

Соціально-економічні ВІДНОСИНИ

<https://doi.org/10.15407/ul2024.07.001>
UDC 94(477.84-22Товсте):930.253(438.111)"14"

Roman IVASHKO

Ph.D. in History

Independent Researcher (Ukraine, Bibrka)

romanivashko1@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7265-464X>

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLEDGES OF TOVSTE OF 1427 AND 1444 IN POLITICS OF GEDIMINIDS AND JAGIELLONIANS

The Tovste urban-type settlement is currently located in Chortkiv district of Ternopil region. This publication discusses the content of the relevant documents of 1427 and 1444 on donations of 100 marks in coins of that time each from Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great and King of Poland Wladislaus III of Varna to members of the family of Hinkovyches. Both documents are stored in the Archive of the Radziwiłły family at the Main Archive of Ancient Acts in Warsaw. The grant of Duke Vytautas the Great was first published, obviously, by the medievalist, Prof Władysław Semkowicz. The latest generalizations about these donations belong to Dr. Janusz Kurtyka and Prof. Vitaliy Mykhaylovskiy.

The document of 1427, given to Ivanko Hinkovych in Horodło, was apparently issued on October 2. The Grand Ducal seal is preserved. The provision was made in "grosses of Podolia". But in fact, due to the fact that this is the common name of coins in circulation in Podolia at that time, it is difficult to determine the specific coin. The Lithuanian Duke did not directly indicate the merits for which the grant was awarded, so definition of the purpose of the donation is also based on assumptions. Apparently, in this way Duke Vytautas the Great sought to strengthen himself throughout Podolia, and perhaps this

was part of his policy of establishing control even over all of Rus' and the Golden Horde. Simultaneously, the Lithuanian ruler had an obligation to establish the Church Union with Rome.

The document of 1444, given to Bohdan Hinkovych in Orşova, was apparently issued on September 24. The royal seal is also preserved. The grant was probably made in the amount of 100 marks of Cracow, which was divided into 48 grosses. It was at that time that the anti-Ottoman Crusade was already underway under the general supervision of the Holy See in the person of the legate Julian Cesarini. Therefore, it makes sense to assume that the grant to Bohdan was made in the context of its organization. He could even be the direct participant of the campaign. The crusaders felt an urgent need for recruits. In this case, the royal grants of this kind in Western Podolia and the royal domain of the Jagiellonians were important not only for Central and Eastern Europe, but for all Christians in general in the context of the rescue of Constantinople on the eve of 1453.

Keywords: *Tovste, Podolia, Rus', Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great, King of Poland Wladislaus III of Varna (Władysław III Warneńczyk), the Crusade of Varna.*

Роман ІВАШКО

доктор філософії,
незалежний дослідник (Україна, Бібрка)
romanivashko1@gmail.com
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7265-464X>

ЗНАЧЕННЯ ЗАСТАВ ТОВСТОГО 1427 ТА 1444 РОКІВ У ПОЛІТИЦІ ГЕДИМІНОВИЧІВ ТА ЯГЕЛЛОНІВ

Селище міського типу Товсте актуально знаходиться в Чортківському районі Тернопільської області. В даній публікації розглянуто зміст відповідних документів 1427 та 1444 рр. із записами по 100 марок відповідними монетами з доби великого князя Литовського Вітовта Кейстutowича та польського короля Владислава III представникам родини Гінковичів. Обидва документи зберігаються в Архіві Радзивіллів в Головному Архіві Давніх Актів у Варшаві. Чи не вперше публікацію надання князя Вітовта Кейстutowича здійснив медієвіст, проф. Владислав Семкович. Останні узагальнення стосовно цих надань належать д-ру Янушу Куртиці та проф. Віталію Михайловському.

Документ 1427 року, наданий в Городлі Іванкові Гінковичу, вочевидь, був виданий 2 жовтня. Збережена великокнязівська печатка. Надання було здійснено у "подільських грошиках". Але насправді через те, що це загальна назва монет в обігу на Поділлі в той час, визначити конкретну монету важко. Литовський князь прямо не вказав заслуги за які було здійснено надання, тому визначення мети донації теж побудоване на припущеннях. Вочевидь, таким чином князь Вітовт прагнув укріпитися на усьому Поділлі, а, можливо, це було частиною його політики встанов-

лення в перспективі контролю навіть над усією Руссю та Золотою Ордою. При цьому у литовського князя були повноваження запроваджувати церковну унію з Римом.

