

Emir O. Filipović (Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina)
 Filozofski fakultet, Sarajevo
 e-mail: emir.filipovic@ff.unsa.ba

UDK 94(497.6):737.1.041]”12/13”
 Original scientific paper

ŠUBIĆI AND THE MINTING OF COINS IN MEDIEVAL BOSNIA

Coins minted by the Croatian kindred of Šubići from Bribir are a genuine numismatic rarity and somewhat of a historiographic curiosity. It is assumed that there are less than 30 specimens preserved today, and despite the notable list of works dedicated to the study of this subject, many key issues still remain unresolved. For instance, it is unclear under which circumstances the Šubići ventured to issue coins with their own names in the first place, and it is not known where they minted this currency, why it was not produced in more significant quantities and why their coins are so rare today. Furthermore, we still do not have the answer to the question why these were jointly issued by ban Paul Šubić and his, firstly brother, and then son, both of whom were named Mladen and both of whom were bans of Bosnia. It is also an enigma why ban Paul did not mint his own coins alone, without the names of his brother or son, and why did he not begin issuing them earlier since he held power in Croatia from the 1270's. The lack of available written sources does not permit us to provide an accurate and definitive answer to any of the above posed questions. Therefore, the aim of this paper is not to delve extensively into those issues, but rather to provide a short overview and a recapitulation of the present knowledge about the coins of the Šubići, with special reference to the beginnings of coin minting in medieval Bosnia. At the same time possible solutions will be presented as well as some suggestions for thought.

Key words: Šubići of Bribir, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Venice, medieval silver mines

The Šubići of Bribir as bans of Bosnia

It is still not completely clear how the Šubići of Bribir managed to acquire the title of “Bosnian ban” and this topic certainly deserves to be given its due attention by future researchers. Most of the historians who have treated this topic in the past approached it from a variety of angles thus producing diametrically opposing interpretations and obscuring the rationale behind this family’s policies towards Bosnia. Some supposed that the Šubići obtained the new territories and title by way of peaceful developments,¹ while others thought that they had to secure their authority by using forceful measures since they were opposed by the Bosnian ban Stjepan (r. ca. 1287-1302) and the local ruling elites.² However, it seems that the solution of the problem might rest in try to

¹ For instance *Vjekoslav Klaić*, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347.*, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 1897, 67-69, 77-78; *Marko Perojević*, *Šubići gospodari Bosne*, in: *Poviest hrvatskih zemalja Bosne i Hercegovine*, HKD Napredak, Sarajevo, 1942, 242-243; *Stjepan Antoljak*, *Ban Pavao Bribirski ‘Croatorum dominus’*, *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 1972, 19, 5-62.

² Cf. *Vladimir Ćorović*, *Historija Bosne I*, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd, 1940, 217; *Sima Ćirković*, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, Srpska književna zadruga, Beograd, 1964, 78-79; *Mladen Ančić*, *Putanja klatna. Ugarsko-hrvatsko kraljevstvo i Bosna u XIV. Stoljeću*, ZIRAL, Zadar – Mostar, 1997, 92-93; *Damir Karbić*, *Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322.)*, *Zbornik OPZ HAZU*, 2004, 22, 16-17. For a completely different and hypercritical evaluation of the role of Šubići in Bosnia see *Nada Klaić*, *Srednjovjekovna Bosna. Politički položaj bosanskih vladara do Tvrtkove krunidbe (1377. g.)*, Grafički zavod Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1989, 182-214.

understand the relationship between this powerful Croatian kindred and king Charles Robert of Hungary (r. 1301-1342), as well as in the correct assessment of the attitude and position of the influential family of knez Hrvatinić who were relatives, allies and supporters of the Šubići and their ambitions towards Bosnia.³

The available contemporary sources tell us that by the beginning of the fourteenth century the Šubići outgrew their Croatian and Dalmatian possessions, turning their aspirations towards neighbouring Bosnia. In the wake of the change on the royal throne in Hungary and the ensuing rearrangement of power structures in the region, they saw an opportunity to expand their power and influence. While ban Paul (c. 1245-1312) was to remain master in the family domains as the undisputed patriarch of the household, he designated his younger brother Mladen as the potential future ruler of Bosnia. Their army commenced its march towards Bosnia in the spring of 1302 and its campaign was, by all accounts, finished quickly and successfully.⁴ Namely, in one Latin charter, dated 11 June 1302, in which he gave privileges to the merchants of Split, Mladen was titled as Bosnian ban for the first time.⁵ This document also mentions that he ordered his new seal, but that it was not yet completed and so the charter had to be certified with his old seal.⁶ Mladen was not ban of Bosnia for long since the “Necrologies of Bribir” state that he was murdered in June of 1304 by “heretic infidels”,⁷ which probably alludes to the opponents of his rule in Bosnia, or to the supporters of the old Bosnian ban. The true circumstances of Mladen’s death are still unknown but it seems that the problems were of a more extensive nature since in the following year Paul took his army into Bosnia, perhaps with the aim to punish the rebels who killed his brother. On that occasion he managed to impose his will on the local nobility and inaugurate his eldest son Mladen II as the new Bosnian ban, while keeping for himself supreme authority

³ See, for instance, charters issued by ban Paul and his family to knez Hrvatinić and his descendants in 1301, 1304 and 1305: *Tadija Smičiklas* (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, Vol. VIII, JAZU, Zagreb, 1910, 3-4, 80, 96-97. Cf. *Milko Brković*, *Tri povelje knezova bibrirskih izdane bosanskom knezu Hrvatiniću, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti u Zadru*, 1990, 32, 139-154.

