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TERRITORIAL DIVISION AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE MEDIEVAL BOSNIAN STATE IN 13TH AND 14TH CENTURY*

This paper studies the formation and geographic volume of the lands out of which the medieval Bosnian state consisted of, as well as the way of formation and disappearance of certain lands, which could be seen from the title of the Bosnian rulers during the 13th and 14th century. The importance of the *land* of Bosnia, as the oldest and most significant Bosnian state, has been specially emphasized. The role of *land* as an administrative unit headed by the duke or *knez* has been also emphasized. In that particular sense, the most important were Bosnia, Usora and Donji Kraji, which had the most developed administration.

Key words: *land*, administration, Bosnia, Usora, Donji Kraji, duke, *knez*
Ključne reči: *zemlja*, uprava, Bosna, Usora, Donji Kraji, vojvoda, *knez*

The term *land* during the Middle Ages, by the Serbs, had several meanings. The most general is the one that means Earth, then soil on which man stands or walks. The term *land* signifies also the state territory, as well as the ethnic space of one nation.¹ In the state ruled by the Nemanjić dynasty, the *lands* were also ancient historical areas (Hum, Trebinje, Zeta), as well as the territorial and administrative units; this term also had a meaning of region, area (Gacko). The formation of the *lands* in Serbia was also influenced by existence of the Episcopal center, as well as by existence of the constituent principalities (Serb. *udeone*

* This study is a part of the project “Насеља и становништво српских земаља у позном средњем веку (14. и 15. век)” (*Settlements and Population of the Serbian Lands in the Late Middle Ages (14th and 15th centuries)*) (No 177010) supported by the Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

¹ More details on the notion of the term *land* with bibliography see: Mišić 1999, 134.

² *Ibid.*, 137, 146.

kneževine). There were several of those units in Serbia, their territory being equal to the spiritual jurisdiction of some episcopates, such as Raška, Hvosno, Toplica, Lim, Moravice, Srem, Braničevo.² The majority of those *lands* had been established during the 12th century, some of them even later. Since that time, same term was used in the Bosnian state, as well. Beside certain similarities, there were also significant differences in creation, development, duration and character of the *lands* in Bosnia.

During the 9th and 10th century, several districts (Serb. *župa*) had formed a *land* (Raška, for instance), some of them gained independence and became the states, but the majority stayed on the level of the regional union. One of the Serbian lands that had been separated in the early period is the *land* of Bosnia. During the 10th and 11th century, the districts of Vrhbosna, Lepenica, Lašva and Brod made a strong union with the district of Bosnia.³ Later, the name of this *land* would be used to signify the whole state territory. When John Kinnamos wrote that the river Drina separated the land of Bosnia from the rest of Serbia, he meant the whole state and not only the *land* of Bosnia.⁴ The same process had been finished earlier in Serbia, where the name of the *land* of Raška was used for the whole state of the Great Župan Vukan and his inheritors.⁵ Also, the adjective *Bosnian* in the ruler's title or signature signifies the integral state territory, and not only the *land* of Bosnia. For example, Mateja Ninoslav had a title БАНЬ БОСНЬСКИ or Great Bosnian Ban.⁶ As we know that the Ban Mateja Ninoslav ruled the territories of Donji Kraji and Usora as well, it means that the title of Bosnian Ban meant the whole state territory. In his charter issued to the citizens of Ragusa dated 1249, were namely mentioned three *kaznacs* Grdomil, Semijun and Belhan, one from each of three mentioned *lands*.⁷ Very similar was the title of Tvrtko I Kotromanić at the beginning of his rule. Several times (1355, 1367, 1375, 1376) he was called *the Bosnian Ban by mercy of God*.⁸ After taking the royal title (1377), the Bosnian kings, during the 14th century, used the notion of *Bosnia* to signify the whole state territory; the same terminology was used by the foreigners as well. For example, some citizens of Ragusa in 1398 wrote a letter addressed to Ostoja, *the king of Bosnia by mercy of God*.⁹ The Ragusa citizens used the same title for the king Tvrtko II Tvrtković; in 1421 he

³ Ćorović 1935, 17, 20, 43 ; Blagojević — Medaković 2000, 41. About possibility that the region of Visoko might be encompassed by the district of Bosnia, see: Andjelić 1982, 33.

⁴ John Kinnamos, VIINJ 4, 28.

⁵ For more details, see: Mišić 1999, 134–135.

⁶ Novaković 1912, 144, 145 ; Stojanović 1929, 6, 79.

⁷ Miklosich 1858, 32–34 ; Stojanović 1929, 7; Mrgić 2000, 29.

⁸ Stojanović 1929, 72, 74, 75.

⁹ Ibid, 418.

¹⁰ Ibid, 499–501, 504 ; Miklosich 1858, 304.

gave himself the title of king of Bosnia.¹⁰ Thus, we can conclude that during the 13th and 14th century, the terms *Bosnian* and *Bosnia* had been used to design the integrity of the state territory; the name of the most important of its *lands* had been transferred to determinate the whole state territory.

