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OSTAFIY DASHKOVYCH: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE REGARDING HIS FAMILY ORIGIN ISSUE

Abstract. *The purpose of the study* is to carry out a historiographical and source analysis of scientific statements about Ostafiy Dashkovych family origin and his belonging to a certain ethnic environment. **The methodology of the study** is based on the principles of historicism, systematization, scientificity, and interdisciplinarity. There have been used the following general historical methods: historiographical, historically genetic, and comparative analyses. **The scientific novelty** is based on the analysis of historical and historiographical sources that refute the notions about Ostafiy Dashkovych being of the Belarus or the Tatar descent and outline the possibilities of proving his Ukrainian origin. **The Conclusions.** Based on the analysis of historical and historiographical sources, it can be argued that for a long time there were misconceptions about Ostafiy Dashkovych origin in the scientific community. From the beginning of the XVIIth century publication of Szymon Starowolski and up to the present times in literature there has been still preserved the idea of his affiliation with Ovruch. Similarly,

since the XVIIIth century there have been prevailing the ideas about his connection with Belarus noble families. Only since the beginning of the XXth century there have been made some attempts to look into Ostafiy Dashkovych family origin based on documentary sources. However, not all new versions have taken into account some materials of the beginning of the XVIth century. The most original version was the opinion expressed by Nataliia Yakovenko about the Tatar origin of Ostafiy. Nevertheless, today all known information suggests that Ostafiy Dashkovych family has Ukrainian roots and its descent can be traced back to the XIVth century.

Key words: *Ostafiy Dashkovych, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Kyiv, Kyiv region, ancestry, genealogy.*

ОСТАФІЙ ДАШКОВИЧ: ІСТОРИОГРАФІЧНИЙ ДИСКУРС НАВКОЛО ПИТАННЯ ЙОГО ПОХОДЖЕННЯ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – здійснити історіографічний та джерельний аналіз наукових тверджень щодо походження роду пана Остафія Дашковича та його належності до певного етнічного середовища. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, міждисциплінарності. Використано такі загальноісторичні методи: історіографічний, історико-генетичний та порівняльний аналіз. **Наукова новизна:** на основі аналізу історичних та історіографічних джерел спростовуються уявлення щодо належності пана Остафія Дашковича до білоруського чи татарського роду і окреслюються можливості підтвердження думки про його українське походження. **Висновки.** На основі здійсненого аналізу історичних та історіографічних джерел можна стверджувати, що достатньо довгий час в науковому середовищі існували хибні думки про походження роду Остафія Дашковича. Від публікації Шимона Старовольського на початку XVII ст. і донині в літературі ще зберігається уявлення про його зв'язок з Овручем. Так само від XVIII ст. зберігаються й уявлення про його зв'язок з білоруськими шляхетськими родами. І лише від початку XX ст. були здійснені спроби розглянути походження роду Остафія Дашковича на основі документальних джерел. Однак всі нові версії не враховували деяких матеріалів початку XVI ст. Найбільш оригінальною стало припущення, висловлене Наталією Яковенко щодо татарського походження пана Остафія. І все ж на сьогодні вся відома інформація дає підставу стверджувати, що рід Остафія Дашковича має українське коріння і його початки можна шукати у XIV ст.

Ключові слова: *Остафій Дашкович, Велике князівство Литовське, Київ, Київщина, родовід, генеалогія.*

The Problem Statement. Ostafiy Dashkovych's activity in the first third of the XVIth century has long been in the interests of scholars from different countries, especially in the context of studying such issues as the Ukrainian Cossacks' formation, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania history and international processes in Eastern Europe. However, with their political and military sides studies having significant scientific achievements, there are much less works, which would attempt to investigate and summarize information about Ostafiy Dashkovych family, its origin, public life, etc. As a result, this situation leads to the accumulation of versions distorting the historical past and creating stable historical myths. Thus, historians still refer to those thoughts on the origin of Ostafiy Dashkovych family, which have no justification.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. To one or another degree, Ostafiy Dashkovych's activities are looked into in many works of historians. However, only some of them express more or less reasonable provisions about this person origin. The vast majority of modern research historians usually repeat the views of the XIXth – early XXth centuries scholars. The most significant and original in this topic was the publication of Nataliia Yakovenko (Yakovenko, 1996). Nevertheless, her conclusions were based on some misconceptions, not haven taken into account a number of sources and historical

circumstances. Partially, Valerii Lastovskyi (Lastovskyi, 2013; Lastovskyi, 2020) also analyzed this topic.

