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THE SOUTH OF UKRAINE IN THE XVI-TH – XVIII-th CENTURIES IN THE NOTES OF FOREIGNERS

Steshenko Natalia

PhD of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of Philosophy and Social and Political Sciences, Donbas State Engineering Academy, Ukraine ORCID: 0000-0003-0143-2916

Steshenko Oleksandr

Teacher of the highest category, teacher-Methodist Separated Structural Subdivision «Kramatorsk Applied College of Industry, Information Technologies and Business of Donbas State Engineering Academy» ORCID: 0000-0002-5902-0642

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Abstract. In this article the main works of foreign authors (S.Gerbershtein, M.Litvin, E.Lyasota, G.Boplan, K.Shevalye, K.Gildebrant, P.Alepskiy, A.Vimina, H.Eyler, Y.Gildenshtedt, Y.Miller, J.-B.Sherer) are analyzed. The article focuses the reader's attention on describing the process of the settling of Steppe Ukraine in the XVI - XVIII centuries and the role of the Ukrainian people in it. The process of formation of independent Ukrainian state has ethnopolitical problems. For the decision of these problems the authors analyzed the role of Ukrainians in settlement and development of the South of Ukraine in the XVI-th - XVIII-th centuries. The article stresses that there were many Russians, Tatars, Greeks and others people who took an active part in formation of Ukrainian ethnic group. Different sources of foreign authors are subject of the research. The authors investigate the main works of foreign authors (monographs, investigations, travel notes, letters, reports and so on). The main peculiarities of these sources are: chronological nature; the authors make a dubious assumption that it has the elements of art work; not many of them have scientific nature. South of Ukraine is a territory which borders on state boundary of the Russian Federation in the East; on such rivers as the Siversky Donets the Oril and the Tjasmin in the North, on rivers the Sinjukha and the Kodyma and the state boundary of Moldova in the West. Some ethno-political aspects of the modern problems connected with settling up a state may be solved by means of scientific analysis applied to the role of Ukrainian nation in settling and development of its territory specifically Southern *Ukraine in the period of the XVI – XVIII centuries.*

Key words: The South of Ukraine in the XVI-th – XVIII-th centuries; notes of traveling foreigners; settlement of Southern Ukraine; ethnic politics.

Introduction: The process of building an independent Ukrainian state often runs into ethno-political problems. Their solution must be based on a scientifically balanced analysis of the role of the Ukrainian nation in the settlement and development of the territory of Ukraine. This especially applies to the South-Eastern region, i.e. «Malorossia», where Russians, Tatars, Greeks and other peoples took part in the development of the territory along with the Ukrainian ethnic group, which formed the richness of the ethnic palette. An important aspect in the study of this

process is the notes of foreigners, which make up the object of this publication.

Methods: The study used traditional methods for historical research, such as the method of analyzing historical sources, descriptive, analytical and others.

Discussion/Results: In the corpus of sources on the history of Southern Ukraine of the XVI–XVIII centuries. works of foreigners (memoirs, descriptions, reports and notes, letters and other types) occupy a prominent place. Their source-scientific features consist, first of all, in chronological and thematic fragmentation. Secondly, not all the works of foreigners are scientifically reliable. Thirdly, the majority of foreign written monuments have a memoir character, that is, the influence of the subjective factor is most marked. However, the testimony of foreigners has its advantages. They recorded those aspects of the life and daily life of the local population, which the travelers did not know in the practice of their peoples, and which could not be borrowed **[Lyasota, 1984: 147-148]**.

Retrospective analysis of the problem of settling the South of Ukraine in the XVI–XVIII centuries. allows us to distinguish several periods in the works of foreigners, in particular:

- XVI century the first half of the XVII-th century a period rich in the attention of foreigners to Ukraine (Sigismund Gerberstein, Blaise de Vigener, Carlo Gamberini, L. Miller, Jean de Luc). But only the materials of a few of them, including Mykhailo Lytvyn, Jacques Margeret, Erich Lasota, Guillaume de Beauplan, go beyond a casual mention or impression, highlighting the issues of the research topic;
- the second half of the XVII-th century the beginning of the XVIII-th century written special works about Ukraine. These are, first of all, the works of Pierre Chevalier, Konrad Hildebrandt, Pavel Aleppo, Alberto Vimina, Evliya Celebi and others;
- the second half of the XVIII-th century the works acquire an educational character. The main topics are the tsar's policy towards Ukraine, the colonization of the South of Ukraine, restrictions and cancellation of Ukrainian autonomy, materials about everyday life, the method of production, ethnography are presented. A wide and diverse picture of the economic, cultural and geopolitical situation is presented by Christopher Euler, academician Gyldenstedt, Johann Miller and others [Vintonyak, 1995: 19-27]. During this period, interest in Ukraine is growing in Western Europe. The attempt to write a general history of the region belongs to Jean Benoit Scherer.

