

ZELJKO KNEZEVIC

KING STEFAN THE FIRST CROWNED AND KING UROS I COINS

5 IDENTIFYING FEATURES



LONDON MARCH 2021

These 5 identifying features are:

1. Weight. 2.178g +/- 1%
2. Size 20-21mm
3. Moneyer mark
4. Line across the top of the throne
5. Decorative letters

We have 2 types of Serbian medieval coins with matching features above.

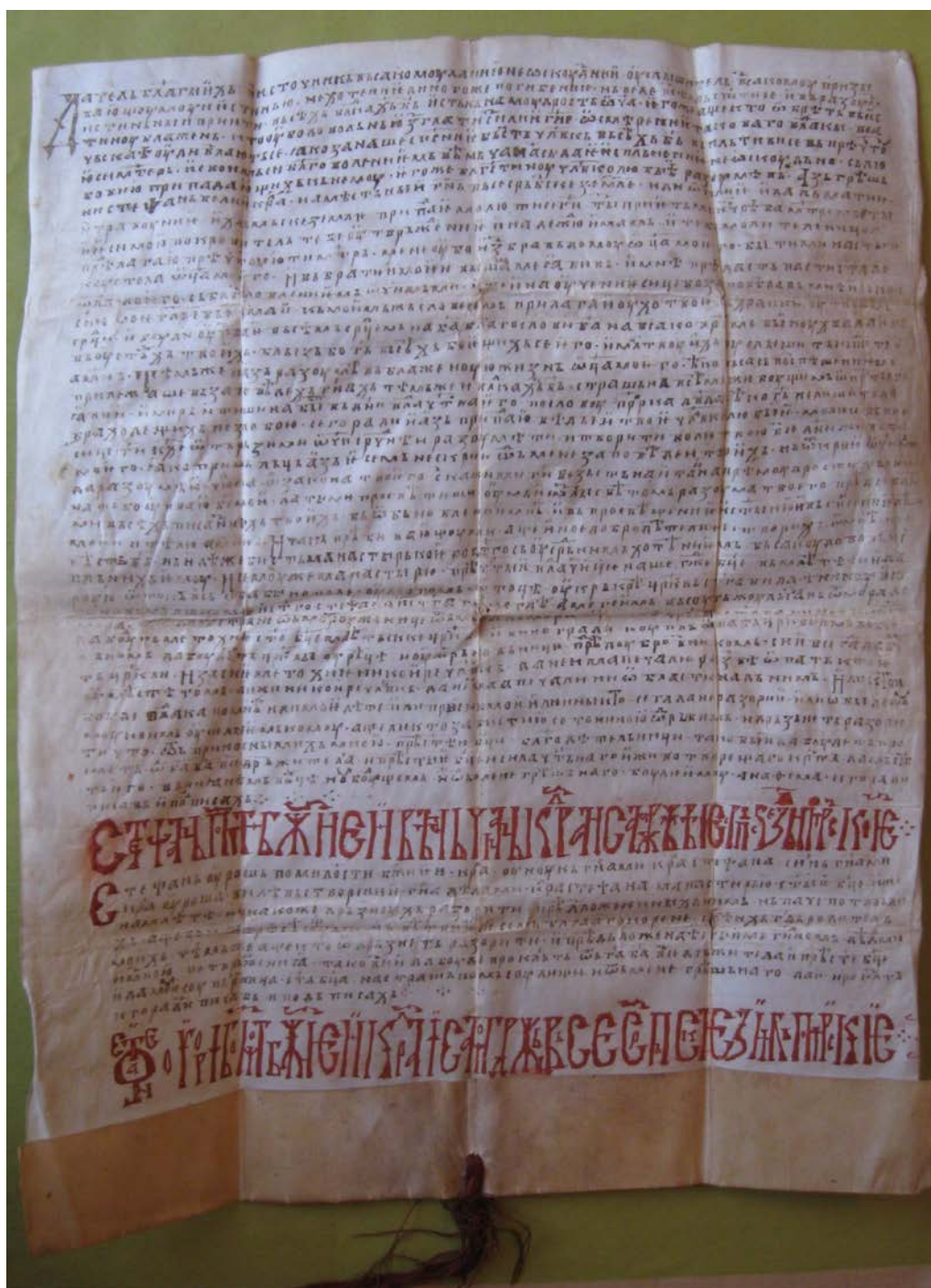
First type has description STEFANV REX SSTEANV (STEFAN KING SAINT STEFAN) and second type has description VROSIV REX SSTEANV (UROS KING SAINT STEFAN).

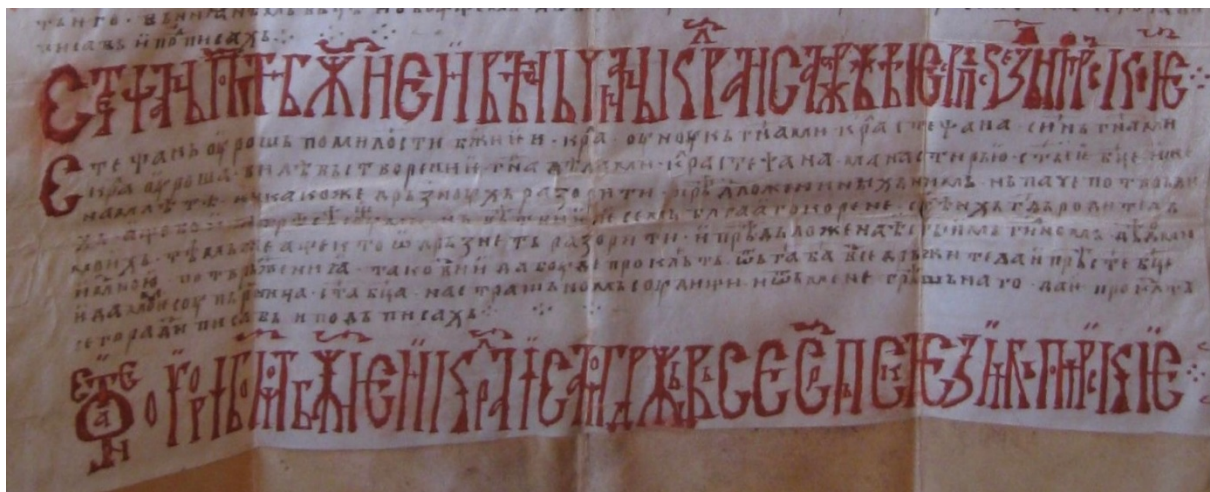
Miroslav Jovanovic in his book "Srpski Srednjovekovni Novac" catalogue 2012 page 11 claims that there were two Serbian medieval coin hordes found. Earlier one is so called Tetovo Hoard which only included first type coins with description STEFANV REX SSTEANV (STEFAN KING SAINT STEFAN). Second later one so called Veron Hoard included both types. This makes us conclude that STEFANV REX SSTEANV type precedes and is older than VROSIV REX SSTEANV type.

Стефан Урош I

су само титуларна имена). Не би било први пут да остане забележено само титуларно име владара.² Та могућност враћа на претпоставку да је он могао да кује и новац са именом VROSIVS - врсту са декоративним словима која је у овом каталогу приписана Милутину. Та врста има нешто мању просечну тежину што указује на касније ковање. Најстарија остава, која садржи српски средњовековни новац - Тетовска³, похрањена 1281, није садржала ни један примерак са именом VROSIVS, док Веронска остава похрањена најраније 1283. садржала је такве динаре за које је Г. Чермошник доказао да припадају краљу Милутину. Милутин је у другом делу своје владавине оборио тежину свога новца за око 20%. Урош I тек почиње да кује, с почетка

Following document is from Serbian Royal Documents at the State Archives in Dubrovnik. Written in 1306 by king Stefan Uros II Milutin Nemanjić who grants to the monastery on the island of Mljet possessions in the vicinity of Dubrovnik and various privileges.