The purpose of the article is to find out the validity of the historians' ideas about the origin of Ostafiy Dashkovych family and to substantiate the idea of his Ukrainian roots. This question solution fully corresponds to the modern process of development of the Ukrainian historiography (Lastovskyi & Kushtan, 2021; Kalakura, 2019; Masnenko, 2020).

The Results of the Research. Ostafiy Dashkovych, the head of Cherkasy and Kaniv (1514 – 1535), distinguished himself by a number of military and political actions that were decisive for the Ukrainian history, in particular, his campaigns on the Moscow State's territory, the Cherkasy Castle defence (1532) from Khan Saadet Geray, his formulating the idea of creating a border protection system, etc. (Kushtan, & Lastovskyi, 2016; Lastovskyi, 1999). As he was an outstanding figure, some mythical stereotypes were formed around his personality (Lastovskyi, 2013).

Only in the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries, the scientific circle began to look into the issue of Ostafiy Dashkovych and his family descent. In 1631, Szymon Starowolski (1588 – 1656), who then unequivocally wrote that this “Roxolanum” was born in Ovruch (Starovolsci, 1631, p. 153), made the first attempt. Then this issue was mainly paid attention to by the Polish historians, who were largely followed by representatives of other national historiographies, and only since the XIXth century the Ukrainian ones have initiated their studies.

In fact, the first Polish historians confused the issue of Ostafiy Dashkovych and his family origin. As they did not specifically study or raise the relevant documents, but followed the simplest path – tying him to the most famous families with the same surname at the time (Lastovskyi & Biletska, 2020). These were the Belarus Dashkovych and Dashkevych families. The Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Maksymovych was perhaps the first to refute such approaches in his famous “Historical Letters on Prednieprovsk Cossacks” (1863). “Nemtsevich and other Polish writers also speak of his origin, that he was from the common people, from Ovruch subjects of Prince Ostrozky; but this is hardly true. If he were a “simple slap” – he would not have “his own native village Gvozdoz”... and Bogdana Dashkovychev, the Ovruch mayor sister, would not become a wife of Borys Tyshkevych, and after him – Andrii Nemyrovych, the voivode (warlord) of Kyiv” (Maksymovich, 1876, p. 289). This was also a response to the publication of Volodymyr Antonovych, in which he wrote: “... Ostafiy Dashkovych, a fugitive tradesman from Ovruch” (Antonovich, 1863, p. LXXIII).

Later, Volodymyr Antonovych published another work, which confused the next generations of historians for a long time. He named Ostafiy Dashkovych's father a “nobleman” Dashko Ivanovych, to whom King Alexander I granted land in the Pereiaslav region “on the Trubezh and the Supoi rivers” in 1503 (Antonovich, 1885, p. 206). Many repeated the same position, for example, more than a hundred years later, the modern historian Taras Chukhlib (Hurzhii, & Chukhlib, 2011, p. 8). However, it is known that Ostafiy Dashkovych's father was not Dashko Ivanovych, but Ivan Dashkovych. Unfortunately, Volodymyr Antonovych himself did not indicate the source, he borrowed such information from. However, it can be assumed that it originates from one of the end of the XVIth – the beginning of the XVIIth centuries court cases, which concerned disputes over the right to own the same land “on the Trubezh and the Supoi rivers”. As Volodymyr Antonovych pointed out, that after Hryhorii Dublianskyi had sold the land in 1578, there developed some remarkable passions around, with many representatives of the Kyiv Voivodeship elite been involved in (Antonovich, 1882). It is clear that during the property disputes over land, the documents must indicate its origin and former owners.

Therefore, it is logical that there should have been the information about Dashko Ivanovych as the first owner. Moreover, it is possible that it had already been distorted, because, as mentioned above, Ostafiy's father was Ivan Dashkovych, but not Dashko Ivanovych.

