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#### N.O. Mitev

# JAGIELLONIAN COINS FROM THE BULGARIAN LANDS\*

At the end of the 14th century, a new actor appeared on the European scene, the Jagiellonian dynasty, which for two centuries played an important role in the political life of Central and Eastern Europe. The Jagiellons also was connected with the Balkans. Here, the coins of the Jagiellonian rulers, from the progenitor Władysław Jagiełło to the last representative Zygmunt II (including those who were on the Hungarian throne), which were found in present-day Bulgaria, are examined. Both individual finds and those found in the hoards have been analyzed. Compared to the issues of Władysław Warneńczyk, the coins of the other rulers are less common, which seems logical, given the specificity and the difficulty of the period; but in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and more specifically around the middle of the century, the number of specimens began to increase. The cultural record like this is a good proof of the contacts between the Bulgarian lands and the nations of Central Europe during this period. The article provides a basis we can stand upon in future research on the matter, since the sample of Jagiellonian coin finds in this geographical area is expected to increase.

**Key words:** Bulgarian lands, coins, Jagiellonian dynasty, Ottoman state.

**About the author:** Mitev Nevyan Ognyanov, PhD (History), National Museum of Military History — Bulgaria, branch Park-Museum of Military Friendship — 1444.

Contact information: 9027, Bulgaria, Varna, 55 Yanosh Hunyadi blvd., National Museum of Military History — Bulgaria, branch Park-Museum of Military Friendship — 1444; e-mail: nevyan 1986@abv.bg.

## Н.О. Митев

### МОНЕТЫ ЯГЕЛЛОНОВ ИЗ БОЛГАРСКИХ ЗЕМЕЛЬ

В конце XIV в. на европейской сцене появилось новое действующее лицо — династия Ягеллонов, игравшая на протяжении двух столетий важную роль в политической жизни Центральной и Восточной Европы. Ягеллоны были связаны и с Балканами. В статье рассматриваются монеты правителей Ягеллонов, от прародителя Владислава Ягайло до последнего представителя Сигизмунда II (включая королей, бывших на венгерском престоле), которые встречаются на современных болгарских землях. Проанализированы как единичные находки, так и клады. По сравнению с выпусками Владислава Варненчика, монеты других правителей встречаются реже. Это логично, учитывая специфику и сложность периода, но в XVI в., а особенно в его середине, выборка нарастает. Нумизматические памятники служат верным доказательством контактов болгарских земель со странами Центральной Европы в XIV—XVI вв. Статья является основой для будущих исследований по этому вопросу, поскольку в этом географическом районе можно ожидать новых находок монет Ягеллонов.

Ключевые слова: болгарские земли, монеты, династия Ягеллонов, Османское государство.

Сведения об авторе: Митев Невьян Огнянов, PhD (History), Национальный военно-исторический музей — Болгария, филиал «Парк-музей воинской дружбы — 1444».

Контактная информация: 9027, Болгария, г. Варна, бул. Яноша Хуньяди, 55, Национальный военно-исторический музей — Болгария, филиал «Парк-музей воинской дружбы — 1444»; e-mail: nevyan 1986@abv.bg.

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The Jagiellonian dynasty is one of the most powerful dynasties in Central Europe which for almost two centuries (second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century — second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century) took a leading role in governing a number of countries in this region and determined their development. It was the Jagiellonians — in the person of Vladislav Jagiello's eldest son Vladislav III Jagiellonian (Varnenchik) who put up the last resistance against the Ottoman invaders, which ended with the ill-fated battle of Varna on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1444, where the young Polish and Hungarian king died. The coins of Vladislav Varnenchik, discovered in the Bulgarian lands, are associated with his Crusades of 1443—1444. However, this is not the case with the coin emissions of other representatives of the Jagiellonian dynasty — Vladislav Jagiello, Casimir IV, John Albert, etc. To this day, no extensive research has been carried out on the coins of the Jagiellonians found on the territory of present-day Bulgaria. Although not numerous, they provide reliable data on the presence of Jagiellonian coins among circulating coins in this geographical area at the time, respectively in trade. The aim of the article is to collect, document and analyze the emissions of the Jagiellonian rulers from the Bulgarian lands as a proof of the economic prosperity of Central Jagiellonian Europe during this period and material evidence for trade relations of the region with the Bulgarian part of the Ottoman state.

Vladislav Jagiello (Jogaila) was Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1377 to 1401 and by virtue of the Union of Krewo between Lithuania and Poland in 1385 he ascended the Polish throne in 1386 and ruled the country for a long time, until 1434. During his reign, Poland achieved economic and cultural prosperity and due to the restoration of the University of Krakow (Queen Jadwiga also took an active role in that), it was named "Jagiellonian". At the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the so-called "Great War" with the Teutonic Order started and in the momentous battle of Grunwald on 10<sup>th</sup> July 1410, the combined Polish-Lithuanian soldiers managed to defeat the Teutonic armies<sup>1</sup>. In this way, the Polish-Lithuanian state became one of the hegemons of Europe<sup>2</sup>.