At the bottom of the document between two lines of the signature of the king, king states: “Стефанб Оурошб, по мнлостн вжнїен кра, оуноукб гнамн кра Стефана, синб гнамн кра Оуроша, ...”

“Stefan Uros, in god’s grace king, grandson of our king Stefan, son of our king Uros, ...”

In both documents king Stefan Uros II Milutin Nemanjić (1282–1321) identifies his grandfather as Stefan and his father as Uros. He himself signs these documents as Stefan Uros, taking both names on as royal titles.

His grandfather was Stefan The First-Crowned who was a Grand Prince of Serbia from 1196 and first king of Serbia, hence the name, from 1217. He ruled until his death in 1228.

Wanting to be a king, Stefan The First-Crowned decided to get approval from the papacy. Pope Honorius III, born Cencio Savelli, was the bishop of Rome, and as such, head of the Catholic Church and ruler of the Papal States from 18 July 1216 to his death in 1227. It is not clear what Stefan promised in regard to the status of the Catholic Church, possibly support for the Fifth Crusade, an effort to liberate Holy Land from Egypt. In any case papal legate finally arrived in 1217 and crowned Stefan.

That same year Stefan The First-Crowned declared his independence from Byzantium and was proclaimed as *"King of all Serbian lands and the coastland"*. The advance of the Catholic Church in Serbia did not last long but did anger Serbian clergy. Many opposed Stefan's coronation, with his brother Sava protesting by leaving Serbia and returning to Mount Athos.

Later Serbian churchmen Domentian or Domentijan (1210-1264), also known as Domentijan the Hilandarian who was a major figure in medieval Serbian literature and philosophy and a monk at the Hilandar Monastery, hence the name, wrote that the coronation was performed by a papal legate.

Few decades later Theodosius the Hilandarian (1246–1328), who was a Serbian Orthodox clergyman and one of the most important Serbian writers in the Middle Ages, claimed that Stefan was crowned by his brother Sava. The contradiction led some Serbian historians to conclude that Stefan underwent two coronations.

First by the papal legate in 1217 and second one in 1219, 2 years later, by then first Serbian Archbishop Sava (1174-1236), known as the Enlightener, Orthodox monk, the first Archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Church, the founder of Serbian law, and a diplomat.

At his coronation in 1217 he was crowned together with his second wife Anna Dandolo (1217–1258), married in 1207/1208, granddaughter of Venetian doge Enrico Dandolo who was the 41st Doge of Venice from 1192 until his death in 1205. They had one son and one daughter.

Their son was king Stefan Uroš I, (1243–1276), father of king Stefan Uros II Milutin to whom in those letters above his son Milutin referred to as Uros.

Let see below those Venetian coins, left to right, from Venetian doge Enrico Dandolo who was the 41st Doge of Venice from 1192, from the time of the rule of Stefan The First-Crowned to the end of king Stefan Uros II Milutin rule (1321), including Pietro Ziani (1205–1229), Jacopo Tiepolo (1229–1249), Marino Morosini (1249–1252), Reniero Zeno (1252–1268), Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–1275), Jacopo Contarini (1275–1280), Giovanni Dandolo (1280–1289), Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311), Marino Zorzi (1311–1312) and Giovanni Soranzo (1312–1328).







Moneyer marks.



Line across the top of the throne that curves back towards it.

All coins have weight of 2.178g +/- 1%, size 20-21mm, moneyer mark in the shape of a circle, a dot, a line or lines or even a fish on the obverse, bottom left corner inside the throne next to Jesus foot, line across the top of the throne that curves back towards it and decorative letters.

Now compare these above with the following 2 types of Serbian medieval coins. First type has description STEFANV REX S STEFANV (STEFAN KING SAINT STEFAN) and second type has description VROSIV REX S STEFANV (UROS KING SAINT STEFAN).

First one is STEFANV REX S STEFANV (STEFAN KING SAINT STEFAN) type.







Moneyer marks.



Line across the top of the throne that curves back towards it.

All coins have weight of 2.178g +/- 1% unless there are clipped or damaged like bottom left example, size 20-21mm, moneyer mark in the shape of a circle, a dot, or a star on obverse, bottom left corner inside the throne next to Jesus foot, line across the top of the throne that curves back towards it and decorative letters on reverse.

Second type is VROSIV REX SSTEUFANV (UROS KING SAINT STEFAN).







Moneyer marks.



Line across the top of the throne that curves back towards it.

All coins have weight of 2.178g +/- 1% unless there are clipped or damaged, size 20-21mm, moneyer mark in the shape of a circle, a dot, a line or a star on obverse bottom left corner inside the throne next to Jesus foot, line across the top of the throne that curves back towards it and decorative letters on reverse.

According to some documents, the first mention of a "Serbian dinar" dates back to 1214. One such document has been published in Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae Bosnae Ragusii book by F Miklosich in Vienna 1858 page 16 where king Stefan The First-Crowned signs as "Господинъ Стефанъ" (Lord Stefan) not king Stefan so issued before 1217 coronation. In this document below he states that "Dubrovnik merchants are free to trade within his Kingdom and if someone hurts them in any way they will have to pay." This document confirms the existence of trade and therefore the possible existence of first Serbian currency.

XIX. (1195—1228.)

Stephanus, Serbiae rex, constituit, župam, in qua mercatori ragusino damnum inferatur, debere aut sontem tradere aut damnum compensare.

Мнлостъ створи господство ми доубровъчкимъ тръжникомъ, да ходѣ по моюн земань свободно с тръгомъ, безъ правѣде никто да имъ ница не испакости; оу коѣи ли се жѣпѣ що испакости, тазн жѣпа воля да да кривъце воля да плати.

Господинъ Стефанъ.

Sigilli fragmentum. Origin. membran. in c. r. archivio Viennae. A tergo manu recenti: 1200—1300. Спомен. 38.

What we are trying to say here?

Stefan The First-Crowned marries his second wife Anna Dandolo in 1207/1208, granddaughter of Enrico Dandolo 41st Doge of Venice. He wants to be king and is seeking support of Pope Honorius III. For whatever reason he gets support and gets crowned a king with his Venetian wife in 1217. Venetian coins from that period are just like 2 types of Serbian medieval coins. They match in weight, size, moneyer marks, lines, letters, overall look, quality silver and craftsmanship.

First Serbian silver mine Brskovo was not opened until 1250-1260. That means that Serbian Kingdom did not have their own silver at the beginning of king Stefan The First-Crowned and his son king Uros I rule.

They almost certainly received silver, skill, knowledge, expertise and experience from a new alliance, Venice. Those 2 types of Serbian medieval coins were made using high quality Venetian silver and they were made by Venetian highly skilled and experienced moneyers.

It is worth noting at this point, that after the death of Stefan The First-Crowned it was his older son king Stefan Radoslav (1228-1234) who took throne. Stefan The First-Crowned named him his successor in a letter to the monastery in Zica. On this document published in Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae Bosnae Ragusii book by F Miklosich in Vienna 1858 page 11 from 3rd row, it reads: "Стефанъ, по божне милости вѣнчани прѣви кралъ въсе срѣпскиѣ земле, Днѣклитиѣ и Травоуниѣ и Далѣмациѣ и Захлѣмиѣ, и св прѣвѣзлоукленимъ ми синомъ Радославомъ, по божнен милости намѣтѣбникомъ ми,..."

