

Editorial – Editorial

**The Genesis of the Phenomenon of the Ukrainian
Cossacks***

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Abstract

The East Slavic etymon *kazak* > *kozak* was borrowed from the Polovtsian *qazaq* (< *qaz*) some time after the fourteenth century. In this way the etymon *kazak* in Eastern Europe is of nomadic Turkic origin. To answer the question of

* The present article is a work written about the Ukrainian Cossacks, which was entrusted to me during the closing ceremony of a symposium in Kiev by Mrs. Larysa Pritsak, who has passed on to eternal life. Mrs. Pritsak entrusted me with an article she wrote about the Cossacks in a small flash drive, under the conditions of the symposium, with a request to be published. After returning home, exhausted from the lectures, we unfortunately forgot about this trust and were unable to ensure that the article met its readers on time.

I immediately remembered this flash disk that I had in my jacket pocket one day, and curiously I plugged it into the computer and saw the content of the article. The sadness I felt because the article I read in one breath could not be delivered to its readers on time increased exponentially. I would like to state that I am very happy to bring this valuable article of the late Larysa Pritsak to Turkish readers, even if it is delayed, and I remember the Turkish-friendly lady with respect, mercy and longing. Prof. Dr. Yücel Öztürk.

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the origin of the Ukrainian Cossack in the context of world history, the author proposes to develop a theory making use of the socio-philological approach of the German turkologist, Annemarie von Gabain. If we accept her theory, the Ukrainian 'Kasakentum', as a single phenomenon, was a regulating factor in nomadic social structures where a collective consciousness and a social decision making process dominated. In this social system there was no place for individual acts of heroism.

If we analyze the sources concerning the history of Eastern European Cossack society in the XIV and XVII centuries in the territory of Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania and Russia, we should consider two aspects: that of the Cossack as an individual and also of Cossack society. From individual Cossacks was formed a Cossack social structure with its own ideology.

Keywords: *Qazaq* > Cossack as an institution: oghuzes, guards, conquerors, Ottoman, hired labour for monasteries, nomadic and settled, mercenaries serving the Polish kings. The Tale of Igor's Campaign, the Register.

Ukrayna Kazakları Fenomeninin Doğuşu

Öz

Doğu Slav etimonu kazak > kozak, 14. yüzyıldan bir süre sonra Polovts dilindeki qazaq'tan (< qaz) ödünç alınmıştır. Bu şekilde Doğu Avrupa'daki etimon kazak göçebe Türk kökenlidir. Yazar, Ukrayna Kazaklarının kökeni sorusunu dünya tarihi bağlamında yanıtlamak için Alman Türkolog Annemarie von Gabain'in sosyo-filolojik yaklaşımından yararlanarak bir teori geliştirmeyi önermektedir. Onun teorisini kabul edersek, Ukrayna'daki 'Kasakentum' tek bir olgu olarak, kolektif bilincin ve toplumsal karar verme sürecinin hakim olduğu göçebe toplumsal yapılarda düzenleyici bir faktördü. Bu sosyal sistemde bireysel kahramanlık eylemlerine yer yoktu.

Doğu Avrupa Kazak toplumunun XIV. ve XVII. yüzyıllarda Ukrayna, Polonya, Litvanya ve Rusya topraklarındaki tarihine ilişkin kaynakları analiz edersek, iki yönü dikkate almalıyız: bir birey olarak Kazak'ın ve aynı zamanda Kazak toplumunun. Bireysel Kazaklardan, kendi ideolojisine sahip bir Kazak sosyal yapısı oluşturuldu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kazak > Bir kurum olarak Kazak: Oğuzlar, muhafızlar, fatihler, Osmanlı, manastırlar için kiralık işçiler, göçebe ve yerleşikler, Polonya krallarına hizmet eden paralı askerler. Igor'un Kampanyasının Hikayesi, Kayıt.

The Turkic Etymology of the Word *Qazak* 'Cossack'.

Existing studies of campaigns by Ukrainian Cossacks **cannot** satisfy us because they are based on a "laundry" concept characterized in

general by a *breadwinning* feature.¹ It is necessary to put aside a romantic interpretation based on folklore and to consider a phenomenon of emergence of Cossacks from historic prospective. *The Cossacks* is not a folklore phenomenon but a cultural and political one which developed as Ukrainian answer, that is of the orthodox people, not yet involved, not affected by the Humanism. While facing Western secular political concept of the world, not using Arnold Toynbee's² term – "it was a specific reaction", we may say *it was a specific challenge*. Thus, we study the Cossacks from the prospective of *the world history*, for it is not a local phenomenon, and consider it *as an institution*. Because there were not only Zaporizhzhia, Don and Terek Cossacks in Muscovia, in *Western Europe Cossacks were represented by mercenary troops* from different countries. Like any historic phenomena, in different periods it takes different forms. In particular, Zaporizhzhia Cossacks experienced three main periods in the process of development of Cossacks standing.³

I period – XIV century (end) – XV century. Cossacks as a commonplace, diverse and yet without a common denominator, phenomenon. These are activities of individual Cossacks.

II period – XV century (second half) – XVI century (first half). Cossacks are specializing in military profession and living in settlements – Sich; they are in civil "service" to guard borders with The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Moscow state, Crimean Khanate and Osman Porta. Being professional mercenaries, they choose themselves, nonetheless, whom to serve.

III period – XVI century (last quarter) – XVII century (first half). This is the beginning of Cossacks' formation as a separate social status in the initiated first Registry of Ukrainian Cossacks, recognized by the state of Zaporizhzhia Army. The oriental sources could cast some light on the problem of Ukrainian Cossacks genesis. The requirement of my Teacher, world-known orientalist Professor Omeljan Pritsak [Pritsak 1981, XV-XXI] – comprehensive approach to historic research, and specifically to source studies, in his structural and functional theory was helpful to me. When I first started to study the Cossacks era, the question arose,

¹ Яворницький Д., І. Історія запорозьких козаків. Львів, 1990–1992. Т. 1–3.

² Тоунбі А. Дж., *A Study of History*, vol. 12. Oxford, 1961, p.87.

³ Винар Л. *Козацька Україна*. Київ – Нью-Йорк, 2003. С. 11–14.

regarding emergence of Ukrainian Cossacks, that is what the word 'Cossack' means? And I addressed this question to Professor O. Pritsak. Under those circumstances, the work of genius of the coryphée of Turkology Omeljan Pritsak was created.⁴

To prove Turkic etymology of the word – *Qazaq* – let us draw our focus toward the scientific paper of Professor O. Pritsak. There is no consensus among scientists with regard to Turkic etymology of the word *Qazaq*. Historians Hrushevsky,⁵ Stökl,⁶ and specialists in etymology of Slavic languages Berneker,⁷ Brückner,⁸ Vasmer and Trubachov⁹ as well as Melnichuk¹⁰ without any reservations – but also without evidences – agree with Turkic languages not giving any etymology for the term *qazaq*, but Doerfer¹¹ simply state: “there is no reliable etymology for the word [qazaq]”. The same opinion was presented by Menges.¹²

Up until the start of the twenty first century historians were uncertain about the origins of word *Qazak*. It is a deverbal noun generally accepted as coming from the verb *qaz-* found in the Old Turkic language with the meaning 'to dig' or 'to dig out' and the suffix */-AK/* which forms nouns by expressing the result of the action, instrument or the actor and was in use in old Turkic languages and can be interpreted as 'the digger'. However, there was a lack of proof of the Turkic origin

⁴ Omeljan Pritsak, “The Turkic Etymology of the Word *Qazaq* 'Cossack'”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 28, No 1-4 2006, pp.237-243.

