

MIROSLAV JOVANOVIĆ

SERBIEN MEDIEVAL COINS



Belgrade 2002

STEFAN RADOSLAV RADOSLAV, King 1228-1233.

Radoslav, the eldest son of Stefan Prvoenčani, was crowned as a King, solemnly by his uncle Sava, Archbishop of the Independent Church of Serbia, in the Monastery Žiča.

In those days, Raška was the neighbour of two powerful rulers striving towards the restoration of the Byzantine Empire under their own crowns: Czar Jovan Assen II, under whose rule the Bulgarian state from the Middle Ages reached its height of power, and the Czar of Epirus Teodorus I Angelus. Radoslav, married to Ana, daughter of Teodorus I, was turning politically towards Epirus, but there existed no data that he was venturing on a military combat. The great Bulgarian victory on the mountain of Klokotnica, in April 1230, led to the changes on the throne of Epirus and to the decline of their influence. Consequently, the aristocracy of Raška elevated to throne the younger brother of Radoslav, named Vladislav. It is known that Radoslav fled with his family from Ras to Dubrovnik before the new year 1234. On that occasion, Ras caught fire accidentally or on purpose, and it had never been renewed to former greatness. From Dubrovnik, he was transferred to Drač to be returned to Raška again. He took cloth together with his wife and did not participate in the political life of the country. He was last mentioned in 1335. He was buried in Studenica.

1. $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$ $\tilde{M}\tilde{H} - \tilde{A}\tilde{P}$

C	OP
TE	AN
ΦA	TO
NOC	KP
PJZ	AT
OΔ	OP
ϞK	
AC	



CTEΦANOC PIZ O Δ ϞKAC $\tilde{\kappa} \tilde{\chi}$ OPANTOKPATOP /Stefan King Ducas, Jesus Christ Pantocrator

$\tilde{M}\tilde{H} \tilde{A}\tilde{P}$ /Initials of Archangel Michael, Protector of Thessalonique/

Ag, schiphat, 29/2,55 Lj(-), J(1), I(1.1)

2. $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

C	OP
TE	AN
ΦA	TO
NO	KP
PJ	TO
OΔ	P
ϞK	
A	



Cu, schiphat, 31/4,02 Lj(-), J(-), I(1.2)

The first and the second type are the same according to the representation and legend on the face of the coin, and can be distinguished by the quality of metal used- alloy of silver or copper. On the reverse of copper specimens, it is not possible to see representation or legend.

Very few coins of Radoslav's money have been preserved to the present day-only one hundred copies of all kinds, mostly discovered in Ras. For them, like for all medieval money, it is characteristic that the letters

in the text have been left out. Radoslav's money is bowl shaped (Skifat) and it has all the characteristics of Byzantine money of those days, according to the representations and the technique of production. It is the only Serbian coin of bowl shape and also the only state coin made of copper.

3. CTEΦANOC PIZ - MP - ΘV

/MP ΘV -Initials of the Mother of God/

$\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$
ΘE NY
MA HA

/IC XC Θ EΜΑΝΥΗΛ -Jesus Christ

Emanuele /

Cu, skiphat, 28/2,67 Lj(-), J(2), I(1.3)



4. CTEΦANOC PIZ OΔ -

A KONSTANTHIN

$\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

Cu, skifat, 30/3,26 Lj(-), J(3),

I(1.4)



Radoslav was the first ruler in Raška that coined money. The coinage was in silver and copper following the tradition of his grandfather, Czar of Byzantium Alekios III Dukas (1195-1203). During the explorations in archaeology, and works in conservation in 1970, in Ras, the archeologists found the well preserved remains of the mint of Radoslav with some material for the production and some coined money. The motives of those coinages were more of a political than financial character. The money was coined in the Greek language, and the sovereign was there named Stefan Ducas, like on the fiancée ring given to Ana, as on his only preserved Charter given to Dubrovnik in time of his exile. According to the accepted practice, in those times, on the territories that used to exist under the Byzantine rule, the money was coined only by the emperor, and it was also coined only by the pretenders to the crown of Byzantium: the Czars of Nicaea, Epirus and Bulgaria. (Teodorus I was coining money only after the capture of Thessalonique and the coronation for a King in 1222.) Except for being the grandson of the last emperor, Radoslav participated with neither the economic nor the monetary strength to be the respective pretender to the Byzantine throne. If his coining of money had been perceived as such pretention, the pressure of Jovan Assen II would be the logical and sufficient reason for the change on the throne of Raška. The Czar of Bulgaria, with his pretensions to get the throne of Byzantium, could not tolerate such ideas coming from Radoslav. The similarity in the Radoslav's coins, with the coins of Teodorus I led some numismatists to adopt the assumption of its being coined in Thessalonique even before 1230. There are no grounds for the assumption that the pretender to the crown of Byzantium from Epirus would tolerate that, and even less that he would make it possible in his mints. It is more probable that part of the expert manufacturers, after the fall of the Teodorus I, and, at the request of King Radoslav, arranged a transfer to Ras. The beginning of work of Brskov is connected to the miners of Saxony and their arrival at the middle of the 13. century. Therefore, we can maintain a supposition that the first exploitation, perhaps of a more modest scope, was beginning at the request of Radoslav, giving him the necessary material to coin his own money. The making of coins, in small emissions, did not influence the later monetary system in Raška.

STEFAN DRAGUTIN

DRAGUTIN King of Raška 1276-1282, Ruler of Srem 1284-1316

Dragutin came to the throne by a *coup d'état* over his father, with the help from the Hungarian heir to the throne, Stefan V. At the beginning of his reign, he was fighting with no success with Byzantine Empire. The unsuccessful military campaign, and the difficult breaking of leg when falling from a horse, made him give up his crown, at the aristocratic Assembly in the town of Deževu, to his younger brother Milutin. The conditions under which he gave his right to the throne were not kept in written form, so they could only be assumed on the basis of later events. For himself, in the boundaries of Raška, he controlled as a Governor, the northern districts towards Hungary. Somewhat later, in 1284, he got from his brother in law, the King of Hungary, Ladislaus IV, the Srem District, then comprising of what is today recognized as Srem, Semberija and Macva with Belgrade. In such a way, he also became a vassal of Hungary.

The weakness of Hungary and Bulgaria allowed him the political and territorial success. By the death of Ladislaus IV in 1290, the Dynasty of Arpadovac was extinguished, and the fight for the crown of Hungary was beginning, that will rich culmination only in 1310, by the victory of Carlo Robertus. The Mongolian Khan Nagoj (+1299), whose state was on the shores of the Black Sea, brought Bulgaria to a vassal status, that practically meant the disintegration into more vassal districts.

Dragutin helped Milutin in 1283-4 in the fight with Byzantine Empire. He married his daughter Jelisaveta, in 1284, to the Kotroman, son of the Bosnian Ban named Prijezda. With the help from Milutin, in 1291, he won over brothers Drman and Kudelin, the aristocrats of Bulgaria, and attached to himself their district Braničevo. The pretender to the Hungarian throne, Andrew III, gave, in 1292, to Dragutin's brother Vladislav, Herzegovina under the name Slavonia, as the hereditary estate and married him to his cousin, Constantia Morosini. Carlo Robertus confirmed that estate to him. At one moment, as the candidate for the throne of Hungary, there appeared Vladislav himself. The aristocrat of Hungary, the Duke of Transylvania, Ladislaus Apor, that supported Oton of Bavaria in that fight, came to dispute with Oton and captured him. Apor married Vladislav to his daughter, in 1307, and transferred all his pretensions to him, but it was too late for that change. Dragutin and Apor realized the situation, and therefore they accepted Carlo Robertus.

At the beginning of XIV century, the relationship between the Dragutin and Milutin was getting colder. It turned into an armed conflict without any visible results. The relationship between brothers was calmed down by mother Jelena, who was, within the borders of Raška, ruling the district of Hum. The terms of the peace were not known, but it was certain that they were sincere, since Dragutin visited Milutin in 1314, on the occasion of his mother's death.

Before his death, Dragutin gave the government of Srem to Vladislav (there are no precise data on the exact time), and then he went to the monastery. The acceptance of that change on the part of Hungary and Raška, whose regions used to constitute the country of Srem, implied, in a way, the acknowledgement of independence. In such way, Dragutin, just like Nemanja 120 years before him, tried to give a chance to his son to strengthen his personal power during the father's life. Dragutin was buried in the Church Đurđevi Stupovi next to the town of Novi Pazar, a memorial built by Nemanja, that he redecored. The Serbian Church did not proclaim him a saint, so it supported the transfer of power and crown to the Milutin's branch of the Nemanjić Dynasty.

Dragutin preserved the monetary politics of his father, trying to stabilise the wide use of domestic money - dinar of Raška. The fact that he was successful was also supported by the first intervention of Venice forbidding the use of the money of Raška on its territories or controlled by this Italian city, (with the exception of the City of Dubrovnik). That intervention speaks for itself about the scope of production. Venice had coined a few million coins yearly, so when the money of Raška appeared to present the problem, causing lack of monetary unity - we deduced that it had wide territory of application and considerable circulation. Dragutin also introduced a new type of money, *dinar with a cross*, that was considerably different from *dinar with a banner*. After withdrawal from the throne of Raška, he stopped coining money. Much later, at the beginning of the XIV century, as the government of independent Srem, he started coining money by applying the same standards with regard to weight - with the same purpose - to make this money widely accepted.

The first type of money (1) is the imitation of the matapan of Venice (image, quality of execution,

dimensions and weight 21/12,178). It is different from the matapan of Venice by the legend and crown in the style of stemma, carried by the aristocrat. The crown is hardly recognisable due to the shape that cannot be discerned in most copies.

1.1. 'STEFANV' - REX - 'S STEFANV'

ṡ - ṡ

21/2,17 Lj(V-15), J(4), I(2.1.2)



Apostroph (') replaces S or VS.



1.2. 'STEFANV' - REX - 'S' - 'STEFANV'

ṡ - ṡ

21/2,17 Lj(V-16), J(-), I(2.1.1)



It is supposed that the identical coins were minted before Stefan Dragutin, also by Stefan Uroš I, and after him by Stefan Uroš II, Milutin. Milutin used the same image and legend to coin lighter dinars that are distinguished not only by the weight, but also by the way of engraving letters. All dinars of this type were of the same Venice standard, and they were engraved by decorative letters. For the first variation 1.1, it is characteristic to notice letters R, G, S and O (R,E, S and o), so they can visually be distinguished from Milutin's coins.

2. STEFAN' - R - E - X - 'S STEFAN'

ṡ - ṡ

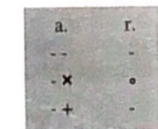
20/1,67 Lj(V-6), J(-), I(-)



3.1. STEFAN' - R - E - X - 'S STEFAN'

ṡ - ṡ

21/2,15 Lj(V-7), J(5), I(2.2.1)



32. STEFAN - REX - SSTEFAV

K - X

21/2.15 Lj(-), J(-), I(2.2.2)

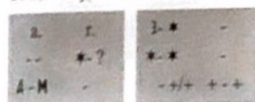


On some specimens of the variety 3.1, cross has been destroyed in the process of coining, and, in its place, it is possible to discern something like a banner. That change, somehow, points out that novelty cross type was not accepted with much enthusiasm everywhere.

4.1. СТЕФАН - РХБЪ ХСѦ

K - X

21/2.14. Lj(III-13.14.16.19), J(8), I(2.5)

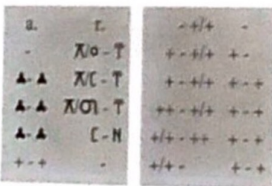


On some specimens, the legend begins and ends with a cross, dot or three dots.

4.2. СТЕФА - РХБЪ ХСѦ

K - X

20/2.09 Lj(III-15.17.18), J(9), I(-)



Some specimens contain the text: СТЕФА - М - РХБЪ ХСѦ и СТЕФА - М РХБЪ ХСѦ

The variants of the type 4 are distinguished only by the dimensions of the letters. They belong to Stefan Dragutin as the governor of the country of Srem. They are new, in the Serbian monetary system, not only because of motives, but also with regard to the language used. The medieval Serbian-Slavic language was used by Dragutin to emphasize his independence, and show that Srem was not the province of Hungary, but the Orthodox country of the Slavic people. With the new type of money, he emphasized the difference between the money coined by Milutin, and his own money of Raška, and in the contents of the textual part, it was shown that only Christ was above him, meaning that he had political independence. It was assumed that he had begun to coin money in the course of war, or immediately after the restoration of peace with King Milutin, in the first years of the XIV century.

7

STEFAN UROŠ II
MILUTIN, King 1282-1321

On the throne of Raška, Milutin inherited his elder brother Dragutin, as agreed at the Assembly of aristocrats in Deževu. For his name with a title he chose the connected title and name of the father and added the serial number - second, and thus emphasized whose inheritance he had claimed.

Under the government of Milutin, Raška experienced full prosperity in the economic, military and cultural sense. Already in 1282, they conquered from Byzantine Empire the towns of Skopje, Polog, Ovčije Polje, Zletovo and Pijanec; with a plan to unite with Raška, as a joint effort with his brother, already in 1283-4, also the towns of Poreč, Kičevo and Debar. Along with Dragutin, and for his benefit, he conquered Braničevo, in 1291. As a response to that, next year, Raška was attacked by Duke Šišman of Vidin. Milutin defeated him, and in the counter attack conquered also the town of Vidin. Fearing the retaliation of the powerful Mongolian Khan Nagoj (suzerain of Šišman) he won the advantageous peace for the benefit of Šišman, marrying his daughter Ana to Šišman's son Mihajlo. In order that he may stop the Mongol's attack, some time around 1295, he decided to send messengers to Nagoja, including his son Stefan, with the declaration of submission. The attack did not happen, and Stefan stayed as one of the hostages with the Tartars till the death of Nagoja, in 1299.

Milutin's social connections, by way of marriage, illustrate the system of making contacts in those days and reasons of their duration. At the moment of accessing the throne, he had already been married to the daughter of John of Thesalia, and he immediately entered the second marriage with Jelisaveta, daughter of Stefan V of Hungary (the sister of Dragutin's wife Katalina). The weakening of Hungary led him to his new marriage with Ana, daughter of the Bulgarian King George Terterija, only in order to get married again, for political reasons, in 1299, with Simonida, the six year old daughter of Byzantine Czar Andronicus II. The marriage represented political interests of the moment for both sides (the dowry came as the already conquered areas), and without regard to obstacles, (very young age, the prohibition of the Church regarding the fourth marriage, the resistance of the aristocrats of Raška, striving towards expansion at the expense of Byzantium) and it was consummated while the third wife of Milutin, Ana, was a hostage at the Court of Byzantium.

Next to Raška of Milutin, there existed also a state of his brother Dragutin, Srem, that, at the beginning of its existence, used to be a vassal district both towards Raška and towards Hungary, but, in time, it became independent. The brothers had excellent time together and that was useful in their conquests. The destruction and war with the Srem of Dragutin, around 1300, did not give permanent results, and it weakened both of them. Since the pretensions of Dragutin were turning towards Hungary, and Milutin's towards Byzantine Empire, they had no other reason for war except the unresolved question of the heir to the throne of Raška. At the intervention of their mother Jelena, the brothers accepted to live in peace. Dragutin visited Milutin, after the death of their mother, in 1314, and Simonida was visiting Belgrade somewhat later, that was a sure sign of complete trust. Nevertheless, after Dragutin's death in 1316, Milutin took over some parts of Dragutin's land in Raška, while his nephew Vladislav found himself in prison in Raška.

Although a good military leader and aristocrat keeping permanent mercenary army, Milutin was always ready for negotiations and diplomatic solutions. When the younger brother of French King Philip Lepi, Carlo Valoe, with the help from the Pope, prepared for a broader action directed against Byzantine Empire, with the aim of the restoration of Latin Empire, and Milutin started negotiations with him. That action could be dangerous for Milutin and he was always ready, if it should happen, to secure the diplomatic advantages for himself. The agreement was concluded on March 27, 1308, and secured Milutin's military help and the distribution of territories to be won in the future, and, as a pledge, he envisaged a marriage between the Milutin's daughter Zorica and the son of Carlo Valois. That action did not happen, so the plan was abandoned.

The wife of Andronicus II, Irene, did not succeed in accomplishing her ambitions in Byzantine Empire, so she turned towards her daughter, showering with attention and gifts the court of Milutin. Queen Simonida harmed herself seriously, in 1306, when she was 12 years old, so it appeared that she would have no heir. It inspired her mother to wish that the throne of Raška should be inherited by one of her sons, because, as they were children from the second marriage, they could not hope to inherit the throne in Byzantine Empire. It was not known why Milutin allowed such speculations, but it was clear that Simonida's brothers

were living at the court of Milutin to get to know their country. For this attitude, there had been no solid ground, because Milutin, apart from the obligation to Vladislav, had, from previous marriages, grown up sons, Stefan and Konstantin.

As the heir to the throne, Stefan was the Regent in Zeta. Combinations concerning the inheritance of the throne, as well as the wishes of the aristocrats for the new conquering of territories, at the expense of the weakening of Byzantine Empire, led Stefan, in 1314, to rebel. Milutin was informed on time, and he took it seriously, and immediately led the Army to march against his son. Stefan's lack of decision or, perhaps even preparation, enabled Milutin to arrange diplomatic means for surrender without fighting. For punishment, he was sent into exile to Constantinople. As punishment, many resources mention also the blinding of Stefan, with his later miraculous healing.

During the course of his long time of reigning, Milutin was building up extensively, in particular churches and monasteries. He was building more than all other members of Nemanjić Dynasty put together. The most famous were the Monastery in Banjska, Gračanica, Staro Nagoričino and, in particular, Hilandar that was rebuilt from foundations and, in that same shape, saved till the present day. He founded the Serbian monastery also in Jerusalem, that was existing, as such, till 1636.

For the realisation of his military ambitions of a conqueror, he was holding an army of hired men - Turks, Kumins and Italians. If it should happen that the salary came late, the hired men would try to collect their own due, by robbing from the servants of stingy masters. One such mutiny of Turkish hired men, Milutin suppressed in blood, and the prisoners were partly sold in slavery and partly kept as civilians in useful service.

He also worked on the internal arranging of the country. He was the first from the Nemanjić Dynasty who established the Rules of Procedure for conducting court cases, the formation and way of operation in the jury, that had the key role in the traditional way of court marshal functioning, according to Common Law. Contrary to the court of Stefan Uroš I, Milutin had a court full of gradeur, striving to be a copy of Byzantine luxury, especially after his marriage to Simonida.

For all his activities, he needed great finances and resources. With the usual fees, from the subordinate aristocracy and the warrior's lute, his chief source of income was supplied by economy. The inner stability of the country enabled the less expense for security of the mines, and escort for caravans, producing thus cheaper goods and better profits. The mines of Brskovo, Rudnik, Trepča, Janjevo, Lipnik, Novo Brdo, etc. were working. The circulation of goods was increasing, and along with that, the incomes of Milutin from the customs fees.

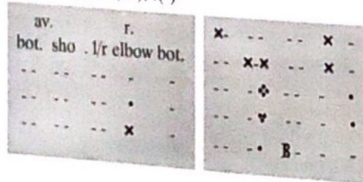
After prolonged agony, he died on October 29, 1321, at the court of Nemanjić Dynasty, in Nerodimlje. The question of inheritance had not been defined yet, and it led to the short lived chaos in the time of funeral arrangements. He was buried in his Memorial in Banjska, in order that his remains should be transferred to Trepča. They were taken to Sofia, to the Church "The Holy King", around 1460, where they were being kept till the present day, (the Church was restructured in the XIX century, and it changed its name to St. Sunday). The Serbian Church proclaimed him a saint. In the documents from the time of his heirs, he was being called the Holy King.

Alike his predecessors, Milutin was holding, at the beginning of his course the stable monetary policy. We are supported in that belief by Venetian interventions that lasted till the end of the XIII century. He introduced several new types of coins. His enormous expenses induced him to increase his income by reducing the weight and quality of coined money. It resulted in the withdrawal from circulation of heavier specimens and demonetization thereof. All aesthetically beautiful types are considerably more rare today, not only because of the possible smaller circulation, but also for being demonetized. The weight of the coins was gradually reduced considerably. At the end of his reign, his coins had the weight of less than 1.60gr and it was far backwards in the aesthetic sense in comparison to the first emissions.

1.1. VROSIVS - REX - S-STEFANVS

Ṛ - Ṛ

21/2,10 Lj(-), J(14), I(-)



1.2. (SS)TEFANV' - REX - VROSIVS

Ṛ - Ṛ

21/2,20 Lj(IV-18), J(12), I(-)

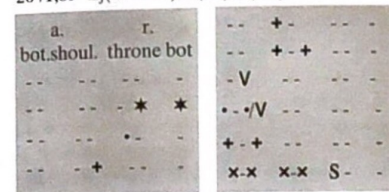


As the first type of coins made by King Dragutin, this money was also the imitation of the matapan of Venice, according to the dimensions, appearance and weight, and it was different only in the context of legend and the crown like stemma, put on by the monarch. Some numismatists attribute the variety 1.1 to their father, King Stefan Uroš I. For the decorative letters, that are visually distinguished from the other kind, the characteristic letters are R, E, S and O (R, E S and O). This type has been done with great quality so there is no great oscillation in the weight of individual copies.

2. VROSIVS - REX - S-STEFANVS

Ṛ - Ṛ

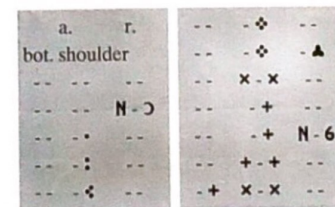
20/1,89 Lj(IV-8-17), J(13), I(3.1)



3. STEFAN - REX - (S) STEFAN

Ṛ - Ṛ

20/1,55 Lj(V-17,18), J(-), I(2.1)



The coining mistake of the mint (the nonexistence of the letters S and SS and the change of legend), or the variant 1.2, had great impact in the polemics of the numismatists.

It was assumed that King Milutin continued to make parallelly coins identical to the first kind made by Dragutin. It also indicates the existence of the third type, that is different from the first Dragutin's specimens, by the average weight and simple letters - the same difference exists like with the first and second kind coined by Milutin. The second and the third kind of Milutin are usually shown together, and in many copies, it is easy to see that they were coined by the same diemaker. With the second and the third kind of Milutin, they are usually in findings together, and in many copies it is easy to perceive that they were made by the same craftsman. With the second and the third type, the individual weight of a specimen goes to around 2.17 gr. to 1.4 gr. The heavier copies are considerably exceptional.

This assignment is not accepted by all numismatists. For a certain number of historians and numismatists, the name Stefan on the coins of that period is exclusively attached to Dragutin, and they consider that this kind of coins he must have been coining in agreement with Milutin, after abdication, preserving Milutin's weight standard.

4. VROSIVS - REX - SSTEUFAN

~ - ~

20/1.99 Lj(IV-19.20), J(-), I(3.8)

a.	r.
--	--
0-0	--
--	M-0

5. VROSIVS - REX - SSTEUFAN

~ - ~

22/2.03 Lj(IV-21), J(15), I(3.9)

a.	r.	--	P-T	L-	-▼
--	--	o-o	P-T	L-	-▼
o-o	o-o	L-	V-	L-I	-▼

1. On the picture.
2. Spike of the flag shown by a circle.

6. VROSIVS - REX - SSTEUFAN

~ - ~

20/1.17 Lj(V-2), J(-), I(-)

a.	r.
L-V	R-

S. Ljubić was transferring the drawing and the description of one previously published copy, but expressed suspicion with regard to the correctness of the description and he reported on the second specimen with which it has been pointed out that it comes with a rougher design. The description of Ljubić as well as the weight of the other copy indicated that the irregular coining is in question, i.e. the forgery of those days past. The other specimens of such types of money are not known.

7. VROSIVS - REX - SSTEUFAN

~ - ~

20/1.66 Lj(IV-4.5.6), J(16), I(3.7)

a.	r.	N-O	B-A	T-R	T-
--	--	N-O	B-A	T-R	T-F
V-	--	H-O	M-A	T-R	W-M
α-	--	H-O	M-A	--	W-B
A-P	B-	N-O	T-V	o-	N-
N-O	M-A	o-T	T-V	V-	--

8. VROSIVS - REX - SSTEUFAN

~ - ~ / WP - OUL

21/1.96 Lj(IV-7), J(18), I(-)

a.	M-◇
N-◇	T-R



9. VROSI RE - X - S - STEFAN

~ - ~

- Lj(V-3), J(-), I(3.2)

10. MONETA - REGIS VROSI

~ - ~

20/2.23 Lj(VI-9), J(19), I(-)

a.	r.
+ / + - + / +	: ϕ
+	• -

Slim figure of the aristocrat.

11. MONETA - REGIS VROSI

~ - ~

20/2.17 Lj(VI-8), J(21), I(3.5)

Wide figure of the ruler, difference in the image of the throne.

12. MONET - A - REGIS VROSI

~ - ~

21/2.14 Lj(VI-10), J(22), I(3.4)

Globe with double cross.

13. VROS - I - VS - REX

~ - ~

21/2.05 Lj(VI-12), J(25), I(3.3)

14. STEF - A - N - REX

~ - ~

20/1.92 Lj(VI-4), J(10), I(2.3)

In aureole	o / o / o
+ / + / +	



Based on the dated remains, in depoes, it can be claimed that the types 11,12,13,14 were coined, at the latest, at the beginning of the XIV century, and at the earliest on the ninth decade of the XIII century. Because of the name Stefan, kind 14 and kind 3, are attributed by some numismatists to King Dragutin.

15. R - EX V - ROSIVS

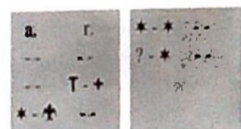
20/2,23 Lj(-), J(20), I(3.6)



16. MONETA RE- GIS STEFAN

IC - XC

19/1,78 Lj(V-20,21), J(6), I(2.4.1)



19/1,65 Lj(V-22), J(-), I(2.4.2)

1. Ruler holds baton with a cross.
2. Ruler holds baton with a lily.



17. MONETA RE- GIS STEFANI

IC - XC

20/1,70 Lj(V-19), J(7), I(-)



1. Ruler holds baton with a cross.
2. Ruler holds baton with a lily. 19/1,80 Lj(Description,70/3-7), J(-)



Some authors consider that the kinds under numbers 16 and 17 should be attributed to Dragutin, Milutin or Stefan Dečanski. The letter of Marija de Chau from 1281, who was the widowed sister of Uroš I - mother Helen, where we could read the financial calculation stipulated in in dinars with a sword, led us to draw the conclusion that these must be the examples of coinage of King Dragutin. The money that had a special name must have been widely used, so that, according to that logic, at least some specimen could be preserved to the present day. This should be considered as the eldest known type of specific design. The problem is that this type corresponded, thematically and in weight, to the coining of Milutin, and as such was considerably different from the monetary policy of Dragutin, as the King of Raška, and later the Governor of Srem. The second historic source mentioning calculation in dinars with a sword was dated from 1313.

Balkan States around year 1300



8.

CONSTANTIN

Counter-ruler 1321.

About him, we find very modest data, and he was mentioned only at the very end of the reign of Milutin. At the moment of his father's death, he controlled Zeta. He immediately proclaimed himself King and moved the Army to arrange the affairs in his country. Defeated from Stefan, he took cover in the fort of Zvečan. He was killed while trying to run away from this town. He was buried in Zvečan.

He was too busy with his take over of power, he governed part of Raška territories independently, but for too short a period of time to have opportunity to think about coining money. The possibility that Constantin was coining money with his name existed, but no found type of coins could be attributed to him.

The town of Skadar was coining money with the name of King Constantin (type 1). As Skadar was coining reliable, under Balšić Family, (maybe before, but most probably after the Battle at the River Marica, in 1371.) it must be difficult to accept and explain the observed time difference. There had been no concrete evidence, either direct or indirect. Nevertheless, the majority of historians and numismatists should believe that the name Constantin, on that money found in Skadar, referred to the son of King Milutin.

STEFAN VLADISLAV II

VLADISLAV, Ruler of Srem, around 1316, and Counter-ruler of Raška 1321-24

Vladislav, the elder son of the King Dragutin, was probably the heir to the throne of Raška, in accordance with the Agreement of Deževu, from 1282. With his father, he participated in the fights for the crown of Hungary. He was, for some time, also a pretender to the throne, being the nephew of Ladislaus IV, the last Hungarian King from the Dynasty of Arpadovac Family. Dragutin's country, named Srem, was created on the parts of territories of Hungary and Raška, on one side, as the result of fight for the crown of Hungary, on the other side, as the result of unresolved question of heir to the throne of Raška. In order to give his son the possibility of strengthening his power, Dragutin, just like Nemanja from the days of the past, in 1195, abdicated in favour of Vladislav and gave him government over Srem, and he went to the monastery. There were no precise data when it happened, it might be possible that it was the case immediately after the funeral of Dragutin's and Milutin's mother Jelena in 1314. Ladislaus was coining money at that time similar to his father's, without a title, in the Serbian-Slavic language. After the death of Dragutin, Vladislav found himself in prison in Raška, while his state was divided between King Milutin and King Carlo Robertus. The war between Milutin and Carlo Robertus about those areas was going on in 1319. There were no precise data when and how Vladislav was captured.

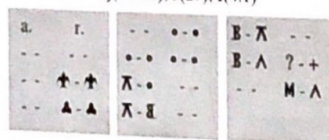
After Milutin's death, Vladislav used the resulting turmoil in order to overtake parts of his previous countries and proclaim himself King of Raška. Since he was not supported by the Church and the majority of aristocracy, and after the military losses of the rich city of Rudnik, he found himself forced to leave the country. He withdrew to Ugarska where any trace was lost of him.

He was staying with his father's monetary policy. During his reign (as it happened, it had two separate parts) he had no time to change considerably the weight standards of his money.

1. РАБЪ ХСѢ ВЛ - АДМІСЛАВЪ

Ї - Ї

1. 21/2.09 Lj(III-21), J(27), I(4.1)



2. 21/2.09 Lj(III-20), J(-), I(-)

There are variations with unclear text:
РАБЪ ХСѢ ВЛ - АДМІСЛАВЪ и РАБЪ ХСѢ ВЛ - АДМІСЛАВЪ



2. СТЕФАН - КРАДИСЛАВЪ

Ї - Ї

1. 22/2.09 Lj(III-24), J(-), I(4.2.1)



2. - Lj(III-23), J(26), I(4.2.2)



If Vladislav was coining this money, exceptional and difficult to find, after his father's death, Milutin could understand the emphasis of the crown name Nemanjić as the pretensions to the crown of Raška, or the potential threat, and resultingly remove the possible pretender to the throne by intervention.

3. MONETA - VLADISLAV

Ї - Ї

21/2.10 Lj(VI-7), J(28), I(4.3)



This lovely piece was possibly coined after the death of Milutin. Vladislav started using Latin alphabet, because he was seeking protection and he got it from Hungary, as well as from his nephew, the Bosnian Ban Stefan II Kotromanić.

IRREGULAR COINING

KARVLVS - REX - SSTE(AN)

Ї - Ї

21/2.03 Lj(V-5), J(11), H(499)



Some numismatists attribute this money to Milutin, because it was similar in performance of execution with the type 5. It would not be logical that Milutin, after the double titled name, that he was using on his money, might dare coin on his accessed territories with just personal name in translation. Had it been the only money of the King Carlo Robertus (1290-1310-1342), it would have been the only Hungarian coin of the type of matapan, and the imitation of the money of King Milutin, but that could not stand as very convincing explanation.



15/0.84 Lj(-), J(23), I(3.10)

The dimensions and the face of this unique copy is identical with one kind of Hungarian King Stephan V (1270-1272) (L. Huszar: MUNZKATALOG UNGARN- no. 343). The reverse of the money was typical for the coins of Raška of the day.

STEFAN UROŠ III STEFAN DEČANSKI, King 1321-1331

Stefan, the elder son of King Milutin was first mentioned in 1295, when he was leading his father's emissaries to the Court of the Mongol Khan Nagoja, as the peace guarantee. With the Mongols, Stefan stayed till the death of Nagoja in 1299.

As the Governor of Zeta, in 1314, he tried to capture away the throne from his father. The lack of certainty regarding the heir to the throne, that seemed to have been encouraged by King Milutin on purpose, as well as the dissatisfaction of the aristocrats by the breach in the conquering policy, certainly contributed to the rebellion. Milutin, being informed in time, took seriously the ongoing events and moved his Army to Skadar (the capital city of Zeta country). The conflict did not happen, because Milutin managed to persuade his son to put the arms down. For punishment, Stefan was blinded and taken away with his family to Constantinople. Later, it was proven that there had been no blinding of the defeated son. Later, he managed in 1320, to ask from the father the permission to return to the Court of Raška.