However, the notion of *land* of Bosnia would be present throughout the Middle Ages. In the detailed titles of the Bosnian rulers it had always been mentioned as first of all the *lands*. The first ruler whose title included all the *lands* he ruled was the Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić (1322–1353). It is obvious that the process of formation of the *lands*, developing in the previous period, had already been finished at that moment. In the charter issued to the Great *knez* Grgur Stjepanić (1329/30), Ban Stjepan had a title of *Ban of the lands of Bosnia, Soli, Usora and Donji Kraji, as well as the land of Hum*.¹¹ Those lands are part of his title throughout his ruling period. But, in the charter issued in 1351 to *knez* Vuk and Pavle Vukasavić, ban Stjepan II is the *master of all Bosnian lands and Usora and the land of Hum and Donji Kraji*.¹² The *lands* of Usora and Soli had separate governments from 1326 to 1351, as the witnesses signed in the document were *from Usora* and *from Soli*, but integration of those two lands under the name of Usora had been finished not later than 1351.¹³ Nevertheless, the name of Soli was kept in the detailed titles of the Bosnian rulers until the fall of the Bosnian state (1463), and was always mentioned along with the name of Usora, which means that the idea of existence of the separate administrative unit was kept even after its disappearance.

Here we should emphasize the existence of certain disharmony between the *lands* mentioned in the rulers' titles and witnesses in the charters. In the titles, all the lands had always been mentioned consistently, but it was not always the case with the witnesses. The witnesses usually came from those lands mentioned in the charter, while the intitulation recites all the regions ruled by certain ruler. The *lands* that had been established earlier had its own governments, and some of those established in the later period (Podrinje, Primorje) did not have the ruling apparatus and could be administratively submitted to some other *land*. It seems that Podrinje, regularly mentioned in the title since 1366, and in the administrative sense had been a part of the land of Bosnia. It has already been said that Bosnia, Donji Kraji and Usora had its own government during the Ban Matej Ninoslav. The witnesses signed on the charters were not chosen by random, since it had been pointed out to which region they belonged, making possible to conclude which *lands* were separate administrative units.¹⁴ Since 13th

¹¹ SSA 3 (2004) 20 (J.Mrgić — Radojčić).

¹² SSA 1 (2002) 80 (J.Mrgić — Radojčić).

¹³ Mrgić 2000, 32–35, see the table of witnesses and table of titles of the Bosnian rulers.

¹⁴ About the witnesses and council see: Dinić 2003, 229–304.

century, certain *lands* had their *knez*, as the most outstanding representative of government, then *kaznac*, *tepčija*, and later a duke (Ser. *voivoda*).¹⁵ In all Bosnia charters from 14th century signed by witnesses, there were witnesses from Bosnia, or *good Bosnians*. In the charter issued to Grgur Stipanić *from Bosnia*, beside two *knezs*, *tepčija* Radoslav and *Bosnian duke* Vuk Štitković were mentioned. Then followed witnesses from Zagorje (*župan* Poznan Purčić), from Neretva (Vuk Vukčević), from Rama (*knez Ostoja Pribojević*), from Duvno (*voyvoda Bogdan*), from Donji Kraji (*župan* Porodaš), from Usora (Vojko, *duke* of Usora and *knez* Vitan Tihoradić), from Soli (*župan* Budoš) and from Trebotić (*župan* Ivahn and Goisav Obradović).¹⁶ Although the *land* of Hum had been mentioned in the title of the Ban, among witnesses there were not any nobility from Hum. At the time when the charter was issued, the king Stefan Dečanski had undertaken a military offensive, during which he retake Ston, Pelješac and Neretva valley.¹⁷ The situation in Hum was irregular; that was the reason for absence of witnesses from this *land*. The mentioned witnesses belonged to the ancient *lands*, but also to those that were at the beginning formation process; for some of them, the finalization of this process would never been accomplished.

From the list of witnesses it can be concluded that the *land* of Bosnia had its own governing apparatus, including, besides *knez* and *tepčija*, *Bosnian duke* as well. The title and rank of *duke* had originally military character and his primary duty consisted of military affairs. In the charter issued in 1332 to Vukoslav Hrvatinić, was mentioned Vuk Štitković, as *pristav* of the court, again with the title of the *Bosnian duke*.¹⁸ Thus, the land of Bosnia had around 1330 its duke, most probably *knez*, *kaznac* and *tepčija*. In the land of Bosnia, *Bosnian duke* was a substitute for ban in certain affaires. From the above mentioned charter, it can be concluded that Usora had its governing apparatus as well. In the charter dated 1332, Vojko, *voyvoda* of Usora had been mentioned among the witnesses. He presented a unifying factor in Usora.¹⁹ At the beginning of thirties of the 14th century, Bosnia and Usora had the highest rank among the *lands* and also the most developed governing apparatus, with duke at its head. The head of the state apparatus of the *land* of Soli was, at the same time, *župan* and *čelnik*, the fact that testifies of its lower rank.

¹⁵ About *knez* see: Blagojević 2004, 21–50 ; Blagojević 1997, 17–30. About dukes see: Mihaljčić 2001, 125–156.

¹⁶ Thalloczy 1914, 14–15, with wrong date. New edition and correct date SSA 3 (2004) 20 (J. Mrgić-Radojčić).

¹⁷ Mišić 1996, 59.

¹⁸ Thalloczy 1914, 8. On the charter issued by the Ban Matej Ninoslav in 1249 there was a mention of duke Purča — Stojanović 1929, 10.

¹⁹ Andjelić 1982, 10.