Vladislav Jagiello minted a large number of coins of various denominations. The Lithuanian coins, bearing his name, are groschens and half groshens, minted in the period from 1377 to 1392 (Ivanauskas, Douchis 1999: 15—16), and his coinage as a Polish ruler is divided into: half groschens, ternars and denarii (Frynas 2015: 253—256). His coins are distributed in Central and Eastern Europe, and a total number of 3 of his Polish specimens were found in the Bulgarian lands. These are: one half groschen, found in the region of Dobrich (Parushev 2015: 144), one coin of the ruler was discovered during archaeological work, conducted at the monastery "Great Lavra" in the old Bulgarian capital Veliko Tarnovo and was registered under inv. № 2954 in the collection of the Regional Museum of History in VelikoTarnovo (Petrakiev 2021: 349)<sup>3</sup>. Another coin of Vladislav was found during excavation work at the monastery complex "St. Demetrius". The researcher dated the specimen as one struck by Vladislav Varnenchik (Dochev 2005: 196, 204, № 3) but a detailed analysis of the published photo shows that it is more likely the coin to have been minted by his father. On both sides of the coin there are a crown and an eagle and inscriptions around them. It is Polish for sure and all coins of Varnenchik of this type are without any inscriptions. His coins, struck in Hungary, as far as I know, do not bear a crown and an eagle on them. That is why, in my humble opinion, it should be assumed that the specimen in question was minted during the reign of Vladislav Jagiello. Two of the coins of the ruler known so far, found in the Bulgarian lands, are half-groschens, and the type of the third specimen was not specified by the person who published it. During the reign of this ruler the Polish-Lithuanian state occupied large areas of Central and Eastern Europe, and even had an outlet on the Black Sea. The entry of the ruler's coin emissions into the Ottoman state is something normal as it is logical trading relationship to have existed between the two countries during this period. It is noteworthy that the coins of this ruler were found in Northern Bulgaria. One reasonable explanation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Much has been written about the reign of this ruler, here I just mention some studies: Gąsiorowski: 2015; Krzyżaniakowa, Ochmański 1990 and others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I use the term Polish-Lithuanian state but the official unification of the two states took place only in 1569. During the period under consideration, Polish kings were not always great Lithuanian princes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The primary publication of Konstantin Dochev does not indicate the existence of such a specimen found during excavation work at the monastery "Great Lavra", see: Dochev 2004: 144—198.

for that is international trade by land and/or sea. As for the coin from the Museum of Tarnovo which is of unknown type, if it is proved that it is of the type minted before 1393 (an earlier coin emission of the ruler), it can be assumed that Vladislav's coins had entered the Bulgarian lands before the collapse of the Tarnovo tsardom under Ottoman rule in 1393, in view of the fact that the capital of the country certainly had some kind of trade relations with European countries<sup>4</sup>.

Vladislav Jagiełło's eldest son, Vladislav III, was king of Poland from 1434. In 1440 he was elected king of Hungary but part of the ruling elite did not approve his election and therefore a civil war broke out, which lasted until the end of 1442. Eventually, the coalition that supported the ruler — led by Janos Hunyadi, emerged as a winner. He was the leader of the two crusades against the Turks in 1443—1444 and on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1444 he found his death in the battle of Varna and was posthumously named "Varnenchik".

During the period from 1434 to 1440, in which he was the ruler of the Polish kingdom only, he minted just one type of silver coins (denarii), which I have already mentioned. His coin emissions as a Hungarian king are significantly more numerous and diverse — gold guilders (florins), silver denarii, which can be divided into 5 groups. There were also some struck in the name of Janos Hunyadi. The coin emissions of the ruler are supplemented by silver obols. His specimens, found in the Bulgarian lands, have been the topic of several of my studies. Therefore, now I will only mention the main conclusions I have reached so far. At present, the generally known specimens of the Polish and Hungarian ruler from Northeastern Bulgaria are 21. There are reports that in the area of Belovo — an area traditionally associated with the end of the "long campaign", specimens of the ruler (Hrischev 1998: 21—31) were also found. Unfortunately, we do not know neither their number nor their exact description. Coin emissions of Vladislav Varnenchik were found only in these two regions of Bulgaria. However, their presence should not be considered part of the monetary circulation, it is a consequence of the ruler's crusades against the Turks. What are the arguments? First of all — their find-place. As I have already mentioned, these are two areas where battles were fought between the Crusaders and the Ottomans. It seems extremely illogical for the ruler's emissions to be present in Northeastern Bulgaria and to be absent in Northwestern — the border region between the Ottoman state and the Kingdom of Hungary at that time. Another confirmation of the above-mentioned assertion is that the specimens of Varnenchik were found only in places where the crusader army had passed, both on its way to Varna and later following the retreat route. In most cases, at the same places, other archeological materials were also found — weapons and equipment, also associated with the Crusaders<sup>5</sup>.