The historiographic development of the investigated problem is characterized by certain achievements. In the vast majority, the notes of foreigners were considered from the perspective of source studies. However, there are no special studies devoted to the problem of analyzing the works of foreigners as a source for the settlement of Southern Ukraine in the XVI-th–XVIII-th centuries, which prompted the author to write this work.

As a result of the devastating Tatar-Turkish attacks at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the XVI-th centuries the border of permanent settlement ran roughly along the line Bratslav – Zhytomyr – Kyiv – Chernihiv – Putivl. Undelimited and sparsely populated spaces began to the south of it, stretching to the shores of the Black Sea. From «Notes on Muscovy» (1549) by S. Gerberstein, writer and diplomat of the Holy Roman Empire. The author claims that the Cherkassy (Cossacks) have their settlements on the Dnieper south of Kyiv, the center of which was in the 10-20s. XVI century was the city of Cherkasy. It is noted here that «there are no Christian settlements south of Cherkasy» [Gerbershtein, 1988: 185]. Touching on the geographical position of Ukraine, S. Gerbershtein provides concise information about the Dnipro, Dniester and Don, information about Tataria (Black Sea Steppes), Crimea [Pirko, 1991: 46-47]. He also informs about the Donetsk Cossacks who were on guard duty here [Pirko, 2004: 27].

If S. Gerbershtein's information is more about the Left Bank of the Dnieper, then the «Diary» of M. Lytvyn, who traveled around Ukraine in 1550, is more about the Right Bank. The author describes rapids and crossings on the Middle Dnieper and its use for trade from the Northern Black Sea coast to Kyiv [Pirko, 1991: 49-50]. The Polish King Sigismund II (1548-1572) ordered the surveyors of the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to pay special attention to the discovery of the remains of ancient settlements. According to Lytvyn, in the middle of the XVI-th century traces of the ancient fortifications of Kremenchuk, Upsk (?), Geberdiyivy Rog

(Keliberdy), Myshuryny Rog, Kichkas, Tavani, Burgun (the village of Burgunka on the Dnieper, near the road from Kherson to Berislav), Tyagini [Pirko, 2004: 22].

Until the XVI-th century refers to the relationship between the Western ambassadors and the papal nuncio from Warsaw – Carlo Gamberini, who in 1587 submitted a «Note on what benefits can be gained from an alliance with the Cossacks in the event of a war with Turkey». It states that «Cossacks ... thrive on the sea. They have all kinds of boats and go on expeditions to the Black Sea lands on them» [Pirko, 1991: 54]. From the notes of L. Miller, Duke of Courland (1585), we can learn about the Black Sea steppes: «The grass there grows so high and so thick that it is impossible to drive on it in a cart: the grass tangles the wheels and prevents the cart from moving» [Pirko, 1991: 55]. The notes of foreign travelers about Steppe Ukraine contain a lot of valuable information about the territory, climate, flora, fauna, etc. Everyone describes nature in their own way, depending on the purpose of their trip. But it should be noted that these descriptions are important as a source from the history of the material culture of that time.

An important source of the researched problem is the «Diary» of the ambassador of the Austrian emperor Rudolf II Erich Lasota, who was in Zaporozhye Sich in June 1594. It describes the journey from Kyiv to Sich. First he sailed along the Dnieper River, then along the Chortomlytskyi Dniprosh, then on the Pidpilnaya River, from Pidpilnaya along the Sandalka River, from Sandalka along its arm Verkhniy Laptka, then in the Bazavluk River to the «Island of Bazavluka near the Chortomlytskyi Dniprosh». Returning from Sichi, E. Lyasota notes that before crossing the Sura, Domotkan and Samotkan rivers «... the steppe is completely open, not a single tree can be seen anywhere» Pogrebyshche, Proskuriv [Pirko, 1991: 60]. This shows that from the middle of the XVI-th century on the Right Bank, the area between the Rosa, Tyasmin and Vysa rivers was most actively settled. Unfortunately, E. Lyasota's «Diary» was published in German only in 1854, so it did not become a source of information and an integral part of European knowledge about Ukraine for its time.