The King Milutin got a brain stroke and spent around two months in sheer agony. The question of the heir to the throne posed itself as the unclear issue, that provoked the military clash between the three pretenders: Stefan, Konstantin, at that moment the Regent in Zeta, and their cousin on the uncle's side, Vladislav II, the heir to the throne of Raška, according to the Agreement in Deževu, from the distant 1282.

With the agreement of the Church and the help of the court aristocracy, Stefan gathered his father's mercenaries and, at Zvečane, won over Konstantin, in the same year of 1321. Vladislav used the chaos resulting from the days of Milutin's agony to possess some part of his territories from the past (the country of Srem), that were within Raška border. Although supported by Hungary and Bosnia, after the military losses of the city of Rudnik, in 1324, he halted the further conflicts. He withdrew to Hungary, where all trace was lost of him.

The conflict of dynasties in Raška was used by the Bosnian Ban Stefan II Kotromanić, the nephew of Vladislav II, to attach part of Hum (the valley of River Neretva) and after the fall of Vladislav and the towns of Soli and Usora (today a Bosnian valley of the River Sava), in 1329, he tried to conquer the entire district of Hum, but he was prevented by the heir to the throne of Raška, Dušan, the Regent of Zeta.

Stefan was married, for the second time, to Byzantine Princess Maria Palaeologus. He conducted peaceful policy, that induced Bulgaria and Byzantium to attack him with joint forces. Stefan, with his troops, started to advance to meet the Bulgarians, in order to prevent that the allies put their troops together. At Velbužd, (Dustendil) on September 28, 1330, he gave heavy blows to Bulgarians and captured Czar Michael Šišman. It was bringing Byzantine Empire to stop further operations against Raška. In the battle of Velbužd, the heir to the throne, Dušan, came to be known for leading Serbian cavalry. Stefan did not use the victory for territorial expansion, but he was satisfied to bring to the Bulgarian throne Michael's son John-Stefan from the marriage with his sister Ana. It caused bitterness of the aristocracy, that encouraged Dušan to dethrone his father. Stefan was put in prison in the Fort of Zvečane, where he died on December 11, 1331. He was buried in his foundation, Monastery Dečani. (That Monastery later gave him a name he was famous for.) The Serbian Orthodox Church proclaimed him a saint.

1. СТЕФАНЪ - ОУРШЪ КРА ТРЕТЪ

ЇС - ХС

222,17 Lj(VI-15-21), J(29), I(52)

a.	г.	Н	Л	Р	Н	Л	Р
-	-	Н	-	Р	Н	-	Р
-	Н	-	Л	Р	-	Н	Л
-	Н	-	Л	Р	-	Н	Л
-	Н	-	Л	Р	-	Н	Л
-	Н	-	Л	Р	-	Н	Л



This is the unique type of coin from the royal period, where it was precisely written who was coining it. Stefan took the same title name as his father, and added the number - the third. The text was beginning with different letters, so that there were various combinations of letters. Stefan used this money to try to bring back the old monetary standard. He did not succeed. His money was unequal in weight - he started with 2.17g and ended with 1.20 gr.

2. +СТЕФАН - Ъ КРАКЪ

ЇС - ХС

21/1,84 Lj(VI-1-3), J(30), I(6.2)

a.	г.	-	В	-	П	-	Н	-	Н
-	-	-	В	-	П	-	Н	-	Н
-	В	-	П	-	Н	-	Н	-	Н
-	В	-	П	-	Н	-	Н	-	Н

3. +СТЕФА - N REX

ЇС - ХС

21/1,88 Lj(V-23, 24), J(-), I(6.3)

a.	г.	<	Н	-	С
-	Н	-	Н	-	С
<	Н	-	Н	-	С
-	Н	-	Н	-	С

4. +VROSIV - S REX

ЇС - ХС

22/1,15 Lj(VI-14), J(24), I(5.3)

г.
П - В

5. +MREGII - VROSIVS

ЇС - ХС

22/1,84 Lj(-), J(-), I(5.4)

г.
П - В

6. STEFAN - VROSIVS - REX

ЇС - ХС

1. 19/1,70 Lj(IV-22), J(-), I(-)

a.	г.
Т	Н
Т	Н
Т	Н

1. Ruler wears open crown.
2. Ruler wears closed crown.



The only specimens of this type are registered by S. Ljubić.

2. 20/1.66 Jb(V-2), J(-)

ob.	rev.
V	R

7. VROSIVS - REX - (S)STEFAN

Ї - X

20/1.66 Lj(IV-23, 24), J(17), I(5.1)

ob.	rev.	T	M	P
M-B	NR	K-O	O-	
T-O	S-M-B	O-Q	O-R	
T-A	S-B-N	T-O	T-	
N-A	-? B-M	I-?	T-H	
N-C	T-H	N-O	P-R	
N-O	R-I	H-D	P-R	
B-A	T-M-B	R-I	P-6A	
M-	T-6 T-B	N-O	P-R	
M-H	T-6 T-R	P-T	9-O	
-? B-M	T-C T-R			

21/2.05

There are big oscillations in the weight of specific coins. The die makers, in their artistic shaping, gave a specific expression.

8. STEFAN - REX - S STEFAN

Ї - X

20/1.57 Lj(V-11, 12, 13, 14), J(31), I(6.1)

ob.	rev.	* M-B	T-O	T-R
-	-	* O-O	T-O	T-R
P-B	* P-R	T-O	N-O	
P-B	* P-P	T-O	P-N	
P-N	* P-M	T-O	P-R	
M-L	-O P-R	T-O	P-R	
M-B	N-O	T-R	M-L	
M-I	N-O R-P	P-O	P-R	
R	N-O	T-O	T-O	

With this type in the catalogue, letter marks are not placed in the table of letter marks, i.e. marks placed on the left and right from the cross (•, • or without mark) or on the reverse: below the elbow of the Saviour (•, •, • or without mark) and on the outer side of the throne on the level of legs (▲, ◀ или • or •) always symmetrically.

There exist opinions that this type had been coined also in the days of King Dušan. Certain numis-

matists consider that this type must have been coined exclusively by Dušan.

9. STEFAN - VROSIVS

Ї - X

22/1.23 Lj(IX-9), J(32), I(6.7)

ob.	rev.
M-B	

Cm- 5



This type also, was believed by some numismatics, to have been coined during the reign of Czar Dušan, by stating with precision that it had been coined at the demand of Uroš V, in time, when, as the undisputed heir to the throne, he took the title of King.

11.

STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, King 1331-1345, Czar 1345-1355

Dušan was born in 1308 in Zeta where his father governed as the heir to the throne of Raška. After the failure of the *coup d'état*, that collapsed in 1314, he spent his childhood in exile, at the Court of Constantinople, the most cultured and most refined environment of those days in Europe. The stay in such atmosphere influenced considerably his formation as a man, and thus his later pretensions in government.

When Stefan Dečanski fortified his position on the throne, Dušan, along with the title of a young King, got Zeta to rule. He was exposed by his capabilities as an organizer and military genius. In the battle at Velbužd, in 1330, he advanced and was leading the cavalry when his stroke resolved the battle. The victory was decided by his personal example. Dušan was very big and tall man and excellent swordsman. The aristocracy of Raška, not satisfied by the peaceful attitude of King Stefan, encouraged and supported Dušan in accession to throne and overtake of power.

After his accession to throne, Dušan did not disappoint the aristocracy. He led the conquering policy and doubled the state he inherited, at the expense of Byzantine Empire, that was decomposing. Dušan, by winning the Byzantine territories, asked to become the Czar of Byzantium.

He proclaimed the Serbian Episcopacy - Patrijašija - the seat of the Patriarch, with the agreement of the Patriarch of Bulgaria, Archbishop of Ohrid and the monks of the Atos - Holy Mountain. In such a way, he equalled the hierarchical level of Serbian and Greek Church, what several years later, inspired heavy criticism on the part of the Greek Patriarchy and the division of the churches. (This division was later smoothened to a certain degree, at the end of the '60s, by the Despot Uglješa, who disliked the situation as the ruler of Serska District. They reached agreement, to their satisfaction, in 1375, at the initiative of Duke Lazar. The agreement hindered the reputation of Czar Dušan. Dušan was not proclaimed a saint.) Dušan was proclaimed Czar in 1345, and he was coronated at an official celebration, at the Assembly in Skopje, on April 16, 1346, by the first Serbian Patriarch Joanikije, and the Bulgarian Patriarch Simeon.

He worked a great deal on the inner arrangement of the country. He passed the first written law in Raška, he was opening mines, building churches and supported the development of trade. Under his rule, Raška experienced its highs in economic and cultural aspect.

He married Helen, in 1332 (+ 1376), the sister of the Bulgarian Czar Alexander (1331-1371). The marriage was not of a political nature, as was the regular case at that time. With regard to Bulgaria, he was conducting peaceful policy, but he did not conclude military agreements. The other brother-in-law, Jovan Assen, took part in the enforcement of Dušan's policy, so he gave him a title of Despot and the district of Valone to govern. Dušan was in conflict with Hungary because of the northern frontier, that remained unchanged. With Bosnia, he was in conflict about Hum, concerning the inheritance of his sister, widow of Mladen III Šubić. Pelješac Peninsula with the town of Ston was sold to the city of Dubrovnik, and Hum was given over to Bosnia, so on that part he had a quiet frontier, and he directed all his strength to conquer Byzantium. Maybe for that very reason, he felt the danger from the widening of the state of Ottomans. The Turks, at that moment, held a part of the Balkan Peninsula around the city of Edirne. Dušan had with them insignificant, but very unpleasant, conflicts. He tried to organise the broader military intervention against the Turks, but he was prevented, he suddenly died. He was buried in his foundation, the Church of the Holy Archangel Michael and Gabriel next to the town of Prizren. That church had been abolished a long time ago, and his relics must now be preserved in the Church of St. Mark in Belgrade.

Dušan was not pursuing a stable monetary policy. The first royal coins had average weight of 1.6 gr in order to be decreasing, in time, to 1.4 gr. The quality of performance was very solid. With the first royal types, the weight was increased to 1.5 gr, and the quality of performance was exceptional. With the following royal coinage, the weight and the quality of performance decreased. The gradual decrease in average weight was continued, in order to be executed, at the end of his reign, as somewhat below 1 gr. He introduced another small denomination (half-dinar), that according to the average weight corresponded to the half of heavy dinars. With them, the average weight was decreasing in time from 0.7 gr to below 0.5 gr. At the end of their rule, the quality of coins performance was so pitiful that with the specific type of letters, texts were changing places or the letters were inserted, so that they did not exist in the text, as correctly written. With some types,

it was not clear if the aristocrats should stand in front of the throne or sit on it, or whether the sceptre was held in their hands. According to the artistic observance of such copies, it must be obvious that it was the work of official die makers, so that such phenomenon could not be explained by a large number of forgeries. All that recklessly done money still could not be attributed with certainty only to the period of the reign of Czar Dušan. It is possible that such coins, with the name of Czar Dušan, was coming out of the official mints also in the days of Czar Uroš. The city of Kotor, in the days of Czar Dušan started coining its own silver money.

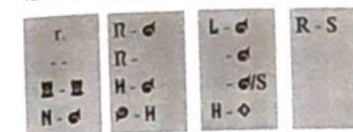
For some time, the money of Dušan's was used in Bulgaria as the official state money. For those reasons, it had been branded. Most of the coined dinars were also circumscribed. Why is only part of the branded money circumscribed should belong to the domain of suppositions.

1. STEFANVS - DEI GRA-REX

ṛ - ṛ

Cm - □, □, □,
□, □+□, □+□

1. 20/1.69 Lj(VI-22.24, VII-1, 3), J(33), I(6.5.1)



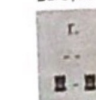
2. 20/1.55 Lj(VII-2), J(-), I(-)



2. STEFANVS - DEI GRA-REX

ṛ - ṛ

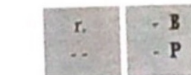
20/1.60 Lj(VII-4), J(-), I(6.5.2)



3. STEFANVS - DEI-GRA-R(E)X

ṛ - ṛ

18/1.31 Lj(VI-23), J(34), I(6.5.3)



Cm - □+□



4. +·REX·*·*·STEFAN

ṛ - ṛ

-/- Lj(-), J(36), I(6.6)



5. +MONITA REX-STEFA







 ĩ - x̃

20/1.39 Lj(VII-5, 6, 7, 8), J(35), I(6.4.1)

r.	D-2	Π-Π	H-0	P-Π	2-B
---	Q-2	H-0	L-9	P-Π	?-R
C-0	D-2	H-0	L-V	P-Π	M-B
€-?	D-2	H-0	V-L	P-Π	R-0
α-2	Q-2	H-0	P-L	T-P	0-S
D-2	R-B	H-0	P-V	S-T	9-B



 R-B	 S-B	 P-M	 0-B
--	--	--	--

There is a variety with a text underlined by arches.

Apart from these signs, the majority of them representing letters, there were also signs, in the level of the text, on the left and right from the helmet (*, ♀, • or with no sign) and on the reverse: bellow the left elbow of Jesus (*, ♀, • or without signs), in the corners of the throne up to the shoulders of Jesus (*, • or without a sign) and in the corners, always simmetrically, up to the legs of Jesus (♀, ♀, • or without a sign). With these signs, the number of different signs is far more numerous. It is similar with all types of money from the first half of the XIV century.

6. +MONITA REX-STEFA



 ĩ - x̃

20/1.48 Lj(VII-9, 10), J(-), I(6.4.2)



7. +RX RASIE - ST IP ROMA

REX RASIE STEFAN IMPERATOR ROMANIE



 ĩ - x̃

20/1.50 Lj(VII-17), J(37), I(6.8.1.a)

r.	S-Q	B-1
R-V	m-v	



8. +RX RASIE - ST IP ROMA

REX RASIE STEFAN IMPERATOR ROMANIE



 ĩ - x̃

20/1.04 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.8.2.a)



9. + REX RIA - ST IP ROIMA



 ĩ - x̃

20/1.43 Lj(VII-16,18), J(38), I(6.8.1.b)

r.	α-1	2-01	B-R	N-0
---	m-v	0-	B-/ST	N-0
---	α-1	0-	-/ST-1	R-0
---	Ro-L	0-01	-/ST-T	0-P
---	R-V	0-01	-/ST-1	P-?
---		0-01	1-	1-01



10. + REX RIA - ST IP ROIM



 ĩ - x̃

20/1.46 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.8.2.b)



11. +CTON / ВЪХАБАБ / ГОВЪРН / ЧРЪ



 ĩ - x̃

20/1.41 Lj(IX-3,4), J(55), I(6.10)

a.	r.	-	N-0
-	-	α/α	N-0
-	R-V		



12. +CTE / ФАНВЪХ / АБАБКАГ / ОВЕРН / ЧРЪ



 ĩ - x̃

22/1.37 Lj(IX-5,6), J(54), I(6.10)

a.	r.	α/α	T-S	α/α	N-0
-	N-0	α/α	C-S	α/α	N-0
α	T-S	α/α	T-S	α/α	N-0
α	V-0	α	N-0	α/α	T-S



Types 11 and 12 are coined with quality. Like with all types with longer legend, there are more varieties of letters.

13. ĩ - x̃



 ĩ - x̃

21/1.31 Lj(VIII-3), J(51), I(6.9.1)

a.	r.	V-	R-V	Y-	N-0
---	---	V-6	0-0	V-	N-0
Z-	H-0	V-	0-	---	N-0
---	H-0	---	0-H	---	N-0
---	H-0	---	0-N	2-	N-0
---	H-0	---	N-6	---	T-0
V-	H-0	---	H-0	---	T-0
-V	H-0	N-	N-0	---	T-
---	R-V	---	0-	---	V-
P-	R-V	---	0-	---	V-



---	V-0	---	S-0	---	-S
---	V-0	---	*-S	---	0-S
R-T	S-C	---	2-0	---	Я-П
R-T	C-S	---	2-0	---	M-
---	S-C	---	S-*	---	M-I
---	PR-	---		---	

14. ĩ - x̃



 ĩ - x̃

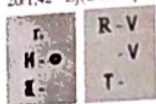
20/1.41 Lj(VIII-4), J(-), I(6.9.2)

r.	S-	*
---	-S	



15. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

20/1.42 Lj(Description, 112/57), J(-), I(6.9.1)

16. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

20/1.22 Lj(Description, 110/1), J(-), I(-)

17. $\cdot\text{C}\text{P}\text{K} - \diamond - \text{C}\text{T}\text{E}\text{N}\text{K}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

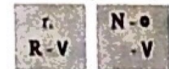
19/1.12 Lj(-), J(49), I(6.17)



18. +STEFAN - INPERATO

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

20/1.22 Lj(VII-15), J(50), I(6.16.2)



19.1. +STEPANV - INPERATO

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

21/1.54 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



19.2. INPERATOR - STEFANV

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

20/1.72 Lj(VII-14), J(-), I(6.16.1)



20. STEFANVS - INPERATO(R)

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

19/0.82 Lj(VII-13), J(39), I(6.13)



19/0.89



With this type, legend was not always cut correctly, on the specimen on the second picture, it is partially meaningless STEFHN - IHPRTOOI. We often find legends with similar cut text.

21. STEFANVS - INPERATOR

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

19/1.41 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



22. MONITA - INPER SEFA - N

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

19/1.04 Lj(VII-12), J(41), I(6.12.1)



23. MONITAS - INPERATO

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

19/1.45 Lj(VII-11), J(40), I(-)



24. +MONITAS+ - INPERATO A

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

19/0.98 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.12.2)



25. $\overline{\text{CP}} - \overline{\text{CT}}$
 $\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

19/0,83 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.14)



26. $\overline{\text{CP}} - \overline{\text{CT}}$
 $\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

18/1,01 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.15)



27. $\overline{\text{CP}} - \overline{\text{CT}}$
 $\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$ Horse walking, Jesus Christ with a parchment in his hand.

20/1,13 Lj(VIII-22-24), J(52, 53), I(6.11.1)

a.	r.	T - 0	T - S	X - M
-	-	R - S	6V 0 - 0	-
-	H - 0	R - V	07 RI - V	-
-	N - 0	R - 07	07 R - V	-
-	N - 0	0 - 0	* N - 0	-



28. $\overline{\text{CP}} - \overline{\text{CT}}$
 $\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$ Horse jumping, Jesus Christ with a parchment in his hand.

23/1,22 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

a.	r.	N - 0
0 - 0	0 - 0	V - 5



29. $\overline{\text{CP}} - \overline{\text{CT}}$
 $\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$ Horse jumping, Jesus Christ with a Bible in his hand.

21/1,40 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.11.2)

a.	r.	P	R - V	A 0 - -
6V	0 - 0	-	R - S	A 0 - V
V6	0 - 0	T	T - S	A 0 - 0
V6	-	-	T - S	-



30. $\overline{\text{CP}} - \overline{\text{CT}}$
 $\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

18/0,96 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.29)



31. $\cdot \text{VR} \cdot - \cdot \text{EL} \cdot$
 $\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

19/1,09 Lj(-), J(68), I(9.14)



32. $\cdot \text{SF} \cdot - \cdot \text{EL} \cdot$
 $\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

19/1,06 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.20)



33.1. ELENA STEF IMPERATOR

$\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

18/1,26 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



.2. ELENA ST - IMPERATO

$\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

18/1,27 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



.3. ELENA STE - IMPERATOR

$\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

18/1,27 Lj(-), J(48), I(-)

Cm - $\overline{\text{K}}$, \odot , \oplus



.4. ELENA ST - IMPERATO

$\overline{\text{K}} - \overline{\text{XK}}$

18/1,27 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



1. Legend goes in a circle and under the pedestal of a cross.
2. Legend interrupted by a pedestal of a cross.
3. Legend interrupted by a pedestal of a cross shaped as a triangle.
4. Legend interrupted by a pedestal of a cross shown as three circles in a triangle.

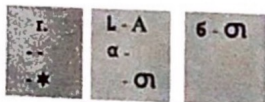
$\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

DI - IX

INPERATOR STEFANVS ELIANA INPERATRICAÆ /

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$ Cm - ☐ $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

Cm - \square , ∇ , \boxtimes ,
 \odot , $\nabla + \odot$, $\boxtimes + \odot$








37. IPOR STFA - ELIA IPAE

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

6. 0

 $\tilde{\pi} - \tilde{x}\tilde{\pi}$ 

With this type, there are more often specimens with incorrect legend, like on the second specimen than with correct legend.

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$ Cm - , , , +

Г.	Е - 0
Т -	Г - 卐
Т - *	

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{x\kappa}$ Cm - , +

a.	r.	- T-N	T T-N
-	-	- T-X	R T-
-	T-	- T-C	R T-X

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

■ The only copy registered by S. Ljubić.

I.
T-N

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

Г.	6-0
Л-6	Н-2

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

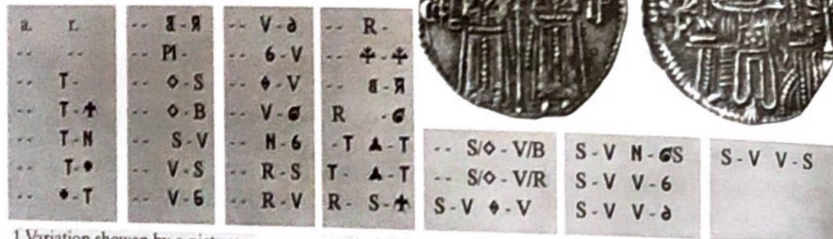
Г.
6-8

44. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{L}}$

19/1.05 Lj(VIII-10), J(-), I(-)

45. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{L}}$

19/1.11 Lj(VIII-14, 19), J(56), I(6.21)



1. Variation shown by a picture

2. Pedestal of a cross between the rulers shown by a circle.

3. Pedestal of a cross between the ruler shown by six point star.

4. Cross between the ruler has third sliding bar at the knee height.

46. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{L}}$

19/1.21 Lj(VIII-15, 18), J(-), I(-)

47. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{L}}$

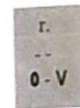
19/0.91 Lj(VIII-16), J(-), I(-)

48. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$

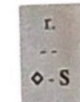
17/1.19 Lj(Description, 117/21), J(-), I(6.22.1)

49. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$

18/1.14 Lj(VIII-11), J(57), I(6.22.2)

50. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{L}}$

18/1.14 Lj(Description, 120/1), J(-), I(-)

51. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$

18/1.29 Lj(Description, 128/1), J(-), I(6.22.3)

52. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{L}}$

19/1.18 Lj(-), J(58), I(6.25)

53. $\tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{L}} \tilde{\text{P}}\tilde{\text{L}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{L}}$

20/1.00 Lj(Description, 117/5), J(-), I(7.3)

54. $\tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{L}} \tilde{\text{P}}\tilde{\text{L}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{L}}$

18/0.98 Lj(Description, 117/8), J(-), I(-)

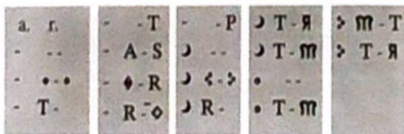


55. $\tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{P}}\tilde{\text{L}}$ $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

19/1,13 Lj(VIII-8,9), J(-), I(7.2)

56. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

1. 16/0,47 Lj(XV-1,2,3), J(66), I(7.4)



2. 15/0,46 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

1. Seat of the throne going over the whole plate.
2. Seat ending at the vertical part of the throne.

57. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$

16/0,60 Lj(Description, 114/49), J(-), I(-)



1. Seat of the throne goes over the whole plate.
2. Seat is finished at the vertical part of the throne.

58. + IMPERATOR STEPAN

+ IMPERATOR STEPAN / $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}}\tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$

17/0,90 Lj(-), J(42), I(6.26)

59. + СТОПАНЪ ЧАРЪ
+ СТОПАНЪ ЧАРЪ / ЧАРЪ

16/0,72 Lj(-), J(-), I(6.27)



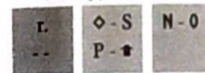
60.

R - V

14/0,51 Lj(-), J(42), I(6.28)

61. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

16/0,60 Lj(VIII-17), J(60), I(7.5)



Rulers are standing, between them, there is a double cross. In the hands, they carry sceptre with a cross.

62. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

14/0,58 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

Rulers are standing, between them, there is a double cross. In the hands, they carry sceptre with a cross. Loros ending by Andreas Cross.

63. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

17/0,67 Lj(VIII-12), J(-), I(-)

Rulers are standing, between them, there is a double cross. In the hands, they carry sceptre with Andreas.

64. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

16/0,54 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

Rulers are standing, between them, there is a double cross. In the hands, they carry sceptre in a form of a branch, so their loros end.

65. $\tilde{\text{C}}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{L}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\tilde{\text{P}}$ $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

16/0,54 Lj(VIII-13), J(-), I(-)

Rulers are standing, between them, there is a double cross. In the hands, they carry sceptre ending with three dots, that form a cross with the sceptre.

66.

 $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

15/0,65 Lj(XV-11), J(-), I(7.6.4)



Rulers are standing (?) between them, there is a sceptre, shaped as the branch of lily with leaves.



The dies for this type had been formed with particular recklessness so, that there existed more variety, and even more specimens that could not be classified in any particular variety. On all the copies, it could not be seen whether the rulers might sit or stand before the throne. The head of the lily had no side leaves and it

could not be named sceptre ending with the lily flower. The side leaves of the lily, with the particular types, could be closed forming two circles so the lily resembled the Cyrillic letter F, while with the other specimens it is possible to see only circles. With some specimens, the circles resembled the fallen number 8. Sometimes, that eight may be partially or entirely filled, and in the final variation it resembled more a cross or an apple on the top of the sphere with a flag. S. Ljubić, in his Description of the Coins of the South Slavic Money depicted these pieces as less, or more, developed motive of the lily flower.

The sceptre in the hands of the ruler did not have clearly and always the distinguishable shape. It could not be clear whether the sceptre ended in a cross, lily or St. Andrew's Crosses. With the specific copies, it appeared as if the aristocrats were holding a different type of a sceptre.

15/0,52 Lj(-), J(-)

Lily has no branches. In the hands of the ruler, the sceptres are with St. Andrew Cross.



15/0,44 Lj(-), J(-)

The rulers standing before the throne, between them, above their heads, one can observe double coined half Moon.



16/0,54 Lj(-), J(-)

Between the rulers, there is a sign that can be called a cross or top of the spear more than the lily. In their hands, they have sceptres with the St. Andrew cross.



67. -
Њ - ХЊ

15/0,44 Lj(XV-5), J(64), I(-)

The rulers are sitting, between them, there is a sceptre with simple cross. In the hand, there is sceptre with St. Andrew cross.



68. -
Њ - ХЊ

15/0,58 Lj(XV-9), J(65), I(-)

The rulers are sitting or standing before a throne(?), between them there is a sceptre with a double cross. In the hands, there is a sceptre with St. Andrew cross.



69. -

16/0,49 Lj(-), J(-), I(7.6.1)

Rulers are sitting, between them there is a sceptre with a simple cross. In the hands they hold sceptre with St. Andrew cross. In the centre there is an image of the hand of the ruler.



70. -

16/0,49 Lj(XV-7), J(63), I(7.6.2)

The rulers sitting, between them there is a sceptre with a cross. In the hands sceptre with St. Andrew cross. In the centre of the image there is a image of the hand of the ruler.



71. Њ - ЗП

Њ - ХЊ

15/0,52 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



The rulers are sitting, between them there is a sceptre with a sign similar to double circle. In the hands of the rulers, there are sceptres with St. Andrew cross. In the centre there is an image of the hand of the ruler.



72. Њ - ЗП

Њ - ХЊ

16/0,38 Lj(XV-13), J(-), I(7.7.1)

The rulers are sitting shown in profile, between them there is a sceptre with a cross. In the hands of the ruler there are sceptres with St. Andrew cross.



73. Њ - ЗП

Њ - ХЊ

16/0,38 Lj(XV-14), J(62), I(7.7.3)



The rulers are sitting, shown in profile, between them there is a sceptre with a lily. In hands of the ruler there are sceptres with St. Andrew crosses.



74. Њ - ЗП

Њ - ХЊ

16/0,38 Lj(XV-15), J(-), I(7.7.4)



The rulers are sitting shown in profile, between them there is sceptre with half Moon. In the hands of the ruler there are sceptres with St. Andrew crosses.



On the frescoes in churches and monasteries there were no depicted sceptres that ended in a circle or half-moon, nor did I have written data whether such aristocratic signs ever existed.

With the name Dušan as the suzerain, the town of Kotor was coining money - type 11.

IRREGULAR COINING OF MONEY

Because of the way of performing monetary policy, at the end of his rule, it was not possible to notice the irregular coining from the badly cut official coining.

Ѡѡ - ѢѢ

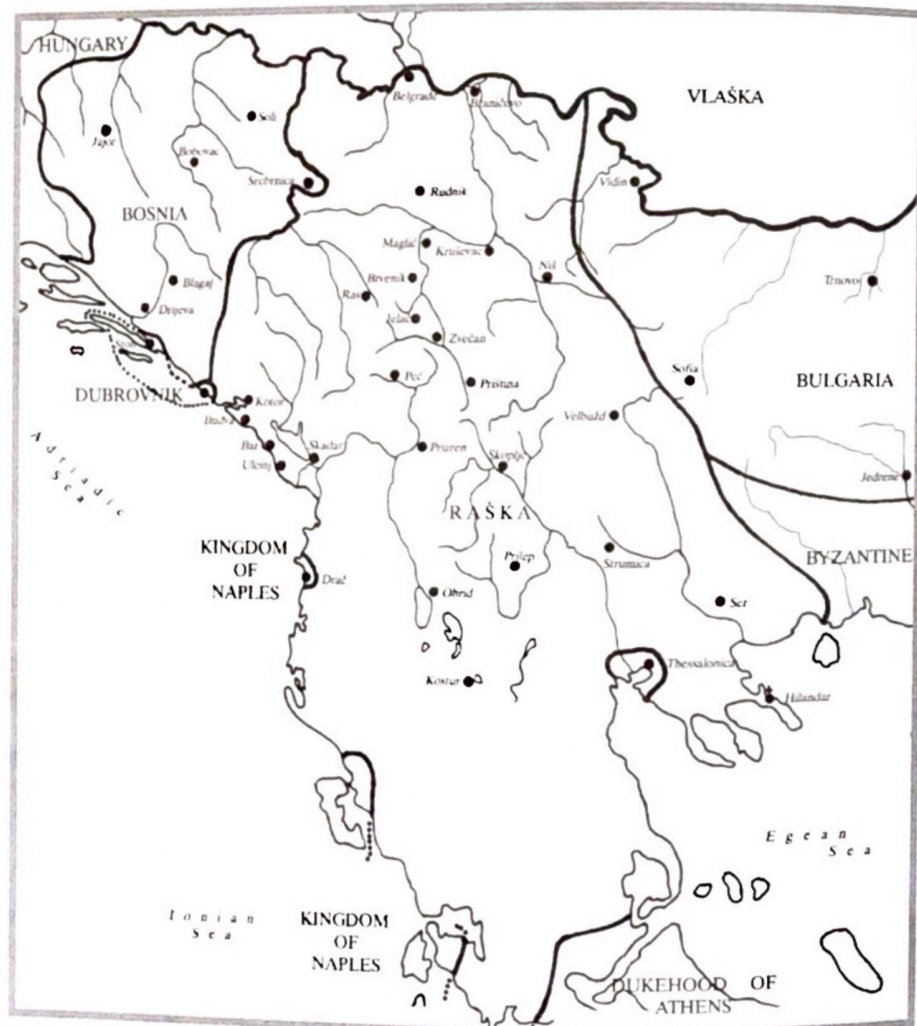
ѢѢ - ѠѠ

18/1,12 Lj(VIII-20), J(-), I(7.1)



The only specimen was registered by S. Ljubić. The representation is identical to the type 12-17 that had copies with the irregular legend. This type was shown at S. Ljubić as the result of badly written legend or forgery from the days of King Uroš.

Balkan States at around 1350



12

STEFAN UROŠ V

Uroš The Feeble, Czar 1355-1371

As the only son of the Czar Dušan, after the death of his father, Uroš took over the government of Raška. As is often the case when changes happen on the throne, the neighbours tried to use the inexperience and insufficiently founded personal power of a new ruler. Uroš was first attacked by the members of the Byzantine Czar's family. They did not attempt that in an organized way, in the name of the Czar of Byzantine Empire, but their goal was to form their own independent states, what considerably weakened their activities. The brothers Jovan and Aleksije Palaeologus won Anactoropolis and Christopolis, towns to the east from the city of Thessalonica. The Despot Nicheporus II used the death of the military commander of Dušan and regent Caesar Preljub for the conquering of Tesalia, in the spring of 1356, and somewhat later he drove away from Epirus, the Regent and uncle of Uroš, Despot Simeun, and thus created his own state. Uroš was not helpless, his men suppressed John Cantacusen, that attacked the town of Ser, and resisted to the attack of Hungarians from the north. At that occasion, the regional masters of Braničevo, the Rastislalić Family, conscious of the weakness of the Uroš V, detached their region from Raška.