After the battle of Varna on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1444 and the absence of Vladislav's dead body, rumors began to spread in Europe that the king had survived. An interregnum period followed in the Kingdom of Poland and his brother Casimir ascended the Polish throne only three years later. In 1447 he was crowned Polish king and remained in history as Casimir IV Jagiełłon (1447—1492). He managed to solve the problems of the country and perhaps one of his greatest successes was the joint victory together with the Prussian Confederation over the Teutonic Order in the 13-year war (1454—1466), thanks to which the Polish-Lithuanian state significantly expanded its territory and gained control over some important cities such as Gdansk, Torun and Elbląg<sup>6</sup>. The coin emissions which Casimir minted as Grand Duke of Lithuania are of only one type — penny (Ivanauskas, Douchis 1999: 33), while the coins, product of the Kingdom of Poland, are divided into: half groschens, denarii, shillings and bracteate-denarii (Frynas 2015: 257—259). One half groschen of the ruler, minted in Poland, was found in the region nearby the city of Burgas, and another one originated from the region of Dobrich.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The connection between King Vladislav II Jagiełło and the Bulgarians can be sought in another aspect as well. At Easter in May 1418 the Bulgarian Gregory Tsamblak, as Metropolitan of Kiev, on his return from the Council of Constance visited the Polish court and received a warm welcome in Wawel Royal castle and in the evening of 18<sup>th</sup> May he headed for Miechów to meet the king who was there at the time. See: Gyuzelev 2014: 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For detailed information about the coin emissions of Vladislav Varnenchik from the Bulgarian lands see: Mitev 2014: 201—208; 2019: 101—113; 2020: 165—171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For detailed information about the reign of Casimir Jagiellon see: Biskup, Górski 1987.

After Casimir's death, the Polish throne was ascended by his son John I Albert (1492—1501). In the course of the organized anti-Turkish campaign, the ruler invaded Moldova but was defeated in the battle of the Cosmin Forest, an event which gave birth to the expression: "Za króla Olbrachta wyginęła szlachta". During his reign, the Polish parliamentary monarchy began. He minted half groschens (Frynas 2015: 260). A coin of this ruler was donated to the Park Museum of Military Friendship. According to the donor it was found in the region of Varna<sup>7</sup>.

Alexander Jagiellon (1501—1506) was the brother of John I Albert and took the throne after his death. He launched a military campaign against Muscovite Russia which ended with the occupation of part of Lithuania by the Muscovites. During his short reign, in 1505, the act "nihil novi" was adopted, which gave great rights to the Polish nobles and actually turned them into a control body of royal decisions<sup>8</sup>. As king of Poland he minted florins, half groschens and denarii (Frynas 2015: 260), and as a Lithuanian prince — pennies, groschens and half groschens (Ivanauskas, Douchis 1999: 37—42). It has to be said that despite the shorter reign compared to the one of his predecessor, Alexander carried out a more complex process of coinage. One half groschen of the ruler, minted in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was found in the region nearby the city of Burgas. This coin and a previous one of Casimir Jagiellon found in the same region which I already mentioned were published together and according to the first publisher, "There is a possibility these coins to be the earliest ones of these two countries discovered so far on the territory of modern Bulgaria" (Vasilev 2018: 94—96). I have already commented on earlier coin emissions of Poland, found in Bulgaria, and I cannot agree with the author's opinion.

In 1506 Sigismund I the Old became Grand Duke of Lithuania and was officially crowned king of Poland in January 1507. He managed to organize the so-called general defense — small, voluntary detachments of the army, protecting Poland from Tatar invasions. Among the greatest achievements of Sigismund I can be mentioned the annexation of the rest of Mazovia by the Crown in 1526 and the reconstruction of the Wawel Castle according to the canons of the Renaissance style (Rutkowski 1978). Under the reign of this ruler a considerable variety of denominations were minted — denarii, groschens and their subdivisions, troikas, shostaks, thalers, ducats (Kopicki 1995: 42—44), as well as Lithuanian ones — pennies, groschens and half groschens (Ivanauskas, Douchis 1999: 47—84). Coin emissions of Sigismund the Old are present in the Bulgarian lands (Haritonov 2004: 171—180; Penchev 2014: 109—150) as well. However, they are not among the relatively common foreign coin emissions among the single finds from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 1).

Sigismund II Augustus was the last representative of the Jagiellonian dynasty who reigned in the period 1548—1572. He is remembered in Polish-Lithuanian history for signing the Union of Lublin in 1569, an act which created a single state, the Polish—Lithuanian Commonwealth, named Rzeczpospolita, which lasted until 1795<sup>9</sup>. Sigismund II minted Polish coin emissions — denarii, groschens, szelags, troikas, ducats, półtalars, talars, etc. (Kopicki 1995: 318, 327—330), as well as Lithuanian ones — pennies and their subdivisions (Ivanauskas, Douchis 1999: 85—145), groshens and their variations, thalers and ducats with their subdivisions. Coin emissions of this ruler are also present in Bulgaria (Penchev 2014: 109—150) and despite the slight increase in their number they are not common as single finds.

The tradition of the Hungarian throne to be ascended by a representative of the Jagiellonian dynasty, established by Vladislav Varnenchik, was continued by his nephew Vladislav — son of Casimir Jagiełłon, who in 1471 became king of Bohemia, and from 1490 to 1516 was king of Hungary and Croatia under the name Ulaslo II. Thus, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the sons of Casimir Jagiełłon ruled a large part of Central Europe and that's why this period of time can rightly be considered "Jagiellonian Europe". Under the reign of this ruler the real power laid with the royal council, his foreign policy was marked mainly by the wars with Turkey, with the result that the Ottomans managed to take control over some of the border areas between the two countries

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Unpublished specimen. The coin is registered under inv. № 38 in Collection 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For detailed information about the reign of John I Albert and Alexander Jagiellon see: Czerny 1871.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> About the reign of Sigismund II Augustus see: Cynarski 1988.