⁴ *Karbić*, *Šubići Bibrirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322.)*, 17. The foundational charter for the Franciscan church and monastery of St. John the Baptist near Skradin, issued on 7 April 1299, refers to ban Paul as “banus Coruacie, Dalmacie et dominus Bosne”. *Josip Barbarić – Josip Kolanović*, *Šibenski diplomatarij, Muzej grada Šibenika, Šibenik*, 1986, 185-186. However, the text of this document was preserved only in a much later transcript and was obviously misdated. The charter caused much confusion in historiography, even if it clearly does not correspond to the known chronology of events and subsequent sources prove that ban Paul did not undertake any concrete steps regarding Bosnia at that time.

⁵ “Nos Mladinus banus Bosniensis [...]”, *Smičiklas*, *CD VIII*, 27. The charter was issued in *Hocucha*, which is clearly *Hotuča* near *Gračac* in the hinterland of *Zadar*, and not *Hotča*, i.e. *Foča*, on the river *Drina* in *Bosnia*. See: *Vjekoslav Klaić*, *Grada za topografiju Ličko-Krbavske županije u srednjem vijeku*, *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, 1902, 6, 30.

⁶ “[...] et quia sigillum nostrum banale nondum erat paratum, praesentes antiquo nostro sigillo fecimus sigillari [...]”. *Smičiklas*, *CD VIII*, 28.

⁷ “A. D. MCCCIV ... mensis Junii interfecerunt dnum. Mladinum banum Bos(nensem) heretici infideles”. *Stipan Zlatović*, *Bibrirski nekrolog XIV i XV. vieka*, *Starine JAZU*, 1889, 21, 84.

expressed in the title of “ban of Croats and lord of whole of Bosnia”.⁸ It is difficult to decode the practical implications of this new arrangement of titles, but it might be suggested that by styling himself as “lord of Bosnia” ban Paul wanted to articulate that he was the ruler and true bearer of sovereign power, while his son merely retained the office of ban of Bosnia, acting as a representative of his father. Indeed, using the new designation of “banus Croatorum et dominus Bosne” Paul issued trading privileges and other documents to the communes of Rab and Trogir throughout 1307 and 1308.⁹ The Holy See also recognized Paul’s new title as an acceptance of the recent geopolitical changes in the region. In 1308 a papal legate referred to him as the ban of Croats and “lord of the whole of Bosnia”,¹⁰ and in 1311 Pope Clement V wrote to Paul, “lord of Croats and Bosnia”.¹¹ In the same year the inhabitants of Zadar called Paul’s son in their charters “magnificent lord Mladen, knez of Zadar, princeps of Dalmatia and second ban of Bosnia”.¹² Ban Paul died in 1312 and it seems that the rule of his son in Bosnia was very unpopular, particularly amongst the Bosnian nobles and supporters of the family of the former Bosnian ban.¹³ Therefore, despite all his efforts to stabilize his authority, the reign of Mladen II in Bosnia came to an unsuccessful end when he was removed from power in 1322.¹⁴

The treatment of the Šubić coins in numismatic literature

If we take into consideration the fact that members of the Šubić family styled themselves in written sources as “Bosnian bans” and “lords of Bosnia”, it is understandable why certain researchers considered their coins to be Bosnian coins and why they

⁸ “[...] banus Croatorum et tocius Bosne dominus [...]”, *Neven Isailović*, Povelja bana Pavla Šubića i njegovih sinova knezu Hrvatinu Stjepaniću, Građa o prošlosti Bosne, 2010, 3, 11-27. During archaeological excavations in Zadar in 1961 a copper seal matrix was found which belonged to ban Paul Šubić. His title on the inscription in the legend was: PAULUS * DE BREBERIO * BANUS * CROATORUM DNS * ET BOSNE *. *Janko Belošević*, Pečatnik hrvatskoga bana Pavla I. Bribirskog iz Zadra, Diadora, 1965, 3, 159-169. For a recent portrait of ban Paul see: *Neven Budak*, Paulus de Breberio banus Croatorum dominus et Bosne, in: *Portraits of Medieval Eastern Europe, 900-1400*, ed. Donald Ostrowski – Christian Raffensperger, Routledge, London – New York, 2018, 100-108.

⁹ *Smičiklas*, CD VIII, 131-33, 196-97.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 204.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, 284

¹² *Ibidem*, 295.

¹³ *Karbić*, Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322.), 22.

