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## THE HISTORIOGRAPHIC SITUATION REGARDING OSTAFIY DASHKOVYCH'S COAT OF ARMS

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study is to carry out a historiographical and source analysis of scientific claims regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers, to consider the ways of spreading these statements and the impact of Polish historical science on the Ukrainian researchers, to analyze historical information directions. The methodology of the study is based on the principles of historicism, systematic, scientific, and interdisciplinary. The following general historical methods have been used: historiographical analysis, historically genetic and comparative. The Scientific novelty: for the first time in the Ukrainian historiography the article looks into the question of Ostafiy Dashkovych's coat of arms reality, with the historical science attributing it to his family, in detail; on the basis of the analysis of historical and historiographical sources; the article refutes the conventional ideas regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers, outlines the possibilities for finding new information; the opinion about this issue dependence of the Ukrainian historiography on the Polish has been expressed.*

**The Conclusions.** Based on the analysis of historical and historiographical sources, it can be argued that in the XVIIIth century the Polish heraldist Kasper Niesiecki created the scientific myth about Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" coat of arms bearers. In later scientific literature, because of the Dashkevych and the Dashkovych different families, there was a constant confusion with their belonging to the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers. The family of Ostafiy Dashkovych was assigned to each of them fairly automatically, without analyzing the sources and having a proper basis. As to this matter the Ukrainian historical science, in general, entirely relied on the results of the Polish historians' studies. At the same time, it should be noted that there are more valid reasons to consider the possibility of Ostafiy Dashkovych belonging to the "Mogiia" coat of arms bearers.

**Key words:** Ostafiy Dashkovych, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, coat of arms, heraldry, "Leliwa" coat of arms, "Korybut" coat of arms, "Mogiia" coat of arms.

## ІСТОРИОГРАФІЧНА СИТУАЦІЯ НАВКОЛО ГЕРБА ОСТАФІЯ ДАШКОВИЧА

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – здійснити історіографічний та джерельний аналіз наукових тверджень щодо належності пана Остафія Дашковича до гербів "Леліва" та "Корибут", розглянути шляхи поширення цих тверджень та впливу польської історичної науки на українських дослідників, проаналізувати історичну інформацію стосовно реальних підстав для здійснення пошуку в інших напрямках. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, міждисциплінарності. Використано такі загальноісторичні методи: історіографічний аналіз, історико-генетичний та порівняльний. **Наукова новизна:** вперше в українській історіографії детально розглядається питання щодо реальності герба пана Остафія Дашковича, який приписується його роду в історичній науці; на основі аналізу історичних та історіографічних джерел спростовуються загальноприйняті уявлення щодо належності пана Остафія Дашковича до гербу "Леліва" чи "Корибут" і окреслюються можливості пошуку нової інформації; висловлюється думка про залежність української історіографії від польської у зазначеному питанні. **Висновки.** На основі здійсненого аналізу історичних та історіографічних джерел можна стверджувати, що у XVIII ст. польським геральдистом Каспером Несецькі було створено науковий міф про належність пана Остафія Дашковича до гербу "Леліва". У подальшому в науковій літературі через наявність різних родів Дашковичів та Дашкевичів відбувалася постійна плутанина з їх належністю до гербів "Леліва" і "Корибут". Рід Остафія Дашковича причислювався до кожного з них достатньо автоматично, без аналізу джерел та наявності відповідної підстави. Українська історична наука у цьому питанні взагалі повністю покладалася на результати досліджень польських істориків. Водночас, слід зазначити, що є більш вагомі підстави розглядати можливість належності пана Остафія Дашковича до гербу "Могіла".

**Ключові слова:** Остафій Дашкович, Велике князівство Литовське, герб, геральдика, герб "Леліва", герб "Корибут", герб "Могіла".