(Kontler 2009: 141). During his reign Ulaslo II minted a large number of coins of different denominations — gold guilders in their different variations, silver denarii, groschens and obols and their subdivisions, guilders, as well as gold and silver test coin emissions (Huszar 1979: 115—127). A silver coin of this ruler was discovered during archaeological excavations at the Nikopol Fortress in 1977, headed by Ekaterina Manova, and is currently kept in the collection of the Regional Museum of History — Pleven under inv. № 1664<sup>10</sup>.

Louis II (1516—1526) was the last representative of the Jagiellonian dynasty on the Hungarian throne. He ascended the throne when he was only 10 years old after the death of his father and the real power was practically in the hands of the magnates, who were at war with each other at the time. He died in the battle of Mohács on 29<sup>th</sup> August 1526, fighting against the army of Suleiman the Magnificent, and from that date onwards a part of Hungary fell under Ottoman rule for a long time (Kontler 2009: 146). Louis II minted various coin emissions — gold guilders, denarii, obols, groschens, gold and silver test coins. Two specimens, struck by Louis II, are kept in the collection of the Museum of History "Iskra" — Kazanlak. The first one is a gold guilder of the ruler, struck in Kremnica mint in 1517 (Krastev 2015a: 130—134) and the other one is a silver denarius, also struck in Kremnica mint in 1526<sup>11</sup>

Based on the review of the single coin finds discovered in Bulgaria so far, the following conclusion can be made. The coins of the rulers of the Jagiellonian dynasty are single specimens, sporadically found in the Bulgarian lands. The coins of Vladislav Varnenchik are the exception to this rule but there is a logical explanation for their greater number, which I already commented on namely the crusades against the Turks in 1443 and 1444. The small number of specimens from that time in the Ottoman state is quite normal. 15<sup>th</sup> century was a time of political strife and numerous wars between the Turks and the Balkan and European armies (mostly Hungarian-Wallachian). The Bulgarian lands were precisely in the center of these events. Trade with European countries was reduced to a minimum so the most common foreign coins of this period were the ones of the nearby countries of Byzantium, Wallachia and Moldova<sup>12</sup>. Almost the same trend continued in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century but gradually the turbulent times subsided and trade began to develop rapidly as evidenced by the mass discovery of coin emissions of Polish-Lithuanian rulers from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century — Stephen Báthory (1576—1586) and Sigismund III Vasa (1587—1632)<sup>13</sup>. The Dubrovnik colonies established in the country at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the activities of the Jewish population, played a significant role in achieving economic growth. It is these two communities that are the basis for the revival of trade and crafts in the following centuries.

What is the situation with the Jagiellonian coins found in hoards in Bulgaria? Silver European coins were found as part of a coin hoard in the region of Vidin. The find was purchased by Dr. Panayotov in 1948 and later 38 specimens were donated by him to the Archaeological Museum in Sofia. The coins were hidden in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and among them there were Hungarian specimens of Vladislav II — 25 pieces, of which 9 were minted in 1508, 7 in 1511—1512 and 9 were undated, and 4 pieces of Louis II, one minted in 1516, another — in 1520, and two of the coins had holes (Gerasimov 1950: 323; Haritonov 1998: 259; Teodosiev 2017: 166). There are several ambiguities about this find and its researchers provided different information on the total number of coins in it. N. Teodosiev first mentioned that 262 coins were bought by Dr. Panayotov and later wrote that 274 coins were described, while Haritonov

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> I'd like to express my gratitude to Venko Ivanov — an archaeologist at the Regional Museum of History — Pleven for providing me with the necessary information.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Unpublished specimen. The coin was registered in Inv. book 1 for coins on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1960. I express my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Krasimir Krastev at the University of Shumen for providing me with the necessary information.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Of course, other coin emissions circulated in the Bulgarian lands at that time as well, such as the Serbian, the ones issued and used in the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Venetian, etc., but they are all single specimens. Hungarian coin emissions have risen in number since the reign of Habsburg ruler Ferdinand I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For information about the distribution of the coin emissions of the two rulers in the Bulgarian lands, see the extensive research Krastev 2015b: 161—169 and the bibliography cited there in.