The charters issued to Grgur Stjepanić (1329/30), Vukoslav Hrvatinić (1332) and citizens of Ragusa (1332), beside the information on the administration of the old *lands*, contain the information regarding the formation of the new ones. In the last charter the witnesses were from Bosnia, Land of Hum and Završje.²⁰ The historiography had already concluded that the witnesses from Završje were originally from the district of Trebotić, *lands* of Usora and Soli and district Zemunik.²¹ This grupation did not last long, since Završje could not erase the existence of the old districts; the spreading of Usora have its contribution to this process as well. The witnesses from Neretva, Zagorje and Rama had also been mentioned in the above mentioned charters, but their survival, as the separate administrative units, could not be preserved. The witness from Duvno, duke Bogdan had also been mentioned in those charters. We had to point out the fact that neither in that time nor later, not single one of the dukes were from the districts. In the districts, the heads of the local administrations were *župans*. During the whole 14th century, as could be seen from the charters (see Table 1), the title of duke had been preserved only for representatives of the state authority in the most important of the *lands* (Bosnia, Usora). According to this analogy, duke Bogdan could not be only from the *župa* of Duvno, but from the *land*. That would mean that the land, later known as *Zapadne strane* Eng. (Western frontiers) had been created yet in 1330, having the similar rank to Bosnia and Usora. *Zapadne strane* made part of the ruler's title only after 1377; after 1332, until the time of the king Tvrtko there were no mention of witnesses from this *land*. It should be also mentioned that duke *Bogdan* is probably the same person as Bogdan Grdošević, mentioned in 1338, during the attack on Klis.²²

Beside the duke of the *land*, who was head of the *land* administration, in the charters issued from 14th century onwards can also be found the title of the *great duke*. Since the end of the 14th century, this title would be used by the rulers of the provinces, firstly Hrvoje Vukčić, and then Sandalj Hranić.²³ The first holder of the title of *great duke* was Vladislav Galešić, thus signed as a witness on the charter issued to the citizens of Ragusa in 1332.²⁴ He was signed as witness from *Bosnia*, and this is the only mention of him in the preserved historical sources. Couple of years earlier (1326, 1329/30) Vuk Štitković had a title of *duke of Bosnia*.²⁵ His fate has not been enlightened yet. If we presume that this is the same personality as the duke Wolk in one Latin charter issued in

²⁰ Stojanović 1929, 43–45.

²¹ Blagojević 1979, 129–144.

²² SSA 3 (2004) 31 (J. Mrgić-Radojčić); Andjelić 1976, 36.

²³ SSA 1 (2002) 119 (R. Mihaljčić); Stojanović 1929, 508.

²⁴ Novaković 1912, 165 ; SSA 6 (2007) 38 (R. Popović).

²⁵ Mrgić 2008, 13.

1345, it would mean that at the time in Bosnia existed simultaneously the *duke of the land* and the *great duke*. The problem presents a fact that the title of great duke in the later period was connected with the governors of the provinces, which Vladislav Galešić had not been, thus his role and function remain mostly unknown.

The title of duke was a sign of a high rank of the *land* which he headed. At the beginning, the title of duke of the land existed only in Bosnia, Usora and Duvno (*Zapadne strane*). Gradually, as the time passed, the more and more lands gained their dukes, and temporarily this title surpassed by its importance the title of *knez*. The development of title of the *duke of the land* during the 14th century has been shown in the following table, when he was a part of the land's administration, despite the high level of independence. In the 15th century, appearance of the governors of the provinces had changed the situation and relations between certain lands and rulers.

Year	Land Duke	Witness from the land	Grand Duke	Source
1326.	Vuk Štitković Vojko	Bosnia (Court) Usora		Građa o prošlosti Bosne 1 (2008) 13 (J. Mrgić)
1329/30.	Vuk Štitković Vojko Bogdan	Bosnia Usora Duvno (Zapadne strane)		SSA 3 (2004) 20 (J. Mrgić-Radojčić)
1332.	Vuk Štitković Vojko	Bosnia Usora	Vladislav Galešić (Livno)	SSA 6 (2007) 38 (R. Popović)
1353.	Purća	Bosnia		SSA 4 (2005) 116, 101 (J. Mrgić- Radojčić)
1354.	Purća	Bosnia		SSA 2 (2003) 71 (S. Rudić)
1357.	Purća Tvrtko Ivahnić	Bosnia Usora		Thalloczy 1914, 25.
1366.	Tvrtko Ivahnić Vukac Hrvatinić	Usora Donji Kraji		SSA 2 (2003) 169 (J. Mrgić-Radojčić)

1367.	Purća Hrvatinić Vlatko Vuković Tvrtko Ivahnić Vukac Hrvatinić	Bosnia Bosnia Usora Donji Kraji		Šurmin 1898, 83.
1370/74	Vukac Hrvatinić	Donji Krajai		Šidak 1954, 39.
1378.	Vlatko Vuković Vukac Hrvatinić	Bosnia Donji Kraji		Stojanović 1929, 80, 82 ; Miklosich 1858, 189, 190
1380.	Vlatko Vuković Vlatko Tvrtković Hrvoje Vukčić	Bosnia Usora (Trebotić) Donji Kraji		SSA 1 (2002) 119, 120 (R. Mihaljčić)
1392.	Sandalj Hranić Vlatko Tvrtković Pavle Vlatković Hrvoje Vukčić	Bosnia Usora Donji Kraji Donji Kraji		Šurmin 1898, 96–97.
1394.	Sandalj Hranić Hrvoje Vukčić	Bosnia Donji Kraji		Miklosich 1858, 225, 226.
1395.	Sandalj Hranić Vučihna Tvrtković Hrvoje Vukčić	Bosnia Usora Donji Kraji		Miklosich 1858, 225, 226
1398.	Sandalj Hranić	Bosnia		Miklosich 1858, 232
1399.	Vlatko Tvrtković Vukašin Milatović Pavle Klešić	Usora The Land of Hum Zapadne strane		Miklosich 1858, 234, 236–7.
1400.	Sandalj Hranić Radič Sanković i Vukašin Milatović Vukmir Zlatonosović	Bosnia The Land of Hum? Usora		Miklosich 1858, 247–250.

