

JEWS IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (18TH -19TH CENTURIES)

In this article, we have discussed the role of Jews in the socio-economic life of the Russian Empire.

From the beginning, it should be noted that in the examined period in the countries of Eastern Europe, including Russia, there were almost always legislative restrictions in the legal and economic spheres of Jewish settlement.

Catherine II's hostile attitude towards the Jews in Russia became evident with the decree of 1794, according to which the Jews were forced to pay a double tax. The empress borrowed that approach from Prussia.

Catherine II wanted to use the Jews as organizers of industry, production and large-scale export of goods. Knowing that Catherine II has a great desire to enrich her population with her own production, Yakov Grish requested the queen to allow him to breed sheep in the way he knew, which should not be inferior to European sheep in terms of wool quality. As a justification, he mentioned that he promises to transfer the details of his craft to the local Russian population. However, all decisions of the court were always cautious even when Jews needed to be involved in the economic life of the country. Catherine II always considered the interests of the nobility to see as few Jews as possible in the country. Merchants' concerns with the presence of Jews were not so much religious or cultural as economic.

In 1793, when the second partition of Poland between Prussia and Russia took place, Russia annexed Volhynia, part of the provinces

of Kiev and Podolsk, and the territory of Minsk. Prussia in turn took control of the other part of Poland. Once again, a huge swath of land inhabited by Jews was cut off from Poland. This unfortunate nation, overcome with great pain due to the new "mutilation", had to adapt to the new rules of coexistence in the new land¹.

From the foundation of the Kingdom of Poland until the 17th century, Poland was the only Jewish-tolerant country in Europe. Contemporaries called Poland "Jewish Paradise" (from Latin; *paradisus iudaeorum*)²:

According to the adopted new charter, the Jews ceased to be considered a special stratum of society and became Russian subjects, being included in the merchant class. Taking advantage of the above-mentioned right, the Jews petitioned to engage in free trade in other Russian cities outside the Belorussian province³, but it was rejected: The Jews had a real desire to extend their activities to Smolensk, Moscow and the interior of the country, as they could become a commercial link between Russia and Prussia.

On December 23, 1791, a final decision was made regarding both the appeal of the Jews and the petition of Moscow merchants. "From now on, Jews have no right to engage in trade in the cities of the interior of Russia and to register in the merchant ranks. Only with my special permission can they be registered in the ranks of Belarussian trade"⁴. However, Jews were allowed to exercise citizenship rights outside the Belarussian state in Yekaterinoslavsk and Tavrichesk. This is where the places of permanent settlement of Jews appeared.

¹ **History of the Jews in Russia and Poland** - Volume I: From the Beginning Until the Death of Alexander I (1825) S. M. Dubnow, Varda Books skokie, Illinois, 2001, page 292.

² **Samuel Adalberg**. Księga przysłów, przypowieści i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. 1889-1894, 419 p

³ **ПСЗРИ**- Полное собрание законов Российской империи (Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire), Собрание (1649 - 1825) : Том 42: Часть 1 , №681 из 1046, с. 86.

⁴ **ПСЗРИ**, Ibid., p. 87:

Issues of entry ban and deportation of Jews engaged in commercial and economic activities in the context of internal politics of the Russian Empire. T. P. (1676-1688 № 681) according to the decision *"Forbid entry of Jews from Smolensk to Moscow. Those Jews who will try to enter Moscow secretly and with their property and goods for sale and or register at the local customs house as a merchant, will be rejected."* It is not difficult to understand the reasons for this prohibition. In this way, an attempt was made to curb Jewish economic gains in Russia, which could cause enormous financial damage to local merchants and cause a great wave of discontent⁵.

T. XII. (1744-1748, No. 682), the decree on the expulsion of Jews from Russia and the subsequent prohibition of their entry there stated: *"Deport the Jews from Russia and strictly prohibit them from taking any silver or gold coins with them, in extreme cases replace them with copper drams, deport the Jews, but after the end of the war with the Turks, during that time no one will accept them under their protection or give them anything on rent"*⁶.

According to Decree No. 682, *"To expel Jews from the newly conquered Russian cities and not allow them to enter Russia even for commercial activities. According to the decree of December 1, 1742, all "Jews" were to be indiscriminately deported from the territory of the Russian Empire, regardless of their rank or honor, and no longer allowed to enter the territory of the country. Only those who want to become Greek Orthodox Christians can make an exception"*⁷.

