

2004

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Recommended Citation

Prousis, Theophilus C., "Archival Gleanings on Russian Trade and Consulates in the Near East" (2004).
History Faculty Publications. 10.
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Archival Gleanings on Russian Trade and Consulates in the Near East

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Imperial Russia's maritime access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean broadened the framework of tsarist influence in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. The pursuit of strategic and diplomatic aims in Istanbul, the Straits and the Balkan peninsula, in conjunction with the protection of Eastern Orthodoxy and the extension of trade in the Levant, made the Eastern Question a complex and multi-faceted issue for Imperial Russia. Archival sources on commerce and consulates shed light on the variety of interests which comprised Russia's Eastern Question and deserve more critical examination by scholars of Russian designs in the Near East.

Russia's relations with the peoples and regions of the Ottoman world are best explored by tapping the extensive records available in archives, manuscript collections and libraries of Russia, Ukraine and other successor states of the Soviet Union. This article identifies and describes some of the holdings on trade and consuls housed in Moscow's Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire (AVPRI), the most important and largest repository for the investigation of tsarist Russia's diplomacy and foreign relations. With its unmatched resources of nearly 370 *fondy* (collections) and approximately 500,000 documents, AVPRI contains abundant and assorted details on virtually every aspect of Imperial Russia's involvement in the Eastern Question, including diplomacy, military and naval strategy, commerce, religion and philanthropy.

Western scholars have only gained full access to AVPRI since 1990, and the sources for this study were among the materials I worked with during a brief research visit. Using AVPRI has many of the same obstacles and frustrations that scholars face in other archival and manuscript depositories of Russia. Perhaps most noteworthy is the palpable sense that more records on any given topic probably exist but accessing them is problematical for reasons ranging from time constraints to the perennial *remont* (restoration) that closes specific holdings, and in some cases entire archives, for long periods of time. One advantage for researchers planning to work in AVPRI is the comprehensive *Putevoditel'*

(guidebook) published in the United States in 1995, considerably larger than the typescript version available for consultation in the archive's main reading hall when I worked there in 1993. The well-organized and extensive *Putevoditel'* promises to become an indispensable directory of AVPRI resources on all facets of Imperial Russia's foreign affairs.¹

For scholars of Mediterranean, Slavic and Eastern Orthodox studies, in particular Russia's interests in the Near East, AVPRI offers a goldmine of information. Specific collections encompass the lands and peoples of the Ottoman Empire, including Greece, Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Turkey. Imperial Russia had embassies, diplomatic missions and consulates in Athens, Piraeus, the Cyclades, Saloniki, Adrianople, Istanbul, Smyrna, Jassy, Bucharest, Belgrade, Sofia, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Beirut, Cyprus, Gallipoli, Sinope and many other places in the Near East and the Balkan peninsula.² Records in these and related *fondy* treat such topics as Russia's protectorate in the Danubian Principalities; foreign trade and shipping in the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal; requests from Eastern Orthodox clergy, churches and monasteries for Russian financial aid; diplomatic and military aspects of the Russo-Turkish wars; Ottoman administrative reforms in Macedonia and Kosovo; and activities of the Russian Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society. Numerous *fondy* detail the organization, training, staffing and correspondence of the Foreign Ministry's Asiatic Department, the office that supervised and implemented tsarist policy in the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, Central Asia and the Far East.

