

63. *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1889 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1889] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1889), p. 171.

64. I. Lyman and V. Konstantinova, “Taganrog. Exporting and importing trading companies”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020).

coffeehouses were opened by the Greek subject Gerasim Dionisovich Amboti and the Ottoman subject Yani-Paniotov Kurumli-Oglu. Many of the taverns in the town were owned by Ottoman subjects, all Greeks (Nikolay, son of Iordan Bostan-Oglu; Stelian, son of Iordan Bostak-Oglu; Varvara Ivanovna Yakopulo, wife of an Ottoman subject; Kiriak, son of Nikolay Kizir-Oglu). Owners of the inns were of different ethnic origin including the German subject Margarita Ivanovna Lamboy, the Italian subject Daniil Selverstovich Trambetto, the Greek subject Orphea Yurievich Kombotekro, as well as petty bourgeois from Poltava and Mariupol, the Mangush and Anadolian settlers and peasant women from Moscow. There also was a distinguished Russian merchant of a peasant origin I. I. Naidenov, the owner the “wood-processing” factory (1900), who built and donated to the town a wooden building for the primary school, of which he was a benefactor.⁶⁵ During the period in question, ethnic Slavs played a rather insignificant part in the business life of the town.

In the early twentieth century, Mariupol became one of the centers of the most industrial region in the Russian Empire. The commercial and economic ties of Mariupol with Berdyansk, Taganrog, Rostov, Odessa as well as the ports in Greece, Turkey, Italy, Spain, Britain and other European countries contributed to the expansion of commercial opportunities for both the individual merchants and the countries of the region in general.⁶⁶ This time also saw significant ethnic, demographic and social changes in the towns on the northern coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. They were brought up by the migrations of people and circulation of goods and capital. These processes were helping Russia to increase its military and political influence on the international relations worldwide.

65. *Collection of the Museum of the Local History of Mariupol. Journals of the ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Town Council of Mariupol in 1903*, pp. 15, 198, 201 -204.

66. V. Volonyts and S. Novikova, “Ships that arrived to and departed from the port”, in *Black Sea Port Cities – Interactive history, 1780s-1910s*, www.blacksea.gr (date of access: 20 February 2020).

10.

Ethnic factor in the economic development of Mariupol (late 18th – early 20th century)

Svitlana Novikova and Vira Volonyts

In the 19th – early 20th century, the economy of most towns in the Russian Empire remained in many respects much inferior to that of their Western European counterparts, for it had happened only during the period of “Great Reforms” of Alexander II that the long outdated feudal economic relations strongly restraining the rate of economic development in the entire country were abandoned. In a very short time, the socio-economic reforms implemented by the government produced a major effect on a number of towns, particularly those in the southern provinces, by turning them from small agricultural and craft settlements into large centers of industry and commerce. The most striking of these changes took place in the port towns on the northern coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

The economic life of Mariupol in the late 18th – early 20th century followed the mainstream of general trends in the economic development of the country, but it also showed some specific features. The most crucial factors that largely determined the socio-economic appearance of the town included the environmental conditions, the ethnic composition of the population, and the diversity of religions.

The town founded in the maritime steppes on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov annexed by the Russian Empire in the late 18th century and settled by foreign colonists (Greeks, Germans, Mennonites, Jews, etc.) as a result of the imperial colonization policy represents a clear example of the formation of a diversified economic and social system that became a key to the dynamic economic development of both the region in general and the individual settlements in the 19th – early 20th centuries.

Important contribution to the development of this system was made by foreign Greek, German, Mennonite and Jewish colonists.

In fact, they were the first people to master this area, and it was therefore the ethnic factor that largely determined the economic development of the colonies and shaped the socio-economic image of the region.¹ Resettlement of the foreign colonists to the coast of the Sea of Azov pursued the main purpose of the imperial policy of colonization, namely, the rapid economic exploitation of the steppe borderlands of the state. The process was accompanied by actions of the Russian government aimed at the modernization of the society after the European pattern. The settlers were offered attractive and favorable conditions for living in new lands. In the beginning, they were granted considerable benefits, but subsequently these were amended.

At the proposal of the government, all foreign immigrants were divided into two groups composed of 1) those who joined a certain estate (a merchant guild or a craft corporation) in towns for practicing handicrafts or manufacture, and 2) the “colonists”, or those foreigners “who settled down on the state-owned, private or purchased lands as farmers or craftsmen needed for farming, but not including foreigners who arrived alone or with their families for commerce, doing business in towns or joining an estate in towns”.²

The most important benefits granted to the colonists by the Letter of Grant of Catherine the Great dated May 21, 1799 included the large size of arable land plots (30 *desiatins* per capita), the financial support from the state for housing and acquiring food supplies, the lifelong exemption from military service, and the possibility for free development of all kinds of trades.³

In early summer of 1780 the Greek immigrants from Crimea under the leadership of Metropolitan Ignatyi set on building the town of Mariupol and villages on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov within the area assigned to them by the Grigoriy Potemkin’s Order of March 29, 1779. It was prescribed that all lands granted to the Greeks should constitute the District (*uezd*) of Mariupol.⁴ Despite the fact that in the first years after the resettlement almost a half of the

1. Ponomariova, “Mariupol at the end of 18th century...”, p. 370.

2. Shmidt, *Materials for geography and statistics of Russia...* p. 155.

3. “The Letter of Grant to Christians of the Greek rite... .”

4. RGADA, fond 16 “Domestic Administration”, opis 1, delo 588 “Report to Prince Potemkin – Tavricheskiy about administration of the Province of Azov, parts I-XIII, 1775-1784”, Pt. 6., lists 261 verso, 262-264, 265 verso.

population of Mariupol comprised craftsmen and merchants, many residents of the town were engaged in farming, sheep-breeding and such trades as fishing, cultivation of tobacco and mulberry trees as well as wine-growing and gardening. For these trades the government purposefully allotted sizable plots of land. In accordance with the “Highest Order” announced by Count Arakcheev to the Committee of Ministers on May 15, 1817, the Greeks of Mariupol were allotted 30 desiatins of land per capita, 12,000 desiatins for town pastures and 6,000 desiatins for fishing grounds.⁵ The lands that had been left undeveloped by the Greeks were later alienated and transferred to “the community of Israeli Christians as well as the Prussian colonists and the incomers from the state of Baden...”.⁶

Documents from the Greek Court (*Greek Magistrate*) of Mariupol, the local government body of the Greek settlers, dated to 1804 contain evidence that of the total area of 12,000 desiatins of good land and 1,200 desiatins of poor land allotted to Mariupol, only 1,000 desyatins were used for farming, another 1,000 desiatins as hayfields, 3,000 desiatins as paddocks, while the remaining land was exploited as animal grazing grounds.

In addition to farming, the Greeks also practiced gardening and wine-growing. In his description of the town, Balthasar von Campenhausen wrote that “people of Mariupol used to have vast gardens in Tauris and now they started planting similar gardens in the new place of their residency. These, however, fell into decay because of the climate. In 1798, they planted nearly 100,000 vines brought from Crimea and other places, but almost all of the vines died during a severe winter in 1799, and only some 2,000 of them survived. The fruit trees are also few in number in the gardens and these are mostly cherry trees, apple trees and plum trees”.⁷

In 1811, six gardens which included only one vineyard were in

5. *Complete collection of laws ...*, No. 26863, Vol. 34, pp. 307-312.

6. RGIA, fond 1263 “Committee of Ministers”, opils 1, delo 467 “On the rejection of the petition of the Greeks of Mariupol concerning the allocation of new land to them and the cancellation of the dowry for the land granted to them”, list 587 verso.

7. RGIA, fond 1409 “Office of His Imperial Majesty”, opils 1, delo 2442 “Baron Campenhausen. The topographical and statistical account of the trade town of Mariupol and the settlements that belong to it”, lists 24-24 verso.

possession of residents of Mariupol.⁸ It must be noted that Crimean varieties of grapes hardly grew on the coast of the Sea of Azov due to adverse climatic conditions. For this reason, until the middle of the 19th century the production of wine in the region of Mariupol did not exceed 2,000 buckets.⁹ The situation started to change in the second half of the 19th century with the introduction of the frost-resistant varieties of grapes, and in the early 20th century the district of Mariupol ranked first in the cultivation of vineyards in the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav. However, grapes produced in the adjacent district of Berdyansk were considered to be of a much superior quality.¹⁰

Cultivation of tobacco had been practiced by Greeks of Mariupol since the late 18th century. The demand for local varieties of tobacco grew significantly after the Crimean War when there were no longer supplies of Turkish tobacco. Therefore, tobacco cultivation assumed a commercial character and developed into an important article of the domestic trade. In the last quarter of the 19th century, 38 out of 45 tobacco plantations from the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav were found in the uezd of Mariupol. The largest, measuring 70 desiatins in area, was located within the limits of Mariupol. A Crimean variety of tobacco cultivated in the plantations of Mariupol was sold to the processing factories in Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog and Berdyansk at the price of 1.80-2.25 rubles per pood. By the end of the 19th century, in the plantations of Mariupol more expensive varieties of tobacco had grown (Samsun, Cubo, rustic tobacco).¹¹ In the first half of the 1890s, the production of tobacco dropped abruptly due to little de-

8. RGIA, fond 1409 “Office of His Imperial Majesty”, opis 1, delo 2442 “Baron Campenhausen. The topographical and statistical account of the trade town of Mariupol and the settlements that belong to it”, list. 25.

9. G. M. Kaleri, “Топографические и медико-статистические сведения о Мариупольском округе” [Topographical and medical-statistical account of the District of Mariupol], *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, 11 (1845), p. 42.

10. *Overview of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav...* p. 7; *Report of the Zemstvo Office of Mariupol... 1900...*, Отчет Мариупольской земской управы за 1900 год очередной сессии земского собрания 1901 года [Report of the Zemstvo Office of Mariupol for year 1900 to the next session of the Zemstvo Assembly of 1901] (Mariupol: Tipografiya A.A. Frantova, 1901), pp. 57-61.

11. [No author] “Состояние табаководства в Екатеринославской губернии” [The state of tobacco cultivation in the Province of Ekaterinoslav], *Ekaterinoslavskie gubernskie vedomosti*, 17 (1872), pp. 114-115; *Memorial book and address-calendar ...*, p. 211.

mand, very low prices and the ban on free marketing of tobacco. It was allowed to sell the raw tobacco only to those factories that made use of the excise system and this cut down the prices even more. The situation had grown stable only by the late 19th century.¹²

If compared to the Western European countries, during the period in question Mariupol, demonstrated a very low rate of industrial development, a situation that was similar to the rest of the Russian Empire. Practically until the end of the 19th century, most industries in the town remained in a rudimentary state and were comprised by small handicraft businesses and trades. These enterprises largely processed agricultural produce or aimed at meeting daily needs of the local population. This situation had developed since the earliest days of the town.

There were also some other factors that hindered the development of industries in Mariupol even more. From 1807 to 1870 the town was the administrative center of the Greek district of Mariupol. Until 1859 it was de facto closed for residence of people of other nations because of the privileges granted to the Crimean Greeks after their resettlement to the coast of the Sea of Azov. From an economic point of view, the Greeks of Mariupol represented a community of farmers and traders. This mode of economic life inherited from the times before the resettlement persisted for a long time. People invested their capitals largely in trade, services and certain branches of agriculture, and only rarely in the development of industry. A similar situation occurred in the neighboring towns of Berdyansk and Taganrog.

The closed character of the town significantly restrained the growth of its population. Before the 1870s, the population was growing in size at a very slow pace. Only in the 1880s there commenced a rapid population growth. This factor had a substantial impact on the development of local industry, for it is from this time that we see the appearance of fairly large enterprises in the town.

Throughout the entire period under study, fishing constituted one of the leading economic branches in the town. In accordance to the Letter of Grant of 1779 granted to the Greeks of Mariupol by the im-

12. *Overview of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav...*, pp. 108, 102; Обзор Екатеринославской губернии за 1907 год [Overview of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1907] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1908), p. 7.

perial government, this trade was exempt from all taxes and, therefore, produced a considerable profit and laid the foundation to the prosperity of both the Greek families and ordinary settlers. Immediately after they had emigrated from Crimea, the Greek merchants established the first factories in the vicinities of Mariupol, on the spits of Belosarayskaya and Zintseva. In the district of Mariupol, fishing took place at the spits of Peschanaya, Belosarayskaya, Vinogradnaya, Komyshevataya and Petrovskaya. According to Balthasar von Campenhausen, in 1807 in the town and its surroundings there were no other industrial enterprises but fish factories. There were 29 of them on the seacoast. Their operation cost the owners on average 2,000 rubles per year, while the profit they produced reached 4,000 rubles.¹³

In their notes, traveler G. Titov and the head of the research expedition of the Russian Academy of Sciences to the area of the Sea of Azov N. Zuev related that fishing and trading in salted fish constituted the main occupations of Greeks in Mariupol. Belugas, common and starred sturgeons, sterlets and fishery products (caviar and fish oil) were being delivered in large amounts to the old port of Mariupol in the mouth of river Kalmius (picture 10.1). Every year, nearly 10,000 cartloads of fish arrived to it. These products were exported via Taganrog and Odessa to Greece, Italy and the Ottoman Empire as well as to the western provinces of the Russian Empire and Poland.¹⁴

During the second half of the 19th century, the number of fish factories in the vicinities of the town did not change significantly and ranged at different times from 45 to 56 enterprises. The largest factories were in possession of Greek merchants I. Karakurkchi (net annual income of 625 silver rubles), I. Likaki (215 silver rubles), S. Kurkchi (600 silver rubles), A. Chebaneko (194 silver rubles) and Greek settlers I. Kiritsev (7 factories and 755 silver rubles) and P. Shapovalov (6 factories and 2,816 silver rubles). In the 1870s, the annual turnover of the fish factories in Mariupol comprised 100,000 silver rubles.¹⁵

13. RGIA, fond 379 “Department of State Property of the Ministry of Finances”, delo 193 “Cameral economic description of settlements of the Greeks of Mariupol, part 3, 1820”.

14. Zuev, “Travel notes of V. Zuev from St. Petersburg...”, pp.190-196.

15. GADA, fond 110 “Zemstvo Office of Mariupol of the District of Mariupol of the Province of Ekaterinoslav”, opis 1, delo 108 “Satute of the regional fishing organizations. Resolution on fishing regulations in the Sea of Azov. No date”.

Picture 10.1 Marioupol. Market and river Kalmius,
Postcard, late 19th century



During the 19th century, the enterprises connected with the processing of agricultural produce demonstrated the most successful development. These included tanneries, candle works and soap factories characterized by small sizes of their facilities, the labour of wage-workers, a low level of technical equipment and a vigorous capital turnover. As early as 1780, the Greek immigrants in Marioupol founded a tannery that manufactured black morocco leather and, later in time, soles for shoes. However, no reference to it is already found in 1864.¹⁶ The manufacture of leather recommenced in the town in 1867. The only tannery was owned by the Tomazo family, well known entrepreneurs. It had 6 employees and annually produced goods for 12,000 rubles. In the late 1860s, the saddlery of S. Brodskiy was established.¹⁷

16. *Статистические сведения о Екатеринославской губернии за 1864 год* [Statistical account of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1864] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografia Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1865), p. 73.

17. *Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1867...*, p. 142.

The soap and candle works in Mariupol were concentrated mainly in the hands of Jewish entrepreneurs. The first candle factory of Dikarev appeared in the town in 1850. In 1862 the factory of Fayn opened that produced soap and tallow candles. In the early 20th century, there were the candle factories owned by S. Ignatov, V. Vasilenko, V. Stepanov and F. Popov. In 1872, the manufacture of soap began at the factory of I. Segal that produced the common yellow, the marble and the coconut varieties of soap. In the late 19th century there also appeared small soap works owned by E. Golman and M. Mamiof, which employed 3-4 workers and annually produced goods for 10,000-12,000 rubles each.¹⁸

Due to the rapid development of grain production in the South of the Russian Empire, starting from the late 1840s the flour-grinding industry markedly advanced in the southern provinces and around the port towns. There appeared joint-stock steam mills. In the middle of the 19th century this industry assumed commercial character and spread widely across, particularly, the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. In the 1870s-1880s the industry showed a significant growth, while in the 1890s it noticeably dropped in connection with low harvests of grain during that time in the entire Russian Empire.¹⁹

The flour business developed rather rapidly in Mariupol due to the effort of Jewish entrepreneurs. In 1882, Sokolovskiy built a steam mill. In 1886, it passed into the possession of the Brons brothers. There worked 8-10 laborers in two shifts, and the flour was shipped to Berdyansk, Yeisk, Kerch and Theodosia.²⁰ Another steam mill located near the town belonged to one of the most influential Jewish families in Mariupol, the Tregubovs. The mill was set on operation in 1885, and it was ranked among the largest in the province. It produced 4,600 poods of flour a day which on the annual scale made up the value of 500,000 rubles. From the Tregubovs' mills flour was both supplied into the domestic market and exported, first of all, to

18. *Factories, plants and mines of Southern Russia...*, p. 103.

19. Volonyts and Novikova, "Industrial development of Mariupol ...", pp. 12-18.

20. *Обзор фабрично-заводской промышленности и торговли России* [Overview of the factory-and-works industry and trade in Russia] (St. Petersburg: Tipografia I.A. Efrona, 1896), p. 247.

the markets of the Middle East.²¹ Yet another steam mill was built in the town in 1892 by entrepreneur Baranov. In the early 20th century, in the town there operated 5 mills owned by N. Balaban (5 employees, annual produce worth of 30,000 rubles), A. Sanguineti (rented by M. Zannes, 3 employees, 12,000 rubles), A. Rotenberg (4 employees, 40,000 rubles), V. Semenovskiy (4 employees, 27,000 rubles) and M. Tregubov (41 employees, 250,000 rubles).²²

In Mariupol, there operated one macaroni factory founded in 1830 by an Italian merchant S. Galiano. In 1874, it passed into possession of another Italian entrepreneur A. Sanguineti. There worked 12 employees, mostly from the guberniia of Kursk. The productivity of the factory reached 16,000 poods of macaroni worth of 43,000 rubles a year. In the early 20th century the factory passed into the hands of A. Tregubov. There worked 4 employees, and the value of the produce reached 14,000 rubles. The production of macaroni was underdeveloped in the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav. Beside Mariupol, the macaroni factories were in operation only in Rostov-on-Don and Nakhichevan. In the entire Russian Empire, in 1913 there were 39 such enterprises.²³

In 1847, in Mariupol there appeared a distillery with 32 employees. It annually produced spirit worth of 56,000–76,000 rubles. In 1881, in the distillery there was established a rectificative factory with 2 employees that annually produced the repeatedly distilled spirit worth of 9,000–12,000 rubles.²⁴ The factory was rented by the Tregubovs. Thanks to their effort, in the early 20th century the factory became one of the largest enterprises of its kind in the district. In 1902, upon an agreement between the manager of excise duties and the governor of the guberniia of Ekaterinislav, in Mariupol there was opened a state-owned wine store No. 7, which traded in alcoholic beverages.²⁵

21. *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1889 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1889] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografia Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1889), p. 148.

22. *Address-calendar "All Mariupol ..."*, p. 82.

23. *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1875 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1875] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografia Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1875), p. 135.

24. *Overview of the factory-and-works industry ...*, p. 245.

25. E. Smirnova, "Зданию ликероводочного завода – более 100 лет" [The distillery building is over 100 years old], *Vecherniy Mariupol*, (28 April 2010), pp. 2-3.

Foreign entrepreneurs also contributed to the development of the food industry represented by confectionery and sausage factories and breweries. In 1886, a Czech subject I. Kucher founded a brewery in Mariupol that annually produced 123,000 liters of beer worth of 18,000 rubles. There worked 10 employees, who brewed beer according to German technologies. The brewery also produced honey. In the beginning of the 20th century, it passed into the hands of A. Siber, who already owned several beer shops in the town. At about the same time there started operating a factory of the joint-stock company “Munich”.²⁶

In 1888, Jewish entrepreneurs started developing confectioneries. In the early 20th century, four factories were owned by I. Gorelov, I. Litvinov, Sh. Eydinov and I. Fuks. The largest one was the “confectionary and bread-ring” factory of Israil Gorelov. There worked 42 employees, and the annual value of the produce reached 42,000 rubles.²⁷ In 1899, there was the sausage factory of a Czech entrepreneur V. Karasek, which for some time remained the only business of its kind not only in Mariupol, but also in the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav. Eight workers were employed, and the annual value of the produce amounted to 32,000 rubles.²⁸

From the second half of the 19th century onward, brickyards and tile factories comprised the majority of the industrial businesses in both the town and the uezd of Mariupol. The first enterprise of this sort opened in the town as early as 1780. “A cameral description of the town of Mariupol with its pasture lands in 1826” provides data on 3 brick-and-tile factories. During the first decade of the 19th century they produced the so-called *tatarka* tiles, whose manufacture included a complex technological process. Starting from the last quarter of the 19th century, especially in the 1880s-1890s, local entrepreneurs who owned this sort of business regularly applied to the Municipal Council for financial support to the development of their businesses, for the demand for building materials increased due to the rapid development of Mariupol.

In the beginning of the 1850s, in the town there operated 6

26. *Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1889...*, p. 171.

27. *Factories, plants and mines of Southern Russia...*, pp. 234-235.

28. *Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1889...*, p. 169.

brick-and-tile factories and a lime plant. In the late 1860s, there functioned already 10 enterprises of this kind, and their number increased to 31 in the beginning of the 1890s. In the early 20th century, there were 30 such factories. In the late 1880s, lime was processed in 6 furnaces, while in 1908 their number increased to nine.²⁹

The well-known entrepreneur from Mariupol D. Kharadzhaev owned the largest brick-and-tile factory in the town Alexandrovskiy. To build the factory, on February 25, 1898 he rented 10 desiatins of the municipal land in the upper reaches of the Zintseva ravine. The factory was equipped with a steam boiler and electric lighting. In 1904, the factory employed 75 workers. In 1907, their number reached 82 persons, and the value of an annual factory produce amounted to 15,000 rubles. The Alexandrovskiy factory produced one of the best kinds of Marseille tiles in the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav. Its products (Marseille, Dutch and band roof tiles) were exhibited at the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition of South Russia in Ekaterinoslav in 1910, where they were awarded with a large silver medal.³⁰ Large factories were also in possession of A. Vorobiov (founded in 1898, 46 employees, produce worth of 22,000 rubles), I. Likaki (53 employees, produce worth of 36,000 rubles), S. Chentukov (50 employees, produce worth of 26,000 rubles) and F. Sychikhin (50 employees, produce worth of 25,000 rubles). Products of all larger brick and tile factories were marked with special trademarks.³¹

In 1898 (or 1900), a cement factory was established by the German subject Otton Shenveld, which employed 20 workers and annually produced products worth of 20,000 rubles. In the early twentieth century, the number of workers increased to forty, and the annual worth of the produce amounted to 60,000 rubles. The factory manufactured colored cement tiles and did not have any competitors in the South of the Russian Empire.³²

Metallurgy began developing in Mariupol in 1886, when there

29. *Address-calendar of the Southern mining ...*, p. 105.

30. *Address-calendar "All Mariupol and its district"...*, p. 75.

31. *Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1889...*, p. 108.

32. "О выдаче ссуд на устройство и расширение цементных и черепичных заводов" [On the issue of loans for the construction and expansion of cement and tile factories], in *Sistematicheskii sbornik postanovleniy Mariupolskogo uездного zemstva s 1869 po 1913 gg.*, 2 (1916), pp. 10-11.

was established an iron foundry machinery plant of I. Uvarov that produced agricultural machines, in particular, reapers. The factory employed 20 workers and manufactured the product worth of 20,000 rubles. In 1891, an iron foundry machinery plant began operating established by V. Soifer, which employed 80 workers and annually produced the iron foundry and boiler equipment worth of 75,000 rubles. In 1904, the plant employed already 176 workers and increased its production value to 100,000 rubles. The plant was equipped with a steam boiler. The main kind of manufactured products included agricultural tools and mining equipment, in manufacture of which the plant occupied the sixth position among similar enterprises of Southern Russia.³³

Significant developments in metallurgy, mining and railway industry, which took place in the 1870s, promoted the transformation of Mariupol into a large industrial center. The favorable location near the Krivoy Rog and Donets coal basins and the port function of the town made it attractive for both large domestic and foreign investments.

The development of transport infrastructure of Mariupol owes much to a well-known industrialist S. Mamontov. In 1882, Mariupol was connected with a private coal railroad owned by Mamontov, and during 1886-1889 the new seaport was intended to be built, in the first place, for exporting coal and products of metallurgy. Mamontov viewed the port as not only that serving the needs of Mariupol but also those of the entire Southern Russia. The installations of the port were designed to sustain the cargo turnover of 320,000 tons per year, but by 1913 the port's turnover reached 1,900,000 tons and placed it among the top six ports of the Russian Empire.³⁴

The new opportunities offered by the town started to attract foreign entrepreneurs. In 1896, a German A. Rotstein and an American E. Smith founded the Nikopol-Mariupol mining and metallurgical joint-stock company with a capital of 6,750,000 rubles. In the summer of that year, there began construction of a metallurgical plant from the frames of a plant bought and dismantled for that purpose in Seattle. In February 1897, a pipe-welding mill was put to opera-

33. *Factories, plants and mines of Southern Russia...*, pp. 224-227.

34. *Address-calendar of the Southern mining and commercial-industrial region for year 1908...*, p. 92.

tion.³⁵ In 1899, there operated blast-furnace, open-hearth, foundry, mechanical, and rolling mills, which produced cast iron of various grades, grade iron and pipes. There began operating the Nikopol plant equipped according to the highest standards of the time. This was the only metallurgical plant in the Russian Empire certified to produce iron sheets for the Lloyd Shipbuilding Company. The plant operated under the direction of L. Lauda (see picture 10.2).

In 1897, the Belgian joint-stock company “Providence” established its daughter enterprise “Russian Providence”, purchased land from the Municipal Council of Mariupol and, in 1898-1899, built a plant that was producing cast, rolled and sheet iron, pipes, rails, etc., but the quality of this produce was quality inferior to that of the products from the Nikopol plant. The plant operated under the direction of M. Morel.³⁶

In the first decade of the twentieth century, like many other businesses in the world, both enterprises were coping with the consequences of a very harsh world economic crisis. The “Russian Providence” had to stop operation of a blast furnace, 60 coke ovens and 3 rolling mills. At “Nikopol”, in 1903-1910 they terminated the production of cast iron, ceased operation of 100 coke ovens, and significantly reduced steel production. During this time, the plants in Mariupol were forced to unite into syndicates such as “Prodamet” and “Truboprodazha”.³⁷ The situation grew stable before the World War I, and the production began increasing due to the military orders of the government.

Thus, in the 19th – early 20th centuries, the industry of Mariupol developed in two stages. At the first stage, which lasted until the 1870s, it was very poorly developed, served mainly the internal needs of the region and depended directly on the pace of agricultural development. Crop failures and frequent agricultural crises of this period determined the size and the number of enterprises and the amount of their produce. In the town, there operated tanneries,

35. N. von Ditmar (ed.), *Статистический сборник по горнозаводской промышленности Южной России, других районов России и иностранных государств в 1897-1898 гг.* [Statistical digest on the mining industry in Southern Russia, other regions of Russia and foreign countries in 1897-1898] (Kharkov: 1899), p.14.

36. *Factories, plants and mines of Southern Russia ...*, p. 75.

37. V. A. Butenko, *Краткий очерк истории русской торговли в связи с историей промышленности* [A brief essay on history of Russian trade in relation to the history of industry] (Moscow: Tipografia tovarishchestva I. D. Sytina, 1910), p. 97.

candle works, tobacco factories, fish-processing, soap-making and food industry enterprises, distilleries and flour mills owned mostly by Greek and Jewish citizens and, occasionally, by foreign merchants.

Picture 10.2 Mariupol. The Nikopol plant



In the 1860s-1870s, the situation changed. People of other nationalities received a permission to settle down in Mariupol. The status of a district capital returned to the town, its favorable geographical position and the progressive countrywide industrialization attracted foreign investments and led to a rapid development of large factories and plants specializing in construction, metallurgy and machinery. Due to these transformations, in the early twentieth century Mariupol began to play a notable role in the economic life of the Russian Empire, and it was these developments that in fact have shaped the present-day industrial appearance of the town.

The development of industries and the rise marketability of agriculture facilitated the expansion of the internal market and the development of trade. During the first decades of their settlement in Mariupol, the Greek merchants maintained close ties with the Crimea. They exported raw hides and produce of artisans from Mariupol, in particular, shoes, saddles and horse harness to Evpa-

toria and Theodosia, and from the Crimea they imported fresh and dried fruits, various wines and, especially, salt, which was in great demand at fish-processing factories. In 1823, the annual turnover amounted to 800,000 rubles.³⁸

The domestic trade proceeded mainly due to fairs. The fairs promoted the development of permanent trade in the town as well. Since the late eighteenth century, in Mariupol four fairs took place – Evdokievskaya (starting March 1), Troitskaya (June 5), Uspenskaya (August 15) and Pokrovskaya (October 1).

With the progress of other towns in Southern Ukraine into the centers of trade, the number of fairs in Mariupol decreased by half in the 1820s. At the fairs, merchants, peasants and artisans from neighboring towns were selling and buying cattle, wool, industrial products, agricultural produce and construction timber. Merchants and petty bourgeoisies of Mariupol were trading mainly in fish and wheat. By the middle of the nineteenth century, only Pokrovskaya fair was held in Mariupol.³⁹

The importance of fairs increased significantly in the 1840-1850s. For example, the cost of commodities traded at the fairs in Mariupol reached 50,000 rubles in 1849, 75,000 rubles in 1853, 95,000 rubles in 1857, and 386,000 rubles in 1888.⁴⁰ The fairs remained important because of the lack of communication routes, the poor credit opportunities and lack of available capital. With the development of capitalist relations, the importance of fairs decreased and the character of their trade changed as it was in direct correlation with the rates of economic progress of the region and the development of railways.

38. RGVIA, fond VUA, delo 18735 “Statistical materials on the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav, 1823”, p. 4.

39. *Mariupol and its surroundings: A report on educational tours ...*, pp. 77-78.

40. D. Drachevskiy, *Военно-статистическое обозрение Российской империи. Т.11, ч.4. – Екатеринбургская губерния* [Military statistical review of the Russian Empire, Vol. 11, Pt. 4 – Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav] (St. Petersburg: Tipografia Departamenta Generalnogo Shtaba, 1850), p.163; A. Skalkovskiy, “Ярмарки или сухопутные рынки Новороссийского края” [Fairs or overland markets of the region of Novorossiia], *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, 7 (1858), p. 86; *Обзор Екатеринбургской губернии за 1888 г.* [Overview of the Province of Ekaterinoslav for year 1888] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografia Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1889), p. iii.

The trade in agricultural produce, primarily, in grain, played an important part in the life of port towns in the South of the Russian Empire. It was the grain trade that developed Mariupol into a large trading center in the second half of the nineteenth century and determined the main trends in the activity of both local merchants and foreign trade businesses.

The sea port of Mariupol, which in the late nineteenth – early twentieth centuries ranked among six largest ports of the Russian Empire, played a particularly important role in the grain trade. The convenient location of Mariupol on the coast of the Sea of Azov near the mouth of river Kalmius and close to the areas of cattle-breeding, fishing and farming facilitated a rapid incorporation of the town into the domestic and, especially, the foreign trade of the country. The number of foreign ships that arrived to Mariupol is presented in figure 10.1.

Figure 10.1. Number of foreign ships that arrived to Mariupol (1860-1865 and 1878-1891)



Sources: *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1895 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1895], (Ekaterinoslav: Tipo-litografiya Gubernskogo pravleniya, 1898), p. 199; *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1864 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1864], (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Ya. Chaussskogo, 1864), p. 245; *Мариуполь и его окрестности: Отчет об учебных экскурсиях Мариупольской Александровской гимназии* [Mariupol and its surroundings: A report on educational tours of the Aleksandrovskaya Gymnasium of Mariupol] (Mariupol: Tipografiya A. A. Frantova, 1892), pp. 337-338; *Статистические сведения о Екатеринославской губернии за 1864 год* [Statistical account of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1864] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Gubernskogo Pravleniya, 1865).

For the port, they selected an area known in the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries as the Burse, a territory between the sea, the place where the Kalmius falls into the sea, and the Lake Domakha. Most researchers, who have studied various aspects of the development of trade and shipping in the Sea of Azov, note that this had been a trading place long before the appearance of the Greek colonists. It was in this place where construction of the port began in 1782. However, despite all efforts to make the sea trade easier, the sea conditions near Mariupol remained quite difficult for navigation. Because of shallow waters, large ships had to anchor at a distance no closer than 2-4 km from the shore. Rather severe climatic conditions made the situation even more complicated.⁴¹

The increase in trade through the port of Mariupol caused a need to open there a customs post in 1798-1799. In 1808-1808, a quarantine outpost was established and a port administration to maintain order in the roadstead, take quarantine measures, assist the ships that required repair, maintain the lighthouses on the Belosarayskaya spit and arrange the necessary documentation.⁴²

The amount of goods coming to the port was gradually increasing, and the city authorities made a constant effort to adapt the port to the requirements of the time. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, the town council addressed the urban prefect of Taganrog concerning the need to build a stone embankment at the mouth of the Kalmius. It was only in 1836 that the permission to build it was granted and the Committee of Ministers approved the cost estimate of 79,720 rubles. In 1848, a project had been approved for the construction of a highway and a descent to the pier that were put in operation already in 1860.⁴³

Strict quarantine measures introduced in the port of Mariupol in 1832 to 1833 caused a decrease in the number of both foreign and Rus-

41. *Mariupol and its surroundings: A report on educational tours ...*, p. 316.

42. RGADA, fond 276 “State Board of Commerce”, opis 2, delo 374, expedition 3, bundle 14, lists. 2-4.

43. P. Semenov, “Мариупольский греческий округ [The Greek district of Mariupol]”, in: *Geograficheskoye-statisticheskoye slovar Rossiyskoy imperii*, Vol. 3, (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia V. Bezobrazova, 1867), p. 368; *Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”...*, pp. 36-37.

sian ships arriving to the port during the 1830s and the 1840s.⁴⁴ Because of this, ship owners considered it more convenient to go through quarantine procedures in other ports of the Black Sea or in Kerch and not to enter the Sea of Azov in order to avoid wasting time and suffering losses from going through quarantine one more time. Therefore, the amount of goods exported from the port of Mariupol and the ships arriving to it was reduced by almost a third. However, there were growing profits received from the coastal shipping that attracted foreign entrepreneurs. Their trading agents began buying grain in the districts neighboring with Mariupol. The grain was brought to granaries built in the immediate vicinity of the pier. From there, the grain was transferred to boats or *dubkis*, and from these transshipped onto large ships. The customs service of Mariupol allowed conducting the loading operations until midnight. Under favorable weather conditions, it took 6 to 8 days to load up a large ship. Since 1848, a tenth of the customs fees was transferred into the municipal budget of Mariupol. In addition, from each ship the customs post charged an “anchor fee”. This brought to the town an income between 2,000 and 4,000 rubles annually.⁴⁵

In 1865, the customs were opened in Mariupol. This time a significant increase was witnessed in the export of grain from the port of Mariupol, which in the late 1860s reached 1,200,000 chetverts. For a long time, waters in the old port were only 5 to 6 feet deep, which seriously hampered the access of large-tonnage ships to the shore. Therefore, in 1877, the bed of the Kalmius was deepened to 9 feet, and a canal was built, which had to be, however, constantly deepened and cleared from sand deposits. During this period, only 65 coastal vessels were registered to the port of Mariupol, and about half of them belonged to foreign ship-owners (Greeks and Austrian subjects of Slavic and Italian origin). Sea-going ships were built mostly abroad, and their crews consisted only of foreigners. Of local entrepreneurs, the largest ship-owners included, among others, the Kharadzhaev Trading House (10 sailing ships and 2 steamships).⁴⁶ In the 1870s, the area around the

44. “Устав о карантинах” [Statute of quarantines], *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи 1804-1805* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire 1804-1805], No. 5690, Vol. 7, (Saint Petersburg: 1833), p. 719-788.

45. А. Gavrilyuk, *Мариупольская таможня в действии* [The customs of Mariupol in action] (Donetsk: Kashtan, 2004), p. 91.

46. *Опыт перечня судов Российского морского торгового флота. К 1 января*

port of Kalmius was in use of transport companies including “Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company”, “Steamship Company of the Don, the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea” and “Northern Steamship Company”. There also were storehouses of the “Russian Company of Export Trade” and several entrepreneurs including Vidvich, Matetsky, Tregubov and Kharadzhaev. In the 1890s, in the city began operating the steamship company of Regir, and in the early twentieth century, the steamship companies of Di Pollone and Derevitsky as well as “Northern Steamship Company” and “Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company” opened branch offices in Mariupol.⁴⁷

The increasing amount of goods that was arriving since 1882 to Mariupol from the interior regions of the country along the private Donets Coal Railway raised the importance of the port of Mariupol. However, the small river harbor failed to cope with a large turnover of cargoes, and there emerged a need to build a deeper seaport. In the course of a hydrotechnical study, the most favorable conditions were found in the area of the Zintseva Ravine. It was anticipated that if the construction started in 1886, it would had been completed in five years, but the urgent need of a new port forced to speed up the process of construction and its completion in three years, in 1889.

Construction and installation of equipment of the new port, for which 4,273,239 rubles were allocated, was supervised by the Department of Works of the Port of Mariupol subordinated to the Department of Commercial Ports of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. A 850 m long quay was built, along with three moles and two breakwaters. Works were carried out to deepen the bottom of the harbor to 14 feet and then to 18 feet, and a railway (see picture 10.3) and a highway were constructed, which connected the port with the town.⁴⁸

1889 г. [List of ships of the Russian commercial sea fleet as of January 1, 1889] (Saint Petersburg; 1889); Русский торговый флот. Список судов к 1 января 1900 г. [Russian commercial fleet. List of ships as of January 1, 1900]; К. Skalkovskiy, *Русский торговый флот и срочное пароходство на Черном и Азовском морях* [Russian commercial fleet and the time-fixed steamship navigation in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov] (Saint Petersburg; Suvorin, 1887), pp. 129-130.

47. GARO, fond 579 (Office of the Urban Prefect of Taganrog, town of Taganrog, 1803-1919), opis 1, delo 276, lists 1-20.

48. P. Lyudin, “Штрихи к истории мариупольского порта [Notes on the history of the port of Mariupol]”, *Mariupolskiy portovik*, (1 September 2011), p. 2.

Picture 10.3 Mariupol. The railway line

The works were carried out by engineers Boreish and Maksimovich under the supervision of engineer Lisovsky. The official opening took place on August 21, 1889. To the embankment of the port, there arrived 18 wagons loaded with coal (about 2,000 poods). Following a divine service in the presence of the Minister of Railways, the loading of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company's steamer "Medveditsa" began, which left the port for its destination on August 22.

Although the port was originally designed to withhold a turnover of up to 20,000,000 poods (50% coal and 50% grain), in a short time the actual turnover significantly exceeded this figure. Therefore, the berthing line was urgently expanded by adding special wooden piers along the malls, and, in 1899-1901, a new coal harbor was built equipped with embankments laid at a depth of 22 feet. The harbor was surrounded by a protective pier and was connected by gates to the old part of the port. The harbor area was deepened to 16-18 feet. The cost estimate of these works amounted to 2,656,000 rubles. This part of the port was intended only for the export of coal and the import of ore with an estimated turnover of 60,000,000 poods.⁴⁹

49. M. L. Lisovskiy, "Марипольский порт [Port of Mariupol]", *Materialy dlya*

However, already in 1903-1905, the 18th and 19th congresses of mine owners raised the need for deepening the bottom of the new port down to 24-26 feet and that of the Kerch Canal down to 28 feet. Recognizing the need for these measures, the Ministry of Trade and Industry asked the government to allocate funds for the further development of the port of Mariupol. The governmental decree of July 17, 1909, gave permission to carry out these works and allocated a loan of 858,300 rubles. In November 1910, the deepening of the port bottom down to 24 feet was completed and the port began to accept seagoing ships. The installed equipment including 2 car dumpers, 2 overpasses, an elevator, a hydraulic crane and a central hydraulic station significantly reduced the cost of loading the ships.

In the early 1910, the problem of berth congestion reappeared, and the Ministry of Trade and Industry applied to the State Duma with a petition to approve a bill on the next expansion and re-equipment of the port of Mariupol. It implied that a new basin, a 28 feet deep canal, embankments and a central power station along with the equipment for mechanical loading of coal onto ships. The total amount of financing the project estimated at 10,776,000 rubles. Of these funds, 2,668,000 rubles were allocated to carry out works in 1913, but the World War I and the turmoil of 1917 interrupted the process of modernization of the port of Mariupol.⁵⁰

opisaniya russkikh portov i istoriya ikh sooruzheniya, Vol. V, (Tipografia Ministerstva putey soobshcheniya, St. Petersburg, 1888), p. 29; G. Spalvini, Пояснительная записка к проекту развития и оборудования Мариупольского порта [Explanatory note on the plan for the development and equipment of the port of Mariupol] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia Ministerstva putey soobshcheniya, 1911), pp. 16-17.

50. GADA, fond 117 “Department of works of the port of Mariupol, town of Mariupol, District of Mariupol of the Province of Ekaterinoslav”, opis 1, delo 3 “Projects for deepening of the port and the Zintseva Ravine. Calculations for the project on construction of the outer canal, 1910-1911”; Ibid, delo 40 “Explanatory note on the plan for the development and equipment of the port of Mariupol, 1911”; Ibid, delo 6 “Statute of local administrations of commercial seaports. Contract and act on construction of ferroconcrete embankments. Projects for construction of a pier in the coal harbor. Acts on the distributed building materials, 1913-1916”; Ibid, delo 9 “Correspondence with the Metallurgical Society of Kramatoroks about the supply of equipment for mechanization of the loading works. Report of the council of the Congress of mining industrialists of Southern Russia on the port of Mariupol, 1913-1915”; Ibid, delo 11 “Act of monitoring the construction works

The emergence and further development of large-scale grain trade in Mariupol is associated with foreign merchants, primarily Italian. As early as the turn of the eighteenth century, Italian trading firms became interested in the possibilities offered by the port towns of the northern coast of the Sea of Azov. They had particularly intensified their activities in this region since the 1820s due to the policy that favored business of foreign merchants in the southern Russian provinces adopted by the Russian government and, in particular, the policy pursued by the governor-general of Novorossiia and Bessarabia M. Vorontsov.

It was the Italians who were among the first foreign traders to appreciate the advantages of grain trade through the port towns of the northern coast of the Sea of Azov, namely, the cheaper cost of grain than that in the other Black Sea ports and the lack of competition from large firms or local merchants. They intensified their activities in Mariupol in the 1820s and 1830s.

During this time, the branch offices of Italian firms of de Rossi and Chulli appeared in Mariupol, and, in some years, the Trading House of Antonio Amoretti was active, which had the main branch office in Theodosia and other branches in Kerch and Taganrog. The Trading House of B. Ponzio also periodically conducted business in Mariupol. In the 1830s, Mariupol saw the incoming of companies of Galleano, Gerbulini, de Martino, Pinioni (or Pinion) and Sanguinetti.⁵¹

In addition to the Italian firms proper, in the town there appeared offices of Italianized Slavs from the Adriatic, mainly Austrian subjects. In the town, they were also called Italians, sometimes Dalmatians, although the owners of these firms bore Slavic sur-

and description of equipment that arrived for the central electric station under construction, 1914-1916”; Ibid, delo 12 “Explanatory note for the technical plan of the elevator. Contract with the Board of the Russian Society for Export Trade on renting land for construction of the elevator, 1914-1915”; *Mariupol and its surroundings. A report on educational tours*, pp. 322-323.

51. N. Vatsak, “Грецькети італійське купецтво у портах Північного Причорномор’я: комерційна діяльність, мореплавання (перша третина XIX ст.)” [Greek and Italian merchants in the ports of the northern coast of the Black Sea: Commercial activities, seafaring (first third of the 19th century)], *Hretske pidpriemnytsvo i torgivlia u Pivnichnomu Prychoromorii XVIII-XIX st. Zbirnyk naukovykh statei*, (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2012), pp. 11-12.

names like Vidovich, Vuchetich, Despot, Kovachevich and Popovich or Italianized names like Mimbelli. Because of the Slavic origin of these entrepreneurs, the Russian government and the local administration treated them with a special disposition. Many of them began their careers as captains of merchant ships of large foreign firms that allowed them to earn starting capital. At the grain market of Mariupol, the leading positions at that time were occupied by five trading houses including those of Galeano, Despot, Vidovich, the Mimbelli brothers and the Popovich brothers.⁵²

The local small grain merchants maintained a close relationship with the trading house of Vidovich. When in the mid-1830s the latter fell into decay because of the economic crisis, the local merchants suffered serious losses that amounted to 400,000 rubles. This caused many of them to withdraw from the grain trade for good, and since that time the export of cereals from Mariupol permanently concentrated in the hands of foreign firms.⁵³

Due to the business of the trading house of the brothers Nicholas and Drago Popoviches, Berdyansk became a serious competitor to Mariupol in the grain trade in 1837. The Kerch trading house of the Popoviches, which had a branch office in Mariupol, was supposed to deliver a large supply of grain to the Mediterranean ports. A considerable part of the grain was purchased in the Berdyansk Spit area, but the loading was carried out in the raid of Mariupol. At this time, the mouth of the Kalmius was clogged with sand, which made it impossible for the vessels to approach the pier. Fearing not to fulfill obligations to foreign clients, M. Popovich appealed to M. Vorontsov to send a customs officer to the Berdyansk Spit and allow grain loading on the spot. After that he hustled before the governor-general founded there the town of Berdyansk. To merchants who settled in Berdyansk, M. Vorontsov granted significant benefits unknown in Mariupol. Merchants from Mariupol believed that in this way the Governor General demonstrated his dissatisfaction with the Greeks of Mariupol, who had not complied with his instructions by refusing to grow Merino sheep.⁵⁴

52. *Mariupol and its surroundings. A report on educational tours ...*, pp. 327-328.

53. Skalkovskiy, *Russian commercial fleet...*, pp. 61, 134-135.

54. К. А. Вакханов, “Бердянск в дневниках титулярного советника В. К. Крыжановского. В. К. Крыжановский. Дневники [Berdyansk in the diaries of the titular counselor V.K. Kryzhanovskiy. V.K. Kryzhanovskiy. Diaries]”, paper in

The beginning of shipbuilding in Mariupol is also connected with the Italians. At this time, because of the shallow waters in the Sea of Azov, there prevailed small and medium size vessels of one- or two-masted sailing ships, each with a carrying capacity of up to 150 tons and a crew of 5-6 people. The first of such boats was built at the Burse of Mariupol in 1824 by the master Cavalotti.⁵⁵

The active process of penetration of foreign capital into the local grain market was adversely confronted by the local community of merchants, who could not stand competition and were suspended from foreign trade. Foreign traders tried to concentrate in their hands all operations related to the purchase and resale of grain to foreign companies that further sold the grain abroad. Until the 1840s, the special manifesto of January 1, 1807 was active, which allowed foreigners to buy grain only in bulk for exporting it abroad. However, foreign merchants bypassed this norm and through their agents and commissioners carried out large-scale purchase of grain at retail from local landlords and peasants. The local merchants from Mariupol did not want to have such competitors, and in 1841 they complained to the authorities that “capitalist foreigners, having their own clerks, send the latter a few versts out of the town for the on-the-road purchase of wheat and other products being imported to Mariupol, which they trade and bring directly into the shops of their proprietors”.⁵⁶

In the 1850s, the grain trade in the town was carried out by the firms of Vuchetich, Galeano, Radeli, Tripkovich, Fiskovich, Paleolog, Rodochanaki and Petrokockino, as well as by foreign guests of the 3rd guild Luka and Stefan Mimbelli, a foreign guest merchant of the 1st guild Anton Despot, and a merchant of the 3rd guild Joseph Amoretti. In 1859, S. Mimbelli was the only owner of seagoing sailing vessels registered to the port of Mariupol. These included the brigs “Luka Mimbelli” and “Ekaterina Mimbelli” and the

http://riurbanhistory.org.ua/library/liman/Berdyansk_v_dnevnikahtitylyarnogo_sovetnika.pdf (date of access: 28 June 2015).

55. A. A. Shchiptsov, *Транспортное освоение Азовского моря. Исторический экскурс и современность* [Transport exploitation of the Sea of Azov: historical sketch and present state] (Kyiv: Budivelnik, 1995), pp. 50-51.

56. V. A. Zolotov, *Внешняя торговля Южной России в первой половине XIX в* [Foreign trade of Southern Russia in the first half of the 19th century] (Rostov-on-Don: Izdatelstvo Rostovskogo universiteta, 1963), p. 171.

clipper “Balthasar Mimbelli”, the latter two being built abroad in 1856-1857. Among the largest ship owners in Mariupol there was I. Amoretti who had in his possession coasting ships, of which to the port of Mariupol were assigned two schooners, “Maria” and “Sirena”, two galleasses, “Kalimius” and “St. Luka”, and 10 tenders.⁵⁷

By the 1840-1850s, the merchants from Mariupol such as Alexander Kharadzhaev, Ivan Chebanenko, Ignatiy Gazadinov and Nikolay Lagofetov had also entered the international market. In the surrounding villages and neighboring districts, they established the procurement points, and each of the merchants had stone granaries on the town’s pier. Some of them owned small sailing boats for grain transportation. The granaries were built in locations that permitted quick delivery of grain to the ships and loading onto large ships.⁵⁸

The Crimean War terminated the foreign trade in the region, for the imperial order strictly prohibited the export of grain, and the ports were closed for foreign ships. In 1855, food depots of the Russian army, merchants’ granaries and coastal ships suffered damage from the bombardment during the landing of the Anglo-French troops in Mariupol. However, in a year foreign trade through the port of Mariupol was resumed. During the Crimean War, the Italian merchants suffered significant losses, and only the firms of Galeano, Mimbelli, Tripkovich and Fiskovich managed to survive. Due to the constantly increasing competition from the firms of Berdyansk and Taganrog, the Italian entrepreneurs gradually curtailed their activities in the town and returned to their homeland, and only a few of them remained and gradually mixed up with the local population.⁵⁹

Despite the decline in size of the Italian community, its members

57. V. Melnitskiy, *Русский коммерческих флот по 1 января 1859 г. По официальным источникам* [Russian commercial fleet as of January 1, 1859. From official sources] (St. Petersburg: Tipografia Morskogo ministerstva, 1859), p. 35.

58. S. Novikova and S. Volonyts, “Grain Trade in Mariupol (Second Half of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century)”, paper presented at 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 centuries”, Odessa, 22nd-27th September 2013, <http://blacksea.gr/ru/cities/mariupol>.

59. A. A. Skalkovskiy, *Ростов-на-Дону и торговля Азовского бассейна 1749-1863 г.* [Rostov-on-Don and trade in the basin of the Sea of Azov in 1749-1863] (Ekaterinoslav: 1865-1866), pp. 2, 49.

continued to play a significant role in various aspects of life in Mariupol. For example, owners of the Italian firms served as heads of the consular offices of other states in the town. These included the Montenegrin by birth P. Bonachich (Consulate of Austria-Hungary), I. Vidovich (Vice-Consulate of Spain) and E. di Pollone (Royal Consular Agency of Italy and Imperial and Royal Consulate of Austro-Hungary).

In the early twentieth century, the shipping company of Svoronos and di Pollone was the largest steamship owner on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, owning 14 steamships registered mainly in the ports of Mariupol and Taganrog.⁶⁰ The Italian citizen and merchant of the 1st guild E. di Pollone also served as a member of the Port Office of the Mariupol Commercial Exchange Committee and frequently communicated with the government on issues concerning the modernization of the seaport of Mariupol.⁶¹ In 1912, in order to ensure the passenger and freight traffic between Russian and foreign ports, the shipping company merged with another large steamship company owned by a large Mariupol shipowner P. Regir. On the basis of the statutes dated December 30, 1911, there appeared the joint-stock company “Russian Company of Commercial Steam Navigation”.⁶²

In the 1870-1880s, large Greek and Italian trading houses were replaced by Jews and became trading agents on commission. The withdrawal of competitors offered opportunities for the development of local entrepreneurs. In the end of the 1880s, the volumes of grain exports, particularly wheat, to northern Europe by the USA, Australia and Canada, the main competitors of Russia in the world grain market, reduced the grain exports of the empire. This resulted to an overflow of the local market with stocks of unsold grain, which led to a significant decrease in the purchasing prices. Under these circumstances, the Greek trading agents of grain companies turned to large suppliers of grain.

60. *Русский торговый флот. Список судов к 1 января 1915 г.* [Russian commercial fleet. List of ships as of 1 January 1915] (Petrograd: 1915), p. XXII.

61. *Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”...*, pp. 36, 166, 14.; “Адрес-календар Екатеринославской губернии на 1916 год. Мариупольский уезд [Address-calendar of the Province of Ekaterinoslav for year 1916. District of Mariupol]”, <http://old-mariupol.com.ua/adres-kalendar-na-1916-god---6/> (date of access 15 January 2014).

62. RGIA, fond 108 “Russian Company of Commercial Steam Navigation, 1912-1917”, opis 1, delo 1 “Journal of the Board 1912-1913”, list. 52 .

The data on grain exports from the port of Mariupol in the second half of the nineteenth century on five-year periods is summarized below in figure 10.2 and table 10.1.

Figure 10.2. Dynamics of export of grain from the port of Mariupol (2nd half of the 19th – early 20th centuries), (in chetverts)



Sources: *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1895 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1895], (Ekaterinoslav: Tipo-litografiya Gubernskogo pravleniya, 1898), p. 14; *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1899 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1899], (Ekaterinoslav: Tipo-litografiya Gubernskogo pravleniya, 1898), p. 199; *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1864 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1864], (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Ya. Chaussskogo, 1864), p. 245; *Мариуполь и его окрестности: Отчет об учебных экскурсиях Мариупольской Александровской гимназии* [Mariupol and its surroundings: A report on educational tours of the Aleksandrovskaya Gymnasium of Mariupol] (Mariupol: Tipografiya A. A. Frantova, 1892), pp. 330-335; I.E. Aleksandrovich, *Краткий обзор Мариупольского уезда* [A brief overview of the District of Mariupol] (Mariupol: Tipografiya A.A. Frantova, 1884), pp. 31-33.

Table 10.1. Grain exports from the port of Mariupol in the 2nd half of the 19th century (in 000 chetverts)

Years	Wheat	Barley
1865–1869	32,373	669
1870–1874	37,214	2,580
1875–1879	20,071	2,882

Years	Wheat	Barley
1880–1884	10,648	3,927
1885–1889	17,747	14,431
1890–1894	24,871	274,21
1895–1899	27,488	35,626

Source: V.A. Zolotov, *Хлебный экспорт России через порты Черного и Азовского морей в 60–90-е годы XIX в.* [Russian grain export through the ports of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in the 1860-1890s] (Rostov: Izdatelstvo Rostovskogo universiteta, 1963), p. 202.

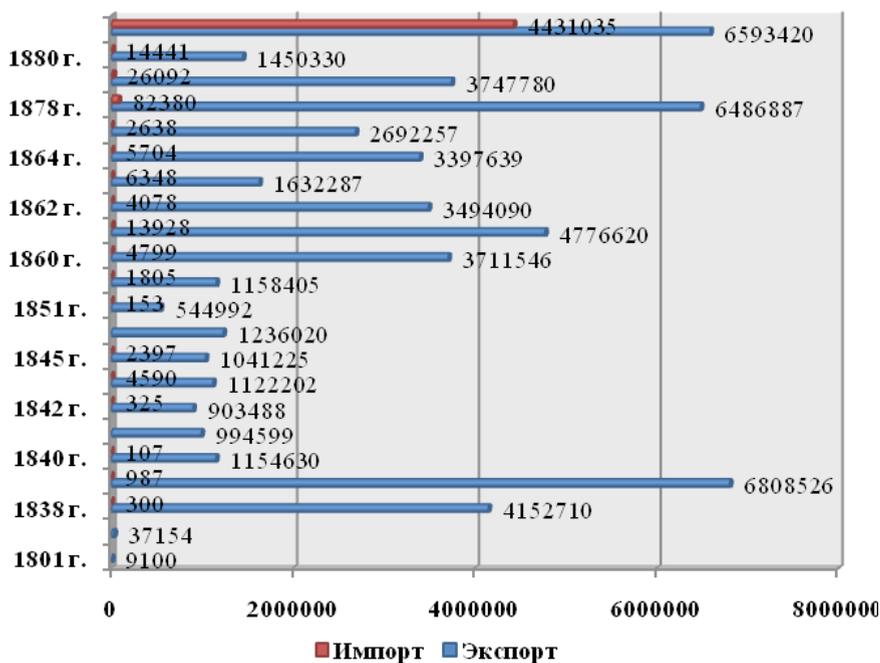
The demand for grain in the pan-European market and the favorable regional market conditions of Mariupol stimulated grain exports from its port. The port thus specialized more in export than in import. Throughout the entire nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, exports exceeded imports. During this period, the port of Mariupol demonstrated a positive trade balance. Such a trade balance was certainly associated with the adoption in the Russian Empire of the theory of mercantilism, i.e. the orientation of trade towards domination of exports over imports. The positive trade balance of the port of Mariupol in the nineteenth century is well illustrated in figure 10.3.

Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the port town of Mariupol played a special role in the grain trade oriented to the international market. Low purchasing prices for grain attracted large foreign trading firms, and local merchants of Mariupol from the domestic market to the foreign one. This contributed to the development of foreign trade in the region and the modernization of the port of Mariupol, which throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries showed a high surplus of the trade balance.

In the early twentieth century, the foreign grain trading houses “A. Dreyfus and Co.”, “M.G. Tregubov, son and Co”, “M. Neufeld and Co” and the local companies of D. Kharadzhaev, S. Samoylovich, P. Matetskiy and M. Olshevskiy were active in the foreign trade. On the domestic market, there were the firms of Kh. Arabadzhi, D. Attamanov, D. Grin and I. Karakurkchi.⁶³ The local class of merchants remained mainly active on the domestic grain market. In

63. *Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”...*, pp. 36, 166;

Figure 10.3. Port of Mariupol: value of exports and imports (1801-1892), (in rubles)



Sources: *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1895 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1895], (Ekaterinoslav: Tipo-litografiya Gubernskogo pravleniya, 1898), p. 14; *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1899 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1899], (Ekaterinoslav: Tipo-litografiya Gubernskogo pravleniya, 1898), p. 199; *Памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1864 год* [Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1864], (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografiya Ya. Chausskogo, 1864), p. 245; *Мариуполь и его окрестности: Отчет об учебных экскурсиях Мариупольской Александровской гимназии* [Mariupol and its surroundings: A report on educational tours of the Aleksandrovskaya Gymnasium of Mariupol] (Mariupol: Tipografiya A. A. Frantova, 1892), pp. 337-338; Liman and A.M. Pimenov (eds.), *Юне місто. Літопис історії Бердянська очима кореспондентів "Одеського Вісника" (1827-1860 pp.)* [Young town. A chronicle of the history of Berdyansk through the eyes of correspondents of "Odesskiy Vestnik" (1827-1860)] (Berdyansk – Rostov-on-Don: RA "Tandem-U"), 2007, pp. 57, 58, 70, 71, 85, 86, 93, 94.

order to regulate this trade, the administration of the town issued special decrees that determined places of trade, regulated volumes and quality of grain for trade and banned speculation and artificial increase in grain prices.

The local entrepreneurs from Mariupol focused their activities mostly on the retail trade. By the middle of the 1860s, in the town there were 126 merchandise storehouses, 42 shops, 2 hotels, 3 restaurants, 4 inns and 1 tavern.⁶⁴ The number of retail establishments increased particularly in the early twentieth century. The largest included the “Trading House of the Adabashevs Brothers” and the “Trading House of the Beshtavovs”. In the town, there functioned 16 haberdashery shops, of which four were owned by Greeks. Of the 17 leather and shoe shops, 6 also belonged to Greeks. One third of the 22 grocery stores were in the property of the Kechedzhis family of merchants.⁶⁵

The economic life of Mariupol in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries was run by many bright and talented entrepreneurs, who took their activities far beyond their hometown and raised their business not only to a national but also an international level. The Italian entrepreneur Antonio Despot, the founder of a trading firm in Mariupol, like many of his compatriots began his career in the town in the 1830s. Born in Genoa, he belonged to the Italicized Slavs. In 1837, he established a trading house, which was engaged in the foreign grain trade. The firm interacted with other Italian offices that appeared in Mariupol at about the same time of the trading houses of Galeano and the Mimbellis brothers.⁶⁶

Among the successful Jewish merchant families from Mariupol we shall mention the Matetskiys and the Tregubovs. In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the firm of Isay Mateskiy became the leader in the grain trade of Mariupol and even pushed aside many foreign trade firms. Among the entrepreneurs of Mariupol and the townspeople, he earned a reputation of an impeccable businessman, public figure and philanthropist. As his contemporaries noted, he owned his successes only to his own abilities and merits.

64. *Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1864...*, pp. 113-121.

65. *Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”...*, pp. 14, 36, 166.

66. *Mariupol and its surroundings. A report on educational tours ...*, p.309.

I. Matetsky, as it follows from the “Extract from the serfs’ book of the Taganrog notarial archive for the uezd of Mariupol for year 1887”, joined the estate of merchants of Mariupol as a petty bourgeois from a small town of Kossovo in the Province of Grodno.⁶⁷

He started his career in the late 1870s as a scribe in a notary office in Mariupol, and soon managed to become a deputy notary. However, in the late 1880s Jews were forbidden to hold positions in notarial offices, and Matetskiy had to look for another occupation. He chose one of the most profitable businesses of the time, the grain trade, and soon after I. Matetsky became one of the richest entrepreneurs of Mariupol. It is possible that he started his business with the support from the merchant of the first guild Mikhail Tregubov, one of the most successful Jewish grain traders in Mariupol of that time.⁶⁸

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the grain firm of Matetskiy had already been listed among the largest export companies of Mariupol, and Matetskiy himself received the title of a merchant of the first guild. He was an active participant in the municipal bodies of self-government of the town. Since 1884, he was repeatedly elected a member of the Town Council of Mariupol, directed the district branch of the regional Prison Committee, and served as a member of the Port Office.⁶⁹

The Tregubovs family was another successful Jewish dynasty of merchants in Mariupol. After the large firms like Dreyfus had left the grain market of Mariupol in the 1870-1880s, the grain business in the town fell under control of these Jewish merchants. The Tregubovs began to play a significant role in the economic and social life of Mariupol since the 1880s. They earned their wealth in the grain

67. М. М. Antoshchak and V.G. Tkachenko, “Життєвий шлях та заповіт барона Миколи Олександровича Корфа [The life and the will of Baron Mykola Oleksandrovych Korf], *Naukovi pratsi istorichnoho fakultetu Zaporizkoho natsionalnoho universytetu*, XXXII (2012), p. 122.

68. *Mariupolskaya zhizn*, (21 April 1916), p. 3.

69. RGIA, find 1288 “Main Department of the Local Economy of the Ministry of Interior”, opis 5, delo 158 (Registers of voters for elections to the Town Council”, lists 96, 98 verso, 99; “Адрес – календар Екатеринославской губернии на 1916 год. Мариупольский уезд [Address-calendar of the Province of Ekaterinoslav for year 1916. District of Mariupol]”, <http://old-mariupol.com.ua/adres-kalendar-na-1916-god---10/> (date of access 12 February 2014).

trade and flour production industry. The head of the family, Mikhail Grigorievich Tregubov (c. 1832-1902) held the title of a Mariupol merchant of the first guild,⁷⁰ and, since 1896, a Kharkov merchant of the first guild. After he had died in 1902, his title was inherited by his son, Abram Mikhailovich Tregubov (1864-1924).⁷¹ The flour produced at Tregubov's mills was exported to Thessaloniki and Constantinople on the ships of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, the Society of Levantine Lines and the Northern Company.⁷² Flour storehouses owned by A. Tregubov were located on the Rybnaya Square, a part of the larger Bazarnaya Square.⁷³

The family also rented one of the largest distilleries in the District of Mariupol. Like the Kharadzhaevs, the Tregubovs, were the largest real estate owners in Mariupol. One of the buildings on Konstantinovskaya Street owned by A. Tregubov housed the Treasury of the District of Mariupol, while in another meetings of the Justice of the Peace of the District of Mariupol took place.⁷⁴ M. Tregubov took part in the work of the *Zemstvo* of the Uezd of Mariupol zemstvos, and, since 1889, served as a member of the Tax Office in the Uezd of Mariupol.⁷⁵ A. Tregubov also actively participated in public life of the town. He was a member of the Town Council for several convocations and at the same time he served as a director of the regional branch of the Provincial Prison Committee and as a secretary of the Society for the Support to the Indigent Students of the

70. “Семейное дерево. Михаил Трегу́бов [Family tree. Mikhail Tregubov]”, <http://www.jewage.org/wiki/ru/Profile:P1753772104> (date of access 12 February 2014).

71. Lev Yarutskiy, Евреи Приазовья [Jews of the Azov Region] (Mariupol: Priazovskiy rabochiy, 1996).

72. A. M. Tregubov, “О развитии экспорта муки, угля и железа из Мариупольского порта на рынки Ближнего Востока [On the development of export of flour, coal and iron from the port of Mariupol to the markets of the Middle East]”, *Pervyy Yuzhno-Russkiy Torgovo-Promyshlennyy S'ezd v Odesse*, (Odessa, 1910), p. 10.

73. *Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”...*, p. 34.