Jews in the Commercial Life of Tsarist Russia in the First Half of the 18th and 19th Centuries. T. VIII (1728-1732, No. 682). *"Grant temporary entry permits to Jews to participate in the wholesale fairs of Malorasia. Forbid them to settle permanently in Malorasia and forbid them to do retail trade at local fairs."* Underlying this law, as in previous examples, was the persistent demand of local merchants to prohibit Jews from retailing at permanent fairs. They repeatedly

⁵ ПСЗРИ, Собрание (1649 - 1825): Том 42: Часть 1 , №681 из 1046, с. 662.

⁶ ПСЗРИ, Ibid., p. 682.

⁷ ПСЗРИ, Ibid.

petitioned the Emperor/Tsar for this request. They justified this request by the fear of bankruptcy, which was caused by the successful commercial activity of the Jews, as well as by their wide commercial connections in neighboring countries⁸.

Contrary to this, we have another document in hand, in which it is said: *"Allow Jews to engage in retail trade in Slaboda regiments and Malorossiya (Little Russia). To allow entry into Malorossiya. from abroad only to those Jews who are going to trade fairs with goods."* This was aimed at the realization of the foreign connections that the Jews had, the expansion and reform of the commercial field, which, however, as mentioned above, was negatively received by the local merchants, and they constantly tried to stop the activities of the Jews⁹.

"To allow the Jews living in Mogilev and Polotsk to engage in trade and to give them the right to lease. Free the Jews living in the Belorussian province who have accepted the law of Christ from the head tax." As of the census of September 13, 1772, the following taxation rules were established for residents of the Belarusian state: *"To set a wage of seven hryvnias for the peasant population, and also to take a quarter of flour, and to take one ruble from the Jews, and also to take one ruble and twenty cents from the merchants"*¹⁰.

T. XXXIII. (1815-1816) according to the decree: *"The situation declared for merchant peasants should not be extended to Jews."*¹¹

The Punishments of the Merchant Jews. T. I. (1649-1675). *"Impose the death penalty for seducing the Orthodox faith against the Jews."* The edict clearly spelled out a harsh and unequivocal sentence of death against those Jews who would attempt to convert or even attempt to convert Orthodox believers.

T. X. (1737-1739). "Decision on Burning Juhud for Attempting to Convert Orthodoxy." The order is to burn Navy Captain-Lieutenant Voznitsyn for renouncing the Christian faith, specifically by the Zhid

⁸ ПСЗРИ, Ibid.

⁹ ПСЗРИ, Ibid.

¹⁰ ПСЗРИ, Ibid..

¹¹ ПСЗРИ, Ibid.

Borkh, the latter was converted to obey Jewish law. T. VII. (1725-1727) *"According to the decision to take the customs taxes given to the Jews as a ransom and give them to others besides the Jews. Resolution of the Upper Privy Council addressed to the senate. Decision on the exile of Borkh and Leibov from Russia; to take the customs taxes previously given to them as a ransom and give them to others."* Although the document does not detail what kind of taxes they meant, the presence of their names and the individual legislative reference to this case emphasize the importance of the case.

According to decision №170006, *"Jews registered as merchants in the cities should be charged twice as much as Christian merchants."*¹²

Jewish activity in Siberia. In the middle of the 19th century, the main centers of the community life of the Jewish population were formed in Siberia, primarily administrative and commercial cities in Tobolsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Kainsk, Verkhneudinsk, etc. Prayer houses were opened here, there were Jewish cemeteries. This shows the long existence and sustainable development of communities. All this would be impossible in Siberia if the Jewish communities were small in number.

In the first half of the 19th century, there was a steady increase in the Jewish population in Siberia. This was due to both exile and the expulsion of the civilian population outside their domains of settlement. According to the information extracted from the Tobolsk archive by E. Anuchin, 876 Jewish men and 63 women were deported to Siberia in 1837-1846. This was 1.4% of the total number of exiles. Jews made up about 2.4% of the total population of Russia at that time.¹³

In 1836, the government announced an initiative to expand the area of Jewish farming. Certain plots of land in Tobolsk and Omsk,

¹² ПСЗРИ, Ibid.

