

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32653/CH214423-434>

Research paper

Sergey Anatolievich Kotenkov
Ph.D. (in History), Senior Scientific Researcher
Shirshov Institute of Oceanology of RAS, Moscow, Russia
s_kotenkov@mail.ru

Daria Maksimovna Lobacheva
Junior Researcher; Leading engineer
Lomonosov Moscow State University, Geography Department, Moscow, Russia;
Shirshov Institute of Oceanology of RAS, Moscow, Russia
lobachevadm@my.msu.ru

ENGELBERT KAEMPFER'S MAP AS A NEW SOURCE ON EARLY RUSSIAN FISHING SETTLEMENTS (UCHUGS) IN THE VOLGA DELTA IN THE LATE 17TH CENTURY: INTERPRETATION OF TERMS

Abstract. This study aims to identify toponyms denoting uchugs – the earliest Russian fishing settlements established in the Volga Delta during the 17th century – on Engelbert Kaempfer's map of 1697 and to conduct a comparative-historical analysis using other cartographic sources. Specific objectives include translating and identifying the toponyms on Kaempfer's map; comparing them with those appearing on Adam Olearius's maps (1647), seventeenth- and nineteenth-century drawings of Russian uchugs, and modern place names; and determining the precise locations and ownership of these uchugs. Detailed analysis of Engelbert Kaempfer's map demonstrates that it is a unique seventeenth-century cartographic source. It complements existing knowledge of the socio-economic development of the Volga Delta, accurately reflects the geographical configuration of the Caspian lowland in that period, and illustrates European interest in the region's resources. Toponyms designating fisheries in the delta portion of the map have been identified, and their correspondence to the names of the rivers or channels on which the uchugs were located has been established. The primary reason for the abandonment of uchugs was the rise in Caspian Sea level during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which flooded settlements and altered hydrological conditions. The results broaden our understanding of historical cartography, the economic history of fishing in the region, and its cultural geography.

Keywords: E. Kaempfer's map; fishery; uchugs; zaboyka; Volga Delta; Caspian Sea; cartographic history

For citation: Kotenkov S.A., Lobacheva D.M. Engelbert Kaempfer's Map as a New Source on Early Russian Fishing Settlements (Uchugs) in The Volga Delta in The Late 17th Century: Interpretation of Terms. *History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Caucasus*. 2025. Vol. 21. N. 4. P. 423-434. doi: [org/10.32653/CH214423-434](https://doi.org/10.32653/CH214423-434)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32653/CH214423-434>



Исследовательская статья

Котеньков Сергей Анатольевич
кандидат исторических наук, старший научный сотрудник
Институт океанологии им. П.П. Ширшова РАН, Москва, Россия
s_kotenkov@mail.ru

Лобачева Дарья Максимовна
младший научный сотрудник; ведущий инженер
МГУ им. М.В. Ломоносова, географический ф-т., Москва, Россия;
Институт океанологии им. П.П. Ширшова РАН, Москва, Россия
lobachevadm@my.msu.ru

КАРТА ЭНГЕЛЬБЕРТА КЕМПФЕРА — НОВЫЙ ИСТОЧНИК О ПЕРВЫХ РУССКИХ ПОСЕЛЕНИЯХ — УЧУГАХ В ДЕЛЬТЕ ВОЛГИ XVII в.: ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЯ ТЕРМИНОВ

Аннотация. Цель исследования – идентификация топонимов, обозначающих учуги – первые русские поселения XVII в. в дельте Волги, на карте Энгельберта Кемпфера (1697 г.), их сравнительно-исторический анализ с иными картографическими источниками. Среди задач: перевести и идентифицировать топонимы на карте Кемпфера; сравнить их с картами А. Олеария (1647 г.), чертежами российских учугов XVII, XIX вв. и современными названиями; определить имущественную принадлежность учугов. Детальный анализ карты Э. Кемпфера показал, что данный документ является уникальным картографическим артефактом XVII в., дополняющим сведения о социально-экономическом развитии дельты Волги, отражающим географические реалии Прикаспия XVII в. и интерес европейцев к ресурсам региона. Идентифицированы топонимы, обозначающие рыбные промыслы в дельтовой части на карте Э. Кемпфера, определены их наименования, идентичность названиям рек, на берегах которых они располагались. Повышение уровня Каспийского моря в XVIII–XIX вв., вызвавшее затопление поселений и изменение гидрологических условий, стало основной причиной прекращения деятельности учугов. Полученные данные расширяют представления об исторической картографии, экономической истории и культурной географии региона.

Ключевые слова: карта Энгельберта Кемпфера; рыбный промысел; местоположение учугов; забойка; дельта Волги; Каспийское море; история картографии

Для цитирования: Котеньков С.А., Лобачева Д.М. Карта Энгельберта Кемпфера – новый источник о первых русских поселениях – учугах в дельте Волги XVII в.: интерпретация терминов // История, археология и этнография Кавказа. 2025. Т. 21. № 4. С. 423-434. doi: [10.32653/CH214423-434](https://doi.org/10.32653/CH214423-434)

Introduction

The history of the development and formation of the vast territory of the Volga Lowlands, which was annexed to Russia during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, remains largely unexplored to this day. Of particular interest are questions concerning the settlement of one of the peripheral territories of the Russian state in the XVII century – the Volga Delta. Astrakhan's geographical location, far from the central regions of the Moscovia, and the availability of free land and riverine areas have always attracted the Russian population, especially fugitive peasants.

The fishery industry in the region began during the Khazar Khanate period (VIII – X centuries) and continued to develop during the periods when the region was a part of the Golden Horde (XIII – XIV centuries) and the Astrakhan Khanate (XV century) [1, p. 226]. After Astrakhan joined the Russian state in the mid- XVI century, spontaneous colonization promoted the economic development not only of the Astrakhan region, but also the Volga Delta as a whole. Russian settlers learned how to catch fish using uchug traps from the locals [2, pp. 220–221; 1, p. 226]. Fishing grounds – uchugs consisted of fences 'zaboyka' (wooden structures that blocked the river where the fishery was conducted) and camps 'stan' (fishermen's settlements on the banks of rivers, where they lived and processed the fish caught in the fences) and where both fugitive peasants and free labourers settled.

At the end of the XVII century, uchugs became large fishery enterprises, fortified with palisades, with impressive farm and residential buildings, churches and militarised guards, even armed with artillery.