¹⁴ *Ferdo Šišić*, Pad Mladena Šubića, bana hrvatskoga i bosanskoga. Istorička studija, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, 1902, 14, 335-366.

interpreted them and described them as such.¹⁵ However, this was not the case with all works dedicated to the study of medieval coins found in these regions, especially not with the older ones. Thus, for instance, *Janko Šafarik*, who was among the first authors who wrote about this topic in 1851, began his description of Bosnian coins with those minted by Stjepan II, ban of Bosnia from 1322 to 1353.¹⁶ *János Érdy*, Hungarian lawyer, archaeologist and numismatist, also began his treatment of Bosnian coins with those minted by Stjepan II, and did not even take into consideration the ones minted previously by rulers from the Šubić dynasty.¹⁷ As opposed to him, the Austrian numismatist *Georg A. Egger* started his description of Bosnian coinage with the coins of ban Mladen II.¹⁸ In his capital work *Opis jugoslavenskih novaca* [Description of Yugoslav coins] Šime Ljubić initially described the coins of ban Stjepan I, whose reign falls in the last decades of the thirteenth century, after which he swiftly moved on to the analysis of the coins minted by Šubići as bans of Bosnia.¹⁹ It is important to point out that, just like Egger, Ljubić also failed to recognize the role of Mladen I in the minting of these coins since he considered that only Mladen II, the eldest son of Paul Šubić, bore the title of Bosnian ban.²⁰ In 1894 *Čiro Truhelka* vaguely grouped the coins of Paul and Mladen Šubić among “the coins of the first bans until 1353”,²¹ but despite of that he still mistakenly believed that the oldest form of Bosnian coins were the ones minted by ban Stjepan I.²² Writing about the same topic four years later, *Vjekoslav Celestin* does not even mention the Šubići, but correctly emphasizes that ban Stjepan I did not produce

¹⁵ Aside from the general histories of coin minting in Bosnia and Croatia, the quantity of literature that specifically deals with the coins of the Šubići is quite significant. The most important works are: *Ivan Rengjeo*, *Novci Pavla Šubića, bana hrvatske i gospodara Bosne*, Numizmatika, 1934-1936, 2-4, 94-105; *Gjuro Krasnov*, *Prilog istraživanjima novaca Šubića Bribirskih*, Numizmatičke vijesti, 1969, 27, 21-27; *Idem*, *Još dva neobjavljena primjerka novaca Šubića Bribirskih*, Numizmatičke vijesti, 1971, 29, 1-2; *Idem*, *Novi prilog istraživanjima novaca Šubića Bribirskih*, Numizmatičke vijesti, 1973, 31, 44-45; *Idem*, *Srebrni groši Šubića Bribirskih s početka XIV stoljeća*, Numizmatičke vijesti, 1990, 43, 17-26; *Zvonimir Wyrubal*, *Novac bana Pavla Šubića, Obol*, 1983, 35, 6-8; *Vedrana Delonga*, Numizmatika, in: *Bribir u srednjem vijeku – Katalog izložbe, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika*, Split, 1987, 107-112; *D[avid] M[ichael] Metcalf*, *Prijedlog atribucije metalnog novca Pavla i Mladena Šubića*, Numizmatika, 1988, 7, 60-61; *Martin Dimnik – Julijan Dobrinčić*, *Medieval Slavic Coinages in the Balkans: Numismatic History and Catalogue*, Spink, London, 2008, 67-68, 197; *Ivan Mirnik*, *Coins from Bribir (Varvaria)*, Slovenská numizmatika, 2007, 18, 157-180; *Idem*, *Numizmatički nalazi s Bribirske glavice*, in: *Studia Varvarina I*, Zagreb – Motovun, 2009, 131-151; *Marko Šarinić*, *Novci Pavla Šubića i brata mu Mladena I (1302.-1304.)*, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 2010, 43, 449-453; *Amer Sulejmanagić*, *Bosanski srednjovjekovni novac u kontekstu europskih monetarnih tijekova, periodizacija te analiza njegove ikonografije, metrologije i grafije do 1353. godine*, Numizmatičke vijesti, 2014, 67, 53-57.

¹⁶ *Janko Šafarik*, *Opisanije sviju dosad poznati srbski novaca*, *Glasnik Društva srbske slovesnosti*, 1851, 3, 253ff. In a later instalment of his work the same author also described the coins of Bosnian ban Mladen, see: *Idem*, *Opisanije sviju dosad poznati srbski novaca*, *Glasnik Društva srbske slovesnosti*, 1856, 8, 278-280.

¹⁷ *János Érdy*, *A Bosznia és Szerb régi érmek*, Buda, 1857, 3ff.

¹⁸ *Georg A. Egger*, *Die Münzen von Bosnien und Dalmatien*, *Wiener numismatische Monatshefte*, 1866, 2, 165-166.

¹⁹ *Šime Ljubić*, *Opis jugoslavenskih novaca*, Zagreb, 1875, 200-202, T.XVI,4.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, 202.

²¹ *Čiro Truhelka*, *Bosanski, srpski i bugarski novci zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, 1894, 6, 395.