The influence of the exterior enemies would not considerably endanger Raška if Uroš had been capable to maintain the central power. Slowly- step by step, Uroš gave over to his regents the prerogatives of central power, so that his power weakened from one year to another, and at the end of its reign, it was reduced to a symbol level. The writer of genealogy, from the time of Stefan Lazarević, described him, among other things, also by the words "inexperienced in ways of the world", that perfectly explains the nature of the erosion of his power. His uncle, Simeon, tried to use the Assembly of aristocrats in 1358, to become the head of the state. Aristocrats, in particular the provincial regents, were not satisfied with the incompetent leader, so the Court of aristocrats, in the technical sense, governed the country. Simeon took the town of Kotor and declared himself Czar. The military troops of Uroš easily won the battle at the town of Skadar in 1358. Simeon renounced the crown of Raška, but he remained in Kostur, and he was supported only by Uroš's uncle, governor of the district of Valona, the Despot John Assen. Simeon used the death of Nicephorus II, in 1359, and without much effort maintained his power in Epirus and Tesalia. Also, John Assen himself, took his region out from the composition of Raška. The Duke, Vojislav Vojinović, the most influential personality of the first part of the reign of Uroš, exhibited independence in his position, but he officially acknowledged and supported the Czar.

The black plague, that was spreading in 1363, and the advanced years of life, took away Vojislav Vojinović, Despot Oliver, John Assen and many others, so it gave a chance to the new generation of governors, turning to the district masters. In Zeta, the family of Balšić was taking presidency, the Župan Nikola Altomanović took over the district of his uncle Vojislav Vojinović, the Duke Lazar Pribičević Hrebeljannović is at the head of the district around the three Rivers of Morava, and the most powerful of them all, Despot John Uglješa Mrnjavčević, was holding the district of Ser. The Raška is, in actual fact, governed by the elder brother of Uglješa, Vukašin, in the name of Uroš V. Vukašin was drawn to the foreground only after he induced Uroš to give him the title of the King of Raška. It is probable that, on the same occasion, the titles were given also by sebastocrator Vlatko, his son Caesar Uglješa and Despot Dragaš Dejanović, as well as the collaborators of Vukašin. Vukašin now had the official authority to impose his central power. The aristocrats were more supportive to the incompetent Uroš, so an alliance against Vukašin was created, and Czar himself was drawn into it. The known history sources would not give the precise picture of those events. It had been known that the Balšić clan had a reserved attitude, and that Lazar with his followers found a way to come to terms with Vukašin and Uroš and Nikola Altomanović had been defeated in the Battle of Kosovo Plane in 1369. On that occasion, Uroš was taken hostage and his imperial power stopped being even symbolic. He died after the Battle of Marica River, on December 4, 1371, in his 35th year of age. His relics are kept today in the Congregation Church in the capital city-Belgrade.

The monetary policy, as well as the governing of the country had been given over to others. At the beginning all events were taking place in accordance with the pattern set from the days of Czar Dušan, and the smaller kinds of money were coined, along with dinars bearing the name of Czar Uroš. In time, the governors of the district, that controlled mines and mints, increased their profit, at the expense of the quality of

production. Money of the continually decreasing quality was coined. It was turned in the coining of the new images with slightly unclear or completely unclear legend. The majority of the local masters from the old countries of Raška did not dare coin with their name, because it would mean the official detachment from Raška, and with that the military intervention of King Vukašin, who became the legitimate ruler. With their own name, the money was coined by the Rastislalić Clan, around 1365, as well as Despot Uglješa and King Vukašin by placing on the first types of money also the name of the Czar. On one group of coins with intelligible text, there was always the same letter mark R-V. There was also the assumption that it was marked with Rex Vukasini, although there were neither direct nor indirect reasons or convincing explanations. The monetary mass in the circulation had more than one half of money with unclear legends, as well as around 10% forged coins of the matapans of Venice, of particularly bad production.

1.1. $\tilde{\text{C}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\text{P}$

VROSIV - IPRATI

20/1.21 Lj(IX-19), J(67), I(9.1)

1.2. $\tilde{\text{C}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\text{P}$

VROSIV - IMPERATI

20/1.13 Lj(IX-20, 21), J(-), I(-)

2. $\tilde{\text{V}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$ ($\tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$)

VROSIVI - MEPRATOR

21/0.95 Lj(IX-24), J(69), I(-)

3. $\tilde{\text{V}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$ ($\tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$)

VROSIVS - IMPERATOR

20/1.24 Lj(-), J(-), I(9.4)

4. $\tilde{\text{C}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\text{P}$

VROSIV - IMPERATOR

18/0.98 Lj(-), J(-), I(9.3)

5.1. $\tilde{\text{V}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$

VROSIV - IMPERATOR

20/0.90 Lj(IX-23, 24, 27, X-1), J(85), I(9.6)

5.2. $\tilde{\text{V}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$

VROSIV - IMPERATOR

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

6. $\tilde{\text{C}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\text{P}$

VROSIV - IMPERATOR

19/1.14 Lj(IX-1,2), J(-), I(6.11.3)



7. +VROSIV - IMPERATOR

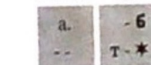
VROSIV - IMPERATOR

20/0.99 Lj(-), J(-), I(9.8)

8. $\tilde{\text{V}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$ ($\tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$)

VROSIVI - MEPRATOR

19/1.10 Lj(IX-15-18), J(70), I(9.7.1)

9. $\tilde{\text{V}}\text{O}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$ ($\tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}\tilde{\text{O}}\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{V}}\text{P}$)

VROSIVI - MEPRATOR

19/1.11 Lj(IX-13,14), J(73), I(9.7.2)



10. $\tilde{\text{P}}\text{b} - \tilde{\text{P}}\text{b}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

17/0,40 Lj(-), J(72), I(9.12)

11. $\text{P} - \text{P} / \text{W} - \text{b}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

18/0,92 Lj(-), J(-), I(9.13)



12. + INP - ERATOR VROS

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

1. 17/0,53 Lj(IX-10), J(-), I(9.27)



2. 17/0,62 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



1. Legend is placed in a circle below helmet.
2. Legend interrupted by a helmet.

13. + IMPE - RATOR VROS

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

17/0,89 Lj(-), J(74), I(9.26)



14. VROSIVS - IMPERAT (Inverse text)

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

16/0,76 Lj(IX-11), J(76), I(9.28)



15. VROSIVS - IMPERAT

 $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

16/0,60 Lj(IX-12), J(-), I(-)

16. $\text{P} / \text{W} / \text{b} - \dots (\tilde{\text{Z}}\text{Pb})$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

18/0,88 Lj(X-6), J(-), I(9.10.1)

17. $\text{P} / \text{W} / \text{b} - \tilde{\text{Z}}\text{Pb}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

19/1,18 Lj(X-7-10), J(75), I(9.10.2)

With types 16 and 17 instead of title Czar - $\tilde{\text{Z}}\text{Pb}$ there is, more often, an ornament, and frequently also the name of the ruler that resembles some decoration.

18. $\text{P} - \tilde{\text{W}}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

19/0,91 Lj(X-2), J(-), I(-)

19. $\text{W} - \text{Pb}$ $\tilde{\text{K}} - \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$

18/0,92 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

20. $\text{P} - \text{P}$ $\text{X} - \text{C}$

20/0,90 Lj(XV-21), J(-), I(9.9)

21. $\tilde{\text{C}}\text{Pb} - \tilde{\text{C}}\text{Pb}$

VROSIVSI - MPERATOR

19/1,03 Lj(IX-22), J(-), I(9.2)



On the reverse, there is a coat of arms of the Mrnjavčević Family. It suits the sly and gradual intentions of Vukašin to impose himself upon the aristocrats of Raška as the partner in power of Czar Uroš.

22. VROSI - IIP..

Ѡ - ѡ

17/0,88 Lj(-), J(79), I(9.23)

r.
R - V

23. -VROSI - -PERAT-

Ѡ - ѡ

18/0,83 Lj(-), J(80), I(-)

r.
R - V

COINS WITH UNCLEAR LEGENDS

In the time when the brothers of Mrnjavčević Family started minting coins with their names, by official mints not under their control, some aristocrats began to mint coins with the text with no particular meaning. Among these types, there were no excellent or exceptional specimens. It had been placed here along with the money of Czar Uroš, because such coins had been minted during his official government. It could only be a question of assumptions and speculations who, of all those local masters, might have given the instruction allowing some of this coinages.

24.

OSIOI. - OBIIOI (letters with no meaning)

17/0,70 Lj(-), J(81), I(9.22)



25. SIXVSI - ISVXI (letters with no meaning)

Ѡ - ѡ

17/0,78 Lj(-), J(82), I(9.21)

r.
R - V

26. ... - ...

Ѡ - ѡ

17/0,97 Lj(-), J(77), I(9.17)

r.
P -

27. IZ - IZ

IPOV - IVPO (letters with no meaning)

17/0,81 Lj(XV-29), J(83), I(9.19)

r.
R - V

28. R - V

Ѡ - ѡ

1. 18/0,97 Lj(-), J(84), I(9.20)

r.
R - V

2. 17/0,69 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

r.
R - V

29. HZ - HZ

Ѡ - ѡ

17/0,69 Lj(-), J(158), I(24.22)

r.
R - V

30. HZ - HZ

Ѡ - ѡ

17/0,73 Lj(-), J(157), I(24.23)



Types 29 and 30, because of similarity with the coins of Duke Lazar (Kind 21) inspired many numismatists to attribute them to Lazar.

31. ISVXSI - XSIV.. (letters with no meaning)

Ѡ - ѡ

18/0,83 Lj(-), J(78), I(9.16)



32. VIOV... - IPOPVE... (legend with no meaning)

ṽ - x̃

20/1,12 Lj(-), J(-), I(9.15)



33. ... - ...

15/0,78 Lj(-), J(-), I(9.25)



34. ... - ...

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(9.24)



35. Z̃ - P̃

16/0,97 Lj(VIII-15), J(-), I(9.18)



36. -

ṽ - x̃

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(6.23)



37. -

ṽ - x̃

18/0,95 Lj(XV-23), J(59), I(6.24)



Coins with the name of Czar Uroš as the suzerain were coined by:

- Helen Assen - type 1
- King Vukašin - types 1,2 and 3
- Despot Uglješa - types 1,2, 3 and 4
- City of Kotor - types 12 and 13
- City of Ulcinj - type 2
- City of Zvečan - type 1.

13

UROŠ PALAEOLOGUS

SIMEON-SINIŠA Counter-ruler 1356-1358, Czar of Epirus and Tesalia 1359-1370

He was born in the marriage of Stefan Dečanski and Maria Palaeologus. Till the birth of Uroš V, he was the official heir to the throne of Raška. Dušan gave him the title of Despot and placed him as the Regent of newly acquired realm - Epirus. At that post, he received the news of Dušan's death. Already in 1356, he was driven away by the Byzantine Despot, Nicephorus II, who created the independent state out of Epirus and Tesalia. At the Assembly of aristocrats in 1356, Simeon tried to impose him as the heir to the realm of Dušan. The strengthened aristocrats did not accept that as their interest, so Simeon took refuge in the town of Kostur. He was announced and proclaimed as the Czar of Raška, and with around five thousand soldier, he tried to endanger Uroš. At Skadar, the troops of Uroš easily defeated him. Due to the support he got from the Despot John Assen and the inefficiency of Uroš, Simeon remained the Master of Kostur.

Nicephorus II got killed in 1359, and Simeon, who happened to be married to his sister, easily managed to strengthen his position and take his place. Neither Raška, nor Byzantine Empire tried to endanger his independence. He called himself Czar Uroš Palaeologus. Like all others from the Nemanjić Dynasty, he significantly helped his church, by building edifices and offering gifts. As the independent government, he had the possibility to coin money. There existed no type of coins that could be attributed to him. As he had neither economic nor political need for his money, it was considered that he had never coined it.

JOHN UROŠ DUKAS PALAEOLOGUS

Czar of Epirus and Tesalia 1370-1373

John, the son of Simeon, from the beginning took active participation in his father's fight for power. After his father's death, he took over his state, but only for a short time. He abandoned the throne for the purpose of taking cloth in the Monastery Preobraženje/Transfiguration/ at the Meteores. John was the last ruler of the Nemanjić line of descendants tracing the masculine blood line. He died in 1422 or 1423, as the monk Joasaf. With regard to coining money, the same holds true for him as we have observed for his father.

TOMA PRELJUBOVIĆ

Master of Joannina 1367-1384

Toma was the son of the Caesar Preljub and the step-son of the sebastocrator Hlapen (Regent of Dušan). He married Maria, daughter of Czar Simeon, and he got from him the government of Joannina. After the withdrawal of his brother in law John, he managed part of his state. He obtained the Despot title, in 1382, from the Czar of Byzantine Empire. With regard to the coining of money, the same held true for him as for Simeon and John.

HELEN ASEN NEMANJIĆ

Widow of Czar Dušan

The Bulgarian Princess, Helen, was married the Czar Dušan, in 1322. She actively participated in the political life of the country. After the death of Dušan, as the Regent within Raška borders, she governed the District of Ser. She withdrew from the political life in 1365, and she gave District of Ser, for government, to Uglješa Mrnjavčević. She died in 1376.

1. $\overline{\text{HA}} / \text{PI} - \text{HA}$
 $\overline{\text{HP}} / \text{UB} - \overline{\text{HA}} / \text{PB}$

18/1,12 Lj(-), J(-), I(10,3)



RASTISLALIĆ

Masters of the Braničevo District

As the regents of Dušan, and then of Uroš, they governed in Braničevo and Kučevo. The King of Hungary, Lodovicus I, attacked Raška in 1359. The troops of Uroš suppressed Lodovicus, but the weakness of his power was well felt at the outskirts of the state. The Family of Rastislalić started to rule independently, just like at the southern borders in the provinces.

At their former territories, we have found "The hoard of Đerdap", where there were several pieces of money with the inscription "Sluga /Servant/Domesticus/ Branko". The spot of the hoard, and the fact that the Rastislalić Family was acting independently, led to the conclusion that the coins could be attributed to them. Duke Lazar won the lands of the Rastislalić Family, by winning in 1380 over the independent aristocrat Radič. According to the modern discoveries, concerning the history of the Rastislalić Family, the father of the Radič Family, was named Branko. It is still unclear if the father was coining money, why was not his son doing the same, when it is positive that his son was indeed independent, and there were very few insecure data concerning the father.

Some numismatists attributed that money to Branko Mladenović, the founder of the Branković Dynasty, who had the great reputation and position in the state of Dušan. The district ruled by Branko Mladenović was situated around Ohrid, too far away from the place of the finding the deposits of coins. In the traditional locations for the findings of money, in the southern parts of former Raška, even a single specimen was found. Apart from that, Branko Mladenović got from the Czar Dušan a title "sebastocrator", greater than the title "servant" that was on the coins we discuss. Something should be added to that, it was absurd to claim that the dictator and absolutist, such as Dušan, would allow some of his high dignitaries such an independence as the coining of money.

1. $+ \text{CXYX} - \text{BXYXKO}$
 $\overline{\text{IC}} - \overline{\text{XC}}$

19/1,45 Lj(XV-18), J(103), I(8,1)



VUKAŠIN MRNJAVČEVIĆ

King 1365-1371

There were no data concerning the origin of the Mrnjavčević Family. Under the reign of Dušan, Vukašin was mentioned as the Župan and head of the country. He played the important role only after the death of Czar Dušan, at the court of Uroš V. He was diplomatically continually increasing his influence upon Czar Uroš, taking over, gradually, into his hands, all the technical businesses of governing the country. In such conditions, he led Czar Uroš to give him the unoccupied title of the King of Raška, at the end of 1365. Before Vukašin, such title was belonging to Uroš V, as the heir to the throne. In such a way, Vukašin became a partner in government and an heir to the throne (Uroš had no children). Such a condition resulted in the resistance from the aristocrats of Raška, who inclined more to the less strict government of the incapable ruler. A coalition was formed against Vukašin, where Uroš himself was invited. In the parts of Raška that Dušan conquered from Byzantine Empire, the regents were getting independent, and they were not very interested in what was happening in the old countries of Raška.

Vukašin relinquished the alliance both in the political and military sense. Lazar Pribičević Hrebeljanović, at least from the formal point of view, accepted Vukašin and used the opportunity to overtake the mountain of Rudnik from Nikola Altomanović. Lesser part of the aristocrats, that Nikola presided, were conquered at Battle of Kosovo Plane in 1369. On that occasion, Czar Uroš was captured and from that moment he lost all influence upon the happenings in his country. Due to the support from Hungary, Nikola managed to maintain his domain. The Balšić clan took the independent position in the country, although from the formal point of view, they recognised the government of Vukašin (Durd was married to Vukašin's daughter Olivera). Vukašin was preparing the decisive battle with Nikola, who was the only one to confront him directly. Great military preparations were coming only after 1371. At the request from his brother Despot Jovan Uglješa, he postponed the final settlement with Nikola and joined forces with his brother to suppress the attack of Turkey, with the aim to stop the danger threatening from that side. They passed over the frontiers of the District of Ser and at Chernomen, at the River Marica, near the previous Turkish capital of Edirne, on September 26, 1371, they suffered a terrible defeat. In that battle both of the Mrnjavčević brothers got killed. By the death of the Mrnjavčević brothers, and the destruction of their military force, their insufficiently founded government had broken down. The Turks did not wish to utilize the fruit of their victory, but the aristocracy of Raška got into direct fight for the districts pretending to take full independence and so finished the desolvement of the Empire of Raška. It was interesting that in the Battle of Marica, none of the sons of Vukašin took part, although they were full of age in those days.

1. $\Delta \text{EC} \quad \text{ΠΟΤ} \quad \overline{\text{C}}\Phi\text{B} - \overline{\text{ZP}}$
 $\text{IO} \quad \text{AM}$
 $\text{B}\overline{\text{X}}\text{B} \quad \text{KA}$
 $\text{U}\overline{\text{H}} \quad \diamond$

20/0,92 Lj(-), J(95), I(11,6)



He coined money in 1365, together with his brother, and on the occasion when Uglješa was being declared a Despot, from the part of Czar Uroš, and again, on the occasion when taking over regency from the Czarina Mother Helen over the District of Ser. On the reverse of coins, there is the monogram of Czar Dušan that was also used by his son, Czar Uroš, on his coins. It should be symbolizing the unity of District of Ser, that Uglješa got for management, and the old countries of Raška, managed by Vukašin, united under the crown of Czar Dušan. That coining was, in its way, the inspiration for Czar Uroš to give Vukašin the title of a royalty.

The assumption was that the money of Despot Oliver (the dignitary of Czar Dušan) and Vukašin, had been coined during the life of Dušan, but as such it could not be sustained, because in those days the differ-

ence in rank of Oliver and Vukašin was too enormous for them to undertake any activity together, regardless the absurdity of the assumption that Dušan would ever allow such a thing. The second assumption was that it might have been only the money of Vukašin with Uroš as the suzerain, and that money itself proved that Vukašin was having the title of Despot, before he was declared royal - regardless how attractive this idea may be - it was certainly unsustainable. The title of Despot was the Byzantine royal title, reserved as non-hereditary, only for the royal sons and son-in-laws, and it had its value and weight only in Byzantine Empire. Vukašin was fighting to impose his central power to the aristocrats in the previous countries of Raška where the royal title was meaning everything and the Despot title very little. Dušan and Uroš were giving the royal title only to regents on the territories that Dušan won from Byzantine Empire. The rank of the despot title bellow or above the royal gives no ground for discussion. In the Byzantine Empire hierarchy of titles, there was no royal title and in the world of the West there was no despot title. They appeared simultaneously only in Raška, in the time of the desolation of the state, and in times when no title meant much, but only the military power of the pretendent to the throne was respected. The Despot title, used by the heirs of Lazar, changed its primary sense. Quite new sense would have been given to that title when presented by the Kings of Hungary, with the aim of rounding the people of Serbia and moving them in fight against the Turks. The Despot title of Vukašin appeared in the historic sources, more than 200 years after his death, when all had already disappeared from the historic scene and there were no longer Byzantium, Raška or Hungary, as before.

2. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$

VROIVSIE - TERATO

VROISVS IMPERATOR

20/1,20 Lj(IX-26), J(86), I(12.1)

3. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$

ΚΥΡΒΟΧΛΑΗΝΕ - ΙΖΙΛΟΥΚΙΣ

20/1,08 Lj(-), J(88), I(10.1)



All the copies of this type have been badly coined, and the dies were not correctly made. The reading of the text required such imagination, because the text was not identical on all specimens. The solution for the deciphering of texts, offered by individual numismatists, could not be applied, generally, on all the copies. It was assumed that on the reverse there was a name of the suzerain Czar Uroš and his mother Czarina Helen.

Only three types of the coins of Vukašin could have been carrying the name of the suzerain. They are all exceptionally found today, that indicates how they were coined only for a short while, and that they have been restruck often.

4. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$

ΚΡΑΚΗΥ - ΔΕΥΘΝΑ

19/1,41 Lj(X-27), J(87), I(13.1)



On types 4 and 5, there was no name of Vukašin or the suzerain. It was assumed that they had been coined at the same time like it was the case with the first three types, and in the small circulation, in the course of 1366.

5. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$... - .../undeciphered legend or letters put as ornaments
17/0,80 Lj(-), J(-), I(16.3)6. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$

Lj(-), J(-), I(16.1)

7. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$

18/1,3 Lj(-), J(98), I(16.2)



Some numismatists shaded with doubt the classification of the types 5,6 and 7 because the lack of names gave them the opportunity for such suspicions, and it was attributed to the eldest son of Vukašin, named Marko. Vukašin was coining only with the title, because, in such a way, he was gradually imposing upon the aristocrats of Raška as the partner of Czar Uroš sharing in his position of power.

8. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$

19/1,24 Lj(-), J(-), I(12.2)



When he got the royal title, Vukašin changed his coat of arms. He added a crown and sceptre. The same sceptre could be observed on his royal seal.

9. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$

18/1,14 Lj(-), J(89), I(12.4)

10. $\tilde{\text{P}} - \tilde{\text{L}}$

18/1,11 Lj(X-16), J(-), I(12.3)

Only one specimen was registered by S. Ljubić.



11.1. ~~БЕГО~~ / ВЕРИ / КРАВЕ / КАШ

$$\tilde{\pi} - \tilde{\pi} \dots - \dots$$

/Undeciphered text or letters as decoration/
18U.95 Lj(X-26), J(90), I(12.9)



11.2 «БЛО» / БЕРН / КРАКЪ / КАШ

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

∴ $L_j(-), J(-), I(12.10)$



12. ВЪХА / БЪЛЪКАГ / ОБЪРНИ / КРАХЪВЪХ / БКАШН

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

19/1.28 Lj(X- 24, 25), J(91), I(12.7)

a.	b.	c.
..	..	★ =
+	o = o	● = ●
- <	o = ★	● = ●



13. ВЪЛЪБ / АБХГОЪ / РЫНКАХ / ВЪЛЪКА / ШИПЪ

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

18/1.94 Lj(-), J(-), I(12.8)

Г.
Р-А



14. ВЪХА / БГАБКАГ / ОБЪРНИ / КРАЖЪВХ / БКАШН / НЪ

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

19/1,00 Lj(-), J(92), I(12.7)



15. СЫХА / БЛАЖГО / ВЪРНИКР / АХЪВЪБ / КАШИН / СНА.

$$\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi} \quad \dots - \dots$$

/Undeciphered text or letters as decoration/

18/1.13 $L_j(\cdot), J(\cdot), l(12.6)$ 

16. ВЕХА / БАБЪГО / ВЪРНИИ / КРАВЪ / КАШЬ

$$\tilde{\pi} - \tilde{x}$$

19/1,12 Lj(X-17, 18, 19, 22, 23), J(94), I(12.5)

а.	г.	-А/-/-	Н-Н
-/-/-	-	-А/-/-	-а
-А/-/-	С-И	-о/-/-	?-?
-А/-/-	С-П	-А/-/-	Т-
-А/-/-	С-П	-А/-/-	У-а
-/-/-	С-П	-А/о/-	-а
-А/-/-	С-а	-/-/-	-а
-/-/-	П-а	-А/-/-	а, о
-А/-/-	П-о	-А/-/-	Ю-а



17. ВЪХА / БГАБХГ / ОБЪРНИ / КРАХЪВХ / ЪКАШН / НЪ

$$\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$$

19/1,15 Lj(X-20, 21), J(93), I(12.5)

3.	Г.
• • / - / - 2	- 2
• • / - / - 2	- 2



DESPOT JOVAN UGLJEŠA

UGLJEŠA MRNJAVČEVIĆ, Master of the Ser District 1365-1371

Uglješa was the younger brother of King Vukašin, married to Helen, daughter of Caesar Vojihna (Jelena, as the nun Jefimija, living at the Court of the Lazarević Family gave her significant contribution to the medieval literature.) Under the reign of Dušan, Uglješa was mentioned as the Župan. The most important role in history was reserved for him at the Court of the Czarina mother Helen, who, in the boundaries of Raška, governed the District of Ser (Jegejska, Pirinska and East part of the Vardar River Macedonia). In a gradual diplomatic way, he increased his influence upon the Czarina Mother Jelena and practically governed in her name. As her favourite, Uglješa got from the Czar Uroš the Despot title and the District of Ser for sole government in 1365.

The District of Ser was won by Dušan from Byzantine Empire, so that the acceptance of government imposed from the District of Raška was not quite customary, and the Byzantium tradition among the population was still very fresh. Uglješa had no need to fight for the acknowledgement from the part of the aristocracy of Raška, like his brother Vukašin, who was fighting, at the same time, for power in the old countries of Raška. By getting the title and the official government over Ser District, he came out completely independently without being disputed from abroad or from his country. His politics was harmonized with the politics of King Vukašin, who had far more problems. He sent his troops to Kosovo Region in 1369, and he prepared to participate, later, in the conflict with Nikola Altomanović. His lands were endangered by the intrusion of the robbery bandits consisting of the Turks, that were already getting firm ground at the Balkans, near the town of Edirne. He was preparing to pacify them or banish them by one strong military operation, where he participated along with his brother. Vukašin, with the troops already prepared for war with Nikola Altomanović, came to help Uglješa and they crossed together the frontier of the Ser District. The Turks new what problem they presented for Uglješa and they expected his reaction. They faced the Mrnjavčević brothers on September 26, 1371, on the River Marica and, by night attack, they surprised and completely defeated them. In the battle, both Mrnjavčević brothers were killed.

1. ΔΕΣ - ΠΟΤ

Ю - АН
ВХЪ - КА
ШН - ♦

20/0.92 Lj(-), J(95), I(11.6)

Coin was minted in 1365, Uglješa was coining together with his brother Vukašin (type 1) at the occasion of being proclaimed a Despot.

2. MONITAD - ESPOTIOA

ЉѢ - ЧРЪ

19/1.00 Lj(XIV-11), J(203), I(11.1)

3. MONITAD - ESPOTIOA

ЉРЪ - ЧРЪ

19/1.05 Lj(XIV-12), J(205), I(11.3)



4. MONITAD - ESPOTIOA

ЉѢ - ЁА

19/1.04 Lj(-), J(204), I(-)



So, the name of the suzerain is not clear on all the published specimens of this type, thus it is interpreted in a different way. Maybe it consists from more combinations of different texts, that have not been deciphered, because they have been shortened.

5. MONITAD - ESPOTIOA

ЉѢ - ЧРЪ

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(11.2)



6. MONITAD - ESPOTIOA

ЉРЪ - ЧРЪ

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(11.4)



With the sign of the suzerain, Uglješa was coining money, at the latest, till 1368, while he was, at least formally, admitting the supreme power of Uroš V. Without the sign of the suzerain, he coined only one kind of money.

7. MONITAD - ESPOTIOA

Љ - Х

19/0.86 Lj(XIV-13), J(202), I(11.5)

г.	1 - R
D - D	R - R
1 - D	



The coins of Uglješa were far less frequent, than the coins of King Vukašin, what was not in accordance with his power and historic meaning. It could be explained by richness in silver of their states. For the mines in the eastern part of the country of Uglješa, it might only be assumed that in those days they were also giving silver ore, while Raška was abundant in silver. The other reason might be that such a district was almost 100 years before, sinking under Turkish domain, and 100 years later freed from it, so that the coins were exposed to destruction.

All that coins, up to our days, was attributed, by almost all numismatists, to Despot John Oliver, one of the most important vassals of Czar Dušan. Enough evidence, whose coins they were, made itself obvious by the depicted coat of arms of the Mrnjavčević Family, and that described the historic role of John Uglješa. According to one new hypothesis, it should have been the coat of arms not only of Vukašin, but of the entire family, and accordingly, that money was a coinage of Vukašin in the period when he was bearing title of a Despot. The title of a Despot with the name of King Vukašin did not exist in the sources close in time to his reign, but only appeared in the significantly later period. The brothers made separate careers, on different sides. They acted in mutual agreement, but, today, there were no data that they had family united approach, i.e. that Uglješa was in the subordinate position as the younger brother in the government of the family.

18

QUEEN HELEN JEVROSIMA MRNJAVČEVIĆ

History remembered her as the wife of King Vukašin. In the folk's literature there was a much more attractive part reserved for her, as the mother of young King, heir to the throne, named Prince Marko. The money of the Queen, with no name, could belong only to her, because she was the only one that was in those days both bearing that title and was in the position to coin money. The appearance of these coins, along with the coins of her sons Marko and Andreaš, could be the result of the disharmonized politics of the heirs of Vukašin.

1.1. +БЛАГО / ВЕРНА / КРАЛН / ЧА ЇС - ХС

17/1,10 Lj(XI-7,8), J(96), I(17.3)



1.2. .. / +БЛАГОО / ВЕРНА / КРАЛН / ооо ЇС - ХС

16/1,00 Lj(XI-4), J(-), I(17.1)



Legend in the developed form reads as: ВЪ ХРИСТА БОГА БЛАГОВЕРНА КРАЛНЧА

2. +БЛАГО / ВЕРНА / АКАН ЇС - ХС / ... - ... (Letters with no meaning)

18/0,98 Lj(XI-5), J(97), I(17.2)



Legend in the developed form reads as: ВЪ ХРИСТА БОГА БЛАГОВЕРНА КРАЛНЧА

With the first and the second type, there are letters turned around or turned upside down. Every die made for these exceptional types is different.

КР - ХС

КРАЛНЧ - АКАН

19/1,41 Lj(X-27), J(87), I(13.1)



It is considered that the coins with the name of Queen Helen was coined by Vukašin (type 4), in the time of his fight, to impose himself upon the aristocrats of Raška, as the new King.

19

MARKO VUKAŠINOVIĆ-MRNJAVČEVIĆ Prince Marko, King 1371-1395

Marko, the eldest son of King Vukašin, before the Battle of Marica, had the title of a young King- the heir to the throne of Raška. The battle of Marica destroyed not only the Mrnjavčević brothers, as individuals, but also their military power. With much inherited family enemies, without an army, Marko did not have any chances to keep the position won by his father and uncle, although he legally proclaimed himself a King. At the end of eight decade of the XIV century, Marko, the master of the western part of the Vardar River Macedonia, with the centre in Prilep, was overwhelmed and under compulsion to accept the dominance of the Turkish power. According to the vassal obligation, Marko had to follow the Sultan in the military quests. In such a quest against the Duke of Vlaška Mirče and the King of Hungary Sigismund, he was killed, on May 13, 1395, in the Battle of Rovine, somewhere in Valachia.

On the basis of many frescoes with his portraits, it could be concluded that he invested considerably in the Orthodox Church, but only in the boundaries of his district. Nobody had preserved any Charter from King Marko, because those churches were later, on the course of centuries, robbed many times. A great number of monks that found their sanctuary in his Kingdom, during his lifetime, could be one of the reasons for his later enormous popularity among the people. In accordance with his image, there appeared the greatest and the most popular epical hero of the folk literature of the South Slavic people.

1. ВЪХА / БАБКОВ / ЪРНИК / АХМА / РКО ЇС - ХС

18/0,98 Lj(XI-1,2), J(100,101), I(14.2)



2. ВЪХА / БАБКОВ / ЪРНИК / АХМА / РКО ЇС - ХС

17/1,38 Lj(XI-3), J(99), I(14.3)



With types 1 and 2, there are specimens with reduced legend:

- ВЪХА БА БКОВЕРНИ КРАХЪ МАР
- ВЪХА БА БКОВЕРНИ КРАХЪ МР
- ВЪХА БА БКОВЕРНИ КРАХЪ М

Complete text is as follows: ВЪ ХРИСТА БОГА БАБКОВЕРНИ КРАХЪ МАРКО

3. +БЛАГО / ВЕРН / КРАХЪ / МАРКО ЇС - ХС

-/ Lj(-), J(-), I(14.4)



ANDREAŠ VUKAŠINOVIĆ - MRNJAVČEVIĆ

Andreáš was the second son of King Vukašin. His father mentioned him in one of the Charters as the Regent of the district. His money was contained in the deposits, together with the money from King Marko and nameless Queen, that inspired the supposition on the coining very near in time, and the lack of unity among the heirs of Vukašin. At the end of fight for the property of Vukašin and Uglješa, at the middle of the eight decade of the XIV century, he was not mentioned as the Master of any district.

