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**PHENOMENON OF HETMANATE IN CONTEXT
OF EUROPEAN PRESS: IVAN MAZEPA
AND UKRAINE ON PAGES OF FRENCH-
LANGUAGE GAZETTE D’AMSTERDAM IN 1708**

The purpose of the research. The analysis of the formation of the image of Ukraine-Hetmanship in the European information space of the 18th century through the reports on the pages of the French-language edition *Gazette d’Amsterdam* (1708). **Methodology.** The research is based on the interdisciplinary approach, which allows reconstruction of the content of the newspaper reports and evaluation of the impact of this information on the image of Ukraine in Europe: *identification and classification of historical sources* (46 newspaper reports for 1708 that cover events in Ukraine); *linguistic analysis* (description of the peculiarities of the use of Ukrainian onyms); *critical and contextual analysis of the texts* (assessment of the political and social accents of that time, factual content, possible political manipulations, propaganda components, etc.) with *elements of quantitative analysis* (accounting for the frequency of key concepts and their chrono-



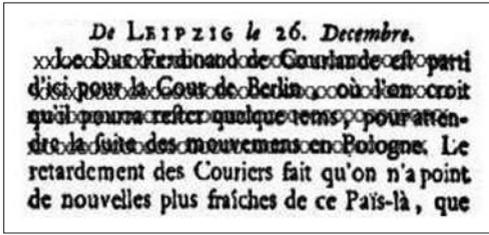
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logical distribution, etc.). **Scientific novelty.** The research for the first time revealed the informative possibilities of the French-language mass media source *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, 1708, in covering military and political events in Ukraine-Hetmanship. From a historical point of view, it is demonstrated that in the European press of the beginning of the 18th century Ukraine was considered as a geographical region and as a political entity with the strategic importance. The role of Ukrainian Cossacks and Hetman Ivan Mazepa in international politics is highlighted. The media tools for constructing the image of Ukraine at the beginning of the 18th century are demonstrated. In a philological sense, the use of proper names (*Ukraine*, *Kiowie*/*Kiovie*, *Dnieper*/*Dniper*, *Boristhene*/*Boristene*, *Cosaques*, etc.) is analyzed in the military-political context, which outlines the evolution of theseonyms in the international information space. **Conclusions.** The Ukrainian events of 1708 have been covered for the first time due to the materials of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*. The role of Ivan Mazepa and Ukrainian Cossacks in the international discourse is revealed. The formation of the “image of Ukraine” in the Western press of the 18th century is analyzed. Geographical centers for the dissemination of the information about Ukraine were established and it was traced how it circulated in the European space.

Key words: the French-language *Gazette d'Amsterdam* (1708), formation of the image of Ukraine, Ukraine-Hetmanship, Hetman Ivan Mazepa, Ukrainian Cossacks.

The relevance of the research topic is determined by several important components. First, global interest in the history of information and its role in the formation of public opinion. The study of the European newspapers of the 18th century, in particular the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, allows us to analyze the mechanisms of creating international informational narratives regarding Ukraine and its place in the world at that time. The study broadens the understanding of the informational discourse of the 18th century Europe regarding the events of the Great Northern War and Ukraine's role in it. The analysis of a unique French-language source of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, allows to reconstruct how the European press perceived Hetman Ivan Mazepa, the Cossack. This not only complements the historical picture of the war of 1700—1721, but also traces how the image of Ukraine was formed in the European information space. In the Ukrainian realities in 1708—1709 a key event took place that radically influenced the course of history: the change in the political orientations of the Cossack elite and the transition of Hetman Ivan Mazepa from Russian protection to the side of the Swedish king Charles XII. For several decades, this event was banned for any study or was distorted in Russian and Soviet historiography. The main contribution of the work consists in the introduction of the documentary materials into scientific circulation. They were not previously used in Ukrainian historiography. Since the European media played a key role in the dissemination of political information, the study provides a new dimension in the international perception of Ukrainian events in the 18th century. Secondly, today the events of 1708—1709 acquire special importance in the context of Russia's aggression against Ukraine and the reinterpretation of European history, therefore the importance of the source proposed for consideration is obvious.



Pic. 1. No. II. De Leipzig le 26. Decembre

of the 18th century and the mechanisms of forming political narratives about Ukraine and establishes the role of Ukraine in the European information space of the 18th century. This aspect of the study is particularly important in the context of modern research on information warfare and propaganda, as it allows us to understand how political narratives regarding Ukraine were formed in European journalism.

The analysis of research and publications confirms the interdisciplinary interest of the scholars in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* as a valuable source for historical, philological and political research on the events of the 17—18th centuries.

French-language periodicals of the 17th and 18th centuries played a significant role in the formation of journalism and the dissemination of information in Europe. *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, also known as *Gazette d'Hollande*, *Nouvelles d'Amsterdam*, is one of the most important European newspapers, which covered international political news and in the 18th century allowed the formation of different versions of political realities. Serving as a source of the relatively independent political information, it was published in Amsterdam in French, which was the language of European diplomacy at the time. This newspaper, which provided much more detailed and less censored messages compared to the official French press, was read by European elites. In the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, dedicated to current events, news from the correspondents was published, which, in fact, resembles the messages of modern news agencies.

It is determined that the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* was actually the part of the European diplomatic information system of the 18th century, acting as a mediator between different states, shaping the international agenda and promoting mutual understanding of political and social processes [37].

The *Gazette d'Amsterdam* was founded in 1690 in Holland and became one of the most influential publications of its time, promptly covering events in Eastern Europe and disseminating (and receiving) information through a network of diplomatic and military correspondents and commercial agents. Her materials, albeit with a certain delay (1—2 weeks), still provided readers with the information about the situation in Ukraine. Sometimes the untimely arrival of couriers caused delay (Pic. 1) or absence (Pic. 2) of the publication of newspaper materials. (Note: in order to quickly identify the source and reduce nonessential infor-

The research is relevant both for Ukrainian history and for European media studies, as it reveals the mechanisms of formation of Ukraine's image in the international context and demonstrates the connection between history, journalism and diplomacy. The research demonstrates the European information processes

Extrait des lettres de SAXE le 4. Juillet.

„Suivant les lettres de Pologne, le Grand General de la Couronne persiste à ne vouloir pas s'accommoder avec le Roi Stanislas: Il a même preferé d'envoier quelques Députez au General Mazepa, pour lui demander un secours de 10000. Cosaques, qui sont déjà arrivez en Volhinie. Le mal contagieux qui continuë dans plusieurs Lieux en Pologne, interrompt la correspondance & le commerce: Cette miëre s'augmente considerablement par la disette, & par la défolation de plusieurs Provinces.

Pic. 2. No. LV. Extrait des lettres de Saxe le 4. Juillet

mation, only the number of the newspaper, the date and the city will be indicated. The bibliographic reference number is given in the text). So, for example, the newspaper wrote in January 1708 “...*LE RETARDEMENT DES COURIERS FAIT QU'ON N'A POINT DE NOUVELLES PLUS FRAÎCHES DE CE PAÏS-LÀ...*” (The delay of couriers leads to the fact that there is almost no fresh messages from this country) [21], or after six months “...*LE MAL CONTAQIEUX QUI CONTINUË DANS PLUSIEURS LIEUX EN POLOGNE, INTERROMPT LA CORRESPONDENCE & LE COMMERCE...*” (The trouble is that the contagion, which continues in several places in Poland, interferes with correspondence and trade) [36].

These reports of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, promptly publishing news about events in Eastern Europe, shaped the perception of the Hetmanate.

The publication had a systematic format of news submission (firstly, a review of news by geographical principle and, secondly, additional materials in the form of analytics, comments and letters *Suite des nouvelles d'Amsterdam*). It is important that thanks to the relatively free press conditions in Holland, the newspaper covered events without strict censorship, unlike the French or Russian press.

This edition preserves important historical and cultural aspects, including the Ukrainian trace, which should make it the object of many scientific studies, since the analysis of these materials makes it possible to reconstruct the key political events and diplomatic strategies of the specified period. Even at the beginning of the 21st century, it was difficult to see the complete collection of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, as its individual copies are literally scattered and are in the library archives of different countries, which greatly complicates its continuous research. In Ukraine, information about the availability of original copies of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* is limited. It is known that at least part of the issues of this newspaper for the years 1708—1710 are stored in the funds of the Scientific Library of the Odesa National I.I. Mechnikov University.