Despite the extensive literature available on the history of colonization of the Volga Delta and the development of fisheries in its territory [3–9], maps illustrating the location of fish traps – the earliest Russian settlements of the XVII century – have not been previously published, nor the reasons for cessation of activity at some fisheries have been established.

The objective of our study is a detailed review of the toponyms referring to uchugs – the first Russian settlements in the Volga Delta of the XVII century on E. Kaempfer's map 'Hetsuydelykste gedeelte van de Vliet Wolga' (Southern part of the Volga River), published in N. Witsen's book 'Northern and Eastern Tartary' (1697). This paper is a continuation of the authors' research of the above-mentioned source, in the course of which a comparative-historical analysis of hydronyms of the Delta part of Kaempfer's map was made and a historical and geographical reconstruction of the water route of the traveller's journey from Astrakhan to the Caspian Sea was carried out [10].

To achieve the goal of our study, we set the following tasks: 1) to consider and introduce into scientific turnover the translation of toponyms denoting uchugs on the Delta part of Kaempfer's map; 2) to compare the location of uchugs on the maps of E. Kaempfer (1683), A. Olearius (1637), the Trinity Monastery's uchugs drawings (II half of the XVII century); 3) to indicate the reasons for uchugs termination.

A number of recent publications [11–14] have been devoted to the problem of the Caspian Sea level fluctuations in historical retrospect and their impact on the fate of the local inhabitants. This work has its relevance on the background of the ongoing shallowing of the Volga Delta and the Caspian Sea, as it illustrates examples of the negative impact of natural and climatic factors on changes in the economic infrastructure for coastal residents.

Materials and methods

In order to solve the tasks, we provide translations of designations and interpretation of toponyms on E. Kaempfer's map. To clarify the authenticity of E. Kaempfer's findings, we present extracts from European writers who travelled along the Volga-Caspian in the XVII century, such as Adam Olearius, secretary of the Schleswig-Holstein embassy (1637), [15], Jan Streiss, a Dutch carpenter from the ship 'Eagle' (1670) [16],

and other Russian sources of the XVII – XIX centuries. We provide comparative characteristics of toponyms on E. Kaempfer's and A. Olearius' maps and the drawing of the Trinity Monastery's uchugs, in which both preserved and out-of-use toponyms of the Volga Delta are presented.

By the time of E. Kaempfer's expedition (1683), there were only A. Olearius' maps about the Volga Delta [17], (Fig. 1), which mention the names of several rivers and settlements on the banks of the Volga. About the condition of Russian maps of the XVII century, A. Olearius noted that they were “completely wrong and did not allow to determine the way” [15, p. 361]. Another map was authored by J. Streiss [18], where only the Volga River and the city of Astrakhan are marked.



Fig. 1 Fragment of A. Olearius' map of the Volga River (delta part) [17]. 1 – Astrakhan (Astrakhan); 2 – Juantzur (Ivanchug); 3 – Tatarski molobiza (Tatarski molobiza); 4 – Zaboyka – (Urustoba).

Рис. 1 Фрагмент карты р. Волга А. Олеария (дельтовая часть) [17] 1 – Астрахан (Астрахань); 2 – Juantzur (учуг Иванчуг); 3 – Tatarski molobiza (Татарский молобиза); 4 – забойка – (учуг Урустоба)

There is a drawing of the uchugs location from the Complaint Church Letters of the Astrakhan Trinity Monastery, dating back to the second half of the XVII century, with images of camps and fences allocated to the mentioned monastery (Fig. 2).¹ This drawing, more similar to a scheme, is of great interest as it reflects the location of some camps (uchugs) on the river banks. The first detailed Russian map of the Volga Delta with

¹ Drawing of fishing uchugs and vatagas in the Volga Delta. Second half of the 17th century // Manuscripts Department of the Astrakhan Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. KP 41422/5. L. 260 ob.

illustrations of the delta channels and fences was compiled by S.M. Gmelin and published in 1777 [19], but it lacks the fisheries mentioned by E. Kaempfer.

The documents of the Astrakhan fishery office indicated the boundaries of fishing grounds and marked measurements of distances from Astrakhan to Uchugs [22], however, maps of fences have not been preserved².

E. Kaempfer's cartographic materials (1651 – 1716) are particularly valuable for studying the history of fishing and Russian colonisation of the Volga Delta in the XVII century. In 1683 Kaempfer as a secretary of the Swedish delegation travelled from Stockholm to Isfahan through Moscow and Astrakhan along the Volga to the Caspian Sea [22].

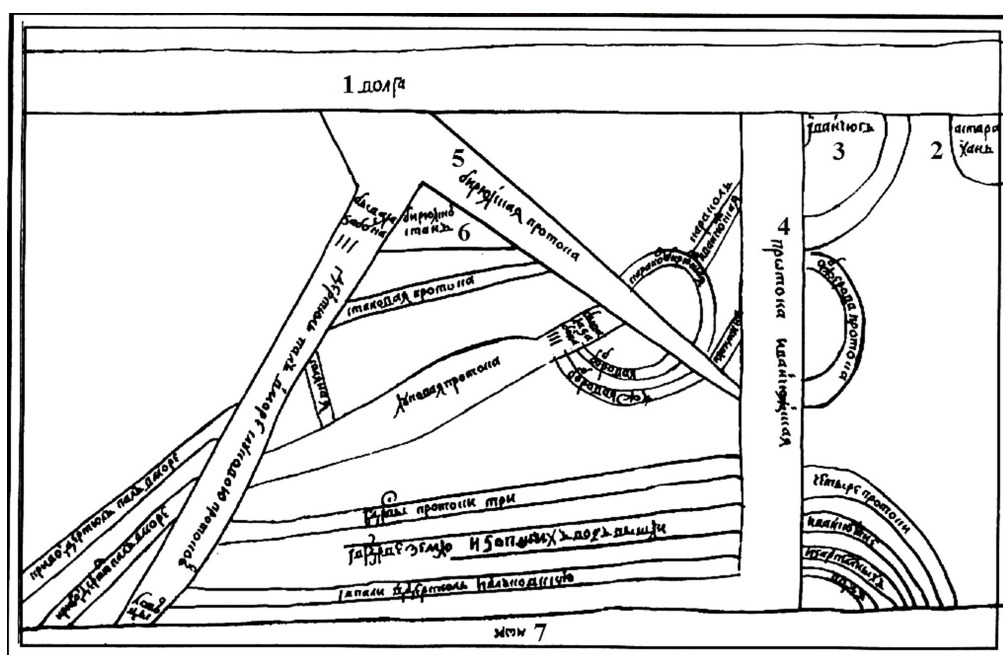


Fig. 2 Drawing of the location of uchugs and fishing vatagas in the Volga Delta.³

1 – Dolga (Volga); 2 – Astarakan (Astrakhan); 3 – Yadantyug (uchug Ivanchug); 4 – Idanchug (Stary Ivanchug river); 5 – Biryul channel (Biryul river); 6 – Biryul station (Uchug Byuryul); 7 – sea (Caspian Sea).