74. Vadim Korobka, “Мариупольские депутаты образца 1913 года [Members of the Town Council of Mariupol in 1913]”, *Priazovskiy rabochiy*, (5 February 2011), p. 5.

75. *Систематический сборник постановлений Мариупольского уездного земского собрания с 1869 по 1913 гг.* [Systematic collection of resolutions of the Zemstvo Assembly of the District of Mariupol from 1869 to 1913] (Mariupol: Tipolitografiya A.A. Frantova, 1916), pp. 282-283.

Gymnasium of Mariupol.⁷⁶ In 1910, A. Tregubov represented the Exchange Committee of Mariupol at the First South-Russian Trade and Industrial Congress in Odessa. In his report, he considered the prospects of exporting flour, coal and iron from the port of Mariupol to the markets of the Middle East.

One of the most successful merchants of German origin in Mariupol was Petr Regir, who just in two decades created one of the largest shipping companies in the Russian Empire, which by the beginning of the twentieth century rated fifth in the cargo capacity of ships among the Russian shipping companies. P. Regir earned his initial capital presumably in the grain trade.⁷⁷

The history of the P. Regir's flotilla began in 1880, when he acquired the steam tugboat "Success" built in England in 1872. The tugboats transported barges that collected grain along the entire coast of the Sea of Azov and delivered them to the large vessels anchored in the roadstead. In 1889, in England he bought the cargo steamer "Natford" (1,536 tons payload) subsequently renamed to "Progress" and chartered from D. A. Kharadzhaev the steamer "Engineer Avdakov" (1,461 tons) for three years. These ships were designed to transport coal from Mariupol to the ports of the Black Sea and Constantinople. So the shipping company of P. P Regir was established with the central office in St. Petersburg.⁷⁸ The income received by the company allowed P. Regir already in 1891 to receive the title of a merchant of the first guild.

Participation in the profitable coal trade and the business connections with N. Avdakov, who was the director of the Rutchenkovsky Mining Company and a chairman of the Council of Miners of the South of Russia, facilitated the rapid growth of the shipping

76. Адрес– календарь Екатеринославской губернии на 1916 год. Мариупольский уезд [Address-calendar of the Province of Ekaterinoslav for year 1916. District of Mariupol], <http://old-mariupol.com.ua/adres-kalendar-na-1916-god---12/> (date of access 12 February).

77. P. Lyudin, "Мариупольский судовладелец Петр Регир" [A ship owner from Mariupol Petr Regir], *Azovskiy morskoy almanakh*, Mariupol, 1996, p. 38.

78. М. N. Baryshnikov, *Деловой мир России: Историко– биографический справочник* [The business world of Russia: Reference book in history and biographies] (Saint Petersburg: Iskusstvo – Logos, 1998), http://www.booksite.ru/localtxt/del/ovo/delovoi_mir/21.htm (date of access 12 February 2014).

company. In 1893, in England P. Regir purchased the second steamship “Fencliff”, which he renamed after his son to “Petr Regir”. In 1898, he acquired the steamer “Ebchurch”, which he renamed after his daughter to “Maria Regir”. In 1897, the two-masted sailing ship “Olga” was built in Berdyansk. In 1901, in England he bought a small steamer called “Anandale” (renamed to “Protector”), which was used for rescue and towing works.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the outdated “Progress” and “Petr Regir” were sold, and were replaced by the “Engineer Avdakov” and “Novorossia” (built in 1904 and 1905 respectively in England, Sunderland) and “Malorissia” (built in Nikolaev). In 1907–1908, the “Port Victoria” and “Trojan” (renamed to “Belorossia” and “Velikorossia”) were purchased in Britain, and in the Far East he purchased the “Selenga” (renamed to “Bessarabia”).⁷⁹ In 1912, the company acquired the freight steamer “Leuts Castle” (renamed to “Rossiya”) in England and the “Export”, the steamship of the Russian Society for Export Trade. The ships of the Regir’s shipping company delivered up to 100,000 tons of the Donets coal annually to the Baltic ports of Kronstadt, Libau, St. Petersburg, Revel and Riga. On the way back, they transported Russian timber and grain to the ports of Western Europe and the Mediterranean. The company had its own crew of workers to load foreign ships.⁸⁰

On the basis of the Statute of December 30, 1911, in order to establish the traffic of passengers and cargoes between Russian and foreign ports, P. Regir in 1912, together with the shipping company of F. K. Svoronos and E.S. di Pollone founded a joint-stock company, the “Russian Company of Commercial Shipping”, to which he used his four best steamships: the “Belorossia”, “Velikorossia”, “Novorossia” and “Export”. P. Regir owned a controlling interest of the new company, chaired its administrative board of the new

79. “О товариществе пароходных предприятий на Дальнем Востоке” [On the society of steamship enterprises in the Far East], *Russkoe Sudokhodstvo*, 9 (1909), pp. 68–81.

80. “Балтийский торговый флот в 1907 г.” [The Baltic commercial fleet in 1907], *Russkoe Sudokhodstvo*, 4 (1908), pp. 38–47, 52; “Сведения о плавании балтийских судов за февраль – март” [Record of seafaring by the Baltic ships in February and March], *Russkoe Sudokhodstvo*, 4 (1908), pp. 147–148; “Сведения о плавании балтийских судов за апрель” [Record of seafaring by the Baltic ships in April], *Russkoe Sudokhodstvo*, 6 (1908), pp. 174–175.

company, and his son Petr Regir, Jr. served as the managing director. The main office of the company operated in Odessa, while the board was located in St. Petersburg.⁸¹

P. Regir, Jr. played an active role in the shipping company, and in 1914, the company was renamed “P. Regir and Son”. He was a member of the administrative board of the Black Sea Society for the Mutual Insurance of Shipowners, organized the Association of Shipowners of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, and chaired the Committee of the Shipowners’ Congresses.⁸²

The most successful family of Mariupol Greeks were the Kharadzhaevs, who owed their commercial rise to the activities of Alexander Davidovich Kharadzhaev. The merchant dynasty of Kharadzhaevs was founded by the merchant Anton Kharadzhaev (c. 1740-1785), who settled with his family in Mariupol after the Greek Christians migrated from Crimea in 1778-1780. In the new place, the settlers found themselves in difficult economic conditions, and many merchants lost their capital. This also happened to A. K. Kharadzhaev and his status was lowered from a merchant estate to a petty bourgeoisie.⁸³

A. D. Kharadzhaev was born to the family of the Mariupol

81. RGIA, fond 108 “Russian Company of Commercial Steam Navigation, 1912-1917”, opis 1, delo 1 “Journal of the Board, 1912-1913”, list 41; Ibid, fond 108 “Russian Company of Commercial Steam Navigation, 1912-1917”, opis 1, delo 2 “Minutes of the meetings of the Board, 1912-1914”, lists 52-57; Ibid, fond 108 “Russian Company of Commercial Steam Navigation, 1912-1917”, opis 1, delo 9 “The main book of the Board of Russian Company of Commercial Steam Navigation, 1912-1913”, lists 111-117.

82. Деятельность Комитета съездов судовладельцев Черноморско – Азовского района со времени III – го Очередного съезда: Отчет, представляемый Очеред. Съезду судовладельцев Черномор.– Азов. р– на в сентябре 1915 г. [Activities of the Committee of Congeresses of ship-owners in the region of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov from the time of the Third Regular Congress: Report submitted to the Regular Congress of ship-owners in the region of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in September 1915] (Odessa, 1915), p. 72; Деятельность Комитета съездов судовладельцев Черноморско–Азовского района, современи созыва I– го очередного съезда [Activities of the Committee of Congeresses of ship-owners in the region of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov from the time of the First Regular Congress] (Odessa, 190?), 13 p.

83. Ревизские сказки г. Мариуполя, 1795 г. – Кн. I [Census records of Mariupol, 1795. Book I] (Mariupol: Azov’e, 2009), p. 28.

merchant of the second guild David Antonovich Kharadzhaev (c. 1775-1857), who was registered to the merchant estate in 1825.⁸⁴ Due to his grain trade business, David Kharadzhaev succeeded in strengthening the family's well-being, as well as allocating considerable sums for charity. While serving as a churchwarden, he donated 5,000 rubles for the construction of the Cathedral of St. Kharlampiy in 1838 and 5,150 rubles for the manufacture of the iconostasis of the main altar of the temple in 1852.⁸⁵

Alexander not only continued the business of his father, but also raised it to a higher level, and his income allowed him to receive a title of the merchant of the first guild. In the middle of the nineteenth century A. D. Kharadzhaev founded a trading house, which was engaged in the intermediary grain trade and its sale abroad. He also purchased 6 sailing ships for coastal and deep sea-going shipping. These were the schooners “Agios Georgios”, “Desna”, “Mimi Mimbelli”, “Saint Antony”, “Saint Nikolay” and “Saint Nadezhda”.⁸⁶ He owned a coalmine in the District of Slavyanoserbbsk, from which the coal was sold in Mariupol. A. D. Kharadzhaev was one of the 50 Mariupol merchants who contributed to the conduct of the Rostov-on-Don – Odessa telegraph line through Mariupol in order to improve conditions for trading on the Sea of Azov.

A. D. Kharadzhaev took an active part in the public life of the town. In 1860-1864, he held the post of the mayor of Mariupol, and in the 1870s-1880s, he was a member of the Assembly of Zemstvo of the uezd of Mariupol and a member of the Town Council (picture 10.4). He promoted the development of education in the town and was engaged in charity. For his contribution for the benefit of his native town, A. D. Kharadzhaev was the first among citizens of Mariupol to be awarded the titles of the “Honorary Citizen of the Town of Mariupol” and the “Hereditary Honorary Citizen of the Town of Mariupol”.⁸⁷

84. Ревизские сказки г. Мариуполя, 1835 г. – Кн. IV [Census records of Mariupol, 1835. Book IV] (Mariupol: Azov'e, 2009), p. 29.

85. D. Yanat'ev, “Собор Святого Харлампия [Cathedral of St. Kharlampiy]”, <http://old-mariupol.com.ua/sobor-svyatogo-xarlampiya/> (date of access 12 February 2014).

86. *List of ships of the Russian commercial sea fleet as of January 1, 1889...*, pp. 2, 29, 39, 42, 59.

87. *Memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1864...*, p. 34; Sys-

Picture 10.4 Mariupol. The Town Council



David Aleksandrovich Kharadzhaev (c.1853 -?) was one of the most outstanding personalities in the history of Mariupol in the last quarter of the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries. He expanded the business of the trading house founded by his father, by opening branches of the company in the uezd of Bakhmut and Alexandrovsk, and raised the family business to an international level. The trading house of the Kharadzhaevs rated among the six largest firms of Mariupol engaged in the export of grain; the other five firms were of foreign origin.⁸⁸

D. A. Kharadzhaev was among the first grain traders in Mariupol to begin exporting grain from the new port, and in 1889 he built large granaries for storing grain purchased by his own company. Moreover, the trading house owned granaries at the Burse, the pier at the mouth of the Kalmius. Because of the increased volume of trade, the trading house of the Kharadzhaevs expanded their fleet to include the schooners “Dalmat”, “Elizaveta” and “Slavyanka”,

tematic collection of resolutions of the Zemstvo Assembly of the District of Mariupol from 1869 to 1913, Pt. II..., p. 133.

88. *Mariupol and its surroundings. A report on educational tours ...*, p. 323.

the trembakas “Meredian” and “Udaloy”, the barge “Cetinie” and the steamers “Alexander” and “Engineer Avdakov”.⁸⁹ The company also processed some part of the purchased grain. In 1883, D. A. Kharadzhaev opened his first steam mill in Barvenkovo, one of the largest flour milling centers east of the Dnieper.⁹⁰

D. Kharadzhaev contributed also to the development of the construction industry in the town. He owned the Aleksandrovsky brick and tile factory, which was put in operation in 1898.⁹¹ Thanks to his successful commercial activities, D. A. Kharadzhaev enjoyed the highest authority in the business circles of Mariupol, and therefore, from 1910 to 1919, he chaired the Exchange Committee and the Arbitration Commission of the Commodity Exchange of Mariupol while he was a member of the agricultural committees of the district and the province and represented the interests of the town at various meetings and congresses on grain trade.⁹²

D. Kharadzhaev was also renowned for his deeds of an outstanding scope as a public figure and a philanthropist.⁹³ David Alexandrovich Kharadzhaev headed a number of public organizations in the town including the Society for the Support to the Indigent Students of the Mariinskaya Women’s Gymnasium of Mariupol, the Society for the Support to the Indigent Students of the Aleksandrovskaya Men’s Gymnasium of Mariupol (for which he was an honorary trustee), the Society for the Support to the Poor Citizens of the town of Mariupol, the town committee of the Red Cross and the Public Assembly Club of Mariupol while he was also elected as an honorary Justice of the Peace.⁹⁴

89. *List of ships of the Russian commercial sea fleet as of January 1, 1889...*, pp.14, 28, 85, 91; *Russian commercial fleet. List of ships as of January 1, 1900...*, pp. 1, 14, 110.

90. [No author], “История “Барвенковского КХП” [History of the “Barvenkovskogo Combine of Baked Food”], <http://barvinkove.com/ru/manufacture/istoriya-barvenkovskogo-khp/35-istoriya-barvenkovskogo-khp/>. (date of access 12 February 2014).

91. *Factories, plants and mines of Southern Russia...*, p.195; *Overview of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1907...*, p. 117.

92. *Address-calendar “All Mariupol and its district”...*, pp. 35-36.

93. *Systematic collection of resolutions of the Zemstvo Assembly of the Uezd of Mariupol...*, p. 122-128.

94. *Екатеринославский адрес-календарь за 1915 год* [Address-calendar of Ekaterinoslav for year 1915] (Ekaterinoslav: Tipografia Gubernskogo pravleniya,

D. Kharadzhaev made a significant contribution to the development of the health care network in the town and the uezd of Mariupol. Thirty thousand rubles were donated by the will of his father and were used to build a new town hospital in 1897. He contributed to the formation of the first sanatorium in town for consumptives on the shore of the Sea of Azov.⁹⁵ Financing the sanatorium was covered personally by David Alexandrovich Kharadzhaev supplemented by the charitable funds collected at the “white flower” holidays.⁹⁶ On his initiative, in the uezd of Mariupol clinics were opened at the factories of the Nikopol-Mariupol Society and the “Russian Providence”, at the town wine storehouse and in the villages of Mikhailovka, Ignatievka, Novaya Karakuba, Temryuk and Volnovakha.⁹⁷

Thus, the ethnic factor played an important role in the economic development of Mariupol in the late eighteenth – early twentieth centuries. The multiethnic composition of the population of the Northern Azov region became a characteristic feature of the development of the region in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the end of nineteenth century, in Northern Azov region the formation of the multinational population was integrated, composed by the ethnic groups of Greeks, Germans, Italians and Jews who contributed their specific entrepreneurial skills to the economic activities of the town. In the late eighteenth – first half of the nineteenth centuries, in this region a very favorable economic and political situation developed for the resettlement of foreigners. It was ethnic Greeks, Italians, Germans and Jews who contributed to the prosperity of Mariupol and the advance of the town into the European economy.

During the early period in the history of the town, the input

1915), pp. 167, 369, 385; Приднепровье. Календарь– ежегодник и памятная книжка Екатеринославской губернии на 1914 год [The Dnieper Region. Calendar, yearbook and memorial book of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1914] (Ekaterinoslav, 1914), pp. 328, 330, 332; Raisa Bozhko, Tatiana Buli and Natalia Gashenenko, Мариуполь и его окрестности: взгляд из XXI века [Mariupol and its surroundings: A look from the twenty-first century] (Mariupol: Renata, 2006), pp. 178, 186; *Address-calendar of the Guberniia of Ekaterinoslav for year 1916. District of Mariupol....*

95. [No author, no title], *Priazovskiy krai*, (12 September 1897), p. 2.

96. [No author], “День ‘белого цветка’ [The ‘white flower’ day]”, *Mariupolskaya zhizn*, (12 April 1912), p. 4.

97. *Mariupol and its surroundings: A look from the twenty-first century....*, p. 190.

from the Italian merchants had a significant impact on various aspects of the life in the town. Italian entrepreneurs who opened their intermediary trading firms in Mariupol, mainly in the 1830s, contributed to the development of domestic trade, primarily the grain trade, in the region in general and in Mariupol in particular. They helped the city to advance into the international grain markets. Equally important was the contribution of Italian entrepreneurs to the development of cargo shipping through the port of Mariupol, from the construction of small coasting sailing ships to the establishment of large nation-scale steamship companies and the contribution to the development of the Mariupol seaport.

The activities of the Greek merchants also had a significant impact on the economic development of the town, but, due to historical circumstances, their influence was not as important as, for example, in Taganrog. The local Greek and Jewish entrepreneurs focused on the development of the processing industry in the form of, mainly, candle tobacco, brick-and-tile, rendering and fish-processing factories. Under the influence of economic transformations in the country, these small processing factories gradually developed into plants.

The merchants, who owned large capitals and had experience in commerce, retained their dominant position in the wholesale trade of agricultural products of the Northern Azov region. It was them who contributed to the transformation of Mariupol into a major trade center in southern Ukraine one of the leading ports in the Azov-Black Sea region.

11.

The great plans for developing Berdyansk

Igor Lyman and Victoria Konstantinova

Introduction

In his book “*The Black Sea. A History*” Charles King claims that the Black Sea region remains in the public mind more peripheral than the Mediterranean.¹ There is every reason to believe that the Sea of Azov region, in its turn, is perceived as even more peripheral in relation to the Black Sea region and the Azov ports are compared mainly with their “elder brothers”, the other Black Sea ports. Berdyansk is a clear case of this point of view.

When Berdyansk, appeared on the coast of the Sea of Azov in 1827, it was thought as a potential “second Odessa”. Newspapers published articles where they described the town as “the best port of the Sea of Azov”. However, by the last decades of the 19th century it became apparent that Berdyansk did not meet up to the expectations.

It is important to analyze the reasons which gave grounds for the extremely optimistic forecasts about the future of Berdyansk, and see why such forecasts did not come true. This can only be analysed, if Berdyansk is examined not as a unique case in isolation from the region to which the town belonged, but in a comparative perspective within the overall context of urbanization processes, as well as from rising global economy of the era. Unfortunately a kind of “biographical” approach limited to Berdyansk remains dominant in the historiography of this port city.²

1. “For some parts of the world, including the Mediterranean, the idea of waterways as defining elements in human history is uncontroversial. Mention the Mediterranean, and images of mutual influence come to mind. Those images come less readily for the Black Sea region”, see: Charles King, *The Black Sea: A History*, (Kyiv: Nika-Center, 2011), pp. 21-22).

2. This is despite the fact that already in the early 1960s E. Lampard, an ideologist of arising so-called “new urban history” pointed out that it was nec-

Beginning of the town: “grandson of Taganrog and son of Mariupol”

Just one look at the chronology of the establishment of the port cities in the Northern Black Sea and Sea of Azov reveals that the historical conditions of the formation of Berdyansk were quite different from the other port cities. This town did not belong to the port cities, “inherited” by the Russian Empire from the Ottoman Empire, which was pushed out from the region, nor to the cities which had arisen at the seaside during (and in many respects – at the forefront) of the Russian imperial territorial expansion. In fact, until the early 20th century Berdyansk was the youngest imperial port-city on the coast from the Danube estuary to the Don estuary. It is

essary to move away from the popular among historians genre of writing urban “biographies”, of exploring a city as series of “problems”, see: E. Lampard, “American Historians and the Study of Urbanization”, *American Historical Review*, LXVII (October 1961), pp. 50-54, 56, 60. Developing ideas of Lampard, his followers were against “biographical method of historical and urban studies”. The approach was criticized when an emphasis was on the uniqueness of each city, because of which, as Sam Warner pointed out, “the usual shelf of urban history books looks like a line of disconnected local histories”, see: Sam B. Warner, “If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930”, *American Historical Review*, 74 (October 1968), pp. 26-43). In contrast, the concept was put forward, according to which cities were, first of all, subsystems of broader systems, which included both urban network and “patterns of relationships” between villages and cities, see: Harry Jansen, *The Construction of an Urban Past. Narrative and System in Urban History* / Translated by Feike de Jong, (Oxford-New York: Berg, 2001), pp. 46-50. Despite great popularity, this concept did not become dominant and further many researchers continued to apply to urban history in the format of “urban biographies”. However, each book about the particular city shouldn’t be identified with the “antiquarian” works, from which traditions Lampard’s followers encouraged to refuse. After all, while in some “urban biographies” emphasises continued to be on their uniqueness (often without proper correlation with the situation in other cities), more and more studies began to appear in which the development of a specific city was examined from the perspective of the overall process of urbanization, see: Lynn H. Lees, “Review: The Study of Cities and the Study of Social Processes: Two Directions in Recent Urban History. Reviewed works: Hull in the Eighteenth Century by Gordon Jackson; The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century by Robert Roberts; London 1808-1870: The Infernal Wen by Francis Sheppard; Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between

no coincidence that in the press of the 19th century Berdyansk was called figuratively “grandson of Taganrog and son of Mariupol”.³

Of course, speaking about the age of the port-cities of the region, we fully understand that a question of dating the formation of urban settlements often has been of a rather ideological than scientific nature. Besides, we are aware of the difference between the establishment of urban settlements (which were formed by imperial order and corresponding legal document) and its emergence (which lies to historians to find the origins),⁴ and in many cases for some time after its emergence a settlement had no official (formal) or real features of a town. After all, in fact, Berdyansk as well as many other port towns of the region were not established on an empty place (in the area where Berdyansk was established, a fishing village was before; accordingly, a Cossacks settlement Domakha existed before the official establishment of Mariupol etc.). However, the formal *establishment* of a town was an important step of imperial, state colonization in the region, while *the initial formation* of this settlement or its predecessors in many ways was the result of not imperial, but so-called folk, spontaneous colonization. It is worth mentioning, within the context of this book, that in the 18th–19th centuries this spontaneous colonization, as well as the imperial colonization, had

Classes in Victorian Society by Gareth Stedman Jones”, *Journal of Social History*, 7:3 (Spring, 1974), pp. 330–337; Michael H. Frisch, *Town into City: Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Meaning of Community, 1840–1880*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); C. H. Feinstein (ed.), *York 1831–1981*, (York: William Sessions for the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1981); R. S. Neale, *Bath, 1680–1850: A Social History, or A Valley of Pleasure Yet A Sink of Inequity*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981); *The European City in the Nineteenth Century* / Edited by Jaroslav Machacek and John Ferris, (Prague: Institute of Art History, 1995); L. Picard, *Victorian London: the Life of a City, 1840–1870*, (London: Phoenix, 2006).

3. 15-го Ноября [15th of November], Одесский Вестник [Odesskiy vestnik], 97 (December 4th, 1840), column 428–430.

4. Yaroslava Vermenych, “Проблеми датування міст у сучасній Україні: теоретичні та правові аспекти” [Problems of dating of cities in modern Ukraine: theoretical and legal aspects], in V. Panchenko (ed.), *Датування міста як проблема історичної урбаністики: європейський та український досвід: Матеріали круглого столу 24 вересня 2008р.* [The dating of a city as a problem of urban history: the European and Ukrainian experience: Materials of the roundtable. September 24, 2008], (Dnepropetrovsk: Gerda, 2008), p. 12.

as its main orientation not the sea but the land.⁵

There are grounds to claim that port-towns were the product and at the same time the factor of imperial expansion on the territory of the Northern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region. So here urbanization had distinct regional specificity in comparison to the urbanization of other regions, where cities had a much longer history within the Russian Empire (and before its formation – Moskovia), with all positive and negative effects of it.⁶ The majority of towns in the region were “imperial”, not “historical”, if we apply a typology of Rainer Lindner.⁷ Cities that emerged during Middle Ages and before, although can’t be regarded as “imperial” according to the date of their establishment, experienced significant changes when they were incorporated into the Russian state system, and thus became “imperial”.⁸

5. In this respect, this colonization is fundamentally different from the Greek colonization, due to which cities emerged in the northern Black Sea coast in ancient epoch.

6. The image of Southern cities as “cities without history” existed in minds of many their inhabitants. Quite indicative in this regard was the position of the famous Jewish scholar and writer Simon Dubnov, who lived in Odessa in 1890-1903. Dubnov claimed that “Odessa is the least historical among all major cities”, Odessa has no history, see: Steven J. Zipperstein, “Remapping Odessa, Rewriting Cultural History”, *Jewish Social Studies, New Series*, 2:2 (Winter, 1996), pp. 25-26. We emphasize that we are talking about the image of the city, not the historical reality. It suffices to recall that today the idea that Odessa should “get memory of Tatars, not Russians” becomes more and more popular among professional historians, see: “Обговорення” [Discussion], in V. Panchenko (ed.), *Датування міста як проблема історичної урбаністики: європейський та український досвід: Матеріали круглого столу 24 вересня 2008 р.* [The dating of a city as a problem of urban history: the European and Ukrainian experience: Materials of the roundtable. September 24, 2008], (Dnepropetrovsk: Gerda, 2008), pp. 55, 61.

7. Rainer Lindner, *Підприємці і місто в Україні, 1860-1914 рр. (Індустріалізація і соціальна комунікація на Півдні Російської імперії)* [Entrepreneurs and a city in Ukraine, 1860-1914 (Industrialization and social communication in the South of Russian Empire)] (Kyiv-Donetsk: Promin’, 2008), pp. 19, 37-78; Victoria Konstantinova, “Рецензія: Райнер Лінднер. Предприиматели и город в Украине: 1860-1914 гг. (Индустриализация и социальная коммуникация на Юге Российской империи) [Review: Rainer Lindner. Entrepreneurs and a city in Ukraine, 1860-1914 (Industrialization and social communication in the South of Russian Empire)]”, *Ukrain’skii istorichnii zhurnal*, 5:500, (2011), pp. 205-210.

8. Of course, here we are talking primarily about the cities of the Crimean peninsula. Quite demonstrative was the picture which A. Markevitch saw in 1888

Unlike many its “older relatives”, Berdyansk was the product and the factor of not the military territorial expansion of the Russian Empire, but of the economic development of coastal areas, which already for many decades had been under its authority. In fact, these lands had been officially a part of the Russian Empire already for 44 years, when at the bottom of Berdyansk Spit, not far from Berda estuary (which marked the boundary between Taurian and Ekaterinoslav gubernias) a wharf began to be constructed in 1827, an event is considered as the beginning of the history of Berdyansk.⁹

It is indicative that Berdyansk appeared mainly thanks to a previous unfortunate choice of a place near Obitochna Spit to build a port. It was there that the town Nogaisk was founded in 1821 by the authorities. The town was supposed to serve as a center of the Nogai region, as well as an important center of trade in the South of Ukraine.¹⁰ However, the town did not meet these expectations. When it became clear that the territory near Obitochna Spit was inconvenient for a port, a more suitable place near Berdyansk Spit was chosen. Soon then Berdyansk was founded there. At the be-

during the trip to Staryi Krym: “During the present century on the place of ancient Staryi Krym a new, now *zashtatnyi* [unimportant] town has grown, populated mostly by Armenians as well as Russians, Greeks and Jews... Just two or three ruins are seen on the outskirts”, see: A. Markevitch, “Поездка в г. Старый Крым” [The trip to Staryi Krym], *Izvestiia Tavricheskoy uchenoy arkhivnoy komissii*, 6 (1888), p. 65. In unison with the above mentioned is description of Theodosia of the early 20 century, published in “Picturesque Russia”: “There remains a few Oriental features in buildings and households of Theodosia. Now it is quite Russian town, with the usual facilities of our medium sized towns, with their usual poverty. You can not imagine what this humble *uezdnyi* [district] town of Tauride province – the famous Caffa, Queen of the Black Sea trade”, see: Живописная Россия. Малороссия и Новороссия. Бессарабская, Херсонская, Екатеринославская и Таврическая губернии [Picturesque Russia. Little Russia and New Russia. Bessarabia, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav and Tauride provinces], Volume V. Part Two, (Saint Petersburg: M.O.Wolf, 1898), p. 216).

9. The territory where Berdyansk was founded in 1827, was under rule of the Ottoman Empire until 1774, under the Crimean Khanate – until 1783. In this year it was incorporated into the Russian Empire together with all lands of the Crimean Khanate.

10. It is symptomatic that in the context of imperial policy of the economic development of Northern Azov the goal of creating of Nogaisk was familiarizing to settled life, “domestication” of Nogais, who until recently had been nomads, see: Lyman and Podkolzina, *The spread of imperial practices....*, p. 28.

ginning its population was attributed to Nogaisk. However, this dependence did not continue for long, and soon Nogaisk fell to the status of *zashtatnyi* [unimportant] town. Nogaisk (today called Prymorsk) throughout its history remained in the shadow of its more successful neighbor, Berdyansk.

The wharf of Berdyansk was opened on July 1st, 1830¹¹ following regulations stated in the official document by the State Council dated October 3rd, 1817 and entitled “On the establishment of a wharf near Obitochna Spit in the Sea of Azov”.¹² The port of Berdyansk was consequently official established in 1835¹³ with the Decree “On granting the status of a town to the port of Berdyansk and privileges its residents”, published officially on January 23rd 1835 and signed on January 1st, 1841. The following year 1842 Berdyansk (picture 11.1) became the administrative center of the synonymous yezd, a territory with an absolute majority of Nogais’ settlements, which in the past had been dependent on Nogaisk.¹⁴ It is no accident that on the coat of arms of the Berdyansk district, confirmed in 1845, there were, along with a black anchor (to symbolise the district’s affinity with the Sea of Azov) and a black plough (to mark farming work of local residents), there is a silver

11. The economic substantiation of benefits that the wharf could give to the wide hinterland region was formulated already in May of 1830 in an article of “Odesskiy vestnik”: “Opening of this wharf offers prospects for great future profits not just for the nearest towns in Ekaterinoslav and Tauric Guberniia but, as people acquainted with local conditions assure, it also will improve the well-being of many settlements in Sloboda Ukraine and Little Russia Gubernias, from which there are convenient connections to Berdyansk Spit due to abundance of pastures and absence of large river-crossings. Another benefit from the wharf of Berdyansk is that through time it will turn into a focus of trade in Crimean salt, for which nowadays ox-driven wagons make trips of nearly 300-verst to the inlands of Crimea, whereas salt from Kerch to Berdyansk Spit can be transported by coasting boats on much better conditions. Having thus saved both time and money, during a summer season a salt-trader instead of making two trips to the Crimean inlands will be making 3 trips to the wharf of Berdyansk”.

12. *Complete collection of laws ...*, Col.1, Vol. 34, pp. 787-788.

13. *Cities in the Russian Empire... Vol. 4*, p. 667.

14. A. Sergeev, “Уход таврических ногайцев в Турцию в 1860 г.” [Departure of Taurida Nogais to Turkey in 1860], *Izvestiia Tavricheskoy uchenoy arkhivnoy komissii*, 49 (1913), pp. 186-187.

Nogai’ nomadic tent (“this denotes the semi-nomadic life of Nogais lived in the district”).¹⁵

Picture 11.1 View of Berdyansk



Novorossiia and Bessarabia governor-general Mikhail Vorontsov and competition of Berdyansk with other ports of the Sea of Azov

According to official historiography, the founder, “father” of Berdyansk is considered the Novorossiia and Bessarabia governor-general Mikhail Vorontsov, who sent to the northern coast of the Sea of Azov captain Kritsky to choose a more convenient than Obitochna Spit place to build a wharf. Moreover, Mikhail Vorontsov personally participated in the survey of the area near Berdyansk Spit to investigate the possibility of the construction of a port here.

Local historians never cease to emphasize how much Vorontsov did for Berdyansk after 1827: he often visited the town (the last

15. *Cities in the Russian Empire... Vol. 4*, p. 667.

visit was in 1852), maintained close relationships with many of its inhabitants, with several of them he was even in spiritual kinship (becoming a godfather in the baptism of their children). Novorossiia and Bessarabia governor-general provided Berdyansk with a number of important privileges. In recognition to these achievements the Berdyansk authorities even erected a monument to Vorontsov on the main avenue of the city in 2010.

Berdyansk indeed became one of Vorontsov's favorite creations. But his actions and promotion of Berdyansk should be put in a wider context. The search for a suitable place to build a port on the coast of the Sea of Azov was during the first years after 1823 when the emperor appointed him to the position of governor-general of the area. This search should be considered as a component of the implementation of Vorontsov's aspirations to promote in the most effective way imperial interests in the region entrusted to his governance. These interests had as one of the main priorities a large-scale economic development of the lands with providing opportunities for the export of agricultural products (not only local but also from inland regions) by sea. The new port on the Sea of Azov was supposed to become for the Russian Empire an important part of its network of "windows to Europe"¹⁶ (and not only to Europe) in the South.

Speaking about the subjective factor, the choice of Mikhail Vorontsov in many respects was the best to guide and ensure the economic development of the lands of the northern coast of the Black and Azov Seas. It was certainly related to the British education and upbringing of Mikhail Vorontsov which gave him a much wider perspective of the maritime empires of the time. He, very appropriately, identified the management of the vast Novorossiia and Bessarabia governorate-generals with the development of the port cities of the area and the strengthening positions of the Russian Empire in the region by the development of the close connection "of sea and land". Development of the coastal region of the Russian Empire became for this talented state administrator not just a sim-

16. The phrase "Window to Europe" was first used by Italian traveler *Francesco Algarotti* in 1759 in relation to St. Petersburg. Later the phrase "to cut a window to Europe" received appellative value thanks to Alexander Pushkin's poem "The Bronze Horseman". By this phrase Pushkin described the foundation of St. Petersburg as Russia's first port on the Baltic Sea.

ple performance of official duties, not a simple stage of career, but his life's work. However, we should not forget that caring about the prosperity of this land perfectly correlated with his personal economic interests as he became one of the largest land owners there.

Mikhail Vorontsov contributed enormously to the development and prosperity of Odessa, where his main residence was situated. Certainly Bedyansk was not the only “favorite” of the governor-general and of course, it would be an exaggeration to say that Berdyansk had a chance to compete with Odessa. However, there are some reasons which we may take under consideration:

- 1) At the moment of foundation of Berdyansk Odessa was already a major port of the Russian Empire on the Black Sea. Its exports were by far larger than those of the Sea of Azov, an internal sea and in contrast to the Black Sea ports, usually frozen for a several months which made navigation impossible.
- 2) From the very beginning Berdyansk was not designed as a significant administrative center. While it had not risen higher than the status of uezdnyi town, at the time of foundation of Berdyansk, Odessa already had status higher than the center of the guberniia, it was the center of Novorossiia and Bessarabia governorate-generals. That is why it was more important than all the other provincial centers of the region (Kherson, Simferopol, Ekaterinoslav). In many other aspects Odessa also had administrative superiority (as a center of Odessa educational district, military district etc.).

Therefore, regarding Vorontsov the development of Berdyansk was of no threat to Odessa. But we can't say the same about positions of the “old” ports of the Sea of Azov – Mariupol, Taganrog and Rostov. It is no coincidence that at the dawn of the history of Berdyansk Mikhail Vorontsov expressed the “prophecy”: “Berdyansk will become one of the best ports in the Sea of Azov”.¹⁷ And that was just one of the statements of Novorossiia and Bessarabia governor-general that betokened the bright prospects of Berdyansk.

At the same time one of the leading competitors of Berdyansk

17. Vasilii Krizhanovskiy, “Первая льгота городу Бердянску” [The first benefit to Berdyansk], *Odesskiy vestnik*, (25 April 25 1851), p. 1.

on the Azov coast, Taganrog, was by no means among the “favorites” of Mikhail Vorontsov: very indicative that the privileges given to Taganrog before his time, that were withdrawn by the governor-general, the Mikhail Vorontsov by preferences and honors are not once mentioned in the work of P. Filevskiy, one of the best experts in problems of the past of Taganrog.¹⁸

It was no coincidence that in fact from the very time of the opening of the Berdyansk wharf a powerful information campaign was launched in the press, aimed to prove the appropriateness of the reorientation of trade flows (from the inner parts of the region as well as beyond its borders) from other ports of the Sea of Azov to Berdyansk. It is significant that the corresponding news were published in the main regional newspaper, *Odesskiy Vestnik*, a publication under the control of Mikhail Vorontsov.

For example, already in a correspondence dated 1 December 1830 it was emphasized that the Sea of Azov, shallowed by banks and shoals near Taganrog and Mariupol, was filled by unleavened water of the river Don, and always froze there earlier than near the Berdyansk Spit, where vessels could find protection from the pressure of ice in the late autumn and early spring.¹⁹ Since that time, the news that Berdyansk port froze later and was released from ice earlier than the ports of Mariupol and Taganrog were repeatedly reported in the different issues of *Odesskiy Vestnik*. At the same time economic calculations were published in the newspaper, intended to prove the advantages of sending cargo through Berdyansk and not through Mariupol and Taganrog. In this regard, a feuilleton “Berdyansk port”, published in February 1842, was very indicative. The author of this feuilleton which had the subtitle “On the benefits, convenience and advantages in comparison with other ports of the Sea of Azov”, referring to a recent conversation with “merchant-captains”, gave calculations that cabotage of one chetvert of any product to Kerch from Berdyansk cost 15 kopecks in silver cheaper than from Mariupol and 28 kopecks in silver cheaper than from Taganrog. And, as the author of the feuilleton emphasized, the

18. Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog ...*, pp. 126, 193.

19. 1-го декабря [December 1st], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 104 (31 December 1830), pp. 441-442.

benefits of exporting goods through Berdyansk were even more significant due to the fact that large ships, for better security, visited it more willingly Berdyansk than any other port of the Sea of Azov.²⁰

Heated debate about the advantages of Berdyansk over other Azov ports broke out in the press in 1847 after the feuilleton “About the trade value of Berdyansk” was printed.²¹ Its author formulated five important qualities of Berdyansk, which, according to him, did not have any other considered port: 1) closeness to the Dnieper river;²² 2) closeness to Kharkov;²³ 3) closeness to coal mines of the village of Aleksandrovka and of Bakhmut uezd in general; 4) closeness to Henichesk salt lakes (which allowed forming in Berdyansk stocks of salt for selling to carters, who brought to the town goods for export); 5) “hydrographic convenience” of the port.²⁴ During this discussion another, the sixth, advantage of Berdyansk was formulated, “the fertility of surrounding country”. However, on all points there were counterarguments. It is interesting that one of the residents of Mariupol, accusing the author of the feuilleton “About the trade value of Berdyansk” for exaggerating data of the quantity of grain shipped through the port of Berdyansk, and, conversely, downplaying data of Mariupol port, ended his article as follows: “So, let's rejoice rapid progress of Berdyansk and wish it a long and prosperous life that started so gloriously, without depriving Mariupol benefits already acquired during almost the whole century, moreover, that

20. Бердянський порт [Berdyansk port], *ibid*, 17 (28 February 1842), pp. 77-78.

21. М. Вухтеєв, *О торговом значении Бердянска* [About the trade value of Berdyansk], *ibid*, 38 (10 May 1847), pp. 199-200.

22. “From the place where the rapids on the river begins to Berdyansk the distance is 190 miles of the flat, smooth road which quite easy can be improved. If an artificial road, highway or railway, be arranged here, the entire production of the Dnieper banks and its tributaries will be sent abroad through Berdyansk”.

23. “If we draw a straight line from Kerch to Kharkov, it crosses the coast of the Sea of Azov in the very place where Berdyansk is situated. Consequently, imported trade should be conducted through this port rather than through Taganrog, where it is directed now”.

24. “Berdyansk Spit is a natural built breakwater and is a great treasure of Berdyansk, which able to make the town by the only port on the Sea of Azov, because in all other ports shallow water causes ships to stop a few miles from the shore; but Berdyansk had not yet take advantage of this treasure”.

these alleged deprivation will not raise advantages of Berdyansk”.²⁵

It is indicative that in response to counterarguments, an adept of the redirection of existing trade flows for the benefit of Berdyansk complained that existing order of things can not ensure welfare of the town: on the East sales opportunities for agricultural products are provided by Mariupol; on the North – by the Dnieper River, by which below the rapids goods can be transported to Odessa; on the West – by Theodosia.²⁶ However, by that time readers had become accustomed to the ideas of the expansion of the “sphere of attraction” of Berdyansk port. In this regard, we recall that as early as 1840 both in *Commercial Gazette* and *Odesskiy Vestnik* an article was published with the assumption that Berdyansk can become a place of product sales of Novomoskovsk, Bakhmut, Pavlograd and Aleksandrovsk uyezds of Ekaterinoslav guberniia and a large part of uyezds of Poltava and Kharkiv guberniias; thus obtaining an access to foreign markets, these areas would be able to start a “new, more industrial life”.²⁷

However, such obsessive promoting the image of Berdyansk as a promising port on the Sea of Azov did not mean “war of extermination” against other Azov ports. It is more correct to speak of the fact that the newly established Berdyansk was fighting for “a place under the sun”, forming “its own hinterland” – the area from which cargoes would arrive to this port-town. It is significant the way in which many representatives of trading companies operating in the cities-competitors of Berdyansk reacted to it: they continued to work in Mariupol, Taganrog and Rostov, and at the same time established businesses in Berdyansk. Varvazi, Kunduri, Razi, Cuppa, Ambanopoulos – these are just a few names from a long list of entrepreneurs, who “did not put all eggs in one basket” and did not limit themselves on the development of a single port of the Sea of Azov, but wanted to make a profit simultaneously in several of them. In that end in 1847 the Acting Governor of Taganrog wrote

25. G. Kaleri, Ответ г-ну Бухтееву на “Письмо его к Редактору “Одесскаго Вестника” [The answer to Mr. Buhteev on “Letter to the editor of “Odesskiy vestnik”], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 68 (23 August 1847), pp. 361-362.

26. M. Buhteev, Ответ г. Герсеванову на статью его “Заметки о Бердянске” [Response to Mr. Gersevanov on his article “Notes about Berdyansk”], *ibid*, 76 (20 September 1847), p. 405.

27. *Ibid*, 39 (15 May 1840), col. 158.

that trade of Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog and Rostov depended on the same merchant firms, which were situated mainly in Taganrog.²⁸ It is noteworthy that in the same year *Odesskiy Vestnik* wrote at the time if “Taganrog was Carthage of the Azov Sea” and the whole Azov trade depended on this port, the maximum export of grain would not exceed ½ million chetverts, but now grain exports from the Azov ports promise to exceed 2 million chetverts. A meaningful conclusion followed: “Can somebody deny after that the benefits of spreading trade on several ports instead of one, and argue that the creation of some towns is done at the expense of others?”²⁹

The competition of Berdyansk with other Azov ports is clearly depicted in tables 11.1 which indicates the value of export and import trade of the town in comparison to Mariupol, Taganrog and Rostov from 1838 to 1852. It is obvious that in the foreign trade within 14 years Berdyansk saw an apogee and reached the level of exports of Taganrog and Rostov. On cabotage level, however as is indicated in table 11.2, it is in the lowest position in comparison with the other ports.

As for the real hinterland of Berdyansk, we have to say that from the very beginning this town was considered as a promising center, which could reorient export from large areas of Northern Azov and Dnieper region. Already in the first years after the establishment of the Berdyansk port this place became a destination of agricultural products produced by German colonists of rich Molochansk Mennonite District, created in 1804 on the River Molochnaya on the territory of the future Berdyansk uezd. Quite predictably the new port became a major market for production of other colonists of the lands of the future Berdyansk uezd, as well as for neighboring landowners, state peasants and Nogais, who “every year demonstrated increasing success in husbandry”.³⁰ The port of Berdyansk became the main export gateway of the cultivated with grain lands of the Azov Cossack Host, between Berdyansk and Mariupol (picture 11.2). The Azov steppes, giving the possibility of quick money, rapidly turned them into “our own Califor-

28. DAOO, фонд 1, opis 192, delo 147, “About transformation of Ekaterinoslav province and opening of Petrovsk or Taganrog province” (1847), p. 62.

29. Поездка по северо-восточному берегу Азовского моря [A trip along the northeastern shore of the Sea of Azov], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 55 (9 July 1847), pp. 297-298.

30. 15-го Ноября [15th November], *ibid*, 97 (4 December 1840), col. 428-430.

Table 11.1 Foreign trade of Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog and Rostov, 1838-1852 (in value of silver rubles)

Year	Berdyansk		Mariupol		Taganrog		Rostov	
	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export
1838*	—	848,979	86	1,186,489	1,682,257	2,019,127	—	915,830
1839	—	1,173,611	282	1,945,293	1,524,105	3,946,664	—	1,736,582
1840	—	1,223,506	107	1,154,930	1,620,985	2,815,711	—	1,372,060
1841	—	876,471	—	994,599	1,301,918	2,482,229	—	1,168,789
1842	774	978,359	325	903,488	1,683,060	3,018,858	—	1,358,082
1844	—	1,109,198	4,590	1,122,202	1,405,289	2,854,056	—	2,568,916
1845	1,673	1,360,855	2,397	1,041,225	1,266,198	2,271,594	—	3,288,935
1851	25,909	1,382,967	153	544,992	1,412,839	2,650,715	—	3,267,724
1852	34,307	3,800,130	1,805	1,581,405	1,330,538	3,936,540	—	3,931,513

*Rubles in banknotes converted into rubles in silver.

Sources: *О торговле Азовских портов за 1841-й год* [About trade of Azov ports for 1841], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 84 (21 October 1842), p. 397; *О торговле Азовских портов за 1842-й год* [About trade of Azov ports for 1842], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 91 (13 November 1843), p. 441; *О торговле Азовских портов за 1845-й год* [About trade of Azov ports for 1845], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 95 (27 November 1846), pp. 486-487; *О торговле Азовских портов в 1852-м году* [About trade of Azov ports for 1852], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 84 (25 July 1853), pp. 1-2.

Table 11.2. Cabotage trade of Berdyansk, Mariupol, Taganrog and Rostov, 1838-1852 (in value of silver rubles)

Year	Berdyansk		Mariupol		Taganrog		Rostov	
	Received	Shipped	Received	Shipped	Received	Shipped	Received	Shipped
1838*	18,259	36,573	233,904	34,487	543,615	648,331	248,954	529,959
1839	13,113	17,317	200,326	43,787	580,657	1,234,071	184,485	670,758
1840	28,783	46,146	409,991	33,442	698,059	714,279	86,455	731,756
1841	32,374	46,084	298,022	35,619	460,064	1,018,042	117,285	781,761
1842	140,514	48,765	294,508	35,612	490,884	1,536,148	114,963	928,658
1844	72,026	34,858	163,158	22,164	408,937	927,902	174,269	464,927
1845	55,412	48,044	197,414	37,398	325,986	628,690	113,698	2,501,340
1851	59,862	87,494	248,918	88,726	427,388	495,334	206,769	938,169
1852	152,308	106,182	273,308	188,528	487,273	512,440	240,718	1,180,596**

* Rubles in banknotes converted into rubles in silver.

** О торговле Азовских портов в 1852-м году [About trade of Azov ports for 1852], *ibid.*, 84 (25 July 1853), pp. 1-2.

Sources: “О торговле портов Азовского моря за 1838-й и 1839-й годы” [About trade of Azov ports for 1838 and 1839], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 88 (2 November 1840), col. 390-391; “О торговле Азовских портов за 1840-й год” [About trade of Azov ports for 1840], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 90 (8 November 1841), p. 419; “О торговле Азовских портов за 1841-й год” [About trade of Azov ports for 1841], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 84 (21 October 1842), p. 397; “О торговле Азовских портов за 1842-й год” [About trade of Azov ports for 1842], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 91 (13 November 1843), p. 441; “О торговле Азовских портов за 1845-й год” [About trade of Azov ports for 1845], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 95 (27 November 1846), pp. 486-487; “О торговле Азовских портов в 1852-м году” [About trade of Azov ports for 1852], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 84 (25 July 1853), pp. 1-2.

nia”.³¹ With the permission of the government several fairs were established in Berdyansk in 1835;³² already in 1841 on the greatest of them, Pokrovsky, merchants gathered from Orel, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav and Taurian guberniias.³³ From 1842 according to a governmental order coal began to be delivered to Berdyansk from the already mentioned Aleksandrovka of Bakhmut uezd.³⁴ From time to time Berdyansk correspondents reported about the arrival of carters in the town with products of not only neighboring guberniias, but also from Poland. Delivery of products from Kharkov “and other remote provinces” was stimulated by governmental permission to ship the Crimean salt to Berdyansk for further transportation to the interior guberniias of the Empire³⁵. Carters from distant guberniias were attracted to Berdyansk also thanks to developing here sales of fish, which were partly caught by residents of Berdyansk, partly were delivered by sea from the Don river and the lands of the Black Sea Cossacks (earlier these Cossacks were selling their fish in Mariupol).

At the same time in the first years of existence of the port of Berdyansk merchants themselves purchased grain even in quite distant from the Sea of Azov regions, with their reaching Kremenchug.³⁶

On the other hand, “Berdyansk foreland” (the ports where cargoes from Berdyansk went) was enlarged.³⁷ The process of this enlargement was not linear and in many respects correlated with the trends typical to all Azov ports, as is evident from Gelina Harlaftis’

31. Vasilii Krizhanovskiy, 20-го Июля [20th July], *ibid* 59 (26 July 1852), pp. 2-3.

32. *Новороссийский календарь на 1847 год, издаваемый от Ришельевского лицея* [Calendar of Novorossiia for the year of 1847, published by the Richelieu Lyceum], (Odessa: gorodskaiia tipografia, 1846), p. 80.

33. А. Комарницкий, 5-го Октября [October 5th], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 83 (15 October 1841), p. 388.

34. К. К. Бердянскій порт [Berdyansk port], *ibid*, 21 (14 March 1842), pp. 99-101.

35. Vasilii K[rizhanovskiy], 4-го Сентября [4th September], *ibid*, 75 (9 September 1844), p. 364.

36. А. Комарницкий, 4-го Сентября [4th September], *ibid*, 73 (10 September 1841), pp. 341-342.

37. Thus, in 1851 the main export products (wheat and flaxseed) were exported mainly: wheat – to Turkey and Austria, flaxseed – to Great Britain and Belgium; in addition, this products were shipped to France, Sardinia, Tuscany, Greece and Naples (*Бердянские вести* [Berdyansk news], *ibid*, 5 (16 January 1852), p. 1.

Picture 11.2 Berdyansk. Port



chapter 2 in this volume. On the entrepreneurial level, there was inter-dependence with all the ports of the Sea of Azov and from the same commercial firms, as already mentioned above. The level of foreign trade of each port of the Sea of Azov depended first on internal factors, annual local weather conditions and crop yield, and secondly on external factors, such as market demand, economic changes or political situation in Europe. Yet despite all the similarities of the external factors the progress of the development of the foreland of Berdyansk was significantly more impressive than that of other ports of Azov. This is quite understandable if we recall that Berdyansk had its trade develop actually from zero only since 1830, when the wharf was established and began to be used, and only since 1835, when Berdyansk was opened to foreign trade.

In general in the first decades of its history, during the period of Mikhail Vorontsov's General Governorship, Berdyansk demonstrated such growth rates, which may be comparable to the rate of development of Odessa at the beginning of its existence (from 1794), as well as to the rate of development of Kherson at a time when this city, prior to the rise of Odessa, was the favorite in the region (the end of 1770s – beginning of 1790s).

It is significant that already in the “Calendar of Novorossiia” of 1838 Berdyansk was described as “a town” (while officially the settlement obtained this status only 3 years later) and it was reported that it grew just recently from a only few huts of fishermen. It continued that Berdyansk, “judging from its rapid progress, is promising to turn in the future into one of the most important cities and extend its welfare to surrounding countries”.³⁸ Later, periodicals informed readers about the rapid progress of Berdyansk, and were never tired to emphasize its success in “competition with the veterans of the Sea of Azov”³⁹, claiming that “our young-city has already very much surpassed many of its brothers, who exist for decades”.⁴⁰ In Berdyansk port, by the mid-1830s a customs outpost (that was later transformed into a customhouse), a lighthouse and warehouses were built, as it was done in any other port.

Unrealized hopes of becoming “the second Odessa”

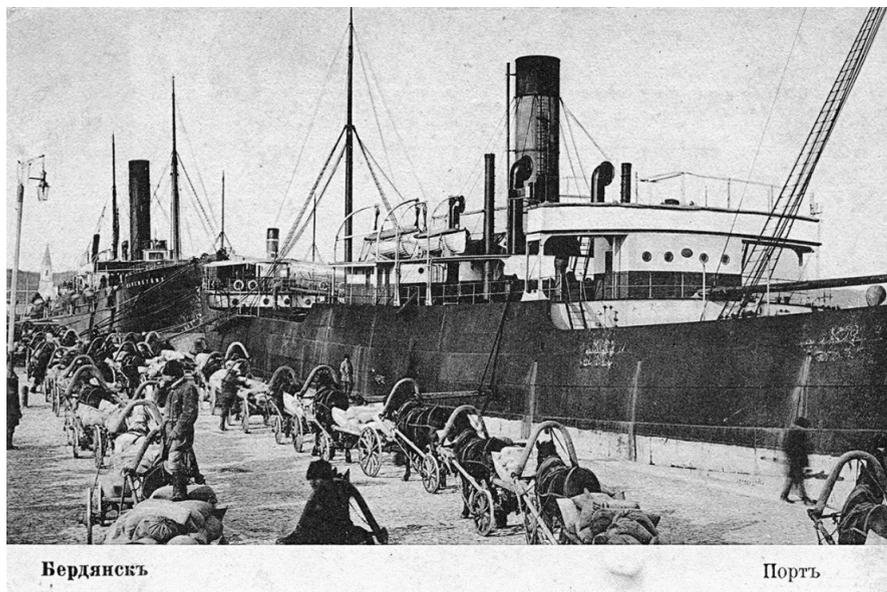
One of the most important factors that affected Berdyansk and all other port-cities of the region and their communication with the foreland in the middle of the 19th century, was the Crimean War of 1853-1856, which temporarily interrupted foreign trade and stopped temporarily the economic development and the growth of the town. However, while many cities quickly overcame the negative effects of the war and tried to use it as a “springboard” for development, other cities were not able to exploit the opportunities. Berdyansk belonged to the first ones.

38. *Новороссийский календарь на 1839 год, издаваемый при Ришельевском лицее* [Calendar of Novorussiia for the year of 1839, published by the Richelieu Lyceum], (Odessa: gorodskaiia tipografia, 1838), pp. 178-179; Igor Lyman and Andriy Pimenov (eds), “Юне місто”. Літопис історії Бердянська очима кореспондентів “Одеського Вісника” (1827-1860 pp.) [“Young town”. Chronicle of history of Berdyansk through eyes of reporters of *Odesskiy vestnik*, 1827-1860] (Berdyansk – Rostov-on-Don: RA “Tandem-U”, 2007), pp. 309-310.

39. К. К. Бердянський порт [Berdyansk port], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 17 (28 February 1842), pp. 77-78.

40. Vasily Krizhanovskiy, Без названія [Untitled], *ibid*, 8 (27 January 1845), pp. 53-54.

Picture 11.3 Loading grain on a steamship



The town grew, gaining prestige. It soon became inappropriate to call Berdyansk “young”, something common in the newspaper articles of the first three decades of its existence. So we do not find it in publications of after the 1860s. Instead, reporters emphasized the primacy of the town: “Berdyansk undoubtedly is the best of all the Azov ports”;⁴¹ “Berdyansk... considered the best of the Sea of Azov ports on the criterion of convenience of unloading and loading of ships”;⁴² “the breakwater fully protects all coasters from the southwest wind, making the port of Berdyansk one of the best in the Sea of Azov”;⁴³ “Berdyansk is the best port of the Sea of Azov”.⁴⁴ A few decades after the founding of Berdyansk port in an arti-

41. Бердянск [Berdyansk], *ibid*, 22 (23 February 1863), pp. 99-100.

42. Бердянск [Berdyansk], *ibid* 55 (12 March 1864), pp. 220-221.

43. I. Stenstrom, “Несколько слов об обмелении Бердянского рейда и о неминуемой гибели порта” [A few words about shallowing of the raid of Berdyansk and about the imminent death of the port], *ibid*, 13 (18 January 1869), pp. 44-45.

44. О железной дороге к Бердянску. (Журнал Бердянской земской управы от 28 января 1869 г.) [About rail to Berdyansk (Journal of Berdyansk Zemstvo Council dated 28 January 1869)], *ibid*, 53 (9 March 1869), p. 177.

cle of *Odesskiy Vestnik* even more courageous prediction appeared: “Berdyansk will be the second Odessa”.⁴⁵ (see picture 11.3).

The second half of the 19th – the early 20th century was a time of appearance in Berdyansk innovations and improvements in port infrastructure caused by scientific and technological progress. March 24, 1869 the breakwater was officially put into operation. Its construction was very important for the development of trade, because the loading of grain from the wharf, which was opened for south and south-western winds and waves, was linked to a number of inconveniences. The serious work on lengthening and repairing of the wharf was carried out. South Bay, located on the west side of Berdyansk Spit, was equipped. Considerable sums of money were being spent on dredging.⁴⁶ In 1894, a contract was signed for the reconstruction of the port of Berdyansk.⁴⁷

The commercial development of the town had a positive effect on the welfare of its population. The Russian writer Nikolai Leskov wrote in the 1880s, that “Berdyansk in comparison with Arensburg⁴⁸ is a big ace and capitalist regarding the prosperity of its citizens”.⁴⁹ To evaluate specificity of economic development of Berdyansk in comparison with other port cities it is advisable to pay attention to the indicator of its “commercial and industrial vivacity”, calculating it on the basis of data published by a prominent statistician and geographer Veniamin Semenov-Tian-Shansky. According to this indicator, in the early 20th century Mariupol belonged to the group of a “very lively” turnover (more than 800 rubles of trade and industrial turnover per inhabitant yearly), Berdyansk together with Odessa and Evpatoria – to the group of “lively” turnover

45. Бердянск [Berdyansk], *ibid*, 1 (1 January 1875), p. 3.

46. Konstantin Vakhanov and Igor Lutun, *Бердянск в дневниках титулярного советника В.К. Крыжановского. Крыжановский В.К. Дневники* [Berdyansk in diaries of the titular councilor V.K. Kryzhanovskiy. Kryzhanovskiy V.K. Diaries] (Zaporozhie: Prosvita, 2002), pp. 27-29.

47. Ya. Ivanov, *Труды отдела торговых портов. Выпуск XVII. Описание Бердянского порта* [Proceedings of the department of commercial ports. Issue XVII. Description of Berdyansk port] (Saint Petersburg, 1905), pp. 82-92.

48. Town in Baltic.

49. Nikolai Leskov, *Темнеющие берега* [Darkening shores], Collected works in 11 volumes. Volume 11 (Moscow, 1958), p. 165.

(from 500 to 800 rubles per inhabitant), Nikolaev, Kherson, Sevastopol, Kerch and Theodosia – to the group of “average” turnover (from 100 to 500 rubles per inhabitant). No port-city was in the group of “weak” turnover (from 50 to 100 rubles per inhabitant).

Table 11.3 Development of the population of Berdyansk

Year	Population	Year	Population
1830	1,500	1861-1862	9,531
1835	1,300	1864	11,000 (12,101)
1840	1,268	1872	12,561
1845	5,200	1897	26,496
1847	5,886	1904	29,457
1858	10,120	1911	30,000
1860	9,000		

Sources: Бердянская пристань, 2-го Июля [Berdyansk wharf, July 2], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 59 (23 July 1830), p. 234; *Новороссийский календарь на 1839 год, издаваемый при Ришельевском лицее* [Calendar of Novorussia for the year of 1839, published by the Richelieu Lyceum], (Odessa: gorodskaiia tipografia, 1838), pp. 178-179; Без названия [Untitled], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 39 (15 May 1840), col. 158; *Новороссийский календарь на 1846 год, издаваемый от Ришельевского лицея* [Calendar of Novorussia for the year of 1846, published by the Richelieu Lyceum], (Odessa: gorodskaiia tipografia, 1845), p. 63; *Новороссийский календарь на 1848 год, издаваемый от Ришельевского лицея* [Calendar of Novorussia for the year of 1848, published by the Richelieu Lyceum], (Odessa: gorodskaiia tipografia, 1847), p. 65; *Городские поселения в Российской империи* [Cities in the Russian Empire], Vol. 4, St. Petersburg, 1864; Vasiliy Krizhanovskiy, 5-го сентября [September 5th], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 99 (13 November 1860), p. 476; *Экономическое состояние городских поселений Европейской России в 1861-62 г.* [Economic condition of urban settlements of European Russia in 1861-62. Part 2 (Saint Petersburg: K. Wulf, 1863), pp. 1-47; *Commercial Reports received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty's Consuls* (London, 1865), p. 120; *Список населенных мест по сведениям 1864 года. XLI. Таврическая губерния* [List of settlements according to information of 1864. XLI. Taurian Province / Ed. M. Raevskij] (Saint Petersburg: K. Wulf, 1865); *Новороссийский календарь на 1873 год, издаваемый от Канцелярии Новороссийского и Бессарабского генерал-губернатора* [Calendar of Novorussia for the year of 1873, published by Chancery of Novorossiya and Bessarabia governor-general], (Odessa: tipografia of P.Frantsov, 1872), p. 88; *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. [Populated places of the Russian Empire with 500 and more residents with indication of all actual population and the number of residents of the prevailing religions. According to the first general population census 1897] (Saint Petersburg: 1905), pp. 216-219; Ed. N.Troinitskiy (ed.), *Города России в 1904 году* [Cities of Russia in 1904] (Saint Petersburg: 1906), p. 163; *Весь Бердянск и его уезд. Адресно-справочная и торгово-промышленная книга* [Whole Berdyansk and its uezd. Address-reference and commercial-industrial book] (Simferopol: 1911), p. 26.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the above table 11.3 reflects rather trends than exact demographic changes, because the data for different years were taken from various sources, which were different in methods of counting and in reliability.

Changes taking place in the configuration of “Berdyansk foreland” were accompanied by the establishment of foreign consulates in the town. While in the 1840s consuls of Sicily and Sardinia were established in Berdyansk, since the second half of the 1850s there existed consulates of Greece, Austria, Belgium and Great Britain. Already in 1870, in addition to consulates or representatives of Turkey, Spain and Italy, in 1872 there were also of France, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands. Later, in 1890, representatives of Sweden and Norway in Berdyansk are also reported.

The development of the port was closely interrelated with changes in the society and culture of the town. These changes occurred in the general context of the modernization process of the second half of the 19th – the early 20th century in the Russian Empire. Of course, the process of imperial modernization was not linear. There was uneven development of the cultural life of the various different cities: while some of them were really “hotbeds of culture and engines of social progress”, bastions of intellectual life, others were not much different from the countryside. Moreover, during the 19th – the early 20th century the cultural features of cities, including Berdyansk, were undergoing significant changes, which means that when evaluating the role and place of these cities in the cultural development of the region, we should take into account the time factor.⁵⁰ Whereas in 1846 the “Calendar of Novorossiya” referred to

50. Konstantinova, *Urbanization: A South-Ukrainian dimension ...*, pp. 342-343.

the presence in Berdyansk of only one parish school, a town library and a Cathedral church⁵¹, in 1911 the edition “Whole Berdyansk and its uezd. Address-reference and commercial-industrial book” reported the presence of boys’ classic and real gymnasiums, girls’ state and private gymnasiums, 4-classes school, music school, marine classes, 12 town elementary schools, Talmud Torah, Roman Catholic school, summer and winter town private theaters, public libraries, 2 bookstores etc.⁵² As for religious buildings, in 1915 the town had the Ascension Cathedral, the Peter and Paul church, the Intercession church, the Epiphany church, the gymnasium church of Alexander Nevsky, the cemetery of Nicholas church, the Roman Catholic church, the Lutheran church, the Mennonite church, the Old Believers chapel, two synagogues and the Karaim kenassa.⁵³

During the 19th – the early 20th century the “cultural image” of Berdyansk significantly changed, in many respects taking the example of Odessa. In particular, theater performances were one of the most visible components of the cultural life of the town. A resident of Berdyansk wrote in 1862: “We strive to keep up with the others. Proof of this is the theater that Kobozev built. It has a much larger size than the theater in Taganrog and in some sense can be compared with the theater of Odessa”.⁵⁴

On the example of Berdyansk, we can’t talk about complete isolation of cities from countryside in the cultural sphere. However, there is reason to cast doubt on the thesis of Boris Mironov that the cultural split of a society did not pass along the line city-village.⁵⁵

51. *Calendar of Novorossiia for the year of 1847...*, p. 60.

52. *Whole Berdyansk and its uezd ...*, pp. 26-27.

53. *Торгово-промышленный указатель и путеводитель по городу Бердянску. Издание первое, 1915 года* [Commercial and industrial index and guide of the town of Berdyansk. First edition, 1915] (Berdyansk: tipografia M. Doroshenko, 1915), p. 22.

54. It is interesting that in descriptions of some other buildings of Berdyansk it were necessarily mentioned that they were built according to example of Odessa. In particular, Nikolay Popovich (a merchant, who moved to Berdyansk in 1836 and became one of the first inhabitants of the town) built here a house, which was a copy of the house of Duke de Richelieu in Odessa.

55. Boris Mironov, *Историческая социология России: Учебное пособие* [Historical Sociology of Russia: Textbook] (Saint Petersburg: Intersotsis, 2009), p. 238.

Berdyansk, along with other cities of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov coast, in fact acted as a cultural center, which, in contrast to the countryside, concentrated the vast majority of cultural institutions, as well as the majority of the people who worked in the relevant field professionally. The region maintained cultural ties with foreign countries, as well as with other regions and the Russian Empire, mostly through port-cities, like Berdyansk.⁵⁶ And port-cities particularly, served as important channels of cultural communication.