⁵ Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History Of Ukraine – Rus Volume Seven The Cossack Age to 1625*, Ed. Serhii Plohky, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, Toronto, 1999, p.76.

⁶ Günther Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums*. MüniH, 1953, p.31.

⁷ Erich Karl Berneker, *Slavisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1., Heidelber, 1924, p.496.

⁸ Aleksander Brückner, *Słownik Etymologiczny Języka Polskiego*, Warsaw, 1957, p.262.

⁹ Max Vasmer, and Trubacev O.N, *Étimologický Slovar' Russkogo Jazyka*, Vol. 2. Moscow, 1967, p. 495.

¹⁰ Oleksandr Savyc Mel'nyucuk, *Etymolohicnyj Slovyk Ukrains'koi Movy*, Vol. 2 Kyiv, 1985, pp.495-496.

¹¹ Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*, Vol. 3. Wiesbaden, 1967, pp. 462-468.

¹² Karl Heinrich Menges, *Vostocnye élementy v "Slove O Polku Igoreve"*, Leningrad, 1979, pp.196 nos. 11-12.

of the word. In his work, Professor Omeljan Pritsak¹³ sets out the proof, suggesting that the word *qazak* entered the Turkic language when it commonly had the meaning 'the digger' and the word became 'existent' when the literary language of the time included it in its vocabulary and he shows how and why the meaning of the word changed.

Pritsak points out that Annemarie von Gabain¹⁴ has shown that, in the Orkhon inscription (VIII century) of or the Old Turkic language the verb *qaz-* had the same meaning as the word *qazyan-* 'to gather, conquer' and that this meaning remained in the Eurasian steppe among nomads, but was not included into the Turkic literary language of the time because dictionary compilers neglected the languages of the nomads.

Pritsak shows that the lexeme *qazaq* appeared before the Codex Cumanicus of 1303 which is commonly thought to contain the word's first mention. He explains how, in the Muslim world, the ancestors of the Ukrainians, Polovtsians and Cherkes, were bought as slaves (Mamlüks) and trained in military arts, that they rose to power in Syria and Egypt, dethroning the last Ayyübid in 1250 and ruling until the Ottoman sultan Selim conquered both Syria and Egypt in 1517 AD. In 1245 AD an Arabic-Polovtsian glossary appeared¹⁵ in which the lexeme *qazaq* is translated into Arabic as *al-marjarrad*, i.e. 'free'. Pritsak also mentions how in 1942 the Hungarian turkologist, Gyorgy Györffy, established that the Codex Cumanicus was in fact a collection of texts from the 13th and 14th centuries and that the earliest of them in which the word *Cosac* appears was a Middle-Age Latin, Persian, Polovtsian glossary from 1294/95, probably written in the Crimea. It was a later copy of this document which the compilers of the Codex Cumanicus used, giving the Medieval Latin gloss *guayta* 'guard' as *naobat* 'guard' in Persian and *Ghasal Cosac* in Polovtsian. Pritsak admits that the first word (*Ghasal*) is yet to be interpreted, but states that the second is 'Cossack'.

¹⁴ Annemarie von. Gabain, "Kasakentum Eine Soziologisch Philologische Studie" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 11:161-67.

¹⁵ Published by. Martin Theodor Houtsma, *Ein Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar*, Leiden, 1894.

Pritsak gives one last example to show that the Polovtsians had and used the institution of *qazaq*: the use of the word in the work “Anonymous of Iskander” by the Persian writer Natanzi from around 1412, who wrote: “In this region he roamed in the manner of a *qāzàq*.”

Pritsak argues that it was because a Polovtsian literary language never developed that the Polovtsian lexeme *qazaq* was not included in the vocabulary of the Turkic literary language until the sixteenth century, but that in the sixteenth century we see it being used widely, for example in the memoirs of Bābur who used the word in the meaning of ‘freebooter, one who takes possession’.

Finally, Professor Pritsak deals with the work of Professor Gabain and her contribution to the analytical method in the etymologization of Turkic words. Gabain argues that the word *qazaq* existed in the language of the Old Turkic inscriptions of the eighth century, and she explains how while the nomadic Polovtsians continued to use the simple form *qaz*, the verb *qazyan*, meaning to be engaged in raids, conquer, was formed and how it became important in Old Turkic political life.

Pritsak concludes that the East Slavic etymon *kazak* was borrowed from the Polovtsian *qazaq* some time after the fourteenth century and that the etymon *kasak* in Eastern Europe is of nomadic Turkic origin.

Social and Philological Theory on Origins of Cossacks by the German Turkologist Annemarie von Gabain.

An outstanding expert on Oriental history Vasily Vladimirovich Bartold / W. Barthold (1869–1930) mentions in “Encyclopaedia of Islam”¹⁶ notion of the key word *qazaq* as a sociological institution. I propose to solve the genesis problem of Ukrainian Cossacks, as a cultural and political phenomenon in the universal history, by sociological and philological theory and putting at its basis the way of thinking on Cossacks origin of the German turkologist, professor of Hamburg University Annemarie von Gabain. This is why I am going to inform the reader more in detail with the sociological and philological theory on the origin of Cossacks by professor Gabain.¹⁷ The Orientalist

¹⁶ W. Barthold, and G. Hazai, “Kazak” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Volume 4. 2nd Edition. Edited by P. J. Bearman et. al. pp.848-849.

¹⁷ Gabain, “Kasakentum Eine Soziologisch Philologische Studie”, pp.161-167.

scholar Ahmed Zaki Validi Togan (1890–1970) in his work: “Bugünki Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakın tarihi”¹⁸ explains in depth the notion of qazaq. Until recently, the notion was inspiring epic glorification of violence: starting from XV century, Turkis and Mongols designated by the word a ruling person who, for a political purpose, separated from his nationhood or the nation, and independently or jointly with his family, without habitual protection of his kindred, wandered in the Steppe and tried to find conquests. They also called by the word qazaq rulers who could not yet come into governance being thus forced to travel around the country without a definite purpose. Later on, the term was applied to entire tribes or confederations of nomadic tribes, which broke away from their nomadic nationhood, in order to join the Cossacks.

Existence of Cossacks as a phenomenon was prepared back in old times by a respective way of thinking. Professor Gawain gives, as an example, in her study¹⁹ observations of the European traveller A. Vāmbéry about an event, a hundred years ago, which took place in Turkic-Iranian border region of South Turkmenistan that, in the opinion of his companions—compatriots, was a habitual frequent occurrence. Nine horsed and armed Turkmen attacked a household of a Tajik, captured and banded up five men; a woman and three other inhabitants of the farm remained lying dead or seriously wounded; after which the Turkmen tied the captured behind them to the horses, loaded a big and left in a hurry. The captured, due to such cruel transportation (carriage), arrived to the Turkmen’s camp rather dead than alive. In a couple of days, one of the Turkmen dared to ride on a horse to the village and to speak out the amount of the expected ransom. The village community, aware from the previous experience, how brutally treated were their relatives, hurried up to bring the necessary money and to ransom in that way the prisoners of war. “Greedy for money, bandits! Senseless atrocities!” was an understandable judgement on Tajiks’ part. Turkmen, on the contrary, assessed the event very differently: they described it, in the first place, as “cossacks”.

¹⁸ Ahmed Zeki Validi Toğan, *Bugünki Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1942, P. 47, 37.

¹⁹ Gabain, “Kasakentum Eine Soziologisch Philologische Studie”, pp.161-167.

In course of time, it became a habit among many nomadic (wandering) tribes to send a man capable to bear a weapon to the Steppe, in order to get hardened by life severities. He had to feed himself from hunting and learn to oppose to natural calamities and attacks of enemies. During that time, he was beyond the usual habitual law (törä) and all the risks were born only by him. A young hero lived in such “cossacks” way just for a limited period of time. If not perished, he would finally come back to his own home, entered again into the framework of the existing law and thus – into restricted order of the society.