¹³ В.Н. Шайдуров, Евреи и их место в хозяйственной жизни Западной Сибири во второй половине XIX в // Новый исторический вестник. 2014. №39. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/evrei-i-ih-mesto-v-hozyaystvennoy-zhizni-zapadnoy-sibiri-vo-vtoroy-pолоvine-xix-v> (дата обращения: 06.04.2023). стр.22

Siberia, were earmarked for this initiative. In a short time, 1,317 Jews expressed their desire to travel there voluntarily. But in January 1837, the Tsar unexpectedly changed his mind. At the moment when the report of the first resettlement of Jews was being read by the Council of Ministers, the tsar declared that it was necessary to stop the further transfer of Jews and send them to the Jewish colonies of Kherson. These unfortunate emigrants were arrested as criminals on the way and forcibly sent to Kherson region, which was not at all in their interests.¹⁴

In the early 1860s, a series of laws were passed that allowed certain movements of Jews into the interior provinces of the Russian Empire. It was on this basis that persons who had higher education, scientific degrees, as well as merchants of the 1st and 2nd guilds, clerks, midwives, pharmacists, distillers, jewelers, glassmakers and other craftsmen who were also involved in processing, began to move new places, initially to the provinces adjacent to the place of residence (Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk). The subsequent migration stream gradually reached the Urals and Siberia. The partial liberalization of Russian legislation in a number of regions, including Siberia, was of great importance to the Jews. The appearance of a relatively large number of people with university and special education here had a significant impact on the economic and socio-cultural life.

Arriving in Siberia, the Jews needed sources of income, since they were here as exiles, receiving a small amount of money as a daily allowance, which was barely enough for food and basic necessities. The difficult situation forced them to turn to their relatives for financial help or to look for additional income locally.

At first, Jews attempted to reproduce a traditional economic model in a new location. The prominent role of Jews in trade in Tobolsk has been repeatedly mentioned by contemporaries. At the same time, these comments were not always positive, for example, the

¹⁴ **History of the Jews in Russia and Poland** - Volume II: From the Death of Alexander I Until the Death of Alexander III (1825-1894), S. M. Dubnow, Varda Books skokie, Illinois, 2001, p. 84.

deputy governor of Tobolsk, Dmitriev-Momonov, wrote that usury and the sale of credit property were the favorite work of the Jews. They also took an active part in the establishment of transport. Industry and manufacturing did not interest them in the beginning, the only exception was the glass industry, where 70% of Jews able to work were included.

After the reforms of Alexander I, resourceful Jews were drawn into industry and manufacturing, and private Jewish capital also flowed into mining. Many Jews became owners of gold mines, and most of the mines were located in the Altai region. As of 1873, 281 private gold mines operated in the Mariinsky region, 10 of which belonged to Tomsk and Mariinsky Jews. And one of them, B. L. Khotimsky, received a permit to carry out such activities back in 1862, and as of 1873, he already had 5 gold mines. During this period, several Jewish families appeared who amassed a wealthy capital through various tricks. One of them was the Mariupol family, which was involved in the processing industry. He owned a fat-smelting factory, where a product worth 5,000 rubles was melted. As a comparison, in Tobolsk at that time about 820,000 thousand rubles worth of goods were processed. Thus, the share of Mariupol residents was 1.6% of the total turnover.

Another representative of the Jewish family business was the Fuchsman family, which was engaged in the production of flour. The family accounted for 5.1% of the total turnover. The Fuchsmanns were also engaged in the production of wine and beer in Tomsk, but in beer production they were in third place, behind the Prussian Kruger and the Jew Reichzeligmann, who later founded his own shipbuilding company¹⁵.

At the end of the 19th century, Jews settled in the lumber industry of the Siberian forests. In 1887, M. I. Minsky founded a match factory, which in Siberia was second only to the Vorontsov factory in its production volumes. Its share was 30% of the total turnover. Jewish businessmen directed the capital not only to the production field, but

¹⁵ ПСЭРИ, Ibid., p. 26:

also opened credit agencies and engaged in usury. In 1885, Evgeny Edelstein's credit mint was opened in Tomsk, which quickly entered into competition with the already existing Yappo Mint. When establishing his bank, Edelstein immediately offered customers favorable loan interest rates and a flexible repayment system. This led to a veritable war between businessmen, which ended with Edelstein's victory.¹⁶

In the late 19th century, newspapers were the most convenient platform for advertising. It is from those advertisements that we know the names of a number of doctors working in Siberia. For example, Anna Zeitlin had her own dental clinic in Tomsk. In the same way, through advertising, we learn about lawyers, for example, Rafael Weissman, who, thanks to his successful work, enjoyed respect both among ordinary people and among his colleagues.¹⁷