"Stefan, in the grace of god, the first-crowned king of all Serbian lands, Duklja, Travunija, Dalmatia and Zahumlje, with my most loved son Radoslav, in the grace of god, my successor, ..."

XVIII. (1222—1228.)

Stephanus, Serbiae rex, et filius Radoslavus. Fundatio monasterii Žiža et donatio posteriori tempore eidem monasterio facta.

Гемоу же прѣсветомоу храмоу спаса нашего Исоуса Христа по несповѣданю милости его, еже створи ѿ насъ, Стефанъ, по божие милости вѣнчани пръвн краљъ все сръпскіе землѣ, Дишкантиѣ и Травоуниѣ и Далмаціѣ и Захлмнѣ, и съ прѣвѣзлаоубленнѣмъ ми синомъ Радославомъ, по божіен милости намѣстникомъ ми, приноснѣкъ твоѣмъ ѿ твоихъ

Stefan The First-Crowned was married, around 1186, to Eudokia Angelina, the youngest daughter of Alexius Angelus and Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamaterina. Eudokia was the niece of the current Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelus. Isaac II arranged the marriage. According to the Greek historian Nicetas Choniates, Stefan and Eudocia quarreled and separated, accusing one another of adultery, after June 1198. They had three sons and two daughters: 2 sons were kings of Serbia, king Stefan Radoslav, ruled 1228–1234 and king Stefan Vladislav I, ruled 1234–1243.

Because of his close family connections king Stefan Radoslav opted for coins that looked like Byzantine. Proof is a document from Dubrovnik archives that mentions his name Radoslav and shows his signature СТЕФАНОС РІЗ, the same signature that also appears on his coins. See pictures of the coins and a document from Dubrovnik archives below:




On the left side it reads: СТЕΦΑΝΟΣ ΡΙΖ.

First line in the document below reads: "I, Stefan in Christ god, the pious king of all Raska and Travun countries, the grandson of Saint Simeon Nemanja and the son of the first crowned king of the blessed Stefan the monk, Radoslav, went out before my brother Vladislav in the summer of the Lord (1234)..."

Signature: "СТЕΦΑΝΟΣ ΡΙΖ ΔΘΚΑC", "STEFAN KING DUKA."

[illegible]



Ö S X K a b 7

His younger brother *king* Stefan Vladislav I, ruled 1234–1243. It is interesting to also note that we have 2 types of Serbian medieval coins with Vladislav name on. One has Latin description the other Serbian Cyrillic description.

It is possible that coins with Latin description are those of *king* Stefan Vladislav I.



And those with Serbian Cyrillic description are those of king Vladislav II (1321-1324) son of king Stefan Dragutin (1276-1282).



After his older brother Vladislav I rule, son of king Stefan the First-Crowned and Venetian first Serbian queen Anna Dandolo, Uros I, became king of Serbia and rules from 1243 to his death in 1276.

Is it possible that because of early politics, papal and Venetian support and family connections Stefan the First-Crowned has coins just like Venetian matapan with their approval and with description STEFANV REX SSTE FANV (STEFAN KING SAINT STEFAN)?

15 years after his father's passing and after the rule of his 2 older brothers, Uros I again using his mother's family connections as she was still alive for the first 15 years of his rule until 1258, he has coins just like Venetian matapan but with description VROSIV REX SSTE FANV (UROS KING SAINT STEFAN).

His 2 sons king Stefan Dragutin 1276 to 1282 and king Stefan Uros II Milutin 1282 to 1321 do issue matapan types with the same description but those coins are reduced by 20% in weight so there are not 2.178g +/- 1%, size is reduced to 19-20mm, there is no moneyer mark in the shape of a circle, a dot, a line or a star on the obverse, bottom left corner inside the throne next to Jesus foot, there is no line across the top of the throne that curves back towards it and there are no decorative letters on reverse.

Dante Alighieri, probably Durante di Alighiero degli Alighieri and often referred to simply as Dante, was an Italian poet, writer and philosopher (1265-1321), in his book he called Serbian king a forger or counterfeiter of coins. As he was only a youngster during the rule of king Dragutin (1276-1282) he was most likely referring to king Milutin (1282-1321) who died in the same year as he did.

This is because by that time Serbian coins still looked like Venetian but were lighter in weight and slightly smaller in size, therefore they were causing problems to merchants and trade. Reduction in weight caused Dante and Republic of Venice to then call Serbian matapan fake. There is no evidence that Venetian Republic have ever called Serbian coins fake before the reign of king Milutin.

To summarise:

Medieval Venice and Medieval Serbia both have matapan type coins.

Venetian coins on reverse have name of a Doge on the left and S.M.VENETI, saint Mark of Venice on the right. In between down the shaft just under flag there is the title DVX.

Serbian coins have name of the king on the left side and saint Stefan on the right, first century martyr, a disciple of Jesus who was stoned to death by Jews as observed by Saul the persecutor of Christians who himself later became a Christian, famous Apostle Paul. In between down the shaft just under flag there is the title REX.

That's where differences end.

All coins have weight of 2.178g +/- 1% unless there are clipped or damaged and size 20-21mm. On obverse they have moneyer mark in the shape of a circle, a dot, a line or a star, on the bottom left corner inside the throne next to Jesus foot, line across the top of the throne that curves back towards it and the use of decorative letters.

Then we put family connections and political and religious situation at the time into the mix.

At that time various documents indicate trade with Venice and Dubrovnik and mention first Serbian money as early as 1214, but Serbia at that time didn't have silver until Brskovo mine opened up around 1250-1260, necessary skill, knowledge, expertise and experience is needed to make such a beautiful examples that have survived to this day.

Those 2 types of Serbian medieval coins were made using high quality almost pure Venetian silver and they were made by highly skilled and experienced Venetian moneyers. Such undertaking could only have happened with the blessing, the approval and support of the Republic of Venice and Catholic church.

Maybe they hoped that Serbia will become close ally and support them in upcoming Fifth Crusade that was fought for liberation of the Holy Land from Egypt. In any case result was a very close design in shape, look, feel, size, weight and even small details like moneyer marks and line above throne to Venetian matapan.

Only during king Milutin time where size, weight, look and design have changed, Republic of Venice complained and called Serbian money copy, counterfeit and fake.

What we are saying in view of everything discussed above is that matapan type coins with 5 identifying features being:

1. Weight. 2.178g +/- 1%
2. Size. 20-21mm
3. Moneyer marks. A circle, a dot, a line or a star
4. Line across the top of the throne
5. Decorative letters,

with description: STEFANV REX SSTEFLANV (STEFAN KING SAINT STEFAN) are coins of king Stefan The First-Crowned Nemanjic.

And those with description VROSIV REX SSTEFLANV (UROS KING SAINT STEFAN) are coins of king Uros I Nemanjic.

There is no doubt that king Stefan The First-Crowned minted money.

Every king and a ruler of every sovereign state has the right and desire to do so. Minting coins has always been a sign of independence and sovereignty. As his money is mentioned as early as 1214 it is possible that he even started minting coins before his coronation in 1217.

How can the first Serbian king not mint the first Serbian money?

Stefan Uros II Milutin himself referred to his grandfather king Stefan The First-Crowned Nemanjic as STEFAN and his father king Uros I Nemanjic as UROS.

From Tetovo and Verona hoards we know that those coins with description STEFANV REX SSTEFLANV are older and were minted first.

Now compare these coins below:

Compare kings faces, saint faces, letters, top of the throne, moneyer marks and weight.

It's clearly not the same king!

Faces are very different, letters on 2 examples on the right are not decorative, throne is different there is no line on the top of it that curves back, there are no moneyer marks and weight of 2 on the left g and 2.185g and 2 on the right, 1.527g and 1.463g. Clearly different.