Only at the beginning of the XXth century, researchers paid more attention to the figure of Ostafiy Dashkovych not only in terms of his military service, but also in terms of his social status. There appeared the works of Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1904 – 1909), Pavlo Klepatskyi (1912), Bohdan Buchynskyi (1913) and many other historians, who paid their attention to the other side of this figure's life. Firstly, it was facilitated by the publication of a large number of documentary sources on the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and, secondly, by the public interest in the past of the Ukrainian Cossacks, with whom historians directly linked Ostafiy's activities. However, the new publications were not without misconceptions. For example, Pavlo Klepatskyi, repeating Volodymyr Antonovych's statements, was evidently mistaken in claiming that Ostafiy Dashkovych's father was that very "nobleman, named Dashko Ivanovych" (Klepatskij, 1912, pp. 376, 544).

In many works, the figure of Ostafiy Dashkovych appeared only sporadically. Nevertheless, the new information published there laid the basis for new discussions and researches. For example, in 1900, Matvii (Maciej) Liubavskyi expressed the opinion that the founder of the whole Dashkovych family was Dashko Tubachovych, a "court marshal" of Prince Svidrigail, as Dashko belonged to Kyiv region local aristocracy (Lyubavskij, 1900, p. 155). In response, Mykola Dashkevych-Horbatskyi was critical of this opinion, but included Ostafiy Dashkovych in his family genealogical tree, tracing back to Korybut (baptized – Dmytro) Olherdovych (*1358 – 1404*), the Prince Lithuanian (Dashkevych-Horbatskyi, 1911).

Among all the works of the beginning of the XXth century, it is worth paying attention to the famous "History of Ukraine-Rus" by Mykhailo Hrushevskyi. Unlike many of his contemporaries, his vision in assessing the life and work of Ostafiy Dashkovych was based on the sources analysis. That is why the historian concluded that Cherkasy head belonged to one of the "most prominent Kyiv families" (Hrushevskyi, 1994, p. 35) and was a "Kyiv ziemianie (landed gentry) by origin" (Hrushevskyi, 1995, p. 91). Ironically, the researcher's opinion was almost ignored by subsequent generations of scholars. Ukrainian researcher Bohdan Buchynskyi, having analysed the source base in detail, clarified some points and expanded the boundaries of Mykhailo Hrushevskyi's thought to "the land of Kyiv, and with a great plausibility... Kyiv County" (Buchynskyi, 1913, p. 27).

In 1935, the work of Mykola Dashkevych-Horbatskyi, captain of the second rank of the Maritime Ministry of the Ukrainian People's Republic, on finding his family's ties with Ostafiy Dashkovych was continued by Volodymyr Dashkevych-Horbatskyi, cornet general, c. at. Minister of War under Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi (1918). Based on the materials collected by his relative, he generalized and, in a whole, created the scheme that connected Ostafiy Dashkovych to the Belarus families, moreover, the Princely ones (!). Although, Ostafiy himself did not have the title of prince. The latter was explained by the fact that his family belonged to those families "who, having lost their sovereign rights or their estates, lost both their title and passed into the general state of the ordinary nobility" (Dashkevych-Horbatskyi, 1935, p. 199). As to the works of Mykhailo Hrushevskyi and Bohdan Buchynskyi, the researcher was familiar with them, but apparently believed that they did not contradict his thought.

Much later, in 1969, the Ukrainian Diaspora historian Viacheslav Seniutovych-Berezhnyi expressed a new version of Ostafiy Dashkovych's descent. He accentuated the groundlessness of the quite common opinion found in literature that "Ostafiy either came from "commonality"

or originated from the Ostroh Princes' peasants" (Seniutovych, 1969, p. 119). However, not giving a clear justification for his opinion, the author expressed the idea of Dashkovych's origin from the "old and strong earthly family of the Bratslav region".