**The Problem Statement.** The figure of Ostafiy Dashkovych (1455 – 1535), the head of Cherkasy and Kaniv in the government system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, is without exaggeration a legendary person for the Ukrainian society, described in many scientific and popular publications. His early XVIth century activity became the basis for many scientific ideas on the process of the Ukrainian Cossacks formation and the creation of the boundaries defensive system. At the same time, most of these publications fail in duplicating provisions that are either manifestly erroneous or unconfirmed. One of them concerns Mr Ostafiy's affiliation to the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications.** Since the XVIIIth century the Polish and Ukrainian scholars have been mentioning Ostafiy Dashkovych's "Coat of Arms" in a number of their works. Among the researches of the Ukrainian scientists of the end of

the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries one should mention the publications of I. Yermieiev (1998), O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko (2008; 2009), V. Lastovskiy (2014). However, in none of these works this issue has been researched in detail.

**The Purpose of the article** is to find out the reality of historical grounds and the validity of scientific claims regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers.

**The Statement of the Basic Material.** In the literature Ostafiy Dashkovych is known, primarily, as a military and political figure, whose activities were connected with organising military campaigns against the Moscow State and the Crimean Khanate, the defence of the Cherkasy Castle in 1532, with proposals for creating an effective system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania boundaries protection (Lastovskiy, 2014; Lastovskiy, 2020). At the same time, he is often unjustifiably credited with the status of the first Cossack Hetman.

A rather common axiom is the information about Ostafiy Dashkovych's coat of arms. It comes to the fact that Mr Ostafiy Dashkovych and his family belonged to the "Leliwa" coat of arms bearers. This information has virtually been unchanged in the directories on the emblems of the nobility. However, the situation with Ostafiy Dashkovych coat of arms affiliation is, in fact, very confusing and far from clear. Moreover, with the information analysed, it can be stated that, in fact, none of the scientists, who described the Ostafiy Dashkovych's emblem, had no documentary grounds for this. This situation in the Ukrainian historical science was facilitated by the lack of cooperation with the Polish scholars. It can be noted that only in recent years it has gained a real meaning, resulting in joint projects and researches (Morawiec, Lastovskiy, 2019).

Primarily, it is necessary to determine, what exactly can be taken for granted as accurate information regarding the belonging of a particular nobleman to a certain coat of arms? Firstly, it is anything with depicted armorial bearings that exactly belonged to the person concerned; secondly, any document with a fixed image; thirdly, the affirmation of belonging to a particular coat of arms of that person's descendants.

According to these criteria, it should be noted that in reality, there is no belief in Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with a clearly defined coat of arms: firstly, there is no evidence, depicting his coat of arms, been preserved, secondly, there are no documents with such an image have been passed to our time, thirdly, there are no records about him having descendants and family ties with other carriers of the same surname.

We will note three significant works and valid works on heraldry, which appeared in the Commonwealth during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, the era that Ostafiy Dashkovych himself was a part. These are the works, concerning not only the Polish families but also the Ukrainian and Belarusian ones, by Bartosz Paprocki (1543 – 1614), Szymon Okolski (1580 – 1653) and Albert Wijuk Kojaiowicz (1609 – 1677). The first one of them wrote "Herby rycerstwa polskiego" in 1584, the second one – "Orbis Polonus" in 1641, and the third one created "Herbarz rycerstwa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego" in 1650 and its edited version titled "Nomenclator" in 1658.

Only two of these scholars' writings mentioned Ostafiy Dashkovych. Bartosz Paprocki referred to him as "an" Eustachy, who founded Cherkasy (Paprocki, 1858, p. 221). In its turn, Albert Wijuk Kojaiowicz already had more information about Ostafiy Dashkovych. Albert first mentions him in the context of the Prince Yurii Slutsky's military activity (Olelkovych-Slutsky; in the text of the book – Kopylsky) (Kojałowicz, 1897, p. 15), and then he cites several facts from his biography (Kojałowicz, 1905, p. 121). None of these cases has ever

indicated Mr Ostafiy's affiliation with any emblem; or there was depicted his coat of arms. As for Szymon Okolski, he did not mention Ostafiy Dashkovych at all; moreover, there was not even any single notice of the Dashkovych or the Dashkevych families.

