

ODESA GREEKS AMONG THE HONORED CITIZENS: ATTAINING STATE IN THE ESTATE-BASED SOCIETY OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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Received: July 6th, 2024

Accepted for publication: August 15th, 2024

Abstract: The article presents the results of the identification of members of the Odesa Greek community who belonged to a special estate (state, social standing) of the Russian Empire – the honored citizens. Based on archival materials, a list was compiled of those Odesa Greeks who personally attained the status of honored citizens, that is, those who were the first in their families to acquire this legal standing through formal petitions to the government. The originality of the study lies in the introduction into scholarly circulation of data derived from the holdings of the State Archive of the Odesa Region, which has made it possible to fill an existing gap in the history of the Greek community of Odesa by identifying lesser-known individuals. The analysis of the ethnic dimension of the social institution of honored citizenship, examined within the estate-based legal framework, has enabled the construction of a social profile of the Greek honored citizens. The overwhelming majority of them were merchants registered in the upper guilds – a prerequisite under the law for obtaining honored citizenship, which facilitated their inclusion in this status, most often on a hereditary basis. The privileges associated with honored citizenship made it attractive to Odesa Greeks during their integration into the estate-based society of the Russian Empire. In turn, the institution of honored citizenship functioned as an imperial attempt to consolidate the commercial and financial elite.

Keywords: Greeks; honored citizenship; estate; social state; social standing; merchants; Odesa

Acknowledgments

This article was written within the framework of a research fellowship at the New Europe College – Institute for Advanced Study (Bucharest, Romania), October 2024 – July 2025. The author gratefully acknowledges the generous support and intellectually stimulating environment provided by New Europe

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College, which enabled the successful completion of this research. The author also wishes to extend sincere thanks to the staff of the State Archive of the Odesa Region for their assistance and for granting access to archival collections that were instrumental to the findings presented in this study.

Introduction

Since the late 18th century, when modern Odesa began to take shape, Greek settlers have constituted an integral part of the city's population. Moreover, the presence of Greeks in the area can be traced back to the Ottoman period in the history of the city.¹ As of September 1794, a significant number of Greeks were listed among the first holders of building permits for the construction of houses, shops, and stalls.²

The Greek community of Odesa was relatively small, and over the course of the 19th century, the proportion of Greeks within the city's overall population gradually declined. However, their successful commercial and financial activity – which also served as a foundation for cultural and philanthropic initiatives – made the Greeks prominent in the history of Odesa. The most active among them quickly joined the institutions of the developing city: they were represented among the members of the municipal magistrate, the Committee for the Construction of the Odesa Port, the Odesa Commercial Court, and various cultural and charitable organizations. Notably, five mayors of Odesa in the 19th century were of Greek origin. Many of the settlers took Russian imperial citizenship and integrated into the imperial society. As for the city's commercial extension, merchants of Greek descent held leading positions, particularly in the first half of the 19th century, most notably in the sphere of grain export trade.³ The more favorable conditions for conducting foreign trade under the status of Russian subjects served as a key incentive for Greek merchants to accept imperial citizenship.⁴

¹ *Odessa 1794–1894. K stoletiiu goroda* (Odessa: Tipografiia A. Shultse, 1895), 159.

² “Zastroenie goroda Gadzhibeia, teper’ Odessy, v 1794 godu,” *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, 1853, vol. 3: 590–594.

³ Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 57, 60, 75, 90, 96.; Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa Recollected: The Port and the People* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 137–153.; Vladimir Morozan, “Krupnejshie zernovye eksportery Prichernomor’ya i Priazov’ya XIX veka: metody tovgovli, obshchestvennaia i chastnaia zhizn’”, v *Hretske pidpriemnytstvo i torhivlia u Pivnichnomu Prychornomori XVIII–XIX st.*, red. (holova) H. V. Boriak (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2012), 113–124.

⁴ Nataliia Dianova, *Formuvannia etno-konfesiinoi struktury naselennia mist Pivdennoi Ukrainy (kinets’ XVIII – persha polovyna XIX st.)* (Odesa: Astroprynt, 2010), 89.

Since 1832, a new possibility of integration into the local society emerged – entering the estate⁵ of an honored citizens (*pochetnye grazhdane*), which was introduced by the manifesto of Emperor Nicholas I dated April 10 (22), 1832, 'On the Establishment of a New Estate under the Name of Honored Citizens,'⁶ and existed until 1917. This innovation was intended to 'bind urban residents to their social standing, upon the prosperity of which depend the success of trade and industry.'⁷ In the case of the business elite, the manifesto was aimed to encourage and honor successful entrepreneurs, raising their status even above that of merchants of the first guild.⁸

According to the manifesto, the rights of honored citizenship could be acquired personally or hereditarily, which in the second case extended to all legitimate children. Personal honored citizenship could be requested by individuals who had successfully graduated from one of the Russian universities; by artists who had received a certificate of full course of study at the Academy of Arts; as well as by foreigners—artists, scholars, capitalists, merchants, and owners of large manufactories and factories. Hereditary honored citizenship was granted by right of birth to the legitimate children of hereditary honored citizens and personal nobles; it could also be conferred upon merchants, scholars, artists, as well as foreign artists, scholars, capitalists, merchants, owners of large manufactures and factories, provided that they accepted Russian subjecthood.⁹

Honored citizens were granted the following privileges: exemption from the poll tax, conscript obligation, and corporal punishment in case of crime. This legal status also entitled individuals – provided they owned urban real estate – to participate in municipal elections and to hold positions within local self-government institutions. Documents confirming the right to obtain honored citizenship were to be submitted by the petitioner to the Department of Heraldry under the Governing Senate. In the case of a positive decision, the Department of Heraldry would forward the *gramota* (formal certificate) of honored citizenship to the Odesa city governor (*gradonachalnik*), who, in turn,

⁵ Russian legislation identifies honored citizenship using various concepts - estate (*soslovie*), state or social standing (*sostoianie*), and even title (*zvanie*). In this article the concept of state (*sostoianie*) is used in relation to honored citizenship, using the concept of social standing as a synonym.