Рис. 2 Чертеж расположения учугов и промысловых ватаг в дельте Волги.

1 – Долга (Волга); 2 – Астаракань (г. Астрахань); 3 – Ядантиуг (учуг Иванчуг); 4 – Иданчуг (р. Старый Иванчуг); 5 – Бирюльская протока (р. Бирюль); 6 – Бирюльский стан (учуг Бюрюль); 7 – море (Каспийское море)

It's worth noticing that foreign authors in their publications paid little regard to E. Kaempfer's notes on Russia, or did not mention his name among the travellers who visited Russia in the XVII century. [23]. The explanation for this is the complexity of reading the traveller's documents written simultaneously in German and Latin [23, p. 5; 15], poor preservation of manuscripts [22, p. 9] and the loss of some documents [23; 24, p. 148].

At the beginning of the XXI century, two books were published in Russia from the notes of E. Kaempfer: F.P. Adelung concerning his stay, mainly in Moscow [26] and notes on Stepan Razin' uprising [26].

The Russian diary (1683) of E. Kaempfer with a description of his journey from Moscow down the Volga to Astrakhan was published in German editions in 1968 [27] and 2003 [21, p. 83]. The translators of the first

² The case of the Astrakhan fish office (1765-1781) // State Archive of the Astrakhan region. F. 614. Inv. 1. Doc. 560. 1775.

³ Drawing of fishing uchugs and vatagas in the Volga Delta. Second half of the 17th century // Manuscripts Department of the Astrakhan Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. KP 41422/5. L. 260 ob.

edition E.L. Dubman, S.I. Dubinin and the translator of the second edition A.L. Khoroshkevich pointed out the author's translation mistakes in proper names and geographical locations [29, p. 311-312], as well as the absence of the Volga Delta descriptions in his diaries [29].

During his travels in Russia E. Kaempfer not only kept a diary, but also prepared maps of his travel routes, which are stored in the Manuscripts Department of the British Library in London, including 10 sheets depicting the Volga River. The only author who worked with these maps is M. Lazar [31], who published one sheet with a Volga River drawing depicting 'the Astrakhan surroundings' [25, p. 68] with barely legible inscriptions. M. Lazar specifies that E. Kaempfer took along with him on his journey Olearius's publication "*Vermeehrte Neue Beschreibung der Muscovitischen und Persischen Reyse*" (Schleswig, 1656 r.) [31, pp. 68, 71].

N. Witsen served E. Kaempfer's descriptions and route map as the main source for his map "*Hetsuydelykste gedeelte van de Vliet Wolga*" (Southern part of the Volga River), later included in the second expanded edition of N. Witsen's book '*Noord en Oost Tartarye*' (Northern and Eastern Tartaria) [31]. E. Kaempfer was in correspondence with Witsen in 1693 – 1694 and shared with him the information collected about Russia, in particular, about the Lower Volga [27, p. 7]. For the first time in Russia, this map from this book was published by E.V. Gusarova [32]. In N. Witsen's book '*Northern and Eastern Tartaria*' published in Russian in 2010, translations of toponyms and hydronyms to this map are not given [33, p. 754].

M. Lazar reports that on his journey by waterways E. Kaempfer obtained topographical information by interviewing ship crews and local residents, but language barriers were the reason for many illegible place names [30, p. 68]. On the map presented in Witsen's book, several toponyms and symbols in the lower part of the map are already written in the Dutch language⁴.

The comparative-historical method with a detailed analysis of E. Kaempfer's map and cartographic method were used to visualise the location of XVII century fisheries in the Volga Delta. The application of the cartographic method with the written sources is the main component of this study.

We also used materials previously published by the authors devoted to comparative-historical analysis of the delta part hydronyms on the Kaempfer's map [10]. We've revealed similarity of some hydronyms in the western delta part with the Olearius map (1647) and the present-day ones.

Thus, the systematisation of the material in terms of temporal and spatial aspects allows us to substantiate the accumulated records on the settlement of some areas of the Volga Delta and confirm the regularity of the settlement in the fishing grounds.

Results and discussion

В работе рассматривается участок карты от *Astrakan*⁵ (г. Астрахань⁶) (рис. 4/1) до *De Kaspische Zee* (Каспийского моря) (рис. 4/16). Описания топонимов приводятся в направлении с севера на юг.

In our attempt to translate the toponyms on E. Kaempfer's map, we have established that many points noted by the author are Russian homonyms written in Dutch letters, which significantly facilitated the authors' interpretation of these toponyms. In this work, we present translations of purely Dutch words, while for Russian toponyms written in Dutch letters, we provide their Russian pronunciation and interpretation. For the first time, the authors offer decipherment of Russian toponyms and hydronyms written in XVII century in cursive script on the drawing of uchugs belonging to the Trinity Monastery (second half of the XVII century)⁷. For comparison we present the location of toponyms on E. Kaempfer's map with their positions on A. Olearius' map (Fig. 1) and the plan of the Trinity Monastery's uchugs (Fig. 2).

⁴ We are grateful for the translation of the texts from Dutch to Slavist Professor Emmanuel Wagemans (Antwerpen, Belgium).

⁵ Here and further in the text Russian toponyms and hydronyms written in Dutch letters are in italics.

⁶ Here and further in the text for Russian toponyms and hydronyms written in Dutch letters their Russian pronunciation is given in brackets.

⁷ We are grateful to A.I. Bogatyryov, a journalist and local historian from Astrakhan, for deciphering the toponyms written in Russian cursive script in the XVII century.