Since 1960 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR has published sixteen massive tomes of AVPRI documents on Russian foreign affairs in the period 1800-1830, with many of these items covering tsarist designs in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire. Of particular interest is the recent two-volume collection of AVPRI materials on Russia's diplomatic, religious, cultural and economic presence in Ottoman Palestine during the late Imperial period.³ Russian researchers have utilized AVPRI in their publications on the Eastern Question, the Balkans and the Near East, and it is hoped that they will continue to mine these resources.⁴ Grigorii Arsh deserves special mention for his numerous studies on Russian-Greek relations, all of them based on investigations in AVPRI and in other archival and manuscript collections. Indeed, Arsh was one of the first scholars to examine Russian consular reports as a source for delineating social, economic and political conditions in the Morea, the Aegean archipelago and other

areas of the Ottoman Empire.⁵ A few Western specialists have relied on AVPRI holdings in their exploration of specific subjects in the Russian-Near Eastern field.⁶ The select gleanings presented here comprise part of a forthcoming compendium of AVPRI materials on Russian commerce and consulates in the Ottoman world and supplement a brief published guide to AVPRI records on Russia's religious interactions with the Greek East, in particular Russian aid for Eastern Orthodox shrines, churches and monasteries.⁷ Because Western scholars have only recently been granted unimpeded access to this archive's treasure trove, identifying some of the actual documents can serve as a crucial research tool for subsequent scholarship in the field.

This work draws on AVPRI's largest single *fond*, entitled "Sankt-Peterburgskii Glavnyi Arkhiv" (f. 161), consisting of five categories (*razriady*), 173 inventories (*opisi*) and 91,712 storage units (*edinit's khraneniia*), the vast majority of which detail tsarist diplomatic and consular activities in the Balkans and in the Near, Middle and Far East.⁸ Within this ocean of materials, the focus is on one particular category and one specific inventory, *fond* 161, II-3, *opis'* 34, dealing with Russian trade and consuls in the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 19th century. Emphasis is placed on the twenty-seven files (*dela*) — out of a total of thirty-nine relevant files in this inventory — which I investigated. The documents examined, ranging in size from three or four pages (*listy*) to ninety or more pages, consist primarily of consular reports, shipping registers, memoranda and correspondence from tsarist officials, petitions from Black Sea merchants and edicts issued by the tsarist government. While neither exhaustive nor comprehensive, these findings remind scholars of the wealth of resources on the Eastern Question available in AVPRI.

The Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774) gave Russia the right to appoint consuls in the Ottoman Empire, and by the 1820s consular officials had been posted to Bucharest, Jassy, Athens, Patras, Saloniki, the Dardanelles, Smyrna, Alexandria, Aleppo, Jaffa, Cyprus and many of the Aegean islands. One of the commerce-related duties of consuls was to gather information on trade and shipping in their geographic regions and to send these records to the Foreign Ministry's Asiatic Department, which in turn transmitted the commercial reports to the Finance Ministry's Department of Foreign Trade. Numerous files in *opis'* 34 contain documents and data on foreign exchange in Odessa, Istanbul, Saloniki, Smyrna, Alexandria, the Aegean archipelago and the Morea from 1800 to the 1850s. Shipping registers (*vedomosti*) listed the numbers and names of foreign

vessels, the flags they sailed under, the numbers and names of captains and sailors on most of the ships, the types and total value of cargoes and the points of origin and departure for most of the carriers. Registers, compiled by consuls and the Commercial Office at the Russian embassy in Istanbul on a monthly, quarterly or annual basis, were dispatched to the Asiatic Department with a cover letter reviewing their contents. Some of the files retain copies of these shipping ledgers, while those files without registers, most likely forwarded to the Department of Foreign Trade, include consular summaries of the commercial data.⁹

Shipping registers, as well as their elaborate synopses in consular communiqués, amply document several aspects of Russia's trade in Istanbul, Smyrna, Patras and other ports in the Near East. Most of the captains and sailors on Ottoman- and Russian-flagged vessels were of Greek and/or Italian descent; many of the merchants and shipowners who handled Russia's trade in the Levant were Greeks or Italians based in Odessa, Kherson, Taganrog, Feodosiia, Nikolaev, Evpatoriia and Nezhin. Registers further reveal that Russia's mercantile networks in the Mediterranean extended from the northern shores of the Black Sea to Alexandria and from Toulon and Marseilles to Smyrna and Beirut. Virtually all of Russia's consuls, vice-consuls, interpreters and commercial agents cited in the archives have names indicating Greek, Balkan or Italian descent. This reality reflects the tsarist diplomatic corps's practice of appointing persons who knew Greek, Turkish, French or Italian, the main languages of trade in the Levant, and who were familiar with Ottoman society and institutions.

