

NEW FINDINGS ON THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE MEDALLIST PAVAO DUBROVČANIN (*PAULUS DE RAGUSIO*)

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ABSTRACT: The author affords basic information on the life and work of the medallist Pavao Dubrovčanin (Paulus de Ragusio), and suggests new dating of the medals made for Alfonso V of Aragon and Federico da Montefeltre. In the second part of the article the author attributes certain Ragusan mince to Paulus de Ragusio.

Key words: Paulus de Ragusio, Alfonso V, Federico da Montefeltre, Renaissance, Italy, Dubrovnik, medal, coins

Pavao Dubrovčanin (*Paulus de Ragusio, Paulus de Antoie*) was a distinguished Ragusan sculptor, goldsmith and medallist of the fifteenth century.

References to Paulus in foreign literature date from as early as the eighteenth century.¹ Paulus is represented in numerous surveys of the history of art,

¹ Rinaldo Reposati, *Della Zecca di Gubbio e delle geste dei Conti e Duchi di Urbino*, vol. I. Bologna, 1772: p. 249. I am grateful to my friend and colleague Dr Ivan Mirnik, curator of the Numismatic Cabinet at the Archeological Museum in Zagreb, for supplying me with literature, and also to Prof. Predrag Jirsak and Prof. Predrag Marković for assistance in the writing of this article.

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published both in Croatia and abroad. However, the only monograph on this medallist to date was published by Ivo Uzorinac in 1936.² In his discussion on Dubrovnik's goldsmiths between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, Cvito Fisković has focused on the life and most important data of Paulus' artistic career and craftsmanship.³ A more recent approach to Paulus has been made by Ivan Mirnik within the history of medal making of the Croatian coast.⁴

However, certain theses and open questions about the life and work of Paulus de Ragusio remain to be tackled. Newly discovered data and comparative analysis of Paulus' work cast a fresh light on this interesting artist.

The life and work of Pavao Dubrovčanin

Pavao was the son of Antoje Bogičević, hence in literature sometimes referred to as Antojev or Antojević.⁵ He is assumed to have been born in Dubrovnik around 1420.⁶

Young Pavao set off for Padua in the middle of April 1446, where the famous sculptor Donatello engaged him as collaborator on the execution of a new high altar of the basilica of St Anthony of Padua.⁷ Pavao's name appears on two payment receipts issued to him by Donatello.⁸ The first, dated 21 November 1447, Pavao signed as *Paolo d'Antonio da Ragusa*.⁹ The work on

² Ivo Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio (Pavao Dubrovčanin) – Medaljer XV. Vijeka«. *Numizmatika, Vjesnik Hrvatskog numizmatičkog društva u Zagrebu* 2-4 (1934-1936): pp. 106-123.

³ Cvito Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII. do XVII. stoljeća«. *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. III, 1 (1949): p. 173.

⁴ Ivan Mirnik, »Umjetnost medalje u priobalnoj Hrvatskoj od 15. stoljeća do 1818.«, in: *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 36 (1995.) [= *Petriciolijev zbornik II*]: p. 362.

⁵ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 114; C. Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII. do XVII. stoljeća«: p. 173; Jorjo Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi u Dubrovniku XIII – XVI v.* Beograd, 1952: p. 301; Cvito Fisković, »Lastovski spomenici«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 16 (1966): pp. 36-37; Ivo Lentić, »Zlatarstvo«, in: *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika: XV i XVI stoljeće* (exhibition catalogue), ed. Vladimir Marković, Margarita Šimat and Ivana Čukman-Nikolić. Zagreb: MTM, 1987: p. 371.

⁶ Apparently Pavao was born about 1420, since there is evidence that in the early 1450s, when he made some of his medals, he was in his thirties, Federico da Montefeltre being his peer (I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 109).

⁷ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 109.

⁸ Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, vol. VI. Milano, 1908: pp. 314 and 326.