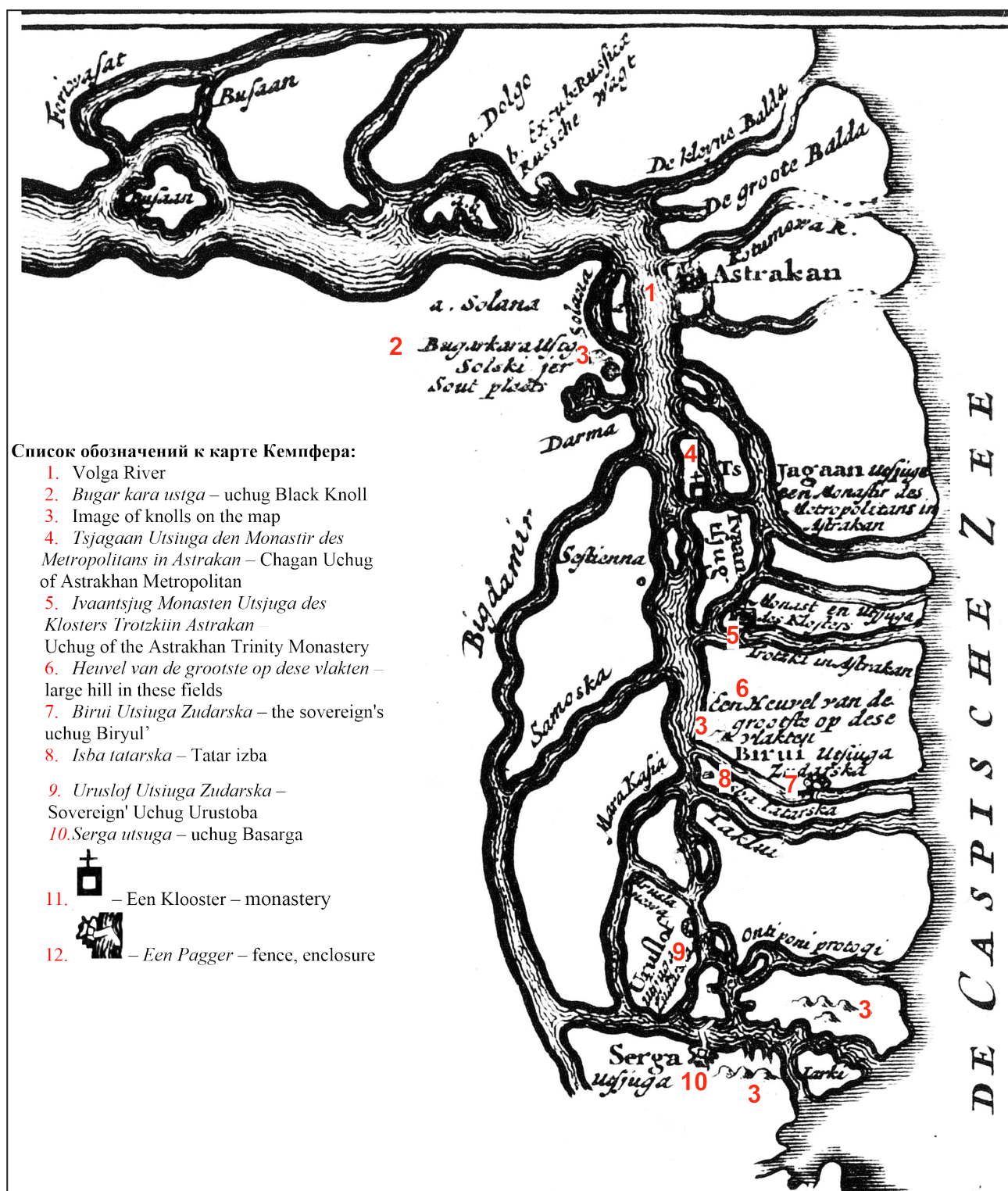


Fig. 3 Fragment of Kampher's map showing an area of the Volga Delta from Dolgy Island (a. Dolgo) to the Caspian Sea (De Kaspische Zee). Prepared by Kotenkov S.A. 1 – 12 – numbers of populated localities, fish uchugs, and conventional symbols

Рис. 3 Фрагмент карты Кемпфера с изображением участка дельты Волги от о. Долгий (a. Dolgo) до Каспийского моря (De Kaspische Zee). Выполнена Котеньковым С.А.

1 – 12 – номера топонимов населенных пунктов, учугов (забоек), условных обозначений

The first toponym on this section of the map is located on the right bank of the Volga River (Fig. 3/1) and bears the name *Bugar kara ustga* (Bugar kara ustga) (Fig. 3/2), which can be identified as Bugar, meaning "hill, knoll" in Russian, kara means "black" in Turkic languages, thus translating to Black Knoll. Next to it, a hill is depicted, representing one of the Baer knolls (natural elevations), repeatedly shown on the map (Fig. 3/3). Nearby, there is an inscription *Een Heuvel van de grootste op dese vlakten* (Fig. 3/6), which translates from Dutch as "big hill on these plains." To translate the toponym *Ustga* (ustga), let's refer to the list of markings on E. Kampfer's map, where the similar-sounding Dutch word *Utsiuga* (utsyuga) is designated as *een visscherij* (Fig. 3/13), which translates from Dutch as "place of fishing." According to our opinion, the word *ustga* is a reduction of the word *Utsiuga*. In turn, the word 'utsyuga' ("place of fishing") sounds like the Russian word 'utchug' ("fish trap, fence"). On E. Kampfer's map, the word *Utsiuga* (uchug) is indicated on riverbanks with a sign resembling a flower opposite toponyms denoting fish traps (Fig. 3/2, 4, 5, 7, 9). At three toponyms (Fig. 3/4, 7, 9), a light bracket blocking the river is depicted. In the list of symbols, the sign shaped like a "flower" is marked with the Dutch word *Een Pagger* (Fig. 3/12), which translates into Russian as "fence, enclosure," in our case, "fish fence." H. Barrow, an English negotiator traveling along the Volga in 1580, was the first European to mention the term 'utchug,' noting that "*utchug is the name of a dam in the Tatar language*" [34, p. 268]. The construction of the fish trap consisted of a solid palisade of logs driven into the bottom across the river to block the passage of large fish. Traps called "*utchuzhny izby*" (fish-trapping huts) were arranged inside the structure, where sturgeon species swimming upstream to spawn would become trapped, allowing fishermen to catch them with spears, load them onto boats, and transport ashore, where they would then cut up and prepare the fish at stations [19]. Therefore, the toponym *Bugar kara ustga* literally means "Black Hill Fish Trap." However, establishing its exact location and identifying the river on whose shores it was situated proves impossible.