In the popularization of the French part of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* collection, collected by the employees of the archives of the political departments of Versailles, invaluable were the merits of Pierre Rézat (died 2018), who co-authored with Anne-Marie Eaux, and described the leading and authoritative European “political” newspaper, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* (1691 to 1792), as the most

60 important part of the Foreign Ministry Library collection. Handwritten letters accompanying most of the copies reflecting the work of the ministry [32] are of special value to the collection. Pierre Rétat's bibliographic research made it possible to identify and collect a significant part of the scattered issues of the newspaper, which are now stored in the collections of the National Library of France (BnF) and on the website "Presse 18. Les gazettes européennes du 18e siècle" [43; 44].

In May 1992, the international round table "Les Gazettes Europeennes de langue française (XVIIe — XVIIIe siècles)" was held, where Hans Bots described the most detailed edition of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* from 1688 till 1699 [27]. In the results of the round table, it was stated that a complete description of all French-language periodicals that circulated in the world is possible "when the libraries of Russia, Ukraine and Baltics will, we hope, be more famous" [42, p. 328].

In 2002, Pierre Rétat co-authored with Jeanne-Marie Métivier and Laurent Portes and the Guide to European Francophone Newspapers was published by the National Library of France [61]. This catalogue brings together 80 periodicals stored in 221 libraries and archives in 19 European countries and 17 libraries in the United States. Later Pierre Rétat with his colleagues Daniel Roux and Pascale Ferrand with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France and in cooperation with the Oxford Voltaire Foundation (la Voltaire Foundation d'Oxford) carried out "Collection des gazettes de langue française des XVIe et XVIIIe siècles. Gazette d'Amsterdam 1691—1796", Oxford, VF, et CNRS / U. Lyon 2, 2000) (12 CDs with 78,000 pages in image mode for the years 1691—1796). It should be noted that these three researchers jointly published the fourth volume (1724—1733), the ninth volume (1768—1776), the tenth volume (1777—1782), the eleventh volume (1783—1788), and the twelfth volume (1789—1796) in electronic form. [64; 65; 66; 67; 68]. Seven parts were published by Daniel Roux: the first volume (1691—1702), the second volume (1703—1714), the third volume (1715—1723), the fifth volume (1733—1742), the sixth volume (1743—1751), the seventh volume 7 (1752—1759), the eighth volume (1760—1767) [69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75].

The complete collection of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* has been reproduced on the basis of microfilms provided by eight libraries that allowed their copies to be microfilmed by delicately agreeing to copyright issues: Library of the Ministry of Art, Foreign Affairs of France, National Archives of France, State Archives of Naples, The Public Library of the University of Geneva, the Municipal Library of Grenoble, the Library of the Institut de France, the Mazarin Library, the Sainte-Genevieve Library. At the first stage, the researchers had some difficulties, which was caused by the impossibility of directly digitizing the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, because these actions lead to damage to rare documents.

If earlier in the 20th century the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* remained a little-researched and little-known source, now its complete corpus (from 1690 to 1796) is digitized on the website "Presse 18. Les gazettes européennes du 18e siècle", which

digitizes the European newspapers of the 18th century [43, 44], allowing a thorough content analysis. On the specified site [43, 44] in 2021, the five largest newspapers of the time were presented in the digitized form *Gazette de Leyde*, *Courrier d'Avignon*, *Gazette de Nice*, *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, *Gazette de Copenague*, in 2025 it expanded significantly (5 more newspapers were added, including *Gazette de Delft*, *Courrier français en Italie*, *Nouvelles récentes*, *Gazette d'Utrecht*, *Le Déjeûné* [44]). In 2021, a database contained 31,648 pages of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, covering 47 years of the newspaper publishing (1700—1704, 1713, 1718—1720, 1723, 1733, 1743, 1753, 1763—1796). Today, in 2025 scientists have received unprecedented access to the complete corpus of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* [39]. According to Stefania Manni, the work connects the culture and history of a bygone era with modern information media [45].

According to Pierre Réat, a comprehensive study of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* testifies to the importance of this printed edition “not only in the field of public political information, but also in the field of activity of the state apparatus in France” [41, p. 3.]. In the study made by Pierre Réat, all aspects of the functioning of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* (1691—1796) are described, which allowed to make a cultural and political section of the general history from the end of the 17th century to the end of the 18th century. Stefania Manni points out that the collection of the texts of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* in French, distributed throughout Europe, is a valuable resource for researchers, both historians and linguists: politics, science and art, journalistic discourse. All topics of the world history are touched upon by the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* almost constantly; the same event can be shown from different angles, with the help of news coming from different places and information sources [45].

Thus, François Cadilhon, based on the texts of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, examined some aspects of the Hungarian War of Independence [28]; Sergueï Mézine focused on the messages from the French-language newspapers (including the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*) covering the visit of Peter I to France (April 21 — June 24, 1717), which, according to the author, “along with the official travel journal and memoirs are a valuable source that allows us to reconstruct the main events of the visit, as well as its perception by European society, primarily in French” [51].

Among the important publications, in addition to the above-mentioned authors Pierre Réat, Hans Bots, Anne-Marie Eaux, François Cadilhon, Pascale Ferrand, Daniel Roux, Sergueï Mézine, Jeanne-Marie Métivier, Laurent Portes, Stefania Manni, we also note articles by Robert Favre, Diana Cooper Richet, Caroline Rimbault, Javier Díaz Noci, Anne-Marie Mercier-Faivre, Mairi McLaughlin, Véronique Sarrazin, Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau et Kees van Strien, Megumi Shichijo, Paul Ries.

From a historical and linguistic point of view, the works of Mairi McLaughlin are attractive. In the article “La représentation de l'oral dans la *Gazette*

62 d'Amsterdam à la fin du XVIIIe siècle" [46] special attention is paid to the description of the elements of oral reporting discourse, including the dialogical one. The author concludes that oral speech is, without a doubt, represented in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, but much less often than in modern newspapers. However, this phenomenon deserves the attention of the linguists who study oral speech, the specifics of journalistic discourse, or the peculiarities of language evolution. In the following article, Mairi McLaughlin, based on three news periodicals (journaux d'actualité) of the 17th and 18th centuries (one of which is the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*), analyzes the role of the press in shaping the ideology and linguistic attitudes of the period, comparing the metalinguistic discourse of the press of with two other types of texts: classic books and modern periodicals [47]. Mairi McLaughlin noted that quite often the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* publishes the results of the activities of the French Academy. The researcher believes that the important place given to information about the French Academy in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* can be seen as an effort to give legitimacy to this language institution. And, since the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* has spread beyond France, the actions of its publishers can be recognized as contributing to the strengthening of the mission of language regulation and standardization of the French Academy in other European countries [47].

In turn, we note that the active promotion of the educational work of the French Academy in European countries, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the undoubted popularity of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* led to the fact that in the first five editions of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (first (1694), second (1718), third (1740), fourth (1762), fifth (1798) r.) when semanticizing lexeme as an illustrative example (next to *Gazette de France*) it used a variant name *Gazette de Hollande* [40]. In subsequent editions of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, the variant hemeronym *Gazette de Hollande* does not appear in the explanations.

One of Anne-Marie Mercier-Faivre's articles is dedicated to Louis Mandrin (1725—1755), whose name is still known today. As you know, as a result of the collapse of the family business and the death of his father, Mandren, forced to engage in smuggling, headed the most famous gang of that time. The betrayal of gang members led to Mandren's arrest in the spring of 1755 and his death sentence on May 26, 1755. However, during the trial, Mandren's popularity became national; the author reflects on the duality of the description of Mandren's actions in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, which gradually led to the formation of the image of a national hero [48]. In another article, after studying and comparing issues of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* from January 1720 to August 1721, Anne-Marie Mercier-Faivre claims that Western ideas about the East found an unexpected response in the press of that period [50].

In a collection devoted to the history of the French language as a foreign language, Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau et Kees van Strien repeatedly cite the

Gazette d'Amsterdam when describing the teaching activities of Étienne-Bernard de Villemart (1724—1799) [78].

References to the reports of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* exist in the work of Robert Favre regarding the description of the relations of the famous French lawyer, writer and political thinker of the 18th century Charles Louis de Montesquieu with a periodical press [38].

Caroline Rimbault explores the development of the women's press in the 18th century France and emphasizes that the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* report of 10 October 1710 is the key source for the study of the origins of the women's press in French: it confirms the existence of the *Nouveau Mercure Galant des Cours de l'Europe*, the first magazine written by a woman, Mme Dunoyer. So, it was in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* that the first attempts of women to join publishing activities and create an alternative to the dominantly male journalism of that time were recorded [63].

In an article devoted to the French-speaking press of North and South America in the 19th century, Diana Cooper Richet recalls the existence, distribution and importance of European French-language newspapers of the XVIII century, first of all, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* [29].