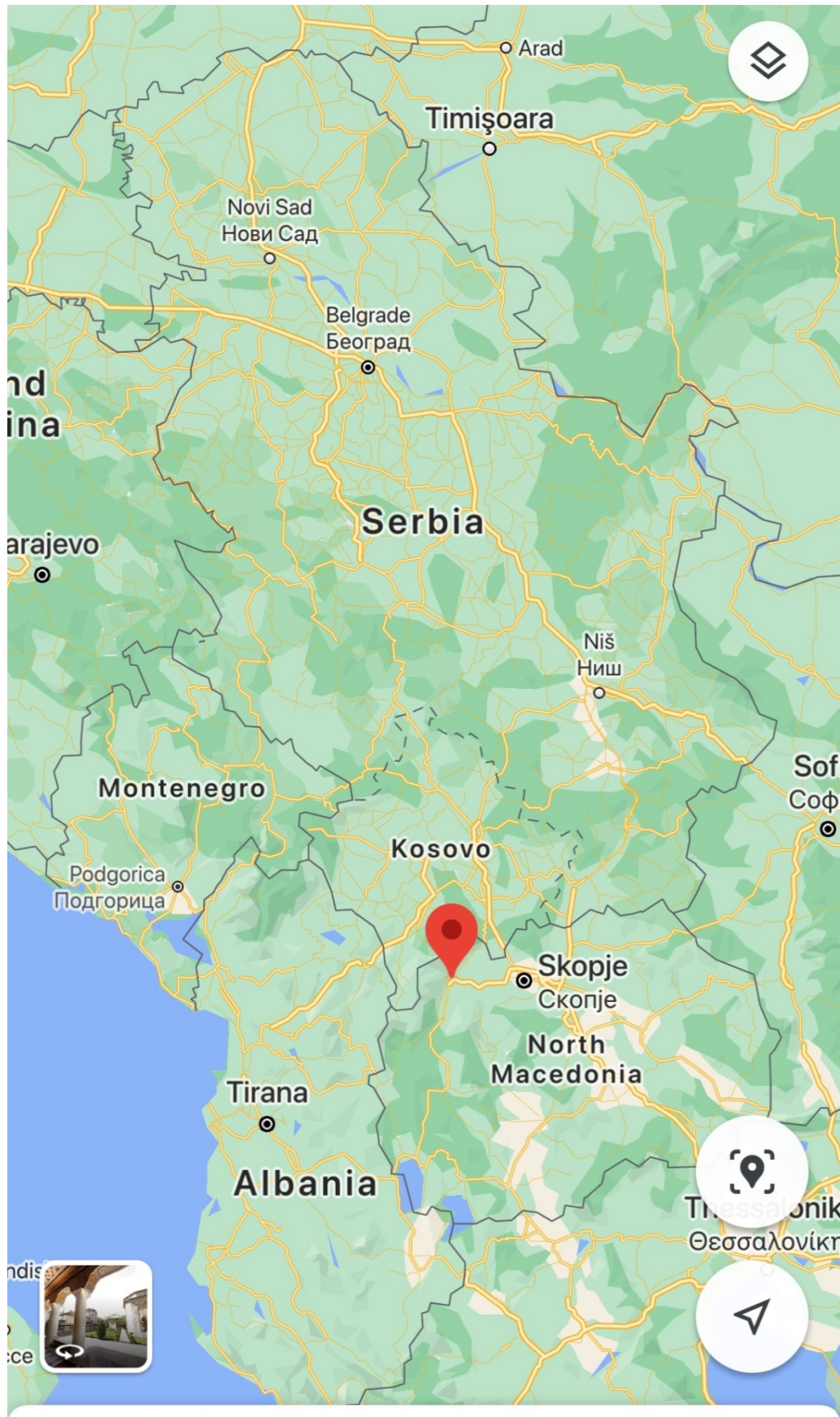
Two on the left are king Stefan The First-Crowned Nemanjic 1217-1228 and two on the right are his grandson king Stefan Dragutin 1276-1282.

The Venetian grosso is a silver coin first introduced in Venice in 1193 under doge Enrico Dandolo. Father of the first Serbian queen Anna Dandolo. It weighed 2.178 grams +/- 1%, was composed of 98.5% pure silver and was valued at 26 dinarii.

Other Italian mints followed the example of Venice by issuing their own grosso coins. Verona, Bologna, Reggio, Parma and Pavia all had coins of pure silver with weights roughly that of the Venetian grosso by 1230.

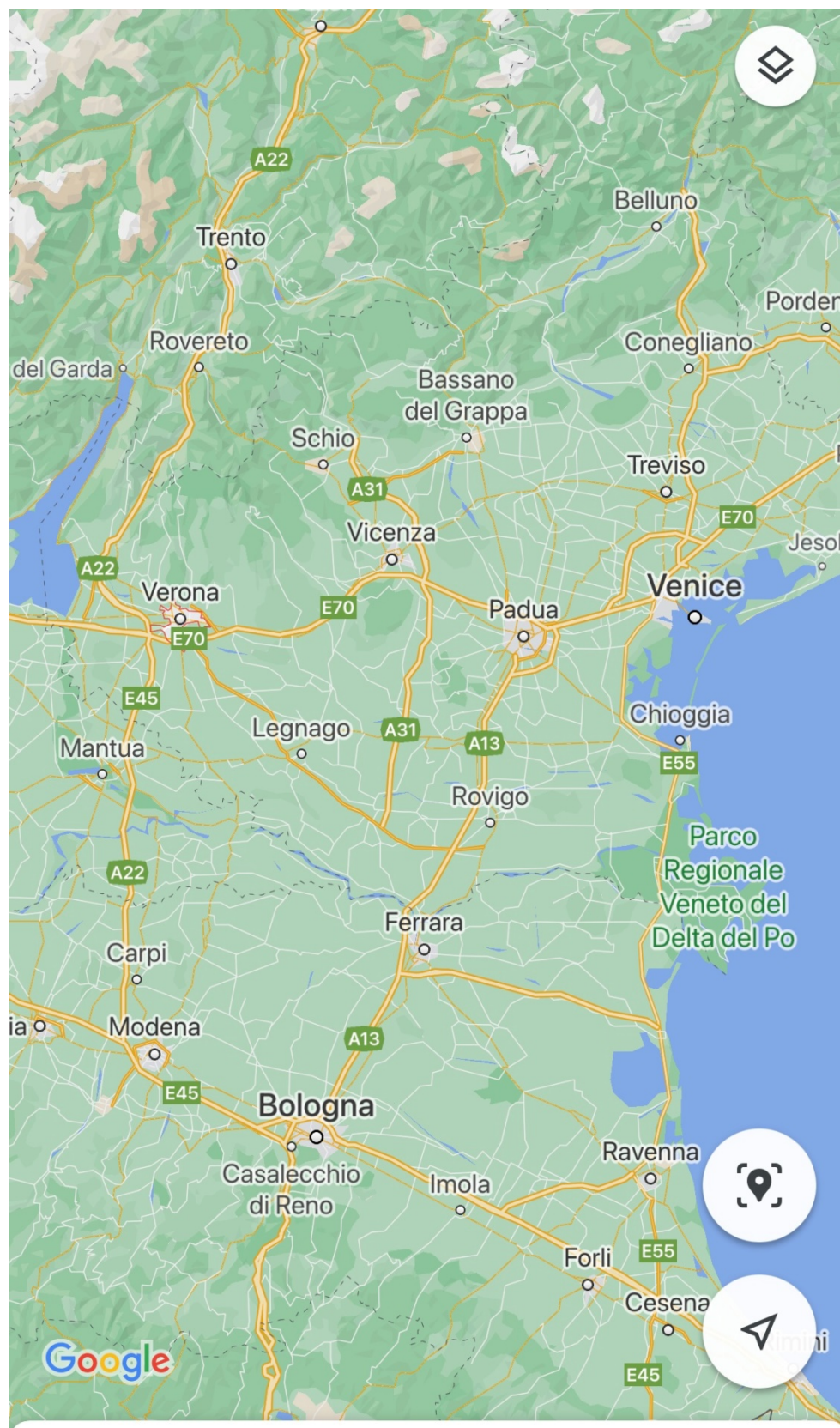
That period from first Venetian coin minted in 1193 to being minted by various cities by 1230 represents boom in popularity and expansion of matapan type. Rule of the first Serbian king Stefan The First-Crowned is right within it 1217-1228!