For the first time, the information about Ostafiy Dashkovych's coat of arms appeared only in the XVIIIth century. It was mentioned by the Polish priest Kasper Niesiecky (1682 – 1744) in volume 2 of his famous work "Korona Polska", published in Lviv in 1738. In particular, it was written about Ostafiy Dashkovych that "DASZKOWICZ herbu Leliwa, przydaia iedn6k do Leliwy Strzaik bez pior, 6 n6 heimie kiada trzy pior6 strusie wediug Koiai. Eustachi Daszkowicz fortunny przeciwko Tat6rom woioownik, atoli potym z Ukr6iny do Moskwy sik przeniosi, y lubo sik go Alex6nder Krol Polski, wediug umowionych z Moskwa p6ktow upominai, przeciki6 go nie oddano 1503" (Niesiecki, 1738, p. 17). It should be noted that it was the above mentioned Szymon Okolski to provide with an extremely detailed description of the "Leliwa" coat of arms and the families affiliated with it in 1641 (Okolski, 1641, pp. 61–102).

In 1796 Wojciech Wincenty Wiel6dko, a historian, poet and writer, also published the fourth volume of the "Heraldry" (1749 – 1822). This edition also literally repeated the Kasper Niesiecky's information regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" coat of arms. Moreover, for the first time, the Polish heraldist also introduced information about the Dashkiewicz clan belonging to the "Korybut" coat of arms, indicating that K. Niesiecky did not write about them because he had no information (Wiel6dko, 1796, pp. 44–45). It is very important, as later heraldic researchers split their opinions on Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers.

In 1838 K. Niesiecky's work was reprinted already containing an additional information from the Wojciech Wincenty Wiel6dko's "Heraldry" about a certain Leon Antoni Daszkiewicz (1763), recorded in the Vilnius Acts. Most likely, the usual confusion has occurred. In Belarus, the family names of Dashkovych or Dashkevych were very common. Their representatives resided in Novogrudok, Braslav and Grodno counties, and they belonged to the "Korybut" and "Leliwa" coats of arms bearers (Vyarovkin-Shelyuta, 1996, p. 213). But there is another possibility to be taken into account that K. Niesiecky may have used the information of a fraudster, who simply wanted to enjoy the Ostafiy Dashkovych's fame, and subsequent generations of scientists only followed this information and mistakenly supplemented it.

It should be noted here that Polish experts on the XVIIIth century heraldry did not take into account (however, they may not have known) that 1) Ostafiy Dashkovych had no descendants, 2) there was no direct evidence of his family ties with other Dashkovych or Dashkevych families.

Later on, the researchers of the heraldry, based on the works of K. Niesiecky and W. Wiel6dko, in one way or another attributed the Dashkovych or Dashkevych families to the "Korybut" and "Leliwa" coat of arms bearers. For example, in 1859 Aleksander Czoioowski indicated that both the Dashkovych and the Dashkevych families belonged to the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms (Czoioowski, 1859, p. 90). Zbigniew Leszczyc did the same in 1908. He attributed both families' representatives to both coats of arms (Leszczyc, 1908, p. 185, 203). In his research, the German heraldist Emilian von Żernicki-Szeliga attributed the Dashkovych family to the "Leliwa" coat of arms and the Dashkevych family to the "Korybut" coat of arms (Żernicki-Szeliga, 1904, p. 44, 151). Moreover, these cases had nothing in common with the personalty of Ostafiy Dashkovych. By the way, the modern Polish expert on heraldry Tadeusz Gajl attributed the Dashkovych and the Dashkevych also to the "Sas", "Prawdzcic" and other coat of arms (Gajl, 2003, p. 52).