Some of the consular records include copies of Ottoman *firman*s (imperial edicts) permitting foreign-flagged commercial ships to sail unimpeded in the Straits and other Ottoman waters.¹⁰ While Ottoman permits provided unrestricted transit for Russian vessels from the Baltic, White and Black Seas, complications could arise during periods of Russian-Ottoman tension. For example, in 1823 an Odessa shipowner complained to Foreign Minister Karl V. Nessel'rode that two of his ships failed to obtain the requisite edicts to sail the Straits, a refusal probably attributed to commercial setbacks caused by the Greek War of Independence.¹¹ The sultan's regime suspected tsarist support, if not incitement, of the Greek uprising in view of Russia's claim to protect Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman and Greek naval clashes in the Aegean led to Ottoman violations of Russo-Turkish trade accords, and reinforced the Porte's suspicion that Russian-flagged ships were transporting provisions and arms to Greek rebels or were owned by insurrectionist Greek shipowners from the islands of Hydra,

Spetsae and Psara. These events disrupted Russia's Black Sea interchange and eroded the profits of Odessa merchants and shippers who relied on Ottoman *firman*s for their commercial success.

Along with shipping registers and related information on trade, consular files offer valuable and in some cases detailed narratives on specific regions. In the 1830s and 1840s Russia's consul-general in the Morea, Ivan Vlassopulo, reported on the state of foreign commerce and shipping in the newly independent Kingdom of Greece, in particular the Morea and the Cyclades. He lamented that trade had been adversely affected by civil war, political factionalism and other disorders resulting from the Greek revolution, and that many of the Greek captains and sailors who had participated in Russia's Black Sea merchant marine would now sail under the protection of the Greek flag. Yet the consul-general anticipated opportunities for expanded trade ties between Greece and Russia, and envisioned the Greek merchant fleet as a cooperative (and profitable) channel for Russian grain exports in the Mediterranean. Vlassopulo's expectation was probably fueled by the elaborate information he received from consular agents about the climate, topography, commercial promise and favorable economic conditions of the Cyclades. By 1840, according to consular accounts, Syros and other Cycladic islands had become a prominent trade hub for vessels flying under many different flags: Greek, Ottoman, Ionian, Russian, English, Austrian, Sardinian, French, Papal, American.¹² Similar narratives on mercantile vitality were drafted by consular officials stationed in the Ottoman ports of Saloniki, Adrianople, Beirut and Trebizond.¹³

Several files in *opis'* 34 discuss ways to augment Russia's Black Sea exchange and to advance Odessa's commercial growth. Minister of Commerce and Minister of Foreign Affairs Nikolai P. Rumiantsev crafted a memorandum, endorsed by the Committee of Ministers in 1810, strongly advocating unrestricted passage for Russian and Ottoman merchant vessels in the Black Sea. The proposal outlined the trade prospects of Sinope and Trebizond, ports well situated along the northern coast of Anatolia. Sinope and Trebizond were linked commercially to the interior Anatolian towns of Angora, Amasia, Tokat, and above all Erzerum, a strategic frontier post near the source of the Euphrates and a key point on caravan routes from Turkey to Persia and India. According to Rumiantsev, the maritime potential of Sinope and Trebizond made them natural locations for the placement of permanent Russian consulates, whose duties would include abiding by Russo-Turkish trade accords, expediting commercial transactions, protecting Russian

subjects and preparing regular reports on trade and shipping.¹⁴ Echoing the Rumiantsev proposal, Russia's consul on Chios, Nikolai Milonas, submitted a report in 1816 calling for the extension of Russian commerce into various parts of Anatolia. While the memorandum emphasized the prominence of Smyrna as a mercantile and consular focal point, it detailed the trade possibilities of Sinope, Trebizond and Erzerum and the advantages of establishing permanent consular posts in these towns.¹⁵