Документ 1444, наданий в Оршові Богдану Гінковичу, вочевидь, був виданий 24 вересня. Королівську печатку теж збережено. Запис був здійснений, мабуть, у розмірі 100 краківських марок, що поділялися на 48 грошів. Саме в той час уже тривав антиосманський хрестовий похід під загальним наглядом Апостольського Престолу в особі легата Юліана Чезаріні. Тому мають сенс припущення, що надання Богдану було здійснено в контексті його організації. Він міг бути навіть безпосереднім учасником кампанії. Хрестоносці відчували гостру потребу в рекрутах. В такому разі королівські надання такого роду в Західному Поділлі та королівському домені Ягеллонів мали вагоме значення не лише для Центрально-Східної Європи, але загалом для всіх християн в контексті порятунку Константинополя напередодні 1453 р.

Ключові слова: Товсте, Поділля, Русь, великий литовський князь Вітовт Кейстутович, польський король Владислав III, Варненський хрестовий похід.

Formulation of the problem

It was traditionally considered that the first mention of the modern urban village of Tovste in Chortkiv district, Ternopil region in Ukraine, dates back to 1414 (Podii). Attention to the next mention of the village in 1427 was drawn by the medievalist Prof. Władysław Semkowicz (Mykhaylovskiy, 2000: 134–135; 2003: 225; Mykhaylovskiy, 2012: 101, 103; Biletska, 2017). Obviously, he firstly published the text of the corresponding grant of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great for Ivashko Hinkovych, the representative of the Ruthenian family (Semkowicz, 1930: № 5; Ochmański, 1986: № 110). Prof. Semkowicz supplemented the source publications of the act documents of this Duke, made by Prof. Anthony Prochaska "Codex epistolaris Vitoldi" (Prochaska, 1882). These documents were important in the following centuries, given that nobles sought to confirm their own honorable origins.

Dr. Janusz Kurtyka and Prof. Vitaliy Mykhaylovskiy tried to collect in one register and to publish the documents of this Duke concerning the strategically important territory of Podolia, which was located at the junction of states, trade routes and cultures (Kurtyka, 2004; Mykhaylovskiy, 2003; 2004; Cherkas, 2020: 78). It has turned out that the first mention of the village during the Polish rule after 1434 belongs to 1444 (Sułkowska-Kuraś, 1975: № 2495; Mykhaylovskiy, 2000: 136; Mykhaylovskiy, 2020: 128). Both documents of 1427 and 1444 are still stored in the Archive of Radziwiłły family at the Main Archive of Ancient Documents in Warsaw (AGAD). It would be appropriate to analyze texts and contexts of two relevant donations of Tovste, for which purpose the grants were made, to determine its significance for World History and Ukraine in particular. Therefore,

in addition to analysis and synthesis, method of induction became appropriate in the research of these benefits.

The grant of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great

The text and the translation of the grant of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great of 1427 are next:

Alexander alias Witawdus, Dei gratia Magnus dux Lithuaniae, Russiae etc., *Significamus* | *tenore presentium*, quibus expedit, universis. Quomodo attentis fidelibus serviciis nobis | per Nobilem Iwasskonem Hynckovicz fidelem nostrum exhibitis, Sibi et suis Successo|ribus legitimis villam nostram Tolstoe in districtu Czirwenohrodensis et flumine | Wolchowicz sitam dedimus et assignavimus, et *presentibus* damus et inscribimus in Centum | marcis *grossorum* numeri et monete in Terra nostra Podoliae communiter currencium | *habendam, tenendam, utifruendam* et pacifice *possidendam* cum omnibus et singulis *praefate* ville | utilitatibus, fructibus, redditibus et proventibus universis ad ipsam quomodolibet | spectantibus prout in suis metis et limitibus longe, late et circumferentialiter est | limitata et distincta Tandiu, donec sibi et suis successoribus per nos vel nostros | successores, vel qui a nobis habuerit in commissis *praefate* Centum *marcae* integraliter | fuerint *persolute*. Juribus tamen nostris ducalibus in omnibus semper salvis. Harum quibus sigillum nostrum appensum est testimonio *literarum*. Datum in Hrodlo, feria | tertia in crastino sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo | vigesimo septimo, (*Alexander Witold, wielki ksiązę litewski, daje Iwankowi Hynkowiczowi wieś Tołstoje w pow. Czerwonogrodzkim nad rz. Wołchowcem, w sumie 100 grz. podolskich.*