Famous Cossacks of the past include Timürbek, his descendants Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, Musain Bayqara, Bābur Mīrzā and Uzbek Özbeken Saybaqhan with his supporters. Their political goal was to change the political system that is they did not accept existing relations as a public order. It was, for example, typical for Ğānī-beg and descendants of Girāy-Sultane, like Qāzim-han and his son Haqq Nazar-han. (Rasid ed-din describes those Uzbeks who left their ruler (Abu ‘l-Hair-han), Özbäk-gazaq. Political goal, that is improvement of living conditions of their nation, either through change of governance or by enriching the tribes at the expense of their enemies – all this would be a reason for a long-lasting fame, much exceeding their heroic deeds. When in difficult poverty time before XVII century it manifested in private gaining a trophy (yaymacılıq), it was already redemption of the Cossacks. Initially, a Cossack wanted to be useful to his people or wanted to prove his abilities of a ruler for which purpose he would enriched his clan in some way and find favourable solutions for his nation. The people admire and bow to Cossacks, their foolhardiness, disguise of a deadly danger in different situations, their sneaky mind, everything they sacrifice for the sake of success and luck. That is true that many of them paid for it by death or serious illness. Timürbek (Timür-beg) injured his leg while being a Cossack, which brought him, despite his state status, the nickname “lengi” (lame).

Heroism and state beliefs of Cossacks could not be understood by townspeople and peasants, being main victims of the phenomena, as well as by medieval historians who always originated from cities.

Even if one cannot prove existence of Cossacks as a phenomenon in deep ancient time, nonetheless it was already prepared by in that epoch

through respective way of thinking. In the “Tonyuquq” chronicles, it is mentioned with praise that Turkic people (Türk) would like to take over the risks of their own governance and that they were already fed up with a comfortable life under Chinese ruling: türk budun qanın bulmayin, tabyacda adrilti, qanlanti “Turkic people (Türk), since they did not win any (own) king, departed from China and gave themselves a king”. Gaining a basis for being is considered a very important thing elteris qayan qazyanmasar, yoq ärti ärsär; bän özüm bilgä tonyuquq qazanmasar, bän yoq ärtim ärsär... “if the emperor El-teris did not win over his property, if he did not exist..., if I myself, wise Tonyuquq, did not conquered my property, if I myself did not exist...”, existence of the whole nation would be doubtful. Such a way of thinking is confirmed by Old-Turkish inscriptions from South Siberia, presumably originated from the Kirghiz²⁰ elicit can qazyanu “winning property in the interests of your clan” [ibid., 331], ...kişi qazyandim “I gain (so and so much) people (as servants)” [ibid., 339], eliñä qazyandim “for your clan I gained property”.

Thus we see that inscriptions on grave stones, put into the lips of the dead hero describe that what he may boast of are his deeds in favour of the clan and the sovereign for, in particular, their enrichment with property and servants.

Thus, we may prove Cossacks as a sociological institution and the underlying it way of thinking.

Finally, philologist brought their attention to the institution of Cossacks.

There are several groups of cognate words with a certain extremely broad meanings, in particular, with senses opposite to each other. This circumstance could be understood if one considers that they relate to Cossacks and reflect opposite views of nomads (wanderers) and settled people regarding this institution.

qaz- (Kash.) ‘to thread ground (with a horse)’; qaz-a+la- (Tel.) ‘to gallop rapidly’, qaz- (Chah.) ‘to wander here and there’, qaz-aq (Kirgh., Kaz.) ‘free person, brave horseman, adventurer’. The word also developed in an interesting way, its meaning for settled peoples being: (Turkm.) ‘home tyrant’, qazaq kişi (Tatar) ‘bachelor’.

²⁰ W. Die Radloff, *alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, Petersburg, 1985. p. 329.

Qazaq+anä (Chah.) 'as a free dweller of Steppes' as compared with the meaning of qazaq+čr (Chah.) 'bandit'. Positive is also: qazaq+lig (Chah.) 'adventurer' and, on the contrary, qazaq+lug (Chah.) 'leader of the gang (gangs) of bandits', qaz-aq- (Chah.) 'to wander with robbery intentions' –*qazaq+a-n->qazyān (Atu.) 'to conquer', (Kash.), 'to gain', qazyānč (Atu., Kash.) 'gaining daily bread', 'property, fortune, (Chah.) 'gaining, profit'; qaz-u (Chah.) 'gaining, profit, interest', qaza (Chah.) 'storehouse, storage place next to nomads tent', qazyān->> qazan- (Osm., Az., Crim.) 'to obtain', qazyānğ (Osm.) 'obtaining', qazyānčāğ (Tatar.) 'to get exhausted by work, to overtrain oneself'.

And further: qaz-in (Kar. T.) 'to break into the house', qaz-it- (Qutadyu bilig), 'to testify', qaz-iq-či (Osm.) 'deceptively, cunningly', qaz-r-a (Tel.) 'horse stealing, cattle stealing', qazra+či (Tel.) 'cattle robber'.

Analysis of sources on the history of the Cossacks XIV-XVII centuries in the territory of Eastern Europe, modern Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Lithuania.

In Ukrainian, Russian and Polish historiographies there are differences in the assessment of the phenomenon of the Cossacks. To this he drew attention in his fundamental work when comparing the emergence and development of all regional groups of Cossacks, the Viennese scientist Günter Stökl²¹. He pointed out how the situation is obscured by the fact that the historians of all the peoples of Eastern Europe, who studied the references to the Cossacks, gave them a different beginning, depending on their political orientation. Then, Russian historiography S. Soloviev, V. Klyuchevsky, S. Platonov assessed the Cossacks as a phenomenon of marginal, Ukrainian historiography. However, M. Hrushevsky,²² considers the Cossacks to be a central phenomenon in the history of Ukraine. Mykhailo Hrushevsky emerges from the role of the Cossacks in the Hetman state of the XVII-XVIII centuries, but is seeking for them an ancient genealogy, linking the Cossacks with the Chernye Klobuki or Torks (*търк*). The Old Russian solid sign was used to convey the Turkic phoneme /ü/ in the name *Türk* between X-XI centuries. Therefore, the name *Türk* was written in the

²¹ Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums*. Münih, 1953.

²² Myxajlo Hrushevskyj, *Istorija Ukraïny-Rusy*. Vol. 7. Kyiv, 1909.

Old Russian language as a *търк*, but in the XII century the solid sign began to transmit the vowel /o/. This is how the name *Tork* came to be.