His memorial is the Monastery St. Andrew, on the River Treska.

Andreáš, with his younger brother Dimitrije, came to Dubrovnik, where he collected the deposit of King Vukašin. Brothers then came to Hungary, where all trace was lost of them. The date of collecting deposit, if it could have been established with precision from the Archives in Dubrovnik, was estimated to have been in 1394, or a year before the Battle of Rovine, when Marko got killed. From the Archives of Dubrovnik, it could not be seen with precision, why had they, without inviting Marko, collected all of the deposit of their father, that inspired doubt regarding the precision of one or both dates.

1. БЪГО / ВЪРМ / НАРЕ / АШ
ЇС - ХС

15/0,78 Lj(-), J(102), I(15.3)



2. БЪГО / ВЪРМ / АНАРЕ / АШЬ
ЇС - ХС

17/0,62 Lj(XI-6), J(-), I(15.2)



ANDREW GROPA

Župan

In the historic sources, there were more data on the individual members of Albanian Family Gropa. There were no data concerning Andrew, thus there was nothing about his district or about period of his independent reign. The only data regarding Andrew was found on his money. He was coining one kind of money in three elementary varieties:

1. According to the Mercy of God Andrew Gropa
2. According to the Mercy of God Župan Andrew Gropa
3. According to the Mercy of God Župan Gropa

The text behind the surname at the item 3 inspired no arguments for safe interpretation. Every of these three basic variations had subvariations that were different in the exact text. It was interesting that this exceptional type of money had so many variations and subvariations. The other interesting element was that the variation 3, if read correctly, had no names but only one surname. It was the only case in Serbian Medieval coining. The name and surname on the money, except for Andreja Gropa, was placed in such a way, only by Đurd Vuković-Branković, on one type of coin, and the Balšić: Balša II, Đurd II and Balša III.

It must be assumed that this coin was minted immediately after the Battle of Marica in time of fighting for the districts of Mrnjavčević.

1. ПОМН / ХОСТЕО. / АНАРНА / ГРОПА
ПО МИЛОСТИ БО(ЖИЕН) АНАРНА ГРОПА
ЇС ХС

17/0,82 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



2. ПОМНХО / СТЕНЖ / УПАН-Д / ГРОПА
ПО МИЛОСТИ БО(ЖИЕН) ЖУПАН-ДРНА ГРОПА
ЇС ХС

17/0,82 Lj(-), J(209), I(20.3)



3. ПОМХ / ТЕНЖИ / ЖУП. / ГРОПА / .Н.
ПО М(Н)Х(ОС)ТИ Б(О)ЖИЕН) ЖУПАН ГРОПА ...
ЇС ХС

17/0,82 Lj(XIV-21, 22), J(208, 210), I(20.1)



22

BROTHERS DEJANOVIĆ - DRAGAŠ

Regional Masters 1371-1395

The sons of the Despot Dejanović, John and Constantin (Costadin) did not manage to maintain the government in the district inherited from their father. There were no data when the elder brother got from Czar Uroš the title of Despot, and with it the title name John. After the destruction of the Mrnjavčević clan, they managed to regain and considerably enlarge their father's domain. The district was encompassing Pirej and eastern part of the Vardar River Macedonia, with the centre in Strumica. They appeared as a family with a mother, who took the name Evdokia when she decided to become a nun. They had an obligation to admit the supreme power of the Turks, like their neighbours and opponents, at the end of the eight decade of the XIV century. Although they were the vassals of the Turks, their reputation and power were not small. It was illustrated by the marriage of the daughter of Konstantin, in 1392, to the Czar of Byzantine Empire, Manuel II, as well as for the use of the grandfather's surname Dragaš, on the part of the last Czars of Byzantine Empire. Jovan Dragaš was coining money in accordance with the standard of the money of King Vukašin, as well as all the district masters, after the Battle of Marica.

1. +ВЪХА / БѢЖГОВ / ЪРМНДЕ / ОТЬДРА / ГАШЪ

17/- Lj(-), J(-), I(18.1)



2. ВЪХРТ / БѢЖГОВ / ЪРМНДЕП / ОТЬДРА / ГАШЪ

-/- Lj(-), J(206), I(18.2)



After the death of John, in 1378, as the head of the family, there appeared Constantin (or Constadin as written on the coins), in the epic literature remembered as Beg Konstantin (Beg was the Turkish title that was appropriately corresponding to the title Mister). In those days, the Dejanović clan did not admit the supreme power of the Turks. Konstantin, as the vassal of the Turks, was killed on May 13, 1395, in the Battle of Rovine hill somewhere in Valachia. After the death of Constantin, his district was under the direct Turkish rule.

3. +ДЕСПОТА - КОСТАДИНА

(Letters turned upside-down)

Ї - ХЇ

18/1,05 Lj(XIV-15), J(207), I(19.2)

The only specimen registered by S. Ljubić.



4. <ВЪХА> / БѢЖГОВ / ЪРМНЧ / РЪКОСТ / <АДНМ> / >

Ї - ХЇ

19/1,07 Lj(-), J(-), I(19.1)



This unique copy was found in 1952, after the reconstruction of the Church of St. Sofia, in Ohrid, with additional 18 Serbian dinars (Czar Dušan, Czar Uroš, King Vukašin and King Marko). On all the Charters, Constantin had no title or just the title of master. The title of Czarina, in the same Charter, was used by his mother Teodora as the wife of a Despot, (the Despot title was in the rank of an Empire title, so the wife of a Despot would use the title Czarina). There was no ground for claiming that Constantin was coining money with a title that he did not have, neither at the beginning of his advance during his brother's life, nor later when he admitted the vassal position to the Sultan of Turkey, Murat. Also the third (if there was one at all) and the fourth type of coins must be the result of some irregular coining.

23

NIKOLA ALTOMANOVIĆ Župan, regional Masters 1363-1373

Nikola was the grandson of the Duke Vojino (the Regent of Gacko in the times of Stefan Dečanski) and Duke Mladen (the founder of the Branković Family). His father, Altoman, finished his career, under the reign of Dušan, as the Grand Župan. After the death of his uncle Vojislav Vojinović, in 1363, he was guarding some part of his district, in order to banish, somewhat latter, his aunt Gojislava with juvenile sons, away, and he personally took over the government of the entire district. He soon became one of the most influential district masters in the entire Raška. His capital was in the town of Užice. The conflict was maintained with the Balšić clan and the city of Dubrovnik, as was the case with his uncle before him. Together with Lazar, he formed an alliance with the aristocrats of Raška, and the incompetent Czar Uroš accompanied him. Their aim was to confront Mrnjavčević brothers, that were striving to take over the role of the Nemanjić Dynasty. Lazar, who in those days was about forty years old, had much more talent for political fighting, so he accomplished a treaty with Mrnjavčević brothers, leaving Nikola and Uroš V, in 1369, to stay in conflict alone. Due to the support of Hungary, Nikola, although defeated, maintained his district, only the towns of Rudnik and Zvečan were conquered by Lazar.

When the outcome of Battle at the River Marica released him from the pressure from Mrnjavčević Family, he turned his strength against Lazar, and he redeemed the previously lost towns. Self-centered, capable and brave warrior, but not experienced as a politician, believing now that his decisive moment has come, he got in conflict with all his neighbours, so he also started a dispute with his Hungarian protectors. In alliance with Bosnian Ban, Tvrtko, and with the approval of Hungary, Duke Lazar conquered him and kept him hostage in 1373. According to the previous understanding, as the member of the famous family, he was not punished by death, but he was blinded, so that he could no longer rule. At the time when he was blinded, Nikola was about 25 years old. There were no data where he died, and where he was buried. Apart from Tvrtko and Lazar, in the division of the estates of Nikola, Vuk Branković, and the Balšić clan intervened. Since he was the rival of the favourite of the Serbian Orthodox Church - Lazar, the church sources were very strict regarding the historic image of Nikola Altomanović.

1. ВЪХА / БАБЪХГО / ЕРНИЖ / ЮПАН / НКЖА ЇС ХС

19/0,92 Lj(XIV-19), J(211), I(-)



2. +ВЪХА / БАБЪХГО / ОВЕРНИ / ЖЮПАНИ / НКЖО / ЖА ЇС ХС

19/0,99 Lj(XIV-20), J(-), I(23.1)



3. ВЪХА / БАБЪХГО / ЕРНИЖ / ЮПАН / НКЖА ЇС ХС

18/0,72 Lj(-), J(-), I(23.2)



4. +SVPAN - NICOLA*

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(23.3)



First, second and the third type were coined after the downfall of the Mrnjavčević Family at the Battle on River Marica. The method of writing the legend in lines, as was often done by King Vukašin, was characteristic for all first coinings of local masters in that period. The fourth unique type, when observing its reverse, made us believe it could have been forgery coinage, that was in popular use in the second half of Czar Uroš government. The face with the coat of arms of the Nemanjić Family led to the conclusion that he had acknowledged Uroš, at least formally. The known historic data acknowledged that. It was possible that he started to coin the third type with the approval of Czar Uroš, even before his defeat in 1369.

The rare findings of money coined by Nikola could be explained by the loss of Rudnik and Zvečan mines, the leading mines (and mints) of Raška, and by the fact that coining was going on only in a short interval.

BALŠIĆ FAMILY

Masters of the District of Zeta 1365-1421

The founder of the family, Balša I, was one of the small aristocrats. His sons helped Czar Uroš in fighting against the usurper Simeon. They acted in harmony and, at around 1360, they governed the narrow district between the lake of Skadar and the sea. That is the time when the governors of specific districts were transformed in the district masters. The brothers used the death of Vojislav Vojinović to overtake upper Zeta from his widow. By the marriage of the youngest brother, Balša II to Komnina, the daughter and the heiress of Despot John Assen, they took over also the district around Valona. In that period, they came out independently, but they did not coin the money with their names. After the death of the eldest brother Stracimir, in 1372, at the head of the family appeared Đurd. He relinquished the marriage with Olivera, and won from her brother King Marko the town of Prizren and the surroundings. He got married to Teodora, the sister of the Dejanović brothers, while his son Mrkša Žarković was married to Rudina, daughter of Balša II, striving to create, by the connections of relatives the balance of forces in the decomposed Raška Empire. Although he did not participate in the war against Nikola Altomanović, in 1373, he took away part of his territories before Tvrtko. It provoked a conflict with Tvrtko, who, for revenge, banished him from his estates situated near Dubrovnik.

Along with Duke Lazar, he convened the Assembly of Serbian aristocracy, in 1374, for the sake of making peace between the Patriarchy of Serbia and Constantinople. He was the first from the Balšić family that emphasised the entire independence of their district and coined money with his own name.

1. ВЪХАБ / ГАБХГО / ВЪРНИГ / ЮРГЪ

ЇС ХС

18/1.04 Lj(-), J(193), I(26.1)



2. +ВЪХА / БАБХАГО / ВМГЮР / ГЪ

ГЮ - РГЪ

18/0.97 Lj(XIV-5), J(-), I(26.2)



3. ВЪХАБ / ГАБХГО / ВЪРНИ / ГЮРГЪ

О

16/1.10 Lj(XIV-4), J(195), I(26.3)



4. ВЪГО / МЪДАН / НВЕХН / НГНЬГЮ / РГЪ

ГЮ - РГЪ

6/0.98 Lj(XIV-3), J(194), I(26.5)



5. ВЪХ. / БАБХ.. / ВЪРН. / ГНЬ. / РГЪ.

.- Lj(-), J(-), I(26.4)



6.

The type exhibited in lines is characteristic for all the district masters that showed, after the fall of the Mrnjavčević, pretensions to inherit the role of the Nemanjić Dynasty, id est, somewhat later, all of them were striving towards complete independence of the district controlled by them. In his imitation of the coins by Vukašin, the engraver copies also the letter marks on the reverse. Also, in the second emission, on the reverse, there is a coat of arms of the Nemanjić Family, in order to be replaced in the later emissions by the coat of arms of the Balšić.

Đurd died on January 13, 1379, and, at the head of the Clan, there appeared Balša II. It was a situation used by Vuk Branković to take over the town of Prizren from the Balšić. Balša was more turned towards the southern parts of the country, that he acquired by marriage connections. In the conflict with the Turks, he got killed, in 1386, at the town of Berast. The coins with the name of Balša II were coined by the town of Skadar.

Money of the Town of Skadar-type 2

MDO:BALS - A:BALSIC

SSTEFAN - SCVTARI-

20/1.17 Lj(-), J(196), I(27.1)



The death of Balša II meant relinquishing the family rule of Zeta. Mrkša Žarković, and later his wife Rudina, ruled Valona, while the Zeta District was taken over by Đurd II Stracimirović Balšić. Đurd was married to the daughter of the Duke Lazar, but it did not prevent him from extending friendly relationships to the Turks. Probably because of Konstantin, son of Đurd I Balšić, he entered in disputes with the Turks, who conquered the town of Skadar and surroundings in 1392.

After Turkish defeat at the Battle of Rovine in 1395, Đurd managed to take back Skadar, but he understood that it would be difficult to maintain it, and it was thus handed over to Venice. He had problems with Sandalj Hrančić, that temporarily took Budva away from him, and also with his vassals, the Crnojević Family in upper Zeta. Đurd helped the return of the Lazarević brothers into the country, after the Battle of Angora, and in such a way, he took a stand against the sons of Vuk. He died in 1403. With his name, money was also coined by the town of Skadar.

7. MDGORGAS - TRACIMR
·SLAVRE· - ·NCIVSM·

19/1,12 Lj(XIV-2), J(197), I(28.2)



In one Charter written in Dubrovnik, Durd quoted his ancestor father- Nemanja (St. Simeon Charismatic), thus enabling to deduce that the Bašić considered themselves heirs of Nemanjić Dynasty. There are no written genealogies, so one can not claim with certainty whether the text is the result of a political gesture or whether they are really the heirs of Grand Župan Vukan.

Money of the Town of Skadar-type 3

M·D·GORGI· - STRACIMIR
·S·STEFANIS· - SCUTARI·

20/1,07 Lj(-), J(-), I(28.1)



Coins of the Town of Skadar-type 4

M·D·GORGI·D· - STRACIMIR
·S·STEFANIS· - SCUTARIS

20/0,97 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



Konstantin Durdević Bašić, as the representative of the Turks, was for some time ruling the larger part of today's north Albania. The town of Skadar was under Turkish control since 1392-1395. The money with the legend REX KONSTANTINVS was coined by the town of Skadar (type 1). The diameter and the image corresponded to the Kotor coins of Raška, and, in weight system, they resembled the money of Bašić and Skadar. The title of King could have been placed only by the pretender to the royal throne, the Regent of Zeta from 1321, son of Milutin, named Constantin. Others by the name of Constantin are unknown in history. This coin did not correspond in weight to the similar coins of Milutin, that should have been copied by the pretender. The opinions of historians and numismatists are divided, and they are mostly based on the previous convictions, but not on the concrete facts. Some of them attribute this coin to Konstantin Bašić.

Money of the Town of Skadar-type 1

M·REX·COST· - ANTINUS·
·S·STEFANU· - SCUTARENSE·

20/1,20 Lj(XIV-17), J(198), I(30.1)



Durde II was inherited by his juvenile son Baša III, along with the mother Jelena Lazarević. After the Battle of Angora, Turkey, torn apart by the fight for power, was considerably weakened, and Baša tried to regain the cities that his father was handing over to Venice. At the beginning, he was successful, but afterwards he lost his seaside cities: Ulcinj, Bar and Budva. Venice purchased in 1409, from Ladislaus of Naples, pretender to the throne of Hungary, the "right" to possess the Adriatic coast, and both the Lazarević Family and the Turks were interfering, that made even more complicated relationships already very entangled. Because Sandalj Hrančić, Bosnian aristocrat from the Kosača Family, was taking side of the Hungarian King Sigismund, as well as due to Sandalj's marriage to the widow of Durde Bašić, named Jelena Lazarević, the situation concerning Baša was improving. With the military help of the step-father and uncle, he tried again to have war with Venice, but with no results. Like his uncle, he also acknowledged the supreme power of the Sultan Mohammed I (1413-21). He died in Belgrade, in 1421, without a male heir, leaving all his lands to his uncle Stefan Lazarević.

8. MBALSEGEORGISTRACIMIRI
·SLAVRE· - ·NCIVSM·

18/1,10 Lj(XIV-9), J(199), I(29.2)



9. ·MBALS· - GORGI·
·S·LAVR· - ENCIVS·

19/1,15 Lj(XIV-6), J(200-201), I(29.1)



With this specimen of coins, there are more numerous examples with unclear letters, and text with no meaning, that is interpreted in accordance with material and technical state of the mint of Baša III before the end of his rule.

KOTOR

Tourist and historic town with preserved medieval fortress, Kotor lies at the bottom of the bay bearing the same name, down the Lovćen Mountain, at the south-west of Montenegro. In the boundaries of Byzantine Empire, in the early Middle Ages, it was developed on the ruins of Akruvium, in the V century. The city is surrounded by 4km long walls and it has not surpassed the number of 3.500 inhabitants. The medieval Kotor, the merchant city with complete self-rule, headed with a Duke and three councils, like all Adriatic cities, had developed commerce with the Slavic inland, in the background. It reached its peak during the composition of the state of Raška, in 1186-1369. In times of Czar Dušan, Kotor could in no way be compared to the considerably larger Dubrovnik.

The destruction of the Empire strikes first upon its peripheral parts. Kotor, in the whole seventh decade of the XIV century led the defensive wars, paralysing the economic life of the city. Conscious that, being so small, it could not be sustained and survive alone, it sought protection from Venice, Hungary or Bosnia, but it was practically independent and facing pressures from its more powerful neighbors: Dubrovnik, Bašić and Sandalj Hrančić. By entering the composition of the Republic of Venice, at the beginning of the XV century, Kotor gradually lost its self-rule. After the submission of Raška and Bosnia under direct supremacy of the Turks, Kotor made weaker its connections with the mountain region in the background, and lost its economic importance. After the fall of Venice in 1797, it fell under Austria, in order that in 1807, it may enter into constitution of Napoleon's Iliria. From 1814, it was again in the framework of Austria, that developed it as the marine base. By the destruction of Austro-Hungaria in 1918, it entered into the composition of Yugoslavia.

In time of his economic prosperity, Kotor coined copper and then silver money. On the copper money, while Kotor was in the framework of Raška, there existed no sign of the suzerain. There were no data when the mint in Kotor started to work, probably in the second or third decade of the XIV century. In the boundaries of Venice, it had existed till 1640.

People from Boka and Montenegro, in 1813, sieged the French Army in Kotor, while the English fleet blocked the exit from the bay. On that occasion, the French coined, from the silver confiscated in the city, three denominations for payment for their army. It was not medieval money, but it had been described in order to complete the collection of the coins, bearing the name of the city.

IN THE STATE OF RAŠKA 1186-1369

Follarus, Cu

1. CIVIT - CATARI
STRI - PhON

21/3,62 Lj(-), J(-)

2. CIVITAS - CATARI
SANTE - TRIFON

19/3,82 Lj(-), J(230)

3. CATA - RA
SANTE - TRIFON

19/1,18 Lj(-), J(-)

In the specimen from the picture, the legend is seen as the image in the mirror.

4. ·S·TRIFON· - ·CI·KTARI·
·S·TRIFON· - ·CI·KTARI·

20/1,42 Lj(-), J(-)

5. ·CI·KT - ARI
·S·TR - IFON

19/1,62 Lj(-), J(-)

6. CATA - RA
STRIFON - CATARA

20/1,91 Lj(-), J(-)

7. ·CATA - RA
·S·TRI - FON

20/1,93 Lj(-), J(-)

Half-follarus, Cu

8. ·CI·KT - ARI
·S·TR - IFON

19/1,62 Lj(-), J(-)



9. CATA · RENSIS ·
SANTUS TRIFONIS

20/1.91 Lj(-), J(-)



10. +CATARENSIS
+SANTUS TRIFONI

17/0.78 Lj(-), J(228)



The representation of the fortress had been changed in some details from one die maker to another. The absence of letters, letters turned over or replaced have not been exceptional. The decorative dots at the beginning or at the end of a word were not always present, so it was possible that they had some meaning. Between the words, sometimes there are two dots.

Dinar, Ag

Czar Dušan, 1345-1355.

11. ·STEPHANVS · IMPERATOR
·S·TRIPHON · ·CATAREN·

20/1.72 Lj(IX· 7, 8), J(223), I(6.30)

г.	М · Т	Р · Р	6 · 6
--	Т · М	Р · Р	6 · С
- Р	М · М	Р · Р	
М · П	С · М	П · П	
М · Р	Б · Р	Ю · 6	



Czar Uroš, 1355-1371.

12. STRIPHON · CATARENSI
VROSIVS · IMPERATO

20/1.73 Lj(X· 11, 12), J(224), I(9.30)

г.	- Т	Р · Р	Т · Р
М · α · Б	Т · П	Ю · Р	Р · Р
М · М · α · Б	Т · П	Т · Т	
Р · - I	6 · П	9 ·	
α · МБ	М · Р	α · С	



13. + IMPERATHO-RAS-
SANTVS-TRIPHON

16/0.59 Lj(-), J(-), I(9.31)



PROTECTORATE OF VENICE 1369-1370

Half-follarus, Cu

14. ·SANTVS·TRIFONIS·
+SANTVS·MARCVS·

17/0.82 Lj(-), J(-)



PROTECTORATE OF HUNGARY 1370-1382

Follarus, Cu

15. +·M·CATARENSIS·
·SANTVS· ·TRIFON·

18/0.90 Lj(-), J(-), H(555)



Dinar, Ag

King of Hungary, Lodovicus I 1371-1382.

16. ·LODOVICVS · ·REX·VNGARI·
·S·TRIPHON · ·CATAREN·

20/1.72 Lj(-), J(-), H(553)



17. ·LODOVICVS · ·REX·VNGARI·
·S·TRIPHON · ·CATAREN·

20/1.51 Lj(-), J(-), H(-)



18. ·LODOVICVS · ·REX·VNGARIE
·S·TRIPHON · ·CATARENSI·

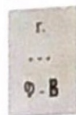
21/1.63 Lj(-), J(-), H(-)



a.
--
М · Т
М · Т

19. ·LODOVICUS· - ·R·VNGARIE·
·S·TRIFON· - CATAREN

21/1,17 Lj(-), J(-), H(-)



20. ·LODOVICUS· - ·R·VNGARIE·
·S·TRIFON· - CATAREN

21/1,17 Lj(-), J(226), H(-)



21. +·REX·VNGARIE·
·SANTVS·TRIFON·

20/1,49 Lj(-), J(-), H(554)



PROTECTORATE OF BOSNIA 1385-1392

Follarus, Cu

22. CATA - RENSIS
SANTVS - TRIFONIS

17/0,85 Lj(XVI- 18, 19), J(-),



Dinar, Ag

King of Raska and Bosnia Tvrtko I 1353-1377-1391.

23. STEPhOSRA - SIE:>:BO:TR(E)X
STEPHANOS RASIE ET BOSNIE TRAVUNIE REX
·S·TRIFONIS - CATARENSI

22/1,49 Lj(XVI- 22, 23), J(225)



24. STEPhOS·T·RA - SIE:>:BO:R(E)X
STEPHANOS TRAVUNIE RASIE ET BOSNE REX
·S·TRIFONIS - CATARENSI

22/1,49 Lj(XVI-24), J(-)



25. STEPhOS·R - RASIE:>:BO:
STEPHANOS REX RASIE ET BOSNIE
S·TRIFONIS - CATARENSI

20/1,2 Lj(-), J(-)



PROTECTORATE OF HUNGARY 1392-1405

Follarus, Cu

26. +CATARENSIS
SANTVS - TRIFONIS

17/0,85 Lj(XVI- 20, 21), J(229), H(-)



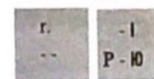
IN THE STATE OF VENICE 1320-1797

The image on the shield and the letter marks follow the changes of the governor-provedore (conti, rettori, proveditori) that were appointed by the dukes of Venice. The image does not encompass all the changes of images on the shield.

grosse (dinar), Ag

27. ·S·TRIFON· - ·CATARENS·
·S·MARCVS - VENETVS:

19/1,09 Lj(-), J(227)



halfdinar, Ag

28. S·TRIFONIS· - ·CATARI
·S·MARCVS - VENETVS·

17/0,69 Lj(-), J(-)



29. S-TRIFONIS - CATARI
S-MARCVS - VENETVS
17/0,55 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	F - P	ZF - C
L - S	U - M	P - D

30. S-TRIFON - CATARI
+S-MARCUS - VENETUS
17/0,50 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	P - B	*/Z - L	*/G - P
L - S	V - C	Z - L	
A - M	A - G	Z/M - B	

31. S-TRIFON - CATARI
+S-MARCUS - VENETUS
16/0,49 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
Z - M

grosssetto, Ag

32. COMTAS - CATARI
+S-MARCUS - VENETUS
18/0,55 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.
S - T	P - M

33. COMTAS - CATARI
+S-MARCUS - VENETUS
18/0,59 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.
S - T	P - M

34. COMTAS - CATARI
+S-MARCUS - VENETUS
18/0,71 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.	S - T	Z - M
S - T	F - C	Z - T	Z - M
S - T	T - C		



gazzetta, Ag

35. COMTAS - CATARI
S-MARCUS - VENETUS
18/1,12 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.
S - T	S - M / P - M

soldo, Ag

36. COMTAS - CATARI
S-MARCUS - VENETUS
20/2,20 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.
Z - T	Z - M

mezzo soldo, Ag

37. COMTAS - CATARI
S-MARCUS - VENETUS
19/0,91 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.
Z - T	Z - M

follarus, Cu

38. SANTVS - TRIFON
+S-MARCUS-VENETVS
18/1,25 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	I - L	K - D	S - B	B - C
-	K - B	S - B	F - L	
L - B	Z - B	B - S	P - L	

39. S-TRIFON - CATARI
+S-MARCUS - VENETUS
17/0,99 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
P - L



40. SANTVS - TRIFON
+S MARCVS - VENETVS

17/1,03 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
B - G
P - T

41. -S-TRIFON - CATARI
+S MARCVS - VENETII

17/0,99 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	M - V	IM - B	ZI - B
IE - O	M - B	B - B	
P - Z	B - V	F - P	
V - T	F - S	I - C	

42. -S-TRIFO - N-CATARI
+S-MARCVS-VENETII

17/1,41 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
S - C
- V
P - V

43. -S-TRIFON - CATARI
+S MARCVS - VENETVS

17/1,02 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
D - G

44. -S-TRIFON - CATARI -
+S MARCVS - VENETVS

15/1,22 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
• B • B •

45. -S-TRIFON - CATARI -
+S MARCVS - VENETVS

16/0,71 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.	
- V - T -		- Z - S -
- Z - S -		- B - C -
- Z - S -	• • •	- B - C -



B - C -	MA/P - V -	Z - L -	• • •	ZB - C	P/P/P - P - B
P/B - C -	P/MA/P - V -	Z/L -	P - P	ZB - C	MA/P - V -
P/V - C -	X/A - G -	Z/F - B I -	P - P	B - E	P/MA/P - V -
X/V - C -	X/A - G -	6 - M I - I	P/P/P - P/P/P	B - E	X/A - G -
MA - V -	X/A - G -	ZB - C	P -	P - B	

47. -S-TRIFON - CATARI -
S M V

16/0,71 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.	Z - S -
V - T -		Z/M - M -
M - B -	P - P	

48. -S-TRIFON - CATARI -
S M V

16/0,71 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	r.	Z - L -
Z - S -		P/6 - M I - I

49. -S-TRIFON - CATARI -
S M V

16/0,81 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
Z - L

50. -S-TRIFON - CATARI -
S M V

16/0,58 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
Z - M

51. STRIFONI - CATARI
S M V

16/1,07 Lj(-), J(-)

r.
B - E



COINAGE OF NAPOLEON TROOPS 1813
(coins shown in natural size)

52. CATTARO 1813
N 1 F



53. CATTARO EN ETAT DE SIEGE
-DIEU PROTEGE LA FRANCE -O-I
N 5 F

Ag 40/30



54. CATTARO EN ETAT DE SIEGE 1813
-DIEU PROTEGE LA FRANCE -O-I
N 10 F

Ag 45/60

LIST OF PROVEDORES

Years of service in Kotor of the Governors from Venice and letters used on the money:

1420-22 Antonio Delle Boccole A-B	1548-49 Francesco Pisani F-P
1427-29 Zuanne Balbi Z-B	1549-51 Valerio da Mosto V-M
1442-45 Leonardo Bembo L-B	1551-52 Zan Francesco Da Canal ZF-C
1449-51 Johannes Lion (Leoni) I-L	1552-53 Paolo Dona P-D
1454-56 Zuanne Barbo Z-B	1562-64 Francesco Priuli F-P
1457-59 Arsenio Duodo A-D (?)	1664-65 Iacopo Celsi I-C
1459-62 Antonio Dona A-D (?)	1565-67 Alvise Minotto A-M
1465-67 Lodovico Bon L-B	1567-69 Zaccaria Salomon Z-C
1467-69 Stae (Eustacchio) Balbi S-B	1569-71 Bernardo Contarini B-C
1470-73 Bertucci (Albertucci) Gabriel B-G	1573-75 Zan Battista Calbo ZB-C
1477-81 Francesco Lippomano F-L	1575-77 Benedetto Erizzo B-E
1485-86 Francesco Lion (Leoni) F-L	1577-79 Peregrino Bragadin P-B
1488-89 Priamo Tron P-T	1581-83 Vincenzo Da Canal V-C
1492-94 Jeronimo Orto IE-O ; I-O	1583-86 Marc Antonio Venier MA-V
1496-97 Piero Lion (Leoni) P-L	1586-88 Andrea Gabriel A-G
1497-98 Francesco Cicogna F-C	1588-90 Geronimo Pisani G-P
1501-03 Sebastiano (Bastian) Contarini S-C	1590-92 Zuanne Loredano Z-L
1508-10 Paolo Valaresso P-V	1592-94 Zuanne Lippomano Z-L
1514-16 Pietro Zeno P-Z	1596-98 Zuanne Di Garzoni Z-G
1519-20 Vincenzo Tron V-T	1598-00 Zuanne Mango Z-M
1523-25 Moise Venier M-V	1600-02 Antonio Grimani A-G
1526-27 Domenico Gritti D-G	1602-04 Zan Marco Da Molin Z/M-M
1527-28 Marco Barbo M-B	1604-06 Zan Francesco Bragadin Z/F-B
1530-32 Benedetto Valier B-V	1606-08 Tommaso Contarini T-C
1533-34 Francesco Sanudo F-S	1610-12 Geronimo Da Molin G-M
1538-40 Zan (Johannes) Matteo Bembo IM-B ; ZM-B	1625-26 Pietro Morosini P-M
M-B	1627-28 Francesco Contarini F-C
1542-43 Lorenzo Salomon L-S	1639-40 Zorzi (Giorgio) Morozini Z-M
1546-48 Battista Barbaro B-B	

BAR

Bar is a port and industrial centre in Montenegro. The old town with the same name is situated 4 km inland at the bottom of Rumija Mountain. It was founded in the VII century, at the ruins of the Roman settlement, under the name of Antibar, as mentioned in the IX century, and under the modern name Bar it had been known since the XII century. From the IX century, it was in the composition of Zeta, in order that together with it, in 1186, it may enter in the composition of the State of Raška. After the fall of the Empire of Raška, Bar was governed by the Balšić Family. At the beginning of the XV century, Venice went to war against the Balšić Family over the city, and later against the Serbian Despot. The city went into the hands of Venice in 1443, and into the hands of the Turks 1471. Since 1878, it became part of Principality, later Kingdom of Montenegro, in order that it may later, in 1918, become constituent part of Yugoslavia. In the boundaries of the state of Raška, it developed as the merchant city with its own government. At the end of XIV and XV century, it minted its own coins.

The Balšić Family - The realm of the Despot

1. A TIB - AR
G - OR > GIVS

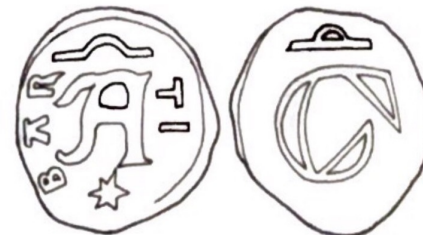
Follarus, Cu, 19/2,09 Lj(-), J(232)



There are more variations with the cutting of dies getting continually even worse. The weight of specific specimens varies between 1.5 and 3.5 gr.

2. A TI - BAR
G

Follarus, Cu, 19/1,63 Lj(-), J(-)



More variations with continually worse cutting of dies. The weights of specific specimens vary between 1.5 and 3.5 gr.