Table: The title of land duke and grand duke in the Bosnian charters from the 14th century

We can conclude from the table that the title of *duke* was preserved for the most distinguished noblemen in the *land*. In the charters, the title of *duke* appeared for the first time in 1249, in the charter issued by Matej Ninoslav, quoting among the witnesses the *duke* Purća as well.²⁶ It could be assumed that he was head of administration of one of the lands. During the 14th century, the

²⁶ Miklosich 1858, 33; Stanojević 1929, 10.

title of the land's duke had been present, in continuity, in Bosnia and Usora, since 1326 (Vuk Štitković, Vojko). During this period of time, Bosnia and Usora had preserved their own administrative apparatus, headed, in the beginning, by the prince, but during 14th century the title of duke became much more important. The other *lands* had representative of the central government with lower titles (*župan*, *kaznac*, *tepčija*). The first of them was Duke Bogdan from Duvno (Zapadne Strane), then Duke Vukac Hrvatinić from Donji Kraji. He was mentioned with this title from 1366 to 1378.²⁷ His son, Hrvoje Vukčić, had inherited his title. In the charter issued by the king Tvrtko Kotromanić to the knez and duke Hrvoje Vukčić, his son, dated 12th March 1380 it was written that the king was discussing the matter with the noblemen and that they decided to give Hrvoje Vukčić the title of the Duke instead of the already mentioned duke Vukac.²⁸ On the charters issued after 1380 Hrvoje Vukčić had been mentioned as witness from Donji Kraji with the title of duke.²⁹ Since the end of the 14th century, the title of duke appeared in the land of Hum, as well. The first one mentioned is duke Vukašin Milatović in 1398, and next year him and Radič Sanković, both from Hum.³⁰ On his example it could be seen that the title of duke had higher rank than the title of *knez*. Vukašin Milatović had, from 1378 to 1395, the title of *knez*, and in 1398 he was a duke.³¹ The Duke Vukašin Milatović was son of Milat tepčija, with the domains in the Neretva valley, and since 1407 his brother Grgur, who was a *knez* until that year, appeared with the title of duke.³² This is a period of creation of the constituent principalities in the Bosnian state, followed with the serious changes in the state administration, and the title of duke had not longer been connected with the ruler of the *land*. The noble families, owner of the their noble *baština*s, did not allow the development of the ruler's domination. The ruler could not deprive the nobleman of his land, it had been given as the eternal *baština*, and there was no *pronia* in Bosnia.³³ The land that was given as a gift eventually made one estate with the inherited *baština*, while the feudal lord enjoyed privileges of both vassal relation and private ownership.³⁴ Those processes influenced the increase of the independency level at some of the *lands*, so they became half-dependant regions, with the most powerful feudal lord at its head.

²⁷ Stojanović 1929, 82; Šurmin 1898, 83, 84.

²⁸ SSA 1 (2002) 119 (R. Mihaljčić).

²⁹ Miklosich 1858, 225, 226.

³⁰ Miklosich 1858, 236–237, 249; Fermeđžin 1892, 43–44.

³¹ Miklosich 1858, 189, 226, 232.

³² Mišić 1996, 85, 288.

³³ Babić 1972, 10, 22–23.

³⁴ Ibid, 24.

Before we start our study regarding territory encompassed by the *lands*, it should be mentioned that their territory had been changing, which could be seen from the example of the land of Usora. Depending on the political circumstances, their territory had increased or decreased. The *land* of Bosnia developed its territory in the upper course and basin of the river Bosnia. The state had developed and widespread its territory along the course of the river Bosnia, toward Vrbas and Drina, with intention to reach the river Sava.³⁵ The center of the Bosnian *land* were the districts Bosnia, Vrhbosna, Lepenica, Lašva, Brod and Trstivnica. The territory of this *land* had been expanding along with expanding of the state borders. In the 12th, 13th and the first half of the 14th century Bosnia encompassed the territories to the mid-course of the Drina River in the east (district Prača, valley of Jadar with Srebrenica). Drinjača was the border toward the *land* of Soli, and then to Usora, and town of Kladanj in the upper course of Drinjača to Bosnia.³⁶ The northern border encompassed the field of Zenica (district Brod) up to the gorge of Vranduk, and it encompassed the courses of Lepenica and Lašva (up to Vranica and Ivan Mountain) in the west.³⁷ The district of Rama presented the southern border and the river Neretva the border with the land of Hum. In this area, the district of Hum on the right bank of the river belonged to the king's lands (Bosnia), and on the left bank to Hum. This is proven by existence of two districts (*nahiye*) Neretva: one in the King's and the other in the land of Herzog.³⁸