We said earlier that the first hoard of Serbian medieval coins containing only STEFANV REX SSTEKANV type was found in Tetovo, today North Macedonia.



Tetovo
Тетово

Second hoard of Serbian medieval coins containing both types was found in Verona out of all places. Indicating that Verona mint and moneyers, among others, were used to produce Serbian coins. Why would a hoard of Serbian medieval coins be found in Italian city Verona? Because those coins were minted there.



Verona

Verona, VR, Italy

In the 13th century, Martino da Canale claimed the Venetian grosso was "current throughout the world on account of its good quality".

In 1282, Venice imposed restrictions on its Dalmatian possessions prohibiting the use of copies of the grosso. Notice, in 1282, when king Stefan Dragutin was replaced by his brother king Stefan Uros Milutin as king of Serbia. Before 1276 Serbian matapan matched in many details Venetian and as such was accepted and respected.

According to the Cronaca Altinate, Doge Pietro Ziani maintained peace through diplomacy so that Venice could concentrate on its recent acquisitions in Greece.

The Frankokratia ("rule of the Franks"), also known as Latinokratia ("rule of the Latins") and, for the Venetian domains, Venetokratia or Enetokratia ("rule of the Venetians"), was the period in Greek history after the Fourth Crusade (1204), when a number of primarily French and Italian states were established by the partition of the lands of the Byzantine Empire.

The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) was a Latin Christian armed expedition called by Pope Innocent III. The stated intent of the expedition was to recapture the Muslim-controlled city of Jerusalem. However, a sequence of economic and political events culminated in the Crusader army 1204 Sack of Constantinople, the capital of the Greek Christian-controlled Byzantine Empire, rather than Egypt as originally planned.

This acquisition of Greece during Fourth Crusade and later preparations for Fifth Crusade could have played a major role in 42nd Doge Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) pursuing and maintaining peace with its neighbours including Serbia. It is logical and possible that nature of this political scene and Venetian interest elsewhere let to acceptance and support of Stefan The First-Crowned and his Venetian wife coronation in 1217. As Venetian matapan was popular standard of the 13 century, a currency stabilised by Venetian trade, conquest and riches it makes perfect sense that then close partner and ally and neighbouring kingdom would be allowed to make the same type coins. In fact they made them for them. Serbia simply didn't have necessary silver, skill, expertise and experience required that Venetians developed since 1193. By the time king Stefan The First-Crowned rule as king began, Venetians have been producing matapan coins for 24 years!

Later, his youngest son Uros I makes similar coins with VROSIV REX SSTEUFANV (UROS KING SAINT STEFAN) description. They are very similar to his sons Stefan Uros II Milutin coins but main way to set them apart among all else is weight. If, keeping in mind any possible damage, coins are above 2g its most likely Uros I. If its below 2g reduced from standard of 2.178g +/- 1%, by 20% down to 1.724g +/- 1% then it's most likely Stefan Uros II Milutin. Coins with decorative letters belong to Uros I.

In the final analysis, for Uros I we do not have many doubts but how can it be that the first Serbian king did not have his own money? It would have been his priority!

Matapan above is the best candidate. This is new hypothesis and we are sincerely asking for any help, additional research and further evidence that can help us prove it beyond any doubt.

In the book of Sergije Dimitrijević "Les émissions monétaires du roi Dragutin, de Vladislav et du roi Milutin", page 28, document from 1309 is mentioned which stated that for 8 Venetian matapan coins you could get 9 coins of king Milutin or 10 coins of king Dragutin. That means that in relation to Venetian matapan king Milutin coins weight have been reduced by 11% from 2.178g +/- 1%, down to 1.938g +/- 1% and king Dragutin by 20% from 2.178g +/- 1%, down to 1.724g +/- 1%.

LES ÉMISSIONS MONÉTAIRES DU ROI DRAGUTIN, DE VLADISLAV II ET DU ROI MILUTIN

постојећих крстатих динара (краља Стефана Уроша II - Милутина), што је утврдио С. Димитријевић.⁴⁰

Погледамо ли све врсте новца краља Стефана (Драгутина) видимо да су у току његове самосталне владе и после одрицања од престола настали поред традиционалних динара са заставом који се кују од Стефана Уроша I (сл. 49-50), али који тада носе натпис STEFAN - S STEFAN/REX (сл. 11-18) и поред сасвим ретке врсте са владарем који прима двоструки крст (сл. 19-20) три нова типа новца. Сваки од њих носи посебан натпис:

1) Владар седи са скиптром и куглом која има двоструки крст - STEFAN REX (denari de cruce et de lilio - врста 5-сл. 21-22)

2) Владар седи са мачем на крилу - MONETA REGIS STEFANI (denari de macia врста 6 - сл. 23-24)

3) Владар стоји са скиптром - Стеф(а)н) раџь X8 (H) или X-8 (христѹ) (руднички динар врста 7 - сл. 33-48).

Код свих динара краља Стефана (Драгутина) његово се име појављује искључиво као STEFANVS (са скраћеним завршетком) - STEFAN или СТЕФА(N) као што је то случај и са повељама.

У једном угарском архивском документу из 1309. године дате су релације српског и млетачког новца. У њему се помиње да је у једну марку сребра (тежинска мера) рачунато осам солди млетачких матапана "octo soldis Venetorum grossorum argenti pro marca qualibet computatis", девет солди рашких динара (краља Милутина) "soldos novem grossorum Rassionorum" или десет динара краља Србије (краља Драгутина) "in grossis regis Servie decem soldos grossorum ipsius regis Servie pro qualibet marca computando".⁴¹ Из овог произлази да су тадашњи динари краља Стефана Уроша II (Милутина) били за 11% тежи од тадашњих динара краља Стефана (Драгутина).

Упоредимо ли све новчане врсте краља Стефана Драгутина које су коване после његовог уступања престола Рашке његовом брату са бројним новчаним врстама новог краља Рашке Милутина, видимо да овом односу не одговарају ни руднички динари краља Драгутина који по просечној тежини спадају у тежу групу (врста 7 - 2,07 г) а ни динари са заставом и словним ознакама краља Милутина (врста 2 - 1,76 г) или крстати динари краља Милутина (врста 11 - 1,73 г) које спадају у лакшу групу. Очеvidно је да се у наведеном документу из 1309. године упоређују тежине динара са заставом краља Драгутина (врста 3 - 1,79 г; можда његових варијанти кованих после 1282. године) са свим бројним динарским врстама краља Милутина, тј. његовим бројним врстама динара са краљем на престолу (врста 4 - 2,08 г; врста 5 - 2,10 г; врста 6 - 1,95 г; врста 7 - 2,02 г) као и његова прва самостална врста динар са заставом и натписом VROSIVS S STEFAN/REX која садржи слова веронског типа (Милутинова врста 1 - 2,12 г), а бројно је заступљена у првих 5 од укупно 6 остава из времена краља Милутина.⁴²

На основу овог документа видимо да је 1309. године 96 млетачких матапана имало исту вредност као 108 рашких динара - краља Милутина или 120 динара regis Servie - краља Драгутина.⁴³

Динари краља Стефана (Драгутина) као сувладара Уроша I нађени су у остави из Делфија 1929. и у веронској остави. У првој од њих појављују се само динари краља Стефана Уроша I

⁴⁰ С. Димитријевић, *Проблеми...* I, 86 (Д II, 40-41).