At the same time, already since the mid-19th century negative trends in the development of Berdyansk appeared and manifested themselves increasingly. While in the first half of the 19th century the better equipment of the wharf in Berdyansk was discussed just as desirable, but not mandatory and not an urgent task, soon after the end of the Crimean War, the press increasingly wrote that the small size and shallow water of the wharf were a serious obstacle for the expansion of exports.

In the second half of 1860s anxiety about the shallowing of the sea sounded louder and louder. Over the years, the shallowing problem continued to worsen and became a serious threat to the existence of Berdyansk port despite all its advantages. It became the growing problem of “the great evil” that for a long time existed not only in Berdyansk: the hundreds of vessels that were approaching the port were throwing their ballast overboard, thereby reducing the already shallow depth of the sea. Exactly because of shallowing from time to time the townspeople had to prolong wharfs further into the sea. Due to the shallow water at the wharf, goods first were shipped on light coasters that brought them to big ships which were in the roadstead at a distance of 2-3 miles from the wharf.⁵⁷

Berdyansk more and more lost the fight for the hinterland. It should be noted that even on the eve of the Crimean War, in 1853, which became the best year for Berdyansk by volumes of exported agricultural products, these products were delivered mainly just from the its own immediate region. The longest distances of delivery even in that time did not exceed 250-300 *versts*, and

56. Konstantinova, *Urbanization: A South-Ukrainian dimension ...*, p. 363.

57. *Памятная книжка Таврической губернии на 1889 г.* [Memorial book of Taurian guberniia for 1889], Part VI (Simferopol: tipografia gazety “Krim”, 1889), p. 33.

as the Berdyansk correspondent noted, only a small quantity of production was brought from such a distance, because the nearby regions used not only Berdyansk, but also the ports of Mariupol and Taganrog to export their products.⁵⁸ In 1858, serious concerns were expressed that if a towing shipping company on the Dnieper river from the town of Aleksandrovsk⁵⁹ was arranged, would re-orient the export of products of Zmiev, Kupyansk, Izyum uezds (Kharkov guberniia), Konstantinograd uezd (Poltava guberniia), Novomoskovsk, Verhnedneprovsk, Ekaterinoslav, Slavyansk, Pavlograd uezds and a large part of Aleksandrovsk uezd (Ekaterinoslav guberniia), that were exported through the port of Berdyansk.⁶⁰ At the beginning of the 20th century, even part of agricultural products which was produced in the lands of Berdyansk uezd was already being sent in circumvention of Berdyansk port: shipment of goods was carried out on two wharves near Nogaisk and four wharves of the village Tsarevodarovka.⁶¹

The town could make a “breakthrough” if a railway line was built to Berdyansk, but this issue was not resolved within the next 50 years.⁶² In the region a real “information war” took place, which preceded the laying of a particular railroad. The reason for this great interest of local societies to promote railway construction is completely obvious: the lands from which the railway would pass through would take great economic value.⁶³ Only in 1898 the construction of the railway Chaplin-Pology-Berdyansk 206 km length was basically finished. On January 1, 1899 the magazine *Crimean Herald* reported that Berdyansk railway was opened. But now it was

58. 14-го Декабря [14th December], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 148 (24 December 1853), p. 2.

59. Nowadays – Zaporozhye.

60. D. G. Ответ Бердянскому корреспонденту [Response to Berdyansk correspondent], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 30 (15 March 1858), pp. 134-135.

61. Ivanov, *Proceedings of the department of commercial ports...*, p. 33.

62. The proposal to bring railway to Berdyansk was suggested in the press already in 1847, see: Igor Lyman, “Полеміка щодо з’єднання залізницею Бердянська з Дніпровським Надпоріжжям та іншими місцевостями Катеринославщини в публікаціях “Одеського Вісника” 1847 року” [Polemics regarding the connection of Berdyansk with Dnieper region and other localities of Ekaterinoslav province by rail in publications of “Odesskiy vestnik” in 1847], *Pridneprovya*, 8 (2010), pp. 111-121.

63. Konstantinova, *Urbanization: A South-Ukrainian dimension ...*, pp. 258-259.

too late: other ports, competitors of Berdyansk, had been connected with the hinterland by railways much earlier: Rostov and Taganrog in the late 1860s, Mariupol in 1882. Moreover, the construction of railroad to Berdyansk failed to match the efficiency of the other ports: as the harbormaster of Berdyansk port Ivanov complained in the early 20th century, the railway transportation of grain to different ports was carried with unequal tariffs, and therefore payment for the transportation of the same tonnage at the same distance was significantly different, creating artificial advantages of one port over the others. The most unfavorable, the so-called “export”, not “internal” or “special reduced navigational” tariff, was applied to Berdyansk.⁶⁴

Unsatisfactory conditions of dirt roads which during the autumn and spring rains often became impassable, were another major obstacle in the development of trade through the port of Berdyansk. As the acting consul in Berdyansk Wagstaff reported in 1864, roads here were bad in all seasons, but especially after autumn heavy rains they became “one uninterrupted slough”.⁶⁵ The condition of roads made adjustments in plans that did not promote the economic development of Berdyansk. For example, in 1888 the press reported that the Berdyansk town council decided to ask about rejection of plans of the transfer of the town from submission to Taganrog *okrug* court under submission to Simferopol *okrug* court, because the post road between Berdyansk and Melitopol (which was the nearest railway station on Lozovaya-Sevastopol road) was so bad, that in spring and autumn in the slush and in the winter blizzard communication between the two towns was interrupted.⁶⁶ A trip by such roads from Melitopol to Berdyansk (130 km) sometimes lasted one week. In 1890, Berdyansk zemstvo listened to the report which claimed that for almost 7-8 months of a year due to the poor state of the roads, the settlements of Berdyansk uezd were isolated “from the rest of the world”, which greatly devalued their agricultural products.⁶⁷

In general, conditions of communications of the town were one

64. Ivanov, *Proceedings of the department of commercial ports...* pp. 34-35.

65. *Commercial Reports ...*, p. 120.

66. 17 августа [August 17th], *Odesskiy vestnik*, 227 (24 August 1888), p. 3.

67. Без названия [Untitled], *ibid*, 183 (13 July 1890), p. 3.

of the important reasons why hopes of Berdyansk to become “the second Odessa” were not realized. In the issue of improving of road/railway systems that lead to the port as well as in the development of Berdyansk in general an important obstacle was the imperial bureaucracy. Of course, its impact was fully felt by other Azov and Black Sea ports also. Besides, the imperial bureaucracy acted earlier too, and during the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855) in many respects it was even tougher. But we should not forget that at that time negative effects of actions of the state bureaucracy for Berdyansk were largely mitigated by the almost omnipotent “patron” of the town, Mikhail Vorontsov, the Novorossiia and Bessarabia governor-general.⁶⁸

For better understanding of the problems the port Berdyansk faced, it should be borne in mind that the town remained clearly oriented to trade, while industry did not have a prominent role here. Of course, by the early 20th century there was some progress compared to the picture shown by the British consul Robert William Cumberbatch⁶⁹ in 1862 when he wrote that the population of Berdyansk were chiefly employed in agriculture and the town had no manufactory of any description, except a steam flour mill and a macaroni establishment.⁷⁰ But the changes were not crucial.

How industrial revolution and intensification of market relations had an impact on Berdyansk in comparison with the other port-cities of Kherson, Taurian and Ekaterynoslav guberniias, partly can be seen by applying one of the already mentioned typologies of Veniamin Semenov-Tian-Shansky (the scale “role of industry in

68. However, even he was not always able to successfully resist the bureaucratic system, promoting the interests of Berdyansk. In this context it is symptomatic that despite the all possible support of Vorontsov, a stationary Orthodox church in Berdyansk was opened only after nearly two decades of bureaucratic delays, see: Lyman and Podkolzina, *The spread of imperial practices....*, pp. 30-36; DA00, fond 1, opis 191, delo 84, “Case about building of the church near the town of Noginsk on Berdyansk Spit” (1830), list 116.

69. By the way, he is a great-great-grandfather of Benedict Timothy Carlton Cumberbatch – famous contemporary British actor, see: Igor Lyman and Victoria Konstantinova, “Бердянские корни “Шерлока Холмса” (Бенедикта Камбербэтча)” [Berdyansk roots of “Sherlock Holmes” (Benedict Cumberbatch)], *Berdyanskie vedomosti*, 12 (19 March 2015), p. 13.

70. *Commercial Reports ...*, p. 229.

trade and industrial turnover of a city”). In the early 20th century any port-city here was not among settlements with “strong industrial” level (40% or more of the total trade and industrial turnover). Only two ports had “industrial” level (25-40% of the total trade and industrial turnover), Kherson and Kerch. Odessa and Nikolaev had “moderate industrial” level (20-25%). Finally, Berdyansk (just 7%) along with Sevastopol, Mariupol, Evpatoria and Theodosia had “trade (weak industrial)” level (less than 20%).⁷¹

The listed above situation, the crop failures and famine in the region (in particular, the famine of the early 1890s), along with the “bank scandal” caused by the acting mayor, merchant Kozma Argiopulo, and the inept actions of other representatives of local government (governor of a town Peter Shmidt and mayor Ivan Dimitriades) led to an almost bankruptcy of Berdyansk. But there was another factor, this time, global: changes in the world market conjuncture.⁷² In 1870s “an era of intense competition” began thanks to cheap wheat and flour from the USA, later – from India, Australia, Argentina and Canada.⁷³ Southern Russia, however, hold its top position as a net exporter of grain (other than wheat), until the Balkan wars in 1912 as is evident in chapter 2 of this volume.

Afterwards

Thus, from the moment of the foundation to the early 20th century Berdyansk had undergone various stages of development quite accurately reflected in the regional press. During the first decades after the wharf had been opened, the epithet “young town” was entrenched for Berdyansk, whose huge potential was recognized by everybody. After the events of the Crimean War and the beginning of the “Great Reforms” in the Russian Empire characterizations like “the best port of the Sea of Azov” were heard for Berdyansk. However, in the late 19th century in the public perception the importance

71. Semenov-Tian-Shansky, *City and village...*, pp. 150-156, 165-166, 173-176.

72. Harlaftis and Kardasis, “International bulk trade and shipping...”, pp. 234-236.

73. Malcolm E. Falkus, “Russia and the International Wheat Trade, 1881-1914”, *Economica*, 33:132 (November 1966), p. 419.

of the town, which increasingly lost in competition with the other ports, was narrowed down just as “the capital of uezd”.⁷⁴ But the town’s image which was formed on each of the stages does not necessarily correspond to the real situation.

Among the wide range of factors which determined the fate of Berdyansk, it is impossible not to draw attention to the role of the state, which continued to perceive the seaside town in the distinctly ingrained in the Russian Empire coordinate system of “center-periphery”. The state (represented by Mikhail Vorontsov) “gave birth” to the port for the purpose of economic development of its “periphery” – the border regions, and the state powerfully influenced the pace of development of this port-town. Whereas among a large set of tools of such influence in the beginning benefits were used widely at the initial stages of the formation of the town, later the state preferred not funding improvement of roads to the town, and to reject the proposals for an early building of a railway line to Berdyansk. When the town nonetheless got the railroad much later than its competitors, the state applied to Berdyansk a railway tariff which put the town at a disadvantage in comparison to other ports. Potentially, the situation might have changed by purely market factors, but Berdyansk was not accepted by entrepreneurs, and primarily by the representatives of foreland, as the uncontested leader in the region, in which they would invest big money.

74. All the above characteristics are taken from the most popular in the 19th century regional newspaper “Odesskiy vestnik”. It is not by chance that they are given on the covers of three volumes of the archeographic edition, which contains about 600 newspaper articles about Berdyansk of 1827-1893, see: Lyman and Pimenov, “Young town”... ; Igor Lyman and Victoria Konstantinova (eds), “*Крайний порт Азовського моря*”. *Літопис історії Бердянська очима кореспондентів “Одеського Вісника” (1861-1875 pp.)* [“The best seaport of the Sea of Azov”. Chronicle of history of Berdyansk through eyes of reporters of “Odesskiy vestnik”, (1861-1875)], (Berdyansk – Taganrog: RA “Tandem-U”, 2007); Igor Lyman and Viktoria Konstantinova (eds), “*Повітова столиця*”. *Літопис історії Бердянська очима кореспондентів “Одеського Вісника” (1876-1893 pp.)* [“The capital of uezd”. Chronicle of history of Berdyansk through eyes of reporters of “Odesskiy vestnik” (1876-1893)], (Berdyansk – Nevinnomysk: RA “Tandem-U”, 2007).

12.

The rural population of Don's hinterland as a factor of the economic life of Rostov, end of the 19th century

Marianna Abdullayeva

Krasnyi Luch, Antratsit, Novoshakhtinsk, Novocherkassk, Rostov, Tikhoretsk. This was the usual road of my childhood on the way to my grandmother. An obscure picture of a gray heap pile of Donbass shafts was replaced by the green of the lively region of Don. Growing in noisy neighborhoods, factory pipes, cranes, and bridges of the Rostov. To get to Rostov-on-Don and to buy the coveted ticket meant that one must travel to Tikhoretsk. After the ticket, everything was lost and gained softly, like grandmother's hands, already waiting in the quiet Kuban town. Later, images of childhood were filled with stories of great-grandmother Domne Trofimovne Khivrich (before the marriage with Antonets), of the preoccupation with life on the farm, of the smell of the wheat fields from dawn to dusk, of running from the dekulakization, of the usual wartime deeds, of the typical waiting mothers, whose youth is never to return from war... The singing voices of the native Don people, those who revived and lifted the South and its farms, settlements and cities.

(From the author's memories)

Introduction

The region of Don, known today as the Rostov Region, has centuries long history. Its origins begin as the ancestral home of the Indo-Europeans, ranging from the tribes of the Wild Field to the Cossack outlaws¹ of the steppes. When considering the historical factors which ultimately led to the "Rostov miracle" of the 19th century, it is worthwhile to note the favorable economic and geographical conditions of the area. The land is connected with the tradi-

1. Skalkovskiy, *Essay in statistical description...*, pp. 1-34.

tional fertile lands of central Russia, to the Northern Caucasus and Transcaucasia, and at the same time, adjoined to a sea outlet. We must also note the wide availability of resources, the well-developed transportation infrastructure, the involvement of foreign capital in the economic development of the region, and of course, the abundance of the labour force, with its characteristic Southern features to the south. Well-known local historian B. V. Chebotarev noted, speaking in reference to the workers of the Don region, that “...nor the great hardship, nor the hostile activities of the neighboring governing bodies, nor autocratic-feudal oppression, nor the artificially inscribed boundaries of the “Wild Field” that were meant to delay the Russian progressions towards the shores of the Black and Azov seas, nothing stopped the tens of thousands of currently unknown migrant-labourers, who built their first mudhuts here, suffering from hunger, disease, the attacks of the nomads, and the oppression of the tsarist authorities and landlords. They made a heroic feat of labour, ushering in the transformation of the deserted and dangerous climate of the region into a fertile area of our country”.²

The development of the Don region, included the Rostov-on-Don area, as a mega center of the Rostov conglomeration, that is composed of smaller urban and rural settlements, that are and were tightly interdependent in historical, economic and social contexts. These settlements were greatly interconnected with the urban centers as a whole, and with the port-cities in particular. These territories, gravitated towards the cities and became an integral part of their economic and social functions.³ According to the maritime analysis of spaces, it is precisely here that the prerequisites are laid and determined the relation to the port-city. At the same time, the conditions created an unprecedented boom in trade and economic development.

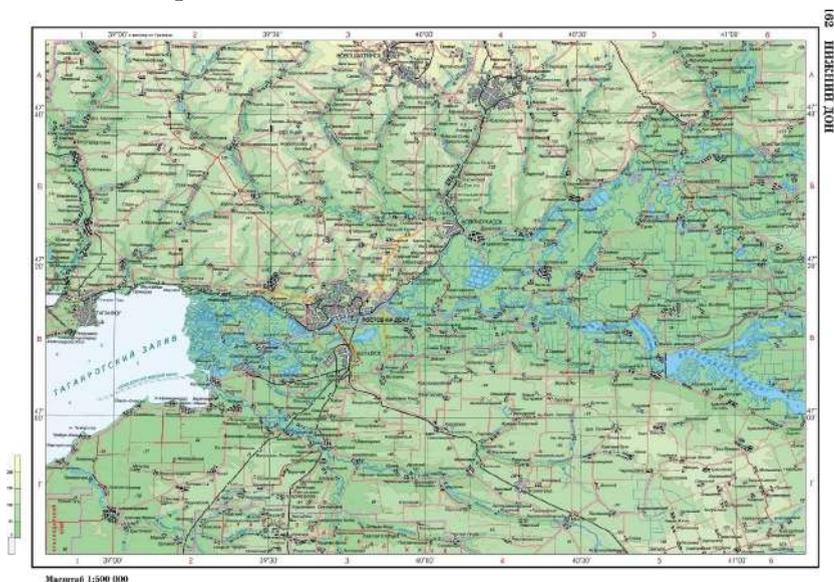
Like the historian A. A. Skalkovskiy noted, “...in simply naming the ways of communication it becomes quite evident as to how vast the area spanned where Rostov was involved in trade and

2. Sakris Kazarov, *Нахичеванское купечество (конец XVIII – начало XX века)* [Nakhichevan merchants (end of the 18th – beginning of the 20th century)] (Rostov-on-Don: OOO Kovcheg, 2012.), p. 142.

3. George Chisholm, *Handbook of Commercial Geography*, (18th edition, Longman, 1966).

official services”.⁴ By 1890, Rostov had become the export gateway of the eastern agricultural economy of the North Caucasus; namely Kuban and Tersk Oblasts, Stavropol and part of the Astrakhan guberniia; Voronezh and part of Oryol and Kharkiv guberniia; the basin of the middle currents of the river Volga, the Saratov, Tambov and Samara gubernias, as well as the Don Host Region (maps 12.1 and 12.2).⁵ As the contemporary wrote, the activities of various commercial-industrial firms, factories, technical and commissioner offices, and warehouses of Rostov “are of great importance not only for the city itself, but extend far beyond the borders of the Don region, encompassing the Caucasus and reaching the furthest lying outskirts of the native country”.⁶

Map 12.1 The Lower Don (in modern times)



4. Kazarov, *Nakhichevan merchants ...*, p. 14.

5. R. Petrovskiy, *Сведения о движении хлебных грузов к Ростову Дон, экспор-
тной торговли ими, ценах на оные и разных*. [Featuring information about
the movement of grain cargoes to Rostov and Don and their export trade prices.]
(Moscow: Pechatnia S. P. Yakovleva, 1890), pp. 2-3.

6. P. A. Altundzhi, *Крупнейшие торгово-промышленные и технические фирмы
города Ростова на Дону*. [The largest commercial and industrial and technical
firms of the city of Rostov-on-Don], (Rostov-on-Don: 1910), p. 3.

Historical Conditions in the Development of the Don Region

We will consider the integrative processes for the entry of the lands of the Don region into the Russian empire in the 18th century. In 1749, by decree of Empress Elizabeth a customs outpost was established on the right Bank of the Don at the mouth of the river Temernik. In the year of 1761, the construction of a fortress began, called St. Dimitriy Metropolitan of Rostov city.⁷ In 1773, the academic Anton Gildenshtedt arrived at the St. Dimitriy Fortress, sent by the Russian government to the southern regions in order to compile a statistical and geographical description of South-Eastern Russia. He noted the settlements near the St. Dimitriy Fortress, emphasizing the diverse composition of the inhabitants. Poludenka from the East side was inhabited by Armenians; residents of the Poludenskiy suburb gave away “by imperial decree” their land to the Armenians that were partly residing in the fortress. Dolomanovski or Dolomanovka from the Western side developed as a result of the relocation of the Asian population residents of Kagalnik to the fortress of St. Dimitriy -during of the Russo-Turkish War. It was located at the site of the old bazaar. Anton Gildenshtedt described the settlements as follows: merchant settlement – Poludenka, Cossack settlement – Dolomanovka, military settlement – Soldiers suburb. Amongst the activities of the locals, the academic noted the extraction of reeds surrounding the fortress, gardening and viticulture to be prominent. Researchers also note the presence of the fourth settlement of Bataysk on the grounds of the Tatar settlement, which was captured during the siege of Azov by the Cossacks.⁸

In 1775, the fortress of St. Dimitriy of Rostov together with the lands of the Don Cossack Host, Azov and Kagalnik were incorporated into the established Azov guberniia.⁹ In the beginning of the

7. М. В. Краснянский, *Прошлое Ростова на Дону по городским планам* [History of Rostov-on-Don by way of urban plans] (Rostov-on-Don: Elektrotipografia F. A. Zakroitseva, 1912.), pp. 7-11.

8. И'ин, *The history of the city of Rostov-on-Don...*, pp. 41-45.

9. М. А. Абдуллаева, “Православні храми та монастирі Криму як осередки духовного життя грецького населення (кінець XVIII – 30-і роки XX ст.). – Дисертація на здобуття наук. ступ. кандидата історичних наук.” [Orthodox churches and monasteries of the Crimea as centers of spiritual life of the Greek population (end

Map 12.2 Map of Rostov-on-Don's British consular district, 1907



1780s of the 18th century the Christian population of the area was replenished with Greeks, which led to their establishment in the area, a major movement about 10,000 Greeks from Crimea settled in Mariupol and the nearest twenty villages.¹⁰ It also resulted in the

of the 18th century up until the 30s of the 19th century)] (Ph.D. thesis, Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kiev: 2001.), p. 213;

10. М. А. Арадзхиони, *Греки Крыма и Приазовья: история изучения и историография этнической истории и культуры (80-е гг. XVIII в. – 90-е гг. XX в.)* [The Greeks of the Crimea and the Azov region: the history of the study and historiography of ethnic history and culture (From the 80's of the 18th century – 90's of

growth of Taganrog due to immigrant populations, as well as an increase in the number of people residing at the Dimitriy Fortress and its surrounding settlements. The Armenians were a significant ethnic group in the Don region since the 17th–18th century.¹¹ In 1779,

the 19th century)] (Simferopol, 1999.); N. I. Batsak, “Греки Північного Приазов’я: культурно-просвітницький розвиток (кінець XVIII – початок XX ст.)” [Greeks of the Northern Azov Sea: cultural and educational development (the end of the 18th and early 20th centuries)] (Ph.D. thesis, Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kiev: 1999); A. V. Gede, “Маріупольський грецький суд в системі самоуправління Росії” [Mariupol Greek court in the system of self-government of Russia], in *Україна – Греція: досвід дружніх зв’язків та перспективи співробітництва* [Ukraine–Greece: examples of friendly ties and prospects of cooperation] (Mariupol: 1996), pp. 58–60; Ibid, “Митрополит Ігнатій” [Metropolitan Ignatyi], in V. Smoliy (ed), *Подвижники й меценати: Грецькі підприємці та громадські діячі в Україні XVII – XIX ст. Історико-біографічні нариси* [Ascetics and philanthropists: Greek entrepreneurs and public figures in Ukraine, 17th–19th centuries. Historical and biographical essays] (Kiev: 2001), pp. 93–105; M. F. Dmitrienko, V. M. Litvin, V. V. Tomazov, L. V. Iakovleva, O. V. Iac’ (eds), *Греки на українських теренах. Нариси з етнічної історії* [Greeks in Ukrainian Terenakh. Writings from Ethnic Histories. Documents, Materials, Photographs], (Kiev: Libid, 2000.); Iu. V. Ivanovna, “Из истории заселения Южной Украины” [From the history of the Settlements of Southern Ukraine], in *Культурно-бытовые процессы на Юге Украины* [Cultural and Domestic Processes of Southern Ukraine], (Moscow: 1979), pp. 3–14; S. A. Kaloerov, A. V. Gede, “Приазовские церкви греков, выведенных из Крыма” [Priazovs’ke Churches of the Greeks, originating from Crimea], in *Проблемы греческой культуры. Междунар. научн* [Problems of the Greek Culture. Proceedings of the International Conference] (Simferopol: 1997.) pp. 127–128; Vsevolod Naulko, “Греки України: етнічна історія і сучасні етнонаціональні процеси” [Greeks of Ukraine. Ethnic history and Relevant Ethnonational Processes], *Zapiski istoriko-filologichnogo tovaristva Andriia Biletskogo*, 1 (1997), pp. 63–66; N. A. Terent’eva *Греки в Украине: экономическая и культурно-просветительская деятельность. (XVII–XX вв.)* [Greeks in Ukraine: Economic, Cultural and Educational Activities (17th–20th centuries)] (Kiev: “Akvilon-Press”, 1999), p. 351. L. Iakubova *Маріупольські греки (етнічна історія): 1778 р. – початок 30-х років XX ст.* [Mariupol Greeks (ethnic history): Year of 1778 – The 30s of the 20th century] (Kiev: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 1999).

11. P. A. Avakov, “Армяне на Дону в XVII–XVIII вв. (до 1779 г.)” [Armenians of the Don in the 17th–18th centuries (until 1779)], in *Армяне юга России: история, культура, общее будущее: материалы Всероссийской научной конференции* [Armenians in the South of Russia: History, Culture, Shared future: Proceedings of the All-Russian Academic Conference], (May 30th – June 2nd of 2012, Rostov-on-Don.) [Rostov-on-Don: SSC RAS, 2012], p. 123.

due to an initiative of the Russian government, more than twelve and half thousand Armenians moved from the Crimea to the Don, settling four kilometres from the fortress town of Nor-Nakhichevan and the five villages – Mets Saly, Sultan Saly, Topty, Nesvitai and Chaltyr¹², and later, into the sixth village of Ekaterinovan.¹³ In 1782, fortress St. Dimitriy of Rostov and Nakhichevan became a part of the Taganrog uezd of the Azov guberniia. In 1784, both Azov and Taganrog became part of the Mariupol uezd of the Ekaterinoslav viceroyalty. In 1796, by the decree of Paul I, the Ekaterinoslav viceroyalty, after its abolition became part of the Novorossiia guberniia together with the Voznesenskiy viceroyalty and the Taurida Oblast. A year later, in 1797, with the report on the division of the Novorossiia guberniia into 12 uezd, the Rostov uezd was mentioned for the first time. In 1802, in accordance with the imperial order, Rostov was transferred from the Novorossiia guberniia into the Ekaterinoslav guberniia. Already, by 1806, the administrative institutions (both the staff and treasury of the uezd), operating in Taganrog since 1797, transferred to the city of Rostov, and five years later, in 1811, the new city of Rostov acquired its emblem and the city plan. In 1807 Rostov, Nakhichevan and Mariupol joined Taganrog urban prefectorate “for the benefit of Taganrog trade”.¹⁴ According to statistical data of the urban prefectorate in 1853-1854: “The Taganrog urban prefectorate consists of towns of uezd, military and provincial towns (3), also including port-cities (2), Greek and Armenian settlements (29), suburbs, villages, farmsteads – 63 in total – 97”.¹⁵

The aforementioned administrations took place at the borders

12. For documental information about the beginning stages of the city’s history see V. V. Smirnov, *Летопись Нахичевани-на-Дону: в историческом, бытописательном, статистическом и иллюстративном интерьерех с приложениями, включающими важные, полезные и интересные сведения* [Record of Nakhichevan-on-Don: In historical, everyday, statistical and illustrating interiors with appendices that include important, useful and interesting information] (Rostov-on-Don: ZAO “Knigi”, 2014), pp. 9-19.

13. N. Kourasova, N. Startseva, *Донская Армения*. [Don Armenia], (Rostov-on-Don: Starye Russkie, 2007), p. 9.

14. Smirnov, *Record of Nakhichevan-on-Don ...*, p. 29.

15. GARO, fond 579 (Office of the Urban Prefect of Taganrog), opis 1, delo 141 “Statistical information on cities, villages, populations, factories and plants, and contracts and expenditures, 1853-1854”, list. 3, 12.

of the lands of the Don Cossacks Host, the territory immediately adjacent and which, for the time being, preserved an administrative autonomy because it was “silently allowed” by certain Russian emperors. The specifics were left to the Cossack’s self-rule and autonomy through the combination of military organization with the electoral system and democratic order.¹⁶ The legislative bodies within the regulation of the Cossack population appeared through military assemblies (called *Krugi*) at the village or militant level and the implementor of the people’s will in peacetime was appointed as the elected military ataman. There was also a position for the marching ataman who was chosen for the period of military operations. During the reign of Peter the Great, the Don Cossacks Host passed into the jurisdiction of the Governing Senate of the Russian Empire and was subject to the Military board while maintaining the aforementioned rights against the backdrop of governmental administration.¹⁷ In the first half of the 19th century, the Cossacks preserved the main “privileges”, granted to them for their loyalty to the Russian state: the Cossacks were considered a “service” estate and received “payment in money and in grain” (and in the case of war, provisions and fodder). A distinguished Cossack could be given the rank of first officer and estate of nobility, equating any of his subsequent ranks with that of civil servant; in the case of injury or disease, and due to this, disqualification for military service. The Cossack could be employed in the internal service; the Cossacks used the land of the Cossacks Host through a system of collective ownership. Cossacks had the exclusive rights to extract salt and coal from the land, and to engage in fishing and hunting, wine cultivation and horse breeding. Cossacks also had the full exemption from the payment of state taxes.¹⁸ The preservation of the special status

16. N. I. Krasnov, *Историко-статистическое описание земли войска Донского* [Historical and Statistical Description of the Don Cossacks Host] (Saint Petersburg: 1863), p. 50.

17. E. E. Prokopenko, “Самоуправление казачества в условиях демократизации российского общества: На материалах Кубанского и Терского казачьих войск” [Self-government of the Cossacks in the state of democratization of Russian Society: With materials from the Kuban and Terek Cossack Hosts] (Ph.D. thesis, Stavropol State University, Stavropol: 2006).

18. V. Bronevskii, *Описание донской земли, правов и обычаев жителей*. [De-

of Cossack Hosts of Russia, as a whole, in the first half of the nineteenth century was due to a number of reasons: the necessary preservation of the self-organized military population on the borders of the Empire; the high combat effectiveness of the Cossack cavalry, in which they used special methods of warfare that were developed throughout centuries; the incompleteness of the administrative processes of Novorossiia in conjunction with the intent to preserve the advantages and benefits of foreign merchants, migrants, colonists etc. With consideration of current day research, the preservation of specific features of the governance of the Don Cossacks Host can be considered as a useful form of population organization, generally accepted in historical terms as, “buffer zones” with the goal of “adaptation of polyethnic populations to functioning state-legal forms”.¹⁹

The historical capital of the Don Cossacks from 1644 to 1805 was Cherkassk (modern day Starocherkassk), located 27 km east from Rostov-on-Don. In 1805, due to the need to transfer the capital, for economical, socio-political, and even ecological reasons (almost annual, long-term flooding of Cherkassk by the waters of the Don River in Spring) the city of Novocherkassk was founded. In 1887, Rostov-on-Don was incorporated into the oblast of the Don Cossacks Host.²⁰ This step seemed like the end of a logical process in the centralization of the Russian Empire and the dissolution of the Cossack freedoms in the south of the country. The close historical

scription of the Don Land, customs and practices of the residents] (Saint Petersburg: 1834), pp. 16-17.

19. A. V. Falaleev, “Местное казачье самоуправление: правовые основы, формы реализации, перспективы (на примере Волгоградской области)” [Local Cossack Self-Government: legal frameworks, forms of implementations, perspectives (with examples from the Volgograd region)], *Vestnik Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, 1:16 (2016), p. 68. <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/mestnoe-kazachie-samoupravlenie-pravovye-osnovy-formy-realizatsii-perspektivy-na-primere-volgogradskoy-oblasti> (date of access: 29.01.2018).

20. The land of the Don Cossacks was renamed by the decree of the Government Senate in 1870 with the completion of the “process of full and final incorporation of the Don lands into the Russian Empire and the unification of the administrative system”, see: G. G. Matishov, *Донские казаки: от опоры самодержавия до жертв большевизма (XVIII-XX вв.). Заметки на полях истории*. [Don Cossacks: from the support of Autocracy to the Victims of Bolshevism (17th-20th centuries). Notes from the field of History] (Rostov-on-Don: SSC RAS, 2013), p. 17.

and economic ties of the port-city and the surrounding Don territories contributed to the development of the city by providing access to the necessary sources of raw materials and labour resources. The result of these historical processes occurred towards the end of the 19th century with the formation of two paramount urban centers: Novocherkassk, which was in charge of the military administration, and Rostov, which acted as a commercial and industrial center. This fact is also reflected in the characteristics of the Don Cossacks Host, that was subsequently under dual control by the territories: military (represented by the Military Headquarters and the Don Regional Gendarme Office) and civil (represented by the Regional Board of the Don Cossacks Host).²¹

Other major and historically important cities in the lower reaches of the Don River were Azov and Nakhichevan. It is difficult to downplay the strategic importance of Azov in the history of the advancement of the Russian Empire to the Black Sea. A city with a thousand year old history that included a Mennonite settlement, an administrative and artisanal center, and an Ottoman fortress. Between the 17th and 18th centuries Azov (Azak) was repeatedly conquered by forces such as the Cossacks, as well as the regularly visiting Russian troops. Finally, Azov became part of Russia in accordance with the Belgrade Peace Treaty (1739), consistently changing its status to the preference of the Russian monarchs in Novorossiia and it became the administrative center of the Azov gubernia from the years of 1775 to 1782. It then became a fortress in the Ekaterinoslav guberniia from 1782 to 1810, then the Posad of Rostov uezd of the Ekaterinoslav guberniia from 1810 to 1888, and the Posad of the Don Cossacks Host guberniia which came under Cossack control from 1888 to 1926.²²

The second city to be founded in the year of 1779 by the Armenians, was the city of Nor-Nakhichevan which after 1838 was called Nakhichevan-on-Don. It was soon integrated into the orbit of economic development of the neighboring Rostov. Since August

21. *Весь Ростов-на-Дону на 1895 год. Адрес-календарь, торгово-промышленная справочная книга*. [All of Rostov-on-Don in the year of 1895. Address-calendars, Commercial and Industrial Reference Book] (Rostov-on-Don: 1894), p. 46.

22. Based on the bibliography from the website of the Don Electronic Library: <http://www.dspl.ru/elib> (date of access: 24.01.2018).

1797 the fortress of Nakhichevan became part of the Rostov uезд of the Novorossiysk guberniia; following its integration there was an interchangeability of administrative objectives of the northern Black Sea region. Maintaining its ruling authority until the second half of the 19th century and territorial autonomy; until 1928, the city of Nakhichevan-on-Don gradually merged with the “older brother” city of Rostov. The development of the city of Nakhichevan, similar to that of the aforementioned Azov, occurred at the end of the 19th century with the formation of other artisanal and trading centers of a smaller size in comparison to those of Rostov; One of the last administrative measures in relation to the Don region took place on the eve of the revolutionary events of 1917. It was the establishment of the urban prefectorate of the Rostov-on-Don (1904-1917) in order to improve the organization of the quarantine due to the occurrence of high rates of growth in the industries of domestic and foreign trade.²³ Another important factor in considering the contribution of rural producers to the economic life of the Don Region was the fact that the densely populated internal territories of the region was kept intact. According to statistics, in addition to large and medium-sized urban centers, many significant localities developed there. According to data from 1897, the region had more than 150 settlements with an overall population of more than 2,000 people.²⁴ A number of these urban and rural settlements are still principal today. Others, that were smaller in size and settled by relatives united by familial connections, eventually disappeared, some burnt down by the flames of the Great Patriotic War (picture 12.1).²⁵

23. Sydorenko, “The economic development of the Crimean port-cities... p. 86.

24. *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г.* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897] (Saint Petersburg: tipografia N. L. Nyrkina, 1905), pp. 21-23. <http://elib.shpl.ru/ru/nodes/4906-goroda-i-poseleniya-v-uezdah-imeyuschih-2000-i-bole-zhiteley-spb-1905-pervaya-vseobschaya-perepis-naseleniya-rossiyskoy-imperii-1897-g#page/1/mode/grid/zoom/1> (data of access: 14.09.2016).

25. “Хутор Кривичи” [Khutor Krivichi], *Поселенные итоги переписи 1926 г. по Северо-Кавказскому краю* [Results of the census of the North Caucasian region], (Rostov-on-Don: 1929) <http://www.donvrem.dspl.ru/archPlaceArtText.aspx?pid=11&id=2723> (date of access: 21.09.2016).

Picture 12.1 Konstantin Fedotovitch Khivrich the founder of the farmstead of the Khivrich of the Don Cossacks, a non-commissioned officer of the Imperial Russian Army, 1914 (Great-grandfather of Marianna Abdullayeva)



Source: private collection of Marianna Abdullayeva.

Population of the Don Region

All of the above determined the extreme diversity of the population of the region, both in terms of national, religious, estate, and area of residency. Governmental statistics, with all their flaws²⁶, allow us to examine in detail the demographic composition of the region. As for the population of the Don as a whole, as well as the residents of the Rostov okrug, there is an exceptionally high mixture of multinational identities. In the Rostov district, Russians accounted for 54% of the population, 34% Malorossy, 7% Armenians, 3% Jews and 1% Germans, 1% others (table 12.1).²⁷ At the same time, we note the extreme heterogeneity of the Russian-speaking population of the region itself: the Cossacks prevailed amongst the Russian speaking populations of Khoperskiy, Ust-Medveditskaya okrug, and the 1st and 2nd regions of the Don okrug, amounting to 65–80% of the population, and consisting of 30–45% of the population in the areas in Donetsk, Cherkassk and Salsk (see table 12.1). The Cossacks appeared to be a small percentage of the small Russian speaking population in the Taganrog and Rostov okrugs, barely reaching 1-5 % of the population.²⁸ The Don Cossacks also included about 28 thousand Kalmyks, people of Mongolian origin, practicing Buddhism who settled along the Sal river. The rest of the non-Don Cossacks Host Russian-speaking population included heterogeneous groups, such as nomadic indigenous peoples (see pictures 12.2 and 12.3), as well as migrants from other gubernia of the Russian Empire who settled on the Don after 1868 with the lifting of restrictions of settlement in krai of the representatives of other estates of Russian Empire.²⁹ The Ukrainian population, called

26. I. I. Eliseeva and A. L. Dmitriev, *История российской государственной статистики: 1811-2011: Росстат*. [History of Russian State Statistics: 1811-2011] (Moscow: IITS, 2013), pp. 63-70.

27. *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года с указанием числа лиц преобладающих родных языков*. [The first general census of the Russian Empire in 1897, population of both sexes, by county, indicating population divided by native languages] (Saint Petersburg: tipografia ministerstva vnutrennikh del, 1905), pp. 13-14.

28. Matishov, *Don Cossacks...*, p. 18.

29. Up until the year of 1868, non-residents were considered to be temporarily

“Malorossy” according to national statistics until 1917, included former Cossacks living in settlements in the area.³⁰

The overwhelming majority of the Armenian population were descendants of Armenians who migrated to the lands of the Don in 1779, except for the inhabitants of the aforementioned small compact settlements of Armenians in the cities of the region.³¹ According to S. Sushchii: “...if in the whole region of the Don Cossacks Host (within the limits of the beginning of the XXth century) the new diaspora made up, at the end of the 18th century, 3.6% of the population, then within the lower Don river region, Armenians became one of the area’s most important national population to region growth (close to 35% of the local population)”.³² Despite the preservation of a certain ethnic and estate-administrative distance between the Cossacks and the Armenians, researchers note the reflection of the co-existence in the Cossack mentality as “mutually beneficial, long-standing and stable. The rootedness of the Armenian diaspora is marked by the Armenian expressions such as “*our Armenians*” (italics – T. I. Vlaskina) in the residents of the Rostov region, distinguishing natives of Nakhichevan and Miasnikovskiy region from other representatives of the Armenian ethnic group”.³³

residing on the Don and had rights to rent housing only in the city of Novocherkassk, while also paying a specific annual tax in addition to rent. The liberal reforms of the 1860’s (the Zemskaya, peasant, court, financial, military, educational and the censorship reforms); despite their incomplete nature, the reforms cleared the way for the development of capitalist relations in the country. It also expanded the boundaries of civil society and the rule of law in Russia. It also resulted in a lift of bans that were placed on settlement in a number of regions in the Russian Empire. Free settlement was granted to many classes of citizens. In addition to this, the isolation of national-estate groups such as the Cossacks and foreign merchants was weakened with these reform policies.

30. Mainly in the western part of the region. A typical example is the village of Pokrovskoe, Neklinovsky District, Rostov Region. Material from Wikipedia. [https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Покровское_\(Ростовская_область\)](https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Покровское_(Ростовская_область)) (date of access: 29.01.2018)

31. Avakov, “Armenians of the Don ...”, pp. 120-125.

32. S. Ia. Sushchii, “Армяне Дона: размеры и география диаспоры (конец XVIII – начало XXI вв.)” [Armenians of Don: Diaspora size and geography (end of the 18th – beginning of the 20th centuries), in *Armenians in the South of Russia...*, p. 70.

33. T. Iu. Vlaskina, “Образ армянина в традиционной картине мира донских казаков” [Image of an Armenian in the traditional world view of a Don Cossack], in *ibid.*, p. 152.

Picture 12.2 The recording of Don songs by A. M. Listopadov, 1901



Source: *Образы старого Ростова: Фотоальбом*. [Images of Historic Rostov: Photoalbum] (Rostov-on-Don: Omega Publisher, 2006), p. 167.

In connection with the ban on the residency and possession of property by Jews in the Don Cossacks Host, Jewish populations were concentrated primarily in the Rostov okrug. The settlement of Jews in Rostov, Taganrog, Azov, as well as in rural settlements, took place until 1888, during the period of the incorporation of the uezd of the Rostov as part of the Taganrog urban prefectorate, into the Ekaterinoslav guberniia. In the statistical data of the settlement populations we do not find Greeks. Although, the Don krai, as we shall examine later, was a region in which the Greeks carried out significant trading and shipping activities they were registered at merchant guilds and constituted only a small percentage of the city population. A significant Greek rural population was formed not in the Black Sea littoral, where immigration was urban in nature, but in the North Caucasus region with its compact “Pontic” rural settlements.³⁴ The local press of the time, spoke of Rostov as the center of

34. D. Kolomvrezos, *Ο Ελληνισμός στη Ρωσία και στις άλλες χώρες της τ. ΕΣΣΔ. Σύνομη ιστορία, κρίσεις μετά το 1991, ελληνικές παρεμβάσεις, προοπτικές* [Hel-

this multiethnic enclave, and complements and revives the statistics: “In addition to the dominant Russian population, in Rostov we can find the affairs and homes in mass of a number of Armenians, both from Nakhichevan and the Caucasus; Greeks, who migrated here from Taganrog and from their homeland; Jews, both from Odessa and the West; Tatars, from Crimea and Kazan; Along with French, British, Bulgarian and other nationalities.”³⁵

Table 12.1 Population of the Region of the Don Guberniia by Native Language

Okrug	Nationality (native language, populations of both sexes)						Total
	Russians (Malorossy)	Germans	Kalmyks	Armenians	Jews		
Cherkassk	237,282	(45,350)	-	-	-	-	240,222
Donetsk	452,035	(177,376)	-	-	-	-	455,819
1 st District of Don	267,411	(31,515)	2,455	-	-	-	271,790
2 nd District of Don	236,091	(20,747)	-	2,129	-	-	239,055
Rostov	322,744	(124,183)	3,853	-	25,604	12,307	369,732
Salsk	47,183	(22,378)	-	28,063	-	778	76,297
Taganrog	387,211	(254,819)	18,934	-	-	-	412,995
Ust-Medveditsky	241,284	(26,228)	4,831	-	-	-	246,830
Khopersky	250,470	(17,059)	-	-	-	-	251,498

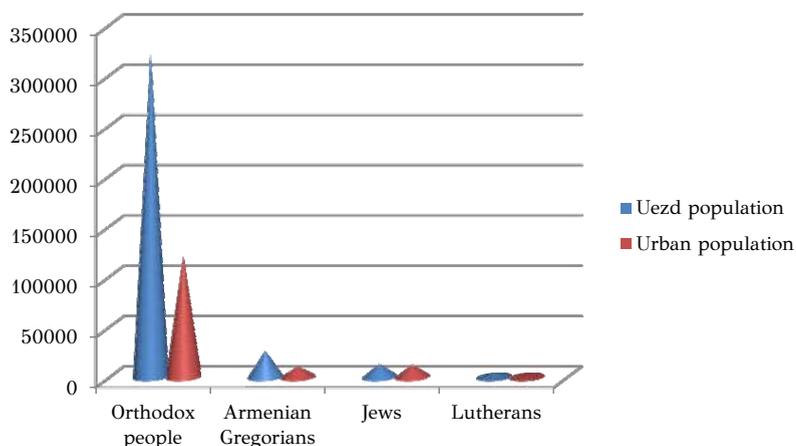
Source: *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. Вып. 2. Население городов по переписи 28-го января 1897 года.* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. Population of the cities] (Saint Petersburg: Tovarishchstvo “Pechiatnia C. I. Iakovleva”, 1897).

lenism in Russia and other countries of the USSR. A brief history, crises after 1991, greek interventions, perspectives], (Athens: Papazisis, 2017), p. 89.

35. V. V. Smirnov, *Приазовский народный календарь на 1887 год по Смирнов В. В. Летопись Нахичевани-на-Дону: в историческом, бытописательном, статистическом и иллюстративном интерьере с приложениями, включающими важные, полезные и интересные сведения* [Priazovsk national calendar for the year of 1887, Record for Nakhichevan-on-Don: in historical, everyday, statistical and illustrative interiors with appendices that include important, useful and interesting information] (Rostov-on-Don: ZAO “Knigi”, 2014.), p. 47.

The national diversity of the urban and rural populations has caused heterogeneity (figure 12.1). 319,809 Orthodox, 25,554 Armenian Gregorians, 12,946 Jews, 3,872 Lutherans, and 3,312 Old Believers lived in Rostov uезд. Even greater religious differentiation was observed in the cities of the uезд: information on religion mentions 119,661 Orthodox, 12,254 Jews, 10,461 Armenian Gregorians, 2,054 Catholics, 1,374 Muslims and 1,283 Lutherans.³⁶

Figure 12.1 Largest Religious Groups in the Region of the Don Guberniia.



In relation to the multiethnic estate population of the Don krai, we note the following statistics for the Rostov uезд: Rostov nobility made up 0.8 % of the population (almost exclusively residing in the cities of the oblast), about 29% meshchane (city dwellers), the 62% rural population (table 12.2).³⁷ At the beginning of the 20th century, a process of estate erosion, was noted with massive changes in the estate status of entire categories of population. By 1917, there were

36. *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 года. Наличное население обоего пола по уездам и городам, с указанием преобладающих вероисповеданий и главнейших сословий* [The first general census of the Russian Empire in 1897. Population count of both sexes according to uyezds and cities, with an indication of main religions and estates] (Saint Petersburg: tipografia ministerstva vnutrennikh del, 1905), p. 9.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

about 10,000 Cossacks that rose to the estate of nobles from more than 2.3 thousand genus of the Don. They were mostly residents of Novocherkassk, as well as the villages of Starocherkassk and Piatiizbyanskaia (Upper Don).³⁸

Picture 12.3 At the wedding of “non-residents” in the Don region.



Second from the right Domna Trofimovna Khivrich (Antonets), resident of the Don Cossacks Oblast, 1914, (the great-grandmother of Marianna Abdullayeva). Source: private collection of Marianna Abdullayeva.

Table 12.2 Population of the Don Region by estate

Uezd	Population (both sexes)			Total
	Nobles	Rural Population	Meschane	
Cherkassk	5,680	114,013	37,812	240,222
Don	1,832	235,116	11,703	455,819

38. Matishov, *Don Cossacks...*, p. 104.

Uezd	Population (both sexes)			Total
	Nobles	Rural Population	Meschane	
1 st Region of Don	2,987	77,521	10,673	271,790
2 nd Region of Don	1,130	51,186	8,870	239,055
Rostov, (in city of Rostov)	2,963	229,301	108,135	369,732
	2,472	65,038	66,697	147,903
Salsk	215	35,993	3,588	76,297
Taganrog	2,321	340,251	52,204	412,995
Ust-Medveditsky	1,785	71,056	5,703	246,830
Khopersky	850	68,184	6,179	251,498
Don Cossacks Host	19,736	1,222,621	244,867	2,564,238

Source: Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. *Вып. 2. Население городов по переписи 28-го января 1897 года.* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. Population of the cities] (Saint Petersburg: Tovarishchstvo “Pechiatnia C. I. Iakovleva”, 1897).

As a result of the resettlement policies of the Russian empire that pursued broad political, demographic, and strategic goals, the population of the southern regions of the empire was attracted to the region by numerous benefits and privileges. The settlers consisted of an “enclave” of “multi-colored” labor resources that all specialized in a variety of professions.

Characteristics of Agricultural Production of the Don Region

This section examined the characteristic features of the agrarian organization of the population of Don, which greatly determined the organizational nature of the use of land of the region. The history of the Cossacks and their role in strengthening the southern borders of the Russian empire, their self-government, their specific, semi-settled military life, and its need for instant response and organization greatly determined the nature of Cossack land use. According to Russian legislation, lands that were acquired by the

Cossacks in the struggle against the nomads, and subsequently assigned to the Host through chartered letters, were entitled to every Cossack at birth, along with Cossack widows and orphans as a royal privilege. It was called “Regulations on the administration of the Don Cossacks Host” of 1835. The size of a plot of availed land was set at 30 desiatina. According to historian D. Shishkina: “... economic growth was long halted because of the outdated military system of land tenure, which included a ban on the acquisition of property by people of non-military estate, and the extensive rights and privileges of the Don Cossacks in the sphere of land use and trade”.³⁹ Community based organization of life led to agricultural activities that are characterized by mutual assistance and collective work. As G. Matishev writes: “During periods of agricultural work, inventory and equipment was often shared and during fishing seasons, means of transport and fishing gear were collectively used. The cattle grazed together and during the construction of a house, many often provided free assistance”.⁴⁰ At the end of the 19th century there were three types of Cossack land classifications: village land, which belonged to the whole village (64.5 %); military land, that was located in the military reserve (16.5 %); privately owned land (owned by nobles, officers, public officers, and former serfs) (20 %). By the early 20th century, a single Cossack was given 17.1 desiatina of village land, (subject to periodic division) and 31.02 desiatina of military land. The division of land into small plots increased processing costs, often leading to the unprofitability of the Cossack agricultural economy and the impoverishment of its producers.⁴¹

The Armenian villages also maintained a sense of community organization, with its typical peasant self-administration and the importance of the decisions made for all of its members. They had a system of delegation with representation from the people of the

39. D. Iu Shishkina, “Природопользование донских армян (конец XVIII – начало XX вв.)” [Environmental management of the Don Armenians (end of the 18th – beginning of the 20th centuries)], in *Armenians in the South of Russia...*, pp. 305-306.

40. Matishev, *Don Cossacks...*, pp. 43-44.

41. Evrydiki Sifneos, *Έλληνες έμποροι στην Αζοφική, Η δύναμη και τα όρια της οικογενειακής επιχείρησης* [*Greek merchants in the Sea of Azov, The power and the limits of family business*], (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research/The National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2009), p. 115.

Armenian colony of Don. According to the testimony of Kh. A. Porksheian of the migration of more than 20,000 Armenians, no more than 2,000 of them were peasants.⁴² In exchange for the lands left behind in Crimea, the Armenians were promised, according to the fifth article of the Letter of Grant by Catherine the Great, 12,000 desiatina of pastureland. In 1794, upon request, another 8,000 desiatina of land was given to the Armenians, later (after the restrictions on the sale of plots were lifted), Armenians bought 32,000 desiatina from the Cossacks, paying 8,000 rubles for the gardens and buildings on the gardens.⁴³ During the years of the liberal reforms of 1860 to 1870, a gradual erosion of privileges that were given to the ethnic social groups of the south occurred. For example: the permission for all Russian citizens to settle in the territory of the Don Cossacks Host, the abolition of a unique Armenian magistrate and its judicial rights, the loss of the administrative independence of the Nakhichevan and okrug, and the propagation of military recruitment for its inhabitants. This caused significant damage to organization system of the Armenian population.⁴⁴ The reform of 1887 was especially consequential for the lives of rural Armenians. Descendants of the Crimean migrants of Armenian origins were forced to buy the land that was previously granted to their forefathers. As E. Shah Aziz describes: “A forty-year term was appointed during which the villagers had to pay a buyout for the land they possessed, paying 1 ruble and 17 kopecks for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a state desiatina per year”.⁴⁵

In the last quarter of the 19th century, German colonists natives from Ekaterinoslav, Taurida, Kherson, Samara and Saratov guberniias began to actively settle the lands of the Don region. Land that was privately owned was sold at an extremely low price, leading to the formation of the colonies of Gaurizanger, Marienheim, Mariental, Olgenfeld, Ofenthal, Otto and others. The process was especially characteristic for the region of Taganrog of the Oblast of

42. Kazarov, *Nakhichevan merchants ...*, p. 15.

43. Kourasova, Startseva, *Don Armenia ...*, p. 37.

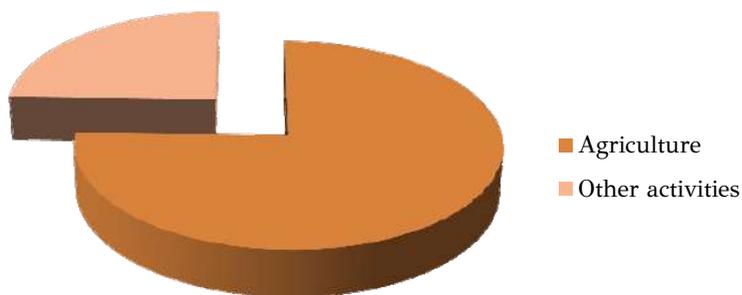
44. Smirnov, *Priazovsk national calendar for the year of 1887...*, pp. 96-100.

45. N. V. Samarina, “Нахичевань-на-Дону в конце XIX – начале XX вв.: особенности экономического и социального развития” [Nakhichevan-on-Don in the late 19th – early 20th centuries: features of economic and social development], in *Armenians in the South of Russia...*, pp. 146.

the Don Cossacks Host, where the German settlers introduced new techniques and skills, enriching the collective economic experience throughout the centuries. German colonists constituted an important agricultural force. The cereals that were produced by the German colonists were known for their high quality and demand amongst exporters.⁴⁶ According to V. Bogacheva: “Peasant landowners took elements of their agricultural heritage, caring for livestock, digging wells, borrowed the idea of tiled roofs, buggies, etc.”⁴⁷

The diversity of the rural population of the Don region predetermined the specifics of agricultural production. This included the features of land use, the choice of crops, the use of tools and fertilizers (or their lack of use thereof), methods of primary processing, and the storage and transportation of agricultural products. Guided by statistics, we note that of the total population (2,564,238 people both genders) of the Oblast of the Don Cossacks Hosts 75.43 % was employed in agriculture, which consisted of 1,934,205 people (figure 12.2). In the cities of the region, this percentage, as expected, was significantly lower: 7.95% of 318,693 of the urban population worked in agriculture, that is, 25,336 people.⁴⁸

Figure 12.2 Agriculture as a sphere of employment of the population of the Don Cossacks Host in 1897



46. Researchers note that the same situation occurred in the nearby Taurida guberniia. At the materials and industrial exhibition held in Simferopol in 1863, all species of grain were grown by the German colonists, see: Sydorenko, “The economic development of the Crimean port-cities... p. 38.

47. Matishov, *Don Cossacks...*, p. 58.

48. *The first general census ... Population count of both sexes ...*, p. 6-7.

If in the first centuries, when Don Cossacks Hosts existed, agriculture was generally prohibited for the Cossacks⁴⁹, then in the second half of the 19th century, the Cossacks, who did not prefer agriculture, were nevertheless drawn into the process of agricultural production. As in the southern guberniias of Russia, the traditional grain crops produced on the territory of the Don Region were wheat, rye, barley, linseed and rapeseed (these grains were export items of the region, see table 12.3).⁵⁰ Crops were harvested twice a year: winter and spring. Among winter crops, rye, purchased by Germany and Holland, ripened first, then the winter crop, wheat, was consumed in Great Britain. Girka, a variety of soft wheat, was widely consumed in France.⁵¹ Armenian farmers, accustomed to gardening and viticulture in the foothill fields and forest clearings of Crimea, also focused on the cultivation of grain crops. Initially, not eating winter rye bread, Armenians did not plow in the fall before winter, but plowed in spring and sowed only spring grain.⁵² Already in the 1880s, the sowing of winter wheat, as well as barley, oats and rye, became widespread.⁵³ The huge steppe territories of the newly founded Nakhichevan were also used for planting grain crops, with more than 80 to 85% of the crop being supplied to the market.⁵⁴ The residents of Don also cultivated the same crops as the German colonists.⁵⁵

When speaking about the development of agriculture in the region as a whole, we note firstly that the prevalence of Russian and Ukrainian populations determined the inherent dominance of their systems of land use. So, in carrying out the tillable work of wide practice, the agricultural system of shifting cultivation of the southern guberniias was largely practiced. The use of animals and agricultural machinery was not always available for use, only the rich Cossacks and the *pomeshchik* (landowners) had the so called, “full” plows in

49. Krasnov, *Historical and Statistical Description ...*, p. 54.

50. Petrovskiy, *Featuring information about ...*, pp. 2-3.

51. Sifneos, *Greek merchants in the Sea of Azov...*, p. 128.

52. Kazarov, *Nakhichevan merchants ...*, p. 24.

53. Shishkina, “Environmental management ...”, p. 306.

54. V. B. Barkhudarian, “Роль армянских общин в эконоическом развитии южной России” [The Role of Armenian Communities in the Economic Development of southern Russia], in *Armenians in the South of Russia...*, p. 235.

55. Matishov, *Don Cossacks...*, p. 58.

which four pairs of oxen could be harnessed. Other residents, in addition to using the “malorossiskiy” plow, which was considered to be of poor quality, used other land-cultivating tools such as the harrow and the plow.⁵⁶ The exception could be found with the Germans and the Armenians. The last of each plow, were harnessed for the ploughing of new land or virgin soil with six pairs of oxen, and for the old land, which was already sowed, with three pairs of oxen.⁵⁷ Sometimes the “on the top” method was used, when the seeds were sown directly over the unplowed stubble and then covered by harrow and plow. Sowing with the “on the top” was an imperfect method that required more seed consumption than with the steam plow, which was also just as common in the southern guberniias of Russia, this was perhaps linked to the good quality of soil in the Don region. The non-use of fertilizers was also characteristic of the farm management for the region.⁵⁸ This fact was noted to be related to the populations of the Don Armenians.⁵⁹ According to the written descriptions, plowing for winter crops was carried out during the flowering period of the steppe grasses, which were then mixed with soil, and was analogous to fertilizer. This was similar to the practice used in northern Italy and southern France during the same time period.⁶⁰

A common problem of the rural producers of the Don region was the need to produce a higher quality crop. The grain produced in peasant farms, due to the lack of necessary tools, was often times poorly processed and had various impurities. Consequently, the price of such batches were significantly lower. As a rule, grain that was used for threshing was not dried at all, but instead, immediately after it was harvested and mated into a sheaf, it was transported to the threshing floor, and, without drying, they were threshed with horses and carts pulled by oxen, with a load laid on for weight.⁶¹ A. A. Skalkovskiy also notes that Armenians milled cereals immediately after harvesting, before the onset of bad weather.⁶² An overwhelming

56. Krasnov, *Historical and Statistical Description* ..., p. 250.

57. Kazarov, *Nakhichevan merchants* ..., p. 24.

58. Sydorenko, “The economic development of the Crimean port-cities...”, p. 106.

59. Shishkina, “Environmental management ...”, p. 307.

60. Krasnov, *Historical and Statistical Description* ..., p. 255.

61. Kazarov, *Nakhichevan merchants* ..., p. 24

62. Skalkovskiy, *Essay in statistical description...*, p. 200.

number of producers continued to clear and process grain by hand, using the labor of incoming hired workers, although in the Armenian villages there was a wider use of more specialized agricultural tools. A century later, peasants continued to use the “Armenian mills” as found in the written works of P. C. Pallas. The horizontal millstone could “grind with every direction of the wind, the force of which is changed by turning the tower”.⁶³ In the 1890’s a special commission under the leadership of Pleve proposed to build a network of state elevators and granaries where the grain could be consistently cleaned, dried and sorted.⁶⁴ At the end of the 19th century, an extensive mill infrastructure and the direct connection between the region and the city is spoken about by the activities of the company E. and A. Deines, founded in 1896 in Rostov: “During a relatively short period of time such as that of ten years, more than 400 mills were equipped with gas-generators, and oil and diesel engines. Many of them reached an efficiency of 400 chetvert per day”.⁶⁵ One of the largest steam flour mill owned jointly by the Magdesiev and Balabanov Trading House was located on the banks of the Don.⁶⁶ Before the revolution of 1917, up to 40 poods of wheat and 50 poods of barley were harvested from one desiatin, using both manual labour during the harvest (spit) and agricultural machines (mowers, “reapers”, “lobogreika”), which were estimated to have numbered to about 200,000 in the Don region. Threshing was carried out with flails and toothed stone rollers, as well as steam and horse threshers.⁶⁷

In the entire area of the Don Cossacks Hosts, livestock breeding was widespread: horse breeding, cattle and sheep. Successfully breeding oxen, used for working the land, Armenians preferred to breed sheep. Well-bred sheep made up half of the cattle flock of Nakhichevan and Armenian villages in the second half of the nineteenth century. In comparison, the percentage of sheep did not sur-

63. E. S. Saprykina and L. G. Saprykina, Нахичевань-на-Дону глазами путешественников и ученых XVIII-XIX вв. [Nakhichevan-on-Don through the eyes of travelers and scholars of the 18th-19th centuries], in *Armenians in the South of Russia...*, p. 264.

64. Zolotov, *Grain trade through the ports...*, p. 160.

65. Altundzhi, *The largest commercial and industrial ...*, p. 32.

66. Smirnov, *Priazovsk national calendar for the year of 1887...*, pp. 127-128.

67. Matishov, *Don Cossacks...*, p. 59.

pass 12% of farm animal population in the Azov region, and 2% in the region of the Don Cossacks Hosts.⁶⁸ The slaughter of grown and cattle took place in the slaughterhouses of Taganrog, Nakhichevan and Mariupol. From the output of sheep farming, other industries such as soap-making, candles, the tanneries of Nakhichevan and wool washing on the banks of the Don arose. Tallow factories called “salkhan” (“salnik”) were built quite primitively, meat products were prepared without any heat treatment. In the 1890s, the owners of tallow factories were M. H. Bagdykov, E. P. Baev, M. S. Cherchopov, K. H. Alakhanov, E. M. Krasil’nikov, M. M. and K. M. Popovy.⁶⁹ Viticulture and horticulture were also widespread. Products were delivered in the local markets.⁷⁰ In the first quarter of the 19th century, some places developed sericulture, but due to natural conditions and high labor costs, there was a reduction in production and a loss of economic value in sericulture in the 30s and 40s of the 19th century.

Changing labour stereotypes of agricultural producers in the Don region

The rapid of capitalist growth in the southern regions of the Russian Empire transformed the organization of economic activity of the population in the south. A significant proportion of the Cossack land shares were leased due to the constant influx of alien labor and the breadth of opportunities in the sale of agricultural products. In 1898, 583,360 desiatin of land was leased by land owners, and 66,826 desiatin by village Cossack communities (*stanichnoe obshchestvo*). About half of the land was rented to non-residents.⁷¹

According to the legislation of the Russian Empire, the stone-coal mining in the territory of the Don region was owned by the Don Cos-

68. Shishkina, “Environmental management ...”, p. 308.

69. Kazarov, *Nakhichevan merchants ...*, p. 27.

70. Shishkina, “Environmental management ...”, p. 307.

71. P. S. Baluev, *Историческое и статистическое описание станиц и городов, посещаемых Господином Военным Министром при объезде его превосходительством Области Войска Донского* [Historic and statistical descriptions of stanitsas and towns visited by the Minister of War during his Excellency’s inspection of the Don Cossacks Host] (Novocherkassk: 1900), p. 15.

sacks Host, adhering to the list of benefits and privileges of the Don Cossacks. By the decree of 1836, private plots on which coal fields were found were also transferred to common-hosts property. Another land plot was given to the owners for compensation.⁷² In the second half of the 19th century, the extraction of coal from the Donets Basin provided a consistent income to host rule in Novocherkassk and the largest stanitsas. In the year of 1859, the sum of 17,500 silver rubles and 33 kopecks was delivered as a duty for the coal to the treasury of the Don Cossacks Host.⁷³ Cossack entrepreneurs, such as mine owners V. V. Orlov-Denisov and I. G. Ilovayskiy also paid the corresponding dues.⁷⁴ After the monopoly of the Cossacks on the coal trade was abolished by the tsar's decree in 1863, the Armenians took an active part in trade operations (such as the activities of businessman A. P. Khalibov).⁷⁵

The rapid development of industry and commerce in the port cities of the region led to the involvement of the Cossacks in non-agricultural spheres of activity. In 1898, more than 6,000 Cossacks worked in factories, mines and ports, about 750 of whom were employed in transport and infrastructure industries, mainly dealing with river transport.⁷⁶ Small industrial enterprises operated in practically all of the large stanitsa of the Don Cossacks Host.⁷⁷ Particularly interesting to mention were the entrepreneurial activities of the Cossacks and peasant workers in the field of ship owning and cargo transportation. A standard example is the Cossack N. Kozlov, a resident of the stanitsa of the Novonikolsk oblast of the Don Cossacks Host, who owned a steam tugboat named “Success” registered at the Rostov port.⁷⁸ The development of capitalist relations led to the erosion of the fluidness of the class structure of Russian society. Ship co-ownership was common, with ship owners representing a special economic group. For example, the sailing schooner called

72. Krasnov, *Historical and Statistical Description ...*, p. 343, 442.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 445

74. Matishov, *Don Cossacks...*, p. 105.

75. Kazarov, *Nakhichevan merchants ...*, p. 43.

76. Matishov, *Don Cossacks...*, p. 105.

77. Baluev, *Historical and statistical description ...*, p. 15.

78. *Русский торговый флот. Список судов к 1 января 1903 г.* [Russian commercial fleet. List of ships up to 1st of January of 1903.] (Saint Petersburg: tipografia V. Kirschbaum), p. 48.