Véronique Sarrazin [76] examines the peculiarities of the distribution of military information during the war in the first half of the 18th century in correspondence and diaries. The author emphasizes that since 1720 until the end of the 1730s, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* was the only official in France; during the War of the Austrian Succession, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* was the most widespread (500 copies), but nevertheless increased its circulation. It is this edition that is most often mentioned in the notes of prominent figures of that time (Montesquieu, Marais, Bouhier, etc.). The *Gazette d'Amsterdam* did not provide a uniform vision of events, it published information coming from different states and, therefore, different warring parties. For example, in the edition of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* for May 31, 1734, four articles were published about the passage through the Po by imperial troops on the night of May 1—2: from Ferrare (Ferrare), May 5; from Mantoue (Mantoue), May 5; from Vienna on May 8; from Paris, May 14. Sometimes excessive or contraversial, these articles are collated, without synthesis and hierarchy of information; that is, information about the same event is offered from different sources, which ensures its reliability. However, emphasis is placed on the Paris article: it is in the central position in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*. That is, on the one hand, *Gazette d'Amsterdam* was perceived by its name as a foreign bulletin, on the other it emphasized the information taken from the official schemes of France.

So, as mentioned above, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* occupied an important place in the European information space, as it neutrally covered current political and diplomatic events, which made it popular among the French elite, including government officials. It also contained numerous advertisements that reflected

64 the economic and cultural ties between the countries. In addition, the publication also contained notes of a private nature (*faits divers*), which allows it to be considered as a comprehensive source on the history of culture and social processes of that time.

In this context, Megurni Shichijo's original study [77], devoted to the analysis of music advertisements published in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* in the years 1695—1720, deserves attention. Using statistical and philological approaches, the author studies the mechanisms of distribution of musical works in the Netherlands and France during the Ancien Régime period. Literary, medical, commercial and musical publications were advertised in the newspaper. The share of music ads was about 7% of the total number of ads. The main types of music advertisements were: advertisements of music publications (73%); announcements about theatrical performances (17%); sale of musical instruments (4%); ads for private music lessons (4%). One of the key areas of music advertising in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* was the promotion of opera performances. The announcements reported on (premieres) of opera productions (*Armide*, *Atys*, *Thésée*) in the cities of the Netherlands, in particular in The Hague and Amsterdam, place and time of performances, ticket prices and subscription conditions. In addition, the announcements contained information about directors, producers and actors. It was revealed that the French operas of J.-B. Lully, as well as the works of other composers, were actively performed in Protestant countries, despite political and religious differences. For example, in 1701, the opera *Armide* by Jean-Baptiste Lully was scheduled to be performed in The Hague. Due to Protestant opposition, the production was in danger of being banned, but a massive advertising campaign helped to increase public interest and attract its attention, which testifies to the effectiveness of marketing strategies in the belly field of the period. A study of musical advertisements in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* demonstrates that the printed press played a key role in the dissemination of musical works in Europe in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, welcoming the development of sheet music printing and the formation of an international music market. The *Gazette d'Amsterdam* acted as a transnational communication channel, facilitating the distribution of musical novelties between France, the Netherlands and other European countries. The analysis of the announcements confirms the active circulation of the French music in the Netherlands, due to political and economic connections. In addition, the change in the social structure of the music audience contributed to the spread of music among the wealthy bourgeoisie, which formed a new type of listener and performer of the music lover. So the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* not only contributed popularization of French opera outside of France, in particular in Protestant countries, but also stimulated the democratization of musical culture, turning music into an integral part of the cultural leisure of the urban population. Thus, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* is a unique historical source that allows you to explore the musical life of Europe through the prism of the printed press, as well as

trace the processes of globalization of the music market in the 18th century. The conducted analysis confirms that the newspaper performed not only an informational and political function, but also a cultural one, playing a significant role in the spread of musical practices among European communities [77].

Research by O.T. Fakiroğlu aims to analyze the diplomatic news published in 1730 in two influential French-language periodicals (one of them being the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*) through the lens of travel literature. Particular attention is paid to the articles highlighting the activities of prominent diplomats who worked in the Ottoman Empire, particularly in Istanbul. In this context, the author examines the relationship between diplomatic reports and the tradition of travel literature that reflected the perception of the Ottoman Empire and Europe through the eyes of contemporaries [37].

The Western European press of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, in particular the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, served as an important source of information about Ukraine. In her work O. Polevshchikova [5] analyzed (based on the materials of Vorontsov Foundation, Scientific Library of Odesa State I.I. Mechnikov University) how through newspaper articles Europeans received information about Ukraine, its population, troops, economic potential and geographical location, and it is mentioned that even in the middle of the 18th century, newspapers continued to show Ukrainian lands as a separate political space.

One of the first attempts to systematize and translate into Ukrainian the topics related to the events in the Hetmanate at the beginning of the 18th century was carried out in 2015 by a team of Odesa researchers from Odesa National I.I. Mechnikov University. The collection of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, stored in the fund of the Scientific Library of this university, was studied. Along with translations and commentaries, the reproduction and transmission of texts in modern French was made [1—4].

The analysis of the French-language *Gazette d'Amsterdam* for the year 1708 is necessary for the study of the international discourse about Ukraine in the 18th century and the formation of its international image, for a better understanding of historical myths and real political processes. A comprehensive study of the texts reconstructs the chronology of references to Ukraine, the Cossacks and Ivan Mazepa in the international information space, which opens up new perspectives for Ukrainian historiography in an international context. The European press of the 18th century not only recorded military and political events in Ukraine, but also contributed to its inclusion in the European information field, which is a valuable source for modern historians, philologists and researchers of international relations.

The purpose of the study is to form ideas about Ukraine-Hetmanate in the European information space of the 18th century through the messages on the pages of the French-language edition of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* for 1708. The specified goal involves solving the following tasks:

1. To characterize the French-language *Gazette d'Amsterdam* as one of the leading European periodicals of the 18th century and to determine its place among the Western European press of this period.

2. Introduce new historical documentary materials from the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* into scientific circulation and evaluate their significance for Ukrainian historiography.

3. To identify and analyze the peculiarities of the presentation of information in the reports about Ukraine-Hetmanship on the pages of the newspaper and to identify the key motives for the covering of the events, in particular those concerning Hetman Ivan Mazepa, the Ukrainian Cossacks and the military events of 1708.

4. Determine the relevance of the information on events in Ukraine on the pages of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* to historical realities.

5. To assess the influence of European media on the formation of the international image of Ukraine in the 18th century and the perception of its role in international relations at that time.

Presenting main information. Our research, based on the analysis of publications in the French-language edition of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, is an important contribution to the study of the informational representation of Ukraine in the European media of the 18th century, as it reconstructs the European perception of the events of the Great Northern War (1700—1721), in particular the role of Hetman Ivan Mazepa and the Ukrainian Cossacks. Full emphasis is placed on how the newspaper covered events in 1708 of the Great Northern War, the figure of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, the military situation on the territory of the Hetmanship and the perception of Ukraine among Europeans. The study of the indicated Western European source of the 18th century allows a deeper understanding of the international perception of the events that took place in Ukraine.

46 messages from 32 issues of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* for 1708 were analyzed [6—26; 30—32; 34—37; 53—60; 79—88], which highlight the events in Ukraine concerning the transition of Hetman Ivan Mazepa to the side of Sweden; Baturyn tragedy (November 1708); interaction of the Cossack troops with the army of King Charles XII; political intrigues around Ukraine and the reaction of European monarchs.

It was noticed that out of 105 issues of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* for the year 1708, four issues (No. VIII [54]; No. XVII [59; 60]; No. XXXI [57]; No. XXXIV [52]) begin with the reports on the events related to Ukraine, which indicates their importance in the European context. It is obvious that the situation on the Ukrainian lands has aroused the interest of the international community. A clear pattern is observed: all these reports focus on the events of the Great Northern War (1700—1721), where Ukraine played an important role through Mazepa's alliance with Charles XII and his conflict with Muscovy. In general, these reports indicate that the events in Ukraine were perceived as a central element of the great geopolitical game of that time.