²² *Ibidem*, 390-391.

his coins at all, as was previously assumed by *Šime Ljubić* and *Ćiro Truhelka*.²³ In 1913 *Milan Rešetar*, one of the outstanding experts on medieval coinage of the Balkans, unreservedly claimed that Mladen Šubić was the first to mint coins “for Bosnia”.²⁴

The esteemed numismatist *Ivan Rengjeo* went the furthest in the analysis of the coins minted by the Šubići and he contributed a great deal to their better understanding.²⁵ Beside the historical aspect he also treated a number of important issues in regard to the silver coins of Šubići, he revised the opinions of previous researchers and described 17 examples of these coins which were available to him at that time. *Rengjeo* observed that the silver *dinars* of the Šubići were “the first coins which have the names of the Bosnian bans, and were therefore minted for circulation in Bosnia”.²⁶ Since those coins, which he thought belonged to Paul, also bore the names of Bosnian bans Mladen I and Mladen II, *Rengjeo* considered it to be completely justified to “consider these mints as the first and oldest coins also minted for Bosnia”. According to his understanding this implied that “the beginning of Bosnian coinage was closely connected to the broader Croatian coinage, with which it is united due to national reasons”.²⁷ Since he laid the groundwork for future study of the Šubić coins, the opinions of *Ivan Rengjeo* exerted crucial influence on all authors who subsequently wrote about the same topic.

Šubići and their coinage prerogative

Even though they were fairly independent on the territory which they ruled over, the fact that the Šubići coined their own currency still attracts certain suspicion.²⁸ A logical question can be posed, what was the basis of their actions and who gave them the approval to mint coins if we know that this was a regal right reserved only for royalty?²⁹ Due to the power and influence “he enjoyed not only in his state in general, but also in his family in particular”, *Rengjeo* attributed the minting of these coins to Paul and says of him: “It is not known whether he received the right to mint coins from any ruler. But since royal rule was almost non-existent in Croatia, he most probably did not even seek this permission from anybody”.³⁰ *Rengjeo* further stressed that Croatia, together with coastal Dalmatia, represented a union which was economically independent from Hungary in the minting of coins, and that according to written sources there is no proof that “royal Hungarian money was used on the territory of Croatia south of Gvozd”, but

²³ *Vjekoslav Celestin*, *Opis nekih bosanskih novaca* (Prinos bosanskoj numizmatici), *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, 1898, 10, 106.

²⁴ *Milan Rešetar*, *Stari bosanski novci*, *Bosanska vila*, 1913, 5, 73.

²⁵ *Rengjeo*, *Novci Pavla Šubića, bana hrvatske i gospodara Bosne*, 94-105; *Idem*, *Novci bosanskih banova i kraljeva*, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, 1944, 55, 244-246, 272-273.

²⁶ *Rengjeo*, *Novci bosanskih banova i kraljeva*, 244.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 246.

²⁸ This practice was even described by certain experts as “somewhat corrupt”. See: *Zdenka Dukac – Ivan Mirnik*, *Numizmatička zbirka – Vodič*, *Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 2004, 134.

²⁹ See: *Ivan Mirnik*, *Pravo hrvatskoga plemstva na vađenje rudače i kovanje novca*, *Povijesni prilozi*, 2006, 31, 101.

³⁰ *Rengjeo*, *Novci bosanskih banova i kraljeva*, 245; *Idem*, *Novci Pavla Šubića, bana hrvatske i gospodara Bosne*, 96.

that only Byzantine coins were used there from the tenth to the thirteenth century, and were then replaced by Venetian currency.³¹

In the context of this topic the most interesting are the ideas of *Zvonimir Wyroubal* who thought that the Šubići minted their coins as bans of Bosnia, and that those mints then subsequently came to be used on the complete territory which they controlled. He rejected the stances of *Rengjeo* and others who considered these to be coins of ban Paul, arguing that each of the sons of Paul Šubić ruled his own territory; Mladen II in Bosnia, George was the count of the coastal towns of Dalmatia, Paul was count of the town of Split and Gregory was the count of the town of Šibenik. Therefore, it is not completely clear why Paul would place the names of Bosnian bans on his coins, first the name of his brother Mladen I, and then of his son Mladen II, excluding the other sons. He thinks that if ban Paul had in fact minted his own coins, he would have placed on them only his own title and his own name, and according to Wyroubal these coins were thus minted by Mladen I and Mladen II as bans of Bosnia, but not without the knowledge and approval of ban Paul.³²

Types of coins

Today we can differentiate two types of the silver *grossus* of the Šubići of Bribir. On both of these types the image on the reverse is the same – a Saint with a halo in a standing position (on the right side) presents the ban (on the left side) with a lance which has a banner adorned with a cross. In his left hand the saint holds a book. The ban accepts the lance with his right hand, and in his left hand he holds a scroll. Both the saint and the ban have long robes, but the ban's clothes are more richly ornamented. On the obverse both types show the Saviour sitting on an ornate throne with a halo above his head and an open book on his lap. (**Image 1**)