⁴¹ М. Динић, *Крстати грошеви*, посебан отисак из XXI Зборника радова Византолошког института САН, књ. I, 98.

⁴² С. Димитријевић, *Остаци које садрже српски средњовековни новац из периода до 1371* (Д II, поглавље III), Табела I.

⁴³ С. Димитријевић, *Проблеми...* I, 73, Д II, 17.

9 examples of STEFANV REX STEFANV matching 5 main characteristics.





Also there is an interesting example with STEFAN REX VROSIVS description.



Picture courtesy Daniel Zagorac.

LES ÉMISSIONS MONÉTAIRES DU ROI DRAGUTIN, DE VLADISLAV II ET DU ROI MILUTIN

("grossis de Rutnico") други је од 12. новембра 1322, годину дана после смрти краља Милутина, из времена непријатељства између Владислава и краља Стефана Дечанског ("grossis de Rudinico").⁶²

Једини примерак новца Стефана Владислава II који је нађен у остави био је један већ поменути примерак врсте I, са натписом СТЕФАН ВЛАДНСЛАВЪ, који је нађен у крагујевачкој остави.

III - ЗАЈЕДНИЧКА ПОЈАВА КРАЉА СТЕФАНА (ДРАГУТИНА) И КРАЉА СТЕФАНА УРОША II (МИЛУТИНА) НА ЈЕДНОЈ НОВЧАНОЈ ВРСТИ

Уступање престола Рашке од стране краља Стефана (Драгутина) његовом брату краљу Стефану Урошу II (Милутину) на сабору у Дежеву код Раса (1282) и задржавање северних крајева српске државе од стране краља Стефана (Драгутина) објашњава појаву заједничког новца два владара. Да је ова новчана врста кована у то доба видимо по њеној појави у веронској остави, закопаној негде 1284-1285, и остави из Vaskóhsziki-lási-a у којој се поред овог заједничког новца појављује само I. новчана врста краља Стефана Уроша II - Милутина, динар са заставом и написом који садржи слова S, R, F и E, посебног, веронског типа.⁶³

III A - ЗАЈЕДНИЧКИ НОВАЦ КРАЉА СТЕФАНА (ДРАГУТИНА) И КРАЉА СТЕФАНА УРОША II (МИЛУТИНА)

1. ВРСТА - ЗАЈЕДНИЧКИ ДИНАР КРАЉА СТЕФАНА (ДРАГУТИНА) И КРАЉА СТЕФАНА УРОША II (МИЛУТИНА) СА ГОЛОГЛАВИМ ВЛАДАРОМ КОЈИ ПРИМА ОД СВ. СТЕФАНА КРСТАТИ БАРЈАК. НАТПИС ОБРАТАН STEFAN-VROSIVS/REX ПИСАН СЛОВИМА S, R, F И E СПЕЦИЈАЛНОГ ОБЛИКА (ВЕРОНСКИ ТИП). НА НАЛИЧЈУ ИСУС СЕДИ.

1. LE DINAR DU ROI STEFAN UROŠ II (MILUTIN) AVEC LE ROI TÊTE NUE QUI REÇOIE DE ST. ÉTIENNE LE DRAPEAUX AVEC LA CROIX. L'INSCRIPTION VROSIVS-S STEFAN/REX ÉCRIT AVEC LES LETTRES S, R, F ET E DU TYPE SPÉCIAL (LE TYPE DE VÉRONE). AU REVERS JÉSUS ASSIS.



Сл. 67-68. Примерак из збирке музеја Ермитаж у Лењинграду.
Fig. 67-68. L' exemplaire de la collection du musée Ermitazh à Lenjingrad.

⁶² М. Динић, *За историју рударства...* II, 12, нап. 58 и 59.

⁶³ С. Димитријевић, *Оставе...*, Д II, поглавље III.

Dimitrijevic is saying that this could be a joint minting of 2 brothers king Stefan Dragutin and king Stefan Uros II Milutin possibly around 1282. Because of use of decorative letters and other characteristics mentioned above it can also be a joint minting of father and son king Uros I and king Stefan Dragutin around 1276.

In the book REVUE BELGE DE NUMISMATIQUE ET DE SIGILLOGRAPHIE published in 1969 in Brussels by DIRECTEURS: MARCEL HOC, PAUL NASTER, LÉON LACROIX, ÉMILE BROUETTE under title THE METAL CONTENTS OF THE EARLY SERBIAN COINAGE, page 67 it states:

“Reduction in the value of the Serbian dinari.

There was an initial period beginning in the 1270's when the Serbian dinar closely imitated the design of the Venetian grosso and was of almost the same weight and fineness. Ljubic's 1, 5, 11, and 15, and our 2, 3, and 4 below all weigh over 2,0g and are over 90% fine. The botter coins analysed by Nani and Cremosnik (92,4%, 96%) probably belong to the same category. Many of the «denarii de bandera» (so narned in documents because of the banner which St. Stephen and the king hold) are however on a reduced weight-standard of around 1,8 g. and contain only 70% to 80% as much silver as a Venetian grosso. The reduction in weight, according to Saria, occurred in 1282 or late 1281. About fifty years later, at a date around 1331, king Stefan Dusan or, according to Marié, Stefan Uros III Decanski) introduced a reformed coinage with the novel design of an elaborate knight's helmet. The analyses of coins 13-18 below show silver contents for the «helmet» coinage of 75,6%, 76,4%, 74,9%, 74,6%, 74.9%, and 75,1%. The regularity of these results points to a most impressive technical capability in the Serbian mints, and the figures suggest strongly that the intended standard of fineness was three-quarters, or 75%.”

Above we spoke about 5 identifying features. Now we have 6.

1. Weight. 2.178g +/- 1%
2. Size 20-21mm
3. Moneyer mark
4. Line across the top of the throne
5. Decorative letters
6. Silver content. 94%-96% dropping to 75% during Dragutin and Milutin rule.



EARLY SERBIAN COINAGE

Why would standard matching Venetian matapan change so quickly, within the rule of king Stefan Dragutin and king Stefan Uros II Milutin?

It makes more sense that matching weight, size and almost pure silver content, to Venetian, was standard of earlier kings, Stefan The First-Crowned and Uros I.