⁹ A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* VI: pp. 314 and 326; I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 108-109.

the altar continued until June 1450, when Donatello dismissed all his collaborators. Ivo Uzorinac states that Pavao left Padua and headed south, first to Urbino, and then to Naples,¹⁰ to the court of Alfonso V of Aragon, where he joined the Croatian sculptor Franjo Vranjanin (Francesco Laurana). Assumption that Pavao set off for Naples prompted by the fact that Benedikt Kotrulj was in charge of the Naples Mint has to be refuted,¹¹ as it was not until 1460 that Kotrulj entered upon this duty.¹² There is no information about the duration of Pavao's sojourn in Naples, yet we do know that he made several medals there. There is reason to believe that he left some other, greater works, but until now his authorship has not been established with certainty. Pavao's Florentine career as goldsmith is also a matter of controversy.¹³

By 1460 at the latest, Pavao returned to Dubrovnik from Italy, where he married and settled for good.¹⁴ In June 1463 the Senate consulted him on a construction matter which included the strengthening of the city walls, defence against the menacing Ottoman invasion from the east. Bernardino of Parma was also asked to submit his plans for the remodelling of the north walls. The Senate, however, decided to employ the great Renaissance architect Michelozzo Michelozzi.¹⁵ There is ground to believe that Pavao is the author of one of the reliefs depicting three warriors (*Fall of the Tyrant*) on the impost of the capital above the entrance to the Rector's Palace.¹⁶

¹⁰ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 109.

¹¹ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 109; Milan Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika*, vol. I. [Posebna izdanja SKA, vol. XLVIII], Sremski Karlovci: Srpska manastirska štamparija, 1924: p. 514.

¹² Zdenka Janeković Römer, »Benedikt Kotrulj u potrazi za savršenim trgovcem«, in: Benedikt Kotrulj, *Libro del arte dela mercatura / Knjiga o vještini trgovanja*, ed. and trans. Zdenka Janeković Römer. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku i Hrvatski računovođa, 2009: p. 41

¹³ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 108, this assumption being formulated in nineteenth-century literature.

¹⁴ C. Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII. do XVII. stoljeća«: p. 173. According to the documents found in the State Archives of Dubrovnik, on 5 January 1461 Pavao Dubrovčanin signed a contract with certain Ragusan stone masons for the supply of stone for the house he was about to build. Pavao can also be traced in some documents of March 1463. The wills of Paulus' family members reveal that his mother's name was Kate, Tomo was one brother, and the other who joined the Benedictine order, Benedikt. Pavao married twice, and had a son, Antun, the goldsmith.

¹⁵ Hans Folnesics, »Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur und Plastik des XV. Jhs in Dalmatiens«. *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege* 1-4 (1914): p. 192, n. 306.

¹⁶ A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* VI: p. 461; C. Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII. do XVII. stoljeća«: p. 173. Igor Fisković, »O značenju i porijeklu renesansnih reljefa s portala Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 26 (1987): p. 216. Presupposition on Pavao's authorship is based on the mint and gold techniques as well as Donatello's influence.

Pavao Dubrovčanin died at the end of 1478 or in early 1479. Namely, from the chancery documents related to the execution of the will we learn that Pavao had already been dead by the beginning of January 1479.¹⁷

Some scholars argue that Pavao stayed at the court of sultan Muhammad II in Istanbul in 1479 or 1480. Their assumption is based on the receipt the sultan issued to the Ragusans in February 1480 as acknowledgement of their payment of annual tribute, from which it is evident that the Ragusan envoys deducted 86 ducats for the travel expenses of a certain master Pavao. In his work on miniaturists and portraitists from the second half of the sixteenth century, Turkish writer Mirza Habib also mentions master Pavao at the court of Muhammad II. J. von Karabacek holds that the mentioned master Pavao is no other than (our) Pavao Dubrovčanin, while Milan Rešetar disagrees with this argument. Since it is known with certainty that Pavao the medallist died earlier in Dubrovnik, apparently some other master by the same name is here in question.¹⁸

The medals of Pavao Dubrovčanin

Until now only four medals have been attributed to Pavao. Two medals bear his signature (*OPVS PAVLI DE RAGVSIO*),¹⁹ while the other two have been attributed to Pavao by Sir G. F. Hill, the foremost authority on Renaissance medals.²⁰ Three of these four medals Pavao Dubrovčanin made for Alfonso V, king of Aragon and Naples (1396-1458), and one for Duke of Urbino, Federico da Montefeltre (1422-1482), who was *condottiere* and the king's chief commander of the Naples Army. Certain authors, headed by Adolfo Venturi,

¹⁷ H. Folnesics, »Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur und Plastik«: p. 115; Ljubo Karaman, *Umjetnost u Dalmaciji XV. i XVI. vijeka*. Zagreb 1933: p. 66; C. Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII. do XVII. stoljeća«: p. 175. This document mentions as widow his second wife, Tomica, which is most solid proof of Pavao the medallist we are dealing with.