3. ·DANTI · - VARIS · ·SG ·

Follarus, Cu, 19/1,27 Lj(-), J(233)



The weights of specific specimens vary between 0.5 and 4 gr. The radius varies between 18 and 20 mm. There are more variations in displaying the striking of the dragon. K. Štokert divides this type to follaro and half-follaro, according to some details and with regard to radius, that does not always correspond to weight.

IN THE STATE OF VENICE

4. DANT · IVAR + ·SMARCVS VENETIARVMIC ·

Follarus, Cu, 17/0,97 Lj(-), J(-)

a.
m - p



5. ·S ·GEORG · - ANTIVARI · + ·S ·MARCVS ·VENETI ·

Follarus, Cu, 18/1,41 Lj(-), J(-)



ULCINJ

27

Ulcinj is a tourist place at the far south at the Montenegrin Coast. It was founded by the Greeks, later inhabited by the Ilirs, and in the II century BC, conquered by the Romans. In the IX century, it became part of the Zeta territories, and at the end of the XII century, along with Zeta, it became part of Raška. After part of the decay of the Empire of Raška, it was governed by the Balšić Family, and with the entire Zeta, in 1421, it was taken over by Stefan Lazarević, Duke of All Serbian Countries. Venice conquered it in 1426, and Turks were overtaking it in 1571. Under the Turkish rule, it was the seat of the pirates that operated in the Adriatic till the very end of the XVIII century. In the Balkan war, in 1912, it was conquered by the Montenegrins, so that together with Montenegro, it might enter in the composition of Yugoslavia in 1918.

It was considered that the mint in Ulcinj began to work at the time of the decay of the Empire, that was, at the time of the government and after the death of Czar Uroš. Interruption in the work of the mint coincided with the transfer of Ulcinj to the rule of Venice.

1. REX · V · OSI S · E · MARIA

Follarus, Cu, 20/1,16 Lj(X-13), J(-), I(9.32)

a.
L - P



In the book "Description of Money of South Slavs", by S. Ljubić, two specimens have been described. Ljubić got the drawings of coins from Šafarik. Another one of such specimens had not been published, and it was not known where the published copies were placed. It would be difficult to explain the title REX on the coins, if it were not issued, as was now considered, in the time of Czar Uroš. If those coins should be considered issued in times of King Milutin, it would not be possible to understand a pause in the work of the mint. All that leads to the possibility that Šafarik could have made a mistake in reading the text on those two specimens of money.

The first and the second type have no mark of the city, but only the protector of the city, St. Maria. As the town of Drivast had the same protector, it was not possible to claim with certainty what town was minting them.

2. VR · O · SIVS SE · MARIA

follarus, Cu, Lj(X-14,15), J(-), I(9.33)

a.
L - P
F - P
P - L



3. +AGNUS DEI:M:DULCI · NO ·M· S·

follarus, Cu, 19/1,77 Lj(-), J(-)

4. +AGNUS:DEI:M:D:DULCI - NO:

·M· S·

follarus, Cu, 18/1,03 Lj(-), J(-)



5. AGN - USDS - I:M:OLCINO

IE - M

follarus, Cu, 18/1,00 Lj(-), J(-)



6. +AGNUS:DEI:DULCIN - O

S - M

follarus, Cu, 18/1,03 Lj(-), J(-)

7. -
+DUL - CIN

follarus, Cu, 17/1,2 Lj(-), J(234)



8. -

follarus, Cu, 17/1,38 Lj(-), J(-)



9. CIVITAS - DULCINI

MP ΘΥ

follarus, Cu, 20/1,49 Lj(-), J(-)



SKADAR

28

Skadar is the town on the south-east side of the lake with the same name, and on the north-west of Albania. It was founded as the habitation of the Trake, in order to become, in the III century BC the centre of the Kings of Iliria. In the II century B.C. it was brought in the composition of the Roman Empire, in order to become, in due course of time, the capital of its province Preavalis. Since the IV century, it had become the Seat of the Bishop. By the foundation of the Slavic state Zeta (Duklja) in the IX century, that was developing in the framework of Byzantine Empire, Skadar became its capital, and in 1186, together with the entire Zeta, it had entered in the composition of Raška. After the fall of Raška Empire, it was ruled by the Balšić Family. From 1392 to 1395, Skadar and the larger part of north Albania as known today, was ruled by Konstantin Đurđević-Balšić, as the Turkish representative. From 1395 to 1479, it was ruled by Venice, in order to be overtaken by Turkey, till the creation of Albania in 1912.

In the framework of Raška, Skadar was the military fort and the seat town of Zeta masters, most often from the heirs to the throne of Raška. Because of the development of trade between the Adriatic coast and the countryside of Raška, Skadar was continually getting the physiognomy of the trading city. After the decay of the Raška Empire, at the end of the XIV and the beginning of XV century, Skadar issued its coins.

DINAR, Ag

1. ·S·STEFANV - S·CVTARENSI·
M·REX·COS - TANTINVS·
20/1,28 Lj(XIV-17), J(198), I(30.1)

Constantin was the only one who could be legally empowered to use the title of King, whom history remembered, and who was the son of King Milutin, Regent in Zeta and the official heir to the throne, at the moment of his father's death in 1321. This type, not only in weight, was not in harmony with the money of Milutin, and the standard that should have been followed by the pretender to the throne. This is the city money, and not that of Constantin, but still, it must be observed that, with regard to weight, it did not stay in compliance with the official monetary policy. The question had been opened: why didn't the city continue with the coining, if it had been done in 1321? The opinions of the historians and numismatists are divided and mostly based on the personal convictions and not on facts. Some attribute this money to Constantin Đurđević-Balšić, who was holding Skadar in 1392-1395 as the Turkish governor.

Balša II Balšić 1378-1386.

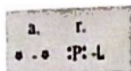
2. S·STEFAN - SCVTARI·
MDO:BALS - A:BALSIC
20/1,17 Lj(-), J(196), I(27.1)

Durd II Stracimirović-Balšić 1386-1403.

3. -S-STEFANI - -S-SCTARI-
M-D-GORGIT - RAITIR
/M-D GORGI STRACIMIR/
20/1,97 Lj(-), J(-), I(281)



4. M-D-GORGI-D STRACIMIR
S-STEFANIS SCUTARIS
20/1,97 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



Without mark of the suzerain.

Follarus, Cu

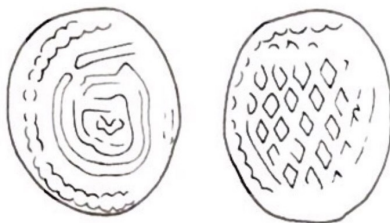
5. -C- SCUTARIN - ENSIS
S-STEF - ANVS
21/1,07 Lj(-), J(231)



This type of coin has ten varieties, where every next one has less text, and the image is cut continually worse.

6. -

17/0,64 Lj(-), J(-)



7. SCUTAR- -ENSIS
S-STEF - ANVS
20/1,41 Lj(-), J(-)



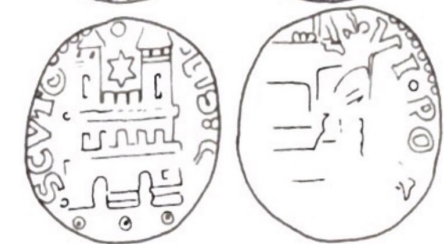
8. +SCVTARENSIS-
S-STE - FANVS
18/1,20 Lj(-), J(-)



9. +SCVTARENSIS-
S-STE - FANVS
19/0,90 Lj(-), J(-)



10. SCVT - - -
-VI-PO
19/1,69 Lj(-), J(-)



In the composition of Venice 1395-1479

11. -S-STEFANVS:SCVTARENSIS-
+ S MARCVS:VENETIARVM7C:
grosse (dinar), Ag, 20/1,06 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	-B	B-α	P-m	ñ-D
-	B-α	-α	F-9	
3-B	B-C	P-m	P-L	

12. S S
+ S MARCVS VENETIARVM7
bagatino, Cu, 18/0,76 Lj(-), J(-)

a.	P-m
3-B	P-m
3-B	



The list of Governors of Venice that have put their initials on the coins and years of their service.

1435-37 Zuanne Boldi 3-B ; -B
1437-39 Bertici Civran B-α; B-C
1439-40 Paolo Morosini P-m

1442-44 Francesco Querini F-9
1447-49 Paolo Loredan P-L
1451-53 Nikolo Diedo ñ-D

DRIVAST

Once upon a time, an Episcopal place, today the village of Dristi, is placed 10 km on the north-east of Skadar in Albania. In the historic aspect, as the town in the immediate vicinity of Skadar, it was sharing in its destiny. In the times of the fall of the Empire of Raška, *id est*, in the time of Czar Uroš, Drivast was governed by the Balšić Family. In those times, and for its trading needs, Drivast was minting copper coins with the name of the city. Times of instability, that were reflected also in perpetual local wars, have petrified long ago, in the time of the Balšić, the economic life of the town, and with it the necessity for coining money disappeared.

1. C - IVITAS - DRIVA - TR
MA - TS

SanT MariA (letters changing places)
follarus, Cu, 22/2,80 Lj(-), J(-)



2. •DRIVA - STI•
MA - TS (?)

SanT MariA испретурана слова
follarus, Cu, 20/2,21 Lj(-), J(-)



SVAČ

The fortress and the medieval trading town are placed to the north-east from Ulcinj and to the south from Skadar. In the historic sense, the town in the vicinity of Skadar shares in its fate. In those times, and for the needs in trade, it minted copper coins with the name of town. Times devoid of peace, reflecting also in perpetual local wars, have brought to a halt the economic life of the town and with that eliminated coining of money.

1. CIVITAS - SOVAON
S•IOHA - NES - B

follarus, Cu, 21/1,74 Lj(-), J(-)



ZVEČAN

On the left bank of River Ibar, as the mountain range of Kopaonik, there is still a steep conic plate ideal for medieval town. During the XI and XII century, there was a lonely fort there under the control of the Grand Župan of Raška. In the XIII century, it was developed into one of the largest towns in Raška. The town was spacious, well preserved and on an exquisite place. In the immediate vicinity of the mine (today Trepča), it got great economic importance, so there was developed a colony of tradesmen, miners and craftsmen.

In the time of the collapse of the Empire of Raška, it was given to Vojislav Vojinović in replacement for the town of Brvenik (70 km to the north down the Ibar) from the head Musa, son-in-law of Duke Lazar. After the death of Vojislav in 1363, the city belonged to his nephew Nikola Altomanović. Lazar used Nikola's defeat from Vukašin in 1369, to overtake Zvečan from him. Two years later, after the defeat of Mrnjavčević on the Marica River, the town was again brought under the control of Nikola. Sometimes, in that period, the city minted coins with its name and the name of the Czar Uroš as the suzerain.

After the fall of Nikola in 1373, the town was again in the hands of Duke Lazar. After the Battle of Kosovo, the Duchess Milica was forced to admit to Bayezid the vassal relationship. The price was, among other things, also the surrender of the strongest hold - Fort Zvečane, in 1390, to the Turkish military siege. There were no data on how long Turkey was holding Zvečan during the duration of the reign of the despots.

After the first Balkan war in 1912, together with the entire Kosovo, it was attached to Serbia, and in 1918, together with Serbia, it was entering into the composition of Yugoslavia. Today, Zvečan is a small town at the bottom of the steep cone hill with a few thousand people and industrial plants for the production of lead, silver and zinc, and from the old town, there remain only ruins on the top of the hill.

1. ЗВЕЧАНЫ ГРАД
IMPERATOR - VROSIVS

18/0,96 Lj(-), J(-), I(9.11)



-/-

STEFAN LAZAR LAZAR PRIBIČEVIĆ - HREBELJANOVIĆ

Duke of all lands of the Serbs 1371-1389

Lazar, son of the Pribić Hrebeljanović Logophet (Court Chancellor) of Czar Dušan, was born in 1329 in the town of Prilepac near Novo Brdo mines. He was married to Milica, daughter of the Župan Vratko (the descendent of Nemanja after his son Vukan) around 1353. On the court of Czar Uroš, he was, for a long time, holding a modest title - provedore. The first news concerning Lazar as the district master were connected to the alliance of the aristocrats of Raška against the Mrnjavčević brothers. The battle on the River Marica coincided with Lazar holding the position of the head of all districts around the confluences of all the Morava rivers.

Facing dangers from the Turks, Lazar was under compulsion - just like his neighbours, Nikola Altomanović, the Ban of Bosnia Tvrtko Kotromanić, and the Czar of Vidin Jovan Stracimir, to acknowledge the supreme power of the Hungarian King Ludovicus I. In alliance with Tvrtko, and with agreement of Hungary, Lazar defeated Nikola Altomanović in 1373 and divided his estates. The fall of the Empire of Raška did not effect the Serbian Orthodox Church. Well organized, with rich material foundation and great influence in all segments of society, the church was trying to influence the arrangement of relationships in the country. The breach in the Greek Orthodox Church, caused by the Dušan's ideal of the elevation of the Serbian Episcopal to the level of Patriarchy, was an impediment to it. Partial peacemaking and pacification in the churches was achieved by Despot Uglješa, at least in his realm, in 1368. With the agreement of Patriarch Sava IV, together with Đurd I Balšić, to whom the Peć Patriarchy belonged territorially, Lazar summoned the Assembly of Serbian aristocracy for the purpose of bringing peace to the churches. In the presence of the representatives of the Patriarch of Constantinople, in the monastery in the town of Prizren, dedicated to St. Archangel, and over the grave of Czar Dušan, they solemnly took an oath to hold peace, blaming Czar Dušan for the schism. Somewhat later, Sava IV died, and Lazar called an Assembly to elect new Patriarch. The new Patriarch, now also recognised by the Greek Orthodox Church became Jefrem (1375-79) from Atos. After overpowering Radič Branković-Rastislalić in 1379, Lazar attached to himself his district Braničevo. He considered his state the heritage of the country of Nemanjić, and so in 1379, with full support from the Church, he added to his name the titular name of Nemanjić and signed himself as Stefan Lazar. In the confluence of three Morava rivers, he built monasteries and opened his door to Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian monks who asked protection from Turkish siege. Monks brought with them also their books, spreading literacy, Orthodox culture and consciousness on historic grandeur, that, in the later centuries, may have had the decisive role in the maintenance of national pride with the Serbian people.

The inner stability of the state of Lazar was complete. The economy was flourishing, bringing large incomes. The Turks tried, by introducing robbery and raids, to provoke chaos in the people and prevent normal economy. One such unit was defeated at the town of Paraćin by his knights, Crep and Vitomir in 1381. Another such unit, led by Sultan Murat himself, won in 1386 the border city of Niš, but it was pushed back to retreat by Lazar himself who did not regain Niš. It seemed that on that occasion there had been no real conflict, because the rulers did not feel ready for the final combat. At the moment of crucial battle, Lazar was well prepared. After the death of Ludovik I in 1382, there were dynastic struggles where Lazar also participated supporting the opponents of Sigismund of Luxembourg. At the dawn of Kosovo battle, due to the mediation of the son-in-law Nikola Gorjanski, junior, the Ban of Mačva, Lazar accepted the vassal relationship regarding Sigismund in order to fortify the frontier on that side. The greatest of Lazar's vassals, his son-in-law Vuk Branković was directly endangered. Tvrtko, in those days King of Raška and Bosnia, sent to Lazar considerable help. Tvrtko was afraid of reprisal, because in 1388, at the town of Bileća, he heavily defeated the Turkish band of robbers. The son-in-law and vassal of Lazar, Đurd II Stracimirović-Balšić, was at that moment enjoying friendship with the Turks, thus it was not very likely that he participated in the Kosovo Battle.

For the final battle with Lazar, Sultan Murat was also preparing. It was only on the surface of things that he gave the impression of not taking immediately the advantage of the victory at Marica River. He estimated his strength well, and since he had no manpower to possess the lands of the Mrnjavčević Family, he let Byzantine and Serbian aristocrats fight one another, over that realms, in order to subdue the winner in the

end. Byzantine Empire and Bugarska of Trnovo accepted the supreme power of the Turks, already in 1372, and King Marko and Konstantin Dejanović did the same only at about 1380, when the battle for these parts was finished. Ser went into the hands of the Turks in 1383, that previously used to be under Byzantium, and in 1386, and the Turks took over Ber from the Balšić Family. The state of the former aristocrat of Raška and the Byzantium Despot Toma Preljubović fell in 1384, and Thessalonica, for the first time, in 1387. Those were the immediate consequences of the Battle on the Marica River and the results of the local Turkish actions. In order to submit the state of Duke Lazar, Murat brought the manpower and troops from the larger, Asian part of the Ottoman Empire. From their vassals, the Turks were getting, along with the fees, also a great strengthening in recruits. So the Serbia that Lazar was ruling was under preparations for attack by far greater army than the one that had defeated Mrnjavčević Family on the River Marica, 18 years before. After crossing the territory of his vassal Konstantin Dejanović, the Turks came to Kosovo plane. They took to arms on St. Vitus' Day, June 15, 1389 (in the Gregorian Calendar, June 26) at the confluence of the Lab River into Sitnica River. The conflict was fierce and with enormous losses on both sides. Murat was killed by trickery of Miloš Obilić (at the beginning of the conflict), while Duke Lazar was captured and executed (at the end of the battle). The death of Murat provoked disarray among the Turks and the short conflict of the brothers Bayezid and Jakub, that was giving chances to the Serbian Army. Quick and decisive, and just in the right moment for the Turks, the action of Bayezid prevented Turkish defeat. Practically, the Battle of Kosovo was finished without a winner. The consequences for the less numerous, Serbian side were a catastrophe. Bayezid withdrew from the Serbian lands in order that he may, as new the Sultan, fortify his position in Turkey, and, in those days, many wanted to understand that as the retreat, or defeat of Turkey. In Serbia, after the Battle of Kosovo, there were disturbances or insecurity which, after the Battle of Angora in 1402, increased and bordered with chaos. That contrast to stable and safe life in times of the reign of Lazar increased in popular belief the tragedy of Kosovo. Although the Battle of Kosovo Plane, both according to the consequences provoked, as well as the historic and military importance - although not with regard to the number of participants, stayed far behind the Battle of Marica River, the folk narration mentioned more what was directly closer to the people - the Battle of Kosovo. The Serbian Orthodox Church declared Lazar a saint. The remains of Lazar are kept as the greatest relics and they have been moved many times during Turkish rule. At the celebration of 600 years of the Battle of Kosovo, the relics of Lazar have been returned to his foundation, the Ravanica Monastery.

Coins with the name of Lazar:

1. ВЛХА / БАБАО / ВЪРНИН / КНЕЗЪХ / ЛАЗАРЪ

ЇС - ХС

17/0.88 Lj(XI-22), J(147), I(24.2)



2. ВЛХА / БАБАО / ВЪРНИН / КНЕЗЪХ / ЛАЗАРЪ

ВЪ ХРСТА БОГА БЛАГОУМНОМ КНЕЗЪ ЛАЗАРЪ

ЇС - ХС

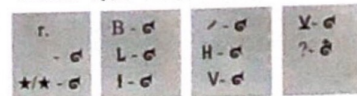
18/1.05 Lj(XI-23), J(148), I(24.1)



3. КНЕ - ЗЪ / ХА - ЗЪ

ЇС - ХС

19/0.98 Lj(XI-11), J(144), I(24.3)



4.1. КНЕЗЪ - ЛАЗАРЪ

Њ - Њ

18/0,98 Lj(XI-13), J(145), I(24.4)



Ruler sits on the throne.



4.2. КНЕЗЪ - ЛАЗАРЪ

Њ - Њ

18/0,94 Lj(XI-12), J(146), I(-)

Ruler sits on the throne.



5. КНЕЗЪ - ЛАЗАРЪ

Ruler stands in front of the throne.

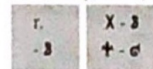
18/0,93 Lj(XI-14), J(-), I(24.5)



6. +ГОСПОДИНА КНЕЗА ЛАЗАРА

+ГОСПОДИНА КНЕЗА ЛАЗАРА

15/0,81 Lj(XIV-1), J(149), I(24.19)



7. КНЕЗЪ - ЛАЗАРЪ

Њ - Њ

18/1,03 Lj(XI-15), J(155), I(24.6)



8. КНЕЗЪ - ЛАЗАРЪ

Њ - Њ

-/- Lj(XI-16), J(-), I(24.7)



COINS MINTED AFTER THE BATTLE OF KOSOVO 1389

Coins with the approximate text on the reverse NOVO MONTE MONETA ARGENTA has the characteristics of the city money (on that text, only the beginning is the same. The second part has a great number

of variations, maybe also with a different meaning, but it is always impossible to interpret completely.) The state of Lazar was in continual rise till the defeat at Kosovo, so it is difficult to imagine what might have induced Lazar to give financial advantages to the town administration of Novo Brdo. After the Battle of Kosovo, the Duchess Milica tried to preserve the power for her sons, but she was pressured by the Turks and Hungarians, just like some of her aristocrats. In such a situation, without enough men, since the Battle of Kosovo brought doom upon them, she was compelled to accept all the agreements enabling her the material conditions for the strengthening of the country. All the coins in Italian, both with the name of Duke Lazar and the name of Duke Stefan, were coined in the first years after the Battle of Kosovo according to some agreement with the administration of the mine of Novo Brdo. In financial terms, the city was held by the merchants of Dubrovnik, thus, on the coins, there was the language that they used in correspondence - the variant of the Italian language of the XIV century. With those coins, there were mixed coinages with no control of Lazarević Family or management of the town of Novo Brdo. All that was demonstrated by continually worse quality of production in comparison to the types of Lazar, legend on the coins, as well as historic conditions. Coins were not categorized as town money, because the status of the town, in times when Stefan Lazarević was full of age and during whose official reign the coining was done, but not permitted.

9. CONT - LAS

Њ - Њ

15/0,78 Lj(-), J(-), I(24.11)



10. CONTE-L - ASARO

Њ - Њ

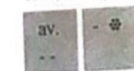
14/0,71 Lj(-), J(150), I(24.10)



11. CONTE-L - ASAR

Њ - Њ

15/0,57 Lj(XI-17), J(151), I(24.8)



12. CONTEL - AG ARO

NOVOMO ...

/NOVO MONTE MONETA ARGENTA /

15/0,60 Lj(XI-21 ?), J(-), I(24.12)



13. CONTEL - AG ARO

NOVOMO ...

15/0,68 Lj(XI-18), J(154), I(24.14)



Great number of variations, due to numerous decorative elements, existed inside mandorla.

14. КНЕЗЬ - МАЗАРЬ

NOVOMO -

16/0,64 Lj(-), J(-), I(24.15)



15. CONTE - L...

~ - ~

16/0,76 Lj(-), J(-), I(24.9)



16. C... - LASA.

~ - ~

15/0,68 Lj(-), J(-), I(24.21)



17. C... - LASA.

15/0,65 Lj(-), J(-), I(24.16)



18. +КНЕЗЬ МАЗАРЬ А

14/0,60 Lj(-), J(-), I(24.17)



19. CONTE - LA - SARO

~ - ~

15/0,65 Lj(-), J(-), I(24.18)



20. ~ - ~

~ - ~

17/1,10 Lj(-), J(-), I(14.1)



This finely produced coins, with unclear legend, could be attributed to Lazar, among other reasons, also because we can notice similarity of resemblance to the type 12.

21. + - SANO

~ - ~

17/0,76 Lj(-), J(156), I(24.24)



This type is determined as the money of Lazar because it bears the coat of arms of the Lazarević Family. The reverse is the same as on the irregular coins from the times of Czar Uroš. That puts shadow of a doubt on this estimation. Probably, this was the irregular coining of Lazar himself before the Battle of Marica. Such belief is contributed to, apart from the unreliable legend on the coin, by the similarity with types 12-29 and 12-30. Some numismatists connect all types of coins issued by Czar Uroš containing the letter marks R-V with this money, that is with Duke Lazar.

With the name of Duke Lazar, Vuk Branković was also coining - type 1.

IRREGULAR COINAGE

In the interval between the battles of Kosovo and Angora, there were many forgeries in the circulation. Practically, not even with a small percentage of security can the coinage of Novo Brdo be separated from the various forgeries. These are some examples.

... ..
... ..
17/0,82 Lj(-), J(-), I(24.20)



... ..
... ..
16/0,90 Lj(-), J(-), I(14.5)



Forgery of coins of Venice.
14/0,67 Lj(-), J(-), I(25.2)



Forgery of coins of Venice.
16/1,00 Lj(-), J(248), I(25.1)



18/0,65 Lj(-), J(-), I(50.4)



Two such coins have been found on the locality Pazarište next to Novi Pazar at the archaeological excavations in 1985. The helmet with the ox horns discerned on the face of the money and the primitive production induce that the probable time of minting these coins was around 1400.

... - ... (unreliable legend)

Њ - Њ

14/0,48 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



Some examples of this money are found in the closets together with the Duke or Despot money of Stefan Lazarević. Because of the aureole, on the side where the ruler had been depicted, some numismatists consider that it was Lazar's money, but coined after his death.

Balkan States 1389.r.



33

VUK BRANKOVIĆ

Master of Kosovo District 1371-1395

Vuk, the youngest son of Dušan's Regent of the town of Ohrid, sebastocrator Branko Mladenović, at the end of 1365, with his brother Grgur, held only his heritage in Drenica town. As the district master he was mentioned only after the Battle at Marica River, along with his father-in-law Duke Lazar. After 1373, he took possession of some of the districts of Nikola Altomanović. It was considered that he closely collaborated with his father-in-law, by granting him the patronage. The notion of family government is very close to that issue, and he was inspired to strive to stand as the head of state before his country after the death of his father-in-law.

He entered the Battle of Kosovo with all his power. The centre of the Serbian army commanded by Duke Lazar was led deeply into the standing of the enemy forces, but, being considerably weaker in numbers, he was surrounded and destroyed. The wings of the Serbian troops, under the command of Vuk Branković, and the Duke of Bosnia Vlatko Vuković did not have that much success at the beginning of the battle, but they had far less losses. The military power that had been preserved, the retreat of Bayezid from Kosovo, the disappearance of Lazar, as well as the weakness of Lazar's heirs - induced Vuk to appear and act independently.

As the head of the districts of smaller dimensions, and as the neighbour of the Turkish Empire in advance, Vuk had neither the power nor the conditions for independence. He was under the obligation to pay fees to Bayezid, since 1392, but he did not participate in his military operations. According to the insecure Turkish sources, he was imprisoned in the local action in 1395, in order to die in prison on October 6, 1397. The districts belonging to Vuk, Bayezid gave over to the Lazarević Family, in order that, at the beginning of 1402, they could be given for administration to the sons of Vuk, Grgur, Durd and Lazar. It is considered that the coins with the name of Vuk were coined, ten years after his death, also by his younger brother-in-law Vuk Lazarević. The modern numismatics does not make a difference what was coined by Vuk Lazarević.

Money with the name Vuk:

1. ВХЪ - КЪ

ВХА / БАБАГО / ВЪРНИН / КНЕЗЪХ / АЗАРЪ
ВЪ ХРИСТА БОГА БЛАГОВЪРНИН КНЕЗЪ ЛАЗАРЪ

17/0,74 Lj(-), J(104), I(31.1)



The coat of arms of Nemanjić and the texts from the first coinings of Duke Lazar, point that the same pretensions cherished by Duke Lazar were continued during the statehood invested in the Nemanjić Dynasty, and in times of coining after the Battle of Kosovo. There were no data when Vuk started with his coining. The great number of types lead to the conclusion that he was coining even before the Battle of Kosovo. The worse quality of manufacture and less weight point to the more difficult conditions of economy pertaining after the Battle of Kosovo. There was also a possibility that some of these types with the name Vuk belong to his younger brother-in-law Vuk Lazarević.

2. ЪКЪ / ННВХ / ГОВР / БХА

(Text is read from the bottom to the top, from left to right)

БХА ГОВР ННВХ ЪКЪ - БЛАГОВЪРНИ ВХЪКЪ

ВХЪКЪ - ВХЪКЪ

15/0,70 Lj(-), J(-), I(31.2)



3. +ВХЪКЪ / ОВЪДН / МАРЪ / ЧП

15/0,67 Lj(XII-27), J(108), I(31.14)



4. СМД / НМАРВ / ХЪКЪО / ВЪ

16/0,68 Lj(-), J(-), I(31.3)

This unique type, by its appearance, seemed like unfinished coining, or irregular coining.



5. +ВХЪКЪ - ...

14/0,61 Lj(XIII-2), J(107), I(31.16)



6. +ВХЪКЪ

15/0,68 Lj(-), J(106), I(31.5)



7. ВХЪКЪ

15/0,77 Lj(XII-23), J(-), I(31.4)



8. ВЛЫКЪ (monogram)

12/0,08 Lj(XIII-1), J(112), I(31.15)



9. +ВЪКЛАГОВЕРНИ ВХЪКЪ

11/0,33 Lj(XIII-4), J(111), I(31.17)



10. ВХЪ / КЪ

12/0,39 Lj(-), J(110), I(-)



11. • S • / ВХЪ / КЪ

12/0,51 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



12. ИИИ / ВХЪ / КЪ

12/0,32 Lj(XII-29), J(-), I(31.13)

13. ВХЪ / КЪ

12/0,50 Lj(XII-30), J(-), I(31.12)

14. ВХЪ / КЪ / ~

12/0,50 Lj(XIII-3), J(-), I(31.11)

15. / ВЪКЪС / КЪ

10/0,51 Lj(XII-28), J(-), I(31.9)

16. +ВХЪ / КЪ

15/0,68 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

17. +ВХЪ / КЪ

15/0,68 Lj(XII-26), J(-), I(-)

18. +ВХЪ / КЪ

15/0,52 Lj(-), J(109), I(-)

19. +ВХЪ / КЪ

15/0,80 Lj(-), J(-), I(31.8)

20. +ВХЪ / КЪ

14/0,85 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



21. ВЪКЪ - ВЪКЪ
Ѣ ХѢ

15/0,80 Lj(XII-24), J(105), I(-)

22. ВЪКЪ - ВЪКЪ

16'0,84 Lj(-), J(-), I(31.7)

23. $\begin{matrix} \text{D} & \text{B} & \text{X} & \text{K} & \text{B} & - & \text{B} & \text{X} & \text{K} & \text{B} \\ \sim & & & & & & \sim & & & \\ \text{K} & & & & & & \text{K} & & & \end{matrix}$

16/0,84 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

24. D BXBKX - BXBKX

16/0,75 Lj(-), J(-), I(31.6)

25. ВЪКЪ - ВЪКЪ

16/0,84 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

26. ВПЬКЪ - ВПЬКЪ

ПАК - ВБ /JAK(O)B/
15/0,77 Lj(XII-25), J(113), I(33.2)

27. ДВѢКЪ - ВѢКЪ

15/0,79 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



- 33 Vuk Branković

28. ЪКЪ / ННВХ / ГОВР / БКА

28. БКЪ / ННВА / ТУС / ...
(It is read from the bottom to the top and from left to right)
... БКЪ - БЛАГОВОМЪ ВЪКЪ)

ГК. - ВЪ /ГК(О)В/

17/0,75 Lj(-), J(-), I(33.1)



Types 26, 27 and 28 are considered as types of the unknown feudal lord Jakov with the name of Vuk as suzerain. Only in the present times, there is an assumption, (without concrete evidence), that this coin belonged to Vuk alone, and the name Jakov stood for some, probably, religious meaning. One of the arguments was also that the name Jakov was written in a different way **IAKOBъ - ПАКЪБ**. At the same time, even if it happened that the name of the same person was written in different mints in different ways, that explanation did not inspire much belief. The second argument going in favour of this explanation is the existence of a letter **П** at the end of the text of type 3, that for the time being, has no convincing explanation. With the type 28, behind the letter **К**, there is a sign very similar to the sign **☙** that is also present in the type 3, before the letter **П**, only here in the vertical position. That sign is understood as some numismatists as a shield, or we should say that they understand that combination as the protection of St. Jacob.

PRIZREN

34

Prizren was inhabited in the early Middle Ages. In the state of Raška, it was attached to the rest of the country by Nemanja, after the death of the Byzantine Czar Manuel II. It came under the Turkish administration after 1455, four years before the final decay of the lands of the Despot. In the first Balkan war, in 1912, it was conquered by Serbia, in order that along with it, it would become a constituent part of Yugoslavia. Today, it is the economic centre of the south of Kosovo.

Prizren had developed in the state of Raška as the military, economic and religious centre. It was used by Milutin, Dušan and Uroš V as the temporary capital. Concluding by the size of the colony of Dubrovnik, it became one of the strongest economic centres in the inland of Raška. In times of the dissolution of the Empire of Raška, probably after the disappearance of Vuk Branković from the political scene around 1395, from the mints of Prizren, there came out only the coins with the name of the city.