(AGAD, Zesp. 354: Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów, Dział I, № 7262)

Alexander, otherways Vytautas, by grace of the Lord Grand Duke of Lithuania, Rus' etc., signify in present content, to all, whom it is advisable. Whereas being attentive to our faithful services exhibited by our faithful nobleman Ivashko Hynkovych, for himself and his legitimate successors our village Tolstoie, which is located in the district of Chervonograd and on the Vilhovets river, we have given and assigned, and at hand we grant and inscribe one hundred marks, which in numbers and coins in our land of Podolia commonly run, to have, to hold, to enjoy, and to peacefully possess with each and every of the aforementioned village's utilities, fruits, incomes, and yields, which considering in any way as far as in its boundaries and limits far, wide and circumferentially were limited and distincted to date, until himself and his successors by us or our successors, or who we will commit, mentioned one hundred marks fully will pay. However, our princely rights are always saved in all things. For this our seal has been affixed for the written testimony. Given in Horodło, on the Tuesday after the holiday of St. Michael the Archangel, year of our Lord one thousand four hundred twenty and seven.

The seal of Duke Vytautas the Great was attached to the document, which has the inscription: + *SIGILLUM ALLEXANDRI ALIIS WYTOWDY DEI GRATIA MAGNI DUCIS LITHUANIE*, that in translation means "The seal of Alexander, otherways Vytautas, by grace of the Lord Grand Duke of Lithuania" (Semkowicz, 1931: 23). On the back of the document, particularly, there are written records confirming the provision of March 6, 1569 and, apparently, 1608 with a brief summary (Ochmański, 1986: № 110). Perhaps, the date of issue of the document is October 2, 1427, Tuesday after, *in crastino*, the feast of the Archangel Michael, which falls annually on September 29 (Kurtyka, 2004: № 177). This holiday in 1427 fell on the Saturday, thus the next Tuesday was in three days. Further, the name of the recipient Ivashko originates from Ivan. Hinko, apparently, derives from Georgy. Next, the version of name of Tovste in the Old Rus' language in transliteration was *Tolstoe*, "Толстрое". Finally, silver grosses in local circulation were minted, apparently, according to the Czech model or Hungarian if it were coins of Koriatoviches (Shust, 2009: 82–92).

Following the *itinerarium* of Duke Vytautas the Great, in the summer of 1427 he made the large detour within his own possessions. The grant to Ivanko, apparently, was carried out in order to strengthen the rule of this Duke in Podolia, which he obviously did not visit on the way from Kyiv to Lutsk. (Prochaska, 1882: 780; Kurtyka, 2000: 36–37; Tęgowski, 2006: 74; Polechow, 2019: 31–32). Usually a recipient received an award in such a way for services to a ruler. But Duke Vytautas the Great in the case did not specify the reason for the donation. The versions of obtaining of Tovste by Ivanko as reward given the participation in the campaigns against Pskov, the Czech affairs or enthronement of Ulug-Mohammed in Sarai are based on assumptions (Długosz, 1501: 352r-v; Voitovych, 2004: 218–219). General context of such grants could be the unification of all Rus' under the rule of Grand Duke Vytautas the Great or even his succession for possessions of the Golden Horde. (Baronas, Rowell, 2015: 377; Norkus, 2016: 46–47, 230–231, 234). Moreover, he and King of Poland Władislaus II Jogaila (Władysław II Jagiełło) had to take care of the Church Union of Eastern Christians of Rus' with Rome on behalf of papacy (Theiner, 1861: № 25–26).

Therefore, it is not possible to unambiguously determine the purpose of providing Ivanko Hinkovych with Tovste. The grant for temporary use was equivalent to one hundred marks in coins usual for Podolia. However, it is quite clear that Duke Vytautas the Great tried to strengthen his rule, perhaps, not only in Podolia, but even in all of Rus' and the Golden Horde. He had been forming a nucleus of loyal persons. Moreover, such grants were made for service of various kinds to the ruler. In this case, it might have been about gratitude for participating in a military campaign, perhaps, to Pskov or elsewhere, diplomatic service, etc. The recipient of the grant would probably potentially have to take part in campaigns in the future, for example, to Novgorod the Great.