⁶ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii. Sobranie 2. T. 7* (St. Petersburg, 1832), 193–195.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁸ Charles Timberlake, *The Middle Classes in Late Tsarist Russia*, in *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe Since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification*, ed. M. L. Bush (London; New York: Longman, 1992), 97.

⁹ Over the years, subsequent acts widened the circle of possible candidates. (*Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. T. 9: Svod zakonov o sostoianiiakh* (St. Petersburg, 1899), 60-65.)

instructed the Odesa chief of police (*policejmeister*) to deliver it to the petitioner.¹⁰ The status of honored citizenship could be revoked in the event of a court verdict or bankruptcy.

It should be noted in advance that the predominant majority of Odesa's honored citizens of Greek origin presented in this article were merchants. According to the Manifesto of 1832, a merchant could attain honored citizenship under the following conditions: (1) receiving the title of Commerce or Manufactory Counselor; (2) being awarded a Russian order; or (3) remaining in the 1st merchant guild for 10 years, or in the 2nd guild for 20 years.¹¹ The legislation allowed summarising the terms of stay in different guilds. That is why the Greeks of Odesa, among whom there were many merchants, managed to obtain this social standing. And what is very important - the privileges of honored citizenship did not depend in the future on the stay in the guilds. This aspect was especially significant for merchants, who could otherwise lose their privileges upon exiting a guild, whereas honored citizenship granted them permanent rights, and in the case of hereditary status, allowed for their transmission to children, who retained those privileges even if they were not officially registered as members of the merchant estate.¹² An appropriate citation is that of Alfred J. Rieber: 'Confronted with greater obstacles to promotion to noble status, the socially ambitious merchant looked to honored citizenship as a partial substitute for personal ennoblement.'¹³

The purpose of this study was to identify Greeks of Odesa who acquired the social state of honored citizens. To achieve this purpose, the following objectives were set: to examine the socio-legal and economic criteria for gaining honored citizenship in the Russian Empire; to highlight aspects of granting this state to Odesa residents of Greek origin; to construct a social portrait of the Greek honored citizen; and to explore the connection between

¹⁰ Derzhavnyi arkhiv Odes'koi oblasti (DAOO) [State Archive of the Odesa Region], f. 2, op. 1, spr. 385, ark. 1–3. Hereinafter such abbreviations of Ukrainian words accepted in DAOO are used: fund - f. (fond), inventory - op. (opys), case - spr. (sprava), sheet - ark. (arkush), as well as turnover sheet - zv. (zvorotnii arkush).

¹¹ At the time of the issuance of the 1832 Manifesto in the Russian Empire, there were three merchant guilds—associations of individuals engaged in trade. Only merchants belonging to the 1st and 2nd guilds were eligible to petition for honored citizenship. In 1863, the structure was revised, and only two guilds were retained. Since 1865, merchants could apply for hereditary honored citizenship on the condition of having been continuously registered in the 1st guild for a period of 20 years. (Polnoe sobranie zakonov. Sobranie 2. T. 40, ch. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1867), 182.; Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. T. 9: Svod zakonov o sostoianniakh (St. Petersburg, 1899), 61.

¹² Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii. Sobranie 2. T. 8, ch. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1834), 214–215.

¹³ Alfred J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 124.

the socio-economic achievements of Greek migrants and the recognition of their merits within the estate-based society.

These objectives determined the choice of research methods. The historical- legal approach made it possible to analyze the legislative norms and procedures for obtaining the social standing of honored citizen. The problem-chronological method allowed for tracing the dynamics of honored citizenship acquisition by Greeks throughout the 19th century. The prosopographical analysis revealed the socio-economic characteristics of the Greek ethnic group among honored citizens, and in some cases, familial connections as well.

The relevance of the studied issue increases in the context of the ongoing rethinking of the imperial history of Ukrainian cities and the reassessment of the role of ethnic groups in the development of the multicultural city of Odesa. The novelty is conditioned by the consideration of the ethnic aspect of such a social institution as honored citizenship on example of Greek settlers receiving it. The originality of the research is grounded in the introduction into scholarly circulation of archival data drawn from the collections of the State Archive of Odesa Region, Ukraine (*Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Odes'koi Oblasti (DAOO)*).

The primary source for identifying honored citizens of Odesa is a special registry maintained by the Odesa City Government (*Odeskaya gorodskaya uprava*), which recorded the owners of this status, along with their family members, during the period from 1833 to 1897 - that is, for nearly the entire duration of this possibility in the 19th century. This so-called *Alphabetical Register of Odesa's Honored Citizens* contains 308 entries (including both individual honored citizens and family groups).¹⁴ The analysis, based on characteristically Greek surnames, as well as existing information on the ethnic origin of particular individuals, made it possible to identify 34 records of honored citizens/families of Greek descent, representing approximately 11 % of the total number of entries in the register.

The preparation of cases concerning the conferment of honored citizenship was carried out by the Chancellery of the Office of the City Governor. Supporting documents, together with a petition from the applicant and an endorsement from the city governor, were sent to the Department of Heraldry in St. Petersburg, where they were kept. Today, these materials constitute part of Fund No. 1343 of the Russian State Historical Archive (*Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Istoricheskij Arhiv (RGLA)*), whose Inventory No. 39 contains a list of case files before 1890.¹⁵

¹⁴ DAOO, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2. 119 ark.