“Aksay”, registered to the Rostov port, belonged to the Cossack V. N. Primetkin and peasant A. Ia. Protsenkov residing in the Aksay stanitsa of the Don Cossack Host.⁷⁹

The close integration of Rostov and its hinterland, created a group of professionals representatives from the commercial industrial social estates and rural producers that resulted in a variety associations in the region of the Don Cossacks Host in the late 19th century. They often organized experimental agricultural stations with the aim of developing and improving Don agriculture. Contests were held that compared agricultural machinery and tools. The result of the designated integration processes was the emergence of large warehouses filled with agricultural machinery (such as that of “Helferich-Sade” on Bol’shaia Sadovaia street in Rostov, where currently, the Museum of the History of Rostov is located). (see picture 12.4).⁸⁰

Picture 12.4 “Company of Helferich-Sade”, specializing in the sale of agricultural machinery, beginning of the 20th century



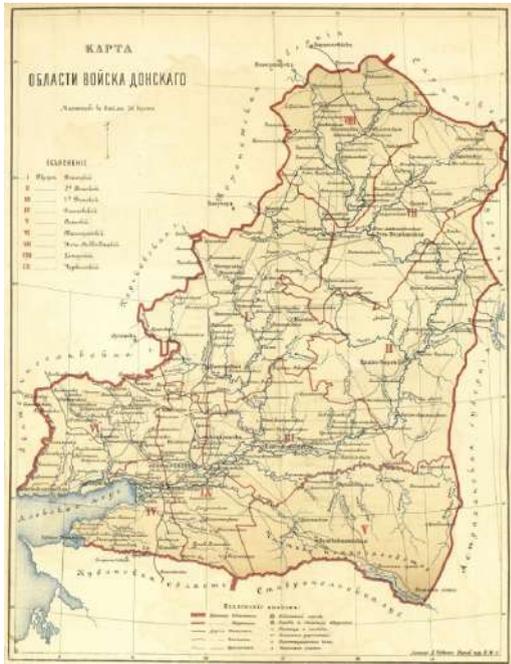
Source: *Образы старого Ростова: Фотоальбом*. [Images of Historic Rostov: Photoalbum] (Rostov-on-Don: Omega, 2006), p. 65.

79. *Russian merchant fleet...of ...1903...*, p. 88.

80. *Образы старого Ростова: Фотоальбом*. [Images of Historic Rostov: Photoalbum] (Rostov-on-Don: Omega Publisher, 2006), p. 25.

The cities convened conventions and congresses, organizing expeditions, excursions, exhibitions, (for example, shows featuring the best riding horses). Special attention was paid to horse breeding, which has long been characteristic of the Don Cossacks and Kalmyks.⁸¹ At the end of 19th century the Cossacks owned 318,887 horses, non-residents owned 32,622 heads. The private horse-breeding farm of the Don took over an area of land measured to be 754,395 desiatin of host land from the Salsk okrug and was divided into 332.5 plots owned by 96 owners.⁸² This fact is also reflected on the map of the Region of the Don Cossacks from the encyclopedic dictionary of the edition by F.A. Brockhaus (Leipzig) and I. A. Efron, (see map 12.3).⁸³

Map 12.3 Oblast of the Don Cossack Host



Source: Карта Области Войска Донского из энциклопедического словаря издания Ф. А. Брокгауза (Лейпциг) и И. А. Ефрона (Санкт-Петербург) под редакцией профессора

81. Bronevskii, *Description of the Don Land ...*, pp. 19-23.

82. Baluev, *Historical and statistical description ...*, pp. 15-17.

83. *Map of the Oblast of the Don Cossack Host ...*

И. Е. Андреевского [Map of the Region of the Don Cossacks from the encyclopedic dictionary of the edition by F.A. Brockhaus (Leipzig) and I. A. Efron (Saint Petersburg), edited by Professor I.E. Andreevsky, see: http://www.etomesto.ru/map-rostov-na-donu_1893-brockhaus-efron/?x=42.156127&y=46.346336. (date accessed: 23.09.2016).

Rostov Trade in the late 19th century

Local trade, especially during its initial stages, took place in local fairs, some fairs began to take place in the middle of the 18th century (with the establishment of a customs outpost at the mouth of the River Ternernik and the subsequent construction of the fortress of St. Dimitriy). Initially, Russian goods dominated the marketplace, including factory and manufactories made products.⁸⁴ The most well-known until the late nineteenth century: the Voznesenskaia (began on the feast of the Ascension, and lasted three days) and the Uspensko-Bogoroditskaia, assumption of the mother of God (that takes place between 21 August and 15 September).⁸⁵ The Rostov fairs were considered of second importance in relation to the Nizhny Novgorod fairs. The fair in Rostov that was “marked by the lively participation of the local Armenian population”, was held in the spring in the unused land between Rostov and Nakhichevan and lasted for one week. The remarkable artist M. S. Sariah describes it as: “Residents of both cities and peasants of nearby Armenian villages gathered here. Visitors also arrived from the nearest Cossack stanitsa. Peasants dressed in bright national clothes gave a national flavor to the fair. An incredible rumble reigned around, made by the noisy people, and the cries of the merchants who sold fruit, sweets, water, toys and other goods”.⁸⁶ The turnover of fair trade experienced periods of prosperity as well as periods of gradual decline, with the transition to more modern or diverse forms of trade, primarily associated with the development of rail and ship communications, the spread of the telegraph and improvements in postal traffic. There was no longer a need to stock up on goods for a long time and merchants ordered goods regularly throughout the year.⁸⁷

84. Bronevskii, *Description of the Don Land ...*, pp. 18-19.

85. *All of Rostov-on-Don in the year of 1895...*, pp. 3-13.

86. Smirnov, *Priazovsk national calendar for the year of 1887...*, pp. 157-158.

87. Il'in, *The history of the city of Rostov-on-Don...*, pp. 67-68.

A number of agricultural products were sold by peasants through the marketplace, as mentioned in the report the mayor of Rostov, from the meeting of Duma on the 28th of November in the year of 1901, that all the small and imported businesses and trade of the city was concentrated in the marketplace: “On days of delivery, especially in autumn, there is such an accumulation of goods, that the upkeep of any sort of cleanliness and order becomes completely impossible”.⁸⁸ On Sundays daytime, loaded carts were moved along the floating bridge across the Don from one coast to the other and then further by ways of the Taganrog Avenue towards the direction of the Old Bazaar (picture 12.5).⁸⁹ The Police Department of the Rostov and Nakhichevan-on-Don was responsible for the management of order for the implementation of the grain trade.⁹⁰

Picture. 12.5 Peasant carts on the floating bridge over the Don River, late 19th century



Source: *Образы старого Ростова: Фотоальбом*. [Images of Historic Rostov: Photo-album] (Rostov-on-Don: Omega, 2006), p. 42.

Starting from the 1860s and 1870s, the importance of Rostov amongst the larger river trading ports of New Russia continued to

88. Kazarov, *Nakhichevan merchants ...*, p. 97.

89. *Images of Historic Rostov...*, p. 31.

90. *All of Rostov-on-Don in the year of 1895...*, p. 6.

increase. Rostov trade was high turnover rates and diversity of goods that are products of import and export. As we have already mentioned, there were goods concentrated from the Volga and Kama (flour, cereals, crackers, oats, grain, wine, iron, copper, artillery shells, wood, tar, matting, butter), from the Caucasian regions (grain, flaxseed, rice, cotton), and lastly from the lands of the Black Sea region (wool, lard, skins, honey, salted fish, horses, cattle and sheep). According to statistical data ranging from the years of 1884–1888, 188 million pood of cereals were brought to the city, while the share of land transport was 27% (about 50 million poods).⁹¹ Rostov became the most important point for the export of grain abroad, delivered from the area of the Don Cossacks, Voronezh, and the Saratov guberniias (table 12.3). Cereal loads were delivered to Rostov-on-Don by railway⁹² as well as water transportation, including barque trade (see picture 12.6 and 12.7).⁹³ According to the report from the British Consul from 1903, about half of the grain arriving in Rostov came from the river, especially from the territories closer to the Volga region. The connection between the two waterways was carried out by a short railway that was 37 miles long (from Tsaritsyn on the Volga River to Kalach along the Don River). Due to the shallow water at the mouth of the Don, as well as other ports in Crimea, ships did not come here for loading, thus the grain was loaded onto small, flat bottomed barges and thereafter onto steamers.⁹⁴

91. Petrovskiy, *Featuring information about ...*, pp. 2-3.

92. Железные дороги России. [Railroads of Russia] (Saint Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe obshchestvo, 1918.)

93. Grain was usually brought in by barges. A unique trait of the barque trade was the fact that these ships were of one time use – the barges were built from new wood to make a single composition. After unloading they were redirected to head for the left bank of the Don, remaining on land when water levels fell and were later recycled, see: // A. M. Il'in, *The history of the city of Rostov-on-Don...* .

94. “Nearly half of the grain arriving at Rostov comes by river, especially from the nearer Volga districts, the communication between the two waterways being effected by a short railway of 37 miles from Tsaritsin on the Volga to Kalatch on the Don. Owing, however, to the shallow bar at the mouth of the Don, vessels cannot come here to load, and the grain has consequently to be load into large barges of small flat-bottomed steamers, and carried a distance of 66 miles to the anchorage at the North Azov coast, where the cargo is transferred to the steamers awaiting it. The approximate number of towing lighters and small steam craft engaged in this traffic is 25 of the former with a total capacity of about 17,500 tons, and 40 of the latter, capacity 18,000 tons”,

The economic growth of the Don, and above all, the development of the grain trade, resulted to the exports of grain to European, and, non-European markets. At the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century a large part of the grain and linseed sold through Rostov-on-Don was exported by the international Jewish trading firms “Louis Dreyfus and Co.” and “M. Neufeld and Co.”, along with the British “Yeames and Co.” – British. International trading firms owned by Greeks were also very important involved in the grain trade: Vagliano, Scaramangas, “Rodocanachis and Co.”, K. Mavrocordatos, D. Negrepointis, D. Diamantidis, G. Kriezis, Sifneos.⁹⁵ The high economic risk of trading practices in the sale of grain forced the majority of entrepreneurs to have a large list of goods of import and export as well as availability of sea transport means, ships.⁹⁶

Table 12.3 The main exports from Rostov-on-Don in 1901-1907

	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Wheat	319,256	385,167	630,150	655,075	665,994	350,920	229,817
Rye	204,273	223,576	242,840	248,008	241,639	71,318	196,443
Barley	181,414	293,064	401,780	466,393	406,726	286,600	351,471
Oat	9,123	1,677	11,110	381	9,990	6,318	12
Flour	324	0	0	390	1,201	713	5,350
Linseed	1,911	8,223	4,648	3,239	3,301	1,845	757
Rapeseed	5,684	4,302	8,365	12,079	3,217	21	288
Oilcake	7,119	7,789	8,590	10,040	7,185	4,440	1,815
Various	5,749	8,128	14,300	1,746	50	217	5,518
Bran	0	0	0	17,810	16,238	18,528	86,311
Furs	0	0	1,700	1,565	1,447	1,330	93,057
Total	734,853	931,926	1,323,483	1,416,726	1,356,988	742,250	970,839

(in thousand tons)

Source: Historical Archives of the National Bank of Greece. – Archive A19 “For-

see: Historical Archives of the National Bank of Greece. – Archive A19 “Foreing Office”, “Diplomatic and consular reports for different countries, 1862-1914”. Report for the Year 1903 on the Trade of Rostov-on-Don and District”, No. 3173, 1904, pp. 10-11.

95. Tatiana Konevskaia, *Οι Έλληνες του Ροστόβ-στον-Ντον στα τέλη του 19ου – αρχές 20ού αιώνα* [Greeks of the Rostov-on-Don, end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century], in Sifneos, Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...*, pp. 325-344.

96. Sifneos, *Greek merchants in the Sea of Azov...*, p. 34.

eign Office”, “Diplomatic and consular reports for different countries, 1862 – 1914”. Report for the Year 1902 on the Trade of Rostov-on-Don and District”, No. 3115, 1904, pp. 6; *ibid.*, “Report for the Year 1903 on the Trade of Rostov-on-Don and District”, № 3173, 1904, p. 9; “Report for the Year 1905 on the Trade of the Consular District of Rostov-on-Don”, № 3610, 1906. p. 9;

The share of exports of individual goods through Rostov custom in Russia as a whole was largely significant. For example, in 1906, according to the Statistics Division of the Department of Customs Fees, about 12% of the nationwide export of barley, 10% of wheat, 7% of rye, and 3% of barley were exported via Rostov (see table 12.4).

Table 12.4 Export of Russian goods through the Rostov customs, 1906

Goods	Weight, measure and count	General exports from Russia		Exported specifically through Rostov customs:
		Amount	Value in golden rubles	Amount
Wheat	pood	219,996,079	205,686,379	22,107,960
Rye	pood	65,366,174	48,903,183	4,480,300
Barley	pood	148,809,558	100,548,156	18,080,690
Oats	pood	69,543,596	51,470,902	388,650
Peas	pood	9,813,770	9,719,223	600.00
Wheat flour	pood	6,141,643	9,776,555	44,941
Bran and mill waste	pood	39,523,368	21,614,250	1,167,140
Butter	pood	3,211,393	44,811,540	27.00
Fish, salted and smoked, other	pood	1,656,792	4,263,676	13.00
Total goods exported in 1906	Thousands of pood	1,188,840		46,711
	Rubles		1,094,886,094	38,476,988

Source: *Обзор внешней торговли России по Европейской границе, за 1906 г.* [Overview of Russia’s External Trade per European borders, 1906], (Saint Petersburg: 1907), pp. 93-129.

By 1913, the Don Cossacks Host had already occupied 3rd place, following Ekaterinoslav and Saratov (not considering the North Caucasus) amongst the guberniias of the country with most grain exported, with the share of grain exports in total gross production reaching 42.4%.⁹⁷ Thus, towards the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the Rostov grain trade increased significantly compared to the other ports of the Azov Sea, and Rostov-on-Don firmly occupied the dominant position in the import-export operations for the region. According to the researchers, the reasons for this economic surge lay in the constant increase in the territory supplying the port city of Rostov-on-Don with agricultural products. The area expanded both eastwards, reaching Saratov and the Cossack regions of the Don, as well as northward, reaching Kharkov and Voronezh. This was a result of combined activities of many participants in the economic interchange of a combined insider transport network, including railways and rivers, such as the Don and the Volga, and their tributaries.⁹⁸

Specifics of the commercial practices of the Don rural residents

The commercial practices of rural producers in the Don region were intergrated in the markets of the area and had a number of specific features that was one not well studied. Often, several hundred versta away, the peasants brought grain directly to Rostov, participating in fair or bazaar trade and purchasing everything necessary for their own economy. The delivery of grain to Rostov was carried out mainly at a time of the year when the peasant could expect to feed his oxen on the way to the town with the pastures that lay along the route.⁹⁹ Selling grain cheaply after the harvest allowed farmers to collect the money needed to pay taxes, however, farmers would not only have to buy more grain in the spring, but overpaid in favor of the intermediaries, thus suffering annual losses. Grain was bought

97. Matishov, *Don Cossacks...*, p. 105.

98. Sydorenko, "The economic development of the Crimean port-cities...", p. 86.

99. Petrovskiy, *Featuring information about ...*, p. 6

at market prices, which were dependent on the external and internal economic situation in the grain market, as well as the month, and the harvest. The buyers of agricultural products in central Rostov (Taganrog, Azov, Nakhichevan, etc.) markets were both large intermediaries and traders or exporters, who were well acquainted with the quality of grain and knowledgeable of market prices in both the domestic and foreign markets. Researchers acknowledge the existence of other decentralized (urban) trade centers, both coastal, such as those located on the banks of rivers or in close proximity to the Sea of Azov, as well as land, that tend to be located along railway lines. If before the appearance of railways, there were only one or two such trade points, after the arrival of railways, such markets arise spontaneously at any station. According to E. Sifneos, hard wheat usually came from coastal markets, and soft wheat came from land markets. The intermediaries bought grain two or three times a week, thereafter reselling it to trading partners in the city.¹⁰⁰ Practically in every region of the Don Cossack Host, the large stanitsa had “offices for receiving grain and brokers between the landowners and offices”.¹⁰¹ When a tug arrived bringing grain to the warehouses, it often happened as follows: carts with grain were on the watch for a few tens of versts, “intermediator-peasant” (*svodchik-kulak*) who negotiated with the peasant farmers about prices and brought the grain directly to the intermediaries or “granary holder” (*ambarshchik*). The so called, *ambarshchik*, lived in the outskirts of cities and had small barns for grain loading. They were the link that connected grain exporters and producers. At the end of the 19th century, just in Nakhichevan and its vicinity there were already 24 significantly sized brick granaries for storing grain, they had an average annual turnover of 20,000 rubles.¹⁰² As noted by M. P. Fedorov, large traders and trading houses, as a rule: “dealt with the secondary *ambarshchik* in Rostov itself, collecting lots for them on demand, or for buyers in different regions”.¹⁰³

In addition to the information mentioned, a matter of importance

100. Sifneos, *Greek merchants in the Sea of Azov...*, p. 138.

101. Krasnov, *Historical and Statistical Description ...*, p. 260.

102. Smirnov, *Priazovsk national calendar for the year of 1887...*, p. 127.

103. Zolotov, *Grain trade through the ports...*, p. 177.

for large exporters was the organization of grain purchases in the internal territories of the Don Region. The need for timely delivery of information on the procurement of cereals in order to make profitable sales against the background of the global market led to the fact that the sphere of economic activity of most entrepreneurs was not limited to the city area. The use of the telegraph greatly facilitated in this complex task, but did not allow it to be solved completely. The first of the Greek merchants to rely on this technology was M. Vagliano, who purchased grain directly from the producer, and thus, determined the purchase prices for grain in the market.¹⁰⁴ An interesting procedure for the purchase of grain went as follows: “Each of the aforementioned firms has a certain area from which they purchase their grain, in order to avoid competition, they are distributed by a mutual agreement made by the firms. Each of them has a trustee in place who purchases grains year round and delivers them to granaries located in the jetties. From there, the cargo was sent to Rostov, as needed, or in relation to the freight cost”.¹⁰⁵ G. Cuppa, representatives of the Sifneos trading house, along with many others followed the Vagliano brothers example. Greek trade enterprises of the Don, such as, “Sevastopoulo Brothers” sent their agents to the Azov sea region to buy large numbers of grains, depending on local prices as well as economic conditions in the European markets.¹⁰⁶ The purchase and resale of grains in the Azov region required the Don entrepreneurs to get acquainted with the local conditions that determined the agricultural land use, as well as detailed knowledge about the grains which they worked with. The trader had to consider the atmospheric conditions that would affect the crop from the moment of its sowing to its harvest and have enough experience to make accurate predictions about the grain. One of the clearest examples of the integration of the entrepreneurs into the productive economic structure of the region is the trade business of Elpidor Trofimovich Paramonov, a Rostov merchant, a grain trader and ship owner who also owned the mines of the Don Cossack Host.¹⁰⁷

104. Sifneos, *Greek merchants in the Sea of Azov...*, 139-141.

105. Petrovskiy, *Featuring information about ...*, p. 6.

106. Sifneos, *Greek merchants in the Sea of Azov...*, p. 139.

107. *Images of Historic Rostov...*, p. 78.

In addition, peasants were often forced to negotiate with sales agents in advance, pricing the yet to be harvested crops at very low prices.¹⁰⁸ When examining the realities of the agrarian crisis of the 1880s, researchers noted, that even in the pre-crisis years, that to meet the demands of the taxes, various payments, and duties, the peasants were forced to sell not only surplus grain, but also a significant part of the grain necessary for the family's nutrition. In the years of the agrarian crisis, with the fall in prices, the sale of grain increased proportionally, and consequently, the chronic starvation of the agricultural producers of the country increased.¹⁰⁹ Of course, none of the above-mentioned forms existed solely on their own, but in reality, trade in the Don region was a combination of several possible forms of trade, that primarily resulted in an increase in the income of intermediaries and exporters against the impoverishment of the agricultural producer. Current research has shown that similarly, the commercial practices between “producer and intermediary” also appeared in the Azov region and Crimea around the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. All of the previously described types of trade interactions for the marketing of agricultural products, primarily grain, occurred in the Crimea and Azov regions.¹¹⁰

108. The average purchasing prices for grain in Rostov in 1887-1888 was as follows: wheat – 9.01 kopecks, rye – 5.12 kopecks, barley – 5.25 kopecks, corn – 5.19 kopecks, oats – 3.05 kopecks, flax seed – 12.27 kopecks, rapeseed – 7.02 kopecks for a quarter (in the trading world at the time, it was customary that one quarter was equivalent to 380 pounds, 354 pounds of rye, 290 pounds of barley and 220 pounds of oats. With a more careful economic analysis these numbers allow us to determine the actual profitability of the peasant land use of the time). In accordance to “Book of commemorative Construction Practices” by A. I. Tilinskogo”, published in 1914: “Quarter = 2 eights = 8 quadrants; Chetverik = 8 garn; In the trade is considered to be a quarter 380 p. wheat, 354 p. rye, 290 lbs. barley, 220 p. oats; Pood = 40 pounds”, see: Table, reference measures and weights at www.stroy musey.ru/projects/measure.php#measure-26 (date accessed: 25.09.2016).

109. Zolotov, *Grain trade through the ports...*, p. 154.

110. Sydorenko, “The economic development of the Crimean port-cities...”, pp. 186-189.

Picture 12.6 Peasant carts near the blacksmith (horse wagon) workshop



Source: *Образы старого Ростова: Фотоальбом.* [Images of Historic Rostov: Photoalbum] (Rostov-on-Don: Omega, 2006), p. 87.

Picture 12.7 Commercial School of Rostov-on-Don



Открытка. Коммерческое училище в Ростове-на-Дону: [Электронный ресурс] // URL: <http://oldtaganrog.ru/category/204.htm?itemId=2002>. (Дата обращения 28.11.2016).

Conclusion

In this way, the historical processes of the development of the Don region in the late 19th century led to the formation of two major city centers of paramount importance. The most important commercial and industrial center of the Don Cossack Host, as well as in the whole of the Azov became Rostov-on-Don. One of the most considerable factors that contributed to its economic rise was the labour resources of the region, which were characteristic of this southern territory. Eminent historian A. Skalkovskiy noted, speaking of his journey through the southern steppes of the Russian Empire: “Naturally, the thought will arise to the traveler: what hardship and what firm will one must have to settle in this fertile wilderness. When for the creation of the poorest settlement, one must bring both the woods, the rocks, and the seed of the grain from faraway lands, not to mention the help of others, as well as the cultivation of domestic animals.¹¹¹ Being, majorly rural producers, the inhabitants of the Rostov hinterland for the discussed time period, maintained national, ethno-social, estate and religious diversity. The rural inhabitants of the region involved in the process of agriculture were characterized by various forms of community and social organization (Cossack landowners, Armenian rural communities, German colonies, Jewish land proprietors). By the end of the 19th century all these groups were subject to the Russian trend of the gradual liquidation of the rural community due to rapid developments in capitalist relations and the direct involvement of the producers in the processes of market exchange. The consequences of the above resulted in the lease of peasants shares and the transition the peasantry to work for hire, as well as peasant and Cossack ownership. On the other side of these aforementioned processes was the redistribution of trading capital into the productive sphere and the integration of Rostov entrepreneurs into the economy of the Don region. In addition, we can note the involvement of entrepreneurs in the production of agricultural machinery, the organization of fairs and exhibitions for said production, professional horse breeding, and a diversification of commercial practices in the region. The close integration of the economic life of the port city and the surrounding region was reflected in maps of the time, postcards, and photographs.

111. Skalkovskiy, *Essay in statistical description...*, p. 48.

13.

Rostov-on-Don in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century: Dynamics and specificities of the socio-economic development

Natalya Samarina

The period of economic modernization in the Russian Empire of the second half of the 19th – early 20th century witnessed a rapid and compelling rise of Rostov-on-Don, a provincial southern town whose economic potential had long been poorly appreciated by the imperial government. Underestimation served as an important factor, for the towns, which the government considered as prospective commercial centers, usually received more or less significant benefits. For example, Odessa that served as the center of foreign trade of the Empire on the Black Sea had been enjoying (to the detriment of other southern territories) the benefits of duty-free importation of foreign goods until the beginning of the 1860s. In Taganrog, which enjoyed the number of privileges similar to that of Odessa, the benefits were granted to Greek merchants, on which the government placed their hopes for the successful development of Russian exports in the Azov-Black Sea area. The imperial authorities from St. Petersburg ranked Taganrog much higher than Rostov-on-Don as to its chances of becoming the center of Russian foreign trade in the Azov Sea. As a result, the export trade competition between these two towns had been artificially suppressed for more than a half a century.¹ Privileges were also granted to residents of the Armenian colony of Nakhichevan founded in 1779 just near the future Rostov on the same land that the imperial government confiscated from the Don Host for the fortress of D. Rostovskiy.

1. For a half a century traders residing in Rostov lacked the opportunity for carrying out their own foreign trade because in 1776 the customs house had been moved from the vicinities of the fortress of Rostov to Taganrog. This even brought up remarks that Rostov had been turning into some sort of a warehouse for the export trade of Taganrog.

However, the absence of privileges did not impede the dynamic economic growth of Rostov. It was this condition apparently that determined the rapid development of the town into a commercial and industrial center, a place of residence of different ethnic groups and social estates and a locus of their diverse activities. Granting privileges to certain people or a social group, as it was the case in Taganrog, inevitably leads to restricting benefits of all others. It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that Rostov obtained status of the administrative capital of a uезд. It was only due to multiple petitions some of which were supported by Czar Nicholas I and M. S. Vorontsov that a customs house was established in Rostov in 1836. The latter gave a powerful impetus to the development of the trade of the town in general and exports in particular.

By the onset of liberal reforms in Russia, Rostov-on-Don, a river port, had already become an economic centre of the southeast of the empire. This is revealed by data collected by the Russian Ministry of Interior in the early 1860s in the course of preparing the reform of municipal administration. In the first half of the 19th century Rostov grew into an important center of Russian trade largely due to the land and river transportation networks that had survived from the pre-industrial period, namely, the unpaved tracts built for strategic military purposes around the fortress of D. Rostovsky. The land routes ran to Moscow and St. Petersburg, to Ekaterinoslav and Kharkov, via Taganrog to Mariupol and further to Crimea, to Yeisk and Kuban, and finally, via Stavropol and Kizlyar to the Caucasus and the coast of the Caspian Sea. They were connected and supplemented by the Don-Volga waterways (see map 3.1 in chapter 3).

In the beginning of the 1860s, the commercial turnover of the town at the Russian domestic market reached as much as 20,000,000 rubles. From a reference note compiled by officials from the Ministry of Interior we learn that the goods imported from various regions of the country were first accumulated in warehouses in Rostov and were then sold further to the neighboring areas. The wholesale trade from Rostov covered the entire southeastern region of the empire including the Caucasus and among the main articles of the wholesale trade there was anthracite.² (see picture 13.1). It is worth

2. *Экономическое состояние городов Европейской России в 1861-1862 годах*

emphasizing that this was reported not in the 1900s, but a half a century earlier! The ministerial report did not mention another equally important article in the wholesale trade of the town, raw wool. Wool came to play an important part in the Rostov trade along with the development of independent export operations, and it was supplied to Rostov not only by the Don and Kuban Cossacks but also by peasants from Stavropol region, residents of settlements along the North Caucasus Line and the Nogai and Kalmyk nomadic stockbreeders.

Thus, the significant economic importance of the town in the distribution of goods at the regional and the entire Russian domestic consumer markets clearly set in still before the abolition of serfdom and made Rostov different from other centers of the Russian grain exports. Because of their peripheral location, neither Odessa nor Riga, the main rivals of Rostov in foreign trade operations at the European market in the late 19th – early 20th century, could play as important part in the development of the internal market of the empire as Rostov did.

13.1 View of Rostov-on-Don, late 19th century



[Economic condition of towns in the European Russia in 1861-1862], Part 1, (Saint Petersburg: 1863), p. 26.

In a quarter of a century after the establishment of the customs house and the renovation of the commercial port, the town grew into a large exporting center on the Sea of Azov. No other Russian port experienced such an impressive growth in the export trade. From 1836 to 1860, the exports from Rostov increased by one hundred times.³ This was due to both the favorable location of the town and the merchants who carried trade. The latter include Ivan Petrovich Scaramanga who came to Rostov as a representative of the Taganrog firm “Ralli and Scaramanga” shortly after the customs house had been opened. The firm was part of the Greek commercial network and carried large-scale foreign trade operations with the Mediterranean and Western Europe.⁴ Ivan Scaramanga lived in Rostov for several decades and was a founder of the Rostov branch of the family of exporters and bankers well known in the southern Russia and beyond.

This fact may seem to be of a rather minor importance, but in the writings of one of his contemporaries some 30 years later we read: “Mr. Scaramanga carried out his business with much energy. Having possessed significant capital, he entrusted large sums to people of trade and favored the development of trade. It did not take long for his support to produce a favorable effect. Very soon, large quantities of wheat, flaxseeds, wool, tallow, etc. began to arrive in Rostov....With the assistance of Mr. Scaramanga, who lent money to sea captains for building seafaring ships for future freights,⁵ shipping in Rostov also progressed at an incredible speed”.⁶ In 1867, Ivan Scaramanga was granted the title of Honorary Citizen of Rostov. The text prepared by the officials from the Town Hall in support of his nomination reads: “...our trade that has laid the foundation to the welfare and the development of our town owes its prosperity largely to I. P. Scaramanga, the representative of the of Ralli and Scaramanga house... his activities have earned him general respect and trust, and he can be

3. *Ростов-на-Дону. Исторические очерки* [Rostov-on-Don. Historic essays], (Rostov-on-Don: 1979), p. 17.

4. For the commercial networks of Greek merchants and shipowners from the Azov and the Black Sea port cities see: Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping...*, chapters 2 and 3; Sifneos, Harlaftis, *Greeks in the Azov...* .

5. A shipyard opened in Rostov in 1837.

6. After: V. Sidorov, *Энциклопедия старого Ростова и Нахичевани* [Encyclopedia of the old Rostov and Nakhichevan], Vol. 2, (Rostov-on-Don: 1995), p. 42-43

rightly considered the elder of commerce in the southeast of Russia”.⁷

Table 13.1 below shows data on the export of grain in the Azov Sea in the 1850s and 1860s. Regardless of the fluctuations, an average of about one third of all Azov grain in the 1850s was exported from the port of Rostov and nearly a half of all grain export from ports of the Sea of Azov in the early 1860s.

Table 13.1 Share of Rostov in the export of grain in the Azov Sea

Years	Exports of grain (in <i>chetverts</i>)		
	All ports	Rostov	Share (%)
1856	2236310	577480	25,8
1857	1175390	611730	52,0
1858	1602490	499180	31,2
1859	2385870	804570	33,7
1860	2142200	638080	29,8
1861	2488550	831040	33,4
1862	2424720	1120680	46,2
1863	1839050	909280	49,4

Source: A.A. Skalkovskiy Ростов-на-Дону и торговля Азовского бассейна [Rostov-on-Don and the trade in the Azov Basin], (No Place: 1865-1866), p. 5.

In general, however, the town played an even more important part in the foreign trade; in addition to grain, during this period of time the port of Rostov also exported flaxseed, wool, hides, tallow, butter, caviar, ropes and Russian leather (*yuft*). In the beginning of the 1860s, the overall turnover in the foreign trade of Rostov reached 13,000,000 rubles.⁸

However, Rostov was a river-port, about 20 km far from the sea-coast, and this caused a number of inconveniences. Most parts of the delta of the Don were impassable not only the sea-going ships but also for the river craft with large carrying capacity. While in the port of Rostov the depth of river reached 14 feet, at the mouth

7. G. Kh. Chalkhushyan, *История Ростова* [History of Rostov], (Rostov-on-Don: 1909), p. 277-278.

8. *Economic condition of towns in the European Russia ...*, p. 22-23.

of the Don it did not exceed 5 feet. Only shallow-draft light craft and barges, and only under favorable wind, were capable of passing through the river mouth. At the same time, the main rival of Rostov in the foreign trade on the Sea of Azov, Taganrog, was in no better situation either. The bay of Taganrog is as shallow as the delta of the Don, and the sea-going ships that came to load and unload had to anchor far, at the roadstead. Like in the port of Rostov, in Taganrog the goods for export were brought to the ships by barges. Various goods for export from different regions Russia were coming, however, mainly to Rostov which eventually became a more important exporting center than Taganrog. With the overall foreign trade turnover of 8,500,000 rubles⁹, in the early 1860 Taganrog already gave way to Rostov as the main center of foreign trade of the whole region.

It is noteworthy that export from Rostov produced a stable and a fairly good income for Cossacks from the villages of the Don Host Region in the lower Don area. In 1868, 210 sea-going ships and 1,396 riverboats owned by the Cossacks were registered in the port of Rostov. According to the port authorities and the village administrations, the total value of these vessels exceeded 1,200,000 rubles. The Cossacks' light craft were used for transporting grain from the port of Rostov to the roadstead of Taganrog, while the riverboats transported cargoes up the river to Rostov. Records from the village administrations indicate that the annual income from this business ranged from 2,000 to 5,000 rubles per vessel.¹⁰

Further development of economic activities of Rostov in the context of economic liberalization, early industrial revolution and integration of Russia into the world market led to a rapid economic rise of the city by the end of the 19th century. Figures from the Russian Empire Census of 1897 (for the area of today's Russian Federation) demonstrate that in the level of economic development Rostov occupied the third position after St. Petersburg and Moscow.¹¹ If we include into this rating other competitors of Rostov from the rest of the former Russian Empire, which are nowadays situated in the independent Ukraine

9. *Economic condition of towns in the European Russia ...*, p. 39-41.

10. GARO, fond 353, opis 1, delo 148, p. 1 verso; 11.

11. Город и деревня в Европейской России: сто лет перемен [Town and village in the European Russia: One hundred years of changes], (Moscow: OGI, 2001), p. 99.

and Latvia (Kiev, Odessa, Kharkov, Riga), we will see that among more than 600 cities the rate of Rostov still ranged from the sixth to the seventh position leaving behind many capitals of guberniias.

Figure 13.1 gives a rough picture of the structure of the economic activities of the town. Relevant statistical records lack data on turnovers of joint-stock companies and banks. Nonetheless, we believe that the figure gives quite an accurate picture of specificities of the business structure in Rostov, as it correlates well with evidence from 1902. The report prepared by officials from the Ministry of Interior just before the establishment of the Urban Prefecture (*gradonachalstvo*) in Rostov shows the total commercial turnover of the city at 245,200,000 rubles, including 95,000,000 rubles of 108 joint-stock companies. The share of industrial enterprises in the total commercial turnover is significantly lower (9,4%).¹² There are two factors to explain this situation. Firstly, the joint-stock companies that appeared in Rostov in the second half of the 1890s specialized primarily in foreign trade and their multimillion turnovers undoubtedly raised the share of the trade capital. Secondly, in order to carry out business in imperial Russia, entrepreneurs had to have trade certificates. Statisticians in most cases kept records of the enterprises according to the type of their certificates and regardless to the nature of business.

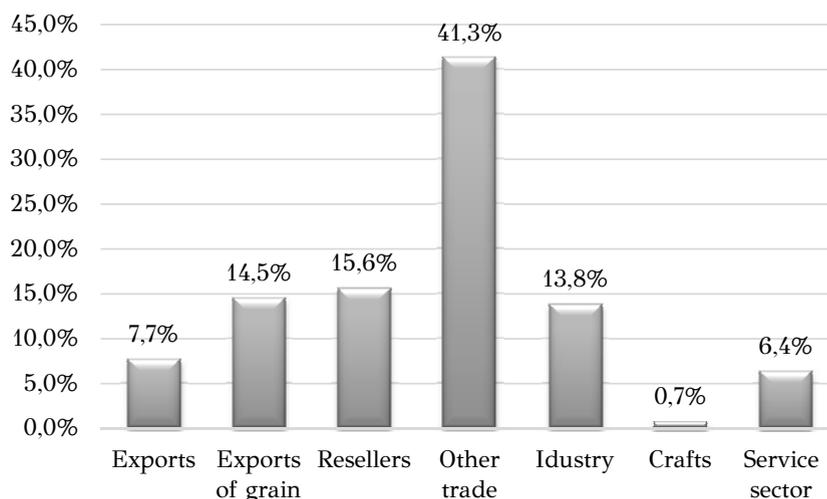
Figure 13.1 is based on data from “Statistical review of commercial and industrial activities of the Cossack population of the Don Host Region in a five-year period from 1894 to 1898”¹³, which makes it possible to study the town’s business structure in detail. Unfortunately, this review is the only document of this kind. Similar documents are not available for either earlier or later periods. The figure shows a complex structure of the commercial business, which was the dominant economic function of Rostov. It defines the share of businesses in the fields of the service sector (6.4%), industry (13.8%) and crafts (0,7%). Export of grain and the related wholesale grain trade together amount to more than 22% of the

12. Samarina, *Rostov-on-Don in the period of reforms...*, p. 172.

13. Статистический обзор торгово-промышленной деятельности казачьего населения области Войска Донского за пятилетие с 1894 по 1898 гг. [Statistical review of commercial and industrial activities of the Cossack population of the Don Cossack Host Region in a five-year period from 1894 to 1898], (Novocherkassk: No Date).

turnover¹⁴, while the share of the trade of the resellers constituted 15.6%. The share of the reselling in the total commercial turnover of Rostov is larger than that of factory enterprises. In relation to this, we shall note that historic research in the Soviet period strongly emphasized industrial development of the town, but fully ignored statistical data that could permit comparison between commerce and industry by their turnovers, number of businesses and personnel. This was because V. I. Lenin had once referred to Rostov as an example of the “outstanding progress of industry in the South”.¹⁵

Figure 13.1 The economic sectors in Rostov-on-Don and their share in the overall turnover, 1898



Source: N. V. Samarina, “Ростов-на-Дону в пореформенный период: особенности экономического и социального развития” [Rostov-on-Don in the period of reforms: specificities of the economic and social development], *Ekonomicheskie, sotsialno-politicheskie, istoricheskie aspekty modernizatsii Rossii (XIX – nachalo XXI v.)*, (2013), p. 172.

Table 13.2 shows the share of the ethnic origin of entrepreneurial groups in the overall commercial capital of the town. The structure of

14. The Review does not account for the turnovers of large joint-stock companies which in fact operated during this time in Rostov, such as the Russian Society for Export Trade, Russian Society for Shipping and Trade, etc.

15. V. I. Lenin, *Полное собрание сочинений* [Full collected works], Vol. 3, p. 521.

the share by different entrepreneurial groups comes from the Statistical Review, and it is obvious that it was compiled this way purposefully at the request of the Cossack administration in order to demonstrate what a small part the Cossacks played in the commercial and industrial life of the region and how otherwise powerful (and hence dangerous) were foreign and Jewish entrepreneurs. Although the document is clearly biased, it is the only available source of information, which provides at least approximate figures for assessing the economic role of foreign capital in the Don Region in general and in Rostov in particular. It is possible that the compilers purposefully increased the figures of foreign capital, for in their calculations they omitted turnovers of joint-stock companies, among which there were several large Russian exporting firms. We could equally consider as rather lowered the share of “Russian non-military” capital;¹⁶ the calculations, however, did not take into account the turnovers of large Franco-Belgian joint-stock companies that had been operating in the town since the 1880s. On the basis on the above argument, we may conclude that table 13.3 provides approximate but quite accurate figures for the share of foreign capital in the overall commercial turnover of Rostov. Nearly 93% of the foreign firms’ capital was engaged in the trade sector. Out of this activity almost two-thirds (61%) was on grain trade at both the external and internal markets, while trade on other goods was about 15.7% of the turnover. The share of trade operations of other entrepreneurial groups was much smaller, though equally dominant.

Table 13.2 Entrepreneurial groups in the commercial capital turnover of Rostov, 1898

Groups of capital	Turnover (in thousand rubles)	Share, %
Russian non-military	88570,3	56,0
Foreign	43306,5	27,4
Jewish	20755,2	13,1
Cossack	5468	3,5
Total	158100	100

Source: Статистический обзор торгово-промышленной деятельности казачьего

16. In the tables that supplement the Review, the cell that is supposed to show the number and the turnover of the Russian export enterprises is left blank.

населения области Войска Донского за пятилетие с 1894 по 1898 гг. [Statistical review of commercial and industrial activities of the Cossack population of the Don Cossack Host Region in a five-year period from 1894 to 1898], (Novocherkassk: No Date), Appendix. Table II.

The share of capital involved in the Rostov economic sectors by the entrepreneurial group defined here as “Russian non-military” includes all Russian subjects except Cossacks and Jews. In the multiethnic business environment of Rostov, this included Russians, Armenians, naturalized Greeks, Germans, etc. who were interconnected with each other through both competition and partnership, the latter being most common in large-scale businesses.

Table 13.3 The involvement of the different entrepreneurial groups in Rostov’s economic sectors, 1898

Economic sector	Share (%) of firms			
	Russian non-military firms	Foreign firms	Jewish firms	Cossack firms
Trade	78,6	92,8	73,8	61,8
Industry	15,9	2,7	20,6	3,7
Infrastructure	4,8	4,5	3,1	34,4
Crafts	0,7	0,0	2,6	0,1

Source: *Статистический обзор торгово-промышленной деятельности казачьего населения области Войска Донского за пятилетие с 1894 по 1898 гг.* [Statistical review of commercial and industrial activities of the Cossack population of the Don Cossack Host Region in a five-year period from 1894 to 1898], (Novocherkassk: No Date), Appendix. Table II.

In the eyes of contemporaries, however, it was the Russian capital of the very plebeian origin that dominated in Rostov before the Revolution. In 1912, the Cossack publicist A. M. Grekov, who felt no sympathy for Rostov, wrote that “Rostov is a truly Russian town, but it appears American in its manner; it arose, got populated and developed on its own. It came to the Don... the same way as nowadays “Russian” craftsmen come to this town in their search of a better life. It came from the true “Russia”, and this gives Rostov a

right to be referred to as practically the only representative of the true Russian nation in our cosmopolitan South”.¹⁷

However, Rostov had a much smaller portion of Russian and Orthodox people among its population than did, for example, Taganrog and Azov. The data on the confessional composition of residents of Rostov from table 13.4 fails to provide a complete picture of their complex ethnic structure, but it covers a long period and does show a progressive increase in the size of population due to the continuous immigration over the entire period of imperial modernization. The decrease in the share of the Orthodox population (the old-believers included) paused on the eve of the World War I.

The increase in size of the Armenian community occurred because of the influx of people from the neighboring Nakhichevan, including large entrepreneurs, who moved their businesses to Rostov and built there expensive apartment houses, and local intellectuals. The presence of a large Jewish community owes to the fact that before 1888 Rostov, as a ouezd town of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav, fell among the towns of the Russian Empire, where Jews had been allowed to settle down. After Rostov had become a part of the Don Host Region, demographic processes in the Jewish community were determined solely by the natural population increase, and the share of Jews among the population of Rostov gradually declined.

Table 13.4 Confessional composition of residents of Rostov (share in %)

Confessions	1866	1895	1904	1910
Orthodox	93.3	77.4	76	78.6
Gregorian Armenians	0.3	4.1	5	6.2
Catholics	0.3	1.9	2	2.5
Protestants	0.2	0.8	0	1.2
Jews	6	12	13	9.6
Muslims	0	1.5	3	1.8
Other	0	0.5	1	0.1

Source: N. V. Samarina, “Ростов-на-Дону в пореформенный период: особенности

17. A. M. Grekov, *Приазовье и Дон. Очерки общественной и экономической жизни края* [The Azov Region and the Don. Essays in the social and economic life of the area], (Saint Petersburg: 1912), p. 106-107.

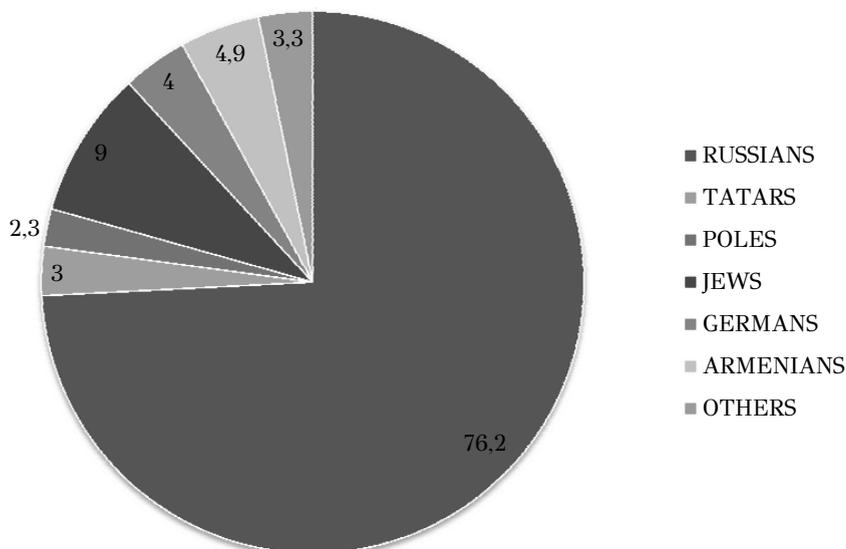
экономического и социального развития” [Rostov-on-Don in the period of reforms: specificities of the economic and social development], *Ekonomicheskie, sotsialno-politicheskie, istoricheskie aspekty modernizatsii Rossii (XIX – nachalo XXI v.)*, (2013), p. 171

Unfortunately, the data on ethnic composition of residents of the town is available for a short period only (see figure 13.2), but they can be compared against the data on their confessional composition in 1910. Here, the share of Russians (perhaps, including also quite numerous Ukrainians and few Belarusians¹⁸), is almost 2.5 % lower than that of the Orthodox believers. The difference probably can be explained by the fact that the Orthodox group also included people of other nationalities such as Greeks and Georgians, though the latter were rather poorly represented in the early 20th century Rostov. There were more ethnic Germans and Poles than Protestants and Catholics, more Tatars than Muslims, etc. These discrepancies apparently emerged from the use of different data from personal records kept by religious organizations, on the one hand, and the police office, on the other.¹⁹

In the second half of the 19th century considerable changes took place in the urban community of Rostov. Though the class structure of the community survived formally unchanged, it now only marginally determined social status of the townspeople. By the end of the century, Rostov turned from a city of petty bourgeoisie (over 64% of its population in 1862) into a city populated mostly by peasants (49% according to the Census of 1897). The latter figure is somewhat larger than the average share of peasants in Russian cities (45%), but still much smaller than those from St. Petersburg

18. In 1897 4.2% of residents of Rostov claimed their native language as Ukrainian, while 0.5% of them claimed Belorossians as the native tongue, see: *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897 г. XII. Область Войска Донского* [The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire, 1897. XII. Don Cosack Host] (Saint Petersburg: Типография Е. Пороховщикова, 1906), p. 478-481.

19. There have been suggestions that police understated the data on the population size of the town by 10-12%; see *Сборник статистических сведений по Ростову за 1913* [Collection of statistical data on Rostov in 1913], (Rostov: 1915), p. 23. These estimates, however, also seem questionable. It appears more reasonable that police officials, being interested in the increase of their personnel, would rather overstate the data than understate them.

Figure 13.2 Ethnic composition of population in Rostov in 1910 (in %)

Source: *Города России в 1910* [Towns of Russia in 1910], (Saint Petersburg: 1914), p. 562-563.

and Moscow (69-70% of peasants in 1897).²⁰ However, already in a decade Rostov reached the figures of the capital cities (72% of peasants in 1907).²¹ Such a large share of peasantry, indicates that, on the one hand, the large commercial city was developing as an urban centre during the period of reforms and, on the other hand, the analysis of the townspeople's class structure is an ineffective tool for characterizing the specifics of the development of population in the urban centers like Rostov of the late 19th – early 20th century.

Peasants were coming to Rostov from almost all guberniias of the European Russia. Thanks to them and their labour, the town was growing and developing entrepreneurship. They practiced a wide range of occupations as wageworkers of different skill levels, employees of commercial and other businesses, clerks, small and medium entrepreneurs in trade, transport, construction and

20. Mironov, *Social history of Russia...*, Vol. 1..., (Saint Petersburg: 2001), p. 341.

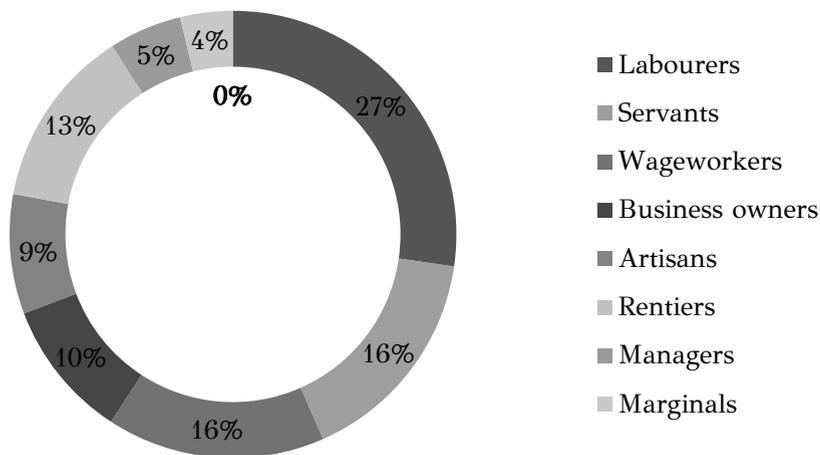
21. Samarina, *Rostov-on-Don in the period of reforms...*, p. 167.

the service sector. In Rostov, which for a long time developed under a weak bureaucratic control, there were opportunities for the most capable representatives of this working class of Russia to reach high social positions. N. E. Vrangeli, who had served as a representative of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company in Rostov more than 20 years and lived in the city until the end of the 19th century, recollected that a privileged class of wealthy people developed “who recently were just ordinary beggars but today look down at mere mortals from the heights of their greatness”.²²

In the 1890s a new pattern of social differentiation grew among the population of Rostov. People were grouped according to their occupation, source of income, level of education and professional skills. The figure below (figure 13.3) is drawn from the data published in the late 19th century by I. Kuznetsov.²³ Social groups, identified by I. Kuznetsov, require some explanation. The *wageworkers* (16%) are people with professional skills, who always were in demand in the labour market of Rostov. They are different from the *labourers* (27%), among whom unemployment was quite common. The Kuznetsov’s group of *rentiers* (13%) is rather large, for it includes people living on the income from their financial capitals and securities as well as owners of apartment houses. The group of *managers* comprises people who served in administrative bodies of various kinds and occupied “private and public positions”. The former included managers hired by large entrepreneurs, commercial banks, joint-stock companies, etc., while the latter consisted of members of the town council, mayors, etc.

22. N. E. Vrangeli, *Воспоминания. От крепостного права до большевиков* [Recollections. From the serfdom to the Bolsheviks], (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2003), p. 238.

23. I. A. Kuznetsov, *Прошлое Ростова. Очерки по истории города Ростова-на-Дону* [The past of Rostov. Essays in the history of the town of Rostov-on-Don], (Rostov-on-Don: 1898; Reprinted edition – Rostov-on-Don: GinGo, 2002). Documents used by the author were later lost.

Figure 13.3 Occupations of the residents of Rostov-on-Don, 1895

Source: N. V. Samarina, “Ростов-на-Дону в пореформенный период: особенности экономического и социального развития” [Rostov-on-Don in the period of reforms: specificities of the economic and social development], *Ekonomicheskie, sotsialno-politicheskie, istoricheskie aspekty modernizatsii Rossii (XIX – nachalo XXI v.)*, (2013), p. 175.

The structure of occupations in 1895 clearly indicates that about 27-30% of the residents of Rostov belonged to the emerging middle class. These included proprietors of commercial and industrial enterprises, rentiers, some managers and craftsmen, certain groups of wageworkers such as, for example, members of exchange cooperatives, salesmen from the large trading firms and expensive retail stores, who had patents for conducting their “own entrepreneurial activities” and were charged with a special tax. By the end of the 19th century, in Rostov there had also developed a polarized social class of marginal people without a definite occupation (near 4%). Together with labourers that lacked professional skills, who were paid low wages and were in some demand only seasonally, this social stratum amounted to 31% of the residents of Rostov, and their way of life differed drastically from that of the middle class described above. The emerging new social appearance of the townspeople was as contrasting as, if not more so than the old social stratification within the urban community, and this new contrast

developed along and became intertwined with the still persisting old social gradation and the growing multiethnic composition of the population.

On the title page of his paper prepared for the contest in the history of the town in 1886, the amateur historian G. Kh. Chalkhushiyani wrote down that “Writing the history of Rostov is writing the history of its trade”.²⁴ The paper won the contest and the author’s aphorism has not lost its meaning for the modern historic interpretations if one takes into account the continuing and absolute dominance of trade over other kinds of economic activities among the population of Rostov before the Revolution.

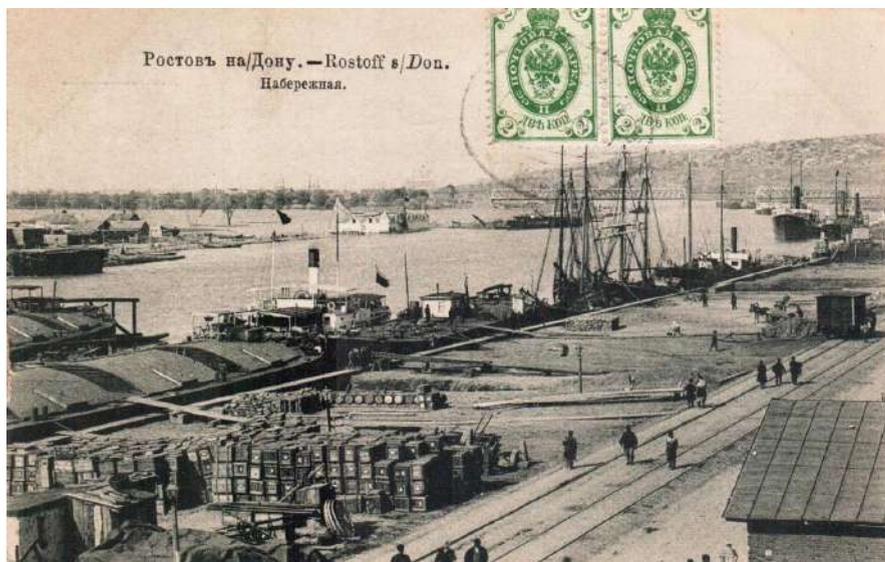
Export trade dominated in the economic life of the town throughout the entire period of imperial modernization. Success of export operations in many respects predetermined positive developments in other branches of the city’s economy, in its industry and transport infrastructure leading to an increase in the wages and the purchasing power of the residents. It was primarily the commodity exchange of Rostov opened in 1886 that provided the most favorable conditions for export. The Exchange Committee of Rostov consisted of the elected exporters from the town²⁵, and it petitioned before the municipal authorities for the good of, first of all, the exporters themselves. Finally, the port of Rostov that specialized almost exclusively in export trade provided jobs for thousands of people (see picture 13.2).

The available continuous statistical data on export from the port of Rostov covers the period from 1885 to 1913. The earlier records usually provide data on increases in export trade between two or three individual years only. The figure 13.4 is based on data from “Reviews of commercial and industrial activities of the Rostov market” published by the Exchange Committee of Rostov. The problem is that the data from these reports lumped together all operations by exporters from Rostov, Nakhichevan and Azov that had passed through the customs house of Rostov during the entire period of

24. Chalkhushyan, *History of Rostov...*, p. 31.

25. In the tsarist Russia, the exchange committees not merely managed the affairs of exchanges but also functioned as representatives of the large capital, initially of that of merchants only and later, in the early 20th century, of the large regional businesses.

Picture 13.2 Rostov-on-Don. Port



reporting. However, there were only few exporting firms in Nakhichevan and Azov. For example, the large exporting firms moved from Azov to Rostov in the 1880-1890s, while in Nakhichevan it appeared that other branches of the large South Russian trade business traditionally dominated.

The extreme fluctuations of the quantity of gross exports are indicative of the instability of the grain market. The grain trade (wheat, barley and rye) depended directly on the harvest of these crops in the southeast, the main region of commercial agriculture.²⁶ Figure 13.4 indicates that exports usually dropped in the years of bad harvest – 1886, 1892, 1898, 1901 and 1906. The decrease in 1911-1912 was determined by both the poor grain harvest in the

26. In the 1860-1890s, agriculture in the region developed under the influence the state of the world's agricultural market, and thus intensified the production of wheat to the prejudice of other crops and the cattle-breeding suffering from the consequences of the world agricultural crisis. In their attempt to overcome the crisis, the Russian exporters increased the gross export of grain and promoted further decline of prices for it.

Figure 13.4 Exports from Rostov in quantity and value



Source: *Обзор торгово-промышленной деятельности Ростовского на Дону рынка за 1907-1909 гг. со статистическими сведениями с 1885* [Review of the trading and industrial activities at the market of Rostov-on-Don in 1907-1909, with the statistical data from 1885], (Rostov: 1911), p. 150-155, 160-164; *Обзор торгово-промышленной деятельности Ростовского на Дону рынка за 1910* [Review of the trading and industrial activities at the market of Rostov-on-Don in 1910], (Rostov: 1911), p. 69; *Краткий обзор торгово-промышленной деятельности Ростовского на Дону рынка за 1912* [Brief review of the trading and industrial activities at the market of Rostov-on-Don in 1912], (Rostov: 1913), p. 44-45; *Сборник статистических сведений по Ростову за 1913* [Collection of statistical data on Rostov in 1913], (Rostov: 1915), p. 136-137.

southern steppes and the closing of the Mediterranean straits due to the Balkan wars. On the other hand, the data from the years of good harvest in the southeast (provided that no crop failure or famines happened in other regions of Russia) show increase in the exports in 1888, 1895, 1904 and 1910. In relation to this, the range of fluctuations in the amount of gross exports appears significant. For example, in 1886 the gross export equaled just above 21,600,000 poods, while in 1888 it increased to almost 65,000,000 poods. Similar differences are observed when we compare 1892 to 1895 and 1906 to 1909. In 1910, the gross export from Rostov reached its historic maximum of 107,300,000 poods.

The exports expressed in value in general correlate to those of quantity, but it lags behind the latter in the rate of increase during the entire period, with the exception of 1907-1909, when the two lines almost match each other. The graphic comparison of the two dimensions of exports from Rostov allows the identification of years of the sharp drops of prices for the exported grain. Judging from the figure, the prices stayed low during almost the entire decade of the 1890s, but the mismatch in the trajectories of lines in 1893-1894 appears particularly indicative. During these years, the quantity of exports soared, while the value of exports increased only slightly in 1893 only to fall again in 1894 to the level of the poor-harvest year of 1892. Data from government statistical publications permits to follow the trends. In 1890, the average price for a pood of exported goods was 74 kopecks. In 1892 it increased to 80 kopecks due to the embargo on the export grain in relation to the poor harvest of 1891. In 1893 it again decreased to 67,7 kopecks, and in 1894 it dropped to the historic minimum of 44 kopecks. Specialists of the time considered the prices in 1893-1894 an extraordinary phenomena caused by the customs wars between Russia and Germany.²⁷

The structure of exports from Rostov changed dramatically in the second half of the 19th century. In the 1860s, the export of iron ceased, while after the construction of the commercial port in Mariupol and the connecting railroad in the 1880s coal was no longer exported from Rostov.²⁸ Exports of wool noticeably decreased as well. By the early 1890s, the exports focused almost exclusively on grain (Appendix 13). During two decades before the World War I, the share of grain in the total exports comprised 95,5%, of which wheat (on average, 46,6%) clearly dominated over barley (29,7%) and rye (19,1%). In different years the share of one or another kind of grain changed, sometimes significantly, as a result of variability in their supplies to the market. This is particularly characteristic of the main exported grain (wheat), the share of which in the gross exports in 1893-1913 shows fluctuations that determined instability of trade in Rostov in general. In addition to grain, Rostov exported small amounts of wheat flour, sunflower and flax seeds, bran, seed

27. *Collection of statistical data on Rostov in 1913...*, p. 131.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 129-130.

husks, wool, coal, etc. Together, these commodities comprised on average 4,5% of the gross export during this period.

However, the most insightful exporters of Rostov realized that they could not hope for a safe future if they continued focusing almost entirely on the grain exports. In his 1909 note to the Council of Congresses of Industrialists and Traders of Russia about the importance for Russian products to be presented at the exhibition in Italy²⁹, the Deputy Chairman of the Exchange Committee of Rostov and one of the directors of the Russian Society for Export Trade A. Feldman wrote: "... I consider this participation necessary, for I am convinced that the Mediterranean markets are mostly important for the expansion of our exports, and I believe that our coalmines and ironworks must exert all their effort in order to demonstrate their strength and familiarize the Italian consumers with their products".³⁰ Unfortunately, only few traders, industrialists and officials in Russia realized the need to change the structure of Russian exports. Feldman belonged to the minority that stood up for structural changes in both the Russian exports and businesses in Rostov. His report to the aforementioned Council of Congresses written in May of 1910 reads: "There cannot be two different opinions concerning the need for Rostov to strive by all means to develop its industry, for its future cannot be secured by the mere trade. We can see it from the example of Odessa, which is rapidly losing its importance just because it was building its prosperity exclusively upon trade and did not develop any industry".³¹ It appears it was the situation in Odessa that forced Feldman, a native of Odessa and a capable graduate from the Department of Mathematics at the University of Novorossiia (Odessa), to make his choice of doing business in Rostov rather than in his native town.

Table 13.5 presents data about the share of different European courtiers in the exports from Rostov as well as the places of destination of the exported commodities. The four main importers of grain

29. Feldman also submitted a similar note to the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

30. Центральный государственный исторический архив [Central State Historical Archive, hereafter, TSGIA], fond 32, opis 1, delo 86, list. 45.

31. N. V. Samarina, *Донская буржуазия в период империализма. 1900-1914* [Bourgeoisies of the Don during the period of imperialism. 1900-1914], (Rostov: 1992), p. 70.

from Rostov before World War I included Germany (nearly 29% of the gross exports), England (25%), Italy (19,5%) and Holland (11,9%), which together consumed 85,1% of the exported grain. Nearly 73% of the exported wheat, the main article of export from Rostov, went to Italy (about 35%), England (25,6%) and France (12,2%). One fourth of the exported wheat was in almost equal parts distributed among Germany, Greece and Holland. Of the exported barley, 92,5% went to Germany (61,1%), England and Holland. These countries also imported 88,1% of rye, almost 93% of oilseeds and practically the entire amount of bran exported from Rostov.

Table 13.5 is based on data about the average exports in 1909-1912. The unexpected drop in the exports of Russian grain to the European countries in 1911-1912 was caused by a relatively poor harvest and the closing of the Mediterranean straits during the Balkan wars significantly changed the composition of the main importers of grain from Rostov.

Table 13.5 Share of countries in the export of commodities from Rostov in 1909-1912, (in %)

Country	Wheat	Barley	Rye	Seeds	Bran	Country's share in the gross exports
Germany	8.5	61.1	32.9	11.6	61.1	28.7
Great Britain	25.6	16.4	25.9	65.7	35.5	25.0
Italy	34.9	4.2	5.7	1.1	-	19.5
Holland	8.1	15.0	29.3	15.5	3.3	11.9
France	12.2	0.7	0.4	-	-	6.2
Greece	8.2	0.9	0.2	-	-	4.9
Other	2.5	3.3	5.6	6.1	0.1	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Сборник статистических сведений по Ростову за 1913* [Collection of statistical data on Rostov in 1913], (Rostov: 1915), p. 133.

The report of the urban prefect of Rostov indicates that in 1913 the exports to Germany and Italy came at the first place of the exports from Rostov (31% each). The share of France almost doubled (12%), while England and Holland were at the third place (9%

each). The remaining 8% of the exports were shared by exports to Belgium, Greece, Turkey, Austria, Spain and Denmark.³² The establishment of the branch of the Russian-Italian Chamber of Commerce in Rostov in 1913 attests to the rising importance of Italian importers as business partners.³³

What was peculiar about the foreign trade of Rostov is the rather small amount of the imported commodities. At the beginning of the 20th century it amounted to hundreds of thousands of poods reaching a historic maximum of 750,500,000 poods in 1905; however by 1906 it had dropped down to 208,000,000 poods.³⁴ Up until World War I, the volume of imports in Rostov did not exceed 240,000-250,000 poods. The imported goods included olives and olive oil, oysters, grape wines and currants. In the 1910s, natural flowers were also brought from the Mediterranean ports. According to a report by the Head of the port of Rostov, in the 1913 special meeting in Rostov it was noted that it was impossible to bring natural flowers from the coast of the Caucasus due to the poor infrastructure of the ports in Sochi, Sukhumi and Gudauta. Traders of Rostov extensively ordered flowers from France and Italy, as these partners guaranteed the delivery of shipments on a due date.³⁵

It is worth noting that merchandise imported to Russia through the Black Sea ports were further distributed across the southeast of the country from Rostov, where they commonly arrived to from Odessa and Nikolaev. Making notice of this in his report, the master of the port of Rostov believed that it would have been more reasonable and profitable to import foreign goods directly to the main center of its distribution, but only if an artificial channel reaching the wharfs of Rostov was built.³⁶ The idea of developing a deep-water sea port in Rostov by means of building an artificial canal had been occupying the minds of local exporters and the leaders of the Exchange Committee since the late 19th century. This was a repetitive

32. TSGIA, fond 1276, opis 17, delo 365, list 271.

33. *Priazovskiy krai*, (31 January 1914).