¹⁸ Milan Rešetar, »Još nešto o medaljeru Pavlu Dubrovčaninu (Paulus de Ragusio)«. *Numizmatika, Vjesnik Hrvatskog numizmatičkog društva u Zagrebu* 5 (1953): pp. 32-34, with reference to older literature.

¹⁹ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 114-121.

²⁰ George Francis Hill, *A Corpus of Italian medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*. London 1930: p. 13, Plate XII. According to Hill, Pavao Dubrovčanin is an exponent of the Naples school, his work being under great influence of Pisanello.

point to some other medals likely to be attributed to the Ragusan master,²¹ yet their attribution lacks conclusive proof.²²

The first medal for Alfonso V, king of Aragon and Naples (Fig. 1):²³



Fig. 1. The first medal for Alfonso V of Aragon
(reproduced from: I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: Plate V, no. 1).

Obv.: Bareheaded bust of King Alfonso V of Aragon, facing right. The inscription round the border reads clockwise: *ALFONSVS REX ARAGONVM*

Rev.: The goddess of health (*Salus / Hygieia*) in the shape of a standing female figure facing left. In the right hand she is holding a quiver, while her left hand leans on a long spear with a serpent climbing it. Allegory is standing

²¹ A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* VI: pp. 314 and 326.

²² I. Kukuljević described one medal, its reverse bearing: "cut leaves round the border with an inscription *SANITAS OPVS PAVLI DE RAGVSIO*", *Sanitas* most probably representing the goddess of health (*Salus*). In that case, in addition to a medal seen by I. Kukuljević, the opus of Pavao Dubrovčanin would include six, that is, seven medals (I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 117).

²³ *Médailles coulées et ciselées en Italie aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, vol. I. Paris: Bureau du Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique, 1834: p. 16; *Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles*, vol. I. Paris: E. Plon et C. ie, 1879: p. 18.; Cornelius von Fabriczy, *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance*. Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger Vlg., 1904: p. 49; M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* I: pp. 526-529; Milan Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika*, vol. II. [Posebna izdanja SKA, LIX]. Sremski Karlovci: Srpska manastirska štamparija, 1925: p. 307, Plate 22 (no. 3353) and 23 (no. 3354); I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 115. This medal is kept in the collections in Zagreb, Berlin, Florence, London, Padua (44 mm in diameter), Paris, Venice, Vienna (46 or 47 mm in diameter, weight 32.73 g; M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* II: p. 307, Plate 22, no. 3353). Diameter of the mentioned samples varies considerably. The sample kept at the Archeological Museum in Zagreb (46.02 mm in diameter, weight 38.08 g) is in excellent condition, apart from the fact that its upper portion is pierced (Fig. 1). Acquired in Venice in 1904 from the Marchio-Majer collection.

on flat ground, e.g. a line, the ends of which are slightly scrolled. The inscription from the lower left portion, the left scrolled end of the base on which the allegory stands, round the border to the right lower end reads clockwise: *OPVS PAVLI DE RAGVSIO*.

The goddess of health (Lat. *Salus*, Gr. *Hygieia*) was often represented on the reverse of coins and medals of the Roman Empire. Pavao Dubrovčanin modelled the reverse of his medal after some of the *sestertii* of Empress Manlia Scantilla, wife of Roman emperor Didius Julianus from 193 A.D.²⁴

- Diameter: ca. 45 mm / Material: bronze (cast) / Weight: ca. 38 g.

The second medal for Alfonso V, king of Aragon and Naples (Fig. 2):²⁵



Fig. 2. The second medal for Alfonso V of Aragon (reproduced from: I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: Plate V, no. 2).

Obv.: Same as the first medal.

Rev.: Bears identical design as the first medal. However, the inscription reads: *FORTITVDO MEA ET LAVS MEA D(omi)N(v)S*.

Diameter: 45 mm / Material: bronze (cast) / Weight: 24.62 g.

Attribution of this medal to Pavao Dubrovčanin is unquestionable, since it bears an identical representation on the obverse and the reverse as one of the signed medals, the only difference being that instead of the signature of Pavao Dubrovčanin the reverse of the medal bears the inscription: *FORTITVDO*

²⁴ Cf. *(The) Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, Part I (hereafter cited as: RIC 4/1), ed. Harold Mattingly and Edward A. Sydenham. London, 1936 (reprint 1998): p. 18., no. 18; Plate IV, no. 1.

²⁵ The only known sample of this medal is kept at the British Museum in London (I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 115-116).