For the reign of Volodymyr Sviatoslavich (about 980-1015 years), the long formation of the territory of Kievan Rus was over. It was the largest state in Europe, whose area reached 1.5 million km². It was at this time in 985, Torks, or Uz-oi (< Oghuz), the Eastern Türküts began the campaign for the conquest of the Eurasian steppe. In 1043 they received the help of the Islamic world, accepted Islam and moved to steppes. When Qipčaq (Kipchaks) entered the territory of the Oghuz Turkmen Yabgu and defeated them, the oghuzes travelled to the east of the Pechenegs steppe²³ In 1054, the oghuzes came to the borders of Rus of the Pereyaslav principality, the Tale of Bygone Years calls them Torks (Türk), but the prince of Rus Vsevolod Yaroslavich received victory over them under the Voin. In the summer of 1055, following Torks, they came to Rus and themselves Kipchaks, they became known as the Old Russian Polovtsy. Now, Vsevolod Yaroslavich (1078-1093), considering the situation, “to create Vsevolod the world with them, and returning Polovtsy homeward”. In 1060, Torks returned again to the borders of the Rus princes. At this time, the three senior princes of Yaroslavichy – Izyaslav, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod actually co-operated with Rs. The triumvirate lasted for 15 years, during which the princes solved the most important affairs in accord, among them the main place was the inner peace and unity, as well as the defence of Rus from the Polovtsians. Together, the Rus triumvirs, above all, defeated Torks, understanding the Polovtsian hole for Rus, the triumvirs “part of Torkov hired for service. They were called Chernye Klobuki” The Turkic Speaking Peoples. Section: The Torks, the Berendei and the Chernye Klobuki.²⁴

The second part of the Torks went to the Danube, where they were adopted by Byzantium and settled in Macedonia for the protection of borders. After the abolition of the Bulgarian kingdom in 1018, the protection of the border line along the Danube River, in particular, the

²³ Pritsak, 31-32. Section II. Polovtsy and Rus against the backdrop of the history of the Eurasian Grace. Омелян Прицак, “Коли і ким було написано” Слово о полку Ігоревім, Київ, 2008, pp.31-32.

²⁴ Omeljan Pritsak, “The Turkic Nomads of Sauthern Europe”, The Turkic Speaking Peoples. München–Berlin–London–New-York: Arestel Verlag, 2008, pp. 205-208.

province of Paristrion, was one of the life problems of the Byzantine Empire.

Polovtsy were dissatisfied with the fact that the Rus princes (triumvirate) took on their «service» of their theoretical subjects, Torks. After all, the name Chernye Klobuki or Torks arose in Rus for mercenaries of mainly Turkic origin, who were supposed to protect the South-Rus border from Polovtsy.

The center of Torks was the Torchesk fortress, located in the southern flow of the Ros River, south of Kiev. Therefore, Ukrainian historians, following M. Hrushevsky, consider Turkic torques to be old ancestors of the Cossacks, although they have never been identified with Rus and remained ethnically Turkic. Also, we do not have any information in the sources that the local Slavic population imitated this organization and created the Rus Chernye Klobuki. Chernye Klobuki were associated with the state of Kievan Rus only politically, but not ethnically, and had no reason to hope that Russia would be considered Chernye Klobuki, as was the case with Rus regarding the Cossacks. This idea of Mykhailo Hrushevsky is firmly established in Ukrainian historiography, but, as can be seen from the above material, it is false. It is finally necessary to leave the Chernye Klobuki when considering the origins of the Cossacks, since they were only mercenaries in armed units (pocs) from the Rus princes. At different times, foreign professional military mercenaries were «at the service» of different rulers of the world, but they were not identified ethnically, for example, as German *söldner* or Italian *condottieri*. Instead, there was a constant threat to the Polish-Lithuanian state, which included the XV century Ukrainian lands, on the part of the Crimean Khanate (Tatars), aroused the uprising of a volatile and difficultly controlled group of people involved with steppe robbery (*Steppengewerbe*). Cossacks had an attractive force (attraction) not only for the local population; they were also a model for Tatar steppe conquerors, which were also called «Cossacks». Source data on the territory of Eastern Europe (modern Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Russia) testify to the appearance of the Cossacks not earlier than the XV century, that is, in the territory of the Golden Horde after its fall: the Crimean, Astrakhan, Kazan khanates.

In Polish historiography, the issue of the beginning of the phenomenon – the Ukrainian Cossacks – falls within the framework of

their point of view on the history of Ukraine in general. After them, this was the political appointment of the Poles in those days, since Polish historiography was too egalitarianized. The Poles were mostly members of Western Christianity, as the faithful performers of the clerical church and as successful media carriers in Eastern Europe. Therefore, for Poles, the history of the south-eastern border of the Polish-Lithuanian state is interpreted according to its needs. That is, in Polish historiography, the struggle with the Ukrainian Cossacks is a missionary action: conversion to Catholicism and higher Polish culture. This applies not only to the Cossacks, but also to the history of all people in the system of Polish borderlands.

Ukrainian historians opposed the Polish concept with their arguments about the local origin of the Cossacks.

It is noteworthy that the Polish historian Władysław Tomkiewicz left the extremist positions of traditional Polish historiography. However, the scientist drew attention to the paramount role of the state Polish nobility in adapting the organization of the Cossacks. Many gentry in the Polish-Lithuanian state became Cossacks and were the first military-political organizers of the Ukrainian Cossacks. As we see, in contrast to the Chernye Klobuki, which were not attractive for the princely Russ, the Cossacks in Ukraine were attractive to the nobility of the Polish-Lithuanian state, who became Cossacks, starting from Yarema Vyshnevetsky. Władysław Tomkiewicz rightly points out that Ukrainian historiography takes for the XVI century unitized Cossacks, that is, claims that this was a purely Ukrainian phenomenon. To summarize, we can say that a great role in history has attraction (attraction). German turkologist Annemarie von Gabain proposed to solve the problem of the origin of the Cossacks from a sociological and philological point of view.

Analysing sources about the history of the Cossacks XIV-XVII centuries in the territory of Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Lithuania it is necessary to distinguish between two aspects: the Cossacks as an individual phenomenon and the Cossacks as a social phenomenon. Regarding the individual aspect, one can accept the theory of Professor Annemarie von Gabain that the individual Cossacks were a kind of regulatory factor in the nomadic society, where collective consciousness and shared management prevail, there was no place for personal initiative and for victorious feats that would capture a large

part of the population. And thus, from the individual Cossacks, a social state was formed – the Cossacks with their ideology. If this individual initiative failed in its action, none of the team members helped her. But if this leader or a group of Cossacks were successful, then they were considered the heroes of the day and had the highest respect in the local council. Consequently, the Cossacks were a factor regulating the balance of the nomads (wanderers) in the world, which had a collective consciousness and common rule, but had no elements of individuality. What guided the actions of individual Cossacks or a group? Obviously, glory, because a person wants to become a hero, but attracted them and wealth.

The second aspect is characterized by the fact that individual Cossacks are attractive for a larger group of Cossacks and they have already tried to create a social state, as it was, for example, with the Ukrainian Cossacks. At first, these were single Cossack individuals, who eventually became attractive to larger groups, such as Cossack robbers, or Cossacks as hired soldiers. This process took some time, and on the other hand, the need for a hired army, both in the Polish-Lithuanian and in the Moscow states. This process of the Cossacks' entry into a certain state structure, for example, in the case of the Ukrainian Cossacks, led them to be recorded in the Register of Zaporizhzhia Army (1649), which became the basis for the recognition of the Cossacks as a separate social class in a given state (Polish-Lithuanian or Russian) This again led to the next stage – the creation of statehood, as it was under B. Khmelnytsky, when the hetman, with the help of register Cossacks, sought to create a separate autonomous state initially.

It should be emphasized that the individual Cossacks have no unambiguous nature, it all depends on the circumstances. In one place, the Cossacks, as exemplified below, could have been monastic mercenaries, workers on the ground, or border guards and public order, as documented in the Codex Cumanicus in 1303, hired soldiers.

This ends the first, individual period of formation of the Cossack. Now let us turn to the analysis of the sources, which testified to the emergence of information about the existence of individual Cossacks, about their actions, namely: in the Crimean Genoese colonies, Ryazan and Moscow Cossacks, as well as Cossacks in the system of the Polish-Lithuanian state.

About actions of individual Cossacks in the Crimean Genoese colonies. The most ancient information about the Crimean Cossacks belongs to the XIV century; it is recorded in the sources of Crimean Genoese colonies.