The Polish lawyer and historian Adam Boniecki (1842 – 1909) the most detailly revealed the situation with the confusion in the “Leliwa” and “Korybut” coat of arms and their affiliation with the Dashkovych and the Dashkevych families. He noted that there remained the question unsolved whether both of these families had ever had “jeden dom”, they originated from. Separately, the researcher focused on Ostafiy Dashkovych’s personality, his family connections, and biography, not been able to directly identify or trace his affiliation with any emblem (Boniecki, 1901, p. 109).

The situation with Ostafiy Dashkovych’s belonging to a particular coat of arms was also not particularly investigated in the Ukrainian heraldic science. Therefore, it led to the usual borrowing and usage of information provided by the Polish scientists without any thorough analysis as well as critical treatment of sources, thus, giving rises to some far-fetched ideas. Therefore, in 1935, a Ukrainian military figure and diplomat of the Pavlo Skoropadskyi time, Volodyslav Dashkevych-Horbatskyi (1879 – 1952), considering Ostafiy Dashkovych to be his ancestor, published an article in which he stated that his kin affiliated itself with the “Korybut” coat of arms (Dashkevych-Horbatskyi, 1935, pp. 197–201). But in 1998, I. Yermieiev wrote that this affiliation was wrong and Volodyslav Dashkevych-Horbatskyi’s coat of arms, after all, was the “Leliwa” (Yermieiev, 1998, pp. 7–8). Then, in 2008, there appeared another book by O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko. It contains the information about O. Dashkovych’s seal, with its image belonging to the same coat of arms. O. Odnorozhenko published the same information in his dissertation in 2009 (Odnorozhenko, 2009, p. 283). And only in 2014 it was stated that there were no documents, no evidence dated the beginning of the XVIth century (and later) containing records supporting the O. Dashkovych and his family bearing a particular coat of arms (Lastovskyi, 2014, pp. 244–247).

The book by O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko, dedicated to the personal seals of the XVth – XVIIth centuries, contains a description of the Ostafiy Dashkovych’s seal drawing, which should be discussed separately. The authors write that the seal depicts a Spanish shield with an arrow pointing upwards with a six-pointed star at the end and above the crescent moon, lying upwards; there is a helmet above the shield and five ostrich feathers at the crest; the very shield is surrounded with a tent (Alforov & Odnorozhenko, 2008, p. 44). According to the document, dated 1527 and stored in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (f. 220, d. 1, c. 662, p. 1), the seal is round, its diameter is 28 mm, as well the document contains the information about its location.

It would seem that this publication by O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko puts a final point on the issue of O. Dashkovych’s coat of arms. After all, the published text provides us with a very clear description of the “Leliwa” coat of arms. However, in fact, this publication is at least astonishing. The problem is that the researchers saw, described, and published what they really were not able to see and to describe. Back in 1974, L. Histsova and N. Faustova published a paper, which briefly described the document that once featured the Ostafiy Dashkovych’s seal. In particular, it stated the language to be Ukrainian, the text to be defective; it contained a seal’s print (Histsova & Faustova, 1974, p. 56). Since then, of course, the situation with the document has not changed: the seal on it has not appeared (checked *de visu*). No other documents with the appropriate seal appeared. Thus, we may consider the publication of O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko to be at least a simple desire of something to become real. The same we should take the O. Odnorozhenko’s words about “seeing the sign” in his dissertation research in 2009. Perhaps, these words would make sense if O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko were able to explain the methodology by which they discovered and saw a sign where it contained only a “print mark”.



It can be noted, that these researchers' formal description of the seal is quite standard as for the description of the "Leliwa" coat of arms and practically does not differ from other descriptions. For example, Aleksander Czojowski provides us with an analogous text: "W polu błękitnem tarczy jest księżyc jak na nowiu niepełny do gory rogami obrocony, we środku jego gwiazda o sześciu granach, a na hełmie w koronie pawi ogon, w którym takż sam księżyc z gwiazdą, jak na tarczy" (Czojowski, 1859, p. 90). It means that the actual description of the missing seal was actually done based on the emblem's existing standard description. For comparison, the same standard description of the "Leliwa" emblem can be found in A. Kobylianskyi and Ye. Chernetsky's Reference Book: ... in a blue field there is a golden crescent with horns upwards and a golden six-beam star above (Kobylianskyi & Chernetskyi, 2014, p. 82).