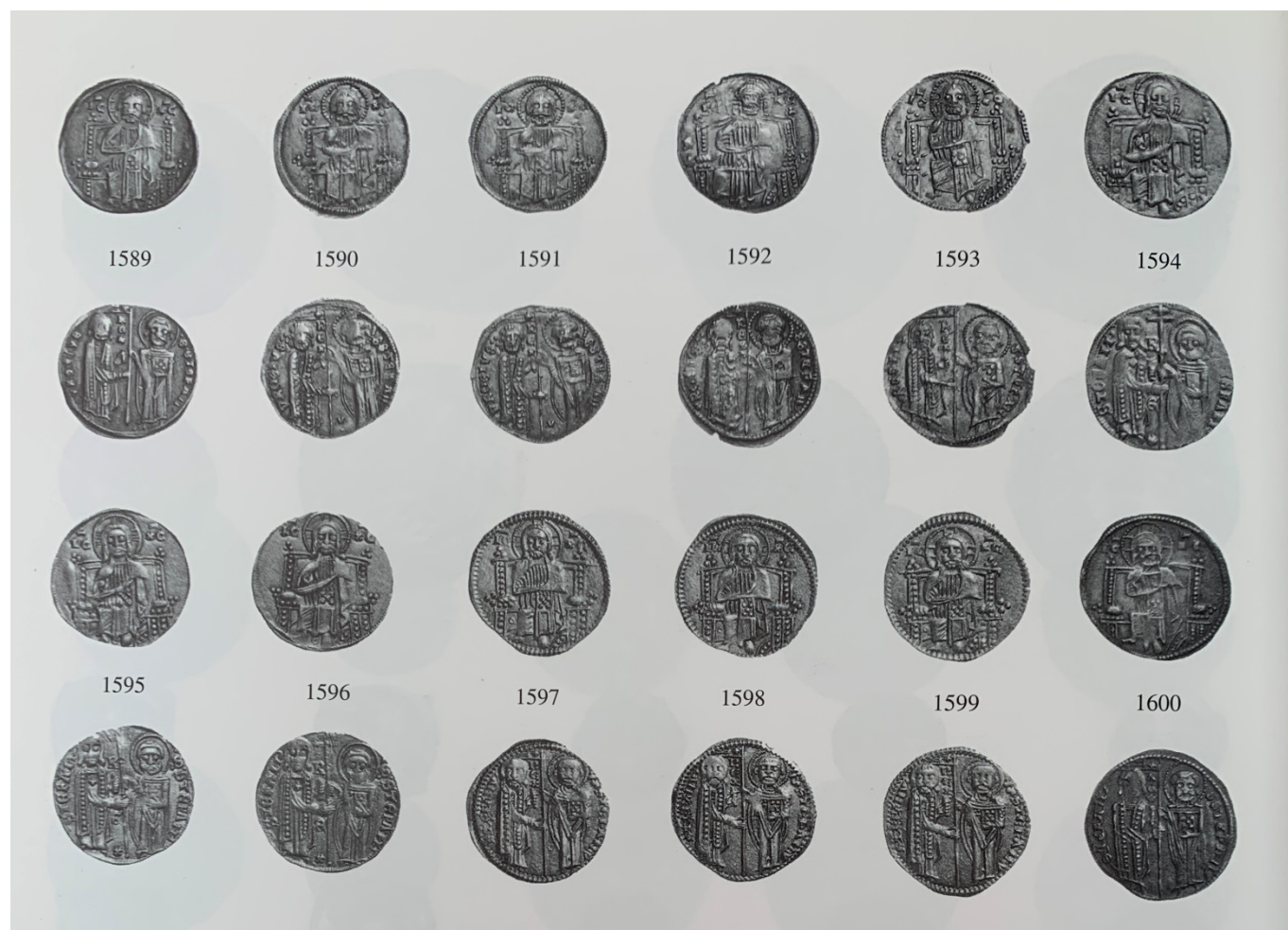
With arrival of later kings, Stefan Dragutin and Milutin, standard is reduced by up to 20% in weight and 25% reduction in silver content.

Tetovo hoard (Macedonia) of 4500 coins found in 1974, included 309 known coins of 6 rulers of Venice:

Pietro Ziani (1205–1229) - 21,
Jacopo Tiepolo (1229–1249) - 62,
Marino Morosini (1249–1252) - 8,
Reniero Zeno (1252–1268) - 110,
Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–1275) - 70 and
Jacopo Contarini (1275–1280) - 38.

A time period covered is therefore 75 years from 1205 to 1280. And it included 225 (5%) Serbian medieval coins of which is 57 known. 51 was purchased by V. Jovanovic for Peoples Museum in Belgrade and 6 were sold in London by Italo Vecchi auction house 1-2 February 1996 lot 1594-1599. Some publications reported lot numbers 1724-1726 too but these were 3 Venetian coins sold on this auction.

This is first and oldest hoard that have ever included Serbian medieval coins.



Notice 3 are with description STEFAN R E X S STEFAN with REX title separated in 3 parts. R is just under flag, E just under kings hand and X is at the bottom next to kings foot. Other 3 are with description STEFANV REX S STEFANV. Our thoughts are that first 3 lot number 1594-1596 are king Stefan Dragutin coins and other 3 lot number 1597-1599 are king Stefan The First-Crowned.

Verona hoard (Italy) of 3477 coins found in 1929, included 3440 coins of 7 rulers of Venice:

Pietro Ziani (1205–1229) - 64,
Jacopo Tiepolo (1229–1249) - 225,
Marino Morosini (1249–1252) - 69,
Reniero Zeno (1252–1268) - 1225,
Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–1275) - 710,
Jacopo Contarini (1275–1280) - 706 and
Giovanni Dandolo (1280–1289) - 441.

A time period covered is therefore 84 years from 1205 to 1289. And it included 37 Serbian medieval coins.

This is second hoard that have included Serbian medieval coins.

Following information regarding Verona hoard was published by Guiseppe Gerola in *Rassegna Numismalica* XXVII, 1930, pages 177-182.




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	Caribollo	Verona
Pietro Ziani (1205-1229)	7	64
Jacopo Tiepolo (1229-1249)	12	225
Marino Morosini (1249-1253)	3	69
Ranieri Zeno (1253-1268)	63	1225
Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268-1275)	31	710
Jacopo Contarini (1275-1280)	44	706
Giovanni Dandolo (1280-1289)	67	441
Pietro Gradenigo (1289-1311)	108	—
Re serbi	240	37
	-----	-----
Totale	575	3477



This hoard also included 37 Serbian medieval coins! Book sorts them out in 3 groups.

I GRUPPO.


A) *Sotto al gomito sinistro del Salvatore una crocetta decussata o stellina a cinque punte :*

1. VROSSIVS  STEEF·AN' (2) (ma la S che significa *sanctus* ridotta ad un mucchio di punti scomposti) g. 2,15 . pezzi 1
2. VROSIV'  STEFAN' g. 2,13 — 1,97 » 3
3. VROSIV·  STEFAN' g. 2,05 . » 1

B) *Lo stesso segno presso la gamba destra del Salvatore.*

4. VROSIVS  STEFAN' g. 2,14 — 2,01 » 3
5. VROSIV'  STEFAN' g. 2,09 . . » 1

C) *Alla sinistra (per chi guarda) dell'asta della bandiera una lettera o segno non rilevabile, a punte.*

6. VROSIV'  STEFAN' g. 2,11 » 1

D) *Nessun segno.*

7. VROSIV9  STEFAN' g. 2,21 . . » 1
8. VROSIV'  STEFAN' g. 2,19 — 2,07 » 8
9. VROSIV·  STEFAN g. 2,17 . » 1
10. VROSIV  STEFAN· g. 2,12 » 2

E) *Il re è coronato, la bandiera è convertita in croce patriarcale, diversa è la disposizione del titolo REX; il trono del Salvatore è fiancheggiato da due gigli.*

11. VROSIRE—X—S—STEFAN' g. 1,12 . » 1
(Simile a Ljubic, tav. V, n. 3).

Totale pezzi 23

23 coins are in the group 1. All read VROSIV or VROSIVS REX SSTEUFAN most with tilted S. Number 11 is the only one under 2g, 1.12g.

II GRUPPO.