1. In the notes on the Greek synexarion of Surozh (Sudak) in the Crimea there is an entry:

“Τή αατή ήμέρα έτελιωθό δουλ τού θύάλμαλτηρού ύίτς τού σαμακά, φευ όννος ξίφη”

“On the same day (May 17th) the servant of Almalchu, son of Samak, died! - a young man killed by a Cossack sword”, p. 6816 (1308).

Here we are talking about the individual Cossack conquerors, who acted in Sudak in 1308. Unfortunately, there is no information about whether they were local or from where they came from.

2. In the same year (1308), on May 21, in the Greek synexarion of Kaffa, there is such a note:

“... ξίφη σφαγής φπό καζακων” – “[Kaffa] was thrown by the Cossacks' swords.”

In this example, we are talking about the actions of individual Cossack conquerors who took part in the raids.

3. In the Charter for Genoese colonies in the Black Sea issued in 1449 in Genoa, the term “Cossack”, which the law identifies with oghuzes (the honorary military escort of the consul of the city of Kaffa), occurs three times.

The first mention is in Kaffa – “casachos orqusios”.

“This contiget fieri aliquam predam terrestrem per casachos oghuzios seu homines caphe tam de rebus bestiaminibus et bovis tartarorum quam aliorum quorumcunque tales casajos oghuzios et interseptores sustinere et eis dare omne auxilium et favorem, interceptoribus predictis”.

In this case, it is about the actions of individual Cossacks – military mercenaries, because their source identifies with the oghuzes – the military escort of the consul of the city of Kaffa (Charter, pp. 699-700).

“The charter prohibits the Kaffa administration to take from the Cossacks- oghuzes prey, and vice versa – the consuls for taking away the prey from the Cossack mercenaries is punished”.

In Kaffa there was already a certain number of Cossacks who were in the «service» of the consul of the city of Kaffa and which the city

authorities gave the status of oghuz. And the oghuzes allowed by the Charter to remove their prey from themselves. This was allowed by the Cossacks.

The Cossacks were at the consul of the city of Kaffa as mercenaries, who carried him «service», as well as oghuzes. In the 15th century, the city of Kaffa was the capital of the Genoese colony in the Crimea and the suburbs. According to the Charter of 1449, the consuls belonged to “capitaneus hoghuziorum”, that is, the head of oghuzes with 20 oghuzes of the cavalry police and military guard at the consul. In general, in the case of Cossack mercenaries in Kaffa, their number could be small, since all mercenary organizations were from 100 to 250 people, most of them Italians from Genoa.

In the Charter for Genoese colonies on the Black Sea in 1449, the city of Sudak and the city of Cembalo mentions the second and third time the term “Cossack”: “... *de quacunue preda fienda de quibus - cumque rebus humanicorum seu aliorum, qui quovismodo contrafecissent decretis Caphe, perveniat in consulem dicti loci quarta pars (et) relique tres quarte partes dividantur inter commune et dictos cazachos seu alios interceptores, videlicet quemlibet eorum per dimidia*”.

The Statutes of Sudak and the city of Cembalo (Balaklava) add a Resolution on the division of all Cossack booty, of which the fourth part receives the consul, and the rest is divided equally between the community and the Cossacks.

The latest news about the «Cossacks» in the Genoese colonies on the Black Sea is believed to be from September 3, 1468: “... *que nobis illata fuerunt de MCCCC ... compania in publicos latrones et cozachos illius domini de Mosco depredatores illius carauane nostre, que ex illius partibus huc veniebat*”.

This date (1468) was established by the researcher of the history of Kaffa Marian Malovist. The news is interesting in that it indicates where the Cossacks came from: 10 townsmen in the city of Kaffa and merchants wrote to St. George's bank that their caravans were being attacked by robbers and Cossacks who came from the territory of Moscow's ruler. That is, we already have a problem not with single Cossacks, but organized, who were on the “service” of the Moscow ruler.

The source data on «Cossacks» in the Genoese colonies in the Crimea end here.

Monastic Cossacks. Chronological is the second mention of the actions of individual Cossacks in 1395, filed by I. I. Sreznevsky.

“А манастирськіе люди были Иван Кощѣвъ да Илюша Филиповъ, да слуга манастирской казакъ” Грамота дѣловая о границахъ Кирилловскаго монастыря 1395 г.

In this letter of the Kyrylivsky Monastery of 1395 it refers to one mercenary, outlined by the source as «servant, monastic Cossack».

In the Charter of the Solovetsky Monastery in 1548, we read the following information about the monastic Cossacks:

“Каковъ казакъ придетъ вново жити, а похочеть въ коеи нашеи волости жити и промышляти, и у кого станеть жити, и какъ прїѣдетъ доводчикъ въ кою волость, и тому челоуѣку того казака доводчику явити... А прилучится изъ тѣхъ волостокъ коему чолоуѣку быти въ Вирмѣ не того ради дѣла, у коего казаки вновѣ живутъ, и имъ являти приказчику самимъ да и пошлина ихъ дати... А которой казакъ соидеть, не отъявлясь, и тотъ челоуѣкъ, у кого онъ жилъ, не объявитъ же, и приказчику взяти на немъ пошлина монастырская и своя... А каковъ казакъ у коего челоуѣка живѣ, да сбѣжитъ безвѣстно, и приказчику того опросити по крестному цѣлованью того челоуѣка, у кого онъ жилъ...”

The source points out that hired monastic individual Cossacks should pay taxes: in favour of the monastery, where they work as hired workers, administrations, in particular the clerk, to the person in which they live, and in the end the Cossacks should have come to the “closing volost”, that is, a person who collects taxes in favour of a city or locality in the volost (parish) where they came to live again.

Harvard Historical School in the person of the world famous scholar Professor Omeljan Pritsak, the well-known turkologist, with Oriental sources casts light on the Turkic origin of the word *Qazaq*. The scholar reasonably proved that the Eastern Slavic etymon *Cossack* (*kazak* > *kozak*) was borrowed from the Polovtsian word *qazaq* (<qaz-) in the period after the XIV century. That is, etymon *kozak* in Eastern Europe has nomadic Turkic roots and suggests that it be regarded as an institution. This is evidenced by sources found on the territory of the Golden Horde after its fall. The word and institution *qazaq* is a typical

phenomenon that originated in the Eurasian Grass. It, apparently, arose among the Polovtsians of the X-XIII centuries and meant, at first, the non-settled miner who could also be a mercenary, a warrior, or a worker.

About the actions of the individual Moscow and Ryazan Cossacks and the honorary guard together.

“... въ 1502 году Вел. К., отпустивъ назадъ Кафинскаго посла Алакоза съ своимъ чиновникомъ, Яков. Телешовымъ, черезъ Рязань велѣлъ поклониться Великой Княгинѣ Аграфени и сказать: “Отпустилъ есмь судномъ посла Турецкаго до Старой Рязани”; а от Ст. Рязани ѣхати ему Пронею вверхъ, а изъ Прони къ Пранову, а изъ Прановой Хуптою вверхъ до Переволоки до Ряскаго поля. И ти послала бѣ 130 человекъ его проводити до Переволоки, да Переволокою Рясскимъ полемъ до рѣки до Ряси; а деверю твоему, К. Федору, велѣли если послати 70 человекъ... А сколько имъ будетъ надобъ коней и телегъ, и ты бѣ имъ дала два жеребья; а Князю Федору велѣлъ есми дати треть...”

“И ты бы у Алакоза десяти человекомъ освободила (позволила) нанятись Козакомъ, а не лучшимъ людемъ... Занежъ твоимъ “людемъ служилымъ, Бояромъ и Дѣтямъ Боярскимъ и сельскимъ, быти “ всемъ на моей службѣ; а торговымъ людемъ лучшимъ и середнимъ и чернымъ быти у тебя въ городѣ... а слушается и пойдетъ кто (на Донъ), ихъ бы велѣла казнити... а не учнешь казнити, ино ихъ мнѣ велѣти казнити и продавати” .