Pic. 3. № VIII De Varsovie le 10. Janvier

A message from Warsaw on January 10 in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* No. VIII of January 27, 1708 (Pic. 3) [54] revealed the strategic advance of the Swedes deep into Poland, the postponement of the attack on the Muscovites (“*II Y A BEAUCOUP D'APARENCE QUE LE ROI DE SUEDE REMETTRA AU PRINTEMS PROCHAIN, À POURSUIVRE LES MOSCOVITES*” [54]), the strengthening of the Muscovites in Lithuania (“*CEPENDANT LES MOSCOVITES CONTINUENT À SE FORTIFIER EN LITUANIE*” [54]), the position of the Ottoman Empire to maintain neutrality in the Polish conflict and the desire to maintain peaceful relations with both sides (“*ON L'ASSEURE QUE LA PORTE OTTOMANE EST NON SEULEMENT DANS LE DESSEIN D'OBSERVER EXACTEMENT LES TRAITEZ FAITS AVEC LA POLOGNE, MAIS AUSSI DE RESTER DANS UNE ENTIERE NEUTRALITÉ À L'ÉGARD DES DIFFERENS QU'IL A DANS CE ROIAUME; AJOÛTANT QUE L'AMBASSADE QUI A ÉTÉ FAITE AN ROI STANISLAS, N'A ÉTÉ QUE POUR Y FAIRE LES MÊMES ASSURANCES, LE DESSEIN DE LA COUR OTTOMANE ÉTANT DE VIVRE EN PAIX DE TOUS CÔTEZ, & D'ENTRETENIR PAREILLEMENR UNE BONNE AMITÉ AVEC LE CZAR, COMME SON ALLIÉ*” [54]). The wife of the great hetman Senyavsky, who had been captured by the Swedes (“*L'EPOUSE DU GRAND GENERAL DE LA COURONNE, QUI A ÉTÉ RELÂCHEE PAR LES SUEDOIS, EST ARRIVÉC ICI DEPUIS QUELQUES JOURS; MAIS ELLE SE PORTE TOÛJOURS SORT MAL, DE SORTE QU'ELLE NE VOIT PERSONNE*” [54]).

Gazette d'Amsterdam No. XVII on February 28, 1708 in two reports from Poland (the first from the camp of the Swedes in Koruchin on February 3, 1708 (Pic. 4) [60] and the second in Warsaw on February 8, 1708 [59]) The following key points are highlighted: the advance of the Swedish army on the border with Lithuania, Charles XII's plans for a joint attack on the Muscovite army, which



Pic. 4. № XVII. Du Camp des Suedois à Coruzin le 3. Fevrier

is concentrated between Novgorod and Grodno, the movements of the Moscow army after the military council in the direction of Polotsk, Muscovy's attempts to strengthen its influence on the political situation in Lithuania, diplomatic maneuvers regarding the possible return of King Augustus II to the Polish throne, Swedish actions in Prussia (King Stanislav demands contributions from the Royal Prussia, and Charles XII leaves 4 regiments on the territory of Gdańsk to prevent penetration of Muscovites and defense of Poznań).

A message from Warsaw on March 31 in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* No. XXXI of April 17, 1708 (Pic. 5) [57] about the diplomatic efforts of France, about relations between the nobility, that is, the peaceful settlement of the dispute between Sapieha and Wiesnowiski (“*LES DIFFERENDS ENTRE LE GRAND GENERAL SAPIEHA, & LE PRINCE VIESNOWISKI SONT TERMINEZ À L'AMIABLE; & L'ON EST CONVENU QUE...*” [57]), about uncertainty movements of the Swedish Army (“*LE ROI DE SUEDE AVOIT DÉCAMPÉ DE SMORGEN, FANS QU'ON SÛT ENCORE POSITIVEMENT S'IL MARCHEROIT VERS MINK, OU EN VOLHINIE*” [57]) and, especially, about the uncertainty of Mazeppa's position and his movement with 30 thousand Cossacks (“*LE GENERAL MAZEPPA S'EST AVANCÉ VERS KIWIE AVEC 30. MILLE COSAQUES, POUR JOINDRE L'ARMÉE DE LA COURONNE OU CELLE DU CZAR, SUIVANT QU'IL SERA JUGÉ NÉCESSAIRE*” [57]) were extremely important, because it could significantly change the balance of power in the region.

In issue XXXIII of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* (issue date: Tuesday, April 24, 1708) the first news from Danzig on April 12 (De Dantzig le 12 Avril) (Pic. 6) [52] became mainstream because of its critical importance for interna-



Pic. 5. № XXXI. De Varsovie le 31. Mars

tional politics and military action in 1708. It is about the strategic importance of this region, about the active participation of France and its diplomatic efforts to influence Polish politics, about the role of Ivan Mazepa, who received permission to advance through Poland and is preparing military operations, about his participation in the war and a possible connection with the army of Charles XII, about peace between Peter I and Charles XII, about the European balance of power.

The *Gazette d'Amsterdam* of 1708 contains several important references to Hetman Ivan Mazepa in the Northern War, which allow us to better understand his position in the context of events. On the pages of the edition during 1708 Hetman Ivan Mazepa appears as a powerful political figure who plays a significant role in international politics. The publication presents him as a general, the leader of the Cossacks, who maintains a certain discipline in the army.

A significant emphasis is placed on the transition of Hetman Ivan Mazepa under the protectorate of the Swedish king Charles XII (October 1708), which is presented in the European press as a strategic move in the context of the confrontation between Sweden and Muscovy. Ivan Mazepa, trying to preserve the autonomy of the Hetmanate, diplomatically maneuvered and negotiated with Poland, Muscovy, Sweden and the Ottoman Empire. The newspaper reports that even before Ivan Mazepa's official transition, rumors were spreading about a possible change in his political course, about Hetman Ivan Mazepa joining the Swedish army. This indicates the presence of information leaks at the international level even before the hetman's direct actions.



Pic. 6. № XXXIV. De Dantzig le 12. Avril

Thus, on Tuesday, January 17, a message from Hamburg dated January 13, 1708 was made public, which stated: “*LE GENERAL MAZEPPA S’EST RENDU DE KIWIE À BATUR, POUR Y PASSER L’HIVER*” (Hetman Mazepa returned from Kiev to Baturin to spend the winter there) [7]. This is important information, because Baturyn was the political and military center of the Hetmanship, which confirms the strategic role of the city in the Hetman’s plans.

In the XXV issue of the newspaper for March 27, 1708, in the news from Warsaw for March 10 (“*L’ENVOIÉ DE LA COUR OTTOMANE, QUI ÉTOIT VENU TROUVER LE VELIT-MARÉCHAL MAZEPPA, EST RETOURNÉ EN TURQUIE: ET CE GENERAL S’EST MIS EN MARCHÉ VERS KIOVIE, AVEC TOUTES SES FORCES, POUR JOINDRE 15000. DRAGONS NOUVELLEMENT LEVEZ EN MOSCOVIE*” (The envoy of the Ottoman court who came to see Hetman Mazepa returned to Turkey) [55]) hints at possible diplomatic contacts between Mazepa and the Ottoman Empire, which corresponds to the historical facts Mazepa that sought support from Turkey after the break with Peter I (Pic. 7).

On April 17, 1708, a message from Leipzig for April 7 was published (“...& *LE CZAR A REÇÛ UN EXPRÈS DU GENERAL MAZEPPA, AVEC AVIS QU’IL ÉTOIT ARRIVÉ À 6. LIEUËS DE KIOVIE AVEC 30. MILLE. COSAQUES, QUI DEVAIENT SE JOINDRE À 15. MILLE DRAGONS MOSCOVITES NOUVELLEMENT LEVEZ, POUR ALLER ENSUITE S’ASSURER, À CE QU’ON DIT, DES PROVINCES MÉRIDIONALES DE POLOGNE, AFIN DE FAIRE DIVERSION AUX SUEDOIS...*” (The tsar received an urgent message from Hetman Mazepa with the information that he was 6 leagues from Kyiv with 30,000 Cossacks who were to join 15,000 Muscovite dragoons, newly recruited to gain a foothold in the southern provinces of Poland, thus diverting atten-

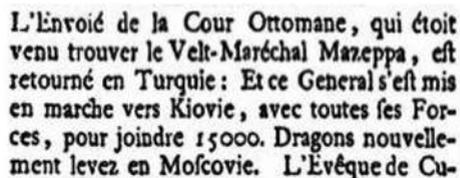
tion from the Swedes) [25]), which is controversial: was Mazepa still officially supporting Muscovy at the time, or was he already preparing to defect to Charles XII?

The issue for Tuesday, May 22, 1708, contains information for May 5 from Warsaw (Pic. 8) (Hetman Mazepa again sent a courier to the Grand Hetman of the Crown with a request to send his representatives to Ukraine as soon as possible so that they could take possession of it and the fortress of Bila Tserkva and complete all affairs with the Cossacks there [58]), which confirms that Hetman Ivan Mazepa was looking for allies among Polish magnates and diplomatically maneuvered between the parties to the conflict, and probably indicates Mazepa's intention to create an autonomous political center independent of Moscow.