The grant of King of Poland Wladislaus III of Varna

The text and the translation of the grant of Tovste of King of Poland Wladislaus (Ladislaus) III of Varna in 1444 are as follows:

Wladislaus dei *gratia* Hungariae, Poloniae, Dalmaciae, Croaciae etc. Rex, Lithwaniaeque Princeps Supremus et Heres Russiae etc., | Significamus tenore presencium universis, quibus expedit, *presentibus* et futuris *presencium* noticiam habituris. Quomodo | attendentes grate fidelitatis obsequia studiosa Nobilis Bogdan Hincowicz fidelis *nostri*, quibus Maiestati *nostrae* | et signanter in hoc Inclito Regno *nostro* Hungariae complacuit, auctoque fidelitatis studio, poterit praestancius com|placere in futurum, horum et aliorum suorum serviciorum intuitu. Volentes ipsum *gratiarum* *nostrarum* prosequi favoribus | et de caetero reddere prompciolem sibi in et super villa nostra Tluthna in Terra Podoliae, in districtu vero | Czyrwonogrodensis, in fluvio Holchowecz sita, Centum marcas communis pecuniae Polonicae numeri consweti, Qua|draginta octo grossorum valeam quamlibet computando, Inscribimus, damus, donamus ac largimur per *presentes* per ipsum | Bogdan et ipsius legitimos successores tenendam, habendam, regendam quiete et pacifice cum omnibus et singulis eiusdem | ville utilitatibus, fructibus, censibus, proventibus, redditibus, necnon agris, praxis, campis, pascuis, silvis, borris, | gaiis, nemoribus, rubetis, virgultis, mericis, fluviys, fluminiibus, lacubus, palludibus, stangnis, piscinis, piscaturis, aquis, | et earum decursibus, molendinis et emolimentis, venacionibus, aucupacionibus, mellificys, ac aliis quibuscumque obvencionibus | generaliter universis possidendam Tamdiu, quousque per nos aut *nostros* legitimis | successoribus huiusmodi Centum marcae fuerint integraliter persolute, quo facto ville dicte possessio ad nos et | *nostros* legitimos successores revertetur pleno jure. Stationibus tamen et iuribus *nostris* regalibus semper salvis. | Harum quibus sigillum *nostrum* est appensum testimonio *litterarum*. Datum in Terra Bulgariae exopposito Horszawae circa | Danubium, feria Tercia in Crastino sancti Mathiae Apostoli, Anno domini Millesimo quadringentessimo quadregesimo quarto. | *Relatio* Magnifici Petri de Szcze|koczini Regni Polonie Vicecancelarii. (*Władysław III, król polski i węgierski, zapisuje Bogdanowi Minkowiczowi 100 grz. na wsi Tlutha w ziemi podolskiej w pow. Czerwonogrodzkim.*

(AGAD, Zesp. 354: Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów, Dział I, № 7299)

Wladislaus, by grace of the Lord, King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Grandest Duke of Lithuania and heir of Rus' etc., signify in present content to all now and in future to have notice. Whereas paying attention with gratitude for the loyalty of our trusty nobleman Bohdan Hinkovych, who to our Majesty and distinctly in this our illustrious Kingdom of Hungary pleased, having increased desire of fidelity, will be able more excelling get involved further, in view to these and other services. Wishing to his part in our gratitude to follow favour and hereafter to provide prompt him in and above our village Tluthna in the land of Podolia, in

the district of Chervonograd, located on the Vilhovets river, one hundred marks of Cracow of the usual amount of Polish money, equal forty-eight Polish grosses each, inscribe, give, grant and bestow immediate for Bohdan himself and his legitimate successors to hold, keeping up, rule quietly and peacefully with each and every of the same village's utilities, productivities, assessments, incomes, revenues, as well as fields, meadows, plains, pastures, woods, pine forests, groves, glades, shrubs, underbrushes, oak woods, rivers, flows, ponds, swamps, lakes, basins, fish ponds, waters, and its courses, mills and emoluments, huntings, homesteads, apicultures, and any other incomes generally taking over for so long as we or our legitimate successors this one hundred marks will fully pay, by which the possession of the aforementioned village will return to us and our legitimate successors with full right. Nevertheless, it is always without prejudice to our stands and royal rights. Our seal is affixed to the evidence on written testimony for this. Was given in the land of Bulgaria opposite Orșova close to the Danube river, on the Tuesday after the holiday of St. Matthias the Apostle, Year of the Lord one thousand four hundred and forty-four. The relation of the Magnificent Peter de Szekoczyn, Vice Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland.