In the cases of the Crimean from the embassy of Prince Golokhvastov from 1502, for the first time, it is stated clearly about the ethnic identity of the Cossacks who were in Ryazan. About the connection between Kaffa and the Ryazan Cossacks-invaders who were at the same time mercenaries on the «service» of the Moscow ruler as guards. Analyzing the document, we see that the Cossack Ambassador Alakoz was accompanied by 130 people of the Moscow ruler, then 70 people in order to protect them from the attack of robbers on the caravan of his embassy. Who were these Muscovites, the document does not say. One can argue that these people were on the «service» of the Moscow ruler and that some of them were Ryazan Cossacks. Since the Moscow ruler, wrote a letter in the case to Grand Princess Agrofena, his daughter-in-

law, that she allowed her 10 Cossacks to hire Alakoz for «service» and that they accompanied the ambassador to Kaffa with his caravan. From this it is clear that the Moscow ruler of the Ryazan Cossacks, and at the same time the guards who were in his «service», he himself allowed to give the ambassador a “service” in support of his guard and his caravan in Kaffa (where there was a market of slaves).

Another case in this document is interesting for our subject. Moscow ruler orders all his liege men to be in his “service”, and who will run away to the Don River (not to become a Cossack – *L.P.*), will be executed or sold. This is wherefrom appear in Kaffa Cossacks, not only of local origin.

Under year 1443, Nikon chronicle mentions Ryazan Cossacks-warriors: *“І придоша на нихъ (Татарь) Мордва на ртахъ съ сулицами и съ рогатинами и съ саблями; а казаки Рязаньскія також на ртахъ съ сулицами и съ рогатинами и съ саблями з другія стороны...”*.

In this case, hired soldiers – Ryazan Cossacks are mentioned because they were taught to go to battle in sledges with weaponry: throwing spear and throwing forked club. Ryazan Cossacks-warriors together with Mordvinians fought against (Kazan) Tatars in 1443.

In 1445, in Yermolin Chronicle there is a reference to the actions of Ukrainian hired Cossack-warriors and their connection with Kazan Tzar.

“Тое же весны царь Махметъ и сын его Мамутяк послали в Черкаси по люди и прииде к ним двѣ тысячи казаков и, шедше, взяша люди без слова царева, и приведоша полону много и багатства. Видев же царь множество корысти, и посла дѣтей своих, Мамутяка да Ягупа в отчины князя великого воевати.”

The same spring of 1445 Kazan Tzar Makhamet and his son Mamutyak sent to Cherkasy for people and two thousand Cossacks came to them which on the way, without tzar’s permission, brought a lot of prisoners and wealth. The tzar saw a big benefit in it and sent his children Mamutyak and Yagup to fight in the lands of the Grand Prince (of Moscow).

In this document, we find for the first time a geographic name of Cherkasy, wherefrom the Cossacks originated ethnically, without precise geographic coordinates though. It is likely that Ukrainian

Cherkasy was mentioned here for two reasons: first, in XV cent. Cherkasy was among the most important centres of Ukrainian Cossacks, alongside with Kiev and Kaniv; second, at that time (XV cent.) and later (XVII cent.) Russians (Moscow people) called Ukrainians Cherkases. Obviously, there is no reason at all to consider here Cherkases from the Caucasus about whom we do not have any specific information. It is referred to the fact Kazan Tzar Makhamet, as the descendant of the Golden Horde Tzar, sends for hired Ukrainian Cossacks. It is interesting to note, that Kazan Tzar believes that he is entitled, like formerly his ancestors, the Golden Horde khans, to recruit Cossacks from Ukrainian territory for his military purposes. And indeed, the Ukrainian Cossacks, in number of 2,000 people went to Kazan Tzar as mercenaries; and on the other hand, according to the source, they were conquerors, because they brought a lot of prisoners and wealth from the Grand Prince of Moscow land. Actions of the individual Cossacks are also mentioned, for despite the fact that the number of Ukrainian Cossacks amounted to two thousand, the Kazan Tzar recruited personally each of them personally into his mercenary army; it is a different matter that already after the tzar transformed them into an organisation.

In Nikon Chronicle, under 7064=1556 year, there is interesting information about the actions of Ryazan and Moscow Cossacks of Moscow Tzar: *“А Полемя на ртахъ послалъ на Волгу для Исмаиля и Астороханького дѣла 500 человекъ казаковъ атамана Ляпунка Филимонова и инѣхъ атамановъ съ товарищи”*.

Moscow Tzar, in winter 1556 sends Ryazan Cossacks who were in his “service” into a military expedition against Izmail and Astrakhan overland by sledges, “by mouths” and by the Volga River. We should understand that in this example In this extract, the point at issue is that we should consider not the actions of individual Cossacks but of a public organisation – Ryazan Cossacks of 500 persons headed by chieftain Lyapunok Filimonov and other chieftains with their comrades. This is very important information because here, for the first time, a head of Cossacks with the title “chieftain” is mentioned. Having reached the period when in 1556 it is already about not the actions of individual Cossacks but of a public organisation – 500 Moscow-Ryazan Cossacks headed by chieftains, in particular, Lyapunok Filimonov who were specially trained to move in winter by sledges, we shall close the review

of activities of Moscow-Ryazan Cossacks. All the more that Günter Stökl dedicated to this issue a special section in his Ph. D. thesis.

Cossacks in Ukraine. When speaking about Cossacks in Ukraine of XV–XVI centuries, one could just present abridgement of “History of Ukraine-Russ”, v. VII, by Mykhailo Hrushevsky. For the purposes of our topic, we shall limit ourselves by just three main periods of the process of establishment of Cossacks phenomenon. The first period – end of XIV–XV cent. – “Cossacks” in Ryazan, Moscow, Tatar Cossacks – in khanates, Ukrainian ones – as a commonplace, diverse and yet without a common denominator, phenomenon.

Cossacks in Ukraine are first mentioned under 1469 by Polish historian Ian Dlugosz, writing in Latin: “Ex fugitivis, praedonibus et exulibus, quos sua lingua kozakos appellant”.

In the document, the point at issue is that in 1469 large Tatar army recruited from “refugees, bandits and exiles who call themselves in their language “Cossacks”, headed by Kazan khan Manyak, in three detached units launched an attack to the lands of Polish Crown. It is stated in the source, that Ukrainian individual Cossacks were mentioned as steppe and non-settled elements.

In Polish census of 1552 of population in Ukrainian cities, in particular, Cherkasy, Kiev, Kaniv, a specific category of non-settled people is mentioned, who were neither philistines, nor peasants, they were sometimes called ludzie Lóźni, that is people without any profession, any permanent residence and continuous income, “idlers” of Polish law.

Those non-settled Cossacks went to Cossack catching, into “kozakdom” to the Steppe and the Down were they engaged in so called steppe sport, i.e. robbery, fishery, honey collection (wild-hive beekeeping) or “served” as mercenaries in cities or villages.

Yevgen Barvinsky in his article “Cossacks’ Raid to Ochakiv in 1545” gives an example certifying that individual Cossacks who came from Ukraine (Kiev and Cherkasy) robbed a Tatar ship. In 1492 Crimean Khan complained to Grand Prince Olexander that Kievites and Cherkasians defeated near Tyagynya the Tatar ship, and Grand Prince in his letter to Khan informs him that he ordered “to shake” the Cossacks.