In Jean de Luc, who traveled around 1625, we find a description of the Black Sea and Azov coasts. His notes were first published around 1663-1672 [Pirko, 1991: 64].

The author of unique historical, geographical and ethnographic evidence about the South of Ukraine in the XVII-th century. French military engineer and cartographer Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan is considered. He was busy with the construction of Novy Konetspol (1634), Kremenchuk (1634-35), Kodak (1635) and the military camp in Starka (1638). In 1639, he participated in the reconstruction of Kodak, which was destroyed in August 1635 by the Sulima Cossacks. He was involved in the founding of 50 slobids in the Ukrainian steppes [Beauplan, 1991: 18,20]. Boplan gives the number of Cossacks in the 30s of the XVI-th century – 120 thousand; notes that they even reached the mouth of the Black Sea. The author highlights the reasons for the settlement of Southern Ukraine by refugee peasants [Beauplan, 1991: 24, 28], notes the geographical position (1630s) of the cities and towns of Borovytsia, Buzhyn, Voronivka, Chigyryna, Dibrovy, Krylov. Kremenchuk (1635) is presented as «the last city, because the uninhabited region stretches on» [Beauplan, 1991: 34]. The rivers Psel, Omelnyk, Oril, Domotkan, Samara, Chortomlyk, Kinsky Vody, Dnipro, Bug, Don are described in detail. Information about rapids, islands and crossings on the Dnieper has not lost its scientific significance even today [Beauplan, 1991: 34-44]. The everyday life, crafts and crafts of the Cossacks also deserve attention. Boplan, using the results of his measurements, created the first overview map of Ukraine in 1639. And in 1662 he published a map of the lower Dnieper in Amsterdam. Unlike «Schodennyk» by E. Lyasota, the work of G.L. de Boplana was published in 1651, again in 1660 and 1673. The work aroused the interest of contemporaries because in the world of events of the Liberation War of 1648-1654 in France and other countries of Western Europe, interest in Ukraine grew.

The ambassador of Venice, Alberto Vimina, visited B. Khmelnytskyi in 1650 and left a handwritten «Relation» about the origin and customs of the Cossacks. Interesting are his testimonies about crafts: carpentry, carpentry, weaving, weaving [Pirko, 1991: 79].

Information about defense construction in the South in the middle of the XVII-th century we find in the «Diary» of the Syrian Archdeacon Pavel of Aleppo, who traveled in Ukraine in

1654 and 1656. About the fortifications of cities, he reports: «... definitely triple wooden walls, well maintained. Nazverhnya closes the attack of cavalry. The other two, with moats between them, are in the middle of the city. There must be a fortress and cannons everywhere...» [Pirko, 1991: 84]. The city of Chigyrin is described in detail. Alepskyi calls it a castle, the land around it – space and large marshes.

In 1656-1657, German pastor Konrad Jakob Hildebrandt accompanied the Swedish embassy of G. Welling to Chigyrin. He described his journey in his memoirs «Travel Notes» (1668). However, the author provides information only about the southern border of the Hetmanship – Chigyrin, about the Zaporizhia Cossacks it is stated that they are conquerors and «live in large numbers above the Dnieper in a special place» [Pirko, 1991: 95].

The Turkish traveler Evliy Chelebi in his «Book of Travels» visits the Dnipro region after the death of Khmelnytskyi in October-November 1657. He made his last trip to Ukraine in 1660, passing from Kosh Zaporizhia to Nizhyn, then to Berdychev on the Right Bank, from there via Kodak – to the Crimea. There are many inaccuracies in the chronology of events and names in the book. But the descriptions of Ukrainian fortresses, in particular – Chygyrin and Kodak, arouse interest.

In the second half of the XVII-th century various travel books appear, like modern tourist guides, in which the South of Ukraine is mentioned. In 1687, «Cyaneae» was published in Habsburg. It contains rare engravings of the Kodak fortress, Perekop, Ochakov bridges, drawings of flora and fauna, as well as information about the Cossacks and their expeditions to the Black Sea and Azov [Pirko, 1991: 117-118].