At the time of ban Tvrtko, and before 1366, Podrinje had also been established as a separate *land*. In 1366, Podrinje had been mentioned in the title for the first time, in the charter issued by the ban Tvrtko to Vukac Hrvatinić.³⁹ Podrinje had been a part of the Tvrtko's title in 1380 as well, in the charter issued to Hrvoj Vukčić.⁴⁰ All Bosnian kings after Tvrtko had preserved Podrinje in their title.⁴¹ On the basis of the diplomatic documents, it can be concluded that the *land* of Podrinje encompassed the mid-course of Drina (left bank), territory which belonged before to the *land* of Bosnia. The most powerful noblemen in Podrinje in 1366 were the Dabišić brothers, who were *displaced* by the ban Tvrtko due to the infidelity. In the period from 1350 to 1367 the Duke Purća Dabišić was mentioned, together with his brothers and estates in Podrinje.⁴²

³⁵ Ćorović 1940, 4.

³⁶ Ćirković 1998, 24 and footnote 59.

³⁷ Blagojević 2003, 118.

³⁸ Mišić 1996, 29.

³⁹ SSA 2 (2003) 169 (J. Mrgić-Radojčić).

⁴⁰ Šurmin 1898, 91.

⁴¹ See table in Mrgić 2000, 34–35.

⁴² Dinić 2003, 501.

That could possibly mean that it had its own administration or was a part of the land of Bosnia. Podrinje encompassed the flow of Drinjača and Jadar, region from Zvornik to Žepa and the Javor Mountain. That is in fact the region of Drinjača with Osat and Ludmer, to the watershed of Prača in the south.⁴³ However, the separate witnesses from Podrinje had not been mentioned up to the 1400, so it was indirectly included in Bosnia. *Župan* Dragiša Dinjičić was in 1400 witness *from Podrinje*, while his estates were in Osat. But he was also a vassal of the duke Vukmir Zlatonosović, who was, since that year, a head of the Usora administration. The family of the duke of Usora Vlatko Tvrtković, who performed that duty until 1399, disappeared from the historical sources.⁴⁴ Thus, Podrinje had still been linked to Usora. Three nobleman families were originally from these areas: Zlatonosović, Dinjičić (Kovačević) and Stančić. Although Podrinje had been preserved in the title up to the end, it is obvious that it did not have permanent land administration, since during the 15th century the noblemen from Podrinje had mostly been dukes of Usora.⁴⁵ However, since 1419 the documents had been registering the Duke Kovač Dinjičić, which enable the conclusion that the situation was similar to the one before 1366.

Podrinje should not be confused with the *land* of Drina, from which it differed not only by its establishment, but also by its territory. Different from Podrinje, which was established relatively late as a land and paid great efforts to preserve its territory, Drina was among the oldest *lands*, but it entered the state of Bosnia quite late (after 1373). Thus, it was not a part of title of the Bosnia king. The main district in this *land* was Drina (from the spot where the river Piva meets the river Tara to the mouth of the river Bistrica), and it also included the districts: Bistrica (valley of the river with the same name), Sutjeska, Pribud (course of Drina from Čehotina to Prača), as well as the district of Govza.⁴⁶ This land also included the region of Šćepan-polje with the town of Sokol situated at the meeting point of the rivers Piva and Tara, being the main fortress of the Kosača family. Stefan Vukčić Kosača had a title of *knez of Drina*.⁴⁷ In the land of Drina were also mentioned Novi nearby Goražde, Samobor, Hoča (Foča) and Goražde.⁴⁸ That would mean that the *land* of Drina encompassed the territory to the river Prača on the north, to the river Piva on the south, while it was surrounded with high mountain ranges on the east, as well as on

⁴³ Dinić 1955 (= Dinić, 2003).

⁴⁴ Miklosich 1858, 247–250. About the Zlatonosović family see Mrgić 2008, 93–95, 102, 119, 126, 239.

⁴⁵ About the dukes of Usora with detailed older bibliography see Mrgić 2008.

⁴⁶ Čirković 1998, 29 ; Blagojević and Medaković 2000, 41; Blagojević 2001, 264.

⁴⁷ About the titles of the Kosača family see Mišić 2002, 342–350.

⁴⁸ Blagojević and Medaković 2000, 42.

the west. This *land* territorially existed throughout the Middle Ages, but not in administrative way. Similar to Podrinje, Bosnian diplomatic sources do not give any information regarding the witnesses from Drina. The creator of power of the Kosača family, Duke Vlatko Vuković had the mentioned title, but he had always been the witness from Bosnia.⁴⁹ His nephew and inheritor, Sandalj Hranić was, since 1392 witness from Bosnia, with the title of duke.⁵⁰ It is clear that the *land* of Drina was, after 1378 to 1404, in similar position toward the *land* of Bosnia, as it was a case with Podrinje toward the *land* of Usora. In both cases, the most powerful noblemen of those lands put under their control the administration of the neighboring lands, thus making them united. After 1404, the *land* of Drina became an integral part of the Kosača family region, and therefore mentioned in their title.