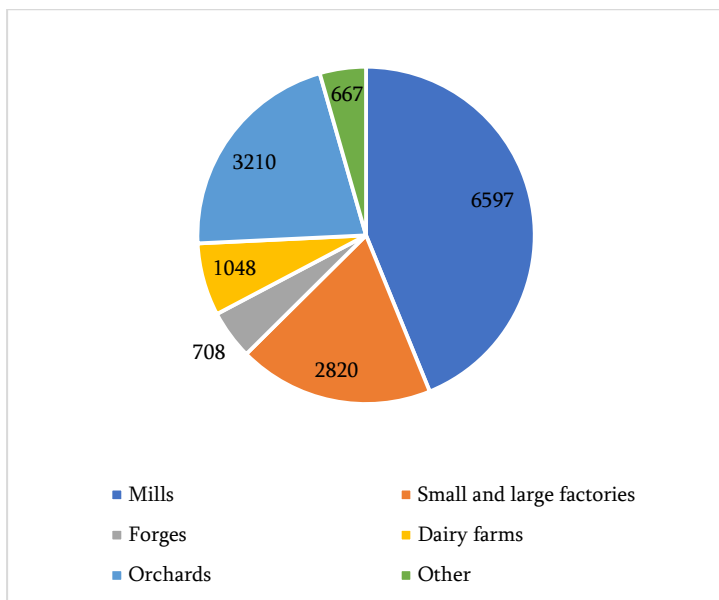
In 1870-1890, the first representatives of the Jewish community in Siberia appeared in the educational field. In the past, Jewish secondary education was limited to the study of Talmud and Torah. According to estimates, in Tomsk and Tobolsk, Jews were most represented in trade, at 5%. The share of Jews in the trades was not large. However, they were represented in some branches of craftsmanship, such as jewelry, as well as making art and other high-quality works¹⁸. Thus, we can conclude that the Jewish community in Siberia was an actively developing structure that adequately responded to the challenges of the time.

Below we present the statistics of Jewish-owned shops, industries and other places as of 1883.

¹⁶ ПСЗРИ, Ibid.,, p. 28:

¹⁷ ПСЗРИ, Ibid.,, p. 29:

¹⁸ ПСЗРИ, Ibid.,, p. 30:



Trade and industrial activity of Jews in Petersburg. In the middle of the 19th century, a number of legislative acts appeared in Russia, which played a significant role in activating the commercial and industrial activities of Jews outside the regions of seclusion. The first of these was perhaps the decree of 1848, which was designed to relax the ban on the movement of merchant Jews.

In 1859, a decree was issued, according to which Jewish merchants, bankers, owners of trading houses could register as merchants of the first guild and engage in commercial activities. On January 4, 1860, this law was extended to Jewish businessmen of the Polish Kingdom, and already on July 26, 1860, it reached Transcaucasia. These years of reform saw the migration of wealthy Jewish merchants from places of residence. The most interesting destination for them was Petersburg, which undoubtedly represented a huge potential for them to carry out commercial activities.

According to the data of 1858, about 500 Jews lived in Petersburg. The situation changed dramatically in the 1860s, when Jews were

legally allowed to live and work in all Russian provinces. As a result, in 1869, 6,700 Jews lived in Petersburg, that is, the population increased 13 times in 11 years. Jews became the 4th most represented among the foreign population in Petersburg, second only to Germans, Finns and Poles. However, the wave of anti-Jewish sentiments in the 1880s led not only to the cessation of their natural growth, but also to the reduction of the existing population. Thus, in 1881-1890, the number of Jews decreased from 17 thousand to 15.4 thousand. At the end of the reign of Alexander III, the Jewish merchant had only one representative with a noble title, Baron Ginzburg.

The late 19th century saw a decline in Jewish trade in Petersburg. Many of the representatives of this stratum were sent to the regions of stagnation. Many demobilized Jewish soldiers lived in Petersburg. From 1867 they could register in any Russian city. Many Jews had learned trades in the army, and they used this knowledge successfully in their private activities.

Jewish trade in Petersburg included non-citizens as well, but obtaining a trade license was a difficult process. This required the approvals of the Ministries of Interior, Foreign Affairs and Finance. In the 1870s, 2 people received such a right, in the 80s - 5, and in the 90s - 6.

Among the professions in which Jewish intellectuals were forbidden to enter the state service, the activity of a lawyer stood out. Legal careers had been barred to them since the 1889 law required special permission from the Minister of Justice to practice law. For a whole decade, the minister found it possible to give it to only one Jew. If during the liberal period of Alexander II, the number of people involved in the field reached from fourteen to twenty-two percent, then later it was reduced to nine percent.

In general, the foreign population of the city, including the Jewish one, preferred to live in one district, the preferred location of the majority of Jews was the Spasskaya part of the city, 30% of them lived there. The Spasskaya part of the city was also the commercial and industrial center of the city.

At the end of the 19th century, a significant number of Jewish merchants moved to other parts of the city, such as Moskovian or Liteinaya. There were also those who received their merchant's permit in Petersburg, but moved to other cities to work and live ¹⁹. A very small number of Jews, mostly representatives of the first merchant guild, had their own houses. As for the location of their enterprises, let's note that they were located in the same places where the merchants lived.