The place name on the left bank of the Volga River, *Tsjagaan Utsiuga den Monastir des Metropolitans in Astrakan*, translates from Dutch as "Chagan Utsiuga Monastery of the Metropolitan of Astrakhan" (Fig. 3/4). This toponym corresponds to the Chagan utsuuga, located on the strait of the same name [21, p. 116]⁸. This fishery, known since the early XVII century, belonged to the Astrakhan Metropolis [8, pp. 74-75]. On the map, next to the fishing ground, there is a symbol in the form of a rectangle with a cross at its top, marked in the list of symbols with the Dutch word *Een Klooster*, which translates as 'monastery' (Fig. 3/11). There was indeed a church dedicated to the Great Martyr Catherine, built in the XVII century [35, p. 110]. The name of this uchug comes from the Turkic word *chegen* – a pile, a long log – the main detail in the construction of the walls on uchugs [3, p. 125]. It is likely that the river on which the uchug was located was subsequently named after this fence.

Further downriver, on the left bank of an unnamed river, marked with a bracket sign, there is a toponym named *Ivaantsjug Monasten Utsjuga des Klosters Trotzkiin Astrakan*, which translates from Dutch as "Ivanchug monastery uchug of the Trinity Monastery in Astrakhan" (Fig. 3/5). On A. Olearius' map, this fishery is called *Juantzur* (Yantzur) (Fig. 2/2), on the plan of fish fences of the Trinity Monastery, it is referred to as *Yadanchug* (Fig. 2/3), located on *Ivanchuzhny Channel* (Fig. 2/4)⁹. Originally, this uchug bore the name Yamany, meaning "bad barricade" in Tatar, but later it was renamed Ivanchug in Russian style. From the time of the capture of Astrakhan until 1575, the fish trap was leased to Tatars, and after 1575, it was transferred to the Trinity Monastery [36, p. 85]. In this case, the river on which the fish trap was located subsequently took its name from this uchug.

The next toponym downstream is *Birui Utsiuga Zudarska* (Biruy utsyuga zudarska) (Fig. 3/7). The first two words are defined as the Biruil uchug, and the word "zudarska" may mean "state," since this enterprise was located within the Palace Administration [8, p. 76]. This fence, known in the XVII century as the Biruil fish trap, was situated on the banks of the eponymous channel [37, p. 68].

⁸ Case of the Astrakhan Fish Office (1765–1781) / State Archive of Astrakhan Region. Fond 614. Inventory 1. File 560. 1775.

⁹ Drawing showing the location of fishing grounds and fishing camps in the Volga Delta. Second half of the XVII century // Manuscripts Department of the Astrakhan Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. KP 41422/5. L. 260 ob. pp. 116–117.

Next comes the point *Isba tatarska* (Tatar house) (Fig. 3/8) – an unknown Tatar settlement in the Volga Delta. In records and on A. Olearius' map, this toponym is mentioned under the name *Tatarski molobiza* (Tatar Molobiza), "...known among Russians as the Tatar shrine..." (Fig. 1/3) [15, p. 358].

Another point on the map – *Uruslof Utsiuga Zudarska* (Fig. 3/9)—which we have determined as the state-owned fish trap 'Urustoba', located under palace administration on the Uruslovo Pleso channel [8, p. 76].

The next toponym, *Serga utsuga* (Serga Utsyuga) (Fig. 3/10), has been identified as the Basarga fishing ground. This fishery, owned by the Archbishop of Astrakhan, was located on the river with the same name [38; 21, p. 118].

The fate of the fishing grounds in the Volga Delta marked on E. Kaempfer's map has developed in different ways. In the XVI century, with the sea level (–31 – –30.0 m abs.) [36] and in the XVII century, with the sea level (maximum –25.0 m abs.) [39], the hydrological situation was favourable for the development of fisheries even in the estuary area. However, between the 1740s and the early XIX century, the level of the Caspian Sea rose, remaining at –23.5 m above sea level for 70 years [14, p. 155]. The records of the Astrakhan Fish Office for 1742 contain information that fishing ceased on Biryul, Urustoba and Basarga uchugs due to the rise in sea level, the flooding of their buildings and the filling of their fishing nets with sand [21, pp. 116–118]. It should also be taken into account that the installation of a 'palisade' of logs across the river slows down the water flow, contributing to the silting up and shallowing of the riverbed at this location.

Nowadays, E. Kampfer's map is the only surviving map of the XVI–XVIII centuries depicting the western part of the Volga Delta with placement and naming of certain uchugs along with their property ownership.

Fisheries were the only Russian settlements in the Volga Delta. On the Volga-Caspian route, trading vessels could stop only at fish traps for rest, where they might receive assistance in repairing their ships, getting off shoals in the estuary area, defending against attacks by robbers or pirates, and replenishing provisions [16].

Terminology related to the names of fish traps almost always has Turkic origins. Fisheries such as Biryul', Urustoba, Basarga received their names from rivers with Turkic designations, whereas Chagan and Ivanchug uchugs gave their names to the rivers upon which they were built. This fact confirms the version that these fisheries existed already in the XVI century and belonged to the Astrakhan Khan and the Tatar aristocracy until the 1570s [2, pp. 220–221].

The hydrological situation in the Volga River Delta during the XVII century was favorable for the functioning of fisheries. The rise in the level of the Caspian Sea between the 40s XVIII and early XIX century altered the hydrological regime in the Volga Delta, particularly in the estuarine area, leading to flooding of some uchugs, filling up of certain channels, and consequently making it impossible to catch fish using fences. Fishery workers had to relocate from abandoned fish traps to other areas.

A series of place names on the studied map represent distorted pronunciations of Russian toponyms, which can be explained by mistakes made by the author who drew information from various sources that often contradicted each other.

E. Kampfer's map surpasses A. Olearius' map and the chart of Troitsky Monastery fish uchugs both in cumulative detail and accuracy of depicting geographic realities of the Volga Delta, reflecting a greater number of fishing grounds on a scale closer to reality. Even the delta map by S.M. Gmelin published one hundred years later (1777) failed to outperform it [21].

As a result of analyzing the delta section of E. Kampfer' map, inscriptions were translated from Dutch into Russian, and names of Russian geographical toponyms written with Dutch letters were fully identified.

Finally, this makes it possible to commence research aimed at determining the location of the first Russian settlements of the XVII century in the western part of the delta.