¹⁵ Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Istoricheskij Arhiv (RGIA) [Russian State Historical Archive], f. 1343, op. 39.

<https://fgurgia.ru/search?type=custom&searchObjectType=INVENTORIES&customSearchUniqueId=&p0.v=1343&p0.t=&p0.d=&p0.c=3413&p0.a=201953880&p1.v=39&p1.t=&p1>

However, local archives – such as the State Archive of Odesa Region – preserve correspondence between municipal institutions, which makes it possible to reconstruct the document collection process and to find biographical information about honored citizens (Funds No. 2, 'Chancellery of the Odesa City Governor'; No. 16, 'Odesa City Government'). These documents made it possible to portray the generation of Greek immigrants who directly became honored citizens, i.e. those who were the first representatives of their families who obtained this status by petitioning the government.¹⁶

The existing historiographical base on the Greek community of Odesa allows obtaining biographical information about one or another of its representatives.¹⁷ While the names of prominent Greek negociants have long been known in scholarly literature¹⁸, this article also introduces less famous Greeks of Odesa, thereby helping to fill an existing gap in the history of the city's Greek community.

Results

Among the first Odesa Greeks to receive honored citizenship were: Dmitrii Paleolog (1833), Fedor Rodokanaki (1834), Grigorii Rossolimo (1837),

[d=&p1.c=3413&p1.a=1380&p2.v=&p2.t=&p2.d=&p2.c=12&p2.a=1382&p3.v=&p3.t=&p3.d=&p3.c=12&p3.a=1384](#) This inventory includes cases of hereditary honored citizenship. A review of another inventory, No. 41, which contains cases related to personal honorary citizenship prior to 1917, yielded only one Greek surname – Iraklidi.

<https://fgurgia.ru/search?type=custom&searchObjectType=INVENTORIES&customSearchUniqueId=&p0.v=1343&p0.t=&p0.d=&p0.c=3413&p0.a=201953880&p1.v=41&p1.t=&p1.d=&p1.c=3413&p1.a=1380&p2.v=&p2.t=&p2.d=&p2.c=12&p2.a=1382&p3.v=&p3.t=&p3.d=&p3.c=12&p3.a=1384>

¹⁶ Transliteration of names was made from Russian (language of archival documents) into English.

¹⁷ Elizaveta Kuz'minskaia, *Izvestnye greki Odessy: Biograficheskii spravochnik*, ch. 1 (Odessa: Optimum, 2021).; Valerii Tomazov, *Greki-khiosci na Pivdni Ukrainy (kinets' XVIII st. – 1917 r.): mizh tradytsiiamy natsional'noho samozberezhennia ta praktykamy sotsiokul'turnoi adaptatsii: Monohrafiia* (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2020); Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018).

¹⁸ Valerii Tomazov, *Odes'ki Rodokanaki: istoryko-henealohichna rozvidka*, *Arkhivy Ukrainy* 2015, no. 5–6: 250–266.; Valerii Tomazov, “The Sevastopoulos in Odessa: The Contribution to the Socio-Economic Development of the City,” in *Black Sea History Working Papers*, vol. 2: *Port-Cities of the Northern Shore of the Black Sea: Institutional, Economic and Social Development, 18th – Early 20th Centuries*, eds. Evrydiki Sifneos, Valentyna Shandra, and Oksana Yurkova (Rethymnon, Crete, 2021), 317–32.; Sergei Reshetov i Larisa Izhik, *Grigorii Grigor'evich Marazli: Chest' pache pochesti* (Odessa: TES, 2012).

Khristofor Velara (1838), Ivan Amvrosio (1838), Konstantin Papudov (1838), Ivan Ralli (1840), and Kriona Papa-Nikola (1845).¹⁹

All those mentioned were merchants. Ivan Amvrosio (c. 1772–1852), according to some sources, was already listed among Odesa's merchants as early as 1800 and eventually entered the 1st guild.²⁰ Dmitrii Paleolog (1756(?)–1863) was one of the wealthiest merchants, and even during the difficult 1820s – when Black Sea–Mediterranean trade was in crisis due to the Greek War of Independence – he managed to maintain a leading position, in contrast to the decline of many trading enterprises.²¹

'Three whales of Odesa commerce' – such is a metaphor for the Greek merchants who held leading positions among the city's major grain exporters between 1833 and 1860: Fedor Rodokanaki (1799–1882), Konstantin Papudov (1797(8)–1879), and Ivan S. Ralli (1785(1789)–1859).²² F. Rodokanaki settled in Odesa in 1819, at the same time he also accepted Russian subjecthood and shortly thereafter was enrolled in the 1st merchant guild.²³ Over the years, his trading and financial operations expanded significantly, enabling him to engage in generous philanthropic activity, including the founding of the Greek Charitable Society and the Greek Women's School in Odesa.²⁴ For many years, K. Papudov headed one of the largest export-import enterprises in Odesa. He belonged to the 1st merchant guild, having an annual turnover of 1 to 2 million silver rubles.²⁵ In early 1827²⁶, I. Ralli established the trading house 'Brothers Ralli' in Odesa, which had branches throughout the Russian Empire, the Danubian Principalities, America, and other regions. Like the firms of the aforementioned Greek merchants, it was oriented on the export of southern Ukrainian wheat.²⁷

Khristofor Velara (1789–1857) was registered as a 1st guild merchant from 1821 to 1837, and later as a 2nd guild merchant.²⁸ Between 1821 and 1824,

¹⁹ Hereinafter, the fact and date of obtaining honored citizenship are established by the documents of the DAOO (f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2) and the inventory of RGIA (f. 1343, op. 39).

²⁰ Apollon Skalkovskii, *Pervoe tridtsatiletie goroda Odessy* (Odessa: Gorodskaiia tipografiia, 1837), 295.