Important evidence has been found that confirms Mazepa's dual position during this period: "QUELQUES AVIS DISENT QUE LE ROI DE SUEDE PAROÎT PLUS DISPOSÉ QUE CIDEVANT À ENTRER EN NÉGOCIATION DE PAIX AVEC LE CZAR DE MOSCOVIE. LE GENERAL MAZEPPA S'EST AVANCÉ VERS KIOWIE AVEC 30. MILLE COSAQUES, POUR JOINDRE L'ARMÉE DE LA COURONNE OU CELLE DU CZAR, SUIVANT QU'IL SERA JUGÉ NÉCESSAIRE" (There are rumors that the King of Sweden is more eager than ever to begin peace negotiations with the Tsar of Moscow. Hetman Mazepa set off for Kyiv with 30,000 Cossacks to join the Swedes, the Crown army, or the Czar's army, based on his own considerations (depending on what he found most necessary)) [58].

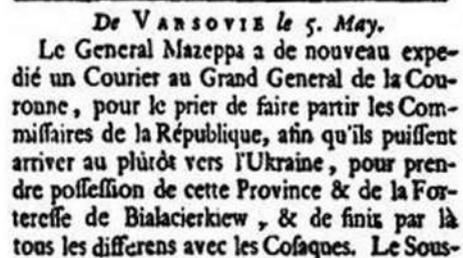
Ivan Mazepa played an active role in international affairs, supporting the allies and influencing political processes in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In particular, he was approached by Polish magnates with a request for help from a 10,000-strong Cossack army ("SUIVANT LES LETTRES DE POLOGNE, LE GRAND GENERAL DE LA COURONNE PERSISTE À NE VOULOIR PAS S'ACCOMMODER AVEC LE ROI STANISLAS. IL A MÊME PREFERÉ D'ENVOIER QUELQUES DÉPUTEZ AU GENERAL MAZEPPA, POUR LUI DEMANDER UN SECOURS DE 10000. COSAQUES, QUI SONT DÉJÀ ARRIVÉZ EN VOLHINIE" [36]).

Against the backdrop of hostilities and political intrigue, external factors played a significant role: the plague, famine, and the devastation of the provinces. They hampered correspondence, trade, and military campaigns, which could



L'Envoï de la Cour Ottomane, qui étoit venu trouver le Velt-Maréchal Mazepa, est retourné en Turquie : Et ce General s'est mis en marche vers Kiovie, avec toutes ses Forces, pour joindre 15000. Dragons nouvellement levez en Moscovie. L'Évêque de Cu-

Pic. 7. № VIII. De Varsovie le 10. Mars



De Varsovie le 5. May.
Le General Mazepa a de nouveau expédié un Courier au Grand General de la Couronne, pour le prier de faire partir les Commissaires de la République, afin qu'ils puissent arriver au plutôt vers l'Ukraine, pour prendre possession de cette Province & de la Forteresse de Bialaciekow, & de finir par là tous les differens avec les Cosaques. Le Sous-

Pic. 8. № XLI. De Varsovie le 5. May

have influenced Ivan Mazepa's actions. (*"LE MAL CONTAGIEUX QUI CONTINUË DANS PLUSIEURS LIEUX EN POLOGNE, INTERROMPT LA CORRESPONDANCE & LE COMMERCE: CETTE MISÈRE S'AUGMENTE CONSIDERABLEMENT PAR LA DISETTE, & PAR LA DÉSOLATION DE PLUSIEURS PROVINCES"* [36]).

Thus, in 1708, the newspaper mentioned the name of Hetman Ivan Mazepa ten times [7, 10, 12, 25, 32, 36, 52, 55, 58, 86] and emphasized his role as a military and political figure. The publication highlights him as an influential political player who maintained diplomatic ties with European monarchs, as a key ally of Peter the Great who controlled significant military resources, as a leader who made the fateful decision to side with King Charles XII. The reports nominate Ivan Mazepa as *General Mazeppa* або *Velt-Maréchal Mazepa* (velt = felt/field, i.e. field marshal — field marshal). In the text of the translation, "Hetman Mazepa" or "Hetman Ivan Mazepa" is used.

Events with a Ukrainian component were reported in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* in 1708 through international communication channels from different cities and countries: from Saxony (*Saxe*) [33—36, 80, 82, 88], Germany (*Allemagne*) from the cities of *Leipzig / Leipsig* [16—26] and *Hamburg* [6—15; 30], from Poland (*Pologne*) from the cities of Warsaw (*Varsovie*) [31, 54—59, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87], *Dantzig* [52], Riga (*Riga*) [53], and from the town where Swedish army troops were stationed, *Coruzin* [60]. There were 14 messages from Warsaw (January 10, February 8, March 10, March 31, April 6, April 7, April 14, April 20, April 24, May 5, May 15, May 18, May 22, June 5), one message from Korucin (February 3) [60], one message from Riga (March 10) [53], 7 messages from Saxony (January 11, April 25, July 4, August 25, September 7, 31 October, 18 December), from Leipzig — 11 reports (26 December, 31 December, 11 February, 7 April, 9 June, 14 July, 28 July, 27 October, 21 November, 15 December, 19 December), from Hamburg — 11 reports (7 January, 13 January, 17 January, 14 February, 28 February, 27 April, 11 May, 28 September, 2 November, 9 November, 30 November), from Danzig — one report (12 April). Warsaw reports focus on the political struggle for power between King Stanisław Leszczyński (an ally of Sweden) and his opponents, as well as on the activities of the Polish nobility and the Sejm.

On March 31, 1708, there were conflicts within the Polish gentry (Pic. 9): *"...LES DIFFERENDS ENTRE LE GRAND GENERAL SAPIEHA, & LE PRINCE VIESNOWSKI SONT TERMINEZ À L'AMIALE; & L'ON EST CONVENU QUE SI LE PREMIER VEUT SE DÉMETTRE DE SA CHARGE LE GRAND GENERAL DE LITUANIE, LE PRINCE WIESNOWSKI LUI SUCCEDERA..."* (The contradictions between Grand Hetman Sapieha and Prince Vyshnevetskyi ended in an agreement. It was agreed that if Sapieha resigned from the office of Grand Hetman of Lithuania, Prince Vyshnevetskyi would be his successor) [57]. This message can be seen as a typical example of noble intrigues: important positions were often transferred through personal agreements. This message further outlines the financial support for the war: *"ON CONFIRME QUE LE CZAR A ENVOIÉ DES SOMMES CONSIDERABLES À LEOPOL, POUR*

PAYER L'ARMÉE DE LA COURONNE” (The king sent considerable funds to Lviv to pay the Crown army) [57].

May 5, 1708 characterizes the actions of Hetman Ivan Mazepa in the struggle for control of Ukraine between the Cossack officers and Polish magnates (see Pic. 8): “LE GENERAL MAZEPPA A DE NOUVEAU EXPEDIÉ UN COURIER AU GRAND GENERAL DE LA COURONNE, POUR LE PRIER DE FAIRE PARTIR LES COMMISSAIRES DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE, AFIN QU’ILS PUISSENT ARRIVER AU PLÛTÔT VERS L’UKRAINE, POUR PRENDRE POSSESSION DE CETTE PROVINCE & DE LA FORTERESSE DE BIALACIERKIEW, & DE FINIR PAR LÀ TOUS LES DIFFERENS AVEC LES COSAQUES” [58].

Reports from Leipzig often describe the military redeployment and location of the armies of Sweden and Muscovy, international diplomatic missions (French efforts), and complex economic issues. This city played the role of an “information hub” between different European countries.

On February 11, 1708, military strategic decisions were considered: “...LE ROI DE SUEDE CONTINUOIT SA MARCHE EN DILIGENCE VERS LES QUARTIERS DES MOSCOVITES; & COMME CEUX-CI PAROISSOIENT RÉSOLUS D’ATTENDRE LES SUEDOIS DE PIED FERME, AUX ENVIRONS DE BRZESE...” (The King of Sweden continued to move rapidly to the areas where Muscovite units were deployed; and they decided to wait for the Swedes near Brzeszc) [16].

On June 9, 1708, diplomatic contacts between France and Poland were announced in order to balance the situation in Poland and avoid full Russian control (Pic. 10): ...Mr. Bonnac, the French envoy, has been persistently mediating between King Stanisław and Mr. Seniawski, the Grand Hetman of the Crown. They added that it had already been agreed to cease hostilities for four weeks, and that in the meantime a conference would be held in Warsaw in the presence of a representative of the Crown... [26].