1. II II / ПРІЗР / ЕНЬ

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

-/- Lj(XIV-26), J(219), I(41.2)

2. ПРИЗР / ЕНЬ

 $\tilde{\kappa} - \tilde{\chi}$

-/- Lj(XIV-27), J(220), I(41.3)



SKOPJE

35

Skopje was raised, in the VI century, by the Czar of Byzantine Empire Justinus in the vicinity of the old town of Skupi, ruined by earthquake. In the Middle Ages, as the border town, it frequently changed its masters: the Byzantines, Serbs and Bulgarians. Milutin attached it to Raška, in 1282. The Turks conquered it in 1392, and it had fallen under their permanent reign at the beginning of the XV century (there are no precise data when). Serbia conquered it in 1912, and it became part of Yugoslavia in 1918. Today, Skopje is the capital of the Republic of Macedonia.

In the state of Raška, Skopje was developing into the military and economic centre. Dušan and Uroš V used it as the temporary capital. In the period of the fall of the Empire of Raška, probably after the disappearance of Vuk Branković from political scene, at around 1395, from the mint of the city of Skopje, there came only the coins with the name of the city.

1. III / CKO / PA

~ ~

14/0,64 Lj(XIV-28), J(221), I(40,2)



2. + CKOΠ - I

~ ~

16/0,63 Lj(-), J(222), I(40,1)



3. CKONE

~ ~

15/0,60 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



PATRIARCH

36

After the defeat of the Army of Lazar in the Battle of Kosovo, there came instable times, that did not give much room to the economy of the insecure Raška. It is assumed that in those days, under unclear conditions, the Duchess Milica gave over to the executive management of the mines of Novo Brdo the right to mint coins, resulting in the increasing production of money, that went without any official control. Although her sons-in-law, Vuk Branković and Đurd Stracimirović Balšić did not accept her supremacy, as they did when Duke Lazar was alive, the Duchess Milica, on behalf of her minor son Stefan, sustained and managed to maintain the central power in the district belonging to Lazar. Immediately after the Battle of Kosovo, the Patriarch Sava IV died, so the duty was taken over by the old Patriarch Jefrem (1389-1392) till the election of Danilo III (1392-98). It is assumed that the money with the title patriarch appeared at the same time as the money of Vlatko, Smil, Jakov, Dragosav, the town of Prizren and the city of Skopje, i.e. after the disappearance of Vuk Branković from the political scene.

1. ПΑΤΡ / ΔΡ

... - ... (illegible text)

13/0,55 Lj(-), J(217), I(39,1)



2. III / ΠΑΤΡ / ΔΡ

... - ... (illegible text)

13/0,32 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



3. ΠΑ... / Δ... (ΠΑΤΡ ΔΡ)

...ΤΕ - ... (CONTE STEFAN)

14/0,32 Lj(-), J(218), I(39,2)



UNKNOWN FEUDAL MASTERS

In the days of the dissolution of the Empire of Raška, during the reign of the incompetent Czar Uroš called the Feeble, the feudal lords that had mines under their control coined money for economic reasons. They were sometimes good and sometimes rough forgeries of the money of Dušan, Uroš or Venice and they represented a considerable mass of money moved around. After the disappearance of the powerful Mrnjavčević family, as well as after death of the legitimate Czar Uroš, who died without an heir, there appeared coins with personal names of the pretenders seeking independence of the area that they control. Here, there are coins demonstrated, belonging to those aristocrats that could not be identified, and only with relative certainty some of it could be attributed to some historic personalities. All those coinages were in small circulation and up to now only a very small number of specimens have been preserved.

1. ВКА / ТКО (VLATKO)

/ letters as ornament /

-/- Lj(XV-19), J(-), I(35.2)



2. ВКА / ТКО / вуос (VLATKO)

/ letters as ornament /

-/- Lj(XV-20), J(212), I(35.1)



3. III / IAK / ОББ (JAKOV)

/ letters as ornament /

-/- Lj(XIV-25), J(213), I(33.4)



4. III / IAK / ОББ (JAKOV)

/ letters as ornament /

-/- Lj(-), J(214), I(33.3)



5. III / СМН / КОББ / III (SMIL)

/ letters as ornament /

12/1.10 Lj(-), J(215), I(34.1)



6. +ДРА / ГОСА / ББ (DRAGOSAV)

ЇС - ХС

14/0.57 Lj(-), J(216), I(36.1)



Vlatko Hranotić, četnik, Smil and Dragoslav are mentioned as the vassals of Vuk Branković. Considering great similarities with the money of Vuk, such is considered to be the money of the vassals, with many uncertainties how those coinings might have occurred. The most probable is the one placing those coinings in the short period after Vuk's disappearance from the political scene in 1395. The realms of Vuk were got from Bayezid to be managed by Stefan Lazarević. He had problems in the areas he had inherited, in those years, and also probably on the territories of the former estates of Vuk, resulting in Bayezid, taking over the administration of them and giving it finally over to the sons of Vuk, at the beginning of 1402. From similar reasons, in coinages of the towns of Prizren and Skopje have been dated to the same period, as well as the coins of the Patriarch.

The coins of Jakov was brought in direct connection with the types of Vuk 26, 27 and 28 where there was also the name Jakov, but written in a different way ИАКОВБ - ПАКОВБ. That difference in writing was the sign that the text was not referring to the same person.

7. ПОМ / ХИБЖУ / АНБРИГ / III (RIG)

-/- Lj(XIV-24), J(-), I(22.1)



According to some numismatics characteristics, this coin resembled the coin of the Župan Gropa, placing it in the period after the Battle of Marica, and before the acknowledgement of the vassal position to Turks, as situated and found on the former realms of Vukašin.

8. SEVAST LERSTV (SEVAST ...?)

ЇС ХС

20/1.12 Lj(XV-24), J(-), I(50.1)



Type 8 has identical image on the face like coins of Uroš listed as 14, and coins of Vukašin listed as type 7. It points out to irregular coinage, after the Battle of Marica, and it was found on the former territory of Vukašin. The word *sevast* is the title for a judge in the state of Raška, so the interpretation of this legend also draws a series of consequences with little possibilities to find at least partial approval in historic facts.

9. +БКА / АГОВБ / РЫННРИ / ІЕДРБ

15/0.82 Lj(XV-17), J(-), I(21.1)



It is assumed that this coin was made in the times of fighting for the districts of Mrnjavčević immediately after the Battle of Marica.

GRGUR VUKOVIĆ - BRANKOVIĆ

The District Master of Kosovo 1402-1406

After the death of Vuk Branković, Grgur, as the eldest son, found himself the head of the family. The influence of his mother Mara Lazarević upon him and his brothers was very important. Bayezid, after the apprehension of Vuk, left to his family for maintenance only some income in money as heritage, but the management over the district was given over to Stefan Lazarević. In the spring of 1402, Bayezid gave to Branković Family the administration of the former districts of Vuk. As all the vassals of the Turks, Grgur was also participating, with his brother Đurđ and their troops in the Battle of Angora. In that battle, Grgur was captured, and bought his way out only at the beginning of 1403.

Grgur withdrew to the monastery in 1406. He died on March 13, 1408.

While he was the head of the family he was coining this type of coin.

1. ГРГ / ВР

13/0.51 Lj(-), J(114), I(32.1)

**ЂУРЂ VUKOVIĆ-BRANKOVIĆ**

The middle son of Vuk Branković, Đurđ, inherited, in 1427, his uncle Stefan Lazarević as the head of the Despot's lands, so his biography as well as all his coinage are listed after Stefan.

LAZAR VUKOVIĆ - BRANKOVIĆ

Lazar, the youngest son of Vuk Branković, probably because of his age did not participate in the Battle of Angora, but he took part in the resulting strife for power in Serbia. It ended tragically for him. Lazar and Vuk Branković were captured and executed by Bayezid's son, Emmeer Musa in 1410.

He issued only one type of coins, together with his brother Đurđ.

1. ГРГ / ГЮРГ / НКАЗА / +Р+

Ї - ХЇ

19/1.07 Lj(XIII-26), J(115), I(44.1)

**VUK LAZAREVIĆ - HREBELJANOVIĆ**

Master of the south part of the realm of the Despot 1409-1410

Vuk, the younger son of Duke Lazar, was around ten years old in the time of the Battle of Kosovo. On the political scene, he appeared at the very end of the XIV century. The Battle of Angora, where all the Turkish vassals participated, and along with them all the members of the Lazarević and Branković families, ended tragically for Bayezid. The resulting fight for power between the sons of Bayezid gave to the numerous vassals of the Turks tempting possibilities for independence.

Stefan Lazarević tried to strengthen his central power in the former state of Lazar. He was opposed by the Branković Family, and Vuk Lazarević, tried to do so twice, with the help of the Turkish pretendent to the Sultan throne, Emmeer Suleiman, in order to overtake power from his brother. In the second attempt in 1409, he managed to force his brother to take from him the southern part of the country. The situation was contributed to by the attitude of the aristocracy, that was often changing sides striving for more personal independence. Mutual conflicts did not finish in that way. Vuk, as the ally of Emmeer Suleiman, together with the nephew Lazar Vuković, participated in one of the actions led against Stefan. He was captured by one of the Stefan's allies at the moment (second pretender to the throne of the Sultan), Emmeer Musa (in the folk poetry known under a name Musa Kesedžija) and both were executed.

Vuk was governing independently in the southern part of the Lazarević district, in the course of 1409-1410, when he was, it was assumed, issuing coins with his name. This assumption was based on the fact that all were participants in the quest for power: Grgur, Stefan Lazarević, and Lazar Vuković in that period were minting coins with their own names. The modern numismatics did not identify what monetary types were coined by the order of Vuk Lazarević.

STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ - HREBELJANOVIĆ

Duke 1389-1402, Despot 1402-1427

The elder son of Duke Lazar, Stefan, was around 12 years old in times of the Battle of Kosovo. The administration over the country was overtaken by his mother Duchess Milica and, all the time, till her death in November 11, 1405, she was the crucial element of power. After the Battle of Kosovo drastically decreased their strength in the military power, the heirs of Lazar found themselves under the attack of both the neighbours and their aristocrats. Her sons-in-law, Vuk Branković and Đurd Balšić, had an independent attitude not harmonizing their politics with the Lazarević Family. In such a situation, the heirs of Lazar accepted the vassal relationship towards Turkey, just like Marko and Constantin Dejanović ten years before. Bayezid was satisfied to take over the towns of Zvečan and Jelač, as return favour for his military support, apart from the marriage with Lazar's youngest daughter Olivera. As they had no manpower to take over everything they conquered, in this way the Turks secured the basis for their pirat campaigns, and ensured full control over the faithfulness of their vassals. The heirs of Lazar gradually stabilized their position by suppressing the disobedience of the aristocracy and trying to induce them to lead independent politics. When Stefan was negotiating with Hungary in 1398, Bayezid found out and asked for an explanation. Duchess Milica first went to Edirne to examine the situation and asked Bayezid for mercy, and only later Stefan joined her. His open attitude and personal charm, on that occasion, saved his life.

With the other vassals of the Turks, Stefan took part in the Battle of Rovine, as well as in the campaign in Bosnia. In the Battle of Angora (in the outskirts of modern Ankara) he commanded the right wing of Bayezid's army. Part of the vassals of the Turks, in the course of the battle, came to the other side, so Bayezid found himself surrounded. On two occasions, Stefan managed to come through with the Serbian unit to Bayezid, but he refused to withdraw and was finally captured. He died somewhat later as a prisoner. Stefan's commanding in the Battle was praised even by the conqueror - Mongol Khan Timur. Bayezid's son, Suleiman, took over the administration over European, and Mohammed over the Asian part of Turkey. Mohammed sent the younger brother Musa to conquer Suleiman. Musa achieved that, but he refused to accept the supremacy of Mohammed. The fight of the sons of Bayezid for the throne of the Sultan gave chance to many vassals of the Turks to get independent.

From the battlefield of Angora, Stefan was returning, by way of Constantinople, together with his brother Vuk and nephew Đurđe. Although Byzantine Empire was reduced to almost only the capital city and for 30 years acted as the vassal of the Turks, it had great impact, it was the Empire lasting for over a thousand years. On that occasion, Stefan arranged the marriage to the cousin of the Czar, Jelena Gutluzi, (married to her only later, at 1405) and as the future son-in-law of the Czar, he got the title of the Despot. In the arrangements and plans for further action, there was a breach in the relationship between Đurd and Stefan, that ended up in Đurđe running up to Suleiman. The Branković Family, with the help of the troops of Suleiman, tried to stop the arrival of the Lazarević Family into the country. Stefan conquered the troops of Đurđe and Suleiman on November 21, 1402, at Tripolje, near the Monastery of Gračanica. The situation in the country was not brought in order. After the death of their mother, in 1405, the brothers parted, so Vuk asked Suleiman for military aid against Stefan. Excellent fighter and even better leader, Stefan understood that he was not strong enough to remain independent confronting Turkey, so he was politically completely attached to Hungary, advancing to the position of one of the barons. Along with the quiet frontier of the north, it also brought him Mačva Region, the City of Belgrade, rich mine Srebrnica, and in the course of time, also enough property in Hungary. He moved his capital to Belgrade, trying to develop this city in the economic and military sense. With his large fortification works, he made one of the largest fortresses in Europe out of a border fort, and by tax reductions, he attracted the merchants and the manufacturers.

The wars with the Turks and problems with the aristocrats did not stop. He was forced, in 1409, to give to his brother Vuk one half of the estate. Đurd Vuković-Branković, after the killing of his uncle Vuk and brother Stefan. Since 1412, Đurd was present only as the vassal of Stefan. The nephew of Balša III died in Belgrade, in 1421, without male descendants leaving to Stefan the lands of the Balšić.

By the victory of the Emmeer, later Sultan Mohammed I (1413-21) over Emmeer Musa, where Stefan

contributed by military bravery, central power was thus established in Turkey. Peaceful years were advancing for Raška, that were securing nice economic development. That period represented the real Renaissance in economy and art. The economic centres were moved towards the north, old fortresses were mended and new were built, the churches and monasteries were erected, the most intensive exploitation of mines in Middle Ages Serbia was organized. Raška found itself again a very rich country, and its interior stability attracted foreign merchants. The position of Raška was very specific: politically completely in the framework of Hungary, economically independent, it had freedom in home and foreign politics, and for its survival it was paying 40,000 ducats a year.

Stefan was working at the strengthening of the central power by sword and laws. From his times, there existed "The Law on Mines" and "The Law of Novo Brdo", that clearly indicate how domestic city level was developed. Striving towards absolute power, Stefan was relying upon the Church. He was very educated and of great personal culture. He travelled a great deal, as a soldier and diplomat. He engaged in literature, where he was excellent himself. His Court was famous for strictness, morality and work. Stefan died on July 19, 1427, from a heart attack. He was buried in his Monastery Manasija.

Monetary policy during his reign could be divided into three long periods. Duchess Milica, that ruled the country during the period when he was a minor, made agreement with the city administration of Novo Brdo. As the outcome of that agreement, coins were minted in Italian language with the legend on the face *Conte Lazaro*, and on the reverse *novo monte moneta argenta*. Some years later, coins were minted with the face legend *conte Stefano*, and on the reverse the sign of the city was missing. The second period of his power began with a new century and ended with the pacification with Đurd. The control of the coinage remained in the competence of the state. The lightest coins and of the worst quality were coined as the official money of Raška. The stabilization of the economic and political circumstances in the country, reflected upon the coins making them nice and diverse and bringing its weight to around 1 gram.

1. CONTE-S-TEPADN

TC - XC

16/0,52 Lj(XIII-28), J(159), I(42.11)



2. CON - V

TC - XC

15/0,35 Lj(XIII-31, 32), J(160), I(42.12)



At most specimens, the legend changed and mixed up different letters without any meaning.

3. CONTE - SEFVN

+IESVS-CRISTVS-NO

15/0,49 Lj(-), J(161), I(42.9)



4. CON - TEST

+IESVS-CRISTVSI

15/0,49 Lj(XIII-33), J(-), I(42.8)



5. CONTES - TEFAN
+IESVS-CRISTVS-PR

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(42.10)

6. CONTES - TEFAN
+IESVS-CRISTVS-NOV

15/0,49 Lj(-), J(162), I(42.7)

7. CONTES - TEFAN
+IESVS + CRISTVS

14/0,48 Lj(XII-1,2), J(-), I(42.6)

8. CONTES - TEFAN
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(42.1)

9. CONTS - TEFA(Π)
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

14/0,51 Lj(-), J(163), I(42.3)

10. CONTST - EPAN
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

15/0,48 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.2)

11. CONTS - TEP
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

15/0,89 Lj(XII-3), J(164), I(42.4)

12. C - ONTE - T -
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

14/0,48 Lj(-), J(152), I(42.14)



13. C - ONTE
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

14. -
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

12/0,37 Lj(XI-19), J(153), I(42.15)

15. -
INRI / Isus Nazarensis Rex Iudeorum/

12/0,36 Lj(-), J(185), I(43.1)

16. -
14/0,36 Lj(-), J(-), I(43.2)

17. +IESVS CRISTVS
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

14/0,36 Lj(-), J(-), I(43.3)

Types 14, 15, 16 and 17 have on both sides religious motive characteristic for the reverse of the coins. For these very rare coins, it is not possible to claim with certainty whether they are the result of regular or irregular coining. It was possible that those were the hybrid coins, i.e. when in the mints there were left insufficiently used two reverse dies, and the manufacturers were pairing and coining them in several dozens of copies more.

18. CTEN - AN
ἸϞ - ΧϞ

14/0,55 Lj(-), J(-), I(38.1)

19. ΓΗΣΤΕΦΑΝΡ
ΓΗ ... ΤΕΦΑΝΒΕΡ

14/0,73 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.13)

20. -
ἸϞ - ΧϞ / ΜΗ - ΚΑ

12/0,34 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.60)



21.

Ї - ХЇ

14/0,31 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.61)

22. Δ - Ε - Σ - Π - Θ - Τ

Δ - Ε

13/0,37 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.62)

23. +ΔΕΣ - ΠΥΤЬ

Ї - ХЇ

13/0,41 Lj(XIII-29), J(-), I(42.19)

24. +ΔΕΣΠΟΤΣΦΗ

14/0,39 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.17)

25.

Ї - ХЇ

14/0,43 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.18)

26. Δ

12/0,42 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.57)

27. ⚡

I - C / X - C

9/0,37 Lj(XV-16), J(173), I(42.56)

28. ΔΕΠΤЬ

12/0,29 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.65)

29. ⬠ / СТЕФ / АМЬ / ⬠

Ї - ХЇ

12/0,52 Lj(XII-5), J(174), I(38.3)



30. ΔΕΣ / ΠΟΤ

14/0,31 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.64)

31. ΔΕΣ / ΠΟΤ

13/0,33 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.63)

32. ΓΝЬ. / ΔΕСП / ОТЬ.

14/0,26 Lj(XII-21), J(183), I(42.58)

The only specimen was registered by S. Ljubić and he claims the reference of J. Šafarik.

33. +С / ТЕР / АМЬ

Ї - ХЇ

15/0,62 Lj(-), J(-), I(38.2)

34. ΔΕ / СПО / ТЬ

10/0,36 Lj(XII-22), J(184), I(42.59)

35. ΔΕΣ / ΠΟΤЬ / СТЕФ / АМЬ

Ї - ХЇ

15/0,50 Lj(XII-9), J(-), I(42.55)

36. ВЪХА / БАГМЬА / ЕСПОТС / ТЕФАН

/ВЪ ХРИСТА БОГА ГОСПОДИНЬ ΔΕСПОТ СТЕФАН/

Ї - ХЇ

18/1,13 Lj(XII-6), J(165), I(42.41)

37. ВЪХА / БАΔΕСП / ОТСЕ / ФАМЬ

/ВЪ ХРИСТА БОГА ΔΕСПОТ СТЕФАН/

Ї - ХЇ

19/1,1 Lj(XII-7), J(-), I(42.42)



38. ГМЪ / ДЕСПО / ТСТЕФ / АМЪ
Њ - ХЊ

19/1.12 Lj(XII-8), J(166), I(42.43)

39. ГМЪ / ДЕСПО / ТСТЕФ / АМЪ
Њ - ХЊ

17/1.39 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)

40. ДЕС / ПОТС / ТЕФА / МЪ
Њ - ХЊ

17/1.39 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.48)

41. НОВА / ЦЕКАГ / МАДЕС / ПОТА

/ НОВА ЦЕКА Г(ОСПОДН)НА ДЕСПОТА /

Њ - ХЊ

16/1.22 Lj(XII-10), J(175), I(42.47)

42. ДЕ / СПО / ТЪ
Њ - ХЊ

17/0.90 Lj(XII-20), J(187), I(42.49)

43. ДЕС / ПОТ
Њ - ХЊ

17/1.18 Lj(XII-12), J(179), I(42.45)

44. А - Е / СП - ОТ
Њ - ХЊ

17/1.02 Lj(XII-13), J(180), I(42.46)



45. К / ТАМ / П
Њ - ХЊ

18/1.22 Lj(XIV-16), J(177), I(42.54)

46. АП / Т
Њ - ХЊ

18/0.96 Lj(XII-14), J(181), I(42.53)

47. ППА / ПТЪ


17/1.11 Lj(XII-11), J(176), I(42.52)

48. П / Т


18/0.96 Lj(XII-15), J(178), I(42.51)

49. ДЕСПОТЪ /enigmatic/

17/1.09 Lj(XII-16), J(182), I(42.50)

50. Г- ДЕСПОТ-СТЕФАН / 
Њ - ХЊ

17/- Lj(-), J(191), I(42.33)

51. Г- ДЕСПОТ-СТЕФАН /  / М
Њ - ХЊ

17/- Lj(-), J(192), I(-)



52. ДЕСПОТЪ СТЕФАНЪ
Њ - ХЊ

18/- Lj(-), J(-), I(42.34)

53. ГЪЛГО ВЕРНОИ СТЕФ
Њ - ХЊ

18/0,82 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.40)

54. ДЕСПОТ СТЕФАНЪ
Њ - ХЊ

19/0,80 Lj(XIII-30), J(-), I(42.36)

55. ГЪЛ ДЕСПОТЪ СТЕФАНЪ
Њ - ХЊ

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(42.37)

56. +MONEDA DESPOT STEFAN
Њ - ХЊ

-/- Lj(-), J(-), I(42.39)

57. СТЕФАН ДЕСПОТ
Њ - ХЊ

18/1,25 Lj(-), J(186), I(42.35)

58. ГДЕ - СПОТ
Њ - ХЊ

17/1,13 Lj(-), J(189), I(42.29)

59. Г ДЕСПОТ СТЕФАН
+КРИСТЕ ПОМНХЪН М

17/0,88 Lj(-), J(-), I(42.32)

60. ДЕСПОТС - ТЕФАН
Њ - ХЊ

18/1,00 Lj(-), J(168), I(42.28)

61. ГЪЛ ДЕСПО - Т СТЕФАН
НСОИСЬ - РНТОСЬ

21/1,30 Lj(XII-4), J(167), I(42.27)

62. ДЕСПОТС - ТЕФАН
Њ - ХЊ

16/1,00 Lj(XII-17), J(171), I(42.25)

63. Г / ДЕСПОТ - СТЕФАН
Њ - ХЊ

18/- Lj(-), J(-), I(42.23)

64. Г / ДЕСПОТС - ТЕФА
Њ - ХЊ

20/1,08 Lj(-), J(172), I(42.21)



65. Δ / ΔΕΣΠΟΤ - ΣΤΕΦΑΝ

~ - ~

20/- Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



66. ΔΕΣΠΟΤ - ΣΤΕΦΑΝ

~ - ~

17/1,02 Lj(XII-18), J(170), I(42,20)



67. ΓΝΩΔΕΣΠ - ΟΥΤΣΤΕΦ

~ - ~

20/1,14 Lj(XII-19), J(169), I(42,22)



68. ΓΝΩΔΕΣ - ΠΟΥΤ

~ - ~

17/1,10 Lj(-), J(-), I(42,26)



69. ΔΕΣΠΟΤ - ΣΤ(ΕΦΑΝ)

~ - ~

- Lj(-), J(-), I(42,16)



70. ~ - ~

~ - ~

18/1,17 Lj(-), J(190), I(42,31)



71. +ΓΔΕ - ΣΠΟΤ

~ - ~

18/1,31 Lj(-), J(188), I(42,30)



72. ΔΕΣΠΟΤ - ΣΤΕΦ

~ - ~

16/0,53 Lj(-), J(-), I(42,24)



73. Α

Cu, 9/1,00 d=2mm. Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



This unique specimen was found together with some Turkish money in despersed state at Novo Brdo. The need for small change existed, but now it was difficult to draw conclusions on the basis of one copy. In order to have small copper change in everyday use, it would have had to be coined in more copies.

With the name of Stefan as the suzerain, there is only unique specimen, in a very bad state, with the title patriarch, providing the coin legend was well interpreted.

IRREGULAR COINAGE

As the consequence of the low level of control in first and second period of coining, there was a great number of forgeries of Stefan's coins. As the official money, not only the one coined in Italian language, was of a low technical quality, we can separate as irregular coinings only the coins with no meaning. All those coinages were in small circulation, so, till today we have perserved only a small number of specimens.

....
....
14/0,49 Lj(-), J(-), I(42,5)



....
....
15/0,50 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



From these two types, we have registered only 4-5 specimens. They differ only by the aureole over the head of the ruler. The probable time of the coining was the beginning of the XV century.

人 / ...
 ㄥ - ㄣ
 -/- Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



This unique example, by its chaotic legend with no meaning, belongs to the mentioned category. The letter (d), that is in the centre of this plaque, is characteristic for specific types coined by Despot Stefan.

V -
 ㄥ - ㄣ
 -/- Lj(-), J(-), I(44)



For this unique specimen, the caftan as the clothes of the ruler and the similarity with specific types of coins of Despot Stefan determine the time of the coining. It has been found on the territory that Đurd had to return to Hungary after the death of Stefan.

Balkan states around 1425. r.



DJURDJ VUKOVIĆ - BRANKOVIĆ

Master of Kosovo 1402-1412, Despot of Raška 1427-1456

The middle son of Vuk Branković, Đurd, stood on the political scene together with his mother and brothers, near the very end of the XIV century. After the return from the Battle of Angora in 1402, in Constantinople, he came in conflict with the uncle Stefan about the organization of the central power. That conflict was transformed into fight for power whose leaders were Stefan and Vuk Lazarević, Grgur, Đurd and Lazar Vuković, and it had been intertwined with the fight for power of the sons of Bayezid. In those conflicts, the allies of Đurd, brother Lazar and uncle Vuk were captured and killed by Emmeer Musa in 1410, and he hardly saved himself by flight from his ally, Emmeer Suleiman. That forced him to come closer to Stefan and admit his supreme power. That new relationship was mutually sincere since Stefan was giving him over command of all Serbian troops while conducting the final operations against Emmeer Musa, and in alliance with the Emmeer, later Sultan Mohammed I (1413-21).

In the second marriage, with the Jerina (Irene) Cantacuzene, he entered in 1414. Stefan nominated him as his heir and did everything so that the Hungarians would accept him. After the unexpected death of Despot Stefan in 1427, Đurd took over the management of the country without internal problems, according to the previous agreement. According to the previous arrangement he gave Belgrade to Hungary, and that made him erect, before 1430, in a very short while, for his centre of government, a new fort - Smederevo. The Czar of Byzantine Empire, John VIII Palaeologus, sent him, as a sign of approval, a wreath of a Despot.

On their part, the Turks considered Raška a part of their territory, and their feudal system accepted the inheritance of ruling functions. Nevertheless, the experienced Đurd, with excellent understanding of Turkish situation, and with rich bribe, managed to make a deal with Murat. Raška remained the double vassal with Đurd at the top, and with yearly payment to the Turkey of 50,000 ducats and the loss of the town of Golubac, the Timok River Region, the city of Niš, and the towns of Stalać and Kruševac. On the old estate of the Branković Family, on Kosovo Plane, since 1427, apart from the officers of Đurd, there lived only the Turks.

According to the standard practice of the Christian feudal Europe, Đurd tried to secure his position by using marital connections. He married his daughter Katarina to Ulrich of Celje, and Mara to Murat II. The animosities between the Hungarians and the Turks went past Raška, till the Hungarians in 1437, after one successful robbery expedition, came along the shortest path along the Morava River. Ali-Beg from Vidin fought up with them, but on the field of Godomin, before the town of Smederevo, he was defeated. Murat reacted immediately. While one unit of the Turks, at his request helped by the Serbs, was committing robbery in the surroundings of Transylvania, the other considerably smaller was robbing Borač, Ostrvica and the Monastery of Ravanica. Đurd tried to ask for mercy and pacify Murat, by giving Braničevo over to him, and then the forts of Ždrelo and Višeslav, but Murat wanted everything, and in 1439, he ran over Raška. Zeta maintained outside of military operations, but Novo Brdo and the town of Smederevo were under siege. While Đurd was organizing help from the estates in Hungary, Smederevo was defended by his son Grgur. The King of Hungary and the aristocrats did not manage to come to terms, so Grgur, staying without help, gave away Smederevo, and in return got for management the former estate of his grandfather Vuk-Kosovo. Đurd crossed to Zeta by way of Dubrovnik, and he made contact with Grgur in trying to use his strength to regain his estate. He soon understood that he was not personally safe, so he went back to Dubrovnik. Grgur had no place to hide, so Murat II blinded him as punishment, like his younger brother Stefan, that lived like a hostage on the Court of Murat. After the siege lasting for two years, on June 27, 1441, Novo Brdo fell into their hands. After a short while, the state of Raška seized to exist.

Continual aggressive politics of Turkey, demanded great military strength. In order not to have shortage in men, Murat II, around 1438, from the peoples under him, took taxes in human blood, that is, he was recruiting boys from 7 to 14 years of age in order that they should embrace Islam and be educated as soldiers-called Janichars.

The military operations on the ground of Serbia did not stop. Murat II, in 1440, sieged Belgrade with little success, but since he had problems in Asia, he stopped military operations against Hungary. The King Ladislaus, and the Duke of Transylvania, Johann Hunyadi (in the popular literature Janko Sibirjanin) and

Despot Đurd organized successful counter-attack in 1443-44. Murat II accepted the negotiations, and as a result, Đurd got his old country back under the same conditions, and his blinded sons. Apart from the truce, Ladislaus and Hunyadi organized in the same year, new conquest of the Turkish lands. Murat II conquered them at Varna, and on that occasion, the King Ladislaus and Cardinal Dezarini were murdered. Đurd tried to lead the politics of a good Turkish vassal. From the Turks, he got what they have overtaken. He was under an obligation to lead negotiations, and sometimes even military operations on the border territories, with Venice and Stefan Vukčić about parts of Zeta, with the new Bosnian King, Stefan Tomaš about Srebrenica. In the autumn of 1446, he married his youngest son with Jelena, niece of the Despot of Moreja, Constantine Palaeologus. Lazar got, along with the bride, from the Czar of Byzantine Empire, also a title of Despot. Hunyadi, now the first man, Governor of Hungary, again tried to organize broader action against the Turks. Since almost all help of Hungarian allies was left on promises, in 1448, he crossed to Serbia at Smederevo, trying to force, at any cost, Đurd to take action. He did not succeed, but he did not give up action by devastating Serbian villages without protection. Đurd informed Murat II in time, and he intercepted Hunyadi at Kosovo. Hunyadi was so defeated, that even today, there is a proverb among the people: had (bad) luck just like Janko at Kosovo. Hunyadi managed to run away from the battlefield from the Turks, but Đurd caught him and released him only at the request of the Assembly of Hungary, with the payment of 100,000 ducats of damages. This conflict of the leading barons of Hungary, Hunyadi and Đurd, made difficult their later joint actions. In 1451, Mohammed II the Conquerer came to the throne of Turkey. European rivals without unity did not even try to use that change of power. Mohammed II intentionally and systematically prepared for the conquest of Constantinople. The last Czar of Byzantium, Constantine XI Palaeologus (the grandson of Constantine Dejanović), made all possible in order to induce the Christian West to help him. Nevertheless, only a year later, after the solemn Catholic mass held in the Church of St. Sofia, when a union was established between the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches (the elementary condition of the Pope for giving aid), Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks in 1453, and St. Sofia became the Mosk Aya-Sofia. The Serbian Despot Đurd, who one year before helped with a large sum of money, for the reparation of the walls of Constantinople, now, in accordance with his vassal obligation, took part in the conquest with 1,500 horsemen under the command of Voivode Jakša, the founder of the Jakšić Family.

In the middle of 1454, Mohammed II started the campaign against Raška, but after a short siege of Smederevo stopped the military operations. In the counter-attack of the Hungarian forces, Hunyadi, Đurd and Ulrich of Celje conquered the rear of Mohammed. The next year, after 40 days of siege, Mohammed II conquered Novo Brdo. Soon after, all the cities of the southern part of the country fall under the Turkish domain. Mohammed took Belgrade and Smederevo, in 1456. Đurd gave the defence of Smederevo to Lazar, and he got himself transferred to the estates of Hungary for the sake of organizing help. The Hungarian and Serbian army managed to defeat the Turkish river fleet and enable to give help to people under siege. Apart from that, Mohammed II was one step from conquering Belgrade. In one small cavalry counter-attack, led by the defenders, Mohammed was wounded and that persuaded him to retreat.