²¹ Nataliia Batsak, "Hretske ta italiiske kupetstvo u portakh Pivnichnoho Prychornomoria: komertsiiina diialnist, moreplavstvo (persha tretyna XIX st.)," v *Hretske pidpriemnytstvo i torhivlia u Pivnichnomu Prychornomori XVIII–XIX st.*, red. (holova) H. V. Boriak (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2012), 17.

²² Morozan, *Krupneishie zernovye eksportery*, 120.

²³ Valerii Tomazov, "Sotsial'nyi status Fedora Pavlovycha Rodokanaki ta ioho rodyny v Rosiiskii imperii," *Problemy istorii Ukrainy XIX – pochatku XX st.* 2012, vyp. 20: 202.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ *Odesskii vestnik*, 1830–1865, 1892.

²⁶ DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 237, ark. 4.

²⁷ Tomazov, *Greki-khiosci na Pivdni Ukrainy*, 187.

²⁸ DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 245, ark. 7zv., 30zv.; Ibid., f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 32.

he served as a ratman in the Odesa city magistrate. From 1825 to January 1827, he represented the merchant estate in the Odesa Commercial Court and for the following ten years, he was a member of the Council of the Odesa Board of Public Care; his official service record mentions a 'charitable act' in 1826, when he paid off the debts of eight individuals held in custody, thereby securing their release.²⁹ The required period of standing in the merchant guilds allowed Kh.Velara to be granted hereditary honored citizenship in 1838 with his wife Maria, sons Fedor, Stepan, and Dmitrii.³⁰

Kriona Papa-Nikola (c.1793–1867) was a Greek from northern Ukrainian city Nizhyn, settled in Odesa in 1818. He was initially registered in the 2nd guild, later moving to the 1st guild.³¹ His name remains present on the city map to this day, as the building of the tobacco factory belonging to him in Krasny Lane, 9, has been preserved. And the merchant of the 2nd guild Grigorii Rossolimo (c.1782–1852) was made famous primarily by his descendants. Together with his wife Maria he became the ancestor of a large family. Their son Ivan continued the family's commercial enterprise, while their grandchildren brought broader recognition to the Rossolimo name: hydrobiologist and professor Aleksandr Rossolimo, famous neuropathologist Grigorii Rossolimo, and Leonid Rossolimo, author of a work on the Greek church in Odesa.³²

Successful commercial activity and being in the merchant guilds allowed the aforementioned Greeks to obtain honored citizenship in accordance with the Manifesto of 1832. Equally impressive, however, was their public engagement. In 1859–1860, F.Rodokanaki and K.Papudov were members of the Committee for compiling the Statute of Municipal Self-Government of Odesa.³³ I.Amvrosio served twice as the city mayor (*gorodskoi golova*), in 1806–1809 and 1821–1824, and according to this position was a member of the Commission for the Administration of the Odesa City Hospital. In 1812–1813, he joined the efforts to combat the plague that struck Odesa, acting as a special commissar.³⁴ He was elected an ephor (member of the executive committee) of the Greek Philanthropic Society, which was founded and functioned for several months in 1821 to provide assistance to refugees arriving in Odesa at the onset of the Greek Revolution.³⁵ Kh.Velara distinguished himself in various elected municipal positions, took part in combating the plague during the epidemics of

²⁹ Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 245, ark. 7zv., 8zv.

³⁰ Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 245, ark. 11zv.

³¹ Kuz'minskaia, *Izvestnye greki Odessy*, 327.

³² Ibid., 270.

³³ *Odessa 1794–1894. K stoletiiu goroda*, 86. This Statute was approved by imperial decree on 30 April 1863 and marked an important stage in the development of city self-government not only in Odesa, but also in the whole empire.

³⁴ *Odesskii vestnik*, January 20, 1853, no. 8.

³⁵ DAOO, f. 1, op. 221, spr. 4, ch. 4, ark. 18zv.

1829 and 1837 in Odesa, and provided provisions and forage to those in need. For these efforts, he was awarded at different times with gold medals 'For Zealous Service' (1834) and 'For the Eradication of the Plague in Odesa' (1837).³⁶ K.Papudov served at various times as a member of the Odesa Commercial Court, the Building Committee, the Orphan's Court, and the Odesa Prison Trustees' Committee. For his assistance during the 1837 plague epidemic, he was awarded a gold medal. From 1842 to 1845, he held the position of City mayor. The Greek historian I.Filimon mentioned his name among the members of the secret society 'Filiki Eteria'.³⁷ I.Ralli, beginning in 1832 and until his death, served as the Consul of the United States of America.³⁸

It can be assumed that active social engagement, on the one hand, contributed to obtaining the desired status and, on the other hand, could later be its consequence. Honored citizenship became an instrument of social advancement for Greek merchants. It may well be that the desire to gain the favourable characteristic from local authorities necessary for this status has prompted them to intensify their social and charitable activities. They expressed themselves in prestigious social behavior – participation in self-government institutions, cultural societies, assistance in emergency situations (epidemics, refugees), sponsorship of schools, and other similar initiatives.³⁹

According to the inventory of the RGIA (f. 1343, op. 39), there is a group of Greek merchants who have received hereditary honored citizenship, but whose names are not listed in the Alphabetical Register of Odesa's Honored Citizens: 1st-guild merchant Grigorii Marazli (1837), 2nd-guild merchants Avverino⁴⁰ (1838), 1st-guild merchantess Marfa Mimi (1838), 2nd-guild merchant Fedor Serafino (1839), 2nd-guild merchant Nikolai Feodoridi (1839), 1st-guild merchant Aleksandr Kumbari (1840), 2nd-guild merchants Manes⁴¹ (1842), and 2nd-guild merchant Paraskeva Nikolau (1848). Once again, we have names representing wealthy merchant houses – Serafino, Feodoridi, Kumbari. Grigorii I. Marazli (1770–1853), moreover, is known as the owner of the house where members of the 'Filiki Eteria' gathered. He settled in Odesa in 1803 and became a 1st guild merchant in 1816, engaging in grain export. His

³⁶ Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 245, ark. 9zv., 10zv., 11zv.