The reports from Hamburg cover pan-European events, not only concerning the war, but also economic and political issues. The main focus is on the

16. Les différends entre le Grand General Sapiaha, & le Prince Wicfnowski sont terminés à l'amiable; & l'on est convenu que si le premier veut se démettre de sa Charge de Grand General de Lituanie, le Prince Wicfnowski lui succedera, & que M. Sa-

Pic. 9. № XXXI. De Varsovie le 31. Mars

De LEIPSIG le 9. Juin.
Suivant les dernières lettres de Varsovie, M. de Bonac, Envoyé de France, travailloit fortement à entrer dans la Médiation entre le Roi Stanislas & M. Siniawski, Grand General de la Couronne. On ajoute, qu'on étoit déjà convenu d'une suspension d'Armes pour 4. semaines, & que cependant on tiendroit une Conférence à Varsovie, en présence du Primat du Roiaume. On dit que l'E-

Pic. 10. № XLIX. De Leipsig le 9. Juin

De HAMBOURG le 7. Janvier.
On apprend de Varsovie, que le Roi de Suede se dispoisoit à aller prendre son quartier à Pultow, dans le dessein de continuer sa marche vers les Moscovites, aussi-tôt que la gelée rendroit les chemins plus praticables. Le mal contagieux commence à diminuer à

Pic. 11. № IV. De Hambourg le 7. Janvier

Nous sommes à présent dans l'Ukraine avec trois Corps d'Infanterie, & dix Régimens de Dragons; & nous avons si bien pris les devans, que l'Ennemi ne recueillira pas le fruit de ses prétendues marches, qu'il a faites jour & nuit en suivant son Armée, à dessein de nous prévenir. Nous attendons plusieurs Régimens de Cavalerie qui nous doivent joindre, afin de disputer ses avenues de ce País, & d'écraser l'Ennemi de la manière la plus efficace.

Pic. 12. № CI. Du 18 Decembre 1708

De LEIPSIG le 19. Decembre.
On écrit de Vienne, que la Cour Impériale étoit fort satisfaite des nouvelles d'Italie, tant au sujet des négociations, que pour les quartiers de ses Troupes; & que le Pape paroissoit assez disposé à reconnoître le Roi Charles III. On parle de nouveau d'une Bataille entre les Moscovites & les Suedois sur les frontières de l'Ukraine, où ces derniers

De HAMBOURG le 30. Novembre.
Le Roi de Suede est en marche pour prendre des quartiers d'hiver dans le Palatinat de VOÛLME: S. M. a fait néanmoins une partie de ses Troupes dans l'Ukraine. Mr. Burchart, Ministre de Prusse, donna avant-hier, (jour du mariage de S. M. F.) un magnifique regal aux autres Ministres qui sont ici, & au Magistrat de cette Ville.

Pic. 13. № CIV. De Leipsig le 19. Décembre Pic. 14. № XCVII. De Hambourg le 30. Novembre

Extrait des lettres de SAXE du 31. Octobre.
„ Les nouvelles de ces quartiers continuent d'être fort steriles, à cause de l'absence du
„ Roi nôtre Electeur: On dit que S. M. reviendra ici dès que la grande Campagne de
„ Mandres sera finie. Les dernieres lettres de Mohilow portent, que le Roi de Suede a été
„ obligé de quitter le grand dessein qu'il avoit formé contre la Capitale de Moscovie: S. M.
„ voyant que son Armée seroit exposée à périr par la Famine, à cause que les Moscovites
„ ont ruiné tout le País, Elle a pris la résolution de marcher par sa droite, pour se rendre
„ dans la Province d'Ukraine, & Elle passa le 2. de ce mois par la Ville de Starkass.
„ L'avant-garde de son Armée a mis le feu à tous les Villages qui avoient été abandonnez
„ par les Habitans, mais les Suedois ont payé les vivres aux Paisans qui sont restez chez
„ eux: Us ont publié, qu'ils ne feroient aucun mal au País, pourvu que les habitans n'ab-
„ andonnassent point leurs demeures. Cette Armée a été fort tourmentée par la disette,
„ ayant manqué de Pain pendant plusieurs jours: Mais elle va passer quelques mois dans
„ l'Ukraine, pour s'y rétablir.

Pic. 15. № LXXXIX. ...de Saxe du 31. Octobre

movement of the armies of Charles XII and Peter I, the Muscovites' defensive maneuvers, and plans to strengthen their positions on the Dnipro.

The newspaper of Friday, January 13, 1708, presents a report of January 7, 1708, which predicts changes in the geopolitical situation (Pic. 11): ...Warsaw reports that the King of Sweden wants to take up residence in Pultusk, with the aim of continuing to attack the Muscovites as soon as the roads freeze and become suitable for travel... [14].

It has been established that in 1708, *Gazette d'Amsterdam* mentions the name "Ukraine" (L'UKRAINE) at least 10 times [13, 19, 15 (twice), 20, 30, 35 (twice), 58, 83], considering it not only as a geographical region but also as a strategically important territory with its own military and political forces that influence international events. The publication notes the political, historical, and cultural

De HAMBOURG le 9. Novembre.
 Toutes les lettres de Pologne & de Lituanie disent unanimement, que le General Leeuwenhaupt, qui alloit renforcer le Roi de Suede en Ukraine, avec un Corps de 12. à 15. mille hommes & 650. Chariots chargez de vivres, s'étant avancé dans un Lieu Marécageux près de *Lena*, à 7. ou 8. lieues de *Mobil.w*, & à 2. de *Propoisk*, sur la Riviere de *Sore*, avoit été attaqué le 3. du mois passé par 25. mille Moscovites, commandez par le General Baur: Les Suedois repousserent plusieurs fois les Moicovites; mais ceux-ci connoissant mieux le Pais, & revenant continuellement à la charge, les mirent enfin dans une telle déroute, qu'on dit que le General Leeuwenhaupt, après avoir perdu la plupart de son Infanterie & ses Bagages, a été obligé de se retirer avec 4000. Chevaux vers l'Ukraine. Quelques avis disent, que les Suedois n'ont perdu que 6. à 7000.

Pic. 16. № XCI. De Hambourg le 9. Novembre

De HAMBOURG le 2. Novembre.
 On mande de Pologne, que la Ville de Varsovie a été presque entièrement consumée par le feu: On ajoute que le Roi de Suede ne pouvant plus subsister où il étoit, a pris le parti de marcher vers l'Ukraine, qui est un Pais abondant en vivres.

Pic. 17. № LXXXIX. De Hambourg le 2. Novembre

de l'hiver à Venise. On a reçu avis que le Roi de Suede étant entré dans l'Ukraine, trouva d'abord quelque opposition dans la petite Ville de *Asliny*, où les habitans se défendirent en désespoir, & tuèrent beaucoup de monde aux Suedois; mais ceux-ci les aiant à la fin forcez, l'épée à la main, tuèrent tout ce qu'ils trouvèrent sous les armes, & y mirent ensuite le feu, menaçant les habitans voisins d'un pareil traitement s'ils refusoient des Vivres à l'Armée. On écrit de

Pic. 18. № XCVI. De Leipsig le 21. Novembre

significance of Ukraine (*L'UKRAINE*), emphasizing its role as a military foothold and a subject of European geopolitical processes.

A message in November 1708 shows that Ukraine was perceived not only as a military theater of operations, but also as a strategically important region with great resources: "...ON AJOUTE QUE LE ROI DE SUÈDE NE POUVANT PLUS SUBSISTER OÙ IL ÉTOIT, A PRIS LE PARTI DE MARCHER VERS L'UKRAINE, QUI EST UN PAÏS ABONDANT EN VIVRES..." (They add that the king of Sweden can no longer stay where he was and has decided to move to Ukraine, which is a country rich in food) [30].

In early November, *UKRAINE* was more associated with military operations [30, 35], but in December it was perceived as a strategic territory with defined borders, its own political forces (Cossacks), and a significant military role in the war. The report [19] defines its borders: "the battle between Muscovites and Swedes on the borders of Ukraine" ("*ON PARLE DE NOUVEAU D'UNE BATAILLE ENTRE LES MOSCOVITES & LES SUEDOIS FUR LES FRONTIÈRES DE L'UKRAINE, OÙ CES DERNIERS PRÉTENDENT AVOIR REMPORTÉ LA VICTOIRE*" [19]. This confirms that Ukraine was viewed as a strategically important region not only for Muscovy but also for other European states.

In the reports that mention the name *UKRAINE*, in addition to military events, the newspaper covers the deployment of Cossack troops in Poland, Belarus, and Volyn; political negotiations between Mazepa and European rulers; famine among Swedish troops and their attempts to gain support from the Ukrainian population (Pic. 8) [58], (Pic. 12) [83], (Pic. 13) [19], (Pic. 14) [13], (Pic. 15) [35], (Pic. 16) [15], (Pic. 17) [30], (Pic. 18) [20].