*MEA ET LAVS MEA DNS.*²⁶ The latter has been borrowed in a somewhat shorter form from a larger medal by Pisanello, also made for King Alfonso V of Aragon.²⁷

The medal for Federico da Montefeltre, Duke of Urbino (Fig. 3).²⁸



Fig. 3. The medal for Federico da Montefeltre
(reproduced from: I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: Plate V, no. 3).

Obv.: Bust of Federico da Montefeltre, facing left. The head is covered with a cap. The inscription *FEDERICVS CO(mes) MONTIS FERETRI VRBINI DVRANTISQVE* reads clockwise round the border (from left to right).

²⁶ Cornelius von Fabriczy, »Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance«, in: *Monographien des Kunstgewerbes*, vol. IX. Leipzig, 1903: p. 49; Leonard Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists coin-, gem- and seal-engravers, mint-masters, & c. ancient and modern with references to their works B.C. 500 – A.D. 1900*, vol. V. London, 1912: p. 18; Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. 26. Leipzig, 1932: p. 213; I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 114; Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, vol. VIII. Paris 1966: p. 115.

²⁷ Full inscription of Pisanello's medal reads as follows: FORTITVDO MEA ET LAVS MEA DOMINVS ET FACTVS EST MICH I IN SALVTEM (I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 115-116, Plate 5, fig. 2).

²⁸ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 116; M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika I*: pp. 526-529; Médailles coulées et ciselées en Italie aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles: p. 16; *Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles*: p. 18; Francesco and Ercole Gnecchi, *Guida di numismatica*. Milano, 1903: p. 306; M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika II*: p. 307 and Plate 23; C. von Fabriczy, *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance*: p. 49; According to Rešetar (*Dubrovačka numizmatika II*: p. 307, n. 3354), the samples of this medal are housed in the collections, e.g. museums of: Florence (golden medal?), Bologna (gold-plated lead?); London, Paris, Vienna and Prague (Collection of Milan Rešetar, R. 1227, galvanoplastic copy). I. Kukuljević and the calendar *L'Epidauritano* mention yet another version of this medal, with a different inscription on the obverse: FREDERICVS COMES MONTIS FERETREQVE VRBINI DVRANTIS (I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 116, Plate 5, fig. 3).

Rev.: The lower portion of the medal shows an animal with a collar, moving leftwards along the exergue line. Most authors believe it to be an ermine,²⁹ yet I am inclined to agree with Milan Rešetar that it is a dachshund, since the animal has a long body and a collar round the neck, like a dog.³⁰ Below the line is an unidentified object or mark. The space above the animal bears an inscription in three lines: *REGIVS / CAPITANEVS / GENERALIS*. Circumscribed from left to right, from one end of the exergue to the other, is: *OPVS PAVLI DE RAGVSIO*.

- Diameter: ca. 45 mm / Material: bronze (cast) / Weight: 40.55 g.

The third medal for Alfonso V, king of Aragon and Naples (Fig. 4):³¹



Fig. 4. The third medal for Alfonso V of Aragon
(from: I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 116-117, Plate V, no. 4).

²⁹ Rinaldo Reposati and Julius Friedländer believed the animal depicted on the reverse of this medal to be an ermine and that it represented a decoration of the military order of the collar of the ermine, bestowed upon Federico by Ferdinand I. According to them, the casting of this medal is datable to 1465 at the earliest, when this order was founded. Other authors, such as Cornelius von Fabriczy and G. F. Hill, argued that the depicted ermine had nothing to do with the military decoration, but was one of the insignia of Federico da Montefeltre. Alfred Armand held that ermine owed its appearance on this particular medal mainly to the popularity of this motif among the medallists. See J. Friedländer, *Die italienischen Schaumünzen des XV. Jhdts*: p. 191; A. Armand, *Les médailleurs italiens des XV et XVI siècles*: p. 27; C. von Fabriczy, *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance*: p. 49; M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika I*: p. 528, n. 2; L. Donati, »Le medaglie di Paolo da Ragusa«: p. 225; I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 119.

³⁰ M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika II*: p. 307, no. 3354.

³¹ Milan Rešetar has not registered this medal in his book. Acquired by an unknown buyer, there is no information about its present whereabouts. I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 116-117, Plate 5, fig. 4.