³⁷ Φιλίμων Ιωάννης, *Δοκίμιον ιστορικόν περί τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως*, τ. 1 (Αθήναι, 1859), 407.

³⁸ Herlihy, *Odessa Recollected*, 143.

³⁹ Liudmyla Yershova, "Vid kuptsia – do pidpriumtsia: transformatsiia tsinnostei ukrainskoi ekonomichnoi elity v XIX – na pochatku XX stolittia," *Profesiina pedahohika*, no. 15 (May 2018): 154–161.

⁴⁰ Probably, this is the family of Georgii Antonovich Avverino (c.1777-?). He accepted citizenship in 1811 and participated in the public life of Odesa. (Tomazov, *Greki-khiosci na Pivdni Ukrainy*, 254.)

⁴¹ Most likely, the family of Ilya Manes (Manessi).

name, along with those of other Odesa merchants – Paleolog, Serafino, and Yannopulo⁴² – was included in the official report on foreign trade for 1826 as one of the most prominent merchants of the Russian Empire.⁴³

It is well known that Greek merchant dynasties, especially those of Chios origin, maintained close familial ties.⁴⁴ This can also be traced in the group of Odesa honored citizens. For instance, in 1849, the 1st-guild merchant Evstratii Sevastopulo (c. 1785–1854), the father-in-law of K.Papudov, was granted hereditary honorary citizenship. He founded a trading company in Odesa in 1822 and entered the 2nd guild in 1830. In 1842, he was admitted to the 1st guild and became a Russian subject.⁴⁵ He was granted hereditary honored citizenship together with his family: his wife Tarsitsa Markovna, and his sons Skarlat, Konstantin, Mark, Aleksandr, and Ivan.⁴⁶ Apparently, his daughter Ariadna was not included, as she had already married K.Papudov in 1844.⁴⁷

In the early 1850s, hereditary honored citizenship was granted to relatives of Ivan S. Ralli – his brother Tomas (Tomaso) Ralli (1853) and his cousin Ivan K. Ralli (1852). In 1830, Tomas Ralli (1799–1858) took the oath of subjectship to Russia, and in 1839, he joined the 1st guild of merchants. He held this status jointly with his family – his wife Maria Panteleimonovna and the children born after his naturalization: sons Stepan and Panteleimon, and daughters Zana and Iuliia.⁴⁸ T.Ralli submitted his first petition for hereditary honored citizenship in 1851, but did not receive the desired status due to the absence of required document copies.⁴⁹ In 1852, his request was again denied for a similar reason, but in the following year, 1853, his petition was satisfied.⁵⁰

⁴² In the first third of the 19th century, Vasilii Yannopulo was among the wealthiest merchants of Odesa. Inventory No. 39 of RGIA (f. 1343) contains a case from 1879 concerning Odesa merchants of the 1st guild named Yannopulo. However, judging by the date, it was most likely related to his descendants.

⁴³ Andrei Emilciuc, *Proprietățile funciare ale negustorului de gilda întâi din Odesa Gr. Maraslis în Basarabia, Studii de arhondologie și genealogie* 2015, vol. 3: 88.

⁴⁴ Tomazov, *Greki-khiosci na Pivdni Ukrainy*.

⁴⁵ Valerii Tomazov, “The Sevastopoulos in Odessa: The Contribution to the Socio-Economic Development of the City,” in *Black Sea History Working Papers*, vol. 2: *Port-Cities of the Northern Shore of the Black Sea: Institutional, Economic and Social Development, 18th – Early 20th Centuries*, eds. Evrydiki Sifneos, Valentyna Shandra, and Oksana Yurkova (Rethymnon, Crete, 2021), 317.

⁴⁶ DAOO, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 31.

⁴⁷ Bielousova, L. G., et al., comp. *Greki Odessy: Imennoi ukazatel' po metriceskim knigam Odesskoi Grecheskoi Sviato-Troitskoi tserkvi. Chast' II, 1834–1852*. Odessa: Druk, 2002, 226–227.

⁴⁸ DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 331, ark. 19.

⁴⁹ Tomazov, *Greki-khiosci na Pivdni Ukrainy*, 206.

⁵⁰ DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 367, ark. 1–1zv., Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 331, ark. 19, 22.

Ivan K. Ralli (c.1802–1876) accepted Russian subjection in 1827, entered the 2nd guild in 1837, and in 1845 moved to the 1st guild. He was engaged in the grain trade. His capital was jointly held with his wife, Mariia Amvrosievna, and their sons Konstantin and Amvrosii, as well as their daughter Aleksandra. I.K.Ralli's family was elevated to hereditary honored citizens in 1852.⁵¹

During the same period in the early 1850s, honored citizenship was granted to Nikolai Palauzov (1851), Afanasii Mocho (1851), Spiridon Mavro (1851), and Pavel Iraklidi (1852).