The great danak (taxes) to be paid to Turkey, the building of the town of Smederevo, continual wars, and the reparation of damaged fortresses, forced Đurd to raise his feudal taxes. Once a very rich land, his realm was slowly populated and quickly emptied. After the successful defence of Belgrade, black plague was ruling over the army and people, so Johann Hunyadi was also suffering from illness. Ulrich of Celje was somewhat later killed because of political reasons. The elderly Đurd was using the only chance left for his state starting negotiations with Mohammed, but he could not live to see the outcome. He died on December 24, 1456. He was buried in the Church of Kriva Reka, that had not been identified with certainty till the present day.

Observing coins of Đurd, we have ascertained three periods of coining. The first one, when as a master of the Kosovo district he was fighting with his uncle Stefan for personal independence, next, when he was the heir of the uncle governing the Despot lands till the collapse, in 1439 and the third period, with the restored Despot title, from 1444.

Lazar Branković - kind 1

1. ГНЬ / ПОРГЬ / НХАЗА / РЬ

Ї - Ї

19/1.07 Lj(XIII-26), J(115), I(44.1)



He was coining together with his brother Lazar, before 1410, in times when their ruling of Kosovo was harmonized jointly.

2. +ПОРЬГЪ ВЪКОВНЬ

Ї - Ї

19/1.11 Lj(XIII-8), J(116), I(45.1)



This is one of the more rare types of the coins of Raška containing also the family name of the ruler. Đurd found himself, in 1402, at the head of the family, since his elder brother was taken prisoner. At the same time, he was ruling Zeta and minting coins, also placing on the coins surname, just like his uncle and relatives before him, bearing the same name, Đurd Stracimirović-Balšić. It is the possible explanation to determine the time of coining for this type of money and the reason of the existence of the surname on the coins.

3. +ГОСПОДНИНЪ ПОРГЬ

Ї - Ї

16/0.62 Lj(XIII-6), J(119), I(45.2)



4. ГНЬ / ПОРГ

12/0.31 Lj(-), J(-), I(45.7)



5. ПО / РЬ / Г - Ъ

Ї - Ї

18/1.00 Lj(XIII-11), J(117), I(45.4)



6. ПО / РЬ / Г - Ъ

Ї - Ї

18/0.95 Lj(XIII-10), J(118), I(45.3)



7. ПОРЬ

Ї - Ї

19/0.94 Lj(XIII-12), J(127), I(45.5)



8. +ГОСПОДИНЪ ГЮРГЪ

✠ - ✠

18/1,00 Lj(-), J(-), I(45.6)



On the coin, there was no title, so it was possible that the time of coining could be between 1427 and 1429. Possibility existed that some types must have been minted even before 1412, while he was opposing his uncle. Between 1412 and 1427, he did not mint coins.

9. ГНЬ / ДЕСПО / ТЫГО / РГЪ

18/0,90 Lj(XIII-17), J(121), I(45.8)



10. ГНЬДЕ / СПОТЬ / ГЮРГЪ

✠ - ✠

+ Lj(-), J(-), I(45.11)



11. ГНЬДЕ / СПОТЬ / ГЮРГЪ

С М Е Д Е Р Е В О

15/1,14 Lj(XIII-21), J(135), I(45.25)



12. ГНЬДЕ / СПОТЬ / ГЮРГЪ

Н О В О Б Р Ъ Д О

1. 15/1,10 Lj(-), J(136), I(45.32)



2. 15/1,11 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



13. ГНЬ / ДЕСПО / ТГЪ

1. + Lj(-), J(-), I(45.20)



2. 15/1,08 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



3. 12/0,89 Lj(-), J(126), I(-)



4. 16/0,99 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



14. ... / ДЕСПОТ / ЪГВЮК... / Р.К...

... / ... / . СРЕБРНИ / .К.

18/1,00 Lj(-), J(120), I(45.15)



15. С ~ ~ О / ГНЬДЕП / ТАГЮРГЪ

С М Д Р В О

- Lj(XIII-22), J(137), I(45.26)



16. ДЕ / СПО / ТЪ

10/0,26 Lj(XIII-20), J(131), I(45.22)



17. ДЕСП

13/0,36 Lj(-), J(132), I(45.21)



18. ДЕ / СПО / ТЪ

11/0,31 Lj(-), J(-), I(45.36)



19. -

11/0,32 Lj(-), J(-), I(45.35)



20. +ГОСПОДИНЪДЕСПОТЪ / ГЮРЪГЪ

17/0,97 Lj(-), J(122), I(-)



21. +ГНЪДЕСПОТЪ / ГЮРЪГЪ

16/0,86 Lj(XIII-23), J(123), I(45.12)



22. +ГНЪДЕСПОТЪГЮРЪГЪ

Г - Х

17/1,20 Lj(XIII-5), J(124), I(45.10)



23. ПСКОНЪЗЕМЪ

ГНЪ СРПСКОМЪЗЕМЪ

Г - Х

Lj(-), J(-), I(45.13)



24. БѢЛГО - ДѢЛГ

Г - Х

12/1,00 Lj(-), J(-), I(45.14)



25. +ГНЪДЕСПОТЪГЮРЪГЪ

Г - Х

14/1,21 Lj(XIII-13), J(125), I(45.16)



26.

Lj(-), J(-), I(45.17)



27. +ГНЪДЕСПОТЪГЮРЪГЪ

Г - Х

Lj(XIII-7), J(-), I(45.9)



28. +ГНЪДЕСПОТЪГЮРЪГЪ

Г - Х

Lj(XIII-9), J(-), I(-)



29. ГЮРЪГЪ

ДЕСПОТЪ (enigmatic)

1. 12/1,01 Lj(Description, 179/5), J(128), I(45.33)



2. 12/0,67 Lj(XIII-25), J(-), I(-)



30. ГЮРЪГЪ

ДЕСПОТЪ (enigmatic)

12/0,82 Lj(XIII-24), J(129), I(45.34)



31. П - S / ДЕС - ПОТ

С М Д Р В О

10/0,29 Lj(-), J(130), I(45.28)



32.

12/0,27 Lj(-), J(-), I(45.37)



33. ДЕСПОТЪ - ГЮРЪГЪ

**С М Д Р В О

15/1,01 Lj(XIII-16), J(133), I(45.24)



34. ДЕСПОТЪ - ГЮРЪГЪ

15/0,70 Lj(-), J(-), I(45.19)



35. ДЕСПОТЪГЮРЪГЪ

С М Д Р В О

15/1,03 Lj(XIII-14), J(134), I(45.23)



36. ДЕСПОТЫЮРЬ

Р Ѡ Д Н Н К Ъ

14/1.06 Lj(XIII-15), J(138), I(45.29)



37. ДЕСПОТЫЮРЬ

Н В Р Д

14/1.03 Lj(-), J(139), I(45.31)



38. +ГМЬДЕСПОТЫЮРЬ

1. 130.52 Lj(-), J(-), I(45.18)



2. 140.60 Lj(-), J(-), I(-)



39. DESPO GVRG

+ IOHANESD:HW R VNGARI

14/1.05 Lj(XIII-27), J(140) H(632), I(47.1)



40. DESPO GVRG

+ IOHANESD:HW R VNGARI

-/- Lj(-), J(-) H(633), I(47.2)



This coin was minted together, as a symbolic sign of making peace at the time of the engagement, in 1451, (type 39), and at the time of the wedding, in 1455 (type 40) of the granddaughter of Đurđe (and the daughter of Ulrich of Celje) to the younger son, Matthias (later King of Hungary) of Johann Hunyadi. The pacification between Đurđe and Hunyadi came at the request of the Assembly of Hungary, and it had been certified by the marital relationship between the junior heirs.

Tomaš Ostojić, kind 8

41. +ДЕСПОТЫЮРЬ

+GOS TOMAS CRЯ BOSR

17/0.81 Lj(XVII-11), J(141), I(46.1)



This exceptional type is classified in so called jubilee editions, like types 30 and 40. There are no data what event inspired the coining, it was assumed that it must have been on the occasion of the peace agreement in 1451, between Đurđe and Tomaš.

While he was at the head of the realm of the Despot, the monetary policy led by Đurđe was stable. According to weight, money can be divided into three categories. The first group has weight of 0.9 and 1.1 gr, the second nearly half of it (types 3, 37 and 38), and the third between 0.26 and 0.36 gr (types 4, 18, 19, 20, 21, 30 and 31), that can be calculated as not to weight nearly one third or one fourth of the heaviest kinds. Only by punctual dating of the types and precise definition of their average weight, it would be possible to get dependable impression on the relation of those coins in ratio to the first (1427-1939) and second period of government (1444-1456). The confusion was introduced by a great number of copper copies. The quality of their performance suggests being made in state mints. Full importance was not given to that discovery, so because there was no published material to that effect, it cannot be claimed that Đurđe was coining copper coins too, or that it might be forgeries. Embracing the assumption that it is state copper money, we are led by the fact that it could be found in abundance, and then, there should be logical need for small change, because city life was developed.

LAZAR DJURDJEVIĆ - BRANKOVIĆ

Despot 1456-1458

Lazar was the youngest son of Đurđ, from the marriage with Helen Cantacuzene. By marriage with Helen Palaeologus, he got from the Byzantine Emperor the title of a Despot. After the death of Đurđ, there was a successful continuation of negotiations with Mohammed II. The disputes among the heirs of Đurđ were enormous. After the death of Irene, in May 1457, Mara and Grgur ran away to Sultan Mohammed. Grgur soon took cloth, and in 1459, died in Hilandar, where he was buried as monk German. Mara lived on the estates in the vicinity of Ser presented by Mohammed, who used her services in negotiations with the Christian world. She died in 1487, and she was buried in the Monastery Kosinica in the vicinity of Drama. Katarina, widow of Ulrich of Celje, came to live with Mara. She died after Mara, and she was buried in the Monastery Konč next to Strumica.

Lazar, as the opponent of the party of Hunyadi, got from the King Ladislaus the town of Kovin. He died suddenly on January 20, 1458.

1. Ⲡⲉⲥⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ
Ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ

15/0.95 Lj(-), J(142), I(48.1)



2. ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ / Ⲡⲉⲥⲓ

10/- Lj(-), J(143), I(48.2)



STEFAN DJURDJEVIĆ - BRANKOVIĆ

Despot 1458-1459

Stefan was the second born son of Đurđ. As a hostage, he was living at the court of Murat. Because of the intervention of Đurđ and Grgur in Zeta in 1439, Murat II ordered that along with Grgur, they should also make Stefan blind. After resuming power of Đurđ, Stefan went to live with his father in Smederevo. After his father's death, he supported the politics of his younger brother, Despot Lazar. Lazar had no male heirs, and after his death, for the sake of governing the country, there was a regency consisting of Mihajlo Andelović, Lazar's widow and Stefan. It was decided, that because of blindness, Stefan was not capable of governing the country. The most important personality in the regency, Mihajlo, came to this exalted position because of his brother, Beglerbeg of Rumelia (the Sultan Regent for the European part of Turkey) Mahmud Pasha, who was captured as a young man in Novo Brdo, embraced Islam. Mahmud, chosen for the Court service, became friend with Sultan Mohammed and ended his career as the Grand Vizier. The Andelović brothers were often meeting one another in continual negotiations led between Đurđ and the Turks.

In March 1458, Mihajlo brought one subpasha with a unit of Turks and they erected the flag of the Osmanlie at the very gate. The surprised population took arms and cut the Turks down, and then took Mihajlo prisoner. Stefan was elevated to a rank of Despot, who was governing the state with the help of his ambitious

daughter-in-law, Helen. (The title of the Despot was given by the Emperors of Byzantium, as non-hereditary, to their sons and sons-in-law, there existed nobody else that could have given such a title in any form whatsoever. The Kings of Hungary were generous with the title of Despot of Serbia as long as it was helping them to gather Serbian people in the fight against the Turks.) After taking as prisoner Mihajlo Andelović, his brother Mahmud, in 1458, attacked Serbia, taking with him blinded Grgur. In the conquered cities, he chose to post the Turkish garrisons. At the end of the year, there was only Smederevo left under Stefan. Such condition did not suit the Hungarian King, Matthias Corvinus, so in the agreement with Helen and the King of Bosnia, Tomaš, who had already taken all the lands of the Despot in Bosnia of that day, he made his plan. According to it, the Serbian lands of the Despot should be taken by the son of King Tomaš, Prince Stefan, by marriage with the daughter of Duke Lazar, Mara (Helen). Immediately after the arrival of King Stefan Tomašević, the blinded Stefan Đurđević left Smederevo. He went to his sisters Mara and Katarina, and then to Albania where he got married to Arianta of Comnenus. Somewhat later, he went to Furlandia, where he lived from the help given by Dubrovnik, Venice and Vatican. He died in misery in 1477. As he was the head of Serbia for two years, there is a possibility that he was minting coins. Since no coins, that can possibly be attributed to him, had been found yet, it must thus be considered that Stefan Đurđević was not minting coins with his name.

IVANIŠ
Duke around 1458

Duke Ivaniš, probably a governor of the city and mine of Rudište, in the times of rule of Stefan Đurđević, placed his name on coins that came out of the mint under his control. The other historical sources do not mention him, so it can not be considered what was his role in the events of the distant past. He was known for minting only one type of coins.

1. Ⲡⲉⲥⲓ / Ⲡⲉⲥⲓ
ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ / Ⲡⲉⲥⲓ

12/0.85 Lj(-), J(235), I(49.1)



RUDIŠTE

Rudište is the name of the mine and the town springing up next to the mines. Although there are many indirect data about Rudište, the exact location has not been determined. According to the traces of mines from those days, the possible locations are the mountain of Avala, then the surroundings of the village of Ripanj or the outskirts of the mountain of Kosmaj. Rudište came to life in the days of Stefan Lazarević when the mining wealth on the north of the country was flourishing. It reached its economic peak at the end of the governing of Despot Đurđ. The name of the mint Rudište stood obvious on the money of Despot Đurđ. Later, probably in the days of Stefan Đurđević, before or after the coining of the Duke Ivaniš, it seemed suitable for the management of the mint to stop minting coins with the name and title of the actual ruler.

1. Ⲡⲉⲥⲓ / Ⲡⲉⲥⲓ

-/- Lj(-), J(236), I(45.30)



1. $\Omega \approx \epsilon \rho \omega$ / $\epsilon \rho \omega$

15/- Li(-), J(237), I(45.27)



Despot of Raška 1459, King of Raška and Bosnia 1461-1463

Stefan Tomašević as the Despot of Raška did not mint coins, yet he did so later as the King of Raška and Bosnia, so his coins should be described in the chapter on Bosnia.

BOSNLA

Kulin, as the Ban of Bosnia was first mentioned in 1180, and for the last time in 1203, regarding religious intervention of Rome in his country. It is considered that he was governing Bosnia as vassal also before the death of Manuel. It is known that he was in family relationships with the Nemanjić Family. There existed no direct data about his reign. It is not possible to claim with certainty that his predecessor on one hand and heir to the throne of Ban on the other, were somehow related. Depending how the later rulers were mentioning the government of Kulin, it is possible to deduce that his reign was solid and well appreciated, in the eyes of the people and the neighbors. Under the reign of Kulin, the status of Bosnia as an independent state was formed. Bosnia would remain such a country occasionally forced to admit the supreme power to Hungary, and later, sometimes Turkey, till its decline in 1463. In the people's tales, Kulin is an example of somewhat first-primary: "Do not start from the Ban Kulin.", meaning *do not recall everything from the primeval times*.

It cannot be claimed with certainty whether there had been another ban between Kulin and Matthias Ninoslav, and when, exactly, did one stop ruling and the other one began. Ninoslav had many significant problems with the Catholic Church. He had to prove that he was personally a good Catholic, but that did not help him to prevent Catholics organizing Crusade against Bosnia. Somewhat by skilful politics, somewhat by military force, he succeeded in diverting direct military action and practically stopping intervention from the Catholic military orders. It was significantly influenced by the fear felt by potential crusaders from the hills in Bosnia, as well as the existence of doubt in the existence of an adequate pray. However, in some peripheral parts of Bosnia, Catholic church was destroying heretics. As the result of the politics of Ban Matthias Ninoslav, Catholic church was approving service in the language of the people, in 1248, and the Bosnian Župan, appointed by Rome, got for his Seat the town of Dakovo, in Slavonija, and so remained without influence for the happenings in far away Bosnia.

According to one Charter, that was altered in the time of writing, it could be assumed that Matthias Ninoslav died in 1249, and that he was inherited by Matthias Stefan. There are no other data on the existence of Ban Matthias Stefan between 1249 and 1255.

Priježda, as the Ban of Bosnia, was first mentioned in 1255, and for the last time in 1287. During the reign of Ninislav, his cousin Priježda was mentioned a few times as the follower of the pro-Hungarian politics. It is assumed that it was the later Ban Priježda. Priježda fortified his power according to the standard recipe of those days- family connections. He married his son Kotroman, in 1284 to Jelisaveta Nemanjić, the daughter of the ex-King of Raška, Dragutin, then a powerful master of Srem, and niece of the King of Hungary, Ladislaus IV.

At the position of the Ban of Bosnia, Prijezda was inherited by his son Stefan Kotroman, in 1287 or 1290. Kotroman, considered by the Kotromanić Family as the founder of the Dynasty, was gradually suppressed by the Croatian aristocrat Pavle Šubić. Kotroman was still governing parts of Bosnia towards the Drina, certainly under the suzerain of Pavle. After his death, in 1314, his widow Jelisaveta, with her sons, was compelled to take refuge in the city of Dubrovnik.

CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE CHURCH

In the course of XI and XII century among the Slavs, under the domineering influence of Byzantine Empire, it was possible to finally fortify the feudal system. That was closely related with the advance of Christianity, making resistance to feudalism apparent in the form of Christian heresy- Bogumils. In the historic sources of Bulgaria and Raška, strong emphasis has been placed in all descriptions upon strict destruction of the ideological rebels against feudalism, while in the sources found in Bosnia, that had not been emphasized. Many historians, because of the specific political and religious circumstances present in Bosnia give specific importance to the lack of that data.

In the course of the X, XI and XII century, in Bosnia, there existed conflicting influences between Hungary and Byzantine Empire, so that only after the death of Byzantine Emperor Manuel, Bosnia got inde-

pendance under the auspices of Hungary. That conflict was reflected, in the religious sense, as the jurisdiction of either Rome or Constantinople over that territory. Rome considered that the church in Bosnia is also within their administrative boundaries, just like the Church in Hungary. The change of the church service to the Latin language, as demanded in the centre in Rome, was resisted by the clergy and by the people. For the aristocracy, the strengthening of the influence of the Catholic church meant the advancing of the influence of Hungary, so they resisted to it. Ban and his aristocrats supported the Orthodox priests excusing themselves in front of the Pope by fear from the intervention of the "schismatics" - from Raška, that would allegedly use every pressure upon the church in Bosnia for military intervention.

In the historic sources of the West of those days, the attitude and selling of slaves in Bosnia had been emphasized, and a slave could be everyone who was not a Catholic. The slaves were an object of trade for both aristocrats and the merchants of Dubrovnik and Venice (in the similar scope like in the whole of feudal Europe). It was an argument for the Pope to convict the circumstances in the Church and an excuse for the organization of crusade against Bosnia.

The expansion of the Bosnian state in the XIV century, comprised also the organized segment of Roman Catholic community, what resulted in advanced religious propaganda war. The city population was increasing in numbers, by the development of economy, and it was predominantly Catholic, because the merchants from Saxony, Dubrovnik, Split, Šibenik and Zadar were Catholic. That was used by Rome to open the Franciscan Monasteries in the towns. The lack of religious tolerance between the Catholic and Orthodox Church, whose competing influence was decreasing in Bosnia, reflected, in the discussions of the religious dignitaries with the claims forwarded to the Bosnian rulers to get rid of the heretics. With the adequate derogatory epithets, every church considered the other one heretical. The Catholics used the insults for the adversaries: manicheans, patarens, catars and schismatics, and the Orthodox: bogumils, babuns or kudugers, declaring Catholicism a dualistic heresy. The Bosnian rulers and their aristocrats, for purely political reasons, were adhering to Orthodoxy, although officially, the ruling family, at several occasions, under the pressure from the Pope, turned towards Catholicism. Many disputes and, in them, many harsh epithets were exchanged between by high priests of both religions and thus some historians got the resulting impression how, in Bosnia, there lived a separate Christian sect to whom those harsh words refer. The striking moment that attributed to that impression was that there existed no separate religious community, like in Raška or Bulgaria, and that was reflected upon the meaning of the term Church of Bosnia, in those days. (That idea was referring to the diplomatic, arbitrary, intermediary body at the courts of the Bosnian rulers and aristocrats, coming predominantly from the clergy, with the duty to protect the interests of their masters and protect the legal order in the state. The following social structure had a decisive role in the determination of the governmental political and legal establishment of Bosnia: grandfather, guest, elder, and rulers-jury. Such a structure had a role of a mediator between the Ban and his aristocrats, as the guarantor of aristocratic rights. The members of such government bodies acted individually or lived at courts of the aristocrats.) We encounter the lack of written documents of specific religious organization, called "Church of Bosnia", lack of material monuments and we observe its disappearance at the moment of decay of the Bosnian state, so historians tried to give some explanations with the help of imagination, by emphasizing the local differences as essential religious characteristics. At the meeting of the Papal Legacy Casamario and the clergy from Bosnia, in April 1203, giving up heresy was not the issue, but only schism and accepting the supremacy of the Roman Church and Pope. The coronation of Tvrtko I, as well as the other Kings of Bosnia, was performed according to the Orthodox ritual, the proclamation of Stefan Vukčić for Hero of St. Sava, in 1448, expressed respect for the Orthodoxy, and the attempt of the King Tomaš Ostojić (1443-1461) was going in the direction to banish schismatics from his district, but these were not accepted. (According to the Catholic ritual, with the presence of the legacy of the Pope, ritual was exercised only for the last one of the Kotromanić Family, Stepan Tomašević, who got such a coronation in 1461.) The modest number of the Catholic and Orthodox temples shows the lack of the potential founders, and donors, and also reflects the conflict of the churches, but not the existence of some third religion that was opposed to any building.

By waking up the religious consciousness of the Balkan people, the dogmatic attitudes are strengthened inside the competing churches, active on the territory of Bosnia. It breeds the understanding of religious as national identity. That is the time (XVIII-XIX century) of the last massive conversion into Muslim faith, and also of a more active life of the Orthodox Church (XIX-XX century), which, supported by a state independence of Serbia and Montenegro, obtained further back up, but there was a strong pressure (XIX-XX century) to come over to Catholicism. (Catholic church, partially by missionary work, and somewhat by state force, imposed its religious doctrine where it was controlling mundane power.) The heirs of the former Bosnians and Boshnaks, as they were called (in the geographical sense), if they had not already converted to Islam (became Turks) or to Catholicism (became Croats) felt to be Serbs.

ŠUBIĆ

Croatian aristocratic family

The initial point in developing the power of this family was inheritance of the district with the title of Župan in Bribirska župa. Ladislaus IV placed Pavle Šubić, in 1273, at the position of the Duke of the Coast. Weak central power, just like fighting for power in the dynasty, going on after the death of Ladislaus, who left no male heir (1290) enabled many aristocrats in Hungary to strengthen their personal power. Among the most successful, in that respect, we could mention Pavle. Skillfully using the confrontations and the weaknesses of the pretenders and by force of arms and diplomacy, he got the position of the Ban of Croatia. Completely independent, he began the conquest of Bosnia in 1299. Already in 1302, Pavle declared his brother Mladen I, Ban of Bosnia. When his brother was killed in those fights, he proclaimed his son Mladen II for the Ban of Bosnia. Taking advantage of the war between Dragutin and Milutin, he took Hum away from Raška. Carlo Robertus (1290-1342), also supported by Pavle, got officially the crown of Hungary in 1310, and with general acknowledgement, bought along the ballance of forces in Hungary. Pavle died in 1312, and Mladen II became the head of the family. Mladen was not adjusted to the changes within Hungary, and lost his strength in local conflicts. The King of Raška, Milutin, after the conquest over Mladen in 1318, took over Hum. The title of Ban of Bosnia, due to the pressure from Carlo Robertus, Mladen had to give over to the eldest son of Kotroman, Stefan II, but he did not give to him the rule over Bosnia. The power of Mladen was slowly decreasing, so that in direct military conflict with Carlo Robertus in 1322, Mladen lost the position of the Ban of Dalmatia and Ban of Croatia.

The members of the Šubić family, all throughout the Middle Ages played a conspicuous role in the boundaries of Hungary, but none of them was a master of such a large district, nor had such complete independence as Pavle, in the period of 1290-1310. At the height of his power, sometime between 1300-1308, Pavle was minting coins with his name. On the coins, there was a name of his brother Mladen I, and after his death, also of his brother Mladen II, that Pavle himself placed at the position of Ban of Bosnia. The names of Mladen I and II on the coins can be understood as underlining the status of Bosnia as an independent state and its right to coin money as such, rather than depict the relationship among the ruling brothers or father and son.

The coins of the Croat aristocrats, the Šubić Family were the first Bosnian coins. From the artistic point of view, that money was the imitation of the money of Venice that was particularly respected in those days - *matapan*, and such was the first money of Raška about fifty years earlier. It was interesting that Pavle imitated the coins of Venice, not of Hungary, although his district was getting independent from Hungarian rule.

1. DUX PAUL - MLADEN / BAN

21/1,8 Lj(XVI-4), J(-), R(732)

2. DUX PAUL - SECUNDUS / BAN MLAD

21/2,05 Lj(XVI-5), J(-), R(734)



STEFAN II KOTROMANIĆ

Ban 1322-1353

After the death of his father Stefan I Kotroman, the junior Stefan, with his mother and brothers, took shelter in Dubrovnik, but he soon came back to Bosnia as the protege of Mladen II Šubić. Mladen acknowledged to him the title of a Ban, but he gave no executive power to him. In order to fortify the central power in Hungary, Carlo Robertus took as his priority the rights of the Kotromanić Family. Thus, Stefan, as part of that concern, with his army, in 1322, took part in the fall of Mladen II. Destruction of power of the Šubić Family opened a lot of petty conflicts in Croatia about the division of power, where Stefan interfered, stretching the borders of Bosnia in that direction. He helped his uncle Vladislav II Nemanjić in the fight for the crown over from his uncle the north-east Bosnia (Soli-Tuzla with Semberija and Usor- the valley of the lower flow of the Bosna River). War for the crown of Raška was used also by the masters of the part of Hum, the Radičević brothers, for secession. Stefan conquered them, with the help from Dubrovnik, and annexed them to Bosnia in 1326. With this conquest, Bosna got exit to the seaside, but it also secured the safe trade connection along the Neretva River. Stefan tried to conquer the entire Hum, but he suffered defeat in 1329, from the governor of Zeta, the heir to the throne, Dušan. After that defeat Stefan did not make any attempts for further military operations against Raška.

After the change on the throne of Raška, in 1331, King Dušan was interested in the peaceful frontier with Bosnia because of the pretensions towards Byzantine Empire, so he sold to Dubrovnik the town of Ston and the Pelješac Peninsula. Nevertheless he would have had difficulty to defend them, bearing in mind the narrow land connection and considerable distance from the centre. The people of Dubrovnik were aware of the motives of King Dušan and they made a similar contract, for the same district, also with Stefan.

All the Charters of Ban Stefan were made together with his mother Jelisaveta Nemanjić and his brothers. That emphasised, in its way, the presence of family interest for government over Bosnia.

The chief preoccupation of Stefan was a frontier with Croatia. Venice was spreading its domination among the Adriatic by taking cities of Zadar, Split and Šibenik. That was enabled by the conduct of Croatian aristocrats, who, although they succumbed to the supreme power to the King of Hungary, tried to keep as much freedom as possible by making alliance with Venice. The similar attitude was held by Stefan, but he was often keeping stronger alliance with Venice than with his suzerain Carlo Robertus.

King Dušan, after the death of his son-in-law, Mladen III Šubić, raised again the question of Hum, with the excuse that he was helping his sister in danger. After the unsuccessful prolonged negotiations, in October 1350, Dušan moved with the heavy armament to attack Bosnia from the sea. He overtook the confluence of the River Neretva and strived to get to Cetina River, but there he suddenly stopped the action because of the offensive from Byzantium, at the south of the country, and retreated with his army. Stefan did not need much time to regain the lost cities. It was the most dangerous ever, but also the last war led by Ban Stefan.

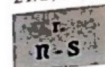
He died in 1353, without male heir. During his reign, Bosnia considerably broadened its territories and stabilised the central power, thus acquiring great reputation with its neighbours. It considerably developed the economy by strengthening commerce and opening mines. At the end of his life, he married his daughter Jelisaveta to Hungarian King Lajoš (Lodovicus I). That marriage was the ground for the later pretensions of the kings of Hungary to the throne of Bosnia.

There existed no data when Stefan started with minting coins. The weight standard had to be harmonised with its more important neighbour Raška. In types 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 he imitated the royal kinds of Dušan, what denoted the time of coining. There were no data explaining why on the reverse of his coins in types 13, 14 and 15, one could find obverse belonging to the coins of Dubrovnik.

1. ·STEFANVS· - ·BANVS·B·

ṡ - ṡ

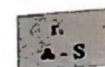
21/2,1 Lj(XVI-7), J(-), R(747)



2. ·STEFAN· - ·BAN·BO·

ṡ - ṡ

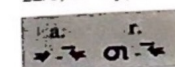
19/1,55 Lj(XVI-6), J(-), R(749)



3. STEFAN - BANVS

ṡ - ṡ

22/1,92 Lj(XVI-1), J(239), R(750)



4. STEFAN - ...

ṡ - ṡ

18/1,43 Lj(XVI-8), J(-), R(777)



In making dies, for the manufacture of types 2, 3 and 4, craftsmen had a problem how to put the legend on the die bearing in mind the dimensions of blanks in comparison to the dimensions of die. The absence of letters and moving of legend did not appear as intentional alteration, but as the arrangement of the die maker and it was different from one die to another. On the majority of specimens, there were only a few letters, or to be more exact-parts of letters seen.

5. STEFAN·BAN - ·BOSN DI GR·

ṡ - ṡ

19/1,3 Lj(-), J(-), R(779)



6. STEFAN - BANVS BOSN DI GR

Ṛ - Ṛ

17/1,45 Lj(-), J(-), R(781)



7. STEFANVS BANVS BOSNE

Ṛ - Ṛ

17/1,45 Lj(XVI-12), J(-), R(781)



8. STEFANVS - BANVSBO

Ṛ - Ṛ

17/1,45 Lj(-), J(-), R(-)



9. STEFANVS - BANVS BO

Ṛ - Ṛ

20/1,45 Lj(-), J(-), R(-)

Cm - 10, 10+10



10.1. STEFA - (N) BAN

Ṛ - Ṛ

20/1,36 Lj(XVI-9), J(238), R(783)



10.2. +STEF - AN BA

Ṛ - Ṛ

17/1,14 Lj(XVI-10), J(-), R(792)



11. STEFAN - BAN BSNE

Ṛ - Ṛ

+ Lj(-), J(-), R(-)



12. + BAN - BOSNA

Ṛ - Ṛ

17/1,01 Lj(XVI-11), J(-), R(798)

Cm - 10



13. STEFA - N BAN
S BLASI - VS RAGS

18/1,30 Lj(-), J(-), R(806)

Cm - 10



14. BAN BS - N STEFAN
S BLASIV - S RAGVSI

+ Lj(-), J(-), R(-)



15. STEFA - N BAN
S BLA - SIVS

19/1,31 Lj(-), J(-), R(814)



STEFAN TVRTKO I

TVRTKO I KOTROMANIĆ Ban of Bosnia 1353-1377

King of Raška and Bosnia 1377-1391

After the death of Ban Stefan II that left no male heirs, his younger brother Ladislaus proclaimed his fifteen year old son Tvrtko for a Ban and practically overtook the government of Bosnia single-handed. The great power and experience of Ladislaus prevented more significant resistance to undergoing changes, but he outlived his brother for less than a year. The mother of Tvrtko, Jelena Šubić, with the younger son Vuk, went to Hungarian Court to King Lajos to specify with him the position of the young Ban. After she had returned, Tvrtko summoned the court of Bosnian aristocracy. Following substantial division of privileges and gifts to the aristocrats, the Assembly elected Tvrtko for Ban of Bosnia. Lajos, engaged with the warfare against Dušan over Mačva, and then against Venice over the cities in Dalmatia, still tried to force Tvrtko to give him Hum as a dowry. The relationships of Hungary and Bosnia did not develop in a friendly fashion and it ended in Lajos making a campaign against Bosnia in 1363. Tvrtko managed to suppress him at Sokol and Srebrnik.