Obv.: Bareheaded bust of King Alfonso V of Aragon, facing left. The inscription round the border reads clockwise: *ALFONSVS D(ei) G(ratia) R(ex) ARAGONVM*

Rev.: A four-horse triumphal cart driven by the goddess of Victory (*Victoria*), advancing right. The cart stands on the base, e.g. line that joins the left bottom and right bottom quarters of the medal. Above the cart is an inscription (from left to right): *VICTOR SICILIAM*, while the exergue (portion between the line and the rim) bears another inscription (also from left to right): *PACE REGIT*

Diameter: 40 mm / Material: bronze (cast) / Weight: unknown.

Attribution to Pavao Dubrovčanin is doubtful, since only one sample of this medal has survived, and not in good condition.³²

The third medal for Alfonso V of uncertain attribution (Fig. 5):

There exists yet another medal produced for King Alfonso V of Aragon that continues to arouse controversy.³³ G. F. Hill holds it to be the work of an unknown master of the Naples school during the reign of Alfonso V of Aragon and Ferdinand I. Friedländer, Heiss and Armand, however, have attributed it to Pisanello.³⁴ Based on comparison with the previous medal (Fig. 4), Uzorinac considers Pavao Dubrovčanin to be its author.³⁵ In support of the hypothesis put forward by Uzorinac is the fact that the medal given in Fig. 5 bears a virtually identical representation on the obverse as the medal in Fig. 4. The fact that its present whereabouts are unknown and that the available photographs cannot serve the purpose of precise comparison, the problem of its attribution remains open.

³² In 1923 this medal was published in the catalogue of the Italian Santamaria auction house in Rome, as part of the Ruchat collection. I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 114.

³³ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 117-118.

³⁴ J. Friedländer, *Die italienischen Schaumünzen des XV. Jhdts.*: p. 191; Alois Heiss, *Les médailleurs de la Renaissance*. Paris, 1881-1892: p. 30, Plate X.2; A. Armand, *Les médailleurs italiens des XV et XVI siècles*, vol. II. Paris, 1883: p. 27.

³⁵ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 117.



Fig. 5. The medal for Alfonso V of Aragon – by an unknown master
(from: I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 117)

Obv.: Bareheaded bust of King Alfonso V of Aragon, facing right. The inscription round the border, from left to right, reads: *ALFONSVS . REX . ARAGONVM* .

Rev.: A four-horse triumphal cart driven by the goddess of Victory (*Victoria*), advancing right. The four-horse cart stands on the base, e.g. line that joins the left bottom and right bottom quarters of the medal. Above the cart is an inscription that reads from left to right: *VICTOR SIC(iliam)*. Below the cart in the exergue (portion) is an inscription that reads from right to left clockwise: *ILIE P(acificator) REG(n)I*. Similarly, besides Victory, iconography of the antiquity represented not only Helios (*Elios*, *Sol*), the god of Sun, but also prophet *Elijah* of the Old Testament, racing the four-horse triumphal cart, but in this case slightly upwards, toward the upper rim of the medal (rising to the sky).³⁶

- Diameter: 25 mm / Material: bronze (not certain whether this medal is struck or cast) / Weight: unknown

³⁶ Branko Fučić. »Ilija«, in: *Leksikon ikonografije liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, ed. Anđelko Badurina. Zagreb, 2000: pp. 289-291; Dino Milinović, »Uznesenje Ilijino: Starozavjetni proroci i sunčeva kola u ranokršćanskoj umjetnosti«, in: *Stari zavjet - vrelo vjere i kulture*, ed. Ivan Šporčić. Rijeka-Zagreb: Teologija u Rijeci and Biblijski institut, 2004: pp. 611-619. Iconography of ancient Rome abounds in virtually identical representations of Helios (*Sol*) and Victory, particularly on coins, e.g. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. VI, ed. C. H. V. Sutherland et al. London: Spink and Son Ltd., 1967 (Reprinted 1997): p. 638, Plate 15, no. 145 a and b. This *folles* was struck in 310 A.D. for Emperor Maximianus; the inscription *ILIE P REGI* was read until now as: *ILIE P(io) REGI*, but with the aid of the medal by Pavao Dubrovčanin the following reading is more appropriate: *ILIE P(acificator) REG(n)I*.

The dating of medals

The problems related to the accurate dating of the medals of Pavao Dubrovčanin have not yet been resolved.