The Odesa merchant, Nezhyn Greek Nikolai Palauzov (?-1853), had continuously belonged to the higher merchant guilds for twenty years since 1831 by the time he received the status, including nineteen years in the 2nd guild and one year in the 1st guild.⁵² In 1851, N.Palauzov and his family – his wife Fedora, son Konstantin, and daughters Anna, Sofia, and Kaliopa – were made hereditary honored citizens. Later, in 1859, after N.Palauzov's death, this state was granted to his son Andrei, who was registered through his mother.⁵³

In May 1852, hereditary honored citizenship was conferred upon the Odesa 2nd guild merchant and Nezhyn Greek Afanasii Mocho (c.1778–1853). He had been a Russian subject since 1819, joined the 2nd guild in 1831, and at the time of petitioning had belonged to it for 21 years. His wife Maria and sons Dmitrii and Nikolai were included in the same capital allowing them to get desired status together with Afanasii.⁵⁴ Spiridon Biiazi Mavro (c.1796–1861) received hereditary honored citizenship in 1851 together with his wife Efrosiniia Mikhailovna, sons Mikhail and Konstantin, daughters Efrosiniia and Aleksandra, and his mother Frantseska Nikolaevna.⁵⁵

The example of honored citizenship granted to Pavel Iraklidi (c.1812–1898) illustrates the procedure in the case of a foreign national. P.Iraklidi, a Greek subject, entered the 1st guild in Odesa under the 'guest article' in 1839 and remained in it continuously until 1852. He was elected a member of the Odesa Commercial Court.⁵⁶ In its January 1852 report to the Odesa City Governor, the City Council (*gorodskaya дума*) spoke favorably of P.Iraklidi, noting that 'he is a merchant capitalist and leads a significant turnover of trade and is of considerable benefit to the city, from whom further contributions are expected.'⁵⁷ Initially, in 1852, P.Iraklidi petitioned for hereditary honored citizenship but was denied on the grounds that, as a foreign subject, he was only

⁵¹ Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 331, ark. 1.

⁵² Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 273, ark. 7.

⁵³ Ibid., f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 43zv., 54zv.

⁵⁴ Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 343, ark. 1–1zv.

⁵⁵ Ibid., f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 32.

⁵⁶ Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 312, ark. 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

eligible for personal honored citizenship.⁵⁸ A subsequent petition was successful, and he was granted personal honored citizenship in March 1855.⁵⁹

It can be noticed that for the first three decades of the new opportunity for estate advancement within the imperial social structure, it was taken advantage of by the most famous representatives of the Greek community of Odesa, who personified the Greek commercial presence. The first half of the 19th century, in general, was marked by a growth in the number of Greek trading houses and the volume of trade operations they conducted. The increasing prosperity of Greek merchants enabled them to remain in the higher merchant guilds for extended periods, which, according to the legislation, became grounds for granting the status of honored citizens to recent immigrants. It should be noted that the economic decline due to the Crimean War of 1853–1856, as well as changing market conditions, prompted a reorientation of Greek capital toward the banking sector and real estate.⁶⁰ The second generation of honoured Greek citizens received formal education, could pursue a career in public service and be awarded state orders, even claim noble status. Representatives of the second generation of Greek honored citizens were elevated to the dignity of nobility - Grigorii G. Marazli in 1875, Stepan Ralli in 1882, and Perikl Rodokanaki in 1896.⁶¹

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, Greek presence in the commercial sphere gradually diminished, though it did not disappear.⁶² Greek merchants continued to join the number of Odesa's honored citizens; however, the prominent figures known to modern historiography were increasingly followed by individuals whose economic and public activities remain insufficiently studied. One notable exception is Aleksandr Zarifi (c.1814–1875), who was among the leading merchants of Odesa – at times even surpassing Rodokanaki and Papudov in terms of commercial activity. For instance, in 1859, his trade turnover reached 1,894,980 rubles, with a predominant focus on foreign trade.⁶³ He was granted hereditary honored citizenship in 1857.

⁵⁸ DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 312, ark. 5-5zv., 16.; Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. T. 9: Svod zakonov o sostoianiiakh (St. Petersburg, 1842), 115, 117. The Manifesto of 1832 allowed foreign merchants to obtain personal honored citizenship on the basis of a special decree, and after staying in such a state for 10 years and entering Russian subjectship, they could apply for hereditary citizenship. (Polnoe sobranie zakonov, ser. 2, vol. 7, 193.).

⁵⁹ DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 312, ark. 18, 31-31zv.

⁶⁰ Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa*, 121.

⁶¹ Tomazov, *Greki-khiosci na Pivdni Ukrainy*, 177, 194.; Reshetov i Izhik, *Grigorii Grigor'evich Marazli*, 160.

⁶² Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa*, 177.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 248.

In the late 1850s, Nikolai Koloforidi⁶⁴ (no later than 1859), Anton Gines (no later than 1859), and Stavro Kostovello (?) were granted honored citizenship. The latter two represent a legislative innovation that expanded the pool of candidates eligible for receiving honored citizenship. According to the imperial decree of July 24, 1857, volunteers who participated in the Crimean War and served in the Greek Legion of Emperor Nicolas I and the Bulgarian-Serbian companies with the rank of officers, upon accepting subjectship, could be affiliated with cities and settlements of their compatriots and claim the rights of personal honored citizenship.⁶⁵ This opportunity was seized by an officer of the Legion of Emperor Nicolas I, company commander A. Gines, who expressed his wish to be enrolled as a personal honored citizen in the city of Odesa and to register in the 2nd guild of merchants⁶⁶. Probably, the volunteer S. Kostovello, who served in the 1st Greek Battalion in the rank of company commander and chose Odesa for his settlement, also received a new fortune for himself.⁶⁷ Both A. Gines and S. Kostovello are listed in the Alphabetical Register of Odesa's Honored Citizens.⁶⁸

In the 1860s and early 1870s, the list of honored citizens was supplemented by the following names: Konstantin Rizo (1863), Nikolai Toshkov (1863), Stepan Toshkovich (1865), Konstantin Radostati (c. 1866), Amvrosii Mavrokordato (c. 1869), Vasilii Feologo (1870), and Feodosii Tsikalioti (1871).⁶⁹

The Ottoman subject Konstantin Rizo (c.1800–1875) took Russian subjectship in 1842 and, from that time, was a member of the 2nd merchant guild. At the first attempt in 1862 he did not receive satisfaction of his petition to elevate him and his family to hereditary honored citizens, because he did not provide documents confirming the change of subjectship and the period of stay in the guild; however, the second attempt was successful, and by imperial

⁶⁴ No information has been found regarding the activities of Nikolai Koloforidi. In the lists of honored citizens, he is recorded as a personal honored citizen. (DAOO, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 42zv.)