The inscription on the royal seal is next: *WLADISLAUS•DEIGRATIA•REXPOLONIE•ETCETERA, that in the translation means "Wladislaus, by the grace of the Lord, King of Poland, etc.". On the back there is, particularly, the mention of the confirmation of the privilege on March 6, crossed out 1569, as the previous one of 1427, and 1658. Obviously, the document was issued the following Tuesday, September 24, after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, which falls annually on September 21. Nowadays, Orșova, the nearby place of issuing of the document, is a city in Southwestern Romania (Sroka, 1995: 40–41). Apparently, the grant was made in equivalent of the marks of Cracow, which was divided into 48 Polish grosses (Shust, 2009: 85).

In September 1444, the anti-Ottoman campaign, known as the Crusade of Varna, had been continuing under the leadership of King Wladislaus III in the Balkans. The crusaders felt an acute shortage of fighting force, as the Serbs left the coalition under pressure of the Ottomans. All Christians who professed the Latin rite could not take part in the campaign, as they were divided into supporters of papacy and the Council of Basel (Decaluwe, Izbicki, Christianson, 2016: 113). In Moscow, which suburb was devastated by Khan Ulug-Muhammad on the eve of the Battle of Varna, the Crusade was also not accepted (Voitovych, 2004: 218). Apparently, the donation of Tovste, which came under the rule of the Jagiellonians after the division of Podolia into Western and Eastern, was realized by the King in the context of the recruitment of the crusaders (Kurtyka, 2000: 47; Mykhaylovskiy, 2004: 228, 234; Mykhaylovskiy, 2011: 122). Therefore, Bohdan Hinkovych could be the potential or valid participant of the campaign, as Stypek Jaroslowski,

Derśław Włostowsky, Paul Seniński, etc. (Pentek, 1997: 95; Zazuliak, 2000: 43–57; Pshyk, Chornii, 2004: 269–270; Mykhaylovskiy, 2012: 142; Pidlutskyi, 2012).

The Christian troops were defeated at the Battle of Varna on the Black Sea coast on November 10, 1444 (Imber, 2006: 30–31). Degree of influence of Bohdan in this case on the King's decision to go on the last fatal offensive on the battlefield is difficult to determine (Jefferson, 2012: 2–3). Curiously, that King Wladislaus III apparently involved Toma, the owner of Hinkivtsi, in the negotiation process with the Tatars, the Great Horde, to ensure peace in Podolia during his presence in the Kingdom of Hungary and further in course of the Crusade (Liske, 1876: № 20; Mykhaylovskiy, 2020: 128).

Therefore, motives for donating the next grant of Tovste to Bohdan Hinkovych are clearer than the previous one of 1427. It took place during the anti-Ottoman campaign in the Balkans in 1444. In this context, the donation was also already considered by Prof. Mykhaylovskiy. Bohdan could be a potential participant of this campaign. This assumption logically fits to context and course of events of the campaign. This example and similars indicates that population of the lands of Rus' in possession of the Crown of Poland, namely the land of Lviv and Podolia, bore the significant burden of the campaign to rescue Constantinople in 1443–1444.

Conclusions

Thus, the attempt was made to clarify the exact dates of issue of the two relevant documents, October 2 in 1427, and September 24 in 1444, concerning grants of possession of Tovste. In the case of granting the rights to Ivanko Hinkovych toward the settlement, apparently, Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great tried to maintain control over the whole Podolia, which in principle confirms the previous conclusions of Dr. Kurtyka and Prof. Mykhaylovskiy. Alternative versions of the donation as a reward for Ivanko's participation in military campaigns in favour of the Lithuanian Duke are based on assumptions, but they should not be rejected. Perhaps, the assertion of Duke Vytautas the Great in Podolia had a broad context of the attempt to establish his control over all lands of Rus' and even the Golden Horde in the long run.

Further, Toma, the owner of Hinkivtsi, and Bohdan Hinkovych were apparently involved in the organization of the anti-Ottoman campaign of 1443–1444 in the Balkans. Toma was enlisted through the diplomatic embassy to the Tatars to ensure peace during the hostilities in the Kingdom of Hungary and the defense from the Ottoman threat. Furthermore, Bohdan, apparently, received the grant of one hundred marks of Cracow in grosses on Tovste for direct participation in the anti-Ottoman campaign. At least the appropriate grant was made by the King during the Crusade, when for the success he could really additionally recruit crusaders. The problem of involving the population of the land of Lviv and Podolia in the Crusade needs further research.