mentioned 277<sup>14</sup>. It is no big deal for us, what really matters in this case is that Jagiellonian coins were registered as part of that coin hoard. In 1933, 91 coins were found in the area of the town of Samokov. All of them were from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among them there were one coin of Louis II and 8 of Sigismund I (1506—1548) (Gerasimov 1934: 467—468; Haritonov 1998: 302; Teodosiev 2017: 493) In 2015 at an excavation site in Independence Square in Sofia, under the brick floor of one of the discovered late medieval chambers, archeologists discovered a ceramic jar containing 9 silver coins, one of which was a denarius of King Louis II (Teodosiev 2017: 500). In March 1925 near the brick factory of Iskrenov and Co and the road from Vidin to Kapitanovtsi workers from the factory found 248 groschens of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Sratsimir and several groschens of the Polish King Sigismund. In Nikola Mushmov's primary publication there was no information on who exactly this ruler was? (Mushmov 1926—1927: 322). Diverse opinions were shared in the later studies. According to Haritonov, this was Sigismund III Vase (Haritonov 1998: 258) and according to Lazarov and Teodosiev — Sigismund I (Lazarov 1992: 47; Teodosiev 2017: 157) In April 1909 during the construction of a road near the village of Vrabnitsa (Sofia region), 65 silver coins were discovered — 24 coins of the Polish kings Sigismund II and Sigismund III were among them (Teodosiev 2017: 481) In 1961 while playing in a yard in Gabrovo several children found a metal box with small silver coins from the  $16^{th}$  —  $17^{th}$  centuries. One of them belonged to Sigismund II Augustus (Gerasimov 1963: 262; Haritonov 1998: 262—263; Teodosiev 2017: 202) In the early 80s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the area "Timin dol", near the village of Dragovishtitsa, region of Kyustendil, a mixed collective find was discovered. Initially, the Museum of History in Kyustendil received 16 coins and later 35 more. One specimen was minted by Sigismund I (Teodosiev 2017: 242). A large treasure was found on the land of the village of Dabravino, Varna region. It contained a total of 1451 coins, of which 571 were European coin emissions and 880 were Turkish. Among the European specimens a coin of 6 groschen of Sigismund II was registered, minted in 1567 for Lithuania (Mirchev 1970: 203—217: Haritonov 1998: 269: Teodosiev 2017: 78—79). On 11<sup>th</sup> September 1927 while digging ground for the foundations of his house in Lom, Stefan Marinov found a pot of silver coins, a pair of silver earrings, a whole and a broken silver bracelet. The coins numbered 299—288 European and 11 Turkish. Groshens of Sigismund I, minted in 1526 for Poland and groschens of Sigismund II (Mushmov 1928— 1929: 383; Haritonov 1998: 281; Teodosiev 2017: 283), minted in 1569 for Lithuania were among the European coins. In 1963 near the village of Peshakovo, Vidin region, 328 silver Turkish and European coins were discovered, along with fragments of silver jewelry. There were two epecimens of Sigismund I (Gerasimov 1964: 243; Filipova, Shiderov 1990: 28—40; Haritonov 1998: 293—294; Teodosiev 2017: 173—174) among the coins. In 1921 the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia received a donation, which was discovered near the village of Kopilovtsi, Montana region. The find contained silver jewelry and silver European and Turkish coins from the 16<sup>th</sup> — 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among them there was one groschen, minted by Sigismund I for Lithuania, and two more 4 groschen coins, minted by Sigismund II in 1566—1568 (Tomova 2017: 287—292)

The analysis of the coin hoards found in the Bulgarian lands (fig. 2) shows a slightly different tendency compared to single finds, namely the following. There are no Polish and Lithuanian coins of the Jagiellonian rulers from the period — end of the 14<sup>th</sup> — the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The specimens of Sigismund I and Sigismund II can be found in coin hoards. In his extensive research on the coins found in the Bulgarian lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Nikola Robev concluded that the development of trade contacts with Poland during this period was evident from only one find (Robev 1996: 143) At the same time, the author had previously commented that there were two finds which indicated these trade relations (Robev 1996: 137) The presented review shows that there is more than one find in which coin emissions of the rulers are present. The Hungarian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> In addition, it is strange that both authors mention one specimen of Vladislav Varnenchik. In the primary publication of Todor Gerasimov, as well as in the first mention of Haritonov about the find (see Haritonov 1992: 174) such a coin was not mentioned. As this issue is debatable and it is not clear whether either of the two researchers have identified the coin and I have not had the opportunity to work personally with the find and use only the various publications, I question the existence of such a specimen and therefore do not mention it in this research.

specimens of Vladislav II and Louis II are also well represented among the other treasures of the Bulgarians during the centuries of Ottoman rule.

Jagiellonian coins are part of the variety of European coins which together with the Ottoman ones circulated freely on the markets in the Bulgarian lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. An interesting piece of information about the good reception of European thalers in the Ottoman state was left to us in 1574 by the Frenchman Pierre Lescolapier: "These thalers are usually distributed throughout Turkey, where there are fewer difficulties to show and more profit" (Tsvetkova 1975: 158) The value of European silver coins changed compared to the local Ottoman akçe (aspron). Various sources of information give us data that in the first half of the century the average European silver coin was between 35 and 37 akçes, while in the second half the value rose to about 100 pieces. Vladimir Penchev makes an interesting assumption about the value of the billon groschens of Sigismund I and Sigismund II in circulation in the Balkan regions of the Ottoman Empire during this period. According to him, forty such billon coins were equal to one silver thaler. Considering the fact that around the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century a thaler was approximately equal to 40 asprons within the Ottoman Empire, the author believes that one such billon groschen should have had the value of an aspron. During this period European silver coins in general had a relatively high purchase value and were valued by the population of the Ottoman state, as evidenced by the coin treasures of that time (Penchev 2014: 133, 137)

Specifically, for trade contacts with Poland, there are reports that in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Armenian trading companies, which had imported Polish handicrafts for a long time, were replaced by Turkish ones. And the laws on port duties in the Danube cities mention that the people who traded with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were Christians and Muslims. In the 15<sup>th</sup> — 16<sup>th</sup> century, information was found about the participation of Bulgarians as caravan carters transporting goods to Poland and Russia or as intermediaries of the people of Dubrovnik in the local markets (Georgieva, Genchev 1999: 152—153)

There is no doubt that the Jagiellonian coins from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> — 16<sup>th</sup> centuries have entered the Bulgarian lands. Initially, they were less common, but in the following decades their number increased. Their entry may have taken place in different ways: the route of trade by land and sea, as booty, as a result of military campaigns between Europeans and Ottomans, etc. In any case, the above-mentioned coin emissions have their place in the circulation of foreign coins in the Ottoman state. Certainly in the future the coins of the Jagiellonian rulers will increase in number and will enrich the variety of coins related to the Ottoman period of the Bulgarian lands.