Conclusions

In the presented work the authors managed to fulfil the objectives. The research on detailed analysis concerning the delta part of E. Kaempfer's map, one of the earliest cartographic documents of the XVII century, which records the places of uchugs – the first Russian settlements, some of which still exist today, has been carried out.

The translation of the toponyms denoting fisheries in the delta part on E. Kaempfer' map was performed, and their names were determined to be identical to the names of the rivers on the banks of which they were located.

The coincidences in the location of uchugs on E. Kaempfer's (1683) and A. Olearius' (1637) maps and the drawing of the Trinity Monastery (II half of the XVII c.) have been ascertained.

The main reasons for the termination of Uchugs' activity were the rise in the level of the Caspian Sea, which occurred in the period from the 40s of the XVIII century to the beginning of the XIX century, which changed the hydrological situation in the region, resulting in the flooding of several Uchugs and filling of the channels on which they were located.

The results of the research into toponyms of the Volga Delta according to the map of E. Kaempfer expand our knowledge of historical and geographical realities of the XVII century, forming new perspectives for research in cartography, history and cultural geography of the Volga Delta and its lower reaches.

Acknowledgements: The authors are grateful to the reviewers for their constructive, critical analysis and valuable comments. The work was carried out within the framework of the financial support by RNF grant № 25–27–00357 "Climatological and hydrological events during the Early Middle Ages (VI–X cc.) on the territory of the Volga River Delta".

Благодарность: Авторы благодарят рецензентов за конструктивную критику и ценные рекомендации. Работа выполнена при финансовой поддержке гранта РНФ 25–27–00357 «Климато-гидрологические события в период Раннего Средневековья (VI–X вв.) на территории дельты р. Волги».

REFERENCES

1. Kotenkov SA., Kotenkov IS. *Formation and development of the fishing industry in the Astrakhan region in the IX–XIV centuries. Materials of the II International Scientific-Practical Conference "Water Resources of the Volga: History, Present and Future, Management Problems" (25–27 October 2012).* Astrakhan, 2012: 223–228. (In Russ)
2. Zaitsev IV. *Astrakhan Khanate. 2nd ed., rev. and exp.* Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 2006. (In Russ)
3. Stepanov IV. Economic activity of the Moscow government in the Lower Volga region in the XVII century. *Leningrad State University. Scientific Notes. Series of Historical Sciences.* 1939; 48(5): 80–142. (In Russ)
4. Ermolaeva LK. Large-scale merchants of Russia in the XVII – first quarter of the XVIII century (based on materials of Astrakhan trade). *Historical Notes.* 1986; 114: 303–325. (In Russ)
5. Golikova NB. *Essays on the History of Russian Cities at the End of the XVII – Beginning of the XVIII Century.* Moscow: Moscow University Press, 1982. (In Russ)
6. Dubman EL. *Commercial Entrepreneurship and the Development of the Lower Volga Region at the End of the XVI–XVII Centuries.* Samara: Samara University Publ., 1999. (In Russ)
7. Dubman EL. Fishing industries in the southeast of European Russia at the end of the XVI – beginning of the XVIII century. *Russian History.* 2012; 3: 128–138. (In Russ)
8. Dubman EL., Kabytov PS., Tagirova NF. *Essays on the His-*

СПИСОК ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

1. Котеньков С.А., Котеньков И.С. Становление и развитие рыбной отрасли Астраханского края в IX–XIV вв. Материалы II Международной научно-практической конференции «Водные ресурсы Волги: история, настоящее и будущее, проблемы управления». (25–27 октября 2012 г.). Астрахань, 2012. С. 223–228.
2. Зайцев И.В. Астраханское ханство. 2 изд. испр. и доп. М.: Вост. лит., 2006. 303 с.
3. Степанов И.В. Хозяйственная деятельность Московского правительства в Нижнем Поволжье в XVII в. // Ленинградский государственный университет. Ученые записки. Серия исторических наук. № 48. Вып. 5. Л., 1939. С. 80–142.
4. Ермолаева Л.К. Крупное купечество России XVII – первой четверти XVIII в. (по материалам астраханской торговли) // Исторические записки. 1986. Т.114. С. 303–325
5. Голикова Н.Б. Очерки по истории городов России конца XVII – начала XVIII в. М., Издательство Московского университета, 1982. 216 с.
6. Дубман Э.Л. Промысловое предпринимательство и освоение Понизового Поволжья в конце XVI–XVII вв. Самара: Изд-во «Самарский университет», 1999. 216 с.
7. Дубман Э.Л. Рыболовецкие промыслы юго-востока европейской России в конце XVI – начале XVIII в. //

tory of the Southeast of European Russia. Ed. P.S. Kabytov. Samara: Samara University Publ., 2004. (In Russ)

9. Kurapov AA. Fishing in Astrakhan province in the descriptions of travelers and participants of expeditions of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the XVIII century. *Oriental Studies*. 2024; 17(2): 344–353. DOI: 10.22162/2619-0990-2024-72-2-344-353.

10. Kotenkov SA., Lobacheva DM. Map and notes of Engelbert Kaempfer of 1697: Historical-geographical analysis. *Bulletin of Moscow University. Series 5: Geography*. 2024; 79(5): 113–122. DOI: 10.55959/MSU0579-9414.5.79.5.10. (In Russ)

11. Svitoch AA. Regressive epochs of the Greater Caspian. *Water Resources*. 2016; 43(2): 134–148. DOI: 10.7868/S0321059616020164. (In Russ)

12. Naderi Beni A., Lahijani H., Mousavi Harami R., Arpe K., Leroy S.A.G., Marriner N., Berberian M., Andrieu-Ponel V., Djalmali M., Mahboubi A., Reimer P.J. Caspian Sea-level changes during the last millennium: historical and geological evidence from the south Caspian Sea. *Climate of the Past*. 2013; 9: 1645–1665. DOI: 10.5194/cp-9-1645-2013.

13. Leroy S., Reimer P., Lahijani H., Naderi Beni A., Sauer E., Chalié F., et al. Caspian Sea levels over the last 2200 years, with new data from the S-E corner. *Geomorphology*. 2022; 403: 108–136.