From the second half of the XVII-th century, and especially from the XVIII-th century, the works of foreigners who wrote about Ukraine are quite numerous. Information about Steppe Ukraine can be found in Johann Georg Korb's book «Diary Compiled in Moscovia», published in Vienna in 1700. Engravings of fortifications and cities of the Azov region (Azov, Taganrog), as well as maps and plans of the mouth of the Don, Taganrog, and the Sea of Azov have scientific value for research [Pirko, 1991: 124,128].

In 1731, Voltaire's work «History of Charles XII» was published in Rouen. The author defined the territory of Ukraine, as well as its southern part: «between the Crimean Khan, Muscovy, and Poland... The northernmost part is managed and rich. The southern part, lying at 48°, is one of the most fertile countries in the world, but at the same time it is the largest desert» [Pirko, 1991: 153].

Among the works of Western European historiography of the second half of the XVIII-th century the description of academician Johann Anton Gildenstedt's travels to Central Ukraine and the Azov region in 1774-1775 deserves attention. The author paid attention to the colonization of Southern Ukraine by foreigners. The information that «in addition to Ukrainians, various colonists also lived in Ukraine: Bulgarians settled above Ingulets, in the Dmitrivka basin. There were about 1,500 of them there... They lived separately from the local population...» [Vintonyak, 1995: 52]. According to Gyldenstedt, near the Sviatohirsky monastery on Dinka, there are neighbors living in the slobodas, mostly Russians who came here from Belgorod and Voronezh provinces to work in the salt mines. Their taxation system is presented. It is noted that the composition included: children of Russian boyars, soldiers, Don Cossacks, Poles and others. They were subordinated directly to the state Russian government. When the threat from the Nogai and Crimean Tatars became irrelevant, they were transferred to peasant status [Vintonyak, 1995: 53].

The author describes the mechanism of the creation of New Serbia and Slavic Serbia in 1751 by Serbian colonists, and later by Bulgarians, Vlachs, Moldavians, and Hungarians [Vintonyak, 1995: 54-55].

It is noteworthy that almost all foreign travelers of the second half of the XVIII-th century noted a more developed economy in Ukraine than in Russia: there was the development of horology, shoemaking, textile industry, agriculture and other industries. Trade was at a fairly high level, and the all-Ukrainian market was expanding. At the same time, it contributed to the settlement and development of the territory in the South, the construction of cities and villages.

The Englishman Edward Danilets Clerk, professor of mineralogy at Cambridge University, who traveled in 1800-1801 from St. Petersburg to the Crimea and to Odessa, collecting information of strategic importance, left a description of ports and other structures that were potential military objects [Vintonyak, 1995: 61]. Described as rebuilt in the second half of the XVIII-th century Taganrog According to his data, 15 nationalities lived in the city, including the Black Sea Cossacks, who completely preserved their mentality from the time of living on the Dnieper. The author mentions Kherson and Mykolaiv, indicating the dates of their founding in 1778. There are inaccuracies regarding the founding of Odessa. The clerk cites 1789 as the year of the destruction of the fortress and the Tatar settlement of Hajibey by Admiral Ribas during the Russo-Turkish wars. It is stated that a military harbor was built in this city, and Khadzhibey was renamed Odessa. But the exact year of foundation is not provided by the author.

After the treaty of 1774 between Russia and Turkey, such cities as Katerynoslav and Mariupol in 1776 grew in the South of Ukraine. In his notes, Doctor of Medicine Johann Wilhelm Miller, who in 1787 visited the vicinity of the Sluchi River, the Dnipro, the city of Kremenchuk and reached Kherson, provides information about the way new cities were built in Steppe Ukraine: «The new cities are sprawling, have wide streets and large square footage for the market. The streets are lined with trees – lindens, poplars. These cities did not have a defensive character, they were not surrounded by walls, ramparts or ditches. In addition to the old ones, the new cities of Kryliv and Katerynoslav were built in this way» [Vintonyak, 1995: 70].