ARCHIVES

AGAD – Archiwum Główny Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Main Archive of Ancient Documents in Warsaw]

BJ – Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Білецька О. *Червоноградський повіт Подільської землі наприкінці XIV–XVI ст.* URL: <https://www.medievalist.org.ua/2017/04/xivxvi.html>.
- Войтович Л. *Нащадки Чингіз-Хана: вступ до генеалогії Чингізидів-Джучидів.* Львів: ЛНУ ім. І. Франка, 2004, 248.
- Зазуляк Ю. Застави як елемент роздавничої політики Ягеллонів у Галицькій Русі в XV ст. *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична.* Львів: Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка, 2000, Вип. 35–36, 43–57.
- Михайловський В. *Еластична спільнота. Подільська шляхта в другій половині XIV – 70-х роках XVI ст.* Київ: Темпора, 2012, 450.
- Михайловський В. Населенні пункти західного Поділля та Подільського воєводства (1402–1444 рр.) у світлі королівських, великокнязівських та старостинських документів. *Історико-географічні дослідження в Україні: збірник наукових праць.* Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2003, 213–239.
- Михайловський В. Надання земельної власності у Подільському воєводстві за панування Владислава III (1434–1444). *Український археографічний щорічник. Нова серія.* Київ: Інститут української археографії та джерелознавства ім. М. С. Грушевського НАН України, 2004, 8/9, 227–265.
- Михайловський В. Чотири надання для родини Гинковичів (20-ті–40-ві рр. XV ст.). *Молода нація.* Київ: Смолоскип, 2000, № 1, 129–136.
- Михайловський В. Podole po Grunwaldzie (1410–1430): walka Witolda z Jagiełłą. *Jogailos ir Vytauto laikai. Mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys, skirtas Žalgirio mūšio 600-osioms metinėms.* Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2011, 120–129.
- Норкус З. *Непроголошена імперія. Велике князівство Литовське з погляду порівняльно-історичної соціології імперій.* / Пер. з лит. П. Білинський. Київ: Критика, 2016, 440.
- Підлущкий О. *Король-лицар, який має аж два саркофаги, але лежить невідомо де.* URL: https://dt.ua/SOCIETY/_korollitsar_yakiy_mae_azh_dva_sarkofagi_ale_lezhit_nevidomo_de.html.
- Події з історії Товстого.* URL: https://library-tovste.at.ua/index/podiji_z_istoriji_tovstogo/0-48.
- Пшик В., Чорній В. Експозиція львівських музейників на ювілейній виставці, присвяченій битві під Варною 1444 р. *Проблеми слов'язнознавства.* Львів: ЛНУ ім. І. Франка, 2004, 54, 269–270.
- Черкас Б. Ординський «рубикон» Вітовта в контексті політичного права та впливів географічного фактора. *Людина, суспільство, влада в давній та ранньомодерній Україні: контексти історичної презентації.* Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2020, 72–86.
- Шуст Р. *Нумізматика. Історія грошового обігу та монетної справи в Україні.* Київ: Знання, 2009, 376.

- Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*. Red. X. Liske. Lwów: z drukarni Narodowej W. Manieckiego, 1876, т. 6, 302.
- Baronas D., Rowell S. C. *The Conversion of Lithuania. From Pagan Barbarians to Late Medieval Christians*. Vilnius: The Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, 2015, 627.
- Decaluwe M., Izbicki T., Christianson G. *A Companion to the Council of Basel*. Leiden: Brill, 2016, 556.
- Długosch J. *Historiae Polonicae. Tomus II. Kodeks Rozrażewskiego*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska 33, 1501, 430.
- Imber C. *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–1445*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2006, 226.
- Jefferson J. *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad. The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438–1444*. Leiden: Brill, 2012, 514.
- Kurtyka J. Repertorium podolskie. Dokumenty do 1430 r. *Rocznik Przemyski*. Przemysł: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Przemysłu, 2004, т. 40, z. 4, 127–169.
- Mykhaylovskiy V. Podolian Melting Pot: Formation of Multicultural Community of Nobles on the Eastern Border of Polish Kingdom of the Fifteenth Century Europe. *Український історичний журнал*, 2020, 4, 125–136.
- Pentek Z. Polscy uczestnicy wyprawy Warneńskiej. *Balkanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 1997, 8, 91–108.
- Polechow S. Itinerarium Witolda, wielkiego księcia litewskiego: 4/5 VIII 1392–27 X 1430. *Rocznik Lituanistyczny*, 2019, т. 5, 9–120.
- Prochaska A. *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae, 1376–1430*. Cracoviae: Sumptibus Academiae literarum Cracoviensis, 1882, 1113.
- Semkowicz W. Nieznane nadania dla osób prywatnych. *Ateneum Wileńskie*. Wilno: wydano z zasiłku Kultury Narodowej przy Prez. R. M., 1930, R. 7/Z. 3–4, 845–867.
- Semkowicz W. *Sfragistyka Witołda*. Kraków: Drukarnia Związkowa, 1931, 24.
- Sroka S. I. Ulászló itineráriuma (1440–1444). *Történeti tanulmányok*, 1995, 4, 21–47.
- Tęgowski J. Uzupełnienia i uwagi do itinerarium Witolda Kiejstutowicza. *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 2006, 44, 67–76.
- Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*. Coll. A. Theiner. Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1861, vol. 2, 782.
- Vitoldiana: Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi Magni ducis Lithuaniae 1386–1430*. Ed. J. Ochmański Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1986, 255.