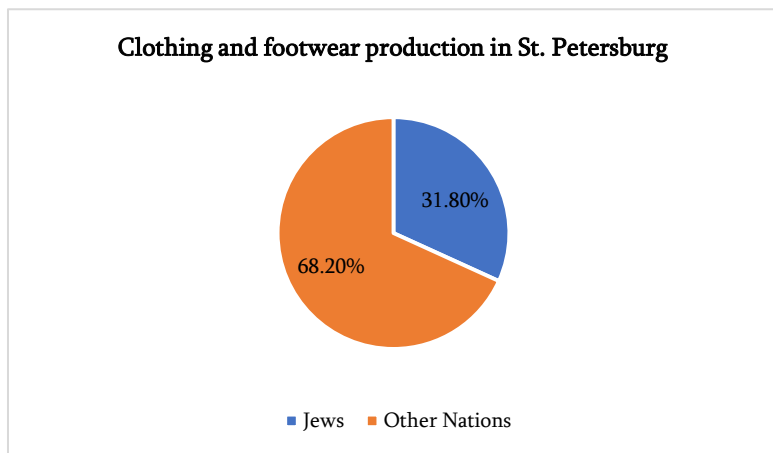
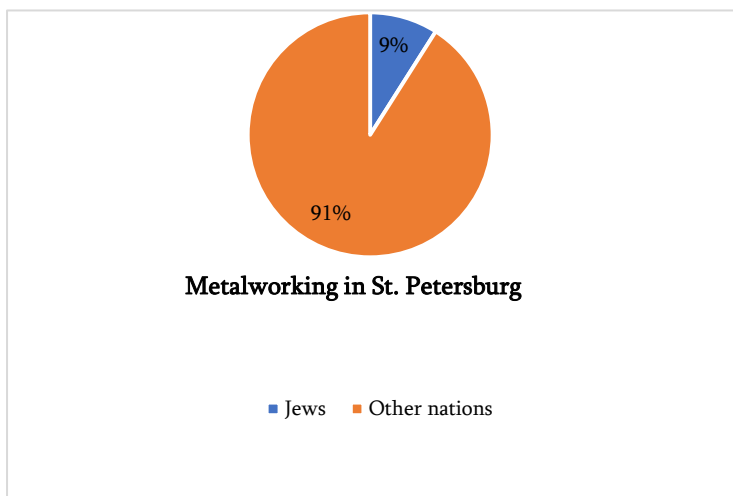
Jewish trade carried out its activities in perhaps all business circles of Petersburg. The preferred products of merchant Jews were clothing, pharmaceutical supplies, jewelry, watches, manufactures, and lumber. In the sale of other goods, the Jews showed themselves much more modestly.

Another interesting business for the Jews was commission and agency offices and finance. Only merchants of the first guild were employed in the banking system. The first private banks appeared in Petersburg during the reign of Alexander II. First the Ginzburger banking house was opened, then a number of banks under the auspices of Polyakov, and then the Wavelberg banking house. Russian legislation did not provide for the immigration of poor Jews from the region of seclusion to the capital, and for that reason, in fact, a large number of Jews gathered in Petersburg, who were engaged in medical, legal activities, science and art, and a significant part in handicrafts. Unskilled laborers or servants were almost entirely absent. At the turn of the century, there were 2,015 Jewish industrial enterprises in the capital, 1,752 of whose owners were men and 263 were women, making up 5.2% of the city's private industrialists.

The highest representation of Jews was in the field of clothing and footwear production - 631 people (31.8% of the total number), followed by metal workers - 185 people (9%), food merchants - 129

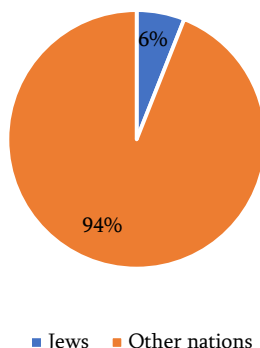
¹⁹ **Федотов Д.С.**, Евреи в петербургском предпринимательстве во второй половине XIX-начале XX вв // ПСЭ. 2012. №2. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/evrei-v-peterburgskom-predprinimatelstve-vo-vtoroy-polovine-hh-nachale-hh-vv> (дата обращения: 06.04.2023). с. 440.

people (6%), those involved in the machine building sector - 127 people (6%) , as well as clothing and footwear merchants - 125 people (6%).²⁰