34. *Collection of statistical data on Rostov in 1913...*, p. 132; TSGIA, fond 23, opis 7, delo 111, list 5 verso.

35. TSGIA, fond 32, opis 1, delo 766, list 8.

36. *Вся Донская область и Северный Кавказ на 1912 год* [All region of the Don and the Northern Caucasus in 1912], (Rostov-on-Don: 1912), p. 40-43.

demand also by the Exchange Committee of Rostov, also found in the reports of the urban prefect of Rostov and the master of the port.

While some entrepreneurs from Rostov were soliciting the construction of a deep-sea canal to promote the economic development of Rostov port, others were establishing new enterprises for the distribution of imported goods to Rostov across the country to other Russian towns. Thus, in 1898, with the support of the Azov-Don Bank and the State Bank the Russian Company for Colonial Trade was formed with the share capital of 1,000,000 rubles. In addition to the main office in Rostov, it established branch offices in Odessa and at the Fair of Nizhniy Novgorod, along its own retail warehouses in Rostov, Nizhniy Novgorod, Kazan and St. Petersburg; it also established offices in the Ottoman Empire. The Company carried out wholesale and retail trade in various sorts of tea and coffee, spices and metal. The Company was headed for more than a decade by the managing director of the Rostov office of the State Bank Ivan Fedorovich Chernyavskiy. Just before the war, the position was taken over by the Head of the Azov-Don Bank Boris Abramovich Kamenka.³⁷

At the turn of the century Rostov ranked among the three most important export ports of the whole of Russia competing in also in exports and shipping with the deep-water ports of Odessa and Riga and demonstrating rapid increase in both. In 1903, the port had 48 registered steamships with the total displacement of 2,000,000 poods. The overall capacity of the grain-warehouses of the port reached 20,000,000 poods, and in 1900 the amount of cargoes that arrived in the port equaled 3,300,000 poods.³⁸ A decade later (1913), 78 steamships and 41 barges were registered in the port. The total cargo handling at the port during the season increased to 110-118 million poods. Though the introduction of a pneumatic elevator decreased the time of the unloading of wagons,³⁹ it also diminished the work of stevedores triggering conflicts between their cooperative associations and the exporters.⁴⁰ However, as one can judge from the 1913 report of the urban prefect of Rostov, even after

37. Samarina, *Bourgeoisies of the Don...*, p. 33, 70; Акционерно-паевые предприятия России [Joint-stock enterprises of Russia], (Saint Petersburg: 1914), p. 345-346.

38. TSGIA, fond 22, opis 5, delo 13, list 4-5.

39. TSGIA, fond 32, opis 1, delo 766, list 120-120 verso.

40. *Priazovskiy krai*, (13 November 1911).

the introduction of the private elevator 99% of the exported cargos were still handled manually. This involved up to 2,500 workers including stevedores, carters and seamstresses, who manufactured bags for grain, etc. During the season of export shipping, their workday lasted for 12 hours.⁴¹

Throughout the second half of the 19th – early 20th century the port of Rostov was developing its operations despite its unfavorable conditions. It remained situated far from the sea roadstead, which was conventionally referred to as “the road of Taganrog” because sometimes the Bay of Taganrog became so shallow that the deep-sea going steamships had to load grain cargoes of Rostov and Taganrog from the port of Mariupol, some 100 versts from the wharfs of Rostov.⁴² Grain packaged into bags was brought to the roadstead in shallow-draft vessels and barges capable of crossing the shallow-water mouth of the Don. The level of water in the river mouth depended on both the quality of operation of dredging machinery and the direction of winds. The southeasterly winds drove the waters out of the river arms towards the sea, while the westerly ones made it impossible for ships to pass through a movable part of the drawbridge built over the Don by the Vladikavkaz Railway in 1874.

In 1865, the exporters from Rostov compelled the imperial government to let them found the Committee for the Don Arms that took responsibility for dredging the river mouth and maintaining the tributaries in a navigable condition. Members of the Committee were elected among the exporters, the shipowners and the shipping companies, and the works in need were financed from annual contributions made by these groups of entrepreneurs. The examination made in the middle of the 1860s by Russian and English experts demonstrated that the only efficient means of maintaining navigation in the mouth of the Don was a regular cleaning of the riverbed by dredges and a strict observance of the order of the passage route of ships and barges through the navigable arm of the river.

Since that time, for half a century the Committee for the Don

41. TSGIA, fond 1276, opis 17, delo 356, list 271 verso.

42. *Ростово-Нахичеванский и Азовский порты. Главные данные и очерк развития* [The ports of Rostov-Nakhichevan and Azov. Main data and an essay of the development], (Rostov: 1911), p. 4.

Arms had been spending much effort and money to address its tasks. Dredges of the Committee diligently did their job in the mouth of the Don. Their fleet intermittently improved, and more advanced and productive machines were introduced. A pilot and a meteorological post were established. The former controlled observance to the established order of passing the river channel by ships and provided assistance to stranded boats. The latter controlled the level of water in the mouth and took the responsibility for promptly passing this information to the exporters and the shipowners in Rostov. In the 1860-1870s, the committee spent an average of 40,000 rubles per year for maintaining the river arms in a navigable state.⁴³

Through time, the expenses grew larger. In order to secure quick transmission of information, telegraph communication was established between the river arms and the port. In 1883, the young Aleksandr Feldman convinced the exporters from Rostov that the arms of the Don had to be further excavated to the depth of 5 to 12 m. His estimates were proved right and the cost of the transport of cargoes from Rostov to the sea roadstead decreased by three times.⁴⁴ Following the first successful experiments of the Russian inventor Aleksandr Popov in radio communication, the Committee for the Arms of the Don invited him to set up the first civilian radio station in the country. In 1898, it connected services located in the river mouth with the port.

In the port of Rostov sea-going ships were registered, many of which ran between the wharfs of Rostov and the sea roadstead, along with vessels that carried cargoes and passengers along the river. Only a few shipowners from Rostov practiced coastal transport of cargoes and passengers in the Sea of Azov. These included steamships of Aleksey Storozhenko, Elpidifor Paramonov and his nephews as well as the Novo-Azov Shipping Company (from 1907). The Azov – Black Sea Shipping Company that emerged in 1913 focused on the coastal transport in the Black Sea.⁴⁵ Sea transport of export cargoes were carried out by foreign ships that arrived to

43. Chalkhushyan, *History of Rostov...*, p. 193-197.

44. Samarina, *Bourgeoisies of the Don ...*, p. 68.

45. *Статистика акционерного дела в России. 1916 год* [Statistics of the joint-stock business in Russia. 1916], (Saint Petersburg: 1916), p.772, 1102.

Taganrog with ballast. According to the Exchange Committee of Rostov, usually about 50-60% (and in some years up to 80%) of these ships were flying the Greek flag. For this reason, when the Greek ships were prohibited from passing the straits during the period of Balkan wars in 1912, the freight rates for transportation of the exported commodities doubled in Rostov.⁴⁶

However, there also were exporting firms independent from foreign shipowners. For example, the Don Cossack merchant E. Paramonov from Rostov owned sea-going ships that carried goods to Mediterranean ports. Although through time his shipping business grew unprofitable, his descendants made use of the income from other activities of their shipping company to keep the independent exporting transportation going. In the beginning of the 20th century, the Russian Company for Export Trade was also established as an important shipping company involved in the grain exports.⁴⁷

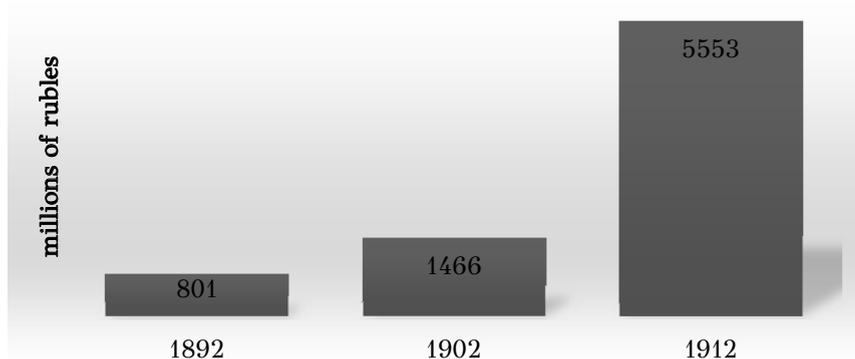
The emergence of banking establishments in Rostov was apparently connected to the development of external trade. In 1862, an office of the State Bank of Russia was established, and this fact alone was indicative of the important economic status the town.⁴⁸ The State Bank office in Rostov lent funds for the export trade and, to some extent, for the domestic wholesale commerce. In the 1860s, in the town financial institutions appeared such as the Municipal Public Bank and various Companies for mutual loans that focused primarily on serving the medium-scale commercial and industrial businesses. Offices and branches of the largest Russian private commercial banks appeared in Rostov in the second half of the 1880s – early 1890s.

46. *Brief review of the trading ...in 1912...*, p. 20.

47. Samarina, *Bourgeoisies of the Don ...*, p. 61; Сборник сведений о действующих в России акционерных обществах и товариществах на паях [Collection of data on the joint-stock and shared enterprises operating in Russia], (Saint Petersburg: 1911), p. 170.

48. Even in 1913 the State Bank of Russia had hundreds of branches in the provinces, but only 7 branch offices: in Warsaw, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Riga, Rostov, Tiflis and Kharkov, see: *Весь Ростов и Нахичевань-на-Дону на 1913 год* [All Rostov and Nakhichevan-on-Don in 1913], (Kharkov: 1913), p. 83.

Fig. 13.5 Overall turnover of the crediting institutions in Rostov (in millions of rubles)



Before the World War I, there 19 crediting establishments functioned in Rostov, including 7 companies for mutual loans. Figure 13.5 shows how their turnovers increased in two decades. In 1912, the top five banking institutions, according to their turnovers included offices of 1) the State Bank of Russia (16,5% of the overall turnover) and 2) the Volga-Kama Bank (14,3%) as well as 3) the Discount and Loan Bank of Petrograd (10,9%), 4) the Russian-Asian Bank (10,2%)⁴⁹ and 5) the Azov-Don Bank (9,2%).⁵⁰

In the late 19th century, commercial banks not only lent money for trading operations, but also started to take advantage of the commercial profit of the large exporting center. The Azov-Don Bank contributed a great deal to the emergence of the Russian Company for Export Trade. In the early 1890s, the bank office in Rostov was purchasing grain and exporting it abroad. In 1896, the bank promoted transformation of the trading house of Aleksandr Feldman and Egor Scaramanga that had existed in Rostov since 1892⁵¹ into a joint-stock company the administrative board of which stayed in

49. Since 1910, in Rostov there also functioned a daughter branch of the Russian-Asian Bank called the Merchants' Bank of Rostov, which had a turnover share of 6,1% (in 1912).

50. *Collection of statistical data on Rostov in 1913...*, p. 142-143.

51. *Торговые дома в России, товарищества полные и на вере* [Trading houses, partnerships and companies on trust in Russia], (Saint Petersburg: 1892), p. 30.

Rostov until 1911, though it was formally chaired by the head of the Azov-Don Bank. Co-owners of the trading house received their share holdings and took positions of executive directors of the new company and provided the necessary level of management required for the successful exporting trade.⁵² Some banks directly took part in the export grain from Rostov. These included the International Bank of Petersburg and the Agricultural and Industrial Bank of Rostov (the latter did so until 1907).⁵³ The investing activity of banks aiming at financing the industrial production and seeking control over the most important industrial businesses in the town became apparent here only during the period of industrial growth right before the World War I.

It was still in the middle of the 1860s that the governor-general of Novorossiia and Bessarabia Pavel Evstafievich Kotsebu argued that there was a need for strengthening the imperial administration in Rostov, for the town “which takes advantage of an almost direct communication with foreign lands... offers the full freedom for unpunished illegal actions and foreign influence”.⁵⁴ However, this issue remained unsolved for several decades⁵⁵, and the foreign trade of Rostov continued to develop. Over this time, there emerged offices of consular services in Rostov. In 1913 there were 19 consuls and vice-consuls.⁵⁶

In the beginning of the 20th century English and French ship-owners started filing claims to the Arbitration Board of the Exchange Committee of Rostov against local exporters. The conflicts were judged on the basis of the trading rules of Rostov-on-Don, the code of which was first published in 1901. From 1905 on, repre-

52. Dividend paid off to shareholders of the company in the 1900s was 8% on average, see: Указатель действующих в империи акционерных предприятий, паевых товариществ и торговых домов [Index of joint-stock enterprises, shared companies and trading houses operating in the empire], Vol. 1, (Saint Petersburg: 1905), p. 1401.

53. *Review of the trading ...*, p. 94-95; *Brief review of the trading ...*, p. 54-55

54. TSGIA, fond 1287, opis 38, delo 3783, list 10 verso.

55. In 1887 Rostov together with Nakhichevan, Taganrog and Azov was attached to the Don Host Region, and in 1904 there was established the Municipality of Rostov.

56. G. A. Chebotarev, *Ростов-Нахичевань-на-Дону. Справочная книжка. 1911-1912* [Rostov-Nakhichevan-on-Don. A reference book. 1911-1912], (Rostov-on-Don: 1911-1912), p. 135-136.

sentatives of the Exchange Committee of Rostov regularly took part in the Handelstag meetings and the conferences of grain-trading associations in London.⁵⁷ On the eve of the World War I, Rostov appeared an active and competent participant of the economic cooperation and market integration of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

APPENDIX 13

Share of grain in the gross exports from Rostov-on-Don, 1893-1913

Year	Share in gross export, %			Share of grain in gross exports, %
	Wheat	Rye	Barley	
1893	62,3	9,6	24,9	96,7
1894	43,5	17,1	34,6	95,2
1895	46,4	28,1	18,4	92,9
1896	53,6	21,9	12,7	88,2
1897	52,5	28,5	7,9	88,9
1898	47,7	30,5	17,4	95,6
1899	32,9	32,5	29,7	95,1
1900	37,8	35,8	19,4	93,0
1901	43,4	27,4	24,6	95,4
1902	41,2	23,9	31,4	96,6
1903	47,6	18,3	30,4	96,4
1904	46,3	17,5	32,9	96,7
1905	49,1	17,8	30,0	96,9
1906	47,3	9,6	38,6	95,5
1907	28,5	24,4	43,6	96,4
1908	25,1	16,4	55,8	97,4
1909	50,3	7,5	40,0	97,8
1910	59,5	4,4	34,4	98,3
1911	49,5	11,8	35,5	96,9
1912	59,4	9,5	28,9	97,8
1913	55,7	9,3	32,5	97,5
Average for the period	46,6	19,1	29,7	95,5

57. TSGIA, fond 23, opis 7, delo 181, list 13-14.

14.

Nahichevan-on-Don: Armenian merchants and their role in the commercial development of the Azov – Black Sea region

Sarkis Kazarov

The fertile and vast steppes of the Don River, a mild climate, and an advantageous geographic location of this southern region of Russia favored the development of trade. It also attracted Armenians, who had been deprived of their historic homeland in the course of continuous and repetitive invasions. The Rostov researcher, B. V. Chebotaryov, found out that they had lived in Azov as early as the middle of the eighteenth century and even had their own Church of John the Baptist.¹ P. Butkov estimated that during the conquest of Azov by the Don Cossacks in 1736, 63 Armenian and Greek merchant-families resided there.² In the earliest years of the formation of the town, the name of Armenian merchant, Grigoriy Eremeev, the son of Avedikov, appeared among its residents.³

In the second half of the 18th century, during the period between the first and the second Russo-Ottoman wars, Armenians and Greeks (in the regions of the Don, and Mariupol/Taganrog, respectively – see chapters 9, 10 and 11 of the present volume for more detail) from Crimea were resettled in the Azov. It seems that the Russian government initiated this resettlement in order to facilitate the economic development of the region and to develop the uninhabited southern lands with the help of enterprising Armenians and Greeks. Among the “starting opportunities,” which gave a rapid rise

1. B. V. Chebotaryov, “Приазовье во 2-й половине XVIII – начале XIX и его хозяйственное освоение” [The region of the Sea of Azov in the 2nd half of the 18th – early 19th century and its economic development], (Ph.D. thesis, Rostov-on-Don, 1965).

2. G. M. Butkov, *Материалы по истории Кавказа* [Materials on history of the Caucasus], Pt. 1, (Saint Petersburg: 1869), p. 189.

3. GARO, fond 518, opis 1, delo 89, p. 1.

to the economy of Nakhichevan, A. A. Skalkovskiy, mentioned three major factors: firstly, the enterprising character of Armenians; second, “the assets they had saved during their passage from Crimea,” and third and finally, their familiarity with customs of the East.⁴

This assessment will focus on the third factor. Living in Crimea for centuries, Armenians developed commercial ties and networks with many countries in both the East and the West. The extent of their commercial activities in Crimea was so considerable that as early as the 13th century foreigners referred to the southern coast of Crimea as “Maritime Armenia” (*Armenia Maritima*).⁵ There is no doubt that Russian authorities took this situation into account while resettling Armenians to the shores of Don River. This was conditioned by certain needs of the economic development of the Russian Empire, which will be the center of focus.

After Russia had taken over the trade route along the Volga and gained access to the Caspian Sea, it activated trade with eastern countries such as Persia and India. Armenians had a clear understanding of their role as a link between Russia and countries of the East. Outlining their importance in the development of trade with oriental countries, Armenians noted that, “in this business one needs knowledge of: various oriental languages and customs, connections with local merchants, and resoluteness in dangerous situations. Russian merchants, being ignorant of the first three conditions, have not yet ventured such an arduous trade. Armenians, familiar with this trade and ready to face any challenge, because they have been bringing Asiatic products to not only the population of Russia but, in even larger amounts, to foreigners, and paying, by the way, quite large dues.”⁶

In eighteenth-century the importance of Astrakhan was significantly raised, as Russia conducted practically all of its trade with the East from this Volgan-Caspian port. Imports from Asia supplied raw materials to some sectors of the Russian economy and satisfied the needs of the population (particularly those of the upper class)

4. Skalkovskiy, *Rostov-on-Don and trade ...*, p. 15.

5. F. Brun, *Черноморье* [Black Sea Region], Vol. II (Odessa: Tipografia Ulrikha, 1880), p. 139.

6. Cited after: V. B. Barkhudaryan, *История армянской колонии Новая Нахичевань. 1779-1917* [History of the Armenian colony of New Nakhichevan. 1779-1917] (Erevan: Ayastan, 1996), p. 282.

in goods that were either unavailable or scarce in Russia. Even after they had settled in the Don region, the former Crimean Armenian merchants maintained their commercial ties with Astrakhan and frequently visited it for commercial reasons. While still in Crimea, ancestors of the Don Armenians maintained trade relations with countries of the East by means of several port-cities including Astrakhan.⁷

This chapter brings out the main fields of business run by the Armenians of the Don from the late 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century, focusing on: trade, processing agricultural produce, and the light industry which turned Nakhichevan-on-Don into a significant trading and handicrafts center. Merchants played a prominent part in both the economic and public life of Nakhichevan-on-Don and were highly important for the incentive they ultimately gave to the impressive development of Rostov-on-Don in the last third of the 19th century. The first section of this chapter covers the development of the city of Nakhichevan-on-Don and the formation of a whole new city mainly with Armenian inhabitants in what was an empty space. The second section assesses the growth of handicrafts and manufacturers in the town, which partly furnished the trade of the small scale merchants. The third section covers the merchants of Nakhichevan that formed the most dynamic economic sector of the city. The Armenian merchants of Nakhichevan were engaged in regional, peripheral, and international trade. Some of its wealthiest merchants furnished the dynamism and the parallel growth of the neighboring city of Rostov with which Nakhichevan eventually merged to form the most dynamic and large city of the eastern coast of the Black Sea.

The New City of Nakhichevan by the Don

While in the region of Don, the Crimean Armenians earned among their traditional eastern trade partners a good and fair reputation which easily renewed the economic ties that had existed for centuries. New Nakhichevan had an important geographical comparative

7. А. Юкht “Восточная торговля России в 30-40-х годах XVIII века и роль в ней армянских купцов” [Oriental trade of Russia in the 1730-1740s and the role of Armenian merchants in it], *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Armyanskoy SSR*, 8 (1956), pp. 47-48.

advantage in relation to Crimea. It took much time and effort for delegates sent by the Crimean community of Armenians to find a place suitable for their settlement. In making their choice, they considered all possible aspects such as: presence of a river suitable for navigation and rich in fish, climatic conditions similar to those in Crimea, availability of sources of clean drinkable fresh water, and convenience of trade routes. In this respect, that interest is the explanation for the rapid success of Rostov provided by A. A. Skalkovsky, as he relates its growth to the neighboring Don Armenians in Nakhichevan. As he writes, “Besides, Rostov is an important and central point on major overland routes of transportation in Southern Russia... The roads go north through the village of Aksayskaya to Novocherkassk (and the lands of the Don in general), the guberniia of Voronezh, the guberniias in the Volga region, and other areas in the northeast of Russia. This is the oldest route from Moscow and other parts of Russia to the mouth of River Don. Northwest of the station of Chaltyr, toward Bakhmut and Ekaterinoslav, there ran trade and postal routes to Kharkov, and other industrial provinces of the empire. West of the same station (of Chaltyr), toward Taganrog, Mariupol, and Berdyansk, there ran roads to the guberniias of Kherson and Taurida. To the southeast there ran military and trade routes through the station of Makhinskaya to the guberniia of Stavropol, Georgia, Caucasian, and Trans-Caucasian provinces in general. Finally, to the south the roads ran through the settlements of Bataysk, Koysu and the ruins of Azov to the newly founded town of Yeisk and settlements of the Black Sea Cossack Host. Just the list of these routes of communication alone quite clearly demonstrate what a vast range of trade and official relations Rostov is involved in and how much it deserves all possible concerns and cares from the government.”⁸ We shall once again note that these merits of Rostov can be almost entirely mirrored to those of Nakhichevan.

The majority of approximately 20,000 Armenians who resettled from Crimea were urban dwellers. Over 6,000 people arrived from Kaffa (Theodosia), which was the center of trade, more than 3,000

8. Kh. A. Porksheyan, *О Нахичевани-на-Дону* [On Nakhichevan-on-Don] (Nalchik: 1960, p. 21) [manuscript].

people came from Karasubazar, and the rest came from Gezlov (Evpatoria), Bakhchisaray, and other towns. The total number of peasants did not exceed 2,000 people.⁹ The majority of the population consisted of residents of towns well acquainted with the general principles of conducting commerce. This, in turn, provided a necessary background for a successful business of Armenians in the lands of Don.

The Armenian community was characterized by quite a strong social and property differentiation. While some migrants arrived from Crimea on their own ships with large supplies of goods, some others, on the contrary, had left behind their scarce belongings in Crimea and came to the Don region barefoot and without clothes. But most importantly, it was a community of equal opportunities, in which everyone had a good chance according to his personal abilities to conduct business.

The beginning of Armenian business in the new land was directly associated with the foundation of the new town of Nakhichevan. The entrepreneurs started their businesses in early spring of 1780. Timber merchants brought large supplies of timber and Siberian iron from Tsaritsyn (see map 3.1 in chapter 3). Over the summer, the Crimean owners of brickyards, tileries, tanneries, distilleries, tallow processing, and candle works, reestablished their businesses in this new place. Tallow processing were the first businesses to begin their operation. The cattle-breeders that migrated from Crimea brought with them large herds of thoroughbred sheep, which produced more fat. Tallow making works allowed for soap-making, candle works, and tanneries, whereas along the shores of the Don emerged wool-washing works.

Some interesting accounts of the initial advancement of Armenian business were found in memoirs of both domestic and foreign travelers who visited Nakhichevan in the late 18th – early 19th century. For example, one of the first foreign visitors to Nakhichevan, the Frenchman C. de Barte, noted in 1785 that, “there is a large bazaar, as well as, a factory of Turkish silk and woolen cloths.”¹⁰

9. Ibid, p. 22.

10. Cited after: A. M. Bogdanyan, *Из прошлого. О переселении армян из Крыма на Дон* [From the past. On the resettlement of Armenians from Crimea to the Don] (Rostov-on-Don: Rostovskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, third edition, 2006), p. 24.

In 1793, the renowned naturalist and member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, Peter Simon Pallas, visited Nakhichevan on his journey through the South of Russia. His accounts, we believe, are indicative of a rather rapidly growing success of Armenian entrepreneurship in the Don region. He writes that, “industry of the Armenians is much more superior to that of the Russians and the Greek... they have factories, handicrafts, and trade establishments, and each man who loves his country has to wish for migration of this nation from the plains of the Aras river to Russia.”¹¹ Peter Pallas also talks about numerous shops where one could buy locally manufactured products, various produces and very good bread baked in Asian manner. Peter Pallas also noted that the, “sales of these products to the neighboring region are very large, therefore one finds very few craftsmen among the Cossacks,” and referred to the condition of the Armenian colony as “flourishing.”¹²

In *Letters about the Crimea, Odessa and the Sea of Azov* published 1810, an anonymous author makes a note of his stay in, “the purely Armenian town of Nakhichevan.” The author was very much impressed with the extremely fortunate location of the town, which at the time appeared richer and more elegant than Rostov. The anonymous reports discuss an extensive trade run by Armenians, and among the most impressive things mentioned were a large number of shops with various goods, in which large quantities of silk cloth and brassware were sold. Because no silk cloth was produced in Nakhichevan at the time, we can conclude that Armenian merchants well familiar with customs and languages of Asiatic peoples had been importing large quantities of these cloths from central Asia since the very foundation of the town.¹³

General I. A. Bezborodko, who visited Nakhichevan in 1812, left behind the following brief account of the town: “Went to Gostinny Dvor, the town is populous, the streets show a regular layout. The buildings look Armenian-like. They all look clean and in most cas-

11. *Записки Ростовского-на-Дону общества истории, древностей и природы* [Papers of the Rostov-on-Don society for history, antiquities and nature], Vol. II. (Rostov-on-Don: 1914), p. 203.

12. *Papers of the Rostov-on-Don society ...*, p. 205.

13. *Письма о Крыме, об Одессе и Азовском море* [Letters on Crimea, Odessa and the Sea of Azov] (Moscow: Tipografia N. S. Vsevolozhskogo, 1810), p. 220.

es are roofed with tiles. There are also some big houses made of stone. There are several stone-built churches, which appear rather huge! Gardens are numerous. Location of the town is excellent, on a hill by the Don River.”¹⁴

During his trip to the Caucasus in 1820, General N. N. Raevskiy visited Nakhichevan of which he related that the town, “is populous and quite rich in trade. Its mode of life, the fabric, and the dress all are peculiar.”¹⁵ In 1837, a wealthy nobleman, A. A. Demidov, accepted an invitation from residents of Nakhichevan and visited this Armenian town during his travel in the South of Russia. In his travel notes he mentioned that, “Nakhichevan is a town with a remarkably strange appearance, which, however, testifies to commercial activities carried out in it... The people of Nakhichevan are notable for their cleverness and craftiness in trade... Although Nakhichevan does not enjoy such a fortunate geographical location as does Rostov, residents of the former are much more gifted in trade deals than those of the latter. From the heart of the desert rarely visited by strangers they manage to maintain regular trade relations with their compatriots residing in Astrakhan, Leipzig and Asia Minor. To illustrate their craftiness, it would suffice to say that they have taken hold of the entire trade of the Don Basin. Due to its numerous bazaars, Nakhichevan has turned into an affluent storage place capable of, shall the need arise, flooding all neighboring fairs with goods. The clever Armenians of Nakhichevan have not also failed to buy up all the wine produced in the vineyards of the Don region; they deliver it to all over southern Russia and sell it as Château Lafite or Haut-Sauterne. Numerous shops in this small town show abundance of beautiful silk cloth and various oriental, primarily Persian goods. The streets are straight and, also the houses are kept very clean.”¹⁶ The assessment by A. A. Demidov is

14. *Бумаги, относящиеся до Отечественной войны 1812 г., собранные и изданные П. И. Щукиным* [Papers related to the Patriotic war of 1812, collected and published by P.I. Shchukin], Pt. 10 (Moscow: Типография А. И. Мамонтова, 1908), p. 8.

15. *Архив Раевских* [Archive of the Raevskiys], Vol. I (Saint Petersburg: 1908), p. 519-520.

16. *Путешествие в Южную Россию и Крым через Венгрию, Валахию и Молдавию, совершенное в 1837 году Анатолием Демидовым* [Travel to Southern Russia and Crimea through Hungary, Wallachia and Moldavia, made in 1837 by

valuable, for it was made by just a traveler, or a military, or even a scientist, but by a major businessman who had good knowledge of the principles of commerce of the time.

The above discussion indicates that various travelers and visitors to Nakhichevan in the late 18th – early 19th century were amazed by and, in a way, charmed with this beautiful oriental town which had suddenly emerged in the vast area of a then uninhabited region of the Don. Nakhichevan was taking its architectural shape. The commercial buildings in the town of Nakhichevan-on-Don initially emerged around the construction site of the Cathedral of Saint Gregory the Enlightener (picture 14.1). A roof-covered store was built there by A. Abramyan. Nearby, along the southern side of the cathedral, appeared kiosks of shoemakers and ateliers. On the west side there emerged a row of stalls built by G. Odabashyan for his godfather, D. Babasinyan, and for his own use. North of the cathedral there were stalls of fruit sellers. Between the northern entrance to the cathedral and the west corner erected confectioner's shops. In a separate area there was a line of stalls hosting jewelers, casters, blacksmiths, weavers, wallers, tinsmiths, watchmakers, and other craftsmen. According to estimates by G. Patkanyan, during the earliest period residents of the town practiced 72 types of crafts.¹⁷

The wealthiest and most fortunate merchants in the earliest period of Nakhichevan included the Kogbetlyan family and Pogos Arutyunovich Khatranyan, whose ships with cargoes reached as far as Constantinople, Greece, and Italy. While in Nakhichevan, some formerly less wealthy incomers from Crimea grew into big merchants. Among them, G. Patkanyan mentions M. Popovyan and P. Khatranov. G. Odabashyan, also grew into respectable merchants. But the acknowledged leader of merchants in Nakhichevan was Ivan Abramov. He possessed a huge trading building complex (a Passage), so called “Bezosten”, which extended to the southern limit of the central square and Georgievskaya Street and from the 19th Line to the 25th Line. Some merchants kept one or two stores in the Passage (see picture 14.2)

Anatoliy Demidov] (Moscow, Tipografia A. Semena, 1853), p. 308-310.

17. G. Patkanyan, *History of New Nakhichevan* (Nakhichevan-on-Don: 1917, p. 66) [in Armenian]

Picture 14.1 The Cathedral of Saint Gregory the Enlightener,
late 19th century



Picture 14.2 Georgievskaya Street, late 19th century



Handicrafts and Manufacture

Nakhichevan grew in craft working and manufacturing. According to the *Account of Towns and Uezds of the Guberniia of Azov* dated in 1789, in Nakhichevan there were “180 tile-roofed shops, nine factories, four saffian works, one paper coloring work, two Turkish silk works, two artisan houses, 337 storehouses of merchants and petty bourgeois, 23 wattle-and-daub houses, 1,688 wooden houses, 1,040 merchants, petty bourgeois and guild craftsmen.”¹⁸

After the foundation of the town, Nakhichevan enjoyed a very high rate of development. Trade along with the development of crafts and agriculture contributed to the growing success of the town. After resettlement into the Don Region, the Armenian merchants quickly reestablished their former commercial relations with their business partners on the coast of the Black Sea and in the Northern Caucasus, and at the same time organized their life and economy at a new place of their residence. It was due to their labour and skills that the town of Nakhichevan-on-Don and its vicinities soon turned into one of the most economically developed and flourishing area in the former empty lands and “wild fields”.

Since the time the town was founded, crafts represented one of the most important branches of economy in Nakhichevan. The 1822 statistical data shows that there were 2,940 guild craftsmen in the town. Crafts flourished in the town at least until the 1830s. However, not all kinds of crafts assumed similar importance. Their success depended, first of all, on the availability of raw materials and their demand among the population. For example, the supplies of large quantities of animal hides and furs facilitated the development of leather-based crafts such as shoemaking, furriery, and saddlery.

Iron brought from Rostov and Taganrog served as a raw material for blacksmiths. Goldsmiths also flourished, for the Armenian jewelers had learned how to make fine gold and silver jewelries while still in Crimea. In the work by P. P. Filevskiy, we find a noteworthy document which reads that when the heir of the

18. N. Murzakevich, “Описание городов и уездов Азовской губернии” [Description of towns and districts of the Province of Azov, *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*, 3 (1852), p. 297.

throne, Alexander Nikolaevich, visited an exhibition of handicrafts in Taganrog in 1837, he awarded his prize to a certain Khamiev, a silversmith from Nakhichevan.¹⁹ The overall number of craftsmen amounted to 23% of the entire Armenian community of the Don Region, which means that of for every three able-bodied persons, one worked as a craftsman.²⁰

Some researchers believe that it was in the 1860s that Nakhichevan reached the peak of its economic development and the economic progress of the town relied more upon the development of handicrafts and manufacture than on commerce (see picture 14.3).²¹ Contrarily, the story of the adjacent Rostov-on-Don is quite different (see chapter 13 of the present volume), and taking into consideration the importance of Armenians in trade, this still must be proved. The scale of the development of manufacturing, nevertheless, was quite significant as table 14.1 indicates:

Table 14.1 Manufacture of Nakhichevan, 1867, 1883, 1894

Units of Manufactured Goods	1867	1883	1894
Tallow processing works	11	14	12
Soap-making works	-	1	6
Tannery	1	1	2
Wax-making works	-	-	1
Fish factory	5	2	2
Brewery	-	-	1
Oil mill	-	-	2
Macaroni factory	1	1	2
Cotton factory	3	4	4
Foundry	-	1	2
Brickyard	9	11	10
Tile factory	1	3	2
Lime production facilities	-	1	3

19. Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog...*, p. 157.

20. Barkhudaryan, *History of the Armenian colony...*, p. 166.

21. V. Gavrilova and S. Dudnik, “Из истории армянских поселений на Дону” [On history of Armenian settlements on the Don], *Bogatyy kolodez. Istoriko-kraevedcheskiy almanakh*, 1 (1991), p. 321.

Units of Manufactured Goods	1867	1883	1894
Carriage house	-	-	2
Sawmill	-	-	1
Wool-washing factories	-	-	5
Felt factory	-	-	1
Tobacco factories	-	2	1
Distillery	-	1	-
Dutchware factory	-	2	-
Photographic shop	-	-	1
Total	31	47	67
Increase rate		51,6%	113%

Source: GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 716, list 5.

It is clear that during the last third of the 19th century, manufacturing establishments grew in number by 113%. A great deal of interesting information on business activities in Nakhichevan can be found in the *Journal of Inspection of Trade and Crafts* published in the town. According to the journal, in 1894, manufactured goods were traded in the local marketplace by: a petty bourgeois, Kh. M. Khazizov (yearly sales of 8,000 rubles and net annual income of 700 rubles); a merchant of the second guild, E. Egizarov; a petty bourgeois E. S. Magardychev; a petty bourgeois, S. M. Khazizov; merchants of the second guild O. S. Charykhov and L. M. Tusuzov (yearly sales of 8,800 rubles); and a resident of Armavir N. A. Baronov (yearly sales of 8,800 rubles and net annual income of 800 rubles).

Chandlery shops in the marketplace were run by: M. M. Terziev (yearly sales of 5,000 rubles and net annual income of 400 rubles); I. M. Safonov (yearly sales of 3,000 rubles and net annual income of 200 rubles); a petty bourgeois, F. Adzhmetov (yearly sales of 3,300 rubles); a petty bourgeois from Odessa, I. L. Shtark (yearly sales of 3,300 rubles); and a petty bourgeois from Nakhichevan, A. M. Kocharov (yearly sales of 5,500 rubles). There were also the chandlery shops of O. Khumashyan (yearly sales of 1,100 rubles) in Uspenskaya Street, and of a petty bourgeois, G. I. Korogluiev (yearly sales of 1,100 rubles) in Stepnaya Street.

Grocery shops in the marketplace and outside of it were run by: O. M.

Picture 14.3 Nakhichevan-on-Don, late 19th century



Anikov (yearly sales of 4,040 rubles); D. Ya. Ter-Manuelov (yearly sales of 8,800 rubles); K. A. Kozhevnikov (yearly sales of 7,700 rubles); and a merchant of the first guild, S. N. Kistov (yearly sales of 5,500 rubles).

Hardware shops were run by residents of Nakhichevan: N. I. Mkhitarov (yearly sales of 8,800 rubles); S. E. Tazekhulakhov (yearly sales of 5,500 rubles); N. Kh. Ivanov (yearly sales of 5,500 rubles); and L. M. Khazagerov (yearly sales of 7,700 rubles).

Butcher shops in the marketplace were owned by K.Kh. Marakarov and K.E. Minasov. Their yearly sales amounted to 3,000 rubles and fetched each of them up to 300 rubles of the net income per year. The tobacco shop was in possession of a well-known public figure, Collegiate Assessor, S.Kh. Arutyunov (yearly sales of 1,600 rubles).

There were taverns in Politseyskaya Square run by a retired non-commissioned officer, V. I. Tyakin (yearly sales of 2,200 rubles), and another on 1st Fyodorovskaya Street run by a petty bourgeois from Nakhichevan, K. K. Chilingirov, (yearly sales of 2,200 rubles). The restaurant was run by M. M. Kayalov (yearly sales of 3,300 rubles), and the only hotel in the town was kept by a petty

bourgeois from Nakhichevan, K. A. Khalpakhchiev (yearly sales of 2,200 rubles).

Silverware was traded by a merchant of the second guild, P. Kh. Kechedzhiev (yearly sales of 10,100 rubles). The wine-cellar in the marketplace was run by a merchant of the second guild, S. T. Chyorchopov. Shoes were traded by merchants from Nakhichevan, brothers Emmanuil and Grigoriy Bakhchisaraytsev (yearly sales of 10,100 rubles).

Cotton factories were in possession of merchants of the second guild from Nakhichevan I. M. Chaylakhov (yearly sales of 10,100 rubles) and B. N. Khodzhabaronov (yearly sales of 5,500 rubles). I. M. Chaylakhov built his factory in his own estate right next to the mansion in Sofievskaya Street. Forty people were employed at the factory. The wadding was sold both in Nakhichevan and in Taganrogskiy Avenue in Rostov.

Soap factories, employing 12 to 15 people, were owned by a merchant of the second guild, S. F. Ezekov, and a Hereditary Honorary Citizen, G. M. Popov, (yearly sales of 11,000 rubles). The brewery with 8 employees was run by an Austrian subject. I. I. Luks (yearly sales of 6,600 rubles).²²

Much more numerous were wool-washing facilities and brickyards. The brickyards were in possession of: Kh. E. Alaverdov; E. I. Baranova; E. M. Krasilnikov; I. G. Bubljev; D. N. Epifanov; G. F. Chaprastov; N. B. Chyorchopov; and a second guild merchant woman, Iskugi Khugasovna Pakhalova, who owned two brickyards. The overall annual turnover of her business amounted 10,000 rubles yielding her a total annual income of 1,000-1,500 rubles.

Throughout time, however, the Armenian entrepreneurs were losing their position in the wool-washing business, which was often taken over by Russians including: a petty bourgeois from Kishinev V. I. Malyukov; a merchant from Starocherkassk, N. M. Vinnikov; a merchant woman of the first guild from Rostov, P. I. Markina; and an Honorary Citizen, K. A. Melkonov. The wool-washing factory of K. A. Melkonov with nearly 300 employees was the largest of its kind and had an annual turnover of up to 100,000 rubles.²³

22. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 734, list 77.

23. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 734, lists 112-113.

It appears that in the 1890s the tallow processing business had not yet lost its significance. The tallow works were owned by: M. Kh. Bagdykov; E. P. Baev; M. S. Chyorchopov; K. Kh. Alakhanov; E. M. Krasilnikov; M. M. Popov; and K. M. Popov. Each of these works had an annual turnover of 20,000 rubles and fetched approximately 2,000 rubles of net annual income, employing 20-25 employees.²⁴

In the town and around it were 24 warehouses built out of brick for storing grain, which had an average annual turnover of 20,000 rubles and fetched on average 1,500 rubles of income a year. On the banks of the Don was the largest steam mill of the region, owned jointly by the Trading House of the Magdasievs and Balabanovs, which employed up to 30 workers (yearly sales of 108,000 rubles). The kerosene storehouse across the river was owned by the merchant K. K. Anpetkov.

There were some singular enterprises that apparently were enough to meet the demands of population. These included: the tannery of V. S. Akhchiev (yearly sales of 7,700 rubles); the alabaster works of I. A. Korotkov (yearly sales of 1,100 rubles), the glue-boiling factory of a second-guild merchant from Nakhichevan, I. I. Shcherikanov (yearly sales of 8,800 rubles); the intestine-processing factory of a merchant from Moscow, K. K. Ernst (yearly sales of 4,400 rubles), the dye-producing factory of Kh. A. Chaykchiyants (yearly sales of 1,100 rubles); the facility for “manufacture of cigarette papers” of a well-known banker, M. Ya. Iskidarov (yearly sales of 2,200 rubles); and the steam sawmill on the shore of the Don owned by a first-guild merchant, S. N. Kistov (yearly sales of 10,100 rubles). Additionally, some businesses were owned only by foreign subjects. For example, the Italian subject, Silvester Tonitti, owned the marble manufactory, while bookselling was in the hands of an Ottoman subject, A. K. Bagdasarov.²⁵

We estimate that in 1894, Nakhichevan hosted a total of about 380 commercial and manufacturing establishments, the vast majority of which, however, were comprised of “general shops” that had an average annual turnover of around 2,000 rubles and fetched an annual income of only 200 rubles. Throughout time, the overall number of

24. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 734, pp. 186-187.

25. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 734, pp. 105, 114, 152.

craftsmen began to gradually decrease, and at the turn of the 20th century, the situation changed dramatically. Supporting this notion, E. O. Shakh-Aziz, noted in bitterness that, “The old crafts such as horse-shoeing, blacksmithing, manufacturing of arms, felting, hat-making, timbering, tailoring, gold- and silver-smithing, tinning, tile manufacturing, baking, saddle-making, and others have either come to an end or are about to do so, and this allows one to say, in confidence, that at present Nakhichevan has neither crafts nor craftsmen.”²⁶

This opinion finds support in archival documents. For example, in the list of 68 craftsman’s shops that were in operation in Nakhichevan-on-Don in 1907, only thirteen were owned by Armenian craftsmen. Among them there was listed: three shops of woodworkers (owned by D. T. Khayvarov, I. M. Dabakhov, and Khasabov); two of shoemakers (Kh. V. Teprugov and A. V. Teprugov); two of coach-workers (S. D. Magakov and L. S. Magakov); one of each kind of shop owned by the manufacturers of ink (P. S. Tashchiev); silver-works (P. Kh. Kechedzhiev); samovar polish (M. K. Mieserov); combs (K. I. Chardarov); and a blacksmith (K. Kh. Tashchiev).²⁷ The decline in the manufacturing of crafts in Nakhichevan was clearly caused by industrial progress of the neighboring towns.

Agriculture and Fishing

During their earliest period of residence in the Don Region, the Armenians’ economy took advantage of cattle-breeding, which they had successfully practiced when still in Crimea. It continued to make an appreciable contribution to the local economy during the first two or three decades of their residence here. It is known that the cattle-breeders migrating from Crimea brought with them multiple flocks of thoroughbred sheep, which produced large quantities of good-quality fat. In addition to this, they were purchased various strains of cattle from the population of the Northern Caucasus for reselling elsewhere. Relating to the scale of this trade, G. Patkanyan

26. E. O. Shakh-Aziz, *Nor Nakhichevan and residents of New Nakhichevan* (Tiflis, 1903, p. 141) [in Armenian]

27. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 1318, list 44.

notes that entire herds were purchased from Kalmuks, Tatars, and Nogais, and then driven to Poland. “Sheep were purchased by flocks, while oxen, cows, and calves [were bought] by herds. And not just for meat, but also for their wool, fat, and hides. These all were articles for purchase and sale.”²⁸ Patkanyan’s words are echoed by A. Skalkovskiy who related that many thousands of horned cattle were driven from southern Russia to Germany: “Greeks and Armenians were selling it in Balta, Berdichev, and twenty other points of the present-day western Russia.”²⁹ Some Armenian families kept cattle not only in the countryside, but also in the town of Nakhichevan itself.

The cattle that were brought into the town were slaughtered at the local slaughterhouses. For slaughtering the sheep in the eastern outskirts of Nakhichevan, from the Don River and along Kizitirinovskaya ravine, there were around twenty slaughterhouses with rendering and cooping works. In Armenian language, they are called *salkhan*. Their facilities were so primitive that they could hardly be referred to as factories. The available description of one of these works reads: “Rendering factory of Immanuel Gavrilovich Popov, with a house, three drying houses, a tile-roofed house and other buildings roofed with boards and reed.”³⁰ The season of *salkhans* opened on the first of October with a grand ceremony accompanied by playing a *daul-zurna* and performing traditional rituals.³¹ In the *salkhans* the edible fat from sheep tails and backs was rendered down in huge pots separately from fat of internal organs and other parts of a sheep’s carcass that were considered non-edible, and used for manufacturing candles and boiling soap. Large amounts of sheep grease, salted meat in barrels, hides, and wool were taken to Constantinople and many European towns. After the fatless sheep carcasses had been butchered, their meat was sold in large quantities to townspeople and villagers who used it for preparation of various meat foods by the same non-cooking methods as their Crimean ancestors had used it in the past. Later throughout time, the merchants of Nakhichevan spread the practice of *salkhans*

28. Patkanyan, *History of New Nakhichevan...*, p. 85.

29. Skalkovskiy, *Essay in statistical description...*, p. 338.

30. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 175, list 2.

31. A. U. Malsakhyan, “Салханы. Из прошлого города Нахичевани-на-Дону” [Salkhans. From the past of the town of Nakhichevan-on-Don], *Nor dar*, 1 (2001).

and their methods of non-cooking preparation of meat products all over the regions of Stavropol and Kuban, as well as, to other areas.

The availability of raw materials facilitated the development of the tanning industry. The high quality of leather products manufactured by Armenians had been well known since they still lived in Crimea. However, by the middle of the 19th century the manufacturers of leather goods had abruptly dropped in volume, and in 1861 in Nakhichevan-on-Don, only one tannery functioned processing around 12,500 hides a year.³² In the second half of the 19th century, many entrepreneurs (at their own risk) started tanneries, went bankrupt, and closed their works under the pressure of competition. The same fate apparently befell the factory of G. Ya. Oberov which was known for the good quality of its saddlery, rawhides, and laces. There is information on operation of the factory in the 1880s, but no mention of it is found by the beginning of the 20th century.³³ It is known that in 1903 in Nakhichevan, there were two tanneries which together produced goods totaling a value of only 20,000 rubles. The reasons for the decrease in tanning production in Nakhichevan lay in the fact that this was a small-scale, handicraft production and there was growing competition from Moscow where there were large factories with advanced industrial technology.³⁴

The merchants of Nakhichevan exported sheepskins to other countries. For example, S. Kartadzhan, notes in his work that during the 1860s, a merchant from Nakhichevan by the name of A. Boyadzhan and his cargo of sheepskins were lost in a shipwreck on the way from Rostov-on-Don to Varna in Bulgaria.³⁵

The earliest age of Nakhichevan fishing also played a particular part in economic life of the town. Suggesting several reasons which had made the Crimean immigrants choose a specific place for founding the town, R. Patkanyan underlined the presence of a full-flowing

32. *Экономическое состояние городских поселений Европейской России в 1861-1862 гг.* [Economic state of urban settlements of the European Russia in 1861-1862], Pt. I (Saint Petersburg: 1863), p. 38.

33. *Donskaya pchela*, 31 (1881).

34. Barkhudaryan, *History of the Armenian colony...*, p. 201.

35. S. Kantardzhyan, *Разные судьбы. Хроника жизни одной семьи* [Different fates. The chronicle of family life] (Erevan: 2006), p. 6.

river that was rich in fish.³⁶ It was also not incidental that among the privileges granted to immigrants by Empress Catherine II provided, “to the residents of that land one-fourth of the Don River for fishing.” It was during the earliest period of the colony that fishing played a significant part in the local economy. The available data indicates that in 1840 in the okrug of Nakhichevan, there were: fifteen fish factories, 355 fishermen, and 30 seines.³⁷ That same year in the okrug of Nakhichevan, fishermen procured: 430 poods of sturgeons; 390 poods of belugas; 425 poods of starred sturgeons; 210 poods of sheatfish; 850 poods of carps; 255 sterlets; 27,500 rudd; 580,000 herrings; and 2,050,000 sea roaches, the total value of which amounted to 96,000 silver rubles.³⁸ The statistical table by V. B. Barkhudaryan that contains data on the development of the procurement of different kinds of fish demonstrates that from 1810 to 1858 the number of procured types of fish steadily increased. In 1858, which was the most productive year in fishing, there were four fish factories which procured: 3,000 sterlets; 3,250 sturgeons; and 3,000 carps, amounting to an overall value of fish sales that year of 8,600 rubles.³⁹ A significant portion of black caviar was exported from Tagangrog, arriving from Astrakhan.⁴⁰ According to A. A. Skalkovskiy, among the five main exporters of fish and caviar to other countries, there were two merchants from Nakhichevan, N. Gogoev and K. Sagirov.⁴¹ Moreover, the procured fish also served as a raw material for making some other products such as fish oil and glue.

Merchants and Trading Networks

Merchants played a prominent part in both the economic and public life of Nakhichevan-on-Don. This happened because Nakhichevan emerged as primarily a trading and handicrafts center. (Picture 14.4)

36. R. G. Patkanyan, “History of the foundation of New Nakhichevan”, in R.G. Patkanyan, *Collected works*, Vol. 5 (Erevan, 1968, p. 259) [in Armenian].

37. Skalkovskiy, *Essay in statistical description ...*, p. 419.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 420.

39. Barkhudaryan, *History of the Armenian colony...*, p. 192.

40. G. Nebolsin, *Статистическое обозрениа внешней торговли в России* [Statistical review of the foreign trade in Russia], Pt. I (Saint Petersburg: 1850), p. 261.

41. Skalkovskiy, *Rostov-on-Don and trade ...*, p. 73.

Thus, the very well-being of the town and its residents depended on merchants. Many people, including: petty bourgeois, rural settlers, and even intellectuals (such as teachers, lawyers, and journalists), tried to carry out trade in Nakhichevan, but only a few succeeded to become large-scale merchants. The data from the “List of Names of Merchants of Nakhichevan in 1838” indicates that in the town there were 99 merchants of the second and the third guilds, of which only A. P. Khalibov had the rank of the second-guild merchant, while all of the others were merchants of the third guild.⁴² Of the latter, fifteen merchants carried out retail trade, which apparently implied selling a variety of goods, but most of them owned just one shop in which they were selling textiles. Other commodities traded by merchants of Nakhichevan included groceries, small wares, and general goods. Only a few traded flour and cloth, or owned wine and liquor “cellars”. Three merchants dealt in “herds of horses” (M. A. Murzabar-onov, A. S. Tamantsev, and R. K. Chorchyopov).

The merchants of Nakhichevan also functioned as the main vehicle for all Armenian business in the Don Region and its connection with the larger periphery of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, as well as, its connections to the East and West. Their commercial activities demonstrated boldness, the ability to run risks, and an eye for innovation in business practices. For centuries, Armenians were known as major Eurasian traders involved in international business across borders.⁴³ They had also built a name for trust and reliability in business. Settled in Nakhichevan-on-Don, Armenian merchants were able to expand their trading and economic activities throughout all of southern Russia. They immediately realized the importance of the port of Taganrog and began making use of it to export iron, grain, and wool to the Ottoman Empire. All large companies from Nakhichevan had representative offices there. The Gayrabetovs Brothers owned wharfs, warehouses, and grain silos in Taganrog from which they exported their commodities abroad.⁴⁴

42. GARO, fond 519, opis 1, delo 533, lists 4-9.

43. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, “Global Trading Ambitions in Diaspora: the Armenians and Their Eurasian Silk Trade, 1530-1750”, in Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis and Ioanna Minoglou (eds), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 27-50.

44. Porksheyan, *On Nakhichevan-on-Don ...*, p. 25.

Picture 14.4 Commercial club of the Nakhichevan-on-Don,
late 19th century



As Armenians were traditionally the main traders of the area from Iran and the Caspian Region, they settled in various parts of Caucasus quite early on. The merchants from Nakhichevan established close commercial ties with the Armenian merchants from Circassia and rapidly advanced their trade on a large scale. In 1777, amidst Circassian settlements along the line of fortifications between Azov and Mozdok, the Fortress of Georgievsk was built and was later inhabited by a group Armenian merchants from Nakhichevan arriving to set up their trade businesses. In a very short time they built Gostiny Dvor, trade stalls, a church, and a school. Georgievsk grew into a large trading center in the Northern Caucasus. At the local fairs one could see not only Nakhichevan merchants, but also those from Kharkov, Moscow, and other towns. Little by little the fairs grew popular both in Russia and throughout all of Europe. There, one could find: herds of horses; droves of cattle; flocks of sheep; large amounts of wool; sheepskins; hides; fox and marten fur; honey; wax; and many other things. The herds of horses purchased at the fairs, a majority of the time by the army, were brought by merchants from Nakhichevan, driven from Georgievsk to Po-

land. The flocks of sheep were directed for the tallow processing works, while cattle were taken to Moscow and other large towns. The fairs also featured a huge variety of manufactured goods. The traveler Minas Bzhishkyan observed 80 merchant shops from Nakhichevan in Georgievsk in 1817.⁴⁵

In 1777 the Fortress of Stavropol, part of the Caucasus fortification line, gained the status of a town. The authorities of the town, well aware of commercial merits of the Don Armenians, invited them to settle in the recently founded and poorly developed Stavropol. From 1808-1809, 50 Armenian families from Nakhichevan moved to reside in Stavropol.⁴⁶ Their arrival infused a new blood of entrepreneurship into the economic life of the town. As Kh. Porksheyan noted, "...having noticed the fruitful trade of the Armenian merchants of Georgievsk, the government invited 50 Armenian families of New Nakhichevan to come live in Stavropol. ... the newcomers from Nakhichevan set up there their trading stalls and began trading in a variety of goods."⁴⁷ The Archbishop, Sarkis Dzhalalyants, who visited Stavropol in the middle of the 19th century, related that among the predominantly Russian population of the town, there were 80 Armenian merchants that were natives of Nakhichevan (picture 14.5).⁴⁸ In a short time, by the walls of the fortress, the Armenian population of the town had built a separate residential quarter which became known as "the Armenian Street". By 1810, this quarter had become the main emporium of Stavropol. The majority of merchants residing in Stavropol were natives of Nakhichevan. The turnover of the trade carried out by Armenian merchants amounted to 2,680,600 rubles. The merchants who played the most prominent role in the development of the entire region of Stavropol included: A. M. Popov; P. S. Erganzhiev; P. I. Zarifyan; K. Kh. Zarifyan; F. K. Popov; A. E. Amiraev; and the families of Tikidzhievs and Pakhalovs, all of which were Armenians native of Nakhichevan.

In 1889, a first-guild merchant, Ivan Karpovich Davydov, and his brother, a second-guild merchant, Nikolay Karpovich Davydov, opened in Armavir the "Trading House of the Davydovs Brothers" with an

45. M. Bzhishkyan, *Travel to Poland* (Venice: 1830), p. 405 [in Armenian].

46. Кавказский календарь за 1855 год [Calendar of the Caucasus for 1855] (Tbilisi: Tipografia Namestnika Kavkazskogo), pp. 473-477

47. Porksheyan, *On Nakhichevan-on-Don ...*, p. 27

48. S. Dzhalalyants, *Travel to the Great Armenia* (Tbilisi: 1858, p. 452) [in Armenian]

authorized capital of 60,000 rubles. Their business had such a success that in a few years (in 1894) they invited their brother to join, a second-guild merchant from Nakhichevan, Grigoriy Karpovich Davydov.⁴⁹

Picture 14.5 View of Stavropol, late 19th century



On the proposal of the governor-general of the Caucasus, Prince M. S. Vorontsov, the Tsar by his Decree of March 6, 1848 established Yeisk, a new port and a town on the Azov Sea. The merchants from Nakhichevan, indicating as always a fondness for flexibility and adjustability, immediately reacted to the new opportunities the new port-city offered. The merchants of Nakhivhevan who moved to conduct their trade from Yeisk included: K. A. Attarov; V. K. Merzhanov; S. Kh. Miliozov; G. V. Sariev; R. V. Babakhov; M. N. Melkonov; K. S. Polkovnikov; S. A. Tamazaev; S. G. Hodzhaev; G. P. Shiltov and N. Magdesiev. In Yeisk there was an entire street where mostly merchants from Nakhichevan settled, which became known as “Nakhichevanskaya Street”.⁵⁰

49. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 724, list 2.

50. *Кубанская справочная книжка за 1894 год* [Reference book of the Kuban Region for 1894] (Ekaterinodar: Kubanskiy oblastnoy statisticheskiy komitet, 1894), pp. 14-15.

Armenians from Nakhichevan also carried out much of their trade in Ekaterinodar. In the second half of the 19th century the following merchants traded there: M. S. Khasabov; M. S. Kozhevnikov; M. S. Dabakhov; S. H. Galadzhev and M. A. Shakhnarov. On Krasnaya Street in Ekaterinodr (see picture 14.6) the majority of commercial establishments belonged to merchants from Nakhichevan. In the late 19th century these included: a bookstore of P. T. Galladzhnyants; shops of manufactured goods owned by B. Shorshorov, I. Tokhov, and N. Khaspekov; small ware shops of Kh. Kapikov, A. Chernov, Shaposhnikov, and Gench-Ogluev; grocery stores of Khodzhabaronov and K. Popov; a tableware shop of A. Khazizov; a wine warehouse of S. Arutyunov and shoe shops of G. Bakhchisaraytsev. Hotels in Ekaterinodar were owned by M. Kechedzhiev and E. Alaverdov, and there was also a candy factory owned by Khodzhabaronov.⁵¹

Picture 14.6 Ekaterinodar. Krasnaya Street, late 19th century



The Armenians of the Don also expanded to the town of Maykop. In this town a merchant from Nakhichevan, named Karabetov, owned a tobacco factory, as well as, furnished apartments,

51. *Ibid*, pp. 8-10.

which he leased for a price of 50 kopecks to 2 rubles per day.⁵² Large wholesale and retail companies run by the Armenians of Nakhichevan. Their networks expanded into: Voronezh; Bakhmut; Oryol; Kiev; Kharkov; Melitopol; and other towns. Merchants from Nakhichevan N. Gogoev and A. Khalibov supplied coal for the Russian fleet on the Caspian Sea.⁵³

The second half of the 19th century witnessed a swift appearance of various trading houses and companies in both the fields of trade and industry, indicating an increase in the scale of business activities. This included the trading house “Khristofor Kirillovich Sagirov and Sons” founded by a first-guild merchant, Kh. K. Sagirov, for “... trading in fish, caviar, and other goods, as well as, exploiting fisheries and steamship lines on the Volga both in Nakhichevan and in the towns of Astrakhan, Tsaritsyn, Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog, Odessa and other towns of the Russian Empire,” with the capital of 120,000 rubles. By that time the company had owned two steamships named *Chernomorets* and *Taganrog*, and also had plans for building new ships.⁵⁴

Other trading houses and companies reputed in the Don Region and in southern Russia in general included: “S. N. Kistov and Sons” with a capital of 120,000 rubles;⁵⁵ “Egor Khristoforovich Alakhanov with Son”, which ran the production of macaroni, and also owned a roller mill, a steam-operated bakery, and a tallow processing work;⁵⁶ “R. P. Karabetov and Co.” with a capital of 16,000 rubles, which manufactured tobacco products;⁵⁷ “Baron Batyrov with Sons” with an authorized capital of 60,000 rubles;⁵⁸ “The Don Wine-Making and Trade in Russian and Foreign Wines of N.N. Adzhemov” (1853), which had three magazines in Nakhichevan and one in Rostov; “K. Khazizov and Ya. Chernov” with a capital of 20,000 rubles, and traded textiles in the towns of Nakhichevan,

52. Ibid, pp. 12-13.

53. S. S. Kazarov, “Н. X. Гогоев – нахичеванский купец и благотворитель” [N. Kh. Gogoev, a merchant and a philanthropist from Nakhichevan], *Soyuz-info. Obshchestvenno-politicheskiy zhurnal*, 1 (2000), p. 14.

54. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 447, lists 1-3.

55. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 1240, list 14.

56. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 1811, list 83.

57. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 476, list 1.

58. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 899, list 1.

Rostov-on-Don, and Novocherkassk;⁵⁹ and “P.Kh. Kechedzhiev with Sons” with a capital of 82,000 rubles, and traded primarily in “silverware”.⁶⁰ In 1904 in Nakhichevan, the trading house “Kh. E. Titrov with Sons” with a capital of 40,000 rubles, focused mainly on wine-making and trade in Russian and foreign wines and hard liquors.⁶¹ In 1900, there was the Macaroni Factory Company with a capital of 40,000 rubles, co-founded by the merchant G. S. Nalbandov and the petty bourgeois S. M. Kastanaev. These businessmen were buying selected wheat from the nearby Armenian villages to supply both the town and the entire region with high-quality macaroni foods.⁶² In 1909, the petty bourgeois from Nakhichevan, N. M. Kapikov and Kh. A. Kovalyov, founded “The Don Soap Factory” company with an authorized capital of 16,000 rubles.⁶³

In the late 19th – early 20th centuries, appeared the Armenian trading houses and commercial companies, as well, which conducted their business in both Nakhichevan and the neighboring Rostov-on-Don. They later moved to Rostov for good. These included, for example, the trading house “S. Gench-Ogluev and I. Shaposhnikov”. The examples of the merchants Stepan Foydorovich Gench-Ogluev and Ivan Shaposhnikov and their development into a large trading house was quite revealing. They were both born in the 1840s and both started their careers at a young age as employees in wholesale companies dealing in small ware. In 1875, they established their own trading house, “S. Gench-Ogluev and I. Shaposhnikov”, a company that was also focused on the wholesale of small ware. Their warehouses contained a plethora of goods including: white and black satin; silk neckties; fillets; garters; stockings; gloves; underwear; and lace. There was also a wide variety of: French perfumery and cosmetic goods; buttons; waistbands; hand mirrors; fans; and many other articles. The customers noted the high quality of articles sold by S. Gench-Ogluev and I. Shaposhnikov. Their commodities were sold in the regions of: the Don; the Kuban and Terek; the guberniias of Stavropol and Kharkov; in the

59. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 722, list 3.

60. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 1240, list 2.

61. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 1240, list 12.

62. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 1240, list 8.

63. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 1240, list 27.

south of the guberniia of Voronezh; in the east of the guberniia of Ekaterinoslav; in parts of the guberniia of Taurida; and the Chernomorskaya guberniia.⁶⁴

By the end of the 19th century the town saw the emergence of companies and firms specialized not only in trade, the manufacturing of products, and food industries, but also of modern industrial goods. For example, in 1893: the Honorary Citizen, P. I. Pashutin; the chemical engineer, L. I. Stalnov; the Honorary Citizen, S. F. Fertig; and the merchant from Nakhichevan, D. E. Khodzhaev, founded the trading house “Southern Chemical Plant”. On a plot of land purchased from the town, they built their plant with the purpose of producing oil of vitriol, hydrochloric acid, and other chemicals.⁶⁵ Another example is the firm “Kapikov and Co.,” with a capital of 15,000 rubles founded on March 7, 1912, which was specialized in the production of various kinds of soap, perfumery, and cosmetic goods, as well as, in trade of such products.⁶⁶

Co-owners of another trading house, brothers P. and D. Unanov, were typical representatives of the upper class of merchants and industrialists of northeastern Russia. In Rostov they traded in groceries and colonial produce. They also owned steam mill and macaroni factories in Slavyansk, a town in the guberniia of Kharkov, and a steam oil mill in Armavir.⁶⁷ The new generation of the Umanovs raised their commercial business to a much higher level. Their interests also shifted into banking, as they were founders of the major joint-stock companies. Archak Unanov became a member of the board of the Merchant Bank of Rostov.

New firms were also associated with metallurgic industry. However, they were owned by people from other towns, as entrepreneurs from Nakhichevan did not seem to show any interest in this kind of business. Instead, they seemed to be more interested in engineering. On April 26, 1896, a mechanical plant opened in Nakhichevan which operated under the name of “Grunfeld and

64. B. S. Sidorov, *Энциклопедия старого Ростова и Нахичевани-на-Дону* [Encyclopedia of old Rostov and Nakhichevan-on-Don], Vol. 4 (Rostov-on-Don: GEFest, 1996), pp. 220-222.

65. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 753, list 2.

66. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 1718, list 32.