Donji Kraji was mentioned as one of the oldest Bosnian *lands* in the title of the Ban Stjepan II. In the administrative sense, this region was constituted as a *land* at the end of 12th and beginning of the 13th century. *Donji Kraji* was quite early united into the territorial unit with the *land* of Bosnia. The center of this *land* were the districts: Uskoplje, Pliva and Luka (valley of the river Vrbas to the mouth of the river Ugar and valley of the Pliva river), and it was soon expanded to the districts of Zemunik and Vrbanja, progressing along the course of Vrbas. In the time of *knez* Hrvatin, Donji Kraji encompassed the districts of Lušci and Banjica (upper course of the Sana River).⁵¹ Donji Kraji consisted of those seven districts in the first half of the 13th century. During the rule of Hrvoje Vukčić, to this land were joint the districts Sana (mid-course of the river Sana), Glaz (lower course of Vrbas) and Vrbas (around the river Vrbaska)⁵² Thus, the whole basin of the river Vrbas, as well as the lower and mid-course of the river Sana were included to the Lower Parts, which was separate *land* until the end of the Bosnian state and were mentioned all the time in the title of the Bosnia rulers.

It had already been mentioned that Usora and Soli were in 1326 two separate *lands*, and that, in 1351, Usora included Soli in its territory. The

⁴⁹ Thallosy 1914, 26. Here, the duke Purča (1367) had been mentioned as the witness of Bosnia, but these were irregular times in which the land of Drina had not yet been incorporated into the Bosnian state. That was the time when *župan* Nikola Altomanović had started his activities, so in the following years, he gained possession of Drina again. In the following period (starting with 1378) duke of Bosnia was Vlatko Vuković regularly: Miklosich 1858, 189; Fermedžin 1892, 43–44; SSA 1 (2002) 119 (R.Mihaljčić).

⁵⁰ Miklosich 1858, 236–237, 249. Compare Kurtović 2009, 77–133. Especially pg. 39–42 about the *Bosnian nationalism* of Sandalj Hranić and issue regarding the relation of the Kosača family toward the Bosnian Ban (king) in the first years of their reign over Drina (1367, 1373–1378).

⁵¹ More details on Donji Kraji see Mrgić-Radojčić 2002, 43.

⁵² *Ibid*, 168.

districts of Usora and Soli were, during the 10th century, part of Serbia. They were mentioned for the first time as the *lands* in a letter written by the Pope Honorius III to the archbishop Ugrin dated 1225.⁵³ At the time of Ban Matej Ninoslav, in 1236, there was a mention of the knez Sibislav of Usora, who had ruled Usora as a constitutive prince within the state of the Bosnian Ban.⁵⁴ The first mention of the constitutive princes in Bosnia (česnici) dated from 1189, in the charter issued by Ban Kulin.⁵⁵ On the basis of the existence of the constitutive principalities in Bosnia at the end of 12th and first half of the 13th century, it can be concluded that they made influence on formation of certain *lands*; Usora, for sure. The same influence of the constitutive principalities had been remarked in the process of formation of the *lands* in the Nemanjić's state.⁵⁶ Ban Mateja Ninoslav guaranteed in 1240 safety for the citizens of Ragusa, *throughout the lands and throughout the space he and his sons had ruled*⁵⁷. It means that they had ruled certain lands. Usora had expanded, from its center, to the lower course of the river Bosnia, encompassing until 1329 the district of Nenavište, and basin of the river Ukrina, with the districts Modran and Ukrina on the West.⁵⁸ During the second half of the 13th century, the Hungarians had established beside the Banat of Mačva, the Banat of Usora and Soli, as well, thus contributing to the unifying of this space in one unit, especially since 1284 when this area was given to the king Dragutin (1284–1316).

The district and *land* of Soli encompassed the basin of river Spreča and expanded out towards Drina; in 1351 it entered the *land* of Usora. Thus the eastern border of Usora was on Drina, and southern on the Drinjača river.⁵⁹ All Bosnian rulers during the 14th and 15th century had Usora in their title; the witnesses *from Usora* regularly occurred in the charters. Beside Bosnia, Usora had the most developed administration headed by the duke; this *land* had also its *kaznac* and *tepčija*. The first duke of Usora was Vojko (1326–1332), and then Tvrtko Ivahnić and his son Vlatko Tvrtković (1357–1399).⁶⁰ In two charters dated 1395 Vučihna Tvrtković, Vlatko's brother, was mentioned as the duke *of Usora*.⁶¹ Therefore, by the end of his life, Vlatko was replaced as a duke of the *land* by his brother. This family had their estates in the district of Trebotić;

⁵³ Smičiklas 1905, 242–244; Mrgić 2008, 55.

⁵⁴ Smičiklas 1906, 15–18; Blagojević 1997, 46.

⁵⁵ Miklosich 1858, 2; Blagojević 1997, 45.

⁵⁶ Mišić 1999, 146.

⁵⁷ Miklosich 1858, 29–30; Stojanović 1929, 10; Blagojević 1997, 19–21.

⁵⁸ Mrgić 2000, 30–31; Mrgić 2008, 57, 68.

⁵⁹ Mrgić 2000, 33.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 36, 37.