A) *Crocetta decussata a sinistra dell'asta della bandiera ; stellina a sei punte presso il piede destro del Salvatore.*

12. TEFAN' VROSIVS g. 2,24 . pezzi 1
(Simile a Ljubic, tav. IV, n. 18).

B) *Crocetta decussata sotto al gomito sinistro del Salvatore.*

13. STEFAN' VROSIV·S· (ma incerti i punti e la posizione dell'ultima S).
(Forse come Castellani, n. 15511) g. 2,18 . » 1

C) *Senza segni.*

14. STEFAII' VROSIV: g. 2,16 — 2,07 . » 2
Totale pezzi 4

4 coins are in the group 2. All read STEFAN REX VROSIV or VROSIVS.

III GRUPPO.

A) *Sotto al gomito sinistro del Salvatore un punto.*

15. STEFAN' S STEFAII' g. 211 . pezzi 1
(Simile a Ljubic, tav. V, n. 18).

B) *Presso la gamba destra del Salvatore un anelletto.*

16. STEFANV' · S STEFANV (ma i punti
potrebbero anche far parte della S) g. 2,12 » 1

C) *Presso la gamba destra del Salvatore una crocetta decussata.*

17. STEFANV' S STEFANV' g. 2,13 » 1
(Simile a Ljubic, tav. V, n. 15).

D) *Presso la gamba destra del Salvatore un punto ⁽¹⁾.*

18. STEFANV' · S STEFANV' (ma è dubbio
se i punti facciano parte della S) g. 2,14 — 2,05 » 4

A riportare pezzi 7

(¹) Questo e quello dell'anelletto (di cui sopra) sono due segni di massaro comuni nei matapani veneti, anche specificatamente collocati a codesto modo: oltre ai più antichi, vedansi quelli di Jacopo Contarini per il punto e quelli di Giovanni Dandolo per l'anelletto (N. PAPA'ROPOLO, *Le monete di Venezia*, Venezia, 1893, vol. I, pag. 118, n. 4, e pag. 138, n. 6).

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Riporto pezzi 7

E) *Senza segni.*

19. STEFANV S STEFANV g. 2,13 » 1

F) *La bandiera è sostituita dalla croce; e lungo l'asta molto
distanziata la leggenda R — E — (X).*

20. STEFAN' · S STEFAN' (Cfr. Ljubic, tav. V, n. 7) g. 2,13 — 2,11 » 2

Totale pezzi 10

10 coins are in the group 3. All read STEFAN or STEFANV REX S STEFAN or STEFANV most with tilted S.

Now, if this hoard contained 7 rulers of Venice from 1205 to 1289 is it also not reasonable to conclude that it contained Serbian rulers from the same time period, 4 Serbian kings from 1217 to 1289?

If Serbian coins have been minted in Italian cities it would explain why they were buried, sometime after 1282 and found together in 1929.

Coins found had 8 different descriptions:

STEFANV REX S STEFANV

STEFAN REX S STEFAN 1217-1228

VROSSIVS REX S STEEFAN

VROSIV REX S STEFAN

VROSIVS REX S STEFANN 1243-1276

STEFAN REX VROSIV

STEFAN REX VROSIVS 1276

VROSI REX S STEFAN 1282-1289

Coins number 15-20 from the 3rd group are king Stefan The First-Crowned 1217-1228.

Coins number 1-10 from the 1st group are king Uros I 1243-1276

Coins number 12-14 from the 2nd group are king Uros I and king Stefan Dragutin joint issues 1276 and

Coin number 11 from the 1st group is king Stefan Uros II Milutin 1282-1321.

Caribollo, Vallonara hoard (Italy) of 575 coins, included 335 coins of 8 rulers of Venice:

Pietro Ziani (1205–1229) - 7,

Jacopo Tiepolo (1229–1249) - 12,

Marino Morosini (1249–1252) - 3,

Reniero Zeno (1252–1268) - 63,

Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–1275) - 31,

Jacopo Contarini (1275–1280) - 44,

Giovanni Dandolo (1280–1289) - 67 and

Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311) - 108.

A time period covered is therefore 106 years from 1205 to 1311. And it included 240 Serbian medieval coins.

This is third hoard that have included Serbian medieval coins.

After everything being said following document is from Diplomatički zbornik III, page 140, number 123 (dated: 1215–1219).

Oko god. 1215—1219.

Ugovor Stjepana velikoga župana srpskoga s Dubrovnikom.

† Въ нме ѿѿца и сина и светаго дѣха. Азъ вѣли жупанъ Стефанъ и съ своѣмъ дѣтѣмъ клянѣ се кнезѣмъ Дѣкровѣмъкомъ Жданъ Даниѣломъ и вѣсе ѿбкнѣ града Дѣровѣнника въ бога и светѣмъ богородицѣмъ и въ уѣстни и животворещи крѣстѣ господнѣмъ и въ света евангелѣмъ и въ светнѣхъ .RI. (12) апостоламъ и въ светнѣхъ .M. (40) мѣстеникѣмъ и въ .TMI. (318) светнѣхъ ѿѿцѣмъ. Клянѣмъ вѣ се безъ всакога пропачѣства, тѣкорѣ да вѣмъ сѣмъ прихѣтемъ, и моѣ дѣтѣ, докѣмъ мѣмъ стѣ правн. И аке кто вашъ врагъ прихѣгне ѣ моѣ землѣ, да вѣмъ га дамъ, ако вѣмъ нме цѣмъ пакостити нѣмъ моѣ землѣ. И да гредѣмъ вашѣмъ лѣдне по моѣмъ землѣмъ съ трѣгомъ безъ всаке бѣжѣни, и да нмѣмъ нѣмъ никере силѣ, нѣ да сѣмъ продаю и кѣмъ свѣбодѣмъ, а цѣмъ ѣ законъ трѣжѣнникомъ ѣ моѣмъ землѣмъ да мѣмъ даю. И да не емѣмъ Сръблѣмъмъ Влаха безъ сѣда, нѣ ако сѣмъ ѣмъ крѣкѣмъ мѣмъ градомъ и моѣмъ землѣмъ, да сѣмъ стаю сѣдне, гдѣ ѣ законъ, и да исправляю. А да не нзма. Ако лѣмъ сѣмъ престѣмъ, да мѣмъ богъ сѣмъ и света богородица.

Translation:

"In the name of the father, the son and the holy spirit. I, the great prefect Stefan with my children, swear to the earl of Dubrovnik John Dandolo and all the inhabitants of the city of Dubrovnik by god and the holy mother of god and the honorable life-giving cross of the lord and the holy gospels and all the saints, 12 apostles and 40 holy martyrs and 318 holy fathers. I swear to you without any doubt that I am your friend, and my children, as long as you are faithful. And if any of you come to my country, I will give it to you, if someone from my country hurts you. And that your people go around my country to trade without any fear and that no one harms them and to sell and buy freely, according to the trade law of my country to give me. And that a Serb does not punish a Foreigner without a court, and if guilt appears among the citizens of my country, that the judges meet where the law is and that it is corrected. If I transgress in this, may god judge me and the holy mother of god. "

This document is a contract between Great Zupan Stefan (so before he was crowned king in 1217) and Earl of Dubrovnik John Dandolo (1213-1215). This document can therefore be dated with the first rule of John Dandolo.

It mentions "trade", "buying and selling" and "the trade law" that can also be translated "commercial tradition" or "market law". Well that would not be possible if there is not Serbian money, Serbian currency in use as early as 1213-1215!

Anna Dandolo daughter of Enrico Dandolo Doge of Venice who minted first matapan type coins in 1193, is married to Stefan in 1207. That means that Serbia mints matapan types before Stefans coronation in 1217 somewhere between 1207-1214 establishing commercial laws that were in effect at the time of writing this contract 1213-1215.

This coin below was part of that "commercial tradition" or "market law":