Finally, in the 1990s, Nataliia Yakovenko, known for her genealogical researches on the old Ukrainian nobility, decided to make some assumptions about Ostafiy Dashkovych's ancestry. In a number of her publications, she outlined the range of his family ties with other noble families and expressed some views on his descent that were radically different from the previous historians' ones. In her article about the Nemyrych family, the researcher first noted that all previous ideas about Ostafiy's origin were based on "the search of a documented person named Dashko" (Yakovenko, 1996, p. 167). Then the author offered her own "assumption about the genus's Turkic origin". She identified several main points, which, in her opinion, are confirmed by the following: 1) with the first reason for this being an "incomprehensible brevity of the Christian family synod", reflected in the commemoration book of the Golden-Domed St. Michael's Monastery; 2) "closeness to the Glinski Princes"; 3) Ostafiy Dashkovych's lands ownership ("inherited from the paternal and maternal side" on the rivers of the Rastavitsia and the Kamianka), but not those received "in the service to the Grand Duke"; 4) impeccable knowledge of the Tatar language; 5) the meaning of the word "Dashko", which was not only a diminutive form of the name "Danylo", but also a derivative of the Turkic "Dashyk", i.e., "tinhorn, strutter" (Yakovenko, 1996, pp. 167–168).

From the abovementioned, we may conclude that there were expressed several basic positions regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych originated from:

1) Ovruch (Szymon Starowolski, Volodymyr Antonovych, Dmytro Yavornytskyi, Mykola Arkas, etc.),

2) Dashko Tubachovych's family in the Kyiv region (Matvii Liubavskiyi),

3) a Kyiv family (Mykhailo Hrushevskiyi),

4) "the land of Kyiv, and with great plausibility from Kyiv district" (Bohdan Buchynskiyi),

5) a family descent from the Lithuanian Prince Korybut (baptized – Dmytro) Olherdovych (Mykola Dashkevych-Horbatskiy),

6) the Belarus Princely families (Volodyslav Dashkevych-Horbatskiy),

7) a family from the Bratslav region (Viacheslav Seniutovych-Berezhnyi),

8) the Turkic descent (Nataliia Yakovenko).

Since 1631, among the ideas expressed, the most stable has turned out to be the opinion of Szymon Starowolski. Despite, Mikhailo Maksymovych levelled it in 1963, it can be still found in many modern scientific publications. Historians hardly analysed other ideas. However, the most justified seems to be the newest one by Nataliia Yakovenko. The latter deserves a special attention, because, unlike other versions, it is based on a number of errors and illogicalities. All the points made by the researcher regarding the origin of Ostafiy Dashkovych are defined above; therefore, the remarks given here will provide them with the answer:

1. The "shortness" of the family synod in the commemoration book of the Golden-Domed St. Michael's Monastery may seem so only when other records ignored. In particular, this applies to the oldest Monument of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, published by Stepan Golubiev (1848 – 1920) in 1892, and the Kyiv-Podilskiyi Vvedenska Church's commemoration book in the Near Caves of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, published by Oleksii Kuzmuk in 2007. They contain records about the family of Ivan Dashkovych, Ostafiy's father, where we can find information about a larger number of people than in the Golden-Domed St. Michael's Monastery's commemoration book.

2. “Proximity to the Glinski Princes” seems at least strange, as it is not confirmed by any fact except that one that in 1508, during the uprising of Mykhailo Glinski, Basil III, Grand Duke of Moscow, sent troops led by Ostafiy Dashkovych to help Glinski. However, the order execution can hardly be considered as a kind of “closeness”. Instead, the real “closeness” is observed in relation to Prince Konstantyn Ostrozky, whom he constantly cooperated with and was even buried nearby.

3. Ostafiy Dashkovych not been given land “in the service to the Grand Duke” is a wrong position. Moreover, it is evidenced by the documents on the property division after his death. For example, let us take at least village of Voniachyn in the Vinnytsia County, which was not matrimonial (Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka, 1914, p. 54). In addition, according to Volodymyr Antonovych’s information, as mentioned above, the lands that Ostafiy Dashkovych’s father received “on the Trubezh and the Supoi rivers” were also given “for service”. Thus, it is quite possible to speak about the village of Ihnatkovtsi on the Stuhnia was given for his father’s “service”, later presented to the Kyiv-Vydubitsky Monastery (Arhiv Yugo-Zapadnoj Rossii..., 1883, p. 31).

4. The Tatar language perfect knowledge cannot serve as an argument in the question of his origin. Such knowledge might be conditioned by various factors (for example, being in captivity, constant communication with native speakers, etc.). Accordingly, other languages knowledge also cannot be the evidence of belonging to a particular ethnic group.