# Catalogue of single coin finds found in the Bulgarian lands

# Władysław II Jagiełło (1386—1434)

# Half groschens

Obv. + MONE WLADISLAI

Crown.

Rev. + REGIS POLONIE

Eagle.

- 1. AR; Found in the region of Dobrich. Dimensions: Diameter 20—20.5 mm, Weights 1.50 g.
- 2. AR; Found during excavation work at the monastery complex "St. Demetrius". Dimensions: Diameter 18 mm, Weight 0.50 g.

## Unknown type

3. Discovered during archaeological work, conducted at the monastery "Great Lavra" in the old Bulgarian capital Veliko Tarnovo and was registered under inv. № 2954 in the collection of the Regional Museum of History in Veliko Tarnovo.

## Władysław III (1434—1444)

Gold guilder (florin)

Obv. Circular inscription: +WLADISLAVS D G R VnGARIE

In the middle there is a shield divided into four equal fields. The Hungarian coat of arms (horizontal lines) is presented in the upper left field, the Polish coat of arms — an eagle with outstretched wings and a head turned to the right is presented in the right upper field. A patriarchal cross and Vytis are presented in the lower right and left fields respectively.

Rev. Circular inscription: S LADISL AVS REX

- St. Ladislav is erect, crowned and has a beard. There is a grainy circle around his head. He has a mantle on, holds a halberd in his right hand and the globus cruciger in his left.
- 4. AV; It was found by the Shkorpil brothers.
- 5. AV; The coin is kept in a private collection. According to the owner it was found in the region of Dobrich. The specimen is well-preserved. The coin is slightly chipped and has a hole in it which testifies to its use as jewelry in later times. Dimensions: Diameter 20—21 mm; Weight 3.5 g, Sibiu Mint. Mint Master Jacob of Florence.
- 6. AV; Varna Regional Museum of History, inv. № V 69. Perfectly preserved specimen. It was found in Troshevska mahala (today's Troshevo neighbourhood). Dimensions: Diameter 18 mm; Weight 3.58 g, Sibiu Mint. Mint Master Jacob of Florence (fig. 3: 1).

#### Denarius

Obv. A crown is presented in the center.

Rev. An eagle with outstretched wings.

- 7. AR; Park-Museum of Military Friendship 1444, inv. № 4. The coin is a donation to the museum by Dr. Vladimir Ovcharov who bought it from a treasurer. According to him the specimen was found in Varna. Dimensions: Diameter 9—10 mm; Weight 0.33 g.
- 8. AR; Private collection. The coin is in relatively good condition. It was found in the region of the village of Padina, Municipality of Devnya. Dimensions: Diameter 11—12 mm; Weight 0.3 g (fig. 3: 2).

### Obv. M. WLADISLAI REGIS

Patriarchal cross with forked ends, letters between the arms.

Rev. The royal coats of arms of Hungary and Poland, symbolically connected in a crown.

9. AR; Vasil Haralanov Collection. The coin was found on the northern slope of Hisarlaka, on the road from the shack to the chalet, just before the first turn from top to bottom, to the right, 1964. Dimensions: Diameter 14—14 mm.

### Obv. MONETA. WLADISLAI. DEI. GRA

An eagle with outstretched wings in full face, its head in profile, turned to the right.

Rev. REGIS. VNGARIE ETA ETERENA

Heraldic shield, divided into two parts, a cross in one of them. On top of the shield — a royal crown.

10. AR; Private collection. It was found in Fisek — 2001. Dimensions: Diameter 17—18 mm; Weight 1 g.

### Obv. MONETA WLADISLAI DEIGR

An eagle with outstretched wings in full face, its head in profile, turned to the right.

Rev. + REGIS VNGARIE ET CETER

Heraldic shield, divided into two parts, a cross in one of them.

- 11. AR; Park-Museum of Military Friendship 1444, inv. № 8. It was found in the vineyards above the town of Aksakovo. A well-preserved specimen. The images and inscriptions on both sides are visible. Dimensions: Diameter 17—18 mm; Weight 0.96 g.
- 12. AR; Park-Museum of Military Friendship 1444, inv. № 9. It was found in the vineyards above the town of Aksakovo. The specimen is not well-preserved, parts of the inscriptions have been deleted. A blow has left visible traces on the obverse which was most likely struck by the pickaxe of the finder. Dimensions: Diameter 18—19 mm; Weight 0.91 g.
- 13. AR; Private collection. It was found in the vineyards above the town of Aksakovo. The specimen is poorly-preserved. Slightly cracked. Dimensions: Diameter 18—19 mm; Weight 0.8 g.
- 14. AR; Dimensions: Diameter 17—19 mm; Weight 0.94 g. The coin is not well-preserved and that's why some of the inscriptions on the obverse and the reverse are not visible. Traces of another inscription can be seen on the periphery of the core which most likely indicates that the specimen was reprinted. According to the information available, the coin was found near the fortress of Mihalich, 400 m below Aksakovska panorama.