REFERENCES

- Baronas, Rowell, 2015 – Baronas, D., Rowell, S. C. *The Conversion of Lithuania. From Pagan Barbarians to Late Medieval Christians*. Vilnius: The Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, 2015. [in English].
- Biletska, 2017 – Biletska, O. (2017). *Chervonohradskiy povit Podilskoi zemli naprykintsi XIV–XVI st.* <https://www.medievalist.org.ua/2017/04/xivxvi.html>. [in Ukrainian].
- Cherkas, 2020 – Cherkas, B. (2020). Ordynskiy "rubikon" Vitovta v konteksti politychnoho prava ta vplyviv heohrafichnoho faktora. *Liudyna, suspilstvo, vlada v davnii ta rannomodernii Ukraini: konteksty istorychnoi prezentatsii*. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 72–86. [in Ukrainian].

- Decaluwe, Izbicki, Christianson, 2016 – Decaluwe M., Izbicki T., Christianson G. *A Companion to the Council of Basel*. Leiden: Brill, 2016. [in English].
- Długosz, 1501 – Długosch, J. (1501). *Historiae Polonicae*. Tomus II. Kodeks Rozrażewskiego. BJ 33. [in Latin].
- Imber, 2006 – Imber, C. (2006). *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–1445*. Farnham: Ashgate. [in English].
- Jefferson, 2012 – Jefferson, J. (2012). *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad. The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438–1444*. Leiden: Brill. [in English].
- Kurtyka, 2000 – Kurtyka, J. (2000). Podole pomiędzy Polską i Litwą w XIV i 1. połowie XV wieku. *Kamieniec Podolski. Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, t. 1, 9–59. [in Polish].
- Kurtyka, 2004 – Kurtyka, J. (2004). Repertorium podolskie. Dokumenty do 1430 r. *Rocznik Przemyski*. Przemysł, t. 40/z. 4, 127–169. [in Latin, Polish].
- Liske, 1876 – Liske, X. (1876). *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*. Lwów: z drukarni Narodowej W. Manieckiego, t. 6. [in Latin, Polish].
- Mykhaylovskiy, 2000 – Mykhaylovskiy, V. (2000). Chotyry nadannia dla rodyny Hynkovychiv (20-ti–40-vi rr. XV st.). *Moloda natsiia*, Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 1, 129–136. [in Ukrainian].
- Mykhaylovskiy, 2003 – Mykhaylovskiy, V. (2003). Naselenni punkty zakhidnoho Podillia ta Podilskoho voievodstva (1402–1444 rr.) u svitli korolivskykh, velykokniazivskykh ta starostynskykh dokumentiv. *Istoryko-geohrafichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini: zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 213–239. [in Ukrainian].
- Mykhaylovskiy, 2004 – Mykhaylovskiy, V. (2004). Nadannia zemelnoi vlasnosti u Podilskomu voievodstvi za panuvannia Vladyslava III (1434–1444). *Ukrainskyi arkhеоhrafichniy shchorichnyk. Nova seriia*. Kyiv: Instytut ukrainskoi arkhеоhrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M. S. Hrushevskoho NAN Ukrainy, v. 8/9, 213–239. [in Ukrainian].
- Mykhaylovskiy, 2011 – Mykhaylovskiy, V. (2011). Podole po Grunwaldzie (1410–1430): walka Witolda z Jagiełłą. *Jogailos ir Vytauto laikai. Mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys, skirtas Žalgirio mūšio 600-osioms metinėms*. Kaunas, 120–129. [in Polish].
- Mykhaylovskiy, 2012 – Mykhaylovskiy, V. (2012). *Elastychna spilnota. Podilska shliakhta v druhii polovyni XIV – 70-kh rokakh XVI st.* Kyiv: Tempora. [in Ukrainian].
- Mykhaylovskiy, 2020 – Mykhaylovskiy, V. (2020). Podolian Melting Pot: Formation of Multicultural Community of Nobles on the Eastern Border of Polish Kingdom of the Fifteenth Century Europe. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 2020, 4, 125–136. [in English].
- Norkus, 2016 – Norkus, Z. (2016). *Neproholoshena imperiia. Velyke kniazivstvo Lytovske z pohliadu porivnialno-istorychnoi sotsiologhii imperii*. Translated from Lithuanian. Kyiv: Krytyka. [in Ukrainian].
- Ochmański, 1986 – Ochmański, J., ed. (1986). *Vitoldiana: Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi Magni ducis Lithuaniae 1386–1430*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk. [in Latin].
- Pidlutskiy, 2012 – Pidlutskiy, O. (2012). *Korol-lytsar, yakyi maie azh dva sarkofahy, ale lezhyt nevidomo de* [The king-knight, who has as many as two sarcophagi, but lies