Descriptions of the cities were left to us by Guildenstedt. Considering the historical past, Chigyrin describes: «Chigyrin, once the capital of the Cossack hetmans, is now a small town with 50 houses and two old, leaning churches. Not a single trace remained of fortresses and stone buildings...» [Vintonyak, 1995: 73]. He describes a number of cities that were founded in the XVIII-th century: Pavlovsk, Berdyansk, he mentions the Semenovsk fortress (Mius district). The author provides information about the food industry in the South (the process of preserving fish, extracting salt from salt lakes, the work of tanneries, etc.). It is indicated that the Russian administration settled the uninhabited steppes of the Black Sea with Don Cossacks. But there is information about Ukrainian settlements near Taganrog along the defensive line on the Mius River, while the differences between the Zaporizhia Cossacks and the Don Cossacks (housing, tools of labor) are presented. By order of the Moscow government, the Kalmius river was declared the border between the Don and Zaporozhian Cossacks, but the author claims that before the war with the Turks, the Zaporozhians had farms as far as the Mius. Gyldenstedt described the flora and fauna of the Berdyansk spit and marked the trade routes to the Alexander fortress on the Dnieper, from there to Bakhmut [Pirko, 1991: 163-167]. Communication at that time was difficult due to the lack of attractive land roads.

The diagram of the location of fortifications and settlements of Steppe Ukraine has not lost its scientific value. The author is Semenivska fortress (Mius district); to the west of the rivers Berda and Kinsky Vody stood Petrivska, Zakharivska, Hryhorivska, Mykytivska, and on the left bank of the Dnieper opposite Khortytsia Island – the Oleksandrivska fortress. It should be noted that Guildenstedt between Zakharivska and Hryhorivska fortresses does not indicate the existence of Oleksandrivska and Kyrilivska. In the Elizavetgrad province, the author describes the fortresses of Yanivska, Elizavetgrad, Fedorivna, and Novomyrhorod. According to Gyldenstedt, fortifications were built in the eastern, southeastern, and southwestern lands of Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukraine, built in impregnable places – on high river banks, over cliffs, and in forests [Vintonyak, 1995: 76].

Villages, settlements and farms were mostly located above rivers. Houses were built of wood. But there were villages surrounded by ramparts of a defensive nature. Thus, on the right bank of the Dnieper, near the Samara River, there were villages of married Cossacks: Polovetske, Stary Kodak, Novy Kodak, Kamenske, Romankove, Pushkarivka, Gelenivka, Voloske. And to the east of the Dnieper, on the left bank, the villages: Novy Siltse (Nova Samara or Novoselitsa), Mongelivka, Kaminske, Sokolske, Blagradovka, Revenivka, Popivka, Vasylkove, Polkivets, Sudivka, Pashkivka, Shulgivka, Poluvashenka, Korelivka, Petrivka, Borysoglibska fortress, Fedorivska, Kislovodska and others [Vintonyak, 1995: 76-77]. The author also mentions the

settlements of Velichivka and Pyshchivka near Kryukovo, Galaganivka above Tyasmin, Soldatska sloboda, Gretska, Polkova on the right bank of Ingula, Karabina, Verblyushka, etc. Podorozhnyi lists many hamlets, without identifying them with the villages that were scattered along the Kaidachy road and which administratively belonged to Kremenchuk.

Guildenstedt devoted a significant part of his travel notes to the economy of Steppe Ukraine. It was noted, for example, that in Donetsk region the land is still plowed with a plow in some places. He mentions the Chumaks, described their trade in the Crimea and the prices of goods. It was noted that the salt brought from the Crimea was not enough for the entire population, so there were furnaces for salting in Bakhmut, Tora and Donetsk region [Vintonyak, 1995: 78, 84]. In his notes, Guildenstedt describes the areas of Southern Ukraine where there were churches and monasteries, for example, Sviatohirsky [Vintonyak, 1995: 89]. A prominent place in Western European Ukrainian women of the last third of the XVIII-th century belongs to the French diplomat in St. Petersburg, representative of Enlightenment historiography Jean-Benoit Scherer. In 1788, his work «Annals of «Malorossia» or History of the Zaporizhzhya and Ukrainian Cossacks» was published. The work was first published in Ukrainian in 1994. It should be noted that the work is entirely devoted to the history of Ukraine. When writing it, the author used numerous sources, mostly Ukrainian, but there are obvious exaggerations. In «General information about Ukraine...» we read about the South of Ukraine: «Beyond its (meaning «Malorossia») borders as far as the Black Sea lies a desert plain, bounded on one side by the Danube, and on the other by the Lyman, or the Meotid swamp. The whole plain is covered with a wide variety of grasses... And the grasses here are so tall that a rider and his horse can easily hide in them». Information about the rivers Samara, Tatarka, Vovcha, Molochna, Kinska, Sukha and Velika Moskovka, Bilozerka, Rohachyk and the fortifications along them were valuable for the research. The author notes twelve rapids on the Dnieper, describes the rivers that flowed into it. The history of the Zaporizhia Cossacks, their settlements, social and political system, customs, and daily life are presented in the first volume of the work. Active colonization by the Russian government since the end of the XVIII-th century is described. Black Sea steppes, the middle course of the Dnieper and the area of the Molochnaya River.