### Obv. + MONETA. WLADISLAI. DEI. GRA

An eagle with outstretched wings in full face, its head in profile, turned to the right.

Rev. REGIS. VNGARIE ETAETERENA

Heraldic shield, divided into two parts, a cross in one of them.

- 15. AR; Varna Regional Museum of History, inv. № V 326. It was found in the region of Kavarna Dimensions: Diameter 14—15 mm; Weight 0.78 g.
- 16. AR; Varna Regional Museum of History, inv. № V 2048. Unknown location, most likely it was found in the battle of Varna area. Dimensions: Diameter 14—15 mm; Weight 1.3 g.

## Obv. + MONETA. WLADISLAI. DEI. GRA

An eagle with outstretched wings in full face, its head in profile, turned to the right.

### Rev. SLADISLAV REX

The ruler is erect, has a beard, a crown and a mantle on. He holds a halberd in his right hand and the globus cruciger in his left.

- 17. AR; Shumen Regional Museum of History, inv. № 13181. It was found during archeological excavations at the Shumen fortress in 1970, in a residential complex in sector South. Dimensions: Diameter 13—14 mm; Weight 0.7 g.
- 18. AR; Shumen Regional Museum of History, inv. № 13164. The coin originates from the Shumen fortress, it was found in the Eastern wall of Hisarlaka in 1925. Dimensions: Diameter 14—15 mm; Weight 0.5 g.

#### Obv. M. WLADIS-LAI. REGIS

Two-barred cross with two illegible letters between its arms.

Coats of arms of Poland, Hungary and Lithuania. In the middle "M".

19. AR; The specimen is kept in a private collection. The coin originates from the region of Varna. The specimen is not in good condition, most of the inscription on the obverse has been deleted.

## Obv. M. WLADISLAI REGIS

Rev. The coats of arms of Poland, Lithuania and Hungary are presented in a field alternating with arcs and sharp peaks. There is a cross in the middle.

20. Bill.; Museum of history- Silistra, inv. № 7974. It was found during archeological excavations in Silistra in 1993 on the border of quadrant D10 — D11, 0.5 m south of the south wall of a dwelling. Dimensions: Diameter 10—11 mm; Weight 0.7 g. The coin is slightly corroded.

# Coins of unknown type

- 21. It was found during excavations at Dzhenni Bair, Balchik. The type of the denarius is not specified.
- 22. It was discovered during archeological excavations at the Petrich fortress in the southeastern part of the plateau.
- 23. The coin was seen by Ivan Yordanov.
- 24. It was found during archeological excavations in church № 2 in Kaliakra in 2010—2011. Dimensions: Diameter 12 mm; Weight 0.53 g.

# Casimir IV Jagiellon (1447—1492)

# Half groschens

Obv. + MONETA KAZIMIRI Crowned eagle. Rev. +REGIS POLONIE Crown.

- 25. AR; Found in the region nearby the city of Burgas. Dimensions: Diameter 18 mm; Weight 1.13 g. The specimen is poorly-preserved.
- 26. AR; Found in the region of Dobrich. Dimensions: Diameter 19—20 mm; Weight 0.60 g. The coin is chipped.

# John I Albert (1492—1501)

# Half Groschen

Obv. Circular inscription: +REGIS PIOLONIE. A crown in the center. Rev. Circular inscription: MONETA I ALBERTI. An eagle in the center.

27. AR; Park-Museum of Military Friendship — 1444, inv. № 38. Dimensions: Diameter 16, 5—17.5 mm; Weight 1.00 g. Found in the region of Varna (fig. 3: 3).

# Alexander Jagiellon (1501—1506)

# Half Groschens

Obv. MON ALEXANDRI

Vytis.

Rev. MAGNI DVC LITVANIE

Crowned eagle.

28. AR; Found in the region nearby the city of Burgas. Dimensions: Diameter 17—18 mm; Weight 1.15 g. The specimen is poorly-preserved.

# Sigismund I (1506—1548)

#### Groschens

1510

Obv. + MONETA SIGISMVNDI 1510

Vytis.

Rev. + MAGNI DVCIS LITVANIE

Crowned eagle.

29. Bill.; National Museum of History, inv. № 6611. Dimensions: Diameter 20 mm; Weight 1.22 g.

30. AR; the coin was found during archaeological excavations in 1993—1995 at the necropolis of "Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel" church in Arbanasi, in grave No. 13. Unfortunately, there is no photo of the coin, and the type of groschen is not described. The only thing that is mentioned is the Polish origin of the specimen. The coin is perforated and was used as Charon's obol.

3 Groschen

1538

Obv. SIGIS I REX POLO DO TO PRVS Crowned bust of the king, to the right.

Rev. A fiveline inscription: III/GROS AR/TRIP CIVI/GEDANEN/15/38.

At the bottom a small shield with a coat of arms.

31. AR; National Museum of History, inv. № 3116. Dimensions: Diameter 20 mm; Weight 2.34 g.

# Sigismund II Augustus (1544—1572)

Groschens

1556

Obv. SIGIS AVG REX PO MAG DVX LI An eagle with outstretched wings. Rev. MONETA MAGNI DVCAT LITVA/1556 Vytis.