- unknown where]. https://dt.ua/SOCIETY/_korol-litsar,_yakiy_mae_azh_dva_sarko_fagi,_ale_lezhit_nevidomo_de.html. [in Ukrainian].
- Pentek, 1997 – Pentek, Z. (1997). Polscy uczestnicy wyprawy Warneńskiej. *Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia*, t. 8, 91–108. [in Polish].
- Podii – *Podii z istirii Tovstogo*. https://library-tovste.at.ua/index/podiji_z_istoriji_tovstogo/0-48. [in Ukrainian].
- Polechow, 2019 – Polechow, S. (2019). Itinerarium Witolda, wielkiego księcia litewskiego: 4/5 VIII 1392–27 X 1430. *Rocznik Lituanistyczny*, 5, 9–120. [in Polish].
- Prochaska, 1882 – Prochaska, A. (1882). *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni DucisLithuaniae 1376–1430*. Cracoviae: Sumptibus Academiae literarum Cracoviensis. [in Latin].
- Pshyk, Chornii, 2004 – Pshyk, V., Chornii, V. (2004). Ekspozytsiia lvivskykh muzeinykiv na yuvileinii vystavtsi, prysviachenii bytvi pid Varnoiu 1444 r. *Problemy sloviazno-znavstva*, Vyp. 54, 269–270. [in Ukrainian].
- Semkowicz, 1930 – Semkowicz W. (1930). Nieznane nadania dla osób prywatnych. *Ateneum Wileńskie*. Wilno: wydano z zasiłku Kultury Narodowej przy Prez. R. M., R. 7/Z. 3-4, 845–867. [in Polish].
- Semkowicz, 1931 – Semkowicz, W. (1931). *Sfragistyka Witolda*. Kraków: Drukarnia Związkowa. [in Polish].
- Shust, 2009 – Shust, R. (2009). *Numizmatyka. Istorii hroshovoho obihu ta monetnoi spravy v Ukraini*. Kyiv: Znannia. [in Ukrainian].
- Sroka, 1995 – Sroka, S. (1995). I. Ulászló itineráriuma (1440–1444). *Történeti tanulmányok*, 4, 21–47. [in Hungarian].
- Sułkowska-Kuraś, Kuraś, 1975 – Sułkowska-Kuraś, I., Kuraś, S. (1975). *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, vol. 8. [in Latin, Polish].
- Tęgowski, 2006 – Tęgowski, J. (2006). Uzupełnienia i uwagi do itinerarium Witolda Kiejstutowicza. *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 44, 67–76. [in Polish].
- Theiner, 1861 – Theiner, A. ed. (1861). *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*. Romae: Typis Vaticanis, vol. 2. [in Latin].
- Voitovych, 2004 – Voitovych, L. (2004). *Nashchadky Chynhiz-Khana: vstup do henealohii Chynhizydiv-Dzhuchydiv*. Lviv: Ivan Franko National University of Lviv. [in Ukrainian].
- Zazuliak, 2000 – Zazuliak, Yu. (2000). Zastavy yak element rozdavnychoi polityky Iagello-niv u Halyskii Rusi v XV st. *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Serii istorychna*. Lviv: Lvivskiy natsionalnyi universytet imeni Ivana Franka, v. 35–36, 43–57. [in Ukrainian].