De LEIPSIG le 15. Decembre.
On reçut enfin hier des nouvelles de l'Armée du Roi de Suede, qui étoit campée le 6. du passé, au delà du Boristhene, sur les frontières du Duché de Czernichow; & ce Prince avoit dessein de prendre son quartier dans la Ville de ce nom. Les Moscovites de leur côté marchoient vers la Livonie & la Courlande, afin d'empêcher les Suedois d'en tirer aucun secours.

Pic. 19. № CIII. De Leipsig le 15. Decembre

De LEIPSIG le 27. Octobre.
On écrit de la Haute-Pologne, que la Peste continué à cesser en divers endroits: D'un autre côté, elle augmente en quelques lieux dans la Province de Prusse. On n'a rien reçu de nouveau de l'Armée Suedoise, sinon que le General Lecuwenhaupt avoit enfin passé le Borifens, pour se joindre au

Pic. 20. № LXXXIX. De Leipsig le 27. Octobre

De LEIPSIG le 7. Avril.
Les lettres de Pologne portent que le Roi de Suede a quitté, avec sa Cavalerie, le Palatinat de Vilna, pour entrer dans celui de Minsk, où il paroïssoit avoir dessein d'attendre un Détachement du Comte de Leuwenhaupt. Les Moscovites sont occupés à se retrancher sur le Dnieper; & le Czar a reçu un Exprès du General Mazeppa, avec avis qu'il étoit arrivé à 6. lieues de Kiovie avec 30. mille Cosaques, qui devoient se joindre à 15. mille Dragons Moscovites nouvellement levez, pour aller ensuite s'assurer, à ce qu'on dit, des Provinces Meridionales de Pologne, afin de faire diversion aux Suoïdois: Mais on assure que l'Armée de la Couronne se passeroit fort de ce secours. Les 4. Régimens

Pic. 21. № XXXI. De Leipsig le 7. Avril

De HAMBÖURG le 14. Fevrier.
On mande de la Haute-Pologne, que le Czar étoit revenu le 20. du passé à Minsk; d'où il devoit aller trouver le General Czereviet; pour faire la revue de ses Troupes, & tenir un grand Conseil au sujet de la marche des Suedois. On dit que l'Armée Moscovite se retirera derriere la Dnieper, pour s'y retrancher, & en disputer le passage aux Suedois. Ces derniers se sont avancés jusqu'à 4. lieues de Johannisbourg, sur les frontières de la Prusse Roïale, où le Roi Stanislas devoit se rendre aussi le 7. de ce mois.

Pic. 22. № XV. De Hambourg le 14. Fevrier

Gazette d'Amsterdam mentions not only the name *L'UKRAINE*, but also describes the main cities of the region: Kyiv (in variant spellings — *Kiowie* [7; 23; 57 (twice); 58; 59] or *Kiovie* [17; 25; 31; 54; 55 (twice); 56 (twice); 57; 79; 80 (twice)]) as a strategic center, Lviv (*Leopol*) [7; 54 (twice); 55; 57] and Kamianets-Podilskyi (*Caminiéc* [16] or *Camienieck* [26] or *Caminiesk* [54]) as important cities in the western part of Ukraine, Baturyn (*Batur*) [7] as the main center of the Ukrainian resistance, Bila Tserkva (*Bialacierkiew*) [58], Chernihiv (*Czernichow*) [18], Volhynia (*Volhinie*) [13; 21; 36; 57], etc.

The simultaneous use of two original names for the Dnipro, each of which appears in two versions in the 1708 newspaper (*Boristhene* (Pic. 19 [18]) / *Boristhene* (Pic. 20 [22]), *Dnieper* (Pic. 21 [25]; Pic. 22 [8]; Pic. 23 [87]; Pic. 24 [85]) / *Dniپر* (Pic. 25 [56])), reflects the historical evolution of the potamonym and different linguistic traditions. The Greek *Borysthènes* (Βορυσθένης) is the oldest known name for the Dnipro River, used by ancient authors such as Herodotus (5th century BC). It is probably of Iranian origin, where *bora* means “wide” and *sthen* means “strong” or “current”. Another version suggests that the name comes from the local tribes (possibly of Scythian or Thracian origin) that inhabited

Les dernières lettres de Varsovie portent, que les Moscovites prétendent être en état de traverser les desseins du Roi de Suede, qui veut pénétrer en Moscovie: Ils ont formé une ligne, pour s'opposer au passage du *Dnieper*; & ils ont de bons Magazins sur leur frontière, au lieu que les Suedois n'en ont point. Il est certain que ces derniers n'ont pu poursuivre leur marche, à cause des mauvais chemins, qui ont fait périr beaucoup de Chevaux.

Pic. 23. № XXVIII. Du 6. Avril 1708

Suivant les lettres de Varsovie du 5. de ce mois, on y devoit entamer le jour suivant les Conférences, pour traiter d'un accommodement entre le Roi Stanislas & le Palatin de Belz, Grand General de la Couronne. Le Roi de Suede ne s'étoit pas encore mis en marche, pour attaquer les Moscovites, qui campent en deça du *Dnieper*. Le Prince de Menzikof étoit encore à *Mohilow*.

Pic. 24. № XLIX. Du 19. Juin 1708

the coastal lands. The use of *Boristene* in the eighteenth-century text under study indicates that the scientific and geographical works of the time followed ancient traditions.

The most common version of the origin of the name *Dnipro* is associated with ancient Iranian languages, as it was formed under the influence of the Old Slavic language and Iranian substrate elements. The existence of two variants (*Dnieper*/*Dniper*) is due to the peculiarities of transcribing the Cyrillic alphabet into European languages. The tendency in Western Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to Latinize the names of geographical objects in accordance with the ancient tradition explains the simultaneous use of *Boristene*/*Boristhene* as the “classical” name of the *Dnipro*, as well as *Dnieper*/*Dniper*, which reflected the living tradition of Slavic languages. Thus, the use of *Boristene*/*Boristhene* in the 1708 newspaper is an echo of ancient traditions, and *Dnieper* and *Dniper* are the results of transliteration of the Slavic name into European languages.

In general, according to the analysis of the frequency of references, the name of the *Dnipro* River appears 7 times in the newspaper's issues of 1708 (*Dnieper* — 4 times, other forms of the name (*Dniper*, *Boristhene*, *Boristene*) — once). The most common form is *Dnieper*, which is used by in more than 50% of cases. It is noted that the names are distributed over time: the hydronym *Dnieper*/*Dniper* appears in the first half of the year (until June), and the hydronym *Boristhene*/*Boristene* in the second half (November—December), i.e. the form *Dnieper*/*Dniper* dominates at the beginning of the year, and the form *Boristhene*/*Boristene* — at the end. It was found that the *Dnieper*/*Dniper* form is more typical for

présent des affaires. Les avis de Lituanie portent, que le Roi de Suede n'a rien encore entrepris de considerable contre les Moscovites, qui se fortifient de plus en plus pour défendre le passage du *Dnieper*. On ajoute, que la Cavalerie Suedoise a perdu près de 2000. Chevaux dans sa marche, depuis son retour en ce Pais.

Pic. 25. XXXV. De Varsovie le 14. April

78 news from Hamburg, Leipzig, Warsaw, and *Boristhene / Boristene* is associated exclusively with news from Leipzig, i.e. the use of different names depends on the geographical context, information sources and the informant.

In the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* reports, the word *Cosaques* is mentioned 10 times in the news [10, 21, 25, 26, 33, 34, 57, 58, 84, 88]; the Cossacks appear as a mobile military formation, as a powerful military force that influences the course of the war.

For example, the Cossacks' integrity, flexibility, and independence are revealed when the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* news of September 1708 reported that Cossacks who refused to join the Polish army began to return home because they were not paid the salary they were promised (*"D'AUTANT PLUS QUE LES COSAQUES REFUSENT DE LE JOINDRE, SOUS PRÉTEXTE QU'ON NE LEUR PAYE PAS LES SUBSIDES PROMIS"* [88]).