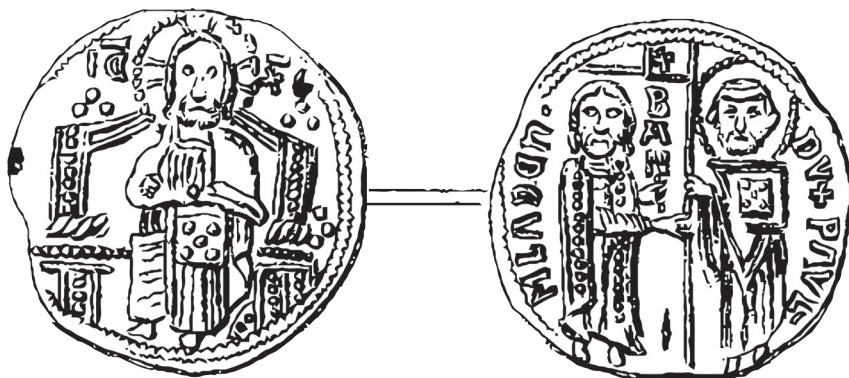


Image 1. Coin of ban Paul and ban Mladen I (Ljubić, 1875, T.XVI, 4)

³¹ Ibidem. Cf. *Ivan Mirnik*, Circulation of Venetian Money in what used to be the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini*, 1988, 90, 495-516.

³² *Wyroubal*, *Novac bana Pavla Šubića*, 6-8.

While the images are the same, the legends on the coins differ to some extent and this has been a problem to the early authors. As stated previously, it was not until later times that researchers determined that the first type was minted by Paul Šubić and his brother Mladen I, ban of Bosnia until 1304, because on the obverse there is an idealized inscription from the left to the right along the edge of the coin which says MLADEN, and right of it is DUX PAUL, in the middle is a vertical inscription BAN. (**Image 2**)

D V † P A V L B A N M L A D E N

Image 2. *Dux Paul Ban Mladen* (Ljubić, 1875, T.XVI, 4)

The other type is attributed to Paul Šubić and his son Mladen II, ban of Bosnia from 1305, since the inscription on it was altered to reflect the change on the Bosnian throne. Along the edge of the coin there is the lettering: SECUNDUS, right DUX PAUL, and in the middle, between the two figures, is a vertical inscription BAN MLAD.³³ (**Images 3 and 4**)

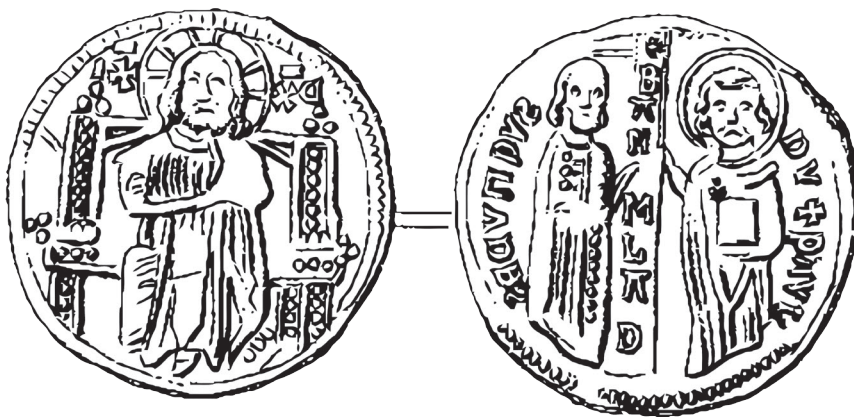


Image 3. *Coin of ban Paul and ban Mladen II* (Ljubić, 1875, T.XVI, 5)

D V † P A V L B A N M L A D S E C U N D U S

Image 4. *Dux Paul Ban Mlad Secundus*

Because of this arrangement of names, *Ivan Rengjeo* thought that the first type coins were minted between 1302 and 1304, i.e. at the time when ban Mladen I ruled Bosnia, and that the other type was minted during the reign of ban Mladen II, from 1305 until the

³³ *Krasnov*, Srebrni groši Šubića Bribirskih s početka XIV stoljeća, 20-21; *Rengjeo*, Novci bosanskih banova i kraljeva, 246.

death of his father Paul in 1312.³⁴ No attempt has yet been made to determine whether Mladen II minted his own coins after 1312.

The title of *dux*, i.e. duke, which appears next to Paul's name on the coins, has not yet been properly contextualized.³⁵ A solution has been proposed according to which the title was just another feature copied from the existing Venetian models, and that it does not accurately reflect the status and offices held by ban Paul.³⁶ It is, however, highly improbable that this matter would have been approached in such arbitrary fashion, especially on coins which were an immensely important visual sign of power. Admittedly, ban Paul had never in his lifetime been referred to as *dux* in other surviving written sources apart from this instance on the coins,³⁷ and it is most likely that the purpose of this innovation was to distinguish the differing positions of the two individuals whose names appeared in the legend.