5. The name “Danylo” (and its derivative “Dashko”) should be considered primarily as a reception from the Hebrew, but not from the Turkic languages. Its penetration and popularity in the Ukrainian lands should primarily be associated with the use of the Bible, but not with the Turkic names. By the way, the famous Slavic philologist Boris Unbegaun (1895 – 1973), a member of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in the United States, noted that the surname Dashkovych is derived from diminutive forms (Dashkovych <Dashko <Danylo) and refers to the surnames, typical of the Ukrainian nomenclature (Unbegaun, 1989, p. 204).

It seems that for a more balanced position, many researchers lacked some documentary material, which, in fact, has already been known since the XIXth century. Therefore, it is worth focusing on some points that have not been taken into account.

Almost all researchers (with the exception of Bohdan Buchynskyy in 1913, although he did not indicate the exact source of information) missed one important characteristic of Ostafiy Dashkovych, expressed by Stanislaw Gursky, the canon of Polotsk and Krakow (1497 – 1572) in 1529: “Eustaphio Daskowicz de Kijow, Rutheno” (Acta Tomiciana, 1901, p. 233). The evidence is quite eloquent.

Moreover, if we take into account the family records in the above-mentioned commemoration books (the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and the Vvedenska Church in the Near Caves of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra), we should conclude that the Ostafiy Dashkovych family’s close kinship with all other Dashkovych and Dashkevych families is completely crossed out... In any case, these records do not give any grounds for claiming any blood ties with them. There are no similar grounds in all other documents, in particular, in those relating the land ownership.

Finally, the question that cannot be avoided: who could be the ancestor of the Ostafiy Dashkovych family? It is extremely difficult to answer it without direct instructions in the documents. This had been already proved by all the information, collected by Mykola Dashkevych-Horbatskyi, about a number of the XIVth and XVth centuries personalities named Dashko. Viacheslav Seniutovych also noted the same moment. Therefore, here it is necessary to find other bases, instead of finding a simple analogy of names.

If we analyze the life and work of Ostafiy Dashkovych, it turns out that they constantly passed by Prince Konstantyn Ostrozky (stay in Muscovy (Grand Principality of Moscow), the uprising of Mykhailo Gliniski, military campaigns and, ultimately, even burial). Perhaps, this connection is a testament to the long-standing vassal relations between the families of the Ostroh Princes and the Dashkovychs. In this case, it is worth noting the 1344 report of Jan Długosz about the revolt of Daszko, the elder of Przemyśl, and Danylo Ostrozky against King Casimir III the Great (Kazimierz Wielki) (Długosz, 2009, pp. 292–293). The latter of two became the founder of the Ostroh family and could be the same Dashko. Jan Długosz described them both as rebellious “rusinów”.

Of course, the definition of Dashko, the Przemyśl elder, as the ancestor of the Ostafiy Dashkovych family is only a version. However, it could explain a lot, for example, the family poverty. After all, that revolt defeat should have consequences, perhaps an escape from Galician Rus to Kyiv region, and subsequent oblivion. At the same time, this did not apply to Danylo Ostrozky, as he related to the Gediminids, thus, been guaranteed a certain inviolability.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned, it can be assumed that the founder of the Dashkovych family could be the Dashko (from “rusinów”), the Przemyśl elder, mentioned in 1344. Perhaps after the failed revolt against Casimir, the King of Poland, his family had to move to Kyiv, but continued to maintain ties with the Princes of Ostroh. However, the name of the family’s founder is not mentioned in the family records’ commemoration book (possibly due to the antiquity). In addition, we can confidently attribute the whole family of Ostafiy Dashkovych (“Roxolanum”, “de Kijow, Rutheno”) to the ancient Ukrainian aristocratic circle not only in Kyiv but throughout the Kyiv region.

The Conclusions. Thus, it can be argued that in historical science, the issue of the Ostafiy Dashkovych family origin has largely been based on misconceptions and personal interests. This did not take into account some documentary sources of the beginning of the XVIth century, which significantly complement our ideas about him and his family. This primarily applies to the information in the commemoration book. The address to these and other materials allows us to assert that the family of Ostafiy Dashkovych belongs to the Ukrainian ethnos.

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