67. Samarina, *Bourgeoisies of the Don...*, pp. 66-67.

Kailich”. In 1897, the first-guild merchants from Rostov, Matvey Mikhaylovich and Fyodor Matveevich Dutikov, as well as, the petty bourgeois from Wenden, Karl-Viktor Ivanovich Grunfeld, and the resident of Łódź Herman, Traugotov Kailich, collaborated and founded a new company under the name of “Machine Building Plant of Grunfeld, Kailich and Co.”, “for executing various technical and mechanical works at the plant.”⁶⁸

The entrepreneurial success of the Armenians of the Don Region was dependent on the favorable conditions that the municipal authorities strived to create for them. This comes as no surprise for two reasons. Firstly, the upper class merchants and industrialists comprised nearly 90% of the majority members of the City Council (even the minority members of the Council including intellectuals, such as physicians and lawyers, were also engaged in business, though on a smaller scale). Therefore, the policy of the municipal administration was developed in accordance to their interests. Secondly, the upper class businessmen of Nakhichevan quite rightly believed that creating favorable conditions for the development of entrepreneurship would eventually result in the increase of municipal funds, as prosperous businesses would channel more funds to the town budget.

Trade in Nakhichevan reached its peak by the end of the 1860s, but transferred its dynamism to the neighboring and rapidly growing Rostov-on-Don. One of the accounts of the early 20th century noted that, “the trade of Nakhichevan is beginning to fall noticeably, and at present the town, as a matter of fact, does not yield any commercial importance and its trading activity is tightly tied to that of the town of Rostov, and all big capitalists from the town conclude their trade deals exclusively in Rostov.”⁶⁹ Because of this situation, the total trade dropped sharply and suffered from great fluctuations, yet remained to an average level of 2,500,000 rubles.

Towards this development, the government played a major role as the establishment of the Rostov Customs House in 1836 that, “...

68. GARO, fond 91, opis 1, delo 848, list 1.

69. P. S. Baluev, *Историческое и статистическое описание станиц и городов, посещаемых Господином Военным Министром при объезде его превосходительством Области Войска Донского* [Historic and statistical accounts of villages and towns visited by the Minister of War during His Excellency’s inspection of the Don Host Region] (Novocherkassk: 1900), p. 215.

brought the death blow to exports of the town of Nakhichivan.”⁷⁰ The residents of Nakhichevan moved their commercial firms to Rostov, promoting the economic growth of the latter. It appears as no coincidence that during the meeting of the Russian Geographical Society on November 18, 1864, the Mayor of Taganrog, N. T. Dzhurich, in a heated debate with Mayor of Rostov, A. M. Baykov, defended the priority of the Port of Taganrog, noting that, “Rostov is being founded by the Armenians who have excessive advantages in trade.”⁷¹

Nevertheless, there seems to be no reason to claim that Nakhichevan was experiencing economic decline. Despite the fact that the center of economic life in the region had shifted to the neighboring Rostov, and a large part of the Armenian capital had relocated to the banks of Rostov, economic activities in Nakhichevan continued. During World War I, the industrial plant of “Aksay” in Nakhichevan was so busy with military orders that the plant manager and town councilor, N.I. Sergeev, had to ask the City Council to temporarily release him from his work in all committees due to the load of work at the plant.⁷²

The Armenian entrepreneurship in the Don Region represents a truly unique experience. It is amazing that a town, which emerged from virtually scratch in the southernmost edge of the Russian empire, in just a few years, was able to develop into a main emporium of southern Russia. The Armenians were among those that brought life to the vast area of the deserted steppes of the Don and provided an additional impetus for the development of entrepreneurship in all of southern Russia, through Nakhichevan-on-Don, and eventually through Rostov-on-Don with, which were eventually merged.

70. Chalkhushyan, *History of Rostov...*, p. 47.

71. Filevskiy, *History of the city of Taganrog...*, p. 236.

72. *Priazovskiy krai*, 152 (1915).

15.

Novorossiysk: the formation and development of the city

Olga Popova

The layout of the city of Novorossiysk developed in several stages under the influence of a series of factors including: historic events associated with the Crimean War and the colonization of new lands, the development of marl deposits, and the development of a port economy. The specific character of the city's architecture is attributed to its environmental and topographic conditions, as well as, the impact of cultural traditions of the multiple nations that have inhabited this area, and the development of a transport network. Novorossiysk of today has preserved the function of an industrial port city with a developed infrastructure, but only few historic buildings from the pre-Revolution period survive today.

Stage I (1838-1860)

On September 2, 1829, Russia and the Ottoman Empire concluded the Treaty of Adrianople.¹ According to the treaty, the Russian Empire acquired the eastern coast of the Black Sea from the mouth of the Kuban River (north of Anapa) to the village of St. Nicolas (south of Poti). However, the treaty failed to bring peace into the region. The mountain tribes began a "sacred war" against "infidels", which lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. This forced the Russian government to take measures for guarding the coast by means of battleship cruises along the Caucasian coast of the sea and construction of the on-shore line of small fortifications. One of the latter turned out to be Novorossiysk.

1. М. П. Lazarev, *Документы* [Documents], Vol. 2 (Moscow: Voenno-morskoe izdatel'stvo, 1955), p. 192.

On September 12/24, 1838, a squadron of the Russian Black Sea Navy entered Tsemess Bay. The troops that landed down established a fort, which laid the foundation for the future city. The squadron, comprising of eleven different warships, was under the command of Vice-Admiral M. P. Lazarev, who believed that, "...capture of the mouth of the river Tsemess," was, "very important for the cruising warships of the Black Sea Navy because of the closed condition of the Sujuk Bay, which can provide a good shelter whole squadrons of ships." The commander of the fortification line, Lieutenant General N.N. Raevskiy (Jr.), anticipated a rapid development of "the city and port at the mouth of the river Tsemess." The order No. 4 of January 14, 1839 by the Minister of War, Count A. I. Chernyshev, reads, "... the fort in the Sujuk Bay is granted the name of 'Novorossiysk', which highlights a great importance of this place for Russia."²

Rear Admiral, L. M. Serebriakov, contributed a great deal to the development of the fort and the city of Novorossiysk. As early as 1839, Serebriakov launched the construction of a water pipe and took measures for settling the retired soldiers in Novorossiysk. He also attracted merchants and took care of the opening of the first library and a school for the children of the mountain dwellers.

Due to the eager effort of Serebriakov,³ the Fort of Novorossiysk enjoyed an influx of civilian population. In 1845, a commercial port was developed, and according to the Tsar's Highest Decree (as of December 15, 1846) the settlement of the city of Novorossiysk was announced. In the late 1840s, Lieutenant N. A. Sushchev of the Black Sea Navy gave the following description of the city: "A little time passed, and now, while entering the raid of Novorossiysk, you can already see the newly created city, marvel at its vastness, admire the many buildings, and when you go ashore, you are surprised to see Russian merchants, Armenians and Greeks behind their stalls, and you curiously stop when you see a highlander bargaining with the cityspeople in the market or a square."

The city, which occupied the area of 65 desiatina, housed around

2. *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire], Vol. 14: 1839 (Saint Petersburg: 1840), p. 11933.

3. Центральный государственный архив Военно-морского флота [Central State Archive of the Navy, hereafter RGAVMF] фонд 283, opis 2, delo 3240, list 25-35.

a thousand residents and a garrison of nearly the same size, and contained “143 houses made of stone, 317 wattle-and-daub huts, 67 stone-built shops, 29 shops made of wood, 15 streets, 2 squares, and 20 bridges. There were altogether 52 state-owned stone buildings ... and 2 taverns, 32 pubs, 4 coffee-shops and a church.”⁴

On September 11, 1839, the foundation was laid for a fort between the fortress of Anapa and the Fort of Novorossiysk. “By October 18, the construction of the fort, which by the highest decree was granted the name of ‘Fort Raevskiy’, had been completed and solemnly consecrated under the rumble of cannon volleys from the bastions.⁵ The fort represented a four-sided small fortress with three half-bastions and one bastion capable of shelling both the capitals and the flanking moats. On the bastion surrounded by a tambour, stood a two-story blockhouse. At the foot of the escarp, there was built an earthen rampart, and along the entire length of the moat was installed a palisade crowned with brushwood-made baskets and filled with earth placed at intervals to form embrasures for the rifle defense. The walls of the fortress were made of two rows of the clayed wattle filled with earth in between.⁶

The fortification of Novorossiysk consisted of a system of forts, blockhouses, earthen ramparts, and moats with lifting bridges and bridgeheads. Located on the gentle slopes of the mountains along the southern shore of the bay, these fortification installments adjoined the sea and had a length of 2,100 sazhen (approximately 4,500 metres) along the perimeter.⁷ During the Crimean War of 1853-1856, the ships of the Anglo-French squadron repeatedly entered Tsemes Bay. At the end of February 1855, the garrison of the Fort of Novorossiysk was demanded to surrender. Russian soldiers rejected the enemy’s ultimatum. On the orders of Major-General A. O. Debu, in the area of Lake Sudzhuk a watch post was organized, all civilians were removed from the fortress, and all men capable

4. A. Gerasimenko and S. Saneev, *Новороссийск – от укрепления к губерnsкому городу* [Novorossiysk – from a fort to the capital of a province] (Krasnodar: Edvi, 1998), pp. 5-7.

5. I. S. Cherniavskii (ed.), *Кавказский сборник* [The Caucasian collection], Vol. 9 (Tbilisi: Tipografiia okruzhnogo shtaba, 1885), p. 135.

6. *Istoricheskie zapiski. Issledovaniia i materialy NGIZM*, 2 (1996), p. 155.

7. Lazarev, *Documents...*, p. 480.

of keeping arms in their hands were registered. The first battery was to serve as the main position for repelling attacks from the sea. It accommodated all available large-caliber cannons including: 4 eighteen-pounders, 3 twelve-pounders, and 3 mortars. This was all that the defenders of Novorossiysk could do to resist the enemy fleet. Taking advantage of the clear superiority of the ship artillery, in both armament and its range of fire, the enemy squadron repeatedly stormed the city, yet failed to capture it. Suffering great losses, the enemy was forced to retreat and leave Tsemes Bay. The city, however, suffered a severe destruction.

The Crimean War was a difficult test for the tsarist empire, and the Russian army was suffering heavy losses. The defeat of the Anglo-French squadron near Novorossiysk made a great impression on the Russian capital. Under the terms of the Paris Peace Treaty, Russia, which lost the Crimean War, had no right to keep its navy and fortifications on the east coast of the Black Sea. In 1860, the government officially abolished the city of Novorossiysk, and the coastal fortifications were taken down. Though some evidence is available concerning the earliest history of the city, it does not contain data on the city's construction. Neither buildings nor documents related to architecture from that period have survived.

Stage II (1862-1942)

After the Crimean War, the entire Caucasian coast of the Black Sea remained under the Russian Empire. Yet, the war in the Caucasus continued. Numerous Adighe tribes continued stoutly fighting against the tsarist troops. The Highlanders held the majority of the Russian forts on the Black Sea coast that had been abandoned during the Crimean War. The ruins of the Fort of Novorossiysk and the Fortress of Anapa were held by Circassian Prince Sefer-Bey, the chief English and Ottoman henchman, who had long lived in the Ottoman Empire and dreamed of becoming the Shamil of Adygea. In Gelendzhik, there stood a Polish-Hungarian detachment formed in Istanbul, battalion under the command of Colonel Theophilus Lapinskiy, who adopted an Ottoman name of Teufikbey. The Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Circassian troops was Mehmed-

bey, also known as Hungarian Colonel Janos Bandia, a secret political police agent in many European countries. The supplies of armaments for these troops were brought on English ships.

In the context of the ongoing war in the Caucasus, the government of Alexander II decided that the destroyed fortifications on the Black Sea coast had to be recaptured and reconstructed. For this purpose, a detachment was formed from the units of the Crimean infantry regiment under the command of the Ataman of the Black Sea Cossack host, G. I. Filipson. In 1856, the detachment knocked Sefer-bey from Anapa and Novorossiysk forcing him to flee to Tuapse where he continued to lead the resistance of the Highlanders. In the next year (1857) in a sudden disembarkation, Filipson smashed a joint Polish-Circassian detachment and captured Gelendzhik.

On April 20, 1858, Tsemes Bay witnessed the arrival of a Black Sea squadron consisting of corvettes “Rys” and “Zubr”, schooners “Salgir”, “Pitsunda” and “Psezuape” and four longboats from the Sea of Azov. Like twenty years before, the squadron disembarked troops composed of an infantry battalion of the Crimean infantry regiment and 7 cannons under the command of G. I. Filipson⁸, the co-founder of Novorossiysk in 1838. Having landed near the mouth of River Tsemess, they began to build the Konstantinovskoe Fortification over the remains of the Fort No. 2. In March 1860, the city and the port of Novorossiysk were abolished, and its residents were assigned to the city of Temryuk (where they had been resettled to during the Crimean War).⁹

The final conquest of Dagestan and the entire Eastern Caucasus by the tsarist troops, which ended with the capture of Shamil on August 26, 1859, as well as firm measures taken by the Russians, had a significant impact on the minds of the Trans-Kuban Highlanders. Those who had accepted the Russian rule were resettled to preselected areas in the valley of River Kuban, and their villages were placed amongst Russian settlements. The “irreconcilables” were offered an opportunity of emigrating to Turkey.¹⁰

8. *Kavkaz*, (15 May 1858).

9. Gerasimenko and Saneev, *Novorossiysk...*, p. 133.

10. M. K. Pokrovskii, *Из истории адыгов* [From the history of Adighes] (Krasnodar: Krasnodarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 1989), pp. 309-310.

Despite the continuing war in the Caucasus, the tsarist government wanted to populate the Trans-Kuban region with Cossacks. Therefore, the Agadum detachment received the order to establish Cossack settlements. During 1862, the detachment founded 11 settlements including that of Novorossiyskaia. It was founded at the fort the Konstantinovskoe Fortification and settled with a hundred families from the Azov (formerly, Trans-Danubian) Cossack host. The settlement of Novorossiyskaia was situated in the southern part of the present-day city. Among its residents, it was known as “Stanichka”. Shortly before, a sea station in Konstantinovskaia was established. As a result of the exhausting War of the Caucasus, which ended in May 1864, a significant portion of the city dwellers emigrated to Turkey, while the rest of them were evicted to the valley of River Kuban (present day Republic of Adygea).

In May 1865, the authorities began the allocation of land plots for construction of residential houses. In March 1866, a regulation was issued for the settlement and administration of the north-eastern coast of the Black Sea, according to which, the Chernomorskiy okrug had been established. It was also at this time that the city of Novorossiysk was established and proclaimed the capital city of the okrug.

A report written in 1867 shows how small Novorossiysk was at that time: “Novorossiysk had only 90 houses, ...its population comprised of 434 souls.”¹¹ The settlement of Novorossiyskaia was abolished, its territory was included within the limits of the city, and the residents were expelled from the estate of Cossack and assigned to that of citizens. Residents of the settlement who wished to remain Cossacks moved to other settlements.

Since 1869, the city witnessed a growing number of immigrants from Central Russia who first reached Odessa on wheel-steamers of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, and from there then traveled by land. The newcomers, however, had neither enough money nor practical skills for living in conditions different from those of Central Russia, and found themselves helpless. In the early 1870s, the Russian immigrants were joined, among others, by Greeks, Armenians, Czechs, Germans, and Estonians. As these new peoples established their settlements around the city, there began to

11. Gerasimenko and Saneev, *Novorossiysk...*, p. 141.

In 1878, began the construction of lighthouses on the Doobskiy and Penayskiy capes in the Tsemess Bay.¹⁵ Through time, from the side of the barracks (near the present-day Planetarium) developed the main street of the city known as Serebriakovskaia. It housed the majority of the state offices, shops, and hotels. The citizens could enjoy the city garden with an open-air theater, canteens and a stage for an orchestra. Yet, because of the lack of a well-designed settlement plan, a small road network, and the insufficient funds provided for the development of the region, the city was growing rather slowly. To date, only two buildings from that period have survived: the Apartment House of Flour Trader Obradovich (1870) and the Residence House of P. I. Lefterov.

A little later, in 1890, a residence house was built for A. A. Nikulin, who later became a city prefect. As a city prefect, Nikulin contributed a great deal to the development of the city: the Tsemess Swamp was filled in with earth to avoid the spread of fevers; the Raevskaia Ravine was filled in; the Raevskiy Boulevard was built and the first water-pipe was laid (see picture 15.1). In September 1914, in his letter to the current city prefect, Nikulin made an offer to use his house free of charge for accommodating soldiers wounded at the front, for which he received gratitude from the City Council.¹⁶

Because of a rather slow occupation and development of the coast, the decree of March 21, 1888 deprived the Chernomorskiy okrug of administrative independence and subordinated it to the head and regional institutions of the Kuban okrug.

Foreign capitalists laid the foundation for the industrial development of the city. Early in 1882, the American oil industrialist, Herbert Tweddle,¹⁷ with the financial support from the French Joint-Stock Company, “Russian Standard,” built both an oil pipeline and oil refinery with a pier there. In 1879, Osip Kuchera, a professor of chemistry from Prague, studied the geological structure of the Markotkhskiy Range and found in the marl deposits some components which in combination could produce fine cement by

15. *Kavkaz*, (31 March 1878).

16. *Novorossiyskiy Rabochiy*, (2 August 1997).

17. G. T. Chuchmai, *Хрестоматия по истории Кубани* [Chrestomathy on the history of the Kuban Region] (Krasnodar: Knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1975), pp. 142-143.

Picture 15.1 View of Novorossiysk



Source: A. Zorina, *Новоросійськ на дореволюційних відкритках* [Novorossiysk on pre-revolutionary postcards] (Novorossiysk: Platonov, 2012), p. 70.

means of simple grinding and roasting. In January 1882, the Joint Stock Company, “The Black Sea Association for Cement Production”, was established. Its factory produced the first test batch of cement on December 15, 1882.¹⁸ This gave rise to the first cement plant (known today as “Proletarii”)¹⁹ built with the funds of Baltic Capitalists and local landowners. It marked the beginning of one of the most important industries in the city of Novorossiysk, the cement industry, which became the defining factor in the further development of the city. Due to the high quality of its product, the cement industry generated high profits. By sea, cement was delivered to many countries around the world.

18. Центральный государственный исторический архив СССР [Central State Historical Archive of the USSR; the Archive is presently called RGIA, *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Archiv*, hereafter TSGIA USSR] fond 4924, opis 1, delo 5530, list 71.

19. G.V. Utyugina, G.A. Krympokha, *Цемент Новоросійська* [Cement of Novorossiysk] (Krasnodar: Knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 1982), pp. 5-6.

The rapid growth of Novorossiysk began with the construction of the Tikhoretskaia-Novorossiysk railway line through Ekaterinodar. This attracted many laborers and traders. Over the course of 11 years (from 1886 to 1897) the total population in Novorossiysk increased by 2.6 times. Most people settled down in places where they could find jobs near the railway and the cement plant. The Joint-Stock Company, “Russian Standard,” was established for the extraction of Kuban oil, and built a whole settlement composed of dwelling houses, offices, and barns (picture 15.2). The complex of these buildings has survived into the present and is still unofficially referred to as the “Standard.” Another settlement was established on the land of General Adamovich, from the Sofievskaiia Street (which has preserved the name until today) to cement plants. This area became known as the Adamovich’s Ravine or simply the Ravine. The settlement of Mefodievskiy also developed and gradually approached the city.

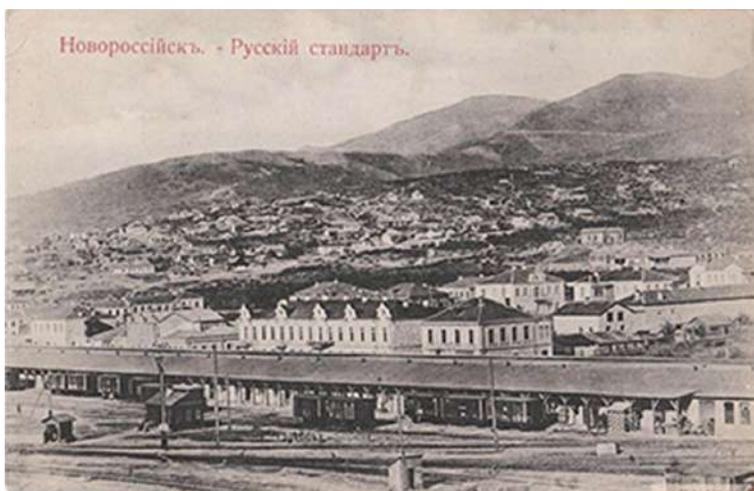
The launch of the Novorossiysk branch of the Vladikavkaz Railway facilitated the rapid development of the port. The port of Novorossiysk, one of the largest in Russia, was built from 1886 to 1896 and had two moles (western and eastern) and seven piers. Of the latter, two belonged to the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, and the Joint Stock Company, “Russian Standard,” while the rest were built by the Vladikavkaz Railway. The construction of the railway and the port of Novorossiysk gave rise to the development of agriculture in both the Kuban region and the entire North Caucasus. The port opened wide opportunities for the sale of grain, and the railway made its transport much easier.

The Joint-Stock Company of the Vladikavkaz Railway built the world’s largest elevator in Novorossiysk (see picture 15.3).²⁰ The construction took place under the direction of a talented engineer, A. N. Shensnovich.²¹ Under his direction, the world’s first industrial, three-phase power plant was built, which serviced the elevator. At that time, the elevator was a fully mechanized enterprise. Mechanical workshops produced grain elevators that later were able

20. *Портовые устройства общества Владикавказской железной дороги и обзор коммерческой деятельности в г. Новороссийске на 1 января 1896г.* [Port constructions of the Company of the Vladikavkaz Railway and a review of commercial activities in Novorossiysk as of January 1, 1896] (Saint Petersburg: 1896), pp. 9-10.

21. NF GAKK, fond 19, opis 1, delo 22, lists 14-15.

Picture 15.2 Novorossiysk. The Joint-Stock Company, “Russian Standard”



Source: A. Zorina, *Новоросийск на дореволюционных открытках* [Novorossiysk on pre-revolutionary postcards] (Novorossiysk: Platonov, 2012), p. 70.

Picture 15.3a Novorossiysk. Elevator



Source: A. Zorina, *Новоросийск на дореволюционных открытках* [Novorossiysk on pre-revolutionary postcards] (Novorossiysk: Platonov, 2012), p. 80, 95.

Picture 15.3b Novorossiysk. Elevator

to produce railway equipment. This allowed the creation, in the immediate vicinity of the berths, of an up-to-date (for that time period) mechanized storage facility for three million poods of grain. The lively trade with foreign countries in Novorossiysk contributed to the appearance of various agencies, credit institutions, and a number of foreign consulates including those of the Ottoman Empire, Greece, Italy, England, Norway, Denmark, China, and Persia.

However, the rapidly developing industrial areas such as the port, the railway station, and cement factories, laid outside the limits of the city, and eventually the customs, various offices, agencies, and some shops moved there as well. By 1896, the size of the population in the area behind the Tsemess Bog, which had previously contained only wastelands, approximated that of the city itself reaching 14,000 people. There appeared electricity, street pavement, clubs, and well-maintained quarters of houses built by the Joint Stock Company, "Russian Standard". In the city, however, there were only partially paved streets insufficiently lit by kerosene lanterns and the unsatisfactory supply of water (in wells). Residents of the "New City" made use of the services of the "old" one such as the hospital, schools, and slaughterhouses, but as outsiders they did not pay any taxes to the city. This affected the city budget, one-third of which was spent on social needs.

In 1896, after thirty years of existence, the Chernomorskiy okrug

was withdrawn from the Kuban Oblast and granted the status of an independent Chernomorskaia guberniia.²² This changed the economic life of Novorossiysk. New plants appeared in the city and the number of its inhabitants increased sharply. The port of Novorossiysk developed into one of the largest ports in Russia.

With the opening of the Tikhoretskaia-Novorossiysk Railroad in 1888, activities in the port were revived with the arrival of various new cargoes. The number of steamships visiting the port of Novorossiysk also increased. Connected by the railway, along with the rich grain areas of the Kuban and oil fields, Novorossiysk became a “window to Europe” for both the Kuban and the entire North Caucasus. The industry of the city grew rapidly. In 1898, near the plant of the Society of the Black Sea Cement Production, there appeared the “Tsep” Cement Plant.²³ Both plants produced up to 10 million poods of cement per year. There was a factory of the “McLaren, Frayschist, and Co.,” which emerged as the manufacturer of various metal products and soon went on to produce boilers and small ships. In 1899, a cast-iron foundry appeared, as well as, a mechanical plant “Miller and Lampe and Co.”²⁴ There was also a steam mill of the Aslanidi brothers, an oil mill, a brewery, and other factories. By 1904, in Novorossiysk there were 10 plants with a total annual turnover of about 2 million rubles (excluding the cement plants). The large proportion of workers at the cement factories, railway workshops, and the port formed the proletariat of the city which determined the cohesion and revolutionary role of the latter.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Novorossiysk had grown into a major city in the North Caucasus with a population of about 42,000 people. However, conditions of the urban life remained rather poor. Of 5,364 houses in the city, only about 2,000 were made of stone. There were up to 3,000 wattle-and-daub huts and about 600 adobe houses. The city contained 8-year gymnasiums for male and female students and 14 different lower-grade colleges. 586 students studied in the gymnasiums, whereas the colleges

22. *Complete collection of laws ...*, p. 12995.

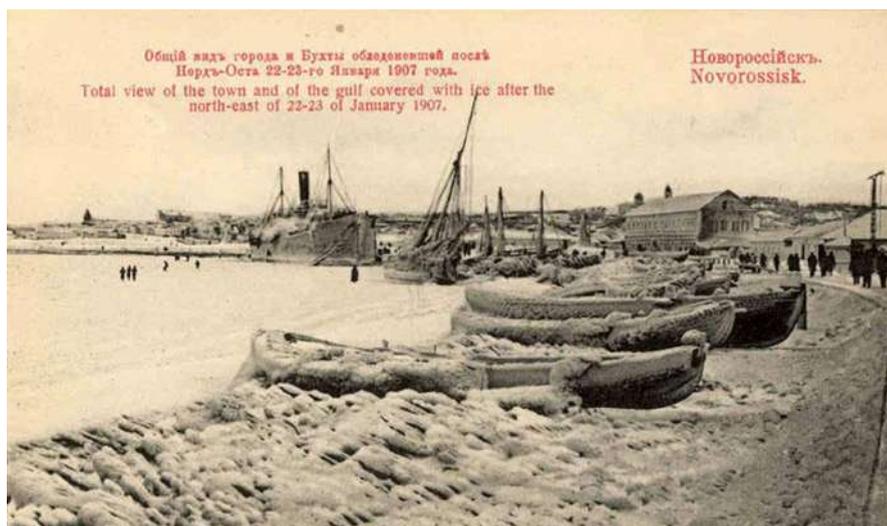
23. L. K. Ezioranskii, *Фабрично-заводские предприятия Российской Империи* [Factories and plants of the Russian Empire], (Petrograd: Elektrotipografia N. Ia. Stoikovoii, 1914).

24. NF GAKK, fond 74, opis 1, edinitsa khraneniia 6, sviazka 1, list 43.

hosted 1,489 students. There was a theater and the People's House, where professional guest troupes and amateur actors performed. There was also the "bioscope", also known as "cinematograph"²⁵, which was a wonder of the time, as well as the "magic lantern" with a large set of paintings on different subjects. The city published the newspapers: "Novorossiyskiy Listok" and "Chernomorskoe Poberezh'ie". However, there was no water-pipe system, therefore water was either taken from wells and/or delivered by water-carriers. There was also no sewage system. The lighting of streets and houses was provided by kerosene lamps and lanterns for a long time.

There were hotels in Novorossiysk, though small, they had 10-30 furnished rooms with all of the necessary amenities. Residents of the city and visitors suffered very much, especially in winter, from the northeasterly wind (Bora), which occasionally caused considerable damage (picture 15.4). In summer time, however, the climate favored the pleasant recreation of people.

Picture 15.4 View of the port after northeasterly wind



Source: A. Zorina, *Новоросіійск на дореволюціонних відкритках* [Novorossiysk on pre-revolutionary postcards] (Novorossiysk: Platonov, 2012), p. 124.

25. Ts. Iu., Suliminskii, *Вся кинематографія. Настольная адресная книга* [All cinematography. A desk address book] (Moscow: Zh. Chibrario de Goden, 1916), p. 26.

For the purpose of sea bathing, various bathhouses were built and well-equipped. Organized beaches accessible on payment, were established on the shore of the bay. The most attractive ones included the baths of Dmitriy Serafimov and the Association “Novorossiyskiy Kurort” famous for the best convenience and service not only in Novorossiysk but on the entire Black Sea coast.²⁶ Before City Council would issue permission for the opening of bathing facilities, they were examined by a commission composed of: an architect (N. N. Karlinsky), a sanitary doctor (Frenkel), members of the government, and a police officer. The bathhouses contained “... 80 comfortable rooms and extensive common areas, 13 rooms with warm baths, as well as, baths filled with a mix of local mud and that from Choknak. There are rooms with the “sharko” and other high pressures showers with water of different temperatures.... At all times there are available mineral waters Borjomi, Narzan, Essentuki No. 17. The reading room is equipped with the best periodicals. Tea, coffee, chocolate, sweets and soft drinks. Prices for everything are moderate.” This description shows that the bathhouses had a function of a modern sanatorium with mud baths.

On the eve of the revolution of 1905-1907, the Chernomorskaia guberniia was considered a relatively calm outskirts of the Russian Empire. However, political exiles residing in the region facilitated the spread of revolutionary ideas here, as well. The tragic events of January 9, 1905 in St. Petersburg found a response in Novorossiysk. There began rallies and strikes, and for the first time, the laborers celebrated the 1st of May. In the summer, the railway workers supported the strike of their comrades at the stations of Tikhoretskaya, Ekaterinodar, Kavkazskaia, and Armavir. The strike in Novorossiysk grew nationwide. The workers demanded to establish an 8-hour working day, raise wages, improve working conditions, and proclaimed the freedoms of speech, press, rallies, demonstrations, and assemblies. On the orders of the governor of the Chernomorskaia guberniia, on the 19th of July, soldiers and Cossacks opened fire on strikers and broke their resistance.²⁷ The city supported the all-Rus-

26. NF GAKK, fond 2, opis 1, delo 16, lists 15, 32, 64.

27. V. D. Sokol'skiy, *Новороссийская республика* [Republic of Novorossiysk] (Moscow: Sotsekgiz, 1963), pp. 30-31.

sian November strike. In addition to railway workers, those of the port and cement plants, as well as, employees of the post-office and telegraph office took part in the strike. They were joined by workers from printing houses, slaughterhouses, hat-makers, tailors, cabmen, police officers, and students of schools and gymnasiums. After the news about the beginning of the All-Russian political strike had been received in early December 1905, the Black Sea Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Party of Workers rallied the workers of the city to strike, which turned into an armed uprising. The Council of People's Deputies was elected, which took the power of the city into its own hands. It became a full-fledged body of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship in Novorossiysk and the region. The Council's activity during this period (from December 11 to December 25, 1905) became known as the "Republic of Novorossiysk".

The Council of Workers' Deputies took control over all industrial and trade enterprises in the city including the post-office and telegraph office, introduced an 8-hour working day at all enterprises, and declared political freedoms of meetings, speech, and press. A distinctive feature of the Republic of Novorossiysk was that two authorities functioned simultaneously – the Council of Workers' Deputies and the City Council (as an advisory body of the Council). The building that housed the City Council is still there today (46 Sovetov Street).

The suppression of the armed insurrection in Moscow and other large cities allowed the government to gather forces for reprisal against the workers' republic. A battleship armed with twelve- and six-inch guns entered the Tsemess Bay. A punitive detachment with artillery arrived from Ekaterinodar. In the face of this force, in order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, the Council decided to dissolve itself and suggested to all active participants in revolutionary actions to leave the city. The investigation into the case of the Republic of Novorossiysk lasted for nearly three years and resulted in severe sentences for the accused persons.

The years after the revolution and before the outbreak of World War I were the time of Russia's new economic recovery. During this period, Novorossiysk became the most important commercial and industrial city not only in the Kuban, but also in the entire North Caucasus. There developed a large center for the production of cement. The cement plants of the Chernomorskiy Cement Production

increased their capacities. In 1911-1912, the plant shops of the second branch were put into operation. The first branch became known as the Old Cement Plant.²⁸ Unique for that time was the construction of a loop cableway, with supports that were for the first time made of reinforced concrete. To date, only one fragment has survived, an arched support made of reinforced concrete. There appeared new factories such as “Beton” and “Orel” at Tunnelnaya Station and “Titan” at Verkhnebakanskaia Station. The cement was supplied throughout the country and abroad. The port of Novorossiysk, one of the largest in Russia, continued to successfully operate. By the beginning of the World War I, the cargo turnover in the port reached 93 million poods a year. The port had 38 berths with a total length of 5.7 km. About 80% of the port’s facilities belonged to the largest joint stock company in the North Caucasus, the Company of Vladikavkaz Railway.

The export of grain was progressing particularly rapidly. While in the 1880s, only a few million poods of grain were exported through Novorossiysk, already in 1910-1913 the export exceeded 66 million poods a year. The grain from Kuban was exported to all European countries. In addition to the grain produce, flaxseed and sunflower seeds, brans, oilcakes, and other wastes from grain and sunflower production were exported through Novorossiysk. The export of Kuban tobacco also increased sharply. The commercial banks began to play an increasingly active part in the economy of Chernomorskaia guberniia. Beside their direct activities, they increasingly began selling local products.

Following the growth of the city’s economy, construction activities increased. It was during this period that the majority of the historic buildings that survive to this day were erected. The architectural appearance of Novorossiysk at that time was shaped mainly by single-story houses, and only in the central part of the city and few other places there rose the isles of two- and three-story buildings executed in Art Nouveau or a mixed (eclectic) style featuring the elements of different styles including Modern, Classicism, and Gothic. Significant contributions to the image of Novorossiysk were made by S.A. Kalistratov,²⁹ who was appointed the city’s chief architect in 1906.

Semen Akimovich Kalistratov was born in 1874 in the city of

28. Gerasimenko and S. Saneev, *Novorossiysk...*, p. 383.

29. *Novorossiyskiy Rabochiy*, (20 January 1987).

Rylsk, a Kursk Province, to the family of a teacher. Here, he graduated from a real school and a land survey school. In 1894, he went to Switzerland to study at the University of Lausanne in the Department of Architecture and Construction. He returned to Russia with a diploma in civil engineering. In late 1904, he settled down on the Tonkiy Cape, near Gelendzhik, and began his career in designing and building houses and villas. In Novorossiysk, he conducted hydro-geological surveys for the construction of a water pipeline. After accepting the position of the architect of Novorossiysk, he began working on the improvement of the city. His contributions to Novorossiysk include:

- A summer restaurant by the bathhouses of the Association “Novorossiyskiy Kurort”, 1906 (has not survived);
- The Municipal House, 1909 (picture 15.5)
- The building of a bank (nowadays, there is the Industrial Technical School in this place);
- The Municipal Summer Theater, 1912 (burned down during a bombing in 1942);
- A summer buffet and a restaurant in the city garden, 1908 (has not survived);
- Two boulevards, Raevskiy (nowadays, a part of Novorossiyskoy Respubliki Street from Goncharova Street to the sea) and Alexandrovskiy (nowadays, Pobedy Street);
- Anapskoe Highway;
- Beginning of construction of the water pipeline and the sewerage system.

He served in Novorossiysk until 1911, and then moved to Saratov, then to Moscow, and in 1948, he retired and returned to Novorossiysk where he died in 1966.

From the earliest days of the city, the central street was continuously developed, and later received the name of Serebriakovskaia (today’s Sovetov Street). It served as an administrative and public center. Here, the facades of the buildings featured signs of various offices, warehouses, and shops. The street continued into what was called Anapa highway, from which the road to Anapa and Ekaterinodar began. For a long time, the street contained only one-story buildings, but it has begun changing its face since the 1880s, when two- and three-story buildings were erected there. These were mostly houses with many apartments offered for rent. By the early

Picture 15.5 The Municipal House on Serebriakovskaia street



Source: A. Zorina, *Новороссииск на дореволюционных открытках* [Novorossiysk on pre-revolutionary postcards] (Novorossiysk: Platonov, 2012), p. 28.

twentieth century, Serebriakovskaia Street had become more comfortable. Around this time, large hotels, branches of various banks and credit institutions, electrobiographs, coffee shops, dozens of trading establishments, libraries, and educational institutions began to emerge (picture 15.6). The street was paved with cobblestones, lit first with kerosene, and then with gas and electric lanterns.

Initially, Serebriakovskaia Street³⁰ was short. It ran from Novobazarnaia Square to the barracks of a local garrison on Veli-aminovskaia Street (nowadays, 1905 Revolution Street). After the barracks had been taken down in 1913, it was extended to reach Navaginskaia Street (today's Novorossiyskikh Partizan Street), and later merged with Hospitalnaia Street.

An active urban life started at the intersection of Serebriakovskaia

30. A. Gerasimenko, *История Новороссииска в открытках. Конец XIX – нач. XXв.* [History of Novorossiysk in postcards, late 19th – early 20th century] (Krasnodar: Edvi, 1998), pp. 17, 25.

Street and Romanovskaia Street (Svobody Street). Here a two-story apartment house of L.P. Georgiev, a member of the City Council, was located. He served as the director of the Municipal Public Bank housed on the second floor of this building. After the bank had moved to the Municipal House, the building for some time accommodated the Second Society for Mutual Loans. The first floor was occupied by a store trading in iron goods, paints and tools. During World War II, the building was badly damaged, and today in its place there is a residential building with a department store on the first floor.

Picture 15.6 Serebriakovskaia street



Source: A. Zorina, *Новороссийск на дореволюционных открытках* [Novorossiysk on pre-revolutionary postcards] (Novorossiysk: Platonov, 2012), p. 32.

At the next intersection, with Martynovskaia Street (Rubina Street), there stood a mansion, the house of the Bogdasarov family built in the 1880s, which was among the first two-story buildings to be built in the city. On the first floor, there was a large shop trading in manufactured goods known as the Trading House “Nikita Bogarsukov and Sons”. It was a large trading company with the main office in Ekaterinodar and branches in Rostov, Sukhumi, and Novorossiysk.

The second floor was occupied by the Hotel “Europe”, one of the best hotels in the city. The building was destroyed during World War II.

Opposite to the Hotel “Europe”, stood the “Municipal House” designed by architect S. A. Kalistratov, whose project won the closed competition in 1906. The competition requirements stipulated that, “The building should be made of stone, with a street-facing facade, have premises for the City Council, the City Administration and the Municipal Bank, as well as, premises for trade, and the cost of the project must not exceed 120,000 rubles.”³¹ It was decided to place it in the city center between Serebriakovskaia Street and Torgovaia Square. The central part of the second floor was occupied by the City Council, while the City Administration occupied the right-hand side of the floor. In 1910, three rooms on the left-hand side of the floor were occupied by the Municipal Public Bank. In June 1910, three rooms were rendered to the Prof. E. Ballion Library. The first floor of the building and the basements were allotted for trading. The Municipal House was the first large administrative building in Novorossiysk. In former times, it was considered among the best buildings on the Black Sea coast and even depicted on color and black-and-white postcards printed by various publishing houses. After the establishment of the Soviet power, the building housed various institutions. The central part of the building for some time was occupied by the Military Defense Services, and this rendered the building with a new name: the House of Defense. In 1936, it was turned into the Palace of Pioneers. During World War II, the building was partially destroyed. After the liberation of the city, the building was restored and continued to function as the Palace of Pioneers.³² Currently, the building houses a food store, an exhibition hall of the Novorossiysk State Museum and Historical Reserve, and a pedagogical college.

Next to the Municipal House, in the place of today’s Hotel “Chernomorskaia”, was a three-story building owned by the merchant Bobovich brothers. The building was built between 1912-1913 as an apartment house and later destroyed during World War II. On the opposite side of the street, there were one- and two-story buildings of shops and offices.

At the corner of Serebriakovskaia Street and Raevskaia Street (No-

31. *Novorossiyskiy Rabochiy*, (20 January 1987).

32. *Novorossiyskiy Rabochiy*, (6 July 1945).

vorossiyskoy Respubliki Street), stood the house of merchant Larin.³³ In the summer of 1905, the newspaper *Chernomorskoe Poberezhie* wrote that “At the corner of Serebriakovskaia and Raevskaia streets, there has already begun the demolition of the ugly building belonging to Mr. Larin. In its place, it is proposed to erect a two-story building, which will serve as an adornment for Serebriakovskaia Street.” In the same year, the new building was designed by the municipal architect, Karlinskiy. The construction began in 1905 and ended in 1906. The second floor of the new building was occupied by the Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank, and on the first floor there was an “electrobiographer.”³⁴ During World War II, the building suffered severe damages, and its reconstruction cost 500,000 rubles.³⁵ Today, the building houses the A.M. Gorkiy Library.

Some years before, in 1902, on Veliaminovskaia Street, appeared the building of Aleksandriyskaia Women’s Gymnasium named after Empress Aleksandra Fedorovna.³⁶ The building had steam heating, ventilation, and running water. From 1916 to 1922, it housed a hospital.³⁷ From 1922 until the onset of the war in 1941, it was an institute for Soviet and Communist Party officials, and after the war it was reconstructed into a residential building.

Near the women’s gymnasium, on Dmitrievskaia Street (Engelsa Street), there was a two-story building of a men’s gymnasium built in 1900 by the architect Lukashevich. It was the first secondary school in the city. On the second floor of the building, there was an assembly hall with 500 seats and a private chapel.³⁸ During the war, the building was among the last point of defense. It was reconstructed, and nowadays it houses a technical and economic lyceum.

In 1909, at the corner of Tikhomirovkaia (Griboediova) Street and Dmitrievskaia Street, the Municipal Men’s Primary College,³⁹ designed by the architect Kalistratov, was built. Opposite to it, across Dmitrievskaia Street, stood the Armenian-Gregorian church

33. Gerasimenko, *History of Novorossiysk ...*, pp. 29-30.

34. *Chernomorskoe Poberezhie*, (8 August 1907).

35. *Novorossiyskiy Rabochiy*, (23 December 1949).

36. *Chernomorskaya Gazeta*, (16 August 1912).

37. *Novorossiyskiy Rabochiy*, (12 April 1922).

38. Gerasimenko, *History of Novorossiysk ...*, p. 18.

39. *Chernomorskoe Poberezhie*, (2 September 1909).

designed by the architect Vasiliev and the engineer Chemesov.

One of the most attractive places for recreation among the residents of the city was the City Garden.⁴⁰ It was founded in April 1876, in the center of the former Konstantinovskoe fortification, by the initiative of the head of the Chernomorskiy Region Colonel B. M. Shelkovnikov. On his instructions, an empty place was marked up for planting trees and future alleys. Sometime later, a fountain was built in the center. The garden was surrounded by a wooden fence. Its area was half the size of what today is Lenin Park (from Engelsa Street to Kommunisticheskaya Street). In the 1930s, the limits of the garden were extended to Sovetov Street. In 1912, iron gates fixed on two hollow pedestals with windows for cash desks were installed. Inside the garden, there was a one-story wooden building of the Club of the First Public Assembly. The club offered membership to merchants and rich industrialists of the city, and served as a place where current news was discussed as well as where performances and evenings for the youth would be held. In 1912, a summer theater was built in the city garden. It replaced an older, wooden one-story theater with 500 seats, which over time fell into disrepair. In 1908, following decision of the Municipal Council, a new municipal summer theater was built with 1,000 seats (designed by the architects S. Kalistratov, K. Prilipskiy, and K. Erzhman). This was the only three-tiered, wooden summer theater in the entire pre-revolutionary Russia. It had running water, ventilation, and electric lighting (even though the city was not fully wired for electricity). In addition, the theater featured exceptional acoustic properties.⁴¹ Unfortunately, the theater burned down during an attack of German aircrafts in April 1942. Near the theater a building housing a buffet and a restaurant was built by the architect S. Kalistratov.

Among the architectural pearls in the central part of the city there was, and still is, the residential building of Yukelis built in 1913 by the architect F. I. Meerovich. Its owners, the Yukelis brothers, were engaged in the production and supply of tobacco both inside of Russia and beyond. This is the only building with elements of the Moorish style from this eclectic period of the city. The first and second floors

40. Gerasimenko, *History of Novorossiysk ...*, pp. 32-35.

41. K. M. Mikhailov, *Город-герой Новоросси́йск* [Hero City of Novorossiysk] (Moscow: Stroyizdat, 1999), pp. 34-35.

housed the offices and directorial boards of the cement plants “Pobeda,” “Beton,” and “Atlas.”⁴² After the revolution, the owners of the building left Russia, and from 1918-1919, it housed the military headquarters of the Volunteer Army. In the 1920s, it became the office of the head of the Novorossiysk Garrison, and in the 1940s through the 1970s, it housed the Municipal Committee of the CPSU.⁴³ Today, it is the home of the Novorossiysk Branch of Kuban State Technological University.

In 1911, three-story Hotel “Venetsiya” (Vorontsovskaya Street) was built, and acquired much popularity throughout time. In 1913, it burned down and was then restored in 1914.⁴⁴ The hotel had a restaurant with European and Caucasian cuisine. In the present day there is a store on the first floor and apartments on other floors.

Worth noting is a building at the corner of Mikhaylovskaya Street (Kommunisticheskaya Street) and Martynovskaya Street (Rubina Street) known as the house of the Bogarsukovs merchants.⁴⁵ In 1910, the Bogarsukovs laid a foundation for a large multi-story building (as some fragmentary evidence suggests, for a hotel). The building was finished in 1913, and it was purchased by A.A. Yukelis for a tobacco storehouse. Currently, it houses a municipal polyclinic.

On June 18, 1915, the “Chernomorskaya Gazeta” informed its readers that “To the end comes the finishing of the governor’s house on Dmitrievskaya Street, in which the office and apartment of the Governor of Chernomorskaya guberniia will be located. The house is very beautiful, at the main entrance there will be huge statues of the Atlanteans supporting with their shoulders some kind of a canopy.” Within a year, the three-story building was constructed on a high base and appeared rather pompous. The pediment of the main facade was crowned with the figure of an eagle, from which the building acquired the name of the “House with an Eagle”. The building was destroyed during the World War II.⁴⁶

The “Old City” was connected with the “New City” by a road,

42. *Новороссийск, Анапа и Екатеринодар на 1916-1917 гг.* [Novorossiysk, Anapa and Ekaterinodar for 1916-1917], (Rostov-on-Don: S.S. Sivozhelezov and Co., 1916), p. 17.

43. *Novorossiyskiy Rabochiy*, (2 March 1989).

44. *Chernomorskaya Gazeta*, (16 January 1914).

45. Gerasimenko, *History of Novorossiysk ...*, pp. 26-28.

46. Mikhaylov, *Hero City of Novorossiysk ...*, p. 35.

which stretched along the shore of the bay and received the name Beregovaia street. It passed along the bridge over the River Tse-mess, across a bed-filled swamp, under the overpasses of transport galleries, and crossed railroad tracks and oil pipelines.

In 1911, the administration of the Vladikavkaz Railway seriously focused its efforts on the opening of railway clubs in several places including Novorossiysk.⁴⁷ The Railway Club for recreation of railway workers and their families was built and opened in Novorossiysk in 1913 (later known as the house of Martynov). There concerts and literary and musical evenings were hosted. The club retained its function in the Soviet times, as well. In 1951 the club was reconstructed, and a two-story wing was added on the south-west side. Currently, this is a public building with two auditoriums holding 250 and 500 seats.

Following the construction of the seaport, between the city and the railway station, second half of Novorossiysk (“New City”) was developed, adjoining the port, the station, and the area of a large cement plant. This part of the city received several names including “French City,” and “French Colony “Standart,” but of which only “Standart” has survived into the present. This area appeared to have more comfortable living conditions than the “old city”.⁴⁸ Up the street of Sacco and Vanzetti, there were several houses with a garden nearby known as the “Garden in the Standart”. In the garden, was the best club building on the entire coast, the Second Novorossiysk Public Assembly (which was not preserved). At different times, it held the cinematographs “Electrobiograph” and “Mont-Plaisir”. The first cinematograph in the city was Gutsman’s Cinema located at 13 Vokzalnaia Street. Permanent cinema theaters were very rare, and this was the first cinematograph that opened in the province.

On Vokzalnaia Street, there was a tunnel built in 1900. It served as a bridge to support a railway. On the left, there was a railway to the trestle pier. On the right, there was a two-story brick building, which at different times housed the office of the Company “Russian Standard”, the administration of the commercial port and the agency of the French steamship company, “Messagerie Maritime”. Vokzalnaia Street formed a kind of border between the lands of the Joint

47. *Chernomorskoe Poberezhie*, (2 October 1911).

48. Gerasimenko, *History of Novorossiysk ...*, p. 68.

Stock Company, “Russian Standard”, and the Vladikavkaz Railway. This street featured the famous Movsesian’s atelier, the “Odessa” suites, the Russian-Asian Bank, the railway hospital, the pharmacies of A.A. Nimerovski and V.V. Ilchenko, and the grocery store of S.M. Agadzhanov, as well as, other shops and offices. The famous photographic studio of Movsesian and the bakery of Ker-Oglu were also located on this street. Today, only two houses have survived, No. 13 and No. 17. Via this street, in the 1900s one could pass through the second tunnel on a horse-drawn carriage to the railway station.

Among the busiest in city was Frantsuzskaia street. There was the English Consulate, the postal and telegraph office of the Dumortier brothers, the Office of the head of the Chernomorskiy okrug, and a regional hospital for 8 beds. Kommercheskaia Street, the Commercial Street, justified its name completely. On this street, there were five consulates (Belgian, Spanish, Danish, Dutch, and Latvian) and several large grain-trading offices such as the “Bureau of Shtring Y.M.” and Bureau of Konke and Co.”. The French steamship company “Paque and Co.”, the “Agency of the Voluntary Fleet” and the “Agency of Foreign Steamships” also rented houses on this street. Only two buildings of that time have survived, No. 13 and No. 11. Currently, the “Standart” contains about three dozen old buildings including the house numbers: 3, 6, 7, 12, 18, 20, 21, and 23 on Tikhostupa Street; numbers: 13 and 17 on Elevatornaia Street; and numbers: 4, 8, and 12 on Pervomayskaia Street.

The building of the railway station, originally built in 1885-1888 with elements of Art Nouveau, subsequently went under several stages of reconstruction. In April 1885, began the construction of a railway from Tikhoretsk to Novorossiysk via Ekaterinodar.⁴⁹ In the same year, at three stations, including Novorossiysk, they began laying foundations for “passenger buildings.” On June 25 (July 7), 1888, the Ekaterinodar-Novorossiysk railway line of the Vladikavkaz railway was put into operation. The grand opening ceremony took place at the terminal station (Novorossiysk). In 1914, an extension of the passenger pavilion from the side of the platform was built.⁵⁰ In the 1930s, the passenger

49. Отчет по сооружению Новороссийской ветви Владикавказской железной дороги на 1 января 1890г. [Report on the construction of the Novorossiysk branch of the Vladikavkaz Railway as of January, 1890] (Saint Petersburg: 1890), pp. 8-10.

50. NF GAKK, fond 454, opis 2, delo 91, list, 159.

terminal was completely renovated by removing the passenger pavilion and adding a two-story building on each side. The facade of the building was created using elements of neoclassicism. The building was badly damaged during the war and in 1947 it underwent a restoration that preserved its architectural appearance of the pre-war period.

In the modern city, there are a number of surviving historic buildings, which at the time dominated the cityscape. These include: the Cossack barracks (1892), located at the “Russian Standard”; the Commercial Agency of Vladikavkaz Railway (1889); the postal and telegraph agency of the port (1914), situated in the port area; and the building of elevator in the north-eastern part of the city.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Portovaia (formerly, Berogovaia) Street served as a thoroughfare for the business life in the entire city, which certainly affected the architectural appearance of the street. There were both public and industrial buildings and structures. The architectural perspective of Portovaia Street began with the stone-built Minor elevator tower. This was one of eight towers built in 1898 to accelerate the loading, cleaning, and sorting of grain.⁵¹ Next to it is an eclectic two-story building featuring elements of art nouveau and romanesque styles. Another example of an industrial structure of the time is the building of the former stone-made granaries, built in 1910, by the engineer Morgulis.⁵² Also worth noting are the residential buildings numbers: 20, 22, and 40. Further, it is impossible to pass without noticing the corner building of the Trade Mission of Italy, executed in the pseudo-classic style, demonstrating an exquisite yet restrained appearance.

Unfortunately, we do not know the name of the architect who designed one of the most considerable buildings, not only on Portovaia Street, but also in the entire northwestern part of the Tsemess Bay, namely, that of the Commercial Agency of the Vladikavkaz Railway (1889). The Agency was engaged in fulfilling the orders of grain owners for the storage, delivery, and sale of grain cargos in the city of Novorossiysk. After the revolution of 1917, the building took the name of the Palace of Labour. It was severely damaged during

51. *Port constructions ...*

52. *Chernomorskoe Poberezhie*, (24 August 1911), Gerasimenko, *History of Novorossiysk ...*, p. 68.

the war, and later restored by the hands of the port workers. Unfortunately, the beautiful two-story building of the Hotel “France” built in 1905 has not been preserved. It was destroyed during the battles for the city in September 1943. The city also lost the two-story building of the Agency of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (the largest steamship company active since 1860), which had been one of the first buildings on Portovaia Street.⁵³ In 1910, Novorossiysk contained 5 Orthodox churches, 1 Catholic church, 2 synagogues, 1 Armenian church, and 1 Lutheran church.

On June 26, 1916, the City Council held a general meeting of persons sympathetic to the establishment of the Museum of Nature and History of the Black Sea Coast of the Caucasus in Novorossiysk. At the meeting, the Vice-Governor of Chernomorskaia gubernia, L. A. Senko-Popovskiy, addressed the audience proclaiming, “... a call and earnest request to help realize what all of us and all of Russia’s cultural world feel a shortage of, what will be an attraction to the region and the city and will make our pride.”⁵⁴ L. A. Senko-Popovskiy was elected the chairman of the museum. With the establishment of Soviet power in Novorossiysk, the museum was placed under the jurisdiction of the City Council. The museum received much contribution and effort from the head of the Department of the Off-School Education, F. V. Gladkov, and the head of the Department of Arts, V. E. Meyerhold. During the war, the museum lost almost everything it had. The building was nearly destroyed. The collections were plundered and the research library vanished. Only a few boxes with some of the exhibition materials and scientific documentation were evacuated in Tbilisi. The revival of the museum began in January, 1944. The old building of the museum was cleaned from the rubble and the surviving artifacts were extracted from the debris. By the end of 1947, the museum’s collection already had 4,435 specimens, and its library contained 200 books. In the 1950s, extensive archaeological research was launched in the region. Major archaeological contributions were made by V. D. Blavadskiy, N. A. Onayko, and A. V. Dmitriev. There was also a close cooperation with various foreign museums. In 1977, the decision was made to attach to the museum

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 24

54. Фонды НМ (?) [Collection of the Novorossiysk Museum?], spec. 5320/85, p.11.

the house in which during the period of 1926–1928 the writer N.A. Ostrovskiy, the author of “How the Steel Was Tempered”, had lived and worked. Later, the house museum of N. A. Ostrovskiy became the museum’s literary-memorial department. The current collection has been assembled for the last 55 years. It consists of about 200,000 specimens, which provide a full and comprehensive picture of the history of the development of Novorossiysk and the region from the time of the first human settlements in this area until the present.

Along the entire coastline from Novorossiysk to Sukhumi runs a highway⁵⁵ over 500 km in length. Its construction began in the famine year of 1891 under the supervision of General Annenkov. In pre-revolutionary literature it was referred to as the “hungry” construction. The construction of the road took a lot of money. In some months, the number of workers reached 16,000 people. When the road was finished, it quickly, “formed a major thoroughfare of the local economic life.” Novorossiysk received an excellent opportunity for permanent communication along the coast.

Outside the city, on both sides of the highway, the country life gradually unfolded. Both individual summer houses and whole villages surrounded by orchards began to appear. One of such clusters of summer homes emerged on the north-eastern shore of the Tsemess Bay behind the cement plant “Tsep”.⁵⁶ One of the oldest summer houses, and that of a bizarre architecture, belonged to Georgiev. Nearby, was the summer cottage of Asmolov, with a garden of interesting plants; the villa of Bukolova; the mansion of Ermolov, built in the Moorish style; and the castle-like summer house of Prince B. B. Golitsyn,⁵⁷ built by the architect Karlinskiy. Worth noting is also the summer house of A. N. Shensnovich,⁵⁸ a renowned figure in the history of Novorossiysk. Under his direction, a three-phase current power plant and the mechanical part of the elevator were built. Until now,

55. S. I. Vasiukov, *Край гордой красоты* [The land of proud beauty] (Saint Petersburg: A. F. Devrien, 1903), p. 22.

56. F.P. Dobrokhotov (ed.), *Черноморское побережье Кавказа. Справочная книга* [The Black Sea coast of the Caucasus. A guidebook], (Petrograd: M.A. and V.A. Suvorins, 1916), p. 30.

57. *Справочник и путеводитель по Черноморской губернии на 1899* [Reference and guide book to the Chernomorskaya Guberniia 1899] (Novorossiysk: 1899), p. 57.

58. RGAVMF, фонд 406, opis 3, delo 682, list 532.

only two buildings from the summer village have survived. These are the houses of Prince B. B. Golitsyn and A. N. Shensnovich. B. B. Golitsyn was a Russian physicist and geophysicist, one of the founders of seismology, and a full member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. He developed the theory and design of electrodynamic seismographs as well as approached the quantum theory in physics.

At the 9th kilometre of the Novorossiysk-Sukhumi highway, was the Elizavetinskaia Sanatorium.⁵⁹ It was built for treating soldiers wounded in the Russian-Japanese War of 1904-1905 by the initiative of Grand Duchess Elizaveta Fedorovna, glorified by the church. The sanatorium, designed by the municipal architect N. N. Karlinskiy, was opened for treatment in September 1904. During the World War II, most of the buildings were destroyed, and of the entire complex, only one residential building has survived.

At the 14th kilometre, in the Penayskoe Stow, there was the estate of Professor P. I. Kovalevskiy known as “Pavlovka”. Professor Kovalevskiy resided in St. Petersburg, but from time to time he visited Novorossiysk to give lectures on the treatment of kidney diseases and other illnesses. After the revolution, the estate was transformed into the anti-tubercular sanatorium for children under the jurisdiction of Health Department of the Trade Union of Water Transport Workers. Today, it houses the Novorossiysk Faculty of the Krasnodar Law Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia.

In the 1920s, several cottages near Novorossiysk, which formerly belonged to: Svestopulo, Andreys, Podushko, Golitsyn, Asmolov, Ermorlova, Garbuzov, Kozlovskiy, Karakaev, Tenediyev, Medvedev, and Shensnovich, were jointly made into the Children’s Labour Colony of the Children’s City.⁶⁰ After World War II, the surviving building of the Golitsyn’s estate was used for housing. Today, it is in a ruined state, like the summer cottage of Shensnovich. Communication between the settlements was maintained by horse-driven cabs and automobiles along a winding dirt road. Only in present day did it become possible to widen, straighten and pave the road with asphalt.

On the Black Sea coast, near the mountain-lake Abrau and the mountain-river Dyurso, sits the beautiful southern village of

59. *Chernomorets*, (48,49 November 1994).

60. NF GAKK, fond r-9, opis 1, delo 60, list 29.

Abrau-Dyurso. In order to make this area really flourish, in 1868, the head of the Chernomorskiy okrug, Major-General Pilenko, appealed to Tsar Alexander II, “with the most up-to-date report on the adoption of a beautiful area near the sea, by the picturesque, deep lake Abrau, among the last branches of the Caucasian ridge, located 25 versts from Novorossiysk, under the jurisdiction of the Regional Office...” A special commission sent to inspect the area found “it expedient to take the area into the management of the Office.”⁶¹ In Autumn of 1870, the tsar issued a decree that established a new special regional estate under the name of Abrau-Dyurso. This beautiful piece of nature was supposed to be turned into one of the royal residences by building a small palace in the estate. However, because of the feverish climate, this idea was subsequently abandoned.

After the tsar’s decree, which prescribed to set up a farm for the cultivation of various crops in the estate, the settlement of the area followed. Two years later, agronomist of the Chernomorskiy okrug, F.I. Geyduk, brought 20,000 vines of Riesling grapes from Germany to the estate. This laid the foundation of winemaking in Abrau-Dyurso. The similar composition of the soil and climatic conditions in Abrau and Champagne, along with the presence of good basement tunnels facilitated the organization of champagne production. Today it is the only enterprise in Russia where champagne is made in the classic way, in which the product is aged in bottles.⁶² The wines produced here were in demand and receive the following awards: a Grand Silver Medal of the Agricultural Exhibition in Taganrog (1899); a Small Silver Medal of the Second Caucasian Exhibition of Garden Cultures (1899); a Postal Review at the World Exhibition in Paris (1900); and a Grand Gold Medal of the Jubilee Caucasian Exhibition (1901).

Some buildings of the Abrau-Dyurso special estate have survived until today. These are the Orthodox Church and School of St. Nikolay (1898-1900, nowadays a primary school); the main building of the table wine factory (1907); the residential house for the families of wine-makers (late nineteenth century); and a pump-house (late nineteenth century). In 1904, in the central part of Novorossiysk

61. V. Smeiukha, *Там на полуострове Абрау* [There, on the Abrau Peninsula] (Krasnodar: Knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1988), p. 52.

62. Gerasimenko, *History of Novorossiysk ...*, p. 81.

(Raevskaia and Mikhaylovskaya streets), the building of the Regional Office of Abrau-Dyurso was built.⁶³ Today, it is a residential building.

The stow of Shirokaia Balka is the best holiday destination in the vicinity of Novorossiysk. It was, “a clean, remote and poorly populated corner of nature”. By the beginning of the twentieth century, all the suitable plots of land in the Shirokaia Balka were sold to private individuals for summer cottages. Then, among others, estates of Kuleshevich, Andreeva, and Byaletskiy appeared alongside summer residences of Obruchev, Rozhdestvenskiy, and Zvyagintseva. The land offered everything that was good to improve one’s health – a magnificent beach, healthy climate, and an abundance of grapes and fruits. Therefore, in 1908 the landowners in this area organized themselves in the Society of the Caucasian Seaside Resort “Shirokaia Balka”. However, the development of the Shirokaia Balka as a resort went rather slowly. The government did not have the means to develop recreational areas. The First World War began. Following, the beach suffered great damage during World War II, as well. Copious amounts of building material was required to restore the destroyed Novorossiysk after the war. For this reason, the beach was exploited for quarrying gravel required for making concrete. The quarrying disturbed the balance of soils that had existed there for a long time. Though over time, however, the beach restored itself and the Shirokaia Balka became a resort area yet again.⁶⁴

With the outbreak of the World War I and the closure of the Dardanelles, the exports and imports turnover in the port of Novorossiysk dropped. Domination of German cruisers in the Black Sea and the repeated bombing of the city significantly restricted the coastal navigation. Since that time, virtually all construction activities in the city ceased, and the population size decreased.

The years of the Civil War inflicted Novorossiysk severely. The cement plants stopped their operation and the port died down. The “whites” accompanied their retreat with great destructions. The granaries and elevators were burned down, and the railway warehouses and many other facilities were destroyed. On December 1 (14), 1917, the Soviets established their power in the city.

63. *Novorossiysk, Anapa and Ekaterinodar ...*, p. 28.

64. Gerasimenko, *History of Novorossiysk ...*, p. 81.

16.

Oil and soil: the role of Batoum's economic development in shaping of geopolitical significance of the Caucasus

Eka Tchkoidze

“If the British had their Achilles' heel in India,
the Russians had theirs in the Caucasus.”

Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game (On Secret Service in High Asia)*,
London 1990, p. 285.

“And the tribes are wild in those gorges,
Their God is – freedom, their law – the war...
There's not a crime to hit the enemy;
There is true friendship, but rather true revenge;
There for good – the good, and for blood – the blood,
And the hatred is immeasurable, as love.”¹

M. Y. Lermontov, Ismail-Bei, *The Oriental Novel*, Part I, III.

General Introduction: the Caucasus and the Russian Empire in the 19th century

Batoum,² a seaside city on the Black Sea east coast, is the capital of Atchara, otherwise known as, Adjara Autonomous Republic or

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1. “И дики тех ущелий племена,
Им бог – свобода, их закон – война...
Там поразить врага не преступленье;
Верна там дружба, но вернее мщенье;
Там за добро — добро, и кровь — за кровь,
И ненависть безмерна, как любовь”.

Quoted from: M. Y. Lermontov, *Стихотворения и поэмы* (Избранные произведения в двух томах, т. 1) [*Poems and epic poems* (Selected works in 2 volumes)] (Moscow-Leningrad: 1938), p. 220.