14. Kotenkov SA., Makshaev RR., Lobacheva DM., Matlakho-va EYu. The Volga-Caspian Canal in the XVIII century: Historical-geographical reconstruction of the navigable route. *Bulletin of Moscow University. Series 5: Geography*. 2024; 79(3): 149–161. DOI: 10.55959/MSU0579-9414.5.79.3.10. (In Russ)

15. Olearius A. *Description of the Journey to Muscovy*. Trans. from German by A.M. Lovyagin. Smolensk: Rusich, 2003. (In Russ)

16. Struys JJ. *Three Journeys: Through Italy, Greece, Livonia, Muscovy, Tataria, Media, Persia, East India, Japan and Various Other Countries. 1647–1673*. Trans. E. Borodina; ed. A. Morozov; introd. A. Gaisynovich. Moscow: SotsEkgiz, 1935.

17. Olearius A. *Offt begehrte Beschreibung Der Newen Orientalischen Reise So dutch Gelegenheit einer Holsteinischen Legation an den König in Persien geschehen...* Schleswig, 1647.

18. Straussens J.J. *Sehr schwere wiederwertige und Denckwürdige Reysen Durch Italien, Griechen-land, Lifland, Moscau, Tartarey, Meden, Persien, Tiirckey, Ost-Indien, Japan und unterschied-liche andere... / Verziehret mit vielen schonen Kupffer-stiicken vom Authore selbst nach dem Leben gezeichnet; Aus dem Hollandischen iibergesetzt von A. Miiller*. Amsterdam, 1678.

19. Gmelin SG. *Journey through Russia for the Investigation of the Three Kingdoms of Nature. Part II*. Trans. Sergei Moshkov. Saint-Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1777. (In Russ)

20. Palmov N. On the history of the fishing industry in the Astrakhan region in the first half of the XVIII century. *Our Region*. 1924; 4: 113–135. (In Russ)

21. Kaempfer E. *Werke. Kritische Ausgabe in Einzelbänden*. Ed. by Detlef Haberland, Wolfgang Michel, Elisabeth Gössmann. Vol. 6: *Russlandtagebuch 1683*. München: Iudicum Verlag, 2003.

22. Wilson F. *Muscovy: Russia through Foreign Eyes 1553–1900*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1970.

23. Hughes L.A.J. *Sophia. Regent of Russia 1657–1704*. New Haven; London, 1990.

24. Troebst S. Die Kaspi-Volga-Ostsee-Route in der Handelskontrollpolitik Karls XI. Die schwedischen Persien-Missionen von Ludvig Fabritius 1679–1700. *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*. 1998; 54: 127–204.

25. Baron Meyerberg and His Journey in Russia: Trans. from German, ed. by F. Adelung. Saint-Petersburg: Typography of K. Kray, 1827, 8: 320–372. (In Russ)

26. *Foreign Accounts of Stepan Razin's Uprising. Materials and Studies*. Ed. A.G. Mankov. Leningrad, 1975: 152–181. (In Russ)

27. *Die Reisetagebücher Engelbert Kaempfers*. Ed. K. Meier-Lemgo. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1968.

Российская история. 2012. вып. 3. С. 128–138.

8. Дубман Э.Л., Кабытов П.С., Тагирова Н.Ф. Очерки истории юго-востока Европейской России / Под ред. П.С. Кабытова. Самара: Изд-во «Самарский университет», 2004. 296 с.

9. Курапов А.А. Рыбный промысел в Астраханской губернии в описаниях путешественников и участников экспедиций Петербургской академии наук XVIII в. // *Oriental Studies*. 2024. Т. 17. № 2. С. 344–353, DOI: 10.22162/2619-0990-2024-72-2-344-353.

10. Котеньков С.А., Лобачева Д.М. Карта и записки Энгельберта Кемпфера 1697 г. Историко-географический анализ // *Вестн. Моск. ун-та. Сер. 5: Геогр.* 2024. Т. 79. № 5. С. 113–122. DOI: 10.55959/MSU0579-9414.5.79.5.10

11. Свиточ А.А. Регрессивные эпохи Большого Каспия // *Водные ресурсы* 2016. Т. 43. № 2. С. 134–148, DOI: 10.7868/S0321059616020164

12. Naderi Beni A., Lahijani H., Mousavi Harami R., Arpe K., Leroy S.A.G., Marriner N., Berberian M., Andrieu-Ponel V., Djalmali M., Mahboubi A., and Reimer P.J. Caspian Sea-level changes during the last millennium: historical and geological evidence from the south Caspian Sea. // *Climate of the Past*. 2013.9. P. 1645–1665, DOI: 10.5194/cp-9-1645-2013

13. Leroy S., Reimer P., Lahijani H., Naderi Beni A., Sauer E., Chalié F., et al. Caspian Sea levels over the last 2200 years, with new data from the S-E corner // *Geomorphology*. 2022. 403. С. 108–136, DOI: 10.7868/S0321059616020164

14. Котеньков С.А., Махшаев Р.Р., Лобачева Д.М., Матлахова Е.Ю. Волго-Каспийский канал в XVIII в.: Историко-географическая реконструкция судоходного маршрута // *Вестник Московского университета. Серия 5: География*. 2024. Т. 79. № 3. С. 149–161, DOI: 10.55959/MSU0579-9414.5.79.3.10

15. Олеарий А. Описание путешествия в Московию / Пер. с нем. А. М. Ловягина. Смоленск: Русич, 2003. 480 с.

16. Три путешествия: По Италии, Греции, Лифляндии, Московии, Татарии, Мидии, Персии, Ост-Индии, Японии и различным другим странам. 1647–1673 / Я.Я. Стрейс // Пер. Э. Бородиной; Ред. А. Морозова; Введение: А. Гайсинович. М.: Соцэкгиз, 1935. 415 с.

17. Olearius A. *Offt begehrte Beschreibung Der Newen Orientalischen Reise So dutch Gelegenheit einer Holsteinischen Legation an den König in Persien geschehen...* Schleswig, 1647.

18. Straussens J.J. *Sehr schwere wiederwertige und Denckwürdige Reysen Durch Italien, Griechen-land, Lifland, Moscau, Tartarey, Meden, Persien, Tiirckey, Ost-Indien, Japan und unterschied-liche andere... / Verziehret mit vielen schonen Kupffer-stiicken vom Authore selbst nach dem Leben gezeichnet; Aus dem Hollandischen iibergesetzt von A. Miiller*. Amsterdam, 1678.

19. Гмелин С.Г. Путешествие по России для исследования трех царств природы. Часть II. [пер. Сергей Мошков]. СПб.: При Имп. Акад. наук, 1777. 336 с.