Odessa merchants and local government officials often cooperated to stimulate business and urban development in Russia's principal Black Sea emporium. In 1819 a delegation of Odessa traders petitioned Aleksandr F. Langeron, city chief of Odessa and governor-general of New Russia, requesting trade data from Russian consuls in the Near East. The merchants expected to expand their enterprises in the Aegean and the Mediterranean with the help of regular information on ship cargoes and commodity prices, harbor facilities, customs regulations and related matters. Langeron communicated the petition to Foreign Minister Nessel'rode, who endorsed the proposal and authorized Russia's ambassador to the Porte, Grigorii A. Stroganov, to apprise consuls of their new assignment. Stroganov in turn instructed Russia's consular officers to prepare reports on trade and shipping in their areas of jurisdiction and to dispatch these accounts directly to Langeron in Odessa.¹⁶

Another file, evoking the dusty streets of Pushkin's Odessa, documents the street-paving endeavor of Mikhail S. Vorontsov, the governor-general of New Russia. Given the contributions of Odessa traders and shippers to that city's urban and commercial growth, Vorontsov understandably solicited their help in delivering foreign stone so that Odessa could pave its streets, bridges and walkways and thus improve the flow of goods, services and people. Printed and handwritten copies of an 1831 government proclamation (in Russian, Italian, French) requested shippers, traders and sea captains who conducted business in the Mediterranean to use granite or other types of hard stone as ballast on their Odessa-bound vessels. Port authorities promised to furnish barges, labor and other assistance for unloading foreign stone in harbor and to expedite quarantine procedures for stone-carrying vessels and crews. The city government pledged to pay a monetary reward to ship captains for each cubic *sazhen* (fathom) of suitable stone they transported. Ships with ballast of sand, earth, porous stone or other substance deemed unfit for street-paving would receive no financial award and would have to remove the ballast with their own crews. This urban improvement

project did not succeed, as we learn from Governor-General Vorontsov's announcement in January 1838 halting the shipment of foreign stone. While various kinds of stone arrived in Odessa from Trieste and other points in the Mediterranean, most were considered unsuitable for street-paving; plus, city and state officials now anticipated that adequate paving stone could be procured in the Crimea and Bessarabia.¹⁷ These factors explain why municipal authorities terminated the delivery of foreign stone.

Some of the files in *opis'* 34 substantiate the precariousness of Black Sea commerce during the Eastern crisis of the 1820s, when Russian-Ottoman political tension over the Greek revolt and the status of the Danubian Principalities contributed to the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29. Trade between the belligerents did not necessarily have to become a casualty of war, as evinced during the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-12 when exchange continued and Odessa's maritime exports to the Levant actually increased.¹⁸ Nevertheless, commerce in the 1820s was interrupted by naval battles between Ottoman and Greek forces, Ottoman restrictions and seizures of grain exports on Russian-flagged carriers and a drop in the numbers of Ottoman vessels entering Black Sea markets.

Trade reversals and business losses prompted complaints to Foreign Minister Nessel'rode and Finance Minister Egor F. Kankrin from Odessa merchants, Feodosiia port authorities and consular officials at Russia's Commercial Office in Istanbul. In a dispatch of August 1827, Finance Minister Kankrin conveyed to Nessel'rode several specific objections lodged by Odessa's traders and customs officials: falling revenues from Black Sea shipping, mounting freight and insurance rates for Russian-flagged vessels bound for the Straits, and at least one case of an Odessa merchant who had to declare bankruptcy. According to Kankrin, these circumstances and their ramifications for business in Black Sea ports should be kept in mind by the Foreign Ministry during the current round of Russian-Ottoman diplomatic negotiations in Istanbul.¹⁹ With the failure of these talks and the outbreak of war in 1828, Tsar Nicholas I issued an edict that banned shipments of grain from Russia's Black Sea harbors to any point in the Ottoman Empire for the duration of the conflict. The prohibition order, sent to Governor-General Vorontsov of New Russia, encompassed not just Russian-flagged but all foreign cargoes set to sail from Black Sea trade centers to the Ottoman Empire. The tsar's edict instructed Vorontsov to enforce the ban, guard against contraband and notify foreign consuls in Russia's southern seaports of the order.²⁰