Iconography

Šime Ljubić remarked that apart from the inscription, the Šubići coins "are nothing else than an imitation of Venetian grossi".³⁸ Ivan Rengjeo agreed with this observation claiming that ban Paul minted his coins so that they looked like contemporary Venetian *grossi* or *matapans* in order for them to enter the market and circulate much more easily. These imitations of Venetian money were so faithfully reproduced that the Šubići coins resembled them in size, images, whole appearance, and even weight, differing only in inscriptions on the reverse.³⁹

The Venetian *grossus* is very similar to the *nomisma* of the Byzantine emperors from the Comneni dynasty; John II (1118-1143), Manuel (1143-1180) and Andronicus (1183-1185). On the reverse of each of these coins, both the *grossus* and the *nomisma*, there is a depiction of a religious figure in an upright position, usually a Saint or the Virgin, handing over the symbols of authority or office to the lay ruler, in this case the Emperor or the Doge. On the obverse both coins show Christ sitting on a throne. These coins differ only in a few details and their similarities give ground to the conclusion that Venetians intentionally minted their coins to look like the Byzantine ones. The result of this was the fact that in the ten years after the death of Doge Enrico Dandolo, who minted the first Venetian *grossus* shortly after he assumed power in 1192, Venetian

³⁴ Rengjeo, *Novci Pavla Šubića, bana hrvatske i gospodara Bosne*, 98. David Metcalf thought that a more convincing explanation would be that the second type was in fact a short-term mint of Paul with Mladen II and that it is in relation to duke Paul's attempts to capture Zadar from spring 1311 to May 1312, and that it was used to finance the military. Metcalf, *Prijedlog atribucije metalnog novca Pavla i Mladena Šubića*, 60-61.

³⁵ See the attempt of *Antoljak*, Ban Pavao Bribirski 'Croatorum dominus', 223-224, 227-231, 252.

³⁶ Nada Klaić, Paulus de Breberio banus Croatorum dominus et Bosne, *Arhivski vjesnik*, 1974-1975, 17-18, 414.

³⁷ In 1370, more than half a century after Paul's death, a document from the Papal chancery referred to his grandchildren as "[...] filii nobilis viri Gregorii nati quondam Pauli, ducis Dalmatie et Croatiae [...]"; *Smičiklas*, CD XIV, 249.

³⁸ Ljubić, *Opis jugoslavenskih novaca*, 202.

³⁹ Rengjeo, *Novci bosanskih banova i kraljeva*, 245.

money completely displaced Byzantine coins in Venetian dealings with the Eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁰

As for the interpretation of the figures on the obverse of the Šubići coins, they were, by all accounts, a faithful reproduction of the described Venetian *matapans*, and especially of those minted by Pietro Gradenigo, who was Doge from 1289 to 1311.⁴¹ On those coins the Saint was St. Mark, protector of Venice, and the lay ruler was the Venetian Doge. (**Image 5**) *Ivan Rengjeo* assumed that the positioning of the names in the inscription (first of all: *dux Paul*, and then: *ban Mladen*) could possibly imply the subservient position of the Bosnian ban towards the lord of Bosnia, ban Paul.⁴² The image and the legend can certainly suggest that Mladen received the honour of Bosnian ban from his brother. However, this comparison would only make sense if ban Paul were to be compared to the image of the Saint who presents the symbols to the lay ruler. On the other hand, it is possible, but unlikely, that this was only a reproduction without any deeper political, religious or ideological meaning. It is difficult to imagine that the goldsmith who produced the cast would have intentionally left saintly attributes, such as a halo, on the figure of ban Paul.



Image 5. Coin of Venetian Doge Pietro Gradenigo (1289-1311)

Location of the mint

Today it is not known where the mint of the Šubići was located because the preserved historical sources do not even mention that those coins were used in payment let alone where they could have been produced. *Rengjeo* supposed that it was probably situated in one of the fortified settlements of ban Paul, possibly in Skradin, where his

⁴⁰ *Louise Buenger Robbert*, Reorganization of the Venetian Coinage by Doge Enrico Dandolo, *Speculum*, 1974, 49, 50. See also: *Alan M. Stahl*, *Zecca – The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore – London, 2000, 16-27.

⁴¹ See: *Tomislav Šeparović*, Skupni nalaz mletačkog novca dužda Pietra Gradeniga iz Suvih dolaca u Kijevu kod Knina, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 2007, 3.34, 327-333.

⁴² *Rengjeo*, *Novci Pavla Šubića, bana hrvatske i gospodara Bosne*, 98.

residence was to be found.⁴³ He also stressed that the territory ruled by the ban did not have any silver mines and that by conquering Bosnia he could have received the opportunity to acquire silver from the Bosnian mines “as was done by the later bans and kings of Bosnia”.⁴⁴

Zvonimir Wyroubal, who took a further step in connecting these coins with Bosnia, shared a similar opinion. Namely, he points out that it would not be worthwhile for any ruler to have to purchase silver in order to produce his own coins and that silver mines were a prerequisite for minting. Following this idea he wrote that on the territory governed by ban Paul Šubić such mines did not exist, but that they were to be found in Bosnia from where he could get silver supplies and where most probably his mint was located.⁴⁵

At present it is almost impossible to definitely determine the location of the Šubići mint, but it could be helpful to take into consideration the circulation of their coins and the locations where they were found. Apart from those whose place of origin is unknown, other finds have been traced to the village of Dobrošte near Tetovo in Macedonia and to a settlement called Priluka, not far from Livno in modern Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴⁶ Even if we do not know the circumstances under which they arrived at those places, we still have enough to suppose that the Šubići coins were rather widespread.