Given the size and style, the medals on which Pavao portrayed King Alfonso V (Fig. 1, 2 and 4) were produced within a short period of time.³⁷ In terms of style, they are evidently influenced by the medals Pisanello had made for the same ruler.³⁸ It was not until June 1450 that Pavao Dubrovčanin arrived in Naples from Florence. He may have collaborated with Pisanello for some time, the Italian medallist thus being responsible for influencing Pavao. One of Pisanello's medals bears the date of its production, 1449, while the other two are not dated, but were probably made between 1449 and May 1451.³⁹ Pavao's medals were probably produced after those of Pisanello,⁴⁰ possibly upon Pisanello's departure from Naples. Apparently, short as it was (1448-1451), this period could not have witnessed the production of so many medals for one ruler, even for someone as 'Magnanimous' as King Alfonso V. Further, it is less than likely that two masters, Pisanello and Pavao Dubrovčanin, were commissioned to make the medals at the same time. As portrayed on the medals of both Pisanello and Pavao, Alfonso V is of similar age. This observation, however, may prove elusive, because the medals could have been made at an interval of several years.⁴¹ Assuming correctly that after Alfonso's

³⁷ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 119-120.

³⁸ It is worth noting that some medallists were influenced by the medals of Pavao Dubrovčanin. Among them was Cristoforo di Geremia, who, patterning after Pavao, in 1468 produced his own medal for Alfonso V. Besides him, under Pavao's influence were also Clemente da Urbino (in 1468 medal for Federico da Montefeltre) and Sperandio (about 1480, also for Duke da Montefeltre). See I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 120.

³⁹ The opinion of Leo Planiscig that these two medals were made in 1449, or 1450 at the latest, is based on wrong information, according to which Pisanello left Naples in 1450. Ricardo Filangieri di Candida Gonzaga argues that Pisanello was supported by King Alfonso as *regio pittore* in 1450, but also in the first months of 1451. See I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 120.

⁴⁰ Cfr. L. Planiscig, »Ein Bildhauer am Hofe Alfons I. von Neapel«, according to I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 120.

⁴¹ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 120-121. In support of this is the medal of Alfonso V by Cristoforo di Geremia. Departing greatly from Pavao's medals in both representation and production technique, it appears to have been modelled after them. Had the medals of Pavao Dubrovčanin been made at the same time as those of Pisanello, Cristoforo would probably have patterned after the medals of the great Pisanello. While working on his medal in 1468, the medals of Pavao were probably more accessible because they were of more recent confection.

death in 1458 Pavao left Naples for good and returned to Dubrovnik, the medals for Alfonso V are likely to be dated between 1452 and 1458, or possibly somewhat later, since some medallists are known to have made medals in honour of Alfonso V after the king's death.⁴²

The medal for Duke Federico da Montefeltre (Fig. 3) Julius Friedländer believed to have been made in 1450, before Federico broke his nose bone at a tournament in honour of Francesco Sforza, the profile being intact.⁴³ Indeed, this cannot be considered reliable proof. Rather, dating should rely on closer examination of the inscriptions this medal bears on its obverse and reverse. The word "*CO(mes)*", that is, 'count' on the obverse, attests that the medal was made before 1474, when Federico was conferred the title of duke (*dux*) by Pope Sixtus IV.⁴⁴ The inscription on the reverse mentions the title of the king's chief captain that King Alfonso V granted to Federico in 1450, proving that this medal could not have been made prior to that year.⁴⁵ It is certain that the medal was not made after Alfonso's death in 1458, since then Federico automatically lost the position of the king's chief captain. Therefore, the medal must have been made between 1452 and 1458, in all likelihood after the first two medals made for Alfonso V, and before the third.

Pavao as a die-cutter of Ragusan coins

As early as 1925 Milan Rešetar came forward with an assumption that master Pavao Dubrovčanin cut dies for some of the smaller Ragusan coins known as *mince*.⁴⁶ *Mince* (*follari*, *bagattini*, *parvuli* or *mjedi*) are the oldest

⁴² Since Pavao modelled his medals after those of Pisanello, King Alfonso V as model was not necessary. For example, Cristoforo di Geremia made his medal in 1468—that is, ten years after the death of Alfonso V.

⁴³ J. Friedländer, *Die italienischen Schaumünzen des XV. Jhdts.*: p.191.

⁴⁴ I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: p. 119.

⁴⁵ C. von Fabriczy, *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance*: p. 49; M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* I: p. 528. Lamberto Donati erroneously concluded that Francesco Sforza appointed Federico da Montefeltre king's chief captain as early as 1445 (Lamberto Donati, »Le medaglie di Paolo da Ragusa«. *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 4/23 (1929): p. 225). Alfred Armand also wrongly asserts that Federico assumed this honour in 1451, the medal thus being made that year at the earliest (A. Armand, *Les médailleurs italiens des XV et XVI siècles*: p. 27).