2. English spelling “Batoum” has been replaced by its modern form Batumi

Southwest Georgia. Since 1878, it served as an important port and a commercial center, not only for Georgia, but for the entire Russian Empire. In 1878, Batoum was reunified with Georgia by the Russian Empire after its victory over the Ottoman Empire in the last Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878.³ Though, Russia's interest in Batoum arose much earlier at the beginning of the 19th century. The "Batoum Case" should be examined within the framework of the general interest of the Russian Empire in the Caucasus (picture 16.1). From the very beginning of the 19th century, Russia started to implement expansive plans in this region. The first target was the conquest of Georgia: in 1801 its Eastern parts and in 1810 its Western parts were included into the Tsarist Russia.⁴ With the acquisition of Georgia, Russia was able to reactivate the imperialistic policies of Peter and Catherine the Great. Domination over Georgia and generally the Caucasus was a part of Russia's ambitions towards the Black Sea. Access to the Black Sea would strengthen its

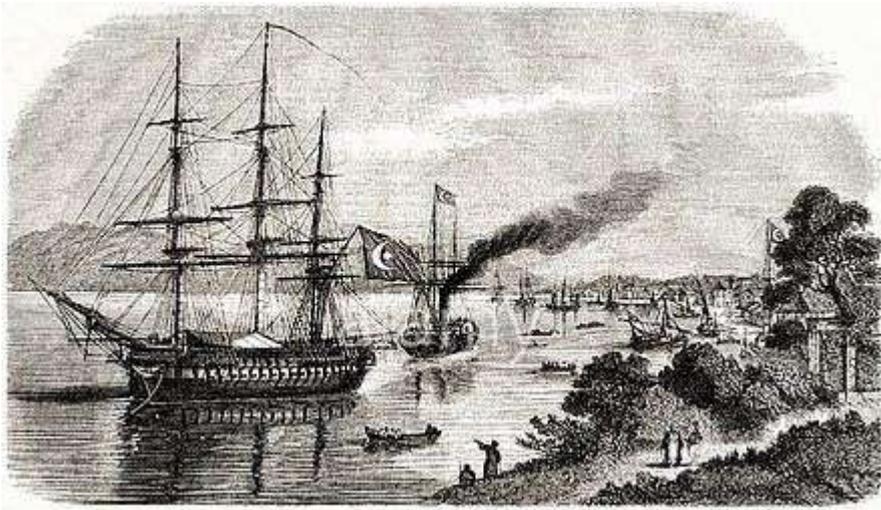
(ბათუმი), see Ch. King, *The Black Sea (A History)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004), p. xii. In the 19th century two main forms were used: Batoum/Batum, in Greek Βατούμ [coming from Greek "βαθύς" = deep – because of its extremely deep harbor]. During the Ottoman Empire it was mentioned even as "Batoom" in British documents. See characteristic examples in H. Greenhalgh (editorial), R. L. Jarman (Research), *British Archives on the Caucasus (Georgia/Adjara 1830-1921), Adjara and the Ottoman Empire 1830-1878*, (London: Archival Publications International 2003), pp. 15, 479. For Batum see M. A. Reynolds, *The Ottoman-Russian struggle for Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus, 1908-1918: Identity, Ideology and the Geopolitics of world order*, (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, Princeton: 2003), p. 32; M. H. Yavuz-P. Sluglett, *War and diplomacy, the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of Berlin*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011), p. 600; W. E. D. Allen, P. Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields (A history of the wars on the Turco-Caucasian border 1828-1921)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1953), p. 22. Speaking about Batumi in general we prefer its modern ascription, in historical context its "classical" form "Batoum" is preferred.

3. It is characterized by many contemporary specialists as the most brilliant war of Russia with Turkey, see: N. Shavrov, "Багум, Потп, Сухум и значения их для России" [Batoum, Poti, Sukhum and their importance for Russia], *Кавказ*, № 34, (12 February 1881), p. 1 (see below details about the author and the article).

4. The conquest of both parts of Georgia, as it is characterized by contemporary scholars of that period, "extended Russia's sway from the Caspian to the Black Sea". J. F. Baddeley, *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus* (with maps, plans, and illustrations), (London: 1908), p. 63.

greatness by weakening “automatically” the ability of the Ottomans and the Tatar Khans to threaten Russia’s new possessions in the south.⁵ So, the humiliation of Turkey and Persia, and the removal of the British (to whom Persia was important as a buffer state for India), were all now possible. The control of the Caspian, and the annexation of the Central Asian Khanates and kingdoms of Bukhara, Khiva, and Samarkand, offered a glittering prospect in the first half of the 19th century.⁶ The final purpose of this expansion was the whole of the Far East, with its vast resources and markets, before these fell to other predators. Thus, Russia would become a great economic power, as well as a great military one.⁷ This was somehow managed in the 1890s-1910s, before the WW1 and the October Revolution, as it will be seen in the given article.

Picture 16.1 Batoum under Ottoman rule



At the beginning of the 19th century, Alexander I’s (1801-1825)

5. King, *The Black Sea...*, p. 144.

6. L. Kelly, *Diplomacy and Murder in Tehran (Alexander Griboyedov and Imperial Russia’s Mission to the Shah of Persia)*, (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2006), p. 48.

7. P. Hopkirk, *The Great game (On Secret Service in High Asia)*, (London: John Murray, 1990), p. 502.

sway in Transcaucasia extended from sea to sea.⁸ These successes, diplomatic rather than military, brought however, serious trouble in their trail. It was absolutely predictable and logical that Russia faced two main rivals: Persia and the Ottoman Empire (both of which were Islamic countries) in its ambition to dominate in the Caucasus,⁹ as it was the only region which stretched from the Caspian to the Black Sea.¹⁰ As Turkey did in the west, Persia in the east soon saw that war with Russia was inevitable. For Russia, it was of paramount importance to establish her sovereignty firmly and finally on both the Caspian and the Black Seas, realizing that under no other condition could her position in Transcaucasia be safeguarded against Persia and Turkey.¹¹ It was articulated many times by contemporary analysts and military officers that Russia's extension to the Caucasus was automatically both the domination on two seas, and at the same time, the defense against Turkey and Persia.¹² Almost simultaneously, Russia's victory against Napoleon rose its political prestige in Europe. So, by 1801, the annexation of

8. "From sea to sea" – it became Russia's foreign policy's watchword since she realized the importance of being the sea power instead of the land-based (see details below).

9. Two Islamic countries' reaction is well formulated by Baddeley: "two great Muhammadan Powers could not fail to take alarm at the rapid progress of Russia" see Baddeley, *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus...*, p. 68. This rival trigon (Persia, Russia, the Ottoman Empire) was created especially after the conquest of Georgia. A. N. Petrov, "Русская военная сила" [Russian military strength], in *Императорская Россия с 1689 по 1891 год* [Imperial Russia from 1689 to 1891], (Moscow: 1892), p. 221. The mountaineers of the North Caucasus played also an active role in this trigon supporting always Persia and Turkey, see: *ibid.*, p. 306.

10. Concerning the Ottoman Empire and the Black Sea region we always should bear in mind that it was the first power since antiquity to gain effective control of all shores of the Black Sea and the only power ever to hold the region for three centuries. Thus arose the term "Ottoman lake" to refer to the Black Sea. The Black Sea's strategic importance was the result of two main factors. First, because it was an extension of the Mediterranean Sea and the meeting point of the Mediterranean powers and the great steppe empires, such as the Old Turks and the Mongols. In addition, the region itself was extremely rich in resources. G. Ágoston, B. Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Facts on File, 2009), p. 90. Domination in Georgia was extremely important as it would enable Russia to become the Black sea power, see *ibid.*, p. 94.

11. Baddeley, *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus...*, p. 70.

12. See characteristically: Petrov, *Russian military strength...*, p. 309.

Georgia represented the beginning of a new era in Russian imperialism. As previously mentioned, the following decade saw further conflict with both Turkey and Persia, complicated by the repercussions of the Napoleonic wars.¹³

The Russian conquests of the first half of the 19th century left Iran with a reduced Caspian coastline. In 1801, the “annexation of the ancient and independent kingdom of Georgia,”¹⁴ which Persia regarded as lying within its own sphere of influence, brought Russian troops rather too close to Teheran. Although Persian feelings ran high, actual hostilities did not break out between the two powers until June 1804, when the Russians thrust even further south, laying siege to Erevan, the capital of Armenia, which was a Christian possession of the Shah’s.¹⁵ Thus, in 1804, the government of Iran broke out a war against Russia (1804-1813) in the hopes of helping England and the Caucasian mountaineers.¹⁶ After its defeat in 1813, Persia abandoned all pretensions to all parts of Georgia and Daghestan (eastern North Caucasus).¹⁷ Moreover, Persia entered a long period of decline and owed its survival to the rivalry between Russia and Britain. The latter preferred to maintain independent, but weak buffer states separated their dominions.¹⁸ In this context, it is important to examine Great Britain’s attitude towards Georgia, as well. Its occupation by Russia was regarded as very dangerous: “Russia’s occupation of Georgia overawes Central

13. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 19.

14. Hopkirk, *The Great game...*, p. 32.

15. *Ibid*, p. 32.

16. The good relationship and support of the Ottoman Empire to the Mountaineers of the North Caucasus is well documented in the soviet bibliography. See characteristically N. A. Smirnov, *Политика России на Кавказе в XVI-XIX веках* [Russian policy towards the Caucasus in the 16th-19th centuries], (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo sotsialo-ekonomicheskoi literatury, 1959), p. 223.

17. Baddeley, *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus...*, p. 90. Daghestan was, in fact, destined to remain a major military problem of the Russian empire for the following 50 years. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 20.

18. R. Hrair Dekmejian, Hovann H. Simonian, *Troubled Waters: the Geopolitics of the Caspian Region*, (London-New York: I.B.Tauris, 2003), p. 13. Meanwhile, Britain introduced its own troops into southern Persia, which resulted in the effective partition of the country into British and Russian spheres of influence lasting until the WW1, *ibid*, p. 14.

Asia, as her occupation of Finland overawes Northern Europe.”¹⁹ The British Late Consul-General at Baghdad, and Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, H. C. Rawlinson, wrote in 1855: “To attack the Russians successfully in Georgia would possess for us special and direct advantages, in addition to those general advantages which it would share with all military successes wheresoever gained... It is impossible not to recognize the great – almost the paramount – importance of a Georgian campaign.”²⁰

From the beginning of Russia’s domination over the Caucasus it was perceived as the North and the South.²¹ Tbilisi (Tiflis), the capital of Georgia, was “appointed”, to some extent, as the political, administrative, military, cultural, and economic center of both parts. A few years later the Caucasian wars started. The wars are officially dated to have lasted between 1817-1864, but actually started with the conquest of Georgia.²²

19. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 469. “The Caucasus, Persia and Afghanistan the fuse which led to both British India and the Tsar’s Central Asian domains”, see: Hopkirk, *The Great game...*, p. 522. Great Britain’s acute interest in Georgia should be examined within the framework of its general scopes, mainly commercial, in Persia and to a broader extent, to India. See details Kelly, *Diplomacy and Murder in Tehran...*, p. 75.

20. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 478.

21. For the Caucasus’ south part there are two terms in use: “Transcaucasia” and the “South Caucasus”. For a long period of time the larger area of which modern Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan were a part was termed Transcaucasia. It is not difficult to trace the source of such naming since this was the region that lay beyond the Caucasus mountain range as viewed from the old imperial Russia. Right up to the recent past one came across this outdated geopolitical label. T. Grdzeldidze, *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos, Two Eleventh-Century Lives of the Hagiomenoi of Iviron*, (London: Bennett & Bloom 2009), p. 12. In this case we follow the same principal like “Batumi/Batoum”. When it comes to the historical context (sources, 19th-20th c. publications, archival material and etc.), the term “Transcaucasia” will be used. In comments, analysis and conclusions the “South Caucasus” is preferred.

22. Petrov, *Russian military strength...*, p. 306.

Batoum in Russia’s Strategic and Political Plans

“The Bay of Batoum is well sheltered and forms a port capable of containing a very large number of ships... Batoum would certainly be of immense value to Russia, it would give her an excellent port of which she is so much in need”.

J. Brant, British vice-consul in Trabzon in 1830, Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 3.

“For us the Black Sea is the main sea connecting us with Europe, from which we expect every good and help for our economic development”.

Niko Nikoladze, cited from ნ. ნიკოლაძე (N. Nikoladze), *თხზულებები (Works)*, Vol. 6 (1878), თბილისი Tbilisi 1970, p. 57.

Since the 16th century, some regions of historic Georgia, in her South-Western part (e.g. Batoum, the wider area of Atchara and Axaltsikhe), were included as provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The reunification to Georgia was always a main priority of Georgia’s external policy. When Georgia became a part of the Russian Empire (the main rival of the Ottoman Empire at that time), it seemed to be the most appropriate period for the reunification of these regions. Thus, the Georgians actively participated in all Russo-Turkish wars, and concretely in those of: 1806-18012, 1828-1819, and 1853-1856 (the Crimean War).²³ We absolutely agree that after the Crimean War, the solution of the Western maritime powers (Great Britain and France) given to the Eastern concern definitely had a maritime emphasis.²⁴ So, it was Russia’s urgent necessity to shift from the “land-based Eurasian power”²⁵ to the maritime power, in order to become the absolute Eurasian power.

At the beginning of the 1870s, the Ottoman part started to pre-

23. O. Turmanidze, „რუსეთ-ოსმალეთის 1877-1878 წლების ომი და სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს დაბრუნება“ [The Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878 and the return of South-Western Georgia], in სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები /*Essays on history of SW Georgia*, p. 43.

24. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 221.

25. E. Walberg, *Postmodern imperialism – Geopolitics and Great Games*, (Atlanta: Clarity Press, 2011), p. 30. About Russia’s transformation from the “land-based” to the “sea” power see further details below.

pare for a new war. The Russians remained neither idle nor inert. They responded with an original tactic. They decided to adapt a “friendly” approach, but with a clear ideological connotation that the Georgian population of Turkey, and especially that of Atchara, by sending outstanding personalities, mainly, well-known Georgians such as: scholars, writers, and public figures.²⁶ At the same time in whole Georgia, voluntary military groups were created. They aimed at supporting the Russian authorities in the forthcoming war because in the case of a victory, Atchara along with Batoum would again become a part of Georgia.²⁷ Thus, Batoum was probably the only instance (at least during the 19th century) in which the Georgian people supported the Russian authorities by all means.

The annexation of Batoum should be examined as a part of general changes of the Russian Empire at the mid of the 19th century. Actually, it was the period of a new era of Islam in Russia. The majority of regions annexed during the reign of Alexander II (1855-81)

26. Hence we have a big number of memoirs and scholarly investigations written by them. Some examples to be mentioned: Dimitri Bakradze, *Археологическое петешествие в Гурии и Ачаре* [Archeological travels to Guria and Atchara] (Saint Petersburg: 1878), the well-known historian traveled there in 1878 and his book was published in Russian; Giorgi Kazbegi, an outstanding military figure, visited the region in 1874 and published his composition in Russian, entitled: *Три месяца в Турецкой Грузии* [Three Months in Turkish Georgia] (Tiflis: 1876). Also, at that period all Georgian newspapers, mainly of Tiflis, had extensive publications about this region and its population with a strong, direct or indirect, message: despite they are a part of the Ottoman Empire and Muslims, they are Georgians. The most representative in this regard is an article „ოსმალის საქართველო“ [Osmalos saqartvelo/“Ottoman Georgia”] by the “father” of the Georgian nation Ilia Chavchavadze (1837-1907) published in the newspaper “Iveria” (the founder and editor himself), № 9, 1877: “We [the Georgians generally and the Georgians of the Ottoman Empire] are of the same blood and flesh, of the same language and of the same history... We are not afraid of the fact that our brothers who live in the Ottoman Georgia, are now of Muslim faith... I am sure that the Georgian will embrace brotherly his brother and if for this joy is necessary to lave our blood, I am sure the Georgian will do this”. Quoted from: *ილია ჭავჭავაძე* (Ilia Chavchavadze), *თხზულებათა სრული კრებული 10 ტომად* (Full collection of works in 10 volumes), პ. ინგოროკვა (რედ.) P. Ingorokva (ed.), Vol. 4 (თბ. Tbilisi: 1955), pp. 9-14.

27. For example, in Western Georgia more than 20 % of men of “military age” became members of such voluntary groups. Even underage persons demanded to become members. Turmanidze, “The Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878....”, pp. 45-46. Their preparation and training started in December of 1876. Ibid, p. 47.

were Islamic.²⁸ This was ultimately a result of the Russian authorities' victory in the Caucasian Wars of 1864.²⁹ The annexation of the regions of Western Armenia and Southern Georgia (Muslim Lazistan) followed as a result of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878.³⁰

Russia's interest in Batoum was specific and very practical given that it did not have a convenient port on the eastern coast of the Black Sea.³¹ After conquering Georgia, it possessed only three important ports there, located in: Poti, Sokhumi, and Redut-Kale (all of them Georgian). Poti was regarded as the best at the eastern coast of the Black Sea replacing the Port of Redut-Kale.³² The Russian Empire spent a lot of money to construct ports in these towns, but none of them served as a convenient port because they were not safe in windy weathers. In this regard, Batoum's location was more than ideal. Its acquisition became especially important for the Tsarist Russia after defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856). Besides the port's convenient location, Batoum could also serve as a short transit way from Great Britain to Iran.³³ Thus, through the Batoum Port, England could dominate in Asia Minor. This ambition came into conflict with Tsarist Russia's interests. Russia's southward ex-

28. D. Lieven (ed.), *Cambridge History of Russia*, Vol. II (*Imperial Russia 1689-1917*), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 210. While much of the conquered population was Muslim, there were differences in degree of attachment to Islamic orthodoxy. The Muslim population included both Sunnis and Shi'ites, as well as powerful Sufi movements, see: Dekmejia, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, p. 11.

29. Major-General A. N. Petrov mentions this war as "cruel". According to him, there were 3 main reasons for which the peoples of the North Caucasus were so successful against the Russian authorities: 1. they are good warriors, 2. their religious fanaticism, 3. Caucasus' topography (extremely difficult and inaccessible places), Petrov, *Russian military strength...*, p. 306.

30. Lieven, *Cambridge History of Russia...*, p. 210.

31. "The port of Batoum, which is much coveted by Russia, is the only secure port along the east coast of the Black Sea. It is small, but vessels of the largest tonnage call in it, almost alongside of the shingle bank upon which the small, miserable town of Batoum is built". Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 511.

32. Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on Batoum and its future prospects dated to 08/04/1882. Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1089.

33. Trade way to Persia through Batoum would be antagonistic to Trabzon-Erzurum-Tabriz transit way of England through the Ottoman empire. M. Sioridze, ბათუმის სავაჭრო 125 [Batumi customs 125], (Batumi: 2003), p. 37.

pansion was perceived as a threat to British control of India.³⁴ The East, Central Asia, and India were a triptych where British interests would manifold.³⁵ By mapping the progress of their trading posts, protection of which was the main interest, the line of advance towards India could be monitored by Russia. Yet, two could play at that game (both Russia and Britain). Thus, the superiority of British goods was used to halt the advance of the Russian merchants, and after a few years became official British policy.³⁶ This rivalry of Britain within the Great Game (see below for further details) is characterized as “Russophobia”,³⁷ and the politicians adopting this attitude were regarded as “Russophobe”.³⁸ Although, in the second half of the 19th century, it became clear that the Russians’ real objective was not Calcutta, but Constantinople.³⁹ In this context, the last Russo-Turkish war and Batoum’s case should be examined as its extension.

By conquering Batoum, Russia could: (1) block Britain in this area,⁴⁰ (2) strengthen its positions in the South Caucasus,⁴¹ and (3) keep control over the Ottoman Empire and on the whole Eastern coast of the Black Sea having an easy access to Asia Minor, as well.⁴²

34. Russia’s expansion to eastwards after the Crimean War into Central Asia concerned the British, who feared a potential attempt to invade India. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 469. Although British anxieties were first provoked by Peter the Great’s moves into Central Asia, only in the 19th century did the Russo-British rivalry intensify, prompting R. Kipling’s famous reference to the conflict as the “Great Game”. The construction of a Russian railway network, the Trans-Caspian and Transcaucasian, alarmed the British, who had not built railways in their Indian dominions. Dekmejian, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, p. 10. We shall give more details to railway’s significant role for Baku’s oil transportation via Batumi’s harbour to global markets.

35. King, *The Black Sea...*, p. 174.

36. Hopkirk, *The Great game...*, p. 132.

37. *Ibid*, p. 32.

38. *Ibid*, p. 153.

39. *Ibid*, p. 446.

40. Britain had long depended on a privileged relationship with the Ottoman sultan to secure trading rights in the Levant, see King, *The Black Sea...*, p. 174.

41. A. Surguladze, პორტო-ფრანკო ბათუმში [Porto-Franco in Batumi], in სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები /*Essays on history of SW Georgia*, p. 267.

42. A. Surguladze, M. Sioridze, პორტო-ფრანკო ბათუმში [Porto-Franco in Batumi], (Batumi: 1996), pp. 17-18.

Batoum could help Russia to make the Black Sea exclusively a Russian sea, as it was foreseen by Carl Marx.⁴³ Antagonism between Great Britain and the Russian Empire towards Batoum was acute before and after the liberation of this region. It is not accidental that these two countries were the first to open their consulates in the town. Great Britain had an advantage by opening the first consulate there in the 1840s with vice-consul,⁴⁴ with a clear lead even over Russia, which did not open her own consulate until 1856.

It is clear that at that time, Batoum's economic perspectives were not taken into account. It only had strategic and military significance,⁴⁵ as it was situated on important roads. In addition, Batoum's port would quickly and easily replace all three of the aforementioned Georgian ports of the Russian empire,⁴⁶ and serve as the most important on the eastern coast of the Black Sea.

Batoum's First Years within the Tsarist Russia (1878-1886)

Agreement of San Stefano

After the victory of Russia over the Ottoman Empire, the agreement of San Stefano was signed (February 19th [March 3rd], 1878).⁴⁷ According to article 19, the Ottomans were obliged to pay to Russia 1,410 million rubles. Being unable to pay this astronomical amount of money, the Turks ceded the territories of historic Georgia and

43. Carl Marx article published on 14/06/1853 in "New York daily tribune", № 3794. Quoted from C. Marx, F. Engels, *Сочинения* [Works], Vol. 9 (Moscow: 1957), p. 117.

44. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 45; M. Sioridze, „უცხოეთის ქვეყნების საკონსულოები ბათუმში“, [Foreign consulates in Batumi], in *Essays on history of Batumi*, p. 190.

45. Niko Nikoladze, *Obzor* № 318, 27/11/1878 quoted from N. Nikoladze, *თხზულებები* (Works), Vol. 6 (1878), თბილისი (Tbilisi: 1970), p. 569. In the same article N. Nikoladze notes: "On the shore of Anatolia till Constantinople nothing can be compared to Batoum from geographic and maritime point of view". *Ibid*, 569.

46. "It is generally believed it [= Batoum] will as easily replace Poti in about the same manner as some 26 years ago the latter replaced Redout-Kale". Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on Batoum and its future prospects, 08/04/1882, Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1089.

47. The whole text of the agreement of San-Stefano in Russian *Сборник договоров*

Armenia instead, among other regions were: Ardahan, Artvin, Batoum, Kars, Artanuji, Olti, and Beyazit.⁴⁸ In total, these territories (totaling 23,108 km²) were added to the South Caucasus from which 15,392 km² were historically Georgian.⁴⁹ The Russian part regarded that their own, clear profits from this victory were very small, since the biggest profit was shared among the Balkan peoples. Actually, the Russian profit consisted of a small territory on lower Danube, Kars, and Batoum,⁵⁰ of which Batoum was the most significant.⁵¹

According to the same agreement (in article 21), a period of 3 years⁵² was set for population exchange (the so-called period of *muhajir/muhacir*⁵³) for those who wanted to move from these territories to Turkey (or anywhere else).⁵⁴ This term had tragic consequences on many, especially Georgian families, since it caused mass change in population.⁵⁵ It is regarded the most tragic incident in the history of Georgia at that time.⁵⁶ For the same reason, this war is charac-

Россия с другими государствами (1856-1917) [Collection of Agreements of Russia with other states (1856-1917)] (Moscow: 1952), pp. 159-175.

48. See details on the whole amount, article No. 19. *Collection of Agreements of Russia...*, p. 169. For regions ceded to Russia, the same article, paragraph ii, *ibid.* p. 170.

49. O. Turmanidze, „რუსული მმართველობის სისტემა და მხარის კოლონიზაცია“ [Russian governmental system and colonization of the regions], in სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები [Essays on history of SW Georgia], p. 62.

50. Petrov, *Russian military strength...*, p. 515.

51. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 222.

52. According to the same article this period should start after Agreement's ratification and should last for 3 years (February 3rd 1879 – February 3rd 1882).

53. Muhajir/muhacir refugee, or settler in Arabic. In the Ottoman Empire those who migrated into the empire with the approval of their state were called muhacirs. The Ottoman state provided housing and provisions to the muhacirs. See details: Yavuz, Sluglett, *War and diplomacy...*, p. 463.

54. Article No. 21. *Collection of Agreements of Russia...*, p. 171.

55. More than 30,000 Muslims (with a few Armenians) from Batum and Artvin abandoned their native lands and migrated to the Ottoman Empire. C. Badem, “Forty Years of Black Days”? The Russian Administration of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum, 1878–1918”, in L. J. Frary-M. Kozelsky, *Russian-Ottoman borderlands: the Eastern question reconsidered*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014, p. 221-222.

56. Ab. Surguladze, „მუჰაჯირობა“ [“Muhajiroba – Period of muhacirs”], in სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები [Essays on history of SW Georgia], p. 68. See in the same article (pp. 68-80) all details about this process and its consequences, Russian official policy in this regard and action/reaction of Georgian elite from Tiflis.

terized as the “worst tragedy of the century.” Not only did it bring about destruction, but it also caused migrations, exile, and captivity.⁵⁷

Berlin Congress

As a matter of fact, in San Stefano, Russia imposed its own terms without any consultation with the European powers.⁵⁸ For this reason, it became necessary to conclude a new treaty. Thus, the Berlin Congress took place. The future of Batoum was discussed broadly as an integral part of the negotiations at the congress.⁵⁹ It is a well-known fact that the purpose of this congress was to restrain Russia from curtailing its plans for the Balkans and Eastern Anatolia as far as possible in order to keep the balance of power.⁶⁰

The Berlin Congress (June 1st – July 1st, 1878) confirmed substantial changes in the military geography of the Russo-Turkish frontier.⁶¹ During this Congress, it was Great Britain which opposed Russia taking Batoum,⁶² given that Russia’s expansion to the south was perceived as its expansion to Constantinople. Specifically, England made a great effort, “to keep open the Suez Canal, no occupation of either Egypt or Constantinople, no changes in the present international regulations of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and protection of the Persian Gulf were enumerated interests.”⁶³ The British minister of foreign affairs, the Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903, in office as Foreign Secretary in 1878-1880), demanded either returning Batoum to Ottoman control or creating a free port zone in an attempt to contain the Russian influence around the region.⁶⁴ Because the first demand was not agreed upon, the British

57. Yavuz, Sluglett, *War and diplomacy...*, p. 452.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 450.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 451.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 429.

61. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 222.

62. T. T. Stefanov, “Исторический очерк вступления русских войск в гор. Батум 25 Августа 1878” [Historical essay of the entry of Russian troops into the city of Batoum on August 25, 1878], in *Батум и его окрестности* [Batoum and its vicinities] (Batoum: 1906), p. 92. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 50.

63. R. Millman, *Britain and the Eastern Question 1875-1878*, (Oxford: 1879), p. 281. See briefly about Britain’s special interests in these regions *ibid.* pp. 274-286.

64. Actually, it was the Prime Minister of Great Britain B. Disraeli who used

then emphasized Batoum's economic status. Hence, it was declared as Porto-Franco, making its neutralization possible,⁶⁵ and giving the town itself an international importance. Specifically, article 58 (LVIII) outlines: "The Sublime Porte cedes to the Russian Empire in Asia the territories of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum [modern Armenia and Georgia, with a bit of Northeastern Turkey], together with the latter port". Article 59 (LIX) denotes: "His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declares that it is his intention to constitute Batoum a free port, essentially commercial" (signed July 13th, 1878). An imposition of free port regime on Batoum was achieved by the Prime-Minister of Great Britain, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881, in office in 1874-1880), which he regarded as a "pleasing" solution,⁶⁶ that would bring, "peace with honor,"⁶⁷ to his country.

After the reunification, the District/Oblast (in Russian: Область, in Georgian: ოლქი) of Batoum was created,⁶⁸ within the framework of Kutaisi's Guberniia (in Russian: Кутаисская Губерния, in Georgian: ქუთაისის გუბერნია). On September 20th, 1878, the Oblast of Batoum (which included extensive territories) was divided into three smaller administrative units, otherwise known as Okrugs (in Russian: округ, in Georgian: ოკრუგი),⁶⁹ and nine gendarme counties (in Russian: уезд, in Georgian: უბანი).⁷⁰ One of

this "diplomatic trick" (Porto Franco regime) for Russia in order to block Russia from being a strong sea power. This demand implied also for Russians to accept the British naval access to the Black sea through the Straits, see: Yavuz, Sluglett, *War and diplomacy...*, pp. 451-452.

65. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 222.

66. Yavuz, Sluglett, *War and diplomacy...*, p. 475, note 10.

67. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 221.

68. For its exact borders see O. Turmanidze, „რუსული მმართველობის სისტემა და მხარის კოლონიზაცია“ [Russian governmental system and colonization of the regions], in სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები [Essays on history of SW Georgia], pp. 55-56.

69. It is very difficult to distinguish differences between "Oblast" and "Okrug". Both mean "district". Although, in administrative hierarchy of the Russian empire the "Oblast" was higher rank than "Okrug".

70. V. Sitchinava, ბათუმის ისტორიიდან (რუსეთთან შეერთება და სოციალურ-ეკონომიური განვითარება 1878-1907 წლებში) [From history of Batumi (Integration with Russia and social and economic development 1878-1907)], (Batumi: 1958), pp. 76-77. Turmanidze, "Russian governmental system...", p. 56; see gen-

the Okrug (town/port), was that of Batoum, which itself was the administrative center of the whole Oblast of Batoum.⁷¹ From the very beginning of Batoum’s existence within the Russian empire it became a place of paramount importance, given that Batoum did not have a competitor on the Eastern shore of the Black Sea.

Porto-Franco regime in Batoum (1878-1886)

“But others here
Live differently.
And not in vain at night
Hear the whistle -
This means that
With dog’s agility
A contrabandist got sneaked out.”⁷²

Sergei Yesenin

Imposition of the Porto Franco (further referred to as, PF) regime was perceived by both Russian officials and Georgian public opinion as Great Britain’s diplomatic victory. In the leading Georgian newspaper, დროება (Droeba meaning Times), two weeks before signing the Berlin Agreement, appeared an interesting article in this regard: “Due to the PF Russia can not build military fortress or establish military navy there [in Batoum]. England will be a country which will gain more profits from this regime... England’s representative, the Earl of

eral information on Russian administrative system and division, V. M. Gribovsky, *Государственное устройство и управление Российской империи* [State organization and governance of the Russian Empire] (Odessa: 1912), pp. 140-142.

71. N. С. Derzhavin, “Историко-географический очерк Батумского края” [Historical and geographical essay of region of Batoum], in *Batoum and its vicinities...*, p. 21.

72. “А другие здесь
Живут иначе,
И недаром ночью
Слышен свист, –
Это значит,
С ловкостью собачьей
Пробирается контрабандист”.

S. Yesenin, “Батум” (1924), *Собрание сочинений в 3 томах, составление и общая редакция Ю. Прокушева*, т. 2 [“Batoum” (1924) Selected works in 3 volumes, Compilation and general edition by Y. Prokushev, Vol. 2] (Moscow: 1963), p. 289.

Beaconsfield (B. Disraeli) has influence on all decisions. England takes advantage of the fact that nobody wants a new war and Russia is the country which wants and needs peace most of all. In a word, England turned out the only winner of the war between Russia and Turkey.”⁷³

The same is claimed by Russian scholars. More extensive in this regard is the publication of the well-known Russian economist who was born in Russia, and lived and worked in Tiflis, Nikolay Shavrov (1858-1915). His article “Батум, Поты, Сухум и значения их для России” (“Batoum, Poti, Sukhum and their importance for Russia”) was published in the everyday Russian newspaper published in Tiflis, *Кавказ/Кавказ/Caucasus* in 3 parts: No. 34 (12 February 1881); No. 36 (14 February 881); and No. 38 (17 February 1881). According to this very informative article/investigation, “an establishment of PF in Batoum was a diplomatic trick (“Дипломатический обход”) of England, an initiative of the Earl of Beaconsfield, in order to block Russia’s strength on the Black Sea.⁷⁴... It was not Russia’s interest. It was completely against Russia’s customs system”⁷⁵... The PF was the reason that Russia did not proceed to reconstruct the port. It would be worth if it contributes in the development of trade in Transcaucasia; but now it will help the foreign Porto Franco imposed to us by the Englishmen in order to develop their and European trade.”⁷⁶ According to the same publication, “a success of English and generally

73. Signed by ს.მ. (S. M.). Definitely he is its editor სერგეო მესხი (Sergey Meskhi), a well-known Georgian journalist. See the newspaper დროება (Droeba), No. 128, 29/06/1878, p. 1. From this short quotation it is clear that 1. Russia’s main problem was military restriction (“Russia can not build military fortress or establish military navy there”). She wants Batoum as a military base definitely against Turkey; to prevent Russia from these plans, England demanded Batoum’s PF status which prohibits any military infrastructure. 3. Consequently, England, playing a very successful diplomatic game, turns out the great winner of the war 1877-1878, 4. Russia’s compromise is ascribed to her need for peace and stability.

74. “In order to prevent Russia from building a naval arsenal, Beaconsfield invented/contrived this diplomatic trick”. N. Shavrov, “Batoum, Poti, Sukhum”, *Kavkaz*, No. 34, (12 February 1881), p. 1.

75. *Ibid*, p. 1.

76. “Иностранное Порто-Франко, навязанное нам Англичанами для развития собственной и европейской торговли. Они [русская и европейская торговая система] не только не имеют ничего общего, но диаметрально противоположны одна другой”, N. Shavrov, “Batoum, Poti, Sukhum”, *Kavkaz*, No. 36 (14 February 1881), p. 1.

of foreign trade in Asia Minor, Central Asia, and in Persia, is a grab of markets of Russia. Those markets are the only markets which belong to Russia due to geographic conditions⁷⁷... The PF confines Russia's rights on the Black Sea and it is impossible to remain for a long time. Russia's main concern was to protect its borders⁷⁸. Batoum as the very last maritime point on Russia's borders should be fortified as a stronghold for military base for defense of the eastern shore⁷⁹.

Besides political and strategic dimensions, the regime of the PF, as an economic system, had its positive and negative consequences for Batoum's further commercial development. Undoubtedly, it helped the town to quickly gain a constant international importance.

The PF regime in Batoum was put into practice on October 20th, 1878. It was the third Russian port (after Odessa in 1817, and Vladivostok in 1862) on which this regime was imposed.⁸⁰ Without any doubt, the PF helped to create new conditions for international trade relationships, and an accumulation of international investments and capital, which were generally very important to ports that were in a very low stage of development.⁸¹

At the same time, PF regulations were composed. They were articulated on the base of Odessa PF.⁸² Specifically, Batoum's PF regulations had 31 articles. The text itself is divided into 3 parts: (1) General Introduction (А. Положения общия, pp. 57-58, No. 1-10); (2) Regulations On Imports (Б. О приходящих судах и привозимых в Батум товарах, No. 11-19, pp. 58-60); and (3) Regulations On Exports (В. О товарах вывозимых из Батума, No. 19-31, pp. 60-

77. "Единственные рынки, принадлежащие ей по географическим условиям", N. Shavrov, "Batoum, Poti, Sukhum", *Kavkaz*, No. 38 (17 February 1881), p. 1.

78. "Россия не может оставить своих границ без обороны", N. Shavrov, "Batoum, Poti, Sukhum", *Kavkaz*, No. 36, (14 February 1881), p. 1.

79. "Батум должен быть укрепленным опорным пунктом для стоянки военной эскадры при обороне восточного берега", N. Shavrov, "Batoum, Poti, Sukhum", *Kavkaz*, No. 38, (17 February 1881), p. 2.

80. A. Surguladze, "პორტო-ფრანკო ბათუმში" [Porto-Franco in Batumi], in სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები (*Essays on history of SW Georgia*), p. 269.

81. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 53.

82. *Ibid*, p. 54.

62).⁸³ Batoum PF's main principle was that all legal goods were allowed to be imported without any customs duty. Russian exports were charged according to common rates of the Russian empire.⁸⁴ In a few months, Batoum attracted a large number of merchants. They, especially the foreigners, preferred to import and to leave their goods in the port of Batoum, rather than in Poti. According to the British Vice-Consul's report, it was mainly the PF which made Batoum an important town: "1st – this coast on a line of several hundred miles, till the annexation of Batoum, had not a single natural harbor; and 2nd, that the attractions of settling in a free port are great. Enjoying these two exceptional advantages – viz.: a sheltered harbor and the privileges of a free port – Batoum, in comparison with the other shipping places of the country, it seemed probably would occupy a unique position."⁸⁵ Definitely one of the main positive consequences of the PF was the turnover growth of goods.

Although, in the same period, contraband (especially, alcoholic drinks and clothes⁸⁶) became a main problem for Batoum's economic development. Before 1881, imports were mainly: manufactured goods (brick), sugar, furniture, and cans. Exports consisted of: corn, different kinds of wood, and cocoon.⁸⁷ Since 1881, the port

83. Briefly მ. სიორიძე, *ibid.*, pp. 54-57.

The whole text with the general title "Project of regulations of Porto-Franco in the town Batoum (*Проект правил Порто-франко в город Батум*)" is hand-written and is kept in the Adjara Archive, Adjara CSA, fond History-13 ("ბათუმის საბაჟო ოკრუგის ნიკოლაევსკის საბაჟო"/"Nikolaevsky Customs of Batoum Customs Okrug"), opis 1, delo 41, lists 57-62. The last, the 31st article has 7 sub-articles. The document has a notice "copy of copy". Details on the last article and its 7 sub-articles see U. Okropiridze, "აქტი ქალაქ ბათუმის პორტო-ფრანკოს წესდების პროექტის 31-ე პარაგრაფის შესრულებისათვის" [Document on implementation of Batumi's Porto Franco Regulations' 31st paragraph], in ბათუმი – წარსული და თანამედროვეობა / *Batumi – Past and today*, II, ბათუმი Batumi 2012, საერთაშორისო სამეცნიერო კონფერენციის მასალები, ბათუმი 30-31 ოქტომბერი 2010 /Proceedings of the International Conference, Batumi 30-31 October, 2010, pp. 34-41.

84. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 54-55.

85. Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on Batoum and its future prospects 08/04/1882, Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1089.

86. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 64.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

began exporting Baku's oil and Chiatura's manganese.⁸⁸ In the first years after the liberation, no statistical data (regarding population, labour, production, etc.) on this district was yet to be officially collected. "As to trade and navigation this being a free port, the records of the custom-house are kept less accurately than usual in other commercial towns. Of foreign imports, for instance, not being dutiable, neither quantities nor values are recorded at all."⁸⁹

After the abolishment of the PF in Russia, and even during the PF regime, a naval station began to be established protected by fortifications. "This was the period of secret understandings and there is reason to believe that liberty to fortify Batoum was privately conceded, although this proceeding has since been a popular ground for accusations of bad faith against Russia."⁹⁰ Officially, the PF was abolished on July 23rd, 1886 by a special decree of the emperor, Alexander III (1881-1894).⁹¹ Although, from the end of 1885, Batoum PF functioned formally. European countries only protested this action verbally.⁹² There is an extensive correspondence of the British consulate on the abolishment of the PF.⁹³ Though, it is obvious that this protest remained only on paper and there was no political action taken.⁹⁴ Russia took advantage of this "silence"

88. See details below.

89. Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on Batoum and its future prospects, 08/04/1882, Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1089.

90. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 222.

91. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 53.

92. Surguladze, Sioridze, *Porto-Franco in Batumi...*, p. 40.

93. See the full correspondence in H. Greenhalgh (editorial), R. L. Jarman (Research), *British Archives on the Caucasus (Georgia/Adjara 1830-1921), Adjara and the Russian Empire 1878-1917*, Archival Publications International, (London: 2003), pp. 131-185.

94. The outstanding Georgian writer დ. კლდიაშვილი/D. Kldiashvili (1862-1931) served in Batumi as a military servant for 26 years (1882-1908). In his memoirs „ჩემი ცხოვრების გზაზე“ (“On the way of my life”) he provides us with extensive and reliable information about every aspect of Batumi's life and is regarded as one of the most important sources on Batumi of this period. About PF abolishment he notes: “ეს გაუქმება ისე მშვიდობიანად მოხდა, რომ არავითარი წინააღმდეგობა სხვა სახელმწიფოებს არ გაუწევიათ“/ “This abolishment happened so peacefully that no foreign state protested to it”, D. Kldiashvili, *ჩემი ცხოვრების გზაზე, მოთხრობები* [On the way of my life, novels, თბილისი] (Tbilisi: 1961), p. 37.

and proceeded to abolish it partly on June 27th, 1886,⁹⁵ without the agreement of western countries.⁹⁶ In a telegraph sent from St. Petersburg on July 3rd, 1886 to the Earl of Roseberry, Sir R. Morier, wrote: “M. DE Giers informs me privately that the emperor has decided to put an end to the regime of the free port at Batoum, against which the inhabitants protest... Batoum will remain essentially a commercial port, and the measure will modify nothing in the actual state of things in the Black Sea.”⁹⁷ All PF infrastructures were disordered and were transferred to the Caspian Black Sea Oil Company and to Rothschild in order to build different objects for packing and export oil.⁹⁸

As it was mentioned, from its very beginning, Russia intended to abolish this regime: “It is obvious that this regime will not be able to exist for a long time.”⁹⁹ The local people were also very unsatisfied, which means that the Georgian elite was also very unsatisfied. So, the local population’s displeasure¹⁰⁰ facilitated the actions of the Russian Government. It was absolutely natural and predictable that the Russian authorities would proceed to this sooner or later.

95. Surguladze, Sioridze, *Porto-Franco in Batumi...*, p. 36.

96. Sitchinava, *From history of Batoum...*, p. 102.

97. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Russian Empire 1878-1917...*, p. 119.

98. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 82; see details on both companies below.

99. N. Shavrov, “Batoum, Poti, Sukhum”, *Kavkaz*, No. 34, (12 February 1881).

100. It is a long discussion why this regime was unprofitable for the local population. There are two main reasons: 1. regime’s regulations restricted to sell and to buy different, even every day goods. It was very annoying especially for peasants around Batoum who before the liberation used to have their main income from selling agricultural goods; 2. According to the PF regulations every passenger leaving and arriving Batoum’s port had to pass through body control. This caused many problems as, on the one hand, controller officers usually were very rude, and on the other hand, body control to women was a big problem especially for Muslim population. Many cases are recorded in travelers’ notes in this regard. See some examples O. Gogolishvili, *სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველო უცხოელ მოგზაურთა ჩანაწერებში* [South-Western Georgia in writings of foreign travelers], (Tbilisi: 2009), pp. 35-36. Controllers were called in Russian *досмотрщик*. See details Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 66.

Batoum's Port: Main Stages of Development (1878-1917)

“Due to its fantastic geographic location and marvelous harbor Batoum became an internationally important port, one of the most significant of the Empire. From here Russia exports millions of poods kerosene and other petroleum products to the markets of Europe, Asia and partly, of Africa.

А. А. Марков (A. A. Markov), “Очерк батумской торговли нефтяными продуктами”/ “Essay on Batoum's oil-products' trade”, in *Батум и его окрестности/ Batoum and its vicinities*, p. 257.

During the Ottoman era, Batoum's port was used for the export of apples, and later it was used for export of olives and laurel leaves, as well.¹⁰¹ The town did not have any industrial or trade activity. We have no evidence that Batoum would have any perspective in this regard. It was not exploited properly, even as a port.¹⁰² Only partially since the 1830s,¹⁰³ and especially since the 1860s,¹⁰⁴ did the Ottoman authorities seriously deal with Batoum.¹⁰⁵ After its reunification, the Russian authorities gave hope for its rapid trade development. It was observed immediately by foreign consuls, as well. For example, the British Vice-Consul, Peacock, mentioned, “Batoum, nevertheless, at

101. A. A. Markov, “Очерк батумской торговли нефтяными продуктами” [Essay on Batoum's oil-products' trade], in *Batoum and its vicinities...*, p. 256.

102. According to writings of some visitors, in 1804 during 3 months only 2 Turkish ships anchored into the harbour and both left immediately. Gogolishvili, *SW Georgia in writings ...*, p. 6.

103. We should remember that one of the reasons of the war 1828-1829 was Russian's interest in Batoum. Gogolishvili, *SW Georgia in writings ...*, p. 12. In the same period, in 1835 the British Foreign Office was persuaded of the strategic importance of Batoum. See details Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 4. As a result of this interest F. Guarracino, the first British vice-consul in Batoum, was appointed in 1839. Ibid, p. 4. F. Guarracino regarded himself as the first European resided at Batoum. Ibid, p. 181.

104. Gogolishvili, *SW Georgia in writings ...*, p. 23.

105. From/to Trabzon/Constantinople was the most frequent routes from/to Batoum. R. Uzunadze, ნავსნობა ბათუმის ოლქში [Navigation in Oblast of Batoum] (Batumi: 2001), p. 61.

Picture 16.2 Batoum, 1881

Lev Lagorio (Orenburg Regional Museum of Fine Arts)

the very outset of Russian rule in this district became the object of particular cares on the part of the Government, creating at the same time great expectations among commercial people.”¹⁰⁶ The most important advantage of Batoum was its extremely convenient harbor. Its natural and particular depth ensured for safe and easy anchorage of ships (Picture 16.2). Additionally, due to its location, Batoum opened up access in two important directions: towards the remaining Caucasus and Persia.¹⁰⁷ Thus, it automatically became the key-region towards Central Asia, as well. In functionalizing the Batoum, Tiflis, and Tabriz trade route, the Russian authorities consequently made

106. Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on Batoum and its future prospects, 08/04/1882, Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1089.

107. M. Sioridze, „დასავლეთ სახელმწიფოების ეკონომიკური მისწრაფებანი ბათუმის ოლქში პირველი მსოფლიო ომის წინ“, (“Economic interests of western countries in Batumi’s region before the WW1”), in მ. სიორიძე (M. Sioridze), *Essays on Batumi’s history*, p. 29.

a rather ambitious move by replacing the Trabzon, Erzerum, and Tebriz route. So, it was necessary for Russia to turn Batoum into a commercial center for the whole region, while having Iran as its main external target. Thus, Batoum became the third port on the Black Sea (after Odessa and Istanbul), serving the hinterland of the Caucasus and Central Asia.¹⁰⁸ In this context, the whole Caucasian coast line was involved in a large contest between the British and Russian Empires. Actually, the “Great game,”¹⁰⁹ for mastery of Central Asia started in the early years of the 19th century, when Russian troops started to fight their way southwards through the Caucasus, towards Northern Persia,¹¹⁰ reaching its climax around the Black Sea.¹¹¹

Even from the first years of Batoum’s reunification, and before reconstruction of its port, an increasing tendency of ships (both arrivals and departures) was observed (see table 16.1).

Table 16.1 Arrivals of ships (1878 Nov-Dec 1880): ¹¹²

Countries	1878 (Nov-Dec)	1879	1880
Russia	165	669	632
Austria	-	33	53
France	1	19	24
Turkey	209	27	9
England	3	18	7
Total	378	466	724

Source: M. Sioridze, ბათუმის საბაჟო 125 [Batumi customs 125], (Batumi: 2003), p. 64.

108. Yavuz, Sluglett, *War and diplomacy...*, p. 459.

109. The term “Great Game” was coined in the 19th century to describe the rivalry between Russia and Britain. It is correct to characterize it as a rivalry between “the major industrial powers”. The world was a gigantic playing field, and Eurasia was its center, Walberg, *Postmodern imperialism...*, p. 17.

110. Hopkirk, *The Great game...*, p. 2.

111. King, *The Black Sea...*, p. 177. As we have underlined above, it is absolutely correct that Russia before “entering” the Great Game was “a land-based Eurasian power”. Walberg, *Postmodern imperialism...*, p. 30. With the domination on the Black sea Russia gains “sea” stress/importance as well.

112. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 64. In this table it is strange that in the first year there is a big number ships’ arrival from Turkey which was reduced dramatically in the following years. It is difficult to explain this phenomenon.

Actually, Batoum's port became important in 1883, after the inauguration of the railway (see details below). Due to this fact, since the beginning of the 1880s, exportation from Batoum's port grew unexpectedly and increased every year.

Income data for the Port of Batoum:

- **1879** – 42,700 rubles
- **1884** – 367,000 (9 times more than in previous year; half of the whole income of the Caucasus in this year)
- **1885** – 752,000 (this amount was half of the whole income of the whole Caucasus¹¹³)
- **In 1884-85** – First among 25 major customs of the whole Caucasus.

In the year 1886, “Batoum had become the most important shipping place of Transcaucasia,¹¹⁴ and the principal station on the route leading from Europe to Persia.”¹¹⁵

As for the port itself, before the liberation, it was not comfortable “It is a small, dirty village,” noted a prominent Georgian public figure and well-known economist Niko Nikoladze in 1872.¹¹⁶ Almost immediately, in 1879, a special committee was formed, which was charged with improving the condition of navigation.¹¹⁷ Although, the project of further development of the port was not created until 1884. Obviously, the economic development of the capitalist market urged for improvements in navigation conditions for Batoum. The intensive growth of the amount of the oil exported highlighted a necessity of developing appropriate port infrastructure. The authors

113. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 67.

114. The same statement “Экономическая записка о значении Батумского Порта и перспективах его развития” [Economic Note on Batoum port's importance and prospects of its development], in *Труды Отдела Портов ЗКВ* [Proceedings of the Department of Ports of TRC/Transcaucasia] (Tiflis: 1925, p. 2).

115. British Acting Consul-General Stevens in his report to the Earl of Roseberry dated to 28/06/1886. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Russian Empire 1878-1917...*, p. 119.

116. The same is claimed by visitors of the town in the Ottoman era. Gogolishvili, *SW Georgia in writings ...*, p. 5.

117. Extensive information N. V. Tsereteli, “Очерк торгово-промышленного развития гор. Батума” [Essay on commercial and industrial development of the city of Batoum], in *Batoum and its vicinities...*, pp. 364-366.

Picture 16.3 Batoum port, late 19th century

of the project were the first Head of Batoum, Trade Port Admiral Greve, and an engineer named George Alkovich. The implementation of the project started in May, 1885. Reconstruction began in autumn of the same year, and was finished in 1893 (see picture 16.3). The cost of the building construction was five millions rubles.¹¹⁸ As a result, improved port-navigation conditions were established. After reconstruction, the port was conditionally divided into an oil harbor and an embankment harbor. The first of which was for loading oil and oil products into tankers, while embankment harbors served different cargo operations (with the exception of oil), as well as, the arrival and departure of passengers.

At the end of the 19th century, again arose a question about widening the sea port of Batoum. In 1897, Cabotage Harbor was completed and the turnover of Batoum's port reached roughly 100 million poods annually,¹¹⁹ starting from only 3 million in 1883.¹²⁰ Its cost of exports

118. Ibid, p. 365.

119. *Труды Отдела Портов ЗКВ* [Proceedings of the Department of Ports of TRC], (Saint Petersburg: 1925), p. 1. Having reducing tendency: 79 million in approx. 1903, with the further fall in 1904-1905 reaching only 37 million annually. Ibid, p. 7.

120. Ibid, p. 7.

were roughly of 35 million rubles (from a total of 257 million including all ports in the Black Sea) and imports of 10 million rubles (from a total of 69 million including the entire Black Sea).¹²¹ Batoum's harbor was leading in small Cabotage transfers, as well (see table 16.2)

In 1902, a committee was created that was charged with the project about better organizing the sea-port of Batoum. But in 1903, the process came to a halt because of economic crisis. From 1910 on, the economic level raised, and opened ways to improve sea port's conditions. On October 13th, 1911, the Ministry of Roads confirmed a 10-year program aimed at improving conditions of the Batoum Sea Port. Work began in 1912. On May 28th, 1914, this processed was stopped by WWI. In 1916, the port was still in critical condition. Many consulates (those of Great Britain, France, Greece, and Italy) representing their ships and captains complained that port did not provide even elementary conditions of safety.¹²²

Exports from Batoum increased due to the decree which, after July 1st, 1882, abolished additional taxes of 10% on European goods. In the appendix of this decree there is a catalogue with 239 goods imported from Europe which were to be import without taxes. This document contains information that during this period, 465 European goods were imported and 241 Russian goods were exported.¹²³

Table 16.2 Exports from Batoum, 1913

All cargoes (exports)	Small cabotage (million poods)
From all seas including the Black Sea	534
Baltic Sea	192
Passed through Batoum's harbor	35
	14.2

Source: *Труды Отдела Портов ЗКВ* [Proceedings of the Department of Ports of TRC], (Saint Petersburg: 1925), p. 1.

121. Ibid, p. 2.

122. *Отчет о деятельности Батумскаго Биржевого Комитета за 1913, 1914 и 1915 года* [Report about Activity of Exchange Committee of Batoum of 1913, 1914 and 1915] (Batoum: 1916) [further: *Report about Activity of ECB*], pp. 10-13.

123. Adjara CSA, fond History-13, opis 1, delo 60, p. 2 and delo 64, pp. 76-87.

Batoum had shipping communications with sixteen Caucasian, ten Crimean, and six Azov points. Routes were arranged for cargo, travel, and post transfers (see Appendix 4).¹²⁴ Batoum's international routes were operated by seventeen main countries: Russia, Belgium, USA, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Germany, France, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Denmark, Spain, Persia, Romania, and Norway.¹²⁵

Persian transit cargos had an important role in the turnover of Batoum's port. The main articles transferred from Persia to Europe through Batoum's port were the following: carpets, silk, wool, almond, different leather, and tobacco. From Europe to Persia they consisted of: tea, pepper, cinnamon/carnation, and other colonial goods.¹²⁶ In 1881, the turnover reached 6,000 tones, and in 1882 reached 6,800 tones. After construction of railway, this number further increased, as it effectively replaced the Trabzon-Erzurum-Tabriz transit road (see tables 16.3, 16.4, 16.5).

Table 16.3 Transit from Persia (cargoes in poods)¹²⁷

1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
317,592	443,894	585,724	962,720	746,756

Source: *Отчет о деятельности Батумского Биржевого Комитета за 1913, 1914 и 1915 года* [Report about Activity of Exchange Committee of Batoum of 1913, 1914 and 1915] (Batoum: 1916), p. 15.

Table 16.4 Transit to Persia and the Central Asia (cargoes in poods)

1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
553,294	476,957	761,680	1,026,700	596,626

Source: *Отчет о деятельности Батумского Биржевого Комитета за 1913, 1914 и 1915 года* [Report about Activity of Exchange Committee of Batoum of 1913, 1914 and 1915] (Batoum: 1916), p. 15.

In order to compare these rates to one another:

124. Uzunadze, *Navigation...*, p. 187.

125. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

126. *Proceedings of the Department of Ports...*, p. 45.

127. *Report about Activity of Exchange...*, p. 15.

Table 16.5 Transit to Tiflis and Baku (cargos in poods)¹²⁸

1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
107,132	131,009	117,959	170,158	145,934

Source: *Отчет о деятельности Батумскаго Биржевого Комитета за 1913, 1914 и 1915 года* [Report about Activity of Exchange Committee of Batoum of 1913, 1914 and 1915] (Batoum: 1916), p. 15.

Before the October Revolution, specifically between 1915-1916, and for 15-20 years to come, Batoum Port was foreseen to have 200-250 million poods turnover, as based on a number of investigations and calculations.¹²⁹

Closing the chapter and concerning the Batoum Port, it should be mentioned that Batoum's customs department was named officially on October 29th, 1878, as the "General customs Warehouse of Batoum" („ბათუმის მთავარი სასაწყობო საბაჟო“). This name remained for the following 40 years. During the first period, (from 1878-1899) it was subdued to the Quarantine-Customs Okrug of Kutaisi; then (from 1899-1910) to the Customs Okrug of Batoum, and finally (from 1911-1917) to the Customs Okrug of the Caucasus.¹³⁰ It is important to mention that in the last quarter of the 19th century in The Russian Empire, there were fifteen major customs, and only two of which were situated on the coasts of the Black Sea (Odessa in the 3th place and Batoum in the 8th place).¹³¹ In the first years the customs were accommodated in a wooden building. It was taken down due to general reconstructions in the port area. In 1886, it was replaced with a stone bi-level building.¹³² It is no coincidence that in this same year, the Russian Authorities put an end to the PF. It was underlined by the local experts several times that during the PF it was useless to reconstruct the port: "we should first of all construct roads and communications for development of trade in Transcaucasia and the Black Sea, and not for flourishing of English trade with Asia Minor".¹³³

128. *Report about Activity of Exchange...*, p. 15.

129. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-35.

130. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 117.

131. *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона* [Encyclopedic dictionary of Brogkautz and Efron], Vol. XXX (30), (Saint Petersburg: 1890-1907), p. 118.

132. Sioridze, *Batumi customs 125...*, p. 63.

133. N. Shavrov, "Batoum, Poti, Sukhum", *Кавказ*, No. 38, (17 February 1881), p. 1.

Oil Boom in the 19th century in the Russian Empire and Batoum

Oil boom in the Russian Empire

“We should be very careful in every action, especially in those which deal with oil and petroleum products exports abroad.” – D. I. Mendeleev ¹³⁴

“Oil fountains are among those natural phenomena which amaze spectators with their grandiosity and remain forever in their memories.

I was extremely lucky to see the first appearance of oil fountain in Balakhan, 16 verst from Baku, to observe its movements, its abortion by artificial means and its determinate stoppage. The fountain threw out 150 000 poods oil a 24 hour. It is terrible to imagine this mass of precious product!” ¹³⁵

“Batoum gave Baku oil more direct access to European markets.” ¹³⁶

The full geopolitical implications of a new factor, petroleum, were not acknowledged by Great Game analysts of the 19th century.¹³⁷ Although, Baku’s oil potential was well-known even to Peter I (besides Arkhangelsk and Pechora).¹³⁸ Oil production as a part of

134. “Большая осмотрительность нужна во всяких мероприятиях, особенно же в тех, которые касаются заграничного вывоза нефти и ее продуктов”. Quoted from *Report about Activity of Exchange...*, pp. 54-55.

135. “Нефтяные фонтаны принадлежат к числу тех явлений природы, которые поражают зрителя своею грандиозностью и навсегда остаются в его памяти. Мне посчастливилось видеть в Балаханах, в 16 верстах от Баку, первое появление нефтяного фонтана, следить за его действием, видеть ее остановку искусственными средствами и его окончательное прекращение. Фонтан выбрасывал в сутки около 150 000 пудов нефти! Страшно даже подумать о такой массе драгоценного продукта!”. Quoted from St. I. Gulishambarov, *О Нефтяных фонтанах* [About oil fountains] (Saint Petersburg: 1870), p. 1.

136. M. S. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry, The A to Z Guide Series*, No. 116, (Plymouth UK: 2009), p. 74-75.

137. Dekmejian, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, p. 15.

138. *Россия – ее настоящее и прошедшее. Отдельное издание статей о*

the industry had started in this area (more exactly, on the Apsheron Peninsula/Апшеронский полуостров) in 1848, and slowly developed over the following decades. Until 1872, the oil industry of the Apsheron Peninsula functioned as a monopoly under which the Russian Government leased to a single contractor all of the region's oil fields for four-year periods.¹³⁹ In 1872, Tsar Alexander II established new rules for the oil industry, auctioning oil leases to private investors, including foreigners. Thus the monopoly was abolished and oil-bearing Crown properties were leased for a minimum duration of 24 years to the highest bidders.¹⁴⁰ While production was thus stimulated, the refining industry became burdened by an excise tax, which was finally abolished in 1877, opening the way for the expansion of the oil industry. Thus, a boom began in the Russian oil industry,¹⁴¹ given that tsar's monopoly on oil exploration and transport had been eliminated. This step opened the door to foreign industrialists, among them the Swedish Nobel Brothers (first), and the Rothschilds (later)¹⁴². So, the golden period of Russian oil started in the 1870s.¹⁴³

In 1877, *Zoroaster*, the first modern oil tanker, designed by Ludvig Nobel, was constructed. As its consequence, in 1879, Branobel (a joint stock company), was formally established in Baku.¹⁴⁴ "Branobel" is the shortened name for the Russian Братья Нобели/Bratia Nobel/Nobel Brothers (briefly in Russian "БраНобель" ("BraNobel"), or "Бр. Нобель" ("Br. Nobel"). Its full name was "Товарищество нефтяного производства братьев Нобель"/Tovarishestvo Nephtanavo Proizvodstva Bratiev Nobel/"Nobel Brothers

России из "Энциклопедического Словаря" Брокгауза и Ефрона [Russia – her present and past. Selected publication of articles about Russia from "Encyclopedic Dictionary" by Brokgauz and Efron] (Saint Petersburg: 1900), p. 308.

139. Dekmejian, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, p. 15.

140. *Ibid.*, 16.

141. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. xxxii.

142. King, *The Black Sea...*, p. 198.

143. *Russia – her present and past...*, p. 308.

144. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. xxxii. On Nobel brothers commercial activity in the Russian empire see broadly A. Huseynova-N. Abbasova-A. Melikova, *The Nobels and Baku Oil* (Dedicated to 130th anniversary of Nobel Brothers' activity in Azerbaijan), (Baku: 2009) (in both Azerbaijan and English), available at http://www.branobelhistory.com/Global/Documents/BRANOBEL_130_Anniversary_Book.pdf.

Petroleum Production Company”) (picture 16.4).¹⁴⁵ Ludvig Nobel headed the company from 1879 to 1888; his son Emanuel Nobel headed it from 1888 to 1920. By 1887, it was producing 18.5 percent of Russia’s oil and 7.5 percent of the world’s oil.¹⁴⁶ Oil production, which had increased from 3,500 tons per year in 1840, to 24,000 tons in 1871, ultimately reached 2,500,000 tons produced annually by 1888 (table 16.6).¹⁴⁷

Table 16.6 Russian oil production in 1870-1898

Year	Thousands of Poods
1870	1,704
1871-1880	10,891
1881-1890	104,160
1891-1895	337,745
1896	433,814
1897	479,094
1898	515,000
Total (29 years)	4,277,757

Source: *Россия – ея настоящее и прошедшее. Отдельное издание статей о России из “Энциклопедического Словаря” Брокгауза и Ефрона* [Russia – her present and past. Selected publication of articles about Russia from “Encyclopedic Dictionary” by Brokgauz and Efron] (Saint Petersburg: 1900), p. 308.

In approximately 1899, oil production in Baku reached 486 million poods, and the size of the oil area in Baku was 550 desiatina,¹⁴⁸ with 1,107 bore-holes. Oil was refined in local factories (their num-

145. For Nobel Family tree see Huseynova, Abbasova, Melikova, *The Nobels and Baku...*, p. 51. Emmanuel Nobel (1801-1872) and Andrietta Alsell (1803-1889) had 4 sons: the eldest Robert (1829-1896) and the second Ludvig (1831-1888) were actively involved in Baku oil business; while the third, the well-known Alfred (1833-1896) never dealt with this issue, and the eldest son Emil (1843-1864) perished at an early age as a result of unfortunate circumstances. It should also be mentioned that Robert and Ludvig married at a young age, while Alfred never married. *ibid*, pp. 52-53.

146. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 97.

147. Dekmejian, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, 16.

148. Десятина – old Russian unit of soil measurement equal to 2,400 tetragonal sazhen (or 1,0925 hectares).

bers reached approximately 100 at that time) and making illuminating and lubricating oil (see details on Baku's oil types Appendix 1).¹⁴⁹ Leftover oils (mazout) were used as coal/liquid burning material. In that period, Russia became the only supplier of oil together with the United States in the world. A little before 1899, ensued the 3rd power, Holland and India, which reached only 3 per cent of global production.¹⁵⁰ Oil became, after cereals and timber, the third largest Russian export and a major source of income for the Russian Government. By the turn of the 20th century, Baku was producing 50 per cent of the world's oil.¹⁵¹ However, the high taxes that Russian authorities imposed on the oil industry proved to be the largest impediment to its development. The prohibitive tariffs for the use of the pipeline, however, discouraged exports and pushed producers to sell on the internal Russian market. In addition to the Apsheron Peninsula, oil was discovered in Grozny¹⁵² in 1893, as well as, around Telavi in eastern Georgia, in the Kuban and Terek regions, near Batoum, and in other areas of the Caucasus.¹⁵³

The Russian oil industry owed a great debt to the Nobel Brothers, Robert and Ludvig, who settled in Baku in 1873, and introduced new techniques of extraction, refining, and transport, as well as, modern methods of financing and management. Because Robert was an excellent chemist himself, the quality of his oil products exceeded not only the products of local competitors, but also the products coming from the USA, which exported 40,000 tons of kerosene a year to Russia. Production grew quickly, and with the help of the German geologist, Fill Robert, new oil fields were discovered. Ludvig from St. Petersburg and Alfred from Sweden helped their brother with finances and business advice.¹⁵⁴ So, the Nobels soon

149. *Russia – her present and past...*, p. 308.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 309.

151. Huseynova, Abbasova, Melikova, *The Nobels and Baku...*, p. 44.

152. See a reference to oil industry in Grozny in Report of Consul Stevens 14/04/1902. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Russian Empire 1878-1917...*, p. 468-469.

153. Dekmejian, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, p. 16. After the Russian Revolution, the Baku petroleum industry kept its dominant position. Sixty percent of Soviet needs in 1931, and 80 percent in 1940 were supplied by the Baku fields. Dekmejian, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, p. 17.