Conclusion

Due to a small number of preserved examples many researchers concluded that the Šubići coins were minted in insignificant amounts. Nevertheless, those coins that did survive still confirm that they were produced, the variety of existing types tells us that they were minted on several occasions, the fact that they were worn out testifies that the coins were in use for trade, and the known places of finding tell us that they might have been used in Bosnia and that they even arrived as far as the territory of present day Macedonia.

As always, the iconography and inscriptions on the coins are of particular importance for the correct interpretation of their meaning. They can give us an insight into the Šubić family hierarchy and explain the way they structured and distributed power and control in the lands they ruled over. If we take into consideration that Paul is styled on these coins with the title *DUX*, and that both his brother and son appear with the title *BAN*, it is then clear that Paul retained supreme authority in the overall family domains, whereas the office of ban of Bosnia represented a kind of an *appanage* which was administered by family members of junior rank. This arrangement is also reflected in other written documents in which Paul is referred to as “the lord of whole of Bosnia”, clearly indicating his superior status in relation to his brothers and sons. And even though the Bosnian name is conspicuously absent from the legends on the coins, both Mladen I and Mladen II were only ever bans of Bosnia (the latter at least until the death

⁴³ *Rengjeo*, *Novci bosanskih banova i kraljeva*, 246. *Idem*, *Novci Pavla Šubića, bana hrvatske i gospodara Bosne*, 99. This opinion is also shared by *Mirnik*, *Coins from Bribir (Varvaria)*, 157.

⁴⁴ *Rengjeo*, *Novci bosanskih banova i kraljeva*, 246.

⁴⁵ *Wyroubal*, *Novac bana Pavla Šubića*, 7.

⁴⁶ *Krasnov*, *Prilog istraživanjima novaca Šubića Bribirskih*, 21-22.

of his father ban Paul), which is sufficient ground to suppose that the Šubići minted their coins primarily as Bosnian rulers. The image on the reverse which shows a figure presenting the ban with signs of power can be understood as further testimony of the power relations within the family. If the figure in question is indeed ban Paul, as the inscription would suggest despite the obvious saintly attributes, then he would be the one who had authority to invest the bans of Bosnia with their office.

Unfortunately, it cannot be categorically established whether the Šubići acquired the right to mint coins along with the acquisition of Bosnia and the adoption of the title of Bosnian ban, or whether this was a logical sequence of the rise of their political and economical power. Bosnian rulers who come after the Šubići mint their own coins, but the question remains whether they followed their example and continued the practice of their immediate predecessors or whether they called upon some ancient right which belonged to the old Bosnian bans. The fact that ban Stjepan II produced his first coins imitating the ones minted by the Šubići is indicative and might serve as a contribution to the first of the two hypotheses. Namely, after managing to impose his authority in Bosnia, Stjepan II kept the weight and the obverse of the Šubići coins, only changing the reverse which now showed the ruler in a seated or upright position holding a sword and sceptre in his hands. The subsequent coins of the same ruler moved further away from this initial design and came to closely resemble Ragusan money which was very popular and widespread in Bosnia and Serbia at the time. This was a result of shifts in both the political and economic orientation of Bosnia after the domination of the Šubići had been terminated in an unglamorous manner.

At the very end we can summarize that, according to what we know, the coins of the Šubići are the first known examples which bear the name of a ruler of Bosnia, and since this practice of minting was not inherited by the blood relatives and descendants of bans Paul and Mladen, but rather by the subsequent bans of Bosnia, they can therefore be considered as the first known Bosnian coins. Apart from that, there is no doubt that they served as a basis, motivation and model for the continuation of minting coins in the Bosnian state.

Sources and literature

1. *Ančić, Mladen*, Putanja klatna. Ugarsko-hrvatsko kraljevstvo i Bosna u XIV. Stoljeću, ZIRAL, Zadar – Mostar, 1997.
2. *Antoljak, Stjepan*, Ban Pavao Bribirski 'Croatorum dominus', Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru, 1972, 19, 5-62.
3. *Barbarić, Josip – Josip Kolanović*, Šibenski diplomatarij, Muzej grada Šibenika, Šibenik, 1986.
4. *Belošević, Janko*, Pečatnik hrvatskoga bana Pavla I. Bribirskog iz Zadra, Diadora, 1965, 3, 159-169.
5. *Brković, Milko*, Tri povelje knezova bribirskih izdane bosanskom knezu Hrvatinu Stjepaniću, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti u Zadru, 1990, 32, 139-154.
6. *Budak, Neven*, Paulus de Breberio banus Croatorum dominus et Bosne, in: Portraits of Medieval Eastern Europe, 900-1400, ed. Donald Ostrowski – Christian Raffensperger, Routledge, London – New York, 2018, 100-108.