Archival documents register the predictable response of at least some Black Sea merchants. A group of about twenty-five Odessa traders petitioned Governor-General Vorontsov in October 1829, requesting his intercession with the tsarist regime to revoke the decree against grain exports to the Ottoman realm. Appealing to Vorontsov's "protective and fraternal authority," the merchants protested several repercussions of the year-long ban: their own personal business losses, the adverse impact on Black Sea shipping and the expenses incurred by Odessa's merchants and municipal government for storing unshipped grain. Even without Russian grain exports, argued the petitioners, Ottoman urban centers such as Istanbul and Smyrna maintained sufficient provisions due to shipments from Livorno, Trieste, Alexandria and other Mediterranean ports. The concerned traders expected that Russia's resumption of unrestricted commerce with the Ottoman Empire would quickly reverse the setbacks caused by the edict.²¹ The end of the Russo-Turkish war, as well as petitions from Black Sea merchants, prompted Governor-General Vorontsov to urge the central government to lift the trade ban. His memorandum asserted that traders in Black Sea markets must be permitted to benefit from the "fruits of peace," above all the restoration of unimpeded commerce between the former belligerents.²²

These select gleanings illustrate the variety and value of AVPRI holdings for scholarship on Russian interests in the Near East in the 19th century. Additional materials in *fond* 161, including consular service records and data on commercial transit for Russian-flagged ships, amplify issues raised by the files in *opis'* 34.²³ Also relevant are the sundry *fondy* on consular posts in the Balkans and the Near East, documents that should certainly shed more light on trade in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and on consular activities in the Levant.²⁴ AVPRI complements the collections on Russian-Near Eastern relations in the Russian State Historical Archive, the Manuscript Section of the Russian National Library and other repositories.²⁵ Examining the contents of AVPRI's myriad *fondy* and files may not dramatically alter our understanding of Russia's Eastern Questions, but meaningful details will invariably deepen our perspective, suggest the nuance and complexity of policy and prompt scholarly exploration of the various facets of Imperial Russia's interaction with the Near East.

Notes

The author expresses gratitude to the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) for a Research Scholar Grant which made this work possible.

1. *Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii: Putevoditel'*, edited by I.V. Budnik, compiled by Iu.V. Basenko, M.A. Borusevich, V.S. Bykov *et al.* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: East View Publications, Inc., 1995), hereafter cited as *Putevoditel'*. See the brief essays by S.L. Turilova on the history, organization and structure of the Moscow and St. Petersburg repositories which today comprise AVPRI. Also see Hugh Ragsdale, "A Report on Working in the Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossii," *Slavic Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 269-71.

2. F. 52 "Snosheniia Rossii s Gretsiei," 1720-1841; f. 57 "Snosheniia Rossii s Ionicheskimi ostrovami," 1777-1815; f. 89 "Snosheniia Rossii s Turtsiei," 1720-1819; f. 90 "Konstantinopol'skaia missiia," 1502-1801; f. 142 "Grecheskii stol," 1825-1917; f. 146 "Slavianskii stol," 1825-1917; f. 149 "Turetskii stol," 1818-1917; f. 165/2 "Missiia v Afinakh," 1801-1917; f. 180 "Posol'stvo v Konstantinopole," 1800-1914. AVPRI's *fondy* on Russian consulates in the Near East are cited below in Note 24.