In fact, everything described above indicates that, having thoroughly investigated the issue, we may in no way claim that Eustachy Daszkiewicz belonged either to the "Leliwa" or the "Korybut" coat of arms bearers. The main problem for all the researchers was that 1) they too trusted the information about Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with a particular coat of arms and did not check it, 2) they tried to artificially tie this figure to one of those families who were known for their belonging to one of the coat of arms. In the latter case, there was not raised any question about the Ostafiy Dashkovych's possible affiliation with another kin, unrelated to the already known Dashkovych or Dashkevych families. Despite the fact that all the existing information given in the sources supports that idea. No wonder that some historians rightly associated Mr Ostafiy's family rather with the Kyivan lands, with almost all of its property been located, than the lands of modern Belarus.

Accordingly, there arises a question whether it is still possible to determine the coat of arms, Ostafiy Dashkovych could belong to. Probably the unambiguous answer to this question is not yet possible. However, we can point out two facts that directly relating to O. Dashkovych, with the coat of arms image appearing.

Fact 1. After his death (probably in 1535), Ostafiy Dashkovych was buried in Kyiv Pechersk Monastery. His tombstone contained an image correlating with an earlier version of the "Mogiiia" coat of arms. Information about this tombstone and the image on it was first published in 1976 (Kholostenko, 1976, pp. 131–165). The only problem remained was that after that the tombstone disappeared thus leaving many questions concerning its identification and the texts' reading, since it itself was apparently a gravestone over the double burial.

Fact 2. The Cherkasy Castle List, dated 1552, noted that it was armed with two bronze guns, both been equal and the same shape, each 8 span lengthwise, with a bullet size been of a chicken egg. The date "1532" and the coat of arms are written in Latin on them (Kushtan & Lastovskiyi, 2016, p. 248). The text was followed by the image identical to the tombstone from Kyiv Pechersk Monastery. In this case, the emergence of these guns can be attributed to the city of Cherkasy defence against the army of the Crimean Khan Saadet-Geray in 1532. This very defence was headed by the then head of Cherkasy Ostafiy Dashkovych (Lastovskiyi, 1999, pp. 76–96).

It should be noted that both of these facts themselves do not, however, indicate that Ostafiy Dashkovych could have belonged to the "Mogiiia" coat of arms bearers. However, of all the historical sources, these ones are to a certain degree related to his name.

The "Mogiiia" coat of arms was the most common one depicting three crosses (right, top and left) around the rectangle, symbolizing the burial site. A more rare variant is the "Mogiiia" coat of arms with two crosses (exactly in the version that we can see in the Cherkasy Castle List in 1552 and on the Ostafiy Dashkovych's tombstone). Such a coat of arms, in particular, was owned by the Bykhov family in Minsk Province (Kojaiowicz, 1897, p. 169; Gajl, 2003, p. 243).

**The Conclusions.** Thus, it can be argued that the myth of Ostafiy Dashkovych belonging to the “Leliwa” coat of arms was created directly by the Polish heraldist Kasper Niesiecky. Later in the scientific literature, due to the presence of different families of the Dashkovych and the Dashkevych, there was a constant confusion with their belonging either to the “Leliwa” or the the “Korybut” coat of arms bearers. Accordingly, without accurate historical information about Ostafiy Dashkovych affiliation with one of them, the researchers ascribed him one or the other emblem. However, there are no documentary sources testifying this possibility. At the same time, it should be noted that there are also grounds to consider the Ostafiy Dashkovych's possible affiliation with the “Mogiia” coat of arms bearers.

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