The younger brother Vuk used the dissatisfaction of the aristocrats with the centralist politics conducted by Tvrtko to banish him from Bosnia in 1366. Gaining the support of the adversary such as Lajos, Tvrtko suppressed his brother in the course of the same year. The battles were waged all over 1367-8, in east Bosnia, towards the frontiers with the estates of Nikola Altomanović, who supported Vuk. Tvrtko managed to maintain firm central power in the country.

In the neighbouring Raška, weak central power of the heir of Dušan, Czar Uroš, led to the decomposition of the country. The most powerful aristocrats, the Mrnjavčević Brothers, tried to establish, by military and diplomacy, their power. The defeat and destruction of the Mrnjavčević Family on Marica River in 1371, changed the balance of power in Raška. The influence of Turks was still not felt in the old countries of Raška. The King of Hungary, Lajos, in 1370, became also the King of Poland, and he directed his ambitions to the unity of the inherited Anjou Kingdom in the south Italy and Hungary and Poland. Nikola Altomanović, at that moment the strongest aristocrat in the military sense, tried to impose by force his authority to his neighbours. Ban Tvrtko and Duke Lazar managed, in 1373, to defeat Nikola Altomanović. His countries were divided, Nikola was blinded and the Balšić Family interfered in that conflict, so Tvrtko entered in a longer dispute with them.

In 1374, Tvrtko married the daughter of the Czar of Vidin Stracimir. By victory over the Balšić Family, he took over the towns Konavlje, Dračevica and Trebinje. Thus, Tvrtko found himself the owner of the estate of the significant part of the previous countries of Ras. (He inherited Hum, and defeating Nikola Altomanović, he conquered the upper part of the Drina River.) Tvrtko emphasised his origin from the Nemanjić Dynasty (after the grandmother Jelisaveta, the daughter of King Dragutin) and on St. Dimitrius day, on October 26, 1377, according to the Orthodox ritual, he arranged a festive ceremony for his crowning for the King of Raška and Bosnia in the Monastery Mileševa (the foundation of Vladislav I Nemanjić), the church containing grave of St. Sava. In those days, the title of the King of Raška was given to Marko, the son of Vukašin Mrnjavčević, but as the master of the eastern part of the modern Macedonia, with the centre in Prilep, and the vassal of the Turks, he had neither strength nor interest to deny anything to Tvrtko. Crowning was never an issue of dispute either with Duke Lazar or Vuk Branković, or the Balšić Family, because that act was not accompanied by mutual demands. At the ceremony of crowning, Tvrtko, according to the live tradition of the Nemanjić Dynasty, took for his official name the title name Stefan. That was later repeated by all his heirs.

Lajos interfered in the war between Genoa and Venice, about the dominance in the Mediterranean, and it was reflected in the relationship between Tvrtko, Dubrovnik and Kotor. The change on the throne of Hungary, in 1382, decreased its influence at the Adriatic. Tvrtko used that to fortify and stabilise his position. He acted in an organised way, trying to lead Bosnia, in the economic and military sense, in order to gain completely independent position. He built the fortresses of St. Stefan (today the town of Herceg Novi) and Brštanik near Počitelj, where he erected the shipyard in 1383. Gradually, he prepared a fleet (he bought three ships in Venice) causing bitterness in Dubrovnik. The Hungarians surrendered the town of Kotor to Tvrtko in 1385, and in 1387, Klis and Ostrovnica. After the long lasting pressure, in 1390, he annexed also the Dalmatian towns Trogir, Šibenik and Split to Bosnia, and the islands of, Korčula, Hvar and Brač. Tvrtko proclaimed him-

self in the course of the same year the King of Raška, Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia.

Probably encouraged by Đurd Stracimirovića Balšić, whose territory they traversed, the Turkish robbers attacked Bosnia. One such larger unit was completely defeated, in 1388, by the Bosnian Duke Vlatko Vuković (the founder of the Kosača Family). The ally of Tvrtko, Duke Lazar was directly endangered by the Turks in 1389. Under the command of Vlatko Vuković, Tvrtko sent considerable help to Lazar to Kosovo. In the battle that caused enormous losses on both sides, the centre of the Serbian forces, led by Duke Lazar, was destroyed, while the wing units, under the command of Vlatko Vuković and Vuk Branković, suffered considerable losses. The death of Sultan Murat, retreat of his heir Bayezid, and also the preserved army, gave Tvrtko the impression that Turkey had been defeated at Kosovo plane. He sent such a message to the world, attributing the victory to himself, because the leader in that battle, Duke Lazar, was also killed. Only the later events gave the correct impression about the true winner of the Battle of Kosovo. Relatively young (53), he was at the height of his power, when he suddenly died, on March 17, 1391.

The things known about his politics were not in accordance with what could now be considered as coined by him. Either numismatics did not achieve to determine with precision all the coins minted by Tvrtko, or history could not know his economic politics enough. The town of Kotor, for seven years, while it was under protectorate of Bosnia, was minting three types of coins with the name of King Tvrtko, (there were over 100 specimens preserved) and Tvrtko himself, after 14 years that he ruled as King, in his present attribution, had issued only one type, and there existed only one specimen known.

While Tvrtko was the suzerain, the town of Kotor was coining only the money with his name.

1. TVERT - CO BAN
Ћ - Ћ

16/0,61 Lj(-), J(-), R(825)

2. TVERTCO - BAN BOSNE
Ћ - Ћ

17/0,85 Lj(-), J(-), R(823)

3. TVERTCO - BAN(I) BOSNE
Ћ - Ћ

21/1,92 Lj(XVI- 13, 14), J(241), R(831)

4. T:REX:BOS NE: > :RASIE
Ћ - Ћ

19/- Lj(-), J(-), R(865)



While King Tvrtko was its suzerain, the town of Kotor was minting coins with his name only.

STEFAN DABIŠA

DABIŠA KOTROMANIĆ, King 1391-1395

After the death of Tvrtko, the aristocrats at the Assembly, chose a new King, his cousin on the uncle side, Dabiša. In those days, in Hungary, long dynastic struggles took place. Lajoš was inherited by his daughter Maria. One group of Hungarian aristocracy wanted that Lajoš would be inherited by his cousin Carlo of Drač, while the others were on the side of Maria's fiance Sigismund (Žigmund) of Luxembourg (1285-1437). Carlo won, but he was poisoned after several weeks of government. The son of Carlo, Ladislaus of Naples, continued his fight for twenty years with more successful Sigismund. That fight determined all the events in south and central Europe, and the focus of events was undergoing in Dalmatia, Croatia and Bosnia.

In such a situation, the advanced aristocracy of Bosnia did not find agreeable strong central power. So Dabiša, although he was advanced in years when he got the crown, had no possibility to continue the work of powerful Tvrtko. The city of Dubrovnik tried to take advantage of the unstable position of the new King, in purchasing Konavle from the Sanković brothers. The Voivoda Vlatko Vuković and Duke Pavle Radenković reacted to the new situation and in the course of December 1391, won over the Sanković brothers, and shared their district between themselves.

Ladislaus of Naples bestowed upon Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatnić the title of Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia. It seemed as if very few things have changed, because he was an aristocrat from Bosnia, and Tvrtko annexed part of those territories to Bosnia. Sigismund, after several local successful actions against Turks, tried to arrange the question of his dominance in Croatia and Dalmatia. Helpless Dabiša, although he was not personally involved in the Croatian problems, was placed under obligation, in July 1393, in the administrative seat of the Bosnian Župan in Dakovo to make peace whereas he remained a King, but to be inherited by Sigismund. The aristocrats of Bosnia were divided on the issue of the Agreement of Dakovica, that led to the military intervention of Sigismund in north Bosnia. Under the direct pressure, Dabiša officially refused from the interference of Bosnia into the questions of Croatia and Dalmatia. Dabiša died on September 8, 1395.

Until the modern times, only one specimen of his coin has been preserved confirming the financial activities of King Dabiša.

1. ·STDABISA·R·BSNE E RASIE·
/ST(EFAN) DABIŠA R(EX) BOSNE E RASIE/
İC - XC

18/1.11 Lj(-), J(244), R(-)



JELENA GRUBA

Queen 1395-1398

The aristocrats of Bosnia did not want Sigismund because that would led them to loose the right to choose king, and that would make them loose their importance. They chose the widow of King Dabiša Helen-Gruba, that was in fact postponing the choice of the King. Although he verbally asked for the crown of Bosnia, Sigismund found the delay suitable, because, at that moment, he was not powerful enough to accept the conflict. Helen Gruba was the only woman officially governing Raška and Bosnia. The defeat of Sigismund from the part of Bayezid at Nikopolje in 1396, took away the fear of Bosnian aristocrats that the crown will pass to the Court of Hungary, so the choice of the king was again the issue, but that situation in Bosnia was considerably changed. Bosnia was only in form a unified kingdom, and practically it was divided in four districts, governed by the following families: Hrvatnić (north-west Bosnia), Kosača (south-east Bosnia), Radenković (west Bosnia) and Kotromanić (central and occasionally along the Sava River) and from them the King was chosen.

The intrusion of the Turks in January 1398 did not cause any damage in Bosnia, but it made more urgent the choice of the king. Helen Gruba was lost from the political scene in the course of 1398. There are no data when she died. Not a single specimen of the coin with her name was found. There could be no grounds for assumption that she did not issuing coins, but there existed no firm proof that she did.

PAVLE RADENKOVIĆ

the District Master of the Mountains in Bosnia

Pavle, just like Hrvoje Vučić and Sandalj Hranić, got the position among the first aristocrats of Bosnia only after the death of Tvrtko I. The division of Bosnia into districts in the times of Dabiša was only discerned, and from Jelena Gruba forward, until the fall of the Bosnian state. It was developed completely. From all the district masters of Bosnia (Kotromanić, Hrvatnić, Kosača and Radenković) Pavle had the least. Because of one of many local disputes, he was tricked to be murdered by Sandalj Hranić-Kosača and King Ostoja in 1415. His heirs, son Radoslav and later grandson Ivaniš played a conspicuous part as the district masters. Pavle, as all the district masters in Bosnia, did not mint coins.

HRVATINIĆ FAMILY

District Masters of the north-west Bosnia

During the reign of Tvrtko I, Hrvoje inherited from his father Vukac the position of Vorvoda. At the times of Dabiša reign, he was the most powerful aristocrat in Bosnia, but he did not come forth independently. The government of Queen Jelena Gruba was the period of bringing to an end the fight of the most powerful aristocrats in Bosnia for the formation of that district. It was assumed that Hrvoje had been the head of the party that brought Ostoja to power. Hrvoje was moving to the side of Ladislaus of Naples, that Sigismund tried to prevent with arms in 1398. It was assumed that (there were no reliable data) he had already been co-operating with Turks in accordance with the efforts of the Ladislaus of Naples to conquer the crown of Hungary. When Sigismund was taken prisoner by the Hungarian aristocracy in 1401, Hrvoje made a pressure in the name of Ladislaus and Ostoja against the towns of Dalmatia. Ladislaus did not have enough determination to start his campaign further away from Zadar, so his action withered away.

Hrvoje got from Ladislaus the title of Duke and became his regent in Dalmatia, Croatia and Bosnia. The failure of Ladislaus still increased the power (and territory) belonging to Hrvoje, that directed Ostoja towards Sigismund. In May 1404, at the Assembly, Hrvoje managed, after much conflict with the lower aristocrats, to remove Ostoja from the throne of Bosnia and position Tvrtko II in his place. Sigismund confronted with the new election by perpetual bursts into Bosnia.

The change of Pope enabled Sigismund to organise crusade against infidels. The defeat of Bosnia was obvious. Hrvoje, whose districts were outside the direction of the movement of the crusaders, found way to come to terms with the conquerer. It was also convenient for Sigismund, because Hrvoje brought not only the towns in Dalmatia, but also followed by other aristocrats in Bosnia, who were far away from being finally defeated. The positions of Hrvoje were growing continually, and Sigismund promoted him, for a short while, in 1410, to be the Vice-King of Bosnia and gave him the medal of the Dragon Order.

From unknown reasons, Hrvoje used, in 1413, the absence of Sandalj Hrančić with the war against the pretender to the Sultan throne of Emmeer Musa, to attack his districts. Sigismund reacted sharply, because of the disturbance of military operations against the Turks and he declared Hrvoje a rebel. That was used by the town of Split to get free from the tutorship of the Duke. Finding himself isolated and crumbled, Hrvoje tried to find salvation in negotiations. When that did not help, he asked for Turkish help and received it. The Turkish units, in 1414, devastated Bosnia and Croatia coming all the way to Zagreb. Ostoja and the aristocrats from Bosnia were under the obligation to establish peace with Hrvoje. They found solution in the acceptance of the supreme Turkish power.

Hrvoje died in April 1416. His heir, son Balša Hercegović, was not able to continue along the path undertaken by Hrvoje. His lands were crumbling, and one part went under the direct control of the kings of Bosnia.

Hrvoje was the most powerful aristocrat in Bosnia of the time. He was more powerful than the official suzerains of the Kings of Bosnia: Dabiša, Helen, Ostoja and Tvrtko II, whom he would appoint himself. The modern numismatics considers that he was not minting coins himself. The town of Split, in the period 1403-13, when the Duke Hrvoje was its suzerain, was minting coins where on one side there was a coat of arms and the name of the suzerain.

grosse, Ag

1
MONETA + ChRVOII + DVCIS + SPALETII
+ SANTVS + DOI - MVS + SPALETI +

22/1.57 Lj(XVII-19, 20), J(-), R(597)
Variants- in the legend: instead of the lily there is a dot and instead of lily a cross.



2 + MO + ChRVOII + DVCIS + S
+ SDOIMVS SPALETI + M

22/1.70 Lj(-), J(-), R(575)



3 + M - ChRVOII - DVCIS - S
- SDOIMVS - SPALETI - M

22/1.71 Lj(XVII-21-24), J(-), R(529)



4 + M - C - hRVOIID - VCIS - SPSAL
- SDOIMVS - SPALETI -

18/0.77 Lj(XVII-25), J(-), R(608)



5 + M - ChRVO - II - DVCIS
+ S - DOIMVS - SPALETI

14/0.37 Lj(XVII-27), J(-), R(616)



6 + M - ChRVO - II - DVCIS
M - S - DOIMVS - SPALETI

15/- Lj(XVII-26), J(-), R(619)



STEFAN OSTOJA

King 1398-1404 and 1408-1418

Ostoja was called by some sources Hristić, and some consider him the son of Tvrtko I, but all are convinced he was Kotromanić. Supported by Hrvoje, Sandalj and Pavle, he came to the throne of Bosnia in 1398 but he had actual power only in the district of Kotromanić. Sigismund tried to intervene, but he was defeated at the town of Vrbas (today Banja Luka) from Hrvoje Vukčić.

Sigismund found himself in difficulties, and Ladislaus of Naples, supported by the Pope and Hrvoje, by taking hold of the towns in Dalmatia, tried to get the crown of Hungary by direct intervention. In January 1403, at the Assembly in Veliki Varadin, his followers greeted him formally as the King of Hungary. In the middle of 1403, Ladislaus went to Zadar, with his fleet from Naples, where he was crowned as the King of Hungary. Always active Sigismund managed to retain stable power in Hungary and announced the campaigns at Dalmatia. Insecure Ladislaus left action, and proclaimed Hrvoje a Duke of the city of Split and his Regent in Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia, adding to the estates of Hrvoje also, the islands of Brač, Hvar and Korčula.

The King Ostoja, frightened by the events, made again connection with Sigismund. Hrvoje (after long negotiations with smaller aristocrats) managed to pull down Ostoja and chose for a King Tvrtko II.

Sigismund reacted by a campaign against Bosnia in 1405. Under the command of Pipa Span (in the folk literature Filip the Hungarian) in 1406, the troops from Hungary ravished the northern Bosnia. That action, just like the following in 1407, did not give more permanent results. Supported by the new Pope, Sigismund organised the Crusade and with 60.000 men and, in 1408, entered into Bosnia. On that occasion, a considerable part of the Bosnian aristocracy suffered when confronting him on his way directly. His main adversaries, Hrvoje, Sandalj and Pavle, and Tvrtko II himself were taking cover in good time. They entered into negotiations and managed to come to terms with Sigismund. They kept all the old privileges except those that were going against the interests of the families Šubić and Frankopan (the supporters of Sigismund). In memory of his victory, that paralysed actions against King Ladislaus, Sigismund established the Dragon Order. He decorated accordingly with it, the greatest aristocrats of his vast land, and among those also Despot Stefan Lazarević and Duke Hrvoje. In accordance with the wish of Sigismund, the aristocrats of Bosnia dethroned Tvrtko II and chose Ostoja for a King.

All the time during the reign of Tvrtko, Ostoja was not active. With the change at the throne of Bosnia, nothing changed, except that the influence of Hungary was getting stronger. After the Battle of Kosovo, Turkey appeared at the boundaries of Bosnia, across its vassal countries, and it interfered with the local conflicts of the neighbours, as used to be its politics. Ostoja tried to get away from Sigismund's pressure by using Turkey. Continual intrusions from the part of Sigismund, and on the other side from the part of Turkish robbers-plage the country. The Turkish troops, invited by Hrvoje to defend himself from the general pressure, increased the chaos. All that induced the aristocrats of Bosnia to take a stand together to accept the supreme power of Turkey. Sigismund tried to prevent that by smaller troops that were defeated at Doboj, in 1415. From 1415, until his downfall in 1463, Bosnia paid taxes-harač to Turkey. Ostoja died in 1418. It is assumed that he was minting coins. The modern numismatics did not attribute any specific coin to him.

STEFAN OSTOJIĆ - KOTROMANIĆ

King 1418-1421

The eldest son of Ostoja, Stefan tried to inherit his father on the throne. At the invitation of Sandalj in 1420, Isak-beg, the Regent of Skopje intervened, as he was handling all Turkish business in the west. Isak-beg and Sandalj brought back Tvrtko II to the throne of Bosnia. Stefan was active persistently in 1421, but with no success. He died in 1422. As the King of Bosnia who governed independently, at least in his region, he was able to coin money. Modern numismatics did not identify any specimen as his.

STEFAN TVRTKO II

King 1404-1408 and 1421-1443

60

It is considered that Tvrtko II was the son of Tvrtko I born out of wedlock. The first government was interfered by constant military interventions of Sigismund, who was opposed to the change on the throne of Bosnia. All those interventions were attacking mostly the district of the Kotromanić. In accordance with the wish of Sigismund, the aristocrats returned Ostoja to the throne.

For the second choice of Tvrtko for the King of Bosnia, he can thank the Turkish soldiers and the inexperience of Stefan Ostojić. With the new King in Bosnia, nothing essential had changed: weak central power, continual local conflicts, constant military interventions from the part of Hungary at one moment, and Turkey, at another, followed by robbery.

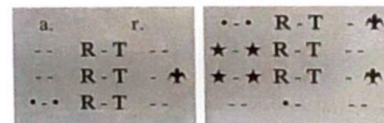
The attack of Murat II against despot lands in 1425, was used by Tvrtko to take over the town of Srebrenica from Stefan Lazarević. Stefan managed to suppress Murat, and turned against Tvrtko broadening his region insignificantly at that occasion.

In the course of 1426, the entire Bosnia suffered from the hordes of robbers. Under the pressure from Sigismund, Tvrtko edited a Charter in 1427, that in case he had no male heir, he left the throne of Bosnia to Herman of Celje (Sigismund's father-in-law). This one, like the other attempts from the Hungarian kings to take the crown of Bosnia from the Kotromanić family did not succeed.

Although he materially helped the Franciscan Brothers, at the opening of the monasteries and the official transition of all of his country to Catholicism in 1442, that, without a doubt strengthened positions of the Catholic Church, the religious situation in his country was essentially changing to the worse. The aristocrats, high and low alike, still preferred the Orthodox faith.

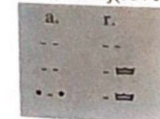
1. DNS • TVARTKO • - REX • BOSRE • • S • GREGORIUS • IMPERATOR •

24/1,77 Lj(XVI-16), J(242), R(879)



2. DNI • TRE • G • BOSNE S • GREGORI • IMPERATOR

19/1,05 Lj(XVI-17), J(243), R(1035)



3. **ONIT • TT • RE • GS • BOSNE**S GREGORI **NRNENU**

20/1,07 Lj(XVII-1,2), J(-), R(1047)

4. **R - T** / Rex Tvrtko?/
• S • - • R

15/0,40 Lj(-), J(-), R(1050)



61

STEFAN TOMAŠ

King 1443-1461

After the death of Tvrtko II, aristocrats, mostly from the Kotromanić District, and with the approval of Đurd Branković and Johann Hunyadi, elected for the new King the youngest son of Ostoja, named Tomaš. That election was contrary to the will of Stefan Vukčić Kosača, at that moment the most powerful aristocrat in Bosnia. He nominated his candidate and former pretender, the elder brother of Tomaš, Radivoje. Great Christian offensive against the Turks (without having powerful ally), prevented Stefan Vukčić in taking more serious action. Tomaš used that situation and conquered from Stefan Vukčić old estates of the Radivojević Family in Hum. He took advantage of the defeat of Despot to take over estates from Đurd on the left bank of the Drina River. He did not take part in the great Christian action, in 1443-4, against Turkey, but he was trying to retain Srebrenica.

He made peace with Stefan Vukčić and he got married to his daughter Katarina (granddaughter of Balša III and great-granddaughter of Duke Lazar) in May 1446 (second marriage). At the arranged grand celebration at Milodraž, the district masters, Ivaniš Pavlović-Radenković and Petar Vojislalić-Hrvatnić, did not attend, and that indicates clearly that such an occasion did not lead to true stability in Bosnia at that occasion.

Strengthening of Catholic influence was increasing. Tomaš organised the drive of the Kristijani-Orthodox into exile, away from his district, in the desire to persuade Pope to give him financial and military help in fight against Turkey. Non principled decision, continual involvement in local interests of the moment deterred the Pope from Tomaš. Tomaš did not take part in the action of allies against Turkey in 1456. At that occasion, he refused the request of Sultan Mohammed II to take part personally, as his vassal, on the side of the Turks, and to provide food for the Turkish army. The defeat of Turkey at Belgrade, just like the plague which on that occasion attacked the Turkish army, only for a short while deterred the danger from Bosnia.

The death of the elderly Đurd Branković, just like one year later, his heir Lazar, placed the lands of the Despot in a very difficult situation. Tomaš tried to get these territories by marriage of his son Stefan with Mara (Helen) daughter of the late Despot Lazar. Along with the approval of the new King of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus, the marriage was arranged. Stefan Tomašević took over Smederevo as the Despot of Raška on March 21, 1459 (the title was given by the King of Hungary Matthias Corvinus), in order to leave him without a fight before the Turkish troops of Mohammed II on July 20, 1459. Stefan could sustain his power in Smederevo only with the active participation of Hungary. Hungary was not in a situation to put up resistance to Turks, so Tomaš and his son Stefan were left to themselves. Now Tomaš was compelled to give over to Turkey the previously wanted Bosnian towns, that made dramatically worse the state of affairs in Bosnia. After a short period of illness, Tomaš died in July 1461.

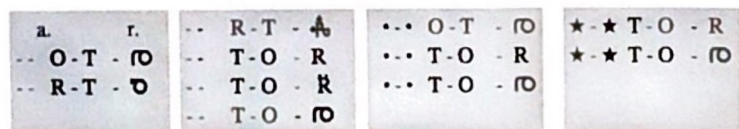
His monetary policy was stable. He was coining in three denominations in the ratio of weights 1:2:4. On the reasons of coining dinars together with his neighbour and rival, Despot Đurd, there are no data. Coins belonged to so-called memorial emissions. The existence of coins minted by Đurd similar to the one of Johann Hunyadi, coined on occasion of his betrothal, or marriage of his junior descendants, imposes drawing parallels. Thus, we find most convincing one hypothesis on minting coins at the occasion of concluding peace, in 1451, between Đurd and Tomaš.

1. **ONIT TOMAŠ R - EX BOSNE**
• S GREGORIUS NRNENUS

23/1,82 Lj(XVII- 8, 9), J(246), R(1052)

More variants of letters.





2. +GOS·TOMAS·CRЯ·BOSN
ŠA - GR (Santvs GRegori)

19/1,15 Lj(XVII- 3, 4), J(-), R(1110)



3. ★TONS·TOMAS·REX·BOSNE
ŠA - GR

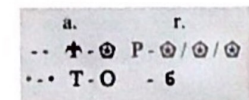
19/1,1 Lj(XVII-5), J(245), R(1115)



4. (+)R(N)S·TOMAS·REX BOS
S·GREGORI·PAPA

18/0,87 Lj(-), J(-), R(1121)

Underlined
text, broad-
er radius.



5. TOS·TOME·REX·BOSN . .
+S·GREGORI·PAPA

15/0,96 Lj(XVII-10), J(-), R(1122)

Text not under-
lined, smaller
radius.



6. +GOSPODI TOMAS
+GRЯ·BOSNE

17/0,48 Lj(-), J(-), R(1126)



7. ★TONS·TOME
★REX·BOSNE

16/0,57 Lj(-), J(-), R(1127)



Coins issued jointly-Đurd Branković -type 32

8. +GOS TOMAS CRЯ BOSN
+ДЕСПОТЬ·ГЮРЬГЬ

15/1,02 Lj(XVII-11), J(141), R(-)



62

STEFAN STEPAN

STEPAN TOMAŠEVIĆ KOTROMANIĆ Despot 1459, King 1461-1463

After the death of his father, Stefan tried to organise his power at least in the Kotromanić district. He made peace with the Duke Stefan Vukčić and at the celebration of the crowning, with the attendance of the emissary from the Pope, he managed to gather all the aristocrats of Bosnia. He made peace with the King of Hungary Matthias Corvinus in the hope that he would manage to form a military alliance like the one from 1456. When Mohammed II appeared with the Army at the frontiers of Bosnia, Stefan was somehow alone, so his towns were falling without a fight. They had no chance to defend themselves from so considerably more powerful an enemy. Stefan ran away from Jajce, but he got surrounded in Ključ. After the promise that he would be released, as had been the case with the fall of the town of Smederevo in 1459, he gave the town away, but he got executed at the express order of the Sultan. In such a way Mohammed made a point that there was no longer an independent Kingdom of Bosnia, although the resistance to the Turkish government in various forms was given for twenty more years.

1. +MONETA AVREA REGIS STEPHANI
+ GLORIA TIBI DEVS SPES NOSTRA

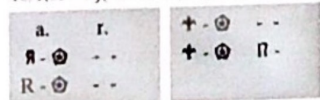
au, 30/14,05 Lj(-), J(-), R(1130)



This is the only coin minted in Raška, Srem and Bosnia. There is only one specimen known. Coin is shown in its natural size.

2. +STEFAN - CRAGL
S GREGO - RI - PAPE

18/1,03 Lj(XVII-14), J(247), R(1133)



3. +STEFAN - REGIS - C
+S GREG ORIPAPE -

18/0,98 Lj(XVII-16), J(-), R(1152)



4. STEFA - N - CRAGL +
S GRE - GORI - PAPE

15/0,51 Lj(XVII-15), J(-), R(1155)



MATIJA RADIVOJEVIĆ

King 1465-1471

As soon as Mohammed II, in 1463, withdrew with his Army from the Kotromanić District, Matthias Corvinus from the north and Stefan Vukčić from the south undertook the offensive. The Turks kept under their control a part of Bosnia. New campaigns of the troops of the Sultan in 1464 and 1465, did not change the situation significantly.

In order to attract and pacify the local aristocrats, Mohammed II renewed the Kingdom of Bosnia by placing Matthias, son of the previous pretender Radivoje, for the King of Bosnia. Matija had only a small estate around Laštva and played insignificant role in those events. Not only that he had no political importance but he neither economic nor technical conditions to be able to issue coins.

63

NIKOLA ILOČKI

King 1471-1477

The King of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, in parts of Bosnia that he controlled, promoted his aristocrat, Nikola Iločki for a King. Nikola was crowned in the town of Jajce in 1471 and with great ambitions started to conquer Bosnia. For the sake of bringing disorder into the action of Nikola, in 1475, Sultan placed for the King of Bosnia Matthias Vojslalić Hrvatnić. In those days, they formed an alliance against Turkey, consisting of Nikola Iločki, Vuk Grgurović Branković, (grandson of Despot Đurađ in folk poetry Fire Dragon Vuk) the Brothers Hercegovići-Kosače (sons of Duke Stefan) and Ivan Crnojević. They were also joined by Matthias Vojslalić. After the first successes, the alliance broke down both in the military and political sense. Nikola died in 1477, as the last official King of Bosnia.

1. +M·ICOLA·D·G·R·BOSNE
/ Moneta ICOLA Dei Gratia Rex BOSNE /
*NICOL·AV·SRB·ICOLA
/ NICOLAVS Rex Bosne ICOLA /
17/- Lj(-), J(-), R(1158)

2. M·NIKOLA·D·G·R·BOSNE
PATRA - REGNI
17/- Lj(-), J(-), R(1159)

3. +M NIKOLAI·D·G·R·BOSNE
MATER REGNI
17/- Lj(XVII-17), J(-), R(1161)



4. +M NIKOLAI D G R BOSNE
NICOL AVS RB

17/0,60 Lj(XVII-18), J(-), R(1163)



5. +NIKOLAVS REX BOSNE
VIRGO·M - ATE(R) DE(I)

17/- Lj(-), J(-), R(1167)



6. +MATHIE R UNGARIE M
/ MATHIE Rex UNGARIE Moneta/
R B-BOS - UNGAR

16/- Lj(-), J(-), R(1168)



KOSAČA FAMILY

Masters of the district of south-east Bosnia

The founder of the family is Voivoda Vlatko Vuković- who became famous by destroying the larger Turkish band of robbers in 1388. He took part in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 as the head of the Bosnian troops commanding one wing in the Army of Lazar.

Vlatko was inherited by his nephew Sandalj Hranić (1392-1435). At the beginning, he was supporting a considerably older relative Hrvoje Vukčić, whose nephew Katarina he married in 1396. In time, his power and influence increased, so that at particular moments the power and influence of Bosnian kings were diminished. He appeared independently, just like the other district masters in Bosnia, although his district, for him like for his neighbours, was only a part of the Kingdom of Bosnia.

Stefan Vukčić (1435-1466) was nominated by his uncle for his heir. The neighbours, first of all King Tvrtko II, tried to take advantage of the insecurity of the master of Kosača. Stefan came out with more strength from the initial conflicts. He proclaimed himself Duke (herzog) of the St. Sava Order with the acceptance from King Tvrtko. (According to that title, the district where his estate was named Hercegovina). In order to get also economic independence, he focused on the town Novi (today Herceg-Nowi) that was first established by Tvrtko I as the military fortress. Herceg organised economic life there by focusing upon the domestic tradesmen and by opening textile manufactures. The merchant cities that found themselves confronted with competition (Venice, Dubrovnik, Kotor), tried to stop him either by war or trade intrigue.

In his politics, he was relying upon the Turks, although, from time to time, he was also suffering from considerable damage from their bands of robbers, but in the end, directly endangered from them, he was under the obligation to turn against them. At the occasion of the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia, he survived. The Turks were undertaking local action to gradually bring down his district pushing him towards the Adriatic coast. At the end of his life, there was a conflict inside the family accompanied by the interference from the part of the small aristocrats and Turkey. When he gave to the eldest son Vladislav a part of his lands, the conflict was diminished but not extinguished. The requests of the heirs were changed, according to the situation at the moment. He died on May 25, 1466 and left his second son Vlatko as the head of the family.

Vlatko Hercegović (1466-81) continued resistance to the Turks with changing luck. He made peace with his brother Vladislav and started military operations in the course of 1476. The youngest brother Stefan took the side of the Turks and under the newly assumed name, Ahmed Hercegović, continued his career (he was also a Grand Vizier). Vladislav disappeared from the political scene, while Vlatko was still holding only the town of Novi with the immediate surroundings. Apart from the great political activities and some soldiers from Hungary, surrounded in Novi, Vlatko gave the town away without a fight and fled with his family to Venice. After the fall of Novi on December 14, 1481, there ceased to exist the last part of the former independent part of former Bosnia.

Nobody from the Kosača family, just like no other district master in Bosnia, apart from the great economic activity, used to mint coins.

In parts of Zeta, in between the Lake of Skadar and the town of Kotor, the Crnojević family acted independently for almost thirty years, but that did not surpass local importance and it was far away from the organised state. Its independent effect had great importance upon the Serbian Orthodox Church, because that period enabled them to be adjusted to survival in the shadows of the governing Muslim religion. Ivan Crnojević built the Monastery of Cetinje, and his son Đurd founded the printing press that edited religious books. In the mountain regions of former Crnojević territory, the resistance to the Turkish invaders did not stop for centuries, in order that in the XIX century that resistance may grow stronger and lead to the formation of the organised country of Montenegro.