⁴⁶ M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* II: p. 9; C. Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII. do XVII. stoljeća«: p. 173.

Ragusan coins struck in bronze or copper (Fig. 6).⁴⁷ These coins are quite small in size, between 14 and 18 millimetres in diameter, and weigh between 0.36 and 2.84 grams. They were minted from the middle of the fourteenth century up until 1612, in twenty-four main types which, on the basis of the representations on the reverse and obverse, inscription and type of script, can be classified into groups. According to Rešetar, there are two main groups: group A (first five types) bearing bust on the obverse, and group B (the remaining nineteen types) depicting only the head.⁴⁸



Fig. 6. *Minca* Group B, Type 21 from 1566

(source: <http://www.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=181540&AucID=152&Lot=1248>).

This article aims to focus on the types that Milan Rešetar classified into group B, the obverse of which shows the head of a young woman wearing a laurel wreath with ribbons, facing left (Fig. 7).⁴⁹ Round the head is an inscription *MONETA RAGVSII*. The reverse depicts the city gates with three towers, with an inscription round the border *CIVITAS RAGVSII*.⁵⁰ Given the type, *mince* vary in both representation and inscription.

⁴⁷ Fig. 6 shows Type 21 from 1566. H. D. Rauch GmbH; Mail Bid Sale, auction no. 8; item no. 1248, diameter unknown, weight 0.72 grams (<http://www.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=181540&AucID=152&Lot=1248>, consulted on 4 June 2007).

⁴⁸ M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* I: pp. 29-35 and 368-383; II: pp. 1-47.

⁴⁹ M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* II: pp. 13-34. Fig. 7 shows Type 14, struck between 1495 and 1498. *Numismatik Lanz München*, auction no. 115; item no. 62: diameter 17 millimetres, weight 1.79 grams. (<http://www.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=36109&AucID=19&Lot=62>, consulted on 4 June 2007).

⁵⁰ All the mentioned refers to *mince* Type 6 with idealised representation and inscription.



Fig. 7. *Minca* Group B, Type 14, struck 1495-1498

(source: <http://www.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=36109&AucID=19&Lot=62>)

There is reason to believe that master Pavao Dubrovčanin cut the dies for *mince* of Type 11. They are divided into two groups and eight basic variants, in that group A included the first two variants and group B the remaining six. Representations and inscriptions on the obverse and reverse vary respectively.⁵¹

The most beautiful extant sample has recently been discovered at an auction in Vienna (Fig. 8).⁵² By comparing it with *minca* given in Fig. 7, it is distinguished by exceptional beauty as well as the quality of the medal effects in creating the portrait on its obverse. The wreath on the head is tied by two long ribbons which, practically without exception, cut the inscription on the right side. The reverse depicts the triple-arched city gates with a tall belfry in the middle, flanked by two towers. By its characteristics, this *minca* belongs to Group B Type 11 from 1469, to its variant 6. The inscription on the obverse reads: *.MO-E-TA . RAGVSII.*, and on the reverse: *(.CI V)IT AS . RA GVS II.*

Average weight (2.074 grams) and average diameter (18 millimeters) of the *mince* Type 11, made in much higher relief than other *minca* types,⁵³ testify to the art of medal making. With regard to technique, these coins were struck, unlike the widespread contemporary production of cast coins. It should be

⁵¹ M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* I: pp. 375-376, no. 225; II: pp. 20-24, no. 180-247; I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 111-113.

⁵² H. D. Rauch GmbH; Mail Bid Sale 10; no. 1613 (<http://www.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=233890&AucID=181&Lot=1613> - consulted on 4 June 2007). Today this item is part of the private collection owned by the author of this article.

⁵³ M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* I: p. 375, no. 225; II: p. 20; I. Uzorinac, »Paulus de Ragusio«: pp. 111-113; C. Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII. do XVII. stoljeća«: p. 173.

noted that the disks from which the *mince* Type 11 were struck were much broader and heavier than of the majority of other coin types.⁵⁴

The fact that the representation of the female head on the obverse is high in relief and excellently shaped, there is no doubt that it is the work of a die-maker, who was a skilful medallist.⁵⁵ The die for *minca* was made under the influence of the Renaissance, as evidenced by the representation of the woman's head, and palaeographically, by the inscriptions on the obverse and reverse written in pure capitals, virtually without any Gothic element. In terms of quality and production technique, the mentioned *mince* by far surpass the whole coin production of the Dubrovnik mint from its beginning to the emergence of bigger silver coins in the first half of the eighteenth century.