²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

Mechanical engineering in St. Petersburg



Jews in Odessa

Speaking about the Jewish community in the Russian state, it is also necessary to consider the relationship of Jews with other peoples living in the country. Unfortunately, that relationship has not always been warm. For example, Jews interacted closely with Greeks in Odessa, where both Jews and Greeks appeared almost from the time the Turkish settlement of Hajibey passed to the Russian Empire.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the two peoples occupied almost the same position in the ethnic structure of the city, making up almost 10% of the total population. However, the situation changed dramatically in the second decade of the 19th century, when the number of Jews increased significantly. The professional activities, everyday life, and domestic interests of the two peoples mostly coincided, but there were also differences. For example, the Greeks, given their vast experience in shipbuilding and foreign trade in general, focused their skills on large-scale trade and export, while the Jews specialized in small local trade. Differences in sectoral involvement regulated the tension in the relationship between the two nations and helped to keep it at a manageable level, but the situation changed from the end of the second decade of the 19th century, when

a national-liberation struggle against the Turkish yoke began in Greece. It reflected badly on the relationship between Jews and Greeks living in the Ottoman Empire.²¹

The Greeks began to push Jews out of the banking system, where Jews held an important position, the liberation struggle led to the disruption of trade flows. This led to the looting and pogrom (massacre) of Jewish property. Usually they were organized by the authorities.

Different authors present Odessa pogroms of 1821 in different ways. In one case, it is said to have been pre-arranged and carried out simultaneously in three Jewish neighborhoods, in another case, the pogroms began unexpectedly after Jews refused to remove their hats during a funeral procession out of respect for the dying²². It is difficult to decide which of the options is more reliable. However, in both cases there is a trace of Greek.

A bad tradition had developed in Odessa and a number of other cities since the 1820s. Every year on Easter and Christmas Eve, there were clashes between Jews and Christians.²³

Manifestations of religious extremism also took place in 1849, 1859 and 1871. Even in this case, it is not fair to blame the Greeks, because the latter had neither a large community nor large commercial interests in Odessa. In almost all of these cases, other peoples living in Odessa were involved.

This appalling phenomenon was continuous, the authorities did not seek to take preventive measures, and the rioters were subject to Article 38 (riots in public places), which provided for imprisonment and financial fines. It was not until December 9, 1892 that it was

²¹ **Демина М.**, Греко-еврейское противостояние в Одессе в XIX веке, с. 150. Марина Демина Греко-еврейское противостояние в Одессе в XIX веке // Тирош. Труды по иудаике, славистике, ориенталистике. 2003. №6. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/greko-evreyskoe-protivostoyanie-v-odesse-v-xix-veke> (дата обращения: 06.04.2023).

²² **ПСЗРИ**, Ibid., p. 151.

²³ **ПСЗРИ**, Ibid., p. 152.

replaced by Article 269 (attack by one section of the population on another section), which provided for 3 or more years of exile ²⁴.

The activity of Jews in the southwestern regions of Russia.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Russia was one of the most multinational empires in the world, home to more than 100 nations and peoples. The southwestern provinces of Russia, where Ukrainians, Jews, Russians, Poles and other nationalities lived, were no exception. There were a number of problems with the gentile population (particularly with the clarification of Jewish rights and obligations). The predatory practices of Jewish ownership and tenancy were problematic in European countries as well.²⁵ For this and other reasons, the rights of the Jews in relation to private property were very shaky, permissions often alternating with prohibitions.

Wanting to protect the rural population from exploitation by the Jews and to attract them to the agricultural sector, the government created a special committee on Jewish affairs, which in 1804 published a special statute on the Jews, according to which Jews were forbidden to rent various inns, guest houses and other establishments. Later, the senate prohibited the latter from owning and renting estates. Despite legal prohibitions, Jews continued to engage in rent-seeking. As of 1869: 169 out of 1453 estates in Kiev (11.6%), in Podolsk 225 out of 1788 (12.6%), in Volynsk 208 out of 1901 (10.9%), in the southwest of the country 602 out of 5142 estates (11.6%) belonged to Jews.²⁶

Under the "temporary regulations" passed in 1882, the Jewish population had no right to reside or acquire property in rural areas.