In Polish copy of this letter there is an interesting version of the document: “ci ludzie, ktorzi w Oczakowie skodi pocynieli, beli kozacy polni, a nie osiedli na iednem miejscu”.

“Those people, who made damage in Ochakiv, were Cossacks living in the Steppe and not settled in one place”. Which means that the Polish of that time divided Cossacks in two groups: steppe (polni) and settled. Also interesting is similarity of the 1492 and 1545 episodes. In both cases, it was about attack of Ukrainian Cossacks on Ochakiv. It is differentiation of Ukrainian Cossacks into two groups: steppe and settled Cossacks during the first period of individual Cossacks activities, which is important for our topic.

The second period in the genesis of phenomenon of Ukrainian Cossacks covers second half of XV – first half of XVI cent. Ukrainian Cossacks, like other Cossacks are specializing in military profession and living in settlements – Sich; relations at the time between The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Moscow state, Crimean Khanate and Turkey were tense. But Cossacks were not on state “service”, but mercenaries of local authorities, usually, starosts, who made from Cossacks professional soldiers.

First data about organization of Ukrainian Cossacks for border defence came from Crimean Tatars in 1520-s. It was an initiative of Cherkasy starost Ostafiy Daskovych († 1535) – Cossack who was a landlord in Kiev – landowner and is traditionally considered the first Cossack “hetman”. This information has essential importance. It shows that organisation of Cossacks for defence of the country was initiated by Cherkasy and Kaniv starost, that is by a representative of authorities of Grand Lithuanian princes. On the one side, Ukrainian Cossacks act here as ludzie Lóźni, idlers of Polish law. On the other side, anyone irrespective of his social status may join “kozakdom” – either non-settled person or settled philistine, boyar, landlord – they are catching in Ukrainian steppes, engaging in border sport and guerrilla war with Tatars. More in detail on it, about Cherkasy starost, landlord by origin, see campaigns of “famous Cossack” Ostafiy Daskovych, by M. Hrushevsky. Perhaps it was a reason why moscals called Ukrainian Cossacks, and later all Ukrainians, - “cherkas”. In XVI cent., starosts, after recruiting Ukrainian Cossacks, trained them for Polish military units called rotas. Soon after that, Polish term “rota” was replaced by a

term “regiment” (*polk* in Ukrainian). Regiment was a typical term to describe a military unit of Cossacks, and later – a unit of administrative territorial structure - institution. The word has a German origin: “folk” – tribe, people – it is an ancient borrowing from the Old-Russian “полкъ”, with many meanings: a “crowd”, “armed part of the people”, “army”, “battle”. As, for example, in Old-Ukrainian epic work “Word about Igor’s Regiment”, the word “regiment” is translated as “Igor’s Regiment”, “Igor’s campaign” or “Igor’s army”.

Erich Lassota writes that the army in the Khortytsya island in 1594 was divided into regiments having 500 Cossacks each; the regiment was headed by a colonel: *Chłopicki „ein Polkownik, das ist ein bevehlshaber über fünf hundert Man”*. And starting from 1595–1600, commander of several regiments was called “hetman”, as unofficial title. First military organisations, which existed in Cossacks era in the territory of Ukraine as administrative units, were called regiments. It is interesting that Ukrainian Cossacks did not use the Polish term “rota” for their organisation but a traditional Old-Ukrainian name “regiment”. Initially, “rota” was used to designate any military unit, and later remained only as Polish unit of an infantry detachment whereas for a newly organized cavalry, from the times of Jagiellończyk, the used a new term – *chorągiew*. The institution of the “regiment” proves a connection of the Ukrainian Cossacks with Kievan Rus and not Chernye Klobuki, because the Old-Ukrainian name “regiment” still remained in the Ukrainian territory after the fall of Kievan Rus and was overtaken by Ukrainian Cossacks.

The last representative of Cossacks of the second period was Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, whom modern historians want to make a founder of the Ukrainian Cossacks, because he, in 1556, built on the island of Mala Khortytsya a castle, which he needed for his guerrilla war with Tatars. Regarding Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, we should again come back to his assessment by Mykhailo Hrushevsky who called him a “great adventurer”. D. Vyshnevetsky is still a representative of the individual Cossacks. He could not and did not establish an époque in the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks. As a member of a side line of the Lithuanian Jagiellon dynasty, he had the right to leave his chief and serve to another one, and he did it. First the prince D. Vyshnevetsky served to Turkish sultan Suleiman I, then to Moscow Tzar Ivan the

Terrible, and eventually to the king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Sigismund II Augustus. In the course of all those changes of leaders, he as a dynasty member, could not be prosecuted. Turkish sultan Suleiman I (1520–1566) did not order to arrest him, when D. Vyshnevetsky arrived to Istanbul.²⁵ But when the prince intruded actively into activities of Moldavian Principality, which he wanted to acquire for himself, his Moldavian rivals passed him over to the sultan. In 1563 in Tsargrad, the sultan did not favoured him, but ordered to hang him up by rib. Thus, through his Moldavian adventure, ended the role of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky in the history of Ukrainian Cossacks. And his “Cossacks squad” from Sich on the Small Khortytsya island scattered each one his way; so no traces of Cossacks organization of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky remained, because he did not create anything sustainable forever, and acted exactly as a gentleman of fortune.

The Cossack state of Bohgan Khmelnytsky did not have as its source Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, but Registered Cossacks connected with the territory of Ukraine (Trahtemyriv monastery) and supported by the royal authority. Registered Cossacks meant already a social status, and not just creation of an adventurer. Thus, it makes no sense to designate this adventurer as a Ukrainian hero, but rather call so leaders of the Registered Cossacks, as for example, O. Dashkovych, Cherkasy starost. In my opinion, Mykhailo Hrushevsky is right when assessing two different representatives of the individual and Registered Cossacks as follows: “That is why, if Dashkovych eventually ended up with the role of supreme power man, Staatsmann, then Vyshnevetsky ended up as an adventurer”.

The third final period of the genesis of Ukrainian Cossacks phenomenon comes on the last quarter of XVI – first half of XVII cent. This is the beginning of Cossacks’ formation as a separate social status in the initiated first Registry of Ukrainian Cossacks. The first attempts to register Ukrainian Cossacks, who were hired in “service”, were exercised by the kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Sigismund II Augustus in 1572 and Stefan Batory in 1578.

Within two first periods of beginning of Ukrainian Cossacks phenomenon, Cossacks served to the lords they choose themselves,

²⁵ Yücel Öztürk, “Erdel-Efläk-Boğdan Olaylari ve Dimitriy Vişnevetski”, *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Sayı 17. İstanbul, 2005.

they were no professional warriors; in the second period, they were professional mercenaries; in the third period, Cossacks become a social status recognised by the state. When Stefan Batory employed on civil “service” and filled into the Registry more than 500 Cossacks, they became representatives of the royal power and a permanent institution. In connection with organisation of the Registry by Stefan Batory, the first centre of Royal Cossacks became the city of Cherkasy. There is accurate information about existence of a “regiment” there of 1625: Cherkasy regiment (Capitaneatus).

“Regiment” as an institution and its activities. After implementation of the reform by Stefan Batory, the Cossacks of already existing regiments could transfer the whole regiment to permanent civil “service”, as it was the case of: Pereyaslav regiment formed in 1570; Chygyryn regiment formed in 1552.

New regiments were created already with participation of the official royal institution: Korsun regiment organised in 1634; Bila Tserkva regiment formed in 1620; Kaniv regiment created in 1637.