3. Ministerstvo inostrannykh del SSSR, *Vneshniaia politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX v.: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo ministerstva inostrannykh del*, 16 vols. (Moscow: Nauka, 1960-95). N. N. Lisovoi, ed., *Rossiiia v Sviatoi Zemle. Dokumenty i materialy*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 2000).

4. Russian scholars of the Balkans and the Eastern Question who have utilized AVPRI include Avgusta M. Stanislavskaia, *Russko-angliiskie otnosheniia i problemy Sredizemnomor'ia (1798-1807)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1962); *idem*, *Rossiiia i Gretsiiia v kontse XVIII-nachale XIX v.: Politika Rossii v Ionicheskoi respublike, 1798-1807 gg.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1976); Irina S. Dostian, *Rossiiia i balkanskii vopros* (Moscow: Nauka, 1972); *idem*, ed., *Formirovanie natsional'nykh nezavisimykh gosudarstv na Balkanakh: konets XVIII-70-e gody XIX v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1986); *idem*, ed., *Rossiiia i Balkany: iz istorii obshchestvenno-politicheskikh i kul'turnykh sviazei (XVIII v.-1878 g.)* (Moscow: Institut slavianovedeniia i balkanistiki, 1995); Anatolii V. Fadeev, *Rossiiia i vostochnyi krizis 20-kh godov XIX v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1958); Vitalii I. Sheremet, *Turtsiia i Adrianopol'skii mir 1829 g.: iz istorii vostochnogo voprosa* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975); Vladimir A. Georgiev *et al.*, *Vostochnyi vopros vo vneshnei politike Rossii: konets XVIII-nachalo XIX v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1978); Vladlen N. Vinogradov, ed., *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia na Balkanakh, 1830-1856 gg.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990); *idem*, ed., *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia na Balkanakh, 1856-1878 gg.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1986).

5. Grigorii L. Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie v Rossii. Osvoboditel'naia bor'ba grecheskogo naroda v nachale XIX v. i russko-grecheskie sviazi* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970); *idem*, *I. Kapodistriia i*

grecheskoe natsional'no-osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie, 1809-1822 gg. (Moscow: Nauka, 1976); *idem* and V.N. Vinogradov, eds., *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia na Balkanakh, 1815-1830 gg.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983). Arsh also has made numerous scholarly contributions to the multi-volume *Balkanskie issledovaniia* (1974-1997).

6. Hugh Ragsdale, "Russian Projects of Conquest in the Eighteenth Century," in Hugh Ragsdale, ed., *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1993): 82-102; David M. Goldfrank, "Policy Traditions and the Menshikov Mission," in Ragsdale, ed., *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy*, 119-58; David M. Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War* (New York: Longman, 1994).

7. Theophilus C. Prousis, "A Guide to AVPRI Materials on Russian Consuls and Commerce in the Near East," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 16/17 (forthcoming); *idem*, "AVPR (Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossii) and the Orthodox East," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 12/13 (1996/1997): 473-503.

8. *Putevoditel'*, 199-217.

9. All files cited below are from AVPRI, f. 161, II-3, op. 134. Archivists have dated the files by the year of the earliest document or record contained therein and have arranged the contents of each *delo* in chronological order. This method of organizing is not always accurate; I came across several files with material predating the year marked on the *delo* cover. The following files hold either shipping registers or consular letters summarizing *vedomosti*, and collectively this information details Russia's trade with Istanbul, Alexandria and Patras in the years 1800-1833: 1802, d. 1, "O dostavlenii vedomostei ob obrashchaiushchikhsia mezhdou Konstantinopolem i Chernomorskimi portami Rossiiskikh i prochikh kupecheskikh sudakh i passazhirakh; o sostoianii Rossiiskoi torgovli v Konstantinopole i o torgovom balanse za 1800, 1801, i 1802 gg.," ll. 1-85; 1821, d. 2, "O preprovzhdenii v Departamente Vneshnei Torgovli vedomostei o sostoianii Rossiiskogo moreplavaniia v Konstantinopole v techenie v 1820 g.," ll. 1-35; 1821, d. 3, "O preprovzhdenii v Departamente Vneshnei Torgovli vedomostei o sostoianii Rossiiskogo moreplavaniia v Patrase v techenie 1820 g.," ll. 1-2; 1825, d. 1, "O preprovzhdenii v Departamente Vneshnei Torgovli vedomostei o sostoianii Rossiiskogo moreplavaniia v Egipte v techenie 1825 g.," ll. 1-4; 1834, d. 1, "O dvizhenii Rossiiskogo torgovogo moreplavaniia v Konstantinopol'skom porte v techenie 1833 g.," ll. 1-129.