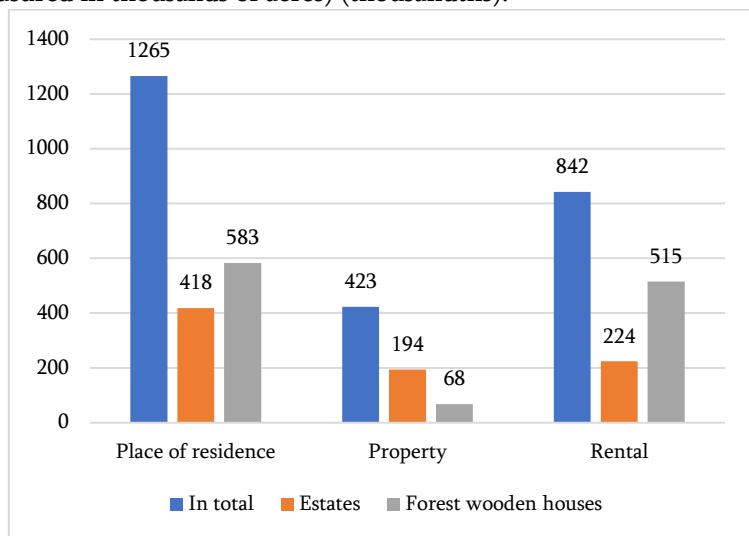
²⁴ ПСЗРИ, Ibid., p. 153:

²⁵ **Бородский А.И.**, Землевладение и землепользование евреев на территории правобережной Украины в XIX- начале XX в., с. 1; **Бородский А. И.**, Землевладение и землепользование евреев на территории Правобережной Украины в XIX - начале XX вв // ЕГИ. 2014. №1 (3). URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/zemlevladienie-i-zemlepolzovanie-evreev-na-territorii-pravoberezhnoy-ukrainy-v-xix-nachale-xx-vv> (дата обращения: 06.04.2023).

²⁶ ПСЗРИ, Ibid., p. 2.

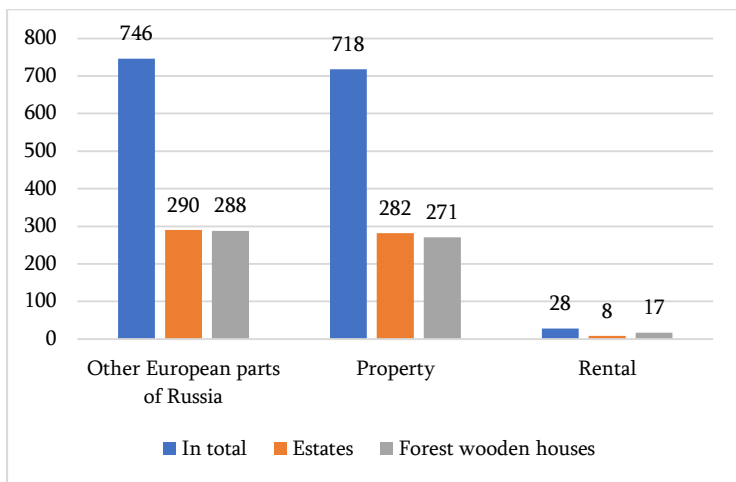
Despite all the discrimination, the Jewish population of southwestern Russia continued to rent and own many estates²⁷.

Data on Jewish land ownership in Russian regions as of 1883 (measured in thousands of acres) (thousandths).