On the news pages, we learn about the deployment of the Cossacks in Volyn; their units were expected to be effective reinforcements in the Russian army (*"ILS ATTENDENT AUSSI UN CORPS DE COSAQUES DE LA VOLHINIE"* [26]; *"LE CZAR A ORDONNÉ AU GENERAL MAZEPPA DE LUI ENVOIER UNE PARTIE DE SES COSAQUES, AFIN D'ÊTRE MIEUX EN ÉTAT DE FATIGUER LES SUEDOIS PAR DE FRÉQUENTES COURSES. LE RESTE DES COSAQUES DOIT SE TENIR À PORTÉE DE SECOURIR L'ARMÉE POLONOISE, EN CAS DE BESOIN"* [10]), and in the Polish army (*"LES LETTRES DE LA HAUTE POLOGNE PORTENT QUE LES PAUVRES HABITANTS DE CE PAÏS-LÀ AVOIENT REÇÛ QUELQUES VIVRES DE LEURS VOISINS DE SILESIE, & QU'ILS EN ESPERAIENT ENCORE D'AUTRES SECOURS DANS LEUR GRANDE CALAMITÉ"* [34]; *"...LES COSAQUES, QUI SE TIENNENT PRÊTS AUX ORDRES DU GRAND GENERAL"* [84]).

The role of the Cossacks in supplying food and materials to Charles XII's army is also mentioned, which emphasizes their importance in ensuring the war. (*"ON DIT QUE LES COSAQUES ONT FAIT UN TRAITÉ AVEC LE ROI DE SUEDE, POUR LUI LIVRER QUELQUES MILLE HOMMES, & DES VIVRES POUR SON ARMÉE"* [33]). Cossack military movements, the fight against the Swedes, and negotiations with Polish elites took place in the context of significant economic and social decline in the region [36].

An analysis of *Gazette d'Amsterdam* reports for 1708 shows that the Cossacks played a significant role in the military events of early 18 century Europe, performing a variety of military functions, including active participation in hostilities, mobile raids, and logistical support for the Allies. Their mobility and military capabilities made them an influential force capable of changing the course of the war. At the same time, their autonomy and flexibility in choosing allies led to mixed assessments by contemporaries. Along with recognizing their discipline and combat capability, the newspaper notes their instability and dependence on material support.

The scientific novelty of the study lies in the fact that for the first time a comprehensive analysis was carried out and the informative capabilities of the

French-language periodical *Gazette d'Amsterdam* for 1708 in covering military and political events in Ukraine-Hetmanate were revealed. The paper describes how the Western European press presented information about the Great Northern War, the Cossacks, and Ivan Mazepa. Of particular interest are the events that took place in Ukraine and related to the transition of Hetman Ivan Mazepa to the side of the Swedish King Charles XII. First, from a historical point of view, the study demonstrates that the European press of the early eighteenth century viewed UKRAINE not only as a geographical region but also as a political entity of strategic importance. The analysis of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* publications of 1708 confirms the existence of a formed idea of Ukraine's borders, its military role in the Great Northern War, and the participation of the Cossacks in international political negotiations. This demonstrates the significant status of Ukraine in European diplomacy and denies later imperial narratives about its "non-historicity." Secondly, the novelty of the study lies in highlighting the role of the Ukrainian Cossacks and Hetman Ivan Mazepa in international politics and demonstrating the media tools for constructing the image of Ukraine in the early eighteenth century in the Western French-language press. The article traces the mechanisms of information dissemination and the specifics of the presentation of events in the eighteenth century, the role of diplomatic and trade agents, etc. This should serve as a starting point for a comparative analysis with modern media processes, in particular, the coverage of Ukraine in the world media. The study demonstrates how the latest technologies open up access to previously unexplored sources, allowing us to rethink the role of Ukraine in the European information space of the 18th century. Thirdly, in the philological sense, the scientific novelty of the study is in the analysis of the use of proper names (*UKRAINE, Kiowie / Kiovie, Dnieper / Dniiper, Boristhene / Boristene, Cosaques*, etc.) in the French-speaking European press of the 18th century, which allowed us to outline the evolution of theseonyms in the international information space. The study showed that the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* of 1708 regularly covered events in Ukraine, using its name in a military and political context. The fact that Ukraine was often mentioned alongside European capitals and major theaters of war proves its significant presence in the international information space.

Conclusions and Prospects for the Study. The proposed research is an important contribution to the study of the Western European information space of the 18th century and its reflection of events in Ukraine. For the first time, the Ukrainian events of 1708 were covered on the basis of *Gazette d'Amsterdam*. The role of Ivan Mazepa and the Ukrainian Cossacks in the international discourse, namely in the influential European media *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, is analyzed. The authors analyze how the "image of Ukraine" was formed in the Western press of the 18th century. The mission of Ukraine as a strategic region in the Great Northern War and the role of the press in shaping political discourse and international politics are investigated. It is found that the reports of 1708 concerning military

operations and events of the Great Northern War (1700—1721) focused on the movement of troops from Sweden, Muscovy, Polish nobility and Cossack units; references to Hetman Ivan Mazepa confirm his active role in the events of this period (Mazepa's interaction with Poland, the Ottoman Empire, Sweden and Muscovy). Ukraine at that time was a battlefield between Muscovy and Sweden, but the Cossacks also sought to maintain their autonomy and maneuvered between these forces. It emphasizes the importance of Ukraine as a region that could influence the balance of power in Eastern Europe. The Ukrainian question went far beyond the scope of internal struggle. It was part of a significant geopolitical game between Muscovy, Sweden, Poland, and the Ottoman Empire. The article analyzes how Ukrainian components appear in the diplomatic context and what narratives were created around these events. The geographical centers of dissemination of information about Ukraine (Hamburg, Leipzig, Warsaw, etc.) were identified and the circulation of information about Ukraine in the European space was traced. In general, the work is a significant contribution to the development of source studies, history of international relations, and the study of information processes in the early modern period. The article is an exemplary study in the field of media history and international communication, which allows us to better understand the role of the European press in shaping the information space of the early modern period. Thus, this study not only enriches historical science, but is also important for the modern understanding of Ukraine's information and geopolitical role in the world space and is of interdisciplinary importance. O.T. Fakiroğlu's conclusion that the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* remains not only a valuable historical source but also a unique testimony to how the 18th century printed press influenced the formation of the European political landscape is confirmed [37].

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ГЕТЬМАНЩИНА ОЧИМА ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОЇ ПРЕСИ:
ІВАН МАЗЕПА ТА УКРАЇНА НА ШПАЛЬТАХ ФРАНКОМОВНОЇ
“GAZETTE D'AMSTERDAM” 1708 РОКУ

Мета роботи. Дослідження формування уявлень про Україну-Гетьманщину в європейському інформаційному просторі XVIII ст. через повідомлення на сторінках франкомовного видання *Gazette d'Amsterdam* за 1708 рік. **Методологія.** Дослідження

ґрунтується на комплексному джерелознавчому міждисциплінарному підході, що дозволяє реконструювати зміст газетних повідомлень та оцінити вплив цієї інформації на формування образу України в Європі: *ідентифікація та класифікація історичних джерел* (46 газетних повідомлень за 1708 рік, які висвітлюють події в Україні); *лінгвістичний аналіз* (опис особливостей використання українських онімів); *критичний та контекстуальний аналіз текстів* (оцінка політичних акцентів того часу, фактологічного контенту, можливих політичних маніпуляцій, пропагандистських складових тощо) з *елементами кількісного аналізу* (облік частотності згадувань ключових понять та хронологічного розподілення цих згадок тощо). **Наукова новизна.** У дослідженні вперше виявлено інформативні можливості франкомовного періодичного джерела *Gazette d'Amsterdam* за 1708 рік у висвітленні військово-політичних подій в Україні-Гетьманщині. З історичної точки зору демонструється, що в європейській пресі початку XVIII ст. Україна розглядалася як географічний регіон та як політичний суб'єкт зі стратегічним значенням. Висвітлюється роль українського козацтва та гетьмана Івана Мазепи в міжнародній політиці. Демонструються медіа-інструменти конструювання образу України на початку XVIII ст. у франкомовній пресі. У філологічному сенсі аналізується вживання власних назв (*Ukraine, Kiowie / Kiovie, Dnieper / Dniper, Boristhene / Boristene, Cosaques* тощо) у військово-політичному контексті, що окреслює еволюцію зазначених онімів у міжнародному інформаційному просторі. **Висновки.** Вперше за матеріалами *Gazette d'Amsterdam* висвітлено українські події 1708 року. Виявлено роль Івана Мазепи та українського козацтва в міжнародному дискурсі. Проаналізовано формування «образу України» в західній пресі XVIII ст. Встановлено географічні центри поширення інформації про Україну та простежено, як циркулювала інформація про Україну в європейському просторі.

Ключові слова: *Gazette d'Amsterdam* 1708 року, конструювання образу України, Україна-Гетьманщина, гетьман Іван Мазепа, українське козацтво.