Fig. 8. *Minca*, Type 11, the dies of which are believed to have been cut by Pavao Dubrovčanin (author's private collection)

By comparing the style of *minca* in Fig 8 with obverse of the medals in Fig. 1 and 2, we are led to assume that they owe their design to one and the same artist. A closer examination of the manner in which the hair is shaped on all the three portraits, which Pavao Dubrovčanin probably learned during his

⁵⁴ Written sources on Type 11 have not been found. The year 1469 as the minting date of the Ragusan *mince* Type 11 is primarily based on the study of their obverses and reverses in terms of style. Examination of reminted samples (reminting being done on the coins of some Italian cities), has led to more accurate dating of these *mince* to 1469.

⁵⁵ A comparison between the obverse and reverse representation of this *minca* will easily lead to a conclusion that the representation on the reverse is of lesser artistic quality than the obverse, more archaic and under the influence of the Gothic style. Virtually identical representation on the reverse may be found on a great number of different types of *mince*. Possibly, the obverse die is the work of a much greater master. However, both dies may have been made by the same master, in that the die for the obverse testifies to the height of his medal-making technique and craftsmanship, while the reverse seems to rest on routine.

apprenticeship with Pisanello (Fig 9.d), will easily establish a strong likeness.⁵⁶ The hair is shaped by very shallow cuts from the top of the head downwards. A striking resemblance may be established between the cutting of the profile on the mentioned *minca* and the medal in Fig. 1 (Fig. 9 a-d).



Fig. 9 a-d. Representation of hair on the obverse of *minca* (9a), on the obverse(s) of the medals of Pavao Dubrovčanin (9b and 9c) and on the obverse of Pisanello's medal of Alfonso V of Aragon (9d)

Palaeographic analysis of the letters, particularly of the letter 'M', contributes to the assumption that Pavao Dubrovčanin is the author of the mentioned *mince*. By comparing letter „M“ in the word *MONETA* on the obverse of the *minca* in Fig. 8 with letter „M“ in the word *ARAGONVM* on the obverse of the medals in Fig. 1 and 2, it is evident that the letter is shaped in exactly the same manner. The inward parts, but also the outer lines of the letter, have been cut at a virtually identical angle (Fig. 10 a-d). A thorough examination of Ragusan coinage and a considerable number of the Renaissance medals by several dozens of authors from the second half of the *Quattrocento* has not resulted in the finding of such a close resemblance to any other letter 'M', which, in addition to all the other arguments earlier mentioned, leads to a conclusion that Pavao Dubrovčanin is the author and die-cutter of some variants of *mince* Type 11.

⁵⁶ Pisanello's medal of King Alfonso V of Aragon was made in 1448. *Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung*, auction no. 157, no. 3389, diameter: 101 millimetre (<http://www.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=359058&AucID=267&Lot=3389>, consulted on 24 June 2007).



Fig. 10 a-d. Characteristic letter „M“ on the two *mince* of Type 11, and on the medals in Fig. 1 and 2.

A comparison between the female portrait on the obverse of *minca* in Fig. 8 and the representation of bust on the obverse of the medal in Fig. 4 shows a strong likeness in the shaping of the profile, but also in the whole representation (Fig. 11 a-b), confirming thus the attribution of *minca* in Fig. 8 as well as the medal in Fig. 4 to Pavao Dubrovčanin, both evidently being the work of the same hand. The similarities are primarily witnessed in the shaping of the contours of the lips and nose, also eye and eyehole, and notably in the contours of the forehead.



Fig. 11 a-b. Woman's head on the obverse of *minca* Type 11 and bust on the obverse of the medal

Considering that the examination of *mince* Type 11 has also brought to light considerable discrepancy between certain variants, there is reason to believe that Pavao Dubrovčanin did not make dies for all the variants of Type 11. A full insight into his work is still not possible, since some registered and described items are not visually available for analysis of style and palaeographic comparison. With great certainty Pavao may be said to have cut dies for the variant(s) 2, 5, 6 and 8 of *mince* Type 11 in 1469 (Fig. 12 a-b).⁵⁷

⁵⁷ For typology, see M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika II*: pp. 21, 22, 24.



Fig. 12 a-b. Obverses and reverses of *mince* Type 11 (author's private collection)