Thus, six Cossack regiments, established yet before Bohdan Khmelnytsky revolution of 1648 based on the registration act, represented the authority of the king of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Furthermore, registration of the military was designed not as a single-action document for a fixed period of time, but as a permanent regulation. With his Registration Act, the king granted sedentism to Registered Cossacks: Trahtemyriv with its ancient Zarubsky Monastery becomes their official property; at the end of XVI–XVII cent. It was Cossacks military centre and collecting station of weapons and official sedentism, and a hospital. Regarding activities of Cossacks in XVI cent., I support the opinion of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, namely: I consider the registry of Stefan Batory the beginning of formation of Cossacks into a settled social status. It was an official transfer to the royal “service” based on the Registry in the system of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and granting by the king Trahtemyriv to Cossacks corporation. Though at the beginning the number of Cossacks in the Registry was limited, the institution itself became a permanent one and could extend.

Henceforth, development of genesis of the phenomenon of Ukrainian Cossacks as a happening continued under the three above mentioned periods, in the process of establishment of the Cossack status; as a result, under provisions of Zboriv Treaty of 1649, the number of Registered Cossacks amounted to 40,000; in so called Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654, executed during the time of hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648–1657), there were around 60,000 in official Cossacks army of the Zaporizhzhian Host. When this Cossacks group becomes an organisation of mercenaries, either economic or military, not as an individual phenomenon, but a social layer, they no longer belong to the origins of Cossacks development as a separate status in the system of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and later on they become perpetuators of the State of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

Conclusion

Let me summarise the results of this study. In the Proto-Turk language of nomads (wanderers) there existed at least two verbs with a meaning of ‘to participate in raids, to conquer’: qaz and qazyān.

With the appearance of Kievan Rus in IX–X cent., the history of Eastern Europe began. Nomadic empire Pax of Cumans (of Polovtsy – Old-Russian name) or Kipchaks of Steppe (Qipčaq) became neighbours of the state of Kievan Rus (1054–1223) for 170 years.

The Cumans were a confederation of nomadic tribe groups: Qipčaq, Qāy, Qūn, Sārī, which constituted Pax of Qipčaq and functioned actively in Eurasia beginning from XII cent. [Golden 1992, 216–283]; they used a “simple” verb *qaz-* to describe a phenomenon of Cossacks. This is also true for half-nomadic tribes of Chagatai (Chayataj), which appeared in the fifteenth century and changed over to a sedentary life during XVI–XVII centuries. [Gabain 1992, 309–317].

On the other hand, in Orkhon-Turkic empire, as well as in sedentary first Islamic-Khagan-Turkic dynasty of Karakhanides in Central Asia, which in 840 – 1212 owned both Turkestans,²⁶ gave preference in using the same verb to a more positive opposite meaning, -qazyān- in the sense of ‘to take part in raids, to conquer’. Thus, it should be no doubt the Eastern-Slavic etymon *kazak* >*kozak* was borrowed from Cuman

²⁶ Sir Gerald, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford, pp. 682 – 683.

word *qazaq* (<*qaz-*>) in the period after fourteenth century; the word was used by Cumans as Cossacks institution (*qazaq*). So, etymon *kazak* > *kozak* in Eastern Europe derives from Turkic lexeme of nomads (wanderers).

Under the key word *qazaq* in his “Encyclopaedia of Islam” W. Barthold refers to Cossacks as a sociological institution. Z.V. Togan in the book “Bugünki Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakın tarihi”, explains more in detail the notion of *qazaq* as historic phenomenon which meant the way of respective thought pattern. The German turkologist Annemarie von Gabain studies emergence of Cossacks from sociological-philological perspective. The Professor proved with her theory, that the Cossacks is a sociological institution underlain by a respective though pattern. The author writes: “Even if it is impossible to prove existence of Cossacks as a phenomenon in ancient times, nonetheless, it was already prepared yet in old times by way of respective thought pattern”. The point at issue are actions of individual Cossacks who have not yet reached a social status. At the examples from world history from ancient times until now, presented by Professor Gabain, we discover emergence of Cossacks institution in nomadic (wandering) or half-wandering society. Its ruler was, as is known, not the autocrat, but rather was elected from the ruler’s family of a certain tribe or clan. His decisions always remained dependant on a council of men who, due to their origin and achievements, enjoyed the trust of the community. In a critical situation, the burden of responsibility was sometimes a deterrent factor for the rulers and the council. Spontaneous decisions, sometimes offering a success, in such cases would always remain beyond their attention, if there were not a certain Cossack, always acting out of the duty of obedience, without getting approval of others and at his own responsibility. If he failed, nobody followed him in that case. But if his decision proved to be reasonable, he would become a “hero of the day” for the people and receive the highest authority in the council of government. In this manner, a sociological phenomenon of “Cossacks” meant an individual regulatory factor in the environment with the rule of collective conscience and public governance.

Bearing in mind, that Ukrainian Cossacks could not emerge all of a sudden, the problem may not be explained by a single factor. In “History of Ukraine-Rus”, Mykhailo Hrushevsky is looking for an old genealogy of

the Cossacks, linking them to Chernye Klobuki or Torks.²⁷ Oriental sources testify that the process of the Cossacks emergence was a long a complicated one and lasted minimum from VIII till XIII century.

There are few sources from VIII–X cent. in Eastern Europe, but XI, XII and XIII cent. allow to trace consequences of the earlier events. According to the famous historian and sociologist of the French historic school “The Annals” Marc Bloch (Marc Bloch 1886–1944) this is a “deliberate retrogressive method”.

Resulting from historical and sociological studies of Oriental sources and those from Eastern Europe, from ancient times until now, regarding the phenomenon of emergence of the Cossacks, we came to a consensus: we have to discard a “laundry” concept characterized in general by a breadwinning feature, and to consider the Cossacks in terms of the world history, as an institution.

For example, Ukrainian Cossacks as an institution: oghuzes, guards, conquerors, “chieftain (otaman)”, monastic, steppe and sedentary Cossacks, urban Cossacks on the “service”, Cossack “hetman”, Igor regiment or “Igor campaign”, “regiment” in Cossacks registry, “Cossack squad (druzhyna)”, Cossack Registry.

The origin of Cossacks as a sociological phenomenon is testified by the Oriental sources found in the territory of Golden Horde after its downfall. The word and the institution (qazaq < qaz) ‘Cossack’ is a typical phenomenon emerged in Eurasian Steppe, arose among Polovtsians in X–XIII cent. and meant initially a non-settled Cossack, who could be mercenary, warrior or worker. While analysing sources on C history of XIV–XVII cent. In the territory of Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Lithuania we need to distinguish between two aspects: Cossacks as an individual phenomenon and Cossacks as a social phenomenon. I propose to solve the problem of the Ukrainian Cossacks origin by applying the theory of the German turkologist Annemarie von Gabain, on the basis of social and philological approach.

By accepting this theory, we may state that the Ukrainian Cossacks, as a phenomenon of individual Cossacks, was a regulating factor in the nomadic community, where collective conscience and common management reigned, and there was no room for heroic deeds.

²⁷ Hrushevsky, History of Ukraine-Rus, p.69.

Thus, a social state – the Cossacks with their ideology emerged from activities of the individual Ukrainian Cossacks.

The experience of evolution of the historic phenomenon of Cossacks takes different forms in different periods. Zaporizhzhia Cossacks, in the process of emergence of Cossack status evolved through three basic periods. The analysis of sources about the history of Cossacks in XIV – XVII cent. in the territory of Eastern Europe, today's Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania and Russia results also in synthesis of a sociological phenomenon in the world – the Cossacks: creation of the autonomous state of Zaporizhzhia Army at the time of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648 – 1657. This is the core of The Genesis of the phenomenon of Ukrainian Cossacks, and the epoch of Bohdan Khmelnytsky is one of the most important periods of the history of Ukraine.

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