32. Bill.; National Museum of History, inv. № 8294. Dimensions: Diameter 20 mm; Weight 1.24 g. 1562

Obv. Same as above.

Rev. Same as above, but with the year 1562.

33. Bill.; National Museum of History, inv. № 6613. Dimensions: Diameter 20 mm; Weight 1.13 g.

1565

Obv. Same as above.

Rev. Same as above, but with the year 1565.

34. Bill.; National Museum of History, inv. № 8295. Dimensions: Diameter 20 mm; Weight 0.96 g.

3 Groschen

1547

Obv. SIGIS AVG REX PO M D LI Crowned bust of the king, to the right.

Rev. A fiveline inscription: III/GROSS AR/TRIPL MAG/DVCA LITVA/15/47.

Below the inscription — Vytis.

35. AR; National Museum of History, inv. № 6612. Dimensions: Diameter 21 mm; Weight 2.55 g.

# Ulaslo II (1490—1516)

# Denarius

### Obv. M WLADIS...VNGARIE

Fourfold coat of arms: Hungarian Árpád stripes, Hungarian double cross, Dalmatian leopard heads, Bohemian lion; in center (but, no shield) Polish Jagellon eagle; in inner circle.

Rev. PA...VNGARI

The Madonna on a throne holding the Child.

36. AR; Regional Museum of History — Pleven, inv. № 1664. Discovered during archaeological excavations at the Nikopol Fortress in 1977. The specimen is chipped and not well-preserved.

# Louis II (1516—1526)

## Gold guilders

1517

### Obv. LVDOVICVS D-G R VNGARIE

The Madonna, long haired, a crown and a veil on her head, sitting on a throne, holding the Child in her right hand, who is sitting on her right knee. Below the image — an eagle.

## Rev. S LADISLAVS REX 1517

Saint Laszlo, long haired, standing erect, has a beard and mustaches, wearing a suit of armour and a crown on his head. He holds a halberd in his right hand and the globus cruciger in his left. K and G on either side.

37. AV; Museum of History "Iskra" — Kazanlak, inv. № 3966. Dimensions: Diameter 21.6—21.9 mm; Weight 3.55 g. The coin was minted in Kormochbanya (Kremnitz) (fig. 3: 4).

### Denarius

1526

#### Obv. LVDO...VNGAR 1526

Fourfold coat of arms: Hungarian Árpád stripes, Hungarian double cross, Dalmatian leopard heads, Bohemian lion; in center chest shield Polish Jagellon eagle, in inner pearl circle.

Rev....ONA VNGA...

The Madonna on a throne holding the child.

38. AR; Museum of History "Iskra" — Kazanlak, inv. № 57. Dimensions: Diameter 15.1—15,3 mm; Weight 0.41 g. The coin was minted in Kormochbanya (Kremnitz). The specimen is chipped (fig. 3: 5).

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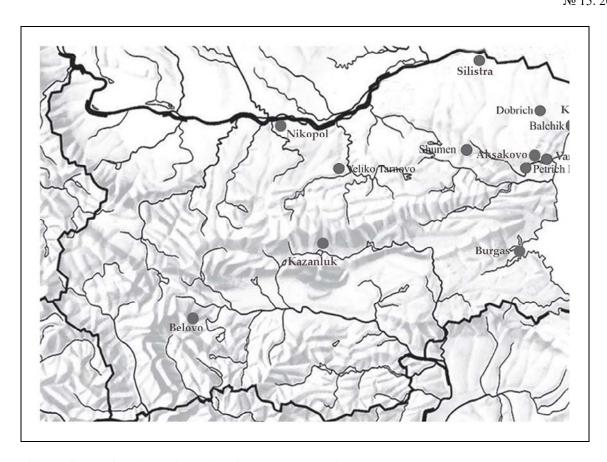


Fig. 1. Single finds of Jagiellonian coins from the Bulgarian lands.

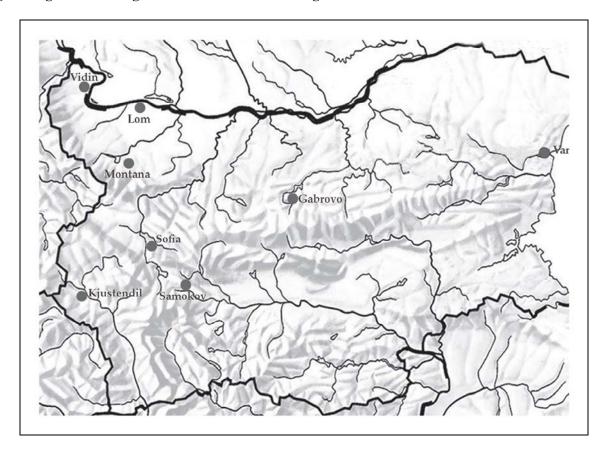


Fig. 2. Jagiellonian coins, part of coin hoards found in the Bulgarian lands.



Fig. 3. Jagiellonian coins from the Bulgarian lands: I — gold guilder (florin) of Władysław III (1434—1444). Cat. № 6; 2 — Polish denarius of Władysław III (1434—1444). Cat. № 8; 3 — half groschen of John I Albert (1492—1501). Cat. № 27; 4 — gold guilder of Louis II (1516—1526). Cat. № 37; 5 — denarius of Louis II (1516—1526). Cat. № 38.