⁶⁵ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii. Sobranie 2. T. 32, ch. 2 (Dopolnenie k 32 tomu)*, 6.

⁶⁶ DAOO, f. 2, op. 2, spr. 423, ark. 7, 8.; *Ibid.*, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 42zv.

⁶⁷ In 1858, he submitted a petition to the Odesa city governor expressing his desire to obtain honored citizenship (DAOO, f. 2, op. 2, spr. 423, ark. 5). His name appears in the Odesa registers (DAOO, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 42zv.), but is not found in the records of the RGIA (f. 1343, op. 39).

⁶⁸ DAOO, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 42zv.

⁶⁹ Additionally, Inventory No. 39 of Fond 1343 of the RGIA contains a case concerning the Odesa 2nd-guild merchants Skliri (1869). No more specific information has been found. Regarding Toshkov, Toshkovich, and the previously mentioned Palauzov, it should be noted that on the basis of their surnames it can be assumed that they are of Bulgarian origin, meanwhile in archival documents they appear as Greeks.

decree in February 1863, he and his family – his wife Marina, sons Antonii, Franzisk, Vladimir, and daughters Kaliopa and Angelika – were granted the desired state.⁷⁰

In the same year, the state was granted to the Odesa-based 1st guild merchant and Nezhin Greek, Nikolai Toshkov, along with his wife Elena. From 1849 to 1863, Nikolai Toshkov was registered first in the 2nd merchant guild, and later in the 1st guild.⁷¹

A near namesake, also a Nezhin Greek and Odesa merchant, Stepan Toshkovich – formerly a subject of the Ottoman Empire – took an oath of allegiance to Russia with his family in 1835. Beginning in 1847, he was registered in the 2nd merchant guild and later advanced to the 1st guild. He twice petitioned for hereditary honored citizenship. His first attempt in 1864 was rejected due to the absence of documentation confirming that his wife Anna, sons Dmitrii, Georgii, and Nikolai, and daughter Mariia were part of a joint household capital with him and had not been subjected to any court proceedings, but his subsequent attempt in 1865 was successful.⁷²

The case of Konstantin Radostati, like that of the Greek volunteers, is atypical for the general group of Greek honored citizens, who were overwhelmingly merchants. Archival records list him as 'of clerical estate, son of Archpriest Ioann Radostati.'⁷³ Konstantin was granted the status of personal honored citizen.

Amvrosii Mavrokordato (1804–1880) is recorded in the Odesa alphabetical register as a 2nd guild merchant. He had a wife, Roksandra, and two sons, Fedor and Stepan.⁷⁴ He later relocated to Constantinople.⁷⁵

As evidenced by the aforementioned examples, the petitioning process could span several years and often required two or even three attempts. For instance, Vasiliu Feologo, a 2nd guild merchant who had been continuously listed in the higher merchant guilds since 1845, submitted such a request three times. His first and second petitions, in 1869 and 1870 respectively, were rejected due to the absence of the necessary certification confirming that he had not been subjected to court and insolvency while being a merchant, and only the third time, on the basis of the decree of 23 July 1870, his request was granted.⁷⁶

Issues with documentation also accompanied the process – initiated as early as 1868 – by which Feodosii Tsikaloti (ca. 1816–?), a 1st guild merchant

⁷⁰ DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 609, ark. 6, 13.

⁷¹ Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 620, ark. 5.

⁷² Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 643, ark. 4, 16-16zv., 25.

⁷³ Ibid., f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 49zv. Ioann Radostati - the rector of the Greek Holy Trinity Church in Odesa.

⁷⁴ DAOO, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 53zv.

⁷⁵ Tomazov, *Greki-khiosci na Pivdni Ukrainy*, 136.

⁷⁶ DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 736, ark. 50, 118, 148.

of Odesa, sought to obtain hereditary honored citizenship for himself, his wife Elena, his sons Achilles, Nikolai, Konstantin, and Stepan, as well as his daughters Ekaterina, Sofia, and Nadezhda. By imperial decree dated March 20, 1870, F.Tsikalioti was denied hereditary honored citizenship due to several unresolved issues: ambiguity regarding his guild status during the years 1869–1870, uncertainty as to whether he or any members of his family had faced legal proceedings or bankruptcy during that period, and whether his sons – born prior to his oath of allegiance in 1846 – belonged to the number of Russian subjects.⁷⁷ In June 1870, F.Tsikalioti resumed the collection of necessary documents and, judging by the presence of his family in the Alphabetical Register of Odesa's Honored Citizens, they eventually attained the desired status.⁷⁸

Despite the existence of general regulations concerning the preparation of documents, each case required additional evidence and certificates, the lack of which often hindered a favorable outcome. A telling example is that of 1st guild merchant Aleksandr Aleksandridi, who petitioned in 1862 for hereditary honored citizenship for himself, his wife Maria, his son from a first marriage, Zakharii, and his sons from a second marriage – Antonii, Dmitrii, Ioann, and Konstantin.⁷⁹ However, A.Aleksandridi submitted his petition to the Department of Heraldry in Greek without an accompanying Russian translation, which led to its rejection, and in his renewed petition the following year, he again failed to provide copies of certain required documents, which resulted in a second denial.⁸⁰ A third attempt, made at the end of 1863, was likewise unsuccessful. On this occasion, the petition lacked confirmation of Russian subjecthood for him and his family, as well as evidence of his impeccable reputation within the merchant guild in the town of Izmail (from which Aleksandridi appears to have relocated to Odesa).⁸¹ Whether his petition was ultimately granted remains uncertain. Although his name appears in the inventory of the RGIA, it is absent from the Alphabetical Register of Honored Citizens of Odesa.