10. 1820, d. 1, "O preprovzhdenii v Departamente Vneshnei Torgovli vedomostei o sostoianii Rossiiskogo moreplavaniia v Konstantinopole v techenie 1818-1820 gg.," ll. 1-13; 1824, d. 1, "Ob iskhodataistvovanii ot Turetskogo pravitel'stva firmanov dlia raznykh kupecheskikh korablei s 1824 po 1827 gg.," ll. 1-11.

11. 1823, d. 1, "Ob otkaze Turetskogo pravitel'stva v firmene dvum sudam, prinadlezhashchim Odesskomu zhiteliu Iosifu Verani," ll. 1-2. Theophilus C. Prousis, *Russian Society and the Greek*

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Revolution (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994), especially chs. 1-2 on the Greek national movement and the friction in Russian-Ottoman official relations in the 1820s.

12. Reports from Vlassopulo and other consular officials about trade, shipping and related matters in the Morea and the Cyclades during the 1830s-1840s are located in these files: 1832, d. 2, "O dostavlenii svedenii o trgovle i sudokhodstve general'nym konsul'stvom nashim v Moree," ll. 1-24; 1833 (sic., 1843), d. 8, "Svedeniia o trgovle v Gretsii," ll. 1-96; 1834, d. 2, "Svedeniia o trgovle v Turtsii, v kniazhestvakh Moldavii i Valakhii, v Gretsii, i v Odesse s 1833 po 1840 gg. i o pravakh grecheskikh pereselentsev dlia proizvodstva zagranichnoi trgovli," ll. 1-239, especially ll. 101-58 for the extensive description of the Cyclades.

13. 1841, d. 1, "O dostavlenii konsul'stvom nashim v Salonike svedenii o khode trgovli," ll. 1-20; 1841, d. 4, "Svedeniia o trgovle i promyshlennosti v Turtsii," ll. 1-106.

14. 1810, d. 1, "O svobodnom plavanii grecheskikh i anatol'skikh sudov po Chernomu moriu," ll. 1-11. Rumiantsev's proposal formed part of his wider strategy of imperial expansion in the Near East and the Balkans. See Patricia Grimsted, *The Foreign Ministers of Alexander I: Political Attitudes and the Conduct of Russian Diplomacy, 1801-1825* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 167-93.

15. 1816, d. 2, "O trgovle s Anatolieiu, Trebizandom, i Sinopom," ll. 1-7.

16. 1819, d. 2, "O predpisanii Rossiiskim konsulam dostavliat' k Khersonskomu voennomu gubernatoru svedeniia o polozenii torgovykh del v mestakh ikh prebyvaniia," ll. 1-7.

17. A *sazhen* is a Russian unit of measurement, approximately equal to 2.13 meters or 7 feet. On the paving endeavor, see 1831, d. 6, "O privozimom iz-za granitsy kamne v Odessu dlia moshcheniia ulits," ll. 1-29, with documents from 1831 to 1838. The personal archive of the Odessa merchant D. Inglezis has information on his participation in this project: State Archive of Odessa Oblast' (GAOO), f. 268, op. 1, d. 11, "O zamoshchenii ulits Odessy," ll. 1-5, and d. 16, "O poezdke v Konstantinopol' i Gretsiiu," ll. 2-8. On the Inglezis archive, see Theophilus C. Prousis, "Dēmētrios S. Inglezēs: Greek Merchant and City Leader of Odessa," *Slavic Review* 50, no. 3 (1991): 672-79.

18. Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794-1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 37-42; Mikhail F. Zlotnikov, *Kontinental'naia blokada i Rossiia* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 290-97, 320-23; Theophilus C. Prousis, "Trading with the Enemy: Black Sea Commerce in 1809-10," in Maria Di Salvo and Lindsey Hughes, eds., *A Window on Russia. Papers from the V International Conference of the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia, Gargnano, 1994* (Rome: La Fenice Edizioni, 1996), 139-44.

19. AVPRI, f. 161, II-3, op. 34: 1825, d. 4, "Ob upadke trgovli v Chernomorskikh portakh," ll. 1-7, with documents from 1825 to 1827.

20. 1828, d. 1, "O zapreshchenii vypuska za granitsu khleba po sluchaiu voiny s Turtsieiu," ll. 1-4.

21. 1829, d. 1, “Po proshenii Odesskikh i inostrannykh negotsiantov o dozvolonii im vyvoza za granitsu pshenitsy,” ll. 1-5.
22. 1829, d. 5, “O razreshenii vyvoza iz Chernomorskikh portov vsehkh tovarov, kotorykh byli vospreshcheny k otpusku za granitsu po sluchaiu voiny s Turtsieiu,” l. 1.
23. AVPRI, f. 161, IV-2, op. 119, 1808-1894, with files on consular staffing and activities, including occasional consular reports from Istanbul, the Morea, the Aegean archipelago, Saloniki and the Dardanelles. F. 161, II-20, op. 65, 1802-1835, with files on Ottoman *firman*s and Black Sea shipping.
24. Adrianople (f. 201, 1858-1889), Beirut (f. 208, 1820-1914), Belgrade (f. 209, 1840-1895), Bitoli (f. 213, 1863-1916), Burgas (f. 218, 1879-1886), Bucharest (f. 219, 1801-1916), Valona (f. 220, 1897-1916), Varna (f. 222, 1848-1922), Galatz (f. 226, 1801-1879); Gallipoli (f. 227, 1849-1859), Dardanelles (f. 233, 1830-1871), Izmail (f. 236, 1815-1878), Kerasunda (f. 243, 1893-1912), Cyprus (f. 247, 1820-1879), Constantinople (f. 249, 1857-1922), Malta (f. 260, 1799-1917), Mosul (f. 266, 1882-1885), Piraeus (f. 274, 1847-1919), Saloniki (f. 279, 1800-1917), Samsun (f. 280, 1904-1914), Sinope (f. 285, 1879-1894), Syros and the Cyclades (f. 286, 1792-1911), Tarsus (f. 290, 1865-1905), Philippolis (f. 295, 1857-1915), Jassy (f. 312, 1801-1911), Jaffa (f. 313, 1820-1866), Egypt (f. 317, 1783-1932), Macedonia (f. 319, 1904-1909).
25. Theophilus C. Prousis, “RGIA Resources on the Eastern Question: The Dashkov Fond,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 45, no. 3 (1997): 466-70; *idem*, *Russian-Ottoman Relations in the Levant: The Dashkov Archive* (Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, no. 10. Minneapolis: Modern Greek Studies Program, University of Minnesota 2002). The Manuscript Section of the Russian National Library holds the family archive of the Destunis family (f. 250), indexed in Prousis, “The Destunis Collection in the Manuscript Section of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad,” *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 5 (1989): 395-452. One of the Destunis documents is the diary of Russia’s consul-general in Smyrna (Spyridon Destunis), depicting the disorders and turmoil in this Ottoman trade center during the months following the outbreak of the 1821 Greek revolt. For an English translation, see Prousis, “Smyrna 1821: A Russian View,” *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 7 (1991): 145-68.