⁶¹ Miklosich 1858, 225, 226.

several times they were mentioned as the witnesses from Trebotić, which means that between 1380 and 1392 this district was not completely united with Usora.⁶² The fact that the estates of the duke of the *land* were in Trebotić encouraged the process of union of those two territories. Beside Trebotić, the following districts were included in the *land* of Usora: Usora, Soli, Ukrina, Modran, Nenavište, district of the town of Srebrenik. It encompassed the region between Vrbas on the west, Drina on the east and Sava on the north. The southern border was north from the mountain Uzlomac, being a neighbor at that area with Donji Kraji. The border ran further southern from the mountain Borje, to the spot where Bosna and Krivaja unit, than southern from the mountain Konjuh and Javornik down the Drinjača to Drina.⁶³

The *lands* we have discussed so far presented the center of the oldest Bosnian state, except the *land* of Drina. However, since 1326 the largest part of the land of Hum (Eastern Hum and Neretva) entered Bosnia, and the land of Hum became a part of the title of the Bosnian Ban. The land of Hum is an old historical region, developed from the archontion of Zahumlje. Its core was made of the districts: Hum, Primorje, Zažablje, Popovo, Dabar, Dubrava, Luka and Večerić. From the 12th to the 14th century it had been expanding to the area between the rivers Neretva and Cetina, encompassing Imota and Krajina, Mostarsko Blato and district of Neretva to the Konjic area on the north; the field of Nevesinje entered this land on the north-east.⁶⁴ After he conquered the Neretva valley and area to the Cetina River, Ban Stjepan II Kotromanic entered the land of Hum into his title, where it stayed until the end of the Bosnian state.⁶⁵ In the charters, the witnesses from Hum had been mentioned since 1333. This *land* had its administration even during the Nemanjić's state, it survived after the land passed under the Bosnian rule, and it had been preserved during the time of Kosačas as well. At the end of 14th century, the first dukes were mentioned in Hum. First one is Vukašin Milatović, son of the Hum's tepčija Milat (1359–1378). Later the title of duke would be hold by Vukašin's brother Grgur, and then his son Marko Grgurević (1423–1454) and grandson Pavle Marković (1455–1465).⁶⁶ In 1400 as the duke of Hum, the first one mentioned was Radič Sanković; then Vukašin Milatović.⁶⁷ Both of them could not possibly perform the duty of the duke of the land in Hum. This is the period when the noblemen with intentions of separation of the territory and converting it to their province,

⁶² Šurmin 1898, 92, 97; *Listine* IV, 282; Andjelić 1977, 17–42; Blagojević 1979, 143.

⁶³ Mrgić 2000, 41.

⁶⁴ Mišić 1996, 15 and further on.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 60 and further on.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁶⁷ Miklosich 1858, 249.

took the title of duke. The Sankovići were the first family trying to accomplish that goal and Radić's title of duke should be seen in that particular light.

When Tvrtko I gained power (1353) Bosnia would endure territorial changes; thus some new *lands* would occur in his title, as well as the administrative units. The first change has already been explained regarding the establishment of the *land* of Podrinje since 1366. The Ban Tvrtko had taken the royal title in the Mileševa monastery in 1377 and was granted the title of the king of the Serbs, Bosnia and Primorje (the Littoral).⁶⁸ The charter issued to Hrvoje Vukčić three years later (1380) contained Tvrtko's detailed title stating **the king of the Serbs, Bosnia, Primorje, the land of Hum, Donji Kraji, Zapadne Strane, Usora, Soli and Podrinje**.⁶⁹ Geographically, this title included all the *lands* from the time of Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić, as well from Tvrtko's reign as a Ban (Bosnia, the land of Hum, Donji Kraji, Usora, Soli and Podrinje). The two new *lands* in this title were Primorje and the Zapadne strane; the novelty is also the ethnic determination of king of the Serbs, which was taken from the Serbian imperial title. From the time of Tvrtko onward, all Bosnian kings stated those same *lands* and they all were the kings of Serbs. In the shortened version of the title, and in the signatures, they were usually the kings of the Serbs and Bosnia, and sometimes only the kings of Bosnia.⁷⁰ The Bosnian ruler was always the king of Bosnia and *toward that*, meaning a group of the *lands* he had ruled. In the king's title, Bosnia always represented a geographical determination, and the nations lived in that land were always the Serbs, according to the king's title. The Kotromanić family had always been the kings of Serbs. They always relied themselves to the state tradition of the Nemanjić's Serbia. Beside that determination, in the charters, from the time of Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić, when stating the witnesses, there was used an expression saying the Bosnians or the good Bosnians for the witnesses.⁷¹ Usually, after this expression, the witnesses from the *land* of Bosnia were named. That was the case in all the charters issued by Ban Stjepan, as well as Ban Tvrtko. In the charter issued to Vuk and Pavle Vukoslavić, the expression *Bosnian and Usorians* was put before naming the witnesses.⁷² It was obviously territorial, not ethnic determination. The good Bosnians are usually the noblemen — witnesses from the territory of the *land* of Bosnia, but we should also bear in mind the fact that existences

⁶⁸ Miklosich 1858, 187, 190.

⁶⁹ Šurmin 1898, 91. New critical edition SSA 1 (2002) 117–129 (R. Mihaljčić).

⁷⁰ Miklosich 1858, 221, 225, 235, 280, 427, 485, 489; Stojanović 1929, 75, 83, 85, 175–177, 418–433, 490–513; Stojanović 1934, 115–121, 162–167.

⁷¹ Thalloczy 1914, 8, 14–15, 18, 20; Šurmin 1898, 84.