In the 1880s, honored citizenship was granted to Afanasii Spandoni-Basmandji (1883)⁸² and Feofil Dulgerov (1885). Notably, the 2nd-guild merchant A.Spandoni-Basmandji had already, in 1869, submitted a petition to the Odesa city governor requesting a certificate of religious affiliation, which, according to the legislative requirements, was mandatory for the subsequent

⁷⁷ Ibid., ark. 17-17zv., 143.

⁷⁸ Ibid., ark. 114-115.; Ibid., f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 53a.

⁷⁹ Ibid., f. 2, op. 1, spr. 627, ark. 6.

⁸⁰ Ibid., ark. 2-2v., 8-8zv.

⁸¹ Ibid., 19-19zv.

⁸² Date of the case in inventory No. 39 of fund 1343 of RGIA. According to Odesa documents - 1888 (DAOO, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 67).

application for honored citizenship.⁸³ From this correspondence, we learn that he, his wife Evredikia, his sons Afanasii, Grigorii, Aleksandr, Nikolai, and Mikhail, as well as his daughter Efrosinia, were 'of the Orthodox faith and of good conduct.' The 1st-guild merchant F.Dulgerov (c.1831–1896) was married to Romana Papa-Nikolu, the daughter of the aforementioned hereditary honored citizen Kriona Papa-Nikolu. The couple had sons, Georgii and Kirion, and daughters, Elena and Maria.⁸⁴ In the 1890s, F.Dulgerov was listed as a member of the council of the Greek Charitable Society.

The Alphabetical Register of Odesa's Honored Citizens mentions a few more names: Apostolii Tsimbopulo, a 1st-guild merchant and hereditary honored citizen (1891); Petr Fanarioti, a personal honored citizen (1894); Nikolai Mastaraki, a 2nd-guild merchant and personal honored citizen (1884); as well as merchants of the 2nd guild from Izmail, Dmitrii Karavasili (no later than 1859)⁸⁵, and from Sevastopol, personal honored citizen Spiridon Mandas (1864).⁸⁶ However, no information has been found regarding their commercial or public activities.

Thus, the investigation of archival materials and scholarly literature has made it possible to compile a list of Odesa's honored citizens of Greek origin, allowing us to affirm their integration into the imperial society of the 19th century.

Conclusions

The adoption of the 1832 Manifesto 'On the Establishment of a New Estate under the Name of Honored Citizens' enabled Greek settlers in the Russian Empire not only to integrate into the local society but also to acquire a range of privileges. One of the key criteria for obtaining this status was continuous membership in the 1st or 2nd merchant guilds for a specified number of years. For the Greeks of Odesa, among whom merchants constituted a notable group, this became an opportunity to secure a position within a privileged estate and to pass this right on to their children – that is, to obtain hereditary honored citizenship.

The institution of honored citizenship functioned among other things as an instrument of imperial loyalty toward ethnic minorities, facilitating their integration into the Russian estate-based society and contributing to the consolidation of commercial and financial elite. This is evidenced not only by the presence of Greeks among the holders of this status, but also by the provisions included in the 1832 Manifesto and the Code of Laws of the Russian

⁸³ Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. T. 9: Svod zakonov o sostoianniakh (St. Petersburg, 1857), 122.; DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 736, ark. 24, 25, 26-26zv.

⁸⁴ Ibid., f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 63zv.

⁸⁵ Date of the case in the inventory No. 39 of the fund 1343 RGIA is 1848.

⁸⁶ DAOO, f. 16, op. 125, spr. 2, ark. 43, 74, 62zv., 105zv.

Empire, which allowed foreigners to obtain honored citizenship even without formally acquiring subjecthood.

During the period from the 1830s to the 1860s, Greeks obtained honored citizenship significantly more frequently, a trend that can be explained by the contingent of those acquiring this new legal status – namely, a predominance of merchants – and by the fact that it was the first generation of settlers who were just beginning the process of integration into Russian society through the acquisition of honored citizenship. These decades also coincided with a particularly favorable period for the grain trade, which enabled Greek merchants to remain in the higher merchant guilds. In accordance with the law, merchants of the 1st and/or 2nd guilds were eligible to obtain hereditary honored citizenship, thereby extending this privileged status to their children and increasing the number of honored citizens of Greek origin. This, in turn, illustrates a mechanism of social mobility in the multiethnic city.

The social portrait of a Greek who obtained honored citizenship in the Russian Empire can be outlined as follows: a merchant of the first and/or second guild, a representative of the first generation of settlers, who had accepted Russian subjecthood, actively participated in the public life of the city, was granted hereditary honorary citizenship, and transferred this privileged status to his wife and children. Greek honored citizens made a significant contribution to the formation of Odesa as an economic center of the region. Their activity represented both individual success and, in certain cases, examples of broader public engagement. The status of honored citizen not only recognized past achievements and conferred privileges, but also entailed specific obligations and responsibilities in maintaining a reputable name – something that could be achieved through cultural, philanthropic, and socially responsible actions. Thus, honorary citizenship embodied a model of an active urban citizen, and the honored citizens of Greek origin in Odesa largely conformed to this ideal.