154. Huseynova, Abbasova, Melikova, *The Nobels and Baku ...*, pp. 69-70.

Picture 16.4 Baku. Nobel Brothers Petroleum Production Company



came to dominate the Baku oil industry. By the turn of the century, Baku oil production represented half of the world's oil output and dominated international markets.¹⁵⁵ The Nobel Brothers' activity, even before they opened their factory in Batoum, became a subject of tough critique. In Russia, the monopolization of the oil industry was named the "Great Deal." On October 25th, 1882 in the Russian newspaper: *Новое время/Novoe vremia/New Age* No. 2392, an article was published titled: "Большая ошибка в большом деле" ("Great mistake in the great deal") by Niko Nikoladze (1843-1928), a well-known economist and Mayor of Poti (1894-1912). He discussed how a monopoly can be useful in oil production and how it can affect

155. In 1891, the prestigious French *Revue des Deux Mondes* published an article which forecast Russian domination of world oil production. This prediction would soon prove true, and its author, a 20-year old Istanbul Armenian by the name of Calouste Gulbenkian, would later make a fortune in the oil business and become famous as Mr Five Per Cent. Dekmejian, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, p. 16.

its quality and industrial development as a whole.¹⁵⁶ N. Nikoladze was more refined in his article: “Замечания по поводу сообщения В. В. Абрамовича” (“Observations on V. V. Abramovich’s information”), published in 1882 in *Труды съезда членов Императорского Русского технического общества/ Proceedings of the Congress of members of Imperial Russian Technical Society*).¹⁵⁷ In this publication N. Nikoladze blames the Nobel Brothers as a “profiteer” that deals only with the “destruction of other, smaller industrialists.”¹⁵⁸ Despite the Nobels and Rothschild advantages in Batoum, there was no monopoly (like in the US in the 1870s and especially in the 1880s).¹⁵⁹ Besides those two, local businessman, A. I. Mantashev (1842-1911) of Armenian origin, played an important role in the Baku-Batoum oil industry. So those three companies intended to be the main players in the Baku-Batoum oil business (see details below).

In the beginning of the 1880s, the Baku’s oil had two main advantages: (1) it was “unbelievably cheap,” and (2) of brilliant quality”. One main problem was that it, “could not be sold ... because of deficit of foreign markets beyond Batoum.”¹⁶⁰ So, it was absolutely natural that oil products exported were the most important branch of trade in Batoum (picture 16.5).¹⁶¹ Consequently, the main income of the city came from taxes at the port, especially because one-fifth of taxes paid for every goods/article importing/exporting via the port belonged to the city. For example, only in 1891, did the income from oil reach more than 75 millions rubles.¹⁶² It was likewise far less populous than many other ports, but it was unrivaled as an

156. Article in Georgian translation published in N. Nikoladze, *თხზულებანი* [Works], Vol. 8 (1880-1883), (Kutaisi: 2003), pp. 538-542.

157. See the whole article in Georgian *ibid*, 504-537

158. *Ibid*, p. 514.

159. In the USA it was declared that even the depression begun in 1893 was “the direct result of the centralization of wealth, of the investment of the control of industry in the hands of the cunning and the strong,” R. M. Olien-D. D. Olien, *Oil and ideology: the cultural creation of the American petroleum industry*, (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), p. 17.

160. Nikoladze, Works..., pp. 639, 640.

161. *Обзор Батумской Области за 1910 год* [Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910] (Batoum: 1912), p. 33.

162. *ივერია* [Iveria], No. 146, (12 July 1891), p. 3.

export center. The value of Batoum's exports increased by well over 300 per cent from the 1870s to the 1920s.¹⁶³ So, the main factor of the development of Batoum Sea Port was oil from the beginning. It made the basis for the construction of the Batoum-Baku Railway line.

Picture 16.5 Batoum, port for tankers. Postcard



Transcaucasia's Railway Network: General Outlines

In Russia the most impressive relative improvement between 1861 and 1913 was the development of a rail network that was the largest on the European continent by 1913.¹⁶⁴ Transcaucasia was its significant part. The first railway line in the Caucasus connecting Tiflis with Poti was inaugurated in 1872. It should be put within the framework of Baku's oil transportation plan, given that the outset the Transcaucasia railway network was regarded as the only oil transporter from Baku to Batoum.¹⁶⁵ In 1880, the construction

163. King, *The Black Sea...*, p. 199.

164. P. R. Gregory, *Russian National Income, 1885-1913*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 159.

165. "The trans-Caucasian railway will be the only means of conveying the Baku produce to Batoum". British Parliamentary Papers, Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on the Petroleum Trade of Baku, and Batoum as its future outlet, 01/07/1882, Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1094.

of the line Batoum-Samtredia (first part of the Batoum's line) started, which was finished in 1883.¹⁶⁶ So, this year marks a beginning of Baku's oil transportation abroad through Batoum's Port.¹⁶⁷ The railway was soon extended to Poti. The whole network, which fully and directly connected Baku with Batoum, was accomplished in 1890¹⁶⁸ with a total length of 883 kilometres (see map 16.1). Due to this construction, Baku and Batoum had the biggest turnover in Transcaucasia (80-85 per cent oil products¹⁶⁹). The second good which was transferred through this line was manganese.¹⁷⁰ Without any doubt, Batoum's rapid development as an urban center happened due to the railway which connected it directly with Tiflis on the one hand, and with Baku on the other.¹⁷¹ Thanks to this construction, Batoum became the main port of the barter operation of the Eastern Black Sea.

166. A. Argutinsky-Dolgorukov, *История сооружения и эксплуатации закавказской железной дороги за 25 лет ее существования (1871-1896)* [History of equipment and utilization of Transcaucasia railway during 25 years of its existence (1871-1896)] (Tiflis: 1896), p. 63.

167. Sitchinava, *From history of Batoum...*, pp. 134-135. It was foreseen by foreign consuls as well: in comparison with the present means of communication, the railway connecting Baku with this port will have the great advantage of a more regular traffic, opening at the same time new markets hitherto not accessible to the Baku produce. Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on the petroleum trade of Baku, and Batoum as its future outlet, Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, 01/07/1882, p. 1098. Many contemporary researchers claimed/agreed that the oil trade started in Batoum since 1883 "when it was connected through railway with Baku". A. A. Markov, "Essay on Batoum's oil products' trade"... p. 309.

168. See technical details concerning its inauguration Argutinsky, Dolgorukov, *History of equipment...*, p. 79.

169. In Transcaucasia the biggest turnover had Baku, then Batoum and in third place Poti. A. Bendianishvili, „სარკინიგზო ტრანსპორტი“ [Railway transport], in *Essays on history of SW Georgia...*, p. 228.

170. Thus, it was the main instrument for transfer of oil and manganese. A. T. Sagratyan, *История железных дорог Закавказья* [History of railways in Transcaucasia], (Yerevan: 1970), p. 31. M. Siordize, „უცხოური კაპიტალი საქართველოს მანგანუმის წარმოებაში და ბათუმის როლი მის ექსპორტში“, [Foreign capitals in producing of manganese in Georgia and Batumi's role in its export], in Siordize, *Essays on Batumi's history...*, pp. 45-46.

171. I. S. Meskhi, "Очерк развития батумского городского хозяйства" [Essay on development of Batoum's urban economy], in *Batoum and its vicinities...*, p. 461.

Map 16.1 Transcaucasia railway



In the first decade of the 20th century, the railway was planned to be constructed from Batoum into different directions. Foreign manufacturers unsuccessfully tried to get the permission for the construction of the railway branch from Batoum to Artvin. During this period, the town municipality of Batoum, aim to attract new goods to the Batoum Port, thus the project of Batoum-Kars Railway was designed.¹⁷² The implementation of this project would shorten the distance to the Iranian border, and it could help to serve the local needs by also connecting Batoum with Artvin, Ardahan, and Kars. This project was stopped in the summer due to WWI, and instead the construction of the military railway, Batoum-Trabzon, began. Construction works were simultaneously carried out in different places from Batoum to Trabzon along the Black Sea Coast of Lazistan. The October Revolution and the subsequent events stopped the completion of this project. These two lines, one to Kars and another to Trabzon, would help to further develop the region. But two major aspects of the previous century (WWI and the October Revolution) blocked their accomplishment.

172. Allen, Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields...*, p. 223.

In summary, it should be highlighted that the railway of Batoum was the main instrument for development of industry in the city. At the end of the 19th century, nine big factories dealing with the packaging of oil were linked through the railway to both the port and city's main station. The network of Baku-Batoum opened up perspective access for Baku petroleum to global markets.¹⁷³ The railway helped Batoum to become the chief Russian oil port in the Black Sea. As a result, the city expanded to an extraordinary extent and the population increased very rapidly. The South Caucasian railway line coming into operation played an important role in the development of the Baku oil industry, creating favorable conditions for the transportation of Baku oil to the Black Sea. Thus, foreign markets were supplied with a large amount of oil and oil products. Overall, each of these measures considerably reduced the price of kerosene.

Pipe-line Baku-Batoum

Even before the completion of the Baku-Batoum Railway Network, in the 1880s, Dmitri Mendeleev himself proposed and championed the construction of the Baku-Batoum pipeline¹⁷⁴ to ensure the transportation of Baku oil to the world market. This method of oil's transportation was seven times cheaper than the traditional one (e.g. via railway).¹⁷⁵ The Nobels were also the first to construct an oil pipeline. The ten kilometre-long oil pipeline connecting the Balakhany oil fields with the company's oil refinery in the Black City (the general name for the southeastern neighborhoods of Baku) was able to pump 80 poods of oil per day. This, coupled with other innovations, enabled the Nobels to produce high-quality kerosene and to gain a monopoly on the Russian kerosene market,¹⁷⁶ contemporarily as it will be seen below.

There was stiff opposition to the pipeline from individuals and organizations that were earning considerable legal and other fees from the transport of oil via the Baku-Batoum railroad. Eventually,

173. Sagratyan, *History of railways in Transcaucasia...*, pp. 31-32.

174. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 75.

175. Huseynova, Abbasova, Melikova, *The Nobels and Baku...*, p. 102.

176. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

a compromise was reached wherein the pipeline would coexist with the railroad.¹⁷⁷ Another reason that the railway remained one of the most important transfers was the fact that only pure oil could be transferred through the pipe-line. It was strictly prohibited to use pipe-line for the transfer of other oil products, all of which would have to be transferred via railway.¹⁷⁸ So, the pipe-line construction started only in 1896, and was finished in 1906 (picture 16.6).¹⁷⁹ It followed exactly the Baku-Batoum Railway route. The first pipe-line was a refined kerosene pipeline and sixteen pumping stations driven by steam and diesel engines.¹⁸⁰ The diametre of the pipeline was mainly eight inches, but some parts had a diametre of ten to twelve inches.

Picture 16.6 Pipe-line Baku-Batoum



177. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 75.

178. M. Sioridze, „ბათუმის როლი ნავთობის მსოფლიო ბაზრისთვის ბრძოლაში (1883-1918 წწ.)“ [Batumi’s role in fight for oil’s global market (1883-1918)], in *Essays on Batumi’s history...*, p. 36.

179. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 75.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

The British Consul, Stevens,¹⁸¹ in his annual report of the year 1906 wrote: “The pipe line between Baku and Batoum was completed during the past year, and is now, I understand, in good working order. Unfortunately this line did not exist when it was most needed, and now that the pipes cover the whole distance between the two towns just mentioned, it would appear there is very little kerosene to pump through the pipes.”¹⁸²

It should be underlined that the kerosene was the main type of oil transferred through Batoum from the 1880s. Nobels’ company was one of the first, which in 1911, was granted the approval to remove two reservoirs and to build a barrier around them from iron and cement in order to store benzene and gasoline. In the same year, the same company asked to be approved for the export of their new product, benzene. According to the official report in 1912, it was difficult to foresee the dimensions of this specific export.¹⁸³

Industrial Boom in Batoum

“Batoum is the door of all of Transcaucasia and its goods main sender point.”¹⁸⁴

The development of Russia’s economy, and particularly of its economic infrastructure along the Black Sea, further magnified the importance of the Straits to Russia. St. Petersburg’s desire to control the Straits was nothing new, but two coincidental developments at the beginning of the 20th century made control of the Straits a truly pressing matter: (1) the growth of navies, and (2) the growth of Russian exports from the south. The growth of navies presented a direct threat to Russia’s Black Sea Coast at the same time that the importance of that region

181. He is characterized as “an objective outsider”. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Russian Empire...*, p. 678. His reports are very useful and important source for the study of every branch of Batoum’s economic, social and political life.

182. *Ibid.*, p. 536.

183. Adjara CSA, fond History-1, opis. 1, delo 247, list 6.

184. „ბათუმი კარებია მთელი ამიერკავკასიისა, მისი უმთავრესი საქონლის გასაგზავნი ადგილია“. Quoted from Newspaper ივერია (*Iveria*), № 145, 11/07/1891, p. 2.

to the overall Russian economy began to expand.¹⁸⁵ As underlined in a modern bibliography, in 1861 Russia was a minor producer of major industrial commodities (coal, pig iron, and steel) and had only a rudimentary transportation system, despite its vast territory.¹⁸⁶ Batoum is a good example to study Russia's increasing economic development as it was going to fill both gaps: (1) to contribute in implementation of Russia's oil potential, and (2) to develop its transportation by becoming a linchpin of economically and strategically important points of the Russian empire. As mentioned, three main factors played a crucial role for the development of Batoum: port, railway, and industry (mainly the oil-industry). All of them were bounded to each other. Thus, one would urge to improve the others.

Approximately 70-80 per cent of the factories in Batoum were dealing either with the packaging or the transportation of oil (with a development of a petrochemical industry and the manufacturing of drilling equipment). The first factory was established in 1883 by the Russian engineer, S. Palashkovsky (С. Палашковский), and the investor, Bunge (Бунге), who were its owners, as well. They established a company named the Batoum Oil and Trade Company ("Батумское нефтепромышленное и торговое общество", better known by its Russian acronym: БНИТО/ ВНИТО).¹⁸⁷ It was observed and reported directly by the British Vice-Consul: "In connection with the petroleum trade a can factory has been built on an American plan to prepare 6,000 cans per day; also a saw mill for the preparation of thin planks for wooden cases; and three iron tanks to hold kerosene, each of a capacity of 400,000 gallons. The machinery of the can factory and the saw mill is of American manufacture. The iron plates for the tanks and the tin plates to be used for the manufacturing of cans are from England."¹⁸⁸ At the

185. M.-A. Reynolds, *The Ottoman-Russian struggle*, p. 80.

186. P. R. Gregory, *Russian National Income*, p. 158. By 1913 Russian rail network had been become the largest on the European continent. P. R. Gregory, *Russian National Income*, p. 159.

187. Its memorandum was ratified on 01/07/1883. See *Кавказский календарь на 1884* [Caucasian Guide for the year 1884] (Tiflis: Kavkazskii statisticheskii komitet, 1883), p. 268.

188. Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on the Trade and commerce of Batoum for the year 1882 (12/03/1883), Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 621.

beginning the BNITO had 469 workers.¹⁸⁹ With BNITO's successes and its establishment on the Russian oil market, Batoum started to be transformed into a veritable business centre. The BNITO project was very burdensome financially and the work was going quite slowly, and Bunge and Palashkovsky contacted the French branch of the Rothschild family.¹⁹⁰ The Rothschild family was involved in railway business for decades (the construction of the first railways in Europe were related to Rothschild's name), and they unsurprisingly responded positively. It was in Rothschild's immediate interest to connect Baku to Batoum and use the latter for extensive export of the new sources of kerosene and oil. For Rothschild, who owed oil factory in Fiume (nowadays Rijeka, Croatia), it was a brilliant opportunity to export Baku's cheap oil to the global markets, and thus to compete with the "Standard oil."¹⁹¹ So in 1886,¹⁹² the BNITO moved to Alfonso Rothschild (Альфонс Ротшильд),¹⁹³ who on his base created the Каспийско-Черноморское нефтепромышленное общество/Kaspiysko-Chernomrskoe Neftepromishlennoe Obshchestvo/Caspian and Black Sea Oil Company.¹⁹⁴ In 1887, the Roth-

189. E. Khoshtaria, „მრეწველობის განვითარება“ [Development of industry], in საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები [Essays of History of Georgia], Vol. 5 საქართველო XIX საუკუნის 30-90-იან წლებში [Georgia in the 1830s-1890s], (Tbilisi: 1970), p. 385.

190. Rothschilds' genealogical tree: <http://www1.rothschildarchive.org/genealogy/>

191. B. Asbrink, *Империя Нобелей: История о знаменитых шведах, бакинской нефти и революции в России* [Nobels' Empire: a History of well-known Swedes, oil of Baku and revolution in Russia] (Moscow: 2003), p. 60. http://www.branobelhistory.com/Global/Documents/Britas_bok/Nobelimperiet_Bok_Ry.pdf

192. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. xxxii.

193. <http://www1.rothschildarchive.org/genealogy> French branch of the family, his father No. 2.10. James Mayer Rothschild (1792-1868), himself No. 3.16. Mayer Alphonse (1827-1905).

194. The company has widely been referred to as BNITO, based on the Russian acronym of a predecessor company which is a mistake, see characteristic example P. Jaloustre (University of Geneva), "The Oil Interests of the Rothschild of Paris. Between world competition and the Russian Government (1883-1912)", paper presented at the European Business History Association (EBHA) 11th Annual Conference (Geneva, 13-15 Sept. 2007), available at <http://www.ebha.org/ebha2007/pdf/Jaloustre.pdf>. The BNITO was transformed to the Caspian and Black sea Oil Company. Further we shall refer to it as Rothschild Company, as Rothschild was

schildts gained control of the Mazut/Mazout Company, which transported and marketed oil and petroleum products.¹⁹⁵ With the appearance of the Rothschilds on the economic scene of the Caucasus, the Nobels' monopoly was somehow challenged since it became the main rival in oil business, the most dangerous of Nobels ever.¹⁹⁶ Rothschild spurred further economic development of Batoum, which used to be an unimportant small port. From there, Baku's oil was transferred to many destinations including Europe (mainly to Marseille and Fiume).¹⁹⁷

The Rothschild Factory in Batoum was the biggest producer of cases for oil and kerosene transportation (picture 16.7). Rothschild was the first, in 1889, to set new methods of manufacturing (automatic-factory-style), and also the same company started oil transportation by special oil-tanker ships.¹⁹⁸ It should be emphasized that the same "path" was passed by the Standard Oil in the United States some years earlier. The company had made barrels since 1868; in 1872 and again in 1874, it enlarged its capacity greatly.¹⁹⁹ These tankers troubled smaller businessmen and investors who protested against him and tried to alarm the authorities to set more "friendly" regulations for smaller investors and manufacturers.²⁰⁰ The manufacturing of export containers and cans was a profitable business having a great benefit for local workers and the entire town.²⁰¹

the businessman who owed the majority of investments/actions A. Bendianishvili, „კაპიტალისტური მრეწველობის აღმოცენება და განვითარება XIX საუკუნის 80-90-იან წლებში“ [Emergence and development of capitalistic industry in the 1880s-1890s], in *Essays on history of SW Georgia...*, p. 102.

195. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 434.

196. Asbrink, *Nobels Empire...*, p. 76.

197. *Ibid*, p. 61.

198. Bendanishvili, "Emergence and development ...", pp. 102-103.

199. From the beginning of its activity in container production, Standard Oil pursued increased mechanization of barrel making, previously the domain of craftsmen coopers. The company realized substantial savings by changing the balance of the workforce through mechanization, to the disadvantage of unionized skilled workers. Olien, Olien, *Oil and ideology...*, p. 47.

200. Bendanishvili, "Emergence and development ...", p. 103.

201. *Ibid*, 107.

Picture 16.7 Batoum. View of the port and the Rothschild Factory



Source: <https://photochronograph.ru/2018/10/06/gorod-batum-do-revolyucii/>

At the same time, in 1885, the factories of Sideridis and Rikhner,²⁰² and later in 1887, those of Khachaturiants, Mantashev,²⁰³ and brother Tsoviaan, were opened. Other companies were much smaller.²⁰⁴ In 1889, the Rikhner factory moved to Mantashev.²⁰⁵ Thus, Mantashev became the main competitor of Rothschild. All these factories dealt with the transportation, manufacturing, and packaging of oil and other petroleum products (mainly kerosene). At the end of the 19th century, there were nine of these major factories. Batoum had in total 24 oil-factories, eight of which had their own machines. Included among those 24 factories were those of: Belgium, Great Britain, Germany, USA, It-

202. According to the *Guide of the Caucasus* the Factory of Rikhner was founded in 1884 and was second in productivity after Rothschild factory. *Кавказский календарь на 1893* [Guide of the Caucasus for 1893], (Tiflis: Kavkazskii statisticheskii komitet, 1892), p. 114.

203. *Ibid*, p. 114.

204. *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 34; *Guide of the Caucasus for the year 1893...*, p. 114.

205. The factory of Rikhner moved to Mantashev in 1889 under the name “Factory No. 2” (Завод № 2). *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 34.

aly, Austria, and of course Russia.²⁰⁶ In 1891, these factories employed 3,000 workers and manufactured 6.8 million rubles in products. In 1897, the number of factories was reduced to eight, but the number of workers stayed the same (3,000), yet the products manufactured reached 7.6 million rubles.²⁰⁷ In 1903, there were five existing factories in Batoum,²⁰⁸: Rothschild, Mantashev, Nobel (his subsidiary/affiliated company was factory of Khachatiurants), and Siderides.²⁰⁹ Materials for the packaging of oil were tin-plates and wood. Wood was mainly supplied from Austria and the guberniia of Kherson.²¹⁰

Besides packaged oil, in 1886, oil began to be transferred in bulk. Oil was overflowed from reservoirs directly to steamship cisterns, which had capacities of 3,000 tones each.²¹¹ Its main advantages were that this type of shipping saved the cost of preparing and purchasing barrels or tin cans, as well as, stowage, and time.²¹² In 1893, there were ten such stations in Batoum.²¹³

The major oil-packing factories had their reservoirs for sustaining oil products. Among them the most influential (according to January 1st, 1902 data) were: (1) Caspian-Black Sea Company (Rothschild) with 25 reservoirs; (2) Nobel Brothers with 22 reservoirs; and (3) Mantashev with 11 reservoirs.²¹⁴ For the beginning

206. See 32 main companies with oil production activity in Baku in the magazine *Нефтяное дело* [Oil Business], № 3 (15 February 1908), p. 65.

207. Bendanishvili, “Emergence and development ...”, p. 104-105.

208. See below why the number of these factories was reduced so dramatically.

209. *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 34. In the document dated to 17/07/1912 his trading company for the year 1908 is mentioned as “Торговый Дом Сидеридис и Арванитидис/ Trade Company of Sideridis and Arvanitidis”, while in 1911 as “Торговый Дом Арванитиди/Trade Company of Arvanitidi”, Adjara CSA, fond History-6, opis 1, delo 247, list. 14.

210. See statistics, their transfer prices and how they were transferred to Batoum *Guide of the Caucasus for the year 1893...*, pp. 114-115.

211. Ibid, p. 116. According to D. Kldiashvili, the biggest ships belonged to the company “Samuel Samuelson and Friendship” which could transfer (mainly to the Far East) even 527000 poods oil. Kldiashvili, *On the way of my life...*, p. 58.

212. Its advantages were already observed by the British Acting Consul-General Stevens in his report to the Earl of Roseberry dated to 28/06/1886. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Russian Empire...*, p. 119.

213. *Guide of the Caucasus for the year 1893...*, p. 116.

214. Sitchinava, *From history of Batoum...*, p. 142.

of the 20th century, these three companies exported 67 per cent of Baku's oil to the global markets.²¹⁵ Rothschild and Nobels were occupying European markets, while Mantashev preferred to develop his commercial activities mainly in Asia/Africa.²¹⁶ Those three companies were the leading companies among 32 active companies in Baku. In January of 1908, the aforementioned companies had the following oil production rates (table 16.7):

Table 16.7 Oil Production Rates of Top Companies

Rank	Company	Rate
1	Нобель Бр., Т-во (BraNobel)	5,770,508
2	Каспийско Черн. О-во (Rothschild)	2,971,226
3	МАНТАШЕВ И К ^о (Mantashev)	2,354,937

Source: Нефтяное дело [*Oil Business*], № 3 (15 February 1908), p. 65

So, roughly 70 per cent of Batoum's industrial development was owed to foreign investment (Rothschild/Nobels). It was a general trend in the whole empire. At the Russian investment peak (1897-1901), some 20 per cent of domestic investment was financed through foreign savings, and at the end of the period (1909-1913), 12 per cent was financed through foreign savings. Over the entire period, roughly one-half of the increase in the investment rate was the product of the increase in foreign savings.²¹⁷

In Baku, the Rothschild operation never achieved the same levels of profitability as the Nobels. The Nobels invested more consistently and were more vertically integrated than the Rothschilds, who concentrated on downstream operations and trading, especially in the early years. The Nobels also benefited from having ac-

215. Sometimes Nobel Brothers Company occupied the first place. For example in 1908 its turnover was double (5.770.508 poods) than Caspian-Black Sea Company's (2.971.226) and Mantashev's (2. 354.937). See details, magazine *Нефтяное дело* [*Oil Business*], № 3 (15 February 1908), p. 65

216. A. Bendanishvili, „ახალი ტენდენციები მრეწველობის განვითარებაში 1900-1917 წლებში“ [New tendencies in development of industry in 1900-1917], in *Essays on History of SW Georgia...*, p. 108.

217. Gregory, *Russian National Income...*, p. 129.

quired control of land earlier, when it was substantially cheaper.²¹⁸ Though, in Batoum, the Rothschild company had a clear advantage compared to both its competitors, Nobels and Mantashev. In 1903, the Rothschilds teamed with the Nobels to form a cartel, Nobmazut, to coordinate their efforts in the Russian domestic market.²¹⁹

An important part of Batoum's industry (besides oil) was Chiatura's manganese (see table 16.8),²²⁰ the second good transported mostly through Batoum Port. Chiatura's manganese comprised 41 per cent of the global market in 1904-1914, and since 1892, Russia was the first in supplying the world market with manganese.²²¹

Poti's port was preferred for the transfer of manganese, as well as, for grain. Batoum served mainly for the transfer of oil products.²²²

Table 16.8 Manganese exported through the Batoum's port

Year	Million poods	% from the whole export
1908	1,25	5
1911	8,8	22
1913	26,7	40
1923	1,1	5

Source: *Труды Отдела Портов ЗКВ* [Proceedings of the Department of Ports of TRC], (Saint Petersburg: 1925), p. 18.

Petroleum Town in Batoum

On June 19th, 1900, a decision was made to establish the so-called "Petroleum Town" (in Russian: Нефтяной городок, in Georgian: ნავთობ ქალაქი) (see picture 16.8).²²³ According to D. Kldiashvili,

218. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 435.

219. Ibid, p. 435.

220. Sioridze, "Foreign capitals in producing of manganese...", 43.

Sioridze, "Economic interests of western countries...", p. 31.

Chiatura, a small town in Western Georgia, was the first place in the whole Russian empire where in 1846 manganese was discovered. Sioridze, "Foreign capitals in producing of manganese...", 43.

221. Sioridze, "Economic interests of western countries...", 31.

222. *Кавказский календарь на 1893* ("Guide of the Caucasus for the year 1893"), p. 117.

223. CSH Archive of Georgia (სცხსა), fond 229, opis 1, delo 922, list 23.

a special committee which was charged to investigate all details for the creation and establishment of the Petroleum Town in Batoum in January of 1899.²²⁴ The main reason for its creation was city's safety. The Petroleum Town would be a place for oil new reservoirs,²²⁵ in order to remove/turn away oil from the city center and would have all necessary equipment and would meet all conditions for safe preservation.²²⁶ The Petroleum Town became a part of Batoum. It started functioning in 1905 and was up kept entirely by public services. In this period, the total area of Batoum (including the Petroleum Town) was 1,835,807 square-sazhen.²²⁷ I. D. Kropiviansky, recorded in 1908, the dimensions of the Petroleum Town and Batoum City, as listed below (table 16.9):

Table 16.9 Petroleum Town/Batoum City Dimensions

Space	Area (square-sazhen)
West part of the Petroleum Town	1,25
East part of the Petroleum Town	8,8
Whole Petroleum Town	26,7
The Residential area of the city	1,1

Source: Adjara CSA, fond History-6, opis 1, delo 247, p. 14.

The annual expenses of the Petroleum Town were 77,946 rubles,²²⁸ while its income was only 32,124 rubles, which means that the remaining portion of the expenses (approx. 45,882 rubles) had to be covered by city's funds.²²⁹

224. D. Kldiashvili, *On the way of my life...*, p. 56. See more details on this Town, territories examined for its establishment, etc. *ibid* pp. 58-64.

225. It was examined but rejected to move already existed oil factories and reservoirs to the Petroleum Town because of very high costs. *Ibid*, pp. 59-60.

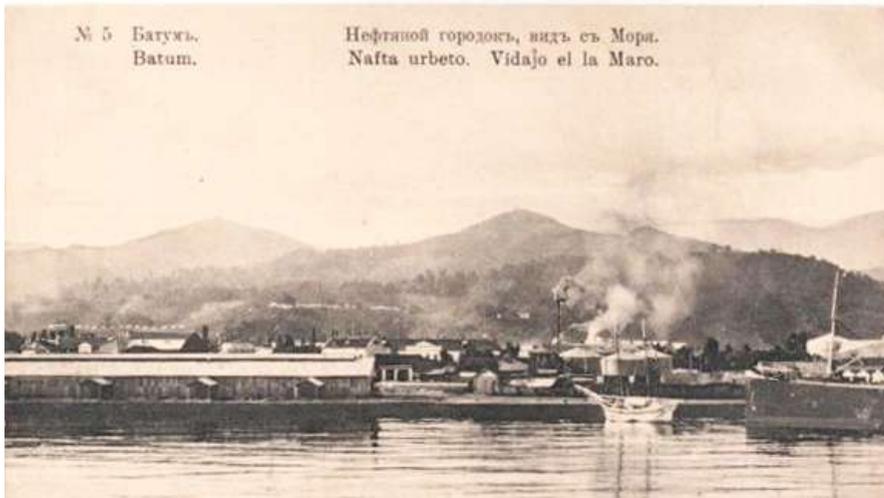
226. See details about Petroleum Town of Batumi, its function, equipment, conditions, places which were examined *Ibid*, pp. 62-63.

227. Adjara CSA, fond History-6, opis 1, delo 247, list 7, 14.

228. Adjara CSA, fond History-1, opis 1, delo 247, list 12.

229. Adjara CSA, fond History-1, opis 1, delo 247, list 15.

Picture 16.8 Batoum. “Petroleum Town”, view from the sea, Postcard



End of the Oil Boom in Batoum; Continuance and Perspectives of the Caucasian Geo-Oil-Politics

“We’re concerned about Chechnya. We’re concerned about the Caucasus and Georgia and the oil and gas reserves that are there.”

John McCain on Foreign Policy²³⁰

The oil boom in Batoum terminated with the sale of the Rothschild company to the Royal Dutch Shell company in 1911,²³¹ though the economic fall started much earlier. In 1905, Rothschild closed his factory in Batoum and moved all technical equipment abroad because

230. Source: http://www.ontheissues.org/Senate/John_McCain_Foreign_Policy.htm

231. Rothschild turned out more prudent and provident than the Nobels who saw half of their property nationalized by the Soviets in 1920 (they had sold half to Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, later Exxon). Emanuel and his brothers were able to escape eventually to Sweden. They fought unsuccessfully for more than a decade to recover their assets from the Soviet government. Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 98. According to a document dated to 14/08/1912 “in the place of Rothschild’s factory now there is a solid Belgian factory”. Adjara CSA, fond History-1, opis 1, delo 247, list 7.

of worker strikes and the revolution which took place in many regions of the whole Russian empire. Mantashev also dismantled his factory, as did other companies, all moving their equipment, machines, and devices abroad (mainly in Egypt and Italy).²³²

So, the Batoum oil boom chronologically could be put roughly within the years of 1883-1913.²³³ The golden age for Batoum's industry and port was the decade between 1889-1898, or even until 1901.²³⁴ This industrial development had an impact on every aspect of the city life. A leading newspaper of Tbilisi noted, "Every week and even every day you see here a new building, a new service, a new street, a new factory."²³⁵ The major consumer of Baku-Batoum's oil was Europe, then Turkey²³⁶, North Africa, the Far East, and Russia itself.²³⁷ The Russian kerosene did not have any rival in markets of the Near and the Far East, nor in India. This was managed due to Baku oil's: (1) excellent quality, (2) its low price (9-16-20 kopeck for each pood), and (3) its appropriate packing in Batoum.²³⁸

The fall of the oil-industrial boom in Batoum started at the beginning of the new millennium for many complex reasons. Generally, Russian industry was plagued by: a lack of modern drilling and refining techniques; poor storage facilities (resulting in massive losses); rapid exhaustion of reserves due to anarchic exploitation; political instability; and labour unrest which led to the Baku Oil Crisis of 1903, which marked a significant decline in production and loss of international market share. "It is difficult to say what brought about the crisis that has existed for so long in the petroleum industry and trade of the Cau-

232. Bendanishvili, "New tendencies in development ...", p. 111.

233. Sioridze, "Batumi's role in fight ...", p. 40.

234. *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 37. Other sources, like archival material of Adjara, suggest that the decade between 1901-1911 (especially the year 1904) is equally good for Caucasian oil export. See below footnote 243.

235. *οζυρός* [Iveria], No. 145, (11 July 1891), p. 2.

236. In 1890 the main receiver markets of Caucasian oil were England, Ottoman Empire and Austria (totally 44.145.512 poods were exported. *οζυρός* [Iveria], № 146, (12 July 1891), p. 2.

237. Sitchinava, *From history of Batoum...*, p. 148.

238. "При отличных качествах, низкой цене в Баку, и тщательной упаковке в Батум соперничать с ним не было возможности", *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 37.

casus... Of course, over-production has been one of the principal reasons for the prevailing depression in the oil trade.”²³⁹ The insufficiency of institutional infrastructure was also to blame for why Russia was less developed in comparison to her Western neighbors. The Tsar himself would approve registration of any stock company.²⁴⁰ Another reason lies within Russia’s economic politics. The Russian oil price gradually lost its competitiveness. In 1898, the FOB price of Batoum was only of 3 kopecks lower than that of New York. Thus, in the following years, only the largest Russian producers (e.g. Rothschild Company), that had contracts with the Asiatic and the EPU, continued to export.²⁴¹ As a result, in 1905, Russia completely lost the Middle and Far East markets.²⁴²

One of the important aspects of the economic crisis in Russia was its rivalry with the USA in oil global markets. The fact that in a few years Russia would compete with the United States was foreseen even in 1882 by the British Vice-Consul, Peacock: “Very sanguine expectations are entertained as to the possibility of successfully competing with American petroleum imported to Europe.”²⁴³ Indeed, in the year 1904, they were almost on the same level of oil exports as European markets (table 16.10).

Table 16.10 Exports from the USA and Russia (in millions poods)

	From the USA		From Russia
	Total export	Including Europe	Exports totally abroad
1902	204,6	151,7	93,6
1904	182,0	128,1	112,1

239. For this reason even Petroleum Congress took place, which was unsuccessful in finding crisis reasons. Report by Consul Stevens, 18/04/1903. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Russian Empire...*, p. 479.

240. P. R. Gregory, *Экономический рост Российской империи (конец XIX – начало XX веков). Новые подсчеты и оценки* [Economic growth of Russian Empire” (end of XIX-Beginning of XX century), New estimates and calculations] (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2003), p. 247.

241. Jaloustre, “The Oil Interests of Rothschild...”, p. 9.

242. Sitchinava, *From history of Batoum...*, p. 156.

243. British Parliamentary Papers, Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on the Petroleum Trade of Baku, and Batoum as its future outlet, 01/07/1882, Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1094.

	From the USA		From Russia
	Total export	Including Europe	Exports totally abroad
1908	267,1	176,5	48,6
1913	298,3	168,3	57,8

Source: British Parliamentary Papers, Report by Vice-Consul Peacock on the Petroleum Trade of Baku, and Batoum as its future outlet, 01/07/1882, Foreign Office, British Parliamentary Papers, p. 1094.

Archival material based on statistics of the the Council of Baku's Oil Industrialists' Congress also claims that 1904 was the best year of Russian oil export. According to the council, in 1904-1911, the biggest oil export turnover from Batoum was recorded in 1904 with 79,526 thousand poods and the smallest in 1906 with 30,575 thousand poods²⁴⁴, from which, in 1904, 75 515 thousand poods were exported abroad and in 1906, were 26 660 thousand poods. The catastrophic fall of turnover in 1906 in the same document is accredited to the war with Japan (February, 1904 – September, 1905). The Batoum Port managed to upturn in 1909, trying keep a firm level of 39-42 million poods.²⁴⁵

The situation changed dramatically in the following years. After 1905, the United States was the only country which owned enormous resources of illuminating oil. All European countries were supplied with American oil. For example, in 1906, Germany used 82 per cent of American kerosene,²⁴⁶ only 7 per cent of Russian, 8.5 per cent of Dutch, and 2.5 per cent of Romanian kerosene. In the same year, even in England, which had many companies in Russia: 70 per cent of use was American oil and only 20 per cent was Russian.²⁴⁷ In Europe, three leading international companies dealt with oil supply: "Standard Oil Co." (the most important), "Europäische Petroleum-Union" (established by the Bank of Germany²⁴⁸), and "Koninklijke Nederlandsche Petroleum Maatschappij" (Dutch)²⁴⁹. These

244. Adjara CSA, fond History-1, opis 1, delo 247, list 3.

245. Adjara CSA, fond H-1, opis 1, delo 247, list 4.

246. This means that the main supplier of Germany is "Standard Oil Co". *Oil Business...*, p. 30.

247. *Ibid*, pp. 29-30.

248. *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 37.

249. The second one exports Russian oil to the Central and West Europe, as well

companies managed to acquire many other companies in Baku. Nobel and Rothschild joined them, as well as, two-thirds of the stocks of Mantashev Company. From 157 reservoirs in Batoum, 102 moved to their hands.²⁵⁰ The British Consul, Stevens, wrote about this situation on April 6th,1906, noting: “The downward movement in the trade of Batoum, which began so far back as the middle of the year 1904, went from bad to worse in January, 1905, and towards the month of April the situation became exceedingly acute. Trade declined to such an extent that most, if not all, of the industrial establishments of the town were compelled to bring their activity to a complete standstill and to discharge all their workmen. Much of this deplorable condition of affairs is to be attributed to the continued disturbances throughout Russia and in particular to the prevalent disorders in the Caucasus, which were maintained with greater intensity in the year 1905 as compared with the troubles of 1904, rapidly bringing about a state of chaos and its industrial and commercial ruin to the country.”²⁵¹

In the “Oil War” in the beginning of the 20th century, Russia turned out to be the loser. The main reason of this loss was attributed to the Batoum’s Revolutionary Movement and the increased demands of workers.²⁵² Contemporary sources also “blame” the fall of the city’s dynamic economy to the turmoil that dominated Batoum from 1902-1906.²⁵³ Workers’ strikes and protests became intense from 1889-1890. Their main demand was to improve their working and living conditions.²⁵⁴ In December 1901, a branch of the Social-Democratic Worker Party of Russia (*Российская социал-*

as Romanian oil of the society “Steaua Romana”. The third one controls all resources in Dutch India, deals with oil trade in Asia, America and Oceania. They are in full harmony with each other dividing the global markets between them. The first one and third had shared markets of Asia, Africa and Oceania. *Oil Business...*, pp. 30-31.

250. *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 37.

251. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Russian Empire...*, p. 519.

252. Sitchinava, *From history of Batoum...*, p. 158.

253. These events caused the loss of global markets of Russia and caused a crisis. *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 33. It can be said that these publications expressed the position of the official authorities as well.

254. O.Gogolishvili, საზოგადოებრივ-პოლიტიკური ვითარება ბათუმის ოლქში 1900-1910 წწ. [Social and political situation in the Batoum Oblast in 1900-1910] (Batumi: 2012), p. 23.

демократическая рабочая партия (РСДРП) was established in Batoum. It had become of paramount importance given its great number of workers.²⁵⁵ The contributions of I. V. Jughashvili (later on I. V. Stalin) in organizing of Batoum's branch are immense.²⁵⁶ He was sent on a special mission to Batoum from Tbilisi in autumn of 1901.²⁵⁷ This revolutionary movement was bloodily put to an end on March 9th, 1902, in which fifteen workers were killed, 54 were injured, and 500 participants were arrested.²⁵⁸ Despite the revolutionary movement, violations in Batoum was acute during the following years. The new wave ensued in 1905, when workers of all factories went on strike. First, Khachaturiants factory was closed. In February of the same year, as mentioned above, the Rothschild factory was terminated. In April, Sideridis followed, and in June both factories of Mantashev were closed. So in a half year all those tin-plate factories were put to an end.²⁵⁹ One should give thought to the general the impact of political events upon the whole Russian economy, thus the civil disorders of 1905 and 1906 and their effect on aggregate output should be highlighted, as it is an important historical issue in its own

255. They were almost half of the whole population. Kldiashvili, *On the way of my life...*, p. 133.

256. Actually, Stalin's political career started in Batumi.

257. "Развитие социал-демократического движения сделало большие успехи, когда осенью 1901 г. Тифлисский комитет РСДРП командировал в город Батум для пропаганды между заводскими рабочими одного из своих членов – Иосифа Виссарионовича Джугашвили"/ Development of the Social-Democratic movement had a great success when in the autumn of 1901 the Tiflis Committee of the SDWPR (= Social-Democratic Worker Party of Russia) sent to the city of Batoum Iosif Vissarionovich Jughashvili, one of its members for propaganda among factories' workers". Document published in: O. Gogolishvili, *Social and political situation in the Batoum Oblast...*, p. 31.

258. M. Jijeishvili, „მუშათა და გლეხთა მოძრაობა 1900-1904 წლებში“ [Workers' and peasants' movement in 1900-1904], in *Essays on History of SW Georgia...*, pp. 318-319. One of the mass repressions in the Caucasus region during the tsarist period. Activists including Stalin were arrested in April of the same year by the local police. Gogolishvili, *Social and political situation in the Batoum Oblast...*, p. 37. There is an opinion (based on official reports) that during the demonstration of March 9th Stalin himself and other activists were not on the demonstration area. He concealed himself and left the protestor workers alone. *Ibid*, p. 36.

259. *Review of Batoum Oblast for the year 1910...*, p. 36. Some of them were re-opened one year later, in 1906

right.²⁶⁰ We absolutely agree that the 1905 Revolution had a significant impact on Russian investment spending, as this political event caused Russia to fall out of step with the world investment cycle.²⁶¹ In some bibliographies, there is an opinion that this revolutionary movement in Batoum, which ended up in its economic fall, was helped/pushed by the European oil companies (e.g. Standard-Oil, European Oil Union, and different English companies) in order to remove Russia from the global oil markets.²⁶² If we compare oil export turnover abroad in 1907, (24,885,089 poods) with that of 1908 (2,959,760 poods) the fall in the index is more than 10 times.²⁶³

In 1914, all major European oil companies (“Standard-oil”, Shell) managed to get 86 per cent of Russian joint-stock capital of oil production. All these companies used Batoum, as well, for their economic activity but only through tankers. The transportation of packed oil was regarded as unprofitable. Thus, Batoum’s large-scale industry was completely terminated.²⁶⁴ In addition, in 1914, as the WWI loomed, Batoum’s location on the Black Sea was the front line of confrontation between Turkey and Russia. By September, the situation had rapidly deteriorated. By December of the same year, Russian forces had regrouped and the defense of Batoum had been achieved.²⁶⁵ By 1915, the situation had stabilized.

Despite all deficiencies Russia managed to keep its second place after the USA among the top five Oil-Producing Countries from 1861 to 1914 and beyond.²⁶⁶ As a result, Russia on the eve of WWI was one of the world’s major economic powers. General works typically rank Russia as the world’s fourth or fifth largest industrial power behind the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Ger-

260. Gregory, *Russian National Income...*, p. 125.

261. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

262. Bendanishvili, “New tendencies in development ...”, p. 110. I shall not examine how correct and convincing is this opinion. Somehow it was supported by the Russian officials of that time. As an assumption it seems to be logical but it needs sources and documents to be widely accepted.

263. *Oil Business...*, appendix, pp. 27 -28. Detailed information of imports/exports from/to Batum in 1906, 1907, 1908 see below Appendix 1.

264. Bendanishvili, “New tendencies in development ...”, p. 112.

265. Greenhalgh, Jarman, *Adjara and the Russian Empire...*, p. 677.

266. See relevant table in Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 561.

many, and perhaps Austria-Hungary.²⁶⁷ Oil was its main economic advantage. In this regard, the wider area of the Caucasus, besides its extremely strategic location, became the core of the Russian international economic power. From 1868-1914, in the Russian empire, a total of five oil fields were discovered, and all of them in the Caucasus: three in Azerbaijan (the South Caucasus): in 1870, 1871, 1896 respectively; and two in the North Caucasus: in 1893 in Starogrozny (Chechnya) and in 1909 in Maykop (the capital of Adygea).²⁶⁸

Nowadays, oil remains the most important aspect of the global economic war. Imperial rivalries, economic inequities, and competing ideologies still plague the entire Caucasus, “for its unfortunate inhabitants oil wealth has proven to be a mixed blessing at best and a curse at worst.”²⁶⁹

267. Gregory, *Russian National Income...*, p. 154.

268. See Appendix 13: “Other Giant Oil and Gas Fields of Historical Interest” in Vassiliou, *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry...*, p. 583-584; Huseynova, Abbasova, Melikova, *The Nobels and Baku Oil...*, p. 110.

269. Dekmejian, Simonian, *Troubled Waters...*, p. 18.

APPENDIX 1

Oil Imports/Exports to/from Batoum to Russia/Abroad²⁷⁰

Import of Oil Products from Baku to Batoum			
Products	Year		
	1908	1907	1906
Осветительны масла/ Illuminating oil	3,032,159	29,802,670	25,957,986
В том числе / Including:			
Керосин легкий / Kerosene	2,974,363	29,008,016	24,666,900
Керосиновый дистиллят/ Kerosene Distillate	-	12,826	-
Смазочны масла / Lubricating oil	633,897	7,735,265	8,096,795
В том числе / Including:			
Машинное масло/ Machine oil	527,24	6,541,595	6,894,754
Машинный дистиллят/ Distillate	-	762	175,774
Нефтяны остатки/ Residues	287,888	2,234,050	1,402,889
Сырая нефть/ Crude oil	66,941	327,889	76,106
Итого/ Totally	4,020,885	40,101,776	40,101,776

Exports of Oil from Batoum (Abroad)			
Products	Year		
	1908	1907	1906
Осветительны масла/ Illuminating Oil	2,959,760	24,885,089	19,118,598
В том числе/Including			
Керосин легкий/Kerosene	2,875,659	23,276,808	17,692,844
Керосиновый дистиллят/Kerosene Distillate	-	704,788	-
Смазочны масла/ Lubricating Oil	490,957	7,184,601	6,490,408

270. Table from *Oil Business...*, appendix, pp. 27 -28.

Exports of Oil from Batoum (Abroad)			
Products	Year		
	<i>1908</i>	<i>1907</i>	<i>1906</i>
В том числе/ Including			
Машинное масло/ Machine Oil	400,276	5,992,568	5,555,973
Машинный дистиллят / Distillate	–	89,026	120,238
Нефтяные остатки/ Residues	170,876	1,918,096	1,051,036
Сырая нефть/ Crude oil	–	–	–
того/ Totally	3,621,593	33,991,826	26,660,042

Exports of oil from Batoum (to Russia)			
Products	Year		
	<i>1908</i>	<i>1907</i>	<i>1906</i>
Осветительные масла/ Illuminating Oil	558,026	3,825,595	6,644,514
В том числе/Including			
Керосин легкий/Kerosene	555,731	3,793,093	3,602,149
Керосиновый дистиллят/Kerosene Distillate	–	–	–
Смазочные масла/ Lubricating Oil	6,884	234,649	378,665
В том числе/ Including			
Машинное масло/ Machine Oil	6,273	179,765	214,414
Машинный дистиллят / Distillate	–	–	–
Нефтяные остатки/ Residues	–	15,322	26,475
Сырая нефть/ Crude oil	–	–	58
того/ Totally	564,91	4,075,566	4,050,867

APPENDIX 2

Batoum's Port Turnover (goods exported abroad) in 1913 (in poods)*		
№	Articles	Poods
1	Kerosene	21,743,000
2	Oil	13,913,829
3	Salt	99,239
4	Cocoon	43,653
5	Silk	278,510
6	Flour	482,819
7	Walnut tree	278,671
8	Manganese	26,653,801
9	Barley	339,770
10	Adobe	67,914
11	Licorice	1486588
12	Corn	848,527
13	Carpets	45,528
14	Tobacco (leaves)	25,538
15	Fuel/Crude oil/mazout (мазут)	3,032,622
16	Cake (ЖМЫХ)	771,635
17	Lucerne	60,992
18	Cotton-seed	859,124
19	Other goods	201,853
Total		71,233,608
By Cabotage		
imported		9,756,720
Exported		7,519,500
Total		885,098,28

* Report about *Activity of Exchange Committee of Batoum of 1913, 1914 and 1915...*, p. 32.

APPENDIX 3

Table of annual turnover (1888) of 26 cities/towns of the South Caucasus (6 cites/towns)*			
Cities	Exports	Imports	Receivable taxes
Batoum	23,342,134 Rubles	7,127,294	1,212,602
Tiflis	-	-	352,161
Baku	8,246,267	3,408,572	301,928
Poti	4,099,517	11,720	16,797
Sukhum	385,012	868	4,349
Novorosiisk	2,225,445	202,049	66,607
Total (26 cities / towns)	41,050,499	15,303,948	2,418,464

* St. Gulishambarov, *Обзор фабрик и заводов Закавказского края* [Small and big factories of the district of Transcaucasia] (Tiflis: 1894), p. 19.

APPENDIX 4

Shipping lines of Batoum*		
Caucasus Shipping Line	Crimean Shipping Line	Azov Shipping Line
Anapa	Odessa	Temriuk (Темрюк)
Novorosiisk	Kherson	Eisk (Ейск)
Gelenjik	Nikolaev	Taganrog
Jubga	Evpatoria	Mariupol
Tuapse	Sevastopol	Berdyansk
Lazarevskoe	Yalta	Rostov
Sochi	Alushta	
Adler	Sudak	
Gagra	Theodosia	
Gudauta	Kerch	
New Athos		
Sukhumi		
Ochamchire		
Poti		
Port of St. Nicholas		
Churuk-su (Kobuleti)		

* R. Uzunadze, *ნავსნობა ბათუმის ოლქში* [Navigation in Oblast of Batoum] (Batumi: 2001), p. 187.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CSA, *Atcharis Avtonomiuri Respublikis Tsentraluri Sakhelmtsipo Arkivi* (Central State Archive of the Adjara Autonomous Republic).
- CSH Archive of Georgia, *Sakartvelos Tsentraluri Sakhelmtsipo Saistorio Arkivi* (Central State Historical Archive of Georgia).
- DAK, *Derzhavnyi Archiv mista Kyiv* (State Archive of the City of Kiev).
- DAOO, *Derzhavnyi Archiv Odeskoi Oblasti* (State Archive of Odessa region).
- FO, *Foreign Office*
- GAARK, *Gosudarstvennii Archiv v Avtonomnoi Respublike Krym* (State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea).
- GADO, *Gosudarstvennii Archiv Donetskoi Oblasti* (State Archive of the Donetsk Region).
- GAKK, *Gosudarstvennii Archiv Krasnodarskogo Kraia* (State Archives of Krasnodar Region).
- GARO, *Gosudarstvennii Archiv Rostovskoi Oblasti* (State Archives of Rostov Region).
- GAVorO, *Gosudarstvennii Archiv Voronezhskoi Oblasti* (State Archives of Voronezh Region).
- IAETE, *Istoriko Archiv Ethnikis Trapezas Elladas* (Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece IAETE).
- NF GAKK, *Gosudarstvennii Archiv Krasnodarskogo Kraia (Novorossiyskiy Filial)* (State Archive of the Krasnodar Region (Novorossiysk Branch)).
- RGADA, *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Archiv Drevnikh Aktov* (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts).
- RGAVMF, *Rossiiskiy Gosudarstvennyi Archiv Voennno-Morskogo Flota* (Russian State Archive of the Navy).
- RGVIA, *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voennno-istoricheskii Archiv* (Russian State Archive of Military History).

RGIA, *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Archiv* (Russian State Historical Archive).

RSNTC, *Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company*.

SSC RAS, *Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences*.

TSGIA, *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Archiv* (Central State Historical Archive).

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

1 chetvert:	2.099 kilograms
1 pood:	16.38 kilograms
1 sazen:	2.13 meters
1 verst:	1.065 kilometers
1 desiatina:	1.09 hectares

GLOSSARY

- Ataman (атаман)*: supreme military commander.
- Chernozem (чернозем)*: black soil and earth rich in humus, the highly fertile land.
- Cossack Host (Казачье Войско)*: a specific estate of the Russian society that had united as self-governed militarized communities.
- Dubok (Дубок)*: sailing or rowing boat in the Black and Azov Sea.
- Governorate-general (генерал-губернаторство)*: was an administrative-territorial division of the Russian Empire, usually consisting of a set of guberniias and oblasts.
- Governor-general (генерал-губернатор)*: appointed high-ranking officer heading the Governorate-general.
- Guberniia (губерния)*: administrative unit, imperial province comprised of uezd.
- Guliashie liudi (гулящие люди)*: “the loafing people”, poor population excluded from the peasants community and having no permanent land possessions. One of the sources of Cossacks.
- Inogorodnie (иностранцы)*: people from other towns, the name traditionally used for migrants living in the areas of the Cossack Hosts but excluded from the Cossack communities.
- Krai (край)*: imperial province.
- Krug (круг)*: the legislative bodies within the regulation of the Cossack population appeared through military assemblies.
- Liman (лиман)*: shallow firths.
- Lobogreika (лобогрейка)*: an animal-powered grain reaper.
- Lodka (лодка)*: small sailing or rowing boat.
- Oblast (область)*: administrative unit in the Russian Empire (instead of province).
- Okrug (округ)*: administrative unit in the Russian Empire or administrative districts in Cossack Hosts.
- Pomeshchik (помещик)*: landowner.
- Posad (посад)*: settlement in the Russian Empire, next to a town. The posad was inhabited by craftsmen and merchants and was its own distinct community, separate from the city it adjoined.
- Poselok (поселок)*: industrial settlement.
- Priazovie (Приазовье)*: lands of the Northern Azov Sea.

- Prisutstvennyye mesta* (присутственные места): state authorities of-
fices where civil servants communicate with the public.
- Pushkarsky prikaz* (пушкарский приказ): military authority in Russia,
1577-1700.
- Rybnyi stan* (рыбный стан): the fishing station.
- Rybospetnyi zavod* (рыбоспелный завод): the fish-preparing enterprise.
- Rybpromyshlenniki* (рыбопромышленники): fish producers.
- Salkhan* (armenian): slaughterhouse.
- Salnik* (сальник): tallow factory.
- Shcherba* (щерба): a kind of fish soup.
- Sloboda* (слобода): a colonization-type settlement in sparsely popu-
lated lands.
- Soslovie/Estate* (сословие): social groups in the Russian Empire.
- Stanitsa* (станица): a settlement and an administrative unit of the
area of the Don Cossack Host.
- Stanichnoe obshchestvo* (станичное общество): community of the
Cossack stanitsas.
- Staroobriadtsi* (старообрядцы): Old Believers.
- Svodchik-kulak* (сводчик-кулак): intermediary-peasant.
- Uezd* (уезд): administrative unit (district) of the Russian Empire
subdivision of guberniia or oblast and comprised of volost.
- Urban Prefecture* (градоначальство): administrative territorial unit of
the Russian Empire consisting of a city and its adjacent territory.
- Urban Prefect* (градоначальник): an official who ruled the urban
prefecture.
- Volost* (волость): smaller territorial administrative unit (canton), sub-
unit of the uезд.
- Viceroyalty* (наместничество): administrative territorial unit of the
Russian Empire.
- Yuft* (юфть): soft bark-tanned leather of high quality.
- Zaporozhian Sich* (Запорожская Сечь): the administrative center of
the Zaporozhian Cossacks on the Dnieper River.
- Zashtatnyi gorod* (заштатный город): unimportant town.
- Zemstvo* (земство): district council. Were created after the Great Reforms
of the 1860s in the country and provincial level and were given the
responsibility for general economic development and social welfare.
- Zimovnik* (зимовник): the predominant form of settlements of the
Zaporozhian (and other) Cossacks.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Marianna Abdullayeva studied History, Social and Political Science at the State University of Kuban, Krasnodar, Russia, 1995. She completed her Ph.D thesis at the Institute of the History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine, 2002, entitled: “Orthodox churches and monasteries of Crimea as a centre of spiritual life of the Greek population (late 18th c. – 1930s)”. She participated in 2018-2019 in the project “Black Sea History” of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation of Research and Technology and from 2013 till 2015 in the research project: THALIS, “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774-1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”, (<http://blacksea.gr/>), financed by the Greek National Strategic Reference Framework, the E.U. and the Greek Ministry of Education. From 1993 till 1995, she has received grant for the participation in the project: “The transformation of the humanitarian education in Ukraine” of International Foundation “Renaissance” George Soros (USA) and of the Ministry of Education of Ukraine with the school textbook “Multinational Culture of Crimea”. The last 15 years she has been living at Athens. Her research interests lie in the history the Greek diaspora, the social history and the economic history of Russian empire and the history of the Russian Orthodox Church.

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Sarkis Surenovich Kazarov was born on November 24, 1957 in Rostov-on-Don. In 1980 he graduated from the History Department of Rostov State University. After graduation, he worked as a teacher in secondary schools in Rostov-on-Don. In 1992, he was admitted at the Academic Council of St. Petersburg State University, as a candidate, and completed a dissertation titled “Socio-political development of Epirus in the V-IV centuries BC”. Since 1996, he is at the Department of General History of Rostov State Pedagogical University where he became senior lecturer and then assistant professor. In 2005, he defended his doctoral dissertation at the Saratov State University titled “King Pyrrhus and the Epirus State in interstate relations in the Hellenistic World.” In 2006 he became professor at the Department of General History of the Russian State Pedagogical University and in 2014 professor at the Department of Archeology and Ancient History of the Southern Federal University. He has written more than 200 articles and chapters of books on the problems of ancient history and the history of Don Armenians. He is member of the Dissertation Council for Historical Sciences of the North Caucasus Federal University (Stavropol) and member of the Expert Council of the Higher Attestation Commission of the Russian Federation. He has authored the following monographs: *King Pyrrhus: ancient historical tradition and modern historiography*, (Rostov-on-Don, 2002); *King Pyrrhus and the Epirus State in the Hellenistic World*, (Rostov-on-Don, 2004); *The History of King Pyrrhus of Epirus*, (St. Petersburg, 2008), *The Armenian Apostolic Church on the Don* (Rostov-on-Don, 2001 co-authored); *Nakhichevan merchants (late XVIII – early XX centuries.)*, (Rostov-on-Don, 2012); *A. D. Dmitrev and the development of antiquity on the Don*, (Rostov-on-Don, 2018); *Professor of the Rostov Pedagogical*

Institute Alexey Ivanovich Ivanov: life and work (Rostov-on-Don, 2019).

Victoria Konstantinova is the Director of the Research Institute of Urban History (<http://ri-urbanhistory.org.ua/en/>), professor of Berdyansk State Pedagogical University (Ukraine). She has authored or co-authored 21 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. Recently, together with Igor Lyman, she works on the monographs *The Greek Community and Consuls of Greece in Berdyansk of the Nineteenth – early Twentieth Centuries* and *History of Prussian Consuls in the Southern Ukraine*.

Alexey Kraykovski(y) works in the history of Russian marine harvesting for more than 20 years. He got the training in economic history and took part in several big international projects dedicated to the history of exploitation of marine resources including History of Marine Animal Populations (H-MAP, 2000-2010) and Large Scale Exploitation of Polar Areas (IPY LASHIPA, 2008-2009). For more than 20 years, he was affiliated with the Center for Environmental and Technological History of the European University at St. Petersburg and now continues working in the Marine Environmental History area on the position of the senior researcher of the Laboratory for Environmental and Technological History in the National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia. In 2020 he also has received the position of the MSCA Seal of Excellence@UniPd Research Fellow at the University of Padova, Italy.

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Svitlana Novikova is associate professor of the Department of Historical Disciplines of the Mariupol State University (MSU), Ukraine. In 1996 she graduated from the Faculty of History of MSU. In 2005 she defended her dissertation in the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine titled “Contribution of Greeks into economic development of the Northern Pryazov region (the 2nd half of the 19th – the beginning of 20th century.)”. The dissertation took place within the research program “Greek diaspora in Ukraine: entrepreneurial activity (17th-20th centuries)” of the

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Irina Ponomariova is professor of the Department of Language and Humanities of the Donetsk National Medical University. She is a Doctor of History, and has been trained as an instructor of history (Donetsk State University). She has received her ph.D. from Taras Shevchenko National University with a thesis titled “The Azov Greeks: ethnic processes in the aspect of transformation of the traditional culture”. She was Professor of Mariupol State University, an International Relations & Foreign Policy Chair and Dean of History Department. In 2011 she has been a visiting professor in the International Hellenic University (Thessaloniki, Greece) and 2015 in the Ionian University (Corfu, Greece). She has taken part in a number of international research projects among which “The economic and social development of the Azov ports and the Greeks in the 19th century” (2009-2010, the project was organized by the Ionian University (Corfu) and the Hellenic National Foundation (Athens)); in the research project: THALIS, “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774-1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”, (<http://blacksea.gr/>), financed by the Greek National Strategic Reference Framework, the E.U. and the Greek Ministry of Education. She has taken part in 50 international conferences and

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Olga Popova is an architect living and working in Novorossyisk. She has graduated from the Faculty of Architecture of the Volgograd Civil Engineering Institute in 1986. Between 1986 and 1993 she worked in the State Civil Planning Institute of Krasnodar where she was engaged in various civil engineering projects of the Krasnodar region. During the period 1993-2004 she was an inspector of a special state committee for the protection of cultural heritage of the Krasnodar territory and she was engaged in the research of architectural monuments and historical cities. Since 2004, she heads the Department of Protection of Architectural and Historical Monuments of the Foundation “Heritage of Kuban”. Currently she is engaged in the development of projects for the restoration of architectural monuments.

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Eka Tchoidze received her first degree in Georgian and Modern Greek Philology at I. Javakhishvili State University of Tbilisi (1998), and her M.A. (2001) and Ph.D. (2006) in Byzantine History at the University of Ioannina (Greece). In 2007-2008 she worked as a post-doctoral researcher at Princeton University (Program in Hellenic Studies). In 2008-2013 she held a position of assistant professor of History at Ilia State University, Tbilisi; in 2013 she became Associate Professor at the same University. In 2011 her monograph entitled

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Natalya Samarina Natalya Samarina is a historian at Rostov-on-Don, Russia. She was an Associate Professor of Historical Sciences at the Faculty of History of Rostov State University (presently SFU), where she taught for more than 30 years. She is a specialist in the history of Russia of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century and her research interests are in the history of Russian business, the history of the Don region and the history of the cities of the Don region. She has written a number of books among which a monograph on the history of the Don entrepreneurs at the beginning of the 20th century, and large number of articles on the history of the Don Cossack region in the second half of the 19th century and on the history of Rostov-on-Don. She has participated in the writing of textbooks on the history of Russia, the history of the Don and the North Caucasus, and recently she has authored a textbook for secondary schools in the Rostov Region titled *History of the Don Region. XVII-XIX centuries*. She is presently engaged in popular history; her last publication is the book *Ростов. Самый удивительный уездный город России* [Rostov. The most amazing county town in Russia], Rostov-on-Don 2019.

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thesis was titled “Lesbos, la ville de Mytilène et sa région. Économie et société (1840-1912)”. 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 the United States. Throughout her career Evrydiki took part in more than 20 Greek, Mediterranean and European research programmes that she developed systematically in four thematic: 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 in 2017. There is still a last volume to be published, Evrydiki Sifneos, Oksana Iurkova and Valentina Shandra (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, forthcoming.

Anna Sydorenko studied Political Science at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. She completed her Ph.D thesis at the Ionian University entitled: “The economic development of the Crimean port-cities, second half of the 19th, beginning of the

20th century. Evpatoria, Sebastopol, Theodosia”. She has received a three-year scholarship 2013-2015 in the research project: THALIS, “The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774-1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”, (<http://blacksea.gr/>), financed by the Greek National Strategic Reference Framework, the E.U. and the Greek Ministry of Education. From 2008 till 2010, she participated in the research project “Economic and Social Development of the Azov Port-Cities and the Greeks in the Long 19th century” under the supervision of Professor Gelina Harlaftis and Research Director of the Institute for Historical Research/ National Hellenic Research Foundation Evrydiki Sifneos. She is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the project “Seafaring Lives in Transition. Mediterranean Maritime Labour and Shipping during Globalization, 1850s-1920s”, (European Research Council (ERC) Starting Grant 2016, project coordinator Apostolos Delis), in the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation for Research and Technology, Hellas (FORTH). Her research interests lie in the maritime economic and social history, port history and the Greek diaspora.

Vera Volonyts is associate professor of the Department of Historical Disciplines of the Mariupol State University (MSU), Ukraine. In 2007 she defended her ph.D. thesis with the title: “Trade and Commerce of the Greek Merchants in Ukraine (middle of XVII-XIX)”. Her main research and scientific interests: Directions of trade and economic activities of Greek merchants on Ukrainian lands in the second half of the XVII-XIX centuries, processes of the formation of Greek merchant centers in Nizhyn, Odessa and Mariupol, organizational, social aspects of professional activity, social status and economic life, everyday life of the Greek population of Northern Azov, source study aspect. She has participated in the following research projects:

- “THALIS, The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774-1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy”, (<http://blacksea.gr/>), financed by the Greek National Strategic Reference Framework, the E.U. and the Greek Ministry of Education;;
- “History of the Greek villages of the Pryazov region” (2011-2013, the project was conducted the Department of Historical Disciplines of the Mariupol State University);

- “The Mariupol County on the ways of modernization of society (1860-1923)” (2014-2016, the project was conducted the Department of Historical Disciplines of the Mariupol State University).