20. Пальмов Н. К истории рыбной промышленности в Астраханском крае в первой половине XVIII в. // *Наш край*. 1924. № 4. С. 113–135.

21. Engelbert Kaempfer. *Werke. Kritische Ausgabe in Einzelbänden*. Herausgegeben von Detlef Haberland, Wolfgang Michel, Elisabeth Gössmann. Vol 6 *Russland tagebuch 1683*. München: Iudicum Verl., 2003. 331 p.

22. Wilson Francesca *Muscovy: Russia through foreign eyes 1553–1900*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1970. 328 p.

23. Hughes L.A.J. *Sophia. Regent of Russia 1657–1704*. New Haven. London 1990.

24. Troebst Stefan Die Kaspi-Volga-Ostsee-Route in der Handelskontroll politik Karls XI. Die schwedischen Persien-Missionen von Ludvig Fabritius 1679–1700 // *Forschungen zur Osteuropaischen Geschichte*, 1998. 54. p. 127–204.

28. Dubman EL., Dubinin SI. Notes of E. Kaempfer on his journey along the Volga from Kazan to Astrakhan. *Regional Studies Notes*. Samara, 1996; 8: 311–322. (In Russ)
29. Khoroshkevich AL. Diary of Engelbert Kaempfer's journey through Russia in 1683. *Historical Archive*. 2005; 5: 207–221. (In Russ)
30. Lazar M. The manuscript maps of Engelbert Kaempfer. *Imago Mundi*. 1982; 34: 66–71.
31. Witsen N. *Noord en Oost Tartaryen: behelzende eene beschryving van verscheidene tartersche en nabuurige gewesten in de norder en oostelykste deelen van Aziën en Europa Zedert nauwkeurig onderzoek van veele Jaaren, en eigen ondervinding ontworpen, beschreven, geteekent, en in't licht gegeven*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam, 1705.
32. Gusarova EV. *Astrakhan Discoveries: History, Architecture, Urban Planning of Astrakhan in the XVI–XVIII Centuries According to Documents from St. Petersburg Collections*. Saint-Petersburg: Nestor-History, 2009. (In Russ)
33. Witsen N. *North and East Tartary, Including Regions Located in the Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*. In 3 vols. Trans. from Dutch V.G. Trisman; ed. and scientific supervisor N.P. Kopaneva, B. Naarden. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Pegasus, 2010. (In Russ)
34. *English Travellers in the Muscovite State in the XVI Century*. Moscow: SotsEkgiz, 1938. (In Russ)
35. Ozeretskovsky NYa. Description of Kola and Astrakhan. *From the Works of Academician Nikolai Ozeretskovsky*. Saint-Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1804. (In Russ)
36. Savvinsky II. Toward a historical-statistical description of the parishes of the Astrakhan diocese. Village of Ivanchug. *Astrakhan Diocesan Gazette*. 1909; 3 (Unofficial Section): 84–91.
37. *Journey of the Merchant Fedot Kotov to Persia*. Moscow: Vost. Lit., 1958.
38. Markov AS. *In the Footsteps of Razin*. Volgograd: Nizhne-Volzhskoe Knizhnoe Izdatelstvo, 1980. (In Russ)
39. Varushchenko SI., Varushchenko AN., Klige RK. *Changes in the Regime of the Caspian Sea and Drainless Water Bodies in Paleotime*. Moscow: Nauka, 1987. (In Russ)
25. Барон Мейерберг и путешествие его по России: Пер. с нем. / Изд. Федором Аделунгом, д. с. с. и кавалером. СПб.: тип. К. Крайя, 1827. VIII. С. 320–372.
26. Иностранные известия о восстании Степана Разина. Материалы и исследования. / Под редакцией А.Г. Манькова. Л., 1975. С.152–181.
27. *Die Reisetagebucher Engelbert Kaempfers* / Bearbeitet von K. Meier-Lemgo. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1968. 182 p.
28. Дубман Э.Л., Дубинин С.И. Записки Э. Кемпфера о путешествии по Волге от Казани до Астрахани // Краеведческие записки. Самара, 1996. Вып. 8. С. 311–322.
29. Хорошкевич А.Л. Дневник путешествия Энгельберга Кемпфера по России в 1683 г. // Исторический архив. 2005. № 5. С. 207–221.
30. Lazar M. The manuscript maps of Engelbert Kaempfer // *Imago Mundi*. 1982. Vol. 34. p. 66–71.
31. Witsen N. *Noord en Oost Tartaryen: behelzende eene beschryving van verscheidene tartersche en nabuurige gewesten in de norder en oostelykste deelen van Aziën en Europa Zedert nauwkeurig onderzoek van veele Jaaren, en eigen ondervinding ontworpen, beschreven, geteekent, en in't licht gegeven*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam, 1705. 503 p.
32. Гусарова Е.В. Астраханские находки: История, архитектура, градостроительство Астрахани XVI – XVIII вв. по документам из собраний Петербурга. СПб.: Нестор-История, 2009. 492 с.
33. Витсен Н. Северная и Восточная Тартария, включающая области, расположенные в северной и восточной частях Европы и Азии. В 3 т. / пер. с гол. В.Г. Трисман; ред. и науч. рук. Н.П. Копанева, Б. Наарден. Т. 2. Амстердам: Pegasus, 2010. 980 с.
34. Английские путешественники в Московском государстве в XVI веке. М.: Соцэкгиз, 1938. 315 с.
35. Озерецковский Н.Я. Описание Колы и Астрахани // Из сочинений академика Николая Озерецковского. СПб.: Императорская Академия наук, 1804. 131 с.
36. Саввинский И.И. К историко-статистическому описанию приходов Астраханской епархии. Село Иванчуг // Астраханские епархиальные ведомости. 1909. № 3. Отдел неофиц. С. 84–91.
37. Хожение купца Федота Котова в Персию. М.: Изд. вост. литературы. 1958. 111 с.
38. Марков А.С. По следам Разина. Волгоград: Ниж.-Волж. кн. Изд-во, 1980. 142 с.
39. Варуценко С.И., Варуценко А.Н., Клиге Р.К. Изменение режима Каспийского моря и бессточных водоемов в палеовремени. М.: Наука, 1987. 239 с.

Recieved 08.12.2024

Accepted 21.03.2025

Published 15.12.2025

Поступила в редакцию 08.12.2024

Принята в печать 21.03.2025

Опубликована 15.12.2025