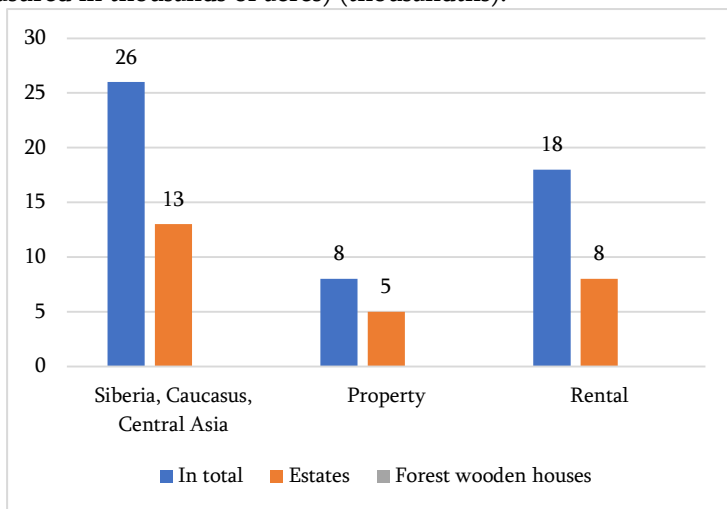


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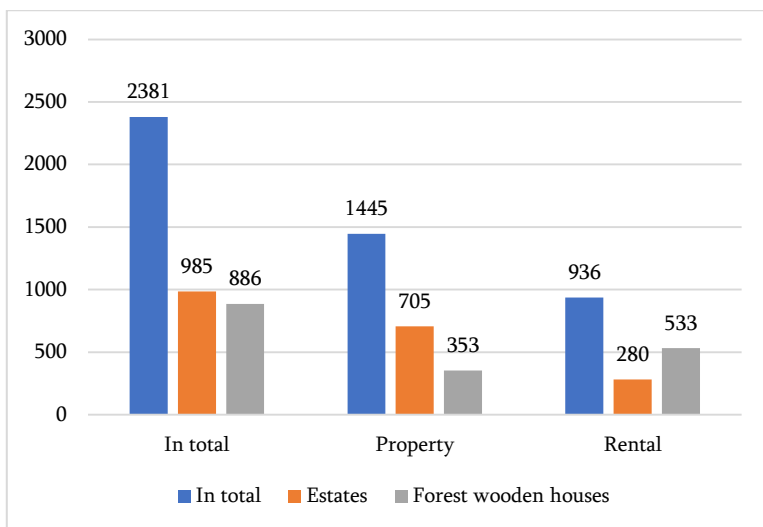
²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.



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In 1897, an all-imperial census was conducted, which, in addition to the number of Jews, also provides us with data on the land activities of Jews, namely 1.9% of Jews living in Volyn (7,546 people), 1.74% (6,427 people) in Podolia, 1.27% in Kiev (5,529 people). It counted a total of 19,502 people, half Polish, half Russian, but according to the Jewish Colonization Society, by the turn of the century Jews owned only a tiny fraction of the region's land²⁸.

Along with the imperial census in Russia, local censuses were conducted in different states²⁹. They also applied to Jews, which were carried out within the limits of the settlement areas. The Decree on Places of Permanent Residence existed from 1791 to 1915, defining the places where Jews had the right to live and trade.

From the 2nd half of the 19th century, merchants of the first guild, people with higher education, those who had served in the army, and masters of certain trades gained an advantage in living in large cities and expanding their spheres of activity.

²⁸ ПСЗРИ, Ibid.,, п. 4:

²⁹ Гессен В.Ю., К истории статистических исследований еврейского населения в России, с. 30-31.

Bessarabia, Vilensk, Vitebsk, Volynsk, Grodnensk, Yekaterinoslavsk, Kovensk, Minsk, Mogilsk, Podolsk, Poltava, Tavrichesk, Kherson, Chernihivsk, and Kiev were included in the settlement regions. Another 10 districts, located in the Privislensk region, were densely populated by Jews (former Kingdom of Poland), where different laws were in force.

Jews lived in other parts of Russia, but their number was not large, that is why separate statistics were not made about them.

The Jewish population reached the highest number in Minsk - 20.1%, Grodnensk - 19.7%, Kovensk - 19%, Mogilevsk - 18.1%, Polodsk - 17.7%, Bessarabia, Vilensk, Vityabsk, Volynsk, Kiev 12.1 - 14.9%, Kherson - about 10 % , in Chernihivsk, Yekaterinoslavsk, Poltavsk - 4.4%, Tavrichesk - 2.5%, Kharkiv - 0.4%. Among the provinces, Berdichevsk - 37.4%, Mogilevsk - 35.7% were densely populated by Jews ³⁰.

Thus, despite the repressions, strict and one-sided policies of the Russian court, the economic influence of the Jews in the empire was increasing.

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ՀՊՄՀ

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ՀՐԵԱՆԵՐԸ ՌՈՒՍԱԿԱՆ ԿԱՅՄՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՍՈՑԻԱԼ-ՏՆՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ԿՅԱՆՔՈՒՄ XVIII-XIX ԴԴ.

Հոդվածում անդրադարձ է կատարվում հրեաների սոցիալ-տնտեսական կյանքին ռուսական կայսրությունում XVIII-XIX դարերում: Հեղինակն ընդգծում է, որ չնայած մի շարք օրենսդրական սահմանափակումներին, հրեական կապիտալի մասնաբաժինը կայսրությունում շարունակաբար աճում էր: Դիտարկվել է նաև նրանց առևտրային և արդյունաբերական գործունեությունը բելոռուսական և հարավ-արևմտյան նահանգներում, Սանկտ Պետերբուրգում, Սի-

³⁰ ПСЭРИ, Ibid., p. 32-33.

բիրում և այլ շրջաններում: Հողվածում նաև եզրակացվում է, որ ժողովրդագրական փոփոխությունները և հրեական կյանքի այլ ոլորտներին առնչվող վիճակագրական տվյալների փոփոխությունը՝ հաճախ հրահրվել է իշխանությունների կողմից՝ տարբեր տեսակի հալածանքների և սահմանափակումների պատճառով:

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