Thus, in the XVI-XVIII centuries, there were no special studies of foreign historiography devoted to the problem of settlement of Steppe Ukraine. Individual details of the colonization of the Middle and Lower reaches of the Dnieper, the Black Sea and the Azov region are mostly contained in the notes of foreigners. Despite the subjective position of the authors and their assessments, factual evidence and considerations deserve a balanced analysis. It is still relevant to compare the notes of foreigners with other sources and to use them in highlighting the problem of settlement and development of the South of Ukraine in the XVI-th–XVIII-th centuries.

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უკრაინის სამხრეთი XVI-XVIII საუკუნეებში უცხოელების ცნობებში

აბსტრაქტი

სტატიაში გამოქვეყნებულია უცხოელი ავტორების ძირითადი ნაშრომები (ს. გერბერშტეინი, მ. ლიტვინი, ე. ლიასოტა, გ. ბოპლანი, კ. შევალიე, კ. გილდებრანტი, პ. ალეფსკი, ა. ვიმინა, ჰ. ეილერი, ი. გილდენშტედტი, ი. მილერი, ჯ.-ბ შერერი) გაანალიზებულია. სტატია მკითხველის ყურადღებას ამახვილებს XVI-XVIII საუკუნეებში სტეპური უკრაინის დასახლების პროცესისა და მასში უკრაინელი ხალხის როლის აღწერაზე. დამოუკიდებელი უკრაინის სახელმწიფოს ჩამოყალიბების პროცესს ეთნოპოლიტიკური პრობლემები აქვს. ამ პრობლემების გადასაწყვეტად ავტორებმა გაანალიზეს უკრაინელების როლი უკრაინის სამხრეთის დასახლებასა და განვითარებაში XVI-XVIII საუკუნეებში. სტატიაში ხაზგასმულია, რომ ბევრი რუსი, თათარი, ბერძენი და სხვა ადამიანი მონაწილეობდა უკრაინული ეთნიკური ჯგუფის ჩამოყალიბებაში. კვლევის საგანია უცხოელი ავტორების სხვადასხვა წყარო. ავტორები იკვლევენ უცხოელი ავტორების ძირითად ნაშრომებს (მონოგრაფიები, გამოკვლევები, სამოგზაურო ჩანაწერები, წერილები, მოხსენებები და ა.შ.). ამ წყაროების ძირითადი თავისებურებებია: ქრონოლოგიური ბუნება; ავტორები საეჭვო ვარაუდს გამოთქვამენ, რომ მას აქვს მხატვრული ნაწარმოების ელემენტები; ბევრ მათგანს არ აქვს მეცნიერული ბუნება. უკრაინის სამხრეთი არის ტერიტორია, რომელიც ესაზღვრება რუსეთის ფედერაციის სახელმწიფო საზღვარს აღმოსავლეთით; ისეთ მდინარეებზე, როგორიცაა სივერსკი დონეცი, ორილი და ტიასმინი ჩრდილოეთით, მდინარეები სინჯუხა და კოდიმა და მოლდოვის სახელმწიფო საზღვარი დასავლეთში. სახელმწიფოს ჩამოყალიბებასთან დაკავშირებული თანამედროვე პრობლემების ზოგიერთი ეთნოპოლიტიკური ასპექტი შეიძლება გადაწყდეს მეცნიერული ანალიზით, რომელიც გამოიყენება უკრაინელი ერის როლზე XVI-XVIII სს-ის პერიოდში მისი ტერიტორიის დასახლებასა და განვითარებაში კონკრეტულად სამხრეთ უკრაინაში.

საკვანძო სიტყვები: უკრაინის სამხრეთი XVI-XVIII სს. მოგზაური უცხოელების შენიშვნები; სამხრეთ უკრაინის დასახლება; ეთნიკური პოლიტიკა.