⁷² SSA 1 (2002) 81 (J. Mrgić-Radojčić).

of the separate state (Bosnia) influenced the development of consciousness of separate identity of the citizens of this state (Bosnians).⁷³

As it has already been mentioned, two new *lands* in the Tvrtko's title were Primorje and Zapadne strane; those were newly conquered territories, included into the Bosnian state after 1377. The *land* of Primorje had been always mentioned immediately after Bosnia, since its first mention in 1378. In 1377, Tvrtko conquered from the Balšić family the districts of Trebinje, Konavle and Dračevica. Thus, the historical Serbian region and *land* Travunija came under his power.⁷⁴ Differently from the Land of Hum, which preserved its particularity even after been conquered by Bosnia, Travunia seized to exist a *land*; its territory was inherited by Primorje, encompassing the Bosnian littoral estates from Dubrovnik to the southeast. Since Tvrtko's coronation, the Bosnian kings had stated the *lands* in their title according to certain principle: first the central *land* (Bosnia), then territory from the Adriatic coast to the East clockwise (Primorje). It had been followed by the land of Hum, whose territory was neighboring to Primorje. Since Hum was left as part of the title, it means that Primorje could not possibly encompass all the littoral territories being a part of the Bosnia state, since the land of Hum had its own part of the coast (from Dubrovnik to Cetina).⁷⁵ It is quite obvious then that Primorje could encompass only the Bosnian littoral estates eastern from Dubrovnik. Later Primorje would be a part of the title of the Herzog Stefan Vukčić Kosača.⁷⁶

After the land of Hum, according to the mentioning order, Zapadne strane had been mentioned, after them Donji Kraji, Usora, Soli and Podrinje. At this area, the western border of the land of Hum was the river Cetina and district of Imota, which was a part of Hum, while the districts placed on the south-west Uskoplje, Pliva and Lušci were a part of Donji Kraji. Between those territories were the regions of Duvno, Livno, Glamoč and Kupres. The area of all those field and districts made the Bosnian Zapadne strane. Duke Bogdan, mentioned as a witness from Duvno in 1329/30, is probably the same personality as Bogdan Grdošević who led in 1388 the Bosnian army in Croatia.⁷⁷ Couple of years later (in 1332) in the charter issued to the citizens of Ragusa the grand duke Vladislav Galešić, from the family Galešić of Livno had been mentioned.⁷⁸ Thus, during the first decade of reign of ban Stjepan II we have a notion of one duke and one grand duke from the area of Zapadne strane, which suggests the high rank

⁷³ Ćirković 1975–1976, 271–273.

⁷⁴ About Travunija under the Bosnian rule see: Tošić 1998, 95–128.

⁷⁵ Mišić 1996, 15–45; Blagojević 1985, 112–113.

⁷⁶ Stojanović 1934, 63.

⁷⁷ Andjelić 1976, 36 and footnote 27.

⁷⁸ Stojanović 1929, 43–45; Andjelić 1976, 37; Ribar 2010, 95–98.

and reputation of those noblemen, as well as the importance of these areas for Bosnia. There was no one single case during the whole 14th century that duke was a witness coming from a district, even when he was thus mentioned. The good example for that is the duke of Usora Vlatko Tvrtković being mentioned as a witness from Trebotić, but was a head of administration of the *land* of Usora. In our opinion, it is possible to make an analogy here, meaning that Zapadne strane had in 1320 their own administration, headed by the duke Bogdan. Vladislav Galešić is the first well-known grand duke. The Galešić family belonged to the old nobleman family of the Hlivno district, together with Voihnić and Čubranović families, who had been later banned from Livno by Stjepan II in 1326.⁷⁹ At the end of the 14th century in this region was mentioned duke Pavle Klešić, relative of the Kotromanić family.⁸⁰ There is no doubt that he was the *land* duke of Zapadne Strane.

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Синиша Мишић

ТЕРИТОРИЈАЛНА ПОДЕЛА И ПРЕДСТАВНИЦИ ЛОКАЛНЕ УПРАВЕ У СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНОЈ БОСАНСКОЈ ДРЖАВИ У 13. И 14. ВЕКУ

Земље које ће од 12. до 15. века сачињавати босанску државу настајале су на различите начине и у различито време. Најстарије (Босна, Доњи Краји, Усора и Соли) су формиране у 11. и 12. веку и на њихово образовање је утицало политичко организовање и постојање удеоних кнежевина у 12. и 13. веку, као и организовање угарске бановине на северу. Име *земље* Босне се временом проширило и на целину државне територије. Ширењем територије босанска држава је обухватила и неке старе историјске области (Хум, Травунија), а и *земље* Дрину и Лим. У интитулацијама босанских владара остала је Хумска земља, а у титули Косача *земља* Дрина. Травунија и Лим су се утопиле у нове управне јединице *земље* Приморје и Подриње, али оне нису успеле да изграде јак управни апарат, па су остале у сенци старијих *земаља*.

Анализом сведока у босанским повељама утврђено је да су најчвршће организовану земаљску управу имале *земље* Босна, Усора, Западне стране и Хум. На челу њихове управе стајао је земаљски војвода и земаљски кнез. Они су представници локалне управе и њени главни носиоци. *Земље* као сто су Доњи Краји, Подриње нису имале тако чврсто организовану управу, па су у појединим периодима биле подчињаване управи других *земаља*. У 15. веку војводе потискују кнежеве у други план. Поред земаљског војводе у босанској држави се од 1332. јавља и титула великог војводе коју носи Владислав Галешкић.