7. *Buenger Robbert, Louise*, Reorganization of the Venetian Coinage by Doge Enrico Dandolo, *Speculum*, 1974, 48-60.
8. *Celestin, Vjekoslav*, Opis nekih bosanskih novaca (Prinos bosanskoj numizmatici), *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, 1898, 10, 103-113.
9. *Ćirković, Sima*, Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države, Srpska književna zadruga, Beograd, 1964.
10. *Ćorović, Vladimir*, Historija Bosne I, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd, 1940.
11. *Delonga, Vedrana* Numizmatika, in: Bribir u srednjem vijeku – Katalog izložbe, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split, 1987, 107-112.
12. *Dimnik, Martin – Julijan Dobrinić*, Medieval Slavic Coinages in the Balkans: Numismatic History and Catalogue, Spink, London, 2008.
13. *Dukat, Zdenka – Ivan Mirnik*, Numizmatička zbirka – Vodič, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2004.
14. *Egger, Georg A.*, Die Münzen von Bosnien und Dalmatien, *Wiener numismatische Monatshefte*, 1866, 2, 157-177.
15. *Érdy, János* A Boszna és Szerb régi érmek, Buda, 1857.
16. *Karbić, Damir*, Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322.), *Zbornik OPZ HAZU*, 2004, 22, 1-26.
17. *Klaić, Nada*, Paulus de Breberio banus Croatorum dominus et Bosne, *Arhivski vjesnik*, 1974-1975, 17-18, 409-423.
18. *Klaić, Nada*, Srednjovjekovna Bosna. Politički položaj bosanskih vladara do Tvrtkove krunidbe (1377. g.), Grafički zavod Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1989.
19. *Klaić, Vjekoslav*, Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubići do god. 1347., *Matica Hrvatska*, Zagreb, 1897.
20. *Klaić, Vjekoslav*, Građa za topografiju Ličko-Krbavske županije u srednjem vijeku, *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, 1902.
21. *Krasnov, Gjuro*, Prilog istraživanjima novaca Šubića Bribirskih, *Numizmatičke vijesti*, 1969, 27, 21-27.
22. *Krasnov, Gjuro*, Još dva neobjavljena primjerka novaca Šubića Bribirskih, *Numizmatičke vijesti*, 1971, 29, 1-2.
23. *Krasnov, Gjuro*, Novi prilog istraživanjima novaca Šubića Bribirskih, *Numizmatičke vijesti*, 1973, 31, 44-45.
24. *Krasnov, Gjuro*, Srebrni groši Šubića Bribirskih s početka XIV stoljeća, *Numizmatičke vijesti*, 1990, 43, 17-26.
25. *Ljubić, Šime*, Opis jugoslavenskih novaca, Zagreb, 1875.
26. *Metcalf, D[avid] M[ichael]*, Prijedlog atribucije metalnog novca Pavla i Mladena Šubića, *Numizmatika*, 1988, 7, 60-61.
27. *Mirnik, Ivan*, Circulation of Venetian Money in what used to be the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini*, 1988, 90, 495-516.
28. *Mirnik, Ivan*, Pravo hrvatskoga plemstva na vađenje rudače i kovanje novca, *Povijesni prilozi*, 2006, 31, 101-117.
29. *Mirnik, Ivan*, Coins from Bribir (Varvaria), *Slovenská numizmatika*, 2007, 18, 157-180.
30. *Mirnik, Ivan*, Numizmatički nalazi s Bribirske glavice, in: *Studia Varvarina I*, Zagreb – Motovun, 2009, 131-151.

31. *Perojević, Marko*, Šubići gospodari Bosne, in: Poviest hrvatskih zemalja Bosne i Hercegovine, HKD Napredak, Sarajevo, 1942, 239-249.
32. *Rengjeo, Ivan*, Novci Pavla Šubića, bana hrvatske i gospodara Bosne, Numizmatika, 1934-1936, 2-4, 94-105.
33. *Rengjeo, Ivan*, Novci bosanskih banova i kraljeva, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, 1944, 55, 237-291.
34. *Rešetar, Milan*, Stari bosanski novci, Bosanska vila, 1913, 5, 73-76.
35. *Smičiklas, Tadija* (ed.), Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, Vol. VIII, JAZU, Zagreb, 1910.
36. *Stahl, Alan M.*, Zecca – The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore – London, 2000.
37. *Sulejmanagić, Amer*, Bosanski srednjovjekovni novac u kontekstu europskih monetarnih tijekova, periodizacija te analiza njegove ikonografije, metrologije i grafije do 1353. godine, Numizmatičke vijesti, 2014, 67, 53-57.
38. *Šafarik, Janko* Opisanije svijju dosad poznati srbski novaca, Glasnik Društva srbske slovesnosti, 1851, 3, 191-261.
39. *Šafarik, Janko*, Opisanije svijju dosad poznati srbski novaca, Glasnik Društva srbske slovesnosti, 1856, 8, 204-286.
40. *Šarinić, Marko*, Novci Pavla Šubića i brata mu Mladena I (1302.-1304.), Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, 2010, 43, 449-453.
41. *Šeparović, Tomislav*, Skupni nalaz mletačkog novca dužda Pietra Gradeniga iz Suvih dolaca u Kijevu kod Knina, Starohrvatska prosvjeta, 2007, 3.34, 327-333.
42. *Šišić, Ferdo*, Pad Mladena Šubića, bana hrvatskoga i bosanskoga. Istorička studija, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, 1902, 14, 335-366.
43. *Truhelka, Ćiro*, Bosanski, srpski i bugarski novci zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, 1894, 6, 389-410.
44. *Wyroubal, Zvonimir*, Novac bana Pavla Šubića, Obol, 1983, 35, 6-8.